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Postsocialist Globalised Workplaces in Croatia and
Serbia: an Analysis of Work Characteristics,
Gender and Identities

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Transcription Conventions

(.) indicates a pause of one second or less

(..) indicates a pause of two seconds or more

(word) best guess when material was difficult to make out

(xxx) indicates speech that was impossible to make out

((laughs)) additional information

//word// indicates speech overlap

[word] indicates original word was made anonymous

[...] indicates text omission

:word: ((laughs)) indicates speaking and laughing simultaneously

WORD capital letters indicate emphasis

wor- dash indicates word was cut off by speaker

eh/ehm fillers

1 Introduction

Since the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, Eastern and South-Eastern European countries have entered a phase of transformation resulting in affecting and altering state institutions and consequently peoples' lives. Rejecting everything that was connected with socialism, considerable changes in the areas of the economy, politics and institutions have impacted on various aspects of everyday life.

One of the areas which has undergone considerable changes is the economy and work settings in particular. The transformation from a command economy to a market economy opened up new opportunities for European companies, which have started to expand to the East and South-East of Europe since the early 1990s. Austria in particular has become very much involved in investing in this region due to its position in Central Europe and its common border with countries that used to be under socialist rule.

Those Austrian companies have not only brought economic revival but also different values and above all the necessity to communicate in a foreign language in the workplace. It may be surprising that English and not German has become the 'language of business' in South-Eastern Europe, the more so as German used to be one of the most widely taught foreign languages during the state-socialist era. However, according to an article in *The Economist* '[t]he choice of English has been made easier by the demands of foreign investors [as] the first to move east were the most international European companies' that already used English as their intra-organisational language ('After Babel, a new common tongue' 2004). Another reason for the increasing use of English throughout Europe during the last decade is the fact that English has not only been the most widely used language in education, media, science, and in the institutions of the European Union, but as a 'direct result of globalisation' (Phillipson 2003), English has also become the corporate language in many companies.

This interdisciplinary PhD project focuses on workplaces in international companies in Croatia and Serbia, more specifically on the characteristics of these so-called postsocialist globalised workplaces and what kinds of identities are disclosed and constructed when talking about these workplaces. According to van Leeuwen (2005:6), this project applies the pluralist model, which 'seeks to bring [...different] disciplines together, as equal partners [... but] remain autonomous and self-sufficient in the way they operate'. This PhD draws upon sociolinguistic and social and cultural

anthropological approaches in the fields of topics, methods and theories. Despite being two separate academic disciplines, there are overlaps, particularly with the areas of gender and identity constructions as well as language issues and methodological approaches (see below for further details). It seems wise to continue this overlap of work by also introducing new aspects.

This PhD covers and is situated in five broad areas: work, gender, identities, globalisation and language. Regarding work and workplaces, there are numerous studies in each discipline, which, however, have overlaps. Studies in business anthropology focus on structural and cultural issues (e.g. Wright 1994; Sackmann 1997; Wischmann 1999) but also regard language as essential (e.g. Dreher 2005; Ailon-Souday/ Gideon 2003). Studies in linguistics approach the issues of leadership and culture from the angle of language usage in meetings (e.g. Poncini 2003; Holmes/ Marra 2010) but also by participant observation and analysing interviews (e.g. Schnurr/Zayts 2010).

Gender and identities are the areas which have most overlaps due to the similar theorisation of gender over the last 40 years in social sciences and humanities. McElhinny (2003) and Bucholtz (2003) published seminal studies on theorisations of gender in sociolinguistics and anthropology. The anthropologist K. Hall (2002; 2009) has been working on gender constructions by specifically focussing on language and Bucholtz/ Hall (2005) have begun to introduce sociocultural linguistics, a blending of linguistic and anthropological approaches. Studies, for instance, by McElhinny (1998), Mullany (2006) and Pichler (2009) add anthropological aspects to their work by applying the anthropological method of ethnography of communication (see also Swann/Maybin (2008) for their argumentation of combining sociolinguistic and ethnographic approaches).

Globalisation and its effect on societies has been addressed by anthropologists (e.g. Alsheimer et al. 2000; Inda/ Rosaldo 2008; Yamashita/ Eaden 2003), particularly what globalisation means for social and cultural anthropology (e.g. Amselle 2002; Lewellen 2002). In linguistics, the concept of globalisation as such has only been recently caught linguists' interest (Blommaert 2002; Coupland 2003), whereas in studies on language in business and specifically on English as Lingua Franca, effects of globalisation have indirectly been analysed (e.g. Bargiela 2000; Heller 2003; Phillipson/ Skutnabb-Kangas 1997; Nickerson 2005).

What does this PhD contribute to the existing overlap between sociolinguistics and social and cultural anthropology?

Next to contributing research to the areas mentioned above, which have been addressed by both linguistics and social cultural anthropologists with more or less overlaps, two areas are combined which have not yet been focussed on in one project neither by sociolinguists nor by social and cultural anthropologists. These areas are South-Eastern Europe and language in a broader sense.

South-Eastern Europe as a research topic analysing various economic, social and political aspects has been prominent in various disciplines such as economics, history and social anthropology. However, by drawing upon and analysing data from South-Eastern Europe and especially from Croatia and Serbia, this PhD contributes new insights to the topics of (globalised) workplaces, language(s) in the workplaces and various aspects of postsocialism both in sociolinguistics and social cultural anthropology.

By examining language usage in the workplace, this PhD thesis with a focus on English and local language usage in the workplace contributes to work by Rogersen-Revell (2007, 2008) and Angouri (2007). However, this PhD project goes one step further by regarding and analysing the language of the data, i.e. interviews. By analysing language usage in the data, identity constructions both in interviews but also in the workplace, which can be detected in the interviews, are addressed. By doing so, new insights are brought to anthropology by revealing how rich linguistic data can be when analysing not only what is being said but why and how is something being said. Looking behind the text enables a more thorough analysis, however, only doing so will not be as fruitful either. Therefore, combining looking at as well as behind the text also contributes new insights to sociolinguistics. Particularly the analysis of workplace identities would not be as rich and detailed if only a strict linguistic analysis of data without considering the context outside the text was carried out.

Hence, this PhD project is interdisciplinary by applying qualitative and quantitative research methods; the former for in-depth linguistic analysis and the latter for the analysis of the context, which also serves as a frame for the former. As more than one method is being used, it can be argued that the notion of 'triangulation' is present. However, instead of double-checking the results, the different methods

address the same aspects but from a slightly different angle and with a slightly different purpose.

As this PhD projects deals with 'postsocialist globalised workplaces' and gender in both empirical parts, an explanation is considered feasible for the choice of naming and describing these workplace with the adjectives 'postsocialist' and 'globalised' as well as why gender has been chosen as this research's crucial social variable.

Why 'postsocialist'? The adjective 'postsocialist' refers to the time after the state-socialist era in Eastern European countries, i.e. since 1989. The aftermath of the rejection of communist ideology and its application in 'real existing socialism' has triggered peculiarities in the economy, society, politics and everyday life. One of these changes involved the appearance of 'globalised workplaces'.

Why 'globalised'? Cambridge Dictionary provides a perfect (if short) definition of 'globalise': 'to (make a company or system) spread or operate internationally', which means that postsocialist globalised workplaces are situated in a postsocialist country but the workplaces straddle national and thus linguistic and cultural borders. In contrast to state-socialist or even postsocialist workplaces, globalised workplaces display unique characteristics and have unique requirements regarding their employees. Straddling national and thus linguistic borders results in new communication practices in a language that is not the mother tongue and meeting people who may have different values, norms and behavioural conventions. The concept 'globalised' has been chosen despite the fact that globalisation leads to both straddling borders and simultaneously also to a stronger alignment to the linguistic and national group a person belongs to (Moosmüller 2000:25). Therefore, it could be argued that it is more feasible to use the term 'glocal', a blend of the terms 'global' and 'local' but due to the focus on how transgressing borders impacts workplaces, the term 'global' seems more appropriate.

Why 'gender'? Gender dynamics in the workplace are connected with gender relations in society in general. Gal (1991:185) points out that 'gender is a structural principle [organizing] other social institutions: workplaces, schools, courts, political assemblies and the state' and it is important to study the patterns they display in 'the recruitment, allocation, treatment, and mobility of men as opposed to women'. Parker (2000:88) states that "the organization, region and profession are cross-cut by assumptions about gender that pervade the wider society'. Therefore it is essential to

refer to gender relations in society and in particular to gendered professional identities in postsocialist globalised workplaces, which is of particular interest for South-Eastern Europe as the region has witnessed and lived through two different systems, namely state-socialism and capitalism.

1.1 State of the art - Presenting the gaps

The research area 'postsocialism' with its variety of foci can be found in various academic disciplines (e.g. Holmes 1997; Verdery 1996; Burawoy/ Verdery 1999; Riegler 2005; Rothacher 1999; Beyer/Wielgohs/ Wiesenthal 2001). One of these foci deals with the economy and more specifically with workplaces and work conditions (e.g. Roth 2004; Hann 2002). However, in the humanities and social sciences, specific research on postsocialist globalised workplaces is rare (see e.g. Dunn 1999 and Petrova 2004 as valuable exceptions). In business and managerial studies, studies on the transformational societies in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe address workplace issues with a particular focus on gender in the postsocialist (globalised) workplace (Degtiar 2000; Pook et al. 2003; Pollert 2003; Věšíňová-Kalivodová 2005, Dokmanović, M. 2002). Metcalfe and Afanassieva (2005a, 2005b) served as guest editors for two *Women in Management* special issues on 'Gender in Central and Eastern Europe'. Most papers deal with general aspects regarding women in management in postsocialist countries. More general research on gender in Eastern Europe are studies by Gal/Kligman (2000a, 2000b), Ramet (1999, 2007), Kuehnast/ Nechemias (2004), Jovanović/ Naumović (2004), Kaser/ Katschnig-Fasch (2005), Durić Kuzmavović (2002), which address various gender aspects in postsocialist countries, focusing on the general challenges, difficulties and disadvantages women have been confronted with. However, despite the amount of literature, the focus on South-Eastern Europe is mostly neglected in these studies.

Another aspect that is of relevance is communicating in a foreign language, namely English serving as a lingua franca. This has recently become a major and hotly-debated research topic within linguistics (e.g. Seidlhofer 2001, Meierkord 1998). Studies of English as a lingua franca in business contexts have also been published (e.g. Nickerson 2005; Poncini 2003, 2003; Fredriksson et al. 2006, Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005). A discussion has been going on about how to name the English language that is used in such communicative events. Erling (2005) aptly

names her article 'The many names of English' and gives an overview of the different terms applied: 'English as an international language' (EIL), 'English as a Lingua Franca' (ELF), 'Global English' and 'General English'. Seargeant (2008) calls for the term 'English in a globalized context' and Louhiala-Salminen et al. (2005) contribute yet another term, which specifically addresses the variety of English that is used in international business communication: 'Business English Lingua Franca' (BELF).

Vollstedt (2001:87) points out the importance of English in internal company communications, "which includes all means of communications in commercial organisations where the sender and the receiver are employees of a single company". This means that it does not only relate to communication within headquarters and subsidiaries but also to in-house communications. However, introducing English does not automatically mean its adoption, 'nor does it make it 'shared' throughout the organization' (Fredriksson et al. 2006:406). Nickerson (2005:371) emphasises that 'communicative events are considerably more complex than the label of English as a *lingua franca* would suggest'. Vollstedt (2001:103) also adds that whereas English is used in most contacts between employees with different mother tongues and 'the more employees are involved in the international communication, the more English is used', not all communication takes place exclusively in English within the company.

Some studies support this argument by showing what role other languages than English play for constructing business relationships (Rogerson-Revell 2007; Louhiala-Salminen, et al. 2005; Vandermeeren 1999; Poncini 2002, 2003; Charles 1996). Ailon-Souday/ Kunda (2003) also show in their study that the mother tongue is, indeed, being used by employees as a means of exclusion of employees with a different mother tongue. In fact, Fredriksson et al. (2006:407) summarise that internal communication in international companies involves 'crossing language boundaries and operating at the interface between several languages including those of the home country and the host country, the corporate languages and "company speak"'. They distinguish between corporate language and 'company speak', i.e. language practices and varieties specific to the company, probably hinting at the discrepancy of the corporate language and its application depending on company structure, number of non-native speakers of English and communication practices between subsidiaries and headquarters. Welch/Welch/Piekkari (2005:13) define

'company speak' as a register or variety 'replete with acronyms, special terms, and management process terminology specific to the company, that evolves over time'.

Louhiala-Salminen et al. (2005) analysed oral and written business communication in two international corporations, which were formed as a result of a merger between a Swedish and a Finnish company. They based their study of oral communication on cultural stereotypes the groups have of each other, i.e. the Swedish being the 'discussing' and the Finnish the more 'direct' people. Their informants pointed out that it was difficult to distinguish between the effects of national, corporate and organizational cultures on communication. The authors suggest that in a merger the process of creating a new, shared culture is inevitable (Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005:418) and they refer to Holden (2002), who speaks of a 'culture three', which means that the interaction contains discursual features of both cultures. Dreher's (2005) study on intercultural workplaces addresses intercultural communication and working with employees with different national and linguistic backgrounds in an international company. Koole/ ten Thije (2001) use the term 'intercultural discourse' for intercultural communication that is based on a common ground of meanings and practices that are oriented to. In these studies, the terms 'intercultural' and 'cross-cultural' are used interchangeably, however, they do not focus on quite the same aspects. Whereas research on intercultural communication deals with interaction between speakers from different cultural backgrounds, cross-cultural research gives preference to the comparative perspective of cultures. According to Knapp (1998), intercultural communication can be defined as 'interpersonal interaction between members of different groups, which differ from each other in respect of the knowledge shared by their members and in respect of their linguistic forms of symbolic behaviour'.

A more linguistic approach in intercultural communication is applied by Vuorela (2005) and Poncini (2002) analysing business meetings with multicultural participation. Their focus is on how language is being used to construct business relationships and corporate culture. Recently linguists have also taken up research on gender and communication in the workplace (Thimm et al. 2003; Mullany 2000, 2006). The 'Language in the Workplace project' at the University of Wellington in New Zealand has published several studies on specific aspects of communication at work (e.g. Holmes/ Marra 2002 on humour, Vine 2004 on the expression of power, Holmes/Stubbe 2003 on power and politeness, Marra 2003 on decision-making in

meetings). Most studies deal with the analysis of language in meetings. An exception is the study by Thimm et al. (2003) which analysed interviews with people about their communication experiences and expectations of men and women in different work settings as well as gender differences in communication situations involving conflict and status asymmetries. Another valuable study is Rogersen-Revell's (2007), which addresses the perception of English in the multinational workplace and this study. Taking it from there, this PhD will minimise the research gap of drawing information from interviews about the perception of communication in English with various related issues.

Identity constructions in organisations primarily focus on gender identities but more general research on professional and national identity in organisations are studies e.g. by Harding (2008), Hatch/Schultz (2004), Holmes/Stubbe/Vine (1999), van de Mieroop (2007), Ailon-Souday/Kunda (2003), Nekvapil/Sherman (2010) and Schnurr/Zayts (2010). The construction of gender identities has been a prominent research topic in both sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology (Bucholtz/Hall 2003, McElhinny 2003). Gender identities in organisations or professional settings are almost too numerous to list but Katila/Meriläinen (1999, 2002) focus on female professional identities in academia, Linstead/Thomas (2002) address gender identities in managerial settings, and Alvesson (1998) did a study on masculinities and femininities in a Swedish advertising agency. Bruni et al. (2004) explored how gender and entrepreneurship are enacted as situated practices as well as how the codes of gendered identity are kept, changed and transgressed. Hatcher (2003) focused on gender and its relationship to postmodern discourses about difference and change in management practice in general.

Professional and gender identities in Eastern Europe are addressed by Rees/Miazhevich (2005), who did a study of women managers' identities in post-Soviet Belarus, Toth (2005), who analysed gender and the work-life balance in Hungary and Belinszki (2002), who focuses on gender identities among Hungarian journalists. The edited volume by Blagojevic/ Kolozova/ Slapsak (2006) deals with theoretical issues and various aspects of gender and identity in South-Eastern Europe. Two very relevant studies are by Tienari et al. (2005) and Leontij (2002). The former did research on gender construction in a cross-border merger context. They analysed interviews with male senior executives from Denmark, Finland and Sweden regarding the social interactions of 'doing gender'. The absence of women in the top

positions in the company is acknowledged but the senior executives seek to downplay any questions of gender (Tienari et al. 2005:228). Leontij (2002) investigates gender identities in multinational companies in Eastern Europe in her study on gender as a factor in intercultural business communication. However, she only focuses on masculinity and femininity in their singular forms and outlines her findings very briefly. On top of that she regards men and women as homogeneous groups and ascribes their gender identity to their bodies.

Therefore research on the construction of gender and professional identities moving a step on from analysing linguistic features to analysing how those features are used and what 'functions they serve in particular situated uses' (Eckert/McConnell-Ginet 2002:4) in order to construct gender identities seems to be a valuable contribution to the existing studies in gender and (linguistic) discourse.

The remainder of this introduction consists of the research questions as well as which methods have been used. Chapter 2 provides background information on Croatia and Serbia, before outlining gender relations and gender identities in state-socialism and postsocialism. Postsocialist globalised workplace characteristics are addressed in chapter 3 with a focus on workplace cultures (3.1.), communication (3.2.) and gender (3.3.) in the workplace. Chapter 4 deals with identity construction. After outlining the theoretical background in 4.1., the analysis of the pronouns 'I' and 'we' and their referents is addressed (4.2.- 4.4) before turning to pronouns and identity shifts (4.6.) and the analysis of professional and gender identity constructions in the interviews as well as in the workplace (4.7.).

1.2 Research Questions and Method

There are two broad topic areas that are addressed in the empirical chapters. The social scientific part of the PhD thesis focuses on the work characteristics of postsocialist globalised workplaces and the linguistic part addresses the construction of different kinds of identities that are constructed and presented in the interviews. by analysing the content of the interviews. The general research question is 'What are postsocialist globalised workplace characteristics and what kinds of identities are displayed and constructed when talking about these postsocialist globalised workplaces'. The following research questions have been elaborated:

- What is specific to these postsocialist workplaces, particular in comparison with state-socialist workplaces?
- What role do English and the mother tongues play in the workplace?
- What are the challenges of working and communicating in a foreign language?
- What role does interculturality play in the workplace?
- What role does gender play in the workplace?
- How do interviewees present, construct and shift their identities in the interviews?
- How do interviewees specifically construct the predominant professional, situated (i.e. interviewee), national/regional and gender identities?
- What discourses do interviewees refer to in the interviews?

The data for this PhD thesis consists of 16 semi-structured interviews. 8 interviews each were conducted with Croats and Serbs who have either Croatian or Serbian as mother tongue, are employed at international companies with English as their company language and started working either before or after 1991. The interviewees are employed at 3 Austrian companies, 2 American companies, and 1 Scandinavian NGO¹. The private companies are in the fields of finance, telecommunication and sales. The interviewees are between 23 and 45 years old but the majority of them are in their late 20s and early 30s. The interviews lasted between 35 and 90 minutes, whereas the majority lasted around 60 minutes. The interviews were conducted on the companies' premises and digitally recorded. The interviews are in English, thus English was used as the lingua franca in these interactions between interviewer and interviewee. The reason not to use either Croatian or Serbian despite the fact that the local language and mother tongue is the language of the people's private lives and private experience (Levy/Hollan 1998:338), is a very simple one: The interviewer's command of either of these two languages does not go beyond simple communication and the interviewees speak English on a daily basis in their workplace. The command of English of these Croats and Serbs was surprisingly excellent and none of them took up the opportunity to say something in their mother tongue at the end of the interview when being asked if there was anything they

¹ The interviewees of the NGO asked me to make the specific origin of the NGO anonymous.

wanted to express in their mother tongue or could better express in their mother tongue.

Semi-structured interviews have been used because they allow the respondents the time and scope to talk about their opinions on particular subjects. By using a list of items, which functions as a guideline of how to structure the interview and consists of the most important aspects as well as questions which are supposed to be dealt with in the interview (Schlehe 2003:79), it is possible to obtain comparable data (Weller 1998:336). However, the interviews also resemble person-centered interviewing, in which the interviewee does not only function as informant but also as respondent, which allows the 'interviewer [to] observe and study the interviewee as he or she behaves in the interview setting, as he or she reacts or responds to various probes, questions, and topics' (Levy/Hollan 1998:335f) due to the fact that negotiating various kinds of identities and talking about and judging communication, interculturality and relevant aspects in the workplace occurs in the interview setting. Levy/Hollan (1998:333) also make another very relevant point: They argue that the study of individuals within anthropology has been 'relatively neglected' and thus it seems of great interest to combine approaches from two different (albeit similar) disciplines to study individuals in context (there is more on pp.333-334).

Whereas in linguistics text is treated as an object of analysis itself, anthropology regards text 'as a window into human experience' (Bernard/Ryan 1998:595). Two methods for analysing the data have been used. After having finished transcribing the interviews, the data was coded according to the Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967, adapted and revised by Strauss and Corbin 1998). As this PhD thesis is data-driven, i.e. no pre-conceived conceptions were applied but 'the data speaks for itself', open coding was used, which means that according to the topics that appeared in the interviews, corresponding codes were applied to the data. According to Strauss/ Corbin (1998: 65) 'microanalysis which consists of analysing data word-by-word' was carried out. Two aspects were coded: One set of coding deals with the content and the second set of coding deals with pronouns. The former consists of codes such as 'communication: within company', 'English: non-native speakers', 'gender: maternity leave', 'Interculturality: issue', 'job description', 'job: working hours', 'postsocialism: war', und 'worklife balance'. 61 different codes have been found, which can be put into 7 categories (communication, English, gender, interculturality, work, postsocialism and statesocialism). The latter set of coding

consists of an even more elaborate coding because next to the coding of the personal pronouns, the referents of the pronouns were simultaneously analysed based on the content. Next to these referents, pronoun shifts plus referents were coded. Codes in this set of coding are for example: 'I employee', 'They Serbs', 'We non-native speakers', 'You interviewer', 'I mother to I employee'. Pragmatic aspects were also coded such as laughter/laughing.

To analyse pronouns and identity construction in interviews (text is thus the object of analysis; see above), a combined discourse analysis is used (see Wodak et al. 1999; de Fina 2003; Meinhof/ Galasziński 2005) with references to (gendered) discourses, multiple identities, 'Selfing' and 'Othering' and positions of the self and others. This analysis draws heavily on the various theories that are drawn upon in this thesis.

Wodak et al. (1999) approach the analysis of the construction of national identity by means of a systematic discourse analysis. In order to find out the construction of 'unification, unity, sameness, difference, uniqueness, origin, continuity, gradual or abrupt change, autonomy, [and] heteronomy' (1999:35), they primarily focus on vocabulary and syntax. The most important linguistic means are:

- *Personal reference*: anthroponymic generic terms, personal pronouns, quantifiers
- *Spatial reference*: toponyms/geonyms, adverbs of place, spatial reference through persons, through such prepositional phrases as 'with us'
- *Temporal reference*: temporal prepositions, adverbs of time, temporal conjunctions, temporal references by means of nouns, semi-prefixes with temporal meaning (1999:35)

De Fina (2003) focuses on identity construction in narratives and applies three levels of analysis: the lexical, the textual/pragmatic, and the interactional level. Whereas the lexical level includes referring to the use of specific words and expressions, the textual/ pragmatic level refers to explicit and implicit text logical and argumentative relationships. The interactional level implicates devices and strategies that are used to index stances and attitudes in the speaker's texts and towards other interlocutors (de Fina 2003:23).

More specifically, she lists the following linguistic means:

- *Lexical level*: pronouns, verbs and syntactic constructions indicating different degrees of responsibility, engagement and activity both in relation to the story-

world and the storytelling world; definite descriptions, referential terms, pronouns used to identify self and others

- *Textual/pragmatic level*: different types of implicatures, implicit propositions, and presuppositions; relationships of consequence, cause or effect; oppositions between terms, actions or descriptions; relations between identifying descriptions and actions; cohesive devices and coherence relationships between textual segments and between the text and the discourse surrounding it; argumentative relations between parts of the text
- *Interactional level*: devices and strategies encoding shifts between the story world and the interactional world; performance devices such as reported speech, tone, tempo, rhythm, repetition; conveying implicit stances towards characters or events; devices and strategies indicating involvement or distancing with respect to interlocutors and-or narrated events .

De Fina (2003:24) correctly points out that identities are not directly related to linguistic choices but they 'emerge through the interplay between linguistic choices, rhetorical and performance strategies in the representation of particular story worlds, and the negotiation of such representations in the interactional world'. The negotiation of identities is important, particularly in interviews, because by reflecting on who they are and how they are defined by society, interviewees accomplish socially acceptable self-presentations. In interviews, most of the identity work is done by the speaker but interactional events are also represented because both the interviewer and the interviewee often try to make sense of social reality by analysing social circumstances and roles. As the interviewer is an 'unknown' person, explicit discussions about their identities are necessary (de Fina 2003:26). This means that both the local as well as the global contexts are relevant and important. The former includes the interaction itself, i.e. the interview and the latter addresses the 'wider context of social and discursive practices and their dynamic connections with the discourse of specific actors' (de Fina 2003:29).

Meinhof/ Galasiński (2005) add a third aspect to the analysis of identities. In their view, Wodak et al's and de Fina's approaches lack systematicity and exhaustiveness (2005:15). Meinhof/Galasiński (2005:15) criticize the '*a priori* decision as to which linguistic resources can or should be used by speakers in identity construction' (italics in original) and call for a more systematic view of the identity constructing discourse, which they name 'the construction of cultural identity

through the metaphor of "belonging". More specifically, the construction of identity 'consists in positioning oneself as part of a particular ethnic, regional or local group' and is done 'on any number of levels or dimensions relevant to the particular contextual configuration within which the discourse is produced' (Meinhof/Galasiński 2005:15). They emphasise that context and a 'context-sensitive notion of identity' is essential. Instead of pre-judging what contextually relevant features of identity are, the question of 'belonging' is left with the speakers in a particular context.

What does this mean for this study? This thesis is data-driven, i.e. no preconceived theory or method was applied before gaining the interview data. Only research questions (which have been subject to change) were elaborated.

After a thorough study of the data, several characteristics were noticed. First, the extensive use of pronouns without referents, the extensive shifting of pronouns, the extensive use of the generic you, and the alignment to a group of people in replies to questions specifically directed to the interviewees as individuals (de Fina (2003) has also found this aspect in her own data). Thus for the analysis of identity construction, pronouns were identified to be crucial as well as spatial and temporal expressions (van de Mierop 2006). What is also important is the context, also championed by Meinhof/Galasiński. In their study on identity construction in border regions they have chosen the context categories of time, place, social relations and social encounters because they achieved saliency in the stories that arose from the particular socio-political context (2005:20). They claim that their content categories are not *the* categories to apply to the analysis of identity construction, rather different contexts foreground different categories. Without the context, which tells the listener (interviewer; discourse analyst) the meaning of the stories, the meaning would not be known/ grasped.

Thus, all three approaches have relevant aspects for this study and these aspects/features will be mixed together in order to be able to approach the data in an appropriate manner.

1.3 Data

| Interview | Nationality | Gender | Age | Job position |
|------------------|--------------------|---------------|------------|---|
| Interview 101 | Croatian | Female | 33 | Assistant Director |
| Interview 102 | Croatian | Male | 35 | Assistant Director |
| Interview 103 | Croatian | Female | 26 | Senior Analyst |
| Interview 104 | Croatian | Male | 25 | Junior Analyst |
| Interview 105 | Serbian | Female | 29 | HR and Marketing Assistant |
| Interview 106 | Serbian | Female | 24 | Marketing Project Coordinator |
| Interview 107 | Serbian | Female | 26 | Brand Executive and Marketing Assistant |
| Interview 109 | Serbian | Male | 29 | Vice President |
| Interview 110 | Serbian | Male | 33 | Managing Director |
| Interview 111 | Not specified | Female | 45 | Programme Director |
| Interview 112 | Serbian | Female | 32 | Researcher |
| Interview 113 | Serbian | Female | 40 | Deputy Chief of Party |
| Interview 114 | Croatian | Male | 28 | Associate |
| Interview 115 | Croatian | Male | 35 | Business Solution Manager |
| Interview 117 | Croatian | Female | 27 | Marketing Residential Segments Specialist |
| Interview 118 | Croatian | Female | 37 | Strategy and Projects Controlling Manager |

2 Croatia and Serbia – the setting

The republics of Croatia and Serbia are two of the six successor states of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, Macedonia). From 1945 up until 1991 they were federal units of a country that belonged to the state-socialist Eastern European countries. In June 1991 Croatia along with Slovenia declared its independence, which was followed by a war in the Balkans until 1995. Serbia remained in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia until 2006 when Montenegro declared its independence resulting in Serbia becoming the Republic of Serbia in the same year.

Despite the fact that Croatia and Serbia are two separate and independent countries, this thesis will not consist of a cross-cultural analysis. There are several reasons why differences based on nationality will not be in the focus. Firstly, both countries belonged to one country up until 1991. They share the same contemporary history of state-socialism and entered a transformational phase affecting the economy, politics, institutions and every-day life after the collapse of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Both countries experienced an important and decisive political change in 2000, when Franjo Tuđman and Slobodan Milošević, who had been governing authoritatively in their countries for 10 or more years, either died (Tuđman) or had to admit electoral defeat (Milošević).

Secondly, both countries belong to the Slavic countries, speaking a language which used to be regarded as one language consisting of two varieties up until 1991. Only since the proclamations of two separate countries have official alterations in the lexicon begun (particularly in Croatia) in order to emphasise the differences of the two languages. However, for this study, what is of importance is the fact that the structure of the mother tongue (grammar) is the same or very similar and Slavic language speaker use English in their workplace. It makes no difference to this study if a Serbian lexicon or a Croatian lexicon is used as the mother tongue.

Thirdly, due to a shared history and the development of ‘regionalism’, gender relations have been influenced by both ‘Balkan patriarchal traditions’ and state-socialism. As both countries belong to the Eastern and South-Eastern European transformational societies, effects on gender relations have been very similar in both countries.

In fact, only if decisive differences clearly based on nationality and citizenship, can be drawn from the data, will they be mentioned specifically in the relevant sections of this thesis.

This chapter deals with an overview of political, economic and sociological data about both countries. The second part deals with the history of gender relations in state-socialist and postsocialist Eastern European countries.

While other Central and Eastern European countries were quick and busy in entering the phase of transformation (institutions, politics, economy and everyday life), Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina found themselves engaged in a war in the first half of the 1990s. However, despite the war, the countries were transformed. The reasons for the war are not to be dealt with in this thesis, but the war has significantly affected the phase of transformation in all respects.

In the literature two terms to describe the postsocialist era have been used, namely transition and transformation. According to the Cambridge International Dictionary Online, a transition is 'a change from one form or type to the another, or the process by which this happens' (<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/>). Studies in economics usually talk about 'transition' because the change from a state-socialist economy to a capitalist market economy is highlighted. Studies in Social Sciences tend to refer to the postsocialist era as the phase of transformation, emphasising the complete change of the 'appearance or character of (something or someone), esp. so that they are improved' (Cambridge International Dictionary Online). The focus is on changes in the economy, politics, and institutions affecting everyday life.

After the end of the war in 1995, the economic situation of both countries was dismal. Yet, even before the break-up of Yugoslavia, the economic situation had already been deteriorating gradually reaching a peak in the 1980s. The unemployment rate in 1985 was four times higher than the one in 1965 (SZS 1986: 61, quoted in Djurić Kuzmanović 2002:31). According to Djurić Kuzmanović (2002: 31) the main economic problems in the 1980s were the rapidly increasing rates of inflation, unemployment and, consequently, the widening of the rich-poor gap due to the rising number of people living below the poverty line. During postsocialism, as Barilar/ Jelavić/ Prlenda (2005:169) have aptly put it, "'transition" in everyday language mean[t] unemployment'. The unemployment rate was 21.8% and 12.4% in Serbia and Croatia respectively in 2006 (Eurostat 2009). Serbia is the poorer country

of those two suffering from higher inflation (6.0% compared to 3.2% in Croatia) and a lower GDP per capita (3.230 Euros in Serbia compared to 7.706 Euros in Croatia).

As in all the former state-socialist countries in Eastern and Central Europe, companies from abroad started investing in both countries in the mid-1990s, primarily in monetary intermediation, telecommunications and manufacture of pharmaceutical preparations. The countries that have invested most in Croatia to date are Austria, Germany and the United States. In the first quarter of 2006 the biggest investor was Austria (45.5%), followed by the Netherlands (15.4%) and Slovenia (9.5%) (HNB). In contrast, the biggest investors in Serbia were Germany, Greece and Italy (Demekas et al 2005:11).

Both countries have undergone political and economic changes and have become 'transformed' countries. These changes contribute to the attractiveness of doing research on this region. The more so as these changes have been affecting the everyday life of men and women, particularly after the proclaimed gender equality during the state-socialist era.

Data and figures tell a story, but usually only one side of it. Therefore, it is important to focus on what the lives of women in Croatia and Serbia are like and how gender relations and gender attitudes prevail and influence the lives of women and men. In order to acquire an accurate picture, it is necessary to go back to the end of World War II and the beginnings of a state-socialist Yugoslavia within communist Eastern and South-Eastern Europe.

2.1 Gender relations in state and postsocialist Eastern and South-Eastern Europe

The states that were to become state-socialist countries after World War II relied on the early Marxist theory. This ideology brought some decisive societal changes for women and men and their relations to one other.

In 19th and 20th century capitalist countries, the boundary between public and private as solely male and female spheres was fixed by the economic and legal dependence of women on men. These arrangements became contested and criticised by the communist movements that emerged during this time. The key factor for the elimination of the female oppression was economic independence. Therefore, the solution was thought to be proper access to paid employment for women. The double

burden was thought to be abolished by socialising childcare and household tasks. However, as Belinszki (2002:84) stresses, reproduction continued to be less valued than production work, which meant that household tasks and childcare would not be shared and negotiated between husband and wife. Leinert-Novosel (1999:216) correctly points out, as a consequence, the status quo was maintained. In general, communist ideology focused on class and societal structures, but the oppression of women in interpersonal relationships was completely omitted. As Djurić Kuzmanović (2002:34) states '[t]he socialist women's emancipation project never went beyond the "women's question" into the transformation of gender relations', which is unfortunate insofar as the state-socialist countries would have been a 'major proving ground for experiments in both the social organization of gender and the attempted redefinition of national identity' (Verdery 1996:60). Nonetheless, despite the fact that equality between the sexes was not reached during state-socialism, gender relations did change.

2.2 Gender relations in state-socialism

The implications for women in state-socialist countries were twofold. In a way their situation appeared to be better than that of women in Western Europe. As Kunovich/ Deitelbaum (2004:1091) summarise 'there were higher rates of labor force participation and representation in local and national politics, more equitable pay distributions, and access to subsidized child care'. However, everyday life was perhaps not as favourable as the statistics suggest.

In official politics there were very few women: although women's political participation was encouraged it was also tightly controlled (Kunovich and Deitelbaum 2004:1091). Thanks to quotas women got access to parliaments yet they were mainly there to support the party and as Holmes (1997:281) states 'not only were they not very progressive by the standards of most Western feminists, but they were in some ways even anti-feminist and encouraged conformity'. However, even before the proclamation of independence, women only constituted 4.6% of all deputies.

Despite considerable differences between the countries, there are also some common developments and facts, which will be further outlined.

2.2.1 The available roles for women

The woman was seen as worker and mother. After World War II, in the face of war losses and industrialisation, the demand for labour increased, requiring everyone to work. Therefore, women were incorporated (and not always voluntarily) into the work force. No difference was made between traditionally female and male work; women had access to and were also encouraged to work in so-called male jobs. However, the equalisation of work did not prove successful, as women were mainly working in low-prestige and low-skill jobs with low wages, which made employment a necessity, rather than a choice (Kunovich/ Deitelbaum 2004:1091). In those jobs, women were over-represented, which shows that in many state-socialist states the workforces were indeed gendered along traditional lines. Moreover, even in jobs which were mostly done by women, there was often a gender-based hierarchy, i.e. the further up the hierarchy the fewer women (Holmes 1997:252). This was not an aspect demanding to be changed, particularly not in the 1960s when decreasing birth-rates made the ruling party act by emphasizing motherhood as the crucial responsibility of women to the state. In order for women to be able to fulfil their roles as workers and mothers several policies were introduced such as generous maternal leave, state-run child-care facilities and liberal access to abortion (except in Romania after 1966).

At this stage the emphasis shifted 'from policies that would homogenize the labor force by demanding changes in family life to policies that identified women as "different" from male workers, with special obligations and relations to the state' (Gal/Kligman 2000b:49). By giving women the label of being 'different', pre-existing gender stereotypes were relied on and gender hierarchies at work and in political life were officially (re)introduced.

The emphasis on mothers with full-time waged work undoubtedly brought along a change in household roles. Due to the women's income, they enjoyed a particular authority within the family. Policies on household tasks did provide further changes. While childcare, and in some countries laundry as well as cooking became socialized, unpaid household labour increasingly became the responsibility of older family members, who were often pensioners due to the relatively early retirement age. Thus, household tasks remained feminized and also became 'geriatrized' (Verdery 1996:65).

In a way while the Western European states propagated the nuclear family as a symbol of the 'free world', Eastern European states claimed the opposite: new divorce laws, state child-care and the socialisation of particular household tasks drew the emphasis away from the nuclear family in these societies. However, as Gal/Kligman (2000b:48) point out, the 'socialization of housework was not fully realized [...and] remained publicly invisible and devalued'. By the 1980s at the latest in almost all Eastern and South-Eastern communist states, it was more or less obvious that childcare and nurturing had increasingly become women's tasks in order to reduce childcare costs. On top of that, unemployment did exist and the majority of the unemployed in the SFRJ were women (Djurić Kuzmanović 2002: 37). This means that traditional gender roles prevailed.

Basically women had to bear the brunt of a double, even a triple burden: Paid work outside the home, household chores and child-care. Additionally, they often did not get any help from their husbands. What is more, husbands were often regarded as being another child in the family, who need to be minded and cared for (see below for further details).

2.2.2 Conflicting images of femininity and masculinity

The above mentioned changes in gender relations had to have an impact on images of femininity and masculinity.

Marody/Giza-Poleszczuk (2000) carried out a study of images of identity in socialist and postsocialist Poland. Despite their focus on just one country, their study gives an indication of what images and roles Eastern and South-Eastern European state-socialist countries wanted to provide, and did provide, for men and women.

The authors give three factors that influenced gender negotiation during the socialist period. Firstly, by attempting to create a 'New Society', the state policies shaped female roles and indirectly controlled and limited the public spaces in which individuals could act. Secondly, despite the state's effort, traditional patterns of gender relations persisted and thirdly, changes and trends in global culture, which were imported from Western Europe, offered alternative role models for women (Marody/Giza-Poleszczuk 2000:154). These factors interacted with each other and often provided contradictory images from which women and men could create their own gender identities.

In the state-controlled mass media women were portrayed as ideology saw them: employee and mother. The identities that were most often provided were mother, wife, worker, citizen and breadwinner. Women with this image also had strong families, admirable children and happy marriages (Marody/Gida-Poleszczuk 2000:156). Any other kinds of women were perceived as being negative and thus undesirable role models: unmarried women, divorcees and mistresses, for example. In Poland in particular, an unmarried young woman posed the main threat to a wife because the former 'could easily snatch the husband away'. The husband is depicted as a piece of 'property that belongs to one woman but is stolen by another who dares to become interested in a married man' (Marody/Gida-Poleszczuk 2000:157).

Divorced women were seen as 'potential troublemaker[s] for the environment' as they had lost their main achievement, i.e. their family. Indeed, they were even blamed for the failure of their marriages; if she had focused more on her family, it was argued, she would not now be divorced (Marody/Gida-Poleszczuk 2000:157f).

Able to choose either or both images, women saw themselves as bearing a double or even triple burden. In all state-socialist countries women had to face endless work, being responsible for household labour, child care, waged work, and volunteer political work well into old age. Therefore the image they often had of themselves was as the 'brave victim'. Lots of demands not only brought exhaustion but two other, even contradictory results. On the one hand, they gained self-esteem and a more autonomous sense of self-worth from participating in the labour force as well as moral superiority and a sense of gratification and power in the household due to their centrality and indispensability in the family. On the other hand, the innumerable demands on them produced a sense of victimization and guilt at never being able to do enough (Gal/Kligman 2000b:53). On top of that, the state-controlled media depicted 'superwomen' who managed to do everything without exhaustion, thereby contributing to the women's feeling's of not being good enough. Nevertheless, many women were seriously convinced by the communist ideal of equality between the sexes.

For men, the state-controlled media offered images of the loyal party member, the physical prowess of the athlete and Stakhanovite worker (Gal/Kligman 2000b:54). However, all these roles were not linked in any way to the men's roles in families. This is in stark contrast to the images of women (particularly within the family) it

produced over the years. What is more, as communist ideology usurped the role as 'head of the household', men lost the authority as head of the household. Marody/Gida-Poleszczuk (2000:160) summarise the new situation for men and women as following:

[W]omen gained social duties and responsibilities outside the household, without much help in performing the traditional ones inside it, whereas men lost their elevated status as family providers, without gaining alternative sources of social importance

Men's options in this period were limited and Gapova (2004:93) argues that 'the lack of "opportunities" for traditional masculinity to develop' is the reason for the perception of men as being weak. While women saw themselves as 'brave victims', men found themselves in the role as the 'big child' in the family. As Gal/Kligman (2000b:54) point out men were regarded as being 'disorganized, needy, dependent, vulnerable, demanding to be taken care of and sheltered, to be humoured as [...they] occasionally acted out with aggression, alcoholism, womanizing, or absenteeism'. In Belarus (then part of the Soviet Union) men were also more likely to fall ill and had a shorter life expectancy (Gapova 2004:93). Liberal divorce laws and laws favouring women's retention of children and housing enhanced the fragility of marital ties and led to more damaging results for men than for women (Gal/Kligman 2000b:54). Marody/Gida-Poleszczuk (2000:164) emphasize that men, too, were victims of the communist system, and they had very few options how to react to the role of the 'big child': either they submitted to the wife who supposedly knew best what was good for them, or they rebelled against their subscribed role. If they rebelled, they either refused to participate in family life altogether by drinking, not caring for children and/ or not providing the money necessary for every-day life, or they maintained and even exaggerated the patriarchal model, by demanding their families do what the men wanted when they came home after work.

In a way one might ask if women were happy with these images, and Marody/Gida-Poleszczuk (2000:163) claim that women did indeed embrace and shape the label of the 'brave victim' as 'they were sacrificing themselves for the greater good' and were the 'real head of the family'. With regard to having a 'big child' as a husband, their reward was the belief that men would not have become what they were without her, i.e. the man is,

indebted to her not only for all the household work, but also for his social status and personal importance. Even if he leaves her, the heroine knows that he would be unsuccessful and helpless, like a child, without her own sacrifice, maturity, and cleverness

Along with the changes in gender relations, the images and practices of sexuality and bodies were also transformed. The communist ideology resembled a particular kind of Puritanism as the focus was solely put on reproductive sexuality with a complete denial of the existence of homosexuality. Neither sexualized beauty as a conspicuous aspect of femininity as in Western Europe nor problems of women's sexuality or autonomy were addressed in official discourse. In Poland, Marody/Gida-Poleszczuk's research shows that individuality was not focussed upon; women were primarily social beings. Care of the body and emphasis on beauty, maybe even sexualised beauty was only considered suitable for young, unmarried women (Gal/Kligman 2000b:55). Gal/Kligman (2000b:54) state that recent research suggests that in Romania sex was a very difficult topic to talk about and was hardly addressed in single-sex communication despite the fact that sexual contact posed an enormous risk for women due to the outlawing of abortion and the lack of contraception. In fact young girls were told to regard boys as 'of another species' (Băban 2000). In Poland, sex was partly perceived as just 'another task' (Marody/Gida-Poleszczuk 2000:158). In Hungary, Poland, Serbia and Romania a sense of hostility between spouses repeatedly surfaced. In Hungary, for example, women rarely made long-term plans with their husbands, and if a woman had a more prestigious job than her husband, tensions were especially high (Kovács/Váradi 2000).

To summarise, state-socialism did not emancipate women, but their roles were altered. Gender relations were reshaped, yet official proclamations never resembled social reality. On the contrary, as Brunnbauer (2004:221f) points out, 'patriarchal values and structures were not eradicated, but the "family patriarch" was replaced by the authoritarian state'. In addition, from the 1970s, the Communist Party in most countries supported the pre-Communist model of gender relations in order to reach their aims regarding birth rates and state expenditure for child-care.

2.3 Gender relations in postsocialism

Although it is important not to over generalize about the situation of women in the postsocialist European countries, particularly as the Eastern and South-Eastern states have been strongly influenced by Western Europe (Kuehnast/Nechemias

2004:2), these countries do have a number of basic issues in common (Holmes 1997:282).

2.3.1 Transformation (ideology) and its impact on gender relations

Gal/Kligman (2000a:6) argue that it is important to regard the 'post-1989 period not simply as a break with the past, but also in part a continuation of it'. This is also true of the situation of women. Traditional gender roles were not fully eradicated during the socialist period, although the official policies advocated the opposite. After 1989, the governments dropped any official attempt to attain equality between the sexes, ultimately making the situation for women worse and resulting in 'women [...] belong[ing] to the losers in the transition, as regards their social and economic status as well as political representation' (Brunnbauer 2004:219).

Due to the collapse of the state-socialist regimes, all of the institutions, - workplaces, schools, states and households - through which socialist gender regimes had been constituted were in the process of transformation. Privatization of the economy and a more general marketization led to a dramatic decrease in production, a rapid increase in unemployment, a fall in real wages accompanied by inflation, the deterioration of public services and a steep rise in the cost of living (Gal/Kligman 2000b:55f). All of those changes happening simultaneously in almost all areas of everyday life had a tremendous societal leading to social instability and inequality. Women in particular were in a very difficult position as their economic status deteriorated dramatically. Women had to face gender gaps in pay resulting from gender-based occupational segregation and due to unstable state economies women were more likely to become unemployed and had more difficulties in finding new jobs; women raising small children and older women were particularly affected (Brunnbauer 2004:230). Additionally, the reduction in public expenditure led to cuts in social security benefits, leaving some women in precarious situations.

In politics quotas were immediately abolished, resulting in a dramatic decline in female representation in the first post-89 elected assemblies. Papić (1999:154) argues that although the 'communist-patriarchal legacy' gave women legal rights (work, equal pay, education, divorce, abortion), it 'prevented women from becoming active political subjects of their own destiny'. Moreover, it turned out that the majority of the population no longer wanted to participate in politics because firstly,

they wanted to be free from the activity that was forced upon them in the former system, and secondly, it was assumed that the institutions and state would 'work out automatically' (Jalusić 1998:15). Kovács/Várady (2000) found out in their study on Hungarian women's life trajectories that many women who had political ambitions, did not think themselves well suited to politics and were increasingly leaving the floor to their husbands and to men in general. Most interestingly, the growing NGO sector has turned out the arena for women's political activities, resulting in NGO work becoming heavily feminised.

In Croatia and Serbia the number of female Deputies reached an all-time high in 2000, when 21.9% of all deputies were female. In the 2003 election the number slightly decreased again to 17.8. In Serbia the situation is very similar; the percentage of female members of the National Assembly was 12.4% in 2002 and 10.8% in 2004.

Basically, women were more or less being pressured to retreat from public life, which indeed was also welcome as Brunnbauer (2004:224) suggests: 'The transition was seen by women as a chance to retreat to private life and as an opportunity for individual choice'. The rise in traditional gender roles in postsocialist countries also had an impact on gender relations and the images of femininity and masculinity.

In order to disidentify with the communist ideology, the 'equality paradigm' of the socialist era completely disappeared from public discourse. Neofamilial ideology, i.e. regarding biology as destiny and gender roles as natural and immutable (Kuehnast/Nechemias 2004:4) became increasingly popular in all post-socialist countries and was based on 'the strategy of retraditionalization of women's identities, their social roles, and symbolic representations' (Papić 1999:154).

In the literature four explanations are given for the rise of the traditional gender attitudes and the decline in status of women throughout Eastern Europe. Firstly, as mentioned above, issues of gender equality were closely linked to the Communist regime and as people rejected anything that was associated with it, any policies of gender were dismissed. Secondly, the multiple burdens of housework, childcare, employment and politics during the Communist era were lifted and may have led to the retreat of women into the private sphere. Thirdly, during the transformation of political and economic systems a number of problems were encountered and politicians did not regard the gender issue as important. Fourthly, the churches gained power after the collapse of the Communist regimes and played an active role

in social change by pushing their traditional ideologies in order to shape societies. (Kunovich/ Deitelbaum 2004:1091f).

Two other factors have been very important in shaping gender relations in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. Firstly, the emerging states had to (re)define their identities and in most cases nationalist voices claimed the country would rise or fall on the basis of women fulfilling their child-bearing and child-raising roles. Secondly, the liberalisation of the media opened up the market for Western European publications, which were now available in shops and Western European publishing companies which invested in these countries spreading Western European images of femininity and masculinity.

In nationalist discourse, which was very dominant in the early 1990s, 'anxieties about the Nation and the family are inseparable from anxieties about masculinity and femininity' (Pavlović 1999:133) and hence women were mainly defined by their role as mothers of children as well as the role of mother of the nation. In Croatia during the 1990s, the focus was on the patriarchal *Croatian* nuclear family, which served as the 'pillar of the nation'. President Tuđman repeatedly advocated that the state was a 'big family' (Pavlović 1999:131f), which, ironically, resembles the state socialist view of society. Women were seen as 'instruments for the higher ideals of the national collective' (Brunnbauer 2004:237) and particularly in the war-afflicted Balkan states, the woman 'can only be a wife of the dead hero, or a mother of the dead hero, or a daughter of the dead hero' (Pavlović 1999:142). In this context it is hardly surprising that one of the first issues to be addressed and debated in the new assemblies of these Eastern and South-European countries (with the help of the churches) was the reproductive rights of women. Liberal abortion laws from the previous regime were to be abolished in order to increase birth rates and consequently strengthen the nation (see Gal/Kligman 2000a and Alsop/Hockey 2001 on this topic)².

All these societal changes have changed gender relations in everyday life. Kovács/Váradis research on women in Hungary highlights beliefs about and practices of gender relations. They found that for the women in the study womanhood consists of working for a living, maintaining an effective and efficient household, supporting their children financially and satisfying their husbands

² Sentences like the following one do not seem to have been the exception in post-socialist states: "Wenn die Frau nicht Mutter sein will, stirbt die Nation." (Msg. Karaman in *Narod* (Zagreb, Croatia), Nr. 10, 9 September 1995, page 14; quoted in Yuval-Davis 1997:10)

(Kovács/Váradi 2000:183). Women in their study regarded household work and childcare as 'women's work' and the fact of women working harder than men as inevitable. If men participated in the household, their chores basically include grocery shopping, weekly housecleaning and, occasionally, cooking (Kovács/Váradi 2000:184). However, most interestingly, new economic chances for women to pursue a career have led to the formation of social classes and between them the perception of marriage and gender relations is quite different. Within the wealthy elite, which includes industrial managers, politicians and clergy, the male breadwinner and female consumer model has been established with women often leaving waged work and accepting the role as helpmate, trophy or servant (Kovács/Váradi 2000:187). Among entrepreneurs and administrators, women tend to be more autonomous and independent and prefer the model of an ideal cooperative and supporting partnership. Employees at international companies may be added to this group. This means that if their partners refused to respond to and support the women's ambitions and therefore to be 'true partners', they are more likely to get divorced. As Kovács/Váradi (2000:188) argue '[t]hey were willing to serve their children but not their husbands. They were willing to give up their marriage, but not their professional life'. Among manual workers, marriages are extremely unstable and women's expectations include men earning money and doing the heaviest labour work in the house. Therefore it is not surprising that hardly any women in this group speak of their husbands as people with whom they had joint plans in the future because they often felt that life without a husband is possible, even preferable (Kovács/Váradi 2000:194).

Gender relations definitely changed in the 1990s, with often contradictory images and experiences for men and women. Whereas the official discourse advocated the male bread winner model, women and men experienced everyday life quite differently, particularly due to the bad economic situation with both spouses having to contribute to the family income. Another set of images of femininity and masculinity has been spread by the liberalised and Western-influenced media, which are also contradictory to women's and men's everyday lives.

2.3.2 New images of femininity and masculinity

For the construction of women's and men's identity in post-socialism three shifts are important. Firstly, the range of commodities and services available

expanded. Secondly, the position of women in the labour market changed with unemployment having grown significantly on the one hand and new career opportunities opening up on the other. Thirdly, the symbolic sphere of culture expanded, offering women a variety of lifestyles which challenge the socialist one(s) (Marody/Giza-Poleszczuk 2000:165).

Advertising in media has transformed the symbolic representation of women by creating new images for women and hence affecting life choices (see Moranjak-Bamburać et al. 2006 for further details). Women tend to be regarded as responsible consumers, who are tempted to buy luxury commodities, putting pressure on family budgets. Increasingly, women who choose to perform waged work or who have not been laid off, have been forced to combine work (and their careers) and family. The younger generation, confronted by the choice, has been particularly affected.

While in socialist state media a woman was not seen to have her own personality, the 'new woman' is portrayed as an individual. In magazines they are presented as smart successful professionals in their mid-40s who are active, glamorous, and dedicated to their careers. They are also encouraged to develop intellectual interests and social graces (Marody/Giza-Poleszczuk 2000:167). The ideal for the new woman is linking happy family life with a successful professional career.

Beside the individualisation of women, their femininity has also been sexualised. Physical attractiveness is now seen as the 'most prized feature a woman can possess' and she is also described first by her appearance (Marody/Giza-Poleszczuk 2000:169). It is also expected that women will spend time and effort on their appearance as well as complying with dress codes in the workplace³. Older women who grew up before 1989, show mixed feelings towards striving for the beauty defined in advertisements of young, glamorous, thin models. Some magazines have started to combine beauty with personal health. However, it is obvious that the new image is in stark contrast to the image of the 'brave victim' and what is more, the emphasis on sexual attractiveness undermines women's position in relation to men. Marody/Giza-Poleszczuk (2000:170) argue that:

in the 'brave victim/big child' model, both men and women sacrificed themselves to the inefficiencies of the socialist state and economy, although women found a kind of moral

³ Marody/Giza-Poleszczuk (2000:169) quote from a magazine: "In one of the companies in Warsaw, women are required to wear clothes made from high-quality fabrics. In another, girls are asked to sign, in addition to their job contracts, an agreement to always have painted nails and depilated legs".

strength in their victimhood. By contrast, women, according to the new model, are valued primarily as pretty objects. Because a woman's worth is now determined by her desirability to men, the new ideal of femininity reinforces male dominance.

The third change involves the representation of sex. Sex is increasingly presented outside the context of marriage and sexual pleasure is emphasised with tips on sexual techniques. Psychological differences are also discussed as the importance of mutual recognition of the different needs and reactions for the partnership in sexual life (Marody/Giza-Poleszczuk 2000:168). This is again in stark contrast to (not) dealing with sex during the socialist era and has happened due to changes in the media.

During the socialist era men were not present in women's magazines but in the post-89 era Western capitalist values have been adopted and in the media a 'male comeback' has occurred. A particular type of man is portrayed: strong, attractive, individualistic, and dominating as well as wealthy, well-dressed, self-confident and independent. This particular type of man can also cook, and therefore does not need a wife to run the household. However, a woman is usually shown at the man's side, to serve as 'companion to enhance the man's image' (Marody/Giza-Poleszczuk 2000:170). In addition, Gal/Kligman (2000b:59) point out that 'aggressivity, initiative, and competition that are identified with the market are becoming new representative forms of masculinity'. It is usually the younger generation who is more effectively influenced by such images. Older men, like older women, have more problems accepting these new images. Therefore, most ironically, if women want such a man at home, they need to use the old methods of 'making' one, because their men have stayed in the 'big child' mode of state-socialist manhood.

