All dressed up and nowhere to go: Linguistic, cultural and ideological aspects of job interviews with second language speakers of Danish

Marta Kunov Kirilova

▶ **To cite this version:**

Marta Kunov Kirilova. All dressed up and nowhere to go: Linguistic, cultural and ideological aspects of job interviews with second language speakers of Danish. Linguistics. University of Copenhagen. Faculty of Humanities, 2013. English. NNT : . tel-00843515

HAL Id: tel-00843515

https://theses.hal.science/tel-00843515v1

Submitted on 24 Jul 2013

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

PhD Dissertation

Marta Kunov Kirilova

All dressed up and nowhere to go

Linguistic, cultural and ideological aspects of job interviews with second language speakers of Danish

University of Copenhagen
Scandinavian Studies and Linguistics

January 2013

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my three supervisors: Celia Roberts (King's College), Frans Gregersen and Jens Normann Jørgensen (University of Copenhagen) for endless support and motivation. Thank you, Celia, for introducing me to an ocean of fascinating studies and eye-opening ideas. Thank you, Frans, for your amazing ability to see big pictures in even the smallest details. And thank you, Jens, for being the greatest ever source of inspiration without whose encouragement I would never have dared to walk so far.

I am grateful to Eva Wedervang-Jensen who contributed to the data collection. Big thanks to Iman Hassani, Kirstine Dencker, Stine Johannsen, Thomas Nørreby and Tine Østergård for providing good transcriptions. I am also indebted to my colleagues and fellow PhD students at the Institute for Nordic Studies and Linguistics, as well as those at the Center for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use at the University of Copenhagen for reading parts of chapters and giving fruitful feedback. Special thanks to Martha Karrebæk, Lian Malai Madsen and Juni Arnfast for useful comments. Thanks to the Amager Project in Copenhagen, the SoPraCon group in Odense, Ben Rampton and the LDC group at King's College in London for a number of insightful data sessions. Thanks to Christina Fogtmann, Louise Tranekjæer and Jann Scheuer for their valuable studies that have certainly made it easier for me to think bigger. Also thanks to Tim McNamara and Per Linell for good discussions and important clarifications.

Last but not least, thank you, Thomas, for oceans of patience, lively discussions and not least for being the greatest father during the many hours of my absence; thanks to my darling children Matilda and Teodor, both born amidst the hurly-burly of this dissertation, whose loving distraction has made all the hard times worth it. Finally, special thanks to my parents in Bulgaria for giving me the confidence to face and solve challenges.

Outline

This dissertation is a sociolinguistic, data-driven study of authentic job interviews with second language speakers of Danish. The job interviews are part of a Danish governmental initiative aimed particularly at immigrants and newcomers to Denmark, who are assumed to experience linguistic and cultural difficulties at the Danish labour market. The particular designs of the job interviews as well as the explicitly stated evaluations of language and culture create an unusual frame. On the one hand we deal with "traditional" job interviews as institutional gatekeeping instruments; on the other hand we face a tailored selection process meant to address the needs of the vulnerable. These contradictory practices produce certain tensions: although the job interviews in focus are meant to accomplish the target group's special needs, they exemplify a practice in which the good intentions are all dressed up but have nowhere to go.

Acknowledgements..... 0
Outline 2
Introduction 9
Scientific context 11
Structure of the dissertation 13
Chapter 1 Theoretical foundations 17
1.1. Language and language socialization 17
1.2 Institutional interaction 18
1.3. Conversational inference and contextualization 19
1.4. Gatekeeping 22
1.4.1. Studies of gatekeeping encounters 22
1.4.2. Studies of gatekeeping: Discussion and conclusion 28
1.5. Theoretical foundations: sum up 29
Chapter 2 The IO Project 31
2.1. Immigration to Denmark 31
2.2. Language policy and language attitudes in Denmark 34
2.3. The IO project 35
2.3.1. The interview society and the logic of proxy 37
2.3.2. Bureaucracy versus fairness 39
2.3.3. The IO dilemma 39
2.3.4. IO criteria 41
2.4. Interview design and frequently asked questions 42
2.4.1. Danish language assessments 44
2.4.2. Cultural assessments 46
2.5. IO specifics and gatekeeping: discussion and conclusion 47
Chapter 3 Methods and Data 49
3.1. Ethnography 49

3.2. Fieldwork phases 51
3.2.1. Initial phase 51
3.2.2. Core phase 52
3.2.3. Final phase 54
3.3. Some reflections on ethnographic interventions in gatekeeping encounters 54
3.4. Discourse analysis and Interactional Sociolinguistics 57
3.5 Concrete methods for selection of data for analysis 60
3.5.1. Initial observations and reflections 60
3.5.2. Method limitations 61
3.5.3. Selection of participants 61
3.1.4. Selection of samples 62
3.6. Anonymisation of data 64
3.7. Transcription 65
3.7.1. Types of transcriptions 67
3.8. Translations into English 68
3.9. Overview of data 69
3.9.1. Note on selection panels and applicants 71
3.10. Methods and Data: summary 72
Chapter 4 Linguistic Fluency 75
4.1. Fluency as an ethnographic term 75
4.2. Monologic approach to fluency: focus on form 75
4.2.1. Testing monologic fluency: Are successful job candidates those with the largest vocabulary in Danish? 78
4.2.2. Monologic approach to fluency: discussion 81
4.3. Dialogic approach to fluency: focus on meaning 82
4.3.1. Fluency in Sociolinguistics and Late Modern Studies 83
4.3.2. Sum up 84
4.4. Fluency and negotiating of understanding 85

4.4.1. Misunderstandings 85
4.4.2. Repair 87
4.4.3 Misunderstanding and non-understanding 88
4.4.4 Misunderstandings and non-understandings as a strategy for negotiating meaning 88
4.4.5. Misunderstandings: conclusion 92
4.5. Analysis: Two successful and two unsuccessful applicants 92
4.5.1 RUBEN - managing the interactive dictionary 93
4.5.2. MOHAMMED - "never mind, it means nothing" 97
4.5.3. Fluency as polylanguaging 101
4.5.4. DOMINGO: "he was so good at Danish, I mean English" 102
4.5.5. TSANG - "I didn't understand that" 107
4.6. Reclaiming fluency 109
Chapter 5 Cultural Fluency 113
5.1. Approaches to culture 113
5.1.1. Language and culture 113
5.1.2. Intercultural communication 114
5.1.3. Interculturality 115
5.1.4. Interculturality in the IO job interviews 116
5.1.3. Othering 118
5.2. Approaching cultural fluency 119
5.2.1 Schema, activity type, scenario and frame 120
5.2.2. Two scenarios 122
5.3. Cultural fluency: analysis 125
5.3.1. Hamid: "I drink vodka" 125
5.3.2. Mohammed: mismatch of cultural expectations 131
5.3.3. Farid: The immigrant story 134
5.3.4. Yasin: managing the egalitarian relationship 136
5.3.5. Maximillian: the visionary "we" 139

5.4. What counts as cultural fluency? 140

5.5. Sum up 142

Chapter 5½ What is cultural and what is linguistic? 143

5½.1. Discussion: What is cultural and what is linguistic? 147

Chapter 6 Ideologies and Assessments 147

6.1. Linguistic ideology 151

6.2. Legitimate language and linguistic capital 153

6.3. Ideologies and Stereotypes 154

6.4. Ideologies as commonsense 157

6.5. Assessments 160

6.5.1. Assessment theory in social contexts 161

6.5.2. Discussion: Assessments and validity in the IO interviews 162

6.6. Ideologies and assessments: analysis 164

6.6.1. Ideology in written texts about IO positions 165

6.6.2. Assessing linguistic and cultural fluency 167

6.6.2.1. Academic positions 171

6.6.2.2. Academic positions: what counts as linguistic and cultural fluency 170

6.6.2.3. Non-*academic positions* 171

6.6.2.24. Non-academic positions: what counts as linguistic and cultural fluency 172

6.6.3. Assessing stereotypes: “Danes and [Asians] we have very different culture” 175

6.6.4. Some reflections on egalitarian discourses 181

6.7. Language ideologies and assessments: conclusion 182

Chapter 7 Two Case Studies 185

7.1. Applicants, panel and structure 185

7.1.1. Applicants 185

7.1.2. Panel 186

7.1.3. Structure 187

7.2. Comparative sequential analysis 188

7.2.1. Establishing understanding: “I’ll tell you if I don’t understand” 188
7.2.2. Questioning the applicant’s skills “What are you good at”: 190
7.2.3. Explaining the IO positions: “But it could be difficult” 192
7.2.4. Working in Denmark 194
7.2.5. Danish language 198
7.2.6. Activities outside work 199
7.3. Assessments of Hannah and Arabella 203
7.3.1. Linguistic Fluency 203
7.3.2. Cultural Fluency 204
7.4. Postscript: Three years later 207
7.5. Conclusion: Ideology and assessments 208
7.6. The tragedy of the IO project 210
Chapter 8 Findings and Conclusions 213
8.1. Super-diverse communicative practices: reclaiming fluency 213
8.2. Strategies for success 215
8.3. Special consideration in the age of super-diversity: all dressed up and nowhere to go 217
8.4. Areas of concern 220
8.5. Recommendations 221
References 223
Resumé på dansk 233
English summary 234
Appendix 1-9 236

Introduction

Job interviews are institutional encounters which aim at determining whether a given person is suitable for a given job or not. Job interviews are still the most common method for selecting job applicants in the Western World. Applicants are typically offered an interview on the assumption that they already possess the required skills for the position - they might be selected for an interview on the basis of a written CV, an application, or a passed test. Selection is the core procedure and the main premise of the job interview. However, the focus on the necessity to select is so huge, that often less attention is paid to selection criteria. Unlike exams, regardless of how well-prepared and well-qualified an applicant is, there is never a guarantee that he or she will be given the job. It might seem that the panel exercises "the ceremony of power" to establish at least some "truths" (Foucault 1977, 184-195), but in reality it might also come down to individual preferences, such as whether or not the committee likes the candidate. Choosing the best candidate is choosing the most likeable colleague (Komter 1991:34), a process which requires that the interviewers ignore and attend to the personality and the applicant at the same time (Erickson and Schultz 1982, 203-4). The applicant has only a single chance to pass. If it goes wrong, or if it *has gone wrong* before the interview even started, the failure is inescapable. In a way, the job interview is a gigantic illusion: it suggests that everyone has equal chances but only to bring in some idea of fairness.

The job interviews in this study are not "ordinary" job interviews – they are specially designed encounters reserved exclusively for speakers of Danish as a second language. Thus, apart from dealing with all of the above, these particular job interviews face several new challenges. For example: What happens when the applicants do not master the language of the majority at the same level of accuracy and fluency as the majority? Are the interviewers willing to solve the problems together with the applicants and if that is the case, does this affect the selection procedure? And how about stereotypes – if the applicants are not able to express themselves "properly" and to speak convincingly about themselves, would that feed into stereotypes?

These questions are sufficient, at least to me, to make job interviews with second language speakers of Danish important study objects. It is no secret that my interest in speakers of Danish as a second language stems from the fact that I myself belong to that

group and particularly well can relate to the many linguistic and cultural challenges in Denmark. Being an immigrant – in Denmark and anywhere else in the world - demands heaps of skills, constant attention and flexibility at all levels. Being able to cope with the requirements of a job interview, as one of the most powerful and significant events in one's adult life, can be insurmountably difficult. Despite my interest and my desire to solve the conundrum of the job interview for everybody, this is a mission impossible. I hope, however, to be able to raise the curtain – at least partly – revealing some of the important processes which make both interviewers and interviewees aware of the consequences of these ritualized events of institutional power.

The key questions in this dissertation are:

1. **How do successful and unsuccessful applicants communicate in terms of linguistic and cultural resources?**
2. **To what extent do the job panels' ideologies and stereotypes intervene with the evaluations of job applicants?**

Scientific context

This study explores job interviews as sociocultural and sociolinguistic phenomena in which language is seen as a social practice. The point of departure is the relation between language and society with a growing awareness on globalization and mobility (Blommaert 2010). An important concept is super-diversity (Vertovec 2007) with which our attention is called to the fact that during the latest couple of decades the patterns of immigration and emigration have changed immensely. The diffuse nature of migration has problematized the socio-cultural features of categories such as "migrant", "nationality", "ethnicity", "language" and "religion". These categories can no longer be used as justifications in their own right (Blommaert and Rampton 2011:1). The term *ethnic,* for example, is indeed confusing, because depending on how it is used, it may overlappingly refer to skin colour, nationality, religion, culture or language. "Ethnic" does not correspond to the way people identify themselves because ethnicities often "move" or develop as states and nations emerge or disappear (Harris and Rampton 2003). This is one important reason why my dissertation has not applied the concept of ethnicity to the analysis but is rather inspired by super-diversity. As Vertovec (2007:1035) puts it:

> ...how people group themselves and where people live, how long they can stay, how much autonomy they have …. comprise an additional, indeed, fundamental, dimension of today's patterns and dynamics of super-diversity.

This important idea is in vein with Gumperz' networks of relationships which he defines as follows:

> Through participation in similar 'networks of relationships' over time, we have been socialized into similar network- specific communicative practices. Although our backgrounds are about as different as they could be, we share certain communicative conventions and interpretive practices. It is long-term exposure to similar communicative experience in institutionalized networks of relationship and not language or community membership as such that lies at the root of shared culture and shared inferential practices. In most people's lives, community membership is of course directly linked to participation in such networks of relationships, but in our post-industrial worlds, it is less and less possible to take this for granted (Gumperz 1996:359).

The concept of *networks of relationships* encapsulates the idea that differences in meaning and interpretations are not based on differences in cultural backgrounds; rather they are based on participation in shared networks. This is an important stepping stone

for the central line of thinking in this dissertation. I shall come back to that in ***Theoretical Foundations.***

Another major stepping stone is the research of Roberts and colleagues (Gumperz, Jupp and Roberts 1979, Roberts et al. 1992, Roberts and Sarangi 1999, Roberts 2000, Roberts and Campbell 2006, Roberts, Campbell and Robinson 2007). Roberts has been working with institutional communication and interethnic job interviews in particular. Her latest studies with Sarah Campbell are highly comparable to the objects of study in this dissertation both in terms of data, methods and results. The comparison has shown that my results are not country specific but that they occur across the Western World. Roberts' studies have also anchored this dissertation in a long and well-established Anglo-American research tradition in sociolinguistic analysis of institutional talk and interethnic job interviews in particular. Similar studies have been lacking in Denmark and there are no sociolinguistic studies of interethnic job interviews with which to make a comparison. There are – however- several Danish studies that are highly relevant: Fogtmann 2007 and Tranekjær 2009 are both thematically linked to this dissertation. Fogtmann analyses interviews between non-native speakers of Danish who apply for Danish citizenship and the Danish police who tests and proposes them for Danish citizenship on the basis of the interviews. Tranekjær analyses internship interviews with non-native speakers of Danish and demonstrates how the participants negotiate, establish and access membership categories based on nationality, language and religion. Last but not least is Scheuer's research in job interviews (Scheuer 1998, 2001 and 2003) which currently is the only Danish study of authentic job interviews from a discourse analytical perspective, a relevant argument of which is that communicative styles are products of general processes of socialization rather than products of formal education. All of these studies will be presented and discussed in later chapters.

Structure of the dissertation

The dissertation consists of an introduction and nine chapters.

Chapter 1 (Theoretical foundations) goes through the major concepts and theoretical foundations. It sketches the terrain of institutional interaction and focuses on processes of interactional gatekeeping (Erickson and Schultz 1982) and conversational inference (Gumperz 1982) as the mechanisms of interaction in ritualized asymmetric encounters. Thus, it lays the overall theoretical basis and discusses the most influential and relevant studies which next chapters concretize and exemplify.

Chapter 2 (The IO project) serves several purposes. First, it outlines the Danish demographical and political context in which the Integration and Training Initiative (IO project) is embedded. Second, it draws the contours of the interview as an everyday practice by referring to Atkinson and Silverman's Interview Society (1997). Third, it highlights the different logics of the IO interview leading to a dilemma in the selection. And finally, it sketches the design and the criteria for the IO project focusing on its specifics and differences from "ordinary" job interviews.

Chapter 3 (Method and Data) discusses the main methods and creates an overview of the ethnographic phases of fieldwork. It also argues for concrete methods, reflects on issues of transcription and translation and finally categorizes the collected data in relation to workplaces, positions, number of participants and outcome of the interview.

Chapter 4 (Linguistic Fluency) is an analytical chapter the central argument of which is that fluency is not the monologic command of a given L2 but the successful dialogical practice through which the interlocutors are able to negotiate mutual understanding. Through a number of examples, the chapter reconceptualises the notion of fluency from an outsider, structuralist and monologic view and proposes a new, emic perspective which is highly relevant in a gatekeeping, super-diverse context and which becomes possible through ethnography. Thus, L2 fluency is redefined as a practice dependent on how the interlocutors negotiate, approve of each other's' choices and allow each other to use alternative communicative resources, e.g. verbal and non-verbal signals of comprehension, reformulations, repeats, integration of features associated with other sets of linguistic resources (other languages) etc.

Chapter 5 (Cultural fluency) builds on the concept of linguistic fluency but extends the notion of fluency to place it within both a linguistic and a cultural context. It introduces several approaches to culture and discusses interculturality and intercultural communication. Additionally, it suggests an analytical framework to approach the notion of cultural fluency by addressing the job interview as an *activity type* in which, depending on the situation and the interlocutors, different *scenarios* might take place. It analyses five excerpts of IO job interviews to demonstrate how cultural fluency is done situationally and changes in every frame or scenario. It also shows the importance of integrating different discourses (Roberts and Campbell 2006), modes (Svennevig 2001) or styles (Scheuer 2001). Last but not least, it argues for the existence of certain cultural expectations that establish norms for cultural behaviour at ritualized institutional events. *Cultural fluency* is defined as the ability to demonstrate conventionalized knowledge, attitudes and emotions that are expected by and shared with the gatekeeper or the interlocutor-in-charge. Cultural fluency is done situationally and may change in every frame, scenario or activity type. It is often interconnected with linguistic fluency though it might function as a more abstract level of fluency that appears just as important as the pure mastering of the mechanics of language.

Chapter 5½ (What is cultural and what is linguistic?) is a comprehensibly analytical chapter aiming at shedding light on the huge conceptual overlap between linguistic and cultural fluency by demonstrating their interconnectivity. It provides an analysis of an excerpt of a job interview with an Asian applicant highlighting following: On the one hand the interlocutors need to understand the content of what is said, and on the other hand they need to possess and demonstrate understanding of when, how and how much to signal ambiguousness and mis- or non-understanding. Those two principles are irrevocably interconnected but while the first one is mostly associated with *linguistic fluency*, the second one is rather linked to *cultural fluency*.

Chapter 6 (Ideologies and assessments) adds a third and important element to the analysis of fluency by studying the effect of existing ideologies to the selection process of job applicants. It argues that ideologies affect the IO job interview putting a tag on the one hand on the managers' decisions and on the other hand on the applicants' linguistic and cultural performance. It summarizes theoretical and practical issues of ideology and provides examples of how stereotypes, mutual expectations and prejudices

feed into the selection process. It also discusses ideological aspects of language assessments (e.g. justice vs. fairness, McNamara and Ryan 2011) in the context of the job interview. Finally, it presents three pieces of analysis: First, an analysis of the official written target group requirements, second, an overview and analysis of the panels' assessments of applicants for academic and non-academic positions as recorded in the post-interview conversations, and third, an interaction analysis of an example showing how Danish workplaces are contrasted to one applicant's country of origins' workplace.

Chapter 7 (Two case studies) is an illustrative empiric chapter exemplifying the fine-grained interplay between the three main themes in this dissertation: language, culture and ideology. It provides an extended comparative analysis of two job interviews for the same position and concludes that while the unsuccessful applicant is systematically positioned as an outsider to Danish culture and workplace procedures, the successful applicant is systematically positioned as an individual who shares the panel's cultural context and values. Cultural background is explicitly mentioned as a factor that matters more than anything else in the interview. Danish language skills are perceived as being less important in situ; however, they are also used ideologically as proxy for other competencies: e.g. the faster the acquisition of Danish, the better the employee.

Chapter 8 (Conclusions and implications) comprises the dissertation's conclusions and brings to attention a number of areas of concern thereby also considering some improvement practices.

Chapter 1
Theoretical foundations

This chapter outlines the major concepts and theoretical foundations in the study. It sketches the terrain of institutional interaction by focusing on processes of interactional gatekeeping (Erickson and Schultz 1982) and conversational inference (Gumperz 1982a) as the mechanisms of interactional exchange in ritualized asymmetric encounters such as job interviews. It lays the main theoretical foundations and general stances and discusses relevant studies which next chapters will concretize and exemplify.

1.1. Language and language socialization

Language is a system of symbolic resources, designed for the production and interpretation of social and intellectual activities (Ochs 1996). We are born with the ability to acquire complex semiotic systems and to use these systems for creating meaning. However, the contexts in which we learn language, the way we use them and the extent to which they help or hinder us in achieving our goals are culturally mediated. To understand language and its role in our lives, we need to go beyond the linguistic features; we have to study the world of social action where words are embedded in and constitutive of specific cultural activities (Duranti 2009:1). For example, when we participate in a meeting, go to the doctor, propose marriage or are interviewed for a job, we have to act socially appropriate and use language that suits the situation to achieve our goals. Acquiring language and acquiring knowledge of its functions, is crucial for becoming a competent member of the society (Ochs 1996, Ochs and Shieffelin 2009). Children are socialized through language from birth. During school, children go through a "secondary" socialization (Sarangi and Roberts 2003). Older children and adults who move to a new country, undergo "tertiary" socialization (Byram 1997). During the process of socialization, children and adults learn to use the language of the majority community in meaningful and culturally appropriate ways. If they are socialized (initially, secondary or tertiary) into the same practice of participating in meetings, going to the doctor, proposing marriage or being interviewed for a job, they would have a better understanding of how to conduct themselves. If not, they may face difficulties which in the worst case may lead to social exclusion.

1.2 Institutional interaction

Institutional interaction is one of the social spheres that requires special knowledge of language use. According to Erickson and Schultz' (1982) institutional interaction is both *socially* and *culturally* organized. Socially organized, because the interaction takes place in and is constituted by the succession of moments in real time, and culturally organized, because the participants in an interaction interpret the communicative actions of each other on the basis of knowledge (norms, cultural conventions, shared knowledge of style etc.) learned outside the communicative occasion. Hymes 1974 calls this knowledge communicative competence.

Institutional interaction happens in professional settings, e.g. at work, in school, at a hospital, within the authorities, etc. However, as Drew and Heritage (1992:34) point out, we cannot just intuitively characterize a given interaction as institutional; we should rather document systematically the manifestations of insitutionality and not merely guess how an institution performs its tasks, roles and procedures. Institutional talk is not confined to a single setting; it can occur in any speech situation, just as everyday conversations can become part of institutional interaction.

Heritage and Clayman (2010:34) (see also Drew and Heritage 1992:22) argue that three main components should be present to identify institutional talk:

1) The interaction usually involves the participants in specific goal orientations *which are tied to their institution-relevant identities*
2) The interaction involves special constraints on what will be treated as allowable contributions to the business at hand
3) The interaction is associated with *inferential frameworks* and procedures that are particular to specific institutional contexts.

Let us have a look at how the job interviews in this dissertation match the above criteria. First, the participants in a job interview (job applicant and job panel) carry their institution-relevant identities. The applicants would like to get the job and perform to make themselves appropriate for the job. The panels perform by judging and evaluating the applicants' performance (including their linguistic, cultural and professional skills) in

order to select whom they consider the best applicant. Both panels and applicant are actors in the interview game (Roberts 1985).

The second point about how interaction involves special constraints on what will be considered allowable contributions to the business at hand refers to the power relations and the participants' obligations within the job interview. A job applicant is obliged to answer the questions asked by the panel and the panel is obliged to ask and follow the interview procedure. This includes proper use of question-answer sequences and use of different discourses to shift between different activity types. I shall come back to that.

The third point is associated with use of inferential frames and contexts, and is closely tied to Gumperz 1982's concept of conversational inference. I explain that in the next section.

1.3. Conversational inference and contextualization

Gumperz (1982:153) defines conversational inference as "the situated, context-bound process of interpretation, by means of which participants in an exchange assess others' intentions, and on which they base their responses". Originally, conversational inference was introduced by Garfinkel in 1967 (cf. Garfinkel 1991) but Gumperz has developed it further. According to Gumperz, conversational inferences are integral part of the very act of conversing. In order to interact, we need to make sense of what we hear by continually looking for relevance. This relevance is only suggestive and tentative but it helps us decode how an utterance is to be interpreted. Furthermore, it illustrates how others have interpreted our utterances through verbal or nonverbal responses. Gumperz argues that "it is the nature of these responses rather than the independently determined meaning or truth value of individual utterances alone that governs evaluation of intent" (Gumperz 1992: 154). I come back to that in the Methodology chapter.

Conversational inference is linked to the concept of *contextualization* (e.g. Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1976 and Gumperz 1982, Gumperz 1992, Auer and Di Luzio 1992, Auer 1996). When we interact, we create contexts - an idea that originally stems from Bateson et al 1956. The pieces of information we provide, the stances we take and the social relations we are part of can be understood and negotiated only within a context. To Gumperz context or contexts (as the number of contexts is unlimited) are dynamic and actively conducted by both speakers and hearers. Contextualization,

according to Gumperz 1992:230, happens when “speakers and listeners’ use of verbal and nonverbal signs to relate what is said at any one time and in any one place to knowledge acquired through past experience, in order to retrieve the presuppositions they must rely on to maintain conversational involvement and assess what is intended”. To understand the notion of contextualization Gumperz assumes that:

1) Situated interpretation of any utterance is always a matter of inferences made within the context of an interactive exchange, the nature of which is constrained both by what is said and by how it is interpreted.
2) Inferencing (…) is presupposition-based and therefore suggestive, not assertive. It involves hypothesis-like tentative assessments of communicative intent, that is, the listener’ interpretation of what the speaker seeks to convey, in roughly illocutionary terms. These assessments can be validated only in relation to other background assumptions, and not in terms of absolute truth value.
3) Although such background assumptions build on extralinguistic "knowledge of the world," in any one conversation this knowledge is reinterpreted as part of the process of conversing so that it is interactively, thus ultimately socially, constructed. Interpretations, in other words, are ecologically constrained by considerations of sequencing, conversational management and negotiation of meaning, and, since sequencing is by its very nature an interactive process, they are cooperatively made and validated

(Gumperz 1992:230-231)

So, according to Gumperz, contextualization is particularly useful for identifying context(s) behind the communicative event that happens “here and now” as it makes it possible to link the interactional micro level of talk to the macro level of socially constructed ideologies. Auer and Roberts 2011:388 sum up how contextualization works: on the one hand it requires search for relevance, both in the literal interpretation of talk and also in the indexical and metaphorical functions of language, on the other hand it has a reflexive function in which grammar, lexicon, prosody and style invoke contexts shaping the interaction moment by moment.

Contextualization is important for my study as it links the analytical concepts of linguistic and cultural fluency (each of which I explain in a separate chapter) through framing and inferences. Contextualization provides a tool for understanding job interviews as encounters between first and second language speakers of Danish. As job interviews are some of the most culturally charged institutional events, they could be expected to

challenge the interlocutors' sociocultural knowledge and their understanding of speech activities within[1]. By speech activities we should understand means through which social knowledge is stored in the form of constraints on action and possible interpretation (Gumperz 1982: 166, see also Levinson 1979) Gumperz also leans on Goffmans' concept of frame and footing (Goffman 1974) by demonstrating how the small details of interaction are crucial to the framing processes. I come back to speech activities, activity types, frame and footing in ***Cultural Fluency.***

To demonstrate the concrete processes of contextualization, Gumperz develops the idea of *contextualization cues,* defined as "those verbal signs that are indexically associated with specific classes of communicative activity types and thus signal the frame of context for the interpretation of constituent messages" (Gumperz 1992:307, see also Gumperz 1982). Lexical choice, stress placement, intonation and prosodic features in general serve as contextualization that help us judge the expectedness of an utterance, and then search for a reasonable interpretation. The interlocutors "listen to speech, form a hypothesis about what routine is being enacted, and then rely on social background knowledge and on co-occurrence expectations to evaluate what is intended and what attitudes are conveyed" (Gumperz 1982:171). In a number of studies (Gumperz 1982 and 1982b), Gumperz convincingly demonstrates how contextualization cues provide a tool for understanding interaction between interlocutors with different social and cultural background and link micro and macro contexts of communication.

The notion of contextualization cues is revolutionary but leaves a lot of unanswered questions. For example, there is a paradox which comes from the fact that to decide on an interpretation, the interlocutors may first make a preliminary interpretation. Levinson 2003 pays attention to the ambiguity of contextualization cues and touches upon their "out of awareness features", i.e. as context-innovative, contextualization cues cannot be directly responded to, because they can only be learnt by rich exposure to a communicative tradition, "a deep immersion in social networks" (Levinson 2003:29). Gumperz addresses this critique in later studies (Gumperz 1996 and 1999) in which he is explicit about the fact that there must not be made assumptions that different

[1] However, we must not anticipate differences just because the interlocutors do not share backgrounds. See section on interactional sociolinguistics for details.

backgrounds give different interpretative processes resulting in different patterns of communication. Rather, we should seek for empirical evidence of whether or not these processes are shared (Gumperz 1999:458, see also "networks of relationships" in Gumperz 1996:359). I will return to Gumperz in the chapter ***Data and Methods***.

After sketching the main issues in Gumperz' point of view related to institutional interaction, I move on to the concept of gatekeeping as another major theoretical concept in this dissertation.

1.4. Gatekeeping

As a common metaphor of achieving social status, the term gatekeeping relates to the physical and social passage from *outside* to *inside* which often requires a possibility or permission to access resources on offer. This permission or possibility is related to the process of assessing from the gatekeepers' side. The notion of institutional gatekeeping is introduced by Erickson in 1975 and further developed in Erickson and Schultz 1982. According to those studies, institutional gatekeeping occurs in all kinds of settings – education, business, medicine, law, social work, etc. Gatekeeping is described as "brief encounters in which two persons meet, usually as strangers, with one of them having authority to make decisions that affect the other's future" (Erickson and Schultz 1982: xi) . A number of other studies from the same period contribute to understanding the phenomenon of institutional gatekeeping (Gumperz 1982, 1982b, 1992, Jupp, Roberts and Cook-Gumperz 1982, Roberts 1985, Roberts and Sayers 1987, Komter 1991). These studies' point of departure is how one part makes use of the right and authority to make decisions with direct consequences to the other part on the basis of talk. As Roberts (2000:103) put is: "the decision making processes are essential to the guarding of resources, which are both scarce and made scarce by the ruling elite". This is a central point which will be taken up in ***Ideologies and Assessments*** (see also discussion in ***The IO project***)

1.4.1. Studies of gatekeeping encounters

Erickson 1975 and Erickson and Schultz 1982 are the first to use the term gatekeeping about decision making institutional encounters. They take an identity approach to student counseling sessions and demonstrate how moments of interactional arythmia correlate with the students' background and ethnicity, so if students and counselor share

their ethnicity or panethnicity (eg. White Catholics), the students tend to receive more interactional help than students who have another ethnic background than the counselors. Erickson and Schultz argue that social identities and communicative style are crucial to the character and the outcome of the gatekeeping interview. Co-membership and interpersonal solidarity are key words in their study as they reveal how identity is constructed and used both exclusively and inclusively. Co-membership and alignment are also central to this dissertation as further analysis reveals. My study is rich in examples of successful interviews linked to issues of co-membership (see ***Two Case Studies***).

Gumperz 1982a and 1982b, inspired by Goffman, refers also to the process of co-membership and calls it establishing of common *frame*. According to Gumperz, culturally specific communicative styles hinder successful communication as the gatekeepers from the majority community use the cultural and linguistic differences against the minority community members and create an environment of disadvantage. He analyses intercultural communication in several encounters, e.g. classrooms and job centers, and attributes much miscommunication to cultural mismatch. By this he also argues for the importance of the linguistic dimension of social discrimination , pointing out that language and sociocultural knowledge interact to produce and reproduce inequality (See also Roberts 2011). Akinnaso and Ajirotutu 1982 carry out a study of simulated interethnic job interviews and conclude that ethnic inequality leads to disqualification and discrimination. Akinnaso and Ajirotutu's analysis pictures the interviewer as the sole instance of power while it portrays the interviewees as weak and incapable of power and control. Such view on job interviews that disregards the possibilities for negotiating and joint production is now considered over-simplified and is not found in later studies of gatekeeping. However, Akinnaso and Ajirotutu's contribution to the study of gatekeeping is significant as it reveals an important connection between ethnic background and discrimination in institutional settings such as the correlation between the use of cultural specific narratives and the negative assessment of the ethnic candidates using those narratives.

Gumperz and his students' innovative approach to interethnic communication as a gatekeeping encounter has been taken up and developed further by a number of linguists among whom Roberts takes a prominent place (Jupp et al 1982, Roberts and Sayers 1987,

Roberts et al 1992, Roberts and Sarangi 1999, Roberts 2000, Roberts et al 2004, Roberts et al 2005, Roberts and Sarangi 2005, Roberts and Campbell 2006, Roberts, Campbell and Robinson 2008). Roberts and colleagues undertake a large number of studies of gatekeeping, researching simulated job interview sessions (Jupp and Gumperz 1982), oral examinations for general practitioners (Roberts and Sarangi 1999), and larger projects on doctor and patient communication (Roberts et al 2003, 2004, Roberts and Sarangi 2005). The most recent studies by Roberts and Campbell (Roberts and Campbell 2006, Roberts, Campbell and Robinson 2008) are particularly interesting for my project as they contain a number of similarities in terms of data and results. Roberts and Campbell's aim is to understand the discourse practices of job interviews for low paid jobs in the United Kingdom. Their key finding is that first generation ethnic minority candidates fail because of the cultural and linguistic demands of the job interview. The "born-abroad" candidates face a *linguistic penalty* and are more likely than white or ethnic minority British candidates to be rejected. The term *linguistic penalty* is inspired by Bourdieu's notion of language and symbolic power (Bourdieu 1991) and is related to several factors. Among these are the interviewers' negative judgements of the candidates' personality and communicative style when this communicative style is different from the interviewers'. A linguistic penalty is also given if the candidates use too personal and non-professional language. Such candidates are judged by the interviewers to be poorer users of English. "Poor English" becomes a legitimate catch-all term that sweeps together both different communicative styles, interactional difficulties and perceived linguistic disfluency. However, as Roberts and Campbell argue, "the linguistic penalty arises not from a lack of fluency in English amongst this group, but from the largely hidden demands on candidates to talk in institutionally credible ways and from a mismatch of implicit cultural expectations, evidenced by mutual misunderstandings, protracted attempts to resolve them and negative judgements by interviewers" (Roberts and Campbell 2006:1). Furthermore, Roberts and Campbell question the value of job interviews as an appropriate selection process for low-paid work. They point out that candidates judged not suitable for the job interview may in fact be suitable for the job.

Auer's studies (Auer 1998 and Auer & Kern 2001) are also worth mentioning here. Auer and Kern 2001 analyse data from simulated job interviews with West German interviewers and East German applicants and argue that although East Germany and

West Germany are parts of the same country, due to the different political regimes, the way job seekers from the former German Democratic Republic interacted with interviewers from the Federal Republic of Germany should rather be seen in terms of interculturality. They explore three different notions of interculturality and conclude that lack of shared cultural knowledge between East Germans and West Germans leads to communicative difficulties. I discuss and exemplify Auer's studies later in the chapter ***Cultural Fluency***.

Kerekes 2003 and 2006 examines interethnic employment interviews in Canada. Drawing on a discourse analytical approach Kerekes investigates two main fields: establishing co-membership (e.g. connections, common views) and trust (e.g. the interlocutors' predispositions, appearance, personalities and behavior). In line with Erickson and Schultz 1982 her study demonstrates how the interviewers are more lenient with the candidates with whom they have established co-membership, and the interaction becomes more personalized. Co-membership according to Kerekes is independent of race and gender.

Komter 1991 researches job interviews in the Netherlands. One of her central points is the existence of so-called "umentionables" or "unsayables" in the encounters. These "unsayables" can be seen in the delicate balance between on the one hand what is said what is expressed and on the other hand the unofficial orientations of the participants (e.g. the candidate's ethnicity, social status and personality). These are conveyed implicitly and because of that induced in the gatekeeping by deliberate avoiding of questions about aspects of the candidates' personality. Thus, the unsayables play a crucial role in the selection process but also challenge the researcher's methodological decisions for how to analyse things that are implicit.

Lipovsky (2006 and 2008) analyses both authentic and simulated interviews in French and English in Australia. Lipovsky 2006 is based on both role-play and authentic interviews conducted in English and French. She concludes that "the way candidates presented information to their interviewers was more important for negotiating their expertise and making a good impression on them than the information itself, as the candidates' lexico-grammatical choices contributed much to the interviewer's positive or negative impression of the candidates' answers, and therefore, the candidates themselves" (Lipovsky 2006: 1173). Drawing on the same database of interviews Lipovsky 2008 makes

further investigations of *affiliation* and *solidarity* in three job interviews, and in particular how candidates shape their talk to establish solidarity with the interviewers. She finds that successful candidates are those who are able to, firstly, express enthusiasm and interest in their job, and secondly, demonstrate professional ability. According to her and in line with Roberts and Campbell 2006, mastering professional terminology and technical language contribute greatly to pin down the candidates' expertise.

Gatekeeping encounters are also researched in a Scandinavian context in a number of doctoral dissertations (Adelsvärd 1988, Scheuer 1998, Trads 2000, Sundberg 2004, Fogtmann 2007, Tranekjær 2009). Adelsvärd was the first to explore different styles of success in job interviews in Sweden with first language speakers of Swedish. She argues that if the candidate and the interviewer belonged to different social groups, their shared knowledge would also be different. As a result, the manager may have difficulties in placing the candidate in a particular category because the manager does not have knowledge of the style or the role the candidate performs during the interview. Adelswärd also demonstrates that successful candidates spend more time discussing non-professional topics with the interviewers than unsuccessful candidates. Similarly, Scheuer 1998 (see also Scheuer 2001 and 2003) investigates success in authentic job interviews in Denmark with first language speakers of Danish. He argues that the most important criterion for success in job interviews is not purely individual competence, but demonstrating knowledge and control of social practices and social categories (repertoire) which the candidate is able to apply very precisely in different communicative situations. The managing of the narrative part in the interview (self-narration) is crucial for the candidate's performance. In the self-narration the candidate should demonstrate skillful running of both formal, everyday and professional topics. Scheuer's conclusion is that success in job interviews is dependent of the candidate's communicative style and is viewed as a "matter of recontextualization, of combining lifeworld and job-related perspectives. As a part of this, success also becomes a matter of communicative style" (Scheuer 2001:238).

Fogtmann 2007 studies naturalization interviews in Denmark and particularly the correlation between on the one hand the grammatical performance, mutual understanding and emotional relations, and on the other hand assessments of the

applicants made by the Danish police. Fogtmann's key finding is that there is no connection between the applicant's grammatical performance and the assessments made by the police. At the same time there is a systematic correlation between the joint construction of understanding and the police's assessments. Fogtmann illustrates how the interactional moves and the way questions are produced by the police (i.e. helping or leaving the applicant out) are closely connected to the final assessment (see also Svennevig 2001).

Tranekjær 2009 examines internship interviews between Danish employers and refugees and immigrants in Denmark. She argues that the participants' orientation towards nationality, religion and language during the internship interview results in an uneven distribution of power, rights, knowledge and status. Tranekjær takes a different stance on gatekeeping that does not focus on communicative style, but rather on categorization. She describes gatekeeping as "the processes of categorization that involve the establishment of a specific system of relations between categories and the systematic uneven attribution, by the participants, of rights, knowledge and status between the members of different categories" (Tranekjær 2009:130) By that she argues that gatekeeping is an interactional and discursive phenomenon of categorization, rather than a bureaucratic or institutional one.

I shall return to Scheuer's, Fogtmann's and Tranekjær's studies in later chapters.

Sundberg 2004 analyses interviews in Sweden between recruiters in an employment agency and job candidates. Her study reveals several interesting aspects, one of which is that the negotiation of meaning concerns the institutional and cultural frame rather than linguistic meaning. For some candidates the agenda of the interview is concealed, and as a result the candidates' communicative styles bump against the recruiter's expectations. The recruiters show a tendency to balance the candidates in relation to their own institutional and cultural knowledge. Thus, Sundberg argues for the dynamic interplay between processes of heterogenization and homogenization as an important feature in the interviews.

In a similar vein, Svennevig 2001 and 2004 studies repetitions and reformulations in interactions between native social workers and non-native clients in Norway. He concludes that different styles or modes of talk (conversational or informative mode vs.

institutional or neutral mode) are used to reduce or to reinforce the asymmetry between the clients and the social workers by displaying either affiliation or disaffiliation and by encouraging or constraining participation by the clients.

1.4.2. Studies of gatekeeping: Discussion and conclusion

As demonstrated, many of the conclusions in the studies of gatekeeping employment encounters are interconnected. Dependent on the researcher's particular interest, these studies can be divided further in two overlapping categories:

a) Studies in which the positive outcome of the interaction is based on establishing co-membership and solidarity between the gatekeepers and the interviewees (Erickson & Schultz 1982; Gumperz 1982, 1992; Akinnaso & Ajirotutu 1982, Auer & Kern 2001, Lipovsky 2006, Roberts and Campbell 2006, Roberts, Campbell and Robinson 2007). Co-membership, solidarity, sharedness, trust and inclusion are in the positive end of the scale, while mismatch, miscommunication, discrimination and exclusion are in the negative end of the scale. Interviewees who are able to establish common ground with the gatekeepers receive positive assessments while interviewees who are not perceived as members of the same community as the gatekeepers tend to be disliked.

b) Studies in which the positive outcome of the interaction is based on the skillful navigation between different communicative styles (Adelswärd 1988, Sundberg 2004), **discursive contexts** (Scheuer 1998 and 2001), **discourses** (Roberts and Campbell 2006) or **conversational modes** (Svennevig 2004). These studies argue that successful candidates are those capable of blending and balancing between different discourses or communicative styles. To Roberts and Campbell 2006:14 one key to success is "the ability to successfully mobilise and seamlessly blend institutional, personal and occupational discourses". With institutional discourse they refer to the analytical and abstract talk required from the applicants in cases when they are expected to discuss abstract or visionary issues (e.g. experiences or attitudes). Personal discourse refers to talk concerned with individual's experience and feelings while occupational discourse refers to the descriptive talk of one's work experiences (Roberts and Campbell 2006:44). The applicants are unaware of the importance of these discourses, but they are nevertheless penalized for not making use of them. The chapter ***Cultural Fluency*** demonstrates that.

As later analysis reveals, my study demonstrates and argues for both aspects: successful applicants are those who on the one hand establish common ground with the interviewer and on the other hand are capable of navigating between professional and personal discourses. As demonstrated by Erickson and Shultz 1982 and Roberts and Campbell 2006, both aspects work towards relative success or failure.

1.5. Theoretical foundations: sum up

This chapter has gone through the dissertation's overall theoretical issues. Firstly, it argues for the importance of inferential processes and contextualization to understand institutional talk. Secondly, it outlines relevant studies of gatekeeping encounters, which results and analyses will be related to the results and analyses of my study.

Chapter 2 The IO project

This chapter serves several purposes. First, it outlines the Danish demographical and political context in which the IO project has emerged. Second, it draws the contours of the interview as a practice (cf. Atkinson and Silverman 1997) to argue for some of the features and dilemmas in the IO interview. Third, it sketches the design and the criteria for the IO project focusing on its specifics and differences from "ordinary" job interviews.

2.1. Immigration to Denmark

Every year, thousands of people settle down in Denmark. Some of them are refugees and asylum seekers, others are independent labour force migrants, yet others are students at Danish universities or members of newly established families. No two of them are alike. While some stay for shorter periods, others hope to find long-term occupations. Once they have passed the arduous entering process and obtained a residence permit, the Danish welfare policy offers possibilities for education and work.

The immigrant population in Denmark is one of the smallest in Western Europe, but consists of highly diverse groups coming from about 200 different countries. According to the latest OECD report on immigration (Denmark 2010), immigrants in Denmark have lower socio-economic status and are at a higher risk of experiencing poverty or unemployment than native Danes. Statistics Denmark (January 2010) tells that today's immigrants and their descendants constitute about 10.1 per cent of the total population, corresponding to 561,700 persons. Immigrants and their descendants from non-Western countries constitute 6.5 per cent of the Danish population. In 2010 most foreign citizens immigrated from Poland, Germany and USA. The next chart shows the increase of the population and the immigration since 1970.

DANISH POPULATION

	Unit	1970	1980	1990	2000	2011
Population on 1 January	mio.	**4.91**	**5.12**	**5.14**	**5.33**	**5.56**
0-19-years	per cent	31.0	28.7	24.3	23.7	24.3
20-59-years	-	51.5	51.9	55.3	56.6	52.4
60 years +	-	17.5	19.3	20.4	19.7	23.3
Immigrants and descendants	-	-	3.0	4.2	7.1	10.1
From non-western countries	-	-	1.0	2.2	4.8	6.5

www.statbank.dk/hisb4, bef1a, bef3, bef4a and folk1

Although immigrants from non-Western countries have generally lived in Denmark for a longer period than immigramts from Western countries, there are exceptions. Almost half of all German and Norwegian immigrants (49,2% and 48,1%, respectively) have lived in Denmark for more than 15 years, while the majority of the Iraquis (77,8%) have lived in Denmark for less than 15 years. The chart below shows the three largest immigrant groups from Western and non-Western countries (see also appendix 1 for the largest population groups of immigrants to Denmark).

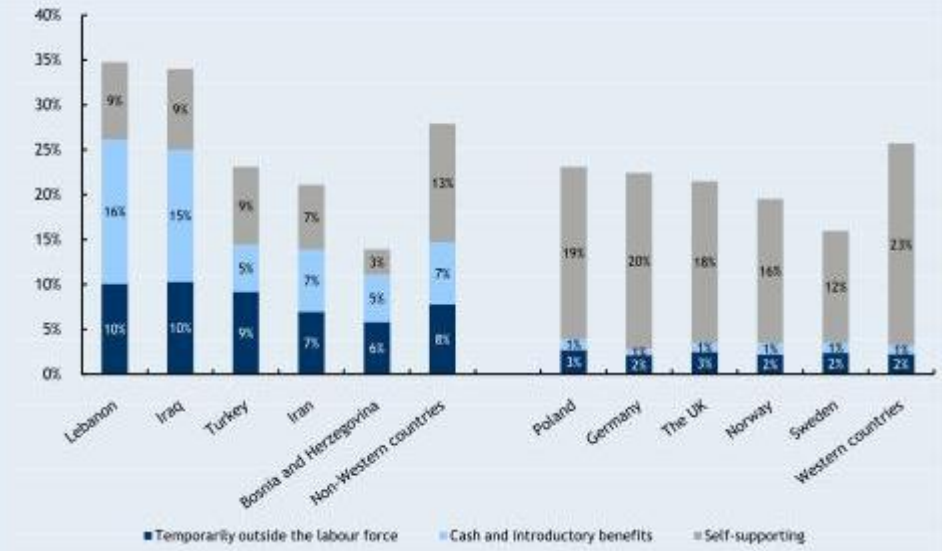
Source: Statistics Denmark 2012

Table 1.12: Immigrants by origin and length of residence, at 1 January 2010

	0-5 years	5 years and 1 day up to 10 years	10 years and 1 day up to 15 years	More than 15 years[1]	Total	Total number
Non-Western countries	18.9%	18.2%	22.7%	40.2%	100.0%	252,012
Turkey	8.5%	8.9%	14.0%	68.7%	100.0%	32,255
Iraq	7.1%	40.9%	29.8%	22.1%	100.0%	21,306
Bosnia and Herzegovina	2.4%	6.2%	90.5%	0.9%	100.0%	17,911
Western countries	42.0%	10.9%	9.2%	38.0%	100.0%	162,410
Germany	33.3%	8.0%	9.5%	49.2%	100.0%	28,234
Poland	60.8%	5.1%	4.5%	29.6%	100.0%	25,443
Norway	28.9%	13.7%	9.3%	48.1%	100.0%	14,663
All immigrants	28.0%	15.3%	17.4%	39.3%	100.0%	414,422

In 2009, 54,1% of the immigrants aged 16-64 from non-Western countries were in employment. This is around 9% less than among immigrants from Western countries (62,9%) and around 24 % less than among persons of Danish origin (77,8%). The proportion of non-employed immigrants, or, as Statistics Denmark defines it: “immigrants on the edge of the labour market” (i.e. on social welfare) indicates that e.g. 35% of the Lebanese immigrants are on the edge of the labour market, whereas the corresponding proportion of immigrants from former Yugoslavia (Bosnia and Herzegovina) is 14 %. See next chart:

Figure 4.15: Persons on the edge of the labour market among 16-64-year-old immigrants from the five non-Western and Western countries of origin with the largest proportion of immigrants in this age group, at 1 January 2009



Source: The Immigration Database of the Ministry of Integration, managed by Statistics Denmark, IMUDD56 and IMBEF33.
Note 1: Percentages indicate the proportion of persons in the individual subgroups on the edge of the labour market relative to the total group of persons of corresponding origin. The group of immigrants classified as "Others outside the labour force" has been omitted in this figure due to the insignificant size of this group.
Note 2: Reference is made to table D3 in Appendix D for data relating to immigrants on the edge of the labour market.

Obviously, the population of Denmark gradually expands, making demands on rapid integration on several plans, among which labour market integration is of importance.

Hedetoft 2006 argues that traditionally Denmark has not been a country of immigration. He points out that Danes have strong sense of national identity due to its relatively homogeneous population and this makes integration particularly challenging. Furthermore, Hedetoft argues that "the welfare state was designed on the basis of a culturally similar citizenry, and the Danish economy has successfully adapted to a variety of international challenges by taking advantage of institutions built around a powerful sense of civic solidarity"(Hedetoft 2006:1) . With the end of the guest-worker program in the early 1970s, a growing number of refugees and what he calls "family dependents of refugees" and former guest workers, has challenged the current status quo. Danish society Danish politics have had few options to adjust to this "dramatically different" population. As a consequence, the question of how to handle cultural and religious differences in order to integrate the newcomers has dominated the Danish political agenda for several decades now (Mouritsen 2006, Andreassen 2006, Yilmaz 2005).

2.2. Language policy and language attitudes in Denmark

Correspondingly, the language policy has not been adapted to the needs of the new citizens. As Jørgensen 2003 points out, many majority members, including central political figures have taken for granted that immigrants and refugees assimilate to Danish ways, including language and culture. A lot of teachers and administration deal with questions like "how to help the immigrants learn Danish ways", instead of considering questions of mutual adjustment, language maintenance and bilingualism. As a result, a lot of outside influence is regarded a threat towards what Jørgensen 2003 calls the Danish "unified culture" ("enhedskultur", see also Jørgensen and Holmen 1990) which, according to him, has ended in narrow-mindedness and normativity when it comes to judging "right" and "wrong" as to language use. There is often only *one* "correct" way of doing and saying things, so Jørgensen and Kristiansen claim, and the tolerance towards linguistic and cultural diversity is low. Consider the following:

> "...the tolerance of deviant cultural behaviour is narrow. And this is again particularly relevant with respect to the relationship between the Danish language and other languages. Adolescent mother-tongue speakers of Danish are chastised for borrowing too many English words and expressions, while second-language users of Danish are held in contempt for not "wanting" or not "being able" to learn proper Danish. And "proper" Danish is middle-class Copenhagen speech. This all leads to a non-negligible measure of xenophobia" (Kristiansen 2003:59)

Kristiansen argues that the Danish school system and the Danish Language Council (Dansk Sprognævn) are pivotal in strengthening the standard language ideology in Denmark. The school is overly concerned with teaching the "appropriate" usage of Danish, which includes "correct" spelling and pronunciation. The outcome is a discursively constructed standard ideology in which Danish language varieties are placed in a hierarchy with middle-class Copenhagen speech at the top.

A number of Danish sociolinguistic studies have argued that there is low linguistic tolerance towards the immigrants' way of speaking Danish. For example, Jørgensen and Quist 2001, Ladegaard 2002, Kirilova 2006 and Ritzau 2007 have shown that the majority of Danes tend to be prejudiced by the generally negative social and political view of ethnic minorities in Denmark, particularly those stemming from the Middle East, Africa, and Asia (i.e. non-Western countries). Many Danes appear to be conservative and

normative with respect to the pronunciation of Danish, thus expressing preference for foreign accents associated with prestigious over the non-prestigious geographical regions. Prestigious regions are e.g. Northern Europe (Germanic languages) while the Middle and Far East are non-prestigious. For example, in Kirilova 2006 I studied the Danes' attitudes towards different minorities in order to find out whether majority Danes distinguish between "good" and "bad" non-native accents, and whether accents perceived to be related to specific geographical regions were regarded as linguistically more prestigious than others. I found that the native speakers of Danish seemed to have very pronounced preferences for certain accents. Although the respondents had no information about the speakers' country of origin, and were thus judging purely on the basis of stereotypes, the presumed Germanic speakers were favoured as intelligent, friendly and highly educated, while the Middle Eastern accents were associated with very low status and very low levels of education. (See also Ritzau 2007 for similar findings).

2.3. The IO project

The IO project, which comprises the data in this study, was established as part of a Danish governmental initiative from 2002, according to which the municipality of Copenhagen (Københavns Kommune), Local Government Denmark (Kommunernes Landsforening) and The Danish Association of Local Government Employees' Organisations (KTO) agreed on setting up so called *Integration and Training Positions* (in Danish: Integration- og Oplæringstillinger, henceforth: *IO positions*). The idea of the IO positions, as described officially, was to provide jobs for immigrants and newcomers to Denmark who, due to linguistic and cultural limitations, might experience difficulties at the Danish labour market. Three target groups for the IO positions are suggested:

A. *Immigrants or descendants of immigrants*[2] *with limited Danish language skills and with or without a shorter Tertiary education (less than 18 months).*

B. *Immigrants with limited Danish language skills and a Tertiary education from their home country.*

[2] An immigrant is a person born outside Denmark whose parents are both foreign citizens or were both born outside Denmark (or at least one of the parents if no information is available on the other parent), nyidanmark.dk, November 2012

C. *Young people (under 25) that don't have work place experience or haven't yet begun a tertiary education.*

www.kk.dk/jobtildig (March 2012)

A specially issued written guide provides concrete examples of possible target group applicants. For instance, Ayshe, a Turkish born female, aged 30, who moved to Denmark at the age of 26. Ayshe used to work as an administrator in a mid-sized company in Turkey but after she emigrated, despite her competences, she was not able to find a job in Denmark because of difficulties learning Danish. I return to the written guide with further examples in the chapter ***Ideologies and Assessments.***

During the first year, every IO employee is provided with an individual development plan and is assigned a mentor to help with work-related issues.

The IO position is also called a "80/20 position". The proportion means that the employee will get 80% of the salary, while 20% will be spent on professional or Danish language courses. After one year, the employee's salary will go up to 100% and the training will stop. According to the official description:

> *An IO position is a one-year contract, after which the position is automatically converted to permanent position with full pay and the relevant standard contract in regards to all aspects of employment. The main difference between a normal job and an IO position is that during the first year, the IO employee will spend minimum of 20 % of his/her time in training. The training depends on the requirement of the job and the applicant's profile. It normally consists of Danish language courses, on-the-job-training (mentoring etc) and possibly other relevant courses. The training is included in the job and paid for by the work place. Initially there will also be courses about Danish work place culture for all positions.*
> (www.kk.dk/jobtildig, March 2012)

The IO initiative is intended for people, whose qualifications are relevant, but hard to match with the demands of the Danish labour market because of linguistic and cultural challenges. In terms of salary (apart from the first year), promotions, health care insurance or general terms and conditions in relation to trade union requirements, the IO positions do not differ from ordinary jobs. It is only the gateway that seems to be made easier for the target group. How and whether it serves the purpose is one of the key questions of this dissertation.

An important consequence of the IO specifics and the target group restrictions is that the job interview, through which the applicants are selected or rejected, contains a number of distinct features. This has much to do with the fact that the IO applicants are perceived as a group that requires special consideration. I shall return to that in a while.

Before I elaborate on the IO interview design and criteria, I would like to point to a more general issue. In the next section I discuss the role and the objectives of the interview as part of our society and everyday thinking to provide better understanding of the practice of interviewing before we look at the concrete IO cases.

2.3.1. The interview society and the logic of proxy

The practice of asking questions and receiving answers has indeed existed for ages. However, the idea of using the interview to gather information and rely on it as source of knowledge is relatively new (Holstein and Gubrium 2001). The interview as a tool for constructing individual experience and a procedure of securing knowledge dates back to World War II (Benney and Hughes 1956). With the emergence of standardized survey interviews in the yearly 1950ies individuals became accustomed to being heard as democratic citizens. Holstein and Gubrium point out that the interview has "democratized experiential information" and argue that "Individuals – no matter how insignificant they might seem in the everyday scheme of things – came to be viewed as important elements of populations. Each person had a voice and it was imperative that each voice be heard, at least in principle" (Holstein and Gubrium 2001:4).

Nowadays, the interview is a widespread and taken for granted commonplace means for constructing individual experience. Atkinson and Silverman 1997 argue that the increasing use of the interview has changed our society to such an extent that the interview has become absolutely central to making sense in our lives. Silverman proposes the term "interview society" as a consequence of the immense use of interviews in almost all spheres; to Silverman the interview is no longer a way of obtaining information but a feature of our everyday life; we spend time on asking questions and being asked questions, we read surveys and watch programmes about people being interviewed. Interviewing has become an automated process.

Interviews are one of the most popular means of selection for a job. The purpose of job interviews is to determine whether an applicant is suitable for a given position or not. It is

assumed that if applicants manage the interview well (according to the institutional criteria and the interviewers' personal preferences), they will be just as well able to manage the position they apply for. Robert and Campbell 2006:5 point out that "there is a taken for granted assumption that the interview is a proxy for the job so that how candidates relate to interviewers stands for how they will talk and relate to work colleagues and superiors. This cultural assumption is not made clear to candidates or indeed acknowledged by interviewers". Clearly applicants can be good at interview practices but less good for the position they apply for and vice versa. As further analysis reveals, skilled manual workers may be less fluent in the interview game but much better at doing their job (Roberts and Campbell 2006).

The logic of the job interview as a proxy is further impeded by the fact that local interview practices might be very different from what an applicant may be used to. For example, if an applicant is not familiar with the local interview culture, he or she might downplay accomplishments while emphasizing on limitations and responsibility for failures (Latham and Sue Chan 1999, Roberts and Campbell 2006). Obviously, developing criteria for comparing applicants is of utmost importance. Several studies have argued that structured interviews are more reliable than unstructured interviews because of increased validity. However, there are also studies (Blackman 2002) which suggest that the unstructured format produces are more accurate perceptions of the applicants' personality traits (see more on validity in the chapter ***Ideology and Assessments***).

Briggs' (1986) stance on interviews as asymmetrical communicative events should also be mentioned here. Briggs demonstrates how asymmetrical power in interview situations others the interviewees by providing interviewers with the right to control the content of the interview, the length of the questions, the turns, etc. With a reference to Goffman's notion of footing (Goffman 1981), Briggs points out that interview data has multiple footings and are" simultaneously rooted in the dynamics of the interview, the social spheres constructed by the responses, and the academic or other domains (theoretical and empirical) that give rise to the project and to which it contributes" (Briggs 2003:243, see also Briggs 1986). He suggests that the asymmetries and the difference in the sets of norms will lead to problems such as misunderstanding, resistance or conflicts, which often results in possibilities for constructing a "minority voice" for the marginalized populations that will only confirm their hegemonic status. Briggs (2003:249) points out

that "[w]hereas native-born, middle-class whites just naturally seem to be part of the dialogue, people of color and working-class persons can be portrayed as needing the mediation of the researchers, journalists, or other professionals to make their voices heard on public stages". He argues that by classifying respondents as members of different ethnic or religious groups, interviewers (researchers including) may create a logic that will feed into generalizations about other representatives of the same ethnic or religious groups.

2.3.2. Bureaucracy versus fairness

One consequence of the proxy logic is how to address the issue of bureaucratic fairness. As it functions today, each job applicant is given an idea of "fair play" aimed at shifting focus from the interview as a gatekeeping event to the idea that every applicant has equal chances to get the job. But unlike Alice in Wonderland, not everybody has won, and not all must have prizes. As Komter (1991:31) rightly observes – "if egalitarianism tells people they are equal, meritocracy tells them they are different"…. "if people are appointed on the basis of their merits, this means that people who have failed have only themselves to blame". This is one of the cruelties of the "interview game" (Roberts 1985) because it completely strips the interviewers of responsibility and justifies their decisions no matter how objective or fair they are. The validity of the job interview is extremely questionable because the interviewers can always justify a rejection on the grounds of the better suitability of somebody else.

In line with Foucault (1977) we can say that job interviews are an obvious example of the technologies, games and ceremonies that the workplace constructs and through which a certain self is produced, socially evaluated and either rewarded or punished. However, as we shall see later, small interactional difficulties can produce large social outcomes for individuals' life chances (Roberts, Davies and Jupp 1992, Roberts 2000).

2.3.3. The IO dilemma

Selecting the best applicant for integration and training from a group of vulnerable individuals, as the IO target group is, is an issue that irrevocably causes an immense dilemma and brings different logics into play. On the one hand the interviewers *have to discriminate* (i.e. select the best applicant) but on the other side they *must not be discriminatory* particularly because of the vulnerability of this group. This tension is central to the selection process and is a showcase for several dilemmas which the

interviewers unremittingly have to take into consideration.

Originally, the IO project is built on a charity principle aimed at giving a first-aid package to immigrants and newcomers to Denmark, but - as every other gatekeeping encounter – it is profoundly anchored in institutional decision making practices and choices on profit. There seems to be a double-bind in the way interviewers are supposed to select. Consider the following:

EXAMPLE 1: **POST-INTERVIEW CONVERSATION WITH PANEL ABOUT SELECTION OF AN IT ADMINISTRATOR**	**DANISH**
And then I feel torn between what our boss has stated for the record – we are to pick the one with the best professional qualifications, and we should not compromise, and then on the other hand what we hear from the [name]Department. And when I see that the [name]Department has employed a Western European who is brilliant in Danish, and who, all things considered, might not need it […]then I start wondering – well, does he need it? And since they choose to hire him, we can also take the Western European! But emotionally I feel much more torn apart, but when it comes to qualifications, I'm not in doubt. I think it is quite difficult!	Og da føler jeg mig splittet mellem hvad vores chef har meldt ud – vi skal tage den mest faglige kvalificerede, vi skal ikke gå på kompromis, og så hvad vi får meldt ud fra [navn]forvaltningen. Og når jeg også ser at[navn]forvaltningen selv har ansat en vesteuropæer der kan glimrende dansk og som måske dybest set ikke havde brug for det […] hvor jeg undrer mig – jamen har han brug for det? Og når de vælger at ansætte ham, så kan vi vel også ansætte vesteuropæeren! Men på den følelsesmæssige side er jeg meget mere splittet, men på den faglige side er jeg ikke i tvivl. Jeg synes det er rigtig svært!

Apart from explicating the dilemma, the example also illuminates the confusing criteria on who to employ in terms of ethnic background. Although the official guide does not put forward particular ethnic backgrounds, it implicitly suggests that some backgrounds (e.g. *other than* Western European) are more suitable for the IO positions. I shall return to that in the chapter ***Ideologies and Assessments***.

In the next example, an interviewer describes the difference between an ordinary job interview and an IO interview stressing on the logic of charity:

EXAMPLE 2: **POST-INTERVIEW CONVERSATION WITH PANEL ABOUT SELECTION OF AN IT ADMINISTRATOR**	**DANISH**
I think the distinctive is (…) you know they [the applicants] want it [the job] so much, they are so enthusiastic about it, so this urge to take care of them makes you	Jeg synes det særlige er (…)altså, de vil det så gerne, de brænder for det så meget, så det der omsorgsgen, det gør så man tænker – åh bare dog man kunne hjælpe dem,

think – oh, if only I could help them, if only I could give all three of them a good job (…) I think it is wonderful that they keep on going, or I mean, they are looking for a job and they are not giving up, well I mean this should be rewarded and I think it's a pity that we cannot reward them all together and offer them all a job. They've had the inconvenience of having written the application and are going to work for 15.000 Danish kroner per month for one year, well, in a way it is a sacrifice.	bare man kunne give dem alle tre et godt job (…)jeg synes jo det er flot at de bliver ved, eller altså, de søger job og de giver ikke op, altså, det skal belønnes og det kan jeg godt synes det er ærgerligt at vi ikke kan belønne dem alle sammen og give dem et job tilbud alle sammen. De har gjort sig ulejligheden og skrevet en ansøgning og skal arbejde for 15.000 kr. om måneden i løn et år, altså, det er da en ofring på en eller anden måde.

This quotation addresses the interviewer's frustration that not everybody can be given a job. However, it also suggests that it is not the applicants' qualification that should be rewarded but the fact that they keep on trying and have "inconvenienced" themselves with an application for an IO position. To the interviewer, working for such a low salary, especially for well-educated and experienced applicants, is a sacrifice.

2.3.4. IO criteria

I now turn the attention to concrete criteria for selecting applicants for IO interviews. As pointed out above, the IO interview is trapped between the choice of fair selection of suitable applicants and taking special consideration towards a group which is considered vulnerable. One of the central questions in this dissertation is to find out how this is done. An obvious difficulty is the diffuse requirements of the IO job interview. For example, despite the huge amount of written material on administrative procedures, there are no clear criteria on how to select applicants; rather there are a number of recommendations on what to do and what not to do. I was told that the applicants should neither be too good nor too bad at Danish and it is not unimportant what ethnic background they have (E-MAIL CORRESPONDENCE FROM AUGUST 2009). This ambiguous statement is illustrative of the general line of thinking in the selection process. But as we saw in the example above, it is clearly problematic. Once the target groups are identified (which happens prior to the job interview), and the applicants who match the target groups are picked up, the interview is carried out loosely and with few shared standards for what the applicants are supposed to do and know. The IO interview is both a standard gatekeeping encounter in which successful applicants are offered a job while unsuccessful applicants are not, and an encounter that deals with a number of complex layers of assessments. On the one hand the interviewers evaluate the applicants' qualifications in

relation to the job, but on the other hand they simultaneously assess the applicants' proficiency in Danish and their ability to fit in in a Danish workplace. Professional skills are evaluated side by side with Danish language competences and ideas of cultural fitting-in are parts of the decision making process. I shall illustrate that in a while.

