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Language diversity management in the local workplace: ambiguous processes of maintaining and disrupting the norm of the native-speaking worker

Anne Theunissen, SEIN, Faculty of Business Economics, Hasselt University, Belgium, <u>anne.theunissen@uhasselt.be</u>

Koen Van Laer, SEIN, Faculty of Business Economics, Hasselt University, Belgium, koen.vanlaer@uhasselt.be

Patrizia Zanoni, SEIN, Faculty of Business Economics, Hasselt University, Belgium, patrizia.zanoni@uhasselt.be

The way in which organizations manage language diversity in the workplace, and the (in)equality outcomes thereof, have been examined by various bodies of literature. The literatures on racio-ethnic diversity management and migrant workers have revealed how workers' labour market opportunities are limited because of (assumptions about) their lack of local language competence (Hwang et al, 2020; Risberg and Romani, 2021), and how workers who do get hired (after having learned the local language) (Alberti, 2014) may be confronted with (subtle) workplace discrimination (Boogaard and Roggeband; Dobusch et al., 2020; Van Laer and Janssens, 2011). Moreover, the literatures on offshored call centre jobs and language management in multi-national corporations have illustrated how the power of Western Englishspeaking customers and managers generates post-colonial and imperialist dynamics (Nath, 2011; Raghuram, 2013; Steyaert et al., 2011), in which the career opportunities of workers in other parts of the world are subjected to the extent to which they can mimic the speech of these dominant actors (Boussebaa et al., 2014; Mirchandani, 2015). However, these bodies of literature have either rarely put language at the centre of analysis of inequality mechanisms in local workplaces (Van Laer and Janssens, 2011), or have only explored the topic in contexts in which language diversity is a-priori anticipated as an inherent feature of the international workplace. Yet, racio-ethnic minority workers who are not fluent in the local language are becoming increasingly dominant in local workplaces with precarious, low-status and low-paid jobs, including the platform economy, the hospitality sector and the domestic care sector (Alberti, 2014; Doyle and Timonen, 2009; Veen, Barratt and Goods, 2020). Despite the increasing extent to which native speakers can no longer be taken for granted as the norm in sectors in which (customer) communication plays a crucial role, the way in which organizations deal with shifting language norms in local workplaces has been seldomly explored.

Therefore, this article examines these shifting language norms through a case study of an organization in the domestic care sector which is predominantly active in Flanders (the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium). While the organization has traditionally relied on a Dutchspeaking local workforce, it recently started to hire racio-ethnic minority workers with limited Dutch language skills in order to address its labour shortage. Drawing on the concept of the 'ideal worker' (Acker, 1992) in the data analysis of 68 interviews with racio-ethnic minority cleaners, customers and managers, we identified 1) inclusionary norm-disrupting language management practices that question the native speaker as the ideal worker, 2) exclusionary norm-maintaining language management practices based on the native speaker as the ideal worker, and 3) inclusionary norm-maintaining language management practices based on the non-native speaker as the 'good enough worker'. The findings of this research imply that language management in the workplace cannot be (solely) conceptualised as an unambiguous source of exclusion and discrimination (cf. Boogaard and Roggeband, 2010; Van Laer and Janssens, 2011), but rather as a paradoxical process (Adamson et al., 2020) fraught with ambivalence.

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