Unfortunately, Marody/Giza-Poleszczuk did not do research on men's magazines. It would be interesting to see which topics are being addressed and what images of men and women are being portrayed in them.

The situation in Ex-Yugoslavian states may be different or indeed unique. Moranjak-Bamburać (2006:13) states that 'media not only reflected, but also produced and reinforced hegemonic cultural beliefs on gender roles, strongly affecting the overall social relational context'. The media spread the same images outlined above due to the influence of Western European models. However, the official discourse has focused much more on establishing the nation based on homogeneity. According to Isanović (2006:45f) 'the representation of women and their position in society had to wait until the issues of nationhood were resolved'.

Particularly in the early 1990s, masculinity was even revived to a particular kind of hypermasculinity in media, with the image of men resembling the main character of the 1980s movie 'Rambo' (Pavlović 1999:133). Men were perceived to be warriors and women as mothers and victims, thus traditional power relations and social and cultural norms were reinforced (Isanović (2006:46).

In summary, women see themselves as being forced to adjust to the new values, which, however, do not reward them for being a self-sacrificing mother or a brave victim. Success and fulfilment can only be obtained through employment, the 'outside' world, but this has only been possible for a small elite. Men may also feel the basis of their masculinity threatened as the 'big child' model does not fit the new imagery and as Marody/Giza-Poleszczuk (2000:171) argue 'men feel their masculinity threatened not only by the demands of these new images, but also by the direct, everyday demands placed upon them by wives and girlfriends'.

3 Analysing postsocialist globalised workplaces

In order to describe postsocialist globalised workplaces in more detail, it seems feasible to introduce this topic area in the interviewees' words in which they compare their work to the work of their parents. Their parents spent their formative years and the majority of their working lives during state-socialism. After showing their perception of the differences and uniqueness of their jobs, this chapter will deal with entering and working in a postsocialist globalised workplace (chapter 3.1.), communication in the workplace with a focus on working with expatriates (chapter 3.2.) and gender in the workplace with a focus on perceptions on maternity and paternity leave (chapter 3.3.).

Petrova (2004: 425) has found in her study that working in international companies in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe is quite desirable for Eastern and South-Eastern Europeans. These jobs have a particular status in society due to better remuneration which facilitates a lifestyle which would not have been possible for the average citizen during state-socialism:

working in [company's name] in Croatia means something :wow you're working in [company's name] great and you have a good salary but you have to work a lot really you're eh you have a lot of overtimes isn't it: ((lowering her voice)) so this is perception about the [company's name] (.) ehm (.) about my position (.) it's not something really (.) wow attractive but this part related to strategy it's ehm attractive to (.) some of my colleagues who knows eh with what I am dealing with (.) for some others it's not so interesting because it sounds as something (..) they don't get what actually I do so they are not asking too much you know okay you are working something in controlling they think that I am controlling something whatever and that's it (.) but eh working in [company's name] is ehm kind of still kind of status here in Croatia (142/118)⁴

This extract shows two different perceptions of postsocialist globalised workplaces: the reputation of the company and the perception of the employee's position within the company. By using direct speech, the interviewee imitates what people may have said to her showing what people perceive of these jobs: working at an international company is desirable as there is a high income but lots of work to do, which may lead to much overtime, which is an undesirable sacrifice. People with similar jobs know what these jobs entail, in contrast to people who do not have experience in working at international companies as these jobs are too recent and did not exist prior to 1989.

⁴ When analysing the interview extracts, personal pronouns are used according to the interviewee's sex. The first number in brackets indicates the section in the interview, the second number refers to the interview itself.

The issue of job insecurity and prospects - in contrast to their parents' generation - was raised in quite a few interviews. Work life prior to 1989 contained fewer surprises and the career path was predetermined, in contrast to nowadays where there are many more career possibilities:

I cannot say MUCH about (.) communism and eh (.) and how things changed completely but you know (.) people start to started to WORK more (.) started to (.) you know (.) think about their FUTURE about investments about taking care of their future (.) because previously you know (.) wh- when you've completed the education you got a job (.) period (.) and that was like nobody was unemployed (.) now you have to fight you have to be better you know it's more compit- competitive environment than before (.) and before there was no competition (.) I think this is better (96/114)

Employees in postsocialist globalised workplaces find themselves in a competitive and performance-driven environment in contrast to workers during state-socialism who did not work in an environment that demanded competitiveness. If employees did not really do much work or even if they did not show up to work, they did not necessarily have to worry about being made redundant. The fear of becoming unemployed was non-existent (Roth 2002:15).

Having knowledge of foreign languages is also pertinent to postsocialist globalised workplaces. One interviewee states that being able to speak German was essential in the pre-1989 era, particularly in the tourism sector, and quite a few South-Eastern Europeans had family in German-speaking countries due to the work emigration to Central Western Europe that started in the 1960s.

I mean the MAIN difference is (.) before (..) they did not need any foreign language except German (.) all you needed to know was German you know (.) everybody spoke German (.) everybody had family in Germany of course (118/114)

This quote needs to be regarded with caution and cannot be used to make generalisations. The most widely taught foreign language in Croatia and Serbia was English, followed by Russian and German (Danica Murić, personal conversation 2006). However, it is possible that, especially in Northern Croatia (Zagreb incl.) due to the vicinity to and historical relations with Austria and in tourist resorts along the Adriatic coast, German was the most important foreign language. In Istria, which borders Italy, Italian was popular as a first foreign language. Communication and language usage in the workplace will be outlined in more detail in chapter 3.2.

Having a secure job and little competition in the workplace obviously had a decisive impact on the workers' work lives as well as on their private lives. For women in particular, having children and taking maternity leave was not disadvantageous to their work life because climbing a career ladder was very limited

and most jobs did not have the potential to change quickly. Thus, it was not necessary to constantly stay up-to-date with the job. Nor was it as necessary as it is today to show good performance in order to keep the job or be promoted:

I guess that my mother never had worries (.) eh with (.) taking the maternity leave (.) ehm (.) that's (.) I I never even asked her that but I'm quite sure that it was never (.) in any way stressful for her you know to think whether that will affect her career or what will happen [...] I KNOW that if I take my maternity leave now when my career has a steepest progression (aligned) that that would definitely slow me down and ehm (.) it's just up to me to make my own priorities (.) whereas my mother didn't I don't think that she had these doubts at all because the progressio- she didn't have any (.) she couldn't see this (.) road ahead of her tha- as I can (60 & 62/105)

Equality - in general and in the workplace - was officially supported during the state-socialist era even though a closer look shows that patriarchal traditions still lingered and permeated everyday life (see also Marković 2002 and Gal/Kligman 2000b for further information). International companies from capitalist Europe or the United States have brought equality measures that are part of the politics/ policies in their home countries to their subsidiaries in South-Eastern Europe. Some of the companies where the interviewees work have a gender ratio of nearly 50% and open discrimination is completely unacceptable.

I didn't eh recognize any of the tr- eh different treatment of the men and womens and also we are proud that our management eh eh eh have many times eh stated (you know) stated (.) in in eh public that we are half half or let's say eh similar to the half half (.) eh ehm (.) combination (.) so I didn't recognize any of those (.) treatments so it maybe happened in some (.) let's say eh (.) in some SMALL (.) moments no no no not moments but in some (.) how to say eh (.) small amount of (..) I don't know how to say it in English ((laughs)) maybe in some situation that you don't recognize it as a (.) some (.) different treatment let's say n- no- eh or harrassment (.) but I didn't recognize that (.) especially in [company's name] so more or less I think that we are (.) eh equal an eh have eh eh the same opportunity for the promotion for the working eh for the (.) work and to get a better I don't know project products and I think that's (.) similar (76/115)

These 'small situations', these individual situations, in which discriminating tendencies are on display and carried out to a more or less subtle degree will be further outlined in the section on gender in the workplace (chapter 3.3).

3.1 Cultures in the workplace

Despite the fact that the term and concept 'culture' or 'cultures' is contested - some researchers in social and cultural anthropology have even suggested that it be abolished - (Eriksen 2004:27) , the term is, nonetheless, used in this thesis. The term and concept of 'culture' can be applied if it is defined appropriately. This is important because as Apte (quoted in Spencer-Oatey 2000: 3f) states, '[d]espite a century of

efforts to define culture adequately, there was in the early 1990s no agreement among anthropologists regarding its nature'. As early as 1952, the American anthropologists, Kroeber and Kluckhohn, reviewed concepts and definitions of culture, and compiled a list of 164 different definitions (Eriksen 2004:26). It is futile to outline a dozen definitions of 'culture', not to mention needless, in a thesis that has a primarily linguistic focus. Spencer-Oatey (2000:4) applies the following definition to her (linguistic) work, a definition which will also be used in this thesis:

Culture is a fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioural conventions, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member's behaviour and each member's interpretations of the "meaning" of other people's behaviour.

Spencer-Oatey's definition is broader than some other definitions primarily used in linguistics, as she points out that culture is associated with social groups, which can be distinguished between different criteria, such as religion, age, sex, and occupation. In the field of linguistics, the most frequently used criteria are language, ethnicity and sometimes nationality (if one country has one majority language).

Spencer-Oatey's definition is fruitful insofar as it refers to members of groups; it is perfectly applicable to this study as it focuses on the (nevertheless heterogeneous) group of employees in international companies. Organisations can be regarded as cultures because they incorporate special language, myths, stories and rules (Bate 1994:16). Therefore, this subchapter deals first with the corporate cultures in a postsocialist globalised company, pointing out characteristics and behavioural conventions that are specific. The second part of this subchapter addresses one aspect in the company and that is working with expatriates and non-native speakers of the local language(s) in the workplace. Not only similarities but also perceived differences among the workers are given prominence by the interviewees and the 'clash' of different languages, behavioural conventions and probable problems and challenges. Drawing upon Spencer-Oatey's definition, different groups, such as different language speakers, who have been socialised in a way that is specific to the group, have or rather 'perform' culture(s) when interacting with people.

The second part also refers to a more closed understanding of 'culture' as the interviewees identify expatriates by their nationality. Nationality and speaking a different language are two synonymous concepts among this group, which is perceived as 'other' and 'different' and therefore should not be omitted in this subchapter. Gingrich (2004b:5f) also points to the fact that an ethnic group which is politically and demographically dominant shapes the majority national culture in

state and society and it would be unwise for researchers to ignore the existence of majority cultures within nationhood.

Before looking into detail at the two cultures that are going to be analysed, it should be pointed out that some interviewees mention the clash of 'global' and 'local' in the companies. Here the interviewees draw upon their own nationality and national culture, and contrast it with a different national or a 'supra-national' culture when talking about 'global' and 'local'. One interviewee says that combining both global and local aspects was important for a company in order to survive the penetration into a new market and to become a successful company:

sometimes they [foreign companies] lack this (.) local touch yeah (.) and and I think I think this is where obviously (.) international companies eh (.) pretty much learned a lesson (.) and and eh I think obviously eh MOST successful if you look at eh MOST successful locally international local eh international companies eh operating LOCALLY (.) eh you will clearly see that eh they manage to combine this eh global uniformity with a high degree of eh responsiveness to to the local market (60/110)

Companies that entered the market without taking the local aspect into consideration did not fare well in the 1990s and since the first failures, companies have accepted the importance of 'the local touch' for success (Dörrenbächer et al. 2000). The interviewee uses the term 'global uniformity' and unfortunately the speaker does not provide a definition. But it could mean that despite showing similarities across the world (striving for success through increased sales, specific hierarchies with headquarters in the country where the company was founded), companies cannot be as easily relocated without taking specifics of the local market and local staff, their norms, values and behavioural conventions (which may be different) into account. The second quote touches upon this aspect by pointing out the impact of foreign companies entering a postsocialist market on the local staff:

it's just the it's a special (.) eh special eh wo- :working culture: ((smiling)) if you could call it that way that was created in this new situation ehm with you know foreign companies firms organisations (.) coming or streaming into the country and then suddenly you had eh (.) a number of people (.) with you know slightly BETTER employment conditions better salaries who COULD actually support themselves from their salaries and eh tha- that did it eh (.) that created this special attitude from from the employers that you know the the locals should be grateful for having the jobs in the first place so they should just (.) accept everything that comes with it (.) AND the people are actually expe- eh eh accepting it :that's the worst part: ((laughing)) and (.) ehm (.) I talk to to also through MY research to to many people who have shifted employers for the past couple of years people working in industry for instance the factories in in (Serbian town) for instance or some central southern parts of Serbia that were (.) bought by foreign American and (.) other (.) companies and th- they've also noticed this big change you know apart from eh a large number of people being SACKED at once after the (.) the shift ehm (.) the change came you know really quickly and everybody was forced to adapt to to this new situation but you know (.) just keeping your mouth shut and (.) you know (.) delivering ((laughs)) whatever was asked of you to do so (54/112)

The interviewee mentions the term 'special working culture' and points out three aspects. The first aspect is the development of a unique group of local employees who have higher than average salaries and can afford a lifestyle foreign to most other locals. The second and third aspects are reactions to the altered situation. On the one hand, according to this interviewee, the foreign companies and their management boards have developed the attitude that locals should be grateful for having been employed and thus belonging to this unique group of postsocialist employees. On the other hand, local employees, particularly factory workers, had to adapt to altered working cultures as well as were forced to be submissive in a way criticised by the interviewee. This interview extract shows an example of the fact that some companies may not have considered the local touch as the interviewee in the previous quote suggested. However, the interviewee mentions two different groups of employees: employees in foreign companies and factory workers. The focus of this thesis is on the former. As these employees are unable to compare the work life in these companies before 1989, it may be assumed that they adapt to a different company culture more easily than those who have been working in the same company for a long time. The remainder of this section deals with working conditions and workplace characteristics in postsocialist globalised workplaces.

3.1.1 Entering postsocialist globalised workplace cultures

Starting a new job is always connected with getting acquainted and becoming accustomed to the behavioural norms specific to the company. The way in which communication is carried out, how to receive information, basically the interaction and behaviour in this setting needs to be 'learned' or acquired and it takes some time to settle into a new workplace. When entering an international company, there might even be more specific differences due to having expatriates as colleagues and using a foreign language as a work language. Entering a company in a field the employee has not worked in before also poses challenges. This is what one interviewee specifically experienced, who before taking up a job in the private sector gained work experience at a university and in NGOs. This is what she told the interviewer about her first experience of different work cultures in her present job at an international company:

I can tell you like the first experience that: ((smiling)) I had with this new company is they had they had the business briefing (.) which means that the whole company gathers there and then the performance from the last three months including the most important events from different functions in is reviewed (.) so there was I coming from the NGO and I'm a

psychologist by my basic eh background by the way (.) so there was I and ehm they eh start with the presentations which have ehm (.) boxers like fighting each other which are us and our competitors and like :how we're gonna kill them and smash them and show them and we're gonna win win win and I was like huh where the (fuck) did I come you know I mean these people are so aggressive this is crazy I want to get out and: ((laughing)) I I was telling I always tell this story to (.) eh all the people who know me and for example my (.) colleagues other psychologists they were like and you were thinking let's make a peace workshop you know (.) eh but then you know after I (.) it's it's a matter of weeks when you really :get brainwashed: ((laughs)) and you're completely into that kind of terminology and (.) I mean it's just a different culture different ehm company culture :in comparison to the NGO: ((laughing)) I mean you can imagine how everybody is (.) peace love and friendly to each other and let's all fight for the (.) benefits of the world and equality and lalala and here it's not it's all about profit and (.) fight the other sides so that you can win (20/105)

This extract contains a story within the interview narrative (see sub-chapter 4.6 for more details) and the interviewee reveals that it is not the first time that she has told this story, rather it seems to be one of her favourite stories. Right at the beginning of the interviewee's employment, the company had their regular meeting in which the performance of the previous months is presented and evaluated. This meeting is part of the workplace culture. The interviewee gives details about her background in a different academic as well as business field in order to point out the clash of two different perceptions of work life. Due to this background she not only had to get used to working in a new company but also in a new field. In this particular company meeting, the presenters of the company's performance drew upon the usage of metaphors referring to martial terminology and portraying the world outside the company as hostile and thus the necessity for the employees to literally fight. The interviewee reveals that the language and discourses prevailing in this meeting were something she had never experienced before and she had difficulties in getting accustomed to them. However, she also mentions that after a certain amount of time, she managed to get used to this specific aspect of the company culture. This is somehow expressed in negative terms as she uses the verb 'to brainwash' despite laughing when saying it and therefore adding a humorous touch to it. However, it does hint at the fact that the company is regarded or wants to be regarded as closed off from the outside world and the employees need to be tuned into the company's mission before they are allowed to 're-enter' the outside world to do business (hopefully successfully). She does mention the term 'company culture' because she highlights the difference between working for an NGO and working at this company. Taking the recent history of South-Eastern Europe into consideration, anything but martial language would be used in an NGO context, the more so as the aim of NGOs is totally different to the one of companies in the private sector. Whereas NGOs

attempted to support civil society by overcoming the impact of the wars in the early 1990s in South-Eastern Europe (as the interviewee puts it plainly: 'peace love and friendly to each other and let's all fight for the (.) benefits of the world and equality and lalala'), the aim of (international) companies is to successfully enter and if possible dominate a market resulting in making a lot of money. The company where this interviewee is employed at displays a competitive work culture, which is not the exception but the rule in such companies. What the specifics are of working in such a culture regarding norms, values and appropriate kinds of behaviour is dealt with below.

Before talking about specifics, I would like to show two more examples of different perceptions or cultures clashing when starting working in a postsocialist globalised workplace. Only one interviewee mentions the term 'culture clash' in her interview. The other interviewees do not specifically address the topic of different work cultures but talk about aspects that are different, unknown and have taken some time to get used to but which can be regarded as a 'culture clash'.

One of the characteristics of workplaces in general are conventions regarding behaviour. There is a special case in which one interviewee talks about how, as she was hired simultaneously with a dozen other young people as part of a graduate programme. These employees were a group within a group of employees and assimilating into or adapting to the behavioural conventions of an existing group of employees tends to be more difficult for groups than for individuals. The literature uses the term 'critical mass' indicating that if a minority group reaches 30% then it has reached 'the turning point at which it can start forcing through real change' (Gomard/ Krogstad 2001:19). This group of employees did not comprise 30% or more of the whole workforce in the company, but the group was big enough to form its own group instead of joining and assimilating into the workforce. The interviewee talks about this group's (mis)behaviour and the resulting problems the company had with this group of recently hired young employees:

when we joined the company and there were 15 of us we had we just it was a HUGE (.) smashing you know eh between two (.) cultures because there has been (company's name) before us and all of a sudden you have 15 people who think they are (.) :GOD you know: ((laughing)) they are gods you know like small gods coming there they n- they are all full of enthusiasm they KNOW that they are the stars of the company and they are always together so it really (.) was a problem for the company to have us integrated and to (.) eh I mean now when I look back to that I know that we were really breaking a lot of codes in terms of (.) what you're expected to behave like and what you're not expected to be (.) like (.) so the HR at that time organised a :works-: ((laughing)) like workshop for us it was about eh company's culture that was the topic so it wasn't intercultural in terms that you were asking for but there was eh (.) this little training ((laughs)) (.) when they were

sending us the message that (.) we overdid it :you know and that: ((laughing)) if you want to stay that (.) big brother is saying take care you know like because we were really acting like kids and (.) ((laughs)) for example if (..) we were the only people you could hear in the office because we were SHOUTING all the time and and LAUGHING you know we were so full of (..) I don't know what (.) this sense of (..) :importance: ((laughing)) or power or I don't know what and I guess that it re- it was really damaging for other (.) employees (.) we were acting (..) we were ACTING (.) so it was (.) all I'm saying it's just the clash between this small management trainee culture and the and the company's culture (116/105)

This interviewee points out that when she started her job along with 14 other employees, two cultures clashed as their group did not know or follow the conventions of behaviour already present and regarded appropriate in the company. The interviewee reminisces about the way she and her colleagues behaved at the beginning of their employment. By talking about it and judging with hindsight, the interviewee evaluates and laughs about the group's behaviour by applying the behavioural conventions and norms of an employee in this company who has settled into the workplace. However, with hindsight the interviewee admits that they acted like children and violated quite a few of the company's behavioural norms. The interviewee tries to explain the reason why this group of recently hired employees behaved in such a way ('15 people who think they are (.) :GOD you know: ((laughing)) they are gods you know like small gods coming there')⁵ but also portrays this group not only as outsiders but as intruders into the workplace. Instead of adapting to the workplace, they established their own norms of behaviour. Due to this fact, the company's management saw themselves forced to organise a workshop to teach this group of employees how to behave appropriately and motivate them to mingle with other employees. As the interviewee states, there was a clash between the group's culture and the company's culture. This is a nice example of how, when someone enters a company as an employee, there is a specific norm of how to behave and how work life is carried out and performed.

The same interviewee also talks about the local culture and the company culture, which has traces of a more globalised culture due to expatriates working there, and how the latter suppresses the former with regard to gender aspects.

when I joined this company is eh I thought how can this be that everybody acts so asexual you know that nobody actually (.) eh is is reacting to the fact that I am a fairly good looking young lady (.) eh (..) and then to be honest after a while I realised that they ARE showing it but it's just that the company's culture is that is that you're not supposed to (.) act as if this person i- eh it's n- the gender of the other person is supposed to be completely irrelevant (.) that's the company culture and then you have this Serbian spirit coming in

⁵ These 15 young employees were chosen out of hundreds of applicants as part of a graduate programme according to the interviewee.

when they when there is nobody around then they would go and (.) come you know flatter you in some way (.) usually I don't find offensive which is a really common thing here but eh now that we're talking about I remember that I noticed the absence of that in the beginning and I was thinking are these guys superhuman or what like :what's wrong with them you know: ((laughing)) (.) and there are a lot of foreigners they don't have this (.) same (.) culture (82/105)

This extract reveals the 'clash of cultures' regarding norms of behaviour towards the opposite sex. This interviewee was surprised by the fact that male colleagues did not act towards her the way she was used to in her everyday life. She explains that this 'asexual' behaviour is regarded as appropriate behaviour according to the company's established norms. In a way, it could be argued that the interviewee is used to rather sexualised encounters in which she is objectified. However, such behaviour towards her did, nonetheless, occur. Interestingly, such behaviour was displayed by male Serbian colleagues, but only when Serbs were present. Thus, displaying this kind of behaviour can be regarded as an act of undermining the (foreign/ international) company's conventions and norms and strengthening the formation of an in-group. By drawing upon behaviour which is acceptable within Serbian society, employees make their cultural norms visible in a setting which is supposed to be transnational. The interviewee refers to three different cultures by making a clear distinction between the 'Serbian spirit', the company culture and the foreigners who 'have a different culture'. The fact that gender is somehow 'hidden' in the company and not relevant except when or as soon as women become mothers will be shown in the section on gender in the workplace and in the identities section (3.3. and 4.7.)

3.1.2 Working in a postsocialist globalised workplace

One of the most recurring topics when talking about postsocialist globalised workplaces is that of working hours. As working hour statistics are not carried out regularly in many countries and it is difficult to compare them, only estimates can be provided. Set working hours are generally around 40 hours per week but 'many people work longer' (OECD n.d.:19). Slightly more than 20% of the male workforce and 10% of the female workforce work more than 45 hours per week in OECD countries and Šverko/ Arambašić/Galešić (2002) found out that 75% of the respondents in their study work between 40 and 48 hours per week. Eurostat provides data on average weekly working hours for Croatia, which range between 38

and 42 hours per week (Eurostat 2009). No data is available for Serbia but it may be assumed that the data is similar to the Croatian and OECD data.

Costa (in press) talks about the '24-h Society' in which "'irregular" or "atypical" [...] working hours are ever-expanding phenomena in the globalised world, as they help in supporting the increasing productive and economic competition among companies and countries'. She also states that in (Western) Europe three out of four employed workers have working hours outside the normal 8-hour workday.

Quite a few interviewees immediately mention the issue of working hours and working overtime when talking about surprising aspects when entering the company or about their workday. Despite officially having set working hours, most of the employees work longer and are connected with their work life almost all the time:

I mean we have (.) eh set eight hours working eh (.) time so it's eh (.) either eh eight till four or nine till five (.) but we o- all are eh sort of :addicted to this job: ((laughing)) and we're in contact with our partners and available on our mobile phones even on our holidays or and I always check e-mails at home and eh (.) it's not that we are workaholics but then (.) I mean there are some some situations when it's really important for us to to do something (where) for example when eh a a partner of ours reacts to something which happened in (the) society in politics or (.) in media and they want to make a statement then it's it's NORMAL that we would eh translate that statement into English and put it on our website immediately doesn't matter (.) eh what the time is (42/111)

Despite the fact that there are core hours in which the employees need to be present and working in the office, there is no clear-cut separation between work and private life. Employees are supposed to be available for more than 8 hours per day and since the technological revolution, it has become easier to be constantly available and to get 'addicted to the job'. But besides technological devices helping improving availability, the kind of work primarily determines whether it is necessary to work outside the set 8-hour day.

Although the interviewees state that they are very happy with their jobs, working long hours is generally an aspect they are not too content about and triggers negative feelings such as long working hours 'being strange' and 'being frightening' particularly at the beginning of their employment.

well I believe at the beginning it was the some kind of the working hours because I thought that I worked a lot on my :previous: ((laughing)) assignment and then I realised (.) then it it nothing compared to the investment banking because a lot of time in the first three months I stayed some kind of 18 hours per day ((laughs)) and come up into serious up to five seven days working almost 24/7 but it's okay (.) that is that was the first I b- (.) it's not so unpleasant but very strange situation (18/109)

but still it was you know like frightening you come here at 9 am you stay until you know 9 10 11 12 sometimes you don't even GO home over the night and you know that was a bit you know wow (..) I mean they TOLD me that on the interview but I didn't really believe them (44/114)

These two quotes reveal the difference between working hours either in previous employments or the general norms of working hours in the country. The amount of hours worked depends very much on the field of business. Even though the interviewee in the first quote exaggerates the amount of working hours (at least let's hope so), it shows that there were times where employees were supposed to work a lot by even working overnight. The fact that the interviewee of the second quote did not believe the interviewers at the job interview regarding the amount of working hours expected, particularly when deadlines had to be met, shows that these postsocialist globalised workplaces differ from other occupations and jobs in the region.

As these jobs are performance-driven due to the nature of the jobs and primarily consist of project work, which needs to be finished within a specific amount of time, the employees need to show a high amount of commitment. If the job needs to be done, it needs to be done no matter the time of the day (or night) as the two following quotes show:

sometimes you also have a period of like couple of months when you have a transaction when you're like (.) on the road all the time you know you don't have any spare time or whatever you have only your work and nothing else (.) so that that's a bit but that's business you know (58/114)

the first day I came here was from nine in the morning till one in the morning and then the next month was every day until something like that one two twelve depending of the day (.) so that was quite striking it includes weekends and holidays and everything (.) well it depends how much work there is but I just came in such a period where there was a lot to do (22/104)

Both interviewees state that there are phases when there is a lot of work which needs to be done within a certain amount of time and severely impacts upon employees' private lives. Interestingly, both interviewees admit that this aspect of their work life is not the most-liked aspect even though the first interviewee repairs the sentence instead of saying an adverb to describe how he feels about these long working hours. Both interviewees also justify this aspect by either saying that this is what it is like when working in this field or by saying that the work load was tremendous and could not be finished within the 8-hour work day. The fact that work needs are prioritised even on public holidays if necessary, is demonstrated by another interviewee who says 'you (.) don't think if it's Saturday or Sunday or Easter or or eh Christmas you just eh do it' (86/101). The job somehow forces employees to work a lot and have problems with balancing the different areas of one's life.

Some interviewees point out that their job was sometimes quite stressful but instead of complaining about it, they emphasise the fact that the job is 'adrenaline-driven' and performance-driven. They are committed to their work and they like what they do:

so the typical (.) work-day (..) is eh basically eh (..) ehm I would say quite eh (..) ehm (..) eh I was gonna say stressful but it's not really because eh you can't really eh (.) eh put eh yourself into stress if you if you don't really wanted (that) so so I think what is eh (.) a better wor- word to to describe a typical work (here) is eh that it is very much adrenaline-driven because you really eh want to ehm (.) cover as many things as you as you can and as you wish and and eh you're basically more or less jumping from (.) one meeting to another from one phone-call to another (48/110)

Interestingly, this interviewee is of the opinion that work is only perceived as stressful if people actively put themselves under stress. Instead he paraphrases the workload as adrenaline-driven, thus regarding it as something positive. Working a lot is not a burden but something that is done joyfully because of the commitment shown. In a way this interviewee also hints at the fact that with one task following the other, there is not enough time to think about whether work is stressful or not.

Next to the official set 8-hour working day, most of the interviewees also have flexitime, i.e. they can start their work day within a certain time span in the mornings. Only one interviewee directly mentions the fact that flexitime not only has advantages (particularly in the mornings) but also disadvantages due to being expected to work longer if necessary. Work dictates working hours; the time of the day is irrelevant, because deadlines need to be met. Nevertheless, it is obvious and this interviewee talks openly about the fact that a 9-5 job would result in a more satisfying and active private life:

usually I don't come here before 9.30 (.) eh or maybe 10 (.) something like this (.) eh but also this means obviously that eh when when there is really a lot of work and deadlines (.) eh that we need to meet (.) that sometimes I I (.) well it is not very often obviously but it can happen that I stay until the next morning (.) overnight (.) or that I spend the whole weekend here (.) or that eh (.) it just happened eh this spring that eh (.) you know I I (.) went to the office on Saturday evening and then I spent the whole night eh here because there is obviously something you know that was urgent (.) eh so this flexible (.) working hours (.) usually have more disadvantages than advantages (.) eh whereas if you have eh strict hours then (.) you obviously can plan much much better (142/102)

Another aspect of working in these postsocialist globalised workplaces is project work and team work. Even though there are superiors, there are usually several employees who are engaged in working on a project together. Interviewees also refer to their immediate colleagues as a 'team' or 'our/my team' if the interviewee holds a more superior position in the company.

our (.) job is based on the projects and the vice president is mainly responsible for the (.) project management for the daily execution of the work (.) for the contacts with clients regarding the projects and (.) ((xxx)) something like that so (.) in general that's my (.) responsibility which includes various things (.) meaning from the basic research up to final negotiations on a project and all the sub-steps that could be (.) that could eh (I don't know) (.) came up during the work but in general project management and daily execution of the projects (10/109)

This description of the position the interviewee holds shows that the work consists of projects rather than fixed and repetitive tasks which need to be carried out every work day. This interviewee seems to be working on his projects independently but employees in more subordinate positions state that they usually work on projects with colleagues:

I work in a team so currently I'm in a team of four people (.) including the manager of the team and this team is a part of a larger team of about 30 (.) to 40 people (34/117)

This interview extract also hints at the structure of the company. Smaller teams are incorporated into larger teams which will then compose the unit or department in the company. Some interviewees regard teamwork as something positive and something they like. Even though there is the possibility and definitely the occasion for employees to work independently on a project or part of a project, they seem to prefer teamwork to working independently on their own.

I work in a team (.) yeah that's also one of the values which I like (.) yeah I :do: ((laughing)) like (.) that (..) but I could work alone as well (.) I mean I DO prefer working in a team and especially when you are doing a thing like that I mean if you are working as a scientist then you might be working alone as well you know (.) though scientists also work in teams (..) but (.) there are some things you can (.) I mean for example be an artist write a book or something like that but when you work (.) like in business it's good even (.) it's good at least to have the team :you know: ((laughing)) (..) you feel better (..) you feel better really (..) and the results are better (152/106)

This interviewee emphasises that she prefers and likes working in a team by inserting the verb 'to do' and phonetically stressing it ('I DO prefer working in a team'). She also regards teamwork as a company value, or rather, specific to jobs such as hers. In order to highlight this 'value' and describe its advantages, the interviewee draws upon a comparison with occupations in which working independently and on one's own is more common and rather necessary unless scientists and writers work on joint projects. However, in the business field in which she is working, working in a team is essential not only because it enhances one's well-being in the workplace but the outcome of the work is higher and better. This is also an aspect another interviewee mentions: the advantage of teamwork to achieve goals which are dictated by the superiors and the market:

we are a- all eh eh eh work(ing) mostly in a team (..) so (..) let's say eh without a team it would it would be eh hard to achieve such let's say (.) eh ehm eh eh challenging goals that we ha- have not only from the MANAGEMENT team but from the market (32/115)

Teamwork also strengthens the cohesion of employees. Working together not only provides the feeling and the fact that there are others who have knowledge of the project and can be turned to when support is needed; working together also lets employees get to know each other on a more personal level and some interviewees actually compare their team to a family ('we're all the same here (.) practically and eh (..) good friends (..) kidding around (..) it's nice we work eh (.) almost like a family here' (256/114)).

As mentioned above, the word 'team' is also used when talking about colleagues within the department/ unit. More superior employees in particular use this notion of a 'team' and the coherence - sometimes due to the small number of employees in the department/ unit - leads to contact on a more personal level but also to more responsibility towards the team:

we work here in a eh (.) relatively small team (.) and eh I think all of us have been with the company for a relatively long time (.) eh obviously I've been here longest but my colleagues have been around for (.) four and five years (.) so there is obviously let's say a good professional relationship but there is eh in addition to that there is a (.) say deep understanding of each other's private lives and and and sort of eh (.) eh sometimes I would say personal positions on on eh (.) on things (.) eh so there is obviously a lot of responsibility that at least (.) I think that eh (.) I have towards my team (12/110)

Cohesion in a team leads to identifying with the team and there is a decisive difference to the state-socialist era, where cohesion among the workers was not necessarily aimed at fulfilling a common goal but due to a common superior, the director of the company and the state in general. A common 'enemy' so to speak strengthened cohesion among the worker whereas in postsocialist globalised workplaces it is rather the common goal which fulfils this role

Working in a capitalist and performance-driven environment does require having particular skills, which are necessary and advantageous for first getting and then doing a proper job in the workplace. Such skills incorporate foreign language competence, computer literacy and adequately displaying one's skills. One interviewee compares finding and being offered a job to the broader economic capitalist system. The interviewee also reveals that someone interested in a job needs to sell him/herself on the job market:

we operate today in in a market economy (.) so (..) basically it's eh (..) the skills (.) if you have any you put them on the offer and if there's a market for it eh (.) you will get some response [from companies] (56/110)

Work in these postsocialist globalised workplaces is often described as 'dynamic' and fast. Dynamics involves a variety of tasks, challenges and possibilities instead of regularity and repetitive work. As the workplace is either in Croatia or Serbia, the companies themselves do not solely operate in these countries but on a more global scale, as the headquarters or parent companies are located in different countries. Thus, work itself transgresses national boundaries and provides contact with people of different nationalities and backgrounds, which all the interviewees regard as opening their minds and bringing some spice into their workplace:

okay dynamic of the job eh possibility to travel (.) possibility to work for the eh for the international eh company eh to meet and to have eh opportunity to experience(d) ehm eh communication and cooperation with other nations (.) with other people (.) that that it's not only people from your country [Austria] (54/115)

The most important characteristics of postsocialist globalised workplaces are working hours, flexibility, creativity, teamwork and working with employees from other countries (see next section for a more detailed analysis). What is left to mention is how these employees regard themselves. Some interviewees (interestingly only Serbian interviewees) specifically talk about a 'parallel world' or 'real world' and two kinds of employees: those who are motivated and very often work in international companies and those who are not motivated or even rather lazy. The latter are very often regarded as older people who spent most of their working life under state-socialism and have not changed (or could not adapt) their attitudes to the new economic system and requirements:

in general there is a eh (..) eh the Belgrade community is such that you have eh (.) you have eh quite a number of people that are not very motivated by their jobs (.) ehm (..) and these people tend to eh really take it easy in life yeah (.) some of them have this from the old from the past (.) and eh obviously some of them are just simply lazy yeah (.) on the other hand you have eh what we call a sort of parallel world which is a eh (.) community of people (.) who are eh let's say well motivated and eh very ambitious about their jobs (.) and eh many of these people work for foreign companies but in the meantime there is a number of eh extremely successful private Serbian groups (.) eh more (.) people are quite used to eh (.) long hours lots of action sort of a (.) you know very VIBRANT lifestyle (.) ehm (.) so I would I would not (.) really make a difference between foreign and domestic but I would I would definitely make a difference between (.) between eh people who are let's say (.) pretty much living in the fast lane compared to those who (..) //(xxx)//

M: //(xxx)//

very ((laughs)) much excitement in life yeah (..) m- maybe but not in the business yeah maybe in some some other areas yeah (.) I mean as you will see ehm Belgrade is eh full of cafes (.) one can really relax you know (.) enjoy a coffee and a cigarette and eh some nice views and eh (.) you can eh spend :a lot: ((laughing)) of time in in that sort of mood yeah

M: mhm mhm (.) well you can't if you work such long hours

yeah that's what I'm saying you know as eh (.) as basically the eh pretty much the parallel world you know people who are totally switched on (.) eh (..) and I would say relatively happy about their eh careers (118-122/110)

Employees regard themselves as 'living in the fast lane', being switched on, being used to working long hours as well as living a very vibrant lifestyle. This description of employees in postsocialist globalised workplaces seems very adequate and points at the advantages compared to the average citizen who does not have a highly-paid job which enables them to live a life that was not common before. Another interviewee also talks about two different kinds of employees but focuses more on the financial side. There are those who have enough money and those who do not have enough money but a solid middle class is quite margin in Serbia.

especially in Serbia in this moment (.) people divi- eh people are divided to people that really work a lot and have overtime and travelling et cetera et cetera and can earn decently not enormously but decently (.) and to people that DON'T have too many obligations and eh (.) don't have (..) I mean are hardly managing to (..) live through the month so you don't have too :many in-between: ((laughing)) options I hope that maybe in five or six years it will be (.) better (128/113)

Next to the number of working hours, showing skills and having possibilities (creativity), the 'unique' ambitious group of employees also has a different workplace due to the fact that working in an international company involves working with people from different countries with different mother tongues and, thus using a foreign language as their work language. This is going to be outlined in the next section, in which the topic of interculturality - and possible differences and problems - is discussed.

3.1.3 Working with non-native speakers of the local language(s)

One of the main characteristics of postsocialist globalised workplaces is the fact that employees who have different nationalities, mother tongues, communication behaviour, values, etc. work together. So, the distinguishing factor is nationality and how this aspect affects working relations positively and negatively. As nationality is the main distinguishing factor in this setting impacting communication and the usage of language in the workplace, it seems too important to omit this aspect.

Before talking about expatriates and communicative and behavioural characteristics, some interviewees also talk about the heterogeneity among Croats and among Serbs as one interviewee says: 'even though that we are all Croatians we're ALL different' (120/115). Applying homogeneity to groups is not possible,

rather it is important to take differences within groups into account (Moore 1993/1994; see section 4.1.2.3.) and it is not only drawing on differences based on geographical aspects, but also, for example, on people's interests, sex and political stance. The first extract is an example of pointing out this heterogeneity of groups by referring to differences between Croats from Dalmatia and Croats from outside of Dalmatia⁶:

maybe just you know some eh differences in mentality but that is eh (.) also the case between I'm from Split actually (..) so it's more Mediterranean type you know (..) eh sh- you know shouting ver- you know people very loud and you know eh (.) extroverted eh while people from continental Croatia from Zagreb are more eh you know (.) German Austrian you know this continental types of you know people very you know quiet and you know mm (.) they always you know keep their voice down not don't want to maybe bother anybody so I mean this type of but (.) that's also the case I mean even between people from Dalmatia and from continental Croatia so no everything is (.) the same (122/101)

The interviewee contrasts different types of people (Dalmatians, continental Croatians, Austrians) and she draws upon strong stereotypes by saying that the Dalmatians are much louder and extroverted than the others. However, stereotypes do bear some truth in them and what the interviewee would like to point out is that Dalmatians - due to their Italian history and living at the sea - may have a slightly different mentality than the Croats from outside Dalmatia.

The second quote shows that distinctions are not only drawn based on geography but also on interests, sex and political opinions:

we are all AWARE of differences not only when it comes to eh where one comes from but eh there are there are small differences in what you are listening to what you are reading eh what gender you are what (.) eh is you I don't know political eh eh (.) opinion and the thing is that we eh openly talk about it and do not eh (.) eh laugh or do not eh eh eh attack anyone who is different so I think it's it's nice also here that we openly discuss (126/111)

Depending on the company, the number of expatriates as well as their position within the company varies. However, if expatriates are present in the workplace, they usually hold more senior positions, such as CEO or head of different departments/units:

I mean you can you can count the expats (.) on your fingers (.) the top team is mainly expats because they bring them to settle up our system and then that's how it works (.) but in here's we're we're having less and less of them (..) so (.) I don't think that it's ever gonna happen that we'll have (.) all the m- all locals (.) company (.) I wouldn't even like that because I think it would destroy this international culture that we have (.) but we're going to (.) that way to having eh less expats because they're more expensive :of course: ((laughing)) (86/105)

⁶ Dalmatia is a geographical region on the Eastern Adriatic Sea, spreading from the Isle of Rab to the Bay of Kotor. Split, Zadar and Dubrovnik are the main cities.

Expatriates have a special function: they hold more senior posts because when setting up a subsidiary or after a take-over, they help build the structure of the company. They bring experience and share their knowledge with the local employees or as Edstrom/ Galbraith (1977) put it in their research, companies use expatriates for technical expertise, management and organisational development. Despite the assumption that expatriates only being at or close to the top of the company hierarchy may incorporate quite a few problems, only one interviewee comments on this (see below). The interviewee of the quote above also states one advantage of the presence of expatriates in the workplace: the international culture. As she does not go into more detail what 'international culture' entails, and the interviewer did not ask her to outline these details, it seems that the term does not need any clarification. Expatriates enable local employees to transgress national boundaries by working at international companies and thus broaden their horizons. Different languages, values, opinions, perceptions meet one another in the company and result in negotiation. Even though the number of expatriates is generally decreasing these days because this function of sharing knowledge and training local staff is not as relevant anymore due to highly-qualified local staff, this interviewee is of the opinion that a solely local workforce will most likely not be a reality in the near future.

The next quote shows the specific functions expats may hold in a company. The interviewer asks the interviewee about whether next to the CEO, other Austrians are also working in more senior positions in the company and she replies:

yeah (..) CEO ((laughs)) okay then head of residential marketing (..) we have okay we had eh also (.) but it was ehm part time let's say it like that only six months (.) eh head of eh human resources (.) one when our CROATIAN head of human resources was eh on her maternity leave but now she's back I think she's back (.) she came back two weeks ago or something like that (.) and then we also had eh head of controlling (.) we had two heads of controlling which were from [company's name] from Vienna (.) and currently I don't think that we have (.) eh currently I think that we have only CEO (.) and we have ehm (.) head of residential marketing I can't recall if we have somebody (..) else (.) eh we have one more expat but eh (.) he's Croatian native speaking so I didn't count him (.) so (..) we have more on some high position (..) no I wouldn't ((xxx)) that we have (.) I can't remember now //but I don't think so//

M: //doesn't matter// I was just interested

I: but they're but they're all eh heads they are not a regular employee if you're talking about eh (.) employees then (.) from time to time we have some Austrian students (..) but s- then we also have some programmes of eh e- exchange programmes (.) but this is eh everything part-time it never happens that somebody came and works and worked here for two or three years (.) on some (.) (let's) say low level position or lower (work) (.) no (.) I don't remember that we had (.) not from not from eh [company's name] (..) ((xxx)) (.) no I know some people from [Croatian company that was taken over by the Austrian company] eh which are working in eh [Austrian company's name] this is (.) what I know (..) ten of them I can remember now (.) but vice versa (..) not that I would know (132-134/118)

What makes this interview extract interesting is the way in which this interviewee provides information on how many expatriates there are in the company and what positions they hold. Instead of giving just facts, it is somehow presented as a story. Despite the fact that the interviewee only recalls two Austrians currently working in the company (CEO and head of residential marketing), she gives interesting background information such as an Austrian covering a Croatian during her maternity leave and which positions some Austrians held in the past. Also interestingly, there is one more expatriate, who the interviewee does not include in the group of expatriates, as he is a Croatian native speaker (i.e. second generation Croatian in Austria), which shows that expatriates are solely regarded as non-native speakers of the local language(s). The interviewee points out that expatriates are only heads; if there are Austrians in more subordinate positions, then they are Austrian students doing an internship as part of an exchange programme. However, regular employees in this company tend to work in the parent company in Vienna, whereas there is no exchange in the other direction. At least the interviewee claims she does not remember whether more subordinate Austrian employees have ever worked in this specific Croatian subsidiary. One more aspect is worth mentioning: the interviewee talks about expatriates in the first part of the interview extract. In the second part, which deals with working in more subordinate positions, the interviewee talks about 'employees' and expatriates not being 'regular employees' as if expatriates in more senior positions are not 'employees' at the company and thus not part of the group of employees but regarded differently.

Another interviewee raises an interesting point. She also talks about the fact that if expats work in the Serbian subsidiary, they hold more senior positions. She then explains why there are no expatriates in more subordinate positions by referring to the fact that Serbia is not an attractive place to live and work for 'Western' people due to bad local (living) conditions:

when the expat came he's a senior person (.) we're never gonna have some junior position filled in (.) by expats (.) and it's not because we wouldn't want to do that and the company has a system to do that you have the possibility to go to any other country for the local terms (.) it's just the SERBIAN local conditions cannot be they're worse than (.) any other lo- I mean maybe we maybe somebody I don't know from some (.) poorer country would be interested in coming here but then it's a question whether we would be interested in having them you know because (.) poor eh standard eh usually means poor educational system and it all comes together so (..) is there a hierarchy to it YES do I think it's a problem NO because (..) it's (.) it's rational to have things that way I understand where i- where it is coming from so (.) to me it's not something (.) bad (90/105)

The interviewee admits that there is a particular hierarchy between expatriates and the local staff but she does not regard it as a problem because of various structural aspects. The discourse that lies behind this interview extract is quite noteworthy. The interviewee draws upon and supports the discourse of a special hierarchy of countries; some are better than others with regard to living conditions, life style, business opportunities, education, health care system, etc. and in her opinion Serbia is not as enticing as Austria. It is possible that the interviewee also refers to the distinction between first, second and third world countries and/or the East/West divide.

Problems with expatriates in everyday work life is only reported in one interview. The interviewee talks about how expatriates behaved in the company and how they expected to be treated by the local staff. The company this interviewee is employed at is an NGO, which may be the reason why hierarchy is displayed differently and why there may be different issues at stake due to different goals and structures to private sector companies:

we've had several expats (.) we've had about four I think and we've had them for about I don't know (.) up until 2003 I think something like that (.) and that was the the most (.) like STRIKING thing (.) eh the fact that (.) most of them (.) not all most of them (.) expected to be treated or (.) I don't know ehm (..) perceived in a different manner than you know the LOCAL staff (.) this the the the distinction big distinction between the LOCAL staff and the expats and no- not all of them were like that that's (.) that's why I'm I'm saying that (.) it WAS striking because (.) you have eh (..) normal pleasant people with (.) certain moral values and you know there is nothing STRIKING about that you can work with them you can socialize with them but at the same time you have or you could get at some points we did ((laughs)) people who (.) actually (..) do have a really (.) you know clear picture of ehm (..) how would you say that ehm (.) cultural diversity of this region :or this country: ((laughing)) ((laughs)) so they they actually expected to be eh (.) treated in a different manner they they wanted to have their status (.) in a way confirmed and (.) ehm (..) I don't know put on a higher level eh in comparison to the local staff (.) they always expected favours special favours from the locals because they always saw themselves as as you know SPECIAL people in (.) in a special position that (.) DESERVED you know some of the favours that they should not really do any of the like dirty work ((laughs)) including eh (.) things like taking eh you know their clothes to the (..) to cleaners (.) you know and eh (.) that's ehm (..) yeah in a way cultural thing (28/112)

In this NGO, whereas most of the expatriates were people with 'moral values' and thus 'nice' colleagues, some of the expatriates clearly marked out a distinction between themselves and the local staff. Due to their knowledge and position of training the local staff, they regarded themselves as having a particularly high status. In a way one could say that they insisted on displaying the hierarchy within this NGO by demanding certain treatment from the local staff. However, next to displaying a higher status, some of the expatriates demanded tasks from employees, which are clearly outside the tasks listed in their employment contracts.

When asking her how she reacted to this kind of behaviour by expats, the interviewee expressed being shocked at the beginning and trying to explain to them that their behaviour was inappropriate but it did not really help. Instead the interviewee says that a particular phenomenon was at play, which she called the 'big-white-man-in-Africa' syndrome. Some of the expatriates had been working in Africa and brought racist attitudes back to Europe by regarding themselves as 'better people'; ignoring people and insisting on their opinion being valid resulting in employees not opposing these behavioural characteristics but ending up obeying them. She then talks about an example of how one of these expatriates treated people or rather performed power in the workplace:

we had one colleague here (.) for instance who eh used to bring all of his dirty clothes (.) eh to the office and then he would just put them on my desk (.) and I was supposed to understand that I was (.) you know to be the one to take them to the cleaners and ehm it was not just ME because (.) the same guy he used to (..) eh just pick up the phone and call anyone (.) of the local staff no (.) anyone of us (.) he would not really make any distinctions i- if it was (.) I don't know IT manager eh (.) regional finance manager or secretary or whatever he would just pick up the phone and say (.) coffee ((hand movement indicating putting phone back on handle)) ((laughs)) :so I think that gives you a clear picture: ((laughing)) (36/112)

Regardless of the employees' position within the company, this expatriate superior demanded household tasks to be carried out in the workplace by his subordinates. His communication skills seemed to be rudimentary ('coffee'), very rude and over the top. Gender combined with power is also a topic here and more details about this topic will be addressed in the section on gender in the workplace (3.3.).

Interculturality as an issue within a company depends on the company itself. Interviewees talk about various seminars they attended but if interculturality was at all addressed, then only peripherally. Either it goes without saying that in the recruitment process, only applicants with experience in working/ interacting with people from all over the world will be chosen or as in one company, a booklet about intercultural issues with a focus on communicative characteristics depending on the language was provided (see quote below).

well we have a LOT of trainings which are treating (.) soft skills communication skills (.) but there's simply no (address) to the differences between cultures and because it goes without saying that you have to be open-minded enough to accept the differences (.) we have some other tools (.) I would say like THAT which facilitate the process (.) we have a lot of presentation covering other markets we have a lot of (endmarket visits) (.) and through the communication between ourselves yeah we get to know each other more but (.) you know bottom-line trainings are mostly covering communication skills as general (..) not specifically intercultural but yeah that's one thing that's it's always stated as very important within the company and I remember from my first interviews ((xxx)) before I

got there at all there was always a question how much did you interfere with the people from (.) different parts of the world (.) do you have ANY experience in that (..) and I actually had a lot of opportunities during university so for me it was like okay (.) no problem ((laughs)) (152/107)

Even though in this company there are seminars in which communication skills are taught, possible differences in communicative behaviour that could negatively impact communication are not addressed. Getting used to the communicative and behavioural characteristics of non-Croats and Serbs comes with 'learning-by-doing' according to this interviewee. Transgressing national boundaries requires open-mindedness and experience in this field before being able to start a postsocialist globalised job.

This is usual according to the interviewees. Only one (Croatian) interviewee mentions the existence of a booklet focussing on intercultural issues. However, this booklet does not exist in the Croatian subsidiary of this international company, but in the Serbian subsidiary, where she was temporarily working:

when I was I was also working in Serbia for 2 months by beginning of (this) year (.) eh because they're (.) eh up and running the company and and they needed really needed the help from all the (.) (foreign company's name) eh firms (.) eh and eh (.) eh I noticed that they had eh this k- some kind of a (.) cultural training document (.) so eh it says you know if you're going there eh all that you can expect eh in eh (.) you know environment working environment in working situations and and eh relationships eh (.) so also eh (.) from the their history that you know something about the land you're going to about the people you're going to meet about their political eh situation (current) in the country and the historical situation in the country about the relationship with other countries so that was all stated there and also the the places to go out to or to to not just to go out in the sense that you have fun but to meet their culture where where you can go you know to see the sights sightseeings and things like that so that was really (.) helpful I think for (.) eh for let's say Austrians who went there because we from Croatia really knew(ed) all that (.) mainly because we were part of the same (.) of the same eh (.) eh country (134/117)

Interestingly, from the way the interviewee presents the topic, it may be assumed that this booklet covering intercultural issues was targeted at the Serbian employees to help them to be more confident in interacting in English with employees in subsidiaries abroad. However, at the end of this extract, the interviewee reveals that in the process of helping run the company/ subsidiary in Serbia, this booklet is aimed at employees coming from the parent company in Austria so that they get some help and information on what is specific to the working environment, the staff and to Belgrade (sightseeing) in particular. However, information on the specific communicative and behavioural characteristics of Austrians was not provided to the local Serbian staff. The interviewee, a Croat, states that she and her Croatian colleagues did not need any guidelines because of the historical relationship and linguistic closeness between the two countries.

The interaction with colleagues in subsidiaries abroad is primarily carried out by phone, email or at meetings. At such a meeting, one of the interviewees noticed intercultural differences he had not been aware of or even believed existed:

I believe that I first time think about (.) this intercultural differences when I was on the seminar when (.) when after five minutes I c- ((laughs)) have a three great friends from Russia (.) on the other side I have a (.) good friends from Austria but I see that I'm much much closer (.) to the Russians than to the Austrian guys (.) even I know Austrians longer than these Russians (.) and then I said wow ((laughs)) it MUST have been something ((laughs)) (160/109)

Despite having known the Austrians longer than the Russians, the interviewee found himself more comfortable in the latter's company. At a different point in the interview he talks about a possible reason for getting along better and more swiftly with the Russians than with the Austrians:

I don't know because it's here Slovenska duška Slovenian souls that we are some kind of closer I don't know why but I believe it's we are some kind of (.) more opened towards each other (.) maybe that I don't know (.) but it hap- it is happening (.) and you always had some kind of (.) bi- bigger groups then you would have a smaller groups based on eh (.) some kind of (.) geographical :(xxx) ((laughing)) (.) and I believe it's (.) it's related to the culture (126/109)

He talks about 'Slovenska duška', the Slovenian (or Slavic) soul, which the Slavs apparently have and according to him might be the reason, or might contribute to why Slavic speakers feel closer to each other or easier in each other's company. It is possible that a similar historical past as well as sharing a Slavic mother tongue and similar communicative characteristics may contribute to, or is expected to contribute to, a greater closeness with each other.

Regarding communicative characteristics with those who do not have 'Slovenska duška', interviewees do not really talk about peculiarities or where two communicative styles clash. There is one interviewee, however, who tells a story about an American in his team, who would thank him very frequently, which he thought unnecessary but states that it is the 'American way of doing it'.

we had in London office there is sometimes our colleague which she's an (.) American (.) and (.) she's for example too polite for me because ((laughs)) we were working in some project together and then (..) on (.) her every second word was thank you thank you for your help you are so ((laughs)) you're so helpful thank you thanks a lot and come on :you don't need to (tell) me (.) every twenty seconds: ((laughing)) but okay that's (.) I believe the American way of (.) doing it (126/109)

What all interviewees share is the opinion that working with people from different countries, with different mother tongues, with communicative as well as behavioural characteristics which might be slightly different, is an advantage and

highly-regarded. The quote below is taken as an example of what interviewees say about it:

it's a big advantage and a challenge to work with different peoples with different eh personalities and that to learn how to handle them and also du- eh eh during eh that experience you also learn (.) very much about yourself (.) ho- how do you how how you react in certain situation what is YOUR advantage and disadvantage and how to improve (.) any of those (.) things (.) so it's real it's really good opportunity sometimes when you're in a hurry when you have big launches or some (things) like that you are you are you are getting eh nervous about that sometimes and you are (.) eh eh eh eh not appreciate that very well but (.) after that when everything eh went eh smoothly and good (.) it's very good to have different eh people that you that you know different people from OTHER countries also not only from the business eh eh eh eh issues but also maybe from private (.) things because many times eh those people are eh we helped each other for some private eh I don't know (.) trips and eh in organizing or in suggesting eh eh whe- what to to to where to go and what to (.) to look around so (.) it's i- i- i- it's very good and I would say big advantages (120/115)

By working with each other, they form a community which transgresses national, linguistic and cultural boundaries because as one interviewee aptly puts it:

it's practically you know it's very uniform ((laughs)) I guess you know people are just the same you know (..) I guess here in (.) here in Europe more or less the same (224/114)

3.2 Communication in the workplace

Culture or rather the fact that the employees have different mother tongues, and thus different norms of communicative behaviour, which are then transferred to communication in English, plays a role in the workplace and it is also mentioned in the interviews. This subchapter will outline the language ecology in the postsocialist globalised workplace focusing on the role of English, local languages and what challenges the employees are faced with.