Some of the criteria were given during a workshop aimed at strengthening the selection panels' skills in intercultural communication. In a presentation based on research in intercultural communication, culturologist Iben Jensen went through a number of examples on dos and don'ts in interviews with immigrants in Denmark (Jensen 2011). Jensen explained for example how "small talk" openings in the beginning of a job interview might have a negative effect on the applicant's performance in the upcoming interview. She argued that a simple question like "was it difficult to find your way through" would confuse the applicants as they might consider it a part of the test situation. A positive answer (yes, it was difficult) would expose the applicant as one who cannot manage difficult situations. A negative answer (no, it was not difficult) may raise speculations about inability to admit difficulties. According to Jensen, in both cases the applicants would be afraid of performing "wrong" since the practice of small talk in these particular occasions is uncommon to many cultures outside Denmark (and Western Europe). A general advice given at the workshop was to keep the interview as simple as possible. It was particularly recommended to avoid abstract questions (á la "where do you see yourself in 5 years"), to refrain from inquires about personal matters and to aim at giving all applicants equal opportunities in terms of listening, questioning and guiding through the interview (FIELD NOTES FROM WORKSHOP, MAY 2009). The awareness of the importance of bridging differences and the wish to accommodate to the applicants' way of thinking were leitmotifs of the workshop. However, despite their usefulness, these recommendations were not established as obligatory criteria but remained diffuse, and – as we shall see later – not all of them were followed by the interviewers.

2.4. Interview design and frequently asked questions

The interview design, both in relation to the above discussed recommendations and to what I observed (see Fieldwork phases) consisted of following ten elements:

Interview design

1. Welcome, offering coffee, tea or water
2. Clearing problems with understanding of Danish
3. Presentation of panel
4. Presentation of the organization and the office's working area
5. Questions to the applicant (e.g. why do you apply for the job) followed by a dialogue about
    - competences in relation to the job, e.g. experience from previous jobs
    - competences in relation to issues on teamwork vs. independent work
6. Short presentation of concrete working areas, questions and answers
7. Discussion of Danish skills/problems
8. Presentation of the IO-project design and possibilities, focus on cultural integration
9. Questions
10. Agreement about future steps in case of being offered or not being offered the job

The elements in the interview show that presentations of the workplace, the organization, the IO arrangement and the concrete position occupy considerable space and there is relatively little space for dialogue. One applicant told me that she was surprised by the fact that `the panel talked so much – they asked me only two - three questions.` This is interesting and indicative of some of the ongoing power relations in the IO job interview as argued by Briggs 1986 and 2001. I shall return to that.

The most frequently asked questions were as follows:

1. Tells us about yourself
2. Tell us about previous experience from Denmark and/or your home country
3. How was your last workplace? (often with focus on culture)
4. What kind of experience / jobs have you had?
5. What do you like doing most?
6. What kind of expectations do you have?
7. Did you write the application yourself?
8. How would you assess your level of Danish?
9. How (in which areas) would you like to use the possibility of 20% training?
10. Questions you would like to ask us?

Most of these questions are indeed typical of job interviews (Scheuer 1998, Komter

1991). However, there is also explicit focus on the applicants' Danish language skills (both oral and written) along with their professional skills. The interviewers talk about and assess the applicants' proficiency in Danish and consider a possible introduction to Danish culture. The rest of this chapter illustrates how issues on language and culture are discussed and assessed.

2.4.1. Danish language assessments

Questions or comments about the applicants' level of Danish and their everyday use of Danish (e.g. `do you speak Danish every day?`) are highly frequent in the data. They are integral part of the IO job interview because the applicants' level of Danish (remember - not too good, not too bad) is supposed to match the target group descriptions. So, in the course of the job interview, the interviewers decide whether or how the applicants' Danish language skills can be improved in the phase-in of their employment. Consider the examples:

MEI, UNEMPLOYMENT OFFICE CONSULTANT UNSUCCESSFUL		**DANISH**	
MAN:	I'll be sort of a passive participant but (.) I'm here also in order to to to like (.) kind of check the things out if they're sort of understood and check the level of Danish classes and things like that <Mei: yeah>	LED:	jeg vil være sådan passivt deltagende men (.) skal være med (.) også til at at at sådan lige tjekke af at tingene de også nu bliver forstået og tjekke danskuddannelses-niveau og sådan nogle ting <Mei: ja>

ALICE, UNEMPLOYMENT OFFICE CONSULTANT, UNSUCCESSFUL		**DANISH**	
MAN:	=today (.) we will assess whether you are good enough at [your] <ALI: well I'll try> Danish {smiling voice} <EMP: yes> {laughs}	LED:	=i dag (.) da skal vi vurdere om du er god nok med dit <ALI: vel jeg prøver> dansk {smilende stemme} <MED: ja> {griner}

The two examples illustrate the openly stated assessments of Danish. I shall not provide a thorough analysis here, but would like to draw attention to the manager's inconvenience with her role as assessing authority (consider, for example, the pauses, the triple repetition of the conjunction *at* (to), the many modifiers *sådan* (sort of), *også* (also), *sådan lige* (kind of), *sådan nogle thing* (things like that) etc., which I interpret as

hesitation of how to play the role of the assessing authority. In example 2, the embarrassment after the somewhat bombastic statement "we will assess whether you are good enough at [your] Danish" is toned down by the manager's smiling voice in the end of the utterance and the employee representative's hearty laughter. Cleary, although assessments of Danish take place, the fact that they are not done according to a set of fixed criteria, brings certain awkwardness to the interview situation.

2.4.1.1. Assessments of written language

Alongside with the assessments of spoken Danish, the managers are also interested in finding out whether the applicants are able to produce adequate written texts in Danish. Proficiency in written Danish is not a stated requirement, nor should the applicants have passed a written test prior to the job interview. However, assessment of written Danish are also made part of the IO job interview's questionnaire. Look at the example below:

TUI, UNEMPLOYMENT OFFICE ASSISTANT, UNSUCCESSFUL	**DANISH**
MAN: have you written the application yourself (.) Tui: yeah (.) MAN: yeah↑ (.) nobody helped you↑	LED: har du selv skrevet ansøgningen (.) Tui: ja (.) LED: ja↑ (.) der har ikke været nogen der har hjulpet↑

As we see, the manager not only asks the applicant Tui whether she has written the job application herself but seems to wonder if that is really true (yeah↑ (.) nobody helped you↑).

2.4.1.2. The applicants' own assessments of Danish

The applicants are aware of the fact that their Danish language skills are subject of assessment and bring the topic of possible linguistic constraints themselves. Consider the example:

AMALIA, UNEMPLOYMENT OFFICE ASSISTANT, UNSUCCESSFUL		**DANISH**	
AMA:	I think so because as you said in the job posting right you l- you look for people who have limited language skills and I [DO have that	AMA:	det synes jeg fordi ligesom I sagde i jeres annonce ikke I s- I søger folk der har begrænset sprogkundskaber og det [HAR jeg

MAN:	[mm (19 seconds omitted)	LED:	[mm (19 seconds omitted)
AMA:	I have to be realistic that I still need something a-and I don't have experience here in Denmark yet so I am (.) I am very (.) I am aware of I am aware of the fact that I should start from the bottom and I I am quite open to that	AMA:	jeg skal være realistisk at jeg stadigvæk mangler noget o- og jeg ikke har et en an- erfaring her i Danmark ednnu så jeg er (.) jeg er meget (.) jeg er klar over jeg er klar over at jeg skal starte i bunden og jeg det er jeg meget åben for
MAN:	mm mm	LED:	mm mm

Amalia finds it important to inform the manager that she is very much aware of the limitations of her own Danish language skills and by that she is quite open to learning "from the bottom" which could be interpreted both in terms of learning the job from the bottom but also learning the Danish language. The interesting thing is that her statement is uttered in almost near-native Danish: her sentences are by no means typical of a beginner; on the contrary, they reveal a high level of proficiency in both vocabulary and syntax (the latter considered a challenge to L2 learners of Danish). Obviously, she is not a beginner but by admitting the "problem" she reveals responsibility and desire for improvement. As later analysis reveals, she is both what I call linguistically and culturally fluent, because she demonstrates that she has the socio-cultural knowledge to manage the underlying ideology of self-presentations in interviews (See also Roberts and Campbell 2006). This is a key issue which I will take up in the chapters ***Linguistic Fluency*** and ***Cultural Fluency***.

2.4.2. Cultural assessments

Yet another specific of the IO interviews is the assumption that the applicants have either a poor or no idea of Danish culture, and for that reason, they need cultural introduction to Danish (workplace) culture. In the following example the Asian applicant Yo is introduced to the cultural aspect of the IO positions by the Western European Günter who was employed in a HR position the year before and became responsible for the "cultural integration" of the new IO employees.

YO, ECONOMIST AND STATISTICIAN, UNSUCCESSFUL	DANISH
GUN: things that that are new to you erm then it'll be a culture meeting where one will be taught about Danish workplace culture and where the difference is (.) maybe you already know about all these differences that exist but then <YO: yes> but then one gets kind of erm a cultural impression about what what one is allowed to at a workplace and what not erm what Danish irony is erm how do I behave at lunch- erm lunchtime when I talk to my colleagues how do I handle that…	GUN: ting som som er nye for jer øh så vil der være en kulturmøde hvor man bliver oplært lidt om dansk arbejdskultur og hvoraf ligger forskellen (.) måske kender du lidt til de forskelle som der er men så <Yo: ja> så får man også lidt øh en kulturindtryk hvad hvad må man på arbejdspladsen hvad må man ikke øh hvad er dansk ironi øh og hvordan forholder jeg mig i frokosts øh til frokosttider når jeg skal snakke med mine kollegaer hvordan griber jeg det an…

Danish culture is presented as something the applicants have to know how to "handle" (gribe an) and how to relate to or "behave" in (forholde sig til). The applicant Yo has in fact spent 10 years in Denmark while Günter has been living in Denmark for 2 years only. As we shall see in ***Ideologies and Assessments*** and in ***Two Case Studies***, non-Western applicants are more frequently regarded as novices to Danish culture than Western European applicants. This example does not show that, but it is Yo's level of Danish that results in the assumption that she will need cultural training. This is yet another central issue to return to.

2.5. IO specifics and gatekeeping: discussion and conclusion

Danish language proficiency assessments comprise an essential part of the IO interview and take place along with the assessment of professional qualifications. There is a strong focus on Danish language proficiency: The managers interviewing IO applicants consider the applicants' ability to speak and write Danish and evaluate them on that basis. Furthermore, the managers consider possibilities for introduction to Danish (workplace) culture. Due to the interview design, the target group specifics and the hierarchical distance between interviewers and interviewees, the applicants are doubly subordinated: first by the institutional demands and second by the linguistic and cultural requirements. This is the overt side of gatekeeping which is mutually accepted and practiced by both applicants and panels. However, there is a covert and more subtle dimension of gatekeeping which the applicants are not necessary aware of. It deals with different

communicative practices and the way they become grounds for social evaluation (Erickson and Schultz 1982). As we shall see later, if the interlocutors are socialized into different linguistic and cultural aspects of talk, the differences will appear in the intense communication of the gatekeeping encounter. The gatekeeping is institutional, e.g. the applicant has to be accepted through the gates of the institution, but it is also ideological: the applicants' proficiency in Danish and cultural integration play an important role for the panels, but the panels do not have clear guidelines on how to address and assess linguistic and cultural diversity. Thus, the design of the interview automatically encourages ideological judgements partly because of the diffuse criteria and partly because of the triple dilemma the interviewers face: on the first place they have to deal with bureaucratic fairness, on the second place they have to think about professionalism and profit, and on the third place they have to address the IO guiding principle which is supposed to take special consideration to the interviewers. I elaborate on that in the chapter ***Ideologies and Assessments***.

Chapter 3 Methods and Data

This chapter discusses the main methods and creates an overview of the phases of fieldwork. It argues for the importance of ethnography as a field methodology but also points out some of its limitations in "high-stake" contexts. Furthermore, it introduces and argues for choosing Discourse Analysis and Interactional Sociolinguistics as armchair methodologies. Finally, it outlines concrete methods for analysis, reflects on issues of transcription and translation, and categorizes the collected data in relation to workplaces, positions, number of participants and the interview outcome.

3.1. Ethnography

Ethnography is a theory and a method to observe, reflect upon, and analyse any kind of human behaviour and human interaction. It is an inductive and emic process, relying on the collection of empirical evidence for performing analysis and constructing a theory. It typically takes a post-structuralist and anti-essentialist orientation to social life by showing respect to the detail, the flexibility of the situation and the belief that we can study people's behavior only in context. Ethnography positions itself alongside anthropological traditions to the study of language (e.g. ethnography of communication, Hymes 1968 and 1972) and interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1972 and 1982). However it also draws on wider interpretive approaches from within anthropology, applied linguistics and sociology (Creese 2008). Ethnography is significant when we study people in relations, because, as Roberts et al (1992:179) point out "people cannot be studied in terms of universal roles and clear-cut causal relationships….because people act on the basis of intentions, attitudes and beliefs, all of which are continually being interpreted and reinterpreted".

Although praised by many, ethnography often comes "under fire from within" (Blommaert and Jie 2010:4). One problem area is the assumption that researchers bring their points of view to the field thus colouring the way data is selected, described and analysed (e.g. Hammersley and Atkinson 1983, Karrebæk 2009:52-55). Clifford 1986 argues for example that ethnographic truths are only partial truths. Erickson makes an

interesting parallel between drawing caricatures and doing ethnography: …*the ethnographer*, he points out, *by selectively reporting details from everyday life in his description of a society – by leaving out a lot and by slanting his description of those details he leaves in – produces not only a caricature (which is inevitable, since he cannot present every detail) but a caricature that is drawn from a particular point of view and that communicates that point of view relentlessly* (Erickson 1984:6-7). To overcome that problem, at least partly, Erickson advises us to be as reflective as possible about the processes of data-collection, the rationales for selection, the processes of monitoring our own behaviour as researchers, as well as always determine meaning from the participants' point of view.

Heller 1997:84 points out that as ethnographers we have to understand what is going on first, and then to ask ourselves what we feel about it and what we can do about it. We observe constantly how our research objects draw on different resources and identities, and because we as researchers are human beings too, we do that as well. We cannot deny the fact that every analysis *is* influenced by the researcher's sociocultural knowledge and individual experience. This, however, does not make the analysis void; I rather see it as an opportunity to draw on additional mental spaces which we still have to argue for (Cicourel 1996, see also discussion in section 3.3).

To this study, ethnography has major consequences for both data collection and analysis. It has contributed to explaining the products and processes of interaction enriching the analysis with different networks of explanations. Ethnography has helped to shed light not only on the interesting phenomena in the IO job interview as a gatekeeping encounters but has also contributed to tracing up the single interactional cases to larger categories in the Danish society (see ***Ideology and Assessments*** and ***Two Case Studies***). I shall discuss some outcomes of the ethnographic approach in relation to my data later in this chapter.

3.2. Fieldwork phases

This section goes through the three main phases of field work and data collection (initial, core and final) to illustrate and explain how data was collected and what procedures were followed.

3.2.1. Initial phase

In the initial phase, I was mostly concerned with establishing contact to companies and offices in order to involve them in my study. Needless to say, gaining access and permission to record job interviews was extremely difficult and time-consuming. The first attempts to collect data started even before I submitted my PhD project application. For almost two years I received only negative responses to my request to record job interviews. I wrote hundreds of e-mails addressing larger private and public companies, larger supermarket chains and a number of smaller business companies in several cities in Denmark.

Most of the contacted companies were positive in the very beginning and were willing to schedule presentational meetings. Later, however, they excused for not being able to participate, for instance due to "lack of resources for being involved in a scientific project at the present moment" (EMAIL, 2008). Although I presented the project as a study of L2 speakers' in a pressed situation, I believe it was the focus on minority background applicants that was not met with open arms. Some of the managers wrote that they personally were not against participating, but they were worried about their job applicants who might be negatively influenced by the presence of my recording device. Yet, when I suggested they could ask the applicants before scheduling the interview to give permission, the managers either did not respond, or replied politely that it was better to refrain. They explained that even if the job applicants agreed to participate (because they might be afraid of refusing), they would certainly feel uncomfortable about the recordings and probably perform worse during the interview. This was obviously a risk the employers did not want to run on behalf of the applicants.

As I expected, ethical issues were of the utmost importance. I interpret the great amount of negative answers I received from the managers as a product of a massive fear of either not being understood correctly or being presented as prejudiced and unprofessional. My

particular interest in job applicants with minority background seemed an obstacle that implied I might look at issues of discrimination and inequality.

Due to the many rejections, I convinced myself to leave the idea of collecting video data and decided to contend with field notes and audio recordings instead.

3.2.2. Core phase

After almost two years with neither data nor any prospects for getting any, I accidently found about a municipal project on job interviews in the area of Copenhagen. The municipality was about to announce around twenty job interviews, tailored for minority speakers of Danish, some so-called Integration and Training Positions (IO positions, see previous chapter).

As soon as I established contact with the municipal HR-department, I was invited to a seminar in the City Hall organized for public offices in Copenhagen that were involved in the IO initiative and were about to schedule IO job interviews. At the seminar I was given a chance to present my study and obtained a permission to collect audio-data at the forthcoming IO job interviews. I presented the project as a study of second language speakers' communicative strategies in institutional interaction. I highlighted the fact that performing in institutional settings would be challenging for non-native speakers of Danish which everybody agreed on. I may have sounded rather persuasive after two years of relentless tries, because I finally obtained general permission to conduct the recordings. However, I was required to apply, first - for individual permission at each local job panel, and second - at each job applicant before the interview. So, I emailed around twenty workplaces and received nine positive responses for ten different positions (one of the workplaces interviewed for two available positions). The next step was to await a positive response from each applicant which was supposed to happen in one of the following ways:

1) Either my project was announced in the applicants' letter of invitation to the job interview, in which they were informed about a scientific study they would be asked to participate in.

2) Or my project was announced immediately before the job interview took place. When the applicant arrived, the panel told him or her about a possibility to participate in a scientific project.

In both cases it was explicitly pointed out that participation was completely voluntary and whatever the applicant's decision, it would be without consequences for their job interview.

The largest part of the applicants agreed upon and seemed interested in my project. Only two applicants rejected participation. One allowed me to stay present during his interview, but asked me to switch off the recorder. The other one was very definite about the negative effect of "such an intrusion" at his job interview and asked me to leave. To my guarantee of anonymity, he said: "everybody says it's anonymous, but then it pops up in all kinds of contexts" (FIELD NOTES, AUGUST 2009). I present an overview of all applicants in the end of this chapter.

The recordings for IO job interviews took three months and were carried out by me and my colleague Eva Wedervang-Jensen who assisted me in those cases in which IO interviews in different offices were scheduled simultaneously. We recorded 41 job interviews, 8 post-interview conversations with panels, and 28 shorter interviews with applicants. In addition to the recordings, we also took field notes to document the physical environment, the applicants' and the panel members' appearance, notable gestures and movements, distinguished moments of interaction, and any kind of evidence that we thought might be important for the analysis.

When the last job interview had taken place, we recorded post-interview conversations with the panels. In these conversations we interviewed the panels about their decisions, choices, criteria and thoughts on the IO project. These conversations were not particularly structured as we were mostly interested in discussing issues from the job interviews and collect evidence about who the panels considered suitable and why. Some panels were asked to assign points on a scale from 1 to 5 (1 being very far from native, 5 being very near native) to the applicants' linguistic performance in Danish. Certainly, all assessments were not professional from a linguistic point of view but they were nevertheless valid and real. They were particularly useful for creating an opportunity for talk and further reflections about communicative competences as they shed light on *what* was considered "good" Danish and "bad" Danish. In fact, the panels liked this exercise and were enthusiastic about discussing "linguistic" issues with me. The assessments are presented in the chapter ***Ideologies and Assessments***.

The job interviews lasted between 20 and 30 minutes for manual jobs, and 50 to 70 minutes for academic jobs. The numbers of applicants invited to interviews varied from 3 to 5 persons per job.

We also recorded 28 brief interviews with the applicants right after the IO job interview in which we asked them about their immediate impression of the interview. However, it turned out to be a bad moment for further reflections as the applicants seemed exhausted and not willing to discuss further; or maybe they were afraid that the test situation was still on.

3.2.3. .Final phase

In the final phase, I followed the development of the IO project. For example, I got involved in several social networks; I watched media debates and participated in public meetings (one of which at the Danish Parliament). Three years later I also contacted several applicants to find out more about them and their job situation. It gave some interesting perspectives to the analysis which I demonstrate in the chapter ***Two case studies.***

3.3. Some reflections on ethnographic interventions in gatekeeping encounters

The IO job interviews would have taken place regardless of my presence and recordings. I assume the interview setting would have been the same but whether the questions and the answers would have been the same, is impossible to say. Although the largest part of applicants and panels claimed to have been undisturbed by my recording device and by me, I am sure that in certain cases we have brought some discomfort. I will illustrate that in a while, but first I would like to draw attention to Sarangi's interesting stance on the aspect of interventions which he calls "the analyst's paradox" (Sarangi 2002:122). This paradox is an echo to Labovian observer's paradox (1972) , but Sarangi highlights the fact that *[a]s discourse researchers, we remain, for the most part, peripheral but legitimate participants, eager to rely on our subjects' insights so that we can align (rather than transform) analyst and participant perspectives* (see also Sarangi 2007). By that Sarangi implies a call for discourse researchers to become first-hand ethnographers and argues that *socialization is needed for aligning analysts' 'interpretive procedures' with those of the participants under study* because *the more aligned actors' and analysts' 'interpretive procedures' become via 'interpretive ethnography', the more likely it is to approximate*

ecological validity (Sarangi 2007:581). Ecological validity is yet another relevant methodological issue raised by Cicourell (1996 and 2007:1) that focuses on the necessity of convincing others of "the viability and authenticity of our claims" in order to understand the use of our data sources.

To illustrate the above, I provide a couple of examples on interventions. During the post-interview conversations, I noticed that the panels acted attentively and politically correct. I recorded one episode in which a panel representative was roughly interrupted by one of his colleagues yelling at him: `Don't tell her that`. This was referring to me as I was obviously about to be given some off-record information. Another example of political correctness from a job interview was what exactly to call the IO applicants – were they immigrants, Danes, or something else. The IO job description addresses the target group applicants as "immigrants" but in recent years the public debate in Denmark has introduced a number of terms which have become common in the public-discourse, e.g. "New Danes", "Second generation immigrants", and the even more questionable "Other Ethnic Background". In the following, one of the managers gets confused by the terminology:

FROM JOB INTERVIEW FOR THE POSITION OF HELP DESK SECRETARY	**DANISH ORIGINAL**
MAN: New Danes or what the heck one should call it (.)it doesn't seem right to call them other ethnic [either]	MAN: nydanskere eller hvad pokker man skulle kalde det for (.) det virker efterhånden forkert at kalde dem anden etnisk altså

I am not sure who the recipient of this was – whether it was the applicant, the panel representatives or me. Nevertheless it witnesses of discomfort with the terminology and perhaps a certain suppression of attitudes.

Yet another example of my intrusion happened when I was asked to guess who was given the job: `Would you try to guess, so we can see whether we have selected the right one` – the manager asked. I felt uneasiness in doing so, and mumbled something about "the last one maybe better than the first ones" by which I happened to guess correctly. The panel seemed relieved about their "correct" decision and said:

POST-INTERVIEW CONVERSATION FOR THE POSITION INTEGRATION CONSULTANT	DANISH ORIGINAL
MAN: YEAH↑ that's actually quite good right↑ I think actually it's pretty nice EMP: then we haven't quite made a mistake↑	MAN: JA↑ det er faktisk ret godt ikke↑ det synes jeg faktisk er ret lækkert EMP: så har vi heller ikke taget helt fejl↑

Obviously, I was considered an authority (Blommaert and Jie 2010:49) and the panel sought my acceptance of their decision. Blommaert and Jie (2010:49) make an important point saying that nothing an interviewee would say could come about *without* the interviewer's (or the researcher's) active input. The researcher is indeed a part of the data, and it is the researcher's story (or caricature in Erickson's 1984 words) we read in the analysis. As pointed out previously, researchers take advantage of different resources to get closer to insider perspectives. For example, I admit that I took advantage of my double-agency: a researcher and a second language speaker of Danish. In front of the panels, I tried to be as neutral as possible, keeping an academic sense of perspective and pushing aside any potential focus on my own foreign background because I feared the panels might see me as one speaking out for the applicants. In front of the applicants, however, I tried to draw on my identity as "one of them", a foreigner in Denmark who has the insider perspective and "knows" about it. Whether both groups regarded me the way I tried to act - I cannot say. But I used my socio-cultural knowledge, my experience and my personal and professional background to come as close as possible. I do not believe this reduces the plausibility – it rather demands stronger validation which I will provide below.

In retrospect, I might have done some more "lurking and soaking" (Werner and Schoepfler 1989) at the municipal offices during the phase of the recordings. However, partly for ethical reasons, and mostly for fear of being rejected, I focused primarily on conducting the recordings of the job interviews and the post-interview conversations. I certainly felt that my uninvited intrusion would have been less fruitful if I were too persistent. Regardless of my double agency, trespassing the insider world was frowned

upon by both sides. In-depth ethnographic insight is indeed a challenge in gatekeeping encounters which I was not thoroughly prepared for.

After sketching the field methods, I now turn attention to the armchair methodologies and the concrete methods for selection of data for analysis.

3.4. Discourse analysis and Interactional Sociolinguistics

To Blommaert discourse analysis is the analysis of all sets of meaningful semiotic resources seen in connection to social, cultural and historical patterns (Blommaert 2005, Blommaert 2010, see also Foucault 1982). This is also the perspective I adopt here. Discourse analysis allows the merging of micro and macro contexts and opens up for inclusion of larger frameworks as projections of the tiny bits of interaction. Discourse analysis is an umbrella term that covers many branches and analytic schools that address discourse in a number of ways and on many levels: a macro level (Blommaert 2005, 2010), a mezzo level (Fairclough 1992, Chourliaki and Fairclough 1999), a micro level in studies of Interactional Sociolinguistics (e.g. Gumperz 1982a, 1982b, Roberts 2000, Roberts et al 1999, Rampton 1995) and studies of Conversation Analysis (e.g. Sacks et al 1974, Schegloff and Sacks 1973 to mention a few).

The main method of analysis in this dissertation is Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS). IS draws on ethnography, sociology, linguistic anthropology and studies of discourse. It is also influenced by Goffman's notion of interaction as a separate order of analysis through which we can study how interlocutors display shared perceptions and identity to maintain involvement with each other (Goffman 1983).

What makes IS particularly useful in my analysis is that it combines the theoretical stance of sociolinguistics taking interest in linguistic and cultural diversity with a number of practical tools originally developed by Gumperz in the late 1970's (e.g. contextualization cues). It also includes conventions from the founders of micro sociology and CA (e.g. Sacks et al 1974), i.e. the principles of *sequentiality* and *indexicality. Sequentiality* encompasses the idea that every speech action is context-shaped and context-renewing (originally Bateson 1956, developed further by Heritage 1984) while *indexicality* describes how local actions from a conversation or part of a conversation are embedded in a context. Indexicality is the medium or the act of contextualization. Sequence organization, turn-taking systems and repair techniques (Schegloff 2007) as well as the

overall structural organization (Drew & Heritage 1992) are also important foci in the analysis. But, as Gumperz 1992 points out, conversational principles are only the technical elements of the talk, because no conversation happens without the conscious efforts of the speakers. Thus, Gumperz takes a step further by arguing for the importance of looking at the underlying cultural assumptions to achieving understanding of what actually is going on. He suggests that we adopt an analytical approach that goes beyond the principles of conversational ordering as the only explanation model for what happens in a conversation. He points out that if the interlocutors take for granted the shared rhetorical strategies, especially in situations of differential power or interethnic stigmatization, problems that in other cases might pass as simple instances of shared linguistic knowledge, would come to be seen as reflecting the speaker's ability, truthfulness or trustworthiness. As a result, speakers whose communicative practices are stigmatized, tend to encounter much more difficulties in their institutional contacts with majority speakers. If such conditions persist over time, Gumperz argues, they will have a significant effect on minority individuals' success in the society at large (Gumperz 1992a:327).

Thus, Gumperz levels a fair critique against CA which differs from IS by not taking the notion of conversational inference into consideration. CA does not acknowledge the context-bound process of interpretation, by means of which the interlocutors assess each other's intentions, and on which they base their responses to form dynamic interpretations (Gumperz 1982a and b, see the chapter ***Theoretical Foundations***). Unlike CA, IS links to macro contexts; the difference is then not so much in the level of interactional analysis, but in what counts as data and whether the analysis goes beyond the interactional data or not. I address some of these points later in this section.

The stance I take in the dissertation is in line with Gumperz. I believe that we need to take the speakers' perspectives as our starting point and shift focus to more goal-oriented interpretative processes to allow for the issue of intent. Although controversial, intent is extremely important in gatekeeping encounters. We can never know what other people's intentions are, but paradoxically, we have to make judgements of the communicative intent both as interlocutors - through the processes of conversational inference, as ethnographers - while conducting our field work, and as analysts - when we process the products of analysis. Every analysis, no matter how detailed it is, shows only part of what has happened in the interaction. There will be cases in which it would be meaningless to

analyse details without linking them to larger context (see examples in the chapter ***Cultural Fluency***). As Komter 1991:10 argues: "In a study of job interviews, where so much is left unsaid, conversation analysis can only lay bare a part of the reality". Also Roberts and Campbell (2006:19) argue for using IS in job interview data, pointing out that:

> Interactional sociolinguistics' concern with interactional detail is consistent with the practices of the interview itself, where 'the devil is in the detail'. This methodology allows us to ask how the interviewers' claims about candidates – such as poor English, untrustworthiness, self-awareness or a responsible attitude – are evidenced (or not) in the data. It also reveals the inherent variety in interviewer questions and their responses to candidates.

Since Gumperz 1982a and 1982b, IS is broadly used in Sociolinguistics to analyse both institutional and private encounters (e.g., classroom interaction (Rampton 1995, 2006), leisure time conversations (Ochs and Schieffelin 1994), workplace encounters (Roberts 2000, Roberts, Davies and Jupp 1991) just to mention some of the many). One of IS's main ideas is that different groups may use culturally and situationally specific styles of communication which may differ from local standards or shared assumptions of standards. Clearly, shared conditions for understanding should not be taken for granted in linguistically and culturally diverse societies. Of course, this does not mean that we necessarily have to expect differences: it is exactly our task as analysts to discover the extent to which speakers in any interaction share communicative resources or not (Gumperz 1999:458). Through the method of IS we can look closer into categories such as nationality, gender and religious affiliation to gain a broader discursive perspective but without feeding essentialists assumptions a lá just because people are identified or identify themselves as belonging to a particular ethnic minority, religious group or national category, they are expected to perform culturally specific. On the contrary, as Blommaert and Rampton 2011:1 argue, "(t)he predictability of the category of 'migrant' and of his/her sociocultural features has disappeared" and the only way to understand migration and culture in our present society is to approach it interactionally (see e.g. Auer and Kern 2001) which is also what I do in this dissertation.

3.5 Concrete methods for selection of data for analysis

This section describes and discusses concrete methods for selecting data for analysis. It also addresses methodological limitations and reflects upon issues of transcription, anonymisation and translation of data.

3.5.1. Initial observations and reflections

The first serious considerations about how to approach the job interview data happened while I was transcribing the post interview conversations. My attention was drawn to the panel's assessments of the applicants' cultural background as a reason for rejection or acceptance. I was surprised by the focus on culture - I rather expected comments on "poor" Danish -but discovered a series of overtly stated accounts on cultural background with focus on cultural differences. At least at first glance there were almost no expressions of linguistic problems whereas the material abounded with claims about culture and cultural background in both positive and negative elicitations. However, it seemed to me that there was a certain tension between the applicants' linguistic competences and assessments of cultural acceptability. I became particularly interested whether such statements and views were based on the panel's stereotypes or whether they were instigated by particular utterances or particular performance from the applicants (the chapter ***Two Case Studies*** is based on that observation).

When I looked at the job interviews I noticed several cases of the managers' strongly expressed alignments with successful applicants (cf. Erickson and Schultz's 1982 concept of co-membership). It seemed that some applicants were allowed more interactional freedom – i.e. they were not so easily put back on track if they "got lost" in irrelevant sorties. "Doing things together" seemed also of importance. All this made me think of the interaction as a cog wheel mechanism and some kind of two-fold fluency-tool to which both panels and applicants contributed. Especially in terms of culture, the fluency mechanisms seemed to be of utmost importance. Thereby, the contours of the concepts linguistic and cultural fluency slowly developed.

At that point I undertook a number of quantitative steps as well. Quantitation took a lot of time but was less fruitful than I expected. I counted each applicant's number of initiatives, words, utterances, calculated type token ratios and even considered the number of positive minimal responses given by the members of the panel to each

applicant (I discuss some of these in the next chapters and some others are to be found in appendix 5, 8, 9). However, the more time I spent on counting, the more controversial things I found. The real trouble was not in the counting but in the subsequent categorizing of the units. For example, when I counted initiatives for several applicants (e.g. after Linnell and Gustavsson 1987), I realized how difficult it was to categorize what on the surface seemed "the same" but in the reality of the interaction was much dependent on various other aspects. Yet, the "the troubling with counting"-exercise was useful for reflecting on the complexity of the data and to strengthen my position for a qualitative approach to the analysis.

Data sessions were extremely insightful to clarify and discuss as many facets of the interaction as possible. Almost all bigger excerpts in this study have been played at data sessions with colleagues from the University of Copenhagen, The University of Southern Denmark and King's College in London, to all of whom I am indebted. Data sessions have been essential for providing good analyses and have functioned as validating tools in the cases of doubt.

3.5.2. Method limitations

One limitation to my method (and the data collection as well) is the lack of visual data sources. Although I deliberately decided to go for audio recordings (mainly because I feared resistance from the participants), there have been few instances in which it could have helped to visualize the situation. A second limitation has been the lack of first-hand experience at all job interviews. When I began analysing the job interviews I myself did not record (because of double bookings), I felt constrained by the lack of my own first-hand experience. A third limitation comes from the obvious restriction in terms of resources and time combined with my novelty in the field of ethnography. Some of the decisions I had to make in the field might have been a bit rushed or not properly thought out. It is possible that many of the reflections I had and the conclusions I reached may sound naïve to experienced ethnographers. Nonetheless, this study has been an eye-opener to a number of theoretical and methodological issues.

3.5.3. Selection of participants

As one of the objectives of this dissertation is to reach conclusions about successful and unsuccessful communication models at job interviews, I find it fruitful to compare how successful and unsuccessful applicants for each position communicate. While singling out

successful applicants is easy (they are the ones who got the jobs), picking up and arguing for who the most unsuccessful ones are, is more complicated. The "worst" applicant could be anyone who the panel does not like. It could also be someone overqualified, under-qualified or even disqualified. For example, one job interview went extraordinarily bad because the applicant was not able to speak for himself in either Danish or English, so he was accompanied by a friend who was translating for him. This applicant was of course unsuccessful, but he is not a "proper" example of an unsuccessful interview because he does not match the criteria. To select the oppositions of the successful applicants, I first exclude all borderline candidates (in accordance to the panel's categorization) and then focus on those left out who match the criteria but are not offered a job. In most of cases the panels provided me with priority order listings which I follow. It should be noted that when I write about successful and unsuccessful applicants I am not taking for granted that successful applicants always produce successful communication. What I am interested in is to compare and discuss the interactional exchange and its consequence, which – obviously – is influenced by a number of factors and this is exactly what this dissertation aims at showing. There are a number of borderline cases who are interesting but difficult to place (Roberts and Campbell 2006 divide them further into borderline fail and borderline successful). I have not included borderline successful applicants in the analysis.

3.1.4. Selection of samples

There have been three foci for my selection of samples for the analysis. First, I have focused on excerpts with **self-narrations**. Self-narrations are those phases in the job interviews in which the applicants are asked to present themselves and answer a question such as "Why do you apply for this position?" They are interesting to look at because they either trigger an unassisted monologue or take the shape of a ready-made story. Both cases give possibilities for comparison of communicative strategies across applicants. For instance, we can look at the way applicants navigate between familiar issues and less expected questions.

Look at the following:

IANNA, STATISTICIAN, UNSUCCESSFUL	DANISH ORIGINAL
1. IAN: °well I° I erm come from 2. Eastern Europe a:nd I 3. married my husband seven 4. years ago and I apply for	01. IAN: °jamen jeg° jeg øh kommer 02. fra Østeuropa o:g jeg 03. har giftet mig med min

5. this position because 6. it's very important 7. for me to work 8. with that I'm 9. passionate about 10. MAN: yes 11. IAN : I'm educated as an 12. economist and xxx but I 13. like working with numbers 14. and statistics and stuff 15. like that <MAN: yes>	04. mand for syv år siden og 05. jeg søger denne her 06. stilling fordi det er 07. meget vigtigt for mig 08. jeg skal arbejde med det 09. der det jeg brænder for 10. LED: ja 11. IAN: jeg er uddannet som 12. økonomi og xxx men jeg er 13. glad at arbejde med tal 14. og statistik og sådan 15. noget <LED: ja>

In this example the applicant Ianna (IAN) explains who she is and why she applies for the job. She highlights the fact that she is married to a Dane, would like to work with something she is passionate about and is fond of numbers. Such presentations can be done in many ways and can trigger very different responses which are interesting to compare (cf. ***Two Case Studies***).

Second, I look at excerpts in which the applicants are asked to reflect on **hypothetical questions** (e.g. what would you do if), or provide information about previous experience. In such cases the applicants are much less prepared. This creates interesting scenarios (see e.g. the chapter ***Cultural Fluency***). As I previously explained, the panels were recommended to refrain from asking hypothetical questions, but some panels did not follow this advice. Look at the example below:

HAMID, IT-ADMINISTRATOR UNSUCCESSFUL	DANISH ORIGINAL
01. MAN : ….where do you see yourself in five years (1.5) 02. HAM: erm I beg your pardon↑ 03. MAN: where do you see yourself in five years (.) 04. HAM: in five years↑ 05. MAN: mm 06. HAM: what does this mean	01. MAN: … hvor er du om fem år (1.5) 02. HAM: øhm undskyld↑ 03. MAN: hvor er du om fem år (.) 04. HAM: om fem år↑ 05. MAN: mm 06. HAM: hvad betyder det

Hamid, the applicant in the example, is clearly not familiar with the question "where do you see yourself in five years" which he signals three times (lines 2, 4 and 6). I come back to Hamid in the chapter ***Cultural Fluency***.

The third thing I examine are **phases addressing issues on language and culture.** As we saw in the previous chapter, assessing the applicants' Danish and their ability to adapt to Danish workplaces is one of the less openly stated criteria of the IO job

interview. The way language and particularly culture are brought in and brought about in the interview is very often saturated with ideology. Look at the example below:

TUI, HELP-DESK SECRETARY, UNSUCCESSFUL	DANISH
01. TUI: hh Danes(.)and Asians we 02. have very different cul[ture(.) 03. al[so= 04. MA2: [yeah 05. TUI: =[workplace it is very 06. different 07. MA2: [mm yeah 08. MAN: [mm	01. TUI: hh danskere (.)og Asiater 02. vi har meget forskellig kultur (.)og[så= 03. MA2: [ja 04. TUI: arbejdsplads det er 05. meget forskellig 06. MA2: [mm ja 07. MAN: [mm

My data is rich in cultural assumptions in which e.g. Danish culture is seen as contrasting the applicant's "original" culture. Very often these oppositions place the Danish culture in a superior position which automatically engenders othering. I shall return to this example in the chapter ***Ideologies and Assessments***.

3.6. Anonymisation of data

Anonymisation is an inseparable part of processing data. As researchers, we need to dissociate ourselves from the objects of our analysis for several reasons. First, at least to a certain extent, anonymisation would protect the researcher and the researched object. Second, in many cases (including this dissertation) anonymisation is a necessary condition for obtaining permission to conduct recordings. And third, since ethnography is an interpretation of the researcher's object of study, it demands depersonalization of the participants.

In this dissertation the anonymisation is *partial.* This means that the applicants' names are replaced by pseudonyms chosen by me, but their age, level of education and amount of years spent in Denmark, remain unchanged. Similarly, I have omitted the job panels' names and replaced them by an abbreviation of their positions, e.g. manager (MAN), mentor (MEN), employee (EMP), IT responsible (ITM), etc. Any other identifying details in the interview, e.g. names of workplaces, companies and exact addresses are deleted. The countries of origin are omitted and represented by larger geographical areas instead (e.g. Asia for China, Thailand and Malaysia, Eastern Europe for Hungary and Poland, Western Europe for Belgium and Great Britain, etc.). The following is example of anonymisation:

EMP:	yes and my name is EMP and I work for MAN she is my boss erm and I sit with economy and HR (…)
YO:	mm
HRC:	yes my name is HRC and I lead the HR department
GUN:	yeah and my name is GUN and erm HRC is my boss (…)

The five participants in the example are anonymised in two different ways: 1) either by abbreviation of title: EMP (employee), MAN (manager), HRC (head of HR department), or 2) by abbreviation of given pseudonym: GUN (Günter, employee) and YO (Yo, applicant). The participants anonymised by title are usually managers and employees with a standard role in the interview, while those anonymised by pseudonym are either the applicants themselves, or some panel representatives with a non-standard role in the interview (e.g. others than managers, HR representatives, mentors, etc.).

Prior to every recording, I asked each applicant and each panel representative to fill in and sign a fact sheet with his or her name, age, country of origin, amount of years spent in Denmark, level of education and contact details. This allows me to use the recordings for research, training and teaching purposes.

3.7. Transcription

Transcriptions serve two purposes: on the one hand to help the researcher approach the pieces of data; and on the other hand to make the data accessible to broader audiences. Transcriptions are not independent sources, but supplements to other data sources (most often the recordings) and as such should not be used on their own. When we transcribe data, i.e. put down in writing what we hear and observe, we actually shed more light on the data because we then can use an audio and a written version. Using both versions provides us with a deeper insight in the process of interaction as it involves two perception channels: listening and looking. However, transcription is not only an act of writing down what people say and do. Since the mid-seventies a lot of research has argued (e.g. Ochs 1979, Preston 1985, Mehan 1993, Roberts 1997, Bucholtz 2000, Karrebæk 2008 to mention a few) that w*hat* is transcribed is just as important as *how* it is transcribed. Transcribing is a process of decision making and an act of power. Transcriptions represent the transcribers' beliefs,

knowledge, goals and levels of ambition. When we transcribe, we also inscribe the context (Bucholtz 2000). Roberts 1997:167-170 argues that "if talk is a social act, so is transcription" and "when we transcribe talk, we transcribe people". Thus, it is important *not* to undermine the existence of ideology in the transcripts. We cannot ignore the fact that transcribers construct an apparatus of social roles and relations. But, as Bucholtz 2000 suggests, researchers should take responsibility for the task and acknowledge the complexity of the process instead of simplifying or standardizing it. To Karrebæk (2008:52) transcriptions and transcribed items are never identical. Karrebæk argues for the term *representations* instead of *transcriptions* by which she aims at neutralising the assumption that transcriptions are "just another way" of presenting data.

This study's 41 job interviews and 8 post-interview conversations were transcribed using the free source programme *Transcriber 1.5.1. Transcriber* is an interactive tool that can be used to label and segment speech units in order to focus on different elements of the interaction, e.g. the turn-takings, the overlaps, the pauses, etc. It is a stable and user friendly programme, which makes it easy to begin with. Five student helpers[3] did the rough transcription of the job interviews while I transcribed the post-interview conversations and refined the extracts selected for analyses. We followed the principle of orthographic representation, i.e. all utterances were put down in standard spelling even though they were pronounced in a non-standard way. Initially, we wished to mark all examples of non-standard pronunciation and grammar just to get an impression of the deviances, but later abandoned the idea for several reasons. First, pronunciation and grammar were not direct objects of analysis; second, the transcriptions became inconsistent and time-consuming, and third and most important, non-standard orthography put unwanted focus on the applicants' non-native Danish already in the transcription. I find marking "eye-dialect" (as argued by e.g. Preston 1985) very problematic especially when minority speakers are vastly represented. Eye-dialect inevitably calls up stereotypes and engenders marginalization. I assume there are some good ways of doing phonetic transcription but in my data it was essential to

[3] I am grateful to Iman Hassani, Kirstine Dencker, Stine Johannsen, Thomas Nørreby and Tine Østergård

keep the focus on the interaction rather than on the phonetic specifics of native and non-native speech.

3.7.1. Types of transcriptions

Two types of transcriptions were produced: rough and fine-grained. In the *rough transcription* the participants' turns, overlaps and significant pauses are transcribed, but length of pauses, prosodic features and patterns of intonation are omitted. A *fine grained transcription* includes more details; however, the level of fine-graining varies after the purpose of the analysis (see appendix 2 on transcription conventions). If the analysis focuses on e.g. contextualization cues, the transcripts are detailed, intonation patterns are marked and transcription conventions are neatly followed; if the analysis is more content-based (e.g. the object of study is ideologies and general assessments) the transcriptions are rougher. The pieces below are examples of rough vs. finer transcription:

Example of rough transcription:

```
01.   MAN:   yes tell me a little about yourself Mohammed
02.   MOH:   my name is Mohammed erhm I'm from
03.          Lebanon erhm I study on school in Lebanon to
04.          six years
05. EMP:     I'm sorry I didn't hear that
06. MOH:     I I have studied
07. EMP:     yes
08. MOH:     erhm Lebanon erhm six years
09. EMP:     yeah
```

Example of finer transcription:

```
01.   MAN:   [smacking]yes tell↑ me a little about yourself↓
02.          Mohammed
03.   (.)
04. MOH:     °my name is Mohammed↓ e::rhm (1.5) I'm fro:m
05.          Lebanon↓ e:rhm (1.0) I study on school in Lebanon
06.          to: (.) six years↓ (1.0)
07. EMP:     I'm sorry I didn't hear that↑
08. MOH:     I I have studied↓
09. EMP:     yes↑
10. MOH:     e:rhm Lebanon↑ e:rhm (1.5) °six yea[rs=↓
11. EMP:                                       [ya
```

The main difference between the two transcripts is the marking of pauses, vocal lengths, patterns of intonation and voice quality. The fine grained transcript, for instance, gives a better understanding of MOH's slow speech tempo which is an important feature in his interview.

3.8. Translations into English

One of the serious challenges to the issue of representation is translation of data into another language, in this case from Danish into English. If transcriptions, as Karrebæk 2008 argues, can only be representations, then the translation is a further step away from "the reality" of the moment. The tension between accuracy, readability and the policies of representation (Mehan 1993) is additionally problematized when we are forced to translate into another language. In my study I had to decide how to translate ungrammatical Danish into ungrammatical English. But the question is - how can we keep exactly the same level of non-standardness, ambiguity, and indexicality in the English version? I think the answer is: we cannot.

Clearly, morphological translation in English would not reflect the same "ungrammaticalness" in Danish. The processes of non-standardness in the two languages are not similar, and more importantly – they are nor perceived similarly. Another reason for not providing grammatical translations is that grammar is not part of the panels' assessments, e.g. grammatical inaccuracies are rarely mentioned as problematic areas in the post interview conversations. Therefore, for entirely practical reasons, the translations are done in colloquial style English closest to the Danish original. Idioms are translated as idioms unless they create misunderstandings and need to be explained (see examples in appendix 3).

My decision to refrain from morphological translations was also made in favour for better readability. Instead of having several lines of identical turns in two languages and a third and a fourth line with clarifying comments, I arrange the English and the Danish versions in charts with two adjacent columns, so that the numbered lines in each column correspond roughly to the Danish original. I also chunk the turns into smaller units to make the information easier to process.

Consistency has been the hardest part of the translation and I admit that I could have worked harder on that. Generally, there are many parallel structures and identical idiomatic phrases in English and Danish, but there are also several areas in which Danish grammar significantly differs from English grammar. Examples are gender declensions and word order in main and subordinate clause (which are also the areas in

which most non-standard forms occur). In Appendix 3 I argue for the most common types of ungrammatical translations.

It should be noted that each analysis in this dissertation is exclusively based on the Danish version. The problem of accuracy, then, appears only to those not being able to read and understand Danish. The original transcripts are indispensable complements to the English translations and in many cases pivotal for understanding the analysis from a local Danish perspective.

3.9. Overview of data

The total data corpus consists of approximately 50 hours of data and includes

- **41 job Interviews**
- **8 post-interview conversations with the panels**
- **28 brief follow up interviews with applicants**
- **2 follow-up interviews collected three years later**
- **Field notes, booklets, letters and guidelines about the IO project**

The chart below presents an overview of the total number of positions and workplaces, including number of applications, number of applicants, number of panel representatives and other relevant details (see also appendix 4). Note that column 4 displays two figures, one showing the number of applicants present at the job interview, while the other shows number of applicants recorded. The discrepancy is either because of some applicants not willing to participate (2 instances), technical problems (1 instance) or the employers' not contacting me on time (2 instances).

Nr	Position	Total nr. of written applications for the position	Total nr. of applicants selected for interview vs. nr. of recordings	Applicants' area of origin (successful applicants =underlined)	Members of the panel	Post-interview conversations with panels
1	Handyman A (Care Center for adolescents with disabilities)	12	5/5	**South American** Middle Eastern Eastern European Eastern European Middle Eastern	2	1
2	Handyman B (Kindergarten)	17	4/3	**Middle Eastern** Middle Eastern South American	2	1
3	Kitchen Help (Care center for children with disabilities)	unknown	4/4	African **South American** Middle Eastern Asian	2	0
4	Integration Consultant (Care Center for elderly)	65	5/4	Middle Eastern Middle Eastern South American **Middle Eastern**	5	1
5	IT network administrator (Public Office)	119	5/3	Middle Eastern **Western European** **Middle Eastern**	3	1
6	Help Desk Secretary (Public Office)	52	3/2	African **Western European**	4	1
7	Consultant (Job Centre)	>200 (for both assistant & consultant)	5/4	Asian **Western European** Eastern European **South American**	4	0
8	Help Desk/Assistant (Job Centre)	>200 (for both assistant and consultant)	6/5	**South American** Asian Eastern European **Asian** Asian	4	0
9	Economist/ Accountant (Public office)	65	4/4 + 2 (2nd round)	Asian Asian **South American** Eastern European	4	1
10	Economist/ Statistician (Public office)	66	5/5	Eastern European Eastern European Eastern European **Eastern European** Asian	5	2

3.9.1. Note on selection panels and applicants

The selection panels typically consist of a team leader or a manager (MAN), one or several HR representatives (HRM, HR1, HR2), an employee (EMP) from a similar position, e.g. the mentor-to-be, and other employee representatives (EM1, EM2, etc.). The smallest selection panel consisted of two people (a manager and an employee); while the largest comprised of six. The most common number was three to four panel members (traditional for Danish job interview panels), although several applicants were surprised to find more than one panel representative.

So far, I have been addressing "panels" and "applicants" as if both sides were homogeneous crowds, which they obviously are not. Scheuer 1998 argues that the panel's internal role-play might have essential outcomes on the interview and recommends that we consider the fact that panels are hybrid and may have different agendas: for example, panel representatives might like to perform in front of their colleagues, butter up their boss or display irrelevant information by which to confuse the applicant. Any of these may have crucial effect on the interview. However, since I have not discovered controversies or intrigues of the above kind, I have taken the liberty of using "panel" as a common denominator for all interviewers. In fact, the IO interviews have shown relatively little participation from other members of the panel than the managers. In all job interviews I recorded, it is the manager (and in all 10 cases a female) who interviews the applicant while the other panel representatives are mainly included in the interview on the manager's request.

Similarly, when I generalize about applicants, I refer to the IO-applicants in my study.

The next chart presents an overview of all successful and unsuccessful applicants included in the analysis. The applicants in the dark cells are analysed more extensively, while the applicants in the light rows are mentioned with shorter references.

Nr	Position	Successful	Unsuccessful
1	**Handyman A**	**Domingo,** South American	**Mohammed ,** Middle Eastern
2	**Kitchen Help**	**Ruben** , South American	**Tsang**, Asian
3	**Integration Consultant**	**Yasin,** Middle Eastern	**Farid,** Middle Eastern
4	**IT network administrator**	**Maximillian**, Western European **Ibrahim,** Middle Eastern	**Hamid**, Middle Eastern
5	**Help Desk Secretary**	**Hannah**, Western European	**Arabella**, African
6	**Handyman B**	**Said**, Middle Eastern	**Javier,** South American
7	**Job Centre Consultant**	**Rozalia**, South American **Rahiza**, Asian	**Tui**, Asian
8	**Job Centre Assistant**	**Nadia**, South American	**Mei**, Asian
9	**Economist/ Accountant**	**Carla** , South American	**Yao**, Asian
10	**Economist/ Statistician**	**Milena**, Eastern European	**Yo**, Asian

3.10. Methods and Data: summary

This chapter presented and discussed ethnography, discourse analysis and interactional sociolinguistics as the main methodologies in the dissertation. It described the phases in the data collection and the concrete methods for selecting samples. Finally, it argued for the importance of good representation practices (i.e. transcription and translation) and gave an overview of the data for analysis.

The next chapters (***Linguistic Fluency, Cultural Fluency, Ideologies and Assessments*** and ***Two Case Studies***) analyse how the IO job applicants manage the demands of the institutional gatekeeping event. As the titles indicate, *fluency* is a central term, used to label, discuss and analyse some of the ongoing processes in the data. Fluency, however, is *not* used in the conventional meaning, but in a new, reclaimed sense, arguing for interactive and negotiating practices in the interlocutors' joint speech production.

Fluency

The next two chapters approach, exemplify and discuss the concept of fluency. I use *fluency* as an umbrella term to describe: first, the interactional matches and mismatches on the pure level of language (linguistic fluency), and second, the interactional matches and mismatches based on mutual cultural expectations (cultural fluency). By approaching fluency this way, I reclaim the monologic, form-focused definition of fluency and argue for a dialogical, interactional perspective on fluency.

It should be noted that I see linguistic and cultural fluency as inescapably interconnected. Every linguistic act is a cultural act as well and the chapters will notify the reader about cross-references on linguistic and cultural fluency as the analysis gradually unfolds. Therefore, for entirely practical reasons I first focus on features that clearly have a linguistic code (Linguistic Fluency) and then I continue with features more linked to cultural expectations (Cultural Fluency).

CHAPTER Linguistic Fluency

4.1. Fluency as an ethnographic term

Fluency, proficiency, level of Danish, being good or bad at Danish are emic terms (see previous chapter on Methodology) brought in to the IO interviews by both applicants and panels. As previously argued, the applicants' ability to speak Danish is part of the general evaluation, so the panels spent much time on discussing and labelling the applicants' competences in Danish both prior to, during and after the IO interview. "Fluent", "good" "very good" were frequently used terms when the panels discussed certain characteristics of the applicants' Danish. As one chief HR representative explained: "We try to find out how much Danish you speak, whether you have written it [the job application, my suppl.] yourself, whether somebody have helped you…. we are not sitting here to hire somebody who is fluent in Danish" (my translation from Danish).

This statement, the essence of which is to be spotted in all IO interviews is interesting in several ways. First, it legalizes the panel's role as evaluators' of the applicants' Danish language skills alongside with or even before the evaluations of professional skills. Second, it brings the question of how much or less fluent an applicant should be in order to be employed. And third, it raises the issue of what exactly fluency means in this connection. So (level of) *fluency* is crucial in the selection of applicants for the IO job interview. The key question is how do the panels understand, relate themselves to and evaluate that "fluency"?

The next section maps the concept of fluency in L2. It goes briefly through highlighting some problem areas in the monologic approach to fluency and continues with examples from the IO job interview arguing for a new, reclaimed definition of "fluency" based on a dialogical practice.

4.2. Monologic approach to fluency: focus on form

Linguistic fluency in Second Language Speech is a term that covers a wide variety of meanings. We can say about a person that "he speaks three languages fluently". In this case fluency will refer to a general linguistic skill, an ability to use a certain language or a number of languages. In other instances, one may say "he is absolutely fluent in Danish;

you cannot hear that he isn't a Dane". In this case linguistic fluency will be a distinctive feature of near-native proficiency. In Foreign Language Acquisition literature, more specifically the way Lennon (1990) defines it, linguistic fluency is about "expressing oneself in a foreign language without difficulties and without paying particular attention to the process of production, so that "the psycholinguistics process of speech planning and speech production are functioning easily and efficiently" (Lennon 1990:391). A foreign language in that case is a language that has been introduced later than one's (early) childhood. Furthermore, Schmidt (1992) argues that linguistic fluency is an automated, procedural skill. According to both Schmidt and Lennon, fluent speakers will not need to concentrate on the speech process but are free to concentrate on the speech content (see also Færch et al 1984) However, this means that there will be job applicants capable of processing speech quickly and efficiently, but perhaps not in accordance to the grammatical and other norms of the native speakers. Would they be considered fluent then?

A more functional approach to fluency is Deckert's (1984) *island hypothesis.* According to Deckert, in order to be productive, speakers need "a minimum of automatized, prefabricated language", and speakers "setting out to speak, need points of fixation, anchoring grounds to start and return to". These points of fixation are called "islands of reliability" (Deckert 1984:223). More specifically:

> A speaker who plans an utterance must anticipate, develop and build up points of fixation, easily available islands of reliability, in order to gain ground for his search routines. The more fluent, the more competent the speaker is, the larger is his island repertoire (Deckert 1984:223).

Raupach 1984 elaborates on the" island" function by linking it to speech *formulae.* According to Raupach, formulae are identified as "speech segments that are delimited by pauses or hesitation phenomena such as draws, repeats, false starts, etc" (Deckert et al 1984:114). To Raupach fluency is dependent on learners' ability to memorize, store and utilize smaller or larger formulaic units. He suggests two stages in obtaining fluency: the first stage is the adoption of new forms of hesitations or filled pauses different from those in the first language; the second stage is the adoption of islands of reliability and bigger formulaic expressions characteristic of the target language. The ultimate level of fluency

is reached when the learners have implemented the formulaic expressions so that all their utterances become fully applicable islands of reliability (see also (Segalowitz 2010 on cognitive fluency).

Thus, according to the above, L2 fluency is mostly concerned with *production* of smooth speech without pauses, disruptions, hesitations, seeking for words, doing self-repetitions or any other forms of repair that deliberately switch the focus on the process of *production*. If speakers talk smoothly, at a stable speed, with appropriate vocabulary and first-time-understandable grammar and pronunciation (yet not necessarily with standard accuracy), these speakers are considered "fluent". Seen that way, fluency is a monologic phenomenon: it is alone the speaker's responsibility to *produce* fluent speech in L2. With that in focus, it also looks like vocabulary diversity and ability to memorize and utilize vocabulary are put much upfront as a key parameter of fluency. One example among many are the studies of Towell, Hawkins and Bazergui 1996 who looked at the connection between L2 fluency and vocabulary range. They found the average number of words produced by the speaker between two pauses, to be the most significant indicator of L2 fluency. Other measures that are frequently considered to reflect L2 skill are mean length of utterance (MLU; measured in words or morphemes), and rate of error (e.g. numbers of errors produced per 1000 words) (e.g. Hilton 2008 and Meara 1980, 1996).

I agree that vocabulary is important to convey a job interview in a foreign language. Quite obviously, the IO applicants need Danish words and knowledge of Danish grammar to express themselves. Technically, we can assume that *t*he more words they know, the more nuances they will be able to express. Now, let us make an experiment. To find out whether applicants who are more familiar with Danish vocabulary are more successful at the job interview, I will test the connection *between* the applicants' vocabulary range to examine whether those offered a job had a larger vocabulary than those who were not offered a job. Of course, vocabulary is just one feature of many to focus on. Grammar, phonology and especially prosody are also of importance. However, for practical reasons (words are relatively easy to count), I will conduct an experiment with exclusive focus on vocabulary to see whether it sheds light on the data.

4.2.1. Testing monologic fluency: Are successful job candidates those with the largest vocabulary in Danish?

I undertook a simple frequency analysis (FRQ, McWhinney 2012, see appendix 5 for details, example of samples and decisions) to count the total number of different word types, the total number of tokens and the type-token ratio for each applicant. Consider the chart below in which successful speakers are highlighted in darker rows while unsuccessful applicants appear in white rows.

Nr.	Position	Applicant (Successful= dark rows)	Total nr. of utterances	Total nr. of word types	Total number of tokens	Type-Token Ratio	Utterances per min.	Tokens per min.	Length of Interview (min.)
1	Front Desk Secretary	Arabella (-)	261	222	953	23,3 %	15,81	57,75	16:25
		Hannah (+)	312	251	1312	19,1%	16,59	69,78	18:50
2	Kitchen Help	Tsang (-)	200	412	1998	20,6%	7,27	72,65	**27:30**
		Ruben (+)	434	392	2060	19,0%	14,00	66,88	30:50
3	Job Centre Consultant	Alice (-)	167	276	1207	22,9%	7,6	54,98	21:55
		Nadja (+)	367	433	2303	18,8%	11,05	69,57	33:10
4	IT support	Hamid (-)	772	538	3232	16,6%	13,29	56,75	56:55
		Maximilian (+)	870	721	5486	13,1%	16,4	102,79	52:58
5	Economist A	Yao (-)	401	367	1681	21,8%	10,55	44,23	38:00
		Carla (+)	254	340	1553	21,9%	7,15	43,74	35:30
6	Economist B	Yo (-)	248	396	1831	21,6%	7,25	53,52	34:12
		Milena (+)	352	596	3259	18,3%	7,56	70,08	46:30
7	Handyman A	Mohammed (-)	163	170	611	27,8%	10,51	39,4	15:32
		Domingo (+)	294	490	1967	24,9%	10,99	73,53	26:48
8	Job Centre Assistant	Tui (-)	355	317	1581	20,1%	15,91	70,89	22:23
		Rahiza (+)	373	401	2088	19,2%	12,4	76,26	30:01
9	Handyman B	Javier (-)	162	146	491	29,7%	10,8	32,73	15:00
		Said (+)	171	220	932	23,6%	11,03	60,12	15:29
10	Integration Consultant	Silvana (-)	391	891	5477	16,3%	6,07	93,94	58:22
		Yasin (+)	305	719	3680	19,5%	7,09	85,62	42:55

In 7 out of 10 cases the successful applicants' interviews' are longer than the unsuccessful ones. In 8 out of 10 instances, the applicants who got the job produced more utterances and more tokens than the candidates who did not get the job. The average amount of utterances for those offered a job was also higher (7 out of 10 cases). Likewise, in 7 out of 10 instances, successful candidates used a greater number of total different words than unsuccessful candidates. This result is parallel to Scheuer 2001:228 who also studies job interviews (with applicants whose first language is Danish) and finds that successful candidates in general produce a larger amount of words than unsuccessful candidates as well as twice as many long turns. The findings are however in contrast to Roberts and Campbell 2006 where candidates who spoke neither too much nor too little were most successful (but note that the job applicants in their study were both L1 and L2 speakers of English).

The TTR (as an indicator of vocabulary diversity, see appendix 5 for details) displays controversial results. It shows that *unsuccessful* applicants have more diverse vocabularies than successful applicants. First, I found this result rather strange but on second thoughts I realized that the TTR has been calculated on the basis of the total amount of tokens, which means that all “fillers” (i.e. transcribed hesitations, voiced pauses, bits of words, mumbling, grunting, chuckling, eh’s, erm’s uh’s and their many variants) are categorized as different word types which automatically gives a high TTR. This leads to an important point: apparently, the TTR is not suitable for spoken discourse as the total number of words depends very much on how the talk is transcribed. The different variants in the transcription are crucial for understanding the interaction qualitatively but completely misleading when we quantify speech.

So, the quantification experiment did not shed light on the data. According to the chart, talking more (in terms of interview length and numbers of utterances and tokens) counts as a feature of success but the TTR does not. How should this be interpreted - does talking more show more interactional fluency? I believe not. For example, what if successful applicants are given longer turns because panels like them and let them talk longer? The relation between success and length is problematic as we simply do not know what is cause and what is effect. I rather think that we need a thorough qualitative

investigation of each interview, because only through immersing into the very heart of the interactive processes we can gain a better understanding of what is going on.

4.2.2. Monologic approach to fluency: discussion

The monologic approach to fluency leaves a number of unanswered questions and a lot of space for discussion. First, fluency is seen as an individual, cognitive act, rather than interactionally accomplished skill. Second, the monologic view on fluency does not account for the listenership fluency of the candidates, i.e. fluency becomes relevant only in the process of *speech production* and is not seen as a *listening comprehension* skill (see also (Drew and Heritage 1992). Third, there are ideological issues linked to fluency that go hand in hand with language attitudes towards second language learners, suggesting that what some hearers address as fluent, might be less fluent for others. As a result, approaching fluency with focus on form only suggests that L2 fluency is unfavourably compared with the "perfectness" of the so-called "mother tongue" or "native" language. Such view is much in line with the monolingualism norm (Jespersen 1941 and Hansegård 1968) which extreme consequences, at least in Denmark, are discouraging bilingual upbringing because it is believed that it weakens the competence of the languages involved (see also Jørgensen 2004 on critique of double semi-lingualism). According to the monolingualism norm L2 fluency is practically unattainable as there will always be features in one's talk (e.g. pronunciation, intonation, grammar) that will be identified as deviant (i.e. "wrong") form the "mother" tongue. *Correctness* and *perfection* are generally terms that occupy a lot of space in the monologic view on fluency.

We see also ambiguities in the theory of formulaic expressions. Rehbein 1987:216 points out that formulaic expressions give the impression of being "ready-mades" but seem to be taken out of a context, i.e. they can be interpreted in an appropriate way only if their original communicative contexts are reconstructed (see also De Certeau 1984 on improvisation). This suggests that formulaic expressions as communicative strategies are dependent on the context and the dialogue as we cannot talk about communicative strategies in a monologue.

The quantification of vocabulary diversity should be questioned as well. The chart showed that applicants with a higher number of different words and utterances were those offered a job, but the type-token ratio, which was supposed to indicate vocabulary

richness, was lower for successful applicants which gave the ambiguous result that the amount of talk is more important than anything else in the job interview (see Allwood 1993:389 on problems with quantifications of speech)

Considering all these things I think it is important to relate the study of fluency to the reality of the job interview as a dialogical practice in which fluency is produced and perceived interactively. Focusing on the applicant's vocabulary in Danish does not give us an idea of fluency; we need to consider both parties' input and participation in the conversation. By that I am not denying the importance of vocabulary in L2, *as* we do need words to express ourselves, and I also acknowledge the fact that the more words we know, the more nuanced we can express ourselves. However, the pure mastering of words is not a sufficient parameter of communication. We certainly need to know about grammar, prosody, phonology and how to put them into a successful play, i.e. we need to possess knowledge of use in context. But those aspects of language are certainly necessarily overt and countable. They may be parts of complex processes of negotiation that go through bumpiness, irregularities and misunderstandings. They are dialogical practices that require a listener and a hearer working together and this is how they should be analysed.