3.2.1 The role of English

[English] plays a very very eh (.) big role (..) I think eh I think eh (.) it's eh obviously widely spoken (.) in the business community (.) eh I think by now there's a eh (.) substantial number of eh foreigners living in Belgrade (.) they all I think eh (.) probably I think 90% of them speak English (.) ehm (..) obviously the job is such that eh you communicate with eh (.) a very wide range of people in terms of geography in terms of background (.) so it's really really a great communication tool (.) basically (90/110)

As the interview extract shows, English has become the uncontested language of business. Next to communicating with employees in subsidiaries abroad, the local business community has also undergone some dramatic changes over the past decade such as the increasing number of foreigners/ expatriates living in the capital cities

and thus working with locals in companies. Therefore, the importance of speaking English is a given as it is the language most shared by people in Europe and English has become a successful 'communication tool' for communicating with people from around the world.

The more so as some business fields operate primarily in English, as one interviewee states: 'this investment banking ehm (.) industry is really English' (52/101), no matter where the company is located nor in which languages the employees are competent. Additionally, where the company operates (within or across national and language borders) also determines the language(s) used:

I guess (..) more than 90% of our clients (.) are also foreign clients (.) so I guess (.) communication is in English (..) so I guess English is very important (.) in our work (192/114)

English has a key role because doing business would not be possible without a common language, due to the terminology used and the necessity of communication beyond language borders. Interviewees state, or rather guess, that 'English is very important in our work' or even 'it's the key role'. Nevertheless, it is uncontested that in these workplaces English and its important role is definitely not a negligent aspect in postsocialist globalised workplaces. Without knowledge of English, business would simply be impossible. It also functions as a 'gatekeeper' and a very powerful 'gatekeeper' indeed.

English is one of the ehm (.) prerequisites (..) I mean everybody gets the clear information that it's the official language of the company so (.) usually people don't even apply if they a- and for example you have to fill in a questionnaire which (.) you just see whether you're up to it or not (100/105)

This extract includes two interesting points: Firstly, English is the official language, which may refer to the assumption that there is also an 'unofficial' language, which calls for research on language practices in companies that use English as their corporate language. Secondly, English functions as a gatekeeper because Croats and Serbs who do not have an appropriate command of English do not, or rather cannot, successfully apply for these jobs. The command of English is also tested at the application stage, either by a questionnaire or parts of the interview are conducted in English.

English is thus predominant in the workplace according to this interviewee. This raises the question of in which communicative situations in the workplace English is used and in which situations the local language. As the corporate language is English, official written documents are always in English as this interviewee points out.

I mean eh all eh our written documents are in English (.) reports eh website contracts eh applications so eh (.) even our internal communication between ourselves when it's eh official it's in English so it's (.) English all the time (94/111)

All the documents that are disseminated to a wider audience are written in the corporate language, such as texts that are used for presenting the company to clients and customers on websites. Internally, English is used for HR matters, such as work contracts as well as technical programmes/applications, as the interviewee points out. Official internal communication, such as meetings and communication with other subsidiaries (phone, email), is conducted in the official corporate language. However, this quote also points to the use of local languages in the workplace. By using the adverb 'even' in 'even our internal communication between ourselves' shows that the speaker highlights the fact that the employees share the same mother tongue but use English when/because the communicative situation demands it.

This leads to the hypothesis that the use of English depends on the context of the communicative event on the one hand, and on the existing or non-existing knowledge of the local language of the interaction partners on the other hand.

Next to the usefulness of English in both the external and internal communication, English is also a tool to communicate with people who do not speak the local language. In the following extract, the interviewee outlines this aspect of the usefulness of English in the workplace.

in all relevant correspondence that anybody else not speaking Serbian receives you need to talk in English and also from external partners we have a lot of people who don't speak Serbian (..) so mostly all the documents we have (.) are in English (.) when you leave a written (.) let's say sign or file anything it is it is in English (116/107)

The presence of colleagues who do not have command of the local language determines the usage of English in both written documents and oral communication such as in meetings or small talk. This also includes communication with the headquarters abroad as well as clients.

Employees who have the same mother tongue report they use English to include employees who lack competence in the common local languages. Another interviewee adds another aspect: inclusion instead of exclusion of all communication partners:

if you have 15 people and just one non- non-Croatian speaker of course then you will speak Croati- eh you will speak English (.) so that's normal (.) and it's never happened that (.) somebody is you know like really excluded (.) in that way (104/117)

Not excluding someone from the communication seems to be of utmost importance in this company, which is in contrast to the findings of Ailan-Souday/Kunda (2005), who have found out that the local language is sometimes intentionally used to exclude the foreign party.

Regarding the variety of English that is used in the workplace, corporate culture and some other aspects contribute to the development of a very specific and restricted variety of English, so-called 'company speak' (Fredriksson et al. 2006). Whereas there can be a top-down approach to intentionally creating a restricted variety, such as 'Airspeak' and 'Policespeak' or 'Ericsson English' (Hollquist 1984), there is also the possibility of 'company speak' being developed by the employees themselves based on the fact that there is special terminology, as well as restricted language command:

there is a special English that we use because there are SO many nations I mean (company's name) operates in like 180 endmarkets so there are SO many ((laughs)) words and (.) I think that even English people eh native English speakers are not eh when they see that your English is good then you a- almost feel how they get relaxed and start talking (.) with the whole fluency they can use (.) whereas there is this (.) special (company's name) language ((laughs)) of I don't know how many thousands of words not too many thousands (.) that everybody can understand (108/105)

Summarised, the usefulness of English reveals three points: firstly, that English is used as it is the most common shared language in Europe; secondly, that communication with non-native speakers of the local language as well as thirdly, communication with the headquarter and subsidiaries abroad is possible. The following quote from an interview shows these points:

all our documents are written in English all our presentations or all documents EVEN if (.) if the (.) English or English speaking p- non-Croatian speaking parties are not involved we do it nevertheless in English because (.) eh (.) that's that's eh (.) mm eh (.) ehm (.) formal language of the firm and also you never know eh maybe your boss will (.) maybe you need to forward it to your boss if some kind of e- escalation problem occurs eh or you will eh some kind of a presentation will maybe eh there will be a need for you to send it to your eh other colleagues from let's say ehm Bulgary or or Austria you know so if it's in English then (.) you don't have the problem of translating it twice so (.) all our documents are in English everything eh except the e-mail correspondence between ourselves if if a non(.)-Croatian eh person is not involved then we really just communicate in Croatian (104/117)

Written documents and oral presentations, i.e. official communication, are in English because they need to be understandable to all the people in the company. Even though documents may be used for a more local purpose they are going to be in English because English is the official corporate language and these documents may be forwarded to other subsidiaries or the headquarter. However, English does not

permeate local email correspondence in which the local language is used. When local languages are used will be shown in the next subchapter.

3.2.2 The role of local languages

This subchapter deals with the use of local languages, i.e. Croatian and Serbian, in the workplace. Despite the fact that English is the corporate language of the international companies where the interviewees are employed at, the interviewees revealed that they use not only the corporate language but also their mother tongues. Research has shown that employees avoid using English when they share the same L1 (Angouri 2007).

well we're we are not like trying to speak English whenever possible you know only when there is the need (70/106)

It can be said that there is a difference in regards to language use between written and oral communication in the workplace. The following quote reveals this aspect:

but correspondence depends (.) it's like (.) when you KNOW there is somebody who is not speaking Serbian but is going to read that then of course you r- s- (.) write in English but on the other hand when you just talk to people it's usually Serbian (116/107)

Written communication directed to employees outside the local office, i.e. in other subsidiaries or the headquarters, is carried out in English. However, as soon as all of the communication partners share the same local language, communication tends to be conducted in the local language. 'Office language' or everyday communication in the office, where usually a lot of or even the majority of the employees share the local language, tends to be the local language as one interviewee states: 'when we talk we talk in our language' (111/94) and regarding written documents: 'when you KNOW there is somebody who is not speaking Serbian but is going to read that then of course you r- s- (.) write in English' (107:116), indicating that if the document is directed to local employees only, English is not necessarily used.

Gimenez (2002:335) has similar findings in his study on communication practices in an Argentinian subsidiary of a European company that uses English as its corporate language. As no non-native speakers of Spanish are present in the subsidiary, oral communication is in Spanish: 'If the message is directed to the head

office, the chosen code is English; conversely, if the message is to be discussed with other members of the Argentinian subsidiary, the selected code is Spanish'.

As in Scandinavia, where Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, or rather a variant function called 'skandinaviska', serves as lingua franca in the Nordic countries (Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005:402), the data from Croatia and Serbia also reveals a similar situation that is specific to conducting business with countries with the same or similar local language. In South-Eastern Europe due to the fact that the successor states of Yugoslavia are all Slavic language countries and on top of that used Serbo-Croatian until 1991 as official language, apart from official documents, English is not used to communicate with subsidiaries in Belgrade, Ljubljana and Zagreb:

I mean we don't (.) speak English you know here in the office because we're all Croats so (.) we don't speak English between us but (.) with all of our offices EXCEPT for the Belgrade one Slovenian one (.) eh we speak in English so Czech office (.) eh Polish office Austrian office Russian office Bulgarian Romanian whatever (.) we speak eh English (192/114)

This interviewee clearly indicates that the 'office language' is Croatian because all employees share this language as mother tongue. This also means that the local language has an interpersonal function of showing solidarity. Small talk and talk not necessarily connected with the job are carried out in the mother tongue. Interviewees who commented on the communication in the region, i.e. South-Eastern Europe, refer to the fact that they all use a 'regional language' when talking to each other. When English is not necessary, local languages are used for business matters, which makes sense as competency is higher in the mother tongue than in a foreign language (no matter if the level of command is very high). What this basically means is that the Serbs speak Serbian, the Croats speak Croatian and the Slovenes speak Slovenian, while probably trying to accommodate the other languages⁷. One Serbian interviewee said 'we talk Serbian they talk Croatian but it's same language in the end' (106/109) and another interviewee gave more details about the differences or non-existing differences in the languages they use for communicating with the other regional subsidiaries:

well (.) usually sometimes when we work (.) I mean together with with BELGRADE or Slovenian office we communicate in (.) ((laughs)) we call it REGIONAL language (.) they talk in Serbian we in Croatian but we understand each other

⁷ The companies used in this study do not have subsidiaries in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia. Some companies have the Belgrade subsidiary cover Bosnia-Herzegovina and/or Macedonia, and Montenegro had only been independent for a year when the interviews were being conducted.

M: and the Slovenians

D: and the Slovenians usually tend to speak (.) combination of Serbo-Croatian (.) because nobody actually understands Slovenian ((laughs)) I mean we do understand it but it's more difficult for us to speak Slovenian (.) so we can understand them (.) but it's difficult for us to speak eh Slovenian but Serbian and Croatian are more (.) similar than Slovenian to any of those two (..) and it's even THEN it's fine (228-230/114)

The interviewee laughs when he says that they communicate in their languages and they call it regional language and that they do not have any problems with understanding each other. The interviewer asks about communication with the Slovenians and the interviewee states that they (i.e. Croats and Serbs) understand Slovenian but cannot speak it; that is why the Slovenians tend to speak what used to be called 'Serbo-Croatian', a mixture of both languages.

Another interviewee also talks about communicating with the Slovenian office and criticises colleagues who speak English with the Slovenians. However, this may have to do with the fact that she belongs to the 'older' interviewees (35 plus) who grew up during the state-socialist era and were exposed to the different languages or language varieties spoken in Yugoslavia.

when we are speaking with the guys from Slovenia they speak Slovene of course we speak Croatian and these two languages are very similar at least to me because I speak Slovenian as well and then when I try to speak to them I always try to use my Slovenian not to forget it (.) eh but ehm (.) other people from company they also use English to communicate with Slovenians so this is for me something v- very very strange because these two languages are (.) very very similar (.) and ehm (..) sometimes it's it's not so (.) nice to see that ((laughs))

M: why

I don't know because this eh English is completely foreign language and for Slovenian I don't understand- I don't get it as a completely foreign language because before we were all one country you know and this was not foreign language and now suddenly it became foreign language and some people really try to INSIST to that that Croatian is ONE and Slovenian is DIFFERENT and they don't try to (.) to find eh some solutions or whatever they are really this communication goes in English but this is eh sometimes good because in this communication some other parties are also involved so it would be really strange if people talk (.) in some local languages (100-102/118)

The interviewee draws a distinction between English as a 'completely foreign language' and Slovenian, which is not perceived as such. She also refers to the history of the region impacting the language situation and Slovenian being one of the languages of Yugoslavia. She, however, justifies using English when communicating with Slovenian colleagues by referring to the international aspect of the company they are employed at and that using local languages would not be appropriate for successful business relations. However, as another interviewee says (see following quote), younger Slovenians do not have mandatory Serbian or Croatian classes at

school, resulting in the fact that they do not speak either language or may have serious problems in understanding them. She also covers communication with the whole region in her interview. She works in Serbia and is talking about which languages are used with whom in the region.

and the ALSO important thing is that the Belgrade office is the head office for Southeastern Europe so (.) you have to speak English with the Albanians because they don't speak Serbian there is Kosovo a small Kosovo population they do and they for example are willing to talk in SERBIAN whereas a lot of other Kosovo people are not (..) so (.) and there are Slovenians a Slovenian office is run by a Serbian team so all of them had to learn Serbian (.) some of them are really young and didn't have Serbian in their primary school (.) so it was quite of a challenge but I think it's working out fine because that's i- it's ehm s- (..) it's something you (.) discuss openly and everybody makes jokes about that and eh these differences in language and it that the company is like the Ex-Yugoslavia (124/105)

This extract also shows the underlying tensions and problems in the region. The company she is employed by covers the whole region and she refers to Albania, which was never part of Yugoslavia, and Kosovo. It is here that the political problems are revealed in the text, however, admittedly, in a 'nice' way. Some people in Kosovo 'are willing to speak Serbian', whereas others are not. Knowing the background, it is obvious that the interviewee refers to the Serbian minority and the Albanian-speaking majority in Kosovo. In contrast to the other companies that are part of this study, this company has Serbs in the Slovenian office, which means that Serbian is spoken there and younger Slovenians have had to learn the language. The interviewee also reveals that the language situation is discussed and joked about, particularly the fact, that, in a way, the company she is employed resembles Yugoslavia before 1991.

Despite the fact that the companies where the interviewees are employed have English as the official working language, local languages are used in the workplace. The question arises as to whether the employees work not only in a foreign language, but also bilingually, as one interviewee pointed out:

I use Serbian in communication (.) with eh (.) local staff because there's no need for us :to talk in English: ((laughing)) and also in communication with all of the governmental officials eh and eh courts bankruptcy administrators agencies meaning all the local counterpart (.) counterparts (..) so actually I work really (.) bilingual not strictly in English (44/113)

3.2.3 Challenges

On the surface, and generally speaking, the employees state that they do not have any problems with using English as their work language, particularly as the

work jargon is English in particular business fields as stated above. However, using English is a challenge as one interviewee points out:

so let's say there is a Aus- Austrian colleague okay we will switch to English of course i- eh doesn't matter it's a official or (.) let's say eh eh eh working issue or it's eh some let's say private issue we'll switch to English (.) of course i- it's not ehm (.) eh eh comfortable for us (.) to switch to English all the time because we d- we cannot express ourselves in English as we in eh (.) our mother la- eh language but (.) it's not a problem because I understand that w- eh eh I imagine if I (.) would be in that situation I would like (.) or or I would appreciate very much that others are speaking the language that I can understand so it's (.) minimum respect to others (94/115)

Despite the fact that it is common sense to switch to English as soon as a non-native speaker of the local language is present, it makes things a bit more difficult because communication would be easier if it was carried out in the mother tongue. However, as it is the official language in the company and everybody present is supposed to be able to participate in the conversation, a common language for all present is used. Nevertheless, English in the workplace poses challenges for non-native speakers of English.

Using English regularly and daily indicates that the speakers also acquire a particular command of English that enables successful communication with their conversation partners. However, two aspects of feeling insecure about using English in the workplace are mentioned by the interviewees: Firstly, being afraid of speaking English when they started their job because they were not used to it and had not yet acquired the relevant and necessary terminology; and secondly, using English in the presence of and speaking with co-workers who are native speakers of English.

I was very fearful at the beginning at in my first year I really was trying to prepare :thoroughfully and to think thoroughly: ((laughing)) about what am I gonna say especially in terms of that terminology and I was using that black legal dictionary (68/113)

well I guess all the people have a barrier (.) at the start (.) when (.) they are talking to a native speaker (.) yeah they think oh he's gonna (..) eh you know track my mistakes :and: ((laughing)) you know they test me because of them (46/106)

Research on communication issues and particularly on the perceptions of people using English both as native and non-native speakers in business contexts is scarce. Rogerson-Revell's (2007, 2008) study on non-native and native speakers of English communicating with each other in business contexts is a valuable exception. Whereas her results of whether non-native speakers of English perceive it easier to communicate with other non-native speakers or with native speakers of English is inconclusive (Rogerson-Revell 2007:115), my data reveals that there is indeed a perceived difference. The examples above already point this out (being afraid of

speaking to native speakers due to a lower command of English), and some interviewees reveal that speaking to non-native speakers is different to speaking to native speakers. They also add that native speakers sometimes have problems in understanding non-native speakers' English and in the following account native speakers of English are constructed as the 'other', who do not have the skill to understand the non-native speakers whereas among themselves they do not have any problems in understanding each other:

I know that in my company sometimes because it's inter- it's international and people (.) tend to ehm well not tend to but there ARE a lot of ehm (.) people from (.) which are not native speakers of English (.) eh and sometimes there are only one or two native speakers and all the others are (..) eh (.) that English is their s- second third language (.) ehm the people ehm to whom English is a foreign language understand themselves eh (.) eh very well (.) you know (.) even when they speak not proper English really (.) but Englishmen or (.) Americans or whatever (.) eh they ehm (.) they eh sometimes cannot understand that (.) it's you know ((laughs)) to them it's it's it sounds strange I guess (.) :so: ((laughing)) sometimes people make jokes eh in our company eh by saying oh you should improve your English ((laughs)) (38/106)

what I noticed is we have several native speakers of English (.) in in not here but in Vienna (.) and also we had one here (.) he's not working with us any more but (.) you know what he said and this one girl eh from Vienna (.) they said you know (.) you make mistakes a lot of mistakes but they do also and you can talk to each other great but you know when you speak to somebody who's a native speaker (.) then it's difficult for you to understand him and eh for him to understand you (.) or her (.) nevermind but (.) you know when you speak between yourself you know like people from this region or Central Eastern Europe (.) then you can understand yourself (..) I guess (.) there are always some difficulties but you know (.) you'll overcome that (204/114)

Both quotes highlight the fact that non-native speakers of English understand each other because they are non-native speakers. Although the interviewees do not mention the reasons why they as non-native speakers understand other non-native speakers better, it may be argued that it is due to similar mistakes, having similar accents, and speaking more slowly. Difficulties arise when native speakers join the group of non-native speakers because, as the second quote reveals, 'it's difficult for you to understand him and for him to understand you'. Reasons for difficulties in understanding native speakers of English such as fast pace, low volume or "'cultured" native accents' (Rogerson-Revell 2007:115) are not provided by the interviewees. Rogerson-Revell (2007:114) found in her study that native speakers occasionally had difficulties in understanding non-native speakers due to their accents. Non-native speakers in my study refer to the various differing and different accents or pronunciation peculiarities of their co-workers who are also non-native speakers:

there is some kind of various accents various people from the various offices talk (.) some of them talks very strange English :for me: ((laughing)) with eh (.) ((xxx)) from (.) Polish

colleagues then from you know from Czech Republic (.) they have a specific accent (122/109)

Interestingly, the interviewee mentions other Slavic language speakers who speak English with accents that are difficult to understand. Dealing with different accents and different commands of English poses difficulties in communicating successfully with each other but, as the interviewees point out, admitting a failure to understand the other person involved in the communication is accepted and not regarded as an offence; it may even lead to 'funny situations' but too low a command of English or pronunciation peculiarities can be strenuous because the communication takes more effort to be successful:

yeah there are a lot of fun situation I cannot recall now example eh but eh for example eh when I was dealing exclusively with a group projects and on a daily basis I had to communicate with [company's name] or [company's name] or whoever (.) and ehm (.) and there is one guy who speaks funny English language actually he doesn't speak English good and eh this guy mixes eh "b"s and "p"s and when ever sh- eh he writes something then can you please help me or something like that so whe- eh (.) whatever mail eh he sends it's really very very funny (.) eh and with this guy it's not so funny when I have to rec- repeat him eh three times something eh that I am trying to tell him on eh three different ways because I (.) I'm sure that he doesn't accept whatever I tell him (.) so this is not funny but sometimes it's okay when you are relaxed and if you are not some (.) under pressure or if you :don't have: ((laughing)) some kind of tough deadline then it's fine but sometimes it's not so pleasant (100/118)

Solving communication problems is done in different ways and with different outcomes. The interviewees are aware of the fact that they are all non-native speakers of English and thus repeating one's words or asking conversation partners to repeat what they have just said is an unavoidable part of the conversation. As one interview partner says: 'so this is I guess eh (..) you know natural if if English is not your (.) first language' (94/110). Communication works well because everybody is aware of the fact that they are using a foreign language to communicate with each other and any mistakes are forgiven and do not lead to a communication breakdown as another interviewee states:

maybe sometime you skip some word you don't understand but in the end it's not something of (.) you cannot call it problem (.) but (.) some kind of misunderstanding but (.) it is all resolved because people are not so (.) so offended by that when you said I beg your pardon repeat or something like th- I did not understand or (.) I mean that within the group within that group we had a very very good communication (122/109)

However, this does not mean that serious communication problems never occur. They do occur and there are several ways of solving communication breakdowns. One such way of solving communication breakdown is by changing the

communication medium, such as from written to oral English as oral communication is regarded to be more successful to solve any communication problems:

sometimes I'm talking about something and the other person understood and I'm talking about something totally different and then (.) we continue like that until in one second we realise what the hell is going on (.) but (.) it happens sometimes with other colleagues from other offices in English (.) that we simply don't understand each other (.) and then we cut all the communication via e-mails and we go to (.) phone communication and then until we both say AH (..) then you know it's fine (..) because mail is not that good as phone communication (142/107)

If the communication occurs between employees who are in the same room, in a meeting for example, and there are problems in understanding what somebody has said, some interviewees mention that in these cases, verbal communication is left aside and the parties involved draw upon non-verbal communication, such as providing drawings or movements with one's arms or relevant body movements:

way if you cannot remember the word that you're really looking for in that moment you just say it in some other way and it's normal or you (.) explain it ((laughs)) :with your hands and: ((laughing)) you know so it's it was never a (.) a problematic situation that we couldn't understand each other (106/117)

it eh happens very often let's say (.) but eh with more talks and with the hands and maybe with the drawings ((laughs)) eh w- we try to solve that situation (102/115)

Generally, despite the fact that a foreign language is used to communicate in the workplace and communication problems do occur, this does not mean that these communication breakdowns are not solved and overcome as one interviewee says:

you know (..) I cannot recall any any any (.) any such situation (..) sometimes it's (.) more difficult sometimes less difficult to explain something to somebody but you know at the end of the day (.) you always (.) manage to do that (204/114)

Some interviewees reported an interesting impact of using English in the workplace on their competence of using their mother tongue in the workplace. As mentioned above, some business fields are English-dominated, which leads to specific terminology being in English and not being translated into any of the mother tongues, thus not having the vocabulary in one's mother tongue poses problems for employees:

we are so used to that that I can not express myself when I have to say something in Croatian (.) and then I have eh really a hard time when we are prepare eh when we are preparing something to be published on the eh in [company] or in internet or whatever then I really eh have to sit and eh when I'm translating from English to Croatian it's really it's much HARDER than to INVENT something in English because it's Engli- in English it sounds something very logical and normal because we are using this on a daily basis in our business and now I have to translate that not to s- this is awful for me how can I (.) what this means how should I say it because when I say this in eh Croatian it sounds so clumsy because this is not some kind of expression which is regularly used in Croatian (96/118)

Using a foreign language in the workplace does pose challenges, not only when communicating with colleagues but also when talking about work issues in the mother tongue. Nevertheless, English and local languages are used in the workplace as they serve specific functions such as in work-related meetings, negotiations and small talk. Communication breakdowns occur but are overcome and using English in the workplace is not a huge challenge for the employees interviewed as '[English] is very precise you know we have like all the companies some kind of internal language that we are used to and some abbreviations that we understand (..) and once you get used to it it's simply easier to talk' (134/107).

3.3 Gender in the workplace

Next to political changes over the last 20 years, changes have occurred in the economy and workplaces and everyday lives. Female employees in particular find themselves confronted with gender issues at some points during their working life. There is structural discrimination, i.e. the existence of a glass-ceiling, and individual discrimination, which may result from structural discrimination but may also result from specific situations, colleagues or clients.

This chapter outlines the kinds of structural and individual discrimination displayed by the interviewees. The analysis shows that gender is hardly an issue for women in the workplace as structural discrimination is rather hidden. However, once women become mothers, discrimination bubbles to surface.

3.3.1 Structural and individual discrimination against women

(I don't know) in the business world that it's (.) always I can't I I maybe can: ((laughing)) just say make it plastic that the one - the man is always the CEO ((laughs)) but I believe that (.) ((xxx)) in the most of situation that the women are doing :all the other: ((laughing)) works and make all the key decisions and prepare :everything: ((laughing)) in the right way that but i- in the end it should look like that the man is the CEO ((laughs)) (144/109)⁸

This male interviewee points out important issues in the workplace regarding gender. The superiors are most likely male despite the commitment and motivation of women. Their performance and achievements are often not as valued as those of their male counterparts'. Obviously, this is not always the case, but the way a society

⁸ Despite this interview extract, one company where some of the interviewees are employed at has a female CEO. Probably needless to say, the CEO is an expatriate.

is structured also affects gender relations in the workplace. Another interviewee points out that even though it seems common knowledge that the business community in South-Eastern Europe is male-dominated, he states that he would rather think it as a stereotype as there are women who hold senior positions. This points to the fact that the glass-ceiling is intact despite some women breaking through it; indeed, it could be argued that it is the exception to the rule because 'statistically they represent a mere few per cent of top management jobs' (The glass ceiling - still intact 2004:280). This is a continuation of the state-socialist era where even in jobs which were mostly done by women, there was often a gender-based hierarchy, i.e. the further up the hierarchy the fewer women (Holmes 1997:252).

He also says that he has not been in situations in which his sex was regarded as the reason for both doing a good and a bad job. However, when the interviewer asks whether there is no gender issue in general or in the office he is working at, he does admit that he has heard about discrimination against women in the workplace, which hints at the fact that the business community is not as balanced regarding the gender ratio and perception of women in the workplace as he would like to regard it:

I think that eh (.) sometimes people think in this part of the world eh the Balkans (.) that eh (.) that the society or at least the business community is (.) is eh pretty much man-dominated yeah (.) eh (.) okay this is mm (..) I would rather think of it as a stereotype (.) because in reality I don't really see that eh (.) you know taking into into (.) into account some specific examples of of eh (.) of eh some extremely successful WOMEN in business (.) you cannot really tell that in the society is eh male-dominated or business-lo- eh business eh community is male or or eh or female-dominated yeah (.) so I do (not) really tend to to eh (.) to look at eh (.) this as as eh (.) something that is eh let's say critical to someone's success and and and eh I have not really been I think very much exposed to situations where I felt that I was eh you know doing a great job just because I'm a man or (.) or :doing a poor: ((laughing)) poor job just because you know (.) again (you're) being a man yeah (.) so I I could not really give you specific eh like you know input on that (.) I think I think eh (..) I think it's eh it's very balanced

Ma: in general or here (.) in this //eh office//

//well at least// based on my experience based on my experience (.) I mean obviously you hear many stories (.) this is clear you know but I have not really had any exceptionally good or bad experiences yeah or at least I'm not really eh felt that that I benefited or suffered (.) you know from being man in in the business community (64/110)

Next to vertical occupational discrimination, interviewees also talk about horizontal occupational segregation. As during state-socialist times, workforces are still gendered along traditional lines. Usually these two aspects, vertical and horizontal occupational segregation go hand in hand. Even within international companies there are different ratios of men and women in the departments.

it's interesting to you know (.) to look through departments (..) in trade(.)marketing (..) ehm (..) you have 99.9% (.) of (.) males (..) so eh (.) it kind of gives you (.) you know the eh the feeling that THEY STILL feel (.) that's the (..) place for (.) eh (.) men ((laughs)) you know (..) but it's never (.) like (.) openly (.) said (.) you know (..) and i- also if you (..) eh eh in the support function in the finance function you have eh (.) lot of eh (.) women (.) ehm (.) they all have (.) eh families they have children (..) and (.) I think they are not (.) eh (.) looking for promotion forgetting promoted I mean they are not expecting that not looking for that just that they are not (.) I mean :looking at that: ((laughing)) direction they're they are not hoping for that (..) ehm (.) and eh in marketing (..) you have eh (.) ehm you have the ambitious (.) women (..) who (.) strangely enough do not have children (..) you know (114/106)

This interviewee hints at the fact that specific tasks are considered better suited for male employees and for female employees respectively. Whereas in this specific company trade marketing positions have overwhelmingly been filled with men, administration and the financial departments have many positions held by women. The interviewee also raises an important point. Whereas women in the administration and financial departments have children and do not seem to strive for promotion (or are prevented from climbing the career ladder due to not being able to prioritise their career), women in the marketing department are portrayed as being ambitious, and interestingly enough, childfree.

Another interviewee has experienced being part of an almost exclusive female workforce but having male superiors. Despite the fact that there were no problems with open discrimination (if not regarding the vertical discrimination), this interviewee says that there were indeed thoughts about why new positions were again filled with women but not with men.

I used to work as a consultant to that [company's name] and [...] let's say they had around 38 employees and MOST of the employees were women but top positions were MOSTLY men (.) so (..) it's still I ca- I can't say there I didn't have any problems for being women (..) I mean quite contrary like (.) everything was really (.) really okay and I never felt like (.) they want me or don't want me because I'm (.) a woman or a man but you COULD feel EVEN under there that (.) that sometimes you could FEEL people thinking oh (.) it would be GOOD to have a MAN (like that) :you know like: ((laughing)) it's great and this is all great but (.) why can't we find at least ONE male person that has same kind of you know (.) qualities or background (110/113)

Even though there might have been men who could have joined the work force, one facet of this almost all-female workforce is to do with hiring policy. One of these structural aspects that may be facilitating discrimination occurs right at the beginning, when taking up a position in an international company. All the female interviewees were obviously hired, but one interviewee talks about the hiring policy in his company. The management board had a secret agenda of preferring to hire men rather than women:

I guess th- (..) when our management board was deciding on (..) hiring new employee (.) they did not consider (.) whether to hire a man or a woman (.) they said (.) only men (..) so (.) that was an advantage (..) because they feel this is a kind of (.) men's work (yeah) they they prefer men for this work also both for maternity leave and also both because they feel that eh (..) ehm men are more likely to (.) be willing to work like throughout the day or nights and everything (.) that's that's I guess that's (.) how they think (150/114)

Despite the fact that work at this company is perceived to be suitable for men rather than women and women could take maternity leave and be absent from the job for some time, women were still hired after issuing this directive. Therefore this directive is called a 'secret agenda' by the interviewee. Such behaviour is regarded as discriminatory against women and that is why it could not have been publicly stated without causing an uproar.

Another structural discrimination is differences in remuneration and as one interviewee says: 'usually (..) men are better paid for if they have same job as as women' (150/114). According to ILO (2004:3), there are 'still significant earnings gaps between men and women' on the labour market. Women's salaries are two third's of the men's salaries in general (see also Nestić 2007 on the gender wage gap in Croatia)⁹. Some female interviewees stated that they do not earn as much as their male colleagues. One interviewee says that she is remunerated similarly to her (male) colleagues but regarding compensation she had to make a sacrifice: not taking the full length of maternity leave she would have been entitled to by law:

I get ehm (..) eh kind of the same s- (.) okay a little bit lower salary than my colleg- male colleagues but kind of they have been longer here for a year than me (.) and I have eh the same level of eh compensation (.) because I came back to work three months after giving birth (74/101)

One of the main reasons for the pay gap is occupational segregation as well as the tendency to have shorter careers due to women leaving their jobs or working part-time in order to fulfil child-care and family responsibilities. When they return full-time at a later stage, their promotion is slowed and they receive a lower salary. ILO (2004:3) also points out that '[d]ifferences in fringe benefits and bonuses offered to men and women managers are also factors contributing to earning gaps'.

As the interview extract above shows, structural discrimination affects individuals on the individual level in various degrees. However, there are also discriminating tendencies displayed by individuals such as colleagues, superiors and

⁹ In Europe, the 'Equal Pay Day' has been brought to attention over the last few years. This day marks the day women have earned the amount of money which equals the average male year's income of the previous year. In 2010 'Equal Pay Day' was 13 April in Austria and 26 March in Germany. (<http://www.equalpayday.at/index.php?id=33>)

clients, which are based on existing discourses about women in the workplace. The interview extract below shows two aspects: firstly, women need to prove they are equals to their male colleagues by being very self-confident in the workplace and secondly, they also need to counter the discourse that women are not qualified enough in the clients' eyes:

I'm very very eh energetic and eh I'm (.) eh maybe eh too bossy sometimes maybe even too bitchy b- but you need to be (.) eh (.) this way because eh that's the only way you can survive (.) eh between your male (.) co-workers so (.) I never had a problem (..) to you know put things in eh perspective even eh (.) you know ehm (..) that relates to this conversation I had with my superior because eh (.) he expr- some doub- expressed some doubts if eh some clients would eh (.) probably prefer if eh their investment banker was male rather than a female because eh this is eh very (..) ehm (..) kind of conservative society where eh male (.) eh eh males are really (..) males are really ehm (..) kind of taken seriously by by other males and sometimes probably eh men don't want to take advice from a female and they don't want her to tell him what to do okay I can understand that but eh my point is that I never had a problem to really put things in place immediately if I saw and there have been some (.) cases (102/101)

Being self-confident or rather displaying some kind of behaviour that is usually not regarded as positive behaviour and does not correspond to the stereotype of how women are supposed to behave seems essential for a successful career. This interviewee also talks about her superior stabbing her back by supporting the discourse of women not being qualified enough for this kind of job (the interviewee works in the area of finance), which may affect the business in general. She blames this kind of behaviour on a conservative, i.e. patriarchal society in which men are regarded as being superior to women. Women helping male clients in financial matters may be difficult to accept for some male clients, which this interviewee does understand, to a degree, but her displayed behaviour of experience, knowledge and self-confidence has helped her avoid any (open) discrimination in this area.

A male interviewee talks about how male colleagues usually try to keep the upper hand in a mixed-sex meeting and that female colleagues are usually judged by their physical appearance rather than their professional performance by the male colleagues.

in general when talking to when you're on a business meetings when you have (..) all women :on a table: ((laughing)) it's always (.) trying to be dominated by the males and then the women and they're always some kind okay (.) easier and (..) I know (.) that's some kind of my general impression but (.) I d- (.) I don't think that I am :sure: ((laughing)) and that I'm right but that's my impression [...] I feel that (.) it's always okay (.) she's cute ((laughs)) she's like that but nobody says first okay she's smart wow she can (.) she did a great job something like that but it's always she's cute or she is beautiful or she is (for example) ugly or something like that but it's (.) it is never first that you can hear that somebody says wow it (.) what a great job (.) she did or something like that (46/109)

This extract shows the imbalance in how employees are judged. Whereas the men tend to be judged according to their performance in the workplace, women are not judged on their qualifications and performance but on their physical appearance. Women are objectified rather than valued for the work they contribute. In a way it could be said that in this particular situation told by the interviewee, women are not regarded as belonging to the group of employees as full members but the male employees draw upon what Meuser (2001) calls a 'homosocial male community'. In these communities men are able to express their norms and values of society as well as 'authentically' performing their masculinity (Meuser 2001:9). The absence of women is crucial in order to maintain a 'clubby atmosphere'. The above-mentioned situation is not all-male but it seems as if the male employees try to maintain their norms of society despite the presence of women (who, however, may not overhear these conversations about themselves). Katila/Meriläinen (1999:171) find out in their study on gender in academia that it seems to be difficult for men 'to see their female colleagues simultaneously as competent researchers and as competent women'. Within the dominant discourse, they conclude that the women's gender position is often made explicit and the image of incompetent women is strengthened. They argue that 'gender differences are perceived to be a result of a particular kind of social reality and power relations [i.e. patriarchy]' (Katila/Meriläinen 1999:171).

Another interviewee talks about how she was regarded by some local clients in the workplace. Whereas in the company she has never experienced any kind of mistreatment based on the fact that she is a woman, she has experienced local clients regarding her as secretary and not the professional they have come to see and talk to:

in a relation to (.) eh [company's name] or [company's name] or in general PROJECTS environment never (.) in relations with COUNTERPARTS but these are local (.) relations (.) a few times (.) but that's (.) different that's more like (.) somebody's coming and now you're (.) greeting him and coming for the first time and he's giving you the coat or the you know like the :bottle of wine like: ((laughing)) (.) oh okay you're a secretary please put that somewhere you know like well actually I'm NOT I'm (.) I'm the one you will :talk to: ((laughing)) (106/113)

Her story supports the claim of the previous interviewee's extract that society in South-Eastern Europe is conservative, in assuming more superior positions are held my men and women in the office; women, therefore, cannot hold positions other than the one of secretaries. The interviewee laughs when telling this story because she laughs about the client as well as about the unexpected turning point of the story from the client's angle.

Whereas this interviewee has a reason to laugh about funny stories, another interviewee experienced real discrimination. It is always difficult to measure and judge the grade of discrimination because subtle discrimination can also be very severe. However, even though the two interview extracts above show instances of subtle discrimination and the effect of dominant discourses about women in the workplace, the following interview extract is an example of open discrimination against female colleagues in the workplace¹⁰.

he treated us all ehm that particular guy treated us all (.) ehm (.) well with equal disrespect (.) but eh (.) when it came to (..) the stuff you know the chores that were m- more (.) humiliating in a way he always turned to women (..) ((laughs)) and th- that's a fact :actually: ((laughing)) hm [...] when it came to the (.) humiliating stuff dirty stuff really you know (..) then you know it was (.) the women (..) but ehm it was not just THAT guy (.) we've also had one (.) he was actually a boss here (.) ehm (.) many years ago (.) and ehm (.) he said as one of the managers but his subordinate you know a colleague a female colleague a highly competent coll- colleague she was you know highly educated and experienced in finances and (.) and administration and you know actually everything she was the the the most competent person that we've HAD here at the office but anyway she was (.) also (.) subordinated to this (.) representative that we've had (.) and he treated her in this in the same way eh because she WAS a woman and he expected her to to understand (.) eh you know his (..) ehm (.) his needs eh he expected her to pick up after him he expected her to ehm (.) finish up everything that he didn't finish up without him SAYING so because she was a woman and automatically he treated her partly as (.) as his I don't know maid or his wife and partly as his secretary in in many ways and that was not her job but the fact that she was a woman (..) did it ((laughs)) and ehm (.) but that was you know that man was a representative of (.) of an OLDER generation actually and he he treated all ALL women in in in in a really special way for instance he always wanted ME eh (.) because I was the one (.) he cus- he could use his (.) mother tongue or native language (.) with him on daily basis (.) and eh (.) he always wanted me to be some sort of ehm (.) ehm (.) I don't know hostess for him or something like that and he wanted me to bring the coffee and the tea and the water and the stuff (.) at the meetings too when he had meetings with other people but then you know he was aware of of his double standards he was aware of that because the day we were supposed to receive a a visit (.) from [parent's company] ehm ombudsperson on gender (.) a woman (.) he came to my :desk and he specifically told: ((laughing, but trembling voice)) me you know (.) don't make a mistake today you should NOT bring coffee and water to my office at THIS meeting (.) THIS woman would really get pissed off if you did that so ((laughs)) yeah th- that's that was him that was the :other guy: ((laughing)) (40/112)

The interviewee talks about two superiors who violated employment contracts by giving orders to their female employees which did not belong to their workplace duties according to their employment contracts. Female employees were also not valued nor judged on their qualifications and their performance, rather they were discriminated against based on their sex. The former boss acted towards the competent woman the interviewee mentions as if he was a husband expecting his wife to clean up after him. Even though he belonged to the older generation where patriarchal behaviour was regarded to be the norm, he definitely overstepped the

¹⁰ The first part of the interview extract can be found in chapter 3.1.3.

mark by regarding her as 'maid, wife and secretary'. The interviewee also reveals how this former boss acted towards her and she uses a simile by saying that he regarded her as hostess who would bring coffee and tea to him and the other participants in a business meeting. However, he was aware of the fact that he had overstepped the mark, as the meeting with the gender ombudsperson shows, when he specifically pointed out that the interviewee was not allowed to act like a waitress. The interviewee does laugh at certain parts in the interview but her trembling voice towards the end shows that she still has not overcome having been mistreated so badly by her former boss.

An issue that is part of the interviews when talking about facing disadvantages or even discriminating tendencies in the workplace is becoming a mother and taking maternity leave. In both Croatia and Serbia, the first six months can be taken with full coverage for six months and one year respectively (Perry 2010:20 and 73). After the mandatory maternity leave of 42 days after the birth, fathers can also take paternity leave.

Female interviewees without children are aware of the fact that once they become mothers and take maternity leave, their career will be negatively affected by slower promotion, for example.

eh our company is eh a fair employer in terms that we have (..) a HUGE number of women who are currently either on their pregnancy or their maternity leave (.) I don't know whether you are familiar with the (.) this social program in Serbia you actually get one year (.) of a fully paid leave (.) so (.) that's uncommon in the whole world and also in the world of our company I think that that's but we are aligned with the local law so if the labor law says that that's how the company goes and (.) and it's really being stucked to I haven't heard of (.) any kind of mis(.)conduct of the company you know that they will sack a pregnant woman or that there would be a (.) any eh s- mm you know any pressure on you n- not to do that but then again I cannot ex- I KNOW that if I take my maternity leave now when my career has a steepest progression (aligned) that that would definitely slow me down and ehm (.) it's just up to me to make my own priorities (.) whereas my mother didn't I don't think that she had these doubts at all because the progressio- she didn't have any (.) she couldn't see this (.) road ahead of her tha- as I can (62/105)

Multinational companies need to apply the local law of maternity leave and this interviewee also gives information on the length of and the payment received during maternity leave. As one year maternity leave with full pay is quite uncommon in Europe, the interviewee admits that the management of the company may not be too content with this regulation but local law needs to be applied. Therefore putting pressure on female employees not to take maternity leave or to even dismiss pregnant women has not occurred in the company according to the interviewee's knowledge. This would also violate the law and will probably not happen in the future. The

interviewee draws a comparison with her mother who had her children during the state-socialist era and in contrast to her mother, the interviewee is aware of the fact that she needs to plan when to have children because at the moment it would have negative repercussions on her career regarding advancement.

Another interviewee who does not (yet) have children also talks about maternity leave and how it would affect her career:

:I will be happier and more fulfilled in my life: ((laughing)) no of course yeah hm (.) that's the same old story the guys go to army and we go to :pregnancy leave: ((laughing)) (..) mm yeah thas- that will definitely stop the thing

M: stop your job (.) you mean

no it's not my job but eh yes you start (.) you're going further further further and then one second you're not there for two years or a year and a half or whatever (.) of course that makes a p- let's say issue within all that development process (..) but I guess that's something (.) I'm totally willing to pay (102-104/107)

This interviewee would like to have children and puts the reality into very interesting words: Men go to the army and women take care of the children. She adds some humour here but this phrase reveals quite a lot about the existing discourses about childcare and the role of men and women a society holds. The interviewer asks her to clarify what the interviewee thinks would stop. She says something that resembles the previous interviewee regarding taking a break from work will hinder one's own climb up the career ladder. However, being aware of it and accepting it are two different aspects. Perceptions of and attitudes to maternity leave will be dealt with in the next section.

There are some women among the interviewees who are mothers and it could be said that they have taken the next step compared to the interviewees above who do not (yet) have children:

what is actually you know the the issue ehm I eh had a baby (.) eh thirteen months ago so (.) for example I I gave birth to my daughter in May 2006 and I eh returned (.) to to work (.) three months afterwards my husband (.) I mean my boyfriend I never married he eh (.) he is home now with eh my kid (.) so ehm (.) actually I get I get ehm (..) eh kind of the same s- (.) okay a little bit lower salary than my colleg- male colleagues but kind of they have been longer here for a year than me (.) and I have eh the same level of eh compensation (.) because I came back to work three months after giving birth (.)and what is my problem it's not a problem it's just you know when you eh just sit and and think (.) what would be where would I be if I was a male you know (.) I mean ((clicks with her tongue)) :and this is also a speculation but I cannot really escape from that (.) but you know (.) I feel and it's just a feeling (.) eh that you know I eh receive the same amount of compensation (.) but I had to put an extra effort of eh working (.) on my birthdate I was here in the office on on the day that I was expecting and even the day afterwards I was eh (.) working because I (.) gave birth maybe five days later but you know so on the exact date I was supposed to have (.) eh my daughter delivered I was working and going on the meetings and then I came to work three months afterwards so I I have a feeling that I I received the the same level of compensation (.) because I ha- b- I had to put this EXTRA effort of working: ((speaking

very fast and raising her voice)) (.) even on the birth- date and returning to eh work three months eh afterwards and leaving my baby three months old so it's (.) you know (.) baby (.) alone at home and eh on the other hand I think they received the same level of compensation just by (.) coming and (.) going from the job from the work you know they come t- (.) male colleagues (.) they come in the morning to the office do their job and eh (.) leave (.) and eh I only manage to eh (.) receive the (.) same level of compensation (.) when I put this extra effort and then they say okay you (.) deserved it and they deserve it bu- just by you know (.) coming and going just by the mere fact that they work here (74/101)

This interview extract is quite interesting because next to giving facts about this female employee's experience with taking maternity leave while being employed at this company, it also shows the high amount of frustration that goes with it regarding sacrificing time with her daughter in order to be treated equally. Analysis of the data set shows that gender is not a real issue, neither within the company nor with the employees until women become mothers. Once they are mothers they are confronted with the fact that they are slightly disadvantaged in order to be treated equally¹¹. This interviewee worked on the due date, came back three months after having given birth and only by doing that does she receive the same amount of compensation as her male colleagues. She feels that in order to be treated equally she had to show more dedication for and commitment to the job and that, if she had been male, she would have received praise and compensation only by doing her job. The fact that she is quite frustrated is also noticeable in her language and how she talks about this topic. She speaks very fast and raises her voice in the mid-section when she talks about this extra effort that was required in order to get what she deserves money-wise. This interview extract also shows two interesting aspects: firstly, her partner is currently on paternity leave and secondly, feeling guilty about not being with her young baby daughter for a longer period of time. However, financial issues and the job itself made it impossible to take the full year maternity leave she is entitled to:

it was my choice to come ehm after three months because I had some really important (.) projects going on and eh I couldn't really leave my clients and say okay I'm gone for a year and you manage (.) eh by yourself eh (.) also there is this financial (.) eh situation where eh I would really be nuts if I eh you know stay at home and this is really (.) a huge amount o- of eh of money that I would lose if I was you know just relying on eh government (.) maternity leave (76/101)

¹¹ One interviewee clearly states that disadvantages start when becoming mothers, but looks at it from the angle of the female employees: 'advantage or disadvantage of being a woman (.) I don't know maybe eh women are relying more on some emotions or some emotional intelligence which is maybe good (.) so this is maybe advantage but for disadvantage (.) disadvantage could be once when you become a mom that ehm sometimes you feel guilty if you have to stay longer at work and you cannot come eh home (.) eh and spend some quality time with your kid so this is definitely disadvantage but this is related exclusively to motherhood not to gender (.) but eh if I talk only about the gender then I think that (.) I can talk only about advantages not disadvantages at least in my personal experience (78/118)

Her situation resembles another interviewee's, who also had three-months maternity leave. This interviewee is very open about the fact that it was not really her choice but her company's decision, which would not allow her to be absent from her job longer than that:

I had only three and a half months (.) as opposed to Serbian laws where you have a year to stay home with the kid they called me back to work after three and a half months and we even needed to negotiate about whether I will have salary and how much for these three and a half months (114/113)

Both examples show that female employees are confronted with the fact that they have to prioritise because they do not enjoy the security working mothers had during the state-socialist era. Postsocialist globalised workplaces demand that employees be present and show commitment and a one-year leave would have consequences for both the employee and the company. Therefore international companies tend to circumvent the law and female employees need to decide. They 'are called back' to work by the superiors, indicating passiveness or even helplessness because they do not want to lose their jobs. They even need to negotiate their salary and coming back to work earlier is not rewarded by higher compensation, merely the same their male colleagues receive. Although this interviewee does not explicitly state that she feels sorry or even some amount of guilt for not having had more time with her baby child like the interviewee in the previous quote, the adverb 'only' in the first sentence shows that this interviewee is not too happy about not having been able to take the full year of maternity leave she is entitled to by law.

As pointed out above, international companies need to apply local laws. However, one company where one interviewee is employed, did not apply the local law but made it explicit in their company's handbook that female employees who fall pregnant need to be made redundant immediately.

I got pregnant and I was supposed to to leave ehm to have the the maternity leave or pregnancy maternity leave (.) and at that time we (.) the the the (.) handbook office handbook that we had that HE made (.) contained this one small paragraph on all employees who would get pregnant (.) ehm (..) who would INSTANTLY as you know that fact that they are pregnant (.) was made :public: ((laughing)) that they would instantly lose their jobs or (.) that their their contracts of employment would just you know cease to be valid [...] the handbook was not made in accordance with the morals and the principles of the organisation or the the handbook used by the the organisation but it was you know just the LOCAL one (.) in order to prevent the the women local women from MISusing (.) the the you know GRACE and goodwill of their (.) foreign employer ((laughs)) [...] when I told my boss that I was pregnant and that I was planning to use maternity leave eh he didn't like it (.) he he literally he got angry with me (.) as if he couldn't FORGIVE me you know for getting pregnant [...] and ehm (.) and then we actually had to have an interv-intervention from the head office eh the the the (.) advisor on gender policy she was informed about the situation here so she instructed him to change the (.) handbook and (.) all the stuff about you know pregnancy maternity leave and stuff so it got changed then (.)

to three months maternity leave (..) as you know (.) PAID maternity leave for (.) employees who would get pregnant or whatever (.) so that was what I got in the end (42/112)

In this specific situation, the head of the subsidiary acted on his own and had a paragraph on pregnant women inserted in the local handbook, which, therefore, violated the principles of the organisation and severely discriminated against female employees. The boss appears to have acted like a dictator, dictating to his subordinates what they are allowed to do and what not. When the interviewee told him about her pregnancy, he took it personally and became very emotional in a negative way. Only via an intervention from the parent company was this paragraph removed from the handout and since then it has been possible for pregnant employees to take three months paid maternity leave.

So far it seems as if those women who have children and who were interviewed were only entitled to take a three-month maternity leave indicating that there may be a tendency in international companies to allow women to take a maximum of three-months maternity leaves. This is not the case as another interviewee was allowed to take the full year maternity leave she was legally entitled to although her boss did try to have his female employee back at work before the end of the year:

it was not a problem I took one year of maternity leave eh it was a problem from eh financial side a little bit because in Croatia you have some (.) at least it was like that I think it's a little bit changed so in a first six months you get some eh average Croatian salary which was not high (.) and in eh second eh half or in the second six months you received something like 200 Euro so it's almost nothing so on that way it was hard but eh concerning work (.) not that much eh (.) at that time I had a boss who understood my choice although he was trying to (.) push me to come a little bit sooner but eh then we agreed at home that I will stay the whole one year because I thought that this is really (.) time when baby needs me more (.) I mean the most (..) and you also don't have a possibility to ehm (.) put our kids in the kindergarten eh before they are one year old (.) so you have to find somebody to babysit (..) so we don't have this that kind of infrastructure but (.) it was (.) quite okay accepted this decision was not s- (.) that bit pro- that big problem at least I didn't feel it (.) it was also my decision when I decide something then I'm comfortable with this decision (no matter about) (..) others' opinion or what(.)ever (92/118)

This interviewee had support from her superior and this extract also shows that she was very confident about her decision even though financially it was quite tight, which also another interviewee mentioned above. She also talks about childcare facilities or the lack thereof in Croatia, which makes it more difficult for professional women to get back to work if they do not have a partner taking paternity leave or family members helping out¹².

¹² Interestingly, the interviewee does not refer to the company she is employed at, as this company is one of only a few Croatian companies with a company crèche.

This is in stark contrast to the previous generation who grew up and spent their adulthood during the state-socialist era because even if women were regarded as the sole carers of their children, they were entitled to take maternity leave without any worries about losing their jobs as several interviewees pointed out:

I guess that my mother never had worries (.) eh with (.) taking the maternity leave (.) that's (.) I never even asked her that but I'm quite sure that it was never (.) in any way stressful for her you know to think whether that will affect her career or what will happen (60/105)

3.3.2 Perceptions of maternity and paternity leaves

In every conversation discourses are at play (see 4.1.2.1 below). As seen in the interview extracts in the previous sections, there are at least two discourses detectible, which I call 'work more to be equal - discourse' and 'women are the sole carers of children - discourse' and which will be addressed in this section against the background of how they influence perceptions on maternity and paternity leaves.

The following two interview extracts will show these two discourses more clearly.

in this past seven years I always had to put (.) an extra effort (.) just to be on the same level (.) with my male colleagues (..) and even eh (.) even eh in my conversation with my superior (.) he said that he would always ask additional effort from me because (.) there is always (..) a probability which is higher with me than with my male colleagues that I will come one day and say okay I had enough I want to (.) you know sit home and be with my baby (.) and then I said well that's not the case because I eh I was showing you for past seven years my commitment and eh (.) my eh really willingness to accept (..) this kind of job and eh because this is REALLY extremely stressful and really hard job especially for women (.) you need to really be focussed and it's a huge amount of stress because you work really like twelve hours a day and it's really it's really hard (78/101)

The interviewee draws upon both discourses here. She supports the 'work more to be equal - discourse' when pointing out that her stronger work commitment gains her equality in the workplace. The 'women are the sole carers of children - discourse' is supported by the boss but resisted by the interviewee who highlights her commitment and the probability that she will not take maternity leave. The conversation with her boss only takes place because it is expected that women take maternity leave after giving birth to a child as they are regarded to be solely responsible for childcare. However, she resists and challenges this discourse as her partner is currently on paternity leave:

I gave birth to my daughter in May 2006 and I returned (.) to work (.) three months afterwards my husband (.) I mean my boyfriend I never married he (.) he is home now with eh my kid (74/101)

Taking these two discourses, the aim of the remainder of this section focuses on these two discourses and how they are supported and resisted as well as other relevant discourses are referred to in the data of the other interviewees.