4.3. Dialogic approach to fluency: focus on meaning

The concept of dialogism is first mentioned by Bachtin in the beginning of the 20th century (e.g. Andersen 2003 and 2010). According to Bachtin every utterance and every thought comes as a response to what has been said before, and in anticipation of what will be said later. As a consequence, all language is dynamic and relational, thus endlessly reclaiming and re-describing the world. Linell 1998 and 2009 develops further the idea of dialogism, and inspired by Bachtin, argues for the dialogic understanding of the communicative situation by highlighting the importance of negotiation, construction and reconstruction of meaning potentials in the interaction. An important principle in dialogism is joint construction, which, according to Linell (see also Jacoby and Ochs 1995) is:

> … something which participants (to varying degrees) possess, experience and do together. This collective construction is made possible by the reciprocally and mutually coordinated actions and interactions by different actors. **No part is entirely one single individual's products or experience.**

(Linell 1998:86, my highlighting)

Studies in Conversation Analysis (Sacks et al 1974, Schegloff 1968, Heritage and Watson 1979, Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008, Seedhouse 2004) have pioneered in analyzing talk as jointly produced and negotiable. Seedhouse (2005: 166-167) argues that we need to acknowledge the fact that contributions to interaction are context-shaped and context-renewing (also Heritage 1984:241). He suggests that each utterance can be understood only by reference to the sequential environment in which it occurs and in which the participants design it to occur. For several decades now, research within Conversation Analysis and Interactional Sociolinguistics (Cicourel 1967, 1982, Hymes 1967 [cf. Hymes 1972], Gumperz 1982 to mention some of the many) has been documenting the importance of the interactional work in which all participants jointly construct meaning and create understanding.

4.3.1. Fluency in Sociolinguistics and Late Modern Studies

Since language variation and not language "correctness" is the core interest of sociolinguists, the Late Modern approach features very few studies focusing on (monologic) L2 fluency. There are, of course, exceptions, e.g. Seedhouse 1997 and McDermott 1988, which I address later in this section. A great number of studies analyse interactionally produced meaning, negotiating and co-constructing (Gumprez 1982, Sarangi and Roberts 1999, Schiffrin 1988, Tannen 1989, 2005, Rampton 1995, 2006, Drew and Heritage 1992, Auer 1999, Linell 1998, Seedhouse 1997, McDermott 1988, Jørgensen, Møller and Madsen 2010, Blommaert and Backus 2011) which, as I shall argue later, are some of the key constructing elements of dialogic fluency. Also studies in institutional gatekeeping encounters from Denmark (e.g. Fogtmann 2006, Scheuer 2001, Tranekjær 2009) argue for the dialogically produced meaning by exploring issues of power, gender and culture.

One of the projects that explicitly mentions fluency is McDermott 1988. He focuses on *inarticulateness* in classroom settings and describes it as a continuum, in one end of which we might experience "grunts, groans, quips, expletives and a wide range of nonsense in the service of apparently unformulated ends" and where "fluency is missing'" (McDermott 1988:42); though in the other end there is a "breakthrough, words flow, new things are said, and the world is temporarily altered" (but see Rampton 2002 for a further discussion). According to McDermott, inarticulateness offers us 'an invitation to listen in a

new way' (McDermott 1988:40). Instead of treating inarticulateness as a matter of individual (dis)ability, we should rather regard it as a "well-orchestrated moment in which inarticulateness is invited, encouraged, duly noted and remembered, no matter how much lamented" (1988:38). Since inarticulateness (or non-fluency) can be "invited" or "encouraged", I hope McDermott will agree - it is a co-constructed phenomenon. This is a dialogic approach to fluency in which the responsibility is not only the speaker's but also the listener's who is interactively invited to listen and respond "in a new way". It is also in line with Erickson and Schultz's concept of uncomfortable moments, e.g. places in which the conversational rhythm is noticeably disturbed (Erickson and Schultz 1982:76, 113). I address that in ***Two Case Studies***.

Seedhouse 1997 is also dealing with fluency in a less "conventional" way. By highlighting one of the controversial areas of L2 pedagogy at the late 1990s, he discusses whether classroom teaching should focus on form and accuracy, or meaning and fluency. Thus, when Seedhouse addresses fluency, he sees it as an act of the learners' control of the interaction, i.e. "[the learners] should be able to take as long a turn as necessary and should be able to negotiate turn-taking themselves, rather than have the teacher allocate turns or tell them how long they should speak for" (Seedhouse 1997:341) which highlights the need for jointly produced efforts for achieving understanding (Bremer et al 1996) and is in line with the perspective of this dissertation. I shall come back to that.

4.3.2. Sum up

So far, this chapter has argued for a qualitative based approach to fluency with focus on interaction. This is relevant for several reasons: As an ethnographic term, "fluency" preoccupies the attention of both panels and applicants. As we shall see, it becomes relevant because the IO interview is treated as an intercultural situation in which the applicants' ability to use Danish is constantly assessed (see ***Ideologies and Assessments***).

The rest of the chapter aims at identifying what dialogic fluency exactly means in the context of the IO job interview and how it functions as a dialogical practice. The next sections go through 1) some common problems of understanding and misunderstanding as part of the process of co-constructing interactional fluency, and 2) analysis of four job

interviews arguing for interactionally produced fluency as a criterion for success. Finally, the chapter suggests and discusses a new, reclaimed definition of fluency.

4.4. Fluency and negotiating of understanding

A crucial issue in all communication, whether it deals with first or second language talk, is whether the parties understand each other, and if not, how they tackle mis- and non-understanding. Bumpiness and irregularities are experienced in every conversation. Achieving understanding is a mutual responsibility and considers both speaker and hearer (Bremer et al 1996, Roberts and Simonot 1987). In gatekeeping encounters misunderstandings may have crucial effect on the outcome of the conversation. Applicants may be denied opportunities to enter the world on the other side of the gate due to misunderstandings which, in principle, could have been solved. Lippi-Green (1997) calls attention to the fact that it is often the listener that is relieved of any responsibility in the communication and the full burden is put on the speaker. In reality, she argues, if a listener says "I can't understand you" he or she actually means, *I dare you to make me understand you*" (Lippi-Green 1997:69).

4.4.1. Misunderstandings

According to Hinnenkamp 1999:1 misunderstandings are a commonsense category (see also Coupland et al 1991, Bremer et al 1996, Bremer et al 1993, House et al 2003, Roberts et al 2005). They occur whenever there is lack of understanding for one or both parties. Misunderstandings are resolved from the conversation and can be identified in all kinds of interactional settings, though, as mentioned above, they have become a central working category in intercultural communication. However, this must not feed an assumption that misunderstandings occur just because a foreign job applicant and a Danish employer are having a conversation. Differences and similarities arise out of the conversation *as it goes along*, and each category deserves an analysis on its own.

Hinnenkamp 1999 and 2003 arranges misunderstandings in several categories, in relation to whether they deal with misunderstandings of facts, words or sentences (*core misunderstandings*) or misunderstandings of genre, activity type or tasks (*event misunderstandings*). Generally, Hinnenkamp lists 7 types of misunderstandings which I have summed up in three categories:

1-**Overt misunderstandings** (see also Linell 1993). Characteristic here is the immediate recognition of the misunderstanding, indicated by a repair (see section 4.4.2. on repair) at the next possible turn and then either regaining of the *status quo ante* or not. In the second case the misunderstanding becomes a resource of continuation.

Example:

EXAMPLE: OVERT MISUNDERSTANDING	**DANISH**
01. TSA: at that time I was 02. work in in xxx bakery 03. and I am erm very 04. familiar with this erm 05. clean erm erm how do 06. you call the cleaning 07. tasks **08. MAN: I didn't understand** **09. that the last one <TSA:** 10. yeah yeah yeah> 11. TSA: I I I am well acquainted 12. with the cleaning tasks 13. MAN: yes	01. TSA: dengang jeg var 02. arbejde på på xxx 03. konditori og jeg er 04. meget øh familiar med 05. den øh rengøre øh øh 06. hvad hedder 07. rengøreopgaverne **08. MAN: det forstod jeg ikke det** **09. sidste <Tsang: ja ja ja** 10. ja> 11. TSA: jeg jeg jeg jeg kender 12. godt rengøreopgaverne 13. MAN: ja

In line 8 the manager interrupts Tsang's to clarify what she has not understood (I didn't understand that). The *status quo ante* seems to be regained after Tsang provides a repair in line 11 by replacing the English word "familiar" (line 4) which she uses in her Danish talk, with the Danish expression "kender godt" (know well, be acquainted with, line 11) as she probably realizes that the direct borrowing of the English word "familiar" has created the misunderstanding in line 4. I shall come back to that later in this chapter.

2-**Covert misunderstandings:** Characteristic for this type is the gradual recognition of the misunderstanding, indicated by 'uncomfortable moments' (Erickson and Schultz 1982) until one interlocutor becomes aware that some kind of misunderstanding has occurred and either starts treating it as described in section 1- or leaves the misunderstanding unsolved. Hinnenkamp points out that the misunderstanding will *not* be clarified but will be solved, that is, the interlocutors will be likely to overcome the misunderstanding "without getting to its roots". He argues that "the more distant the recognition of a misunderstanding, the more effort is necessary to repair it and the less likely there will be an easy return to the *status quo ante"* (Hinnenkamp (1999:3-4). He calls attention to the fact that covert misunderstandings can happen due to what Gumperz 1995 calls "lack of

shared background knowledge" that "leads initially to misunderstandings, but since contextualization conventions are not shared, attempts to repair these misunderstandings fail and conversational cooperation breaks down" (Gumperz 1995:120, see also Gumperz 1982 on interpretative processes and Bremer et al 1993:161 on pragmatic lack of understanding).Covert misunderstandings are less often linked to purely linguistic knowledge but are more likely linked to contextual understanding. I give examples and discuss covert misunderstandings in the chapter ***Cultural Fluency***.

3-latent misunderstandings are less clear than covert misunderstandings and treat cases in which the interlocutors may have a feeling of misunderstanding but the misunderstanding is often unnoticed and remains unnegotiated.

Hinnenkamp highlights that misunderstandings are "not simply a diffuse mismatching of alleged intention failure", but "a *sequence,* a short or quite extended one, even open-ended one where a mismatching is retrospectively *negotiated* and most often repaired. Misunderstandings have a *beginning* and an *ending*" (Hinnenkamp (2003:67, see also Bremer et al 1996, and Roberts et al 2005 on misunderstandings based on pronunciation, intonation, grammar and style).

4.4.2. Repair

By arranging the misunderstandings in different categories according to whether they can be solved or not, we need to address another important aspect of communication: *conversational repair*. Repair is a term from Conversation Analysis (e.g. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974, Schegloff et al 1977) that broadly deals with the treatment of trouble occurring in interactional language use. Trouble or trouble source are key issues here and can be defined as

> *…anything which participants judge to be impeding their communication … a repairable item is one which causes trouble for participants. Any element of talk may in principle be the focus of repair, even an element which is well-formed, propositionally correct, and appropriate*
>
> (Seedhouse 2004:143, author's italics).

Repair can be both self- and other-initiated, resulting in either self-repair or other-repair (Schegloff et al 1977). Addressing repair through a CA point of view makes the process of

repair relatively straightforward; however most intercultural data like the data in this study suggests that repair is a much complex process and this is yet another reason to address the data through an IS approach (see Methodology).

4.4.3 Misunderstanding and non-understanding

When we deal with understanding and negotiating meaning, I find it useful to distinguish between *lack of understanding* (or non-understanding) and *misunderstanding.* Rathje 2008 categorizes misunderstandings as episodes in which the speaker signals one meaning while the hearer deciphers another meaning, while non-understanding happens when the speaker signals one meaning but the hearer does not decipher any meaning at all. Bremer et al 1996:161 point out that "lack of understanding tends to surface more readily than misunderstanding". In a study of classroom interaction, they arrange the problems of understanding in three main categories and distinguish between learner initiated and teacher initiated misunderstandings, arguing that teachers and learners (i.e. speakers and hearers) share joint responsibility for successful understanding. For example, they point out that mishearings are particularly interesting, as they can be approached in a number of ways, for instance by displaying a 'wrong' hypothesis of the misheard element which they highlight as a better strategy than a simple *asking of "what?"* because it requires a cooperative resolution of the problem (Bremer et al 1993:161)

4.4.4 Misunderstandings and non-understandings as a strategy for negotiating meaning

This section provides examples of how understanding is negotiated in the IO job interviews. It considers the most common types of mis- and non-understanding supporting the argument of jointly produced meaning and interactionally built fluency which the rest of the chapter develops.

Example 1: Misunderstanding and non-understanding of pronunciation and grammar:

MOHAMMED, HANDYMAN. UNSUCCESSFUL **MOH: MOHAMMED, MAN: MANAGER, FEMALE** **EMP1: EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATIVE, MALE**	**DANISH**
MOH: I worked (.) soldiers °eh↑ [possible trouble source: grammar, use of plural instead of singular]	MOH: jeg arbejde(.)soldater °eh↑

EMP1: yes [the employee representative does not signal identification of the trouble source and replies to MOH]	EMP1: ja
MAN: a:s↑ [the manager identifies the trouble source and requires a repair through a minimal question]	MAN: so:m↑
MOH: SOLdiers [Mohammed repeats, putting a heavy stress on the second vowel (Standard Danish), though with the plural form unchanged]	MOH: SoldAter
EMP1: SOLdier [The employee provides a new repair with the required standard form in singular	EMP1: soldAt
MOH: [soldiers ((soldater)) [Mohammed confirms the repair, though still in non-standard plural]	MOH: [soldater
MAN: [O↑kay [the manager acts as if she accepts the repair]	MAN: [O↑kay

In the above example Mohammed does not provide a repair of the requested grammatical form ("soldat" instead of "soldater") which creates a misunderstanding for the manager but not for the employee representative. However, both Mohammed, EMP1 and MAN use several turns to clarify the misunderstood element, and after both Mohammed and the employee representative have treated the trouble source for the manager, she closes the chunk with an assertive "O↑kay" indicating perhaps some readiness to move further, though with no information about the misunderstanding being cleared or not. This strategy of "closing the trouble and moving further" is characteristic for the IO job interviews in cases in which the applicants' pronunciation and grammar are notably deviant from standard Danish. It seems that negotiation has taken place and the misunderstanding has been *solved* in the sense that the interview continues, but as Hinnekamp 1993:3 argued, it is not *clarified (*there is still uncertainty of whether the questioned item has been fixed). When unclarified misunderstandings like this float under the surface, the applicants are referred to as "difficult to understand and especially "difficult to read" and are not offered a job (also Roberts and Campbell 2006).

Example 2: Misunderstanding of tempus

TSANG, KITCHEN HELP, UNSUCCESSFUL **TSA: TSANG, FEMALE, MAN: MANAGER, FEMALE**	**DANISH**
1. MAN: yeah whe- when do you take	1.MAN: ja hvor- hvornår går du
2. language classes	2. du på sprogskole hvad
3. what what time	3. hvad tidspunkt
4. TSA: erm it was last year	4.TSA: øh det var sidste år
5. summer	5. sommer
((tempus not understood, "wrong" answer))	
6. MAN: okay so now you don't take	6.MAN: okay så du i øjeblikket går
7. language classes	7. du ikke på sprogskole
((best hypothesis on Tsang's "wrong" answer))	
8. TSA: no	8.TSA: nej
9. MAN: no	9.MAN: nej
((temporary understanding established))	
10.TSA: erm no yes yes yes	10.TSA: øh nej ja jo jo
((Tsang realizes the misunderstanding))	
11.MAN: yes	11.MAN: ja
12.TSA: yes yeah yeah I I I I	12.TSA: ja jo jo jeg jeg jeg jeg
13. take I I'm not finished	13. går jeg jeg har ikke
((repair of misunderstanding))	
14.MAN: no you're not not	14. færdig med
15. finished so which day	15.MAN: nej du er ikke færdig så
16. which day do you go to	16. hvilken dag hvilken dag
((confirmation & repaired original question))	
17. <TSA: mm>	17. går du i i: i øjeblikket
18.TSA: I expect to finish yeah	18. <TSA: mm>
19. I hope to have finished	19.TSA: jeg forvente jeg være
20. by ha to have finished	20. færdig til ja jeg håber
21. by the winter (.)	21. ha jeg være færdig til
((new misunderstanding, second "wrong" answer))	til vinter (.)
22.EMP: do you take classes	23.EMP: går du i skole om dagen
23. during daytime now	24. nu
((new repaired question based on Tsang's repair in lines 12-13))	
25.TSA: yeah but I can I can	25.TSA: ja men jeg kan jeg kan
26. change it erm time from	26. skifte den øh tid fra
27. from (.) from from	27. fra fra (.) fra fra
28. normal daytime	28. normal dagtid til
29. to weekend so I can come	29. weekend så jeg kan
30. <EMP: yeah> to work	30. komme <EMP: ja> til
((("correct" answer, repair))	30. arbejde

Several problems occur in the above example due to misunderstanding of how to answer the temporal question "when". The manager seeks an answer to "what time of the day" but Tsang answers in terms of what time of the year (`last summer`). The misunderstanding escalates when the manager in line 6 interprets Tsang's answer about Danish classes last summer in a way that she has finished taking classes. Then Tsang's

hasty `erm no yes yes yes` in line 10 suggests that the misunderstanding is suddenly dawning on her and she provides a repair in line 13 by saying that she is still taking classes. To the manager's repaired question about whether she takes classes during day time, Tsang provides a short "yes" and rapidly adds that she can also switch to weekend classes, `so I can come to work` (line 29-30). The last sentence suggests that after a series of small misunderstandings Tsang finds it important to tell the manager that regardless of when Danish classes take place, she will have no problems coming to work.

This is an example in which at first glance simple misunderstanding of a temporal question may be rooted in complex communicative strategies to tackle the expectances of the gatekeeping context. Tsang wants to show flexibility in relation to the working hours because she hopes to get the job. This is usually a successful strategy but here it seems to be drowned in the general lack of understanding between the interlocutors (which takes place throughout the whole interview). This is also an example of the interplay of linguistic and cultural fluency skills in both Danish language and knowledge of the interview game (see the chapters ***Cultural Fluency*** and ***What is cultural and what is linguistic?***)

Example 3: Lack of understanding of vocabulary unit

HANNAH, FRONT DESK SECRETARY, SUCCESSFUL **MAN: MANAGER, FEMALE, HAN: HANNAH**	**DANISH**
1. MAN: do you have difficulties learning Danish ((idiomatic, lit. do you have it easy with))	1. MAN: har du let ved at lære dansk
2. HAN: e:rm ((ø:h)) [Hannah signals trouble by a voiced pause)	2. HAN: ø:h
3. MAN: do you have [mmm [the manager starts reformulation]	3. MAN: har du [mmm
4. HAN: [ha ha [embarrassed laugh]	4. HAN: [ha ha
5. MAN: (I'll) just reformulate it (.) I how how do you call that is it difficult to learn [Danish [metacommunication + reformulation completed]	5. MAN: (skal) lige omformulere mig (.) jeg hvad hvad hedder det er det svært at lære [dansk
6. HAN: [no [trouble source removed, mutual understanding re-established]	6. HAN: [nej

In example 3 the Danish idiomatic expression “har du let ved” (literally “do you have it easy with”) creates a trouble source for Hannah which she indicates by a voiced pause (e:.rm) in line 2. The pause is noted by the manager who explicitly mentions that she will reformulate the question (line 5) and asks the same question anew without the idiomatic construction. Hannah acts as if she understands the new construction and provides a negative answer to the question of whether she has difficulties in Danish (line 6) - ironic, because she has just proven the opposite.

4.4.5. Misunderstandings: conclusion

The three types of common misunderstandings showed how repair and meaning are mutually negotiated. Both panels and applicants strive with problems of clarity and conversational bumpiness in attempt to solve them as well as possible. Some misunderstandings, although linguistic on the surface, may also be rooted in complex contexts and agendas set by the high stakes of the gatekeeping situation. Generally, I find few examples in which panels or applicants metacommunicate non-understanding (e.g. by asking "what does that mean"). I interpret that either as a fear for displaying weakness (from the applicant's point of view) or desire to avoid face loss (from the panel’s point of view). Another reason is that misunderstandings are not central in a sense that the applicants’ level of Danish is already taken account of (i.e. the panels are prepared to meet applicants whose Danish might be very deviant from what they are used to). I leave the issue of misunderstandings for now and will come back to it in ***Cultural Fluency*** which illuminates misunderstandings due to expectations in cultural norms.

4.5. Analysis: Two successful and two unsuccessful applicants

This section analyses four job interviews for two similar non-academic positions: a school kitchen service and a handyman in a nursing home. The analysis focuses on the mutual production of fluency by studying the interaction in four job interviews. It presents a detailed analysis of several excerpts by each applicant aiming at identifying and discussing communicative features of success and failure in the applicants’ interviews. It should be noted that the analysis does not compare applicants but the jointly produced communicative strategies which means that panels’ role is just as important as applicant’s.

The chart below gives an overview of pseudonyms, positions, age, area of origin, amount of years spent in Denmark, length of interview and average numbers of tokens and utterances per minute.

Candidate	Age	Position	Origin	Years in DK	Length of interview	Tokens per min.	Utterances per min.
Ruben (successful)	25	Kitchen service	South America	1	30:50	66,8	14,0
Mohammed (unsuccessful)	42	Handyman	Middle East	20	15:32	39,4	10,5
Tsang (unsuccessful)	25	Kitchen service	Asia	7	27:30	72,65	7,27
Domingo (successful)	35	Handyman	South America	1	26:48	75,53	10,99

Ruben and Domingo are both successful, and, as the chart above shows, they both have a larger amount of utterances and tokens per minute. Their interviews last longer than Mohammed's and Tsang's interviews. Ruben and Domingo have been living in Denmark only one year, while Mohammed and Tsang have spent 20 and 7 years, respectively. Ruben and Tsang's panel consist of two members: a manager (MAN) and an employee (EMP); Mohammed and Domingo's panel consist of three members: a manager (MAN) and two employees (EMP and EM1).

4.5.1 RUBEN - managing the interactive dictionary

Ruben is a 25-year old South American male who has spent 1 year in Denmark. He attends Danish classes every day. He has a theatrical education from Cuba and describes himself as an artist and a painter. Before applying for the kitchen service position, he has had a cleaning job in a hotel.

In the following example Ruben (RUB) is talking with the manager (MAN) and one of the employees (EMP). Just prior to the conversation in the transcript, the manager asks Ruben whether he knows anything about autism. Ruben is uncomfortable admitting that he does not know much about autism. For example he says:" `I do not study that but`" (`jeg studerer ikke det men`). The manager explains that he is not supposed to

know anything about autism; she just asks whether he does. Then she starts elaborating on the condition of autism (line 1):

RUBEN, KITCHEN SERVICE, SUCCESSFUL **MAN: MANAGER, FEMALE, RUB: RUBEN**	**DANISH** **BEG. 13.22**
01.MAN: but if I have to say 02. something very short so erm 03. they need to know what 04. happens every day 05. RUB: mm 06. MAN: that same thing happens 07. every day 08. <RUB: samme thing every> 09. yes <RUB: yes> <EMP:yes> 10. RUB: cos it's sorry 11. <EMP: erm> it I I 12. think it is something 13. they cannot sense erm 14. fee- fee-xxx do you 15. know that 15. <MAN: feelings> feelings 16. yeah <EMP: feelings yeah> 17. true xxx <MAN: erm> 18. MAN: by all means they have 19. difficulties in reading 20. other people 21. RUB: okay 22. MAN: I mean they have 23. difficulties in 24. understanding what 25. what's going on for 25. <RUB: yeah yeah> you or 26. EMP or me 27. <RUB: yeah yeah> 28. RUB: yeah yeah exactly 29. <MAN: yes mm> 30. MAN: so we'll we'll help 31. them understand 32. RUB: mm 33. MAN: erm the daily schedule 34. too and make it safe and 35. easy 36. RUB: mm 37. EMP: in fixed boundaries 38. RUB: fixed boundaries every 39. day and <MAN: yes> 40. <EMP: yeah> 41. for example you do the 42. same the s- every day 43. EMP: ja 44. RUB: the same things yes 45. <MAN: exactly> 46. RUB: yeah	01. MAN: men hvis jeg skal sige 02. meget kort så er det at øh 03. de har brug for at 04. hverdagen er kendt 05. RUB: mm 06. MAN: at det er det samme 07. hver dag 08. <RUB: det samme hver> ja 09. <RUB: ja> <EMP:ja> 10. RUB: fordi det er undskyld 11. <EMP: øh> det jeg jeg 12. synes det er noget de 13. kan ikke mærke til øh 14. føj- føjxxx kender du det 15. <MAN: følelser> 16. følelser ja 17. <EMP: følelser ja> 17. rigtig xxx <MAN: øh> 18. MAN: de har i hvert fald 19. svært ved at læse andre 20. mennesker 21. RUB: okay 22. MAN: altså de de har svært 23. ved at forstå hvad hvad 24. der foregår for 25. <RUB: ja ja> dig eller 26. EMP eller mig 27. <RUB: ja ja> 28. RUB: ja ja det jo det det jo 29. det <MAN: ja mm> 30. MAN: så vi skal vi skal 31. hjælpe dem med at forstå 32. RUB: mm 33. MAN: øh hverdagen også skal 34. hverdagen gøres tryg og 35. overskuelig 36. RUB: mm 37. EMP: i faste rammer 38. RUB: faste rammer hver dag og 39. <MAN: ja> <EMP: ja> 40. for eksempel I laver det 41. samme det s- hver dag 43. EMP: ja 44. RUB: de samme ting ja 45. <MAN: netop> 46. RUB: ja

Let us take a closer look at lines 6 to 16 from the transcript in which the manager explains what autism is. Look at the following excerpt:

LINES 6-16, RUBEN (repeated example)

```
6. MAN: …same thing happens every [day
7. RUB:                           [samme thing every
8. MAN:   ye[s
9. RUB:   [yes
10. RUB:  cos [it's sorry
11. EMP:      [erm
12. RUB:  it I I think it is something they cannot sense erm
13.       fee-  fee-xxx do you know [that↑
14. MAN:                            [feelings
15. RUB:  feelings
15.       [yeah
16. EMP:  [feelings yeah true xxx
```

Ruben listens to the manager's account of autism, and suddenly in line 10, he exclaims: `cos it's sorry it I I think it is something they cannot sense erm fee- fee-xxx do you know that↑`, as if he understands or remembers what autism is and wants to grab a chance to prove that he certainly knows about it. To do that, he has to interrupt the manager. To avoid possible face loss, he provides an excuse (`sorry`, line 10). Then he faces another problem not quite remembering the word "feelings" and tries to articulate something like "`fee- fee-xxx`". The word does not come to him and he asks for help: "`do you know that`". The manager provides the required word "`feelings`". As soon as the common ground is established and Ruben has proven that he has both knowledge of the topic and ability to demonstrate it, the rest of the conversation (lines 21-46) proceeds smoothly. The three interlocutors build up the conversation together and each of them functions as an important building block in the joint construction (very much in line with Vygotsky's principle of scaffolding, e.g. in Kozulin 2003). Each part supplements each other in a perfect functioning system: The manager continues her account on autism, the employee supplements further with facts and Ruben repeats and sums up (lines 33-45):

```
MAN:   erm the daily schedule too and make it safe and easy
RUB:   mm
EMP:   in fixed boundaries
RUB:   fixed boundaries every day and <MAN: yes> <EMP: yeah>
       for example you do the same the s- every day
EMP:   yeah
RUB:   the same things yes <MAN: exactly>
RUB:   yeah
```

The reiterations can be related to what Sacks 1966 [in Sacks et al 1995] calls *collaborative speech* to illustrate the listener's possible continuations of the speaker's turns. Collaborative speech is seen a lot in institutional talk. For example, Komter 1991:123 has documented that job applicants produce a higher amount of collaborative utterances than those who interview them. Komter sees that as a communicative strategy through which applicants wish to present themselves as attentive listeners in attempt to attract the interviewers' positive attention. Svennevig 2003 terms the same phenomenon "echo answers" which he divides into two groups according to the purpose they serve: either to appropriate somebody's formulation (usually if the person has difficulties in expressing her- or himself) or to claim commitment to the answer which I see in Ruben's replies.

So, Ruben demonstrates linguistic fluency not by flawless proficiency in standard Danish, but by high level of understanding and convincing manifestation of communicative competence through which he manages to establish himself as a skillful interlocutor *despite* his limited Danish. This is also the job panel's impression. The members describe Ruben as "`easy to communicate with in spite of his Danish`" **(POST INTERVIEW CONVERSATION).** This is a very interesting comment because it reveals that language is seen in two different ways – on the one hand there is a normative view on non-standard Danish, but on the other hand there is an acknowledgement of the good communication, despite the non-standardness.

Ruben's main skills are as follows:

1) He demonstrates a high level of vocabulary comprehension by repeating, reformulating, supplementing and summing up others' conversational turns. His reformulations are simple and based on previous turns but manifest an ability to understand and engage himself in the conversation
2) He demonstrates an ability to allocate himself conversational turns without losing face or causing others' face loss.
3) He is comfortable in trying out new words of which he is not necessarily in command, and he is ready to ask for help if he is unable to continue on his own. He uses the panel's competence strategically to supplement his own linguistic skills.

Ruben negotiates and builds up fluency interactively. With the metaphor of a dictionary, we can say that Ruben "uses" the more competent interlocutors as *interactive*

dictionaries in which he looks up words and phrases. Instead of pausing or giving up, he utilizes the panel's linguistic resources whenever he finds himself short of a word. The interview goes like clockwork. The perfectly driven cog wheels act together to uphold the rhythm and the meaning. With this example, second language fluency understood as a monologic phenomenon that is merely anchored in the speaker's production of "correct" units (e.g. Lennon 1990) is clearly challenged. We need a broader understanding that reaches above the monologic definition of fluency as about the speaker's *production* of smooth speech without and relate it to the general mechanisms of interaction, and most importantly, not only to the production, but also to the perception. I see interactive fluency much closer to what Bremer et al 1996 studies describe. According to them, efficient interactants are those who manage to break the negative cycle of non-understanding and *show a capacity to diagnose the source of their problem, which, as well as drawing on their pragmatic competence, requires them to focus on the linguistic forms* (Roberts 1996:107, see e.g. Marcello in their data who acts very much like Ruben). I shall come back to Ruben in a while, but first let us look at the other three applicants.

4.5.2. MOHAMMED - "never mind, it means nothing"

Mohammed is 42 years old and has migrated to Denmark from the Middle East 20 years ago. He co-owns a green grocery store situated in Nørrebro, an area of Copenhagen with a relatively high concentration of ethnic and linguistic minorities. Mohammed has participated in several integration projects and internships as a handyman. He has a strong desire to be employed at a Danish workplace, but so far his applications have been unsuccessful. Mohammed is in many ways what Danes might call a "classic", Middle Eastern immigrant from the 1990s. He is very different from Ruben; e.g. considering his age (42), less years of schooling, and the fact that he has not received Danish classes lately. At the time of the interview, he had spent almost half of his life in Denmark.

We already saw a small cross-section of Mohammed's interview (the "soldiers" example in section 4.4.4.) in which it became clear that the manager had difficulties in understanding him. Another distinct feature of Mohammed's is reiteration of others' utterances:

MOHAMMED, HANDYMAN, UNSUCCESSFUL **MAN: MANAGER, FEMALE, MOH: MOHAMMED**	**DANISH** **BEG. AT 4:59**
1. MAN: ((smacking)) yeah 2. but they live in 3. small houses↓ 4. (.) 5. MOH: small↑ 6. MAN: small houses yes↓ 7. (.) 8. MOH: small houses yes↓	1. MAN: ((smasker)) ja men 2. de bor i 3. små huse↓ 4. (.) 5. MOH: små↑ 6. MAN: små huse ja↓ 7. (.) 8. MOH: små huse ja↓

These reiterations remind of collaborative speech (Sacks 1966) and echo-answers (Svennevig 2003) which I mentioned in the analysis of Ruben's interview. However, I find the way Mohamed repeats the manager's utterances different from the way Ruben does. I noticed that Ruben's repetitions often overlap MAN, while Mohammed pauses after each turn as if he waits for a new question. Mohammed rarely builds further on previous turns, neither is he using the repetitions to link to something he would like to suggest, ask or reflect on. I am not sure how to interpret this. It might be that Mohammed does not know what to say, because he is not familiar with the job interview as an activity type - yet he would like to signal some kind of proactivity. Another reason might be poor hearing. I counted that during the 15 minutes of the interview, he asked "what did you say" six times. In Danish "Hvad siger du" is the most common way to ask for repair signaling "I did not hear that", and as his intonation and tempo suggest, it sounds rather like a mishearing than a misunderstanding.

Mohammed's speech rate is generally slow. He utters only 10,5 utterances and 39,4 tokens per minute which is notably lower than the other three applicants (see chart). It is difficult to estimate how much Mohammed understands because when he signals need for repair, it often sounds as if he rather calls for repetition due to a mishearing. Unless asked directly, he rarely initiates turns. Furthermore, his backchannelling is very scarce. For example, during MAN's turn of 40 seconds (from 2:45 to 3:25), Mohammed not even once signals that he follows the story line, so in the end MAN has to ask: `do you understand what I mean` (3.25) to which Mohammed immediately replies `I understand` (3:26). Understanding seems to play a central role for the panel's assessments and is the reason for not offering him the job: `He could not understand English and he could not understand everything in Danish either after so many years in Denmark.` I shall return to that in ***Ideologies and Assessments***.

Several times Mohammed gets cross-questioned in a rather insistent manner. Look at the next example:

MOHAMMED, HANDYMAN, UNSUCCESSFUL **MAN: MANAGER, FEMALE, EMP: EMPLOYEE, MALE**	**DANISH** **BEG. 6:23**
01.MAN: are you (.) do you work 02. right NOW or↑ 03.MOH: no 04.MAN: you are unemployed now] 05.MOH: [no unemployed now= 06.MAN: [yes 07.MOH: [=trade union 08. (1.5) 09.MAN: you are in a trade 10. union↑ 11.MOH: yes 12. (1.0) 13.MAN: which trade union↑ 14.MOH: e:rhm (1.5) e:rhm 15. °what is it called° 16. (1.8) 17. uni- e:rhm (18. 2.0) [engation] 19. (3.0) 20. EMP: in which e:rhm what 21. when did you become a 22. member(.) when yo:u were 23. a postman o:r= 24.MOH: °erhm-wha- excuse me↑ 25.EMP: when did you become a 26. member of the trade 27. union was it when you 28. you o- when you were a 29. postman=] 30.MOH: [I was postman yes 31.EMP: yes 32.MOH: °yes 33.EMP: is it (.) what is it 34. called f- is it 35. FUNC:tional nee what is 36. it called= 37.MAN: °°actually I do not know 38.EMP: [no 39.MAN: [no (.) never mind it 40. doesn't matter ha 41. ha hh 42. (0.8) it means nothing 43.EMP: yes 44. (2.5) 45.MOH: I know where it lies and 46. all that xxx 47. MAN: m-m (2.0)	01.MAN: er du (.) har du arbejde 02. NU eller↑ 03.MOH: nej 04.MAN: du er arbejdsløs nu] 05.MOH: [nej arbejdsløs nu= 06.MAN: [ja 07.MOH: [=fagforening 08. (1.5) 09.MAN: du er i fagforening↑ 10. 11.MOH: ja 12. (1.0) 13.MAN: hvilken fagforening 14.MOH: ø:h (1.5) ø:h 15. °hvad hedder den° 16. (1.8) 17. foRbudt ø:h 18. (2.0)[engation] 19. (3.0) 20.EMP: i hvil-ø:h hvad hvornår er 21. du blevet meldt ind i den 22. (.) da du: 23. post e:ller= 24.MOH: °øh-hva- hvad siger du↑ 25.EMP: hvornår blev du meldt ind 26. fagforeningen var det du 27. du o- da du var post=] 28.MOH: [jeg var post ja 29. EMP: ja 30.MOH: °ja 31.EMP: er det (.) hvad 32. hedder f- 33. er det FUNK:tionel næ 34. hvad er det den= 35. MAN: °°det ved jeg faktisk 36. ikke 37. 38. EMP: [nej 39. MAN: [nej (.) pyt med det 40. gør heller ikke noget ha 41. ha hh 42. (0.8) det betyder mindre 43.EMP: ja 44. (2.5) 45.MOH: jeg kender hvor ligger 46. den alt det der xxx 47.LED: m-m (2.0)

The employee EMP asks Mohammed 7 different questions in less than 1.5 minutes. Five of them are reformulations of the question "which trade union are you a member of"

articulated in different ways in order to find out the concrete name of the trade union. EMP's asking technique is clearly insisting; he continues asking until even the manager has to give up and admit that she is not familiar with the trade union's name. Fogtmann 2007 has a parallel example from her study of Danish naturalization interviews in which the interviewing police officers in a very similar way insist on an answer about whether the interviewees names appear in the crime register ("Er du kendt i kriminalregistret?"). Just as in Mohammed's case, this is an utterly irrelevant question (but nevertheless very bothersome) as the answer can easily be looked up.

The whole atmosphere of hyper-questioning (in analogy to Erickson's 1982 hyper-explanations) leaves the impression that Mohammed is put on trial and cross-questioned about something he either does not know or cannot quite remember. Mohamed responds by slowing down the speech rate and producing a lot of pauses and repetitions. Gradually Mohammed becomes more passive, and after line 24 when he utters "excuse me", he practically does not participate in the rest of the conversation in the transcript. Bateson 1972 (see also Tannen 2011) calls this form for communicative withdrawal "complementary schismogenesis" by which he points out that certain ritual behaviours can activate the inhibition or stimulation of a schismogenic relationship. In this case, the more the employee insists on the name of the trade union, the more Mohammed seems to pull himself out of the conversation. Because he is unable to provide a proper answer, he is left out without being given a possibility for a new interactional contribution. His attempt to come up with the name in line 14-15 (`uni- e:rhm (2.0) [engation] (3.0)` is not recognized or picked up by either the manager or the employee. On the contrary, the employee instantly puts in new requests (`in which e:rm what when did you become a member (.) when yo:u were a postman o:r=`).

If we go back to the "the soldiers"-example in section 4.4.4, we see how Mohammed struggles with both grammar and pronunciation in Danish. However, the main problem is not the deviation from standard Danish but the fact that the panel and especially the manager does not give him clear signals about his difficulties with the Danish language. In the soldiers-example as soon as the manager has understood Mohammed's point (because of the employee's repair) she hurries on closing the topic with a blunt "`okay`". The same happens in the trade union-excerpt. Mohammed's repair attempts remain

unaddressed and mutual understanding is not established. The topic is closed by the manager's : never mind it doesn't matter ha ha hh (0.8) it means nothing". But I wonder, if it really meant nothing, why did they use so much time on something they could easily look up?

The two excerpts showed that Mohammed is given scarce chances to express himself. The reasons are complex and several. Mohammed's vocabulary limitations in Danish and the fact that he does not take initiatives to ask for help result in a strategy in which the panel leaves the troublesome episodes unanswered. Unfortunately, it has a negative effect on Mohammed, as he becomes even more passive. Losing and preserving face are certainly issues for the manager who aims at avoiding the embarrassing situations by closing them quickly and saying that it means nothing. This strategy, however, gives breeding ground for discrimination as it marginalizes Mohammed and puts him into an uncomfortable position due to the manager's obvious misalignment with him (Erickson & Schultz's 1982, Roberts 1992, Roberts and Campbell 2006). As later chapters reveal, alignment of panel and applicant very often creates a positive communicative environment which in many cases leads to a job offer (see also Roberts et al 2008).

4.5.3. Fluency as polylanguaging

This section analyses two job interviews with focus on polylanguaging (e.g. Jørgensen 2008) as a communicative strategy. According to Jørgensen 2010 speakers use and combine features from what traditionally is called different languages and what Jørgensen regards as ideological constructs, with intentions, i.e. in order to achieve their interactional aims. The major point of polylanguaging is that speakers do not use languages as bounded systems; they use whatever linguistic *features* are at their disposal in whatever combination that suit their interactional goals (Jørgensen 2010, see also Madsen, Møller and Jørgensen 2010, Jørgensen and Juffermans 2011). For example, languaging is not the use of one or the other "language", but of language. Language is understood as communicative practice and "not as countable entities that are given in the natural world, but as dynamic, creative potential to speak" (Jørgensen and Juffermans 2011:1).

The features the individuals use will vary from person to person and from situation to situation as they will be dependent on how or whether the interlocutors

appreciate of them. In professional and educational contexts, some “languages” would be officially more accepted in the process of polylanguaging. For example, research has shown that English has a higher status in comparison to other foreign languages in Denmark (e.g. Kristiansen 2006, Daryai-Hansen 2010, see also Thøgersen 2008 who calls English "the default foreign language" in Denmark). Evidently, it is not unimportant what source (or “language”) is allowed to come side by side with Danish and there is no doubt that features of English are some of the most welcomed linguistic resources in addition to Danish in official professional contexts. In the following analysis, I investigate how polylanguaging is practiced successfully. I illustrate that successful communication is not constrained to a particular set of one perfectly spoken language; rather it can be achieved through employment of different sets of linguistic resources. The data I discuss differs from the data of Jørgensen, Madsen and Møller, but nevertheless illustrates a similar point.

4.5.4. DOMINGO: “he was so good at Danish, I mean English”

Domingo is 35 years old male from South America. He has spent 1 year in Denmark. Domingo has a broad experience as a handyman from several countries. Domingo is married to a Dane whom he met on a holiday. By the time of the job interview, Domingo has been following intensive Danish classes for several months.

The main characteristic of Domingo is his integrated use of both English and Danish, 61 % of his talk is in English. Here is an example - the underlined words and sentences are pronounced in English, the rest is uttered in Danish.

DOMINGO, HANDYMAN, SUCCESSFUL **MAN: MANAGER, FEMALE; EMP: EMPOLYEE, MALE** **DOM: DOMINGO**	**DANISH** **BEG. AT 05:07**
1. MAN: erm would you begin with 2. explaining a little 3. bit about yourself 4. DOM: ye:s okay↑ erm I come 5. from Uruguay I: have 6. been in Dinemark h- for 7. one year (.) I:= 8. MAN: [one year 9. DOM: one year yes erm I 10. married a Dane woman erm 11. for in august two thousand 12. and eight a:nd 13. I started school in 14. January so I speak a 15. little Danish and I can 16. understand a little more 17. but in school eh and a	1. MAN: øh vil du starte med 2. at fortælle lidt 3. om dig selv 4. DOM: j:a okay↑ øh jeg kommer 5. fra Uruguay je:g har *været i* 6. *Dinemark h- et år (.) je:g=* 7. MAN: [et år 8. DOM: et år ja øh jeg blev gift med 9. dansker kvinde øh om i 10. august to tusind otte 11. o:g jeg starte i skole 12. og i January så jeg 13. taler li:dt 14. dansk og jeg kan forstå 15. lidt mere men i skole 16. eh og lidt af grammar 17. grammar grammar jeg øh

18. little of grammar grammar 19. grammar I erm completed 20. completed first module 21. and (1.0) for two 22. weeks two weeks now eh 23. we started talking a 24. little more in school 25. and I have [been] e:h 26. painting erm handyman 27. I don't know what do 28. you call it in Danish 29. EMP: which one 30. DOM: what handyman 31. EMP: it's the same 32. MAN: [a handyman yes 33. DOM: [yes 34. MAN: it is the same inDanish 35. EMP: [we use handy too 36. DOM: [yes it in Uruguay 37. MAN: [ha ha ha 38. DOM: also in Spain in Spain 39. erm as handyman a:nd 40. painting company e:h and 41. every day I come in 42. Dinemark in Uruguay I have 43. work almost ten years i:n 44. [name] erm 45. painting eh carpentry a:nd 46. garden erm little erm not big 47. [gardens little bit 48. MAN: [mm 49. DOM: so little gardens and 50. electrics (1.0) little 51. erm not erm big jobs but 52. little jobs had electrics 53. and you know eh sorry can 54. I talk [little in English 55. EMP: [mm 56. DOM: because is a little 57. difficult to explain in 58. Danish 59. MAN: mm 60. DOM: erm reparation in in 61. apartment erm little 62. things 63. (...) 64. MAN: [mm (1.0) so you have 65. worked both in Uruguay 66. in Spain and in the US 67. DOM: [yes yes in US I have 68. worked industrial company	18. udførte udførte first 19. module og (1.0) for two 20. weeks to uger now eh vi 21. starte tale lidt mere 22. i skole og jeg har 23. [været] eh painting øh 24. handyman det ved jeg 25. ikke hvad hvad de- siger 26. du på dansk 27. EMP: hvad for noget 28. DOM: hvad handyman 29. EMP: det er det samme 30. MAN: [en handyman ja 31. DOM: [ja 32. MAN: det hedder det samme på 33. dansk 34. EMP1: [handy bruger vi også 35. DOM: [ja det i Uruguay 36. MAN: [ha ha ha 37. DOM: også in Spain i Spain 38. øh as handyman 39. painting company e:h 40. og hver dag jeg kommer 41. i Dinemark i Uruguay 42. jeg har arbejde næsten 43. ti år i: [name] øh 44. painting eh carpentry 45. o:g garden øh lidt øh 46. not big [gardens little bit 47. MAN: [mm 48. DOM: so lidt gardens og 49. electrics (1.0) lidt øh 50. not øh big jobs men lidt 51. jobs electrics 52. and you know eh sorry 53. can I talk a [little in 54. English 55. EMP1: [mm 56. DOM: because it's a little 57. difficult to explain in 58. Danish 59. MAN: mm 60. DOM: øh reparation in 61. in apartment øh little 62. things 63. (...) 64. MAN: mm (1.0) så du har 65. både arbejdet i Uruguay 66. og i Spanien og i USA 67. <DOM: ja> ja i USA jeg har 68. arbejdet industrial company

There are several remarkable aspects of Domino's presentation. First, Domingo seems to have prepared himself for the panel's question "tell us a little about yourself" which is a standard element of a job interview. Second, there is a gradual switch from Danish to English. Third, in order to establish the switch into English, Domingo asks the panel for permission. The permission is neither given nor denied (the only comment being [mm]).

Domingo might interpret the minimal response as a positive sign, or he may not have the resources to continue in Danish. Fourth, the manager keeps asking questions in Danish, signaling that she either has not permitted the switch, or does not want to or cannot speak English (the latter proves not to be the case, see further analysis). Fifth, when Domingo answers a question, he starts responding in Danish but as soon as he realizes that he lacks the terminology to explain himself further in Danish, he switches into English (line 49-54). I shall illustrate that in a while. The interview, as in Ruben's case, is used as a pedagogic conversation (Roberts and Simonot 1987), i.e. Domingo consults unknown words with the panel to move further in the interaction.

Domingo's vocabulary in Danish contains mainly repetitions, basic coordinating conjunctions, simple subject-verb constructions, but also a vast amount of evaluative talk. However, the most important feature of his communicative style is that whenever he is comfortable with even a small amount of Danish, he puts it into immediate action:

DOMINGO
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE (TRANSLATION IN PARENTHESES)

1. I can go to school with the lærer (teacher) they help you to to read the grammar og snakker (and talk)

2. jeg kan se filme med subtitles it is very easy (I can watch films with…)

Domingo utilizes the Danish "islands of reliability" (Deckert 1984) by sprinkling Danish words into his English narratives. Note that they are not metacommunicated or signaled by a pause – they are fully integrated into the narrative as "sets of repertoires" (Blommaert 2005) or "sets of resources" (Jørgensen 2010). Look at the next example:

DOMINGO, HANDYMAN, SUCCESSFUL	**DANISH, BEG. AT 19:11**
1. MAN: … now we'll have some 2. coffee do you drink 3. [coffee 4. DOM: [xxx coffee yes <MAN: 5. ((laughing))> 6. DOM: [yeah coffee is good 7. really nice 8. MAN: yes it is↑ really nice 9. indeed↓ ((exalted, smiling voice))	1. MAN: … får vi lige 2. noget kaffe drikker 3. du [kaffe 4. DOM: [xxx kaffe ja <MAN: 5. ((griner))> 6. DOM: [ja kaffe er godt 7. meget fint 8. MAN: ja det er↑ nemlig 9. meget fint↓ ((eksalteret, smilende stemme))

Domingo's response in Danish in line 3 (coffee is good) comes after a long narrative in English in which he explains about his previous experience in a construction company. When he finishes, one employee representative picks up the coffee from another room and the manager asks Domingo whether he would like to have some. Domingo exclaims in Danish (line 3) that `coffee is good` (kaffe er godt) thus also indicating that he would very much like some coffee. His exclamation brings a smile to the lips of the manager who completely agrees (`it is really nice indeed`). With this common Danish phrase, Domingo demonstrates knowledge of context and signals a high degree of community membership. I shall discuss the importance of formulae in the end of the chapter.

By using both languages, Domingo is able to express himself without delay and his performance seems more convincing. Danish and English flow unproblematically into each other and function side by side. As stated in the post interview conversation, the panel considers Domingo a highly fluent speaker of Danish and English. They offer Domingo the job `because he was the most qualified candidate and he was so good at Danish, I mean English!` (**PHONE INTERVIEW, MAY 2009**). This small lapsus encapsulates the idea of polylanguaging: "Danish" and "English" are seen as one meaningful body. It seems that the panel is not focused on how much Danish and how much English Domingo has been using. Successful communication and conveying of meaning seems to count more than monolingual correctness. Polylanguaging has helped Domingo extend his vocabulary – he is able to draw on different sets of resources to serve his purposes. While English helps him to communicate job-related issues, Danish is used as an alignment strategy through which he orients towards the panel's Danish values. As a consequence and a sign of acknowledgement, Domingo's strategy is adopted by the rest of the panel:

DOMINGO, BEG. 24:30
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE, TRANSLATION IN PARENTHESIS

1. DOM: they they live here or they come <HAN: they live here> **ja**
   [transl: yes]
2. HAN: they do not co- come every day <DOM: ja>
3. DOM: no no one come from ah okay <HAN: mm> okay
4. HAN: they go to erm school and then they come back in the evening
5. DOM: nå okay cos I go to school <HAN: but they lives in the>
   [transl: is that true]
6. HAN: in the room
7. DOM: ind i skole in [place]
   [into school]

```
8. HAN:  [place]
9. DOM:  [place] <MAN: ja> ja they live erm childs in the school and
10.      all the
11.      childs come to the school <HAN: ja> every day
12.MAN:  mm
13.DOM:  so (.)
14.MAN:  men men men det her det er voksne it is grown-ups
        [transl: but but but these are adults]
15.DOM:  ja ja øh seksten femten år
        [transl: yes yes erm sixteen fifteen years]
16.MAN:  nej de er <HAN: nej> o- de er over atten
         [transl: no they are ... o-they are over eighteen]
```

The example reflects the original languages. In line 1-13 both Domingo and the employee representative speak English. However, Domingo uses small markers in Danish (ja, nå, ind i skole) to show the panel that he is still tuned in to Danish. What I find interesting is that the manager, who until that moment has only spoken Danish to Domingo, suddenly switches into English. In line 14 she provides a parallel utterance, first in Danish and then in English (men men men det her det er voksne it is grown-ups) to which Domingo immediately responds in Danish: ja ja øh seksten femten år. Domingo's polylanguaging is gradually legalized and accepted firstly by the two employee representatives (as we saw in the previous examples), and secondly by the manager. Particularly the manager's switch into English a few minutes before the end of the interview is a tremendous sign of acceptance. The interlocutors have established common ground, and note that it is a ground that Domingo has introduced them to. As next chapters reveal, this is one of the links between linguistic fluency, cultural fluency and ideology. Domingo's linguistic performance is appreciated not least because he is also seen as culturally fluent – he has demonstrated knowledge of context, ambition for linguistic improvement and interest in the values of the Danish community (apart from the "coffee" example, he is also talking about his Danish wife, about their trips to known Danish destinations and about his life in general, all of which demonstrate a high degree of appreciation of Danish values).

In sum, Domingo is not just using monolithic blocks of Danish or English; he is interactively and situationally performing polylanguaging. Whenever he needs to obtain a certain interactional purpose, e.g. drawing on a larger vocabulary or professional expressions (as in the example about previous work experience), he switches into English; whenever he likes to signal an in-group relation (as in the coffee-example), he switches

into Danish and utilizes all relevant Danish words and expressions he comes across of.

Finally, it should be said that polylanguaging in gatekeeping encounters is challenging and certainly deserves further studies. We cannot ignore the fact that Domingo is in a favourable position in comparison to applicants for white-collar jobs who are much more limited to the use Danish. As ***Ideologies and assessments*** reveal, academic and non-academic positions require very different levels of written and spoken Danish and allow different levels of integration of alternative features.

4.5.5. TSANG - "I didn't understand that"

Tsang is an Asian woman, aged 25, who has spent 7 years in Denmark. She is married to a Dane and has a MSc degree from a Danish university. For several months, Tsang has been applying for a number of both academic and non-academic jobs. She has been invited to a couple of interviews, but she has never been offered a job. I recorded Tsang twice – first for an academic position as an accountant and second for the position as kitchen service. At the second interview Tsang did not mention her university degree, presumably because she was afraid of being rejected as overqualified.

Tsang speaks primarily Danish with occasional English words but, unlike Domingo, the English borrowings are not recognized as English; on the contrary, they often create misunderstandings. I provide two examples from Tsang's interview (one repeated and one new example) to illustrate misunderstandings due to unrecognized use of English words in the Danish talk.

TSANG, KITCHEN SERVICE, UNSUCCESSFUL TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH	**DANISH BEG. 18:33**
01. TSA: at that time I was 02. work in in xxx bakery 03. and I am erm very 04. familiar with this erm 05. clean erm erm how do 06. you call the cleaning 07. tasks Trouble sources: 1) the word "familiar" (also existing in Danish) is pronounced in English 2) the pronunciation of rengøre (clean) and rengøreopgaverne (the cleaning tasks) is non-standard; ['rɛngoʌ] instead of ['ʁɛ:nˌgœˀʌ] 08. MAN: I didn't understand 09. that the last one <TSA: 10. yeah yeah yeah>	01. TSA: dengang jeg var 02. arbejde på på xxx 03. konditori og jeg er 04. meget øh familiar med 05. den øh rengøre øh øh 06. hvad hedder 07. rengoreøpgaverne 08. MAN: det forstod jeg ikke det 09. sidste <Tsang: ja ja ja 10. ja>

((direct requirement for repair))	
11. TSA: I I I am well aquinted 12. with the cleaning tasks ((Tsang repairs the English word presuming that this is the trouble source))	11. TSA: jeg jeg jeg jeg kender 12. godt rengøreopgaverne
13. MAN: yes	13. MAN: ja

TSANG, EXAMPLE 2	**DANISH**
01. TSA: …she she actually 02. work for an art museum ((trouble sources: 1) museum is pronounced in English [mjuːˈzɪəm] instead of the Danish [muˈsɛːɔm], 2) art is an English word, however it exists as a root morpheme in Danish, e.g. artist)) . Art exists also as a lexeme in Danish meaning "kind, type, sort"	01. TSA: …hun hun faktisk 02. arbejde for en art museum
03. MAN: for an↑ <EMP: for an↑> ((trouble source recognized by both MAN and EMP who simultaneously require a repair))	03. MAN: for en↑ <EMP: for en↑>
04. TSA: erm art museum museum ((Tsang tries to repair but without changing the pronunciation))	04. TSA: øh art museum museum
05. MAN: a muse::um ((pronunciation repair))	05. MAN: et muse::um
06. TSA: yes museum <MAN: yes> ((confirmation of repair))	06. TSA: ja museum <MAN: ja>
07. MAN: yes <EMP: arh yes> ((understanding established))	07. MAN: ja <EMP: nåh ja>

The turn taking structure in particularly example 2 is what Breuwer 2004 calls "doing pronunciation". It follows the classical scheme of interactional repair in cases with misunderstandings caused by pronunciation. As pointed out previously, Tsang's English words are not recognized as English. This is confirmed later in the interview when Tsang explains that she speaks both Chinese and Danish at home after which the manager suddenly asks: `do you also speak English` (taler du også engelsk), which Tsang confirms: `yes I speak also English` (ja jeg taler også engelsk).

Tsang's use of English is not integrated into her Danish in the same way it was for Domingo. Because of her deviant pronunciation and the non-standard intonation in

Danish, the panel has difficulties in following her talk. Furthermore, Tsang has not introduced the use of English nor asked for permission to use English as Domingo did. In Tsang's case, the use of an alternative set of linguistic resource for communicative purposes causes disfluency, because it is not understood as an additional resource. Completely unlike Domingo, the English borrowings create trouble sources for the panel and make Tsang appear less proficient although her vocabulary in Danish is considerably larger than Domingo's. Instead of serving a purpose, the English hinders the mutual understanding and obstructs the establishing of a common ground. While Domingo is considered a fluent communicator because of drawing on various resources, Tsang's linguistic performance is seen as deficient, the main problem being the huge amount of misunderstandings in her interview. I will elaborate on that in the chapter ***What is cultural and what is linguistic***.

4.6. Reclaiming fluency

Contrary to what previous research on fluency has found, I argue that fluency is not the monologic command of a given L2 (and "command" only being linked to production and not to comprehension). Rather (and in line with Gumperz 1982) **it is the successful dialogical practice through which the interlocutors are able to negotiate mutual understanding and problems with, for instance, non-standard use of the target language. The success of the practice depends much on the interlocutors' intention to bring the communication to a satisfactory end: The L2 fluency is dependent on how the interlocutors negotiate, approve of each other's' choices and allow each other to use alternative communicative resources, e.g. verbal and non-verbal signals of comprehension, reformulations, repeats, integration of features associated with other sets of linguistic resources (other languages) etc.**

Thus, if the listener discovers non-standard forms in the speaker's vocabulary, pronunciation or grammar that create misunderstanding, he or she may choose either to repair or leave the trouble source(s) out. If the repair is successfully negotiated and mutually approved of (which were the cases of Ruben and Domingo), there are good chances of achieving fluency. Conversely, if the repair is left out, it will permeate the conversation and put a mark on it as imperfect and insufficient thereby inviting prejudice

and opening for discrimination (which was the case of Mohammed but see also next chapter).

The above definition of fluency is an insider definition that reflects the way the panels address the applicants' ability to speak and understand Danish. By arguing for a dialogic approach to fluency I do not ignore the fact that the applicants need a certain amount of vocabulary and grammar in order to negotiate meanings. What I would like to highlight is that the panels' credit certain applicants calling them "good at Danish" or "very good at Danish", which in my data seems to be primarily rooted in the interlocutors' ability to negotiate, ask for support and provide support. If the panels are positioned and position themselves as interactive teachers, they may boost the applicants' Danish; if they are positioned and position themselves as passive and distant, they may contribute to a mutual experience of a weaker performance.

In the gatekeeping, stratified, multilingual context of the IO job interviews fluency needs to be reconsidered and studied through an emic perspective which becomes possible through ethnography, and which is derived from the behavior and the perceptions of the panel. As argued in the beginning of this chapter, I use the term "fluency" also because it is a common sense term with many ideological values of its own, but nonetheless it places the analysis closer to the reality of the IO job interview. Dialogic fluency is not an absolute set of features and should rather not be measured monologically. It is the jointly produced interactional effort which is much more about understanding the other person and feeling comfortable about it (Erickson and Schultz 1982).

Two factors seem to be of crucial importance: on the one hand whether the panels will do what they can to understand the applicants and on the other hand how the applicants contribute to being understood. If the interviewers do not understand, they act either less supportive (as with Mohammed) or over supportive (as with Yao in the coming chapter ***What is cultural and what is linguistic***). Very often, non-understanding in gatekeeping situations has negative consequences (Auer 1998, Bremer et al 1996, Fogtmann 2007). As analysis showed, understanding is not necessarily tied to grammatical or phonological correctness; non-standard Danish is appreciated of as long as it is comprehensible. As one panel representative said about one successful applicant:

She didn't speak much Danish but she spoke comprehensible Danish.

Comprehensible Danish is linked to how well applicants' make themselves understood. Whether it is the use of alternatives sets of resources or the openly stated desire to learn more, demonstrating ambition to develop oneself linguistically counts because it is taken as a proxy for how the applicant will relate to the job. When applicants use the job interview as "a pedagogic conversation" (Bremer et al 1996) and the interviewers as "interactive dictionaries", it has also an ice-breaking function. On the one hand it mitigates the institutional stiffness by downplaying uncomfortable face-loss because of obvious differences in the parties' level of Danish; on the other hand it further empowers the interviewers because they are positioned as experts in Danish *not* by themselves but by the applicants. Once linguistic difficulties are acknowledged and roles are allocated, the interview game becomes more open and the interview develops into a more comfortable process (Erickson and Schultz 1982, Roberts 1985, Roberts et al 1996). Surely this requires a number of skills above the management of the linguistic code and the next chapter will focus specifically on that.

This is the place to discuss the use of formulaic expressions as part of the process of conveying meaning and achieving understanding. Use of formulae was highly frequent in Domingo's and Ruben's interviews (see appendix 6) and is particularly important for several reasons: First, formulae require high level of linguistic accuracy (grammatical and phonetical) in order to be recognized as formulae. Second, they demand pragmatic knowledge about precise situational use. Peters 1983 argues that "For mature speakers of language…. formulaic speech may serve as a shortcutting device: It saves processing time and effort, allowing the speaker to focus attention elsewhere, for instance on the social (opposed to the linguistic) aspects of a situation" (Peters 1983:3, see also Wood 2010a). Boers et al 2006:246 refers to the formulaic chunks as "zones of safety" corresponding to Deckert's "islands of reliability" (1984). Boers et al suggest that "zones of safety" help speakers reach a certain level of linguistic accuracy. The appropriate use of the prefabricated chunks may "*confine the risk of 'erring' to the spaces in between the formulaic sequences in one's discourse*" (Boers et al 2006:247). Furthermore, Boers et al argues that phonological reductions in formulae automatically signal affiliation to the target language and mark co-membership by assisting the non-native speakers to sound native-like by improving their spoken fluency and reducing the hesitations.

In short, formulaic expressions create positive environments for the interlocutors and function as alignment strategies. They are the “insider” chunks that create connections between “us” and “them” because they signal clearly the efforts the applicants have made to learn Danish. Especially when the rest of the applicants' vocabulary and grammar may need a lot of practice, the small marks of membership attachment create comfortable moments, as they point attention to shared contexts and values.

So far, the dissertation’s has tried to focus on the linguistic codes of fluency but it has been almost impossible to leave the cultural aspects out of account. The next chapter sheds light on the many unexplained parameters of fluency thus placing the concept in a broader, linguacultural context.

CHAPTER 5 Cultural Fluency

The previous chapter argued that linguistic fluency was dialogically produced and mutually negotiated; however, the analysis and the definition of linguistic fluency left certain aspects unexplained. This chapter extends the notion of fluency by placing it within both a linguistic and a cultural context. It examines interactionally produced cultural norms and expectations to shed light on cultural fluency as a factor for success at the job interview.

5.1. Approaches to culture

For many years now researchers within different fields have tried to define culture. We observe a development that stretches from static cultural relativism, goes through cultural determinism and continues into a dynamic negotiation of cultural identities. We can approach culture both on a functional level (e.g. the way we think reflects the needs we have) and on a constructionist level (e.g. the way we think creates the reality we live in). Furthermore, we have mentalist views on culture according to which culture is a cognitive abstraction, rather than a "material phenomenon" and a model of perceiving in one's mind (Goodenough 1964:36). A contrary view is Geertz' 1973 semiotic take on culture that sees the things we do as socially accepted symbolic acts. Moreover, culture can be perceived critically and ideologically with focus on issues of power and dominance (Asad 1980). Nowadays in both anthropology and sociolinguistics we talk about *doing* culture and doing language instead of *having* culture (e.g. Ochs 1996); Brian Street (1993) even argues that culture is a *verb* (see also discussion on culture and ethnography in Roberts (ed.) 2000, 46-63).

5.1.1. Language and culture

To describe the connection between language and culture, Risager 2006:196 uses the metaphor of a Velcro-fastener: the language integrates and "latches on" new (cultural) phenomena. Thus, Risager summarizes the idea of language and culture as both inseparable and separable at the same time: inseperable in a generic sense, but separable if we address languages and cultures as isolated entities.

To see language as a mere communicative tool free from culture has been abandoned long ago at least in the field of sociolinguistics. Rather, we see culture as inseparable from

language, a *languaculture* (in Agar's words, 1994) as a blend of language and culture in which it is not always possible to distinguish what belongs to language and what to culture.

This is also the position of this dissertation. I see language and culture as inseparable entities: what is analysed as cultural fluency is built on and interconnected with one's linguistic competences. Every linguistic act is a cultural act as well and the two chapters will notify the reader about cross-references on linguistic and cultural fluency as the analysis gradually unfolds. The analysis addresses culture and language separately only because this is the way the job applicants and the panels see language and culture.

5.1.2. Intercultural communication

It is thought provoking that culture becomes more relevant in cases in which the interlocutors do not share a common linguistic background. Often when second language learners are evaluated against "native" speakers' standards, culture is brought into play and referred to as a possible trouble source. In such cases, the encounters are usually labeled as *intercultural communication*. But what exactly is intercultural communication?

Knapp et al (1987:8) provide following definition:

> As linguists, we can define intercultural communication as taking place whenever participants introduce different knowledge into the interaction which is specific to their sociocultural group, which is relevant in the sense that it determines how a particular interaction should normally be verbally or non-verbally accomplished, but which is taken for granted and thus can affect the process of communication.

However, as Hinnenkamp 2009:198 rightly observes,

> … whatever definition of culture we adopt, we still have the difficulty of showing how communication at any given moment is bound by culture or how culture continuously finds expressions in communication. Even this phrasing of the problem is misleading, because it suggests two separate entities – *communication* and *culture* – whereas it has to be shown that the one is an integral part of the other, that culture has to be found *within* the use of language…

Hinnenkamp's observation addresses very precisely the inseparability of language and culture and raises a relevant issue – we have to presume that language and culture are separate entities in order to argue for their interconnectivity.