Interestingly, the discourse ‘women are the sole carers of children’ is not resisted by the female interviewees without children. The women, who are in their mid-20s, highlight what kinds of effects this discourse may or will have on their professional life or what kind of gendered behaviour is expected from them:

well (.) first (.) if you're a woman ((laughs)) (.) men in marketing DO have (.) wife and (.) children (.) well you (.) first need to (.) you know be absent from the job for quite a long time you need to then you need to like (.) have (.) one very important thing in your life that should be more important than your (.) job and you know it's like (.) prioritizing (..) and you cannot prioritize like a mother that you (..) that you would like to be a (.) a director :or other you know: ((laughing)) (118/106)

What is conspicuous is the fact that the generic ‘you’ is used, indicating a distance, which may be explained by the fact that the interviewee does not specifically talk about herself but about a general fact. By using the modal verb ‘need to’ repeatedly, it is indicated that taking maternity leave is regarded as an obligation or even a law. There is also reference to the role or behaviour of men in the company’s marketing department who ‘DO have wife and children’ (in contrast to the female employees there as the interviewee mentioned prior to this extract). By stressing the auxiliary ‘do’, it is also pointed out that men are not required to raise the question of whether to prioritise professional over private life because if they have children, it is the mothers of their children who take up childcare responsibilities. This extract also shows that this discourse is in conflict with having a career; women are more often forced and expected to decide between having a family or a career. This is novel to postsocialist countries because before 1989 participating in the workforce was regarded as the norm as part of the ‘working mother’ gender contract. This contract assumed the ‘combination of family and work functions by women for which the state provided the necessary support [...] and guaranteed the preservation of their jobs’ (Zhurzhenko 2001:36).

In this extract, the interviewee does not question why women are expected to prioritize. In fact, it is stated that as a mother a woman cannot pursue climbing the career ladder, thus the glass ceiling is reified. This attitude may be a product of the 1990s when the focus of the postsocialist countries was on retraditionalisation and of the fact that the women, who are now in their mid-20s, did not come of age and enter the workforce during the state-socialist era.

If women are the sole carers of their children, the question arises what kind of supporting discourse exists regarding men and their role as fathers. In Croatia and Serbia, the option of paternity leave does exist for fathers, which was not the case during the state-socialist era. Therefore, the male interviewees mention that few men have taken paternity leave over the last few decades and one male interviewer aptly puts it by saying that ‘maternity leave is maternity leave period’. In the interviews, several aspects arise either in support of or in resistance to this gendered discourse but all of them have one thing in common: that taking paternity leave is unusual:

that sounds weird to me (..) I don't know maybe (.) maybe because this is a (utterly) conservative society here but you know it sounds (.) weird to me (134/114)

The interviewee stresses the absurdity of taking paternity leave by repeating the phrase ‘it sounds weird to me’. He gives as a reason the fact that he grew up and lives in a more conservative society with existing traditional gender roles as does another interviewee:

this is probably eh not common (.) in Serbia at least I never heard that someone as a man decided to go on maternity leave but I can tell you that I will have no problem with that (80/110)

By referring to paternity leave as being unusual and uncommon in Serbia, this quote is ambiguous as it may be understood that the interviewee agrees with the fact that men do not take responsibility for childcare. However, the conjunction ‘but’ as well as the context of the interview indicate that the interviewee can picture himself taking paternity leave should he become a father. Therefore, he undermines or resists the discourse ‘women are the sole carers of their children’. This is also done by other interviewees, who would consider taking paternity leave if the economic situation of the partners allowed it:

if the situation is like that (.) that's the better option (.) I don't know (.) maybe I would (.) I could do it (.) but I don't know ((laughs)) it's (.) I thought sometimes ago about that (.) and I said why not (.) I will not be unsatisfied with staying at home with the children and with my wife is working if she had a (.) great job so (.) why not (.) I'm not strongly against that (.) that I'm going to mate- maternity leave (90/109)

This interviewee shows some hesitation in embracing the idea of taking paternity leave. This is expressed by the usage of the modal verbs ‘would’ and ‘could’. Interestingly, by using the phrases ‘I will not be unsatisfied with staying at home’ and ‘not strongly against that’, negative phrases are used instead of positive phrases.

Some of the interviewees also use the word maternity leave instead of paternity leave, which may also be an indicator that taking paternity leave is the exception.

Next to the economic situation, another interviewee also refers to the conservative society and the economic situation among partners impacting on the decision. However, he also includes the aspect of social pressure, which would exist if a man were to resist the dominant discourse:

you know for a guy (.) you know it's a bit difficult you know (.) you go with your buddies to a beer and then you just say that you're :(paternity) leave: ((very quiet)) my god (.) that :that that would not be nice: ((laughing)) (140/114)

By lowering the volume of his voice and laughing, this interviewee shows explicitly that the idea of taking responsibility for minding children and turning the breadwinner model around is hardly imaginable and also embarrassing. He even seems to be afraid of saying the words paternity leave and points out the fact that a man would risk to be ridiculed by his friends he is socialising with. This extract refers to what Meuser (2001) calls a 'homosocial male community'. In these communities men are able to express their norms and values of society as well as 'authentically' performing their masculinity (Meuser 2001:9). The absence of women is crucial in order to maintain a 'clubby atmosphere'. If men express and get support for their understanding of accepted norms for their (gendered) behaviour in these communities, taking paternity leave would obviously be regarded as a threat to, or a violation of, these norms.

The younger women among the interviewees basically have a very similar viewpoint because for them it seems unimaginable that their partners take paternity leave:

to be honest I NEVER heard the :paternity ever happening in Serbia: ((laughing)) (.) this you have practically a father replacing the mother (..) in like taking care about child while SHE is going to work (..) not really (.) I don't think that in our mindsets at all :exists the option: ((laughing)) (110/107)

In this account, the discourse 'women are the sole carers of children' is supported by the interviewee stressing the adverb 'never' and laughing when she says 'paternity ever happening in Serbia'. More interesting is the sentence 'father replacing the mother', which indicates that a middle way does not exist in 'their mindsets'. Using extremes is also noticeable in other young females' interviews such as one example when the interviewee says that she is not sure if she wants to spend the 'whole childhood not being there'.

Only one younger female interviewee refers to the option of fathers taking paternity leave by stressing the economic changes that have provided women with well-paid jobs and therefore the option that fathers take paternity leave has become more realistic. Nevertheless, only in very specific situations when a woman earns more money than her partner would it be more convenient to split the parental leave between them:

currently I believe that eh (..) there are so many examples in which a woman has a better paid position than a man so it is from that economic perspective for them more practical for a dad in the family to take at least half of the maternity leave (180/103)

The second discourse that is detectable in the interview extracts above is the ‘work more to be equal’- discourse. In order to be treated as an equal and not being discriminated against on account of their sex, women are confronted with putting more effort into their work. This discourse is supported by other female yet, most interestingly, not male interviewees and the following extract shows one such example:

but if you are not (..) loud enough in your (.) how tough you are (.)it would be self-explanatory that you are that your male colleague is (.) tougher than you (.) and not just tougher in a (.) general way but also in business so (.) if you are not proven yourself as tough (.) then it will be (.) natural that your male colleague is (.)or for example will be promoted in some kind of a managerial position because he's you know he's tough he can work with people you know he can have the control over them emaybe (.) if people who make the decision don't know you so much so well and eh they just know you like you know (.) female colleague who never (.) had the situation to you know (.) to proven (.) themselves as in some kind of a situation :when she was really tough and they saw it for themselves: ((lowering her voice)) then they would make the decision to go with the male colleague (68/117)

The important phrase is ‘being tough’, which appears six times in this extract, and the prevalent idea is that women need to prove themselves: if they do not have the opportunity to do that because of a lack of ‘toughness’, then obviously female employees will not be as easily promoted. This extract also shows traces of the discourse of individualisation, which means that everybody is responsible for advancing their own career, and here specifically that it is the women’s fault if they do not advance in their career because they, indeed, can and should ‘prove themselves’. Male superiors do not need to change their ‘mindsets’, to use a word an interviewee used in one of the extracts above, it is in the women’s hands to be ambitious as another interviewee said and if they are not, well, then it is their own fault, and nobody else’s fault, if they are not promoted.

Thus, the effect of this discourse on female employees is obvious. Women are expected to and do work more and show higher commitment, with the result that

their work-life balance is not in balance, sacrificing family time for their job, and thus struggling with different discourses and expected practices in the workplace.

4 Analysing Identities

This chapter deals with the theoretical background before turning to the role of pronouns and their referents. The first person singular and plural pronouns 'I' and 'we' are crucial for identity construction because as Benveniste [1971] (2000:41) states: 'A language without the expression of person cannot be imagined'. What kinds of identities are displayed is outlined with each pronoun before turning to pronoun and identity shifts and the construction of professional and gender identities.

4.1 *Theoretical considerations on identities*

The first part of this chapter will give a brief overview of the influence of poststructuralism on the theorisation of identity before different approaches to identity in sociolinguistics and social and cultural anthropology with a specific focus on gender and gender(ed) identities are outlined. The second part of this chapter deals with a more theoretical aspect of identities, which at the same time indicates and includes a way of analysing identities. Two different approaches are mentioned which focus on the same concept: positioning the self and others. The anthropological approach of grammars of identity/alterity by Baumann/ Gingrich (2004) provides different modalities of (group) identification, and Harré/van Langenhove (1999) provide an approach to positionings of the self and others in interactions.

4.1.1 **From 'identity' to 'identities'**

The first recorded use of the word 'identity' dates back to 1570 (Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary 2001:574) and identity and the theorisation of identity has been of interest since then (Taylor 1989; see Benwell/Stokoe 2006 for an overview). Each discipline dealing with identity has its own definition, if the notion of identity is defined at all. The word is of Latin origin (*identitas*, from *idem*, 'the same') and has two meanings: the first one refers to *similarity or sameness* ('sameness of essential or generic character in different instances' and 'sameness in all that constitutes the objective reality of a thing' (Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary 2001:574); the second meaning refers to *individuality or difference* ('the distinguishing character or personality of an individual' and 'the relation established

by psychological identification' *ibid*). The corresponding verb *to identify* entails an active aspect, i.e. identity must be established. Two further meanings are thus added: first, to classify things or persons and second, to associate oneself with something or someone else (Jenkins 1996:4).

Up until the end of the 20th century, identity was regarded as something that is unchangeable and fixed, 'a unified, internal phenomenon' (Benwell/Stokoe 2006:18). This essentialist notion of identity has been criticised and new approaches have been developed over the past 40 years.

One of the most influential, and for this thesis the most important, approach is poststructuralism as developed by francophone philosophers (e.g. Derrida 2000, Kristeva 1994). Baxter (2003:21ff) outlines three important principles of poststructuralism: First, scepticism towards universal causes and 'grand narratives'; second, the contestation of meaning, and third, the discursive construction of subjectivity. The third principle addresses the theorisation of the notion of identity. Baxter (2003:25f) aptly summarises this principle and emphasises that 'individuals are never outside cultural forces or discursive practices but always "subject" to them'. Identities are 'determined by a range of 'subject positions' ('ways of being'), approved by their culture, and made available to them by means of the particular discourses operating within a given discursive context' (Baxter 2003:25). The formation of identity is a continuous process, which is accomplished through actions and words and within and across different discourses, resulting in individuals being shaped by multiple subject positions. Power relations are also critical for identity constructions because they are constantly shifting and thus so are subject positions.

Identity formation being regarded as a process rather than as a given or a product is also central to social constructionism, which is another theoretical approach crucial for the theorisation of identity. As the name says, social realities are being constructed instead of given and are accomplishments individuals reach through societally discursive work. More specifically, the process

- (1) takes place in concrete and specific interactional occasions,
- (2) yields constellations of identities instead of individual, monolithic constructs,
- (3) does not simply emanate from the individual, but results from processes of negotiation and entextualization that are eminently social and
- (4) entails 'discursive work'. (de Fina et al. 2006:2)

According to de Fina et al. (2006:2), social constructionism has contributed to 'dissipating transcendentalist conceptions of identity and to directing the attention of researchers to social action rather than to psychological constructs'. Social action is the important word here, because identity is regarded a process which is 'always embedded in social practices' (Foucault 1984) in which discourse practices have a crucial role (Fairclough 1989). These practices define how people present themselves to each other, how they conceptualise themselves, and how they negotiate identities and roles.

The altered theorisation of the notion of identity has also become manifested in the language itself, i.e. a shift from speaking of the singular *identity* to speaking of *identities*, the plural. Ivanic (1998:11) encapsulates the theoretical alterations to the notion of identity by pointing out that using the plural version 'identities'

captures the idea of people identifying simultaneously *with a variety of social groups*. One or more of these identities may be foregrounded *at different times*; they are sometimes *contradictory*; sometimes *interrelated*: people's diverse identities constitute the richness and dilemmas of their sense of self. (italics added)

The multiplicity of identities, which may be interrelated and sometimes even contradictory, is shown by the affiliation to different social groups and beliefs at particular points in time by the possibilities that are available in a social context (Ivanic 1998:12) as well as the kinds of identities that are attributed or ascribed to others (Sunderland/Litosseliti 2002:7). Additionally, by drawing on individual agency, identities are also foregrounded by consciously choosing from choices that are continually made about oneself and one's lifestyle.

This shift shows the altered theorisation of the notion of identities by moving away from essentialism. Theories influenced by poststructuralist thinking and the discursive turn, emphasise the 'fluidity and variability of identities', the 'performance of identities' and the 'discursive construction of identities'.

Beside the term identity, many different words have been used to refer to identity, depending on theory and discipline. Even within disciplines, different terms have been adopted to make necessary distinctions. Ivanic (1998:10) provides a brief overview of the meaning of the different terms that are used. In anthropology, a distinction is made between 'self' and 'person'. Whereas 'self' refers to 'aspects of identity associated with an individual's feelings (or "affect")', 'person' refers to 'aspects of identity associated with a socially defined role'. 'Role' is another widely

used term, which, however, points to stereotyped (essentialist) behaviour. Another term is 'persona', which has been argued to point to 'person-hood'. Ivanic (1998:10) states that these terms refer to the 'public, institutionally defined aspect of identity', whereas 'self' and 'identity' encapsulate more the private aspect of identity. However, as she critically notes, this separation leads to distinguishing an essential self from the social context. In her opinion, the terms 'subjectivity', 'subjectivities' and 'positionings' are more appropriate because they 'suggest both that the socially available resources for the construction of identity are multiple, and that an individual's identity is a complex of interweaving positionings' (Ivanic 1998:10). She also draws attention to the verb 'identify', which refers to a process and thus the noun 'identification' focuses on "the processes whereby individuals align themselves with groups, communities, and/or sets of interests, values, beliefs and practices' (Ivanic 1998:11).

As Derrida (2000:91) claims, the subject is 'inscribed in language, is a function of language' pointing out a link between the constitution of subjectivity itself and language. This notion has been adopted by many disciplines and has led to the 'discursive turn' in the social sciences. Particularly research focussing on identities in fields as diverse as sociology, anthropology, psychology and history among others, has firmly established 'the fundamental role of linguistic processes and strategies in the creation, negotiation and establishment of identities' over the last decade (de Fina et al. 2006:1).

De Fina (2003:16) summarises the fact that research particularly in discourse studies focuses on investigating ways

in which fragmented and 'polyphonous' identities coexist within the same individual, ways in which identities change and evolve according to situations, interlocutors and contexts, ways in which identities are created, imposed, enjoined, or repressed through social institutions and interactions.

The next section of this chapter will deal with different developments and approaches to the multiplicity of (or 'polyphonous') identities in gender and language research and in social and cultural anthropology. The reason why this section focuses primarily on gender identity/ies is twofold: First, gender acts as a central theme in both empirical chapters because this study draws upon gender relations, gendered discourses and gender identities; and second, gender has been

prominent in research on identities and has greatly contributed to theoretical developments of the notion of identity as Benwell/ Stokoe (2006:6) also point out.

4.1.2 Gender and gendered identities

Particularly studies about gender in the social sciences and linguistics have contributed to the poststructuralist reworking of the notion of identities in general. This section will first outline the development of the construction of gender and different approaches to gender. The second part emphasises the shift to gendered discourses and gendered identities in gender and language research.

4.1.2.1 The construction of gender

The modern concept of 'gender' first emerged in the area of overlap between sexology and psychoanalysis. Both disciplines, as Foucault (Glover/Kaplan 2000: xviii) argues, focus on the assumption that the truth about oneself is to be found in one's sexual nature. Sexology was also the first discipline that provably used the term 'gender' in order to refer to the social and cultural aspects of sexual difference in 1963.

The first feminist theories of the construction of gender appeared in the 1970s and a brief outline of how 'gender' was approached is provided.

The ethnomethodological approach, which emerged in the 1970s, focuses on the methods of construction of masculinity and men, and femininity and women: How 'men' and 'women' are perceived and thought about, how individuals present themselves as male or female, what characteristics are attributed to and denied of individuals, and what social processes of everyday life are responsible for the gendering of people, rooms and objects (Becker-Schmidt/Knapp 2000:73).

Ethnomethodologists argue that gender *and* sex are socially constructed, thus no dichotomy of either essential sex or essential gender exists. The aim of this approach is to learn more about the meanings of gender, 'to enable us to look *at* culture's gender-lenses rather than *through* them' (Bem 1993:2, in Becker-Schmidt/Knapp 2000:74; italics in original).

In the 1980s and 1990s, this approach was broadened to social constructionism. Instead of regarding language use as a reflection of gender, a shift occurred to language use constructing gender. Gender is thus seen as

- the active/interactive/negotiated construction of gender, including self-positioning
- linguistic dealings with (individual/ groups of) women, men, boys and girls, e.g., how they are addressed, what is said to them
- what is said and written about gender differential tendencies, similarities and diversity, including what is said and written about (individual/ groups of) women, men boys and girls. (Sunderland/Litosseliti 2008:4)

The main focus lay on the reason(s) why, given the variety of sexual behaviours and relationships, people speak of only two opposite sexes/genders and how the maintenance of two exclusive genders function in everyday life.

Lorber (1994) offers a new paradigm of gender: *gender as a social institution*. She sees gender 'as an institution that establishes patterns of expectations for individuals, orders the social processes of everyday life, is built into the major social organizations of society, such as the economy, ideology, the family, and politics, and is also an entity in and of itself' (Lorber 1994:1). Altogether, gender is regarded as a 'human invention' by researchers who follow this approach; like language, religion and technology, gender organises human social life in culturally patterned ways (Lorber 1994:6).

'Doing gender', brought into the debate by West/ Zimmerman (1987), is another aspect in this approach, which regards membership of a gender not as a set of attributes possessed by a person but as something a person does: '[D]oing gender involves a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micropolitical activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine "natures"' (West/ Zimmerman 1987:126). Gender is therefore a performative act, is continually created and 'stresses the creative potential and the embedding of gender-typical behaviour in a social context' (Wodak 1997:13).

In contrast to Lorber, de Laurentis does locate gender in the individual as a characteristic, which is 'presented' in everyday life. She regards *gender as representation and self-representation*, being the product of various social technologies (cinema), as well as institutional discourses, epistemologies, and critical (social and cultural) practices (1987:ix). She draws upon Althusser and Foucault and their subject/sexuality theories and focuses on the construction of gender as representation of a relation (belonging to class, religion, and category) and further elaborates on 'ideology of gender'. Her feminist theory of gender 'points to a conception of the subject as multiple, rather than divided or unified' (1987:x).

De Laurentis points out a certain limitation of the gender concept if it is only regarded as 'sexual difference'. She refers to the 'radical epistemological potential of

feminist thought [of the 1980s]', which provides a different way of subject construction:

a subject constituted in gender, to be sure, though not by sexual difference alone, but rather across languages and cultural representations; a subject en-gendered in the experiencing of race and class, as well as sexual, relations; a subject, therefore, not unified but rather multiple, and not so much divided as contradicted (1987:2).

The influence of poststructuralism brought along researchers challenging the binary opposition of gender as well as the one of sex and gender, and considering gender as a continuum that is performed linguistically repeatedly day after day. Thus gender and language researchers began to question 'the division of speech on the basis of a binary division of gender or sex' (Bing/ Bergvall 1996:3) and to use postmodernist views on performativity of gender. By doing so, research in the field moved beyond the difference-dominance dichotomy¹³ because on the one hand the presentation of stylistic variation enables people to construct their identities as they desire and on the other hand, 'individuals may pick and choose among a range of available styles identified as masculine and feminine, and thus perform gender or enact a more or less gender-typed identity' (Gibbon 1999:138).

The researcher who became highly influential for gender (and language) research is Judith Butler (1990a). By focussing on gender identity, she theorises identity as discursively produced and performative. Like other researchers, she takes up the claim that 'woman' cannot any longer be regarded as universal category. She argues that every woman is individual and should be thought about as multiple and discontinuous: 'The very subject of women is no longer understood in stable or abiding terms' (Butler 1990a:1), thus neither is the self in general.

Being influenced by French poststructuralist feminism, she calls for a new way of theorising gender. The crucial points in her theory are firstly, the connection between sexuality and gender identity. For her, the discursive standardisation of gender identity does not only rely on the distinction between men and women but also on its connection to the heterosexual standardisation of desire (Becker-Schmidt/Knapp 2000:85). Butler (1990b:335) speaks of an 'accomplishment of

¹³ Up to the early 1990s, two research paradigms evolved in gender and language research, the dominance/deficit (Lakoff 1975) and the difference approach (Tannen 1990). Whereas the former emphasised the fact that women speak a deficit language compared to the dominant language of men, the latter highlights the fact that due to girls' and boys' different upbringings, mixed-sex interaction should be regarded as cross-cultural communication. In both approaches, gender was taken for granted and was treated "as a demographic category that is given in advance" (Cameron 1996:44), resulting in a generalisation of 'women talk like this and men talk like that'. Language was taken as the phenomenon to be explained, whereas gender constituted the explanation and not vice versa.

coherent heterosexuality' simultaneous with the acquisition of gender identity.

The second crucial point is the sex/gender distinction itself. Butler considers the distinction anything else than a way to counter biological determinism. On the contrary, the distinction functions as refuge for binary sex resulting in the fact that it has become impossible to criticise and analyse 'sex': '[T]he internal stability and binary frame for sex is effectively secured [...] by casting the duality of sex in a prediscursive domain. This production of sex *as* the prediscursive ought to be understood as the effect of the apparatus of cultural construction designated by *gender*' (Butler 1990a:7). She does not see any reason to believe that 'sex' precedes cultural inscriptions of gender: 'Gender is not to culture as sex is to nature' (Butler 1990a:7). According to her, by regarding sex as pre-discursive, sex is retrospectively a product of gender so that, in a sense, gender comes *before* sex. She elaborates her interpretation as far as stating if 'sex' is culturally constructed as well as 'gender', then the distinction between 'sex' and 'gender' is 'no distinction at all' (Butler 1990a:7). As Hey (1994:16) points out, by stating that 'sex' is pre-discursive and only produced by discourse, Butler transcends the nature/culture model and therefore the distinction sex/gender is transferred to a different dimension.

Moreover, by pointing out that the sex/gender distinction itself suggests a 'radical discontinuity' between the sexed bodies and culturally constructed genders, she does not see any reason in assuming genders also ought to remain as two. Therefore, gender should be seen as a fluid variable and 'free-floating' rather than fixed:

When the constructed status of gender is theorized as radically independent of sex, gender itself becomes a free-floating artifice, with the consequence that man and masculine might just as easily signify a female body as a male one, and woman and feminine a male body as easily as a female one. (Butler 1990a: 6)

Next to gender being fluid, 'gender proves to be performative [; ...] gender is always a doing', an assumption which makes Butler state that '[t]here is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results' (Butler 1990a:25). Gender is thus an act, a set of costumes, manipulated codes, rather than a core aspect of essential identity. It is what you *do* at particular times within the gendered discourses within which individuals are situated, rather than a universal *who you are*. Her main metaphor for this is 'drag'. According to Butler, drag artists are subverting ideas of gender norms because they play upon the distinction between their anatomy and the

gender that is being performed by them. The relation between the 'imitation' and the 'original' shows the way in which the relationship between primary identification and subsequent gender experience might be reframed. Butler states that drag 'also reveals the distinctness of those aspects of gendered experience which are falsely naturalized as a unity through the regulatory fiction of heterosexual coherence' (Butler 1990a:137).

Another important point is that gender parody does not assume the existence of an original; rather the original identity itself is revealed as an imitation without an origin: '*In imitating gender, drag implicitly reveals the imitative structure of gender itself – as well as its contingency*' (Butler 1990a:137). This results in a 'fluidity of identities', which are 'denaturalized and mobilized through their parodic recontextualization' (Butler 1990a:138). Additionally, and this is pointed out by Elam (1994:50), these gender parodies need to be repeatedly performed because those 'gender ideal[s] can never be stabilized' or reach standardisation. Simple alternatives of sex and gender, nature and culture are thus refused, but: '[n]ature is the retro-projected illusion of a real origin to culture, yet that illusion is *necessary* to culture, the very ground of its capacity to represent itself'.

Summarising Butler's assumption about the role gender subversion plays in her theory, she writes:

In the place of an original identification which serves as a determining cause, gender identity might be reconceived as a personal/cultural history of received meanings subject to a set of imitative practices which refer laterally to other imitations, and which, jointly, construct the illusion of a primary and interior gendered self or which parody the mechanism of that construction (Butler 1990b:338).

Butler does not gloss over the question of what kind of gender performance will reveal the performativity of gender in a way that destabilises the naturalised categories of identity and desire, but one of her major failings is not giving an answer to this question. This is rather problematic in as much as most people do not know how they could fundamentally change the way they behave and appear. Therefore her idea about individuals using performative acts to change their behaviour and thus their thinking about gender may be seen as slightly unrealistic. Her theoretical considerations of gender have been criticised (e.g. Diseger 1994) and in later writing, she partly revised her theory (Butler 1993).

4.1.2.2 (Gendered) discourses and gendered identities

The multiplicity of identities has been adopted in gender studies by the shift to researching femininities and masculinities, as well as to the discursive construction of gendered identities.

The term discourse is used widely in various academic disciplines but it is often left undefined and thus 'carries a kind of multi-accentuality – varying in meaning according to user and context' (Baxter 2003:7). Mills (1997:1) even states that 'it is often the term within theoretical texts which is least defined', which is paradoxical as the term has many different meanings and usually it 'is largely the constraints that bound disciplinary structures which demarcate the various meanings of the term (Mills 1997:3).

In linguistics, a common definition of discourse regards the term as 'language above the sentence' or 'language at text level' (Cameron 2001:11), referring to stretches of written and oral text, which allows one to analyse patterns into units that go beyond a sentence. A related, even overlapping and intersecting (Baxter 2003:7), conventional definition in linguistics is 'language in use', i.e. any talk that occurs between people in everyday contexts such as in the classroom, law courts, etc. Another and highly relevant definition of discourse for this study regards discourse as 'practices that systematically form the object of which they speak', i.e. discourses are 'different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice' (Fairclough 1992:3). Thus '[d]iscourses are closely associated with "discursive practices": social practices that are produced by/through discourses' (Baxter 2003:7). Litosseliti/Sunderland (2002:13) develop Fairclough's notion of discourses in that they claim that regarding 'discourse as social practice offers a way of seeing how we experience the world, in part through the *representational* capacity of language' (italics in original). Thus discourses represent ways individuals see and experience the world, but they also maintain, constitute, articulate, re-constitute, negotiate and resist these ways of seeing the world. Discourses construct language users in some way, consequently, discourses are constitutive: 'a potential and arguably actual agent of social *construction*' (Litosseliti/Sunderland 2002:13; italics in original), which entail processes of changing perceptions of experience and identities (Litosseliti 2006:49). Discourses are also recognisable and meaningful to speakers, thus they pre-exist their users and through language use and social actions are constantly revised and re-produced (Sunderland 2004:7). By the means of social action social power is also

acted out through discourses (Litosseliti 2006:49). Powerful and powerless positions are constructed through these discourses and as Baxter (2003:9) points out individuals may be positioned powerful within one discourse but powerless in another and perhaps even competing discourse. This leads to another characteristic of discourses: they can be supporting, competing or conflicting for the same individuals in different settings (see e.g. Coates 1997 and Baxter 2003 for examples). Thus discourses relate to other discourses, appear within and may be mixed together with other discourses, showing traces of 'intertextuality' and 'interdiscursivity'. Any oral and written text shows intertextuality, because people draw on words that are 'given to them by the discourses and genres of which they have had experiences' (Kress 1989:49). Sunderland (2004:12) also mentions 'manifest intertextuality', which is existent when either a particular written text from a different source is included in a new text or past conversations are retold by the means of reported speech. Interdiscursivity refers to several different discourses appearing in a particular stretch of written or oral language.

Sunderland (2004:6) distinguishes between descriptive discourses (such as classroom discourse) and interpretive discourses (such as the 'gender equality now achieved'- discourse). Whereas the former refers to a linguistic interaction between people in a specific setting, the latter refers to knowledge and practices of particular groups and institutions (Talbot 1995:43). Interpretive discourses can also be gendered when they refer to and reveal gendered behaviours, positions, relations, actions, choices and identities about women and men. They represent, maintain, constitute and contest gendered social practices (Litosseliti 2006:58). Sunderland (2004: 20f) points out that the adjective gendered is stronger than 'gender-related' and is 'part of the "thing" which *gendered* describes' and that 'gender may have been *done to* that "thing"' (italics in original). The emphasis is on 'gendered what' and not on 'gendered how', which was the focus of gender and language research in the 1970s and 1980s. Gendered discourses position men and women differently as particular kinds of gendered behaviour are expected from them, thus affecting women and men differently. However, women and men are not just constituted, but they actively take up gendered subject positions. Thus discourses can be both gendered and gendering (Sunderland 2004: 22). By taking up gendered subject positions, individuals can and do negotiate or resist subject positions, which means that they position themselves or can be positioned 'as relatively powerful within one

discourse but as relatively powerless within another, perhaps competing discourse' (Baxter 2003: 9) as mentioned above.

Sunderland (2004) overviews gendered discourses that have so far been identified: discourses of gender difference; heterosexuality discourses and compulsory heterosexuality discourses; discourses of gender and employment opportunities; discourses of the menopause; discourses of self-disclosure or consciousness-raising; discourses of fatherhood.

It seems evident that 'an individual's orientation to a particular (stretch of) discourse needs to be considered before any discussion of construction in relation to that individual can take place' (Sunderland 2004:22). Here Sunderland follows Bucholtz who emphasises that 'speakers' identities emerge from discourse' (1999:4) and Weatherall (2002:138) points out that 'identities are progressively and dynamically achieved through the discursive practices that individuals engage in'. The question arises what kinds of identities are constructed as a result of positioning within different discourses.

When talking about gendered identities, the focus lies on femininities and masculinities which become salient within individuals and social contexts. Multiple gendered identities are constructed by drawing on choices that are available from different discourses. Litosseliti (2006:62) points out that the construction of gendered identities is a two-way process, i.e. discourses constitute multiple identities and people's identities give rise to particular discourses. Litosseliti (2006:62) gives an example of such a construction, which could have been taken from my own data: a woman may be constructed as businesswoman, mother, feminist, etc. by her talk and how she is spoken about in a particular situation, and recognisable discourses surrounding these subject positions are shaped, i.e. the possibilities and boundaries of discourses are negotiated or modified. For example, this woman while positioning herself as a businesswoman may downplay her identity as a mother in the workplace because of the effects of being positioned as a working mother and the corresponding discourse(s).

Next to various kinds of gender identities, research on gender has revealed that people also display simultaneous kinds of identities in every act they engage in. Thus, Henrietta Moore's difference approach is valuable and will be outlined in the next section.

4.1.2.3 The anthropological difference-approach

Like in gender and language research, poststructuralism also instigated a reworking and rethinking of the anthropological notion of identity.

On the one hand, poststructuralist thinking questioned universality. Aspects such as the capacity for self-awareness, the ability to distinguish self from other (self-identity) and the apprehension of self-continuity were regarded as essential for human and social functioning, which were thus considered universal. However, universality obscures specific local views of identity/ies (Moore 1994:30). But, variability in discourses and particularly in western discourses have been difficult to be acknowledged because as Moore (1994:31) points out there is a 'discipline's need for a stable set of concepts, categories and discourses through which to view other people'. Additionally, whereas the 'idea of persons as divisible, partible and unbounded has now gained a certain acceptance in the discipline', the idea that the body might not be the source of identity has seen some resistance (Moore 1994:33).

Moore bases her reworking of the notion of identity on difference because '[l]ives are shaped by a multiplicity of differences, differences which may be perceived categorically but are lived relationally (Moore 1994:20). Thus, focusing on 'differences is one way of delineating identities. Difference(s) from others are frequently about forming and maintaining group boundaries' (Moore 1994:1). She draws on Butler regarding the multiplicity of the self and she also adds another aspect: not one kind of identity can stand on its own but is interrelated with others. She specifically refers to gender identity, which is always to be put into relation with other forms of identities.

Based on the development of gender research in social and cultural anthropology until the late 1980s, Moore takes up the criticism of the polarising and hierarchical tendencies within the anthropological theories. She claims that research not only used to put an emphasis on the differences between cultures but also between women and men. Similarities between the sexes, on the other hand, were rarely, if at all, discussed (Moore 1993:195). Moore states that this was partly due to focussing on gender differences in indigenous discourses and the confusion in anthropological theory about whether 'similarity implies sameness and sameness implies equality' (Moore 1993:195). The question, thus, arises, how to analytically handle these two concepts after the critique of the unitary category of 'woman' (see Butler above) and the fact that gender difference needs to be put into relation with

other forms of difference, which means that gender difference is no longer a stable and monolithic concept (Hauser-Schäublin/ Röttger-Rössler 1998:16). According to Moore, one important aspect evolves from this critique: whether or not gender difference should be privileged over all other forms of difference because if gender makes a difference, so do other social variables such as class, sexuality, religion and other forms of difference (Moore 1993:195). In this context, she also refers to the web of discourses and that they are related to one another:

different aspects of gender are perhaps best seen as mutually co-existent, but sometimes conflicting models of, or discourses on, gender. Where discourses exist that focus on the absolute and irreducible nature of sexual difference, there is no particular reason to privilege them over other discourses or to accord them some kind of foundational status. What is essential is to examine those contexts in which certain discourses become appropriate and powerful (Moore 1994:24f).

Here, she follows Anzaldúa (1990), who claims in her work that no aspect of identity has priority or is privileged over another. This means that focusing only on gender difference without considering the context and other forms of difference leads to overemphasising and distorting the meaning and importance of gender difference in a particular setting.

Her second claim is that differences *within* rather than *between* genders are relevant and here she follows the poststructuralist tradition of heterogeneity because 'there is no single way of categorizing the female and the male, and no single gender ideology or model within any one society' (Reeves Sanday/ Goodenough 1990, quoted in Moore 1993:199). The emphasis on the variation within cultures as well as within bodies can be seen as equivalent to the variation within the self.

The rigid categorisation of people, or women and men, is not possible although Western discourse, which regards sex/gender as being at the core of personhood, does not find it easy to comprehend that shifting categories or sometimes belonging to one category but not constantly is evident in various non-Western societies (see Meigs 1990 and Tcherkezoff 1993 on different constructions of gender categories). However, research has shown that there is no 'one-to-one correspondence between gender identity [...] and notions of personhood'. Rather '[p]ersons are multiply gendered' (Moore 1994:40).

Her third claim is that anthropology rarely speaks of subjects. which results in the 'inability to investigate the differences within individual subjects, those very differences which constitute them as subjects' (Moore 1993:203). Thus, the aspect of

multiple differences and multiple identities within the subject is of vital importance.

Moore (1993:204) states that

if anthropology is to be able to theorize the similarities and differences between people, [...] then we can no longer proceed as if categories of difference were simply attached to persons. We have to begin to recognize how persons are constituted in and through difference. Multiple forms of difference – race, class, gender, sexuality – intersect within individuals, and identity is therefore premised on *difference*.

This means that considering all three notions of difference are of utmost importance for feminist anthropology: the difference between the sexes, the difference within the sexes and the intersection of different identities within a self (polyphonous identities). Particularly the last claim about multiple forms of difference intersecting within individuals is relevant for identity research because as Hauser-Schäublin/ Röttger-Rössler (1998:16) point out gender, ethnic, religious and class differences may dominate in an interaction according to the context. However, depending on the ethnic, religious or class membership of the conversation partners, it is possible that completely different gender models may be disclosed.

Moore (1994:20) also points to discourses (as discussed in the previous section) and says that 'there is no discourse on gender outside the discourses of race and class and ethnicity and sexuality and so on' and continues to refer to interdiscursivity: 'Next to multiple identities, there are also multiple models and/or discourses within cultures, societies, groups of people resulting in increasing research on multiple discourses within and between cultures, which may be dominant or appropriate in only specific settings (Moore 1994:34).

Depending on the social context a person finds oneself in, particular identities are enacted, performed and presented. This means that in specific contexts the professional identity may be salient whereas the identity as a parent is not and in a different context it may be the opposite. These identities are not fixed but fluid, complex, situational and temporary.

Here Moore and her difference-approach again resembles Anzaldúa's approach that gender and other aspects of identity are inextricably interconnected (paraphrased in Bucholtz 1999:5). She argues that individuals occupy multiple identity positions and thus have multiple voices with which to speak:

When we come into possession of a voice, we sometimes have to choose *with which voice* (the voice of the dyke, the Chicana, the professor, the master), *in which voice* (first person, third, vernacular, formal) or *in which language* (Black English, Tex-Mex, Spanish, academes) to speak and write in (Anzaldúa 1990:xxiii, quoted in Bucholtz 1999:6; emphasis added)

Anzaldúa connects identity positionings to language specifically and her point is highly relevant for this study. Applied to the data, an interviewee can choose to speak with the voice, for instance, of an employee, a mother, a member of the postsocialist generation by either referring to him or herself or using reported speech when recounting a story, by applying a more formal register or including more informal expressions in either English, their mother tongue or German, the language of the interviewer.

4.1.3 Grammars of identity/alterity

Baumann/ Gingrich (2004) have introduced three grammars or modalities of identity/alterity. They are aware of the fact that using the term 'grammar' may be unusual but they claim that they use it as a 'shorthand for certain simple classificatory structures or [...] schemata that [...] can be recognized in a vast variety of processes concerned with defining identity and alterity' (Baumann/Gingrich 2004:ix). Such processes are related to social conceptions which are shaped and influenced by historical and socio-political contexts.

The three grammars of identity/alterity are based on adaptations of work by Edward Said (1978), E.E.Evans-Pritchard (1940) and Louis Dumont (1980) and used as 'guides as to how different discourses order the relationships between self and other' (Baumann 2004:19). Gingrich (2004a:6) points out that negotiating identity simultaneously includes processes of 'sameness' and 'difference', 'self' and 'other', thus making out an inherently dialogical relationship in which identity is multidimensional and contradictory.

The first grammar is the **grammar of orientalising**, or the constitution of Self and Other by negative mirror imaging. Referring to Said's work on the seemingly binary process of Westerners representing 'the Orient' and thus themselves ('us is good and them is bad'), Baumann (2004:20) argues that orientalism is a binary opposition subject to reversal: 'Orientalism is thus not a simple binary opposition of "us = good" and "them = bad", but a very shrewd mirrored reversal of: "what is good in us is [still] bad in them, but what got twisted in us [still] remains straight in them"'. Thus, the grammar or orientalising is transformed 'into a double-edged, potentially subtle, and at times even dialectical way of selfing one's own and othering the alien.

[...] Selfing and othering condition each other in that both positive and negative characteristics are made to mirror each other in reverse' (Baumann 2004:21).

The second grammar is the **grammar of segmentation**. Referring to Evans-Pritchard's (1940) model of the segmentary lineage system, this grammar is 'a logic of fission or enmity at a lower level of segmentation, overcome by a logic of fusion or neutralization of conflict at a higher level of segmentation' (Baumann 2004:22). To put it differently, this grammar could be described as 'the friend of my friend is my friend; the enemy of my friend is my enemy; the enemy of my enemy is my friend'. Hence, identity and alterity is a matter of context: 'the Other may be my foe in a context placed at a lower level of segmentation, but may simultaneously be my ally in a context placed at a higher level of segmentation' (Baumann 2004:23). Selfing and Othering happen among individuals that are perceived and conceived as formally equal (Baumann/Gingrich 2004:x).

The third grammar is the **grammar of encompassment**. Referring to Dumont's (1980) work, this grammar is an act of selfing by appropriating different and selected kinds of otherness (Baumann 2004:25). Others are considered 'part of us' but are hierarchically sub-included. Unlike the grammar of segmentation, which contextualises difference by recognising a multitude of levels, this grammar only works on two levels: 'The lower level of cognition recognizes difference, the higher level subsumes that which is different under that which is universal' (Baumann 2004:25). To explain it further, from a lower level, individuals may perceive themselves as different but these differences are fictions of identity politics. Viewing it from a higher level, others are a subordinate part of an encompassing Us.

The different grammars offer different solutions, all grammars being at one's disposal as argumentative tools and positions for social actors. This indicates a constant change of grammars according in relation to context (Baumann 2004:31).

At first sight, the three grammars look like binary grammars which create a Self and Other as mutually exclusive poles (Baumann 2004:35). However, this is not the case because Baumann (2004:36) emphasises that practices of discourse always involve or implicate a third party. He refers to the ordering of interaction by linguistic structures (Benveniste 1971) and specifically to pronouns: 'Every use of the pronouns 'I' and 'you' thus implicates a third party, a 'he' or 'she' or 'it; and every use of the pronouns 'we' and 'you' makes silent use of a 'they' or 'them' who

are present, but not addressed in the dialogue' (Baumann 2004:36). Thus all binary grammars are in fact ternary grammars each in their own way.

The grammar of orientalisation is ternary because one other is played out against another. Thus there is a 'we' who speak, a 'you' that is a potential partner and a 'they' who are excluded from any dialogue. In the grammar of segmentation there is a 'them' who are not part of the dialogue between the 'us' and the 'you'. The third party is not a part of the segmentary ordering of self and other and this third party shows the limits of applicability of this grammar. The grammar of encompassment is always selective because encompassment 'excludes a category of 'them' who are neither 'us' nor 'you' and who cannot participate in the dialogue of who is who' (Baumann 2004:38).

Despite the fact that Baumann/Gingrich point out that the three grammars can be applied to the field of gender studies (2004:199f), their focus is on collective identities and gender relations. The question arises if these grammars are useful for analyzing individual identities. The answer to this question is affirmative. If groups display certain ways of distancing themselves from others, or appropriating several kinds of otherness in particular contexts, then the same applies to individuals. Moreover, by specifically emphasising the usage of pronouns, their grammars of identity/alterity provide a further way of addressing the construction of identities and subject positions through language/ in interaction.

4.1.4 Positioning Theory

As outlined in the previous sections, people are positioned within discourses. Harré/ van Langenhove (1999) have developed positioning theory, which deals with different kinds of positionings in interactions.

According to Harré/ van Langenhove (1999:1), positioning theory involves the 'study of local moral orders as ever-shifting patterns of mutual and contestable rights and obligations of speaking and acting'. It aims to explore the dynamics of social episodes in order to understand how psychological phenomena are created in the sequential development of a structured sequence of actions.

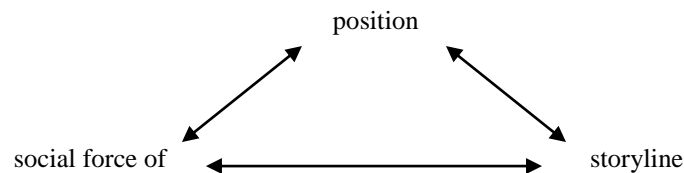
The notion of positioning can be viewed as the constitution of speakers and hearers in particular ways as they engage in conversation through different discursive practices that are simultaneously resources through which both parties can negotiate

new positions created in talk and through talk (Davies/ Harré 1999:52). Individuals emerge from the processes of social interaction, which are constructed through the various discursive practices in which they participate. Depending upon the positions made available within their own and others' discursive practices, their identities shift (Davies/ Harré 1999: 35). Thus, positioning is a discursive practice and, within conversations, participants position themselves and the others as well as are positioned by others (van Langenhove/ Harré 1999:22). They define position as

a complex cluster of generic personal attributes, structured in various ways, which impinges on the possibilities of interpersonal, intergroup and even intrapersonal action through some assignment of such rights, duties and obligations to an individual as are sustained by the cluster.

Harré/ van Langenhove (1999:6) claim that three basic features of interactions enable speakers to understand and explain much of what is going on in interactions and how sociological and psychological phenomena are constructed in interactions: firstly, the moral positions of the participants and the rights and duties they have to say certain things; secondly, the conversational history and the sequence of things that have been said; and thirdly, the actual utterances that shape particular aspects of the social world.

For analysing the act of positioning, Harré/van Langenhove provide the triad of position, social force of, and storyline.



(van Langenhove and Harré 1999:18)

In the discursive construction of personal stories fluid 'parts' or 'roles' are assigned to speakers, which make the actions intelligible and determinate social acts.

People take up positions in a conversation. If the same utterances are changed or taken up by different people, then the utterances have a different social meaning ('social force of'). Conversations also unfold along a storyline depending on, for example, the questions that trigger different issues in the interviews.

Harré/van Langenhove (1999:6) distinguish between three main ways of classifying acts of positioning: first, whether individual persons are positioned by individuals or collectives by collectives; second, whether an individual or collective

reflexively positions themselves, or whether it is by some other which positions and is positioned; and third, whether the positioning act is symmetrical or asymmetrical, i.e. whether each positions the other or whether in positioning one the other is also positioned in the same act.

There are several different ways/ modes of positioning. They can be classified into two groups, performative/accountive positioning and self / other positioning.

| | <i>Performative positioning</i> | <i>Accountive positioning</i> |
|-------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Self-positioning | deliberate self-positioning | forced self-positioning |
| Other-positioning | deliberate positioning of others | forced positioning of others |

(van Langenhove/ Harré 1999:24)

Performative positioning occurs when individuals position themselves and others within a storyline (first order positioning) and their acts usually have perlocutionary effects. Accountive positioning happens when first order positionings are questioned either within the conversation (second order positioning) or within another conversation about the first conversation (third order positioning). Self- and other-positioning occurs in every conversation because whenever individuals position themselves, other individuals are positioned simultaneously. Similarly, whenever individuals are positioned, the one who positions is also positioned.

Thus three typical kinds of positioning talk can be distinguished (van Langenhove/ Harré 1999:22f): First, 'discursive practices in which people position themselves, position others and are positioned by them'. This performative positioning talk consists of mostly tacit first order acts of positioning within evolving storylines. The perlocutionary effects of such talk include openings for and constraints on kinds of illocutionary acts that are available to speakers who have been positioned. van Langenhove/Harré (1999:23) provide the example of making someone unhappy by what has been said (perlocutionary force), which is followed by the illocutionary force in the shape of an apology. Second, there are 'discursive practices in which acts of positioning of the first kind become a topic or target'. This kind of positioning talk is within and about the evolving and ongoing storyline. Thus refusing a positioning laid on them by someone else's discursive practices entails

acting relative to the original act of positioning by the means of deleting, blocking or accepting the perlocutionary effect of the first order positioning (accountive practice).

Third, 'discursive practices in which the positioning-talk has as a topic the first or second order positioning that occurred in another discursive practice than the current one.' The perlocutionary effects are various such as accusing someone of being of a certain kind. The attention of the speakers is drawn to the nature of what they have said as well as to the effects their discursive practices have.

As Harré/ van Langenhove (1999:6) use the term 'personal identity', it is necessary to briefly outline how they approach the notion of identity. Their starting point is selfhood which is manifested in various discursive practices (taking responsibility for one's actions, expressing doubt, telling autobiographical stories, etc) and is the sum of various kinds of identities that are attributed to people (Harré/ van Langenhove 1999:7). They distinguish between personal identity and 'personas':

there is the self of personal identity, which is experienced as the continuity of one's point of view in the world of objects in space and time. This is usually coupled with one's sense of personal agency, in that one takes oneself as acting from that very same point. Then there are the selves that are publicly presented in the episodes of interpersonal interaction in the everyday world, the coherent clusters of traits we sometimes call 'personas'. [...] One's personal identity persists 'behind' the publicly presented repertoire of one's personae.

Whereas personas are presented discursively as public performance, one's personal identity can only be presented 'formally', i.e. it does not have content as it is a structural/organisational feature of one's mentality. Personal identity is displayed by the first-person pronoun 'I', with which the individual's sayings and doings are indexed. 'We' indicates a 'double singularity of public personhood', whereas 'I' is singular and used to express the self. 'In normal circumstances each human being is the seat of just one person, but of many personas.' In the appropriate social context a repertoire of personas is displayed in clusters of behaviour. Each person has many different personas, any of them can be dominant in someone's self-presentation in a particular context.

Whereas first order positionings are mostly tacit (except e.g. when lying), second and third order positionings are always intentional. Harré/ van Langenhove (1999:24ff) distinguish between four distinct forms of intentional positioning, which are products of the performative/accountive and self/other dimensions (see Table above):

Deliberate self-positioning occurs in every conversation where one wants to express his/her personal identity by either stressing one's agency or by referring to one's point of view or to events in one's biography. Grammatically, this mode of self-positioning is done by the usage of pronouns ('I') and by personal explanations of personal behaviour such as by 'referring to one's powers and one's rights to exercise them, by referring to one's biography and by referring to personal experiences that one has had as legitimating certain claims, for example "expertise"' (24f). Deliberate self-positioning implies an attempt to achieve specific goals, therefore it can also be called 'strategic positioning'.

Forced self-positioning occurs when the initiative does not lie with the person involved but with someone else. This form of positioning may come from a person representing an institution or from people within institutions (such as bosses, clients, consultants and colleagues) in order to classify people who are expected to function within institutions;

Deliberate positioning of others can be done either when the person being positioned is present or absent. If the former is the case, the positioning can be taken up or not by the person positioned in the storyline of the speaker. An example of this form of positioning may be a moral reproach. If the latter is the case, then this mode of positioning can be understood as gossiping. By pointing out another individual's behaviour which is opposed, criticised, supported, etc. by the speaker, the speaker is also positioned. By telling the gossip to a person, the speaker also shows trust in the person the story is told to.

Forced positioning of others occurs when the person intentionally being positioned is either present or absent. An example would be if person A demands a particular stand (positioning) of person B towards person C. Its most dramatic form is a court trial. As this mode of positioning is not part of this thesis, it will not be explained in more detail.

van Langenhove/ Harré (1999:24) emphasise that these distinctions are merely analytic because several forms of positionings are likely to occur simultaneously in all conversations, thus also in interviews.

Having outlined several approaches to the notion of identity, the next section will summarise the theoretical stance of this study.

4.1.5 Theoretical stance

This chapter has provided an overview of the poststructuralist influence on the theorisation of identities by outlining the development of different approaches to gender identities on the one hand and describing two approaches to positionings of the self and others on the other hand.

Identities are perceived as non-essentialist, i.e. they are constructed, they change, and they are fluid. In interactions, positionings depend on the prevalent discourses that are at play and as Litosseliti (2006: 62) points out, discourses create identity positions but identity positions also create discourses. Thus it is important to explore the specific discursive context that is prevalent at a particular moment in an interaction. At this point, gendered discourses (Sunderland 2004) will also be essential because they enable exploring the construction of gender identities. It is of utmost importance that gender identities are not treated as holistic and unique because as Moore (1993) has pointed out different kinds of identities intersect with gender.

The analysis of specific discursive constructions of identities in interactions will draw on self-positionings and reactions to positionings by others (Harré/ van Langenhove 1999). By applying the different ways of self-positioning and other positioning, it is possible to explore the various identity constructions. The grammars of identity/alterity (Baumann/ Gingrich 2004) are also useful for addressing the notion of identity construction from a different angle. Particularly for the analysis of alignments to collective identities and the construction of both individual and collective identities, their grammars enable a deeper look behind the 'simple' positioning of the self.

4.2 Pronouns and their role in identity construction

Pronouns and the use of pronouns are indexical devices as they point to concrete individuals and establish a relationship between the linguistic and the extra-linguistic world. Thus indexicality 'connects utterances to extra-linguistic reality via the ability of linguistic signs to point to aspects of the social context' (de Fina et al. 2006:4) and has been crucial in research on identities. By using spatial and time expressions as well as personal pronouns, speakers point to their roles as speakers as well as to their location in time and space and to their relationship with others. More specifically,

speakers 'constitute and reconstitute their positions with respect to each other, to objects, places and times' (de Fina et al 2006:4). What is important here is again context, because deictic markers are dependent on it (Benwell/ Stokoe 2006:155) or rather 'the meaning of pronouns is text- and context-derived' (Mühlhäusler/ Harré 1990:58). Therefore, deixis

generally occurs in contexts where there is a shared understanding or experience of events, since speakers are being presented with inexplicit reference and must have access to contextual information in order to retrieve the full understanding of the utterance (speakers need to know who 'she' refers to, or see the visual referent for 'that'). For this reason, it tends to be more common in speech situations (where there is a shared visual context) and informal registers (where participants are more likely to share assumptions, and thus do not need to 'spell out' all references explicitly) (Benwell/ Stokoe 2006:155) .

Whereas spatial and temporal deictic markers are adverbs, such as 'here', 'there', 'in', 'around' (spatial) as well as 'now', 'yesterday', 'then' (temporal), markers of identity deixis are personal pronouns.

Schiffrin (2006b:103) talks of multiplicity as people from the 'real' world in both a world of representation and a world of social action are embedded in speech. More specifically, as soon as speakers are 'embedding self and other within a textual world, they are also indexing the self and other of an interactional world' (Schiffrin 2006b:104). This is usually accomplished by the usage of the personal pronouns 'I', 'you', 'we'.

Benveniste [1971](2004:42) points out that pronouns '*do not refer to a concept or to an individual*' (italics in original). He argues further that 'there is no concept "I" that incorporates all the *Is* that are uttered at every moment [...] in the sense that there is a concept "tree" to which all the individual uses of tree refer'. Neither does 'I' denominate a lexical entity nor refer to a particular individual because if it did, then there would be a contradiction between the term referring indifferently to any individual whatsoever and simultaneously identifying the speaker in their individuality. Benveniste [1971](2004:42) then 'solves' this dilemma as following:

I refers to the act of individual discourse in which it is pronounced, and by this it designates the speaker. It is a term that cannot be identified except in [...] an instance of discourse and that has only a momentary reference. The reality to which it refers is the reality of the discourse. It is in the instance of discourse in which *I* designates the speaker that the speaker proclaims himself [sic!] as the 'subject' (italics in original)

Other indicators of deixis are also only defined with respect to the instances of discourse in which they occur, in dependence upon the 'I' which is proclaimed in the discourse. He talks of discourse and context that are of utmost importance to pronouns making sense and designating subjectivity. Therefore, next to context,

analysing what kinds of discourses are at play at particular moments is important to the analysis of identities.

Pronouns need context in order to have meaning. Thus they have referents, which have already been introduced or are to be introduced in the text, otherwise they would not or hardly be understandable or have a meaning. When the referring expression refers to a referent which has not been mentioned in the text before, then the reference is exophoric. Exophora depend on the context outside the text, either in the situation or in the background knowledge (Cutting 2002:8) and all indexical pronouns belong to this group (Mühlhäusler/Harré 1990:129).

If the referent has already been introduced in the text, then the referring expression is endophoric. Third person pronouns belong to this group because their referents are presented in the text (Mühlhäusler/ Harré 1990:129). There are two types of endophora: If pronouns refer to the referent that has been mentioned in the previous text, then it is an anaphora. If pronouns link forward to a referent in the text that follows, then it is a cataphora. Anaphora are more frequent than cataphora (Cutting 2002:9) but in my data cataphora occur frequently when referring to people. There are three types of cataphora.

The first type is the type of ‘subject referent’ because the pronoun refers to a subject that follows the pronoun:

(1) and as I've said **we women** also do that (76/117)

(2) **we** (.) **I mean people who are working for banks insurance companies or multinational companies that work here** (.) we have (.) that sort of new perception of the whole thing (78/107)

The first example is straightforward because the pronoun ‘we’ is immediately followed by the subject referent and noun ‘women’. The speaker positions herself as belonging to the entity ‘women’.

The second example is quite interesting because it entails a self-initiated and self-completed repair of the reference (Schiffrin 2006a:33). The speaker begins the self-repair by an interruption and pausing briefly, before using the discourse marker ‘I mean’, which in itself ‘marks a speaker’s upcoming modification of the meaning of his/her own prior talk’ (Schiffrin 1987:296). The referent of the pronoun ‘we’ is then clarified by a noun and a description of the noun through a relative clause including a spatial reference (‘here’). The spatial reference refers to the country in which the companies are located. As the pronoun ‘we’ is then repeated again, this example is a ‘long distance TYPE 1 repair’ (Schiffrin 2006a:43). In TYPE 1 repairs, the same

referring expression is used to evoke the same referent and as there is a 'textual space for the insertion of material between first- and next-mentions of the referent' (Schiffrin 2006a:44), it is thus a long distance TYPE 1 repair.

The second type of cataphora is the type of 'place referent' because the pronoun is followed by a spatial deixis or a noun indicating a place.

(1) **we** HAVE also **here** (.) **in the Balkans** this long tradition of of mothers-in-law and and daughters-in-law in in constant conflicts (62/112)

(2) in general compared to other people **here we** we work a little longer hours (176/102)

(3) **we in Croatia** use a lot of German words (104/118)

In the first and the third example, the pronoun 'we' refers to the referent 'people in the Balkans' and 'Croatians' respectively. In the first example, the spatial deixis 'here' is used and further described by specifying what the deixis refers to. The speaker indicates a regional identity and group belonging. In the third example, a national identity is displayed by referring to the place as a country.

The second example is strictly speaking an anaphora because the reference to place precedes the pronoun. However, it still influences the pronoun, in such a way that it can be argued that there is an ellipsis; repeating the spatial adverb is not necessary because it is obvious that 'we here' is indicated.

The third type of cataphora is the type of 'numerical referent'. Instead of using a noun indicating a person or a group of persons, a determiner indicating how many people are referred to is used.

(1) **we** are **all** working together all of us (112/109)

The quantifier 'all' gives more details about the pronoun 'we' indicating that the whole group of people is being referred to. Repeating the quantifier in combination with the possessive pronoun 'us' emphasises that everybody is included.

Another way of displaying identities is by directly referring to oneself by self-description as can be seen in the next three examples:

(1) I'm not the ty- **type of woman** I'm very **very eh energetic** and eh I'm (.) eh maybe eh **too bossy** sometimes maybe even **too bitchy** (102/101)

(2) I was raised as a **as a feminist** (52/111)

(3) I'm from Split actually (..) so it's more **Mediterranean type** you know (122/101)

Self-description means describing how someone is or regards him/herself, indicated by the usage of adjectives. The first example is a nice example of a

‘classic’ self-description. After using the noun phrase ‘type of woman’, several adjectives describing her own way of being a woman are used.

The second example consists of a prepositional phrase in order to give further details about the person. The third example also consists of a complement object phrase, which gives more details about what exactly the geographical origin means in this specific context.

All these examples show that context is very important because without any context and background information these declarations and sentences would not make much sense.

How spatial and temporal deictic markers as well as self-description are used to display identities is shown in the following example:

(4) but you know solidarity between women eh th- that's the thing that **I** (.) **ehm actually LOVE to talk about as as a single mother and eh** (.) **a part of a collective here** and (.) eh well ehm (.) I think that you know there is NONE :**in this country**: ((laughing)) **or** (.) **region** actually eh (.) regardless of the working environment or eh the cultural (.) I don't know ehm (.) group that you belong to there is no solidarity between women at all (.) there is just (.) this strange ehm (..) eh well attitude which resembles (.) **how would you say that in English ehm (..) ehm I am translating from Serbian now** well there there is this saying that eh a man is the wolf to the other men (.) you know ho- **how how would you say that do you know what I //mean//** (54/112)

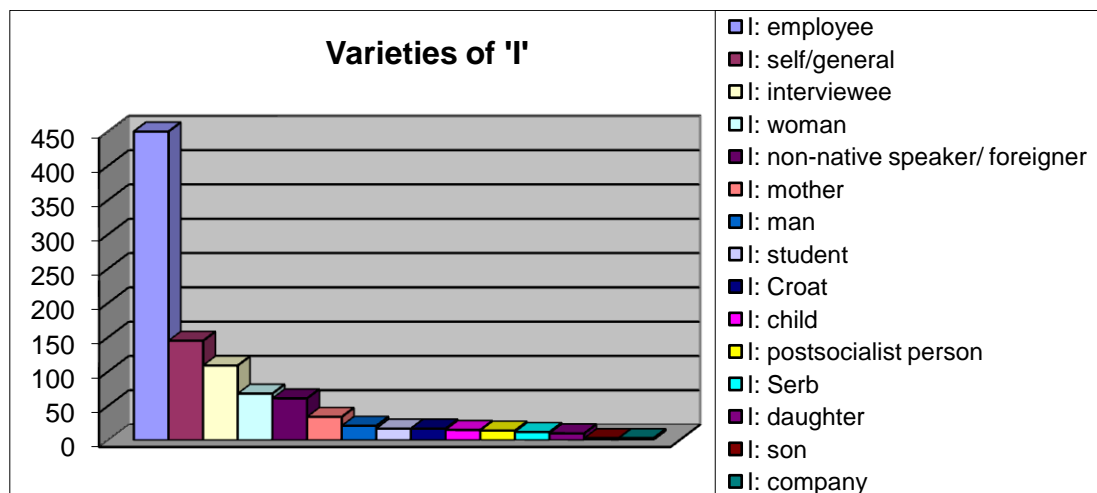
By using self-description the interviewee displays her identities as a mother and an employee in the first two lines. A spatial deictic marker (*here*) is used to further specify the location of the collective she mentions. Another identity that is visible in the text is the one of a particular country (in this case Serbia) or a person from the region, i.e. Balkans, when the interviewee says ‘there is NONE in this country or region actually’. By saying ‘how would you say that in English ehm I am translating from Serbian now’, her identity as non-native speaker of English is referred to. By using a temporal deictic marker (*now*), her identity as an interviewee is displayed, which is further underlined in the last sentence in which she directly asks the interviewer if she knows what the interviewee wants to point out with the proverb. She displays her identities as a woman, an employee, a non-native speaker of English and an interviewee by using different deictic markers and self-description. What this example also shows again is the fact that content is very important and the question arises what happens if the referents of pronouns are not explicitly verbalised.

As shown, there are different ways of displaying identities and I would like to show the different positions/ identities that are displayed in my data and that are based on/linked to the pronominal choice.

4.3 The pronoun 'I'

Van de Mierop (2006) points out in her paper on identity construction in professional speeches a variety of referents for the I-form. She has identified four categories. First, identity construction: The referent of the *I* can be situated outside the speech setting, i.e. in inserted short narratives and by using this form speakers are able to contribute to their identity construction. Second, the structuring *I*, which is used for structuring the speech in order to facilitate better understanding of speech. Third, the referent *I* in quotes, i.e. in reported direct speech and fourth, a fictitious *I*, when the referent is not the speaker.

I would like to focus on the first category, identity construction. In the interviews, the speakers refer to or display different kinds of 'I's, which are incorporated in discourse. I have identified 14 different referents for the pronoun 'I' in the category identity construction based on the content. Other categories have not been distinguished and put into the category 'self/general'.



As can be seen in the graph, the most frequent referent for 'I' is employee (450), followed by self/general (145), which, however, is not part of the identity structuring category, and the referent interviewee (109).

Given the setting, it is not surprising that the most frequent referents of 'I' are the ones of employee and interviewee. The purpose of the interview is to obtain information about different issues in the workplace. The interviewees are positioned and position themselves as interviewees who reply to questions as experts and as employees at international companies in Croatia or Serbia. Thus these two identities are prevalent and most frequent in the interview data.

The identities have been put into seven identity clusters and in the remainder of this section, these identity clusters will be outlined and it will be shown how they are visible in which context.

4.3.1 Professional identity: I as an employee

The interviewees are asked to position themselves as employees at the beginning of the interview because some personal information was asked for by the interviewer, primarily to be able to distinguish between the interviews and to have some introduction to the topic ‘workplace’.

By giving their job titles, the interviewees position themselves with respect to their status as employee and display the function they have in the company.

(1) I'm an assistant director (10/101)

(2) I am assistant director here in eh Zagreb office (16/102)

(3) I am an analyst (.) I've been with the company for one year now (8/104)

(4) Currently I am senior analyst (6:103)

How the referent ‘employee’ is expressed is always different. Whereas in example one the interviewee just gives the title of the position, the interviewee in example two adds the location of the job with a spatial deictic marker. Some others also add the temporal aspect of how long they have been working in this particular company like in examples three and four. In examples five and six, the interviewees show a particular amount of humour by commenting on their job positions

(5) I'm a junior HR business partner for marketing which is like the HR manager (.) in eh ((laughs)) a less serious :language: ((laughing)) (6/105)

(6) I am vice president (.) meaning something like (.) assistant director or (.) deputy director something like that (it's) vice president it's very (.) f- funny name :to be a vice president but: ((laughing)) it's a usual title in investment banking business (8/109)

Both examples provide further explanations about the job title by explaining them in more detail. A comparison is used (‘which is like’ and ‘meaning something like’) in order to explain the terminology and simultaneously commenting on the job titles. Another interviewee also provides further details about the job positions by pointing out the company hierarchy.

(7) I'm a director of the Belgrade office eh well i- the managing director is (.) the high (ranked) but I'm what we have is managing director director vice president eh analyst so this is the hierarchy basically (8/110)

Another interviewee chooses a chronological narrative in which the job position is inserted as well as how the present job position has been achieved.

(8) well I started two years ago as a management trainee which is (.) some sort of like unique development programme we have for recently graduated people (.) and I finished the program (.) in May this year and now my position is brand executive and brand marketing (6/107)

This interviewee uses the temporal context for pointing out her career within the company by providing information about when she started working at this company and what position she had back then, which has led to her current position.

One of the most obvious ‘context referents’ of the pronoun ‘I’ with the meaning of ‘employee’ is the construction with the concept of the verb ‘to work’. Example 8 includes this construction when the interviewee says ‘I started two years ago as a management trainee’. By referring to when the employee started working at the particular company, the referent of the pronoun ‘I’ is obviously the one of employee (‘I [as an employee] started two years ago as a management trainee’). Example 9 is another example of the aspect ‘to start to work’:

(9) Eh I started to work here eh seven years ago (14/101)

Examples ten and eleven particularly address the aspect of ‘to work’. Example 10 refers to the workload per day over the last few weeks (‘I work for like 16 hours’) and provides a comment on the workload by adding personal preferences (‘I need to have a lot of work’ and ‘I like to work’). Example 11 uses the constructions ‘I work as’ and ‘I need to work in a team’. The former gives information about the job position and the latter, like in example 10, discloses personal preferences.

(10) I work for like 16 hours everyday now for the past three four weeks ((laughs)) but eh what I need is to have a lot of work to do (.) I like that I love that I like to work (122/112)

(11) I work both I mean I I as deputy COP I need to work in a team (84/113)

The concept ‘to work’ is also prevalent when interviewees talk about their workday and the special tasks they are to do during their workday as well as their responsibilities.

(12) I really start working immediately let's say I when I got to to the workplace I open my (.) eh inbox and see all the new possibly new mails that have come (.) eh since I've gone or or eh I have some open issues that I have to resolve eh immediately and then let's say after half an hour or 45 minutes I go upstairs and get myself a coffee and eh then I continue until let's say noon (50/117)

(13) well when I (.) come to work (.) I first eh (.) look if I have some meetings that day (.) ehm (.) at what time (..) eh then I eh (.) go through the mails (.) see what's pending (..) then

I get a lot of mails and I :send a lot of mails: ((laughing)) and it's it's like that I attend a few meetings and then it's you know like (.) minutes and everything and we make decisions and (.) that's it (72/106)

Example 12 describes in great detail the tasks that are to be done and in what order. The interviewee gives a very clear picture and thus it is almost possible to follow her during her workday. Example 13 is also detailed but gives a broader picture of the tasks. Most interviewees do not give a minute account of their workday but provide an overview of their responsibilities and give a more general picture of their tasks.

(14) practically I like to organise it like this (.) I have my project I know what's the status of my project and I know all the involved things (.) and then beginning from those things (.) I start seeing who is responsible who is a contact person and what's the status (.) so who is to be pushed reminded (.) what's going on here what's going on there I simply try to organise it like that just not to lose the focus (58/107)

(15) I am trying to coordinate it I also am trying to help them as much as possible but currently is as I was not eh involved in business plan process before because ehm (.) I got this position at the beginning of this year so I didn't have a chance to (.) eh take a part in the business plan proce- process I am trying to involve myself as much as possible in that one because it's completely new and for me it's very interesting and I am really trying to eh go as deep as possible (48/118)

These examples show very clearly the context-referent 'employee': in example 14 the focus is on the function as project coordinator, which entails traits of leadership that are necessary and required. Example 15 highlights the interest in the job as the present function and position has only been had for a short time. Example 16 shows a high amount of independence regarding tasks and the organisation of the workday.

(16) that depends how the day will look like (.) so usually I don't have an idea (.) I don't know what I'm gonna do tomorrow I mean I have an idea but only for part of the day (.) and I don't know what I gonna do next week or week after that (.) they can change (.) so (.) I don't I don't have certain structure which I use for (.) throughout the week or something like that (78/114)

In all these examples the referent of the pronoun 'I' is the one of employee. This referent is prominent when talking about work-related matters, however, the referent 'employee' also appears in other topics. But as this would be repetitive as this referent often appears simultaneously with the other referents and identities outlined below, examples about various topics will not be shown here explicitly.

4.3.2 Situated identity: I as an interviewee

The identity as interviewee is prevalent throughout the whole interview because by answering the questions of the interviewer, the interviewees are permanently fulfilling the expectations of interviewees. I would like to name this kind of identity a ‘situated identity’ because this identity depends on the situation in which the conversation takes place. I borrow this term from Zimmerman (1998). The identity as interviewee is displayed when the interviewee refers to the interview itself and when the interviewer is visible in the text by being addressed by the interviewees. Several kinds of referring to and commenting on the interview have been found in the interviews. One such form is commenting on the question that has just been posed.

(1) //as a matter// yes I understand the question (52/111)

(2) I don't know if I understood you correctly but if you mean TV (172/104)

In both examples, the interviewees refer to the question that has just been asked and either confirm that the question has been understood or state that the question has not been quite understood. Another way of referring to the questions is by either positively or negatively commenting on them. In example two, the interviewer is directly addressed by the second personal pronoun 'you'.

(3) yeah I don't like that :kind of questions: ((laughing)) (277/114)

(4) eh (..) well this is an interesting question really ehm (..) basically (..) hm (.) it's a very interesting question (60/110)

In example three, even though the interviewee negatively comments on the question by saying that he does not like these kinds of questions, the question is not opposed and rejected due to the interviewee laughing while making this statement. By showing and adding humour, the statement loses its negative meaning. Example four consists of a positive evaluation of the question. The interviewee even repeats the evaluation and inserts the adverb ‘very’ in order to rank the adjective ‘interesting’. The discourse marker ‘well’ precedes the sentence. This discourse marker is a marker of response and has several functions (see Schiffrin 1987:102ff). In example four, the question is acknowledged before more information is added (not shown in the quotation); in fact the main answer to the question is delayed (Schiffrin 1987:109). The longer pause before the discourse marker indicates that the reason for the delayed answer is the one of thinking of an answer. Example five is such an

example, in which this aspect is even more obvious.

(5) mm (..) well I eh (.) eh ((coughs)) hm (.) that's a good question (.) because now I'm trying to remember some kind of a specific situations (.) eh okay you can see that I am not eh if I cannot remember the the situations eh immediately it's obviously not so eh (.) clear you know it's obviously not so stressed out this difference be- eh between sexes (68/117)

Example 5 also includes a comment on the interviewer's question and shows clearly that the interviewee needed and took some time to start answering the question by verbalising her thinking ('mm') and using the discourse marker 'well'. The reason why the interviewee cannot immediately reply to the question is disclosed by the interviewee herself; she cannot answer the question accordingly because she cannot remember an instance that has been asked about.

The aspect of remembering is another kind of referring to the interview setting and to one's identity as interviewee. Interviewees display and verbalise their lack of knowledge. It is in these instances that the interview setting is also referred to and becomes visible in the text.

(6) for now it's really hard to think about an incident (.) due to the lack of knowledge maybe I can think it over but right now I really cannot remember (98/102)

(7) yeah there are a lot of fun situation I cannot recall now (100/118)

Next to stating lack of knowledge and thus not being able to provide an appropriate answer to the question, the usage of the temporal adverb 'now' indicates referring to the time of speaking, i.e. the interview setting.

(8) I'm trying to (..) eh remember (68/113)

(9) I know that it happens it must happen simply it doesn't eh (.) it didn't :stay here: ((laughing)) [pointing to head] in my memory I I don't know I I couldn't give an example even the one that I've heard of I can't remember simply I'm sorry (112/111)

The use of present continuous refers to the moment when this utterance was stated and thus refers to the interview setting (example eight). Example nine involves some humour because the interviewee cannot remember something specific and even apologises to the interviewer.

Some other interviewees neither comment on the question nor specifically point out that they need to think about the topic. What they do is to emphasise that they are not the most appropriate person to talk to due to lack of expertise or experience in the topic that is being talked about in the interview.

(10) I'm maybe not the right person to talk about that (158/104)

(11) so I (..) I really don't know (.) I'm not good (.) proper person to to answer (70/111)

(12) well I'm not so specialised in that for that you should talk f- to someone who's more into that story than I am (112/113)

Example 12 also addresses the interviewer directly by using the personal pronoun 'you' and pointing out that the interviewer should talk with someone who is more experienced. Basically the interviewer is visible when she is addressed directly by the pronoun 'you'. In these instances it is obvious that the interview is some form of interaction between the interviewee and interviewer although the interviewer is very much in the background and reduces her function to the one who only poses questions. This function is very much visible in examples 13 and 14 because both examples refer to the interviewer asking questions.

(13) eh now if you ask me specifically (60/110)

(14) it's not like when you asked me how does what is my usual day I can't tell you there there is no (.) there is no usual day (152/104)

Next to directly addressing the interviewer and identifying her as the person who asks questions, examples 14 and 15 also display the function of an interviewee, which is replying to questions by telling facts/ stories/ etc.

(15) I mean I could tell you obviously about it :in great detail: ((laughing)) (156/110)

Another way of referring to the interview setting and displaying the identity as interviewee is to actively relate to the activity of speaking and to the interview situation. Example 16 is such an example because the interviewee uses the temporal adverb 'now' and points out what she is currently doing as an interviewee: she is talking to the interviewer.

(16) and even now when speaking to you like I feel (..) that I must fully concentrate (68/113)

In one interview another aspect has come up: the reference to the anonymity of the interview. Before telling something that is more of a delicate matter, the interviewee refers to the anonymity that has been granted by the researcher. In both examples, he refers to this aspect in a humorous way and laughs.

(17) less and less but ((laughs)) don't use that with my name ((laughs)) (52/114)

(18) because of the fact that I am a man (..) this is anonymous of course ((laughs)) (142/114)

As already indicated above (examples 15 and 16), the referent 'interviewee' of the pronoun 'I' is closely connected to the specific activity of speaking and telling facts in the specific setting. Therefore another form of referring to oneself as an

interviewee and to the interview setting in general is commenting on the interview with the concept of the verb ‘to say’ and to state opinions. Example 19 provides an evaluation of what has just been said.

(19) I don't like to I don't like to make that that type of statement actually (.) I don't like to eh stress something as a female or male characteristic because I know some (.) eh women and some men that eh really do NOT fit (.) into those so actually (.) I can :just UNDO what I said previously: ((laughing)) because yeah (.) when I started talking I thought that it might be that it might sound differently than I wanted it to sound and obviously it did (.) I I don't like those types of generalizations (140/103)

This example is a very nice example of withdrawing one’s opinion that has just been voiced. While stating her opinion, the interviewee realised that what she has just said did not reflect her opinion and she withdraws her point of view (‘undo what I said previously’).

Other examples show that one’s identity as interviewee is referred to in combination with stating opinions. Either by justifying (example 20), emphasising (example 21) and by finishing off one’s opinion (examples 22 and 23):

(20) so that's why I mentioned it (.) but it was in a positive sense (106/103)

(21) actually that's what I wanted to say (122/103)

(22) so I cannot say :anything more on that: ((laughs)) (182/103)

(23) so (.) I can't really say there is an ordinary workday (60/104)

All these examples refer to the interview setting and the interview itself and in these references the identity of interviewee is displayed and constructed.

4.3.3 Gender identity: I as a woman, I as a mother and I as a man

Gender identities are visible in the text by specifically referring to one’s sex, talking about one’s situation in the workplace and in combination with family life or having a family. In example one, the interviewee’s gender identity is visible as being the opposite of the male co-workers and in the conditional clause ‘what would have happened if I was male’.

(1) I always wanted to be treated the same way as my male co-workers and even eh I was eh (.) being promoted even FASTER than some of eh my male co-workers but (.) I I had to eh put (.) eh significant significantly eh (.) MORE effort (.) really you cannot imagine first first when I came to to eh CIB eh I needed MORE time and eh I ne- I needed to put MORE effort into eh just being (.) eh accepted and and just to eh (.) finally eh (.) eh succeed in my eh (.) you know word and eh opinion being taken (.) seriously if you know what I mean because (.) eh (.) I mean I I was being promoted eh very fast (.) eh but then I cannot (.) eh escape from the thought what would be (.) eh what would have happened if I was (.) a male (.) with this eh (.) eh volume of commitment and with this eh really eh eh

ehm commitment that I put in and and eh the effort that I put (.) in my my job because (.) I gave not 100% but (.) 200% (74/101)

In example two, the interviewee specifically refers to her sex when she points out that she is a woman and mentions her male colleagues like in example one.

(2) maybe it is possible that I needed to (.) prove myself more (.) because I am a woman and not and maybe eh it was easier for my male colleagues that started more or less (.) mm when I did (66/103)

The context in both examples is the one of workplace and more specifically about discrimination in the workplace based on their sex. Some other women talk about being mothers at some point in the future and what their effects their motherhood would or could have on their careers. Whereas examples one and two talk about actual discrimination in the workplace, in example 3, the aspect of ‘hidden’ discrimination is displayed.

(3) for example I think that I'm not gonna (.) go for kids for at at least one year (..) ehm and I I would have (.) probably even two years ago because I was considering that before joining this company when I was in the last one I was thinking that's it (.) and I'm in a long relationship stable one [...] so that's how it's affecting it I'm gonna delay that probably and (.) I don't know I I think that it's probably impossible to have like ehm three children and and this kind of a career be- I I don't think it's feasible so (.) probably I'll change job in in time (64/105)

Several aspects of gender identity are presented in this example: Being a heterosexual woman in a relationship, a woman who may be a mother in future and a woman thinking about what impact having children may have on her career.

The identities of woman and mother intermingle when the interviewees talk about different issues concerning maternity leave. When women talk about maternity leave hypothetically, then their identity as a woman is foregrounded, whereas if they talk about having been on maternity leave, their identity as a mother is displayed as in examples four and five.

(4) right now if if I was to to go on maternity leave I would be able to use the the rights that the law guarantees (.) ehm w- but in that case it would mean ehm that I would be able to (.) receive eh my full sara- salary for the first three months of the leave (.) and then for the rest eh (..) nine months I would eh have to wait (.) for eh this eh social security (.) bla bla (.) agency the state agency to eh to pay out of their funds eh then it's not the employer anymore (70/112)

(5) in (company's name) it was not a problem I took one year of maternity leave eh it was a problem from eh financial side a little bit [...] that I will stay the whole one year because I thought that this is really (.) time when baby needs me more (.) I mean the most (92/118)

In example four, the hypothetical aspect of talking maternity leave is expressed by a conditional. In example five, the interviewee tells us that she was on maternity leave and mentions her child in her justification why she has taken a year maternity

leave. When interviewees specifically mention their children, their identity as a mother is also presented.

(6) I have two I have a daughter who is almost ten years old and I have a (.) son who is four years old (114/113)

(7) and eh since I was (.) also with with my (.) quite difficult ehm (..) background as a single mother who's been having (.) problems with (.) the father (.) of my child (58/112)

(8) because when I learned that my daughter has (.) had a diabetes I immediately called my boss (74/111)

In examples six to eight, the identity as a mother is constructed by pointing out that they are mothers. The interviewee in example seven also describes herself as a single mother next to mentioning her child.

None of the men that were interviewed has children but one context in which their gender identity was displayed is the one about talking about having a family and taking paternity leave in case they become fathers. In example nine, the interviewee specifically mentions his wife and the fact that he does not have any children. By pointing out that he is married, the identity of a heterosexual man is highlighted.

(9) I VERY often think about that eh but I cannot really tell you of experience because eh (.) I'm not married and I have no kids but I'm very very eh often think about how this will (.) actually affect eh let's say eh my life and my job (78/110)

As already pointed out above, gender identity is also displayed by specifically referring to one's sex like in example ten.

(10) but I I don't know I I didn't see that (.) that I have an advantage because I am (.) man (58/109)

4.3.4 **Communication & Cultural identity: I as a non-native speaker**

According to Louhiala-Salminen et al. (2005: 417), 'BELF [Business English as Lingua Franca] can be seen to be a conduit of its speaker's communication culture', therefore the identity as non-native speaker has been termed 'Communication & Cultural identity'. The identity as a non-native speaker of English is displayed in various contexts in the interviews. Such contexts are when the topic addressed is the one of usage of English in the workplace, pointing out problems for instance, as well

as the topic of learning English. In the situated context, the identity as a non-native speaker is also an issue when language problems occur in the interview setting.

(1) you (.) are not most often you are not being ehm (..) what's the right word in English
(..) supported (60/105)

(2) I don't know if that's a good term in English consecutive translation (113/38)

In the first example the interviewee searches for the correct word in English for what is to be expressed and in the second example, the interviewee displays lack of knowledge about a term she wants to use by pointing out that she does not know if her chosen words are words used in the English language.

As the interviewees entered the companies as employees who had not yet worked in a workplace with English as work language, their identity as non-native speakers is very prominent when talking about their communication in English at work. One such example is when talking about the frequency of English used during a workday.

(3) I mean I probably spend at least a couple of hours during the day speaking English [...] today I have spoken to eh at least eh one American and eh one Asian and one Belgian and eh one :Serbian: ((laughing)) and one Pole yeah I mean (.) maybe I'm exaggerating but (.) eh it's really a I would say wide variety of backgrounds eh where people are simply at at eh at one place although not geographically but eh in the communication sense for sure (90&114/110)

By pointing out with whom the interviewee had had a communication with on the day when the interview took place, it is obvious that these non-native speakers use English a lot in their workplaces as well as are confronted with various cultural communication backgrounds, i.e. behaviour. By referring to the interaction partners, the interviewee highlights their nationality and even uses broader terms ('American' and 'Asian') instead of pointing out their mother tongues. Thus it also shows that next to communication with native speakers of English, the majority of the interactions take place with non-native speakers of English. Therefore it could be argued that this kind of identity is not only a communication identity but also a cultural identity.

The fact that speaking in a foreign language in the workplace cannot be taken for granted is expressed by the interviewees by highlighting their fear of/when using English. Example four shows the aspect of fear when specifically talking to native-speakers of English. By constructing a dichotomy, the one of native speaker, who is excellent at speaking English vs. non-native speaker, who is not excellent at speaking

English, the identity of non-native speaker is constructed by ‘othering’ the native speaker of English.

(4) I thought a lot about that (.) and eh sometimes (.) I f- I I caught myself (.) having a little more fear speaking to a native speaker than to a NON-native speaker (116/102)

(5) I will never be good s- as somebody who (.) was living in eh (.) US or UK or somebody where somewhere where English is eh of course some eh (.) official language you know I can never be good as someone like that but (.) you know (.) I'm fine (..) (214/114)

Like in example four, example five also consists of a comparison with a native speaker and ‘othering’ the native speaker of English. However, this interviewee also points out that their goal is not to reach near-native fluency but that their version of English or their level of the English knowledge is sufficient and ‘fine’.

Fear was also expressed in accounts about using English at the beginning of their employment at their companies.

(6) Yes (.) in the beginning (..) yes (.) in the beginning there were some (.) I remember (.) well also it is because I was a bit nervous and I had to speak to some (.) director from some other office so I just couldn't say express what I wanted to ask so that was quite hard but (.) now as time passes it's easier and easier (100/104)

(7) I was very fearful at the beginning at in my first year I really was trying to prepare :thoroughfully and to think thoroughly: ((laughing)) about what am I gonna say especially in terms of that terminology and I was using that black legal dictionary and (.) you know (..) but not really these are mostly like small things in every every deco- in daily conversation (68/113)

Both examples show the identity of a non-native speaker being incorporated in stories, which shows the fact that their behaviour in the past, i.e. at the beginning of their work at the company, is evaluated. In example six, the interviewee begins his story with ‘I remember’ and provides the evaluation with the last sentence by using the temporal deictic marker ‘now’. The evaluation in example seven is expressed by laughing when uttering the words ‘thoroughfully and to think thoroughly’, thus expressing the feeling of making fun of oneself or rather regarding one’s past behaviour as funny.

The fact that as non-native speakers, the interviewees gain knowledge and improve their English skills is also a context in which their identity as non-native speakers is addressed. More specifically, some interviewees point to their knowledge of specific terminology or a specific register that is necessary for successfully working in these workplaces.

(8) for example of course for me it's relatively easy to to speak about ehm my core eh job my core business and expressions within that (.) I know let's say very well (138/115)

(9) I'm much better in translating from :English to Serbian because: ((laughing)) (..) although I never had a problem of and and I needed to learn but I learned that at the first project that was a tough part of doing it (.) I needed to learn eh legal terminology and legal institutes and to be perfectly certain that when I translate THAT I (.) can (.) transfer the REAL meaning and not to tran- not to translate it literally (.) so at this point I even was able to do better (..) bankruptcy related translations than some of the translators probably not in terms of (.) grammar (..) especially from Serbian :to English: ((laughing)) but eh in terms of making people understand what the question is and what an issue is (.) I can probably say this so ((laughs)) (40/113)

Both examples address important work tasks that require their knowledge of English. Example eight addresses the usage of specific expressions in general and example nine points to the usage of specific expressions when doing translation work. The identity as a non-native speaker is very clearly shown in this example because the interviewee hardly had any knowledge of terminology when she started working in her position but since then she has become an expert on translating texts dealing with her field.

The identity as a non-native speaker is also prevalent when it comes to the topic of interaction in the workplace, more specifically when pointing out communication problems caused by the usage of a foreign language as work language. Examples ten and eleven highlight some of the problems interviewees face by using a foreign language in the workplace.

(10) maybe I faced with some difficulties to explaining (.) but (.) I try to eh ((laughs)) be (.) eh clear as much (.) as possible (138/115)

(11) so sometimes I don't know which preposition to use in in what sentence eh is it at a meeting or on a meeting or whatever (.) (116/118)

The interviewee in example ten admits to having difficulties but also shows his effort at being as much understandable as possible. Example eleven specifically points to a grammar aspect, the issue of prepositions. This example shows that problems occur but the effort of once and for sure looking up the correct preposition in a dictionary or asking a co-worker has not yet been made. By saying 'whatever', this example points to the fact that there is indeed a difference between native and non-native speakers of English but becoming native-like is not important, not even a goal, because being able to express oneself and being understood by the audience is most important. This aspect is a relevant aspect in presenting and constructing one's identity as a non-native speaker.

So far the examples have had a focus on the speaker themselves, but communication requires interlocutors and in this context, the identity as non-native speaker is also visible. Example 12 points to the difficulty of having a conversation

in English over the phone but the interviewee adds that it depends on the person with whom the conversation takes place whether having a conversation over the phone may turn out difficult or not. Example 13 also points to communication problems and this example is very interesting because it starts off with the interviewee focussing on herself, whereas after having included the other speaker, she changes the perspective to a collective perspective by a pronoun shift (from 'I' to 'we')¹⁴.

(12) for me it's harder to speak over the phone than mm to a person directly (.) it depends on the pe- on the people (100/104)

(13) sometimes I'm talking about something and the other person understood and I'm talking about something totally different and then (.) we continue like that until in one second we realise what the hell is going on (142/107)

Next to communicating in English in the workplace by pointing out fear of speaking English as well as problems and specifics, another context in which the identity as non-native speaker is dominant is the context of specifically mentioning how long the interviewees have been learning English and how they have learned it.

(14) I learned English not in school at school I learned Russian but since I was 10 I (.) eh started to learn English in you know the courses on eh (..) language courses and when I was 14 I spent one month in eh (.) (centre almost) near London with eh some other young people from Europe learning English (.) and then when I was 15 I spent one month in Oxford language school summer school (.) and then I never learned it but I read a lot of (.) in English and eh (.) I work a lot of English and that's how I think that my English has improved a lot during last (.) 10 years because I was practising it (.) a lot (102/111)

In example 14, the interviewee tells about how she learned the English language. The extract is very interesting because it shows that she primarily learned English in Great Britain because Russian was the first foreign language that was taught at school. The example illustrates that the interviewee acquired English by herself, thus a particular amount of effort at learning and using English, among others in the workplace, is displayed. In contrast to this interviewee, who is in her mid-40s, the next example is taken from an interview with a man in his early 30s and shows that a shift in language teaching at school had occurred in the mean time because this interviewee did indeed learn English at school but did not appreciate and realise the importance of knowing the English language at that time.

(15) I'd been been (.) learning English for I don't know eight years but eh it wasn't eh really eh real learning because it's it's in a regular school I didn't understand eh the importance of the language so I didn't pay attention to that it was a (pff) (.) pain in the ass for me (96/115)

¹⁴ Pronoun shifts and different foci on perspectives will be subject of the sub-chapter 4.5.

4.3.5 National identity: I as a Croat and I as a Serb

In order to be interviewed for this research project, one of the prerequisites to be chosen as an interviewee was being either Croatian or Serbian. Therefore, the national identity had been an important identity even before the interview took place and was immediately established when opening the interview because the interviewees were asked to name their nationality¹⁵. The national identity is predominant in various contexts in the interviews. One such context is reference to the location where the interviewees are from.

(1) I'm from Split actually (..) so it's more Mediterranean type you know (..) eh sh- you know shouting ver- you know people very loud and you know eh (.) extroverted eh while people from continental Croatia from Zagreb are more eh you know (.) German Austrian you know this continental types of you know people very you know quiet (122/101)

(2) I had a lot of experience when (.) when I am abroad and wh- when I say that I'm from Serbia (.) they (.) they all look like they cannot believe ((laughs)) (136/109)

In examples one and two, both interviewees refer directly to their origin, viz. they are from a particular town and region in Croatia or from a specific country. In these extracts the national identity is thus prevalent and specifically referred to. Example three is also such an example, in which the interviewee points out her origin by focussing on what she was raised like.

(3) yeah I'm I'm raised (as) Serbo-Croatian (44/113)

The national identity is also prevalent when talking about two other topics. The first one is the reference to the country and its history or development and the second one is when referring to one's mother tongue and intercultural issues. It can be argued that the latter could also show the identity of a native speaker of Croatian or Serbian but the analysis shows that the interviewees tend to refer to their national identity rather than to their identity as a native speaker of Croatian or Serbian in these contexts.

In example four, the interviewee talks about the changes happening in Croatia and voices his opinion on them. By referring to the location, the national identity as a Croat is constructed.

(4) but if you go to the history I'm really satisfied with the (.) achieved changes [...] I'm not satisfied with the with the ehm speed of those changes (.) I'm not satisfied with that because I I think that (.) Croatia ha- has eh (.) very good opportunity potential (142/115)

¹⁵ All but one interviewee gave their nationality as either Croatian or Serbian. One interviewee objected to being regarded as either Croatian or Serbian but the interviewee had been raised in Serbia and Serbian is the mother tongue.

Noteworthy is the pronoun shift: from a generic you to the pronoun 'I'. Example five also has a pronoun shift, and even a more interesting one. The context and particular the reference to the location displays the national identity. Whereas a depersonalised third person ('little man') is introduced, the identity is specifically displayed in the accusative form of the pronoun 'I', which is followed by the accusative form of 'we', thus aligning to a group of people is also happening.

(5) so (.) I (.) personally see that (.) wha- whatever happens eh you know globally or or also eh on the on the situation of eh (.) in Croatia itself (.) eh in the strategic let's say level I think that little little man really can make a difference (.) but also it doesn't you know it doesn't depend just on me but (.) on on each (.) one of us (144/117)

The second context in which the national identity was presented is the one about referring to one's mother tongue, mostly in combination with intercultural issues. What is important here is the fact that the quotes themselves would not necessarily indicate displaying national identity. Thus it is necessary to take into account the wider context as well as the knowledge that the interviewee's mother tongue is either Croatian or Serbian.

Some interviewees mention the difficulty of using their mother tongue for work-related matters because they are used to speaking English at work and they are not used to the terminology in their mother tongues even if the corresponding terminology exists in either Croatian or Serbian.

(6) and now I have to translate that not to s- this is awful for me how can I (.) what this means how should I say it because when I say this in eh Croatian it sounds so clumsy because this is not some kind of expression which is regularly used in Croatian (96/118)

By referring to the language Croatian and by knowing the fact that this interviewee is a native speaker of Croatian, this example shows what kind of difficulties she has when she needs to speak about work-related matters in Croatian, and simultaneously her identity as a Croat is displayed. Another aspect is specifically talking about languages. Prior to example seven, the interviewee talks about what language is used between the Slovenian and Croatian subsidiary. Employees from both offices speak their own mother tongue or Slovenian when communicating with each other. The interviewee then continues by stating her opinion on that.

(7) and these two languages are very similar at least to me because I spea- I speak Slovenian as well and then when I try to speak to them I always try to use my Slovenian not to forget it (.)[...] I don't know because this eh English is completely foreign language and for Slovenian I don't unders- I don't get it as a completely foreign language (100-102/118)

The example shows that by distancing herself from being Slovenian by the usage 'them' ('I try to speak to them'), she constructs herself as a Croat. She can speak Slovenian, though because the language was one of the official languages in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and then by being one of the Slavic languages, it is more closely related to Croatian than the English language is.

By referring to themselves as either Croats or Serbians in combination with people of other nationalities and languages, national identity is also constructed when talking about intercultural issues. Example eight consists of the recounting of a seminar in which people from different countries participated.

(8) I believe that I first time think about (.) this intercultural differences when I was on the seminar when (.) when after five minutes I c- ((laughs)) have a three great friends from Russia (.) on the other side I have a (.) good friends from Austria but I see that I'm much much closer (.) to the Russians than to the Austrian guys (.) even I know Austrians longer than these Russians (.) and then I said wow ((laughs)) it must have been something ((laughs)) (160/109)

The interviewee is a Serb and the example shows that he has made friends with Russians whom he had never met before. He is quite surprised at the closeness he has with them in contrast to his Austrian friends. What the interviewee does here is construct his identity as a Serb by pointing out that Serbians have more similar cultural codes with Russians than with Austrians. Although he does not state any reasons, in fact he is laughing because he thinks it funny, this may have something to do with Russian and Serbian being Slavic languages and thus perhaps having similar cultural behaviour codes as well as with the political situation as both countries were communist regimes even though with different interpretations.

In example nine, the interviewee tells about her first expressions when she started working at the company. What surprised her was the absence of the heterosexual flirtatious behaviour of the male co-workers the more so as according to her she is 'a fairly young good-looking woman' (not quoted here).

(9) then you have this Serbian spirit coming in when they when there is nobody around then they would go and (.) come you know flatter you in some way (.) usually I don't find offensive which is a really common thing here but eh now that we're talking about I remember that I noticed the absence of that in the beginning and I was thinking are these guys superhuman or what like :what's wrong with them you know: ((laughing)) (.) and there are a lot of foreigners they don't have this (.) same (.) culture (82/105)

Her national identity is predominant when she refers to 'this Serbian spirit' and uses the spatial deictic marker 'here' when pointing out that this kind of flirtatious behaviour is common in Serbia. She also talks about foreigners who have different

cultural codes than the people in Serbia. By ‘othering’ the foreigners, the interviewee explicitly constructs her identity as a Serb.

4.3.6 Historical identity: I as a member of the postsocialist generation

The socio-cultural context of Croatia and Serbia having entered the postsocialist phase reveals the historical identity of ‘I as a member of the postsocialist generation’. This identity is grounded in differences between members of the socialist and the postsocialist generation. Therefore one of the topics where this identity is salient is the one about comparing the job environments of people who worked during the state-socialist period in the past and people who currently work in postsocialist workplaces.

(1) I mean I cannot imagine myself working in a place (..) where I go I know whatever I do I cannot lose my job there's no motivation there's not even enough work to fulfill your six or seven hours how you spend how much you spend there (.) I just don't see myself within that (..) here yeah (.) I work in average more than a person (.) employed somewhere in some statal institution but when I go home yeah I know I did something (.) and I have this kind of personal satisfaction that's (.) that means much more than two hours of free time (.) now (.) at this age (80/107)

This example shows two intermingling identities: identity as a member of the postsocialist generation and identity as an employee in a postsocialist workplace. The identities are constructed based on highlighting difference; difference in job environments. In companies owned by the state (public limited companies) the job requirements differ from the ones in postsocialist private companies, and the interviewee points out her motivation for the job and the satisfaction she gains by doing a time-consuming job. It is also obvious that due to the different job environments, employees have been socialised differently into their jobs and job requirements and values about work. Example two also shows this difference in which the identity as a member of the postsocialist generation becomes visible:

(2) I work in some project a- and I experienced a little bit of financing a little bit of eh eh technical stuffs a little bit of the sales process and logistic process so lots of different eh eh eh opportunities to to (.) to get more information to get eh more (.) excitement during the job or during the work (.) so (.) I see a big difference has been eh between THEIR job and my current job or job these days (54/115)

The aspect of ‘othering’ is applied in this example. It is ‘my current job’ and ‘THEIR job’. The demonstrative pronoun ‘their’ is also stressed phonologically which underlines the ‘othering’. In both examples, the identity as employee

intermingles with the one as a member of the postsocialist generation but the latter is more prominent.

Example three consists of a direct reference of who the ‘people’ are that are mentioned:

(3) I'm interesting (.) interested because more or less in the company (..) that's the environment and I think that most of the people who are in a similar environment like me (.) more or less will will have the same impressions like I do (156/107)

Instead of ‘othering’ as in examples one and two, the interviewee in example three uses inclusion. The interviewee regards herself as being a member of a group of people ‘who are in a similar environment like me’, which is working in a postsocialist workplace. Although the subject of the sentence ‘I think that most of the people who are in a similar environment like me (.) more or less will will have the same impressions like I do’, is ‘most of the people’, the relative clause does not only more specifically define the subject ‘people’ but also discloses the interviewee’s identity as first being one of those people and second being one of those people who have a similar environment.

Another reference in which identity as a member of the postsocialist generation is visible is to the generation itself.

(4) so eh (.) it's not that I I the the problem lies with this other generation (.) I think the generation that was SKIPPED by the war and generation that came after (.) that was AFFECTED by war but indirectly (.) and MY generation too (80/112)

The interviewee is in her early 30s, which means that members of her generation were young teenagers during the war and along with the older teenagers and people in their early 20s, they were most affected by the war. She aligns herself to a particular generation, whose members were children during the state-socialist period and have reached maturity and have been leading their lives as adults in the postsocialist period. In a way, it can be argued that the interviewee does not display an individual identity but a collective identity. But as she uses the demonstrative pronoun ‘my’, it is obvious that she emphasises her individual identity even though she uses a noun that includes the connotation of a group of people rather than one person. Example five also includes the phrase ‘my generation’ and it is used in comparison with the pronoun ‘they’. By pointing out an opposite, i.e. ‘they’ vs. ‘my generation’, the identity as a member of the postsocialist generation is displayed.

(5) //the- (.) they// are more opened to that (.) and also my generation which is not SO young (or) I'm not 20 year old but (.) let's say (.) i- i- definitely i- i- it would be a matter of jobs but it was eh (.) eh i- it wouldn't be a strange thing (.) it's okay (88/115)

4.3.7 Relational identity: I as a daughter, I as a son and I as a child

In the interviews, particularly when the interviewees tell stories or anecdotes from their childhood, their identities as a child and more specifically as a daughter or son are constructed.

What is conspicuous is the fact that quite a few of the interview sequences that were coded with the code ‘I as a child’, consist of the phrase or a similar phrase to ‘when I was a child’. This is to do with the fact that the interviewees are not children anymore but adults and introduce their stories from their childhood in the interview by choosing this time frame. It could be argued that identity as a child is also a historical identity because it is not a current one due to age but within the interview sequences that were coded as ‘I as a child’, this identity is displayed and in contrast to the historical identity ‘I as a member of the postsocialist generation’, the identity as a child is not specific to the region and does not depend on specific political occurrences.

Identity as a child is visible and constructed when the interviewees tell about their ideas as children about what kind of work they wanted to do as grown ups.

(1) when I was a child I always thought that I would be a writer (.) and then in my highschool I realised that what I liked about books is the characters and it's the way they (.) everything about their (.) personalities and (.) interrelations and things then I was not interested in (.) writer (58/105)

(2) I wanted to become eh (.) a sportsman or (.) :let's say: ((laughing)) successful sport player ((laughs)) and also (..) n- eh sports is very is very o- is is also is big o- is of a big interest of for me and also in these ages (.) a- and I I was eh I was thinking ehm (.) of eh of becoming a engineer bec- because electricity and eh such things ehm ever very interested (.) me when I was a child (.) not mecha- mechani- mechanics or I don't know what ehm mm (.) arts or some kind of or music I I like music very much but I don't have TALENT for the music ((laughs)) so electricity and eh electronics eh were ver- were very (.) big interest of mine when I was a (.) not child but in the some (.) eh 15 or 14 years when I was a eh at that age (.) and also I I I I wanted to become a successful sport(.)player (46/115)

The interviewee in example one displays her identity as a child by the introduction of her account with the phrase ‘when I was a child’. Thus the setting is clear and the following pronouns ‘I’ refer to her identity as a child. The second example is a bit more complex because the account includes time changes, i.e. the perspective changes from being a child to being an adult. The account starts with referring to the interviewee’s identity as a child but when he says that ‘sports is of big interest for me’, background information about himself is provided. Giving background information occurs once more in the account (‘I like music very much but I don’t have TALENT for the music’) but when the perspective changes back to

being a child, time references are used: ‘in these ages’, ‘when I was a child’, ‘when I was at that age’. This account is also a nice example of pronoun shifts and thus identity shifts based on the switching of the time frame.

Identity as a child is also displayed with the concept of ‘to grow up’. By recounting instances and experiences the interviewees had as children, this verb clearly gives the referent as ‘child’ because it is children that ‘grow up’.

(3) //it's something// quite it's I think it's quite new because :I: ((stressed)) grew up in an environment that was very different from that I grew up in (.) in the suburbs where the the workers (.) live (68/112)

(4) okay I grew up in a family where (.) it was normal for women to be treated (.) as an equals and eh (.) you know eh but there are s- and and that was normal for me (80/117)

Example three illustrates identity as a child by referring to the location where the interviewee grew up. The pronoun ‘I’ is also phonologically stressed. Example four explicitly points to growing up in a family and what kinds of values were present and regarded as normal for the interviewee.

The identity as a child or in fact more specifically as a daughter or a son is most prevalent and visible in combination or opposed to one parent or both parents.

(5) I remember when I was kid I was never talking about the work with my mom especially when I was five [...] this is something that my mother was never doing (.) with me I was not involved in that one (80/118)

(6) I really never discussed with my mother or my father okay how was your working day or how was eh your your eh (.) of or your relationship with your boss or things like that (66/117)

Example five includes the opening line of the story ‘when I was a kid’ and points out the exact age she is referring to in this account. Her mother is mentioned twice as contrasted to herself as a child. Example six also shows the dichotomy child/daughter/son and mother/father/parents. The difference between identity as a child and identity as a daughter/son is very small. It depends on the context if the focus is on the former or latter. However, given the context and by pointing out the relationship and the relation, the identity as daughter/son is displayed and constructed.

4.4 The pronoun we

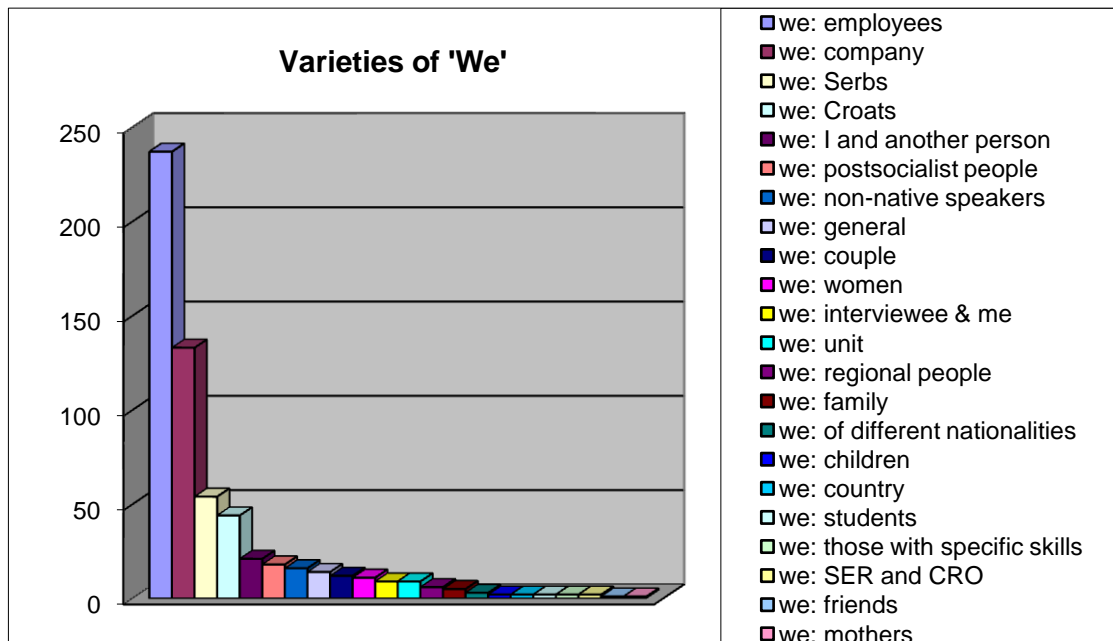
As Duszak (2002:6) points out the pronoun 'we' 'is a prototypical exponent of the speaker-group' and provides various referential and pragmatic options, such as the inclusive-exclusive distinction. There are socially and culturally relevant parameters such as ethnicity, nationality, gender, age, professional status and expertise, etc. Thus, belonging to and aligning with a group fulfils 'solidarity, rapport, safety or psychological comfort' (Duszak 2002:2), and it automatically leads to detachment from other groups. However, next to changing alignments, adhering to groups may also be chosen. Therefore, multiple group membership is nothing extraordinary but obvious and logical due to the numerous social roles people assume.

Van de Mieroop (2006) provides a detailed analysis of 7 categories of referents for the pronoun 'we'. The institutional 'we' is used when the speaker aligns with their organisation and articulates views of that organisation. The second form is the interactional 'we', which is inclusive and refers to the speaker and the audience. The third category comprises the 'vague we' as the referents are too vague to be determined. The fourth category consists of the indefinite 'we', which can be substituted by the construction there is/are. The fifth category is the 'we' used in quotes; the referent depends on who is quoted and thus this category can have numerous referents. The sixth category refers to 'we' as a group of experts to which the speaker belongs but not the audience. Van de Mieroop points out that this category resembles the institutional 'we' but a clear distinction can be made depending on the context. The last category contains the ceremonial 'we', which is a substitute for the pronoun 'I'. As her data consists of speeches, this last category is specific to the speech genre.

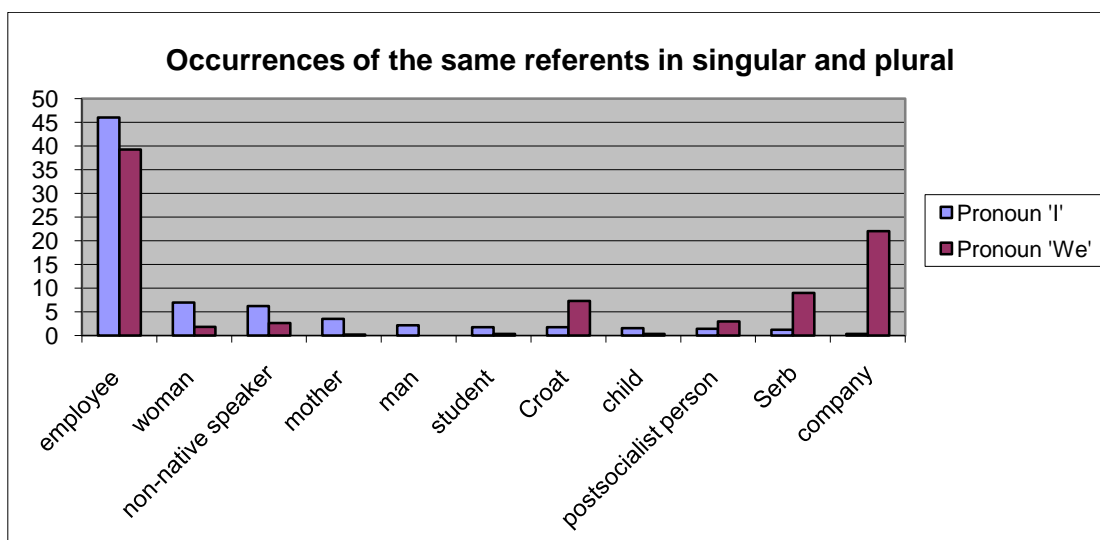
My data also shows some of these categories, i.e. institutional, interactional, the vague 'we', indefinite 'we', 'we' in quotes, and 'we as experts'. However, I would like to go one step further and point out how all those different forms of 'we' contribute to identity construction.

Demonstrations of multiple group membership also occurred in my data. 22 referents have been found for the pronoun 'we'. Like with the pronoun 'I', the most frequent referent is 'employee', followed by 'company', thus professional and institutional identities are predominant. The third and fourth referents most often

displayed belong to the category national identities, i.e. ‘Croat’ and ‘Serb’. These four referents protrude and are most dominant with a large margin.



Like in the section on the pronoun ‘I’, the identities have been put into 7 categories and they will be outlined by showing how they are visible in which context. But before going into detail, another aspect seems worthy out of note. As can be seen, there are differences regarding the referents for the pronouns ‘I’ and ‘We’. Those referents which appear with both pronouns, or rather appear to help construct individual and collective identities, do not necessarily do so in equal numbers. Even though they appear in both versions, the percentage of occurrences based on the overall number of the respective pronouns differs as the following graph shows.



The referent employee is most frequently used in both individual and collective identities. The largest differences are with the referents ‘company’ and ‘Croat’ and ‘Serb’, which have more occurrences with the pronoun ‘we’. Interestingly, gender identities such as ‘mother’ and ‘man’ do not appear as collective identities. Whereas the referents ‘woman’, ‘non-native speaker’, ‘student’ (but not dealt with in more detail as too few occurrences) and ‘child’ rather tend to appear as individual identities, the referents ‘Croat’, ‘member of the postsocialist generation’, ‘Serb’, and ‘company’ are more frequently displayed as collective identities.

4.4.1 Professional & Institutional identity: We as employees and we as company

The most frequent referents by a large margin are ‘employees’ and ‘company’. Collective professional identity is most often displaced when talking about the workday, about the tasks of the employees, whereas institutional identity is most often referred to when describing the job in the company.