5.1.3. Interculturality

Auer and Kern (2001) investigate three different notions of interculturality (see also the chapter ***Theoretical Foundations***). They point out, for example, that many assume that intercultural communication comes up whenever two or more persons, belonging to different cultures, communicate. But the problem is – they argue – that viewing culture this way would reflect different assumptions of what is or what is not to be done in a given society. As a result, members of different cultures might expect others to communicate and behave the way they do and might be unable to adjust their behavior to the other's. If culture is conceptualized as independent of the interaction or placed outside the interaction it will make it easier for the interlocutors to fail in an intercultural communicative situation, i.e. misunderstandings will occur. To solve this problem Auer and Kern 2001 suggest, we rather drew on interculturality as s *resource*. They criticize the idea of training interculturality " and call it "prejudiced" and "Eurocentric because it prepares the non-Western interlocutors for the Western encounters assuming that training will make them more suitable for the "superior" culture, thus implying that something must be *wrong* with them.

A great number of studies (Gumperz and Roberts 1991, Roberts and Sarangi 1993, Hinnenkamp 1989, Blommaert 1991) argue for the same idea and warn us against embracing monolithic conceptions on culture, as it will emphasize differences and overstress "us" and "them". Hinnenkamp 1987:144 points out that intercultural communication is not what happens when two people from different cultures communicate, but is rather a *brought about* feature in the encounter. Rehbein (2001:194) draws attention to the fact that people tend to focus on cultural differences, but what we single out as "intercultural" might just as well be resistance or defending processes. For example, intentional use of non-standard prosody or vocabulary could be seen as identity work, or simple resistance rather than misunderstandings. In a similar vein, Hinnenkamp 2009:190 outlines a number of different loci of culture-in-communication and argues that culture may be located within the style of the speakers, that is the way they structure arguments, their behaviour and attitudes, or even in non-verbal signals, such as gaze and gestures. He suggest that culture may be located in any "brought along"of a person of his/ her in group in terms of "visible" categories such as skin colour, gender, language, dialect, or less visible ones such as nationality, ethnicity, religion and the like"

(Hinnenkamp 2009:190, but see also Zimermann 1998, Blommaert 1991:23 on culture and identity). Kecskes 2011:67 defines interculturality as a pehomenon that is not only interactionally and socially constructed but also relies on cultural models and norms that represent the speech communities to which the interlocutors belong. Intercultures are usually ad hoc creations; they come and go and are created on the spot by the speakers in the conversation:

> "Interculturality has both normative and emergent components (…) They are produced in a communicative process in which cultural norms and models brought into the interaction from prior experience of interlocutors blend with features created ad hoc in the communicative process in a synergetic way. The result is intercultural discourse in which there is mutual transformation rather than transmission of knowledge and communicative behavior" (Kecskes 2011:67).

Interculturality brings indeed a number of labels and bodies of knowledge that show the limitations of it. Nevertheless I find it useful, especially because it is an ethnographic term, capturing the way panels and job applicants address culture. An important thing to pick from Auer and Kern's critique of interculturality (2001) is that intercultural communication is *not* what happens each time people coming from "different" cultures talk together; rather such communication becomes intercutural *in the action.*

5.1.4. Interculturality in the IO job interviews

The design of the IO interviews and the special training of the IO panels, as argued in the introductory chapters, reinforce the idea of interculturality and take cultural differences for granted. Here is an example from a post-interview conversation in which one manager describes why one applicant was not offered the job:

POST-INTERVIEW CONVERSATION WITH PANEL ABOUT THE APPLICANTS' BACKGROUND	DANISH
[… the one with the Asian background where they have this obsequiousness, yeah, they are deeply service minded. I love travelling in these countries; I myself think they are some wonderful people […] but I am concerned that she may not be able to put her foot down, she won't be able to say no, and things can fall apart. Well she did this [bows, hands on chest], she was very eager to get the job. And then I am really concerned that her obsequiousness will affect her integration here in a wrong way.	[…hende der havde asiatisk baggrund, hvor de har den ydmyghed, altså de har servicegen ud over alle grænser. Jeg elsker at rejse i de lande, jeg synes selv de er nogle fantastiske mennesker […]men jeg kan være bekymret for at hun ikke kan sige fra, kan ikke sige nej, og at tingene på den måde kan smuldre. Altså, hun lavede selv den der [bukker med samlede hænder ved brystet], altså hun var så opsat på at få det her arbejde. Så det kunne jeg være rigtig bekymret for at den ydmyghed kom til at få en forkert afsmitning på hendes integration her i huset.

In the example Asian background is equivalent to obsequiousness, extreme service-mindedness, and lack of independent thinking. Conversely, the manager views the Danish working culture as one revolving a non-hierarchical structure, independent thinking and informal atmosphere. The manager expresses her concern about the collision of these two perspectives: "she won't be able to say no, and things can fall apart". Her biggest concern is that this "different culture" will negatively affect the work integration of the new employees, and make it take a "wrong" turn. This perspective on interculturality is the monolithic one mentioned by Auer and Kern 2011 (also Gumperz 1990, Gumperz and Roberts 1991, Roberts and Sarangi 1993, Hinnenkamp 1989, Blommaert 1991), the key point being that it does not allow blends of varieties as resources but rather sees the distinctions as deficits. It is also in line with the two perspectives on cultures identified by Wetherell & Potter 1992:130-134: The first one is *culture as heritage*, in which culture is seen as traditional and unchangeable with links to ideas about *culture clash*, *culture shock*, rituals and traditions. The second one is *culture as therapy* describing an understanding of culture as an individual (unique) right and necessity, linked to identity, values, roots, pride, etc (See also Tranekjær 2008: 255 on culture as a barrier and culture as a resource).

The category "Asian" is bound to certain limitations which stand as an antipode to the category "Danish". Thus, the "otherness" of the applicant with respect to ethnic

background becomes a barrier for her integration into the Danish professional context. I come back to that example in the chapter ***Ideologies and assessments.***

5.1.3. Othering

The monolithic view on interculturality is inevitably related to the concept of *othering*. Othering and otherness in particular are terms that originated from the German philosopher Hegel and were later associated with the French psychoanalyst Lacan. *The other* should be understood in the binary of the self vs. the other and is an image outside ourselves that we experience in a psychological sense. Crick 1976:165 points out that *"*the "self" and the "other" are mutually consistent categories; a change in the value of "self" inevitably changes "other" and vice versa*".*

Othering has implications when it is used to disempower people, especially when it is based on national ideologies. As Said 1993:xiii argues: "culture comes to be associated, often aggressively, with the nation or the state; this differentiates "us" from "them", almost always with some degree of xenophobia" (see also Said 1978, Bhabha 1985). Street & Hallam 2000 point out that the process of *othering* has been crucial in the formation of identities in Europe which automatically results in essentializing of the "other". The Westerner is given the gatekeeping authority to determine what can be said and written about *the other* (Sarangi 2009, see also Tranekjær 2009). From a Danish perspective, Yilmaz 2003 points out that due to the homogenous historical development in Denmark, the Danish popular discourse has constructed *the other* as characterized by "a number of essential treats all of which are denotatively and connotatively related to the Western/orientalist perceptions of the Third World – the domain of the primitive and the traditional" (Yilmaz 2003:13). Yilmaz sees Danishness as an unmarked category which is not constructed as an alternative ethnicity to the other ethnicities but as the opposite of ethnicity. Danishness is then

> a non-ethnic, non-essential, flexible identity in accordance with the demands of the modern life; it is informed by modernity rather than cultural, religious or ethnic canons. The Dane is not another individual who does things culturally but one whose cognitions and actions are individually, that is, rationally – formed and performed. Hence the hierarchization of the mutually exclusive groups, Danes as superior with immigrants as inferior

(see also Yilmaz 1999, Hussain et al 1997, Andreassen 1996)

I shall come back to that in the chapter ***Ideologies and Assessments***.

Before I turn attention to the concept of cultural fluency, I would like to point out that the purpose of this dissertation is not to define culture; neither has it aimed at critiquing or problematizing the very complex idea of culture. Culture and interculturality are brought in through ethnography as one of the objectives of the IO programme is cultural integration. As later analysis exemplifies, the tremendous focus on cultural differences vastly influences the decision making processes and often leads to stereotyping and othering.

5.2. Approaching cultural fluency

The previous chapter argued for the concept of linguistic fluency as the successful dialogical practice through which the interlocutors are able to negotiate mutual understanding and problems with, for instance, non-standard use of the target language. However, purely linguistic know-how is one of the many skills. We certainly need other resources to make the communication smoother, and these resources might be beyond the linguistic components. Linell 1996 suggests, for example, that understanding is not only about deciphering linguistic meaning; it is much more about interpretation of contexts *outside* the linguistic meaning.

Poyatos 1980 and 1984 are the only studies that directly address cultural fluency. According to Poyatos 1984, a culturally fluent person is one capable of making contextually correct behavior choices from alternatives, demonstrating an ability to move back and forth between cultures with flexibility. To Poyatos this includes a number of aspects (linguistic, paralinguistic, kinesic, proxemic, and chronemic forms, all of which are context-dependent). Poyatos suggests also that the somatic processes (sweating, blushing, crying) are part of perceiving fluency, although not always controllable.

My approach to cultural fluency does not include these aspects and is more in line with Goffman 1964:135-136 who points out that: “Cultural rules… socially organize the behaviour of those in the situation… Face to face interaction has its own regulations; it has its own processes and its own structure, and these don’t seem to be intrinsically

linguistic in character, however, often expressed through a linguistic medium[4]" (but see footnote). Surely the IO applicants should be able to understand and produce Danish, but they also need concrete knowledge of speech activities to process the moment to moment interaction. The next section goes through several theoretical concepts that categorize the job interview on the one hand as a schematic event, but on the other hand as a flexible, interactive practice of negotiation.

5.2.1 Schema, activity type, scenario and frame

Schema is a term mentioned first in experimental psychology in the beginning of the 20th century. Originally, it is associated with the names of J. Piaget and F.C. Barlett (e.g. Bartlett & Kintsch 1995) and later becomes particularly interesting for educational psychology. For Bartlett schemata are sets of features that every human being possesses. Schemata are unconscious mental structures that represent the individual's basic knowledge about the world and can be used not only to interpret but also to predict situations occurring in our everyday life. In later studies (Tannen 1979, Tannen and Wallat 1987, Roberts and Sayers 1987) schemas are used to analyse interactional data and describe patterns of knowledge, expectations and assumptions about the world. Peräkylä and Vehviläinen 2003 call the patterns of knowledge *professional stocks of interactional knowledge,* while Levinson (1979) argues for the more general term *activity type* suggesting a more flexible approach to the same process.

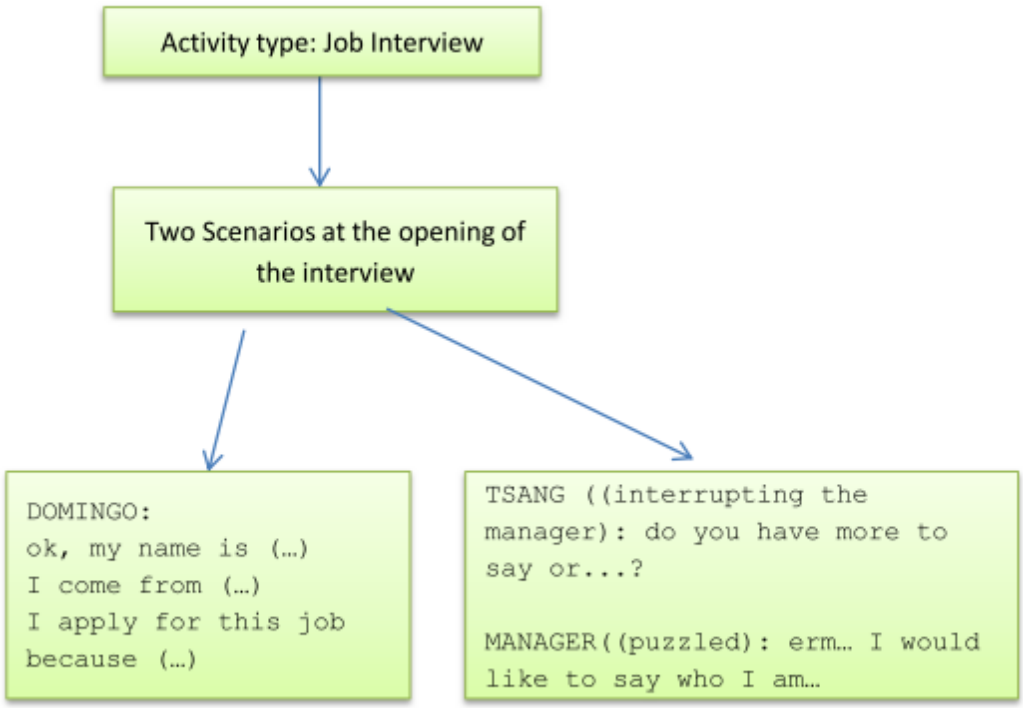
Activity type is similar to Hymes' speech event (1972) and Gumperz's episode (1972, 1982), scenario or speech activity. Levinson defines it as "any culturally recognized activity but nevertheless a fuzzy category whose focal members are goal-defined, socially constituted, bounded, events with constraints on participants, settings and so on (…) Paradigm examples would be teaching, a job interview, a jural interrogation, a football game, a task in a workshop, a dinner party and so on" (Levinson 1979:368). The fuzziness, according to Levinson, stems from the fact that some activity types are much less formal than others. For example, a job interview is more scripted than old classmates' chance meeting on the street. As culturally recognizable acts, activity types link the micro and

[4] With this description Goffman does not take account of the dynamic processes of the interaction but rather sees communication as a structure. This is different from my point of view, but I find it useful to the extent that it exemplifies the interplay of language and culture through "rules" (or expectations, or norms, see later analysis).

the macro perspectives and contribute to the allocation of roles and positions within which interlocutors move and act (e.g. Fairclough 1992).

When an activity type triggers a sum of symbolic cultural knowledge, there are often several layers in the activity type situation. First, there is general knowledge about the activity type. For instance, a job interview consists of questions and answers. Usually, on the bases of the answers the applicant may or may not be given the job. Second, within the activity type we can expect that things change and shift (e.g. new scenarios may be adopted). In the context of the IO job interview, I use activity type as a category that refers to the job interview as a whole (macro activity type) and scenario as an under-category of the activity type. Furthermore, the different phases of the interview (introduction, general information, questions and answers, closing) are also micro activity types of their own because we might need different sets of knowledge to address them.

Look at the illustration below:



The figure shows two possible scenarios linked to the micro activity type "self-presentation" as part of the macro activity type "job interview". The first scenario (Domingo) is considered standard, while the second one (Tsang) is not. I shall come back

to that in the analysis.

Frame is a concept developed by Bateson (cf. Bateson 2000) and Goffman 1974. Goffman wished to illustrate how humans interact using frameworks to help them make sense of the situations and the activities they were involved in. A frame is an analytic concept which describes a way of perceiving things in the interaction: dynamically and momentary. The metaphor of the window frames suggest how the things we see through the frame are influenced, highlighted or distorted: frame is what creates the context. Frames affect what we look at as they are interactive and situational. Paradoxically, the frame is fixed but it makes the context flexible. To explore the interactive frameworks, Goffman introduces the notion of *footing* which describes how the interlocutors frame given situations and activities by negotiating their interpersonal relations. He argues that "[A] change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance. A change in our footing is another way of talking about a change in our frame for events" (Goffman 1981:128).

5.2.2. Two scenarios

In the following two examples, two applicants for the position IT supporter are asked "Where do you see yourself in five years?" This question is emblematic for job interviews in Denmark because the candidate, in order to answer it, has to possess and master several types of knowledge. For example, the applicant must know that although the question is abstract, it requires a concrete answer. The applicant should know that the literal meaning is "where *in this company* you see yourself in five years" and that "five years" simply refers to the future. Additionally, the applicants should be aware that the answer will be used to evaluate their ability to imagine themselves working for the company, and simultaneously demonstrate realistic ambitions for personal development. Consider the two examples below:

EXAMPLE 1, HAMID, IT SUPPORT, UNSUCCESSFUL	DANISH
01. MAN: hh one last question 02. <HAM: yes please> where 03. do you see yourself in 04. five years 05. (1.5) 06. HAM: erm I beg your 07. pardon	07. MAN: hh et sidste spørgsmål 08. <HAM: ja værsgo> hvor 09. er du 10. om fem år 11. (1.5) 12. HAM: øhm 13. undskyld

08. MAN: where do you see 09. yourself in five years 10. (.) 11. HAM: in five years 12. MAN: mm 13. HAM: what does this mean 14. (.) 15. MAN: five years five years ((MAN turns first the palm of her one hand up and then the palm of the other hand up to illustrate five years with her five fingers)) 16. (.) 17. HAM: ha ha ha ha <EMP: ha 18. ha ha> 19. MAN: do you look into the 20. future and say where 21. do I see myself in 22. five years 23. HAM: hh(.)erm(.)hh(.)I 24. would like to be the 25. boss 26. (.) 27. MAN: yes 28. HAM: ha ha <MAN: first you 29. have to> no ha 30. MAN: first you have to meet 31. her 32. (ALL): ha ha ha ha 33. HAM: yeah I would like to 34. erm become myself 35. better become better 36. in erm this area it- 37. support	14. MAN: hvor er du 15. om fem år 16. (.) 17. HAM: om fem år 18. MAN: mm 19. HAM: hvad betyder det 20. (.) 21. MAN: fem år fem år ((MAN vender håndfladerne op en efter den anden for at illustrere fem år med fem fingre)) 22. (.) 23. HAM: ha ha ha ha <MED: ha 24. ha ha> 25. MAN: kigger du ind i 26. fremtiden og siger 27. hvor er jeg 28. om fem år 29. HAM: hh(.)øh(.)hh(.)jeg vil 30. gerne blive 31. chefen 32. (.) 33. MAN: ja 34. HAM: ha ha <MAN: du skal 35. lige> nej ha 36. MAN: du skal lige møde 37. hende først 38. (ALL): ha ha ha ha 39. HAM: ja jeg vil gerne øh 40. dygtig sig mig i øh 41. i den her område it 42. support

EXAMPLE 2, MAXIMILLIAN, IT SUPPORT, SUCCESSFUL	**DANISH**
01. MAN: where do you see 02. yourself in five years 03. MAX: hh in five years well 04. <MAN: mm> erm erm if I 05. erm got it right then 06. the idea is that erm I 07. my position will become 08. permanent after one year 09. <MAN: mm> 10. hh and erm I find it 11. very exciting that we 12. erm I (continue)erm yeah 13. hh erm getting new 14. infrastructures and move 15. to new building 16. so I really imagine 17. <EMP: mm> myself (.) 18. <EMP: mm> 19. staying erm here for a 20. longer period erm if I 21. <EMP: mm> were here erm 22. from erm erm from the 23. very beginning 24. ((smiles)) 25. hh <EMP: mm> and helped 26. building up the wholething	01. LED: hvor er du om 02. fem år 03. MAX: hh om fem år altså 04. <LED: mm> øh øh hvis 05. jeg har øh forstået det 06. rigtigt så er det ideen 07. at øh jeg går over til 08. en fast ansættelse 09. efter et år 10. <LED: mm> 11. hh og øh jeg synes det 12. lyder meget spændende 13. at vi øh at jeg (bliver) 14. ved med at øh ja hh øh 15. få nye infrastrukturer 16. og flytte til ny bygning 17. så jeg kan rigtigt forestille 18. <MED: mm> mig(.)at 19. <MED: mm> 20. blive øh her i en 21. længere tid øh hvis jeg 22. <MED: mm> var her øh 23. lige øh øh fra begyndelsen 24. ((smiler)) 25. hh <MED: mm> og hjalp med 26. at opbygge det hele

Let us look at the two scenarios. In example 1, Hamid fails to recognize the question as part of the activity type "hypothetic questions about the future". The interviewer has to repeat the question (line 8), illustrate it with a gesture (line 15) and reformulate it to make it concrete (lines 19-22). First after asking "do you look into *the future* and say…." Hamid is able to answer. He answers that he would like to be the boss (line 24-25) which does not come according to the manager's expectations (consider e.g. the pause in line 26 and the manager's blunt "yes"). Hamid seems to fluctuate between two extreme points – first he does not know how to answer the question at all, but in the end suggests that he would like to be the boss. The laugher in line 28 could be interpreted as a way to "disarm" the tension and maybe save time while searching for the "right" answer. Finally, in lines 33-37, in a low voice, with a lot of repetitions and self-corrections, Hamid utters: yeah I would like to erm become (myself) better become better in erm this area it-support.

This episode reveals the cultural expectations hidden behind such questions. Hamid tries to act culturally fluent which clearly is difficult for him. On the one hand, he does not understand the indexical meaning of the expression and, on the other hand he seems unsure of the cultural expectations to follow with that kind of question. As a result, he fluctuates between one point in which he acts like an outsider (never heard of such a question) and another point in which he tries "too hard" to provide the desirable answer. Scheuer 2003 has a similar example in which the applicant Niels puts so much effort in establishing himself as competent and capable of doing the job, that the interviewers start perceiving him as a competitor, which has negative implications and does not result in job offer. Goffmans term "passing" (Goffman 1963) is very relevant here. Goffman uses "passing" in relation to concealing physical or mental disabilities to avoid stigmatizing and gain social acceptance from others, who, we believe, are better positioned than us. In this particular case, *passing* is relevant because it describes how Hamid strives to present an identity that the employers would appreciate of. However, if applicants try too hard on an identity they believe leads them to the job, *passing* becomes overstated and the applicants might end up discrediting themselves (see also Roberts and Campbell 2006 and see Farid in this chapter).

In example 2, Maximillian recognizes the question "Where are you in five years" which releases a longer explanatory narrative of 24 lines. Clearly, he is aware of the importance of the question and answers carefully and thoughtfully, e.g. by summing up what he thinks the idea of the job position is (`if I erm got it right`, line 4). He is both very concrete in his answer (`getting new infrastructures and move to new building`, line 12-14) and gives expression to his feelings about the future (`very excited`, line 10). Finally, he provides a statement of promise in which he explicitly articulates that he would like to keep the position and develop it further (`so I really imagine myself (.) staying erm here for a longer period … and helped building up the whole thing`, line 15-19 & 23-14).

As the example indicated, hypothetical answers of the above type are immensely complex: First, the applicants need to answer what they *think* the interviewers want to hear. The provided answers will serve as evidence of their suitability. The criteria for assessing applicants on the basis of hypothetical answers are officially invisible, but have huge consequences. Maximillian and Hamid respectively match and mismatch the expected scenario by framing the same question through different knowledge sets. Scenario and frame have a lot to do with the applicants' cultural understanding of the communicative situation, because they are determined by cultural expectations and shared knowledge. The IO applicants are required a certain form for *cultural fluency* to help them navigate through the job interview. Through the next sections, the argument of cultural fluency as a factor of successful performance at job interviews is gradually built and exemplified. In the end of the chapter cultural fluency is defined and discussed in relation to linguistic fluency.

5.3. Cultural fluency: analysis

5.3.1. Hamid: "I drink vodka"

Hamid is a 41- year old Middle Eastern born applicant who has spent 8 years in Denmark together with his wife and children. In Denmark he took Danish classes and IT courses on graduate level. By the time of the job interview, he has just completed a wage subsidy job as an IT supporter in a public sector company in Copenhagen.

Hamid speaks in a very low voice; he seems concentrated but also introverted and shy. However, he is good at keeping eye contact with the interviewers and laughs often. In the

excerpt below the manager asks Hamid another hypothetical question – he must explain how he would assist colleagues with IT problems.

HAMID, IT-SUPPORT, UNSUCCESSFUL **PARTICIPANTS: HAM: HAMID, MAN: MANAGER, CEM: EMPLOYEE 1, ITM: EMPLOYEE 2**	**DANISH** **FROM 22.56**
01. MAN: …here we can say there 02. are quite many erm 03. women at work hh who 04. erm consider the 05. computer (.) some of 06. them as an evil {thing} 07. HAM: mm 08. MAN: it is not quite (.) gi- 09. erm it is not a thing 10. they are happy about 11. when using it (.) h- 12. how would would you feel 13. if you were say like but 14. if I sit here in front of 15. the computer xxx (.) it 16. is not really working 17. well you gotta help me hh 18. and then (.) try to help 19. someone that is not 20. really motivated- 21. HAM: [yeah 22. MAN: [-pc_user (.) well how 23. [do you see this- 24. HAM: [erhm first of all 25. erm I come and we talk 26. about something else not 27. about computer okay...ha 28. . CEM: § hh we are very much	01. LED: her i hvert fald der er 02. ret mange øh 03. kvinder i faget hh som øh 04. har denne her computer 05. (.) nogle af dem som et 06. onde 07. HAM: mm 08. LED: det er ikke særlig (.) 09. gi- øh det er ikke det 10. som de er glade for at 11. arbejde mest med (.) 12. hvor- hvordan ville det 13. være for dig ligesom at 14. sige men hvis jeg sidder 15. her 16. foran computeren xxx (.) 17. det fungerer bare ikke 18. altså du er nødt til 19. at hjælpe mig hh og så (.) 20. prøve at hjælpe så en ikke 21. særlig motiveret 22. HAM: [ja] 23. LED: [-pc_bruger (.) altså 24. hvordan [ser du den 25. HAM: [øh først og fremmest øh 26. jeg kommer og vi snakker 27. om noget andet ikke om 28. computer okay ha
((Hamid laughs and then explains how he and the colleague-in-need will focus on the solution instead of the problem so both of them learn from the solution. He points out that in IT support, the connection with the other is very important and you have to help "with a smile". Then one of the employees sums up))	(…)
29.. CEM: § hh we are very much 30. looking for someone 31. that erm that is good 32. at the technical stuff 33. but has also (.) the 34. pedagogic (.) 35. HAM: yes 36. CEM: what should we say 37. mutual 38. HAM: [yeah 39. CEM: [erm understanding (.) 40. hh (.) erhm (.) so erhm 41. so it is not that 42. important that you are 43. pretty skillful on the 44. technical t- side but 45. it is also important to 46. be able to reach (.) 47. this employee	29. MED: § hh vi søger jo meget 30. en med øh der har den 31. tekniske kunnen 32. men som også har den 33. (.) pædagogiske (.) 34. HAM: ja 35. MED: hvad skal man sige 36. mellemmenneskelig 37. HAM: [ja 38. MED: [øh forståelse (.) hh 39. (.) øh (.) så øh så det 40. gør ingenting at du er 41. knald dygtig 42. hh på den 43. tekniske t- side 44. men det er også 45. vigtigt at kunne nå 46. (.) den medarbejder] 47. HAM: [xxx

48. HAM: [xxx	48. MED: [som-
49. CEM: [who-	49. HAM: [ja du mener-
50. HAM: [yeah you mean-	50. MED: [-bare ikke er det
51. CEM: [-is not quite	51. HAM: [-kv- kvinder- hvorfor
52. HAM: [-wo- women- why is	52. er teknisk j:a↑ det må-
53. technical ye:ah↑ ma-	53. måske kan kvinder også
54. maybe women can also	54. god til teknik
55. good at technical stuff	55. ha ha ha]
56. ha ha ha]	56. LED: [ja!
57. MAN: [yes!	57. ITM: det kan de sagtens
58. ITM: of course they can	58. MED: det kan de helt sikkert
59. CEM: sure they can	59. h°ja
60. h°yeah	60. HAM: øh ja ø:h det er ingen
61. HAM: erm yes er:m it is not a	61. problem for mig
62. problem for me	62. ITM: mm
63. CEM: mm	63. HAM: for eksempel fordi øh
64. HAM: for example because erm	64. MED: mm
65. CEM: mm	65. HAM: jeg fra en familie som
66. I from a family that (.)	66. (.) med kvinde og mand
67. with a man and a woman	67. der er lighed det er
68. there is equality there	68. ingen problem (.) for
69. is no problem (.) for	69. eksempel
70. example	70. LED: mm
71. MAN: mm	71. HAM: {vi er også} selv om min
72. HAM: {we are also} although my	72. xxx kone eller hun øh
73. xxx wife or she erm a	73. nogen fest eller nogen
74. party or something (.)	74. (.) ø:h vi (.) vi fejrer
75. er:m we (.)we celebrate	75. nogen fest for eksempel
76. a party for example	76. fødselsdag vi sætter for
77. a birthday we put in	77. en (.) en øh hh en øh
78. front of an (.) an erm	78. glas vin eller noget
79. hh an erm glass of wine	79. andet xxx
80. or something else xxx	80. men selvom jeg
81. but although I drink	81. drikker vodka eller noget
82. vodka or something else	82. andet(.)med det er ingen
83. (.) but it is not a	83. problemer for os (.)
84. problem for us (.)	84. LED: nej nej nej nej
85. MAN: no no no no	85. HAM: nej eller
86. HAM: no or	86. LED: xxx
87. MAN: xxx	87. HAM: mener du den der eller
88. HAM: do you mean this or	88. hvad
89. what	89. LED: [nej hh
90. MAN: [no hh	90. ITM: [nej
91. ITM: [no	91. MED: nej jeg mente
92. CEM: no I meant	92. HAM: eller teknisk
93. HAM: or technical	93. MED: jeg jeg mener øh at øh
94. CEM: I I mean erm that erhm	94. (.) at vi øh (.) v- (.)
95. (.) that we erm (.) w-	95. at vi selvfølgelig
96. (.) that we of course we	96. søger en der er dygtig
97. are looking for someone	97. til i_t hh
98. good at IT h	98. HAM: mm
99. HAM: mm	99. MED: men øh m- øh og så også
100. CEM: but erhm m- erhm and also	100. m- teknisk teknisk
101. m- technically	101.
102. technically skilled hh	102. dygtig hh
103. HAM: yes	103. HAM: ja
104. CEM: but erhm we also think	104. MED: men øh vi synes også
105. as you say that it's	105. som du selv siger det
106. important to meet (.)	106. er vigtigt at komme(.)
107. the employee half way	107. den medarbejder i møde

Hamid's example is interesting and in many ways emblematic. In the first part of the excerpt (up to line 27), the conversation fits very well the required scenario. Hamid is not in doubt about how to answer the question "how would you help those women that are not good at IT" and provides an explanation in which he focuses on both technical and pedagogical skills. This is also pointed out by CEM (lines 28-32). However, the rest of the conversation becomes a disastrous misunderstanding putting Hamid into a very unpleasant situation. He ends up defending himself by bringing up several Muslim taboo issues such as alcohol intake and repression of women.

Let us take a closer look at the conversation to find out how this happens. After Hamid has explained how he is going to provide IT support to less proficient users, CEM makes a longer statement (lines 29-49) about what kind of employee the company needs (§hh we are very much looking for someone that erm that will will be good at the technical stuff but will also be good at (.) the pedagogic). This statement functions as a recap for Hamid's report (summarized in the transcript) but is formulated in a way that might create trouble. In lines 40-46, CEM sums up Hamid' point by saying that it is not important that *you* are pretty skillful on the technical side; it is also important to establish a good relation to the employee-in-need. With that reformulation CEM takes HAM's statement to an abstract level. She uses "you" (in Danish "du", line 42) as a generic pronoun but it makes Hamid wonder whether he did not make himself clear. To clarify that he initiates a repair (yeah you mean...). However, what Hamid does not know is that CEM is neither summarizing nor correcting him; she is reformulating Hamid's account, using "institutional" language. I will explain this in a while.

So Hamid tries to figure out whether there has been a misunderstanding and to patch it up brings up the topic of women's technical skills which causes heavy reactions. Hamid's ironic maybe women can also good at technical stuff ha ha ha (line 55-56) is met with resistance. This resistance makes Hamid even more concerned with the women issue because he apparently realizes the mistake he made in lines 55-56. Immediately he starts defending himself by explaining that I from a family that (.) with a man and a woman there is equality there is no problem (lines 66-69) and continues by elaborating on how liberal he is at home and how he allows his wife to have a glass of wine at a party together with him drinking vodka. If we look back to the beginning of the excerpt, we see that the women-topic is not brought in accidentally. It is

the manager who in lines 2-3 explicitly mentions that there are `quite many erm women` (and not just users) who find the computer difficult to use. When asked how he would address this situation, Hamid answers the question generally in regards to all IT users with problems with no particular focus on female users. However, when Hamid gets confused by CEM's institutional reformulation, he starts looking for further explanations and perhaps tries to address MAN's original request (lines 2-3). Hamid is not able to catch the frame shift, so when CEM reformulates Hamid's answer, he is not aware that she has shifted to an institutional voice. Especially the use of `mellemmenneskelige forståelse` ("mutual" or "interpersonal" understanding, lines 38-40) might confuse Hamid as this is exactly what he has been talking about (to help each other and do things together). The frame shift is introduced by a contextualization cue in line 28 – CEM's voice sounds firmer and lower. Recontextualization is a common strategy in institutional talk (Scheuer 1998, Roberts and Campbell 2006) but due to linguistic limitations in Danish, Hamid is not able to produce an institutional-sounding account[5]. His account is a perfect answer to the question, but remains too personal and when CEM tries to make it more institutionally proper, Hamid gets confused. He starts a repair (`yeah you mean`) as to reassure CEM that he has understood her and knows about "interpersonal understanding". Since the manager has mentioned *women* in her original question, Hamid brings another personal example from his own home trying to "pass for" a man with a very liberal mind-set. Actually, he delivers precisely what he has been asked to but fails in applying an institutional-sounding discourse to his accounts. When CEM does that instead of him, he does not recognize it and gets trapped in stereotypes. He is given "a linguistic penalty" (Roberts and Campbell 2006:12) resulting in a huge mismatch, first at the level of institutional discourse, and second at the level of cultural stereotypes. The episode starts as a product of a linguistic misunderstanding but results in cultural mismatch that culminates in stereotyping. This is also an example of how difficult it is to separate linguistic from cultural misunderstandings – what seems to be based on cultural views, might be linguistic in its core (Gumperz 1982).

[5] This is one of the cases in which the English translation does not fully capture the non-standardness in Danish. Hamid sounds less fluent in Danish than in the translation.

The next section provides an overview of three different discourse modes in job interviews, by which I will explain how Hamid's non-use of institutional discourse and overuse of personal discourse negatively affects his job interview.

5.3.1.1. Personal, institutional and occupations discourses

The link between institutional, personal and occupational discourses in job interviews are examined by Roberts & Cambell 2006. They describe following three discourse modes:

a) ***Institutional discourse*** is the analytic and more abstract talk which candidates are expected to use to account for and rationalise their experience and attitude. The content of institutional discourse is often presented through rhetorical devices such as listing and categorization.

b) ***Occupational discourse*** is the descriptive talk of work experiences often presented as mini-narratives. It illustrates how actions are carried out, e.g. by bringing up issues of interpersonal and empathetic relations with team mates and customers. A particular narrative structure is favoured by interviewers and corresponds to the normative western narrative structure (Labov 1972).

c) ***Personal discourse*** is the talk concerned with individual's experience and feelings. It is crucial in assessing candidate's ability to relate to others. How the candidate relates to the interviewers is taken as a proxy for how they will relate in the workplace. Personal discourses are similar to occupational discourses in that they tend to be descriptive and deal with more interpersonal matters. They are characterized by involvement and openness, sometimes to the point of indiscretion in the context of the interview. They are used to self-disclose and so build up a more coherent and authentic picture.

(from Roberts and Campbell 2006:56,58,64,68)

One of Roberts and Cambell's findings is that less successful candidates use a larger amount of personal discourse in comparison to successful candidates. Furthermore, they argue that key to success in the job interview is the ability to successfully *mobilise and seamlessly blend* institutional, personal and occupational discourses. In a similar vein, Scheuer 2001 argues for the combination of lifeworld (personal) and job-related (professional or institutional) styles determining success at job interviews. Scheuer 2003:144 finds recontextualization, defined as "the dynamic transfer and transformation

of something from one interaction to another" crucial for the successful outcome of the interview. Recontextualization, in line with Fairclough 1992 and Linell 1998 draws on texts, discourses, and discursive practices to show that the participants "engage with different levels of formality, intimacy, equality, etc., and they may endow the interaction with resonances of academia, casual conversation, pedagogic lecturing, and so forth" (Scheuer 2003: 144). Recontextualization, blending of discourses or style shifts require a high degree of "linguistic capital" (Bourdieu 1990) which, is an embodied part of the symbolic cultural capital and illustrates how language and culture are wired together.

5.3.2. Mohammed: mismatch of cultural expectations

We already know Mohammed from the previous chapter which provided examples of his difficulties in negotiating linguistic fluency resulting in failure to establish common ground with the interviewers. One side of the problem was Mohammed's limited Danish, but, as previously mentioned, there were also certain mismatches at the level of mutual expectations that impaired his performance. Here is an example of that particular issue:

MOHAMMED, HANDYMAN, UNSUCCESSFUL **MAN: MANAGER, FEMALE** **MOH: MOHAMMED**	**DANISH** **BEG. 12:41**
01.MAN: yes I am just going to 02. ask [you↓= 03.MOH: [mm 04.MAN =what do you like doing 05. most↑ (.) which what 06. is your favourite↑(.) 07. w- working area] 08.MOH: [xxx here↑ e:rhm 09.MAN: yeah 10.MOH: yes e:rhm painting (.) 11. i:t good or ga-wi:th 12. gardens eh↑ also 13.MAN: mm okay] 14.MOH: [erm 15.MAN: okay h°yes 16. (2.0) 17.MOH: °e:rm (4.0) you decide 18.MAN: m↑-m↓ but I thought I 19. just thought= 20.MOH: [xxx 21.MAN: =what do you like 22. most 23.MOH: me like work (.) 24. eh↑ 25.MAN: [mm 26.MOH: I like work 27.MAN: you like 28. working] 29.MOH: [yes yes	01.MAN: jo jeg skal lige 02. spørge↓= 03.MOH: [mm 04.MAN: =hvad kan du godt↑ 05. lide at lave (.) hvad 06. kan du ↑bedst lide at 07. (.)b-beskæftige dig med] 08.MOH: [xxx her↑ ø:h 09.MAN: ja 10.MOH: ja ø:h maler (.) det: 11. gode eller ha- 12. me:d haver eh↑ også 13.MAN: mm okay] 14.MOH: [øh 15.MAN: okay h°ja 16. (2.0) 17.MOH: °ø:h (4.0) du bestemmer 18.MAN: m↑-m↓ men jeg tænkte 19. jeg tænkte bare=] 20.MOH: [xxx 21.MAN: =hvad du bedst kunne 22. lide 23.MOH: jeg lide arbejde(.) 24. eh↑ 25.MAN: [mm 26.MOH: jeg kan lide arbejde 27.MAN: du kan lide at 28. arbejde] 29.MOH: [ja ja

The manager asks Mohammed about his favourite working area. After a short pause in line 08, Mohammed answers that painting is his favourite activity but is also good at gardening. The exclamation "eh↑ also" with rising intonation, is difficult to interpret. On the one hand the "also" before it may signal an attempt to finalize the answer, but the rising intonation after eh↑ is non-standard for a completion. The manager acts as if she has not quite accepted the answer: "mm okay" (line 13) sounds vague and the exhalation in "okay h°yes" (line 15) is followed by a pause of two seconds. Mohammed does not receive a clear signal whether he has performed as required. He utters a very low-voiced "erm" in line 17, waits for four seconds, and still without being given feedback, he comes with a new fast response: "you decide" (line 17). I interpret the manager's somewhat theatrical "m↑-m↓" with first rising and then falling intonation as an indication of discontent with Mohammed's response because she asks the same question of favourite work area anew (what do you like most line 21-22). This time Mohammed provides a general statement (me like work, line23) and then corrects himself to I like work. The manager corrects him further (you like working, line 26) and closes the topic in the same way we saw in the previous chapter. Considering the general lack of feedback and the many pauses, MAN does not act supportively and seems to leave Mohammed quite on his own. Mohammed's "you decide" creates a scenario that the manager is not set up to. Several times she insists that Mohammed should provide an answer but does not acknowledge any of his answers. Ironically, "you decide" is exactly what Mohammed is going to do if he gets the job because he is *not* free to choose; his mentor and his boss would assign different tasks for him every day. So Mohammed is supposed to *do* whatever is decided for him, but he is not supposed to *say* it in the interview. Such performance is not culturally fluent because it clashes with institutional Western expectations of how to demonstrate independent thinking in a job interview. The same pattern is seen in Roberts and Campbell 2008 where the job applicants do not expect to be asked about own preferences and tend to go for general, often deontic, statements about themselves and what a good worker should do. I shall come back to that in a while.

5.3.2.1. Discussion: cultural expectations

What goes wrong in Mohammed's interview is different expectations of how to answer a question about preferences. One of the negative implications of interethnic communication is the interlocutors' mutual expectations of how such communication

should proceed. The implications may be rooted in different rhetorical strategies, but often end in cultural stereotypes. Gumperz and Roberts 1991 sum up three major fields from which negative outcomes may arise. First, mismatch may occur if there are different expectations of how personal or institutional (or fact oriented) an account should sound (see also Roberts and Campbell 2008), which I demonstrated in the example with Hamid. Furthermore, Gumperz and Roberts 1991:78 argue that "Depending on the particular case, an individual may be seen as either unnecessary emotional or hostile or as lacking in personal motivation". Second, they point out that mismatch may occur if the level of information density is perceived differently by the interlocutors, e.g. "speakers are likely to be seen as either vague or overly general or impersonal and not knowing their business, on uncooperative" (ibid). Third, differences may arise over expectations of what topics to include and what to exclude from the conversation. "Such perceived problems which are partly due to differences in cultural knowledge and partly due to differences in rhetorical conventions provide rich pickings to justify negative evaluations and refusals" (Gumperz and Roberts 1991:789).

Whatever question the applicants receive at a job interview, they would feel they are being tested. Once the job interview has finished, certain doubts will appear. People may ponder about whether a particular answer would have brought a more successful outcome. A number of external factors are also of importance: for example, the higher the number of unsuccessful interviews a candidate has gone through, the more insecure he or she will feel with respect to the answers and the general performance. This might be the case with Mohammed who has been looking for a job for a very long time. Like everybody else in the same situation, he does not want to fail the job interview by providing wrong answers. A preferred strategy of his might be to leave the decision to the manager. This strategy is a face-saving technique for Mohammed, yet it functions as a face-threatening act to the manager. And when face threatening acts are exercised in extreme assymetrical contexts, their effect is strong and has consequences. Due to a mismatch in the cultural expectations, Mohammed is not provided interactional support. At a point, the distance between him and the panel becomes insurmountable.

An important note here is that the way Mohammed acts (e.g. willing to do everything) has much less to do with an ethnicized style. Rather it is linked to ideological, cultural and

social ideas of how one is supposed to present oneself. This is one of the reasons why this dissertation does *not* deal with ethnicity as a socio-cultural concept but draws rather on super-diversity (Vertovec 2007) as I believe it makes more sense to talk about individual styles than socio-cultural constructions (see Ideology and Assessments).

Covert gatekeeping and inferential difficulties may be both social and cultural but nevertheless they show how language and fine details of interaction may lead to social exclusion. As Roberts (2000:115) puts it: "It is the very taken for granted quality of the inferential process which allows gatekeepers to be so assertive in their judgements when paradoxically these are at least in part based on cues which are only suggestive". The paradox which has to do with the ideology of the interview as a proxy for other may cost the applicants dearly. As later chapters reveal, working skills, especially for manual jobs, have very little to do with interview skills.

5.3.3. Farid: The immigrant story

The way Mohammed wishes to present himself as a person who likes working and who will perform any kind of work, is also an example of what Roberts and Campbell 2006:149 call "the immigrant story":

> Born abroad candidates (…) seek to present themselves as always working hard, willing to do anything, and denying anything negative about past work experiences. The' immigrant story' is often problematic because a key underlying competence required by many interviews is resilience in the face of difficulties (…). So, many questions concern difficulties, dislikes and weak points. (Roberts and Campbell 2006:149)

My data is rich in examples in which applicants present themselves as "quick learners", willing to do anything to get the job. Utterances like "I love learning new things", "I am not afraid of learning", "I love attending courses" "I do not have any problem with that", "I am really good", "I am always fresh", "I am not professional but I am not an amateur either" are highly frequent.

In one example, the applicant Farid even suggests receiving less payment if only he could be offered a job as an integration consultant at a nursing home.

FARID, INTEGRATION CONSULTANT, UNSUCCESSFUL **MAN: MANAGER, FEMALE, MAN2: MANAGER 2, FEMALE, FAR: FARID**	**DANISH** **BEG. AT 37:52**
01. FAR: I'd I pay, say, 02. thirty percent of my 03. salary 04. MAN2: [laughing] 05. MAN: [laughing] 06. FAR: then it's then I'm 07. <MAN: mmh> 08. willing to pay 09. <MAN: yeah> in order to 10. <MAN: mmh> 11. MAN2: <clears throat> 12. FAR: erh 13. MAN: yeah 14. FAR: learn more <MAN: mmh> 15. than <MAN: mmh> then I'm 16. going to have a hard year 17. and do it the best way 18. MAN2: mmh <EMP: yeah>	01. FAR: jeg vil jeg betaler hvis 02. det var tredive procent 03. af min løn 04. MAN2: [griner] 05. MAN: [griner] 06. FAR: så var det så var så er 07. jeg <MAN: mmh> 08. villig med at betale 09. <MAN2: ja> for at kunne 10. <MAN: mmh> 11. MAN2: <rømmer sig> 12. FAR: øh 13. MAN: ja 14. FAR: lære mere <MAN: mmh> end 15. <MAN: mmh> så jeg har 16. den hårdt år og gør det 17. på bedst måde 18. MAN2: mmh <EMP: ja>

In the above example, Farid, a middle-aged, Middle Eastern applicant suggests receiving less payment for the position he applies for. In line 3-4 he explains that he is willing to refuse some part of his salary "in order to learn more". Look at the next example:

FARID, INTEGRATION CONSULTANT, UNSUCCESSFUL	**DANISH** **BEG AT 34:59**
01. MAN: is there anything 02. else you would like 03. to (.) that is 04. important for us to 05. know when we will 06. decide who to employ 07. FAR: well this job that 08. job it is this job 09. right {{considers the correct definite article}} 10. <MAN: mmh> 11. FAR: erh it's like my 12. dream job 13. <MAN: mmh> and it it 14. looks like it is my 15. last [chance= 16. MAN: [okay↑ 17. FAR: =to come on the 18. labour market in 19. Denmark so I will 20. appreciate it 21. SO much 22. MAN: mmh <MAN: okay> 23. FAR: and I will give 24. EVERYTHING I can 25. MAN: mmh 26. FAR: in order to obtain 27. success	01. MAN: er der mere du vil 02. fortælle os som har 03. (.)er vigtigt 04. for os at vide 05. når vi skal finde ud 06. af hvem vi vil ansætte 07. FAR: jamen for mig det der 08. job denne her job det 09. er det jo rigtig ((overvejer den rigtige best. artikel)) 10. <MAN: mmh> 11. øh ligesom min 12. drømmejob 13. MAN: mmh 14. FAR: og de de ser ud som 15. det er min sidste 16. [chance 17. MAN: [okay↑ 18. FAR: at komme på 19. arbejdsmarkedet i 20. Danmark så jeg sætter 21. SA stor pris på det 22. MAN: mmh <MAN2: okay> 23. FAR: og jeg giver 24. ALT hvad jeg kan 25. MAN: mmh 26. FAR: for at kunne få 27. succes

28. MAN: mmh 29. FAR: I am so passionate 30. about it] 31. MAN: [how ab- Farid 32. what makes you say 33. that this is your last 34. chance	28. MAN: mmh 29. FAR: jeg brænder 30. [for det 31. MAN: [hvad så hv- Farid 32. hvad får dig til 33. at sige at det er den 34. sidste chance

Both lexical choice and prosody indicate that Farid is highly emotional about the possibility of working in an IO position (e.g. I'm so passionate about it). His uses pathos-loaded arguments (EVERYTHING I can, SO much, LAST chance) that make even the manager wonder (what makes you say that this is your last chance). Farid's account is illustrative on how applicants in a vulnerable position could be much aware of the disadvantages they face. They often seek to present themselves as strong, optimistic, willing to do anything, and even receive less payment or work extra hard. Unfortunately, as Roberts and Campbell 2006 point out, this particular self-presentation does not necessarily pay off because it does not fit the cultural stereotype of how applicants should be. On the contrary - it others them, as it increases the distance between what is required and what is performed. As we shall see in the next example, the interview game is more successful when applicants demonstrate reflective skills, critical insight and ability to solve problems.

5.3.4. Yasin: managing the egalitarian relationship

Yasin is another applicant for the position as integration consultant at the same nursing home as Farid. He is a 31-year old male born in the Middle East who moved to Denmark 6 years prior to the interview. He holds a bachelor degree in Social Sciences from his home country and a master degree in Physical Education from Denmark.

The position Integration Consultant is newly established and is tailored especially for the IO jobs. The employee who will be offered the job is expected to develop and establish a programme aimed at integrating elder citizens with a foreign background with Danish elderly persons. The position is poorly described in the job offer and the panel practically uses the job interview to find out what the position should consist of. This definitely causes difficulties as the panel often acts unprepared and chaotic. Yet, Yasin tackles the questions in a confident and relaxed manner. Consider the excerpt:

YASIN, INTEGRATION CONSULTANT, SUCCESSFUL **EMP: EMPLOYEE, FEMALE, PRI: PRINCIPAL, MALE** **YAS: YASIN**	**DANISH** **BEG. AT 2.55**
1. EMP: so in a way get some 2. projects started and 3. some erm 4. YAS: well when we talk about 5. integration well 6. integration is a huge 7. thing (1.0) erm concept 8. well e:rm what shall we 9. focus on in the 10. integration 11. EMP: yeah[but= 12. YAS: [I mean is it 13. something we'll keep 14. going within the 15. field or shall we 16. incorporate some others 17. into the field 18. {is it} 19. EMP: yeah but this is how we 20. think of it that 21. you((pl.))(.)you(sg.) 22. togehter with 23. erm the principals try 24. to find out well… (3.11-3.40) EMP & MAN start negotiating the job description 25. PRI: so you are totally 26. right (.) the field is 27. huge ha ha ha	1. EMP: så på den måde komme i 2. gang med nogle projekter 3. og noget øhm 4. YAS: altså når vi siger 5. integration altså 6. integration er 7. kæmpestor (1.0) øh 8. begreb altså ø:h hvad 9. skal der være af fokus 10. i integrationen 11. EMP: ja[men= 12. YAS: [det vil sige skal 13. det være mest vi holder 14. det i gang med en 15. arbejde inde i feltet 16. eller skal vi trække 17. flere ind i feltet 18. {er det} 19. EMP: jamen det er det som vi 20. tænker at I (.) du 21. sammen med øh 22. forstanderne 23. prøver at 24. finde ud af altså… 25. PRI: så du har fuldstændig 26. ret (.) feltet er stort 27. ha ha ha

The interview has barely begun – less than three minutes have passed when Yasin starts a discussion on the concept of integration. He points out that `integration is a huge thing` (line 6-7) and we have to know how to address it in our field of work. Several times EMP tries to reestablish her turn (line 11) while Yasin continues on the topic of integration to find out what exactly he is supposed to work with. In lines 19-24 EMP seems to give up, suggesting that Yasin would figure it out with the principals-in-charge. Shortly after, the principal himself takes the floor in attempt to provide a clearer description of the job but, he too, has to surrender, crediting Yasin for his insightful remarks (`you are totally right(.)the field is huge ha ha ha`, line 23-25). This small victory means a lot for the rest of the interview. Yasin has established himself as a knowledgeable, analytic and carefully listening applicant who is not afraid of interrupting and even correcting the panel. He does that in a very subtle manner, providing logical

arguments by which he both shows and commands respect. This strategy is very different from Mohammed's or Farid's, who, much readily place themselves in an subordinate position. Yasin, in contrast, acts as if he controls the topic and the allocation of turns throughout the interview (similar to Ruben in the previous chapter). He is not a subordinate figure but an equally participating applicant with rights and opinions that are respected. From this position Yasin can negotiate future economic goods, e.g. a subsidy for attending an advanced Danish course. Look at the next example:

YASIN, INTEGRATION CONSULTANT, SUCCESSFUL MAN1: MANAGER, FEMALE, YAS: YASIN	**DANISH BEG. AT 7:21**
1. YAS: but erm erm I'd like 2. to take the exam 3. only to 4. progress (.) well {it} 5. erm if {it} 6. gives me the possibility 7. MAN: mm 8. YAS: erm twenty percent 9. of the time 10. while I'm 11. working here 12. MAN: yeah 13. MAN1: okay 14. YAS: it'll be a good 15. opportunity erm I 16. and follow the 17. Studieprøve-course ((one of the highest qualifying courses in Danish for foreigners, corresponding to TESOL/TOEFL)) EMP: yeah 18. YAS: it won't be so 19. expensive for the 20. department it 21. costs one thousand 22. I think to follow the 23. [whole course 24. MAN1: [okay I think 25. we'll manage to 26. work it out	1. YAS: men øh øh jeg kunne 2. tænke mig at tager 3. den eksamen kun 4. for at udvikle mig 5. selv (.) altså det øh 6. hvis det giver mig 7. den mulighed 8. MAN: mm 9. YAS: øh tyve procent af 10. tiden mens jeg 11. arbejder her 12. MAN: ja 13. MAN1: okay 14. YAS: skulle være en god 15. mulighed øh jeg 16. kan følge det 17. Studieprøvekursus 18. EMP: ja 19. YAS: det bliver heller 20. ikke så dyrt for 21. afdelingen det 22. koster et tusind 23. tror jeg for at 24. følge [hele forløb 25. MAN1: [okay det 26. skulle vi nok 27. kunne finde ud af

Yasin has already planned which courses to attend during the 20% education time of his employment - he has surveyed the possibilities and checked out the prices. Thus, he also signals his future intentions as part of the workplace. According to the principal, Yasin gets the job because he `indisputedly was the best one to reflect on some of our cryptic questions` (Danish: `Men Yasin var suverænt den bedste til at reflektere over nogle af vores kryptiske spørgsmål`). This acknowledgement

goes in two directions: on the one hand Yasin is assessed as the best applicant among four others because of his analytic skills, on the other hand the panel admits that their own questions are cryptic and difficult to answer. Yasin is successful because he is able to tackle the interview game by navigating fluently through the different discourses. Let us look at one last similar case.

5.3.5. Maximillian: the visionary "we"

Maximillian is a 33 years old German, married to a Dane. He spent 1½ year in Denmark, studying Danish and finishing a PhD in Philosophy. I already presented an example in the beginning of this chapter in which we saw Maximillian reflecting on the question "where do you see yourself in five years". An important feature of Maximillian's talk is that whenever he speaks about the future, he shows the interviewers that he sees himself part of the institution. Pay attention to the use of the personal pronoun "we" in plural by which he not only shows understanding of the job but also empathizes with the required task:

MAXIMILLIAN, IT-SUPPORT SUCCESSFUL	**DANISH, BEG. AT 27:45**
1. MAX: …sure it is a big big 2. challenge if we erm move 3. hh to a building and 4. there is no 5. infrastructure so (to) 6. think about erm how 7. infrastructure <MED: mm> 8. will look like	1. MAX: …det er sikkert også en 2. stor stor udfordring hvis 3. vi øh flytter hh til en 4. bygning der og der er 5. ingen infrastruktur så at 6. tænke over øh hvordan 7. infrastruktur <MED: mm> 8. skal se ud

Maximillian and Yasin share a number of features which seem to work as successful strategies. First, they are both tackling the institutional demands by blending personal and institutional discourse. Second, they manage to present themselves as *equal* colleagues and not as subservient foreigners. In Scheuer (2001)'s words: they manage to establish an *egalitarian discourse*. Managers and panel representatives mention several times in the data that entering the new workplace as an equal colleague is crucial for one's professional well-being. One of the things they look for when they interview applicants is how they establish an egalitarian relationship. For example, in one post-interview conversation, I was told that the reason why one particular applicant was offered the job was because she was `able to enter this job as equal` and `she will be an equal colleague, also in all working conditions; this means she will be able to make demands on different things on equal terms with`

`the other colleagues and thus also challenge them professionally` (about Hannah, see more in Two Case Studies). Equality and non-authoritarian social structure are Scandinavian (and according to the panels also Northern European) values that are mentioned and discussed a number of times in the interviews. Those applicants who manage an egalitarian relationship with the panel are more often offered the job. Managing and egalitarian relationship is a core issue of cultural fluency, the reverse side of which may lead to discrimination (Yilmaz 2006). I shall return to that in ***Ideologies and Assessments.***

5.4. What counts as cultural fluency?

The analysis in Section 3 revealed some important facets constructing one of the main arguments in this thesis: successful applicants are those who on the one hand possess knowledge and understanding of the job interview as an activity type (e.g. timing, recontextualization, mixing discourses), and on the other hand manage the social relations in it, e.g. balance between being subservient or distant and independent or equal. I term this knowledge c*ultural fluency*. **With *cultural fluency* I refer to the applicants' ability to demonstrate conventionalized knowledge, attitudes and emotions that are expected by and shared with the gatekeeper or the interlocutor-in-charge. Cultural fluency is done situationally and may change in every frame, scenario or activity type. It is often interconnected with linguistic fluency though it might function as a more abstract level of fluency that appears just as important as the pure mastering of the mechanics of language.**

Cultural fluency is inseparably linked to linguistic fluency**.** Clearly, what makes the applicants fluent is also based on their interactional capacity to work out how to play the game. If it is in the comfort of being placed in the right context and accepted, cultural fluency can be mutually reinforced and empowered by the parties. In this sense it is dialogic and negotiable as well.

Cultural fluency functions as a code that can be negotiated and mastered if one is socialized into it. It is brought about and brought along; for some it can be worked out, made and re-made in the discourse, for others it is less flexible, more congealed and constrained by the language but also confined by one's convictions and beliefs (e.g.

expressed in cases of resistance). Cultural fluency is a skill which we can bring along in new situations**.**

Several phenomena were discussed and analysed to explain cultural fluency. The positioning of the applicants in relation to the panel seems to play a crucial role. Applicants like, for example, Yasin and Maximillian, who manage an egalitarian social relationship with the panel are successful because the interviewers use what happens in the interview as a proxy for what is going to happen in the workplace afterwards. If the managers evaluate that the applicants get on well with them, they imagine they also will get on well with people in the workplace. Such taken for granted assumptions allow the gatekeepers to be assertive in their judgements although these judgements are highly suggestive (Roberts 2000:115). Conversely, applicants who do not manage an egalitarian relationship (such as Mohammed and Farid) and seem to "work too hard" for the job, are not offered a position because their interviews "alert" what might happen in the job: indecisiveness, dependence and subservience.

The managing of institutional discourse and the balanced use of both institutional and personal accounts are some of the biggest difficulties for the job applicants, no matter if they speak the same first language as the gatekeepers or not (e.g. Scheuer 2001). The inferential processes here are complex and demand both linguistic and cultural knowledge: linguistic knowledge to read the pragmatic function of what is happening (e.g. to decipher whether the interviewer is asking for more information or not) and cultural knowledge, as the applicants should know how to make their talk more institutional for bureaucratic purposes. If the applicants' stories are too personal, they might get trapped in stereotypes because this is what the interviewers will focus on if they do not hear what they expect to hear (what we saw with Hamid).

The so called *soft skills* or *soft competences* as e.g. communication, problem solving, team working, an ability to improve personal learning and performance, motivation, judgement, leadership and initiative (Grugulis and Vincent 2009:3) can also be associated with cultural fluency. Cultural fluency has also to do with one's ability to control the impressions others form of one, e.g. what is known as impression management. Leary and Kowalski 1990:34 argue that the impressions people make on us have implications for how we perceive, evaluate and treat those people. Impression management as an aspect

of cultural fluency aligns with Goffman's dramaturgical analysis (Goffman 1959, cf.2002) according to which all individuals are performers on a variety of stages for a variety of audiences, so it is to the individual's advantage to control the observations of others.

5.5. Sum up

This chapter created an overview of the concept *cultural fluency*. First, it introduced several approaches to culture and discussed the terms interculturality and intercultural communication. Second, it suggested an analytical framework to approach the notion of cultural fluency by addressing the job interview as an *activity type* in which, depending on the situation and the interlocutors, different *scenarios* might take place. Third, it analysed five excerpts of IO job interviews, demonstrating how cultural fluency was done situationally and changed in every frame or scenario. It showed the importance of balanced integration of both institutional and personal discourses. The successful navigation between these discourses (Roberts and Campbell 2006), or the skillful recontextualization of styles (Scheuer 2001) played an important role also for the participants in my study. The ability to blend discourses proves the interconnectivity of linguistic skills and knowledge of cultural codes. Finally, this chapter argued for the existence of certain cultural expectations that establish norms for cultural behaviour at ritualized institutional events.

The next short analytical chapter closes the cycle of linguistic and cultural fluency by shedding light on the conceptual overlap between the two concepts.

Chapter 5½
What is cultural and what is linguistic?

This chapter provides an analysis of an excerpt of a job interview with the Asian applicant Yao. It aims at highlighting some of the blind spots in the concepts linguistic and cultural fluency thus also demonstrating their interconnectivity.

Yao is a 27 years old Asian woman who has spent 4 years in Denmark. She holds a Bachelor degree in Economics from a university in Asia and a Danish Master's degree in Political Science which she has completed in English. She applies for a job as an accountant employee but does not get the job. I remember her as a nice and friendly young woman, keeping good eye contact and listening very carefully to the panel's introductions and questions. In my field notes I have written that she struggles with both pronunciation and grammar in Danish. Her sentences are short and she experiences difficulties in completing them, but as the interview goes on, her Danish improves and her sentences grow more complex (Field notes, July 2009).

Yao is the first applicant on the list of job interviews for the position as an accountant. Whether it is because of that or not, the interview structure seems strikingly disorganized in comparison to other job interviews. For example, the panel forgets to present themselves (but does so 14 minutes into the interview). After 30 minutes of the interview, the manager (MAN) starts asking questions about Yao's experience from previous jobs. I notice that in the beginning of the interview MAN addresses Yao using highly complex institutional discourse constructions containing phrases like "solving tasks", "taking the responsibility", "making things move in another direction" which seem to challenge Yao's Danish to the limits. At one point, however, MAN starts accommodating by simplifying her expressions and questions. Let's look at the example:

YAO, ACCOUNTANT, UNSUCCESSFUL (30:04 – 32:02)	**DANISH**
MAN: yeah (1.5) have you been in such situations (.) where you worked with where erm (.) you have (1.5) g- erm got a task (1.0) you (.) made things move in another direction different from what the client wanted <YAO: yeah> because you meant it was better (.) have you tried	LED: ja (1.5) har du prøvet at være i sådan nogle situationer (.) når du har arbejdet hvor at øh (.)at du har (1.5) fff øh fået en opgave (1.0) til at (.) f gå en anden vej end det kunden ville have <YAO: ja> fordi du mente det var bedre (.) har du prøvet det
YAO: erm yes I have↓	YAO: øhm ja det har jeg↓
MAN: yes↑	LED: ja↑
YAO: mmh↓ (1.0)	YAO: mmh ↓(1.0)
MAN: can you tell us about <YAO: that I> that <YAO: erm>	LED: kan du fortælle om <YAO: det jeg> det <YAO: øh>
YAO: for example erm i:n erm erm when I worked in a ?banking? erm we must (1.0) erm we must launch a campaign fo:r e:rm first erm (.)erm clients can get some get some (2.5) a: erm erm we must (.) launch a campaign erm in order to erm new goods should come erm erm new products should come to the mark erm marky [?the market?] so <MAN: yeah> erm (1.0) <MAN: okay> mmh (.) we launch a: a: net erm internet campaign↓	YAO: for example øh i: øh øh da jeg arbejdede i en ?banke? øh vi skal (1.0) øh vi skal køre en kampagne fo:r ø:h første øhm (.) øhm kunder kan få nogle få nogle (2.5) :a øh øh vi skal (.) køre en kampagne øh at øh a a new varer skal komme a: produkter skal komme ind til mokt øh magte [?markedet?] så <LED: ja> øhm (1.0) <LED: okay> mmh kører vi e:n e:n net øh internet campaign↓
MAN: yeah↑	LED: ja↑
YAO: so ACTUALLY it was very b- erm big erm size	YAO: så FAKTISK så det har meget s øh stor øh størrelse
MAN: oka:y↑	LED: oka:y↑
YAO: yes↓	YAO: ja↓
MAN: so it went really well↑	LED: så det gik rigtig godt↑
YAO: yeah↓	YAO: ja↓
MAN: yeah <YAO: but>	LED: ja <YAO: men>
YAO: bec- because this product manager thought erm they should erm use normal erm and paper and <MAN: yeah> marketing yeah↓	YAO: for fordi den product manager [engelsk] synes øh de skal øh bruge normalt øh og papir og <LED: ja>marketing ja↓
MAN: what did YOU do <YAO: xxx> in order to <YAO: erm> convince him <YAO: we we we>	LED: hvad hvad gjorde du <YAO: xxx> for at <YAO: øh> overbevise ham <YAO: vi vi vi>
YAO: yeah erm we start with a: (1.0) erm a *tast* sample	YAO: ja øh vi starte med e:n (1.=) øhm en prøje tester

58. to see erm (.) erm (.)	58. det at se øhm (.) øhm (.)
59. clients can get get can	59. kunder kan få få kan bruge
60. use [?products?](1.0)	60. va[rer](1.0)
61. sa- erm samples and not	61. prø- øh prøjer og ikke b-
62. p- pay (.) it but after	62. betale (.)det men after den
63. the test period is over↑	63. den prøje_period er slut↑
64. MAN: yeah	64. LED: ja
65. YAO: then maybe they they they	65. YAO: så kan kan det være og de
66. would like to have it and	66. de de vil have det og de
67. they(.) they or might da-	67. eller (.) de vil tu- vil
68. [?dare it?][?return it?]↓	68. turde (?returnere?) det↓
69. MAN: okay yes <YAO: yeah>	69. LED: okay ja <YAO: ja> og det
70. {*there you go*}°hh°↑that's	70. °hh°↑det var da
71. °wonderful↓	71. °flot↓
72. YAO: yeah	72. YAO: ja
73. MAN: yeah	73. LED: ja
74. (4.0)	74. (4.0)

I would like to call attention to the manager's many acts of supportiveness. First, in lines 1-10 MAN addresses Yao in a cautious manner, her speech slowed down and simplified, as if she tries to make her question more comprehensible and less institutionally sounding. For that purpose, MAN elaborates on her own inquiry a number of times and repeats the key question both in the beginning and in the end (`have you been in such a situation…. ….where you // another direction.. different from // because you meant…have you tried that`). Second, MAN's huge amount of minimal responses upholds the rhythm of the conversation and gives Yao some interactional evidence that she follows and understands her. *But does the manager really understand YAO*? Looking at the interaction as a mechanical ping-pong game I would say yes – they do understand each other since neither MAN nor Yao ever indicate any mis- or non-understandings. MAN never asks for repairs or reformulations of content and she never addresses the issue of understanding, not even covertly. I have to admit that I find this fact a bit strange. I consider myself trained in listening to Danish as a Second Language, and yet it took me, and a number of colleagues, several times of repeated listening to decide on what Yao was saying. The transcript includes my best guesses as I sometimes find it close to impossible to decode Yao's choices of vocabulary. Let us look again at how the manager tackles this.

In line 1-10 MAN asks Yao a question about whether she has tried a situation making `things move in another direction`. As MAN asks a polar question, Yao provides the minimal required answer: `yes I have`. However, although the manager's question is

formed as a yes/no question, it is in fact a speech act that requires specific knowledge of how to respond. Yao is not only supposed to say yes, but to go on to give examples and to reflect on how and what she has done. But Yao does not do that. Her falling intonation in line 13 indicates that she has to all intents and purposes completed her turn (yes I have↓) and, after MAN's yes↑ (which I interpret as an invitation to tell more), Yao further confirms that she does not have anything more to add (mhm↓). Yao indicates twice that she has answered the polar question but has not understood the speech act implied in it. In lines 16-17 the manager provides a new chance to get Yao on board, this time making the speech act clear by inviting Yao to tell a story (can you tell us about that). This time Yao readily grabs the chance and starts struggling through an ambiguous narrative about her experience with a new product campaign on the market. Yao's narrative is characterized by a lot of repetitions, reformulations, false starts and long pauses, altogether making it quite difficult to follow the organization (see e.g. Blommaert 2010 on "truncated competence"). Therefore, when Yao in line 36 mentions an internet campaign with a falling intonation, the manager interprets it as a possible completion, which she tries to clear with Yao by asking yes↑. To that Yao provides a kind of coda-sounding utterance (so actually it was…) to which the manager reacts with the somewhat exaggerated oka:y↑ (perhaps wondering if that was her final answer). When Yao confirms (yes↓), MAN ends the sequence with an evaluation: so it went really well. This is all very good but Yao has not finished. She only seems to have given us the context: but- she continues quickly with a more concrete example about a product manager and some use of paper (which probably links to the internet campaign)[6]. Now, this further story engenders new troubles. After signaling a possible completion in line 51 (yeah↓), in lines 52-54 the manager asks Yao directly: what did YOU do with a notable stress on the personal pronoun "you". Obviously, Yao 's story is not satisfactory for the manager. She is supposed to provide an institutionally sounding personal account of her own individual skills: By explaining how she had tackled problems from the past, she will

[6] The excerpt is an example of STAR structure (Situation, Task, Action, Result) going wrong. STAR is a common model for structuring answers in job interviews in the USA and Great Britain but it is not popular as a term in Denmark. However, the example demonstrates that the interviewers expect such a narrative structure.

demonstrate how suitable she is for the new job (see e.g. Roberts and Campbell 2005 and 2007 on "occupational discourse).

Yao accordingly begins a longer narrative in the first person plural – she uses "we", rather than "I". Now she really struggles with both pronunciation and grammar and is actually very difficult to understand. The manager listens very carefully and provides only one minimal response. First when Yao's intonation in lines 60-63 falls and she says "and so", the manager as previously interprets it as a completion (`okay yes`) and provides another positive evaluation: `°hh°↑det var flot↓.` This Danish expression literally means: *that was beautiful* or *that was wonderful*. However, the quiet, low, breathy voice with an exaggerated rising intonation in the beginning and falling intonation in the end contains very much the features of a patronizing comment (á la "good girl", "there you go"). It could certainly be used by a parent talking to a child. Maybe it is a statement provided by someone completely lost in somebody's rambling but trying to keep up the positive spirit; maybe it is an evaluation of Yao's extreme efforts to convey meaning in Danish.

5½.1. Discussion: What is cultural and what is linguistic?

To sum up about what happens in this job interview, I argue that MAN's supportiveness and positive evaluations might support YAO in achieving linguistic fluency (especially in the end of the interview) but camouflages by the same token the essence and the meaning in Yao's talk. Face work and face-saving strategies are important for the manager and as a result MAN reacts only to "surface" phenomena thus brushing off the key issue of understanding. It indicates that MAN is either not interested (because she has already decided not to give Yao the job) or that she *does* have great difficulties understanding Yao or perhaps both. Nevertheless, continuous avoidance of clarification almost inevitably has a negative outcome as it heightens the asymmetry between the interlocutors (Bremer et al 1996:178).

The general lack of indication of non-understanding is surprising; especially in terms of the extreme support and the obvious "applaud" of Yao's input regardless of what she says. One explanation in line with Bremer et al 1996:178 could be that some interviewees place such high demands on the interviewer's attention that there is too little "capacity" available for additional "monitoring" of understanding. Or, as Roberts and Sayers 1987 (129-130) argue, if interviewers have recognized second language difficulties as playing a

role in the interview, the interviewers may use the language factor as a reason for not clarifying a misunderstanding because they would perceive such a situation as "the feelings of embarrassment the interviewer suffers at moments of non-comprehension". According to them, one of these is the interviewer's feelings about race and the immigrant issue in general. They point out that:

> In his wish to avoid any prejudice or paternalism he (the interviewer, my comment) treats the candidate as equally as possible. In other words, he affects to be "colour-blind" and "deaf to language difference", on the wrong assumption that to treat everyone the same is to treat everyone equally. (…) The wish to treat the candidate as equal will also lead the interviewer to underplay, while listening to the candidate, any difficulties caused by the learner's interlanguage and hence not search there for reasons to account for intuitions upon which his judgement of the candidate will be based. Judgements will be given non-linguistic rationales.
>
> Roberts and Sayers 1987 (p. 129-130)

So what happens with Yao is that instead of clarifying the linguistic problems, the interviewer rather ignores them (this was also the case with Mohammed, see 4.5.2.). The reasons for the interviewer's lack of engagement are complex and probably contradictory. One reason could be lack of understanding, another could be a "let it pass"-line because asking for details would break the already flimsy flow and make the applicant even more disfluent. Face matters are an important factor. Last but not least, the interviewer may already have judged the interviewee as a poor communicator, so there is no reason for false engagement.

Yao's Danish, although assessed as worse than the other applicants', is not mentioned as a problem in relation to getting the job. The main concern is Yao's "personality" and the "culture". The following is an excerpt from a post-interview conversation with the manager:

> Well, I think that nr. 1 [Yao] was the one with the poorest language. But she can catch up because all four of them are some bright young ladies. Of course they will be able to learn. […] Actually, I am not that concerned about the language. My concern is more about… it is about their personality, how they will manage the tasks in terms of… I just know what people they will be up against […] And finally, maybe the real challenge is the culture in the long run, right…

Yao does not act according to the manger's expectations – neither in terms of linguistic fluency nor in terms of cultural fluency. Culturally, Yao is not meeting the expectations of taking responsibility and acting as an individual. Linguistically (despite the support and the positive evaluations), she seems to be far away from the necessary stage of comprehensibility. It is difficult to be certain of whether "fake" support is helpful or not. Perhaps it is, because I see improvement in Yao's Danish throughout the interview and I do not see evidence of Yao getting irritated because of not being understood.

Yao's example encapsulates the idea that we cannot address linguistic and cultural fluency as two separate phenomena. What is seen as cultural can be due to linguistic problems as well (e.g. understanding speech acts in polar questions or providing too long context introductions without getting to the point, also seen in Roberts 2000 and Young 1982 on differences in rhetorical styles).

I argue that in Yao's case understanding has not been achieved. However, the panel ignores that for the reasons mentioned above and points out cultural challenges instead. Culture becomes a catch-all term for unmet expectations at all levels. Whether this is due to a new form of "political correctness" in the Danish society in which non-standard Danish (finally) has become less stigmatized, or whether it is a common process of "different culture" being brought to surface when other discrepancies appear (Auer and Kern 2001) is difficult to decide. Nevertheless this dissertation is rich in examples demonstrating how the panels are eager to address "cultural problems" and much less prone to identify and address "linguistic problems", also in cases in which there are no observable "linguistic problems" as chapter 6 will show.

As analysis has suggested, dialogic fluency goes much beyond the process of mechanical "surface"-scaffolding. It is rather built on two principles: On the one hand the interlocutors need to understand the content of what is said, and on the other hand they need to possess and demonstrate understanding of when and how and how much to signal the ambiguousness in the instances of non- and misunderstanding. Those two principles are irrevocably interconnected but while the first one is mostly associated with *linguistic fluency*, the second one is rather linked to *cultural fluency*.

***

The next step in my dissertation is to discuss and exemplify the notion of fluency as an ideological construct. As argued in the introductory chapters, assumptions about the applicants' "good", "appropriate" or "bad" Danish go hand in hand with the panel's attitudes and ideological standpoints. Ideology is an integral part of the evaluation process, especially when selection criteria are less clear. The ideology of the job interview as a proxy for other skills is highly disputable but nevertheless taken for granted. These are some of the issues I address in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

Ideologies and assessments

Previous chapters argued for the jointly produced linguistic and cultural fluency as important elements of successful interaction at the IO job interview. However, as analysis documented in several places, the interviewees' performance and the interviewers' decisions are influenced by ideology. The applicants are constantly judged and the job interview is used as a proxy for how they will relate to tasks involved in the job. Since the whole notion of job interviews is based on the idea that ordinary people can speak of and for themselves in front of other people who have the right and power to access them, the next step is to find out how ideology influences the evaluation process. This chapter adds a third and important element to the analysis of fluency by studying the effect of existing ideologies to the selection process of job applicants. It argues that ideologies affect the IO job interview determining on the one hand on the managers' decisions and on the other hand on the applicants' linguistic and cultural performance. The chapter summarizes theoretical and practical issues of ideology and provides examples of how stereotypes, mutual expectations and prejudices feed into the selection process. It also discusses ideological aspects of language assessments (e.g. justice vs. fairness, McNamara and Ryan 2011) in the context of the job interview. Finally, it presents three separate pieces of analysis: First, an analysis of the official IO written guide, second, an analysis of the panels' assessments of applicants for academic and non-academic positions as recorded in the post-interview conversations, and third, an interaction analysis of an example focusing on contrasting Danish workplaces with "foreign" workplaces.

6.1. Linguistic ideology

In a famous article from 1985 Silverstein argues for the existence of a so-called "total linguistic fact" by which he means that we must take the following four aspects of language into account in order to understand how linguistic signs have meaning in practice*: form, use, ideology* and *domain*. Silverstein acknowledges the tremendous importance of linguistic ideology, on a par with the formal aspects of language. Silverstein

himself defines language ideologies as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein 1979: 193). Similarly, Rumsey 1990:346 argues that ideologies are “shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world”, while Irvine 1989:255 sees them as “The cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading with moral and political interests”. What the three definitions have in common is that ideologies are about *beliefs*, *commonsense* and *interests*. They are subjective ”interpretative filters” used to manage the relationship of language and society (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994, Mertz 1989). In other words, ideologies function as scenarios or schemas of expectations shaping interaction and processes of interpretation.

This dissertation adopts a broad definition of linguistic ideology. It views linguistic ideology as everything that has to do with individual or common values openly or covertly influencing one’s thoughts and actions, including actions performed by speech. I use Ideology as a sociolinguistic and sociological term which includes beliefs and commonsense knowledge rather than addressing purely cognitive features. My point of view is in line with Irvine and Gal’s (2000:35) definition of ideologies as “the ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events and activities that are significant to them”. This view is also inspired by Billig (1991:143) according to whom commonsense is a form of ideology (cf. also Gramsci). Billig argues that the processes of everyday thinking *are* ideological and the contents of everyday thinking (e.g. values, opinions) are cultural products. In this connection, a stepping stone I cannot ignore is that no matter how much scientists and researchers know about ideologies, they themselves will be subjects to commonsense and ideological processing. Irvine and Gal (2000:35) suggest that ideologies are “conceptual schemas” held by everybody, including linguists and ethnographers: i.e., there is no “view from nowhere”. Awareness about linguistic ideology is thus a methodological issue rather than a psychological insight that brings us back to the discussion of ethnography (See ***Data and Method***).

A fundamental idea for this study is the relation between ideologies and gatekeeping. The chapter ***Theoretical Foundations*** described and discussed the notion of gatekeeping as characteristic of institutional communication. It touched upon the idea that

gatekeeping is inevitably ideological as it is based on the gatekeepers' (subjective) evaluations and hidden agendas. Erickson 1975 (see also Erickson and Schultz 1982) points out that gatekeeping is about *inclusion*, *exclusion* and *co-membership;* although Erickson does not directly address ideological issues, the terms through which he describes ideology have profound ideological underpinnings. The whole set of assumptions to be a part of a group is ideological. Evaluations are also based upon ideologies (Kroskrity 2000) and the ideas of bureaucratic fairness and equal opportunities itself constitute an ideological complex. We might need an "objective", Weberian selection of who is worthy or not, but, the question is whether it is possible to decide on that, except on the basis of ideologies.

6.2. Legitimate language and linguistic capital

An important link to understanding ideologies is Bourdieu's concept of "legitimate language" which Bourdieu 1991:45 defines as "a system of norms regulating linguistic practices". Here is how Bourdieu describes the link between legitimate language, legitimate speakers, legitimate receivers and legitimate situations:

> ...we can state the characteristics which legitimate discourse must fulfill, the tacit presuppositions of its efficacy: it is uttered by a legitimate speaker, i.e. by the appropriate person, as opposed to the impostor (religious language/priest, poetry/poet, etc.); it is uttered in a legitimate situation, i.e. on the appropriate market (as opposed to insane discourse, e.g. a surrealist poem read in the Stock Exchange) and addressed to legitimate receivers; it is formulated in the legitimate phonological and syntactic forms (what linguists call grammaticalness), except when transgressing these norms is part of the legitimate definition of the legitimate producer (Bourdieu 1977: 650).

Bourdieu links legitimate language to linguistic capital. Linguistic capital, as one of the forms of cultural capital, involves fluency in those ways of speaking which are valued as powerful. Displaying such capital singles out the speaker as part of the dominant group within the social structure. Only speakers who play the game exceptionally well are allowed to transgress it.

Linguistic capital includes not only purely linguistic competence but also an understanding of the situations in which this capital has value. This definition of linguistic capital encapsulates to a great extent the concepts of linguistic and cultural fluency in this dissertation, as it at the same time highlights the importance of mechanical language

competences (linguistic fluency) but also the awareness of its use at a proper time and place (cultural fluency). The linguistic "sense of place" (Bourdieu 1991:82) is of the utmost importance because if speakers do not feel they are in the proper situation (no matter how legitimate they are) they will perform less well. Bourdieu explains the sense of "out of place" using the metaphor of "fish being out of water". If the IO applicants are required to possess interview skills they do not master, they will feel like fish out of water, and it will have negative consequences for the job interview.

6.3. Ideologies and Stereotypes

Ideologies and stereotypes are closely related. While ideologies are the abstract bodies of shared commonsense, stereotypes are concrete sense-making tools. According to the social identity approach to stereotypes (Hogg 1990), they serve two purposes: first, they make it easier for us to understand social phenomena around us and, second, they fulfill our desire to present a positive image of ourselves. To stereotype means to assign individuals to certain categories which we assume they should have, often by generalizing for a whole group on the basis of what we know about a few individuals. By doing that, we endorse our own positive individual and group features. Stereotypes are important for both individuals and society; the social aspect justifies our actions and gives us responsibility, while the individual aspect strengthens our value system as humans (Tajfel 1981, Hogg and Abrams 1988).

The connection between assessments and stereotypes is contingent on the fact that we cannot assess something without having any previous experience with it or knowledge about it. Stereotypes are not necessarily wrong. Even if they are based on a group assumption, this assumption might be true for one or several individuals in the group. However, stereotypes can be used wrongly. Once emerged and dispersed, stereotypes are not easy to change. If a negative stereotype already exists, we may expect that what stimulates associations to that particular stereotype will be also assessed negatively (Street & Hopper 1982, Kristiansen 1991). Negative stereotypes will inevitably lead to othering (see also section 5.1.3). We need to classify others in "boxes" in order to gain a better understanding of ourselves or our group relations (Hudson 1996), and we need to distance ourselves from those we do not want to be associated with.

Stereotyping is both simple and complex. Simple, because it happens all the time and is easily practiced by anyone of us, and yet overly complex, because it rests on various individual and social factors, the result of which is to make sense of things. For example, if a job applicant takes an initiative but his or her initiative is overlooked or disregarded by the panel, it may feed into the stereotype of applicants of this type not taking any initiatives. Or, if the panel members *expect* to meet a candidate who is shy and service-minded, then, when they actually meet an applicant who is *not* like that but is still *different enough*, they may employ their original stereotype against the applicant. The following is an example featuring the African applicant Arabella who was seen as shy, fragile and dependent. The manager is concerned about employing her because `she is different culturally and that will make it difficult to work with me`. As the excerpt indicates, the fact that Arabella has been living in Denmark for 10 years and is married to a Dane does not make her particularly familiar with Danish culture:

ARABELLA, HELP DESK SECRETARY, UNSUCCESSFUL	**DANISH**
EMP: …and you will be able to learn more about Danish culture erhm why we do as we [do= ARA: [mmh mmh EMP: =laugh when we laugh [and_ ARA: [yes EMP: =say what we say ARA: I have learned a bit about [that EMP: [yes ARA: I have also a Danish husband EMP: yes but it can be difficult	MED: [så du]vil du også lære noget mere om dansk kultur øhm hvorfor vi gør som vi gør og ARA: [mmh mmh] MED: griner når vi griner og ARA: [ja] MED: siger som vi siger ARA: det har jeg lært lidt om det AUK: [ja ARA: jeg har også en øh danske mand (.) [han er MED: [ja men det kan være svært

After 10 years in Denmark the African Arabella is still considered an outsider to Danish culture while the Western European applicant Hannah who has spent less than a year in Denmark is seen as a more appropriate candidate because the panel assumes that she to a higher extent shares cultural values with the Danes. Consider the following excerpt from a post-interview conversation:

FROM POST-INTERVIEW CONVERSATION ABOUT HANNAH	**DANISH**
MAR: Why do you give her [Hannah]the job?	MAR: Hvorfor blev det hende?

MAN: We did it because culturally we imagined that she could match the job and the existing job description better. We were all a bit concerned about the other two who were too eager for getting a job. And their cultural background contributes to the fact that since they will be cooperating with me for instance, they will become too submissive in relation to the job and to me. Whereas she [Hannah] is educated and socialized in another system and has (the) 15 years of experience. This was very important as well. In this kind of job she will be able to enter very much as an equal partner. Also the fact that she will stand as an equal colleague, also in relation to general working conditions, i.e. she will be able to make demands on equal terms with other colleagues and give them the necessary sparring.	MAN: Det gjorde det fordi vi kulturelt havde nok et billede af at hun bedst kunne matche det job og den jobbeskrivelse der er her. Vi var enige om at vi nok havde en lille bekymring om de to andre var så opsatte på at få job. Og deres kulturelle baggrund ville gøre at da de skulle samarbejde med fx mig, at de vil blive for ydmyge i forhold til jobbet og i forhold til mig. Hvor hun (Hannah) er uddannet og opdraget i et andet system og så har de 15 års erfaring. Det vægtede også meget tungt. I denne type job kan hun i højere grad gå ind som en ligeværdig. Det blev også vægtet [af] at hun blev en ligeværdig kollega også i personaleforhold, og altså gå ind og stille nogle krav på lige fod med andre kollegaer og give det kollegiale modspil.

The above statement is highly saturated with cultural issues. Culture seems to explain everything. The manager does not account for the selection of Hannah on the basis of the job interview but refers to commonsense categories, e.g. the "system" which Hannah is socialized in, in opposition to the system Arabella is socialized in. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, the manager does not know anything about Arabella's home culture or work experience; she only assumes that it is different from the Danish and the Western European "flat" hierarchies. According to the manager, Arabella is not capable of working in Denmark because she is someone who you would want to take by the hand and invite home and then do something (for her), right? Because she really needs someone to take care of her, otherwise I don't think she will get started. But you can't do that at a work place. In other words, this is precisely what IO is about (viz. having a mentor and special training). Apart from that, such an evaluation is less based on Hannah and Arabella's interactional moves or ability to communicate, and as documented in the analysis, much rather built on stereotypes about Western and non-Western Culture. I come back to that in the chapter ***Two Case Studies***.

Stereotyping in IO interviews also happens when applicants bring themselves in a stereotypical position because of a misunderstanding. This was the case with Hamid who brought on himself the unfortunate stereotype about Muslims, alcohol and suppression of women (cf. ***Cultural Fluency***) Hamid might have thought that he was going "the right way" by expressing how liberal he was, but unfortunately, the very act of doing it, feeds into stereotypes. This is extremely problematic for two reasons: from an interactional point of view, Hamid is doing the right thing, e.g. he is repairing an interaction which might lead to a misunderstanding; however, the content of what he is saying engenders othering. Paradoxically, the more Hamid struggles to fit in, the more he evokes stereotypical categories so that they become noticed and are used against him. In the end of the job interview Hamid was called "a pearl" (Dan: perle) by the manager - a nicer and slightly jocular edition of "paki", but still a derogatory term[7]. A similar process of stereotyping happens to Farid as well (e.g. section 5.3.3). He fights desperately for the job suggesting that he would even work for less pay. As such a scenario is different from what is officially expected, it automatically engenders othering (see also Auer and Kern 2001). None of the three applicants (Arabella, Hamid or Farid) were successful.

I now turn to the connection between ideologies and commonsense, which I introduced in the beginning of this chapter. The next sections discuss and exemplify the rhetoric of everyday thinking relating it to ideology, attitudes and prejudice.

6.4. Ideologies as commonsense

The term commonsense (*sensus communis* or a sense shared by both speaker and audience) was originally introduced by Aristotle (384-322 BC). Aristotle believed that speakers should make appeal to the *sensus communis* in order to maximize their speech impact. Commonsense with regard to attitudes and ideologies is primarily developed by Potter and Wetherell 1992 and in particular Billig 1991 and 1996. According to Billig 1991:43 the processes of everyday thinking *are* ideological. He argues that the contents of everyday thinking (e.g. values, opinions) are cultural products and that commonsense is a form of ideology. As a result, the commonsense ideology is presented as dually expressed arguments:

[7] "Perle" became popular in Danish public discourse at the beginning of 2009 when a Danish policeman claimed to have told one of the activists in a police action: "Sit down, pearl!". There was a huge debate whether he had said "perle" (pearl) or "perker" (paki). As a consequence "perle" started being used as a humorous version of "perker".

> "...the expression of an attitude is a dual expression. Most obviously, it indicates something personal about the individual attitude-holder. In addition to its individual significance, an attitude has a social meaning, for it locates the individual in a wider controversy. In this way, our attitudes refer not just to the beliefs we might uphold, but they refer to those other positions in a public argument to which we are opposed" (Billig 1991:43).

Billig points out that human thinking is not merely a matter of processing information or following cognitive rules but is to be observed in action in discussions, in the rhetorical "cut-and-thrust" of argumentation. "It is no linguistic accident", he says, "that to propose a reasoned justification is rightly called "offering an argument". "But", he continues, "the context of opinion giving is a context of argumentation". And furthermore: "Opinions are offered where there are counter-opinions. The argument "for" a position is always also an argument "against" a counter-position. Thus, the meaning of an "opinion" is dependent upon the opinions which it is countering" (Billig 1991:17, see also Billig 1987).

When we argue *for* a certain position, we are at the same time justifying our negative attitudes. For example, an utterance like "I am not prejudiced but…" represents an advance justification (or *prolepsis*) against the criticism of being prejudiced. Using this formula, the speaker attempts to deflect possible criticism, and lays claim to being a member of the moral community of the unprejudiced (see also Billig 1987 for further discussion). Van Dijk 1984 gives an example from a political campaign in Holland where one right-wing politician claimed himself to be very liberal in his attitudes towards foreigners. "I have nothing against foreigners", he said, "but their attitude, their aggression is scaring" (Van Dijk 1984:65). Van Dijk calls this particular form of denying prejudice "the new racism". Because of the duality in the utterance "I'm not …, but.." the speaker justifies his position by explicitly denying prejudice though blaming others for being prejudiced. This distancing from one's position functions as a rhetorical trick but note that it does not change one's actual attitude. Van Dijk points out that prejudices are complex concepts, because when people want to express possibly negative experiences or evaluations, they also try to stick to social norms which force them to make a good impression, e.g. they do not want to appear as extremists or racists (see also Van Dijk 1987).

Consider the following repeated example from a post-interview conversation about an unsuccessful Asian applicant:

POST-INTERVIEW CONVERSATION WITH PANEL ABOUT THE APPLICANTS' BACKGROUND	DANISH
[… the one with the Asian background where they have this obsequiousness, yeah, they are deeply service minded. I love travelling in those countries; I myself think they are wonderful people […] but I am concerned that she may not be able to put her foot down, she won't be able to say no, and things may fall apart. Well she did this [bows, hands on chest], she was very eager to get the job. And then I could be really concerned that this obsequiousness would affect her integration in this house in a negative way.	…hende der havde asiatisk baggrund, hvor de har den ydmyghed, altså de har servicegen ud over alle grænser. Jeg elsker at rejse i de lande, jeg synes selv de er nogle fantastiske mennesker […] men jeg kan være bekymret for at hun ikke kan sige fra, kan ikke sige nej, og at tingene på den måde kan smuldre. Altså, hun lavede selv den der [bøjer hovedet med samlede hænder ved brystet], altså hun var så opsat på at få det her arbejde. Så det kunne jeg være rigtig bekymret for at den ydmyghed kom til at få en forkert afsmitning på hendes integration her i huset.

In this excerpt an Asian background is equivalent to obsequiousness, extreme service-mindedness, and lack of independent thinking while Danish working culture is by consequence contrasted as a non-hierarchical structure, praising independent thinking and a casual atmosphere. In line with the example in the previous section, the manager is concerned that the "different culture" will affect the integration of the new employees negatively. Paradoxically, this is in sharp contrast to the goal of the IO positions which are particularly designed to help inexperienced immigrants to Danish workplaces. But according to the above statement, the "inexperienced" immigrants, i.e. the ones who really need to learn about Danish practices, will never be able to take advantage of the IO project because they are "too different" to qualify. I shall return to that.

None of the applicants described as "culturally divergent" were employed. In the manager's argumentation, we also find the prolepsis Van Dijk (1984) described: I myself think they are wonderful people and I love travelling in those countries but I am concerned. This formulation functions as a step-back and a justification of the manager's actual attitude which is uttered in the end, namely that the applicant is so different culturally that this difference (in this case: the obsequiousness) will affect her

job negatively. Put straight, the Asian background the manager refers to, prevents the applicant from being seriously considered for the job.

We can also look at the statement in another way: the argument between the lines suggests that "Danish workplaces are far too dangerous for applicants like you". It is used as if the manager wants to "spare" the Asian applicant's efforts. It seems like she is doing the applicant a kind of favour by not letting her work there; a peculiar favour which becomes a huge disservice and an absurdity in the light of the job interview, the purpose of which is to take on suitable applicants and not to tell them to go other places, because they are "too kind-hearted" to be employed. Such logic is clearly unhelpful in the job interview situation unless it is a fine excuse to get rid of the "different" applicants. As previously stated, the design of the IO interview and the deliberate focus on cultural differences seem to encourage ideological judgments. Assessments are made constantly, but as we shall see in the chapter ***Two Case Studies*** they are rooted in cultural stereotypes.

The next section sheds light on the ideological aspects of assessments. It presents some basic concepts of assessment theory and relates it to the assessment practices in the IO job interview.

6.5. Assessments

Throughout centuries assessments have had life-changing and even life-ending consequences. As in the case with the Biblical shibboleth, the proper use of the phoneme [ʃ] was used to "detect" who belonged to the group of Ephraimites as opposed to the Gileadiets; failing to pass the shibboleth test was followed by immediate slaughter (McNamara and Roever 2006:151; original in Judges 12, 4-6).

Although the consequences today are less severe, there may nevertheless well be high-stake situations for assessed groups and individuals. Assessments might hit socially marginalized people badly, for example in cases in which granting asylum or citizenship are at stake. In a study of interviews for Danish citizenship, Fogtmann 2007 found no correlation between the applicants' levels of grammatical performance and assessments made by the police officials. However, she found that the interactional moves and manners of police officials, e.g. the way they handle understandings and misunderstandings, correlated systematically with the assessments (Fogtmann 2007:6).

This is parallel to my findings in the chapter ***Linguistic Fluency.*** As I argued, understanding was tied to the panel's behavior (less or more supportive) and to the applicants' ability to ask for and negotiate interactional support.

Assessing linguistic performance together with other skills in a job interview is problematic for a number of reasons. For example, we do not know how the panels decide on what is "good enough" Danish (i.e. "not too good, not too bad" see section 2.3.4. on IO-criteria). Is listening to the applicant's talk sufficient to determine whether he or she is suitable? How does this relate to the job skills? And how is it validated? These are some of the questions I will focus on in the next section.

6.5.1. Assessment theory in social contexts

McNamara's studies (McNamara and Rover 2006, McNamara and Ryan 2011) on language testing and language assessments in migration and citizenship contexts are particularly interesting for this dissertation as they shed light on the social and ideological dimensions of assessments. According to McNamara and Rover 2006 assessments are administratively used processes aimed at assisting officials in making decisions about individuals. Assessments are based on interpretations of evidence gained from performance tasks through which authorities can reach conclusions about individuals' skills and knowledge. Usually, the assessment process starts with gathering different forms of evidence. Assessments naturally develop into actions (e.g. the job applicants are either given the job or rejected). McNamara points out that in order to decide on an action, the authority has to agree on whether the conclusions they reach are reasonable and the actions appropriate, i.e. they would need to validate their assessments and actions (see e.g. Messick 1989, Cronbach 1988 and McNamara and Ryan 2011). Validity - put simply - aims at ensuring that a person's chances of success on a test are not influenced by "outside" factors, or by an inadequate operationalization of the construct in the test. To validate the outcome of a job interview, for example, the panels would need to use different forms of evidence from before or during the interview (e.g. CV, application texts, interactional evidence, discussion with colleagues, etc.). In my data, for example, the post-conversational talks were one of the sources of validation, because through these talks the panels had an opportunity to argue for choices and justify decisions about successful and unsuccessful applicants. Whether their arguments were

based on actual evidence is a different question which I address in the chapter ***Two Case Studies***.

McNamara and Ryan 2011:163 propose an insightful distinction between *fairness*, as the technical quality of the tests, that ensures procedural equality for test-takers in terms of construct and content, and *justice*, as the implicit values in test constructs and the social uses to which language tests may be put (See also Spolsky 1981 on ethics in language testing). So justice, according to McNamara and Ryan questions the use of the test in the first place in terms of its effects and consequences, and in the second place in terms of the social values it embodies. The tension between justice and fairness is described as follows:

> The ideal test has the quality of fairness, and the use to which it is to be put is just. This is of course an ideal; tests will be relatively fair—as fair as psychometric science and procedural care can make them—and the justice of the use of the test will be always open to dispute, as new perspectives on the use of tests develop and as social values change.
>
> (McNamara and Ryan 2011:167)

All assessments exist in social contexts and values underline the evaluation processes. The fact that social values expressed in tests may often be implicit, i.e. they are not explicitly acknowledged or debated is problematic (McNamara and Ryan 2011:162). One obvious problem is hidden agendas. At the IO interview, a hidden agenda was that ideal applicants are those “neither too good nor too bad at Danish” and, “it is not unimportant what ethnic background the applicants have". To apply validity to this type of assessment is practically impossible (see also Shohamy 2006 on the importance of hidden agendas and Komter 1991 on “unsayables”).

6.5.2. Discussion: Assessments and validity in the IO interviews

The processes of justification of one’s decisions are complex because they do not only draw on evidence from the testing situation but are built on commonsense knowledge and personal values also. The conclusions the authorities reach about individuals may be based on everyday thinking. Mesick 1989 argues that validity has an important social dimension. But that is also what is problematic about it. The social dimension inevitably opens for values and attitudes that cannot be measured or validated. Of course Mesick’s and McNamara’s studies are not designed to address interviews with hidden agendas, so it would be unfair to level criticism against the theory of validity. I was able to discuss

relevant points of assessment theory with Professor McNamara himself during one of his visits in Copenhagen (November 2012). We had an interesting talk aimed at clarifying whether the interactional evidence in job interviews is sufficient to make a professional assessment of the interviewee or not. We agreed that the interviewers might not remember the interaction but they would probably remember a "distillate" of it on which they will base their assessments. However, I suggested that this "distillate" inescapably would be saturated with ideology, because it might be difficult to determine how much of it is based on actual evidence and how much on stereotypes. We also discussed whether non-professionals should judge language proficiency as part of the job interview. McNamara considered this an interesting question because, as he said, the people who assess (professionals or not) in the very end are the ones to cooperate with the people they take on. Yet, I do not think it solves the crucial matter in job interviews: we cannot escape the fact that judgements *are* based on suggestive cues. In Roberts and Campbell's words "there is a taken for granted assumption that the interview is a proxy for the job so that how candidates relate to interviewers stands for how they will talk and relate to work colleagues and superiors. This cultural assumption is not made clear to candidates or indeed acknowledged by interviewers" (Roberts and Campbell 2006:5).

Clearly applicants in the real world can be good at interview practices but less good for the position they apply for and vice versa. Roberts (2000:115) argues that "it is the very taken for granted quality of the inferential process which allows gatekeepers to be so assertive in their judgements when paradoxically these are at least in part based on cues which are only suggestive… It is in the slippage from doing the interactional business to reporting on it that the candidate or client's performed social identity is transformed into some more permanent identity as "good" or "poor". Obviously, the built-in logic in which the job interview is taken as a proxy for the skills in the job undermines the possibility for validation and questions the cogency in the general procedures of the interview. In this sense, the IO interviews are neither fair nor just, because of the the lack of procedural clarity and overall assessment criteria for all applicants. I suppose the only way to gain understanding of the process of evaluation and justification is through exploring individual practices. Focusing on what the panels say and do will hopefully help us understand the different agendas and the many logics.

The rest of the chapter argues for an interactional approach to ideology and

presents three pieces of analysis. First, it looks at how the official written guide describes the target group applicants. Second, it considers the assessments of successful and unsuccessful applicants for academic and non-academic jobs in data from the post-interview conversations. Third, it analyses an excerpt of an IO job interview to illuminate stereotypes and hidden assumptions.

6.6. Ideologies and assessments: analysis

Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cains (2009) suggest that attitudes and ideology should be studied in interaction as they are both created and negotiated in interaction. They discuss three kinds of discourse-based methods for analysis of language attitudes:

1. The content-based approach designed for directly expressed language attitudes as they appear within the discourse. This approach requires a large corpus of data to make sure that what is found in the content is not random noise.

2. The turn-internal semantic and pragmatic approaches examine specific linguistic features used in individual expressions of the attitudes. Attention is paid not only *what* is being said, but also *how* it is being said by considering features like assertions, presuppositions, beliefs etc. alongside with the content (cf. Levinson 1983 on the importance of presuppositions).

3. **The interactional approach** draws on Goffman, Gumperz and Conversation Analysis (e.g. Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson 1974), thus containing most features of CA-based microanalysis. It focuses on the attitudes in the turns with the assumption that when responding to each other, the interlocutors' turns provoke attitudes and put them into practice. Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain 2009 argue that the interactional approach provides a deeper analytical layer than the other two approaches, because apart from what is being said and how it is being said, it also deals with the sequential relation between the interlocutors, and their roles and positions in the talk. In short, it takes a stance according to which attitudes are provoked or encouraged by other interlocutors in the process of interaction. The idea of studying language attitudes in interaction suggests that attitudes are not static, i.e. they are not fixed in the minds of individuals; instead, they are constructed in interaction through negotiation with interactants, in specific circumstances and with specific interactional intentions. More specifically:

> Language attitudes are context dependent in at least two ways: they emerge within the context of the interactional structure, and they are expressed under the influence of the

> situational context, which includes both larger ideologies present in a culture and the immediate context of the interactants and how they are seen by others (…) language attitudes are created and transmitted through talk, but they retain power through larger cultural ideologies that are perpetuated through individual instances of talk. In this sense, attitudes are both created and shaped through interaction, and brought to each individual interaction in the form of ideology. Speakers involuntarily contribute to these ideologies by asserting or rejecting them, and their positionings may be affected by them as well"
>
> (Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain 2009:203)

Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain draw also on Davies and Harré's positioning theory (1990) according to which the way we position ourselves in a conversation has to do with "the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines" (Davies and Harré 1990:48, see also Langenhove and Harré 1994). Language attitudes and ways of positioning oneself with regard to social categories are closely connected; expressing language attitudes within an interaction is simultaneously a means of positioning oneself. As Goffman 1959 points out, the way we present ourselves (our "persona") through the interaction order and the way we do "being us" in a situation where "being us" is evaluated, is of huge importance.

6.6.1. Ideology in written texts about IO positions

A specially issued written guide in Danish (www.personaleweb.dk/IO-stillinger, 07.12.2012) describes the IO initiative and the working procedures. On page 13 the guide gives examples of target group applicants. Example 1 is Ayshe, 30 years old, female, who grew up in Turkey and moved to Denmark at the age of 26. Ayshe used to work as an administrator in a mid-sized company in Turkey but after she immigrated, despite her competences, she could not find a job in Denmark because she had difficulties in learning Danish. Another example is Senad, aged 52, a refugee from ex-Yugoslavia who spent 15 years in Denmark with many unsuccessful attempts to be employed in Denmark. A third example is Fatima, a professional pharmacist from Egypt, aged 32, who spent 3 years in Denmark; and finally Usman, aged 19, born in Denmark but as yet with no relation to the labour market.

A closer look at the target group examples reveals a number of similarities. First, they all stem from non-EU countries: either from 3rd World Countries or from Turkey. Second, the names Ayshe, Senad, Fatima and Usman are common Muslim names, and

third, the persons in the examples originate in countries relatively well represented among the immigrant minorities in Denmark (see chapter on ***the IO project***). Clearly, the examples in the written guide suggest that suitable candidates for the IO positions are not just *any* immigrants but rather immigrants from certain geographical areas.

In practice however, these guidelines were not followed. For example, the year before I conducted my recordings, one applicant from Western Europe was employed in an IO position. This episode set a precedent for not following strictly the target group recommendations. Consider the following (repeated example):

POST-INTERVIEW CONVERSATION WITH PANEL ABOUT SELECTION OF AN IT ADMINISTRATOR	**DANISH**
And then I feel torn between what our boss has stated for the record – we are to pick the one with the best professional qualifications, and we should not compromise, and then on the other hand what we hear from the [name]Department. And when I see that the [name]Department itself has employed a Western European who is brilliant in Danish, and who, all things considered, might not need it […]then I start wondering – well, does he need it? And since they choose to hire him, we may also take the Western European! But emotionally I feel much more torn apart, but when it comes to qualifications, I'm not in doubt. I think it is quite difficult!	Og da føler jeg mig splittet mellem hvad vores chef har meldt ud – vi skal tage den mest faglige kvalificerede, vi skal ikke gå på kompromis, og så hvad vi får meldt ud fra [navn]forvaltningen. Og når jeg også ser at[navn]forvaltningen selv har ansat en vesteuropæer der kan glimrende dansk og som måske dybest set ikke havde brug for det […] hvor jeg undrer mig – jamen har han brug for det? Og når de vælger at ansætte ham, så kan vi vel også ansætte vesteuropæeren! Men på den følelsesmæssige side er jeg meget mere splittet, men på den faglige side er jeg ikke i tvivl. Jeg synes det er rigtig svært!

The example reveals that the written guide is followed loosely and is not seen as the primary guideline. Instead, the employment offices look to each other's practices. The panel representative's dilemma points in two different directions: on the one hand she would like to follow standard practice in normal job interviews viz. hire the best qualified applicant who in this case "speaks Danish brilliantly", on the other hand, she feels she has to follow the description from the written guide and hire someone less qualified and less good at Danish. Two different logics come into play: the logic of instant profit (i.e. taking the applicant who would be able to work immediately and with highest contribution) and the logic of charity (the less fluent and less capable applicant who needs to learn about

the challenges of the Danish labour market before he or she can work independently). Since the guide does not provide explicit criteria about who exactly is suitable for an IO position and who is not, it leaves a lot of space for interpretation. This is the so-called double-bind of the IO job interview which also becomes a tragedy for both applicants and interviewers. I shall come back to this in the chapter ***Two Case Studies***.

6.6.2. Assessing linguistic and cultural fluency

This section describes and discusses data from the post-interview conversations (cf. ***Method and Data***) in which the panels evaluate the applicants' Danish and their skills in relation to the job. The data is arranged in two charts displaying first, 20 applicants for academic positions, and second, 16 applicants for non-academic positions.

The following chart presents an overview of all applicants for **academic positions**. It displays : 1) job positions; 2) applicants' pseudonyms and areas of origin; 3) amount of years spent in Denmark; 4) all panel members' assessments of Danish in points (if available) from 1 (lowest) to 5 (highest); 5) abbreviated version of the panel's comments. The successful applicants are highlighted.

6.6.2.1. Academic positions

Position	**Applicant**	**Yrs in DK**	**Danish (1 to 5)**	**Comments**
Unemployment Consultant	Tui (Asia) Unsuccessful	6½	4, 4, 4	"good at speaking but not so good at understanding" "she is interpreting some phrases in a different way" "A nice girl who will look nice behind a reception desk" "She looks like someone who will run away if you say "boo!"
	Paola (Western Europe) Borderline, Unsuccessful	3	3, 4, 4+	"She is looking for words" "She understood us and we understood her" "Good at grammar and syntax"
	Alice (Eastern Europe) Unsuccessful	½	2, 2, 3	"good Danish especially because she has only recently come to Denmark"
	Nadja (South America) Successful	6	5, 4+, 5	"she is the best at Danish" "She will be able to manage the so called "problematic clients" better than Paola. She will not be feeling too sorry for [the clients]"
ACCOUNTANT AND Statistician	Lydia (Eastern Europe) Unsuccessful	½	2, 2½, 2, 2, 2	"We had to speak very, very slowly but she was actually good at Danish; "such a drive!" "Over-qualified, very technical".
	Natasha (Eastern Europe) Unsuccessful	3	2½, 4, 3, 3, 4	"A bit stone-faced. Hard to read". "She was a bit orthodox in her beliefs. And overly detail-oriented".
	Milena (Eastern Europe) Successful	6	5, 5, 5, 5, 4	"She had the best qualifications and is the best at Danish. She was quick at asking questions which means that she understood us! It will be easy for her to get started because she can express herself correctly and understand correctly. And she is a real "workhorse"!
	Ianna (Eastern Europe) Borderline Unsuccessful	7	3½, 3½, 4, 4, 3	"She was good but Milena's profile was better. And it is also about chemistry as well"
	Yo (Asia) Unsuccessful	10	1, 2, 1, 1, 1	"It won't be possible to have her at the office, judging from the way her language was. She was very difficult to understand. When she asked something, I was in doubt whether I answered that or something quite else". "A heavy interview" "But the Asian culture is, well, she is very reserved". "She has only one face expression" "But in the wrong direction, ha-ha"

IT-administrator	Hamid (Afghanistan) Unsuccessful	8	N/A	"Very low self-esteem, it might be hard to boost him up"
	Maximillian (Western Europe) Successful	1½	N/A	"Maybe he is not in the target group but since the Main Office took one like him last year (another Western European), we will consider him too…" "He is the best at Danish and has the best qualifications".
	Ibrahim (Middle East) Borderline Successful	5	N/A	"He is enthusiastic and he has learnt a hell of a lot of things in a very short period of time" "It is not only our good intention; I think he has a lot to offer. He could be our IT-supporter, and Max could be the IT-boss".
Integration Consultant	Zeanna (Middle East) Borderline, Unsuccessful	1½	N/A	"Maybe her Danish wasn't good enough. She kind of switched to English too often. Of course she can learn it, but would she be able to learn all that that within 1 year?"
	Farid (Middle East) Unsuccessful	16	N/A	"He has never worked within academia before. He needed quite a lot of language training, especially written language".
	Silvana (South America), Unsuccessful	10	N/A	"Very theoretical but stuck to one theory only, maybe not in the target group because she is not curious and not willing to learn and investigate".
	Yasin (Middle East Successful	6	N/A	"He is better than Zeanna at Danish". "He was absolutely the best one to reflect and to answer some of our very obscure questions!"
ACCOUNTANT	Yao (Asia) Unsuccessful	4	N/A	"She was the weakest at Danish. But I am not concerned about her language, I am mostly concerned about the culture. And she has only 1 year to catch up with everything – 1 year, what can she learn in 1 year?!
	Tsang (Asia) Unsuccessful	6	N/A	"She had some teaching experience which was good"
	Carla (South America) Successful	4	N/A	"Close run with Lena. Successful because of good language, experience from similar job in [S.America] and ability to cooperate - participate in a network, together with being an individual".
	Lena (Eastern Europe) Borderline, unsuccessful	2	N/A	"Her everyday language was good, but she couldn't speak any professional Danish. No technical terms. Cultural challenges: she has worked in a completely different culture where she was not used to cooperate"

6.6.2.2. Academic positions: What counts as linguistic and cultural fluency?

The chart shows that those applicants, who were offered the job, were evaluated as better at Danish than the other applicants in the same group. Both Milena and Nadia are described as "the best at Danish" and are given each 4,80 and 4,73 points respectively (out of 5,00)[8]. Lack of understanding is particularly mentioned as a reason for not offering the job to two applicants (Tui and Yo). Applicants whose pronunciation significantly deviated from standard Danish were also dispreferred. Especially Asian applicants were considered `simply not good enough for the job` because of their accent in Danish. One panel representative told me that he was very uncomfortable in highlighting Yo's poor Danish as a reason for rejection. He explained that all applicants were given individual feedback on different skills, including possible language problems in Danish, but in Yo's case they decided to omit the language feedback. `It's a bit embarrassing to tell her that it's because of the Danish`, he told me in a phone interview (**JULY 2009**).

The same pattern of good Danish skills correlating with success goes for those applicants who were not assigned points by their panels (cf. footnote). Maximilian, Yasin and Carla are in the post interview sessions evaluated as better at Danish than the rest of the applicants in their respective groups.

In terms of cultural fluency, the ability to navigate in the institutional discourse and to manage an egalitarian relationship with the panel seem to be of the utmost importance. Carla, the successful applicant for the job as an economist, is specially applauded for her ability to express herself in professional Danish, i.e. to use institutional discourse. She and Lena were the only two applicants who were invited for a second round. Carla was offered the job because of "skills in cooperation" and an ability to "stand out as an individual"; Lena was not considered because she was used to working in a "completely different culture". Milena, the successful applicant for a statistician, is "a real workhorse"; Nadia, who is offered a job as a consultant in a job centre, will "manage the problematic clients *better* than anyone else" and "will not feel sorry for them". Maximillian and Yasin are good at demonstrating conventialized knowledge and ability to reflect upon abstract

[8] Unfortunately, not all panels were asked to assign points. This idea occurred to me during the field work, so only half of the panels have been through this procedure, see Method.

models drawing on institutional discourse. I will come back to that in the discussion. Now, let us look at the same parameters for **non-academic positions.**

6.6.2.3. Non-academic positions

Position	Applicant	Yrs in DK	Danish (1 to 5)	Comments
Help Desk Secretary	Hannah (Western Europe) **Successful**	1	2,2,2½,2	"She has only been here for a year, right, and she spoke like okay, okay Danish, quite alright actually" "She was the one with the worst Danish, but she spoke comprehensible Danish"
	Arabella (Africa) Unsuccessful	9	3½, 3, 3½, 4	"Better at Danish but seemed too fragile" "Competent but too fragile to solve the tasks and stand against the other colleagues"
Assistant Unemployment Consultant	Rosalia (South America) Successful	2	3, 3, 3, 3	"she is good at comprehension" "I am a bit nervous whether she will be able to answer the phone" "There is definitely something to work on here" "Her accent is not so strong. Spanish accent is usually quite strong" "She has a
	Mei (Asia) Unsuccessful	3	3, 3+, 3+, 3+/-	"She almost didn't get anything of what we said. I do not believe in it" "Very high level of ambition" "She managed to answer some of the questions amazingly good. Good pronunciation, impressive for an Asian" "Very high level of ambition, not as prince Henrik but as princess Mary. We would like to have the Mary-model"
	Maria (Eastern Europe) Unsuccessful	2	5, 5+, 5+ , 5+/-	"There is nothing you could put a finger on" "One cannot teach her much about the language" "Maybe too good at Danish for the job"
	Rahiza (Asia) Successful	1	4-, 3-, 3+/-, 4-	"great vocabulary bearing in mind how little time she has spent in Denmark but not so long sentences. Amazing that you can learn Danish in such a short period"
	Amalia (Asia) Unsuccessful	6	4,4,4,4	"Not so strong accent" "Not so good pronunciation"

Handyman, Nursing Home	Domingo (South America) Successful	1	N/A	"He was so good at Danish, I mean English". "It is amazing how much he can learn for so short period of time"
	Mohammed (Middle East)	20	N/A	"He could not understand English and he could not understand everything in Danish either after so many years in Denmark" (20)
	Ayub (Middle East) Borderline, Unsuccessful	14	N/A	NN
Handyman, Day Care	Said (Middle East) Successful	3	N/A	"His interview led to something more… He had some more to offer.
	Javier (South America) Unsuccessful	14		"After 14 years in Denmark his Danish is not quite good. He wasn't really enthusiastic about courses and education; we were surprised by the fact that he didn't want to be integrated".
Kitchen help, Care Centre	Stella (Africa) Borderline (Unsuccessful)	1	N/A	"Vivid, committed, but maybe a little bit old for the job" (37) "Amazing that she has learnt Danish so quickly! "
	Ruben (South America) Successful	1	N/A	"Vivid, committed, open – will be good for the children in spite of his not perfect Danish" "Amazing that he has learnt Danish so quickly" "Good Danish"
	Ahmed (Middle East) Unsuccessful	4	N/A	"Quite fluent but hadn't the same "drive", commitment, he could have got job other places as well"
	Tsang (Asia) Unsuccessful	7	N/A	"Too intellectual, maybe not interested in working with children" "She has lived in DK 7 years and her Danish is not so impressive".

6.6.2.4. Non-academic positions: What counts as linguistic and cultural fluency

In contrast to the results in the previous section, applicants offered a manual job are not the best at Danish. For example, Hannah and Rosalia were assigned lower points than the other applicants in their respective groups. The same is valid for Ruben nor Domingo, whose Danish is referred to as "not perfect". However, there is a remarkable consistency

between how long the applicants have lived in Denmark and whether they are offered the job. In all five cases, the successful applicants have just recently arrived to Denmark (1 or 2 years prior to the interview). Rahiza, Hannah, Domingo and Ruben's quick progress in Danish is appreciated by the panels, so the fact that they have learned so much Danish in such a short period of time is taken as a proxy for quick and efficient development of other skills. As one manager puts it: `With that Danish she has learned within one year, after one more year… she will be able to learn as quick as lightning`. (cf. Roberts et al 2007 who showed that persons who spent less than 5 years in Britain generally made more progress than those who had lived there longer). Paradoxically, learning Danish quickly is valued higher than actual work experience. Consider the example below:

POST-INTERVIEW CONVERSATION ABOUT JAVIER, UNSUCCESSFUL	**DANISH**
MAR: have you experienced that he could speak "better" in a more relaxed atmosphere	MAR: har du oplevet ham som en der taler "bedre" hvis han er i afslappede forhold
EMP: there is no big difference	EMP: der er ikke meget forskel
MAN: no he does not speak better but he actually manages the job although he speaks so badly but nobody knew he has been living here [in Denmark] for 14 years cos this is really not very good Danish	MAN: nej han taler ikke bedre men han faktisk klarer arbejdet godt nok på trods af at han taler så dårligt som han gør men der var ikke nogen der vidste at han havde været her i 14 år fordi det er godt nok ikke særlig godt dansk
EMP: no no	EMP: nej nej
MAN: and we are actually thinking that on top of it he is even married to a Dane (.) then it is really bad Danish right	LED: vi er også oven i købet i tvivl om han ikke er danskgift (.) så er det rigtig dårlig dansk at tale ikke

Javier has been invited to an IO interview for the job as a handyman because he has already been working part-time at the same place and in the same position. The manager knows that `he actually manages the job` and wants to give him a chance for a permanent position. But when she finds that Javier has been living in Denmark for 14 years and `that he is even married to a Dane`, his adequate professional skills are overridden by his `really bad Danish`. He is not given the job; the job is actually *taken* from him. The mismatch of expectations and the hidden demands of the interview thus

result in a penalty for Javier (Roberts and Campbell 2006). He is penalized for not being able to learn Danish and not being able to tackle the job interview – not for any shortcomings in actual work experience. For example, his interview is rich in misunderstandings due to the manager's overly complicated use of institutional discourse. When the manager asks Javier about what he would do `to develop [his] competences` or how he would `function together with colleagues`, Javier provides very short and confused answers which later are assessed as `really bad Danish`. The penalty is exclusively ideologically based because it has nothing to do with work experience but everything to do with the panel's ideological expectations. `He actually manages the job` is supposed to be what counts in order to hire Javier. However, language ideology here leads to discrimination. Had Javier not been invited to the interview, he might still have had a job. His job was given to the applicant Said, because `his interview led to something more` (my emphasis).

The case of Domingo (see ***Linguistic Fluency)*** is exactly the opposite: the panel does not know him at all. They have never seen him work, but his understanding of Danish and his huge progress during his first year of stay in Denmark are converted to skills which the panel believes are good in the job.

POST-INTERVIEW CONVERSATION ABOUT DOMINGO, HANDYMAN. SUCCESSFUL	**DANISH**
MAR: yes the first one [Domingo] has only been here one year MAN: yes it was astounding how much he was able to understand EMP: yes it was totally crazy	MAR: ja den første har kun været her i et år MAN: ja, og det var også forbløffende hvor meget han kunne forstå EMP: ja det var helt vildt

Paradoxically, small amounts of one aspect of performance have large consequences for the applicants as they do "proxy" work for general assessments (Roberts 2000). If the applicants' Danish language acquisition has been brief but efficient, panels will apparently judge such candidates as successful and efficient at the workplace. I shall come back to that in the discussion.

6.6.2.5. Conclusion: assessments of linguistic and cultural fluency

This section studied the applicants' skills (job related as well as linguistic), as assessed by the different panels. It showed that those offered the job when the job was an academic position had the highest level of proficiency in Danish according to the panels, while, on the other hand, those offered a job in the non-academic positions were far from being the best at producing standard Danish. The consistency in the latter case lies in the positive attitude towards newcomers, as opposed to immigrants who have lived in Denmark for a longer period. It is linked to the belief that if applicants, recently arrived in Denmark, have made an effort to speak Danish – even a couple of words only – they are more desirable than applicants who have spent many years in Denmark without linguistic improvement. Quick Danish language acquisition is equivalent to good working capacity, intelligence, ambition, but also a desire for quick integration and appreciation of Danish cultural values. In contrast - if the acquisition of Danish has not been quick and efficient, it feeds into assumptions of lack of responsibility, indifference, poor ability to fit in and disapproval of Danish (cultural) values. Javier is a striking example of how the requirements of the job interview penalize applicants who might be good workers but are less capable of navigating in institutional practices. Clearly, the different agendas of the IO project are difficult to accommodate which results in discrimination of applicants who are slow learners and less good at interview practices.

6.6.3. Assessing stereotypes: "Danes and [Asians] we have very different culture"

This section looks deeper into the way panels and applicants stereotype each other. It reveals one central and common stereotype about workplace culture differences in Denmark, namely that Denmark is known for its flat and non-hierarchical structure while in other countries there are strictly ordered social hierarchies governing interaction between employees and management. This stereotype occurs in interviews for both academic and non-academic positions and is frequently mentioned by both applicants and panels.

The example below is an excerpt of an interview with the Asian female applicant Tui (the country of origin is anonymised). Tui is 34 years old and holds a BA in Education. She has spent three years in Denmark. At the time of the interview, she works as a trainee at a

nursing home for elderly people. Tui applies for a help-desk secretary position at a job centre in Copenhagen but does not get the job.

The participants in the excerpt are, apart from Tui, two managers (MAN and MA2) and two employees (EMP and EM2). The example begins with discussing IO working procedures. MA2 asks Tui how she would feel in a situation in which she might need to ask for help, e.g. due to unclarities in work procedures. `Would you be able to ask us again if you do not understand`, the manager wants to know, to which Tui responds: `Yes, I can do that, I work with elderly people now, so….` Then, after a pause of 3 seconds, Tui suddenly exclaims (line 01):

TUI, ASSISTANT CONSULTANT, UNSUCCESSFUL **MAN: MANAGER, FEMALE** **MA2: MANAGER, FEMALE** **ALL: SB. FROM THE PANEL, UNIDENTIFIABLE**	**DANISH** **FROM 10:51**
01.TUI: yeah (3.0) hh but I I 02. I think because 03. {smacking} hh 04. Danes(.)and [Asians] we 05. have very different 06. cul[ture(.)al[so= 07.MA2: [yeah 08.TUI: [workplace it is very 09. different 10.MA2: [mm yeah 11.MAN: [mm 12.TUI: hh I th[ink also I 13.MAN: mm 14. have [to learn that 15.MAN: [mm 16.TUI: (.) yeah how yeah I 17. have to yeah (.) for 18. for example I hh some (.) of 19. my what's it called friends 20. are telling me hh also at 21. Danish workplaces (.) when I 22. am the first (.) new 23. worker- (.) maybe I 24. have to make coffee 25. (.) every morning 26. they say (.) 27.ALL: ha ha 28.MAN: no 29.MA2: [no 30.ALL: [ha ha 31.TUI: [no 32.MAN: no no no no 33.EMP: [ha ha 34.TUI: [ha ha 35.EMP: [ha ha 36.MA2: [ha ha 37.TUI: [ha ha	01. TUI: ja (.) hh men jeg jeg 02. jeg tænk fordi 03. {smasker} hh danskere 04. (.) og [asiatere] 05. vi har meget 06. forskellig kultur (.)også-] 07. MA2: [ja 08. TUI: [arbejdsplads de er 09. meget forskellig 10. MA2: [mm ja 11. MAN: [mm 12. TUI: [hh jeg tænker- 13. MAN: [mm 14. TUI: også jeg skal lære det (.) 15. MA2: mm 16. TUI: ja (.) hvordan(.)ja jeg 17. skal ja (.) for for 18. eksempel jeg hh nogle (.) 19. af mine hvordan siger venner 20. fortæller mig hh også i 21. danske arbejdsplads (.) 22. når jeg er første (.) ny 23. arbejds- (.) måske jeg 24. skal lave kaffe 25. (.) hver morgen 26. de siger (.) 27. ALL: ha 28. MAN: nej 29. MA2: nej 30. ALL: ha ha 31. TUI: nej 32. MAN: nej nej nej nej 33. ME1: ha ha 34. TUI: ha ha 35. ME2: ha ha 36. MA2: ha ha 37. TUI: ha ha

38.MA2: [ha ha	38. MA2: ha ha
39.MAN: we DO have-]	39. MAN: vi har i hvert fald]
40.ALL: [ha ha	40. ALL: [ha ha
41.MAN: [-a coffee machine	41. MAN: [-kaffemaskine
42.TUI: [ha oh	42. TUI: ha åh
43.ALL: yeah	43. ALL: ja
44.MAN: and everybody can go out	44. MAN: som alle kan gå ud
45. and [take	45. at tage
46.TUI: [they say it is culture ha	46. TUI: de siger det er kultur ha
47.MA2: is it like this at the	47. MA2: er det sådan på
48. nursing home	48. plejehjemmet
49.TUI: [hh	49. TUI: hh
50.MAN: is (.)	50. MAN: er (.)
51.TUI: hh no	51. TUI: hh nej
52.MA2: are there any things where	52. MA2: er der nogen ting hvor
53. things at the nursing home	53. det var på plejehjemmet
54. where you think hh is it	54. hvor du tænker hh er det
55. really different in	55. rigtig meget anderledes
56. comparison to where you	56. end der hvor du arbejdede
57. used to work in [Asia](.)hh(.)	57. i [Asien] (.) hh (.)
58.TUI: [s- øh	58. TUI: [s- øh
59.MA2: [because you are at a	59. MA2: [for du er jo på en dansk
60. Danish workplace [now	60. arbejdsplads [nu
61.TUI: [yeah yeah yeah	61. TUI: [ja ja ja ja (.) de
62. yeah (.) they different	62. forskellig anderledes (.)
63. unlike (.) not same	63. ikke samme
64.MA2: mm(.) yeah	64. MA2: mm(.) ja
65.MA2: are there [any examples on=	65. MA2: er der nogen eksempler på
66.ALL: [mm	66. ALL: [mm
67.MA2: =how is it different to	67. MA2: hvor hvordan det er
68. (.) to be at such a work	68. forskellig at (.) at være
69. place (.)	69. på sådan en arbejdsplads (.)
70.TUI: hh (.) {smacking} how you say	70. TUI: hh (.) [smasker] hvordan
71. in [Asia] you are like the boss	71. {siger} i [Asien] ligesom du
72. (.) and I am (.)	72. er chef (.) og jeg- er (.)
73. if I am to be employed=	73. hvis jeg er blive ansat
74.MA2: [mm	74. MA2: mm
75.MAN: [mm	75. MAN: mm
76.TUI: =we are not [the same (.)	76. TUI: vi er ikke sammen (.)
77.ALL: [okay mm	77. ALL: okay mm
78.MA2: [okay	78. MA2: okay
79.TUI: yeah may[be	79. TUI: ja måske]
80.MAN: [yes	80. MA2: nej I er]
81. (.)	81. MAN: [ja
82.TUI: maybe you are at (.)	82. (.)
83. high-	83. MA2: på (.) høj
84.ALL: higher yes [mm	84. ALL: højere ja mm
85.TUI: yes [we low (.)	85. TUI: ja lidt xxx (.)
86.MAN: okay	86. MAN: okay
87.TUI: yeah (.)[so	87. TUI: ja (.)så
88.ALL: [mm	88. ALL: mm
89.TUI: I- I can und- feel here	89. TUI: j- jeg kan godt få mm (.)
90. mm (.)	90. mærke her
91.ALL: {sb clears her throat}	91. ALL: [rømmer sig]
92.TUI: my boss now they [talk	92. TUI: min leder nu de snakke
93. with me also (.)	93. MAN: [mm
94.MAN: [mm	94. TUI: sammen med mig også (.)
95.MA2: [yeah hh	95. MA2: ja hh
96.TUI: yeah	96. TUI: ja
97.MAN: [mm	97. MAN: mm
98.TUI: but in [Asia] no	98. TUI: men i [Asien] nej (.)
99. (.)	99. MA2: okay
	100. TUI: ja (.) når jeg snakker med

100.MA2: okay	101. min leder i [Asien] jeg er
101.TUI: yeah (.) when I speak to my	102. meget ha
102. boss in [Asia] I am very hh	103. ((viser at hun er bange))
103. {{shows she is afraid))	104. MAN: ha
104.MAN: ha	105. MA2: ja
105.MA2: [yeah ha	106. TUI: ja (.)[ligesom} (.)
106.TUI: yeah (.)like (.)	107. ALL: nej
107.ALL: [no	108. TUI: ja (.)
108.TUI: yes (.)	109. MAN: °det hænder også at vi taler
109.MAN: °it happens that we also talk	110. med vores medarbejdere her°
110. to our employees here°	111. ALL: ja da
111.ALL: yes indeed	112. TUI: ha
112.TUI: ha	113. MA2: ja
113.MA2: [yeah	114. TUI: ha
114.TUI: ha	115. ALL: ha
115.ALL: [ha	116. MAN: ja>
116.MAN: yeah	117. TUI: ja
117.TUI: yeah	118. ALL: det gør vi
118.ALL: we do that	119. MAN: det (.) det
119.MAN: we(.) [we	120. TUI: mm
120.TUI: [mm	121. MAN: det gør vi nok (.) ret meget
121.MAN: do talk (.) quite a lot	122. ALL: hh
122.ALL: hh	123. MAN: forhold til
123.MAN: in comparison to	124. ALL: ha
124.ALL: [ha	125. MA2: mm
125.MA2: [mm	126. TUI: ja det er meget
126.TUI: yeah it is [very	127. MAN: ja
127.MAN: ja	128. TUI: anderledes (.)hh
128.TUI: different(.)hh	129. MA2: ja
129.MA2: [yes	130. MAN: mm (.)
130.MAN: [mm (.)	131. TUI: ja
131.TUI: [yes	132. (2.5)
132. (2.5)	133. MAN: men her synes jeg faktisk
133.TUI: hh	134. ikke at vi kan sige at der
134.MAN: but here I don't think we	135. sådan på den måde er
135. can say that there's a	136. forskel mellem nye
136. difference between new	137. medarbejdere og
137. employees and old	138. gamle medarbejdere nej i
138. employees no in this	139. forhold til
139. relation	
140.ALL: no (.)	140. ALL: no (.)
141.MAN: then you are equally worth (.)	141. MAN: der er man ligeværdig (.)
142.TUI: equ-↑ also e-equal↑	142. TUI: lige også li- lige
143.MAN: yeah then you are equal	143. MAN: ja der er man lige
144.ALL: yeah mm (.) hh	144. ALL: ja mm (.) hh
145.MAN: new employees and old	145. MAN: nye medarbejdere og gamle
146. employees are equal (.)	146. medarbejdere er lige (.)
147.TUI: they are equal↑ (.)	147. TUI: de er lige↑ (.)
148.MAN: there is no such thing like	148. MAN: der er ikke noget med at man
149. making coffee in the morning	149. skal lave kaffe om morgenen
150. only because you are [new or=	150. fordi man er ny eller-]
151.TUI: [mhh ha	151. TUI: [ha ha hh
152.MA2: =not	152. MA2: [-ej
153.MAN: or that you have to=	153. MAN: eller man skal
154.TUI: [no oh hh	154. TUI: nej åh hh
155.MAN: =sharpen all the pen[cils or	155. MAN: spidse alle blyanterne eller
156. whatever=	156. hvad det
157.ALL: [ha	157. ALL: ha
158.MAN: =else it could [be	158. MAN: ellers kunne være
159.TUI: [oh	159. TUI: åh
160.MAN: no	160. MAN: nej
161.ALL: ha hh	161. ALL: ha hh

162.TUI: somebody told me I make	162. TUI: nogen fortælle mig jeg skal
163. coffee ha if I am new oh	163. lave kaffe ha hvis jeg ny åh
164.MAN: well okay	164. MAN: nå okay
165.MA2: [mm (.)	165. MA2: mm (.)
166.TUI: yeah (.)	166. TUI: ja (.)
167.ALL: [mm well (.)	167. ALL: mm nja (.)
168.MA2: it is not like this here	168. MA2: sådan er det ikke her
169.MAN: no	169. MAN: no
170.TUI: yeah {{coughing}}	170. TUI: ja [hoster]
171.MAN: no hh	171. MAN: nej hh
172.EM2: we're not doing that no (.)	172. EM2: sådan gør vi ikke nej (.)
173.TUI: [yeah (.)	173. TUI: ja (.)
174.ALL: mm (.)	174. ALL: mm (.)
175.MAN: yeah (.)	175. MAN: ja

Even a quick look at this example reveals a huge number of cultural evaluations and flourishing stereotypes in both Tui's and the panel's utterances. Tui introduces the categories *Danish employers* and *Danish bosses* as opposed to *[Asian] employers* and *[Asian] bosses.* Such oppositions are frequent in IO job interviews and often have negative implications because they function as markers of marginalization of the job applicants. Applicants are expected to be representative of a "culture"(á la as an Asian, you must be like "that"). Now, let us take a deeper look at the transcribed excerpt to see what happens in detail. Tui's sudden exclamation about cultural differences seems to serve a purpose. In line 14 she seeks information about specific practices for new employees at that particular workplace. She is uncertain of what might be required from her and wants "to learn that":

13.	TUI:	hh I th[ink also I
14.	MAN:	[mm
15.		have [to learn that
16.	MAN:	[mm
17.	TUI:	(.) yeah how↑ (.) yeah I have to yeah
18.		(.) for for example …

In line 17-18 she asks "how" and gives an example: a friend of hers has told her that new employees are supposed to make coffee to old employees, "it's culture", she says. The coffee-making example brings out everybody's hearty laughter. The manager's ironic response (we DO have a coffee machine), however, does not answer Tui's question about what exactly she is supposed to do as a new employee. Instead, MA2 asks her whether she has experienced different routines at her former workplace compared to Asia. Tui takes the chance to talk about differences and readily explains about the hierarchy in Asia: you are high…. we low (lines 99-104). Tui has experienced that this

is different in Denmark where she is not afraid to talk to her boss: I-I can und- feel here ... my boss now they talk with me also… but in [Asia] no. When I speak to my boss in [Asia] I'm very [she makes a gesture showing fear]. MAN's reply to this is: °it happens that we also talk to our employees here°, a perhaps sarcastic remark that seems to be leveled not so much at Tui but at the other panel representatives. Although everybody, including Tui, laughs, it is difficult to be certain of whether Tui really understands the joke. The fact that MAN later reformulates the sarcasm and replaces the idiomatic it happens that we also talk with the less controversial we do talk (.) quite a lot as to be sure that Tui has understood the meaning of it, indicates that MAN wants to be sure that Tui has understood the remark as the joke it was intended to be. Tui, however, does not respond in a way that proves she has understood it. After a pause of 2.5 seconds MAN initiates a new topic explaining that at this workplace there is no difference between new and old employees (lines 146-157). She points out that they are all equal, so there is no such thing as making coffee in the morning. But Tui acts as if she is still uncertain (mhh ha oh). In line 184 she repeats in a smiling voice that somebody has told her that she was supposed to make coffee. I am not sure how to interpret the smiling voice and I wish I could have had a video recording at that point. It may indicate distance from her friend's statement (á-la "my stupid friend told me that") but the fact that she brings the coffee-making example up once again is not unimportant and might indicate that she still requires an answer to her question in line 18: If she is not supposed to make coffee in the morning, then how are things at that particular workplace? An answer to this question never comes, and the only thing said is: it is not like this here.