The referent ‘employee’ is most obvious with the verb or concept ‘to work’. When describing the workday, the tasks, etc., the interviewees do not tell us about them by referring to themselves as individuals but to themselves within the team of employees.

very often we need to eh work with clients in Austria or wherever F- France eh I don't know (.) UK (26/101)

since we work on improving processes and (.) you know improving (..) anything at all i- it might well you know be of some like very (.) ehm (.) very specific thing like (.)POS eh point of sale material (.) anything (.) ehm (.) we always need to consult a lot of people we are like in-between (.) so we always are asking their opinions (72/106)

we always have something to work ((laughs)) then we als- at the beginning of year we started a strategy planning process so we have to prepare and update our strategy map and everything so (.) it's always interesting (58/118)

we usually really work nine from nine to five (38/105)

The first example gives information about the nationalities of the clients that the interviewee and the co-workers work with. The second example is taken from the pool of quotes that deal with job descriptions and thus provides some information about the work all employees at the company do; the interviewee is included in the group of employees. The third example gives some kind of chronological narrative about the tasks the employees have to do over the year. The fourth example includes

information about the workday, more specifically about the working hours. The concept of ‘to work’ also includes working together with co-workers as a team:

we work here in a eh (.) relatively small team (.) and eh I think all of us have been with the company for a relatively long time (12/110)

so we had to prepare some eh base presentation for our manager (48/118)

The interviewee points out that he and his co-workers work in a small team and by using a quantifier/ numerical referent with the object form of ‘we’ (‘all of us’), he shows that all of the employees at the company are included in the pronoun ‘we’ himself included. The second example also shows the teamwork when doing a task requested by the superior. In this example, a boundary to the superior is drawn, signifying that the managers and bosses do not belong to the group of employees. This distinction was also made by an interviewee in the section on working with non-native speakers of the local languages, when she drew a linguistic distinction between expatriates and employees (see p.54).

Interviewees also specifically point out that they are part of a team when they talk about themselves and co-workers, about their work and projects. By self-describing, interviewees say that they are a team (using the verb ‘to be’):

but since we are a small team and that's what most of us do (16/114))

we are already some kind of (.) experienced team and (.) ((xxx)) so we had some kind of kick-off meetings or some kind of briefing meetings before starting a project but (.) in general we know we know who works (.) who does (.) what and that's it (..) we separate our work (.) in the beginning (110/109)

In both examples, the interviewees point out that the employees are a team, thus displaying a collective identity as employees. The second example also gives some information about their project work and the constant use of the pronoun ‘we’ shows that in this extract, the interviewee strongly aligns himself to the group of employees, thus drawing on collective professional identity.

The notion of a team is not only present when talking about the different work tasks and about the work in general but also when describing the team. Like some other examples in this section, the first example uses the quantifier and numerical referent ‘all’ as well as a simile by comparing the team’s closeness and to that of a family:

we're all the same here (.) practically and eh (..) good friends (..) kidding around (..) it's nice we work eh (.) almost like a family here (256/114)

around noon 30 we go to lunch (.) that :lasts: ((laughing)) around an hour which is (.) that's really relaxing (.) we practically go out (.) and more and more we go out together and more and more we know each other the less we talk about (.) business and office issues and more we talk about I don't know (.) private stuff boyfriends girlfriends going out and things like that (.) and less about the cu- current issues (58/107)

This example does highlight the degree of the friendship between the employees as they get to know each other better over the course of the time. As in the previous example, the pronoun 'we' is constantly used with the phrase 'I don't know' and collective professional identity is thus displayed.

Teamwork and company culture is another context in which collective professional identity is displayed. The following extract is a nice example of pronoun switches. The interviewee uses the pronoun 'we' with a numerical referent 'all', implicating all employees, before changing to the third person singular pronoun 'one' and the generic 'you' when listing the aspects in which the employees may differ from each other before the interviewee switches back to the collective 'we'. At this point the company's culture of openly discussing different matters is referred to, also indicated by the use of the adverb 'here', i.e. at the company.

we are all aware of differences not only when it comes to eh where one comes from but eh there are there are small differences in what you are listening to what you are reading eh what gender you are what (.) eh is you I don't know political eh eh (.) opinion and the thing is that we eh openly talk about it and do not eh (.) eh laugh or do not eh eh eh attack anyone who is different so I think it's it's nice also here that we openly discuss (126/111)

Entering a company and being confronted with company culture may be a challenge and being perceived as strange. One interviewee mentions starting working at the company as being a very eye-opening experience due to the interviewee's different educational and professional background. She tells the story of an introductory seminar in which the employees were told what was expected from them and what kinds of behaviour were appropriate. She reports how the company head employs a martial metaphor.

which have ehm (.) boxers like fighting each other which are us and our competitors and like :how we're gonna kill them and smash them and show them and we're gonna win win win (20/105)

In this situation, the interviewee shows collective professional identity by aligning herself with the group of employees who are supposed to fight the competitors and win. This metaphor is quite strong and due to the NGO background of the interviewee, it also shows the distance the interviewee had at the beginning of her employment at this particular company. Despite the fact that back then she might

not have aligned with the group of employees, it shows her alignment at the moment of speaking during the interview.

Other interviewees also take up the issue of new and challenging situations, both positive and negative. In the following interview extract, the interviewee saw herself challenged by having to present in front of ‘very important people’. Instead of referring to her individual professional identity, she aligns to the group of employees who had to make presentations. The collective professional identity is somehow also strengthened by the opposite ‘very important people’, which assumingly refers to superiors and the managing board of the company. Like the example (48/118) above, this example also shows the dichotomy between ‘employees’ and ‘superiors’.

we had to do a lot of you know presentations (.) in front of very important people (.) in that company so that that was the eh you know the biggest challenge (.) yeah tha- that definitely (36/106)

Negative aspects, such as not reaching a goal, were also mentioned in which collective professional identity was displayed.

sometimes we make a mistake or chang- eh choose a (.) organization eh we like at the first sight but then it m- (.) eh it turns out that eh (.) we have to monitor them closely remind them all the time to do this and that (34/111)

how deep or how precise we should be at some (.) eh develop- eh developings so sometimes we don't have enough time to go in in some in EVERY details of eh every issue we have to eh react quick and we have to eh take some risks on certain things and eh in order to achieve some big bigger eh eh eh eh goal or result and sometimes we we have enough time to go in some eh deeper think- deeper analysis (126/115)

In the first example, the employees make a decision collectively and the collective professional identity is further constructed by the opposite in form of a different organisation, which is also expressed by the pronoun ‘they’. The last example shows the issue of time constraints, which influence everyday work tasks. By pointing out these influences, a description of the employees is provided (such as reacting quickly). The following example, dealing with working hours is very similar because the interviewee states that due to poor time management, employees sometimes need to work overtime.

I think we are (.) a little bit eh (.) not not that well :organised: ((laughing)) that's one of the reasons why (.) we sometimes stay even when I guess it wouldn't really so so (.) necessary to stay long (128/113)

I mean we have (.) eh set eight hours working eh (.) time so it's eh (.) either eh eight till four or nine till five (.) but we o- all are eh sort of :addicted to this job: ((laughing)) and we're in contact with our partners and available on our mobile phones even on our holidays (42/111)

In both examples, the interviewees describe a particular characteristic of the employees by using adjectives, in the first example it is ‘we are not that well-organised’ and in the second example ‘we are all sort of addicted to this job’. When talking about working time, interviewees usually talk about working overtime.

Professional collective identity is also displayed when talking about the prospect of promotion. Instead of referring to oneself, there is alignment to the group of employees as it seems there are the same conditions and prospects for all employees.

they (.) eh eh tell us in some period of time some let's say directions or what they expect from us at that position or in the future what will be good for us and also for the conte- that the company recognizes th- as is eh basic or good arguments for the promotion (40/115)

The pronoun ‘they’ as subject of the sentence indicates that ‘they’ are the active part, whereas the employees are on the receiving end, obeying rules and performing tasks. In this context ‘they’ does not have an explicit referent but due to the context, the referent materialises as ‘bosses’ or ‘superiors’. This is similar to the next quote: due to the usage of a passive construction, passiveness is shown on parts of the employees.

not really because we are not not working in in (..) in such circumstances we have eh we'r- we are limited by eh our programmes projects there is not really much space for an :expansion: ((smiling)) of those (118/112)

However, not only is a passive collective professional identity displayed. When talking about how someone may be in the position to be promoted, interviewees point out what they need to do in order to obtain a superior position.

we I think eh (..) are trying at least to to to to eh improve our operations to to the maximum so that we can eh (.) really (..) have our clients be happy about services we provide and eh then (.) build on on success (34/110)

The employees' promotion depends on how well they advise clients. In a way it could be argued that there is an opposition of employees and clients but employees need clients who are content with the service in order for the employees to advance in their career.

Collective professional identity, as stated above, is most prevalent when talking about the workplace and thus also about everything that is related to the workplace. This kind of identity is either in the fore- or background and coexists with other identities (Moore 1993/1994)). In order to show the blending of the different contents and the multiplicity of identities, one exemplary quote per topic cluster will be provided.

Talking English in the workplace is another topic in which collective professional identity is displayed as is the non-native speaker identity:

we speak English on daily basis (.) eh because our head is Austrian and eh (..) eh and we also have a relationship with him (.) and the bosses before him (.) that were also Austrian (.) that we could you know come to them (.) in any kind of s- (or) problem situation that we have knock on his door her door and (.) and talk to them (104/117)

This quote shows very clearly that the referent of the pronoun 'we' is 'employees' because it is put opposite the superior whose nationality is given and the relationship between the employees and the head of the company or unit is displayed.

Communication in the region and communicating in one's mother tongue also reveals collective professional identity.

but in in general we're I could say that (.) when we're communic- communicating to the other (.) Serbian companies we are using Serbian (.) language also in e-mails (and in) some kind of letters (104/109)

as eh (.) majority of eh working people here in [company's name] is really Croatian speaking but then eh among each other we are speaking Croatian of course (96/118)

In these examples, collective professional identity intersects with national identity. In the first example, those who communicate with other Serbian companies are employees, thus collective professional identity is displayed. 'Other Serbian companies' refers to the place and therefore collective national identity intersects with collective professional identity. The referent of the pronoun 'we' in the second example is explicitly given as 'majority of working people here in [company's name]'. Collective national identity lingers there due to the knowledge of the interviewee's background.

Talking about gender issues in the company is another topic area where collective professional is disclosed.

for example here eh with me sits a colleague who (.) does a programme [programme's name] and it's an international eh programme on empowerment of women and eh we all support her I mean and both women and men who work in [company's name] some eh even with less understanding or less eh n- sensitivity or less experience in that kind of thinking (.) do show respect and are open to hear more about it (52/111)

The referent for the pronoun 'we' is also explicitly named as 'both women and men who work in [company's name]'. Had the interviewee not repaired her sentence for specifying who is 'we', the referent would have been more vague despite the workplace context.

The next quote dealing with general postsocialist issues is interesting as the referent is ambiguous and can be both collective professional or institutional identity depending on who is advising the government: the employees or the company:

and now we're advising the government on (.) on a HUGE change (.) in in n- not only for example financial restructuring but also organization restructuring which is affecting various stakeholders yeah (50/110)

This quote shows the sometimes fluid boundary between collective professional identity and institutional identity. By only looking at the quote, it is difficult to really pinpoint whether it is the former or latter. Only by taking the longer extract and the context into account does it show which identity is displayed here.

Institutional identity is displayed most obviously by referring to 'our company'. It is obvious that the company does not belong to and is not owned by a group of employees. Instead the possessive pronoun shows high alignment to the company as a whole, its people, objectives, work, etc. Using the definite article ('the company') entails a particular distance, a boundary that is drawn between the employee and the company/ the workplace.

Institutional identity is only displayed in four interviews and predominantly in one interview.

eh to be honest I think that our company eh again in comparison with others (..) is really (.) very fair (..) so (76/105)

eh and eh many people in our company are not eh economists (40/102)

So ehm th- the way our company is organized is that you have a management board (..) and eh so okay management board and then then the first layer (.) eh i- are assistant directors (12/101)

The first example shows institutional identity very clearly by describing the company also in contrast to other companies, whereas the second example specifies the subject 'people' and the third example gives a description of the company. The boundary between collective professional identity and institutional identity is not clear-cut, and sometimes it can be both: identity as company and identity as employee as the following interview extract shows:

we advise clients both on the buyers' side and on the sales side (.) eh this means eh (.) we s- we identify these opportunities in the market we originate the project eh (.) we get the client for ourself (.) eh by introducing the the opportunity to them eh and eh we execute the project eh from the very beginning up until the end after the company was bought or sold depending whether on our client is buyer or or seller (20/102)

In this extract institutional identity is displayed when talking about what the company does in the field in which the company is operating, whereas collective

professional identity is disclosed when the focus is on the employees' tasks. Therefore, when describing the job and putting it into the context of the company, institutional identity is displayed most often. Basically, this identity is displayed when describing what exactly the employees' tasks are in the specific job position. The interviewees often provide background information and incorporate their position into the company as well as outline what the company does.

what (.) we do here is M and A advising (..) so practically every M and A deal is (.) like the structure of every M and A deal is practically the same (.) so there is not a very big difference there is no very big difference between you know this and that deal (16/114)

what we do is eh eh mostly eh mergers and acquisitions advisory work (10/110)

Both examples describe the companies' general tasks or the business fields in which the companies are operating. A spatial marker is also used in the first example to clarify the pronoun's referent.

The following two quotes are examples of naming the referent of the pronoun 'we' specifically and therefore the boundary between collective professional identity and institutional identity is clear-cut.

we are just providing ehm support advice ehm (.) in all regards and we are taking part we as as an organisation [company's name] we are taking part in the in this eh international forum or civil society forum which (.) eh will precede the the conference eh it will take place one day before the conference and it's it's organised by cluster munition coalition [company's name] (.) and ehm (.) that part will actually consist of several ehm in a way lectures ehm (..) ehm sort of eh well (.) eh lectures or statements which should explain the nature of cluster munitions the the reasons why we are doing this why we we are pushing for a ban (10/112)

By specifically saying the company's name 'we as an organisation', the referent for the pronoun 'we' is obvious. Even though it is the employees who will attend the conference, the fact that the company is taking part is highlighted and foregrounded. This is also the case in the next quote where the interviewee contrasts the company with other companies. As she uses the spatial marker 'here', she specifies the location, which is the city or rather the country.

and basically what is contrary to (.) eh (.) not majority but (.) almost majority of other ehm international NGOs who work here eh we don't impose eh what eh people here should do what citizens eh should do here in order to create a :better: ((laughing)) life or more democratic or more eh respect to human (16/111)

4.4.2 National & Regional identity: We as Serbs, we as Croats, we as people of the region

National identity in my data set is displayed when the interviewees talk about their country's history in combination with the transformation in the economy and politics as well as about using their mother tongue and English in the workplace. This kind of identity does not always come to the surface on its own but intermingles with e.g. identity as a member of the postsocialist generation, as non-native speakers, and as employees. Besides, the boundary to the indefinite 'we', which can be substituted by the phrase 'there is/are/were' is not always clear and that is why the context becomes even more important. At a first glance, it might seem that an indefinite 'we' is used, but at a second glance and taking the context into account, national identity is revealed.

One of the ways to express collective national identity is to name the nationality or refer to the location where the group of people is from which the speaker talks about and aligns to.

there was a a girl from Hungary a guy from Turkey a guy from New York from London
we from Croatia some from Slovenia Serbia from from all of the offices Czech Republic
Poland (106/103)

because we from Croatia really knew(ed) all that (.) mainly because we were part of the
same (.) of the same eh (.) eh country (134/117)

In both examples, the interviewees construct the referent of the pronoun 'we' by referring to the location where the people are from. Boundaries are set in both examples, but in the first one they are clearly set by pointing to the different nationalities of the participants in a seminar that the interviewee participated in. Identification is clearly done by focussing on their national identity, which is different to the national identity of the interviewee. In the second example, a clear distinction and distancing from others is also applied by saying that it is the Croatians among a larger group of people who have certain knowledge about something the others do not have.

Referring to the location is also indicative of national identity. In the following two examples, the interviewees refer to themselves and the group of people they align to by pointing out the location where they live and are.

in Serbia we learn foreign languages from a from from a fifth grade (.) that's primary
school then (.) from the secondary school we ar- we are learning some kind of two foreign
languages (.) but everybody forgets about the second one (92/109)

so maybe this is also one of the reasons but for me and for majority of people now (.) in Croatia it's a little bit strange (.) and really hard to understand (64/118)

By naming the country, the referent of 'we' does not necessarily need to be a nationality. The first example is such an example. Taking only this extract, the referent could be 'children', however, taking the context into account, it is obvious that the interviewee points to a collective national identity, as it is the Serbs or rather the Serbian children who learn foreign languages from the fifth grade onwards.

The second example is interesting insofar as the referent is given but not the pronoun 'we' by saying 'for me and for majority of people now in Croatia'. The alignment of the speaker is not to all Croats but to the majority of Croats.

The verb 'to be' is used to 'show that someone or something is the same as the subject' (Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture 1992:90) and thus in connection with the object or adjective 'Croatian' and 'Serbian', national identity is disclosed.

even though that we are all Croatsians we're ALL different (120/115)

it had nothing to do with the fact that we were Serbians Serbs or others were not or what it's it wasn't inter(.)cultural in that national way (124/105)

Another technique used to express national identity is applied by self-description. The following example consists of such a description of Croats. The interviewee mentions a study that was done about intercultural issues in several companies and one of the characteristics of Croats was that, compared to the employees from other countries, they were more relaxed about punctuality.

one of the statement that Croatian eh are tolerant to being late for example that we are coming to our meetings eh too late and then we when we are come to meetings that this is more eh (.) it's not so official like in ([company's name]) but eh while we are having coffee that eh it's very pleasantly agreed and set up everything (128/118)

While pointing out the results of the research, the interviewee aligns herself to the group of Croats by using the pronoun 'we', however, she reports results instead of pointing out her own opinion explicitly. Even though she reports, i.e. a perception of Croats by non-Croats, she does include herself in the group of Croats.

Regarding content, one of the contexts in which national identity is displayed, is the one talking about the history of the country and particularly about the transformational years and their impact on Croats and Serbs.

and that's what I think we need to do (.) first we need to clean (.) clean up mess what we have here because I (.) still think that that (.) although we have made a (..) we have succeeded in in in from war et cetera whatever we had we succeeded to get to (.) here we still have a long way to go (.) and we need to work a lot and to (.) especially with respect

to corruption and eh (..) eh (.) legal issues we still need to resolve (.) those and (..) then we can join the EU in (.) four years something like that (.) and I think that (.) we should be more (.) liberal society than we are (260/114)

This example consists of a succession of the pronoun ‘we’. Although it could be argued that this extract consists of the vague ‘we’, I would regard the pronouns as indicating national identity because the ‘we’ entails ‘Croats’ (the interviewee is a Croat). It is the Croats that ‘need to clean up the mess’, who ‘have succeeded to get to here’, and who ‘need to work a lot’. This example shows alignment to Croats and thus to national identity. At the beginning of the quote the interviewee also refers to the location by using a spatial adverb (‘we need to clean up mess what we have here’), indicating the country where he lives and also where the interview takes place.

Another similar quote is the following one, in which the pronoun ‘we’ can be regarded as a vague ‘we’ or ‘we Serbian employees’, but the predominant referent is the one indicating national identity.

yeah we operate today in in a market economy (56/110)

One of the important topics within the area of transformation is the war in South-Eastern Europe in the early 1990s. When talking about or mentioning the war, national identity is constructed.

I'm really satisfied that the war is behind us (.) and also eh the eh there are mm (.) several or let's say there are still some discussions about Croats Serbs and eh the- things like that but I think it's behind us and we are more focused ((xxx)) more focused on on the ce-economy (142/115)

In this quote the interviewee talks about the war belonging to the past and points out that despite some problems still existing, the Croats and Serbs have overcome the war: ‘the war is behind us’. Instead the Croats/Serbs are looking ahead, which means focussing on the economy.

The following example gives the referent of the pronoun ‘we’ or rather the object form ‘us’ as ‘people in the country’. The interviewee changes from talking about ‘people in the country’ to ‘we’ (‘if we don’t do our best’, ‘we had war and we had 10 years of downside’, ‘we had to work twice or third as hard’ and ‘we had lots of traumas’). The location is referred to again when the interviewee says ‘all the countries around us’ and ‘40% of our territory was devastated’. Throughout this quote, national identity is constructed because all the pronouns ‘we’ have the referent ‘people in the country’ or ‘Croats’ as the interviewee is a Croat.

it's not so bright but you know it really all depends on (.) on the people in the country you know on us eh it's really not an issue of eh getting into the Eu- European Union you know

because if we don't eh do our best to to you know because people here also (.) okay the- eh there's a situation where because we had war and we had 10 years of of eh (.) downside let's say and we had to (.) work twice or third as hard eh a- as all the other countries around us to get in the situation where we are now because (.) we had (.) eh (.) had devastated you know like eh (..) eh I don't know 40% of of our te- territor- (.) territorial ehm (..) were was devastated you know and all the houses had to be rebuilt and all the industry had to be rebuilt once again and all the people had to be rebuilt once again because (.) y- you know we had lots of traum- traumas you know (.) eh after the war (144/117)

The traumas the interviewee mentions is also a topic in the next example, which is included in pointing out what the problems in or with the Croatian society are.

but since we're a (.) slow changing society it's difficult to achieve that (.) eh (.) but (.) we're still developing economy and I hope that we will develop more in the future and be able to (.) to also to offer something to those people on which back this transition was (..) was accomplished I think accomplished but still not fully accomplished (.) of course d- additional problem of Croatia was war (.) also bec- because of that war we still have certain problems and eh (.) we still have a ghost of past present here (274/114)

This extract shows that by saying 'we're a slow changing society', the referent is the Croatian society and as the interviewee uses the pronoun 'we', he includes himself in Croatian society. Some of the pronouns 'we' tend to be 'vague', such as in 'we're still developing country' and 'we will develop more in the future' because here the pronoun could rather refer to the economy and country than to the Croats themselves. In the section where the interviewee mentions the war, the referent is clearly 'Croats', also due to the reference to location ('here') and national identity is displayed and constructed.

because of our geographical eh position to move those changes quick(er) faster and eh eh (.) better for eh for our (fuss) in Croatia (.) but the fact that we are not mm not any more in the communism that we opened our borders we open a little we are slowly open our minds (142/115)

we are all straining after some kind of Western type of life (.) and it can be seen (.) seen all around of us (138/109)

In the first example, the location is referred to ('our geographical position', 'in Croatia') as well as the history ('we are not any more in the communism', 'we opened our borders'). National identity is first displayed when the interviewee says 'our fuss in Croatia'; this is switched to a more vague 'we' or 'we as a country' when the interviewee says that the borders were opened. A self-description is added for constructing national identity; the process of opening their minds. Like in this example, the second example also consists of a self-description because 'we', who are Serbs in this example, are trying to reach to live a Western type of life. The second part of the sentence is interesting because whereas the first part evaluates the action carried out by Serbs, the second part indicates that whatever can be seen

around of ‘us’, comes from the outside. Nevertheless, national identity is constructed here.

National identity is also displayed when ‘othering’ is applied. The following example consists of such an ‘othering’ of Serbs, which the interviewee mentions and reacts to by aligning himself to the group of Serbs.

they're always thinking about this (.) parts like (some) kind of (.) Africa :Congo Baghdad: ((laughing)) and we're killing each other on the (.) streets and then they are (.) all (.) f-fascinated with Belgrade and with our people with the way of living (136/109)

‘Our people’ is interesting insofar as whereas ‘we’re killing each other on the streets’ shows a clear alignment to the Serbs, ‘our people’ again indicates that the interviewee is talking about Serbs in the third person plural, thus taking the outside view of how other people regard Serbs. However, as the interviewee uses the possessive pronoun ‘our’, he indicates that he is one of the people.

The next example also consists of talking about the Serbian society. Whereas the interviewee talks about ‘the society’, thus using the third person singular instead of an inclusive ‘our’, the pronoun ‘we’ that is used does indicate a reference to Serbs, and thus national identity is disclosed.

there are many factors that :transition transformation of the society changes: ((smiling)) and you know lack of influence of women in society and of course we still have this this pseudo-patriarchal actually principle that rules this society and it's not even true (.) patriarchal ehm eh set of standards because (.) I mean the the the whole structure of the society is (.) eh in a major part destroyed we do we do not really have traditional families with traditional values any more (58/112)

It can be argued that the pronoun ‘we’ (‘we still have this pseudo-patriarchal actually principle’ and ‘we do not really have traditional families with traditional values any more’) is an indefinite ‘we’ because it can be substituted with the phrase ‘there is/are’. However, ‘we’ also indicates ‘we Serbs’ and thus national identity is displayed.

Gender issues in the transformational years are also another topic in which national identity is disclosed.

I think we won't change thoroughly so soon I mean it won't (..) I mean I I believe there are still too many prejudices here on how men should act women should act and how that whole thing should function (152/113)

The pronoun ‘we’ indicates national identity because it is the Serbs that ‘won’t change thoroughly’ regarding the expectations and norms of how women and men are supposed to behave in the society.

Similar to example (58/112 above), in the next quote an indefinite ‘we’ does, indeed, display and refer to national identity. The extract belongs to the quotes that content-wise deal with political issues in the transformational years. The second example also indicates ‘we Serbs’.

I mean for example we had a a (.) a woman who was a president of the parliament (56/111)

it was a specific time it was 2000 it was the year when we eh finally get rid of Milošević on elections (16/111)

References to the history of the countries, i.e. to the state-socialist era, when Croatia and Serbia were two of the provinces in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, also indicate national identity.

because Yugoslavia was always former Yugoslavia was always open and and (.) eh towards the rest of the world so I we were all time in contact with what's going on around us (62/111)

we lived in that ehm (.) in in the golden era of socialist system i mean if if we ever :HAD a golden era: ((laughing)) of socialist Tito's socialist system (138/113)

we lived in a country which was set up completely different (64/118)

By referring to the location (‘former Yugoslavia’, ‘in a country’), the interviewees set the frame for the referent of the pronoun ‘we’. In the first example, there is also a ‘pronoun repair’, when the interviewee says ‘so I we were all time in contact with what’s going on around us’, thus showing very nicely the alignment to a group of people, i.e. Serbs. It also shows the boundary of the group of people to the outside world, as the country with the borders is referred to (‘around us’). The other two examples include the pronoun ‘we’ with the verb ‘to live’. The Serbs and Croats lived in a country that was politically different to the countries the interviewees now live in. Strictly speaking, looking back in history and referring to life ‘back then’, does, indeed, reveal identity as a member of the state-socialist generation because these interviewees grew up as children before 1989/1991. However, the referent is clearly ‘Croats’ or ‘Serbs’ and thus national identity is disclosed.

Looking back and comparing life back then to life at the present is also done by another interviewee, who also adds another aspect, that of culture.

now compared to the way we were raised and to things here [...] but then (.) with years in Socialism and that kind of background I think we came to the point where we mostly write :(nonsense): ((laughing)) or very long or we write in (..) in a manner that is not so clear and understandable [...] well (.) ehm in our culture also we were never (.) we n- we never really (.) learned through school or university how to write in an- how to WRITE at all and how to write in an organised (.) manner so how to structure things [...] and we have that totally different manner of writing (30/113)

As the square brackets with the points indicate, three quotes were added to one quote because the interviewee tends to be repetitive in this section. The beginning of the extract shows identity as a member of the state-socialist generation because the interviewee refers to the past by comparing the ‘way how we were raised’, using a past tense and the temporal phrase ‘with years in Socialism’, and to the location by using the spatial deictic marker and adverb ‘here’. The referent of the pronoun ‘we’ is ‘Croats’, it is the Croats or Croatian speakers who have a unique way of writing in their mother tongue (compared to English) according to the interviewee. Due to history (socialism) and due to the language that is the mother tongue, the interviewee refers to ‘our culture’ as a frame of reference and to reason why the writing style in Croatian differs from that of English. ‘Our culture’ shows alignment to the Croats and also history but the term is ambiguous because it could refer to ‘writing culture’, ‘Croatian speakers’ culture’ or just ‘Croatian culture’.

After the topics of the history of the countries and their transformation, the second large topic in which national identity is displayed is the one about language use in the interviews and in the workplace.

In the interviews, interviewees sometimes apply the technique of code switching. However, what some of them did was to use words in their mother tongue, which sometimes happened to be German words¹⁶, if they did not know the corresponding English word.

I don't know sometimes you can also see some strange eh words on presentations some additions which are not normal to have eh (.) some Tippfehlers or something like that but (.) this is normal we don't pay a lot of attention to that because we are not English native speakers so we are very tolerant about :that: ((laughing))
M: mhm (.) do you use Tippfehler (.) in your language or did you just use it because of me no we use it also because we in Croatia use a lot of German words (102-104/118)

This interaction shows the word ‘Tippfehlers’ (typos), which is a German word. I, the interviewer, ask if this word is used in Croatian, because if it were not, then this would be a case of code switching in the interview. It is, indeed, code switching because the interviewee uses a word from her mother tongue and not the corresponding English word ‘typos’. By saying that the word is a Croatian word, the interviewee displays national identity by using a locative (‘we in Croatia’). By pointing out that the Croats know the reason why there are so many German loan words in Croatian, national identity is again disclosed. The next interview extract is

¹⁶ Slovenia and Croatia belonged to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy until 1918 and the language contact caused the adoption of a number of Austrian-German words in both languages.

also an example of displaying national identity by code-switching and pointing out that Serbs use this German word in their language.

so the child is just (.) you know Wunderkind ((laughs)) as we would say in Serbian ((laughs))
 M: really you do use //that word//
 //:yeah yeah// we use this in yeah we we just pronounce it that way: ((laughing)) (112-114/112)¹⁷

National identity is also revealed when talking about using the mother tongue as well as switching to English in the workplace. The difference between identity as non-native speakers and national identity when it comes to language usage in the workplace is sometimes not very clear-cut. But as the examples show, the referent of the pronoun 'we' is the 'group of employees who are either Croatian or Serbian' rather than 'non-native speakers'.

well we're we are not like trying to speak English whenever possible you know only when there is the need (70/106)

because there's no need for us :to talk in English: ((laughing)) and also in communication with all of the governmental officials eh and eh courts bankruptcy administrators agencies meaning all the local counterpart (.) counterparts (44/113)

In both examples, the pronoun 'we' has the referent 'Croats' or 'Serbs'. If it is not necessary to speak English, then the mother tongue is used in the workplace. The following extracts show even more clearly that the referent of the pronoun 'we' is 'Croats' or 'Serbs' because of specifying the pronoun 'we' by self-description.

because we're all Croats so (.) we don't speak English between us (192/114)

it depends whether there is if we are all Croats here then of course then the meeting is in in Croatian (94/102)

Both interviewees point out that 'we are all Croatian', thus aligning themselves with the Croats. The second example also uses the spatial deictic marker and adverb 'here', thus the collective professional identity ('we employees') is also revealed.

National identity is also constructed when the interviewees point out that they use English as soon as someone with a different nationality and mother tongue is present.

so let's say there is a Aus- Austrian colleague okay we will switch to English of course i- eh doesn't matter it's a official or (.) let's say eh eh eh working issue or it's eh some let's say private issue we'll switch to English (94/115)

what we speak the most is Serbian (.) and in the meetings when we have anybody who is present and who doesn't understand then we naturally switch to English (126/107)

¹⁷ The English word for 'Wunderkind' is 'prodigy child'.

In the first example, national identity is disclosed when the interviewee says ‘we will switch into English’. The group of people who are Croats separate themselves from the Austrian colleague. The colleague is identified by pointing out his/her nationality, which differs to the one of the local Croatian staff, who the interviewee belongs to.

The second example also reveals national identity by using an opposite or even ‘othering’ strategy. The Serbian employees speak Serbian most of the time except if there is someone present who is neither Serbian nor speaks Serbian, then the Serbs will speak English. The pronoun ‘we’ in ‘when we have anybody who is present’ is an indefinite ‘we’ as it can be substituted with the phrase ‘there is/are’, but as pointed out above, it also refers to the group of Serbs.

The strategy of using opposites or ‘othering’ is also applied in the next example. It is the Serbs separating themselves from international clients. Whereas the Serbs speak Serbian in the office, the international clients speak English and the Serbs also speak English with them.

well we are because we we we are talking in Serbian in the office (.) but in a communication with because we are maj- in general we have an international clients (.) and they're using English and w- and we even use English when we are working with a domestic client we're preparing the reports in English it's very rare that we are preparing reports and a- all documents in Serbian (104/109)

National identity is displayed when the interviewee says that ‘we are all talking Serbian in the office’ and their identity is constructed by putting it opposite and distancing themselves from that of their international clients. This interviewee also points out that English is used when doing business with a Serbian client because the corporate language is English. As only written reports are mentioned, the question arises if it is not the common language, i.e. Serbian, which is used in oral communication between the employees and the Serbian clients.

When talking about communication with colleagues in the countries that belonged to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, there is also the question of which language(s) are used and by specifically referring to the nationalities of the others, national identity is disclosed and revealed.

usually sometimes when we work (.) I mean together with with Belgrade or Slovenian office we communicate in (.) ((laughs)) we call it REGIONAL language (228/114)

well we communit- we talk Serbian they talk Croatian but it's same language in the end (106/109)

In the first example, which is taken from an interview with a Croat, the other offices in the Balkans are mentioned, and the pronoun ‘we’ clearly has the referent ‘Croats’. Whereas this interviewee states that ‘we call it REGIONAL language’, and the ‘we’ may indicate the Croats in general, the Croatian employees in this company or both the Croats and the Serbs, the interviewee in the second example states that ‘it’s the same language in the end’. By giving a ‘we-they’-opposition, national identity is constructed because it is the Serbs that speak Serbian and the Croats that speak Croatian.

There is one example in the data, which I claim displays a ‘shared’ national identity. By pointing to the language usage with different offices in different countries when English is used, the communication with the Serbian office is also conducted in the ‘regional language’. It is in this instance, where the pronoun ‘we’ clearly indicates both Croatian and Serbian employees and thus a ‘shared national identity’ is displayed.

yes who are from Austri- Austria yes of course or or the colleagues from other countries so that is Austria or Bulgaria (.) okay with eh eh s- eh eh w- with Serbia then ehm (.) okay and with Macedonia people also but with Serbian we we understand each other with our (.) own language (92/115)

This ‘shared national identity’ is similar to the regional identity, which I would like to further outline. That something like a regional identity may exist can be deducted from the quote above (228/114), where the interviewee talks about a regional language. Besides, the common history up until 1991 as well as Croatian and Serbian being two very similar Slavic languages may have affected a certain closeness (despite the war in the early 1990s). The following example shows the referent ‘people from the region’ by using the spatial marker ‘here’, which is further specified as ‘in the Balkans’.

we have also here (.) in the Balkans this long tradition of of mothers-in-law and and daughters-in-law in in constant conflicts (62/112)

Instead of drawing the boundary based on national borders, the boundary is drawn on the regional border, which is the Balkans.

Another interviewee also talks about the people from former Yugoslavia. He talks about being closer more quickly with people who speak a Slavic language and who have had a common socialist past than with non-Slavic language speaking colleagues.

I don't know because it's here Slovenska duška Slovenian souls that we are some kind of closer I don't know why but I believe it's we are some kind of (.) more opened towards each other (.) maybe that I don't know (128/109)

The referent of the pronoun 'we' is 'people from the region', i.e. from the former Yugoslavia, which is underlined by the adverb 'here'. The interviewee also uses a Serbian phrase, which he immediately translates into English to underline his point. He does not align himself to a nationality but to a region and the people who live in this region. He then continues to further outline:

well (..) I (believe) I I would just say that th- it may be the way that we are (.) making the jokes :like: ((laughing)) we are more open to that kind of (.) some kind of (.) discussion to be m- eh ver- very fast to become some kind of intimate (men) but to be in a position (.) to make eh jokes about each other to make jokes about our own culture ou- our own countries our own way of living (.) (that) because it's OUR it's eh the (.) maybe similar way of living with all of us because okay it's the countries (.) have the same (.) pa- similar past than (.) okay the Austrian all the Western countries (.) have the other culture the other way of life the other (.) I don't know (.) maybe that's the reason (.) but I believe it's it is but there is some kind of (.) definitely more :deeper and ((xxx)): ((laughing)) that that (.) than I (.) would want to think about that (130/109)

The interviewee talks about the kind of intimacy they have and particularly that they can make jokes about each other. The fact that he is referring to 'people in the region' is obvious when he says: 'to make jokes about our own culture, our own countries, our own way of living because it's OUR, maybe similar way of living with all of us'. He mentions several countries, thus indicating different nationalities, but there is only one culture with a distinctive lifestyle, which is the lifestyle lived by 'all of us', i.e. people in the region. This lifestyle or culture, as he says, is in contrast to the Austrian or rather Western culture and the corresponding lifestyle. The reason why they all share the same lifestyle in the region is given as the countries having the same or similar past.

The next example is an extract taken from a larger part in which the interviewee talks about language usage when communicating with people from the region and he mentions English being a foreign language 'for all of us'. Taken the context into account, this object form of 'we' takes the referent 'people from the region', thus the interviewee shows his regional identity.

I mean English helps of course because it's practically foreign language for (.) all of us (230/114)

4.4.3 Historical identity: We as members of the postsocialist generation

The collective identity as members of the postsocialist generation is expressed in the interviews when the interviewees talk about the transformation from state-socialism to postsocialism that their country has experienced. Within this topic, the economic situation including the employment sector is a recurrent topic as well as having children as employees in this transformed economy and society.

The identity ‘members of the postsocialist generation’ is a kind of identity that is reserved for the younger generation. The adjective ‘young’ is also used as part of the referent as in the following examples:

I guess for people who are like 40 and something (.) don't know much about computers don't know much about foreign languages don't know much about eh (.) modern business (..) for them (.) this is very bad period and (..) you know I think that the entire transition (.) for us younger it's fine you know (.) ((xxx)) work you know how to do with computers you can work whatever you want (.) but for them you know it's difficult to find job and I think that this transition is basically on their backs you (274/114)

but for I would say US which means like eh younger people which want to prove eh (..) this is better (104/114)

In the first example, the interviewee focuses on differences and applies the method of comparing and ‘othering’ by using pronouns indicating the opposite (‘us’ and ‘them’). By using a pronoun with a subject referent ‘us younger’, the speaker clearly indicates alignment to the younger, i.e. the postsocialist generation, which has better chances of getting proper jobs than the older generation (‘people who are 40 or something’), who lived a substantial part of their lives in the state-socialist era. The second example also has the object form of ‘we’ but the interviewee gives the explanation of who is included in ‘us’ as well as showing his alignment to this particular age group.

Talking about and describing the characteristics of the younger postsocialist generation is done by self-description. The following example specifies the referent of the pronoun ‘we’ and the self-description is based on the different workplaces compared to workplaces during the state-socialist era.

well now is coming but it's coming terribly slowly (.) so we (.) I mean people who are working for banks insurance companies or multinational companies that work here (.) we have (.) that sort of new perception of the whole thing (.) but there are like a lot of stalal institutions hospitals (.) I don't know the whole structure of the companies is still in that sort of old style (.) so there is like a little bit of misunderstanding between those two things (.) but yes it's a new time for us definitely (.) because this is a totally different side and there is much more (.) responsibility in the individual (78/107)

The referent is given as ‘people who are working for banks, insurance companies or multinational companies that work here’ and the interviewee talks about the present, which is only slowly changing but has led to younger people acquiring a new perception of life. This is due to the different economic and political situations, which have had an impact on people’s everyday lives, norms and values. The situation particularly for the mentioned employees is novel due to the greater amount of responsibility they have and is required from them in the workplace.

As in the previous example, in which the interviewee talks about ‘a totally different side’; by pointing out that there are two or even more worlds/ realities, the dichotomy of life in the postsocialist and in the state-socialist eras is indeed highlighted and displays identity as a member of the postsocialist generation.

on the other hand you have eh what we call a sort of parallel world (118/110)

well there are a lot of differences (.) first of all we are living in a totally different environment (74/107)

Whereas in the first example, the subject of the phrase is a generic you, by providing more detailed information the interviewee inserts a relative clause in which the subject changes to ‘we’. It is the younger generation that coined the term and has given it special meaning. The second example also deals with the concept of a parallel world. It points out that in comparison to 20 years ago, the younger generation, which is the referent of the pronoun ‘we’, now lives in a different time with different requirements, norms, possibilities and goals. This ‘parallel world’ employees at international companies experience, as well as living in a ‘TOTALLY different environment’, has an impact on the younger generation because there are different life styles and, above all, life courses. Other interviewees also describe the fact that this generation is confronted with a new, sometimes even frightening situation:

we're all waiting for our thirties ((laughs)) [...] well (..) that's because we eh (.) we do not (.) feel (.) prepared (.) for children (..) because we think we need to do something before we get children [...] and we ARE I think we are (..) of many things (.) so frightened that we are eh we do not feel (.) mature (130-132/106)

What is conspicuous in this example is the continuous usage of the pronoun ‘we’, which gives the impression that the interviewee only displays and focuses on her identity as a member of the postsocialist generation in the moment of speaking. In this section, the majority of the examples consist of this focus on and continuous

usage of the collective identity, such as in the following example, which addresses the topic of the postsocialist generation's goals and objectives.

we want to do (.) better for our country because it has suffered (.) so much we want to to improve it and to make a better (.) better eh eh country for our children you know (.) if n- it if it wasn't so so (.) eh bloomy for us you know (.) so it's optimistic especially in the in the (.) in the young people's minds (.) but that's natural (144/117)

The pronoun 'we' has two referents that intermingle with one another. As the interviewee mentions 'our country', the referent may be 'Croat or Serb', thus highlighting national identity. But the speaker also talks about 'the young people's minds', hence the alignment here is to the group of members of the postsocialist generation. The difference between national identity and identity as a member of the postsocialist generation tends to be blurred at some stages and both identities tend to frequently appear together.

4.4.4 **Communication & Cultural identity: We as non-native speakers**

The identity as non-native speakers is displayed when interviewees talk about communication issues and, more specifically, about using English in the workplace.

There is one example where the referent 'non-native speakers' is explicitly mentioned by the interviewee in a construction consisting of the copula 'to be':

we don't pay a lot of attention to that because we are not English native speakers so we are very tolerant about :that: ((laughing)) (102/118)

The multiplicity of alignments to various groups of people is visible in this example. The interviewee mentions that they are non-native speakers of English in a sub-clause, which gives the reason for why they as employees as well as non-native speakers of English do not pay attention to and are tolerant of typos and language mistakes in emails. Even though the referent is not provided linguistically as for example 'we non-native speakers of English', it is a referent after all as anaphorically and cataphorically the sub-clause reveals who 'we' are.

The identity as non-native speakers is disclosed when interviewees talk about which kind of English, or register, is used and about problems and difficulties non-native speaker employees are faced with in the workplace.

there is a special English that we use because there are SO many nations (108/105)

I attended some meetings where we (.) were speaking in English and also some where we would speak in (.) our native languages (64/106)

of course i- it's not ehm (.) eh eh comfortable for us (.) to switch to English all the time because we d- we cannot express ourselves in English as we in eh (.) our mother la- eh language (94/115)

The dichotomy between speaking English and speaking in one's mother tongue reveals an identity as non-native speakers. The identity that lingers in the background is the one of employees because English is used in the workplace and therefore, non-native speakers in this data set are also employees. The multiplicity of identities is clearly detected and the examples above reveal that the boundaries are malleable and quite often it is not only one identity, rather several identities that the speaker orients towards at a particular stretch of time. In the examples above, the contexts in which the collective identity of non-native speakers is visible are language practices in the workplace (when is English being used) and the difficulty of being able to appropriately express something in English. Another interviewee discloses the collective identity as non-native speakers when pointing out that conducting small talk and conversations that are not work-related is difficult to do in English.

if we have to expand our conversation to some private things to (.) things around us maybe I faced with some difficulties to explaining (138/115)

This example shows identity shift: from collective non-native speakers of English to individual non-native speaker of English (see details about identity shifts in chapter 4.5.). The interviewee talks about his problems explaining matters in English but aligns himself as a member of the non-native speaker employees at the beginning of the quote.

Another context in which identity as non-native speakers is displayed is that of communication failures and solving communication problems.

then (.) we continue like that until in one second we realise what the hell is going on (.) but (.) it happens sometimes with other colleagues from other offices in English (.) that we simply don't understand each other (.) and then we cut all the communication via e-mails and we go to (.) phone communication and then until we both say AH (..) then you know it's fine (..) because mail is not that good as phone communication (142/107)

in English (.) yes it's i- i- it ha- i- i- it eh happens very often let's say (.) but eh with more talks and with the hands and maybe with the drawings ((laughs)) eh w- we try to solve that situation so whe- where we eh i- i- if i- eh it's good to ask additional questions (102/115)

In the first example the referent is specified as 'other colleagues from other offices in English' and the interviewee is included in the communication by indicating that 'we simply don't understand each other'. The important word here is

‘in English’, which indicates identity as non-native speakers. The second example has also the same referent because it is the non-native speakers among the employees who encounter communication failures and try to understand each other.

4.4.5 Gender identity: We as women and we as mothers

Collective gender identity is, unfortunately, only displaced in interviews conducted with women. This identity is displayed in two contexts: that of having children and discrimination issues in the workplace. The referent for the pronoun ‘we’ is only traceable from the context except in one interview where the interviewee adds the referent ‘women’ several times:

but there are some kind of situations where this is eh but where this happens but it's not so
(.) ehm important that we really notice it but it's sometimes it's life it's like okay we are
women and we are expected to be (.) eh treaten in a certain way and that's like (.) normal
eh [...] we are women we are females we are ehm (.) ehm (..) fragile sex (68/117)

we women also do that (.) you know (.) discriminize ourselves but (.) in this case this is a
positive discrimin- for us you know (76/117)

The interviewee displays belonging to the group of women also by using self-description, such as ‘we are expected to be treated in a certain way’ as well as ‘we are women, we are females, we are fragile sex’. The second example is straightforward as the subject referent is cataphorically provided.

Another way of displaying collective gender identity is by constructing a dichotomy between men and women.

that's the same old story the guys go to army and we go to :pregnancy leave: ((laughing))
(102/107)

By mentioning men and their duty in the army in Croatia and Serbia, the referent for the pronoun ‘we’ is obviously ‘women’, also due to the context that women fall pregnant. Talking about having or not having children also shows collective identity and alignment with the group of women.

because none of my friends have children still we're (.) we are now just entering the pha-
that phase (182/103)

This example shows two identities expressed simultaneously. The interviewee is talking about her friends, thus a social relational identity is displayed. But the second identity referred to is the one of women who do not have children but may have children at some time in the future.

Another instance where collective gender identity is displayed is when referring to female co-workers. The following quote is taken from an interview where the interviewee tells us of her and a co-worker's struggle against discrimination in the workplace due to pregnancy and facing being made redundant.

it was me and another colleague that (.) got pregnant soon after and was in the same situation and got the same privileges as me (.) well we we were quite eh d- disappointed by by you know (.) eh happy to keep our jobs :of course: ((laughing)) but at the same time a bit (.) disappointed that it couldn't be you know solved in you know in a way which would be more suitable for us and our children ((laughs)) (.) and eh (..) yeah (.) that's about it (44/112)

The referent for the pronoun 'we' is introduced in the first sentence ('me and another colleague'). By mentioning that both, the interviewee and the co-worker were pregnant, it is displayed that they are women. The repetitive use of the object form 'us' and the possessive pronoun 'our' shows the collective identity as women very clearly.

Another interviewee also refers to herself and a co-worker by pointing out that there are now two female employees in the company and thus gender aspects do not matter as much anymore as compared to when the interviewee was the only woman employed at the company.

it's now more eh you know eh you know the more the merrier now we are you know eh (.) [co-worker's name] and eh me (140/101)

Equality is also a topic in which collective gender identity is displayed. In the first example, the interviewee mentions 'women in Serbia' and continues talking about them in the third person plural. However, and this is another nice example of identity shift, the interviewee breaks off the sentence and starts a new sentence in which the possessive pronoun 'our' is used. As the referent has been introduced in the previous sentence ('women in Serbia'), the alignment to the group of women and more specifically to the group of Serbian women is revealed.

women in Serbia (..) don't think about that they don't it's not in our awareness (138/105)

that eh we are (.) eh we have equal rights and we respect each other (52/111)

The second example is taken from an interview in which the interviewee talks about equality for women in the society and therefore in the workplace.

4.4.6 Relational identity: We as a couple and we as a family

The context in which identity as a couple or a family evolves is the one of family life and childcare. Either the referent for the pronoun has been introduced earlier in the text (anaphoric) or is cataphoric as it is given in the part of the sentence that follows the subject pronoun.

I guess that if (.) my girlfriend or wife whatever (.) you know we would need to discuss who has a bigger salary and then to see (140/114)

In this example the interviewee is a man who introduces his girlfriend or wife in the interaction. The pronoun 'we' is thus clearly marked as 'he and his partner'. The following example does not specifically name the referent but due to the context of the sentence, which is included in a longer story segment, the referent is obvious:

we know that we wanna have th- children in in eh one point of time (64/105)

The interviewee and her partner are the referent of 'we'. The referent is usually introduced before the pronoun is used. The context that discloses identity as couple is the one about having children (as in the previous example) and anything that is connected with childcare.

before that we had ehm (.) we had a babysitter who was taking care of my younger kid (116/113)

so (..) I think we will manage to arrange it (66/105)

In the first example, the couple had a paid assistant who helped with childcare. Interestingly, the interviewee does not refer to the child as 'our child' but 'my child', which points to her identity as a mother. The second example is taken from an interview with an interviewee who does not yet have children but talks about wanting children in the future. The identity as a couple is pointed at via future childcare responsibilities as a couple.

Regarding taking maternity or paternity leave, the identity as a couple is also displayed when it comes to the process of deciding who should take the leave and for how long (see also the first example at the beginning of this section):

and (.) we sh- we should agree about that (82/115)

but eh then we agreed at home (92/118)

In both examples, the decision will be or was made by the couple.

The identity as a couple appears in the interviewee's accounts when they talk about instances in their personal lives. Besides the topic of children, this identity is

displayed in stories interviewees include in their interview narrative (see 4.6.), resulting in the fact that further analysis about when exactly this identity is disclosed cannot be done on a general level but the specific instances must be named. These contexts are for example, where the couple got to know each other, the fact that they have enough money to travel to more exotic places - in comparison to the average citizen-, and references to a difficult relationship:

well we studied together ehm (.) Masters MBA (148/104)

maybe some time when we have some kind of fancy travel fancy negotiations somewhere ((laughs)) (140/109)

we've been dealing with different like social workers courts police all the instances that could be involved in this society (58/112)

The identity 'family' is shown when background information is given about family life. Information is either provided about the family, which the interviewee originates from or about their own family they have started.

we are religious we are (m-) eh (..) Roman Catholics (..) Rome Rome Catholics (92/117)

when we used to live abroad (90/104)

but okay we are dealing (.) now with it (.) good this is also the fact of our current life and had to it has to be like that [...] and this was also our family decision that I will be the one (88&94/118)

The first example is a self-description and shows religious identification and alignment. The second example gives background information within a story, which took place when the family lived abroad. The third example displays identity as a family by pointing to the fact that this is how their current family life works as well as to the decision, which was a family decision, that the woman of the couple should take maternity leave for the full first year of the baby's life.

4.4.7 **Situated identity: We as interviewee and interviewer**

In the section on situated individual identity, the communicative situation, i.e. the interview, was referred to quite regularly. In some of the quotes the interviewer was addressed directly ('you') and thus visible in the text. But interviewees do not only talk about 'I as the interviewee' and 'you as the interviewer' but also refer to both communication partners by 'we the interviewee and the interviewer'. They do so by directly pointing to the communicative act of speaking in the interview:

I mean yes there is (.) eh as we speak now there have been some changes (18/101)

now that we're talking about I remember that I noticed the absence of that in the beginning (82/105)

Another interviewee points to the collective identity of communication partners by referring to the location where the interview takes place.

I don't know (.) because we are sitting in the CEO office (60/115)

Some other interviewees also refer to the purpose of the interview, which is talking about specific topics, by either pointing out to go more into detail or by pointing out that time constraints prevent going into more detail.

I think that we (.) are going into details or or discussing this theme more detaily (72/117)

but you know I don't really think that (.) we have too much time (56/110)

The first example points to the communicative situation, i.e. two people, the interviewer and the interviewee are having a conversation about specific topics. The second example is interesting insofar as the pronoun 'we' could be regarded as an indefinite 'we', which can be substituted with the phrase 'there is/are'. However, the quote has been included because it does point to the collective we as interviewer and interviewee because both of them are aware of the fact that as interviewer and interviewee they experience a particular time constraint in the communicative situation. This time constraint does, indeed, impact the way in which the conversation evolves and how both of them behave.

Towards the end of the interview, some interviewees also point to the interview and to the communicative situation by making a humorous remark about the number of the questions posed by the interviewer or by stating that enough has been said to conclude the interview:

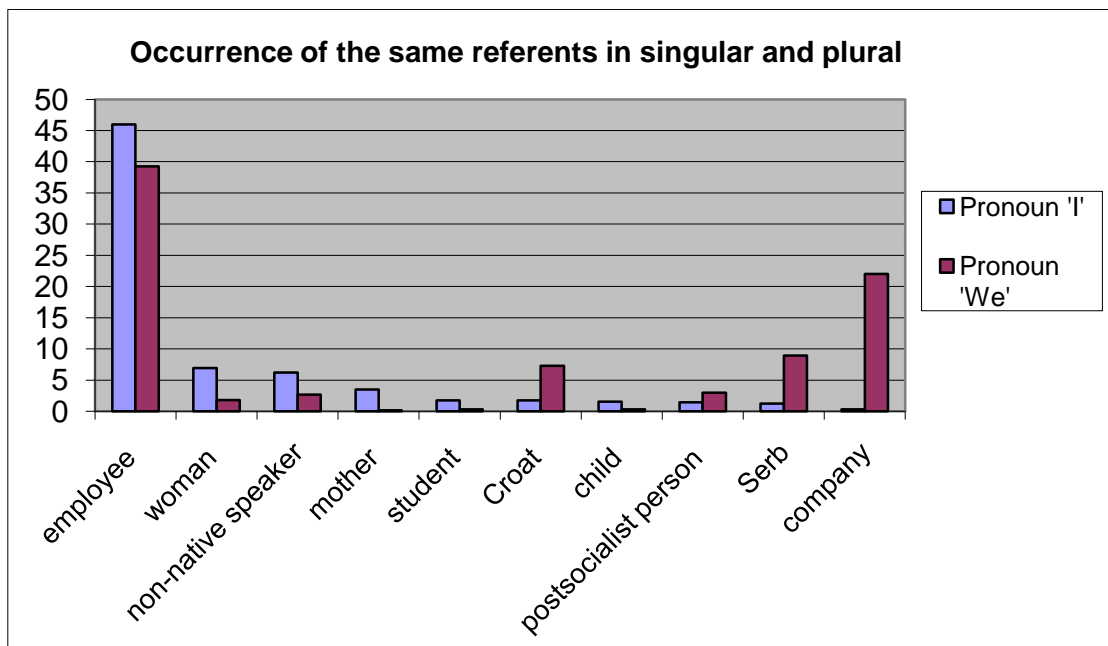
what already the last one (.) oh come on we just started ((laughs)) joking (134/110)

I really think that we ((laughs)) eh drained this conversation (148/11)

4.5 Pronoun and identity shifts

According to de Fina (2003:52f) pronominal alternations are 'to express and negotiate specific identities in a diversity of interactional contexts and genres. Speakers exploit the multi-functionality of pronominal choices to express stances with respect to interlocutors and topics, and to shift alignments and positions'. These alignments and positions are interesting insofar as they happen within, as well as in, consecutive utterances. Therefore, identities alternate and intersect with other

identities, which happens quite automatically and regularly. In my data, there are many such shifts in alignments: intra-pronoun shifts (from 'I' to 'I', and from 'We' to 'We' with differing referents) and inter-pronoun shifts (from 'I' to 'We', from 'I' to 'You', from 'We' to 'I', and from 'We' to 'You') and of course the shift to third person singular and plural in order to make boundaries towards a third person in their alignments.