This is a striking paradox. Tui wants to learn about Danish culture which is consistent with the idea of the IO jobs. She explicitly asks for guidelines in a new situation but the panel never provides adequate information about concrete workplace practices. Apparently, it is not part of the job interview to introduce employees to local practices, and when Tui asks for guidelines on cultural differences she gets marginalized. Hence the inherent paradox: once applicants are marginalized, they are not offered an IO position. Yet another paradox is that interactionally Tui has many features of the successful candidate: she understands the panel (except for the joke) and the panel seems to understand her; she gets 4 out of 5 points on Danish language competences; she is

reflective, evaluative and quick. However, the panel's sees her as "a nice girl who can stand behind a reception desk. She looks like someone who will run away if you say "Boo" (Danish: "Hun er en pæn pige som vil stå i en reception. Hun ligner en der vil løbe væk, når man siger 'bøh!'). I am not sure what this is based on and once again I wish I could consult a video version. I noted that in the beginning of the interview Tui was very nervous, especially when the manager described the job. Tui was told that she was supposed to answer phone calls and take care of the daily contact with clients. This was not mentioned in the job description and seemed to make Tui uncomfortable, which might explain the fragility the manager refers to. On the other hand, Tui is independent and self-assured enough to bring the same topic twice which at least have to be counted as not being someone who will run away if you say "Boo".

6.6.4. Some reflections on egalitarian discourses

Now, let us go back to one important place in the excerpt and look at the remark " °it happens that we also talk to our employees here" (line 109). As mentioned above, several things indicate that the remark was not addressed to Tui. First, the manager's lower voice and intonation marks a shift in both footing and frame, as if she wants to direct the comment at another audience from the applicant. Second, the expression is idiomatic. It is said in a way that literally means "we talk very little" but idiomatically means exactly the opposite: "we talk very much". And third, the manager later reformulates and simplifies the expression so as to remove the ambiguousness and make sure that Tui has understood it: we do talk (.) quite a lot, line 12. If we think of this particular episode as a scenario which was created not for Tui but for the audience of the panel, it displays an attitude such as "we take for granted that we treat each other as equals". However, taking the Danish value of equality for granted, automatically celebrates a discourse of egalitarianism and downgrades other non-egalitarian discourses. Thus, the scenario is created not for Tui, but *at her expense*.

Danishness is constructed as a positive, unmarked category while the "others" are seen as the non-standard and wrong (Yilmaz 2003, Andreassen 2007). Yilmaz 2003 provides an interesting analysis of egalitarianism in Denmark which to him is an obstacle for ethnic equality called "The irony of Danishness". He argues that "what are represented as

inherent Danish virtues – highly praised internationally – constitute the cognitive (re)sources that shape the dirty work of ethnic discrimination. The libertarian, egalitarian, communitarian and anti-authoritarian discourses (…) function as (re)sources for ethnic discrimination in today's Denmark" (Yilmaz 2003:13). Through celebrating the Danish egalitarian discourse in Tui's job interview, the panel celebrates a culture that does not provide for others, but rather expects people to act on their own (because everyone is equal). To Tui such performance is an obstacle; she would really be able to learn a lot from a project like IO, but becomes a victim of the discourse of equality. Both she and the panel contribute to *other* her so profoundly that she is seen as a victim of her own culture.

As previous analysis showed, culture is seen as unchangeable (what Wetherell and Potter 1992 described as "heritage", see section 5.1.4.). This automatically ascribes to some culture(s) certain positive values, while others just as automatically are attributed certain negative values. If job applicants label themselves or are labelled as belonging to a certain category (e.g. "Asian people"), they are excluded from other categories (e.g. Danes). "Asian" will be the negatively marked antipode of "Danish". As a consequence, evaluations made by the representatives of the "right" culture will define and justify the actions of those trying to access the "right" culture (Tranekjær 2009).

Culture is an overriding concern in the assessments. If the applicants' language is "good enough" to be accepted, culture becomes the eye of the needle. The panels' view on culture and cultural fluency is seen from an ethnocentric position. Culture is regarded as a brought along monolith (something that the applicants have) rather than brought about (something that the panels and applicants do together, see also discussion in the chapter ***Two Case Studies***).

6.7. Language ideologies and assessments: conclusion

This chapter started out with theoretical issues of linguistic ideology (including stereotypes prejudice and commonsense values) and theory of assessments in social contexts (McNamara et al 2006 and 2011). It problematized the validity of assessments in job interviews in general and the IO interviews in particular, arguing that due to the particular interview design, assessments would more easily feed into stereotypes.

The analytical part focused on three pieces of data. First, it demonstrated how the target group recommendations in the official IO guide were not followed in practice. Although the IO project encourages integration, selecting applicants considered too far away from Danish linguistic and cultural standards, challenges the panel. The second analysis presented an overview of the panels' assessments of applicants for academic and non-academic positions as recorded in the post-interview conversations. The assessments of applicants for academic positions showed a clear relation between language skills and success, i.e. those who were most proficient in Danish were offered the job. In contrast, the assessments for non-academic positions followed a totally different pattern: the applicants offered a job were not the best at Danish but those who demonstrated fast and efficient progress in Danish. Rapid linguistic success was used as a proxy for how the applicant would handle the job demands. Cultural fluency thus plays an enormous role: if the applicants acted culturally fluent (e.g. tackled the interview game easily and efficiently without causing uncomfortable moments and misunderstandings) they were offered the job *despite* limited Danish. The IO guidelines were perhaps followed more to the better when the panels considered applicants for manual jobs (at least on the linguistic side) because applicants with noticeably non-standard Danish were actually given a chance. However, in terms of cultural integration, those who were offered a position were often applicants who already *were* integrated in Denmark and managed egalitarian relationships.

The last piece of analysis concerned an example which explicitly presented how Danish workplaces were contrasted with "foreign" workplaces (in that particular case an Asian workplace). It revealed a number of stereotypes and an ethnocentric view of Danish culture which contributed to marginalization of those unfamiliar with egalitarian discourses. In this particular example, the applicant worked with the panel to establish the contrast and thus in fact othered herself irreparably.

The diffuse assessment criteria and the particular project design feed into a mentality that reinforces marginalization. As it often happens in opportunistic projects, however much the IO panels try to make the IO interview different (e.g. by giving the applicants special consideration) it ultimately comes back down to common sense normative ways of judging people. It seems that there are "good" and "bad" foreigners. The good foreigners are those closer to the majority's cultural norms; and hence the paradox: the

IO applicants are expected to be already integrated to Danish cultural norms in order to qualify for an official integration and training programme. Ironically, successful applicants are those who are culturally "appropriate" or have learned Danish very fast (for manual jobs) or very well (for academic jobs). They are "the good foreigners" whose efforts would provide better guarantees of the institutional requirements for instant profit.

The line of thinking of the panels, as part of the postmodern “interview society" mentality (Atkinson and Silverman 1997) blurs the actual focus of the interview practice: instead of simplifying the selection process to find out who is good for a given job, it immensely challenges those applicants who are not used to interview practices. Thus, it seems easier to be a foreign worker doing a certain job than a foreign applicant doing the IO job interview.

Chapter 7 Two case studies

This is an analytical chapter aiming at exemplifying and discussing the fine-grained interplay between the three main themes in this dissertation: language, culture and ideology. It presents a sequential analysis of two job interviews for the position *help-desk secretary* with the applicants Arabella and Hannah. In an ideal world I would have presented a detailed sequential analysis of all successful and unsuccessful applicants, but for obvious reasons I restrict myself to the two interviews. The two interviews are selected for comparison because they share a number of similarities in structure and length. From ethnographic point of view and in terms of ecological validity (Cicourel 1996) the data in this analysis is comprehensive as it comprises all elements, i.e. interview recordings, a long and detailed post-interview conversation, and follow-up talks with both applicants immediately after the job interviews and three years after. Moreover, the panel provides a very clear account about whom they would offer the job with a reference to the applicants' background rather than in relation to job related skills. They also stress on the importance on Danish skills for that particular job and yet, they choose the applicant whose level of Danish (according to them) is notably lower than the other applicants in the group. All these elements make the two interviews interesting for illuminating the interplay of language, culture and ideology.

The chapter is divided into three parts: First, it introduces the applicants and the members of the panel, and discusses the structure of the two interviews. Second, it presents a comparative sequential analysis of 6 larger excerpts to show how the two applicants tackle similar questions. Third, it discusses the post-interview conversation with the panel by relating the interviewers' assessments to the findings from the sequential analysis. Finally, it evaluates the IO project by focusing on the outcome of the interplay between language, culture and ideology.

7.1. Applicants, panel and structure

7.1.1. Applicants

The successful applicant Hannah (see also sections 4.4.4 and 6.3) is a 38 year old Western European woman. By the time of the interview she had spent less than a year in

Denmark. She had met a Danish boyfriend and moved to Denmark. She is educated as an assistant pharmacist but had mostly worked as a secretary. In my field notes (August 2009) I have written down that she is *sporty, might pass for a Scandinavian, light complexion, blond hair and blue eyes; chuckles a bit nervously; narrows her eyes and opens her mouth when she listens intensively; seems to have problems understanding Danish*.

The unsuccessful applicant Arabella (whom we already met in section 6.3.) is 41 years old, African born woman who has spent the last nine years of her life in Denmark. She is married to an ethnic Dane and has two children. She is educated as a receptionist from a business college in Denmark and has worked both as a receptionist at a hotel in Copenhagen and as a travel agency consultant. My field notes (August 2009) say: *African of appearance; straightened short black hair; regular, fine features; smiling and relaxed; stylish feminine clothes; very good at reflecting on questions*.

Arabella was the first one out of three applicants to be interviewed. Hannah was the third and last applicant. The second applicant, an Asian woman, did not give permission for recording. Immediately after Hannah's interview, the panel offered her the job.

7.1.2. Panel

Six people participated in both job interviews: the applicant (Hannah or Arabella, abbreviated as HAN or ARA), a manager (MAN, female), an IT-employee (ROB, male), an HR employee (EMP, female), another employee (EM1, male) and me (MAR) as an observer. The pictures below exemplify how the participants in Arabella's interview (picture 1) and Hannah's interview (picture 2) were located around the table.

The way the participants are located around the table is almost identical for both interviews but in Arabella's case the HR employee, the IT employee and the manager sit

very close to each other and close to Arabella. In Hannah's interview the HR employee sits on the opposite side of Hannah so there is more space between Hannah, the manager and the IT-employee. I realized the difference relatively long time after the recordings and therefore I cannot say whether it plays a role or not. It might more clearly have given the second applicant, Hannah, the correct impression that MAN is the person in charge. As pointed out previously, it could have helped to consult a video version as multimodal analysis might have shed light on that.

7.1.3. Structure

Hannah's and Arabella's interviews are both similar in structure and contain many of the same elements and questions. Hannah's interview lasts 19 minutes and Arabella's lasts 16 minutes. The chart below lists the basic elements in the structure of both interviews:

Arabella	Hannah
1. Introduction: about the recordings, hello from everyone and plan for the interview	1. Introduction: about the recordings, hello from everyone and plan for the interview
2. Establishing understanding	2. Establishing understanding
3. Workplace introduction and introduction of panel representatives	3. Workplace introduction and introduction of panel representatives
4. Work-related questions + answers	4. Information about the specifics of the IO position
5. Information about the specifics of the IO position	5. Work-related questions + answers
6. Outside-work related questions to Arabella	6. Questions about IT-skills and explanation about IT in the company
7. Invitation to Arabella to tell more	7. Questions about current job in Denmark
8. Questions about working in Denmark	8. Questions about difficulties in learning Danish
9. Invitation to Arabella to ask questions	9. Questions about jobs in Western Europe
10. Arabella asks questions about the workplace	10. Questions about family relations in Denmark
11. Small talk and invitation to all parties to ask questions	11. Outside-work related questions to applicant + answers Invitation to applicant to tell more
12. Questions about IT skills	12. Small talk and invitation to all parties to ask questions
13. Closing and agreement on contact about decision	13. Hannah asks questions about the workplace
---	14. Closing and agreement on contact about decision

The ordering of both interviews as shown in the chart is almost identical in the beginning (only elements 5 and 6 change places). Hannah's interview seems to be clearer in structure in terms of a more logical sequence of the elements. For example, all work-related questions come right after the panel's introductory part, while in Arabella's interview the panel keeps asking about work-related issues until the very end of the interview (e.g. element 12 which for Hannah is element 6). Another difference is that Hannah is asked personal questions (e.g. about family relations and jobs in Western Europe) while Arabella is not.

The following analysis presents a sequential comparison of Hannah's and Arabella's interviews. I have chosen 6 larger bits for comparative analysis and for the sake of clarity I have arranged chunks of both interviews in adjacent columns. They are translated from Danish and the originals are to be found in rough transcription in appendix 7a and 7b.

7.2. Comparative sequential analysis

The two interviews begin with introducing my project and confirming the participation agreement. Immediately after, within the very first minutes of the interview, both Hannah's and Arabella's attention is called to possible problems with understanding. Look at the examples below:

7.2.1. Establishing understanding: "I'll tell you if I don't understand"

Arabella 0:55-01:15	**Hannah 01:33-01:47**
1. MAN: but this time we have to 2. agree that you will tell me 3. if I say something you don't 4. understand 5. ARA: yes 6. MAN: cos it might happen that I 7. say what I usually say <ARA: 8. mmh> which you don't know 9. cos you don't know my 10. *usual sayings* 11. ARA: yes 12. MAN: you'll tell me then andI'll 13. say something else instead 14. and I'll also <ARA: I'll> 15. I'll also tell you if I 16. don't understand what you 17. say so that we're sure that 18. we understand each other 19. <ARA: yes I understand that>	1. MAN: you have erm to remember to 2. tell me if I say something 3. you don't understand if 4. I use some abbreviations 5. or some words cos I'm used 6. to sit and talk about 7. these 8. things to many <HAN: yes> 9. many people so do tell me 10. HAN: yes of course 11. MAN: so that we are absolutely 12. sure that we understand 13. each other right 14. HAN: yes 15. MAN: I won't get either angry 16. or offended 17. HAN:[laughs]

20. yes exactly that's very 21. important right 22. ARA: mmh <MAN: good> yeah	

At first look, Arabella's 5 seconds longer excerpt contains several more explanations than Hannah's. The vocabulary MAN uses to establish the topic of understanding seems complex and ambiguous. For example, MAN uses a personal twist of the idiom "used to doing something" (plejer at) by saying I might say something that I'm used to which you do not know because you don't know my "used to's or, as it is in the translation, "my usual sayings"(Dan: du kender ikke mine plejer). This statement is probably meant in the sense of "it's not your fault if you don't understand me because you are not familiar with the way I speak". However, this personal will be problematic for any potential non-native speaker of Danish for two reasons: First, it is non-standard and thus not even possible to look it up in a dictionary, and second, it is used in a chunk aimed particularly at addressing problems with understanding. Arabella seems to manage it easily and without hesitation, confirming the manager's request (yes, line 11)

Another interesting thing is that the manager points out the issue of understanding to both Arabella (as shown above) and herself (I'll tell you if I don't understand, my underling) but note that she does not address the same claim to Hannah. Like the case with Arabella, MAN uses a Danish colloquial expression with Hannah too (I won't get either angry or offended), to which Hannah responds with laughter, but MAN never suggests that Hannah might cause her problems with understanding. Also the potential for misunderstandings is framed differently with Hannah. MAN puts focus on abbreviations (which any non-belonger, Danish or not, might have difficulty with) and so mitigates the fact that the misunderstandings might occur as to limited Danish.

After the manager has introduced potential problems with understanding, she starts a longer narrative about the office as part of the municipality and presents the people sitting around the interview table. I have omitted that part in the analysis. When MAN finishes the presentation, she returns to the applicant with questions about job related skills.

7.2.2. Questioning the applicant's skills "What are you good at":

Arabella 04:07-05:32	Hannah 06:57-08:27
MAN: …. we thought it could be nice to know about you what what would you like to do most and what are you good at	MAN: and we are also very curious to hear about
ARA: I'm good at administration	HAN: yes I can
MAN: yeah	MAN: since <HAN: understand that> you now apply for such a position what did you th- what what what would you like to do here with us what would you like to learn here with us
ARA: I w- write it might be difficult with Danish language <MAN: yes yes> but I'm good at learning	HAN: erm <ROB: mmh> no of course have I been one erm one secretary for many years
MAN: mmh <ARA: mmh>	MAN: you have↑
ARA: and mmh I'm also good at internet how you use and what's it called erm erm xxx word	HAN: yeah <MAN: yeah> fifteen years
MAN: yes	MAN: all right <HAN: yes>
ARA: all these xxx <MAN: xxx the microsoft package> miKrosoft [pron=Danish] package	HAN: so I know job but of course there is a bit erm *differentness* because my Danish is maybe it's not so good [laughs] as my [anon: language] so erm I think erm since the job not new to me
MAN: yeah yeah yeah <ARA: yeah>	MAN: mmh mmh
ARA: there are also other things I also erm other things I learn fast it it not because I need routine or what do you usually do here but erm I can do that <MAN: xxx> yes	HAN: that of course cos my Danish isn't so good
MAN: mmh mmh	MAN: mmh <HAN: erm>
ARA: I can learn that mmh <MAN: mmh>	HAN: it is new to me <MAN: mmh> cos erm I'm not maybe not erm so fast xxx now erm so I think I'm a good possibility to enter a erm work process
MAN: have you had such kind of job before	MAN: yes
ARA: no not <MAN: no> municipality <MAN: not at s> no no <MAN: no> but I have worked in a in a travel agency	HAN: yes
MAN: yes	MAN: yes
ARA: yeah like job erm what's it called travel agent	HAN: cos it's one one job which I know
MAN: mmh mmh	MAN: yes
ARA: yeah travel agency {name} that arranges erm {sports' branch}trips outside the country	HAN: so yes
MAN: ↓oka-y↑ it was here in Denmark↑	MAN: so you'll focus on learning Danish
ARA: yes	HAN: yes
MAN: yeah okay	MAN: you know the content of the job
ARA: mmh	HAN: yes <MAN: yes I think you're right> yeah yeah
MAN: mmh mmh interesting <ARA: mmh>	MAN: we have many phones calling you'll not gonna get them on the first day if you get the job <HAN: oh okay> of course [laughing] but but it's there there is quite a lot of contact to the outside world a lot of institutions and schools <HAN: yes> that can call
ARA: yes I've also worked at a hotel erm {name} hotel but not for so long	
MAN: no	
ARA: were it was like an internship right	
MAN: mmh mmh	

	62. and ask the weirdest things 63. HAN: okay 64. MAN: so s so <HAN: yeah that> 65. the language is very 66. important 67. HAN: xxx <MAN: yes> of course 68. I'm a bit afraid in the 69. *beginness* begins- 70. MAN: beginning yeah <HAN: yeah> 71. HAN: yeah cos 72. MAN: but it's like that it's 73. like 74. xxx <HAN: yes> the language 75. IS important so of course 76. <HAN: yeah> there <HAN: yes 77. yes > should be focus on it 78. HAN: but one learns fast I also 79. think 80. MAN: yes yes

Arabella and Hannah are both asked to provide information about competences and preferences in relation to the job. However, a closer look reveals that MAN has two different strategies with Hannah and Arabella which leads to two different answering patterns. Let us look at Arabella first. She is asked `what would you like to do most and what are you good at` which she answers by drawing on experience in administration and IT skills from a previous job and an internship in Denmark. She points out that she can easily catch up on what she might be lacking. When she mentions her previous job as a travel agent, the manager suddenly utters: `↓oka-y↑ it was here in Denmark↑` (line 49) with an intonation suggesting surprise of the fact that Arabella has had a job in Denmark. The manager's next reaction is `mhm mhm interesting` (line 53).

In contrast, Hannah is addressed with: `what would you like to do here with us what would you like to learn here with us` which seems to focus on incorporating her as part of the workplace rather than on inquiring about particular skills. Hannah explains that she has fifteen years' of experience in administration, so her only problem would be learning Danish. In the beginning she mentions that she is not a fast learner (`I'm maybe not so fast`, line 31) but in the end expresses hope that `one learns fast I also think` (line 53). Hannah admits difficulties with Danish and also shows uncertainty of pronunciation (e.g. *beginness* (*begyndsige*) in line 69, *diferntness* line 20 (forskelligheder instead of forskelle). At the same time, the manager states that `Danish is very important` (lines 64-65) at that particular workplace. So there is a tension between explicitly expressed linguistic criteria in relation to the job and

Hannah's level of Danish. MAN's level of engagement with Hannah is also different. For instance, MAN gives more examples of the type of phone calls which makes the conversation much more shared than with Arabella. I shall return to that.

In the next example the manager hands over the floor to the HR representative (EMP) to explain the specifics of the IO contract:

7.2.3. Explaining the IO positions: "But it could be difficult"

Arabella 05:43-07:05	**Hannah 05:24-06:55**
EMP: so you'll get 20% of your working hours to be used on your personal development <ARA: yes yes mmh> that that is we'll gonna find out if you got the job then what would you need	EMP: it also means that the 20% of your time basically will go for(.)it's gonna be made if you are the one to get the job it's gonna be made a sort of a erm development plan or action plan
ARA: yeah okay <EMP: øh>	HAN: mmh mmh
EMP: to to develop in order to be able to enter the Danish labour market <ARA: mmh mmh> *fully and completely*	EMP: for you (.) what would you need <HAN: yes> in order to be able to guide you entirely into the Danish labour market so you can stay there <HAN: yeah yeah> for many many years
ARA: mmh mmh	HAN: xxx nice
EMP: erm besides there will be a kind of erm ehr network with with others employed in an IO position	EMP: this is what it's all about erm it also means that you'll be assigned a mentor
ARA: yes yes	HAN: yes
EMP: so erm there'll be some network meetings (.) you'll get a mentor erm <ARA: mmh mmh> who who'll take care of you and can answer all your questions (.) we others would like to answer them as well <MAN: mmh> but (.) we are all here but there will be one in particular whom whom whom you'll erm be most affiliated to <ARA:mmh> in erm in connection to those erm networks you'll also be able to learn more about Danish culture erm why we do as we do laugh when we laugh and= <ARA:yes>	EMP: so'll get a person who is your own and personal support so to speak
EMP: =say what we say	HAN: yes <EMP: xxx>
ARA: I have learned a bit about that <EMP:yes>	EMP: whom you can ask about anything
ARA: I have also a Danish husband	HAN: yes <EMP: it doesn't mean that>
EMP: yes but it can be difficult	EMP: xxx you can always ask all the others
ARA: yes that's right <EMP:erm yes> [laughs]	HAN: no no okay
ARA: yes	EMP: but but erm you'll have one in particular who who by all means is your erm mentor
EMP: so erm if it's gonna be you we'll talk about well what what do you need to	HAN: yeah
	EMP: erm there're will be sort of a network for everyone employed in an IO position at the municipality
	HAN: okay
	EMP: so so you meet once in a while and exchange <HAN: okay> experience about how erm to handle this and that or what do you think it's difficult do you think I think this is difficult do you think so <HAN: okay> or

51. learn more <ARA: yeah> 52. how can we best help you 53. ARA: mmh it sounds exciting 54. mmh mmh	51. <HAN: that's good> can you 52. give some good advice or 53. <HAN: yeah> erm and there'll 54. be some teaching in Danish 55. culture 56. HAN: yes xxx [laughs] <EMP: erm> 57. EMP: so one can learn a bit 58. about why we are as we are 59. and laugh when we laugh 60. HAN: okay haha 61. EMP: erm how one avoids 62. offending us and all these 63. sorts of things I think 64. HAN: okay [laughs] <ROB mmh> 65. EMP: erm not that I think we get 66. easily offended 67. HAN: well <ROB: mmh> <EMP: erm> 68. EMP: but altogether a little bit 69. about the culture why we 70. are like this 71. HAN: yes 72. EMP: so this is basically what 73. it's about but it's a 74. permanent position which 75. which hopefully one can 76. keep for many years 77. HAN: okay yes that sounds good

These excerpts are premised on the idea of culture as a fixed and stable category (e.g. section 6.3.). According to that view on culture, both Hannah and Arabella have to learn about how the Danes are, what they do, how they laugh and when they might get offended. Only after becoming familiar with these things, the applicants could expect to be accepted in the society of the Danes. The "us vs. them" discourse could not be made more obvious. This discourse of culture being treated as an isolated monolith is also one of the main themes in this dissertation. To be accepted by "us", "the others" have to learn about "our" culture, the requirement sounds. However, to be employed in the desired position, "the others" have to be very much like "us" before they apply for the job. Let us have a closer look at the sequences.

Arabella is addressed as someone who still needs to enter the Danish labour market `fully and completely` (Dan: `fuldt og helt`) although she is both educated as a receptionist in Denmark and has worked in Denmark before. This deficit view on Arabella culminates when EMP's suggests that she should learn more about Danish culture (lines 35-37) which Arabella interrupts by saying that she already knows about that since she has a Danish husband. However, this fact seems to be ignored (`yes but it can be difficult`, line 44) as if Arabella's family is not relevant when it comes to integration.

Furthermore, Arabella is actively addressed with the personal pronoun "you" (what would you need, line 7, and how can be best help you, line 52) while Hannah is addressed indirectly with the indefinite pronoun "one" (so one can learn about why we are as we are, lines 57, 58). This suggests obvious differences in the positioning (Davies and Harré 1990, Langenhove and Harré 1994) of the two applicants: Arabella is seen as an incomplete, unintegrated foreigner, Hannah is to a higher degree perceived as someone similar who does not need special cultural introduction but rather an action plan to *guide* her entirely into the Danish labour market so that she can stay there for many many years (repeated twice in lines 14-15 and 76). Note that when talking about the permanency of the position, Hannah is addressed directly with the personal pronoun "you".

The narrative about the network of IO employees as a resource for learning about Danish culture, is also approached in two different ways. While Arabella is told straightforwardly that she will learn about Danish culture, there are no utterances about Hannah needing to gain insight into Danish culture. Instead, EMP talks about exchanging experience about how to handle this and that (lines 44-46), e.g. tackling possible difficulties, giving each other advice as well as some teaching in Danish culture (lines 49-55). Such a construction (although it might bear the same message) is much more nuanced, less forceful and less focused on difficulties and differences than in Arabella's case. Clearly, regardless of her Danish education, Danish husband, Danish workplace experience and the nine years spent in Denmark, Arabella is systematically positioned as an outsider to Danish culture; while Hannah (without any of the above) is positioned as an insider who, only with a little "guidance" will be able to keep her position "for many years".

In the next examples, Arabella and Hannah are requested to provide information about work experience from jobs in Denmark.

7.2.4. Working in Denmark

Arabella 09:30-11:19	**Hannah 10:00 – 10:43**
01. MAN: what s what did you see was 02. or what what do you think 03. was the most difficult thing 04. about working in Denmark 05. what was the most difficult 06. thing for you 07. ARA: yes the first time it was a 08. bit difficult because they	01. MAN: mmh okay do you have what 02. jobs have you had in Denmark 03. HAN: oh now I work at erm the 04. post office 05. MAN: okay yes that's true that's 06. what you did <HAN: yeah> 07. HAN: but only on Saturdays 08. <MAN:or

09. they should get to know me
10. MAN: yes
11. ARA: yes and then sometimes
12. people are afraid of
13. those coming outside
14. countries
15. or something like that but
16. it wasn't so ss- the firs-
17. the first week it was I
18. could see that it was like
19. what's it
20. called they didn't want to
21. talk so much with me or
22. something like that
23. MAN: mmh
24. ARA: but it doesn't last long cos
25. erm I could {easily} laugh
26. with them and hear what they
27. say and make one little
28. comment and
29. what they then they also
30. could say and I I very much
31. want to
32. be part of of their erm
33. group
34. MAN: yes
35. ARA: so but afterwards a week after
36. they were all my friends and
37. MAN: okay <Arabella: xxx> okay
38. ARA: mmh mmh I don't have problems
39. today
40. MAN: no
41. ARA: mmh and I like smile and xxx
42. eerm laugh and talk with
43. people and
44. MAN: yes
45. ARA: be part of conversation eh
46. MAN: so you don't think <ARA:
47. xxx> in reality it's
48. difficult
49. ARA: no
50. MAN: no <ARA: xxx>
51. ARA: it depends on how you are as
52. a person
53. MAN: yeah
54. ARA: yeah mmh
55. MAN: but are you the one who sort
56. of takes the initiative if
57. you think there is a group
58. here that <Arabella: yes> is
59. a little bit reserved
60. towards you or it could be
61. something else
62. ARA: yes I think you have to show
63. who you are
64. MAN: yes
65. ARA: yes not be afraid or it it
66. is also normally that you
67. think that he he or she is
68. afraid of
69. talking to you erm to to her
70. or xxx if you you show that
71. you are interested xxx be in

09. what was that> yes yes only
10. Saturdays <MAN: yeah> I I
11. drive a car and erm I erm I
12. drive around with erm
13. advertising circular and
14. with recommended lat-
15. letters
16. MAN: mmh mmh
17. HAN: so I don't have much contact
18. with those citizens
19. MAN: no
20. HAN: xxx not so many but erm
21. <MAN: no> only with the
22. recommended
23. letters but it's okay
24. <MAN: yeah mmh mmh> so but '
25. erm that's it erm July so
26. it's not so long yet but erm
27. MAN: well you've been there since
28. July
29. HAN: yes since July <MAN: okay>
30. <Hannah: ja>
31. MAN: so it's quite new yes
32. HAN: yes it's a bit new yeah
33. [laughs] <MAN: yeah> but erm
34. it's okay
35. MAN: yeah
36. HAN: it's fine <MAN: okay>
37. MAN: okay that's good

72. the group so it's it's 73. totally 74. okay 75. MAN: ja 76. ARA: it doesn't matter where 77. you're from or what is your 78. religion or well yes 79. MAN: mmh 80. ARA: mmh	

In lines 1-3 Arabella is asked to account for the most difficult thing about working in Denmark. The attention is drawn to a presupposition about Arabella having hard times working in Denmark. She answers the question by admitting small difficulties in the beginning and argues for the common process in making new acquaintances by referring to general truths (it depends on how you are as a person) MAN does not comment on any of that but provides only backchannelling. Backchannelling was one of the things that grabbed my attention in terms of showing positive attitude towards successful applicants, so at an earlier stage of analysis I counted the number of positive backchannellings from the members of the panel in Hannah's and Arabella's interviews (see also appendix 8 and 9 an overview of backchannelling in all successful and unsuccessful interviews). It turned out that Hannah receives approximately one third more backchannelling (123 yes and 35 mhm) than Arabella (86 yes and 20 mhm). Again, we see that there is a difference in MAN's level of engagement: in Hannah's case, MAN seems to give qualitatively different responses while with Arabella MAN acts distanced and does not seem to engage herself in the conversation. I shall return to that.

The focus on Arabella's difficulties is upheld throughout the interview. For example, regardless of what she explains, MAN requests further evidence as if she does not seem convinced. For example, in lines 41-42 MAN asks: so you don't think in reality it's difficult. "In reality" here could be interpreted in terms of the Danish reality, which, as we saw, Arabella is positioned far away from. Similarly, in line 49 the manager says: but are you the one who sort of takes the initiative if you think there is a group here that is a little bit reserved towards you, although Arabella has explained that and even provided examples to demonstrate that she unproblematically can become an equal member of a new group (lines 22-27). Arabella is clearly confronted with her background and she defends herself by drawing on concrete

examples and broader humanistic reflections (e.g. `it depends on how you are as a person, it doesn't matter where you're from or what is your religion, lines 68-70)`, the manager's only reaction being `mhm mhm`.

As a reply to Arabella's statement that it does not matter where you come from or what your religion is, the manager initiates a topic about the huge amount of employees with a foreign background working at the municipality:

Arabella, 11:20-11:50

```
01. MAN:  we have also many employees here in the house <ARA: yes> who have
02.       different backgrounds
03. ARA:  yes
04. MAN:  I think mmh what↑ one third
05. EMP:  mmh
06. MAN:  I think so <EMP: there are quite a lot↓> yeah in the ho- the house
07.       here who are new Danes <ARA: yes> or what the heck <ARA: ja> one
08.       should call them <ARA: yes>
09. ARA:  mmh mmh
10. MAN:  it doesn't seem right to call them other ethnic background <ARA:
11.       yes [laughs] any longer
12. EMP:  yes
13. MAN:  yes <ARA: yes>
14. Arabella:  mmh
15. MAN:  so it's not a problem either
16. ARA:  no <MAN: in any way> mmh
17. MAN:  nobody's scared of <ARA: no> another religion or another skin
18.       colour or
19. ARA:  mmh mmh
20. MAN:  or anything else no it's not
21. ARA:  yes it <MAN: mmh> I think so too
```

In this excerpt (also shown previously in ***Reflections on ethnographic interventions***), the manager articulates her uncertainty about the terminology addressing people "like Arabella". By using the classifications *not exactly foreigners* but certainly *not Danes either* (New Danes or Other Ethnic Background), she points at categories from the public debate, concluding that no matter what, `it's not a problem either` (line 15). Clearly, this clarification is brought in because MAN finds it relevant to Arabella (see Tranekjær 2009 for similar categorizations).

Quite the reverse, Hannah is never confronted with her background. She is much supported by continuous positive evaluations: (excerpt 2.4, line 5: `that's true`, line 24: `well you've been there since July`, line 28: `so it's quite new`, and line 34: `okay that's good`). I shall return to this after the next sequence.

7.2.5. Danish language

Arabella's Danish is never specifically mentioned in the interview as a problem area by the members of the panel and is assessed as better than Hannah's (see section 6.7.2.2.). Twice Arabella raises the issue of Danish herself. First, by mentioning writing as a potential problem, and second, when the manager explains about the general possibility of taking Danish classes, Arabella adds that there is work to be done on her Danish, but refers to it as "very normal": `I still am still need some language or but it's all very normal.`

Hannah is asked openly about her Danish. Consider the excerpt below:

Hannah 10:44-11-24

```
01. MAN:  *do you have it easy* with Danish
02. HAN:  erm
03. MAN:  do you have mmh <HAN: [laughs] > I'll just reformulate what what
04.       it's called is it difficult to learn Danish <Hannah: no>
05. HAN:  no erm yeah yes and no but erm f- of course it is new but erm it
06.       looks like erm the [anon: language]
07. MAN:  mmh
08. HAN:  language
09. MAN:  mmh
10. HAN:  so to read erm erm reading is not so so difficult for me <MAN:
11.       no> but of course I am (.) pronunciation erm <MAN: yes> a bit
12.       different so <MAN: that's evident> I have some problems with this
13.       sound -ɖ- and <MAN: yeah
14. HAN:  yes so erm <MAN: yes>
15. MAN:  I understand that
16. HAN:  <MAN: it is difficult indeed> yeah but erm I I also think it's o
17.       okay after one year
18. MAN:  yes of course it is  <Hannah: I can can>
19. HAN   speak little Danish so
```

Hannah has problems understanding and expressing herself in Danish. I already showed some of the above example in ***Linguistic Fluency*** to illustrate misunderstanding and reformulation. Now I would like to call attention to the manager's supportive strategy. First, MAN uses a positive phrase (`easy with Danish`) instead of focusing on "difficulties" or "problems". Second, she reformulates the non-understood phrase (line 3-5), and third, she expresses huge understanding of Hannah's challenges with the Danish language (e.g. `that's evident`, line 12, `it is difficult indeed`, line 16, `yes of course it is`, line 18). Such confirming statements are well documented in research on institutional interaction (e.g. Erickson and Schultz 1982, Roberts and Campbell 2006, Roberts et al 2008). Roberts and Campbell 2006:99 argue that they are "key moments of acceptance or augmentation of candidate's responses by interviewers" and point out that

they are characteristic in the context of successful interviews when they are used to show understanding of candidates' motivations and positively appraise their responses as well as "to make an answer institutionally relevant" (Roberts and Campbell 2006:99). Furthemore, they argue that such statements can certainly be used by interviewers to take control over or even hinder the efforts of the applicant to produce an answer, but in that particular case I think they are used more subtly. What Arabella has to deal with is exactly *the lack* of the confirmatory statements which makes the interview different for her. Note that regardless of the local environment and the phases of the interview, Arabella receives very few confirming statements.

Let us look at the last sequence in which Hannah and Arabella are required to provide information about activities outside work.

7.2.6. Activities outside work

ARABELLA 07:59 – 08:46	**HANNAH 13:56-15:42**
01. EMP: I thought can you tell us 02. about yourself what erm what 03. what do you do <ARA: ssss> 04. when you don't work or what 05. yeah what what 06. ARA: I like reading 07. EMP: yes 08. ARA: and erm I love training also 09. yeah gymnastics at home 10. <EMP: mmh> and I also watch 11. TV news and documentaries 12. so many things <EMP: yes> 13. I also like 14. to erm meet the friends and 15. laugh a little 16. EMP: yes 17. ARA: yes and also go on the cinema 18. yeah and these sorts of things 19. <EMP: yeah> there are many 20. things and erm <EMP: yeah> I'm 21. also a churchgoer 22. EMP: yes <ARA: [exhales]> 23. ARA: on Sundays 24. EMP: yes 25. ARA: mmh 26. MAN: mmh mmh 27. EMP: so <ARA: it> you are an 28. outgoing person 29. ARA: yes 30. EMP: yes 31. ARA: mmh 32. EMP: it's also important for that 33. kind of position <ARA: yes> 34. cos it's a position with 35. focus on service 36. ARA: yeah okay 37. EMP: yeah	01. EMP: can you tell me a little 02. about what you do when you 03. don't work 04. HAN: oh erm yes I of course I erm 05. do my homework[laughs] I I 06. practise erm afternoons 07. EMP: mmh 08. HAN: and look for erm job erm the 09. job (.) it is erm I like to 10. read 11. EMP: mmh 12. HAN: but erm but only when I'm 13. what is it erm when I ha- 14. have not so many xxx how to 15. say that when it's not so not 16. so busy 17. EMP: yeah <MAN: yeah> yeah <HAN: 18. yeah> 19. HAN: so I must be 20. EMP: yes 21. HAN: not so stressed [laughs] 22. <MAN: mmh mmh> <EMP:yes yes> 23. but I like l- erm 24. like it and erm also erm in 25. beginning here erm I was at 26. erm erm what's it erm ehr 27. what's it called erm pilates 28. MAN: yeah <EMP: yes> yes <EMP: 29. yes> <HAN: yes> 30. EMP: yes <HAN: [laughs] 31. MAN: we know that well 32. EMP: yeah 33. HAN: okay <MAN: [laughs]> 34. EMP: yeah <ROB: [laughs]> 35. HAN: but it's erm a bit expensive 36. now men co- yes cos I don't 37. have the

	38. EMP: no 39. HAN: but I'd like to continue 40. EMP: yes 41. HAN: erm when I work again 42. EMP: yes <MAN: mmh> 43. HAN: and erm I like erm and erm 44. jogging <EMP: mmh> to go and 45. <EMP: yes> <MAN: mmh> in 46. school and 47. EMP: yes 48. HAN: around the lake [laughs] 49. <EMP: yes> so erm yeah and 50. erm to know it erm Copenhagen 51. like xxx <EMP: mmh> erm cos 52. Copenhagen is a bit big for 53. me <EMP: yes> <MAN: yes> I 54. like moving around and yeah 55. EMP: yes 56. HAN: yes 57. MAN: where do you live 58. HAN: in [area] 59. MAN: well you do live in 60. Copenhagen 61. HAN: yes yes 62. MAN: yes yes yes <EMP: yes> yes 63. EMP: oh well it's a big city 64. <MAN: [caughing] 65. MAN: yes <HAN: yes> 66. HAN: it is 67. MAN: it's a big city <ROB: ja> 68. HAN: yes it is 69. EMP: I can still lose myself in 70. <HAN: oh> in it <HAN: okay> 71. yeah 72. HAN: [laughs]<ROB: yes> yes it is 73. EMP: yeah <MAN: yeah>

Arabella presents herself as a person who likes reading, watching documentaries, going out with friends and is a regular churchgoer. Such staging sounds familiar and many Danes would probably recognize these undertakings as traditional leisure time activities (apart from churchgoing which Arabella might use for placing herself in a Christian, i.e. "similar" context). Indeed, the list of leisure activities sounds stiff and depersonalised, rather in line with the requirements of the institutional discourse, and this is exactly the way EMP addresses it: `it's also important for that kind of position… with focus on service` (lines 31-34). Whether it is because of Arabella's formal tone (maybe a reaction to the outsider-positioning) or not, Arabella's account is met with the kind of indifference we saw before, the only comment being `so you're an outgoing person`, line 26-27. As demonstrated previously, the accounts Arabella provides are not sufficient to the panel - to reach conclusions about her, they repeatedly require additional

evidence. Roberts and Campbell 2006 have similar cases in which such “recipe-like” responses are often treated negatively.

Hannah’s description includes more personal details. She is informative and reflective about the activities outside work: for example, she reads, when she finds time; she practises Pilates, but has stopped because it is expensive and hopes to continue as soon as she gets a job. The way Hannah integrates leisure with work possibilities shows an entrepreneurial self that does not compartmentalise the personal and the professional. This is also an example of seamless blending of discourses described as successful strategy by Roberts and Campbell 2006 and Scheuer 2001.

The panel representatives react positively to Hannah’s narratives. For example, when Hannah explains that she finds Copenhagen a big city, the manager immediately agrees on that while the HR employee admits that she can still lose herself in the city of Copenhagen (lines 69-70). We see how several members of the panel signal co-membership, i.e. the degree of shared interests they have in common with Hannah. Such alignment strategies, as argued by Erickson and Schultz 1982, and Roberts and Cambell 2006 reinforce the positive environment in the interview and open up for giving ‘special help’ (e.g. Adelswärd 1988) to those applicants the panel has established co-membership with (see also Roberts and Campbell 2006 on positive dynamics). Note that “co-membership” is interactionally produced. Erickson and Schultz found that co-membership had a decisive impact upon the amount of special help given to candidates, the ability of the participants to resolve misunderstandings, and in the very end their success or failure. According to Erickson and Schultz 1982:193 “the game is rigged, albeit not deliberately, in favour of those individuals whose communication style and social background are most similar to those with the interviewer with whom they talk”. In other words, the panels would consider those applicants with whom they share a co-membership as ones more likely to share a definition of the interview situation, an understanding of the work environment, and a way of being (also parallel to Scheuer 2001).

Here are two further examples on co-membership:

HANNAH, "PILATES"

1. HAN: oh what's it called erm pilates
2. MAN: yes <EMP: yes> yes <EMP: yes> <HAN: yes>
3. EMP: yes <HAN: [laughs]
4. MAN: we know that well
5. EMP: yes
6. HAN: okay <MAN: [laughs] >
7. EMP: yes <ROB: [laughs] >

The positive environment is reinforced by HAN and EMPs mutual positive confirmations and the statement in line 4 (we all know that well) both of which function as markers of inclusion. As a consequence, all four participants laugh in appreciation.

A similar positive environment is also expressed in the second example:

HANNAH, "THAT'S A DANISH BOYFRIEND!"

1. HAN: they live in [city] in Jutland so it's not so
2. MAN: all right it is a ↑DANISH <HAN: so close> boyfriend↓ you've got
3. <HAN: yes yes yes> okay <HAN: yes> ↑mmh mmh↓ so ↑that's how you
4. came here yes <MAN: yes yes> [laughs]
5. MAN: yes okay <HAN: yes> that sounds nice <HAN: yes> I ↑really think
6. you are very good at Danish

The second example is similar. The phrase It's a ↑DANISH boyfriend↓ you've got is articulated in an exalted manner, with a notable stress on the adjective Danish and a somewhat theatrical intonation pattern (rising intonation on Danish and falling on boyfriend). The same rising and falling intonation is seen in line 3 : ↑mmh mmh↓ so ↑that's how you came here↓, followed by an appreciative assessment: that sounds nice (line 5). Remember that when Arabella mentioned her Danish husband, nobody commented on that. In the end, the manager concludes: I ↑really think you are very good at Danish. This final sign of acceptance is a huge acknowledgment. Hannah is complimented for her language skills in Danish, although her Danish is assessed at a much lower level in comparison to Arabella's and MAN has explicitly stated that Danish was very important for the job. Therefore, the assessment in lines 5-6 is not based on linguistic evidence but is rather a marker of cultural acceptance. I really think you are very good at Danish comes after several strongly expressed signs of co-membership. It functions both as an acknowledgment and a justification, like an Austinian speech act by which the manager convinces herself and the other members of the panel that Hannah is the better candidate. Positioning Hannah as culturally fluent, although it

might be based on stereotypes, has granted her co-membership also in the domain of the Danish language. Cultural fluency has been transformed into linguistic fluency, altogether based on the predominant ideology of those like us as more suitable candidates than those different from us.[9] As we saw in ***What is cultural and what is linguistic***, the panel makes the same kind of assertive judgements based on little or no actual evidence. The identities they ascribe are products of immediate local inferences which are linked to judgements about performance and attributes such as "would or would not fit in", "motivated", "unreasonable" and so on (Roberts 2000:114).

The next section turns the attention to the panel's assessments of Hannah and Arabella in a 17 minutes long post-interview session including their perspective and rationales for selecting Hannah and rejecting Arabella. It discusses the parameters of linguistic and cultural fluency and looks at issues of ideology in relation to the selection.

7.3. Assessments of Hannah and Arabella

7.3.1. Linguistic Fluency

When asked to evaluate Arabella's and Hannah's skills in Danish on a scale from 1 (very bad) to 5 (very good), two members assigned Arabella 3.5 points, and two assigned her 3 and 4 points respectively (3.5 in average). Hannah received 2 points by three members and 2.5 points by one member (2.2 in average). As discussed in the previous chapter, this procedure was not meant as a realistic assessment of the applicants' language competences. Rather, the task was meant to prompt discussions on "good" and "bad" Danish and perhaps open up for ideology.

Arabella's Danish was not discussed further but Hannah's fast progress in Danish was addressed very positively, e.g. : `she has only been here for a year, right, and she spoke like okay, okay Danish, quite alright actually`, said the manager, while another panel representative meant that `she was the worst at Danish` (of the three applicants) `but she spoke comprehensible Danish`. These assessments seemed

[9] Alignments and co-membership with successful applicants are to be found in many other job interviews (e.g. Ruben, Domingo and Maximillian).Especially in Domingo's case alignment is expressed particularly strongly, resulting in the manager's switching into English as a helping and confirmatory strategy (although the manager has been holding very much on to Danish in the beginning of the interview).

to serve as proxies for how Hannah would perform later: with what Danish she has learned in on year, after one more year… she can learn as quick as lightning. But I think – the manager concluded – it's true that actually the language is not so central [for the decision]. There are some quite other skills lying behind. This statement points to one of the conclusions from the previous chapter where we saw that for non-academic positions, the successful applicants were *not* those who scored highest but those who had proven rapid progress (see 6.6.2.4). Proficiency in Danish as a set of countable, learnable items is not in itself the main factor for success; rather it is the "other skills lying behind", so let us look at what skills the panel has in mind.

7.3.2. Cultural Fluency

This is a repeated example from section 6.3. answering the question why Hannah was given the job:

> MAN: We did it because culturally we imagined that she [Hannah] could match the job and the existing job description better. We were all a bit concerned about the other two who were too eager to get a job. And their cultural background contributes to the fact that since they will be cooperating with me for instance, they will become too submissive in relation to the job and to me. Whereas she [Hannah] is educated and socialized in another system and she has had 15 years of experience. This was very important as well. In this kind of job she will be able to enter very much as equal. Also the fact that she will stand as an equal colleague, also in relation to general working conditions, i.e. she will be able to make demands on equal terms with other colleagues and give them the necessary sparring

The above statement is interesting and emblematic in several ways. As previously pointed out, "culture", seems to account for everything and is the main reason for selecting Hannah. It gives the impression that Hannah is not selected on the basis of the job interview but on the basis of the "system" she is socialized in (i.e. being a Western European she is *eo ipso* compatible with the Danish system). Being an equal colleague is furthermore highlighted as a factor of utmost importance. The manager explained also that she saw Hannah as "more related to us" (i.e. related to the Danes and the Danish working culture), and that she had "plenty of grit" (i.e. she was familiar with the Danish value of being an independent and a daring employee). I come back to that in the discussion.

Now let's look at how Arabella is seen:

MAR: How about the first one?
MAN: The first one [Arabella] was – I think we all agree – too fragile. Her manner was fragile. Very sweet, extremely competent also, experienced also, not so many years, but clearly experienced. She was SO eager for getting that job and looked extremely fragile. I could be really concerned (…) that she was simply too fragile to manage it [the many people at this busy workplace, my clarification] with that manner of hers. Because she was also extremely eager to service.
(…)
…and our first applicant [Arabella] is somebody who you would want to take by the hand and invite her home and then do something for her, right? Because she really needs someone to take care of her, otherwise I don't think she will get started. But you can't do that at a work place.

I have to admit that this description took me by surprise. Especially the portrayal of her as fragile and helpless sounded very far away from what I had observed. I saw Arabella as independent, reflective and intelligent applicant and I could not see the subservience and the fragility she was "accused" of. Especially the description "fragile and eager" seemed contradictory and unsubstantial to me.

This challenged my analytical sense and motivated me for conducting further analysis. I decided to look for further interactional evidence that would explain the above account. An insightful data session with colleagues called my attention to the fact that Arabella's backchannelling sometimes came too fast and seemed to overlap with the interviewer's utterances. Especially in the section in which Arabella is presented with the idea of the specifics of the IO position (and she mentions her Danish husband), she several times overlaps the employee representative with her too fast-coming mhh's (see example in 7.2.3.). Different modes of backcannelling in terms of culture (Hayashi 1988) and gender (Fishman 1978 and Hirschmann 1994) are documented in the literature of conversation analytical studies. Fishman 1978 for example, argues that women backchannel more frequently than men and use backchanneling of the type "mhm" to indicate "I am listening" whereas men rather indicate "I agree". I tried to study Hannah's and Arabella's backchannelling in an example of approximate equal length and similar in content (e.g. example 2.3., Explaining the specifics of the IO position, see appendix 9). I found that Hannah has a greater variation in the types of backchannelling (she uses mhm, yes, yes okay, no and some alternative minimal confirmatory responses) while Arabella uses only mhh, yes, yes okay, and interrupts once (mentioning her Danish husband). Apart from that, there are neither big differences in the total number of backchannelling

produced (Hannah has 19 and Arabella has 20) nor in the total number of backchannelling in an overlap (Arabella has 9 and Hannah has 10). However, Arabella's backchannelling falls a bit earlier in EMP's turn so it sometimes comes as an interruption rather than a confirmation, which might explain the eagerness.

Another link to the perception of Arabella as eager might be her own stating that she is "willing to learn everything". I already discussed that in section 5.3.3. which argued for the existence of a so-called "immigrant story"-discourse (Roberts and Campbell 2006:149). We saw how applicants who present themselves as quick learners, willing to do anything to get the job, having no problems whatsoever are by the same token perceived as problematic by the interviewers. Roberts and Campbell argue that what interviews in fact require are statements of resilience in the face of difficulties rather than presentations as always working hard, willing to do anything, and denying anything negative about past work experiences. So the way Arabella explains about her favourite activities outside work, monotonously listing `so many things` (section 7.2.6) is probably associated with the "immigrant story" discourse which makes Arabella less culturally fluent in the eyes of the panel. In comparison, Hannah seems to navigate much better in the discursive blend of institutional and personal. The blend of discourses contributes to a more realistic and trustworthy picture of the applicants in opposition to an unrealistic (i.e. eager) and false (i.e. not one of us) one.

Interactional evidence on fragility is, however, more difficult to find. Why is Arabella seen as fragile? To me it is rather connected to a stereotype Arabella is positioned into than her own interactional moves. The analysis in the beginning of this chapter has shown, that in many situations Arabella is positioned by the panel member's own utterances as an outsider to Danish culture and Danish workplace procedures. After 9 years in Denmark she is still seen as "new" although she speaks Danish better than Hannah. Since I do not find interactional evidence on her "fragile manner" and it is neither the language nor the fact that she is new and inexperienced, then what makes her unsuccessful? I suggest that it is the systematic positioning as an outsider that results in othering and causes the cultural disfluency she is "accused" of. On that basis we can easier make a parallel between on the one hand "fragile" (as in helpless and dependent) and on the other hand "eager to get the job" (as in subservient and willing to do anything) as they both link to

stereotypes of people from Africa as more difficult to integrate than those from Western Europe.

7.4. Postscript: Three years later

Arabella got a job as an administrator in a private organization three months after the unsuccessful IO interview and has been working there even since. I called her exactly three years after the recordings and she told me that she remembers the time of the IO interview like a blessing in disguise because she later got a job she was really pleased with.

Arabella explained that in the rejection letter from the IO panel was written the usual stuff, nothing concrete. This was in sharp contrast to what the manager promised in the post-interview conversation. The manager particularly assured me that she will tell Arabella about her "fragile" manner, so she learns something from it. …I'll advise her to be more *progressive (Dan: fremme i skoene) and be more like [clenches and shakes her fists] you know…

Arabella was surprised to hear that she was seen as "fragile". Nobody describes me like that, she said. We chatted further about "being new in Denmark" and when I asked her how she felt about it, she explained:

> It's not exactly provoking but at least it's weird that they ask like that because I am integrated… There will always be those two blocks in the Danish society, one, that will always see you as an immigrant and the other one who confirms you in being Danish, and when you are integrated, then you are integrated (Phone interview with Arabella, September 2012)

Finally, she told me with relief that everybody at her new workplace regarded her as a Dane: they don't have the cliché of me being a foreigner or a new Dane, they say – you are also Danish.

Hannah still works at the municipality of Copenhagen. The IO contract had expired after which she began working on "normal" conditions. Three years after, we scheduled a meeting and I visited her at the office. One of the first things she told me was that the job she got was different from what she had expected. The manager, whose secretary she was appointed as, was so busy out of the office that Hannah hardly saw her during the

first four months. The mentor she got was nice but not exactly helpful… I expected more guidance, she said, I didn't know at all what I was supposed to do in the beginning. She felt she was left on her own and it was difficult to figure out what was required from her. After moving to another office, things got much better.

She recalls the interview as an overwhelming event particularly because of the many interviewers. She also remembers being surprised by the brevity of the interview: I can't remember the questions but they didn't ask me so much what I could do [in relation to the job] … they gave a big presentation of themselves for a long time, and then only 3 -4 questions to me

When I played some pieces of the recording, she seemed surprised that her Danish was not worse than she thought: They told me I was the IO employee with the worst Danish but with the biggest experience, she said. When she heard the manager's question: Do you have it *easy with* the Danish language, she frowned and told me she still did not understand the phrase "let ved". I explained it to her.

When I asked about the network for cultural integration of new IO employees, she admitted that she had only been to one big meeting, after which very few people kept on using the network: We talked mostly about how we felt, not so much about Danish culture. Activities like learning about "when and why Danes laugh" had never been discussed. Hannah added though that maybe it was not so important for her, because Danish culture looks very much like [Western European] culture. I tried to make her elaborate on that and asked her whether she could identify differences in the workplace procedures or in other aspects of her everyday life, but she could not provide examples. Though she told me it was important for Asian people to know more about Danish culture, because they really need it.

Although Hannah got a job in Denmark within the very first year of her stay, she did not think of it as a piece of cake. I expected to get a job much sooner, she said. Yet, after she had talked to other people from the IO network, she had realized that she had been lucky to get a job after quite a few applications and only one job interview.

Conclusion: Ideology and assessments

The analysis has shown that the interactional moves Hannah and Arabella make feed into what appears to be prior assumptions about Western and non-Western cultural

backgrounds. Arabella is systematically positioned as an outsider to Danish culture and workplace procedures although very few things in her interactional moves substantiate such positioning. Particularly the discourse of "difficulties and problems" is treated very differently for the two applicants. In Hannah's case, "difficulties" are used positively and supportively (e.g. `it is difficult indeed`, or `it is not at all difficult to understand`), while in Arabella's case "difficulty" is used negatively either as a claim (`but it could be difficult`) or as a presupposition: `what was the most difficult thing`, suggesting that something must have been difficult. Arabella is positioned as somebody who needs to learn about things to become more independent. At the same time she presents herself as a balanced and reflective person, arguing that it is quite "normal" to experience problems with a new language or at a new workplace.

In contrast, Hannah is systematically positioned as an individual who shares the panel's cultural context and values. There is no clear evidence whether certain interactional features make Hannah more successful or if she is successful because of the perceived "cultural similarities". With evidence from the post-conversational interview with the panel, I rather argue for the latter. I find the panel's accounts saturated with ideological stances. The focus on culture is tremendous: cultural background is explicitly mentioned as a factor that matters more than anything else in the interview. Danish language skills are perceived as being less important in situ; however, it is also used ideologically as proxy for other competencies: e.g. the faster the acquisition of Danish, the better the employee.

Language and culture are assessed through ideology. The panel's decision is based on perceived cultural similarities with the idea of the IO project as a project aimed at integration is practically undermined. The applicants' interactional and linguistic behaviour serves to reinforce the ideology; it is not simply what is brought into the interview but what is *brought about* in it. However, as Erickson 2004 argues, there is always some 'wiggle room' to act within and around constraints. Both Arabella and Hannah counter the stereotypes in some places and these may be partly accepted but mainly ignored.

7.5. The tragedy of the IO project

The story of the IO project is in many ways a tragic story. It is a story about two parties caught in the institutional machinery of bureaucratic gatekeeping. The panels are supposed to ask reasonable questions and the applicants are supposed to give reasonable answers which altogether should end in reasonable decisions. The panels are forced to discriminate, but without being discriminatory and the applicants are forced to present themselves as realistic, but without being too realistic.

Such story hungers for victims and gets its victims. As in every true tragedy both parties are victims: the panels are victims, as they need to follow unmanageable requirements. They are set up to practise an impossible scenario, in which different logics compete against each other. *The logic of instant profit* appeals to their bureaucratic identities as it tells them that those with whom they share linguistic and especially cultural similarities will cost them least and are more worth investing in. *The logic of charity* on the other hand appeals to their identities as sensible human beings but it clashes with the bureaucratic identity which gives them the feeling of being "torn apart" (see sections 2.3.3. and 6.6.1.). *The logic of bureaucratic fairness* as part of the wider conundrum about maintaining standards in a diverse society (Heller 2003) is also made relevant. The tension between the three logics is so great, that it makes the selection an extremely difficult task. When the dilemma presses on the interviewers, they cannot resist but fall back into general practices of selecting "ordinary" applicants and making "ordinary" bureaucratic decisions although the point of the IO jobs was precisely the opposite: the interviewers were supposed to take exactly those whom they would "normally" *not* have taken - otherwise there would not be need for an IO initiative at all. The irony is, however, that the interviewers cannot see how they have helped to construct the tragedy.

The interviewees, successful as unsuccessful, are victims of globalization. It is insurmountably difficult for Arabella to win in the interview as long as she is caught in the panel's cultural blindness. Looking through glasses steamed up with cultural stereotypes, the interviewers inevitably prefer those applicants with whom they share perceived cultural features. Such applicants, following the instant profit logic, will easier become

one of “them”. But it turns out also to be hard for applicants like Hannah because her “similarity” does not automatically mean that she can work without support and training.

Thus, the tragedy is expressed in a number of ways. The logic of charity is tragic because it is problematic to employ people only because we feel sorry for them. The logic of instant profit is tragic because it problematizes the whole idea of the IO project as a waste of time. And the logic of bureaucratic fairness – in itself an oxymoron - is tragic, because it is utopic. If it cannot give admission to “the right ones”, would it ever be possible to create a project which would truly help the vulnerable? And finally, the “us” vs. “them” discourse is tragic because it celebrates Danishness and undermines globalization.

Chapter 8 Findings and Conclusions

8.1. Super-diverse communicative practices: reclaiming fluency

8.1.1. Linguistic fluency

I have studied fluency through an emic perspective, derived from the behavior and the perceptions of the participants in the gatekeeping, stratified, multilingual context of the IO job interviews. Contrary to what previous research on fluency has found, I argue that fluency is the successful dialogical practice through which the interlocutors are able to negotiate mutual understanding and problems with, for instance, non-standard use of the target language. The success of the practice depends much on the interlocutors' intention to bring the communication to a satisfactory end: The L2 fluency is dependent on how the interlocutors negotiate, approve of each other's' choices and allow each other to use alternative communicative resources, e.g. verbal and non-verbal signals of comprehension, reformulations, repeats, integration of features associated with other sets of linguistic resources (other languages) etc. Fluency is not most fruitfully seen as an absolute set of features that can be "measured" but rather as the jointly produced interactional effort which is about understanding the interlocutor and feeling comfortable about it.

8.1.2. Fluency as negotiation

In my study fluency reflects the way interviewers address the applicants' ability to speak and understand Danish. When the interviewers credit certain applicants for their "good" Danish, it is primarily rooted in the interlocutors' ability to negotiate, ask for support and provide support. If the panels are positioned and position themselves as interactive teachers, they may boost the applicants' Danish; if they are positioned and position themselves as passive and distant, they may contribute to a mutual experience of a weaker performance.

8.1.3. Fluency as understanding

Two factors seem to be of crucial importance: on the one hand whether the panels will do what they can to understand the applicants and on the other hand how the applicants contribute to being understood. If the interviewers do not understand, they act either less supportive or over supportive. Understanding is not necessarily tied to grammatical

or phonological correctness; non-standard Danish is accepted as long as it is comprehensible and as long as the applicants demonstrate an ambition to learn more.

8.1.4. Didactic fluency

When applicants use the job interview as "a pedagogic conversation" (Bremer et al 1996) and the interviewers as "interactive dictionaries", it has an ice-breaking function. On the one hand it mitigates the institutional stiffness by downplaying uncomfortable face-loss because of obvious differences in the parties' level of command of Danish; on the other hand it further empowers the interviewers because they are positioned as experts in Danish *not* by themselves but by the applicants. Once linguistic difficulties are acknowledged and roles are allocated, the interview game becomes more open and the interviewing develops into a more comfortable process.

8.1.5 Formulaic fluency

Formulaic expressions as part of the process of conveying meaning and achieving understanding are particularly important because the appropriate use of formulae limits the risk of 'erring' (Boers et al 2006). It also signals affiliations to the target language and marks co-membership by assisting the non-native speakers in sounding native-like. Formulaic expressions create positive environments for the interlocutors and function as alignment strategies. They are the "insider" chunks that create connections between "us" and "them". Especially when the rest of the applicants' vocabulary and grammar may need a lot of practice, such small markers of membership attachment point to shared contexts and values.

8.1.6. Cultural fluency

Cultural fluency is the ability to demonstrate conventionalized knowledge, attitudes and emotions that are expected by and shared with the gatekeeper or the interlocutor-in-charge. Cultural fluency is done situationally and may change in every frame, scenario or activity type. It is often interconnected with linguistic fluency though it might function as a more abstract level of fluency that appears just as important as the pure mastering of the mechanics of language.

8.1.7. Cultural fluency brought along and brought about

Cultural fluency is brought about and brought along; for some it can be worked out, made and re-made in the discourse, for others it is less flexible, more congealed and

constrained by the command of language but also confined by one's convictions and beliefs (e.g. expressed in cases of resistance).

8.1.8. Linguistic and cultural fluency

Cultural fluency is inseparably linked to linguistic fluency**.** Clearly, what makes applicants fluent is also based on their interactional capacity to work out "how to play the game" (Roberts 1985). Fluency goes beyond the process of mechanical "surface"-scaffolding. It is rather built on two principles: On the one hand the interlocutors need to understand the content of what is said, and on the other hand they need to possess and demonstrate understanding of when, how and how much to signal the ambiguousness in the instances of non- and misunderstanding. Those two principles are irrevocably interconnected but while the first one is mostly associated with *linguistic fluency*, the second one is rather linked to *cultural fluency*.