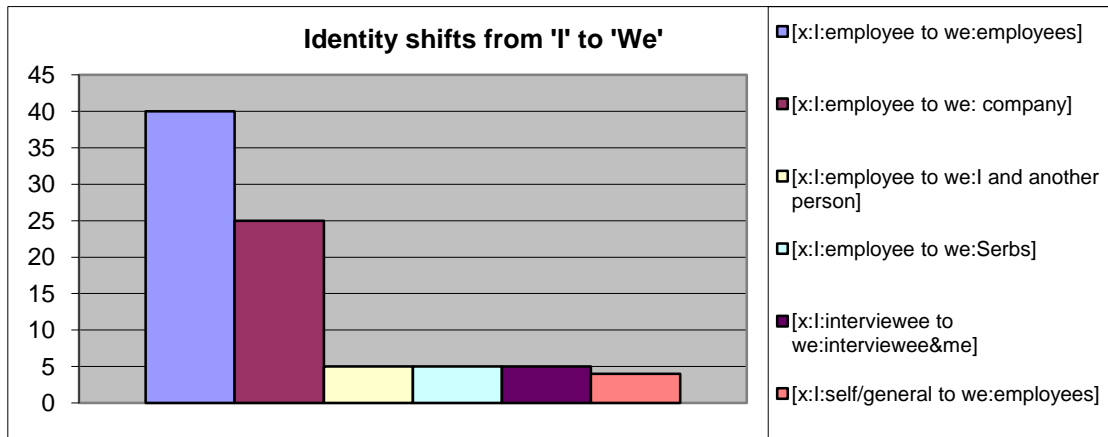


As the table shows, most shifts occur from both individual to collective (37 examples with 134 occurrences) and collective to individual identities (23 examples with 92 occurrences), followed by the shift from individual and collective identities to the generic 'you' (14 examples with 126 occurrences and 14 examples with 78 occurrences respectively). The fewest shifts occur from different kinds of individual and collective identities to another set of individual and collective identities (19 examples and 36 occurrences for the intra-pronoun shift of the pronoun 'I' and 5 examples with 14 occurrences for the intra-pronoun shift of the pronoun 'We').

4.5.1 Inter-pronoun and identity shifts

The shift from the first person pronoun singular 'I' to the first person pronoun plural 'We' shows 37 examples with 134 occurrences. Among the examples of inter-pronoun shifts, viz. from 'I' to 'We', almost half of them (17 examples) only occur once, 9 examples occur twice and five examples occur three times, which means a

total of 31 examples only show very few occurrences. The remaining 6 examples are shown in the following graph:



Two examples occur most often, viz. the shift from 'I employee' to 'we employees' and from 'I employee' to 'we company' with 40 and 25 occurrences respectively. The remaining four examples only occur either five or four times. Two of them are shifts from 'I employee' to either 'we I and another person' and 'we Serbs', and one example is a shift from 'I interviewee' to 'we interviewee and interviewer'. The example with four occurrences is a shift from 'I self/general' to 'we employees'¹⁸. What is worth mentioning is the fact that out of these five examples four examples include a shift from the identity as employee or interviewee. The identities of employee(s) and interviewee are thus prevalent in the shifts as well, which is not surprising because as the previous sections on the pronouns 'I' and 'we' and their referents show, the most prevalent identities are the ones of employee(s) and interviewee, thus the most prevalent shifts necessarily involve one of these identities.

The following quote consists of an example of the most frequent inter-pronoun shift, from the individual professional identity to the collective professional identity.

I usually work longer but it depends on eh how much work there is everything (.) you know (.) we are all ruled by the work getting done in time and appropriately (44/103)

The interviewee refers to her professional identity by giving the information about the length of her individual workday. This statement is followed by a justification for this behaviour and at this point, the interviewee switches pronouns and thus her alignment to the group of employees.

¹⁸ The code 'I self/general' has been allocated to all occurrences in which a clear analysis of the referent was not possible because primarily self-description was done or rather referred to oneself without a clear context. Thus the pronoun 'I' is more deictic than in the other instances. This may include discourse markers such as 'I mean' (isn't this 'Interviewee?'). An example would be giving information about the degree an interviewee has earned: 'me myself I have not studied economics (.) I am Diplomingenieur in mathematics' (40/102)

The following examples are taken from the five most frequent examples as shown in the graph above. The first one is a shift from individual professional identity to institutional identity. The individual professional identity is displayed when disclosing feelings about the joy of working at the company. Partly as a reason for these feelings, the interviewee points out the size of the company and the low number of employees, who contribute to a good work atmosphere. By giving this reason, the interviewee changes to the pronoun 'we' and thus aligns to institutional identity.

I still enjoy :working here: ((laughing)) (.) and we are a small (.) eh ((phone rings)) I mean we're a small office (20/111)

The shift from individual professional identity to an alignment with another person is an interesting example. This shift happens when the interviewee recounts a story in which another person has an important role. As the example below shows, the interviewee recounts helping a colleague and at the beginning of the story she emphasises her individual role (the one of 'colleague who is helping out') but towards the end of the story the alignment switches to the group consisting of this colleague and herself.

and for two years I was translating all of her documents reports (.) letters everything she had to write in English I was translating it translating it for her (.) and you know and we had to (.) hide it from the others (108/112)

The next example consists of a shift from individual professional identity to collective national identity. The pronoun I refers to the interviewee as employee using Serbian in communication with local staff. By introducing this group, she aligns herself with this group of local staff at international companies. The switch to the first person pronoun plural in the object form shows that the referent is not 'some other local staff members' but native speakers of Serbian in Belgrade or Serbia, thus collective national identity is displayed.

when do I use Serbian (..) I use Serbian in communication (.) with eh (.) local staff because there's no need for us :to talk in English: ((laughing)) (44/113)

The next example is the shift from the individual identity as interviewee to a reference to both the interviewee and the interviewer. Strictly speaking, the first person pronoun plural 'we' could also be regarded as a substitute for 'there is', however, I am arguing that when analysing identities, this type of 'we' does display various collective identities based on the context. In the example, the interviewee uses the discourse marker 'I mean' before referring to himself as interviewee, which

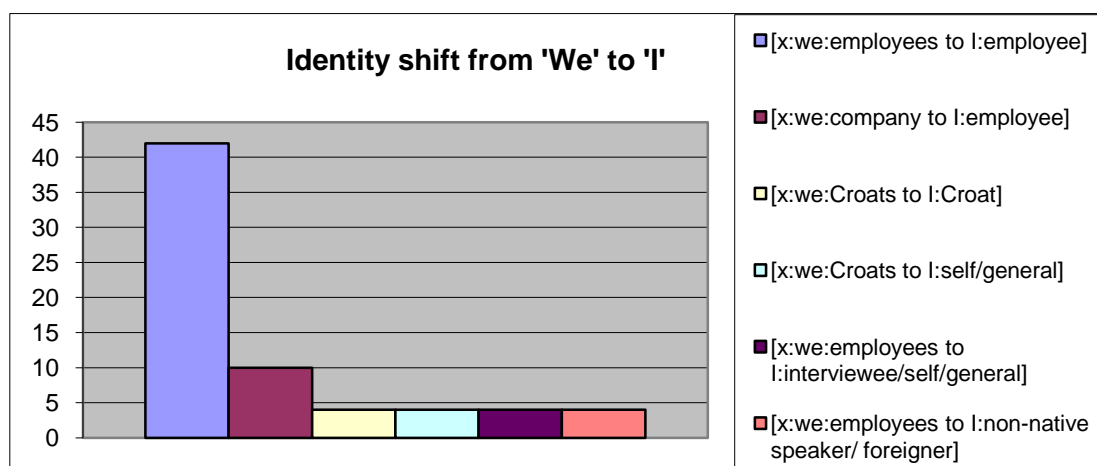
is shown by the modal verb and verb 'could tell'. In this utterance he directly addresses the interviewee by the second personal pronoun singular you, thus making the interaction that is going on visible, as well as the participants in this interaction. The switch of identities occurs towards the end of the quote when aligning with the group that the interviewee and interviewer form and referring to the fact that we (both the interviewee and interviewer) do not have enough time to go into further details.

I mean I could tell you obviously about it :in great detail: ((laughing)) but you know I don't really think that (.) we have too much time yeah (56/110)

The next identity switch concerns the switch from a more indeterminate individual identity to a collective professional identity. As mentioned above, the code 'I self/general' was chosen for usages of the pronoun 'I' in which the referent was not possible to determine based on context. Rather, this 'I' functions as self-description or refers to an aspect of oneself, often in combination with giving information about oneself. In the example, the interviewee points out that she is interested in literature, in fiction, and describes the fact that she was thrown into 'real life' (or non-fiction?) when starting working at the company. After giving this information, she aligns with the group of employees who had to do presentations.

I w- I was (.) always (.) like more in (.) eh literature (.) which is (.) not the real r- life so you know that was like a (.) bang and ehm we had e- e- we had to do a lot of you know presentations (.) in front of very important people (.) in that company so that that was the eh you know the biggest challenge (.) yeah tha- that definitely (36/106)

Like the shifts from 'I' to 'We', the shift vice versa shows very similar occurrences. Out of the twenty-three examples, eleven examples only occur once, four examples occur twice and two examples three times. The remaining six examples are shown in the following graph:



It is probably not surprising that most occurrences appear in the shift from collective professional identity to individual identity (42 occurrences). The second most often, although by a huge margin, is the shift from institutional identity to individual professional identity (10). The remaining examples have four occurrences each and include shifts from collective national to individual national identity, from collective national identity to a more general individual identity, from collective professional to an identity as interviewee as well as to the identity of non-native speaker. As in the shift from individual to collective identity, four out of six include a shift that originates in the identity as employees and two examples originate in collective national identity.

The shift from collective professional identity to individual professional identity occurs quite frequently as the quantitative analysis shows. Interestingly, as pointed out above, the alignment to the group of employees is very frequent and it seems that the shift to individual professional identity occurs when talking about specifics instead of more general aspects as the following example shows.

we just go (.) for lunch somewhere in the surrounding (.) eh but also our work involves a lot of travelling (.) so eh (.) at least couple of times a month eh I travel (.) to to some other country (.) typically for one or two days (.) each each trip (142/102)

This extract starts off with pointing out an activity that is carried out with a group of employees and continues with referring to what the employees' job involves. However, the interviewee switches to the individual professional identity when giving specific information about the number of business trips per month. It is here that the interviewee points to an individual identity when expressing individual experience.

The switch from institutional identity to individual professional identity is also interesting. Identifying with the company seems to be important in order to be motivated as employee. The example given below clearly displays institutional identity by referring to the company as 'our group' (headquarters incl. subsidiaries). And again, a more general fact precedes a more individual experience or rather a specific emotion.

within the eh within the (.) our group eh (.) there has been a lot of eh a lot of integration on the past eh (.) year or so or YEARS even yeah and this is still ongoing (.) so (.) you know there have been some right moves and and probably some wrong moves yeah (.) so this is something that sometimes can can bother me yeah and DOES bother me (60/110)

A second example is given here as well in order to show that sometimes the company name is followed by the first person plural pronoun 'we', and thus clearly

indicating institutional identity. As in the previous example, the switch to the individual professional identity goes hand in hand with displaying personal experience.

and in [company's name] we were still in a position of start-up and ehm it was a great spirit at this time and this was something very positive of what happens to me (34/118)

The third most frequently occurring switch is the switch between collective national identity and individual national identity. In the quote chosen, individual national identity is in fact sandwiched between two examples of collective national identity. These two identities are displayed one after the other as the quote begins with displaying individual national identity ('I'm really satisfied'), which switches to collective national identity in the same clause ('that the war is behind us'). Some background knowledge or meta-knowledge is necessary here because the war the interviewee is referring to is the war in Croatia in the early 1990s. In the following clauses the alignment to the group of Croats is consistent until the interviewee repeats his satisfaction as well as dissatisfaction with the progress and the speed of the progress in the country. By giving reasons for his dissatisfaction, the interviewee changes to collective national identity once again.

I'm really satisfied that the war is behind us (.) and also eh the eh there are mm (.) several or let's say there are still some discussions about Croats Serbs and eh the- things like that but I think it's behind us and we are more focused ((xxx)) more focused on on the ce-economy and eh things how to the how to (.) eh to IMPROVE our economy situation of the whole eh ehm (.) of the whole country and also how to educate people and younger people and to prepare them to futu- to the future (.) so I satisfied with that (.) I'm not satisfied with the with the ehm speed of those changes (.) I'm not satisfied with that because I I think that (.) Croatia ha- has eh (.) VERY good opportunity potential especially ehm eh because of our geographical eh position to move those changes quick(er) faster and eh eh (.) better for eh for our (fuss) in Croatia (.) but the fact that we are not mm not any more in the communism that we opened our borders we open a little we are slowly open our minds (142/115)

The next example showing the switch from collective national identity to a more indeterminate individual identity, refers again to the war in Croatia by giving a picture of 'horrible things' happening 'around us', i.e. the Croats. Here the alignment to the group of Croats is given. What follows is the switch to the more indeterminate individual identity by pointing out a self-description of being terrified, of being totally immersed by the war and disinterested in private life, sports and university life.

so I (.) think (.) because it it was eh (.) eh horrible things happened around us so I didn't think of sport anymore I didn't think of the faculty anymore although I (.) eh I I went to the faculty at that time but I didn't care about faculty at that time so (.) I think that that's the main reason (50/115)

The next example shows the switch from collective professional identity to identity as interviewee. Here, the interviewee leaves the story-telling and evaluates the experience by using a temporal marker 'now' and the phrase 'when I am looking back'. This 'looking back' can only be done from the present and at the time of speaking and thus identity as interviewee is displayed.

so it really (.) was a problem for the company to have us integrated and to (.) eh I mean now when I look back to that I know that we were really breaking a lot of codes (116/105)

The last example consists of a switch from collective professional identity to an identity as a non-native speaker. The alignment to the group of employees is shown not only by the pronoun 'our' but also by the introduction of a third person 'the boss'. The example shows again that alignment with a group is more likely to happen when referring to more general information but as soon as personal experience is addressed, individual identity is displayed. Speaking English is necessary for the whole group to communicate with the superior and as soon as personal opinion and experience is referred to, individual identity is displayed.

ehm before it was ehm (..) als- our boss was also Viennese so we had to speak English with him and it was (.) for me it was great because otherwise if I wouldn't use my English then I would forget everything so this is also a good opportunity good chance for me I I like this (96/118)

The shifts from individual identity and collective identity to the generic 'you' occur second-most and fourth-most often respectively. Despite the fact that the quantitative analysis provides this high occurrence, these inter-pronoun shifts will not be addressed in this section but in the section of constructing identities because they do not automatically lead to identity shifts as the analysis of identities in chapter 4.6. shows. This shift rather shows 'a shift along a gradient of self-involvement responsibility' (Mühlhäusler/ Harré 1990:200). Rees (1983) developed a general scale of pronominal distancing representing the relationship between distancing strategies and the pronoun system:

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|----|------------|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| I | We | You | One | You | It | She | He | They |
| direct | | | | | | | | indefinite |
| Distancing from self | | | | | | | | |

The pronouns I, We, You and One (scale 0-3) may be used to refer to oneself. In my data, there is not a single usage of the indefinite pronoun 'one', which might be

due to the fact that the interviewees are non-native speakers of English and the usage of the pronoun 'one' has not been acquired during language learning. The direct reference or alignment of the speaker is mostly expressed by the pronouns I and We. You and One as pronouns may still include the speaker, however, the relationship is more indefinite and more indirect. Nevertheless, even though 'you' is the third-most direct pronoun to the self, it does include distance and is used to express distance and for more impersonal utterances.

The following quote shows such an inter-pronoun shift, which is not an identity shift.

we are all ruled by the work getting done in time and appropriately so (.) if you have a lot of work you work till it's done if you don't (..) then it's a little bit more flexible (44/103)

The interviewee aligns with the group of employees when stating the fact that the employees are interested in finishing their tasks in time and if it takes longer, then they work longer. The pronoun change occurs when the interviewee gives some kind of rule, i.e. the condition for how long someone works or does not work as it depends on the workload and deadlines. Yet, not only is the condition expressed by a conditional clause but also by the more distanced pronoun 'you' as it does not specifically refer to the speaker or the group she aligns with but expresses a more general fact/condition.

The inter-pronoun shift from 'I' or 'we' to the more generic 'you' not only happens within the narrative of the interviewee but also in the interaction between interviewer and interviewee. De Fina (2003:70f) refers to this phenomenon in the interviews she conducted for her study. Whereas she asked the interviewees about personal experience and addressed them as individuals, the interviewees often refused to regard themselves as individuals but referred to a group identity in the story of experience they were telling. De Fina (2003:70) explains this phenomenon by saying that this mismatch of pronoun usages shows 'a change in focus between what the interviewer is eliciting (individual, autobiographical experiences) and what the interviewee is conveying' as well as the focus from the meaning of the experience to the individual is changed to the meaning of the experience of the group. Mühlhäusler/ Harré (1990:129) say that '[t]he choice of *we* rather than *I* is a narrative convention which has the effect of a rhetorical distancing of the speaker from an overt self-reference to make the personal source of advice or knowledge or whatever it may be more palatable.'

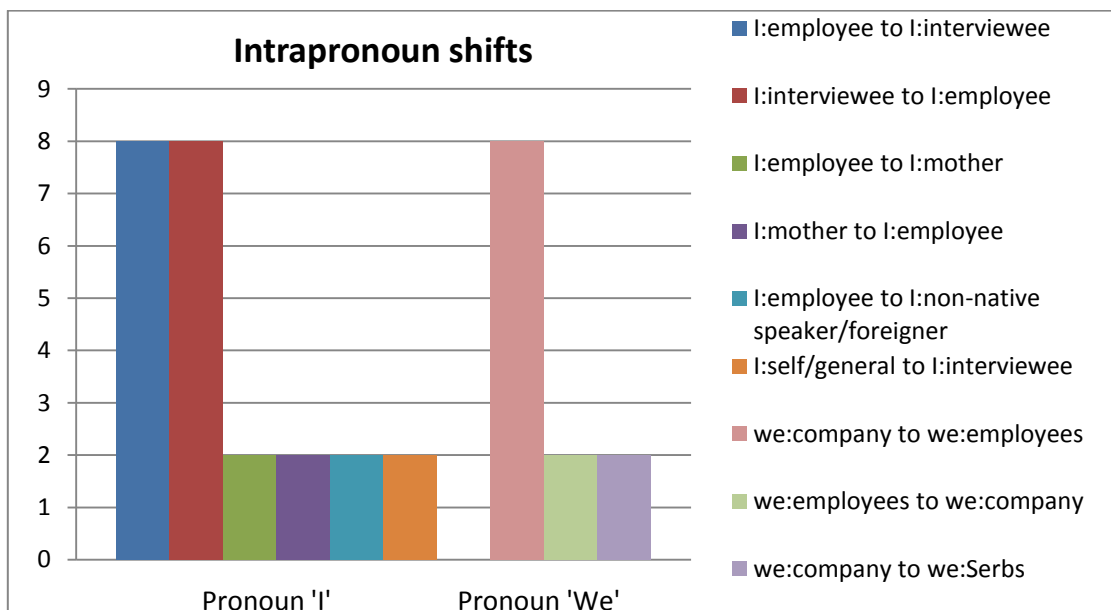
M: //What happened (.) when you arrived? (xxx)//

I: //Well we had a lot of work// we had a lot of work REALLY a lot of work it was a really a busy (.) busy busy month for us and after graduating and living the student life eh it was (.) sort of shock ((laughs)) actually (19-20/103)

In this example, the interviewer addresses the interviewee personally by using the second person pronoun singular 'you'. The interviewee responds to the question by stressing her experience as group experience and referring to the social group instead of to her individual self. She identifies with the group, she points out the group's experience before she changes the perspective by referring to herself when describing the change of workload upon starting the job. There is also another aspect that is worth mentioning: She displays group identity ('we employees') and an alignment, which she could not have had when she started her job. This means that this alignment with the group is only possible at the moment of speaking but not at the moment when she started the job. There are two levels of chronological positioning interwoven: the level of positioning at the moment when speaking and the level of positioning at the moment that the story took place.

4.5.2 Intra-pronoun and identity shifts

Identity shifts not only correlate with pronoun shifts but also occur within the same pronoun. However, in my data, intra-pronoun shifts are quite infrequent, particularly in comparison with inter-pronoun shifts. There are 18 examples of such an 'intra-pronoun'- shift of the pronoun 'I' and 5 examples of a shift within the pronoun 'We'.



However, of the 18 examples of intrapronoun shifts 'I', only six have more than one occurrence. Four examples have two occurrences and two examples both have 8 occurrences. Interestingly, these two include the same identities but the shift occurs in one direction and in the other (from individual professional identity to identity as interviewee and vice versa). The same happens with two examples out of the four with two occurrences: from individual professional identity to identity as mother and vice versa. The remaining examples are shifts from individual professional identity to the identity of non-native speaker and from a more general individual identity to the identity of interviewee. Out of the five examples of referent-switching within the first person plural pronoun 'We', three of them have more than one occurrence, i.e. two examples appear twice in the data (shift from professional collective identity to institutional identity and from institutional identity to collective national identity) and one example has eight occurrences, which is the shift from institutional identity to professional collective identity.

Due to the low occurrence, only the examples showing 8 occurrences will be dealt with in this section, i.e. the switch from the individual professional identity to identity as interviewee and vice versa and the shift from institutional collective identity to professional collective identity. The following two examples consist of identity switches from professional individual identity to the identity as interviewee and vice versa.

so I (.) I think (.) ehm (..) that I DO have (..) I mean that's what I expect (..) but I haven't been promoted :yet so: ((laughing)) you know (..) eh (..) I can't say now if I if I had a (.) a really really good chance of getting promoted (90/106)

there are a lot of fun situation I cannot recall now example eh but eh for example eh when I was dealing exclusively with a group projects and on a daily basis I had to communicate with (Max) or (Mobilkom) or whoever (.) (100/118)

The first example shows professional individual identity when talking about promotion and displays identity as interviewee by directly referring to the interaction by using the verb 'say' (= activity) and the temporal marker 'now'. This is also the case in the second example, where the utterance starts with an evaluation and the interviewee refers to the interaction with the verb 'recall' and the temporal marker 'now'. However, when the interviewee starts recounting a narrative/story, the shift to professional individual identity occurs.

The most frequent intra-pronoun switch within the pronoun 'we' is the switch from institutional collective identity to professional collective identity.

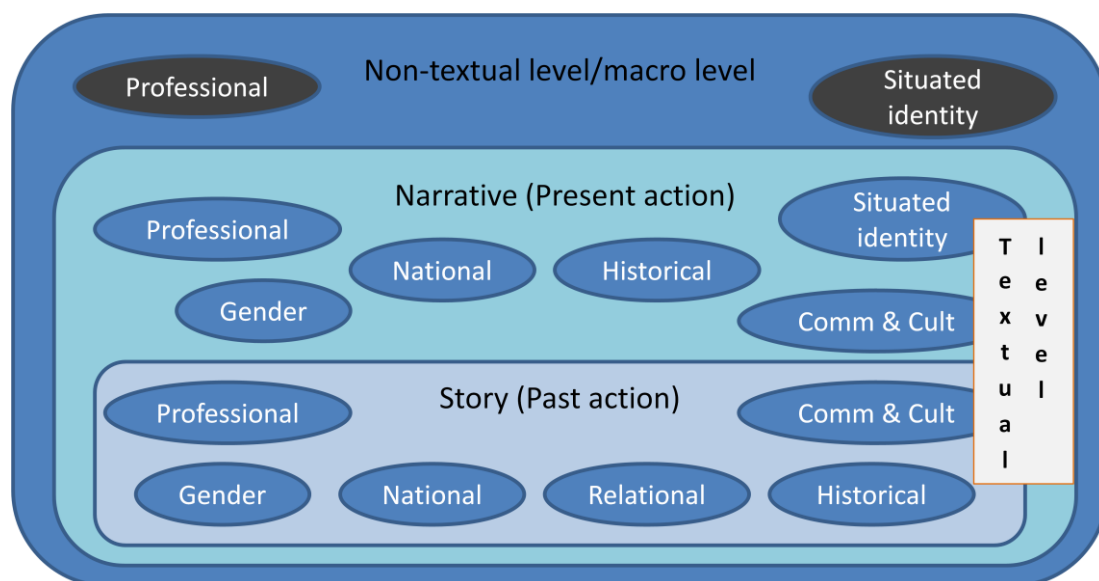
because we are also responsible for Bosnia eh Macedonia Montenegro Serbia Albania (..) and also being in [company] Group eh (.) very often we need to eh work with clients in Austria or wherever F- France eh I don't know (.) UK (..) (26/101)

This example shows institutional identity by pointing out which countries the company operates in/with. It can be argued that the macro-level is referred to 'the tasks of the company', whereas in the second part, the micro-level 'the tasks of the employees' is focussed on. This example shows very nicely the role verbs can play for the construction of and alignment to identities.

4.6 Constructing professional, gender and other (intersecting) identities

As the previous sub-chapters have shown, there are many identities displayed in the narratives. This sub-chapter discusses the construction of these identities by showing how several techniques, which are outlined in the sub-chapter on theories, are drawn upon for the construction of identities. Furthermore, it shows what kinds of identities are constructed within these displayed identities. This also means that referring to discourses is at play.

The main focus will be on professional and gender identities and particularly the construction of gender identities in interplay with other identities that emerge simultaneously. There are several parameters in which identities are disclosed and constructed in the interviews:



Parameters of identities

As the figure shows, there are three sites at which identities are constructed and disclosed in the interviews. The first site is the non-textual macrolevel, which points to the context, the communicative situation, i.e. the interview. Following Firth's (1957: 36) approach of 'context of culture' and 'context of situation', professional identity and identity as interviewee (situated identity) are part of the non-textual macrolevel. By asking the employees to be interviewed and explaining why they were chosen as interviewees, they are positioned as interviewees (situated identity) and employees (professional identity). It can be argued that these two identities are the two umbrella identities.

During the interview various other identities are displayed on the textual level, which can be related to the 'contexts of experience' of the interlocutors. This context is subsumed in the 'context of situation' and could be subdivided into verbal contexts and even phonetic context. A distinction needs to be drawn between the terms 'narrative' and 'story'. As both terms are often used interchangeably and may refer to the same idea, a definition of how these terms are understood in this study is vital. A narrative in interviews is ongoing talk as it evolves in time and consists of reporting facts, explaining aspects to the interviewer and evaluating, giving opinions on various topics. The temporal aspect is the present. It is the interview that occurs at the time of speaking and the reporting, etc. is located at the present. In contrast to the narrative, a story refers to actions in the past, which are usually chronologically ordered and may have a clear structure. A story is included in the ongoing talk, i.e. narrative, and depending on the story, has more or less the structure according to Labov's (1972) definition of a story. These two frames, the narrative and the story have two different ways of instigating action. The interviewer instigates the former, whereas the interviewee instigates the latter. It could be argued that switching on as well as switching off parameters is vital here. The interviewer switches on a particular parameter and puts the interviewee into an interview situation. The switch to telling a particular story is self-initiated by the interviewee.

Regarding identities in the interviews, they appear in both the narrative as well as in the story with two exceptions: first, relational identity is only displayed in the story, i.e. in the past, and second, whereas professional identity appears in both the narrative and the story, situated identity only appears in the present, which is at the non-textual macrolevel and in the narrative.

Particularly gender identities appear and are constructed in narratives. Instead of identity as interviewee, gender identities are not performed in the interview setting as such but in narratives and in stories in the interviews. This means that gender identities were constructed in the past when the story, which is told in the interview, took place and not at the moment of speaking in the interview. However, also when evaluating or when talking about oneself, gender identities may be displayed and even constructed in the narrative in the interview.

This subchapter deals with four sections, based on social-psychological parameters, which are drawn on by the interviewees. The first section focuses on the construction of postsocialist employee identity. This identity can be regarded as an introductory analysis of identities as the following three sections deal with typologies of (postsocialist) professional and gender identities, or rather which kinds of professional and gender identities emerge in the interviews. These sections show examples of 'self-confident', 'sacrificing' and 'committed' employees. In all these sections gender is a vital part.

4.6.1 The postsocialist employee

Strictly speaking, when constructing professional identity, postsocialist identity is existent in the background at all times because all of the interviewees are postsocialist employees. However, this section shows examples of constructing postsocialist professional identities in which postsocialist identity is actively constructed in the text. This is usually done when foregrounding the difference between the younger generation and the older generation who were socialised in a state-socialist working environment.

In the following example, identity construction is done by the method of contrasting and thus showing alignment to one group.

so I guess for people who are like 40 and something (.) don't know much about computers don't know much about foreign languages don't know much about eh (.) modern business (.) for them (.) this is very bad period and (.) you know I think that the entire transition (.) for us younger it's fine you know (.) ((xxx)) work you know how to do with computers you can work whatever you want (.) but for them you know it's difficult to find job and I think that this transition is basically on their backs (274/114)

In this example, the interviewee displays first situated interviewee identity by saying 'I guess' and thus attempting to express an opinion at the moment of speaking. Then the subject is introduced, which is the broad and unspecific term 'people' but

this term is narrowed and defined by a relative clause to 'people of 40 plus'. The interviewee points out their skills and knowledge or rather their lack thereof. The speaker repeats the subject by using the third person plural personal pronoun in its accusative form 'them' to highlight that it is 'them' who find themselves in a disadvantaged situation. It is obvious here that the speaker does not include himself to this group of people. He continues by using the discourse marker 'you know', indicating his situated identity again by referring to his audience, i.e. his interviewer. The speaker starts the next sentence with 'I think' before pointing out his opinion. He applies the same technique exactly as in the previous sentence by listing the skills and knowledge of the group of people that he now aligns with. This is indicated by the first person plural pronoun 'us' and a more detailed descriptor what this pronoun refers to, which is the 'younger' generation. Interestingly, a pronoun switch occurs here from the first person plural pronoun to the generic 'you', indicating general experience instead of highlighting one's individual experience. The number of the discourse marker 'you know' also increases in this section, thus the speaker's situated identity is foregrounded. What the speaker does here in this extract is to express differences and apply the method of comparing and othering. This is indicated by the pronoun usage of two opposite pronouns ('us' and 'them'). By using a pronoun with a subject referent 'us younger' the speaker clearly indicates that the younger, that is the postsocialist, generation has particular skills, which enable them to work at foreign companies in contrast to the older generation who grew up during the state-socialist era and lack these skills which are, however, necessary for these globalised, postsocialist jobs. When talking about the older generation, the speaker highlights their lack of skills, which is indicated by the use of negative sentences and, when talking about the younger generation, these negative aspects are altered into positive sentences and aspects. This means that the postsocialist employees at international companies are the most appropriate or best employees for these companies and they differ from their parent generation because they have several career possibilities, they can be creative and are committed to their work.

The next extract shows some similarity to the previous quote regarding structure and stressing negative aspects before talking about positive aspects. Like in the previous quote, the negative sentences are used when talking about something that is related to state-socialist work life and the positive sentences relate to postsocialist work life.

I mean I cannot imagine myself working in a place (..) where I go I know whatever I do I cannot lose my job there's no motivation there's not even enough work to fulfill your six or seven hours how you spend how much you spend there (.) I just don't see myself within that (..) here yeah (.) I work in average more than a person (.) employed somewhere in some statal institution but when I go home yeah I know I did something (.) and I have this kind of personal satisfaction that's (.) that means much more than two hours of free time (.) now (.) at this age (80/107)

First, situated identity is displayed in the phrase 'I mean'. The following first person singular pronoun can have several referents, either interviewee or postsocialist employee. The following sentences reveal imaginary thoughts about working in a workplace where despite lack of motivation and work no risk of losing the job involved. These thoughts are first personalised before they change to a more general hypotheses. This is indicated by a pronoun change from the pronoun 'I' to the generic 'you'. After a slightly longer pause, the interviewee refers to the place by using the spatial marker 'here', which means the present workplace, and where the interview also takes place. As a postsocialist employee she works more than average and contrasts herself with an employee who works in the public sector. Here the existence of at least two kinds of employees is revealed: the ones in the private sector who have more than enough work to do and employees in the public sector who might not have enough work to do. However, the question arises whether this is not a case of prejudice, which has survived from the state-socialist era. As in the previous extract, the contrast is constructed by the broad term 'people' and a relative clause which describes what kind of people the interviewee is thinking of and talking about. Another contrast is displayed by the conjunction 'but' and in this sentence there is also a reference to the age of the interviewee and thus alignment with the group of younger postsocialist employees occurs. In contrast to the previous quote, this extract shows individual postsocialist professional identity by referring to some stereotypes and contrasting and comparing. The interviewee constructs herself as an eager, confident and motivated postsocialist employee.

I would like to show another quote as, in contrast to the two quotes above, this quote consists of several sites where identities are displayed and constructed. Next to the narrative, a story is also included. The interviewee talks about differences between his and his parents' jobs. Due to the length of the quote, it will be divided into parts for the analysis

THIS job didn't exist at that and at their time (.) eh (.) eh this eh I'm also n- okay dynamic of the job eh possibility to travel (.) possibility to work for the eh for the international eh company eh to meet and to have eh opportunity to experience(d) ehm eh communication and cooperation with other nations (.) with other people (.) that that it's not only people

from your country (.) eh mm other BIG difference that eh it's almost eh impossible to hi- to hide knowledge or let's say knowledge from the books al- or what eh or the knowledge or information what is going on AROUND the world because of the internet and stuffs like that because my mom told me (.) eh eh several times that knowledge and this eh some special books about accounting a- sh- she- sh- she worked eh she used to work th- eh work in a accounting eh department it was eh as eh it was ehm (.) it was hiding like it's a national secret these books or I don't know some procedures (.) fro- from others from the chief of (the accounting) department to others so it was really hard to (.) get eh eh more knowledge about some things and eh there wasn't so many chances to to to (.) for promotions of course and not (.) th- there is no so (.) there was no so many chances for different let's say (.) ehm (.) for getting eh new knowledge (.) or different environment because for example I'm working is- eh I work in some project a- and I experienced a little bit of financing a little bit of eh eh technical stuffs a little bit of the sales process and logistic process so lots of different eh eh opportunities to to (.) to get more information to get eh more (.) excitement during the job or during the work (.) so (.) I see a big difference has been eh between their job and my current job or job these days (54/115)

The interviewee stresses the determiner 'this' to give weight to the fact that he is talking about his job. The time reference is highlighted in two ways: first, 'at that time', referring to the pre-1989 era in general and second, 'at their time', referring to his parents' working life during this era. Hence the interviewee points out opposites: his job at the moment and his parents' job in the past. Despite the fact that the speaker starts referring to himself, he repairs the sentence in order to list characteristics of his, i.e. 'THIS job'. In this section no pronouns are used or personal experience is revealed, however, national identity lingers when referring to 'other nations' and 'other people'. This is also the case in the next sentence when the interviewee directly refers to the interviewer and positions the interviewer as belonging to another country, which is not the interviewee's country. The following characteristics are in 'list-style' again and functions as the setting of the story that is about to be told to the interviewer.

because my mom told me (.) eh eh several times that knowledge and this eh some special books about accounting a- sh- she- sh- she worked eh she used to work th- eh work in a accounting eh department it was eh as eh it was ehm (.) it was hiding like it's a national secret these books or I don't know some procedures (.) fro- from others from the chief of (the accounting) department to others so it was really hard to (.) get eh eh more knowledge about some things and eh there wasn't so many chances to to to (.) for promotions of course and not (.) th- there is no so (.) there was no so many chances for different let's say (.) ehm (.) for getting eh new knowledge (.) or different environment

The story provides background information and a reason for how the interviewee has come to the conclusion that 'access (or rather non-access) to knowledge' may be a characteristic of his parents' generation work life. He does this by using the conjunction 'because', putting emphasis on the reason and introducing new information. As the story's main protagonist is the interviewee's mother, relational identity is displayed because it was his mother who told him, her son, this

story. The story itself is a listing of facts instead of a story with actions in chronological order. This part also shows the different work life realities because the interviewee makes suggestions ('these books I don't know some procedures'). However, this may also be due to the fact that the interviewee does not know the full details. The last sentences are negative, thus the interviewee compares his mother's job to his current job by pointing out the negative or missing aspects. These sentences also function as introduction to the next section or 'story' in the extract.

because for example I'm working is- eh I work in some project a- and I experienced a little bit of financing a little bit of eh eh technical stuffs a little bit of the sales process and logistic process so lots of different eh eh eh opportunities to to (.) to get more information to get eh more (.) excitement during the job or during the work (.) so (.) I see a big difference has been eh between their job and my current job or job these days

The interviewee gives reasons and examples again by introducing them with the conjunction 'because' and in this section he constructs his postsocialist identity when pointing out his tasks ('working') and experiences and their effects on him ('excitement'). By doing so he positions his mother as an 'employee who did not have access to further knowledge' and he positions himself as an 'employee who has access to new knowledge'. He finishes this section by evaluating the differences between the jobs of his parents' generation and his own generation. In the last sentence he refers to his job being different before pointing out that it is not only his job but also current jobs people of his generation hold.

This extract from the interview shows very nicely the structure of argumentation: First, giving facts and opinions by listing characteristics of his own job, followed by justifying this opinion about the story of his mother's work experience and disadvantages in the work life, which is then followed by what his own work life consists of. Whereas in his mother's story negative sentences are used to highlight the differences to his own job, in the narrative about his own job, positive sentences are used. So the construction of his identity as postsocialist employee is based on the differences (and for state-socialist employees usually disadvantageous) differences between the state-socialist and postsocialist employees. It is the 'othering' that has been applied again.

This section has shown how some interviewees have constructed a specific postsocialist employee identity. It could be argued that gender is one of the identities that lingers in the background. Gender plays a role in the interviews, more in some interviews and less in others. There are instances where gender and postsocialist employee identities are displayed and constructed simultaneously with the former

dominating. These instances are crucial in the last part of this chapter. The construction of professional and gender identities is divided into three parts, or rather three typologies: The self-confident employee, the sacrificing employee and the committed employee. Next to the focus on identities, stories within the interviews also play an important part. In this section, the last interview extract consists of a story, however, in the following sections, the stories that are used comprise past actions in a chronological order, direct reported speech, and they function as a means of constructing relevant identities in the sections.

4.6.2 The self-confident employee

In contrast to the male interviewees, some female interviewees have been confronted with discrimination against themselves in the workplace based on their sex, however, they show a great deal of self-confidence in their narratives as well as stories about how well they have countered these obstacles. This section shows two extracts from a Croat and Serb respectively. The first example is taken from an interview with a female Croat in her early 30s:

I mean I cannot complain because I have been promoted and I really you know hit the eh (.) ceiling and now you know I can only enter management board but then somebody needs to leave of course before that and it's not like I'm thinking about that also I'm you know leaving (.) but eh (.) eh as I told you it's this ((clicks with her tongue)) grey area where where eh you just sense that something would be MUCH MUCH easier (.) if I was a male (.) ehm (..) I mean ((clicks with her tongue)) I'm eh (.) personally I'm a very ehm (.) eh I'm not kind of this feminine ehm (.) type of women you know which is eh which needs to be (.) ((clicks with her tongue)) saved and which needs to be (.) you know some (.) you know women they just want to be taken care of and you know protected and everything eh (.) I mean every woman in general (.) I mean this type of eh women that you know plays (.) eh dumb and you know :I need to be protected somebody needs to lead me you know (.) eh I need to be told what to do: ((softer, high-pitched voice)) I'm not the ty- type of woman I'm very very eh energetic and eh I'm (.) eh maybe eh too bossy sometimes maybe even too bitchy b- but you need to be (.) eh (.) this way because eh that's the only way you can survive (.) eh between your male (.) co-workers so (.) I never had a problem (..) to you know put things in eh perspective even eh (.) you know ehm (..) that relates to this conversation I had with my superior because eh (.) he expr- some doub- expressed some doubts if eh some clients would eh (.) probably prefer if eh their investment banker was male rather than a female because eh this is eh very (..) ehm (..) kind of conservative society where eh male (.) eh eh males are really (..) males are really ehm (..) kind of taken seriously by by other males and sometimes probably eh men don't want to take advice from a female and they don't want her to tell him what to do okay I can understand that but eh my point is that I never had a problem to really put things in place immediately if I saw and there have been some (.) cases if I saw that eh I was not taken seriously but it took maybe five minutes (.) before I just you know said okay (.) now this and this it will be this way I'm telling you (.) you will do it (.) like that and (.) never I had (.) any problems I I I am taken seriously very f- ((laughs)) really fast (96-102/101)

Due to the length of the extract, it will be divided into chunks so that it will be easier to follow the analysis.

I mean I cannot complain because I have been promoted and I really you know hit the eh (.) ceiling and now you know I can only enter management board but then somebody needs to leave of course before that and it's not like I'm thinking about that also I'm you know leaving (.) but eh (.) eh as I told you it's this ((clicks with her tongue)) grey area where where eh you just sense that something would be MUCH MUCH easier (.) if I was a male (.)

This extract starts with the discourse marker 'I mean' indicating an expansion of ideas (Schiffrin 1987:296) or explanations. The interviewee states that she is content with the job due to the promotion she has received and particularly that as a woman she has hit the glass-ceiling. Professional as well as gender identity are displayed and the interviewee constructs or positions herself as a successful female employee who has reached the highest-possible position in the company (she is leaving soon, which she mentioned earlier on in the interview). Situated identity (identity as interviewee) is prominent here due to the frequency of the discourse marker 'you know'. Whereas the first two occurrences of 'you know' are markers indicating shared knowledge with the audience the third occurrence 'I'm you know leaving' is a bit different as the literal meaning of 'the audience knowing' is added. I as the interviewer know about it as the interviewee told me previous to this quote. Identity as interviewee is displayed in the next utterance by referring to the interaction by saying 'as I told you before'. The second person singular pronoun 'you' refers to the interviewer and the past form of 'to tell' refers to the main action of the interviewee in this interaction: telling the interviewer facts, stories, etc. It can be argued that the interviewee constructs herself as an obliging interviewee, she performs her identity as interviewee by showing trust to the interviewer and obliging to the questions by providing information.

Referring to her situated identity marks the beginning of another utterance. In this utterance the interviewee articulates the fact that for a woman, this job at such a company is not an easy job and voices the hypothesis that men do not face as many obstacles as she does. Despite the fact that she constructs herself as some kind of victim due to her sex, (the (subtle) discrimination she has experienced), constructed by using the generic pronoun 'you', thus showing some distance. Even though she has obviously been wondering about that hypothesis, she uses a more indirect pronoun. Interestingly, she switches to the first person singular pronoun 'I' within the sentence. It is also here that she starts clicking with her tongue for the first time and as the whole extract shows, not been done for the last time. This paralinguistic feature is very individual and is used by the interviewee when showing frustration.

ehm (..) I mean ((clicks with her tongue)) I'm eh (.) personally I'm a very ehm (.) eh I'm not kind of this feminine ehm (.) type of women you know which is eh which needs to be (.)

((clicks with her tongue)) saved and which needs to be (.) you know some (.) you know women they just want to be taken care of and you know protected and everything eh (.) I mean every woman in general (.) I mean this type of eh women that you know plays (.) eh dumb and you know :I need to be protected somebody needs to lead me you know (.) eh I need to be told what to do: ((softer, high-pitched voice)) I'm not the ty- type of woman I'm very very eh energetic and eh I'm (.) eh maybe eh too bossy sometimes maybe even too bitchy b- but you need to be (.) eh (.) this way because eh that's the only way you can survive (.) eh between your male (.) co-workers so

After having constructed herself as some kind of victim, she continues by clarifying/ extending the explanation by the usage of 'I mean' and clicking her tongue. She positions herself by self-describing and an interesting technique is applied here: She describes herself by saying what she is NOT, thus she uses the technique of contrasting, even of othering. It is the others who are not as good as hers, which is a technique described in the grammar of orientalisering according to Baumann (1994). Othering is also indicated by the pronoun 'they'. The others, i.e. women who display stereotypical behaviour by not being self-confident and looking for someone who is their leader, are a group the interviewee does not belong to and does not (want to) associate with. She underlines this othering and distancing even phonologically by changing her voice to a softer and high-pitched tone in order to impersonate a type of woman she is definitely not. She constructs herself as not being a feminine type regarding her behaviour in the workplace. This is displayed in the next part in which she describes her behaviour. She is even critical as throughout she also mentions traits, which may not have a positive connotation. When she starts to explain or even justify why she displays (or has to display) these kinds of behaviour in the workplace, she changes to the generic pronoun 'you', indicating distance or a general fact. She provides a clear picture of herself who and how she is as an employee. She positions herself as being self-confident. She constructs herself as not feminine regarding her appearance and discloses a general stereotype of women for contrasting.

I never had a problem (..) to you know put things in eh perspective even eh (.) you know ehm (..) that relates to this conversation I had with my superior because eh (.) he expressed some doubts if eh some clients would eh (.) probably prefer if eh their investment banker was male rather than a female because eh this is eh very (..) ehm (..) kind of conservative society where eh male (.) eh eh males are really (..) males are really ehm (..) kind of taken seriously by by other males and sometimes probably eh men don't want to take advice from a female and they don't want her to tell him what to do

Self-confidence is expressed directly by pointing out that she has never failed to prevail. She refers to the past by talking about a conversation she had with her boss. She relates this conversation by using reported speech. Clients' possible preference for male rather than female investment bankers is explained by the broader societal

context. She refers to the patriarchal discourse and displays a national or regional identity by using the determiner 'This is a very kind of conservative society'. It is important to know some information that is not solicited from the text itself but from the context in which the interview takes place, and who the interviewee is (a Croat). She refers to the society she belongs to (Croatian society) and refers to male Croats. This identity is also displayed partly due to the fact that the interviewer does not belong to this society due to her being Austrian and living in Austria. Thus the interviewee regards it necessary to give some background information so that the interviewer can understand what the interviewee is saying about the boss's reaction. What is also interesting in this part is the fact that the general society is first pointed at and she finishes her story with the third person singular pronouns 'he' and 'she' ('males are really kind of taken seriously by other males and sometimes probably men don't want to take advice from a female and they don't want her to tell him what to do'). By narrowing the focus, it may be argued that the interviewee is thinking of a specific situation where exactly this kind of disrespect was shown towards a female colleague, maybe it was even herself.

okay I can understand that but eh my point is that I never had a problem to really put things in place immediately if I s- saw and there have been some (.) cases if I saw that eh I was not taken seriously but it took maybe five minutes (.) before I just you know said okay (.) now this and this it will be this way I'm telling you (.) you will do it (.) like that and (.) never I had (.) any problems I I I am taken seriously very f- ((laughs)) really fast

The utterance 'I can understand that' may be irritating but she gives a reason for why males may have difficulties in accepting a woman in a high position or as a colleague. She uses the conjunction 'but' indicating a contrast will be added. Her identity as interviewee (situated identity) is visible in the clause 'but my point is that', which also helps structure her narrative. In the following sentences she switches back to her gender and professional identity when saying that she has been self-confident enough to stand her ground and be taken seriously. It is here that she refers to specific situations in the past, thus it may be said that these identities are displayed in a story because by using direct speech and thus playing out such a situation in the interview setting, she tells a story and underlines her construction of a self-confident female employee. Her laughter at the end of this extract is interesting insofar as it shows that she is violating the expected role and behaviour of a woman in her society. In a way her laughing expresses shame or embarrassment. Maybe also because she is playing out the way she would say something in such a situation.

The next example shows the construction of a self-confident employee in both the narrative and the story by applying the notions of positioning, more specifically deliberate self-positioning, deliberate positioning of others and forced self-positioning (Harré/ van Langenhove 1999). The example is taken from a female Serb in her early 30s and shows how the interviewee, employed at an NGO, is positioned by others as a person who does not do proper work and as a woman who does not have enough knowledge about her job. She positions herself as a self-confident expert as well as a caring person in the conversation with the deputy minister she was interviewing. In the introduction to her story she provides some background information about why she had to react in a specific way and why the story in fact turns out to be a funny story after all.

yeah I mean it's it's complicated it's quite it can get complicated on on (.) certain levels of communication (.) the fact (.) eh in THIS field and that's a that's a completely different you know s- (..) issue for discussion ehm (.) if you're a woman and then you get into the the issue that (.) deals with (.) munitions weapons (.) you know weapons industry eh (.) contamination with like unexploded ordinance in Serbia military issues security issues (.) YOU mm get or you you get to experience many weird situations because eh people have many special like comprehensions of NGOs here in Serbia and then this whole thing about women and then (..) this VERY special comprehension or not existing distinction between (.) s- state security issues and issues of individual security or safety (.) it's it's a total mess-up I mean I have I've been a witness or a subject to so many weird like :treatments: ((smiling)) and and situations it's (.) it's quite funny (.) you know but ehm (.) yeah I had one interview once in (.) in the ministry of health (..) and the guy wouldn't talk to me at first because he just said it's it was a deputy minister at that time and he said to me ehm (.) no but I don't really have that much time to waste on you people from NGOs you just come in here all the time you want to do something you want to write something down and it's not important there is no result in that and then I told him okay but (.) this is something different and you're personally involved you're from Niš you're a forensic pathologist you've been there you've seen it so I want you to tell me and he is a bit shocked that I know (.) you know about him because I'm just a stupid w- woman from an NGO (.) and then I explained to him the nature of cluster bombs and I did it on purpose I actually studied the whole thing (.) the technical stuff I studied it all because I knew that I would get a lot of you know putting down because I'm a woman who wants to talk to people about (.) weapons ((laughs)) (.) and he just stared at me and I I told him everything about the technical characteristics of the weapons that were used in his hometown and he just stared at me and then he said (.) have you been in the army ((laughs))

M: ((laughs))

J: and he he really forgot for a second that women actually do not serve in the army in Serbia but (.) you know he was just and then he talked to me afterwards and he gave me all the you know facts that I needed but (..) that's ehm (.) yeah the sort of ehm (..) usual treatment (.) you're a woman you are working for an NGO it's a FOREIGN NGO ((laughs)) you want to do :something: ((laughs)) and (..) you know they just put you on a certain shelf and (.) it takes a bit of an energy to (.) make people (.) look at YOU and not this you know picture that they have in their minds (.) so THAT'S the thing that I dislike but sometimes it's fun ((laughs))

Due to the length of the extract, it will be divided into chunks so that it will be easier to follow the analysis.

I mean it can get complicated on on (.) certain levels of communication (.) the fact (.) eh in THIS field and that's a that's a completely different you know s- (..) issue for discussion eh (.) if you're a woman and then you get into the the issue that (.) deals with (.) munitions weapons (.) you know weapons industry eh (.) contamination with like unexploded ordinance in Serbia military issues security issues (.) YOU mm get or you you get to experience many weird situations because eh people have many special like comprehensions of NGOs here in Serbia and then this whole thing about women and then (..) this VERY special comprehension or not existing distinction between (.) s- state security issues and issues of individual security or safety (.) it's it's a total mess-up

This extract starts with the first person pronoun singular 'I' and the discourse marker 'I mean', hence the interviewee positions herself as an interviewee who replies to the interviewer's question by giving background information and expressing her opinion. As in the previous quote, the data shows that more general issues and opinions are often articulated by using the generic 'you' instead of the singular and plural first person pronouns. The deliberate positioning of herself as an interviewee occurs when uttering an opinion and by saying 'that's a completely different issue of discussion'. The interviewee positions herself as a woman whose job involves dealing with the field of weapons, and who has encountered difficult situations due to the fact that the combination of her sex and weapons is not common. In a way, it can be argued that due to her working in this field, she counters the dominant discourse of 'weapons are men's toys only'. She provides some information about NGOs in Serbia and in this part she is positioned by other people as an NGO employee as well as a Serb by referring to the place ('here in Serbia'). As a Serbian NGO employee she is perceived in a particular and not necessarily positive way. The kinds of assumptions some people have of NGOs in Serbia are mentioned in the story she recounts in the interview later¹⁹. She provides the background of the issues she has to face due to the discrepancy between state security issues and individual safety, although she does not go into detail what exactly this entails. She positions herself as an interviewee again when she states her opinion by evaluating the general situation. She also positions herself as a female employee who is slightly frustrated about the whole situation and by behaviour towards her in the workplace. This introduction to the story shows how she is positioned by others, which provides the background of why she is forced to self-position herself in the story she is about to tell to the interviewer.

19 During the Milosevic era, NGOs were successfully disqualified by state-controlled media because they were perceived a threat to the regime. It was, thus, claimed that their work was oriented against the interests of the nation, and that they are in favour of foreign economic and political domination (Grødeland 2006).

I mean I have I've been a witness or a subject to so many weird like :treatments: ((smiling)) and and situations it's (.) it's quite funny (.) you know but ehm (.) yeah I had one interview once in (.) in the ministry of health (..) and the guy wouldn't talk to me at first because he just said it's it was a deputy minister at that time and he said to me ehm (.) no but I don't really have that much time to waste on you people from NGOs you just come in here all the time you want to do something you want to write something down and it's not important there is no result in that

The interviewee refers to herself as being positioned as a victim due to people's perceptions about women working in the field of explosives. The fact that she is smiling when she says the word 'treatments' positions her as someone who is not very happy about finding herself in such situations. She also underlines this positioning by mentioning that these situations are 'quite funny' and thus points to the upcoming story as being a funny story. At the beginning of her story she positions herself as an NGO employee who went to meet someone in the Ministry of Health. By the deliberate positioning of others, she positions the person she met quite informally as a 'guy' but re-positions him as the deputy minister. As the deputy minister would not talk to her, the aspects of hierarchy and authority as well as power relations are disclosed here. The deputy minister is positioned as being sceptical of people from NGOs. At this point, the interviewee reveals the perceptions people have about NGOs in Serbia by using the deputy minister's words in the form of direct speech. By referring to 'people from NGOs', he positions Maria as one of the annoying people who are employed at NGOs and who, in his opinion, do not present work results. In this extract, the deputy minister does not position her as a woman in the first place but refers to and highlights her professional identity.

and then I told him okay but (.) this is something different and you're personally involved you're from [town in Serbia] you're a forensic pathologist you've been there you've seen it so I want you to tell me and he is a bit shocked that I know (.) you know about him because I'm just a stupid w- woman from an NGO

The interviewee starts trying to overcome the obstacle of being rejected to get the interview she would like to conduct with the deputy minister. She starts to position herself as a committed NGO employee, who is not giving in to the deputy minister's negative attitude towards her by demanding some decisive information she needs for her work. Before she utters her demand, she gives reasons and thus positions him as a native of a particular town in Serbia, as a forensic pathologist and as an expert on explosives because he was there when the town was bombed during the NATO bombings in 1999. This sequence is quite interesting because by emphasising their mutual interest in discovering what exactly happened in 1999, she violates the norm of this formal conversational setting and positions herself as a

caring person. She does not address him as deputy minister but as a private person who had to deal with the effects of explosives on the inhabitants of the specific town. Therefore, he is surprised about the fact that she knows some private information about him. She explains his reaction by emphasising how she is positioned by other people and by the deputy minister by articulating their opinion about employees and more specifically about female employees at NGOs.

and then I explained to him the nature of cluster bombs and I did it on purpose I actually studied the whole thing (.) the technical stuff I studied it all because I knew that I would get a lot of you know putting down because I'm a woman who wants to talk to people about (.) weapons ((laughs)) (.) and he just stared at me and I I told him everything about the technical characteristics of the weapons that were used in his hometown and he just stared at me and then he said (.) have you been in the army ((laughs))

Interviewer: ((laughs))

and he he really forgot for a second that women actually do not serve in the army in Serbia but (.) you know he was just and then he talked to me afterwards and he gave me all the you know facts that I needed

The interviewee positions herself as an expert on cluster munitions and by inserting some background information, she states the reason for this forced self-positioning. In fact, forced self-positioning happened even before the interview with the deputy minister took place, because she acquired specific knowledge about explosives as she knew she would be positioned as a non-expert due to her sex. Her laughter indicates knowledge of her self-positioning 'violating' the dominant discourse. The deputy minister's body language, i.e. staring at her in reaction to her expertise also underlines this violation as does his verbal reaction by posing the question if she has been in the army. This sentence shows that he has indeed positioned her as a woman during their conversation but it is only here that it becomes obvious. Her laughter shows the funny side of the situation. The interviewer joins in with the laughter, grasping the funny side of the deputy minister's question. Both, the interviewee and the interviewer, display knowledge about the fact that in Serbia women do not serve in the army as well as that the interviewee's forced self-positioning has been successful by catching the deputy minister off guard and overcoming the obstacle of not being able to do the interview.