8.2. Strategies for success

8.2.1. Knowledge of discourses and activity types

Navigating through different discourses requires both linguistic knowledge to read the pragmatic function of what is happening (i.e. to decipher whether the interviewer is asking for more information or not) and cultural knowledge, e.g. the applicants should know how to make their talk more institutional for bureaucratic purposes. Successful applicants are those who possess knowledge and understanding on the one hand of the job interview as an activity type, e.g. timing, recontextualization, mixing discourses, and on the other hand the social relations in it, e.g. the balance between being subservient vs. distant or independent vs. equal (cf. Scheuer 2001). Acting according to Danish cultural norms, e.g. managing an egalitarian relationship and demonstrating independent thinking, is more important than speaking flawless Danish.

8.2.2. Managing egalitarian discourses

Applicants who do not manage egalitarian relationship with the panel, act indecisively or work "too hard" for the job, are not offered a position because their interviews are used as proxies for what might happen in the job (viz. indecisiveness, dependence and subservience). As a consequence, applicants socialized into more hierarchically orientated cultural practices may suffer discrimination because they will be expected to apply egalitarian discourses but will not know how to do it.

8.2.3. Mastering institutional discourses

Applicants who master the institutional discourse and are able to balance between institutional and personal accounts are more successful than applicants whose talks contain too many personal details or too abstract institutional ways of speaking (parallel to Scheuer 2001 and Roberts and Campbell 2006). In particular if the applicants' stories are too personal, they would get trapped in negative stereotypes resulting in marginalization and negative chances to get the job.

8.2.4. Cultural fluency counts most

Cultural fluency seems to count more than linguistic fluency. If applicants (particularly for manual jobs) tackle the interview game easily and efficiently without causing uncomfortable moments and misunderstandings, they might be offered the job *despite* their limited command of Danish. Also in academic positions, in which a high level of Danish skills is required, cultural fluency (as the practice of managing Danish cultural norms), is emphasized as a central criterion, more important than the purely linguistic command of Danish.

8.2.5 Culture as the eye of the needle

Culture is the overriding concern in the assessments. If the applicants' language skill is good enough to be accepted, culture becomes the eye of the needle. Culture is seen through an ethnocentric position and Danish culture is the norm. Culture is considered as something the applicants have (static and nonnegotiable) and not a practice that applicants and interviewers do together.

8.2.6. Danish can be learned, Danish culture cannot

Due to the design of the IO project, all applicants are expected to have difficulties with speaking and writing Danish skills. Improvement of Danish is a priority during in-service training and interviewers consider Danish language skills as something applicants will learn. However, cultural differences are not perceived as something that can be developed, but as a deficiency that prevents the applicant from acting according to Danish cultural norms. Throughout the whole IO interview, the panels look for zones of cultural similarities. If they cannot find them in the interaction, they might base their final assessment on ethnic stereotypes resulting in the preference of applicants with whom they feel most culturally aligned.

8.2.7. Integration for the integrated

Successful applicants are often those who already *are* integrated into Danish cultural norms. This contradicts the official IO programme description, according to which the programme is established with a view to integration of those who could not be integrated in other ways. However, applicants offered an IO position are those considered culturally appropriate and those able to have learned Danish very fast (for manual jobs) or very well (for academic jobs).

8.2.8. Fast acquisition of Danish is appreciated

Applicants who have learned comprehensible Danish within 1 or 2 years are generally successful. The positive attitude towards newcomers is linked to the belief that if an applicant recently arrived in Denmark has made an effort to speak even a small amount of Danish, he or she will be able to perform just as efficiently in the job. Fast acquisition of Danish is also perceived as a desire to be integrated.

8.2.9. Danish in academic and non-academic positions

The assessments of applicants for academic positions show a clear relation between language skills and success, i.e. those who were most proficient in Danish were offered the job. In contrast, the assessments for non-academic positions follow a different pattern: the applicants offered a job were not presently the best at Danish but those who demonstrated the most rapid and efficient progress in Danish. In both cases cultural fluency becomes central for the selection.

8.3. Special consideration in the age of super-diversity: all dressed up and nowhere to go

8.3.1. The double-bind of the IO project

The IO interview as a specially designed encounter for immigrants and newcomers who experience difficulties in Denmark encourages ideological judgements and causes an immense dilemma. On the one hand the IO job interview is built on a charity principle as a first-aid package to immigrants and newcomers to Denmark, but on the other hand, as every other gatekeeping encounter, it is deeply anchored to institutional decision making practices and choices based on immediate profit. The double-bind of the IO project is a huge inconvenience and in a way a tragedy for both applicants and interviewers. When the interviewers are confronted with the dilemma, they cannot resist but fall back into

general practices of selecting "ordinary" applicants and making "ordinary" bureaucratic decisions, although the interviewers were supposed to select exactly those applicants whom they would "normally" *not* have taken.

8.3.2. Diffuse guidelines lead to diffuse assessment criteria

The lack of clear interview guidelines leads to different interview practices across departments. Once target groups are identified and applicants who match the target groups are selected for an interview, the interview is carried out loosely and with only few shared standards for what applicants are supposed to do or know. In consequence, each panel uses different selection criteria. While some panels stick more closely to the IO description, other panels practically ignore the guidelines and take on applicants who could just as well have applied for an "ordinary" position.

8.3.3. Double subordination

The IO applicants are doubly subordinated: first by the institutional demands, and second by linguistic and cultural requirements. On the one hand the interviewers evaluate the candidates' qualifications in relation to the job; on the other hand, they simultaneously assess the candidates' proficiency in Danish and their cultural resources in regards to integration. But there is a paradox: Although most of the interviewers are trained to tackle intercultural encounters, the focus on non-standardness does more harm than good.

8.3.4. Overt and covert gatekeeping

Gatekeeping is both overt (mutually accepted and practiced by both applicants and panels) and covert. i.e. it deals with different communicative practices and the way they become basis for social evaluation (Erickson and Schultz 1982). If the interlocutors are socialized into different linguistic and cultural aspects of talk, differences will appear in the tense communication of the gatekeeping encounter. The gatekeeping is institutional, e.g. the applicant has to be accepted through the gates of the institution, but it is also ideological: the applicants' proficiency in Danish and cultural integration play an important role for the panels, who assess the applicants through their own cultural norms.

8.3.5. The interview as a proxy for other skills

There is a taken for granted assumption that the way applicants perform at a job interview will show how they will carry out job tasks in practice. It is assumed that if applicants get on

well with the interviewers, they will also get on well with people in the workplace. The fact that applicants who are good at interview practices might be less good in the job (and vice versa) is overlooked. This line of thinking blurs the actual focus of the interview practice: instead of simplifying the selection process to find out who is good for a given job, it immensely challenges those applicants who are not used to interview practices. In a number of respects it seems easier to be a foreign worker doing a certain job than being a foreign applicant doing an IO job interview.

8.3.6. Othering and discrimination

Although the IO initiative is supposed to encourage integration, the whole IO-project design itself generates marginalization. As it often happens in opportunistic projects, however much the IO panels try to make the IO interview different (e.g. by giving the applicants special consideration), it ultimately comes back down to common sense normative ways of judging people. Selecting applicants considered too far away from Danish linguistic and cultural standards challenges the panels and feeds into stereotypes. The special consideration becomes an act of othering. Thus, the IO selection features one classic double bind of all anti-discrimination practices: by categorising groups as separate from the majority in order to prepare for positive action, they inevitably get marginalized.

The IO project is an institutional attempt to respond to super-diversity. Institutionally, it takes a positive action by assisting a disadvantaged group which may otherwise be discriminated against. But paradoxically, it tends to reject exactly those applicants who are most in need of being taken care of. On paper, the applicants applying for an IO position are not supposed to know anything about Danish workplaces and cultural norms, but in fact, they are evaluated according to Danish cultural norms and Danish workplace discourses. In this sense, the IO programme is neither introductory nor integrative because it actually requires from the applicants to be fluent in the stuff they will be trained in.

8.3.7. Bureaucratic fairness and super-diversity

Job interviews are an example of workplace ceremonies in which small interactional difficulties can produce large social outcomes for individuals. It is a fundamental conundrum in the society how much we acknowledge and accept difference, and how much we need to produce something that is both fair and standard. Obviously, there are a number of problems when interviewers put their gloves on. First, however much the

interviewers try to address the needs of a special group, ultimately, it has to be within a wider framework of fairness for everyone and there are certain constraints of what an institution actually can do. Second, the interviewers let their common sense be taken for granted in the ways of interviewing. At the end of the day, many of the decisions taken are taken in ways not different from those of a job interview that was not meant to be so special.

All societies that are becoming increasingly diverse have to cope with such problems. The new challenge is on the one hand to stay culturally sensitive and remain open to diversity, and on the other hand to be fair to everyone. Justice forces a rethinking of critera. As long as institutions, organisations and companies exist, we are going to make decisions through which we exclude some people and include other people. These decisions are often based on values. The fact of super-diversity requires reconsideration and a new awareness of values that are no longer relevant today. Super-diversity is both a great struggle and a great chance to reconceptualise and develop approaches that address new challenges.

8.4. Areas of concern

Everything in the IO job interview is filtered through linguistic and cultural expectations. This is particularly problematic because leaning on common sense categories very much challenges the understanding of how language is being used and what it may cause. If people carry on with the common sense categories they have always had, they will never get a handle on the process of how language is used as a tool for social evaluation.

Following areas are particularly problematic:

1) There is an automatic assumption that a selection interview is an appropriate way for selecting people. Particularly for manual jobs, the job interview is redundant as it requires skills that have nothing to do with the job and which will discriminate applicants who are less good at interview practices.

2) There is a lack of understanding about how language works. Language is a joint accomplishment and conveying meaning is a joint responsibility. If the L2 speaker makes an effort to convey meaning, the L1 hearer should on his part also make an effort to accomplish understanding. Non-standard use of language might evoke stereotypes and

ideological assumptions about lack of competences. This is particularly unfortunate in short interactions in which small amounts of talk might have large consequences for the individual.

3) Danish values such as egalitarism and “hjælp til selvhjælp” (help after independent action) cause marginalization of individuals and groups who are not socialized into the same practices. Evaluating through ethnocentric cultural practices is particularly problematic because it undermines diversity by considering difference in culture as an obstacle rather than a resource.

8.5. Recommendations

The recommendations must refer to two issues. On a practical level, I recommend producing educational materials and particularly interactional online tools with concrete exercises for applicants and panels based on actual job interview cases. On an abstract level, I see a need for boost in awareness of how certain performance of Danish values might have a discriminatory effect to people who are not socialized into them. I rather believe that instead of leaning on an ethnocentric “know-how”-practices, both parties would benefit more from a “tell me what to do”-approach.

References

Adelswärd, V. (1992). *Interviewer styles - on interactive strategies in professional interviews* Tübingen: Gunter Narr.

Adelswärd, Viveka. (1988). *Styles of succes: on impression management as collaborative action in job interviews*. Linköping: Linköping University.

Agar, M. (1994). *Language shock: understanding the culture of conversation*: Wm. Morrow.

Akinnaso, F.N., & Ajirotutu, C.S. (1982). Performance and ethnic style in job interviews. *Language and social identity*, 119-144.

Allwood, Jens. (1993). Type and quantity of feedback us as a measure of linguistic proficiency In C. Perdue (Ed.), *Adult Language Aquisition: cross-linguistic perspectives* (Vol. 1): Cambridge University Press.

Andersen, N.M. (2010). Talesprog og sproglig polyfoni: Bachtins sproglige begrebsapparat i anvendelse. *Tijdschrift voor Skandinavistiek, 31*(2), 3-23.

Andersen, Nina Møller. (2002). *I en verden af fremmede ord*. København: Akademisk Forlag.

Andreassen, R. (2007). *Der er et yndigt land: medier, minoriteter og danskhed*: Tiderne Skifter.

Asad, T. (1979). Anthropology and the Analysis of Ideology. *Man*, 607-627.

Atkinson, P., & Silverman, D. (1997). Kundera's Immortality: The interview society and the invention of the self. *Qualitative inquiry, 3*(3), 304-325.

Auer, P. (1996). From context to contextualization. *Links & Letters, 3*, 11-28.

Auer, P., & Di Luzio, A. (1992). *The contextualization of language*: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Auer, P., & Roberts, C. (2011). Introduction—John Gumperz and the indexicality of language. *Text & Talk-An Interdisciplinary Journal of Language, Discourse & Communication Studies, 31*(4), 381-393.

Auer, Peter. (1998). Learning how to play the game: An investigation of role-played job interviews in East Germany. *Text, 18*, 7-38.

Auer, Peter, & Kern, Friederike. (2001). *Three ways of analysing communication between East and West Germans as intercultural communication* Amsterdam Philadelphia John Benjamins.

Bartlett, F.C. (1995). *Remembering: A study in experimental and social psychology* (Vol. 14): Cambridge University Press.

Bateson, G. (1972). Steps to an ecology of mind: A revolutionary approach to man's understanding of himself. *New York: Ballantine*.

Bateson, G. (2000). *Steps to an Ecology of Mind: Collected Essays in Anthropology, Psychiatry, Evolution, and Epistemology*: University of Chicago Press.

Bateson, G., & Bateson, M.C. (2000). *Steps to an Ecology of Mind* (Vol. 1972): University of Chicago Press Chicago.

Bateson, G., Jackson, D.D., Haley, J., & Weakland, J. (1956). Toward a theory of schizophrenia. *Behavioral science, 1*(4), 251-264.

Benney, M, & Hughes, E. (1956). Of sociology and the interview. *American Journal of Sociology, 62*, 137-142.

Bhabha, H. (1985). Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree outside Delhi, May 1817. In H. L. Gates & K. A. Appiah (Eds.), *Race, Writing and Difference* (pp. 144-165): Chicago Press Books.

Bhabha, Homi K. (1994). *The Location of Culture* London: Routledge.

Billig, Michael. (1991). *Ideology and opinions.* . London: SAGE.

Billig, Michael. (1996). *Arguing and Thinking: a rhetorical approach to social psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blackman, M.C. (2002). Personality judgment and the utility of the unstructured employment interview. *Basic and applied social psychology, 24*(3), 241-250.

Blommaert, J. (1991). How much culture is there in intercultural communication? In J. Blommaert & J. Verschueren (Eds.), *The pragmatics of intercultural and international communication*: John Benjamins
Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse. A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Blommaert, J. (2010). *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*: Cambridge University Press.
Blommaert, J., & Backus, A. (2011). Repertoires revisited: 'knowing language' in superdiversity. *Working Papers in Urban Language and Literacies*(67), www.kcl.ac.uk/ldc.
Blommaert, J., & Jie, D. (2010). *Ethnographic fieldwork: A beginner's guide*: Channel View Books.
Blommaert, J., & Rampton, B. (2011). Language and superdiversity. *Diversities, www. unesco. org/diversities (online journal), 13*(2), 1-21.
Boers, F., Eyckmans, J., Kappel, J., Stengers, H., & Demecheleer, M. (2006). Formulaic sequences and perceived oral proficiency: Putting a lexical approach to the test. *Language Teaching Research, 10*(3), 245-261.
Boeschoten, H. (1998). The replacement of -et by -yap is evident in Migrant Turkish. Is there anything to be learned from history? *Paper presented to the 9th International Conference on Turkish Linguistics, Oxford*.
Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistics exchange. *Social Science Information, 16*(6), 45-68.
Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Bremer, K, Roberts, C, Vasseur, Simonot, M & Broeder, P (Eds.). (1996). *Achieving Understanding*. London: Longman.
Briggs, C.L. (1986). *Learning how to ask: A sociolinguistic appraisal of the role of the interview in social science research*: Cambridge University Press.
Briggs, C.L. (2003). *Stories in the time of cholera: Racial profiling during a medical nightmare*: University of California Press.
Bucholtz, M. (2000). The Politics of Transcription *Journal of Pragmatics 32*, 1439-1465.
Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse studies, 7*(4-5), 585-614.
Byram, M. (1997). *Teaching and assessing intercultural communicative competence*: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
Campbell, S, & Roberts, C. (2007). Migration, ethnicity and competing discourses in the job interview: synthesizing the institutional and presonal *Discourse & Society 18*(3), 243-271.
Chouliaraki, L., & Fairclough, N. (1999). *Discourse in late modernity: Rethinking critical discourse analysis*: Edinburgh University Press.
Cicourel, A. V. (2007). A Personal retrospective view of ecological validity. *Text and Talk, 27*(5/6), 735-752.
Cicourel, A.V. (1967). *The Social Organization of Juvenile Justice*: Transaction Pub.
Cicourel, A.V. (1996). Ecological validity and'white room effects': The interaction of cognitive and cultural models in the pragmatic analysis of elicited narratives from children. *Pragmatics & Cognition, 4*(2), 221-264.
Cook-Gumperz, J., & Gumperz, J.J. (1976). *Context in children's speech*: University of California.
Coupland, N., Giles, H., & Wiemann, J.M. (1991). *"Miscommunication" and problematic talk*: Sage Publications.
Creese, A. (2008). Linguistic ethnography. In K. A. King & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education: Research Methods in Language and Education* (Vol. 10 pp. 229-241). New York: Springer Science and Business Media LLC.
Crick, M. . (1976). *Explorations in Language and Meaning: Towards a Semantic Anthropology*. London: Malaby Press.
Cronbach, L.J. (1988). Five perspectives on validity argument. *Test validity*, 3-17.
Davies, B., & Harré, R. . (1990). The discursive production of selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 20*(1), 43-63.
de Certeau, M. (1984). *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkely: University of California Press.

Dechert, H.W., Möhle, D., & Raupach, M. (1984). *Second language productions*: G. Narr.
Drew, P. & Heritage, J. (Eds.). (1992). *Talk at Work: Interaction in institutional settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Drew, P. & Heritage, J. (1992). *Analysing talk at work: an introduction* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Erickson, F. (1975). Gatekeeping and the melting pot: Interaction in counseling encounters. *Harvard Educational Review, 45*(1), 44-70.
Erickson, F. (1984). What makes school ethnography 'ethnographic'? *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 15*(1), 51-66.
Erickson, F. (2001). Comembership & wiggle room: Some implications of the study of talk for the development of social theory In N. Coupland, S. Sarangi & C. Candlin (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and social theory* (pp. 152-182). London: Longman.
Erickson, F., & Schultz, J. (1982). *The Counselor as Gatekeeper: Social interaction in interviews*. New York: Academic Press.
Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity.
Fishman, P. (1978). Interaction: The work women do. *Social Problems, 24*, 397 - 406.
Fogtmann, C. (2007). *Samtaler med politiet.* (Ph.D), Copenhagen University, Copenhagen.
Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish*. London: Tavistock.
Færch, C, Haastrup, K, & Phillipson, Rt. (1984). *Learner Language and Language Learning*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
Garfinkel, H. (1991). *Studies in Ethnomethodology*: Wiley.
Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*: Basic Books.
Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*: Simon & Schuster.
Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis: an essay on the organization of experience.* Boston: MA: Northeastern University Press.
Goffman, E. (1983). The interaction order: American Sociological Association, 1982 presidential address. *American sociological review, 48*(1), 1-17.
Goffman, E. (2002). The presentation of self in everyday life. 1959. *Garden City, NY*.
Goffman, E. (1964). The Neglected Situation. *American Anthropologist, 66* (6-2), 133-136.
Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of Talk*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Goodenough, W. (1964). Cultural anthropology and linguistics. In D. Hymes (Ed.), *Language in Culture and Society: A Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology* (pp. 36-39). New York: Harper & Row.
Goodwin, M. (1990). *He-Said-She-Said. Talk as Social Organization among Black Children.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Gumperz, J. J. (1972). Introduction. In J. Gumperz & D. Hymes (Eds.), *Directions in Sociolinguistics. The ethnography of Communication*. USA: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
Gumperz, J. J. (1982a). *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Gumperz, J.J. & Roberts, C. (1991). Understanding in intercultural encounters. In J. Blommaert & J. Verschueren (Eds.), *The pragmatics of intercultural and international communication* (pp. 51-90): John Benjamins
Gumperz, J.J. (1982b). *Language and social identity* (Vol. 2): Cambridge University Press.
Gumperz, J.J. (1992a). Contextualization and understanding *Rethinking context: Language as an interactive phenomenon* (Vol. 11, pp. 229-252).
Gumperz, J.J. (1992b). Interviewing in intercultural situations. In P. Drew & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Talk at Work*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Gumperz, J.J. (1995). Mutual inferencing in conversation. *Mutualities in dialogue*, 101-123.
Gumperz, J.J., & Levinson, S.C. (1996). *Rethinking linguistic relativity* (Vol. 17): Cambridge University Press.
Gumperz, J.J., Roberts, C., & Jupp, T. C. (1979). *Crosstalk: a study of cross-cultural communication* London: National Centre for Industrial Language Training in association with BBC.

Hallam, E., & Street, B. . (2000). *Cultural Encounters: Representing "Otherness"*. London: Routledge.
Hammersley, M. & Atkinson. P. (1983). *Ethnography: Principles in practice*. London: Tavistock.
Hansegård, N. E. (1968). *Tvåspråklighet eller halvspråklighet*. Stockholm: Aldus-Bonniers.
Harré, R., & Van Langenhave, L. (1999). *Positioning Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Harris, R (2009). Black British, Brown British and British *Cultural Studies, 23*(4), 483-512.
Harris, R. (2006). *New ethnicities and language use*. London: Palgrave.
Harris, R, & Rampton, B. (Eds.). (2003). *The Language, Ethnicity and Race Reader*. New York: Routledge.
Hayashi, R. (1988). Simultaneous talk—from the perspective of floor management of English and Japanese speakers. *World Englishes, 7*(3), 269-288.
Hedetoft, U. (2006). Denmark: Integrating Immigrants into a Homogeneous Welfare State. *Migration Information* Retrieved from http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?ID=485 website:
Hedetoft, U., Sturfelt, L., Pettersson, B., & Danmarksstudier, Lunds universitet. Centrum för. (2006). *Bortom stereotyperna?: invandrare och integration i Danmark och Sverige*: Makadam förlag i samarbete med Centrum för Danmarksstudier vid Lunds universitet..
Heller, M. (2003). Globalization, the new economy, and the commodification of language and identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 7*(4), 473-492.
Heller, M (Ed.). (2007). *Bilingualism: A social approach*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Heritage, J. (1984). *Garfinkel and ethnomethodology*: Polity Press Cambridge.
Heritage, J., & Clayman, S. (2010). *Talk in action: Interactions, identities, and institutions*: Wiley-Blackwell.
Heritage, J., & Watson, D.R. (1979). Formulations as conversational objects. *Everyday language: Studies in ethnomethodology*, 123-162.
Hilton, H. (2008). The link between vocabulary knowledge and spoken L2 fluency. *The Language Learning Journal, 36*(2), 153-166.
Hinnenkamp, V. (1987). Foreigner talk, code switching and the concept of trouble In K. Knapp, W. Enninger & A. Knapp-Potthoff (Eds.), *Analyzing Intercultural Communication*: Mouton de Gruyter.
Hinnenkamp, V. (2009). Intercultural Communication. In G. Senft, J.-O. Ôstman & J. Verschueren (Eds.), *Culture and Language Use* (pp. 185-201): John Benjamins
Hinnenkamp, V. (1999). The Notion of Misunderstanding in Intercultural Communication. *Journal of Intercultural Communication, 1*.
Hinnenkamp, V. (2001). Constructing misunderstanding as a cultural event. *PRAGMATICS AND BEYOND NEW SERIES*, 211-244.
Hinnenkamp, V. (2003). Misunderstandings: Interactional structure and strategic resources. *Misunderstanding in Social Life. London: Pearson*, 57-81.
Hirschman, L. (1994). Female-Male Differences in Conversational Interaction. *Language in Society 23*(3), 427-442.
Hogg, M. A., & Abrams, D.. (1988). *Social identifications. A social psychology of intergroup relations and group processes*. London: Routledge.
Holstein, J.A., & Gubrium, J.F. (2001). *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method*: SAGE Publications.
House, G., Kaser, G., & Ross, S. (Eds.). (2003). *Misunderstanding in Social Life*. Harlow: Parson Education.
Hussain, M., Yilmaz, F., & O'Conner, T. (1997). *Medierne, Minoriteterne Og Majoriteten: En Undersgelse AF Nyhedsmedier Og Den Folkelige Diskurs I Danmark*: Nævnet for etnisk ligestilling.
Hutchby, Ian, & Wooffitt, Robin. (1998). *Conversation Analysis. Principles, Practices and Aplications*. Cambridge: Polity.

Hymes, D. (1971). The Ethnography of Speaking. In T. Gladwin & W. C. Sturtevant (Eds.), *Anthropology and Human Behaviour* (pp. 15-53). Washington D.C.: Anthropoligical Society og Washington, Inc.

Hymes, D. (1972). Models of the Interaction of Language and Social Life. In J. Gumperz & D. Hymes (Eds.), *Directions in Sociolinguistics. The Ethnography of Communication* (pp. 35-71). USA: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Hymes, D. (1974). *Foundations in Sociolinguistics. An Ethnographic Approach*. London: Tavistock.

Irvine, J., & Gal, S. (1998). *Language, ideology and linguistic differentation*. New Mexico: School of American Research.

Irvine, J.T., & Gal, S. (2000). Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. *Regimes of language: Ideologies, polities, and identities*.

Jacoby, S., & Ochs, E. (1995). Co-construction: An introduction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 28*(3), 171-183.

Jensen, I. (2011). *Jobsamtaler med etniske minoriteter*: Samfundslitteratur.

Jespersen, O. (1941). *Sproget. Barnet - kvinden - slægten.* København: Gyldendal.

Jupp, T. C., & Gumperz, J. (1982). Language and disadvantage: the hidden process. In J. Gumperz (Ed.), *Language and social identity* (pp. 232-256). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jørgensen, J. N, & Quist, P. (2001). Native Speakers' Judgements of Second Language Danish. *Language Awareness, 10*(1), 41-56.

Jørgensen, J. N. (2003). Bilingualism and Minority Languages. *International Journal of the Sociology of Languages, 159*, 73-92.

Jørgensen, J.N, & Holmen, A (Eds.). (1990). *Modersmålsundervisning i mindretalssprog* (Vol. 13). København: Danmarks Lærerhøjskole.

Jørgensen, J.N. (2004). Multi-variety code-switching in conversation 903 of the Køge project. *Nordlyd, 31*(5).

Jørgensen, J.N., Karrebæk, M.S., Madsen, L.M., & Møller, J.S. (2011). Polylanguaging in superdiversity. *Diversities, 13*(2), 23-38.

Jørgensen, J.N. (2007). Sprog og magt i Danmark efter 2000. In B. F. Studstrup (Ed.), *Kampen om de offentlige sandheder* (Vol. Fællesskrift, 2008, pp. 50-57). Frederiksberg: Dansklærerforeningen.

Jørgensen, J.N.(2010). The sociolinguistic study of youth language and youth identities *Love Ya Hate Ya: The Sociolinguistic Study og Youth Language and Youth Identities* (pp. 1-14). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jørgensen, J.N., Kirilova, M. & Ritzau, U. (2009). Danish as a Second Language: attitudes, accents and variation. In F. Gregersen, M. Maegaard, P. Quist & J. N. Jørgensen (Eds.), *Language Attitudes, Standardization and Language Change: perspectives on themes raised by Tore Kristiansen on the occation of his 60th birthday* (pp. 255-271). Oslo: Novus Forlag.

Jørgensen, J.N. Madsen, L. M. & Møller, J. S. (2010). Ideological Constructions and Enregisterment of Linguistic Youth Styles *Ideological Constructions and Enregisterment of Linguistic Youth Styles* (pp. 5-9). København: Det Humanistiske Fakultet, Københavns Universitet.

Karrebæk, M.S. (2008). *At blive et børnehavebarn: en minoritetsdrengs sprog, interaktion og deltagelse i børnegruppen.* (PhD), Københavns Universitet, Det Humanistiske Fakultet, Institut for Nordiske Studier og Sprogvidenskab.

Kecskes, I. (2011a). Intercultural pragmatics. In P. Dawn & A. D. Grundy (Eds.), *Pragmatics Reader* (pp. 371-387). London: Routledge.

Kecskes, I. (2011b). Interculturality and Intercultural Pragmatics. In J. Jackson (Ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Intercultural Communication* (pp. 67-84). London: Routledge

Kerekes, J. (2003). Distrust: A determining factor in the outcomes of gatekeeping encounters. In G. House, G. Kasper & S. Ross (Eds.), *Misunderstanding in Social Life*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Kerekes, J.A. (2006). Winning an interviewer's trust in a gatekeeping encounter. *LANGUAGE IN SOCIETY-LONDON THEN CAMBRIDGE AND NEW YORK-, 35*(1), 27.

Kirilova, M. (2006). *Han er en fra Amager, men også lidt fra Afrika*. Københavnerstudier i tosprogethed b. 42, (1, 40, 40). Humanistisk Fakultet, København.
Knapp, K., Enninger, W., & Knapp-Potthoff, A. (Eds.). (1987). *Analyzing Intercultural Communication*: Mouton de Gruyter.
Komter, M. (1991). *Conflict and Co-operation in job interviews*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Kozulin, A., Gindis, B., Ageyev, V.S., & Miller, S.M. (2003). *Vygotsky's Educational Theory in Cultural Context*: Cambridge University Press.
Kristiansen, T. (1991). *Sproglige normidealer på Næstvedegnen: kvantitative sprogholdningsundersøgelser.* [Det Humanistiske Fakultet], Københavns Universitet.
Kristiansen, T.. (2003). Language attitudes and language politics in Denmark. *International Journal of the Sociology of Languages, 159*, 57-71.
Kroskrity, P. (Ed.). (2000). *Regimes of Language*. New Mexico: School of American Research Press.
Kroskrity, P.V. (2004). Language ideologies. *A companion to linguistic anthropology*, 496-517.
Labov, W. (1972). *Language in the Inner City*. Philadelphia University of Pennsylvania Press.
Ladegaard, U. (2002). *Sprog, holdninger og etnisk identitet: En undersøgelse af holdninger overfor sprogbrugere med udenlandsk accent.* (PhD), Odense Universititet Odense.
Langenhove, L.V. , & Harré, R. (1994). Cultural stereotypes and positioning theory. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 24*(4), 359-372.
Latham, G.P., & Sue-Chan, C. (1999). A meta-analysis of the situational interview: An enumerative review of reasons for its validity. *Canadian Psychology/Psychologie canadienne, 40*(1), 56.
Lennon, P. (1990). Investigating Fluency in EFL: A Quantitative Approach. *Language Learning, 40* (3), 387-417.
Levinson, S.C. (1979). Activity types and language. *Linguistics, 17*(5-6), 365-400.
Levinson, S.C. (1983). *Pragmatics*: Cambridge University Press.
Levinson, S.C. (2003). Contextualizing 'contextualization cues'. *Susan L. Eerdmans–Carlo L. Prevignano–Paul J. Thibault (eds): Language and interaction: Discussions with John J. Gumperz*, 24-30.
Liebscher, G., & Dailey O'Cain, J. (2009). Language attitudes in interaction. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 13*(2), 195-222.
Linell, P. (1993). *Troubles with Mutualities: Towards a Dialogical Theory of Misunderstanding and Miscommunication*: Tema Kommunikation, Univ. i Linköping.
Linell, P. (1998). *Approaching Dialogue: Talk, Interaction and Contexts in Dialogical Perspectives*: J. Benjamins Publishing Company.
Linell, P. (2009). *Rethinking Language, Mind, and World Dialogically: Interactional and Contextual Theories of Human Sense-Making*: Information Age Pub.
Linell, P., & Gustavsson, Lars. (1987). *Initiativ och respons. Om dialogens dynamik, dominans och koherens*. Linköping: Universitetet Linköping.
Linell, P., & Thunquist, D. (2003). Moving in and out of framing: activity contexts in talks with young unemployed people within a training project. *Journal of Pragmatics, 35*, 409-434.
Lipovsky, C. (2006). Candidates' negotiation of their expertise in job interviews *Journal of Pragmatics 38*, 1147-1174.
Lipovsky, C. (2008). Constructing affiliation and solidarity in job interviews *Discourse & Communication 2*(4), 411-432.
Lippi-Green, R. (1997). *English With an Accent: Language, Ideology, and Discrimination in the United States*: Taylor & Francis Group.
MacWinney, B. (2012). The CHILDES Project, Tools for Analyzing Talk - Electronic Edition. from http://childes.talkbank.org/manuals/clan.pdf
Maegaard, M, Quist, P, Gregersen, F, & Jørgensen, J. N. (Eds.). (2009). *Language attitudes, standardization and language change: perspectives on themes raised by Tore Kristiansen on the occasion of his 60th birthday*. Oslo: Novus Press.
Meara, P. (1980). Vocabulary acquisition: a neglected aspect of language learning. *Language Teaching and Linguistics, 13*(4), 221-246.

Meara, P. (1996). The dimensions of lexical competence. *Performance and competence in second language acquisition*, 35.
Mehan, H. (1993). Beneath the skin and between the ears: A case study in the politics of representation. *Understanding practice: Perspectives on activity and context*, 241-268.
Mertz, E. (1989). Sociolinguistic creativity: Cape Breton Gaelic's linguistic'tip'. In N. C. Dorian (Ed.), *Investigating obsolescence* (pp. 117-138). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Messick, S. . (1989). Validity. In R. L. Linn (Ed.), *Educational measurement*. New York: Macmillan.
Mouritsen, P. (2006). Fælles værdier, statsreligion og Islam i dansk politisk kultur. In U. Hedetoft, B. Petersson & L. Sturfelt (Eds.), *Bortom stereotyperna : Invandrare och integration i Danmark och Sverige* (pp. 109-145). Halmstad Makadam Förlag.
Ochs, E. (1979). Transcription as theory. In E. O. a. B. Schiffelin (Ed.), *Developmental Pragmatics* (pp. 43-72). New York Academic Press.
Ochs, E, & Schieffelin, B.B. (2009). Language Acquisition and Socialization: Three Developmental Stories and Their Implications In A. Duranti (Ed.), *Linguistic Anthropology A Reader* Wiley-Blackwell.
Ochs, E. (1996). Linguistic resources for socializing humanity. Rethinking linguistic relativity, ed. by John J. Gumperz and Stephen C. Levinson, 407–38: Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Peräkylä, A., & Vehviläinen, S. (2003). Conversation analysis and the professional stocks of interactional knowledge. *Discourse & Society, 14*(6), 727-750.
Peters, A.M. (1983). *The Units Language Acquisition*: University Press.
Poyatos, F. (1980). Man as a socializing being: New integrative and interdisciplinary perspectivas through cultural and cross-cultural studies in nonverbal communication. *Aspects of Nonverbal Communication*, 433-457.
Poyatos, F. (1984). Linguistic fluency and verbal-nonverbal cultural fluency. *A. Wolfgang (Ed.), Nonuerbal Behavior: Perspectiues, Applications, Intercultuml Insights. Lewiston, New York: C. J. Hogrefe, 431, 459*.
Preston, D.R. (1985). The Li'l Abner syndrome: Written representations of speech. *American Speech, 60*(4), 328-336.
Rampton, B. (1995). *Crossing: language and ethnicity among adolescents*: Longman.
Rampton, B. (2002). Continuity and Change in Views of Society in Applied Linguistics. *Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies 19, http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/groups/ldc/publications/workingpapers/19.pdf*.
Rampton, B. (1999). Sociolinguistics and Cultural Studies: New ethnicities, liminality and interaction. *Social Semiotics 9*, 355-374.
Rampton, Ben. (2006). *Language in late modernity interaction in an urban school*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Rampton, B, Harris, R, & Small, L. (2006). The Meanings of Ethnicity in Discourse Interaction: Some Data and Interpretations from Ethnographic Sociolinguistics. *ESRC Identities and Social Action Programme, 1-14*.
Raupach, M. (1984). Formulae in second language speech production. In H. W. Dechert, D. Möhle & M. Raupach (Eds.), *Second language productions*: G. Narr.
Rehbein, J. (1987). Multiple Formulae. Aspects of Turkish migrant workers' German in intercaultural situations. In K. Knapp, W. Enninger & A. Knapp-Potthoff (Eds.), *Analyzing Intercultural Communication*: Mouton de Gruyter.
Rehbein, J. (2001). Intercultural Negotiation In A. Di Luzio, S. Günthner & F. Orletti (Eds.), *Culture in Communication: Analyses of Intercultural Situations*: J. Benjamins.
Risager, K. (2006). *Language and Culture. Global Flows and Local Complexity*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
Ritzau, U. (2007). *Almindelig fremmed dansk: en masketest-undersøgelse hos danske learnere af holdninger til dansk med accent* (Vol. 41). København: Københavns Universitet, Humanistisk Fakultet.

Roberts, C. (1985). *The Interview Game: And how It's Played*: British Broadcasting Corporation.
Roberts, C. (1997). Transcribing Talk: Issues of Representation. *TESOL Quarterly 31*(1), 167-172.
Roberts, C. (2000). Professional gatekeeping in intercultural encounters. In S. Sarangi & Coulthard (Eds.), *Discourse and Social Life*. London: Longman.
Roberts, C. (2001). *Language learners as ethnographers* (Vol. 16): Multilingual Matters Limited.
Roberts, C. (2011). Institutional Discourse In J. Simpson (Ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Applied Linguistics*: Taylor & Francis Group.
Roberts, C., & Campbell, S. (2006). *Talk on trial*. London, http://campaigns.dwp.gov.uk/asd/asd5/rports2005-2006/rrep344.pdf: Department for Work and Pensions.
Roberts, C., Campbell, S., & Robinson, Y. (2008). Talking like a manager: promotion interviews, language and ethnicity. DWP Research Report No. 510, http://research.dwp.gov.uk/asd/asd5/rports2007-2008/rrep510.pdf.
Roberts, C., Davies, Evelyn, & Jupp, T. (1992). *Language and discrimination: a study of communication in multi-ethnic workplaces*. London: Longman.
Roberts, C., Moss, B., Wass, V., Sarangi, S., & Jones, R. (2005). Misunderstandings: a qualitative study of primary care consultions in multilingual settings, and educational implications. *Applied Linguistics*.
Roberts, C., & Sarangi, S. (1999). The dynamics of interactional and institutional orders in work-related settings. . In C. Roberts & S. Sarangi (Eds.), *Talk, Work an Institutional Order: Discourse in medical, mediation and management settings.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
Roberts, C., & Sarangi, S. (2005). Theme-oriented discourse analysis of medical encounters. *Medical Education, 39*, 632-640.
Roberts, C., Sarangi, S., & Moss, B. (2004). Presentation of self and symptoms in primary care consuoltations involving patients from non-English speaking backgrounds. *Communication and Medicine, 11*, 158-170.
Roberts, C., & Simonot, M. (1987). This is my life»: how language acquisition is interactionally accomplished, R. ELLIS. *Second Language Acquisition in context, Prentice-Hall International, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, London*.
Roberts, C, & Campbell, S. (2005). Fitting stories into boxes: rhetorical and textual constraints on candidates' performances in British job interviews. *Journal of Applied Linguistics, 2*(1), 45-73.
Rumsey, A. (1990). Wording, meaning, and linguistic ideology. *American Anthropologist, 92*(2), 346-361.
Sacks, H. (1966). Unpublished class lectures. In S. J. Schegloff (Ed.), *Lectures on Conversation, Volume I, II*. 1995: Wiley
Sacks, H., Jefferson, G., & Schegloff, E.A. (1995). *Lectures on conversation* (Vol. 1): Wiley Online Library.
Sacks, Harvey, Schegloff, Emanuel A., & Jefferson, Gail. (1974). A simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-taking for Conversation. *Language, 50*, 696-735.
Said, E.W. (1978). *Orientalism*: Pantheon Books.
Said, E.W. (1993). *Culture and imperialism*: Vintage Books.
Sarangi, S , & Roberts, C. (2003). Discoursal (mis)alignments in professional gartekeeping encounters In C. Kramsch (Ed.), *Language Acquisition and Language Socialization: Ecological Perspectives* (pp. 197-227): Bloomsbury.
Sarangi, S. (2007). Editorial: The anatomy of interpretation: Coming to terms with the analyst's paradox in professional discourse studies. *Text & Talk-An Interdisciplinary Journal of Language, Discourse Communication Studies, 27*(5-6), 567-584.
Sarangi, S. (2009). Culture. In G. Senft, J.-O. Ôstman & J. Verschueren (Eds.), *Culture and Language Use* (pp. 81-104): John Benjamins

Sarangi, S., & Roberts, C. (1999). The dynamics of interactional and institutional orders. In S. Sarangi & C. Roberts (Eds.), *Talk, Work and Institutional Order* (pp. 1-57). Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Sarangi, S., & Roberts, C. (2003). Discoursal (mis) alignments in professional gatekeeping encounters. *Language Socialisation and Language Acquisition: Ecological Perspectives. London: Continuum*.

Schegloff, E.A. (1968). Sequencing in Conversational Openings *American Anthropologist, 70*(6), 1075-1095.

Schegloff, E.A., Jefferson, G., & Sacks, H. (1977). The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation. *Language*, 361-382.

Schegloff, E.l A. (2007). A Tutorial on Membership Categorization. *Journal of Pragmatics*(39), 462-482.

Schegloff, E A., & Sacks, H. (1973). Opening up closings. *Semiotica, 7*, 289-327.

Scheuer, J. (1998). *Den umulige samtale: sprog, køn og magt i jobsamtaler*: Akademisk forlag.

Scheuer, J. (2001). Recontextualisation and communicative styles in job interviews. *Discourse Studies, 3*, 223-248.

Scheuer, J. (2003). Habitus as the principle for social practice: A proposal for critical discourse analysis. *Language in Society, 32*(2), 143-175.

Schiffrin, D. (1988). *Discourse markers* (Vol. 5): Cambridge University Press.

Schmidt, R. (1992). Psychological mechanisms underlying second language fluency. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 14*, 357-385.

Seedhouse, P. (1997). Combining form and meaning. *ELT journal, 51*(4), 336-344.

Seedhouse, P. (2004). Conversation Analysis Methodology. *Language Learning, 54* (S1), 1-54.

Seedhouse, P. (2005). Conversation analysis and language learning. *Language teaching, 38*(04), 165-187.

Segalowitz, N. (2010). *Cognititive Bases of Second Language Fluency*. New York, Lonodn: Routledge

Shohamy, E. (2006). *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*: Routledge.

Silverstein, M. (1985). Language and the culture ofgender: at the intersection of structure, usage, and ideology: Semiotic Mediation: Sociocultural and Psychological Perspectives. Orlando: Academic Press.

Spolsky, B. (1981). Some ethical questions about language testing. *Practice and problems in language testing, 1*, 5-21.

Street, B. (1993). Culture is a verb: Anthropological aspects of language and cultural process. In D. Graddon, L. Thomson & M. Byram (Eds.), *Language and Culture* (pp. 23-43). Clevedon: Baal and Multilangual Matters.

Street, R, & Hopper, R. (1982). A model of speech style evaluation. In Ryan & Giles (Eds.), *Attitudes towards Language Variation. Social and Applied Contexts* (pp. 175-188): Edward Arnold

Sundberg, G. (2004). *Asymmetrier och samförstånd i rekryteringssamtal med andraspråkstalare.* Stockholm.

Svennevig, J. (2001). Institutional and conversational modes of talk in bureaucratic consultations In A. Hvenekilde & J. Nortier (Eds.), *Meetings at the crossroads. Studies of multiculturalism and multilingualism in Oslo and Utrecht* (pp. 106-135). Oslo: Novus.

Svennevig, J. (2004). Other-repetition as displays of hearing, understanding and emotional stance. *Discourse and Society, 6*, 489-516.

Svennevig, J. (2005). Repetisjon og reformulering som forståelsesstrategier i andrespråkssamtaler. In S. e. a. Lie (Ed.), *Mons 10 Utvalde artikler frå det tiande Møte om norsk språk I Kristiansand 2003*. Kristiansand: Høyskoleforlaget.

Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human Groups and Social Categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tannen, D. (1993). What's in a frame? Surface evidence for underlying expectations. *Framing in discourse, 14*, 56.
Tannen, D. (2005). *Conversational style: Analyzing talk among friends*: Oxford University Press, USA.
Tannen, D. (2011). *That's Not What I Meant!: How Conversational Style Makes or Breaks Relationships*: HarperCollins.
Tannen, D., & Wallat, C. (1987). Interactive frames and knowledge schemas in interaction: Examples from a medical examination/interview. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 205-216.
Towell, R., Hawkins, R.D., & Bazergui, N. . (1996). The development of fluency in advanced learners of French. *Applied Linguistics, 17* (1), 84-119.
Trads, S. F. (2000). *Interpersonelle Relationer i Medarberjdersamtaler* Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag
Tranekjær, L. (2009). *Gatekeeping at work. The establishment, negotiation and assessment of nationality, language and religion in internship interviews.* Roskilde Universitet, Roskilde.
Van Dijk, T.A. (1984). *Prejudice in discourse: An analysis of ethnic prejudice in cognition and conversation*: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
Van Dijk, T.A. (1987). *Communicating Racism*. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage.
Vertovec, Steven (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 29*(6), 1024-1054.
Wetherell, M. (1998). Positioning and interpretative repertoires: conversation analysis and post-structuralism in dialogue. *Discourse and Society, 9*, 387-412.
Wetherell, M., & Potter, J. (1988). Discourse analysis and the identification of interpretative repertoires In C. Antaki (Ed.), *Analysing everyday explanation* (pp. 168-184). London: Sage.
Wetherell, M., & Potter, J.. (1992). *Mapping the language of racism*. Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatleaf.
Wood, D. (2010a). *Formulaic Language and Second Language Speech Fluency: Background, Evidence and Classroom Applications*: Bloomsbury.
Wood, D. (2010b). *Perspectives on Formulaic Language: Acquisition and Communication*: Bloomsbury.
Woolard, K., & Schieffelin, B. (1994). Language Ideology. *American Review of Anthropology, 23*, 55-82.
Woolard, K.A., Kroskrity, P.V., & Schieffelin, B.B. (1998). *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*: Oxford University Press.
Yilmaz, F. (2003). *The Irony of Danishness: Egalitarianism as an obstacle for ethnic equality*. Paper presented at the Global Fusion 2003 Austin, Texas.
Yilmaz, F. (2006). *Ethnicized Ontologies: From Foreign Worker to Muslim Immigrant, how Danish Public Discourse Moved to the Right Through the Question of Immigration*: University of California, San Diego.
Zimmerman, Don H. (1998). Identity, Context and Interaction. In C. Antaki & S. Widdicombe (Eds.), *Identities in Talk* (pp. 87-106). London: Sage

Resumé på dansk

Som følge af et integrationsinitiativ oprettede Københavns Kommune i 2005 en række integrations- og oplæringsstillinger (IO-stillinger) som kun kan søges af indvandrere og efterkommere med begrænsede sprogkundskaber i dansk (jf. www.kk.dk/jobtildig). Min afhandling tager udgangspunkt i 41 jobsamtaler med kandidater fra en række forskelige lande til 10 forskellige akademiske og ikke-akademiske stillinger.

Afhandlingen besvarer to centrale spørgsmål:

1. Hvilke sproglige og kulturelle resurser benytter succesfulde, hhv. ikke-succesfulde kandidater?
2. I hvilken grad spiller sprogholdninger og ideologier en rolle når ansættelsesudvalgene skal vælge en kandidat til jobbet?

Resultaterne kan opsummeres i følgende tre kategorier:

I) Rekonceptualisering af begrebet "fluency"
I konteksten af det superdiverse samfund er *fluency* ikke længere knyttet til hvorvidt taleren behersker et givet sprog eller ej. Fluency er i højere grad en dialogisk praksis igennem hvilken samtalepartnerne forhandler fælles forståelse og problemer med ikke-standard brug af målsproget. Hvor vellykket samtalen bliver i praksis afhænger af begge samtalepartneres ønske og intention om at afslutte kommunikationen på en tilfredsstillende måde. Det kræver forhandling, plads til reformuleringer og gentagelser, samt positiv indstilling til brug af alternative kommunikative resurser, fx andre sprog eller non-verbale udtryksmåder. En vigtig del af fluency er en situationel og kontekstuel tilpasningsevne som jeg kalder "cultural fluency". Cultural fluency er evnen til at demonstrere konventionaliseret viden, holdninger og emotioner som er forventet af og deles med samtalepartneren. Den opnås situationelt og kan skifte igennem de forskellige aktivitetstyper. Cultural fluency fungerer som et højere, mere abstrakt niveau af fluency, men den er nøjagtig lige så vigtigt som den mekaniske beherskelse af sproget.

II) Strategier for succes i IO stillingerne
Afhandlingen viser at de succesfulde kandidater er dem som er i stand til at inddrage og blande forskellige diskurser (fx at tale både personligt og jobrelateret). Hvis kandidaterne er alt for personlige til jobsamtalen er der fare for at de bliver fanget i etniske stereotyper. Det samme gælder hvis de ikke kan opretholde en ligeværdig position til ansættelsesudvalget eller forsøger alt for ihærdigt at gøre et positivt indtryk af sig selv.

Analyserne viser også at der er stort fokus på kulturforskelle. Kandidaternes kultur vurderes ud fra et dansk etnocentrisk perspektiv hvor dansk kultur danner normen for hvordan kandidaterne burde være. Kulturforskelle ses som deficit og ikke som resurse hvilket er et paradoks i forhold til IO-stillinergens intention om at give mulighed for integration. Det viser sig at den perfekte IO-kandidat er den som allerede *har* lært at begå sig i danske arbejdsdiskurser og med hvilken interviewerne føler en vis kulturel beslægtethed. Hurtig indlæring af dansk er velset idet det tjener som garanti for effektiv indsats på jobbet.

III) IO-projekts bagside
Desværre fungerer IO-projektet ikke efter hensigten. Selv om tiltaget forsøger at tage højde for indvandrernes vanskeligheder på arbejdsmarkedet og dermed mindske diskrimination, er selve IO-designet med til at afvise dem som vil kunne have haft allerstørst brug for integration. Interviewerne er fanget mellem en bureaukratisk logik som kræver lige behandling for alle, en institutionel logik som kræver at de bedste og de mest effektive får jobbet, og en "det er synd for dem"-logik som appellerer til at der gives særbehandling. Når disse logikker støder mod hinanden opstår et uløseligt dilemma. Uanset hvor meget interviewerne forsøger at tage højde for IO-kandidatrenes særlige behov, kommer udvælgelsesprocessen til at hvile på kriterier som i bund og grund ikke tager det specielle hensyn som er intenderet.

English summary

Background
This PhD project is based on a qualitative study of 41 authentic job interviews with non-native job candidates for both academic and non-academic positions in the public sector in Copenhagen, Denmark. As part of a Danish governmental initiative (the IO project), the job interviews in focus are tailored especially to immigrants and newcomers to Denmark who, according to the governmental description, experience linguistic and cultural difficulties entering the Danish labour market.

Key questions
1. How do successful and unsuccessful candidates communicate in terms of linguistic and cultural resources?
2. To what extent the job panels' ideologies and stereotypes intervene with the evaluations of job candidates?

Key findings
1. Reclaiming fluency in super-diverse settings
Contrary to what previous research on fluency has found, I argue that fluency is the successful dialogical practice through which the interlocutors are able to negotiate mutual understanding and problems with, for instance, non-standard use of the target language. The success of the practice depends much on the interlocutors' intention to bring the communication to a satisfactory end: The L2 fluency is dependent on how the interlocutors negotiate, approve of each other's' choices and allow each other to use alternative communicative resources, e.g. verbal and non-verbal signals of comprehension, reformulations, repeats, integration of features associated with other sets of linguistic resources (other languages) etc. Fluency is the jointly produced interactional effort which is about understanding the interlocutor and feeling comfortable about it. An important feature of fluency is *cultural fluency* by which I term the ability to demonstrate conventionalized knowledge, attitudes and emotions that are expected by and shared with the gatekeeper or the interlocutor-in-charge. Cultural fluency is done situationally and may change in every frame, scenario or activity type. It is interconnected with linguistic fluency though it might function as a more abstract level of fluency that appears just as important as the pure mastering of the mechanics of language.

2. **Strategies for successful performance in gatekeeping encounters**
Successful applicants in my study are those who possess knowledge and understanding on the one hand of the job interview as an activity type, e.g. timing, recontextualization, mixing discourses, and on the other hand the social relations in it, e.g. balancing between being subservient vs. distant or independent vs. equal. Acting according to Danish cultural norms, e.g. managing an egalitarian relationship and demonstrating independent thinking, is more important than speaking flawless Danish.

Analysis demonstrates also that culture is the eye of the needle in the selection of applicants. Culture is assessed through an ethnocentric perspective in which Danish culture is the norm. Thus, successful applicants are often those who already *are* integrated into Danish cultural practices. This contradicts the official IO-project description, according to which the project is established with a view to integration of those who could not be integrated in other ways.

3. The double bind of the IO-project
Although the IO initiative is supposed to encourage integration, the whole IO-project design itself generates marginalization. As it often happens in opportunistic projects, however much the IO panels try to make the IO interview different (e.g. by giving the applicants special consideration), it ultimately comes back down to common sense normative ways of judging people. Selecting applicants considered too far away from Danish linguistic and cultural standards challenges the panels and feeds into stereotypes. The IO selection features one classic double bind of all anti-discrimination practices: by categorising groups as separate from the majority in order to prepare for positive action, they inevitably get marginalized. The double-bind of the IO project is a huge inconvenience and in a way a tragedy for both applicants and interviewers. The interviewers are confronted with a triple dilemma: on the first place they have to deal with bureaucratic fairness, on the second place they have to think about professionalism and profit, and on the third place they have to address the IO guiding principle which is supposed to take special consideration to the interviewers.

APPENDIX 1-9

Appendix 1

Table 1.2: Immigrants and descendants by countries of origin, at 1 January 2010

	Immigrants	Descendants	Total	Proportion of all immigrants and descendants in Denmark
Turkey	32,255	26,961	59,216	10.9%
Germany	28,234	2,678	30,912	5.7%
Iraq	21,306	7,958	29,264	5.4%
Poland	25,443	2,958	28,401	5.2%
Lebanon	12,012	11,763	23,775	4.4%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	17,911	4,310	22,221	4.1%
Other Africa	17,054	4,586	21,640	4.0%
Pakistan	11,169	9,223	20,392	3.8%
Yugoslavia (former)	11,021	5,938	16,959	3.1%
Somalia	10,127	6,704	16,831	3.1%
Norway	14,663	1,404	16,067	3.0%
Other Asia	11,907	3,509	15,416	2.8%
Iran	12,098	3,111	15,209	2.8%
Sweden	13,233	1,921	15,154	2.8%
Vietnam	8,919	4,959	13,878	2.6%
The UK	11,832	1,221	13,053	2.4%
Afghanistan	9,966	2,664	12,630	2.3%
Sri Lanka	6,715	4,088	10,803	2.0%
South and Central America	9,352	870	10,222	1.9%
Morocco	5,140	4,691	9,831	1.8%
China	8,506	1,182	9,688	1.8%
North America	8,773	908	9,681	1.8%
Thailand	8,849	562	9,411	1.7%
The Philippines	8,377	930	9,307	1.7%
Iceland	7,876	1,090	8,967	1.7%
Other countries	81,684	12,126	93,810	17.3%
All countries	414,422	128,316	542,738	100.0%

Source: The Immigration Database of the Ministry of Integration, managed by Statistics Denmark, IMBEF02.

Table D7: Labour market participation among 16-64-year-old immigrants from the 25 countries of origin with the largest proportions of immigrants in this age group, at 1 January 2009

	Employed	Unemployed	Outside the labour force	Total
Non-Western countries				
Turkey	16,761	1,351	11,111	29,223
Iraq	7,255	519	9,890	17,664
Bosnia and Herzegovina	9,014	283	6,581	15,878
Lebanon	4,369	316	6,628	11,313
Iran	6,084	243	4,452	10,779
Yugoslavia (former)	5,347	246	4,212	9,805
Pakistan	4,902	313	4,363	9,578
Somalia	3,366	465	4,902	8,733
Vietnam	5,260	252	2,418	7,930
China	4,576	96	2,972	7,644
Afghanistan	4,048	220	3,323	7,591
Thailand	4,991	125	2,266	7,382
The Philippines	3,217	81	3,593	6,891
Sri Lanka	4,201	163	1,888	6,252
Ukraine	3,926	15	1,735	5,676
Morocco	2,341	161	2,049	4,551
India	2,380	51	1,945	4,376
Western countries				
Poland	14,928	228	6,476	21,632
Germany	12,389	228	6,716	19,333
Norway	6,779	95	4,288	11,162
Sweden	7,248	136	3,381	10,765
The UK	6,805	129	2,889	9,823
Iceland	3,364	106	2,490	5,960
USA	2,824	54	2,570	5,448
The Netherlands	3,375	27	998	4,400

Source: The Immigration Database of the Ministry of Integration, managed by Statistics Denmark, INMJDD56.

Appendix 2

Transcription:

(.)	untimed brief pause
(4.0)	pause of 4.0 seconds
<hello>	overlap in the middle of so. else's turn (rough edition)
[hello	overlap (finer edition, e.g, for marking overlaps in words
HELLO	emphasis
°hello	quiet voice
he:llo	sounds stretch
§	institutional voice
hello↑	rising intonation
hello↓	falling intonation
hh	ex- or inhalation
xxx	incomprehensible word or phrase
{{lit: hello}}	explanation
[?hello?]	uncertainty about a word/phrase, best guess
[*?mjallo?]	uncertainty about non-standard/non-existing word, best guess
do you have it easy with	literal translation from Danish

Examples of ungrammatical translations from Danish to English

1. Definite and indefinite articles

English has natural gender whereas Danish has grammatical gender. There are consequently two indefinite articles In Danish: neuter gender **(et)** and common gender **(en)** and both of them correspond to the English **a(n)**. Mixing up or omitting articles is a common place way for L2 speakers to deviate from standard Danish. Excessive use of the indefinite article (i.e. instead of omitting it) is also common. For example, the standard Danish for "job as a secretary" is "job som sekretær" (no article). So when applicants in the data say "job som *en sekretær" (with excessive use of the article) it becomes standard in English if translated directly. In this particular case I need to change the English translation to obtain some (similar) level of non-standardness. One way to do it is to omit the article in English but I think a better way is to translate "a" as "one" (because this is how it sounds in Danish), so "job som en sekræter" becomes "job as one secretary".

In a similar vein, if the definite article is omitted in Danish (where the standard form requires an article), it is also omitted in the English translation: e.g.: *Jeg kender job* (instead of "jobbet", def.) – *I know job* (instead of "the job").

2. Declension of adjectives and nouns

Adjectives and nouns in Danish agree in both gender (common or neuter) and number (singular or plural). For example, instead of saying " jobb**et** er ny**t** for mig**"** (the job is new to me), one applicant said "jobbet er *ny ", thus using "ny" in common gender instead of neuter. Clearly, this type of deviation is untranslatable into English because there are no gender declensions in English. In such cases I have omitted the auxiliary verb in the English translation "*the job new to me*", because the sentence is fully comprehensible but has the non-standard features characteristic for L2 speech (just like the Danish original).

3. Word order

Word order in Danish sentences is relatively fixed. There are two things to keep an eye on: first, Danish is a V2 language, and second, the adverb in main clauses and subordinate clauses takes different positions. For example, a very common deviation from standard Danish are utterances of the type: **selvfølgelig jeg har været der* instead of the standard "inverted" (i.e. V2) *selvfølgelig har jeg været der* (literally: of course have I been there). Again, due to the lack of inversion of that type in English, it is not possible to show what the exact problem in Danish is. Therefore I have

chosen to invert the English translation instead (although I have been careful not to break the SVO structure completely as it would create even greater misunderstandings).

4. Use of English words in the Danish sentences

Many applicants borrow English words and phrases (usually professional terminology) if they are uncertain of the exact Danish equivalent. In such cases I have preserved the English word or phrase and highlighted it in the transcription to show that the applicant uses English together with Danish (See for example Domingo in chapter 4).

5. Idioms

Idioms are translated as idioms unless they create misunderstandings. In an excerpt ***in Two Case Studies*** one applicant does not know the meaning of the idiom "har du let ved" (literally: *do you have it easy with*) and asks for a reformulation. In these cases, to understand the turn and the following repair, I need to make a literal translation into English which I mark with stars at both ends (*….*)

6. Non-existent words

Few applicants provide non-standard suffixes that make the words fully comprehensible although non-existent in Danish, e.g. *begynd**sigelse** instead of begynd**else** (beginning). I have translated *begynd**sigelse** as *begin**ness.**

Appendix 4

Position	Pseudonym, Age	Origin	Years in DK	Education	Outcome
Handyman 1	Domingo, 35	South American	1	High school	+
	Mohammed , 42	Middle Eastern	20	Elementary school	-
	Ayoub, 54	Middle Eastern	15	N/A	BL-
	Mindaugas, 32	Eastern European	½	School 10th grade	-
	Petrek, 39	Eastern European	3	High School	-
Help-desk secretary	Hannah, 38	Western European	1	Assistant pharmacist	+
	Arbella, 41	African	9	Receptionist from DK	-
Unemployment assistant	Rahiza, 38	Asian	1	BA, Administration	+
	Rosalia, 37	South American	1½	MA, Law	BL +
	Mei, 34	Asian	3	Preschool teacher	-
	Marina, 33	Eastern European	2	BA, Music	-
	Amalia, 33	Asian	6	BA, Trading Administration	-
Kitchen help	Ruben, 25	South America	1	Theatre	+
	Stella, 37	African	1	N/A	BL-
	Ahmed, 43	Middle Eastern	4	Mechanic	-
	Tsang, 25	Asian	7	High school	-
Handyman 2	Said, 30	Middle Eastern	3	Car painter	+
	Javier, 56	South American	14	N/A	-

Unemployment consultant	Nadja, 40	South American	6	MA, Law	+
	Tui, 30	Asian	6,5	MA, Finance	-
	Paola , 45	Western European	3	Ph.D., Philology	BL-
	Alice, 34	Eastern European	½	MA, Psychology	-
Integration Consultant	Yasin, 31	Middle Eastern	6	BA, Sport Sciences + MA (DK)	+
	Farid, 48	Middle Eastern	15	Linguistics and Administration, DK	-
	Silvana, 32	South American	10	Linguistics, Law, Economics, DK	-
	Zeanna, 33	Middle Eastern	1½	MA, Develompent Studies	BL –
Economics	Carla, 32	South American	4	MA, Economics	+
	Yao, 27	Asian	4	MA, Political Science, DK	-
	Tsang, 25	Asian	6	MA, Political Science, DK	-
	Maria, 40	Eastern European	2	MA, Economics	BL –
Econ & Statistics	Milena, 33	Eastern European	6	MA, Economy, preschool teacher, DK	+
	Maja, 36	Eastern European	½	MA, Statistics & Economics	-
	Natasha, 28	Eastern European	3	MA, Economics	-
	Ianna, 48	Eastern European	7	MA, Economics	BL-
IT	Maximillian, 33	Western European	1½	Ph.D., Philosophy	+
	Ibrahim, 27	Middle Eastern	5	Started BA, IT	BL +
	Hamid, 41	Middle Eastern	8	IT courses in DK	-

Appendix 5

Testing monologic fluency:
Are successful job candidates those with the largest vocabulary in Danish?

FRQ is a CLAN program (MacWhinney 1995) which provides frequency circuits of, for instance, vocabulary in given files. It can be used for measuring lexical diversity. The program constructs a frequency word count for user-specified files. MacWhinney defines a frequency word count as "the calculation of the number of times a word, as delimited by a punctuation set, occurs in a file or a set of files" (MacWhinney 1995:200). The program generates a list of all words used in a file, together with their frequency counts. The program can also calculate a type-token ratio (TTR), which is the total number of unique words used by a selected speaker (or speakers) and dividing that number by the total number of words used by the same speaker(s). McWhinney points out that the TTR should be used primarily for comparison of equivalent sized samples, as the increase in the number of types will be influenced by the sample size itself.

A selection of a sample looks like this:

```
freq +t*JAV +o +f
2   Wed Oct 27 15:40:47 2010

3   freq (19-Sep-2010) is conducting analyses on:
4   ONLY speaker main tiers matching: *JAV;

5     ****
7      46 mm
8      42 jeg
9      34 ja
10     24 øh
11     20 har
12     16 det
13     14 med
14     13 er
15     12 ikke
16     12 og
17      9 arbejde
18      9 der
19      9 en
20      9 nej
21      9 okay
22      8 meget
23      8 så
24      4 fjorten
25      4 hh
26      4 musik
27      4 noget
28      4 på
29      3 alle
30      3 arbejdet
31      3 fint
32      3 godt
33      3 hvad
34      3 lavet
35      3 lidt
36      3 mange
37      3 tak
38      3 var
39      3 vil
40      3 været
41      3 år
42      2 Adam
43      2 Erik
44      2 aldrig
45      2 alene
46      2 at
47      2 de
48      2 den
49      2 faste
50      2 for
51      2 forstår
52      2 få
53      2 fået
54      2 gerne
55      2 gå
56      2 i
57      2 kan
58      2 læser
59      2 men
60      2 mig
61      2 nå
62      2 når
63      2 også
64      2 pædagog
65      2 skal
66      2 snak
67      2 tingene
68      2 være
69      1 Danmark
70      1 M_E_D
71      1 Ole
72      1 adam
73      1 af
74      1 altid
75      1 au
76      1 august
77      1 bagefter
78      1 bare
79      1 bedre
80      1 begynder
81      1 betale
82      1 betyder
83      1 bog
84      1 børnene
85      1 dag
86      1 dansk
87      1 du
88      1 engang
89      1 forklare
90      1 forklaring
91      1 frivillige
92      1 fundet
93      1 får
94      1 første
95      1 gange
96      1 gået
97      1 går
98      1 helt
(continues……)
```

From this sample we are able to read that speaker abbreviated as JAV has used the word type “mm” 46 times, followed by 42 times of “jeg” (I) etc. This speaker’s total number of different word types is 146, including derivatives and grammatical forms that count as two different word types, e.g., lærer (learn, present tense), lært (learnt, perfect tense). The total number of words and tokens JAV has used in the interview is 491, which gives a TTR of 29,7%. Put very simple, the more types there are in comparison to the number of tokens, the more varied the vocabulary, i.e. it there is greater lexical variety. A high TTR indicates a large amount of lexical variation while a low TTR indicates relatively little lexical variation.

Another way of indicating proficiency in vocabulary and speech flow is by computing the mean length of each turn (MLT). The MLT program in CLAN computes the mean number of utterances in each turn, the mean number of words per utterance and the mean number of words per turn for each speaker. Roughly, CLAN counts a new utterance every time a speaker speaks. Consider the example below:

```
1. COM:     was it [the same group
2. HAM:            [yeah
3. COM:     or were they different
```

Example. Utterances vs. turns

In the example COM takes only one turn (line 1 and 3) which HAM overlaps by giving minimal response in line However, COM produces two utterances, interrupted by HAM’s response.

Appendix 6

List of formulae

RUBEN	DOMINGO
1. det er rigtig svært (it's very difficult) 2. jeg er træt af chokolade (I'm tired of chokolate) 3. helt sikkert (for sure) 4. ja, præcis (yeah, exactly) 5. hårdt arbejde (hard work) 6. ikke nogen problem (no problem) 7. den er god (that was a good one) 8. jeg kan godt lide grill (I like barbecue) 9. nåh dejligt (wow nice) 10. jeg elsker *hest (I love *horse) 11. Det er spændende (that's exciting) 12. traditioner det er dejligt (traditions- that's nice) 13. det er god træning (that's good workout) 14. det var en dejlig samtale (that was a pleasant conversation) 15. det er helt i orden (that's just fine) 16. helt vidt forfærdeligt (simply horrible) 17. vildt irriterende hele tiden (terribly annoying all the time)	1. Det synes jeg også (That's also what I mean) 2. Jeg er lidt nervøs (I'm a bit nervous) 3. Det er en aftale (That's a deal) 4. Det tror jeg (I believe so) 5. Det er rigtigt (That's right) 6. Det er perfekt (That's perfect) 7. Kaffe er godt, meget fint (Coffee's good, very nice) 8. Jeg håber det er mig (I hope it's me) 9. Hvad tænker du (What do you mean /idiomatic in Danish/) **Formulaic polylanguaging (features of Danish and English)** 1. practice meget svært ha ha 2. read the grammar og snakker 3. opportunity for three år

Appendix 7a

Interview with Arabella in Danish

62. Arabella: hej
63. AU Chef: hej xxx
64. Arabella: hej #
65. AU MED1: MED1
66. Marta: Marta xxx
67. AU MED2: dav jeg hedder MED2
68. Arabella: ja hej ja
69. AU .IT: .IT velkommen til <Arabella: hej>
70. AU Chef: vil du sidde her
71. Arabella: ja xxx #
72. AU Chef: vil du have en kop kaffe eller te eller vand
73. Arabella: nej tak vand
74. AU Chef: vand du får vand værsgod #
75. AU MED1: Marta vil du have en kop kaffe
76. Marta: ja meget gerne tak #
77. AU Chef: det var dejligt du ku komme <Arabella: xxx>
78. Arabella: ja okay tak
79. AU Chef: vil du ha mælk på også
80. Marta: jeg er en som ikke har noget med job_samtalen at gøre <Arabella: nej okay> men jeg vil meget gerne optager dig for forskning det bliver et stort projekt hvis du gerne vil selvfølgelig
81. Arabella: ja det er helt fint
82. Marta: okay tusind tak <Arabella: fint>
83. AU Chef: det var det MED1 skrev øh i sin en mail om <Arabella: ja> det er Marta <Arabella: mmh> der er med fra Københavns Universitet
84. Arabella: ah okay
85. Marta: ja så <AU Chef: ja>
86. AU Chef: ja jeg fortæller <Marta: xxx> dig lige lidt om hvem vi er
87. Arabella: ja
88. AU Chef: hvem der sidder her
89. Arabella: ja
90. AU Chef: men denne her gang der skal vi være enige om at du skal endelig sige til hvis jeg siger noget du ikke forstår
91. Arabella: ja
92. AU Chef: fordi det ka jeg godt finde på at sige noget af det jeg plejer <Arabella: mmh> som du ikke kender fordi du ikke kender min plejer
93. Arabella: ja
94. AU Chef: så skal du sige det til mig så siger jeg noget andet i stedet for jeg skal også nok <Arabella: det skal> jeg skal også sige til dig hvis jeg ikke kan forstå hvad du siger sådan så vi er sikre på vi forstår hinanden <Arabella: ja det forstår jeg> ja lige præcis det er rigtig vigtig ikke
95. Arabella: mmh <AU Chef: det er godt> ja

96. AU Chef: det her det er børne_ og ungdoms_forvaltningen i Københavns kommune
97. AU Chef: vi har med skoler at gøre
98. Arabella: mmh mmh
99. AU Chef: jeg har med mange institutions_ledere og og skole_ledere at gøre altså skole_inspektøren på skolerne og de institutions_ledere ude i børne_haverne der bestemmer ude i børne_haverne
100. Arabella: mmh mmh
101. AU Chef: dem arbejder vi med her dem sørger vi herinde for at hjælpe med det de ikke kan ude i børne_haverne og de ikke kan ude i skolerne MED3 han har været ansat her i Københavns kommune (.) i hundrede år og en madpakke <AU MED3: ja> han har været ansat her i fyrre år
102. Arabella: ja
103. AU Chef: <AU MED3: ja> rigtig mange år
104. Arabella: mmh mmh
105. AU Chef: og MED3 han sidder og laver nogle forskellige sekretariats_opgaver og mange telefoner <Arabella: ja> for de mennesker ude på institutionerne og skolerne
106. Arabella: mmh mmh
107. AU Chef: øh som ringer ind blandt andet <AU MED3: mmh> det er en af af MED3es vigtigste opgaver nærmest det er at tale med institutions_ledere og skole_ledere
108. Arabella: ja okay <AU Chef: i telefon> mmh mmh
109. AU Chef: han har været her i mange år
110. AU MED3: mmh
111. AU Chef: MED1 har ikke været her i så mange år hun har været her en måned
112. AU MED1: to
113. AU Chef: to undskyld
114. AU Chef: to måneder
115. AU MED1: ja <Arabella: okay>
116. AU Chef: MED1 laver alt det der hedder H_R human ressource_arbejde <Arabella: ja> i det hele taget øh her i afdelingen også for institutioner og skoler
117. Arabella: mmh mmh
118. AU Chef: .IT han har været her lidt over et år
119. AU .IT: halvandet år cirka
120. AU Chef: halvandet år <Arabella: halvandet år> <Arabella: mmh> har han været her han laver han hjælper institutionerne og skolerne med alt det med bygninger og økonomi og
121. AU .IT: drifter ja
122. AU Chef: alt hvad der kan være sådan de sidder og tænker hvor får man det der fra og hvor kan man hente noget om bleer hvor må man købe møbler og # er mit budget rigtig og alle sådan nogle ting det sidder .IT og laver sammen med en anden kollega
123. Arabella: ja okay
124. AU Chef: jeg er chef for det hele her
125. Arabella: mmh mmh
126. AU Chef: jeg er chef for alle dem der her sidder her (.) og alle dem der er ude på gangen <Arabella: ja> og for alle institutions_ og skole_ledere (1.0) og det er til mig (.) jeg har brug for en der kan hjælpe mig i hverdagen
127. Arabella: mmh mmh
128. Gæst: undskyld <AU Chef: så>
129. AU Chef: så hvis det er dig der skal arbejde her hos os
130. AU Chef: så skal du være min sekretær kan man sige
131. Arabella: mmh mmh

132. AU Chef: min hjælper
133. Arabella: mmh mmh <AU Chef: til>
134. AU Chef: når jeg skal holde møder sådan nogle møder her og sørge for der kommer kaffe og te på bordet og vand og så videre
135. Arabella: ja okay
136. AU Chef: øh indkald på mail på eh øh den elektroniske mail <Arabella: mmh>
137. Arabella: mmh mmh
138. AU Chef: til institutions_lederne og skole_lederne når der er møder sende dags_ordener ud eller sådan tage imod besked når de mailer ind eller ringer ind
139. Arabella: mmh mmh
140. AU Chef: øhm det kunne være nogle af opgaverne rigtig mange alt sådan noget der drejer sig omkring hvad jeg laver her og hvad hvad jeg skal lave og MED3 i øvrigt MED3 er en daglig samarbejds_partner i alt det her fordi man du er ik alene der er også MED3

141. Arabella: ja
142. AU Chef: øh MED3 han har også en rolle han har bare nogle andre ting han laver ud over det
143. Arabella: mmh mmh
144. AU Chef: som du altid kan få at vide ved lejlighed hvis det bliver hvis det bliver dig der skal arbejde her ikke
145. Arabella: ja okay
146. AU Chef: men ellers så vil du være en tæt samarbejds_partner med MED3 #
147. Arabella: mmh det er godt
148. AU MED3: ja
149. AU Chef: det var lige for at give dig sådan et billede af hvad det er <Arabella: ja mmh> for et job så tænkte vi så ku det være rart at vide for dig hvad hvad vil du allerhelst lave og hvad er du god til
150. Arabella: jeg er god til administration
151. AU Chef: ja
152. Arabella: jeg s skriver det kan godt være det er lidt svært med dansk sprog <AU Chef: ja ja> men jeg er god til at lære
153. AU Chef: mmh <Arabella: mmh>
154. Arabella: og mmh jeg jeg er også god til internet hvordan man bruger og så hvad hedder det det øhm øh xxx word
155. AU Chef: ja
156. Arabella: alle det der xxx <AU Chef: xxx microsoft pakken> mikrosoft [pron=dansk] pakke
157. AU Chef: ja ja ja <Arabella: ja>
158. Arabella: det er jeg også øhm der er andre ting jeg lærer hurtigt det det ikke fordi måske jeg mangler rutine eller hvordan det I plejer at lave her men øh det kan jeg godt <AU Chef: xxx> ja
159. AU Chef: mmh mmh
160. Arabella: det kan jeg godt lære [-pron=læge] mmh <AU Chef: mmh>
161. AU Chef: har du haft sådan noget arbejde her før
162. Arabella: nej ikke <AU Chef: nej> kommune <AU Chef: ik på s> nej nej <AU Chef: nej> men jeg har arbejdet på en på et rejsebureau
163. AU Chef: ja
164. Arabella: ja som job øh hvad hedder det rejse_konsulent
165. AU Chef: mmh mmh
166. Arabella: ja rejse_bureau bounty club som arrangerer [pron=arranGerer] øh golf_rejser i udlandet [pron=ulandet]

167. AU Chef: okay som ligger her i Danmark
168. Arabella: ja
169. AU Chef: ja okay
170. Arabella: mmh
171. AU Chef: mmh mmh spændende <Arabella: mmh>
172. Arabella: ja så jeg har også arbejder på hotel øh [navn]_hotel men ikke langt tid
173. AU Chef: nej
174. Arabella: være det var ligesom prak praktik ikke
175. AU Chef: mmh mmh
176. Arabella: mmh så
177. AU Chef: men denne her stilling den er jo sådan lidt særlig stilling
178. Arabella: mmh mmh
179. AU Chef: det tænker jeg MED1 lige skal fortælle dig lidt om så du er sikker på
180. Arabella: ja
181. AU Chef: ja
182. AU MED1: ja
183. Arabella: mmh mmh
184. AU MED1: altså det første år
185. Arabella: mmh mmh
186. AU MED1: øh får du firs procent
187. Arabella: ja okay
188. AU MED1: af af start_lønnen <Arabella: mmh mmh> og det har jeg regnet mig frem til svarer til godt og vel femten tusinde kroner om måneden
189. Arabella: ja okay <AU MED1: ja> aha
190. AU MED1: så har du så også tyve procent af din arbejds_tid som jo skal bruges på udvikling af dig <Arabella: ja ja> <Arabella: mmh> hvor hvor vi skal tale om hvis det bliver dig hvad er det du har brug for
191. Arabella: ja okay <AU MED1: øh>
192. AU MED1: at at udvikle for at kunne komme fuldt og helt ind på det danske <Arabella: mmh mmh> arbejds_marked
193. Arabella: mmh mmh
194. AU MED1: øh det er også sådan så der vil være nogen øhm øh net_værk med med de andre der er blevet ansat i integrations_stillinger
195. Arabella: ja ja
196. AU MED1: så øhm der vil være nogle netværks_møder du vil få en mentor øh <Arabella: mmh mmh> som som tager sig af dig og kan svare på alle dine spørgsmål alle vi andre vil også meget gerne svare <AU Chef: mmh> men vi er her jo allesammen men der er en bestemt som som som du øh har <Arabella: mmh> fast tilknytning til øhm i de her netværks øh sammenhænge vil du også lære noget mere om dansk kultur øhm hvorfor vi gør som vi gør og <Arabella: mmh mmh> griner når vi griner og
197. Arabella: ja [latter]
198. AU MED1: siger som vi siger [latter]
199. Arabella: det har jeg lært lidt om det <AU MED1: ja> jeg har også en øh danske mand
200. AU MED1: ja <Arabella: han er> men det kan være svært
201. Arabella: ja det er jo det <AU MED1: øh ja> [griner]
202. AU MED1: ja
203. Arabella: ja
204. AU MED1: så øh så så hvis det bliver dig skal vi også tale om jamen hvad hvad er det du har behov for at lære mere <Arabella: ja> hvordan kan vi hjælpe dig bedst muligt

205. Arabella: mmh det lyder spændende mmh mmh <AU MED1: ja> ja og det der med firs procent i løn de jeg synes det er godt fordi jeg er på a_kasse nu jeg får øh dag_penge så
206. AU MED1: ja
207. Arabella: det det er okay <AU MED1: ja> jeg vil gerne også gå på arbejde igen og
208. AU MED1: ja
209. Arabella: mmh
210. AU Chef: efter et år så får du også lidt mere i løn <Arabella: ja så får jeg også>
211. Arabella: ja som <AU Chef: fast> de andre <AU Chef: ja lige præcis> ja <AU MED1: xxx>
212. AU Chef: det er en fast stilling ikke der er bare <AU MED1: ja> sat et år af til du kan <Arabella: mmh> få noget tid i arbejdet til at gå på sprog_skole <Arabella: ja> hvis det er det du har brug for <Arabella: ja mmh> eller noget andet øh kursus du gerne vil have <Arabella: ja> vi har i kommunen ikke
213. Arabella: jeg er stadigvæk mangler noget med sproget eller <AU Chef: ja> så det <AU Chef: selvfølgelig> det er helt normalt
214. AU Chef: ja <AU MED1: mmh> selvfølgelig <AU MED1: ja> er det det
215. Arabella: mmh
216. AU Chef: det er godt vi vil bare <Arabella: xxx> være sikre på du ved <Arabella: ja> hvad det var øh he helt altså sådan <Arabella: ja> i detaljer hvad det er du går ind til <Arabella: jeg har læst>
217. Arabella: på annoncen ja så det <AU Chef: det er godt> ja
218. AU Chef: det er fint nok
219. Arabella: det vidste jeg godt det var det ja
220. AU Chef: ja <AU MED1: ja>
221. Arabella: mmh
222. AU MED1: jeg tænkte på kan du fortælle os lidt om dig selv hvad øhm hvad hvad laver du <Arabella: ssss> når du ikke arbejder eller hvad hvad ja hvad hvad
223. Arabella: jeg kan godt lide læse
224. AU MED1: ja
225. Arabella: og øhm jeg elsker også motion ja gymnastik hjemme <AU MED1: mmh> og jeg ser også fjernsyn nyheder (udtales nuheler) og dokumentar så mange ting <AU MED1: ja> jeg kan også lide øh møde med vennerne og griner lidt
226. AU MED1: ja
227. Arabella: ja og gå på biografen ja og sådan noget <AU MED1: ja> der er mange ting og øh <AU MED1: ja> jeg går også meget i kirke
228. AU MED1: ja <Arabella: [stønner] >
229. Arabella: om søndage
230. AU MED1: ja
231. Arabella: mmh
232. AU Chef: mmh mmh
233. AU MED1: <Arabella: det> så du er et udadvendt menneske
234. Arabella: ja
235. AU MED1: ja
236. Arabella: mmh
237. AU MED1: det er også vigtig i den her stilling <Arabella: ja> fordi det er sådan en service_betonet stilling
238. Arabella: ja okay
239. AU MED1: ja
240. Arabella: mmh mmh det er jeg
241. AU MED1: mmh

242. AU Chef: du har snakket <Arabella: mmh> med mange <Arabella: ja> mennesker rigtig mange mennesker
243. Arabella: mmh
244. AU Chef: som ringer ikke <Arabella: ja> som kommer her i huset
245. Arabella: ja
246. AU Chef: og spørger om mange ting og skal hjælpes lidt
247. Arabella: ja <AU Chef: ja>
248. AU Chef: nogle gange kan man godt synes det er nogen lidt dumme spørgsmål
249. Arabella: ja
250. AU Chef: men det er der ikke noget at gøre ved
251. Arabella: ja okay <AU Chef: vi>
252. AU Chef: vi vil svare dem <Arabella: ja> pænt allesammen
253. Arabella: mmh mmh <AU Chef: ja>
254. AU Chef: ja
255. Arabella: ja det tror jeg kan godt arbejde med det der
256. AU Chef: ja <Arabella: xxx> ja okay <Arabella: mmh>
257. Arabella: mmh
258. AU Chef: er der noget andet du synes vi skal vide om dig #
259. Arabella: kun hvis de spurgte
260. AU Chef: ja
261. Arabella: ja
262. AU Chef: ja
263. Arabella: mmh mmh
264. AU Chef: hvor s altså men du har arbejdet på den der på det der rejse_bureau
265. Arabella: ja
266. AU Chef: hvad s hvad så du så var eller hvad hvad synes du var det sværeste ved at arbejde i Danmark hvad var det der var sværest for dig
267. Arabella: ja første gang det var lidt svært fordi de de skulle lære mig at kende
268. AU Chef: ja
269. Arabella: ja [mumler] og så nogle gange folk er bange for dem der kommer og uden fra lande eller sådan noget men det var ikke så ss- det førs- det første uge det var jeg kunne sige det det var lidt hvad hedder det de ville ikke snakke så meget med mig eller sådan noget
270. AU Chef: mmh
271. Arabella: men de bliver ikke længe fordi øh jeg jeg kunne godt grine med dem og høre hvad de siger og lave et lidt kommentar [pron=kommAntar] og hvad de så de kunne sige også jeg jeg ville gerne gå ind i i deres øh gruppe
272. AU Chef: ja
273. Arabella: så men bagefter en uge efter det var allesammen mine venner og
274. AU Chef: okay <Arabella: xxx> okay
275. Arabella: mmh mmh jeg har ikke problemer i dag
276. AU Chef: nej
277. Arabella: mmh og jeg kan godt lide smile og drik- øh grine også snakke med folk og
278. AU Chef: ja
279. Arabella: være ene konversation eh
280. AU Chef: så du synes <Arabella: xxx> egentlig ikke det er svært
281. Arabella: nej
282. AU Chef: nej <Arabella: xxx>

283. Arabella: det kommer an på hvordan man er som person
284. AU Chef: ja
285. Arabella: ja mmh
286. AU Chef: men er du den der sådan tager initiativet hvis du synes der er en gruppe der <Arabella: ja> er lidt reserveret over for dig eller hvad det kunne være
287. Arabella: ja jeg synes man skal vise hvem man er
288. AU Chef: ja
289. Arabella: ja ikke være bange eller det (udtales: de) det er også normale at man tænker og ham ham eller hende der kan ikke turde snakke med en øh med med hende eller xxx hvis du du viser jo også du er interesseret xxx være ind i gruppen så det det er helt okay
290. AU Chef: ja
291. Arabella: det det er ligemeget hvor du kommer fra eller hvad er din religion eller også ja
292. AU Chef: mmh
293. Arabella: mmh
294. AU Chef: vi har også mange medarbejdere her i huset <Arabella: ja> som har forskellige baggrunde
295. Arabella: ja
296. AU Chef: jeg tror mmh hvad en tredjedel
297. AU MED1: mmh
298. AU Chef: tror jeg <AU MED1: der er mange i hvert fald> ja i hu har i huset her som er ny_danskere <Arabella: ja> eller hvad pokker <Arabella: ja> man skulle kalde <Arabella: ja> det for
299. Arabella: mmh mmh
300. AU Chef: det virker efterhånden forkert at kalde dem anden etnisk <Arabella: ja [griner] altså
301. AU MED1: ja
302. AU Chef: ja <Arabella: ja>
303. Arabella: mmh
304. AU Chef: så så det det er heller ikke et problem
305. Arabella: nej <AU Chef: på nogen måde> mmh
306. AU Chef: der er ikke nogen der er forskrækket over <Arabella: nej> en anden religion eller en anden hud_farve eller
307. Arabella: mmh mmh
308. AU Chef: eller noget som helst det er der ikke
309. Arabella: ja det <AU Chef: mmh> det tror jeg også
310. AU Chef: har du noget du vil spørge os om
311. Arabella: ja mmh hvor mange øh mennesker der arbejder her altså
312. AU Chef: her i lige her på denne her etage <Arabella: ja> det er administrationen
313. Arabella: det er kun administrationen <AU Chef: det er>
314. AU Chef: kun administrationen <Arabella: mmh> og der sidder vi en sytten atten stykker <AU .IT: ja>
315. Arabella: mmh
316. AU Chef: lige her nede under
317. Arabella: ja
318. AU Chef: der sidder sunheds_plejeskerne dem der går ud i hjemmene og hjælper med de små ny_fødte børn
319. Arabella: mmh mmh
320. AU Chef: det er jo sådan en service der er til alle mødre i Danmark der føder små børn
321. Arabella: ja
322. AU Chef: <Arabella: ja> så kan man <Arabella: mmh mmh> få et besøg af sunheds_plejersken man skal ikke man kan

323. Arabella: ja
324. AU Chef: dem har vi siddende her nede de er en fem og tyve tredive fem og tyve tror jeg tyve fem og tyve stykker
325. Arabella: ja
326. AU Chef: <Arabella: okay> sundheds_plejersker de har deres egen chef som hedder Inge <Arabella: mmh> så sidder også det der hedder [navn] P_P_R pædagogisk psykologisk rådgivning det er til skole_børn primært <Arabella: ja> også til mindre børn men primært til skole_børn

327. Arabella: ja okay
328. AU Chef: så der er en an et antal psykologer de sidder her nede også
329. Arabella: mmh mmh
330. AU Chef: har de hver sådan to delt du ved huset er delt i to så sidder de i hver sin side
331. Arabella: ja okay
332. AU Chef: og der sidder psykologerne <Arabella: ja> nede med deres chef der er også nogle tale_pædagoger og sådan nogle der hjælper børnene i skolen med øh hvis de har A_D_H_D damp_børn eller de er autister eller
333. Arabella: ja
334. AU Chef: den type børn <Arabella: mmh mmh> xxx så hjælper de dem med det de hjælper dem også hvis de har svært ved at øh hvis de har nogle øh en defekt på deres sprog en med_født defekt måske <Arabella: mmh> så hjælper de med det de sidder her og så har vi hundrede institutioner og skoler som ligger her på [navn distrikt]
335. Arabella: ja okay
336. AU Chef: og det er dem der er vores samarbejds_partnere dagligt ik
337. Arabella: ja
338. AU Chef: mmh mmh
339. Arabella: mmh mmh
340. AU Chef: så vi er ikke så mange her øh <Arabella: nej> <Arabella: mmh mmh> der er rigtig mange ude
341. Arabella: ja
342. AU Chef: og det er jo dem der så ringer eller kommer herop eller vi holder møder med eller hvad det nu kunne være ik
343. Arabella: mmh # er distrikt også på øh dele de der øh Københavns kommune
344. AU Chef: det er det
345. Arabella: ja okay
346. AU Chef: der bor cirka godt og vel tres tusinde borgere jeg tror det er to og tres tusinde borgere
347. Arabella: ja
348. AU Chef: her på [navn distrikt] <Arabella: mmh> og det er jo alle de familiers børn <Arabella: ja okay> vi primært har <Arabella: mmh> i institutionerne og i skolerne ikke
349. Arabella: ja okay <AU Chef: ja>
350. AU Chef: og der er otte distrikter i København
351. Arabella: mmh mmh
352. AU Chef: Københavns kommune har er en stor kommune ik
353. Arabella: ja
354. AU Chef: og så er [navn distrikt] et af dem
355. Arabella: mmh
356. AU Chef: mmh
357. Arabella: spændende
358. AU Chef: ja

359. Arabella: mmh
360. AU Chef: det er det der er også masser af <Arabella: ja> spændende ting at lære og sådan noget <Arabella: ja> det jeg tror det er et rigtig godt sted <Arabella: mmh> at komme ind og <Arabella: ja> arbejde også
361. Arabella: det vil jeg meget gerne <AU Chef: for en person som dig>
362. AU Chef: som er ny i Danmark og sådan skal skal se noget nyt ik det tror jeg faktisk <Arabella: ja ja> er rigtig godt ja <Arabella: mmh mmh> så
363. Arabella: tak mmh mmh
364. AU Chef: men vi skal snakke med tre i dag
365. Arabella: ja okay
366. AU Chef: som vi har vi har inviteret fem og der var to af dem der var så heldige at have fået noget andet arbejde <Arabella: mmh mmh> så er valgt fra så vi skal snakke med tre i dag
367. Arabella: mmh mmh
368. AU Chef: og vi tror da nok alle tre at vi finder en blandt de tre eller alle fire her at vi finder en <Arabella: ja> blandt de tre som vi rigtig gerne vil pege på til at starte hos os det finder vi ud af i efter_middag så du får besked i efter_middag om det bliver dig eller ej
369. Arabella: ja
370. AU Chef: ikke
371. Arabella: mmh mmh
372. AU Chef: men vi skal selvfølgelig lige spørge dig hvornår du vil s kan starte eller vil starte eller har mulighed for at starte
373. Arabella: ja det er ligemeget hvornår
374. AU Chef: så det kunne blive <Arabella: jeg skal> den første september <Arabella: ja> ok
375. Arabella: mmh <AU Chef: ja> meget gerne
376. AU Chef: ja
377. Arabella: mmh
378. AU Chef: ja det vil vi også meget gerne <Arabella: ja [griner] > så hurtigt som muligt det er klart <Arabella: ja> det bedste for os allesammen <Arabella: ja>
379. Arabella: jeg har været hjemme hele året så
380. AU Chef: ja
381. Arabella: det er ikke sundt
382. AU Chef: nej <Arabella: [griner] > <AU .IT: nej> du vil gerne i gang
383. Arabella: ja mmh mmh <AU Chef: ja>
384. AU Chef: hvordan er det du har ikke har du små børn eller hvordan er det
385. Arabella: nej det er jeg har voksen børn <AU Chef: du har voksen> ja <AU Chef: børn>
386. AU Chef: <Arabella: mmh> du ser bare så ung ud <AU MED1: ja> så jeg tænkte xxx <Arabella: ja>
387. AU MED1: det kan jo ikke lade sig gøre
388. Arabella: ja <AU Chef: ja> det er godt nok
389. AU Chef: det er fint nok sådan <Arabella: tak for det>
390. AU Chef: så der er ikke nogen problemer med <Arabella: nej> <Arabella: nej> med det nej
391. Arabella: nej
392. AU Chef: fint nok
393. Arabella: mmh
394. AU Chef: så skal vi ikke sige hvis ikke du har <Arabella: ja> nogen spørgsmål så øh i jeg ved ikke om i har <Arabella: ja> <Arabella: xxx> nogen spørgsmål jeg synes vi har fået et meget
395. AU .IT: ja du har også fortalt <AU Chef: godt billede af dig> omkring E_D_B
396. AU Chef: ja <Arabella: ja>

397. AU .IT: du er rimelig god til E_D_B og <AU Chef: ja>
398. Arabella: ja <AU .IT: xxx> <AU .IT: ja> ja hvis der er noget jeg ikke ved så du kan lære det <AU Chef: ja>
399. AU .IT: eller xxx <Arabella: xxx> ja [griner]
400. AU Chef: det skal nok xxx .IT han er <Arabella: ja> .IT <AU .IT: ja> han er nørd <AU: ja>
401. AU .IT: <AU: [griner] > E_D_B_nørd ja
402. AU Chef: en sød nørd ja
403. AU .IT: en sød nørd ja <AU Chef: ja>
404. Arabella: tak [griner] tak .IT [griner]
405. AU .IT: det var så lidt ja
406. AU Chef: så der skal du nok få god hjælp af ham <AU .IT: ja> hvis det er <Arabella: ja ja> men vi tales som sagt ved i efter_middag
407. Arabella: ja
408. AU Chef: og så finder vi ud af det ikke
409. Arabella: okay tak for i dag
410. AU Chef: ja og tak fordi <AU MED1: selv tak> du kom
411. AU MED1: du nåede ikke at drikke så meget af dit vand vil du have lidt inden du går
412. Arabella: ja xxx [griner] xxx det er okay
413. AU Chef: ja ja sådan er det jo
414. Marta: jeg kommer lige ud med dig <Arabella: ja okay> xxx <AU .IT: ja>
415. AU .IT: hej hej
416. Arabella: hej hej
417. AU MED1: ja
418. Arabella: hej hej MED1 <AU MED1: hej igen>
419. AU .IT: hej hej

Appendix 7b

Interview with Hannah in Danish

81. Marta: hej jeg hedder Marta
82. Hannah: ja hej Hannah [griner] [griner] der er mange #
83. AU Chef: ja du har jo læst Ma at Marta hun kommer fra Københavns Universitet og laver det her
84. Hannah: ja ja det har jeg ja det har jeg ikke <AU Kvinde: det var godt>
85. AU Chef: det er derfor mar <Marta: er det fint at jeg er her og>
86. Hannah: ja er ok med det
87. Marta: det var godt
88. Hannah: ja [griner]
89. AU MED1: ja hej <Hannah: hej> jeg hedder MED1
90. Hannah: Hannah
91. Marta: jeg tror jeg er kommet til at lægge min kuglepen et eller andet mærkeligt sted
92. Hannah: [fniser] <Marta: xxx>
93. Marta: tusind tak
94. Hannah: [griner]
95. AU Chef: årh briller det var det jeg gik efter
96. Hannah: xxx
97. AU Chef: xxx mine briller det tog tid nå
98. Hannah: hov
99. AU MED3: hov
100. Hannah: [griner] en mere
101. AU Kvinde: he nu xxx vi <Hannah: [griner] > nu kommer der vel heller ikke flere <Hannah: nej>
102. Hannah: Hannah <MED3: xxx>
103. AU Kvinde: ja
104. Hannah: [griner]
105. AU Chef: der kommer ikke flere
106. Hannah: okay
107. AU Chef: blev du overrasket over vi var så mange
108. AU Chef: værsgod blev du overrasket over at vi var så mange <Hannah: ja ja>
109. Hannah: ja jeg er lidt [griner] <AU Chef: ja ja ok ja>
110. AU Chef: arh men det er ikke så slemt du skal ikke være nervøs <Hannah: okay> nu skal jeg jo lige fortælle dig hvem det er der sidder omkring men tak for din ansøgning
111. Hannah: ja det var så lidt <AU Chef: tak fordi du ville komme>
112. AU Chef: det var dejligt
113. Hannah: ja
114. AU Chef: øh jeg vil lige fortælle dig hvem det er der sidder rundt om bordet og lige lidt om øh hvad det er for et arbejde sådan i overskrifter vi synes det står meget godt i i stillings_opslaget
115. Hannah: ja xxx <AU Chef: øh>
116. AU Chef: og så vil vi selvfølgelig <Hannah: xxx> rigtig godt rigtig gerne høre noget om dig men vil også lige <Hannah: ja> fortælle lidt mere om stillingens konstruktion altså den der med lønnen og de tyve procent og så noget
117. Hannah: ja

118. AU Chef: så vi er helt sikre på det ik
119. Hannah: ja
120. AU Chef: vi har øhm du du skal huske at sige til mig hvis jeg siger noget du ikke kan forstå hvis jeg bruger nogle forkortelser eller nogle ord fordi jeg er vant til at skal sidde og fortælle det her til rigtig <Hannah: ja> mange mennesker så skal du endelig sige til
121. Hannah: ja selvfølgelig
122. AU Chef: så du så vi er helt sikre på vi forstår hinanden ikke
123. Hannah: ja
124. AU Chef: det bliver jeg hverken sur eller fornærmet over
125. Hannah: [griner] så kører jeg <AU MED1: godt>
126. AU Chef: ja men nu har du lige xxx introduceret til Marta så hende springer vi let og elefant henover
127. Hannah: okay
128. AU Chef: han har nogle opgaver der i i i høj grad ligner nogle af de opgaver som vi søger en medarbejder til at gøre så det vil sige han bliver egentlig en tæt kollega
129. Hannah: okay <AU Chef: i hverdagen> okay
130. AU Chef: og det skal du ikke være ked af for han er såmænd god nok
131. AU Chef: så det var MED3
132. Hannah: ja
133. AU Chef: MED1 som i har mailet lidt sammen og du har fået noget korrespondance <Hannah: ja> fra MED1
134. Hannah: ja
135. AU Chef: fordi MED1 tager sig af alt det med H_R og ansættelser og afskedigelser og sådan noget her i distriktet har kun været her et par måneder
136. Hannah: okay
137. AU Chef: men hun er en rigtig god kollega også som jeg <Hannah: ja [griner] > er rigtig glade for at have hende her så hun er <AU MED1: jeg kan godt> hun er ny <AU MED1: xxx>
138. AU MED1: jeg kan godt lide at være her
139. AU Chef: ja
140. Hannah: okay ja det var godt [AU Chef og Hannah griner]
141. AU Chef: .IT han er midt imellem arh ikke midt imellem han har været her i halvandet år
142. Hannah: okay
143. AU Chef: han har et helt andet arbejde han sidder og tager sig af dem der er uden for huset alle vores institutions og skole_ledere
144. Hannah: okay
145. AU Chef: og man kan sige de to andre og MED1 har også rigtig meget med institutions_ og skole_ledere at gøre men også dem der er her i huset
146. Hannah: ja
147. AU Chef: og jeg er chef for dem alle sammen
148. Hannah: okay
149. AU Chef: jeg er også chef for skole og institutioner her på [navn distrikt] ikke i hele København
150. Hannah: næ næ <AU Chef: der er rigtig mange> ja ja det kan jeg godt forstå [griner] <AU Chef: ja>
151. AU Chef: jeg har cirka hundrede skoler og institutioner på [navn distrikt] <Hannah: på> lidt under men det er lige der omkring
152. Hannah: okay
153. AU Chef: der er mange små <Hannah: ja> og der er mange og så er der nogle store så derfor er det der er mange
154. Hannah: ja ja

155. AU Chef: men det er dem vi vi er her for og det er dem at .IT for eksempel sidder og servicerer på han hjælper dem med økonomi han hjælper dem hvis de har nogle spørgsmål om bygninger så finder han nogen der har forstand på det hvis han ikke selv har forstand på det eller kan svare på det og sådan så vi er sådan et service_organ allesammen her <Hannah: okay> i forhold til de skoler og institutioner der ligger her
156. Hannah: ja okay
157. AU Chef: og [navn distrikt] er et af otte distrikter i København København er jo kæmpe_stor
158. Hannah: ja
159. AU Chef: ikke men vi samarbejder jo med dem allesammen
160. Hannah: ja okay
161. AU Chef: ja
162. Hannah: ja
163. AU Chef: så det vi sk jeg har brug for en en sekretær <Hannah: ja> jeg har brug for en der kan øh hjælpe mig rigtig meget i forbindelse med der er mange møder
164. Hannah: ja <AU Chef: xxx>
165. AU Chef: alle de her mange institutions og skole_ledere er der nogle faste møder <Hannah: okay> hver måned med med dem på skift
166. Hannah: okay
167. AU Chef: jeg har brug for hjælp til sådan noget praktisk noget jeg <Hannah: ja> har også brug for hjælp til at sende dagsordener ud via mail_systemet
168. Hannah: hvad er dags <AU Chef: dagsorden>
169. AU Chef: altså til møder
170. Hannah: åh
171. AU Chef: ja ja
172. Hannah: ja
173. AU Chef: øh jeg har brug for måske også når når du er er blevet god til det at skrive nogle breve eller nogel mails ud til institutioner og skoler <Hannah: okay> nogle nyheder eller nogle informationer som bare skal ud
174. Hannah: ja ja okay
175. AU Chef: det har vi nogle systemer der kan klare altså så vi sender ud til dem allesammen på en gang
176. Hannah: okay ja
177. AU Chef: eller sådan et eller andet ik
178. Hannah: ja
179. AU Chef: det har vi <Hannah: okay> øh styr på men det jeg har brug for jeg har også brug for en der på sigt eller med tiden kan lære at hjælpe mig med styre kalenderen <Hannah: ja> fordi jeg har mange møder ud i huset <Hannah: ja ja> jeg render meget rundt omkring til mange ting
180. Hannah: okay
181. AU Chef: så det er vigtigt at have en der kan hjælpe med det
182. Hannah: ja ja <AU Chef: så> så det er almindelige sekretær_opgaver
183. AU Chef: ja det er det <Hannah: ja ja> i en i en ualmindelig stor kommune ikke altså
184. Hannah: ja ja
185. AU Chef: <Hannah: okay> som xxx det er det det er nemlig <Hannah: ja ja> sekretær_opgaver <AU MED1: ja den var god> men i en stor kommune som man så bliver en del af et system ikke
186. Hannah: mmh
187. AU Chef: får mange gode samarbejds_partnere mange gode kollegaer man kan hente ja råd og vejledning hos det er der
188. Hannah: okay

189. AU Chef: så
190. Hannah: ja
191. AU Chef: mmh det næste jeg så synes vi lige skal det er at MED1 lige skal fortælle så vi er sikre på du har styr på det der med stillingens_ funktion og alt det der ikke
192. Hannah: ja
193. AU Chef: løn og sådan <AU MED1: >ja
194. Hannah: okay
195. AU MED1: stillingen er jo en fast stilling øh <Hannah: ja> men det er sådan at det første år så får man kun firs procent af grund_lønnen
196. Hannah: ja
197. AU MED1: øh og det vil svare sådan cirka til femten tusinde to hundrede kroner om måneden har jeg regnet mig frem til
198. Hannah: okay
199. AU MED1: det betyder også at de tyve procent af din tid egentlig skal gå på der skal laves hvis det nu bliver dig så skal der laves sådan en en øh udviklings_plan eller handle_plan
200. Hannah: mmh mmh
201. AU MED1: for dig for hvad er det du har brug for <Hannah: ja> sådan så vi kan få guidet dig godt og grundigt ind på det danske arbejds_marked så du kan blive der <Hannah: ja ja> i rigtig mange år
202. Hannah: xxx dejlig
203. AU MED1: det er det det går ud på øh det betyder også du får tilknyttet en mentor
204. Hannah: ja
205. AU MED1: så du får en person som er din helt personlige støtte_pædagog kan man nok sige
206. Hannah: ja <AU MED1: xxx>
207. AU MED1: som du kan spørge om alting
208. Hannah: ja <AU MED1: det betyder ikke>
209. AU MED1: xxx du kan også altid spørge alle de andre
210. Hannah: nej nej okay
211. AU MED1: men men øh du har en bestemt som som i hvert fald er din øh mentor
212. Hannah: ja
213. AU MED1: øh der bliver også lavet sådan et netværk for alle dem der bliver ansat i integrations_stillinger i kommunen
214. Hannah: okay
215. AU MED1: så så man mødes engang imellem og kan udveksle <Hannah: okay> erfaringer om hvordan øh håndterer du det eller hvad synes det synes jeg er svært synes du det <Hannah: okay> eller <Hannah: det var da godt> har du et godt råd eller <Hannah: ja> øh og der vil blive noget undervisning i dansk kultur
216. Hannah: ja xxx [griner] <AU MED1: øh>
217. AU MED1: så man kan lære lidt om hvorfor vi er som vi er og griner når vi griner og
218. Hannah: okay haha
219. AU MED1: øh hvordan man undgår at fornærme os og alt sådan noget tror jeg
220. Hannah: okay [griner] <AU .IT: mmh>
221. AU MED1: øh ikke fordi jeg tror vi er så nemme at fornærme
222. Hannah: nå <AU .IT: mmh> <AU MED1: øhm>
223. AU MED1: men alt sådan lidt om kulturen hvorfor er vi sådan
224. Hannah: ja
225. AU MED1: så det er egentlig primært det men det er jo en fast stilling som som man gerne skulle kunne beholde i mange år

226. Hannah: okay ja det lyder godt
227. AU Chef: mmh
228. Hannah: ja ha
229. AU Chef: og vi er jo også rigtig nysgerrige på at høre om
230. Hannah: ja det kan jeg godt
231. AU Chef: <Hannah: forstå> når du nu søger sådan en slags stilling hvad tænk hvad hvad hvad vil du så gerne altså hvad vil du gerne lave her hos os hvad vil du gerne lære her hos os
232. Hannah: øh <AU .IT: mmh> nej selvfølgelig har jeg været en øh sekretær i mange år
233. AU Chef: det har du
234. Hannah: ja <AU Chef: ja> i femten år
235. AU Chef: nå okay <Hannah: ja>
236. Hannah: så jeg kender job men selvfølgelig er der lidt øh forskelligheder fordi min danske er måske det er ikke så godt [griner] som min [sprog] så øh jeg tænker lidt øh da jobbet er ikke ny for mig
237. AU Chef: mmh mmh
238. Hannah: at selvfølgelig fordi min dansk er jo ikke så godt
239. AU Chef: mmh <Hannah: øh>
240. Hannah: er det nyt for mig <AU Chef: mmh> for øh jeg er ikke måske ikke jeg er ikke øh så hurtig xxx nu øh så jeg tror jeg er en god mulighed komme ind i øh arbejds_proces
241. AU Chef: ja
242. Hannah: ja
243. AU Chef: ja
244. Hannah: fordi det er en en job da jeg kender
245. AU Chef: ja
246. Hannah: så ja
247. AU Chef: så du kan sætte fokus på at lære dansk
248. Hannah: ja
249. AU Chef: du kender job_indholdet
250. Hannah: ja <AU Chef: ja det tror jeg du har ret i> ja ja
251. AU Chef: vi har mange telefoner der ringer det vil du ikke få den første dag hvis det er dig der får jobbet vel <Hannah: åh okay> selvfølgelig [latter] men men det er der der er jo rigtig meget kontakt til omverdenen rigtig mange institutioner og skoler <Hannah: ja> der kan ringe og spørge om de mærkeligste ting
252. Hannah: okay
253. AU Chef: så s så <Hannah: ja det det> sproget er virkeligt
254. Hannah: xxx <AU Chef: ja> selvfølgelig er jeg lidt bange i begyndside begundside
255. AU Chef: begyndelsen ja <Hannah: ja>
256. Hannah: ja fordi
257. AU Chef: men det er klart det er jo altså xxx <Hannah: ja> sproget er jo vigtigt så selvfølgelig <Hannah: ja> der <Hannah: ja ja> at fokus skal være ikke
258. Hannah: men så lærer man snart synes jeg også
259. AU Chef: ja ja
260. Hannah: sådan
261. AU Chef: hvad hvad med I_T hvordan har altså det xxx
262. Hannah: og ja ja ja jeg er god med det hele windows øh <AU Chef: ja> X_P pakét og
263. AU Chef: okay
264. Hannah: ja
265. AU Chef: du har bare styr på det

266. Hannah: jeg er da ikke en øh en hemmelighed heller <AU Chef: nej> for mig
267. AU Chef: nej <AU MED1: nej>
268. Hannah: [griner]
269. AU Chef: nej og du er let at lære
270. Hannah: undskyld
271. AU Chef: har du let ved at lære I_T har du let ved at lære at bruge det
272. Hannah: øh <AU Chef: altså> nej men øh
273. AU Chef: har du let ved at blive altså at lære nye systemer kan du altså
274. Hannah: ja men jeg er lærer da rigtig hurtigt
275. AU Chef: ja det var det jeg mente
276. Hannah: ja ja <AU Chef: præcis> ja <AU Chef: ja> ja
277. AU Chef: fordi vi har jo nogle systemer i Københavns kommune <Hannah: xxx> som er vores egne
278. Hannah: ja
279. AU Chef: men de lægger sig selvfølgelig op ad windows og alt det andet du kender <Hannah: ja okay> men for eksempel journaliserer vi alt hvad vi laver <Hannah: okay> <Hannah: ja> det skal vi jo alle skal jo kunne se hvad vi laver
280. Hannah: ja
281. AU Chef: det er et særligt system det skal man så lære at bruge det system ik <Hannah: okay>
282. Hannah: ja jeg tror det er ikke et problem <AU Chef: nej>
283. AU Chef: fint <Hannah: nej> nej <Hannah: ja> bare du heller ikke er bekymret <Hannah: [griner] > for øhm så er det jo også fint <Hannah: nej nej>
284. Hannah: xxx på det andet øhm job øh og firma var jeg
285. AU Chef: hvor var du xxx siger du <Hannah: meget>
286. Hannah: på det anden firma jeg arbejdede <AU Chef: ja> øh jeg var mange gange en øh en den en person der hjælper andre <AU Chef: okay> for at lære og øh at ja så <AU Chef: okay> ja jeg er fin med alle systemer <AU Chef: xxx>
287. AU Chef: vi har også en I_T_nørd
288. Hannah: <AU Chef: her> okay jeg er ikke sådan <AU Chef: xxx> [griner] jeg er rigtig <AU .IT: ja en nørd men [griner] <AU MED3: nej nej>
289. AU MED3: men han er over_nørden
290. AU .IT: det siger vi
291. AU Chef: han er god til det han er rigtig god til det han hjælper os allesammen
292. Hannah: okay [griner] <AU Chef: ja>
293. AU Chef: det er også fordi han kan lide det
294. Hannah: ja ja <AU Chef: xxx> xxx <AU Chef: ja> ja
295. AU Chef: mmh okay har du hvad for nogen job har du haft i Danmark
296. Hannah: åh jeg arbejder nu hos øh posten
297. AU Chef: nå ja det er rigtigt det gjorde du <Hannah: ja> <Hannah: ja> men kun om lørdagen
298. Hannah: <AU Chef: eller hvad var det> ja ja kun om lørdage <AU Chef: ja> jeg jeg kører rundt i bil og øh jeg øh jeg kører rundt med øh reklame og med anbefalede [pron=anflede] brav breve
299. AU Chef: mmh mmh
300. Hannah: så øh jeg har ikke så meget kontakt med de indbyggere
301. AU Chef: nej
302. Hannah: xxx ikke ja ikke så mange men øh <AU Chef: nej> kun med de anbefalede breve [pron=anflede brau] men det er okay <AU Chef: ja mmh mmh> så men øh der er sådan øh juli så det er ikke så langt endnu men øh
303. AU Chef: nå du har været der siden juli

304. Hannah: ja siden juli <AU Chef: okay>
305. AU Chef: <Hannah: ja> så det er ret nyt ja
306. Hannah: ja det er lidt nyt ja [griner] <AU Chef: ja> men øh det er okay
307. AU Chef: ja
308. Hannah: <AU Chef: okay> det går fint
309. AU Chef: nå det er godt
310. Hannah: ja
311. AU Chef: har du let ved at lære dansk
312. Hannah: øh
313. AU Chef: har du mmh <Hannah: [griner] > lige omformulere mig jeg hvad hvad hed det er det svært at lære dansk <Hannah: nej>
314. Hannah: nej øh ja ja og nej men øh f selvfølgelig er det ny men øh det ligner også øh til det [sprog]
315. AU Chef: mmh
316. Hannah: sprog
317. AU Chef: mmh så at læse øh øh læse er ikke så så svært for mig <AU Chef: nej> men selvfølgelig er jeg udtale øh <AU Chef: ja> lidt forskellig så <AU Chef: det er klart> jeg har lidt problemer med den lyd d og <AU Chef: ja>
318. Hannah: <AU Chef: ja> ja så øh
319. AU Chef: det kan jeg godt forstå
320. Hannah: <AU Chef: det er også svært> ja men øh jeg jeg synes også det er okay jeg efter et år
321. AU Chef: ja det er det jo også <Hannah: kan kan jeg>
322. Hannah: tale lidt dansk så
323. AU Chef: ja ja <Hannah: [griner] >
324. AU .IT: mmh
325. Hannah: ja
326. AU Chef: ja
327. AU Chef: så det ville være det der skulle fokus på
328. Hannah: ja ja
329. AU Chef: ja <Hannah: selvfølgelig ja> ja
330. Hannah: ja
331. AU Chef: er det job du har nu det er det eneste job du har haft <Hannah: ja> i Danmark
332. Hannah: ja
333. AU Chef: så har du haft masser af arbejde i [Vesteuropa]
334. Hannah: ja
335. AU Chef: ja
336. Hannah: ja
337. AU Chef: ja
338. Hannah: siden jeg var tyve år til nu arbejdede jeg <AU Chef: ja> så øh
339. AU Chef: ja
340. Hannah: ja jeg har mange arbejds_erfaring
341. AU Chef: ja
342. Hannah: ja
343. AU Chef: hvad har du jeg kan ikke huske hvad du har af uddannelse
344. Hannah: øh a apoteks_assistent
345. AU Chef: det er rigtigt
346. Hannah: ja [griner] <AU Chef: xxx> <AU Chef: ja ja> så det var ikke min job
347. AU Chef: <Hannah: så øh> nej sådan er det <Hannah: nej> sådan kan man tage fejl

348. Hannah: ja øh nej øh måske ikke men øh
349. Hannah: øh nu er det øh en okay job synes jeg men femten år siden nu <AU Chef: nå okay> var det en nemmeste job fordi du har kun kontakt med kunder og du du giver k øh kun øh recepten og øh mediciner af øh der var det hele du giver ikke øh information og der var der var en en simpel job
350. AU .IT: ja <AU Chef: ja>
351. Hannah: ja men nu er der lidt forskellig i [Vesteuropa] <AU Chef: okay> der er der forskellig nu <AU Chef: nej> så vi får mange øh øhm øh kurser og
352. AU Chef: ja
353. Hannah: giver mere information og <AU Chef: okay>
354. AU Chef: ja <Hannah: xxx øh> det tror jeg også <Hannah: når> <Hannah: de nu> det er i Danmark ja <Hannah: xxx nu> ja <Hannah: ja> der er <Hannah: så> kommet noget mere indhold i <Hannah: ja ja> ja
355. Hannah: det er rigtigt
356. AU Chef: ja det tror jeg er rigtigt <Hannah: så men ja> ja <Hannah: [griner] nå nå
357. Hannah: ja
358. AU Chef: ja
359. Hannah: men øh der er bagefter arbejdede jeg øh femten år som sekretær
360. AU Chef: mmh
361. Hannah: og øh før arbejdede jeg fire år øh som informatio ja siger man det jeg giver jeg gav information til vores kunder <AU Chef: mmh> og øh sælger_afdelingen
362. AU Chef: mmh mmh
363. Hannah: øh som mili hvad er det øh farmaceutisk information
364. AU Chef: mmh mmh
365. Hannah: og der var sjovt og der var der var en god øh stilling men øh ja job_skifte skifter <AU Chef: mmh>
366. AU Chef: ja ja
367. Hannah: så øh
368. AU Chef: ja
369. Hannah: jeg blev sekretær
370. AU Chef: mmh <Hannah: [griner] > ja ja det er også fint
371. Hannah: ja
372. AU Chef: har du familie her i Danmark
373. Hannah: nej det har jeg ikke <AU CHef: nej>
374. AU Chef: så du er her øh alene
375. Hannah: nej jeg har kun min kæreste
376. AU Chef: nå nå
377. Hannah: [griner] <Au Chef: xxx>
378. AU Chef: det er også en slags familie <Hannah: og MED3 familie> ja ja <Hannah: selvfølgelig> ja ja <Hannah: men øh ja>
379. Hannah: de bor i [by] i Jylland så det er da ikke så
380. AU Chef: nå det er en dansk <Hannah: så tæt> kæreste du har <Hannah: ja ja ja> okay <Hannah: ja> mmh mmh så det er sådan du er kommet herop
381. Hannah: ja <AU Chef: ja ja> [griner]
382. AU Chef: ja okay <Hannah: ja> det lyder da fint <Hannah: ja> jeg synes da du er meget god til at tale dansk
383. Hannah: okay tak skal du have

384. AU Chef: det er ikke så svært at forstå <AU .IT: mmh> det synes jeg ikke <AU .IT: mmh> det er <AU .IT: nej>
385. Hannah: okay
386. AU Chef: nej det synes jeg ikke
387. Hannah: tak [griner]
388. AU Chef: xxx jamen <AU MED1: ja>
389. AU MED1: <AU Chef: ja> kan du ikk fortælle mig lidt om hvad du sådan laver når du ikke arbejder
390. Hannah: åh øhm ja jeg selvfølgelig jeg øh laver jeg min hjemme_arbejde [griner] jeg jeg øver mig øhm efter_middage
391. AU MED1: mmh
392. Hannah: og søger jeg øh job øh jobbet er jo øh jeg kan godt lide at læse
393. AU MED1: mmh
394. Hannah: men øh kun når jeg er hvad er det øh hvor jeg ha har ikke så mange xxx hvor siger man det hvor det er ikke så har det ikke så travlt
395. AU MED1: ja <AU Chef: ja> ja <Hannah: ja>
396. Hannah: så jeg må være
397. AU MED1: ja
398. Hannah: ikke så stresset [pron=stressed] [griner] <AU Chef: mmh mmh> <AU MED1: ja ja> men jeg kan godt l øh lide det og øh også øh in begyndelsen her øh var jeg på øh øh hvad er det øhm øh hvad hedder det nu øh pilates
399. AU Chef: ja <AU MED1: ja> ja <AU MED1: ja> <Hannah: ja>
400. AU MED1: ja <Hannah: [griner]
401. AU Chef: det kender vi godt
402. AU MED1: ja
403. Hannah: okay <AU Chef: [griner] >
404. AU MED1: ja <AU .IT: [griner] >
405. Hannah: men øh ja det er lidt for dyrt for n ja nu fordi jeg har ikke jobbet
406. AU MED1: nej
407. Hannah: men jeg vil gerne fortsætte det
408. AU MED1: ja
409. Hannah: øh når jeg arbejder igen
410. AU MED1: ja <AU Chef: mmh>
411. Hannah: og øh jeg kan godt lide øh cykle og øh løbe og <AU MED1: mmh> at gå og <AU MED1: ja> <AU Chef: mmh> i skole og
412. AU MED1: ja
413. Hannah: rundt om søen [griner] <AU MED1: ja> så øh ja og øh for kende af det øh København like kun xxx <AU MED1: mmh> øh for København er øh lidt for stort for mig så <AU MED1: ja> <AU Chef: ja> jeg kan godt lide at køre rundt og ja
414. AU MED1: ja
415. Hannah: ja
416. AU Chef: hvor er det du bor henne
417. Hannah: i nord_vest
418. AU Chef: nåh du bor i København jo
419. Hannah: ja ja
420. AU Chef: ja ja ja <AU MED1: ja> ja
421. AU MED1: arhmen det er en stor by <AU Chef: [rømmer sig]
422. AU Chef: ja <Hannah: ja>

423. Hannah: det er det
424. AU Chef: det er en stor by <AU .IT: ja>
425. Hannah: ja det er det
426. AU MED1: jeg kan stadigvæk blive væk i <Hannah: åh> i den <Hannah: okay> ja
427. Hannah: [griner] <AU .IT: ja> ja det er
428. AU MED1: ja <AU Chef: ja>
429. AU Chef: mmh har i nogen spørgsmål til
430. Hannah: [griner] <AU .IT: xxx>
431. AU .IT: ikke umiddelbart nej jeg synes vi har fået svar på det vigtigste så <AU Chef: mmh>
432. Hannah: okay
433. AU Chef: har du noget du vil spørge os om
434. Hannah: øh ja hvad øhm øh gør det efter et år jeg beholder den samme job men øh <AU Chef: ja> ikke med mentor nej <AU MED1: nej> [griner] okay <AU MED1: xxx>
435. AU MED1: du stiger i løn
436. Hannah: undskyld
437. AU MED1: du får mere i løn end xxx <Hannah: ja okay> ja <Hannah: xxx> ja okay
438. Hannah: [griner]
439. AU MED1: men man må stadig vok stadigvæk gerne spørge andre også om sådan noget ja <Hannah: ja ja ja ja ja>
440. Hannah: øh men øh det er en firs procent job er det ikke
441. AU MED1: jo <AU Chef: jo>
442. Hannah: så det har tid [pron=tipf] øh på øh at gå to til sk skole
443. AU MED1: ja <AU Chef: mmh>
444. Hannah: ja <AU MED1: ja> kan det være xxx at øh hvornår det har fri og hvornår det går til skole og
445. AU Chef: <Hannah: øh> altså jeg tror det er sådan at det er sprog_skolerne
446. Hannah: ja
447. AU Chef: i København det xxx <Hannah: ja ja> det er dem man kommer ind og får nogle kurser på
448. Hannah: ja
449. AU Chef: og så det kan jo både være efter_middag og for_middag og det skal vi jo tale om hvordan <Hannah: ja okay> hvordan det passer
450. Hannah: okay
451. AU Chef: også huset her lidt hvordan hvor hvor om det er om efter_middagen du <Hannah: okay> eller formiddagen du kan gå men det bliver i arbejds_tiden om xxx <Hannah: ja ja> jeg vil tro det mest det bedste vil være det er om eftermiddagen
452. Hannah: ja det <AU Chef: der s>
453. AU Chef: der er mest arbejde om formiddagen og
454. Hannah: ja ja
455. AU Chef: <Hannah: ja> og møder og personalet her også er
456. Hannah: ja
457. AU Chef: det sker om formiddagen så det vil være bedst det er om eftermiddagen <Hannah: jamen det tror jeg også> kunne man forestille sig det var fra klokken et til klokken fire eller hvad ved jeg <Hannah: ja> jeg kender ikke <Hannah: jamen jeg er på>
458. Hannah: jamen jeg er på studie_skolen <AU chef: ja> så det er også tæt på her
459. AU Chef: ja lige præcis
460. Hannah: ja
461. AU Chef: <Hannah: så> men der ville du da jo selvfølgelig kunne fortsætte
462. Hannah: ja det vil jeg gerne

463. AU Chef: på nogle eftermiddags_hold <Hannah: ja> ja <Hannah: ja> det vil du sagtens kunne
464. Hannah: okay
465. AU Chef: ja
466. Hannah: ja okay <AU Chef: mmh> mmh hvornår hører jeg <AU Chef: ja> mere fra dig [griner]
467. AU Chef: øh det gør du i eftermiddag fordi vi har <Hannah: okay> vi har haft inviteret fem til at snakke med os i dag og de to af dem havde heldigvis fået nyt arbejde
468. Hannah: okay <AU Chef: så>
469. AU Chef: de valgte at melde fra så vi har haft tre
470. Hannah: ja
471. AU Chef: ts på besøg i dag og du er den sidste af de tre
472. Hannah: okay
473. AU Chef: så når du går om lidt så går Marta lige med dig ud fordi der er lige et par spørgsmål hun vil stille dig
474. Hannah: ja
475. AU Chef: og så mens Marta er derude så taler vi sammen og så er det vores håb at vi i eftermiddag
476. Hannah: okay
477. AU Chef: finder en af de tre vi har haft til samtale og så vil du få besked i dag
478. Hannah: okay ja det var snart <AU Chef: så du>
479. AU Chef: hurtig kan få svar
480. Hannah: ja det var hurtigt
481. AU Chef: ja <Hannah: [griner] >
482. AU MED1: hvornår vil du kunne starte på det <AU Chef: ja lige præcis> ja <AU Chef: [griner] >
483. Hannah: øh <AU Chef: [rømmer sig] > ja jeg kan starte hurtigt og snart xxx men øh jeg har øh jeg taget til [Vesteuropa] [pron=xxx] fra den øh ottende til den tiende september
484. AU Chef: ja
485. Hannah: så
486. AU Chef: du kan bare få <Hannah: jamen> et par ferie_dage <Hannah: det er kun>
487. AU MED1: ja <AU Chef: ja ja> <Hannah: tre dage>
488. AU Chef: du har lov til at holde ferie
489. AU Chef: selvfølgelig <Hannah: ja> ja men du har ingen opsigelse på det arbejde du har nu
490. Hannah: det har jeg selvfølgelig men <AU Chef: ja> det er på lørdagen så
491. AU Chef: nå ja så det gør <Hannah: ja> ikke så meget nej <Hannah: nej> nej okay <Hannah: nej nej nej okay>
492. Hannah: så arbejder jeg <AU Chef: ja> også på lørdagen
493. AU Chef: ja ja
494. Hannah: første
495. AU Chef: ja
496. Hannah: måneder <AU Chef: ja>
497. AU Chef: ja ja <Hannah: xxx>
498. Hannah: det ved jeg ikke
499. AU Chef: så du ville godt kunne starte den første september for eksempel
500. Hannah: ja der er ikke ingen problemer
501. AU Chef: okay ja <Hannah: ja> jamen det lyder godt <Hannah: ja> så er det kun os der skal finde ud af
502. Hannah: okay
503. AU Chef: <Hannah: [griner] hvad vi skal vælge [griner] vi har <Hannah: ja> tre gode ansøgere vil jeg sige jeg synes også du har du har sendt en god ansøgning jeg synes det har været en god samtale
504. Hannah: okay tak <AU chef: så ja> skal du have ja det synes jeg også

505. AU Chef: det er godt
506. Hannah: [griner]
507. AU Chef: så nu er det bare os der skal finde ud af hvad pokker vi skal gøre
508. Hannah: [griner højt]
509. AU Chef: [griner]
510. Hannah: okay <AU Chef: så>
511. AU Chef: tusind tak <Hannah: må jeg [griner] > for nu medmindre <Hannah: mmh> du har flere spørgsmål så er du selvfølgelig velkommen #
512. Hannah: nej ikke nu
513. AU Chef: nej
514. Hannah: [griner]
515. AU Chef: vi må se <AU .IT: xxx>
516. Hannah: okay tak <AU Chef: ja> skal du have
517. AU Chef: ja i lige må

Appendix 8

Backchannel affirmative response to applicants by panel members

Nr.	Position	Candidate Unsuccessful (-) Successful (+)	Nr. & Type of response	Total	Interview length	Average ja/mm per min.
	GROUP 1: INTERVIEWS OF APP. EQUAL LENGTH (+/- 4 min)					
1	Help Desk Secretary	Arabella (-)	20 mm,86 ja	106	16:25	6,40
		Hannah (+)	35 mm, 123 ja	158	18:50	8,39
2	Kitchen Help	Tsang (-)	11 mm, 160 ja	171	27:30	6,21
		Ruben (+)	11 mm, 204 ja	215	30:50	6,97
3	IT support	Hamid (-)	134 mm, 323 ja	457	56:55	8,02
		Maximilian (+)	327 mm, 377 ja	704	52:58	13,29
4	Economist A, first rd.	Yao (-)	30 mm, 157 ja	187	38:00	4,92
		Carla (+)	43 mm, 215 ja	258	35:31	7,26
5	Economist A, second rd.	Maria (-)	10 mm, 69 ja	79	29:50	2,64
		Carla (+)	16 mm, 75 ja	91	26:32	3,43
6	Handyman B	Javier (-)	10 mm, 57 ja	67	15:00	4,46
		Said (+)	9 mm, 53 ja	62	15:29	4,00
	GROUP 2: INTERVIEWS OF UNEQUAL LENGTH (dif. app. 8 to 15 min.					
7	Unemployment Consultant	Alice (-)	135 mm, 93 ja	228	21:55	10,40
		Nadja (+)	203 mm, 215 ja	418	33:10	12,60
8	Economist B	Yo (-)	36 mm, 256 ja	292	34:12	8,53
		Milena (+)	66 mm, 325 ja	391	46:30	8,40
9	Handyman A	Mohammed (-)	16 mm, 75 ja	91	15:32	5,85
		Domingo (+)	39 mm, 110 ja	149	26:48	5,55
10	Unemployment assistant	Tui (-)	100 mm, 188 ja	288	22:23	12,86
		Rahiza (+)	185 mm, 186 ja	371	30:01	12,36
11	Integration Consultant	Silvana (-)	248 mm, 266 ja	514	58:22	8,80
		Yasin (+)	183 mm, 150 ja	333	42:55	7,76

The charts suggest correspondence between the applicants' success at the job interview (i.e. he or she gets the job) and the amount of backchannel affirmative responses (mm, yes, yeah) uttered by the panel.

Affirmative responses has been calculated by counting the amount of cases where either the manager or another panel representative gives a backchannel response such as "ja" (yes, yeah) or "mm". Following can be concluded:

1. In five interviews of approximately equal length where the difference in length is maximum 4.02 minutes and minimum 0.29 seconds, **successful candidates receive on average a greater number of affirmative responses than unsuccessful candidates**.
2. In five interviews of unequal length where the difference in length is minimum 7,38 min. and maximum 15,27 min., all **successful candidates' interviews are longer than the unsuccessful candidates'**. In only one interview the average number of affirmative responses is higher for the unsuccessful candidate.

Consider the example below:

Hamid, IT support, unsuccessful	**Danish:**
1. Hamid: yes and two thousand (.) two 2. two thousand three I (.) two 3. thousand <Manager: **yeah**> three 4. (.) in two thousand three 5. January I get (.) a erm (.) erm 6. internship in [CITY] 7. (.)yeah(.) 8. Manager: yeah 9. Empl2: mm 10. Manager: yeah	1. Hamid: og to tusind (.) to 2. to tusind tre jeg (.) 3. to tusind 4. <Leder: **ja**> tre (.) i 5. to tusind tre januar 6. måned jeg får(.) 7. en øh (.) øh 8. praktikplads i [BY] 9. (.) ja (.) 10. Leder: **ja** 11. Medarb2: **mm** 12. Leder: **ja**

I am quite aware of the fact that what I have called *affirmative response* is a simplification of a complex contextual and phonological phenomenon and that "yes" and "mm" can be uttered in a number of different ways in which they might not sound affirmative at all (and Gumperz 1982a and 1982b shows that several times).

Appendix 9

Arabella (05:43 to 07:03 = 1,25 min.) 10 mm, 7 yes, 3 yes ok, 1 interruption + initiative Total amount: 20 + 1 initiative, Total amount of backchannelling in overlaps: 10
Hannah (05:24-06:54 = 1,5 min.) 1 mm, 8 yes, 5 ok, 1 yes ok, 2 response + suppl., 2 no Total amount: 19 Total amount of backchannelling in overlaps: 9

The title is inspired by Ambalavaner Sivanandan, a Sri Lankan born British race expert who used the phrase “All dressed up and nowhere to go” to critique the race awareness training programme (RAT) in Great Britain in the 1980s. He meant that although “white people” were put through training courses they did not really go anywhere, that is change or grow in any way, since the courses dealt with individual attitude and not with structural failings (Sivanandan 1985).

Picture: White fence of White House at night, by DeusXFlorida
http://www.flickr.com/photos/8363028@N08/5181670884/