After the shared laughter by interviewee and interviewer, by deliberate positioning of others, she positions the Deputy Minister as having no knowledge about women and the army in Serbia. But this positioning is a consequence of her successful self-positioning in this conversation because she points out his 'temporary forgetfulness' and him being surprised of her knowledge and behaviour.

Simultaneously she is positioned as an expert on cluster munitions who has succeeded in convincing her interview partner about her expertise and in being taken seriously. She is also positioned as powerful because she has got the information she wanted from the deputy minister.

By analysing the various positionings, this interview extract shows different mechanisms that are at play in a narrative that includes a story. The interviewee constructs herself as a self-confident, knowledgeable, female employee who opposes the discourse 'weapons are men's toys only.'

4.6.3 The sacrificing employee

Interviewees mention sacrifices which having these interesting jobs imply. There are two kinds of sacrifices that I would like to show in this section: Firstly, sacrifice of a private life due to a stressful and busy worklife; and secondly, the sacrifice of a private life due to discriminating tendencies in the workplace, particularly for female employees who are mothers. All employees, no matter their sex, see themselves confronted with various sacrifices they feel they have to make due to their job. When talking about these sacrifices, the employees construct themselves as sacrificing employees. This construction is done differently, which will be shown in this sub-chapter.

The first extract is taken from the interview with a female Serb in her early 40s, in which the interviewee talks about the difficulty of drawing a clear-cut line between work and private life. She is using the example of her mother to contrast and compare her individual situation. However, it turns out that it is not a unique situation but a more general situation quite a few people have to deal with.

when my mom was working because she is retired now (.) eh we lived in a country which was set up completely different so eh my mom was working in one company (.) her whole working life let's say it like that so she started to work in (company's name) and she when she was going to retirement she was also finishing her work in (company's name) and eh (.) her working-hours ehm were very strict (.) eh so (.) she was working I think from eight to four and she was coming home at 4.30 and that's it depends on on the place where she was working if if BUILDING moves moved then she was (.) also moved :with the building that's it: ((laughing)) without any ambition to change her work eh of course she was advancing in (.) this company but not to (looking) something else eh outside of the company because at this time this company was very (.) good actually so maybe this is also one of the reasons but for me and for majority of people now (.) in Croatia it's a little bit strange (.) and really hard to understand that you can work in one company (.) whole life actually so ehm I think that she was eh not under that much STRESS as we are now especially (.) I think in this industry is eh pretty stressy but also in some other industries I do- I wouldn't say that this is (business field) only (.) but this is just a different way of eh work and a different way of thinking (..) ((laughs)) so this is eh major this eh fixed

working hours eh less stress a- at least these are my impressions this was like that now ehm (.) I think more about work when I come home I'm not eh so relaxed and I ca- I can say that I just forgot eh about my work I have this Blackberry I'm checking e-mails and eh messages and everything so it's a little bit different and she didn't have something like that nobody was calling her when she was at home during the weekend or during vacation this was (..) ehm this has never happened that somebody was calling her whe- when she was on vacation this is something that I would notice also although I was a kid (.) and eh (..) they didn't have the mobiles so (.) this is also one of the reasons she just said okay I don't have a phone or whatever and nobody was calling her and everything was (.) smooth and running until she eh came home I'm just talking about my mom because my parents were divorced so I don't know about my dad so much (.) but also I think by my friends' mothers (.) and fathers it was similar (.) and now it's ehm (..) in eh in most of cases it's completely different (.) when I talk to my friends it's completely different they have the same situation as I have now and it's really really hard to combine (.) private life with business life and so on (64/118)

The interviewee starts telling a story, which is indicated by the tense aspect (past tense) and after introducing the main actor of the story, the orientation stage provides background information on the individual, her mother ('she is retired now') and on the general situation of the country. In this part, relational identity (identity as child) is displayed. The pronoun 'we' in 'we lived in a country' is interesting because it may have several referents; either it is her mother and herself as daughter or it may be a broader 'we' referring to the people in the country or region (national or regional identity). The interviewee returns to storytelling and gives facts about her mother's work life. In this story, the mother is the main protagonist and the interviewee is in the background, except in the part where she inserts an opinion ('let's say it like that') and where the interviewee mentions the security and 'helplessness' of her mother in a possible/ hypothetical relocation of the company. The interviewee regards the fact that employees 'move' with their company as funny, which discloses her laughing while speaking and finishing saying this sentence. In a way this funny remark shows the intention of the interviewee: to point out a very different work reality, in fact almost to ridicule the work reality of her parents' generation. This remark also points to the technique of constructing her mother as 'other', a person who did not try to advance in her career by changing her workplace. Her mother seems to have enjoyed working there as the company was regarded a good workplace, and had a very good image and reputation in the country.

but for me and for majority of people now (.) in Croatia it's a little bit strange (.) and really hard to understand that you can work in one company (.) whole life actually so ehm I think that she was eh not under that much STRESS as we are now especially (.) I think in this industry is eh pretty stressy but also in some other industries I do- I wouldn't say that this is (business field) only (.) but this is just a different way of eh work and a different way of thinking (..) ((laughs)) so this is eh major this eh fixed working hours eh less stress a- at least these are my impressions this was like that

The interviewee switches to the interview narrative and displays and constructs both postsocialist employee identity and national identity. The interviewee evaluates the story she has just told by starting the evaluation with the conjunction 'but' and it is here against the backdrop of her mother's work life that she constructs herself and the 'majority of people now in Croatia' as different, living in a different reality, not being able to imagine having a work life like her mother's. In this part, she also switches to the generic 'you' to express a more general fact. She then gives an opinion, a judgment that her mother did not have as much stress in her work life as she does, along with the majority of people in Croatia. By giving opinions, her situated identity is strongly highlighted ('I think', 'I wouldn't say that', 'these are my impressions'). In this sequence, the interviewee aligns with the 'majority of people now in Croatia', thus referring to her national and postsocialist identities. In the next sequence, the focus is on herself at interplay with her mother's story.

now ehm (.) I think more about work when I come home I'm not eh so relaxed and I ca- I can say that I just forgot eh about my work I have this Blackberry I'm checking e-mails and eh messages and everything so it's a little bit different and she didn't have something like that nobody was calling her when she was at home during the weekend or during vacation this was (..) ehm this has never happened that somebody was calling her when she was on vacation this is something that I would notice also although I was a kid (.) and eh (..) they didn't have the mobiles so (.) this is also one of the reasons she just said okay I don't have a phone or whatever and nobody was calling her and everything was (.) smooth and running until she eh came home I'm just talking about my mom because my parents were divorced so I don't know about my dad so much (.) but also I think by my friends' mothers (.) and fathers it was similar (.) and now it's ehm (..) in eh in most of cases it's completely different (.) when I talk to my friends it's completely different they have the same situation as I have now and it's really really hard to combine (.) private life with business life and so on

This sequence starts with the temporal marker 'now' and describes what her private life is like. Having outlined her mother's work life in pre-1989 years, her post-1989 work life looks a bit different as her work affects her private life. She positions herself as a committed worker because she does all these tasks and is available 24/7. By returning to her mother's story whose life and particularly work life is in stark contrast to the interviewee's, the interviewee points out what her mother did not have (permanent availability), implying that the interviewee does have this aspect in her life now. Relational identity is interspersed to underline the interviewee's argumentation. Then the main protagonist in the pre-1989 story alters from the individual to the collective. It is 'they' who did not have mobile phones and the interviewee also shows the effect on her mother's life of not being in possession of a mobile phone, or any phone at all for that matter, by using direct reported speech. The last part focuses on herself as postsocialist employee and as interviewee ('I'm

just talking', 'I think' - situated identity), interspersed with relational identity ('I don't know about my dad so much') and she also indirectly aligns with her group of friends and provides some conclusion in the last sentence.

The aspect of sacrificing is subtle there, but by telling about her mother's work life, she tells the interviewer about her own work life and she mentions that it is a stressful job and that combining work and private life or keeping them apart is problematic. The interviewee does not really openly construct herself as sacrificing but she is sacrificing in contrast to her mother because the system demands it.

The next interview examples are examples that show more obvious and direct constructions of sacrificing employees.

it's okay that (.) I in a sense that I have (..) you know normal relationships (.) and I keep them on the level where I kept them (.) you know before (..) so ehm relationships with eh (.) a boyfriend parents friends (.) that's that's good but eh the bad thing is that I have to limit it (.) to ehm weekends or evenings (..) and better weekends than evenings because I I (get) kind of tired in the evenings (.) so eh that's but you know that's not what's the (.) ehm what's the what's the worst thing (.) when having time-consuming (.) job (..) well (.) probably every job is :very: ((laughing)) time-consuming the worst thing is that I have to sacrifice eh my REAL free time (.) eh (..) to (..) I can say work or well you know when I have free time I really (.) eh eh I try really hard to see everyone I want to see you know and and I'm always like running to see him or her or you know (.) eh and I don't have THAT you know like ((laughs)) ha- how how could we s- how can we say that in English eh what ehm (..) well it IS free time eh what (.) you know Greeks had (..) eh Greek :philosophers: ((laughing)) (..) for (..) for thinking really (.) that's what I do not have (.) you know that's what what eats me inside (86/106)

In this extract, the interviewee refers to herself a lot and the referents for the pronoun 'I' cannot be pinpointed exactly, particularly not at the beginning. It could be 'postsocialist employee', 'private person', 'general I'. Nevertheless, this extract shows the construction of an employee who sacrifices time, etc. due to the job. In the first lines, the interviewee positions herself as a person who is good at balancing work life and private life and who is happy about that. Next to that she constructs herself as a heterosexual and socialising person. The first glimpse of the fact that this is not really the truth, is the sub-clause that starts with the conjunction 'but' and her revealing that she does not have enough time during the week to socialise. The reason for that is that after having been at work for eight hours or longer, she is too tired to meet people. It is here that she constructs herself as sacrificing for the job as working does have an effect on her energy levels and on her private life. However, she goes one step further when she reveals what she really does not like at all (or as she puts it: 'the worst thing'). When introducing the fact that the 'worst thing' is going to be revealed by mentioning she has a 'time-consuming job', she tries to depersonalise or even belittle her criticism by making a general statement that every job is probably

time-consuming and she laughs. This laughter indicates that by depersonalising this information and making a joke or fun remark, the 'worst thing' she is about to mention, is in fact not that bad.

She does say that she has to sacrifice time and her free time to work, something she stresses phonologically. She constructs herself as a person who is also very busy in her free time due to her busy job affecting her life by presenting herself as being always on the move. The second 'worst thing' is interesting because she introduces the second point with a stressed determiner ('that') and she laughs because on the one hand she thinks it ridiculous and on the other hand she does not know how best to put it in English. The question of 'how can we say that in English?' is noteworthy because she does not refer to herself as non-native speaker and how SHE could say what she wants to say but includes her interviewer and uses a more general 'we' with a vague referent. She laughs again when she mentions the Greek philosophers who used/were able to use quite an amount of time for thinking. This laughter is the continuation of the laughter at the beginning of this sequence. Her last sentence, the evaluation and pointing out the effect of not having enough time for socialising and thinking shows that she constructs herself as a sacrificing employee who is aware of the fact that she is sacrificing time and quality time at the expense of friends, her private life and philosophical thinking. The question arises of what she gains? No one really makes sacrifices for fun but this interviewee does not point out any 'gains'. Rather she portrays herself as stuck in a situation, a person who sacrifices time, who is not content about it and has the strong feeling of not having time for herself ('it eats me inside'); there is nothing positive in this extract. In contrast to the other interviewees whose quotes have been used above, she constructs herself as an unsatisfied, sacrificing, postsocialist employee.

The next interview extract also shows a sacrificing employee but in contrast to the previous quote, the interviewee does see positive aspects or 'gains' in his sacrifices.

I don't sleep a lot ((laughs)) :that's one thing: ((laughing)) then (.) this my this I believe (.) job-life (..) I can afford a lot of travelling and some kind of stuff then I can (.) grab a day off on Fridays to have an extended weekend and in the end I manage (..) because I (.) I'm so used to this kind of life ((laughs)) (.) that I wouldn't know what (.) I that I (.) I will be able (.) very fast to adjust to some kind of (.) eh planned and well-organised life (.) because I don't (.) in the end I do know well I eh and I'm not sure whether I would have have an ideal what do I work if I ca- if I came home every time everyday at five ((laughs)) then (.) go to the work at nine go to the lunch break at twelve (.) came back to the office at one and work till five (.) it's just I believe (..) a way of life (80/109)

The interviewee constructs an interesting picture of himself as postsocialist employee. He does not sleep a lot, i.e. he is sacrificing his health to his job. But he laughs when saying this, which might be a 'being-embarrassed' laugh because it is very personal information or information which is somehow not worthy of being told. Despite sacrificing his health, the interviewee lists the positive aspects of having the job he has and he is doing this to justify his sacrifice. He can travel, he can have extended weekends and he is just used to this life, which is a life only postsocialist employees in similar positions have. He also points out, again laughing when saying it, that this kind of life he is used to is easier to adapt to than a more regular job regarding working hours. It is here that he mentions something that may be positive for his health, which is actually not possible for him to do, as he would not be able to adapt to a more regular and organised life. He also defines the more regular and organised workday but he makes it obvious that this kind of job would not be suitable for him. He positions and constructs himself as a sacrificing employee, who, however, does it voluntarily for the kind of life he would like to have because he would not be able to find fulfilment in a more regulated job. He laughs quite a lot in this interview extract because, in a way, he may think it ridiculous or he expresses incredulity of the thought he is articulating.

The following quote belongs to the interview extracts, which consist of sacrifices due to discriminating tendencies in the workplace. There are also some 'mini-stories' in this extract. The extract is very long and at some points repetitive but as this extract is considered to be of great value, I have decided to leave it as it is.

I know in even in our office in Vienna it's sometimes you know hard to to (.) cope with eh you know just to to make sure that you get the same treatment as your male co-workers so now what I wanted to tell you (.) it's kind of a complex situation (.) I I always wanted to be treated the same way as my male co-workers and even eh I was eh (.) being promoted even FASTER than some of eh my male co-workers but (.) I I had to eh put (.) eh significant significantly eh (.) MORE effort (.) really you cannot imagine first first when I came to to eh (company's name) eh I needed MORE time and eh I ne- I needed to put MORE effort into eh just being (.) ehm accepted and and just to eh (.) finally ehm (.) eh succeed in my ehm (.) you know word and eh opinion being taken (.) seriously if you know what I mean because (.) ehm (.) I mean I I was being promoted eh very fast (.) eh but then I cannot (.) eh escape from the thought what would be (.) eh what would have happened if I was (.) a male (.) with this eh (..) eh volume of commitment and with this eh really eh eh ehm commitment that I put in and and eh the effort that I put (.) in my my job because (.) I gave not 100% but (.) 200% (..) and ehm (.) lately also I had eh some conversation with my eh superior (.) where ehm I raised eh an issue (.) about that I mean ((clicks with her tongue)) first first of all I need to tell you and n- not because you're recording or just you know for ehm (.) eh (.) you know ehm (.) just to you know (.) I really want to make a point that I am REALLY extremely happy (.) here (.) but then what I just wanted to tell you and I told you in the beginning this is a very complex question which is really eh ehm (.) eh if you if you asked me what (.) what was your problem I I could not really eh eh (.) tell you some specifics or or show you a paper where I would be eh (.) I don't know eh discriminated in

any way (.) but ehm (.) sometimes (.) eh (..) okay the the salaries and everything it's pretty much (.) the same LATELY (.) although ehm (..) wha- what what is actually you know the the issue ehm I eh had a baby (.) eh thirteen months ago so (.) for example I I gave birth to my daughter in May 2006 and I eh returned (.) to to work (.) three months afterwards my husband (.) I mean my boyfriend I never married he eh (.) he is home now with eh my kid (.) so ehm (.) actually I get I get ehm (..) eh kind of the same s- (.) okay a little bit lower salary than my colleg- male colleagues but kind of they have been longer here for a year than me (.) and I have eh the same level of eh compensation (.) because I came back to work three months after giving birth (.) and what is my problem it's not a problem it's just you know when you eh just sit and and and think (.) what would be where would I be if I was a male you know (.) I mean ((clicks with her tongue)) :and this is also a speculation but I cannot really escape from that (.) but you know (.) I feel and it's just a feeling (.) eh that you know I eh receive the same amount of compensation (.) but I had to put an extra effort of eh working (.) on my birthdate I was here in the office on the day that I was expecting and even the day afterwards I was eh (.) working because I (.) gave birth maybe five days later but you know so on the exact date I was supposed to have (.) eh my daughter delivered I was working and going on the meetings and then I came to work three months afterwards so I I have a feeling that I I received the the same level of compensation (.) because I ha- b- I had to put this EXTRA effort of working: ((speaking very fast and raising her voice)) (.) even on the birthd- date and returning to eh work three months eh afterwards and leaving my baby three months old so it's (.) you know (.) baby (.) alone at home and eh on the other hand I think they received the same level of compensation just by (.) coming and (.) going from the job from the work you know they come t- (.) male colleagues (.) they come in the morning to the office do their job and eh (.) leave (.) and eh I only manage to eh (.) receive the (.) same level of compensation (.) when I put this extra effort and then they say okay you (.) deserved it and they deserve it bu- just by you know (.) coming and going just by the mere fact that they work here (.) (74/101)

After having presented the full extract, the extract will be divided into chunks in order to follow the analysis.

I know in even in our office in Vienna it's sometimes you know hard to to (.) cope with eh you know just to to make sure that you get the same treatment as your male co-workers so now what I wanted to tell you (.) it's kind of a complex situation (.) I I always wanted to be treated the same way as my male co-workers and even eh I was eh (.) being promoted even FASTER than some of eh my male co-workers but (.) I I had to eh put (.) eh significant significantly eh (.) MORE effort (.) really you cannot imagine first first when I came to to eh (company's name) eh I needed MORE time and eh I ne- I needed to put MORE effort into eh just being (.) ehm accepted and and just to eh (.) finally ehm (.) eh succeed in my ehm (.) you know word and eh opinion being taken (.) seriously if you know what I mean because (.) ehm (.) I mean I I was being promoted eh very fast (.)eh but then I cannot (.) eh escape from the thought what would be (.) eh what would have happened if I was (.) a male (.) with this eh (..) eh volume of commitment and with this eh really eh eh ehm commitment that I put in and and eh the effort that I put (.) in my my job because (.) I gave not 100% but (.) 200% (..) and ehm (.) lately also I had eh some conversation with my eh superior (.) where ehm I raised eh an issue (.) about that

The first sentence shows a comparison with the headquarters in Vienna and problems with sexual discrimination, which the interviewee has knowledge of. The fact that the interviewee uses the adverb 'even' is interesting because it points out that in a Western country such as Austria (in contrast to the Eastern European country Croatia), the societal development regarding gender equality has not reached a higher level than in her country. This is quite interesting to hear regarding the fact that up until 1989 gender equality was official policy in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe.

This sentence also refers to something the interviewee mentioned earlier in the interview as she was talking about gender issues and equality in some European countries. By mentioning the office in Vienna, it is obvious that the interviewee does not want to confine the situation regarding gender and discriminating tendencies to Croatia. Whereas the referent for the pronoun 'I' is 'employee', the referent for the second pronoun 'I' in 'what I wanted to tell you', is 'interviewee' by directly addressing the interviewer (second person singular pronoun 'you') and referring to the communicative situation (interview). In the following sentences she positions herself as a self-confident employee, who has been fighting for equality and has been rewarded with promotions. However, climbing the career ladder did not occur without sacrifices, which is mentioned in a sub-clause starting with the conjunction 'but'. She also refers to the time when she started working at that company, by introducing this information by addressing the interviewer again and pointing out the sheer unlikeliness of what she has achieved ('you cannot imagine'). She addresses the interviewer again ('if you know what I mean') asking for support in what she is saying. Right from the beginning she highlights her gender because she is referring to 'male colleagues', thus she is the 'other' or they are the 'other'. She positions herself as very committed and sacrificing at the same time, a successful employee who has climbed the career ladder because of her commitment and sacrificing energy and because of the effort that was necessary to reach the level on the career ladder at which she now finds herself.

Despite presenting a picture of a successful employee, she is also a doubtful employee because of the thought of what would have happened if she were a man rather than a woman. She highlights again her commitment and the effort she has put in; she did not only give 100% but double. In a way it could be argued that she is kind of telling a story, about the beginning of her job and her workload then. She starts telling a story about a conversation with her superior, in which she addressed these issues.

I mean ((clicks her tongue))first first of all I need to tell you and n- not because you're recording or just you know for ehm (.) eh (.) you know ehm (.) just to you know (.) I really want to make a point that I am REALLY extremely happy (.) here (.) but then what I just wanted to tell you and I told you in the beginning this is a very complex question which is really eh ehm (.) eh if you if you asked me what (.) what was your problem I I could not really eh eh (.) tell you some specifics or or show you a paper where I would be eh (.) I don't know eh discriminated in any way (.) but ehm (.) sometimes (.) eh (..) okay the the salaries and everything it's pretty much (.) the same LATELY

She switches to the narrative again by referring to herself as an interviewee, who needs to tell the interviewer, who is again directly addressed with the second person pronoun 'you' and by the activity the interviewer is carrying out ('recording'). The interviewee feels some urge to get a particular message across and to make a point and as she clicks her tongue before she does so, thus using a paralinguistic feature; it is interesting why she uses this feature. She clicks her tongue a few times more but it is too seldom to really give a proper analysis of this paralinguistic feature. In a way, it could be argued that she uses it when she shows the emotion of frustration. She switches to her professional identity, that she, the employee, is very happy and content with her job at this particular company before switching to her situated identity, identity as interviewee, which is displayed in phrases in which the interviewer is visible in the text, such as 'what I wanted to tell you', 'I told you in the beginning', 'if you asked me', 'I could not really tell you (show you)' and back to her professional identity again ('where I would be discriminated in any way'). This domination of situated identity and referring to the interview situation is noteworthy to mention because in no other interview which was conducted for this project did an interviewee refer to the interview situation for such a long time as this interviewee here at this point in her interview. In a way it shows that the interviewee is a bit insecure about what she is talking about and she needs to find a structure. Interestingly, after having accused her employer of not providing gender equality, the interviewee regards it essential to point out that she likes working there. However, she is dealing with a complex question (conjunction 'but') and points out that she cannot really pinpoint or show evidence in written form of discrimination against her. She also points out that it is only lately that equality regarding salaries has been reached. What I find extremely interesting in this sequence is the switch from situated to professional identity with the former dominating and showing the problems the interviewee has in this interview situation in getting her message across and simultaneously deciding what the issue here really is, which is shown in the next sequence.

although ehm (..) wha- what what is actually you know the the issue ehm I eh had a baby (.) eh thirteen months ago so (.) for example I I gave birth to my daughter in May 2006 and I eh returned (.) to to work (.) three months afterwards my husband (.) I mean my boyfriend I never married he eh (.) he is home now with eh my kid (.) so ehm (.) actually I get I get ehm (..) eh kind of the same s- (..) okay a little bit lower salary than my colleg- male colleagues but kind of they have been longer here for a year than me (.) and I have eh the same level of eh compensation (.) because I came back to work three months after giving birth (.) and what is my problem it's not a problem it's just you know when you eh just sit and and and think (.) what would be where would I be if I was a male you know

In this sequence, the interviewee reveals the issue that is at stake here and that is she is a mother of a 13-month old daughter. Her gender identity, the one of mother, is revealed here as well as her professional identity. The interviewee states that she was on maternity leave for three months before she went back to work full time. She also gives information about her partner now being on paternity leave. In these lines she positions herself as a mother, as a heterosexual woman living with her partner and as a female employee. She again constructs herself as a committed employee and someone who is aware of subtle discrimination at work. Whereas she justifies the lower salary by the fact that her male colleagues have been working at the company slightly longer than she has, she does point out that she is only treated equally and gets the same amount of compensation because she did not take more than three-months maternity leave. The sacrifice she has to make in order to advance or even keep level with the male colleagues in her career is due to her not spending more time with her child.

She points out that it is not a problem but she speculates again what would have happened if she were not a woman but a man; this speculation is articulated with a distance by the usage of the generic 'you'. So far she has constructed herself as a committed employee who had to make sacrifices in order not to be discriminated against or disadvantaged in her job.

I mean ((clicks her tongue)) :and this is also a speculation but I cannot really escape from that (.) but you know (.) I feel and it's just a feeling (.) eh that you know I eh receive the same amount of compensation (.) but I had to put an extra effort of eh working (.) on my birthdate I was here in the office on on the day that I was expecting and even the day afterwards I was eh (.) working because I (.) gave birth maybe five days later but you know so on the exact date I was supposed to have (.) eh my daughter delivered I was working and going on the meetings and then I came to work three months afterwards so I I have a feeling that I I received the the same level of compensation (.) because I ha- b- I had to put this EXTRA effort of working: ((speaking very fast and raising her voice)) (.) even on the birthd- date and returning to eh work three months eh afterwards and leaving my baby three months old so it's (.) you know (.) baby (.) alone at home

The interviewee has not finished making her point and starts by 'I mean', clicking her tongue and then repeating what she has just said to underline her point. She also changes the speed of her speech and starts speaking very fast. In this section, she refers to her gender and professional identities because the fact that she is a woman makes speculate and sacrifice. So she points out once more that she cannot prove it 100% that the reason why she is treated equally to her male colleagues regarding compensation is that she worked on her birthdate instead of staying at home and awaiting the arrival of her child. She starts talking about that day (some

kind of 'mini-story'), what she did at work, the extra effort she made, and that she only took three-months maternity leave instead of a year maternity leave she was legally entitled to. She sacrificed time with her child for her career/job. The altered speed of her speech reveals that she is angry and frustrated about the sacrifice she had to make and to point out the severity of this sacrifice in this culture. She also shows guilt at not being with her child, and it is here that she constructs an identity as a sacrificing and guilt-ridden employee, and as a mother who is angry at the situation that she had to work so much despite becoming a mother.

and eh on the other hand I think they received the same level of compensation just by (.) coming and (.) going from the job from the work you know they come t- (.) male colleagues (.) they come in the morning to the office do their job and eh (.) leave (.) and eh I only manage to eh (.) receive the (.) same level of compensation (.) when I put this extra effort and then they say okay you (.) deserved it and they deserve it bu- just by you know (.) coming and going just by the mere fact that they work here

In this sequence the interviewee all of a sudden uses the third person plural pronoun 'they' without having introduced a referent. The referent becomes obvious due to the context and she also mentions the referent by repairing the sentence ('they come t-(.) male colleagues'). It is very obvious that it is 'they' and (or even vs.) 'her'; she is not part of that group, she does not belong to that group, she is actually on her own. She constructs her gender and professional identities based on making sacrifices (indicated by the adverb 'only' and by the effort she put into her work). She does get recognition for her effort, which is articulated by direct reported speech but it is recognition based on her sacrifices whereas her male colleagues did not have to make sacrifices to such a degree to get what she gets. They get the compensation by 'the mere fact that they work here', which does not apply to her.

Her gender and professional identities clash and she constructs herself as a hardworking, sacrificing but successful employee and mother. However, she also constructs a picture of herself as a victim. A victim insofar as she needs to struggle with her gender identity in a setting in which it interferes with her professional identity because her gender identity other people highlight her gender identity. She has had to make sacrifices, has had to put a lot of energy into being taken seriously and being promoted. There are at least two kinds of sacrifices: The first one is the imbalance between work and private life and the second one is her three-month maternity leave. She goes to work after three months of having given birth in a society where it is common for a woman to take at least a year's maternity leave if not to stay at home with the children until the children reach a certain age. Instead

her partner takes paternity leave, something that is still quite a novelty as less than 1% of fathers take paternity leave as recent studies show.

The previous quotes show that there are two ways for women to overcome these obstacles: First, by showing self-confidence and second, by accepting them and either doing something about them or not doing anything about them.

4.6.4 **The committed employee**

The interviewees construct themselves as committed employees both in the interview situation but they also did so in the past, which is shown in the stories the interview narratives entail.

I mean (.) basically sky is the limit (.) eh especially for such jobs because eh (.) we' re all extremely exposed to (.) the clients to the outer world we we simply you know are sent to hunt outside (.) eh and eh typically (.) eh typically when you are in such position (.) eh you also get it all a lot of (.) a lot of opportunities that are coming from outside (62/102)

This extract starts with 'I mean', thus the interviewee is about to give his opinion about something in his narrative. The interviewee draws upon a picture, which gives the impression that everything is possible with and within the job he holds. When giving the reason, which starts with the conjunction 'because', the interviewee aligns with the group of employees at the company by using the third person plural pronoun with the quantifier 'all', thus revealing and constructing collective postsocialist professional identity. Most interestingly, by using a passive construction the employees are constructed as having a passive role as they are exposed to the clients somewhere in the outer world, suggesting the picture of the company being closed off and only when sent to acquire new clients by the superiors, do they leave this closed off compound. The pronoun switch from 'we' to the generic 'you' shows some distance and the information is depersonalised; it is kind of expressing a so-called rule. By comparing themselves to hunters, the interviewee uses a metaphor, which actually means that they are active. The fact that the employees are active is also shown when the interviewee says that they have a lot of opportunities to get new clients and indeed, they succeed in doing so. Hunting involves action and commitment and in this extract the interviewee positions himself as well as his colleagues as committed employees by using almost martial language in the form of a metaphor.

The same interviewee constructs himself and employees in his profession as committed at another point in the interview. He does so by using advertising language and sexualising his job.

the thing that I still enjoy very much is the (.) complexity of the tasks that you're (.) given (.) for example (.) noone will tell you eh ra- eh take a piece of paper and write exactly this or that (.) so the tasks are at the level that is much more complex (.) basically (.) they most of them (.) eh can be summarized in one sentence (.) which says (.) eh go and earn money for the company (.) regardless (.) what way (.) so (.) :think of a project you can find (.) put everything so you can get the client (.) eh sign the contract with the client persuade HIM to go for a certain opportunity (.) eh do whatever it takes (.) that he buys it or that he sells it and eh charge him the fee: ((speaks as if taken from a commercial)) (.) so it is it is quite complex it involves many many different things inside (.) and eh but it is also extremely challenging and interesting (.) it's not eh like that you are doing something that is very monotonous and that you (.) can really you know eh do it without any thinking you should really think hard and eh involve the knowledge not from only one (.) field for example economics or finance (.) me myself I have not studied economics (.) I am Diplomingenieur (German academic title equivalent to M.Sc.) in mathematics (.) eh and eh many people in our company are not eh economists (.) eh which is very good because eh it gives (.) it gives a sort of broad view (.) that that or or the broad range of the different sorts of knowledge that exist in the company (.) starting from physicists to to linguists we have you know (.) practically any any profession inside (.) eh which is obviously extremely important if if you work on a project with a client in a remote country for weeks (.) you sleep with him you eat with him you spend 24 hours a day with him (.) eh you must not be a robot you you need to be a complete and full personality because you communicate with your client for 24 hours and eh (.) so it's interrelated (.) the the complexity of the work (.) here and eh basically the broad range of different sorts of skills and knowledges that that that most people need to have (..) sounds ideal but eh

M: ((laughs))

Z: it eh it really is I mean (.) even after seven years (.) eh for me it's still extremely sexy (40/102)

The interviewee is talking about what he likes about the job and the pronoun 'I' has the referent 'postsocialist employee'. Instead of personalising the extract by referring to himself with the first pronoun singular 'I', he uses the generic 'you' to express generality and facts. Even though it is the generic 'you', it is obvious that he is included in the generic 'you'. By saying that there is no boss telling him what exactly to do, he constructs himself as an independent employee who is challenged as the tasks are complex. He also points out that due to capitalism, the most important task is to earn money for the company as expressed in 'go and earn money'. Interestingly, the interviewee uses advertising language in the following sequence in which the job process is explained, somehow advertising the job to himself and the interviewer. The generic 'you' is used here as well. Next to advertising his job, he indicates that the job is 'extremely challenging and interesting', using an adverb to further stress the adjectives describing the job. He positions himself as a content, challenge-driven, motivated and committed employee. To point out what it is that

makes the job so interesting, the interviewee uses a contrast, using negative sentences of what the job is not (monotonous and the necessity of finding solutions), rather it is the opposite. He personalises his narrative when giving background information on his education. The referent for this pronoun is a bit vague: it could be postsocialist employee or a more private 'I'. 'Many people in our company' reveals institutional identity, rather collective institutional identity, which is also displayed in the sentence 'we have you know practically any profession inside'. The adverb 'inside' shows that he refers to the company, aligns to the company and by being inside, being part of it, it is somehow a universe of its own. The interviewee switches to the generic 'you' again and shows what this job entails by using sentences that express demands by the use of the modal verb 'must'. It shows total commitment, total concentration and leaving one's private life behind. The sentence 'you sleep with him' may be ambiguous but the interviewee makes a language mistake: it is not having carnal knowledge of the client but the fact the employee visits the, if necessary for a longer time.

After having expressed the demands and expectations of him as an employee, in which it becomes obvious that this job demands commitment, he evaluates the job, which requires displaying all the skills and knowledge the employees have and speculates that it might be an ideal job. The interviewer laughs at this point, probably because of the demands of the job and the interviewee's opinion that it is an ideal job. It is the next sentence of the interviewee (who does not join in laughing), in which he sexualises his job by saying that he still regards his job as 'sexy'. In this extract the interviewee positions himself as a very committed, motivated employee who may be thought of giving in to his job by pointing out what is expected from him as an employee at this company and that he really likes it. The job is still 'sexy', therefore he feels attracted to it.

The following two examples are also taken from one interview, which was conducted with a female Croat. Both extracts show different aspects that trigger commitment; the first shows commitment to be offered a permanent position and the second reveals commitment to counter discriminating tendencies due to having a child. Different techniques are used to construct a committed employee of oneself.

normally I am very stubborn and a persistent person so I I saw that was something I really wanted to do (.) eh and from this perspective it's ehm (.) kind of eh (.) now I see that I had really eh I had REALLY little chance to to eh make it in this type of business because ehm (.) here mostly people with ehm (.) eh how shall I say (.) I mean you you it's kind of very hard to to come from eh nowhere and really you know get to be employed and eh really

have a huge success but eh (..) people always hear of course my eh management board and people working here that I when I started they say that you know such a level of really eh enthusiasm and eh eh persistence in eh in this in this company has eh (..) has never been seen and I really MADE them you know eh want to hire me so they really ehm (.) offered me a job not (.) maybe a few months later and eh (.) I became as an analyst and then was promoted to an associate and then was promoted to assistant director (16/101)

The interviewee uses the technique of self-description by describing herself with two adjectives, which may not necessarily be regarded as positive traits in one's personality. She also expresses that she 'normally' is like that, indicating that what she is about to reveal, does not match this description. However, the conjunction 'so' does not add a contrast but a consequence. The interviewee realised that she wanted to pursue a career in this particular field of business. The referents for the pronouns 'I' in this utterance are a bit vague. It could be argued that she refers to herself as a recent graduate from university or a beginner in this job. She positions herself as motivated and eager to land a job in this field. The adverb 'now' indicates a switch to herself as interviewee ('I see') giving an opinion or an evaluation. She as a young employee, recently graduated from university with a degree not related to business (as mentioned earlier in the interview) would not have a chance of being hired by the company. She also starts giving a reason of why this might have been so but she repairs her sentence by pausing and referring to her identity as interviewee again ('how shall I say' followed by 'I mean' indicating a new utterance). She switches to the generic 'you' to express the reason why she might not have been offered a career in the first place because she did not have the required background. In a way it may be argued that she constructs herself, the young employee, as not having the relevant degree for and knowledge of this job and thus being an ignorant and not appropriate employee. The conjunction 'but' adds a contrast and here she changes the focus of the narrative or rather story to 'people', who are the management board as well as colleagues and talks about a 'positioning of others' (Harré/ van Langenhove 1999). By inserting reported speech of what colleagues and members of the management board said about her, they position her as committed, motivated and giving everything. In a way she takes this positioning to highlight her own positioning as a committed employee in the interview setting. She did everything to persuade her superiors to offer her a permanent position, thus she was active and she managed to succeed in getting what she wanted, which is also indicated by her describing the promotions she has received at work. The interviewee positions herself or rather her young, inexperienced self first as having no knowledge and not having the required

degree from the university, and second as stubborn and committed in order to reach her goal. To underline the amount of commitment, she draws on her colleagues' and superiors' opinion of her and of her being active in showing commitment.

In the second extract taken from this interview, the interviewee again focuses on her commitment, although not of herself as a recently employed employee but as an experienced and highly successful employee. She reveals that she had to show a lot of commitment in order to persuade her superiors that she was a committed FEMALE employee, despite the fact she is also a mother and might thus, in her superiors' opinion, be distracted from her job.

The extract consists of three sequences: First, an introductory statement, second a conversation she had with her superior and third, background information on the job, which is interspersed in the second sequence.

in this past seven years I always had to put (.) an extra effort (.) just to be on the same level (.) with my male colleagues (..) and even eh (.) even eh in my conversation with my superior (.)he said that he would always ask additional effort from me because (.) there is always (..) a probability which is higher with me than with my male colleagues that I will come one day and say okay I had enough I want to (.) you know sit home and be with my baby (.) and then I said well that's not the case because I eh I was showing you for past seven years my commitment and eh (.) my eh really willingness to accept (..) this kind of job and eh because this is REALLY extremely stressful and really hard job especially for women (.) you need to really be focussed and it's a huge amount of stress because you work really like twelve hours a day and it's really it's really hard so I told him I mean it's the probability is lower that I will (.) decide to (.) stay home because I was (.) you know (.) proving you year after year so please leave that to me to decide what is best for me (78/101)

The first utterance shows that she has been a committed employee, putting a lot of energy into her work due to discriminating tendencies in her workplace since she started working there. The referents for the pronoun 'I' are 'postsocialist employee' and 'woman' as she mentions 'male colleagues'. She recounts the conversation with her superior, highlighting her point (indicated by the adverb 'even'). It is obvious in this conversation that her superior primarily constructs or positions her as a working mother who might decide to take maternity leave. However, what she is doing in the conversation with her boss is highlighting her professional identity by pointing out the fact that she has accepted this kind of job and has always shown high commitment to her job. She is putting her professional identity of a committed female employee over her gender identity as a working mother, which Zhurzhenko (2001:42) has also shown on a broader level in Ukraine business settings where the business identity predominates over women's identity. To underline her construction of a committed female employee on the one hand, but also to respond to the interviewer who is an academic on the other hand, she inserts some additional

information about her job by emphasising how stressful this kind of job is particularly for women. In this section the interviewee uses the generic 'you' in order to show general experience or a general fact. However, even if she constructs herself as a sacrificing woman, putting a lot of effort in climbing the hierarchy ladder as well as gaining acceptance, she orients to and constructs herself as a self-confident professional working mother, which is also shown in the last sentence in this extract.

The recounting of the conversation with her boss is verbalised by the use of direct and indirect reported speech. De Fina (2003:105) suggests that a preference for direct reported speech may be a narrative evaluation strategy because 'the animation of different voices in the story world contributes to a style of telling where a great deal of the evaluation of events is conveyed, not directly commented upon'. The extract above shows alternating direct and indirect speech with the former slightly dominating and even though the interviewee does not explicitly comment on or evaluate the conversation, by animating the words of her boss and herself, their emotional responses to the situation are detectable and conveyed.

The next extract shows an example of constructing a committed person by seeing the results of putting one's energy into their work.

I'm not the ambitious type ((laughs)) no no a- d- what is important for me is (.) that I (.) which (.) could sound s- sound quite strange considering that I work for like 16 hours everyday now for the past three four weeks ((laughs)) but eh what I need is to have a LOT of work to do (.) I like that I love that I like to to work I love to have concrete things that I'm supposed to do and I like to have (.) satisfactory contact or contacts with people that I'm supposed to work with or deal with (.) in different other segments that are involved in our work now and it's it's working fine now it's good (.) the workload is completely unbelievable and I'm probably going to get sick :someday: ((laughing)) because sometimes I do get very stressed out by all of that but (.) it's it's good and the best thing is that (.) I mean I had this opportunity to see that my w- work from last year (.) had some concrete results (.) as a result of OUR work the report and the research and the information that we distributed to the public here and the lobbying and the contacts with the official (.) Serbia has actually announced already in in [a particular month] in [town in a European country] that they would (.) eh ((coughs)) (.) have a moratorium on cluster munitions which is (.) quite good considering that Serbia was not just a country affected but also a country USER producer ((laughs)) :exporter: ((laughing)) of the cluster munitions and eh (.) so it's it's it's GOOD to have eh (.) :some kind of a: ((laughing)) feedback and a concrete result very (.) you know SOON (122/112)

Like in the previous extract, this interviewee also gives a self-description but the interviewee describes herself by negating the adjective. The interviewee also laughs when describing herself, which may hint at either some joke or at being aware of the fact that describing herself as not ambitious in regards to her job may be regarded as strange. The interviewee continues, pointing out that she works a lot and is aware of the fact that her self-description at the beginning of the extract is contradictory to her

workload, which is also underlined by her laughter. Then her postsocialist employee identity is displayed when saying that she needs a lot of work and that she likes her work regarding tasks and contact with people. She switches to collective professional or institutional identity when saying 'our work'. In a way in this sequence she positions herself as not ambitious but nevertheless drawing motivation and commitment from her work. She highlights the workload and laughs again when she forecasts the effect it might have on her health in the future if the workload continues because she already shows signs of stress. However, she adds a contrast by pointing out that she is fine with her job. She also adds what she likes best and it is here that she again switches to situated identity ('I mean') and collective professional identity ('OUR work', 'we distributed'). She phonologically stresses the pronoun 'our' in 'our work', putting the work of the company into focus. By describing what she and her employees have been doing ('distributing to the public here', referring to the place, which is Serbia), she reveals commitment and it is a commitment, which has had good results. She mentions a particular outcome of her work by mentioning the Serbian government and what they have promised to do and she gives a reason why she welcomes this step. Her laughter indicates that she is aware of the contradiction regarding Serbia being affected by as well as producing cluster munitions. And she stresses again (also phonologically) that she is content about the results of and the feedback to her work. The interviewee positions herself as non-ambitious at first but then positions herself as committed, which is not only shown in the number of hours she works a day, but also the fact that she gains motivation from the outcome of her work and also of the usefulness of her work.

5 Conclusion

Since the advent of globalisation, companies have entered foreign markets by setting up headquarters, subsidiaries or taking over other companies. After the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, foreign companies set up business in the newly opened markets and started the phase of transformation in formerly state-socialist Eastern and South-Eastern European countries. So-called postsocialist globalised workplaces appeared, which are workplaces in which performance is important, specific requirements are pertinent and people with different linguistic backgrounds work together resulting in communication in a common foreign language. A common lingua franca for conducting business across national and language borders was called for and English has been chosen by most companies as their work language. These workplaces in international companies resemble one another no matter where they are geographically located. However when taking the historical aspect of the region into account a unique situation emerges as foreign companies have only been in South-Eastern Europe for close to 20 years. Due to the evolution of a new economic system and the need for new qualifications, the majority of the (local) employees are in their late twenties to late thirties. People have jobs that did not exist before 1989 and therefore there is a first generation being provided with new possibilities, work careers and demanding, performance-related jobs.

This PhD approaches one single data set which consists of 16 semi-structured interviews conducted with Croatian and Serbian employees at international countries in their home countries respectively from two different angles and thus addresses two research areas/questions: first, what are postsocialist globalised workplace characteristics and second what identities are displayed and constructed when talking about these workplaces. In both areas, gender is the main focus. Two methods of analysis are applied: for the former research question the data have been analysed according to Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967, adapted and revised by Strauss and Corbin 1998) and for the latter a combined discourse analysis has been used (Wodak et al. 1999, de Fina 2003, Meinhof/ Galasziński 2005).

Analysing postsocialist globalised workplaces has revealed that they do resemble their counterparts in other countries but by contrasting these workplaces to workplaces before 1989, national and linguistic borders are transgressed and are therefore quite a recent phenomenon in South-Eastern Europe. The analysis shows that these workplaces are performance-driven, that team and project work is essential,

that working overtime is common, and that working with expatriates and communicating in English are part of the workday. However, local languages do also play an important part in the workplace as they are usually the office language and used for more interpersonal communication. English is primarily the language for work-related matters. Challenges exist as English competence varies but any problems that occur are usually overcome. Yet, the analysis also shows that English permeates into private lives as well as the fact that using local languages for work-related communication does pose problems. Gender issues are not prominent but structural and individual discrimination against women does occur. The former includes wage gaps, discriminatory hiring policies and horizontal as well as vertical occupational segregation resulting in disadvantages for women. The latter consists of discriminating treatment of female employees by superiors, colleagues and clients, maternity leave negatively impacting the career, and the necessity of showing more commitment in order to be treated equally. Particularly when female employees become mothers, gender becomes an issue because of childcare responsibilities. As the analysis of the perception of maternity and paternity leaves shows, younger female employees are aware of having to prioritise either a job or children whereas female employees who are mothers are struggling to overcome any discriminating tendencies regarding their work career. The perception of paternity leave is divided: whereas some male employees can picture themselves taking paternity leaves, others are opposed to this idea.

Analysing identities reveals that many identities are displayed in the interviews, which shows that Moore's approach of identities based on difference is highly relevant. Her notion of lives being shaped by a 'multiplicity of differences' and her claim that not one kind of identity can stand on its own is supported by the analysis. By examining the personal pronouns 'I' and 'We', and their referents in particular, seven identity categories for both pronouns were found. The analysis of the pronouns' referents draws heavily on the context and shows that the interviewees, despite primarily talking about their work life as employees, orient to professional, national, gender, relational, situated, historical and communication identities. The boundaries between these identities are fluid and thus identity shifts based on inter- and intrapronoun have also been analysed.

The analysis of constructing identities focuses on the intersection of professional and gender identities. Identities are displayed and constructed on three levels: the

macro and non-textual level, the textual interview narrative and the textual story level. Stories have been found to be a particularly useful strategy in displaying the construction of identities in the workplace. Besides constructing postsocialist employee identity, three typologies have been analysed: the construction of self-confident, committed, and sacrificing employees. This analysis applies the various approaches outlined in the theory section and shows that the interviewees position themselves and position others in their interview narrative and stories (Positioning Theory developed by Harré/ van Langenhove 1999). Constructing collective identities in particular reveals alignment with groups of people and maintaining group boundaries (Moore 1994), by focusing on difference(s) from others by the method of 'othering' (Grammar of Identity/Alterity developed by Baumann/ Gingrich 2004). The analysis shows that all three grammars and, in particular their aspect of being ternary, are detectable as techniques to construct identities in the data. The more so as, like Baumann/ Gingrich, the focus is on analysing pronouns and where exactly the boundaries to others were drawn as well as which discourses were supported and contested when constructing identities (Sunderland 2004). The analysis also discloses that, if a researcher wants to strive for drawing valuable results from the data, gender identity should not and, in fact, cannot be approached without taking other identities into consideration.

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7 Appendix

Zusammenfassung deutsch

Das Thema der interdisziplinär angelegten Dissertation sind postsozialistische, globalisierte Arbeitsplätze, insbesondere die Analyse von Arbeitsplatzcharakteristika und Identitätskonstruktionen in Forschungsinterviews unter spezieller Berücksichtigung von Gender. Postsozialistische, globalisierte Arbeitsplätze sind ein rezentes Phänomen in Südosteuropa da internationale Unternehmen/Firmen seit Anfang der 1990er in diesen Ländern vermehrt aktiv sind. Diese Arbeitsplätze stellen insbesondere im Vergleich zu realsozialistischen Arbeitsplätzen spezielle Anforderungen an die Angestellten, u.a. durch die Benutzung des Englischen als Arbeitssprache aufgrund der multinationalen Belegschaft.

Die Dissertation ist in den Themen Arbeit, Gender, Identitäten, Globalisierung, Sprache und Südosteuropa verortet. In allen, bis auf die zwei letztgenannten Themen gibt es Überschneidungen zwischen der Soziolinguistik und Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie. Insbesondere beim Thema Sprache zeigt die Dissertation nicht nur den Umgang mit Englisch und lokalen Sprachen am Arbeitsplatz, sondern zeigt ebenso auf, wie an Interviews als Daten herangegangen werden kann, indem nicht nur in der Analyse berücksichtigt wird, was gesagt wird, sondern vor allem wie und warum etwas gesagt wird. Diese Herangehensweise öffnet Möglichkeiten mehr aus den Daten herauszuholen, nicht nur für die Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie, sondern auch für die Soziolinguistik, indem nicht nur der Text, sondern auch der Kontext berücksichtigt werden.

Mit Methoden und Theorien der akademischen Disziplinen Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie und Linguistik wurden 16 halbstrukturierte Interviews mit kroatischen und serbischen Angestellten bei international agierenden und multinationalen Unternehmen jeweils in Kroatien und Serbien analysiert. Die Analyse der Arbeitsplatzcharakteristika gemäß Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967, adaptiert und überarbeitet von Strauss and Corbin 1998) zeigt, dass an solchen Arbeitsplätzen ein hohes Maß an Leistung und Performance sowie eine hohe Bereitschaft zur Leistung von Überstunden erwartet wird, der tägliche Arbeitsalltag aus Team- und Projektarbeit besteht und gekennzeichnet ist von der Zusammenarbeit mit Expatriates, was zur Folge hat, dass Englisch dominant im

Arbeitsalltag ist. Gender ist nicht ein zwingend vorherrschendes Thema am Arbeitsplatz, jedoch widerfahren vor allem weiblichen Angestellten punktuell strukturelle und individuelle Diskriminierungen. Eine Analyse von Diskursen zu Karenz für Frauen und Männer zeigt ebenfalls, dass durch diese Diskurse strukturelle Benachteiligungen für Frauen am Arbeitsplatz gegeben sind.

Die Analyse der Identitätskonstruktionen zeigt, dass viele Identitäten, oft simultan, in Interviews konstruiert werden. Unter der Heranziehung einer kombinierten Diskursanalyse (Wodak et al. 1999, de Fina 2003, Meinhof/ Galasziński 2005) und der Identitätstheorien von Grammar of Identity/Alterity (Baumann/ Gingrich 2004), Positioning Theory (Harré/ van Langenhove 1999) and gendered Identitäten (Sunderland 2004, Moore 1993/1994) wurden die Interviews mit Fokus auf Pronomen, deren Referenten und des Kontexts analysiert. Die Analyse von sieben Identitätskategorien zeigt, dass Identitäten in Interviews auf drei Ebenen konstruiert werden (Makrolevel, Interviewnarrativa, Anekdoten/stories), die die Analyse der Identitätskonstruktionen zu verschiedenen Zeiten und in verschiedenen Situationen, über die gesprochen werden, zulässt. Anhand dieses Modells wurden drei berufliche Genderidentitäten näher analysiert, in denen gezeigt wird, wie sich die InterviewpartnerInnen positionieren, wie sie in Anekdoten andere Gesprächspartner und AkteurInnen positionieren, sowie wie kollektive Identität auf Basis des ‚Othering‘ und der Abgrenzung zu anderen (Baumann/Gingrich 2004) konstruiert wird.

Abstract English

After the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, foreign companies set up business in the newly opened markets and started the phase of transformation in formerly state-socialist Eastern and South-Eastern European countries. So-called postsocialist globalised workplaces have appeared, which are workplaces in which specific requirements are pertinent and people with different linguistic backgrounds work together resulting in communication in a common foreign language. A common lingua franca for conducting business across national and language borders was called for and English has been chosen by most companies as their work language.

By focusing on gender, this interdisciplinary PhD addresses workplace characteristics and identity constructions by combining linguistic and social and cultural anthropological topic areas and methods. The data consists of 16 semi-structured interviews which were conducted with Croatian and Serbian employees at international countries in their home countries respectively. By drawing upon Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967, adapted and revised by Strauss and Corbin 1998), the analysis of workplace characteristics shows that that these workplaces are performance-driven, that team and project work is essential, that working overtime is common, and that working with expatriates and communicating in English are part of the workday. Gender issues are not prominent but structural and individual discrimination against women does occur.

Analysing identities shows that many identities are displayed in the interviews. By drawing upon a combined discourse analysis (Wodak et al. 1999, de Fina 2003, Meinhof/ Galasziński 2005) as well as Grammar of Identity/Alterity (Baumann/ Gingrich 2004, Positioning Theory (Harré/ van Langenhove 1999) and gendered identities (Litosseliti 2006, Moore 1993/1994), the analysis focuses on pronouns, their referents and context. Seven identity categories for the pronouns 'I' and 'We' were found as well as intra- and interpronoun shifts were analysed. Further, the analysis shows that identities are displayed and constructed on three levels in interviews (macro level, interview narrative, story level). Based on these levels, which enable to study identity constructions in past situations retold in interviews, four types of gendered professional identities (the postsocialist, committed, sacrificing and self-confident employee) are analysed in more detail.

Abstract deutsch

Das Thema der interdisziplinär angelegten Dissertation sind postsozialistische, globalisierte Arbeitsplätze, insbesondere die Analyse von Arbeitsplatzcharakteristika und Identitätskonstruktionen in Forschungsinterviews unter spezieller Berücksichtigung von Gender. Postsozialistische, globalisierte Arbeitsplätze sind ein rezentes Phänomen in Südosteuropa da internationale Unternehmen/Firmen seit Anfang der 1990er in diesen Ländern vermehrt aktiv sind. Diese Arbeitsplätze stellen insbesondere im Vergleich zu realsozialistischen Arbeitsplätzen spezielle Anforderungen an die Angestellten, u.a. durch die Benutzung des Englischen als Arbeitssprache aufgrund der multinationalen Belegschaft.

Mit Methoden und Theorien der akademischen Disziplinen Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie und Linguistik wurden 16 halbstrukturierte Interviews mit kroatischen und serbischen Angestellten bei international agierenden und multinationalen Unternehmen jeweils in Kroatien und Serbien analysiert. Die Analyse der Arbeitsplatzcharakteristika gemäß Grounded Theory (Glaser/Strauss 1967, adaptiert u. überarbeitet von Strauss/Corbin 1998) zeigt, dass an solchen Arbeitsplätzen ein hohes Maß an Leistung und Performance sowie eine hohe Bereitschaft zur Leistung von Überstunden erwartet wird, der tägliche Arbeitsalltag aus Team- und Projektarbeit besteht und gekennzeichnet ist von der Zusammenarbeit mit Expatriates, was zur Folge hat, dass Englisch dominant im Arbeitsalltag ist. Gender ist nicht ein zwingend vorherrschendes Thema am Arbeitsplatz, jedoch widerfahren vor allem weiblichen Angestellten punktuell strukturelle und individuelle Diskriminierungen.

Die Analyse der Identitätskonstruktionen zeigt, dass viele Identitäten, oft simultan, in Interviews konstruiert werden. Unter der Heranziehung einer kombinierten Diskursanalyse (Wodak et al. 1999, de Fina 2003, Meinhof/ Galasziński 2005) und der Identitätstheorien von Grammar of Identity/Alterity (Baumann/Gingrich 2004), Positioning Theory (Harré/ van Langenhove 1999) and gendered Identitäten (Sunderland 2004, Moore 1993/1994) wurden die Interviews mit Fokus auf Pronomen, deren Referenten und des Kontexts analysiert. Die Analyse von sieben Identitätskategorien zeigt, dass Identitäten in Interviews auf drei Ebenen konstruiert werden (Makrolevel, Interviewnarrativa, Anekdoten/stories). Anhand dieses Modells wurden vier berufliche Genderidentitäten näher analysiert (postsozialistische, engagierte, selbstbewusste und Opfer bringende Angestellte).

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