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Exploring Language Practices and Beliefs in The Non-Profit Sector: Language Policy at Climate Action Network Europe (CAN Europe).

Volume 1

By

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<u>Abstract</u>

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Exploring Language Practices and Beliefs in The Non-Profit Sector: Language Policy at Climate Action Network Europe (CAN Europe).

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This research project explores the intricate interplay between language practices and beliefs within international environmental Non-Governmental Organizations (ENGOs), with a specific focus on the Climate Action Network Europe (CAN Europe). Building on the assumption that employees in the third sector often possess proficiency in more than one language, this research seeks to problematize the dual nature of English within this sector. On the one hand, English serves as a pragmatic linguistic resource facilitating effective communication among individuals from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. On the other hand, this study also investigates the potential inequalities brought about by the prevalence of English. For example, the research identifies instances where English may contribute to issues of participation and representation within CAN Europe. It also highlights the unequal distribution of English and perpetuation of language hierarchies within the organization. Finally, this research project emphasizes the symbolic power of English that may inadvertently overshadow the multilingual skills of NGO employees. The thesis aims to unpack the nuanced interplay between language, power, and symbolic capital within the specific context of international environmental NGOs.

The methods employed in this research include fourteen face-to-face and online in-depth interviews with staff members who work at different levels of the CAN Europe, supplemented by a comprehensive focus group discussion and observations. These qualitative methods offer a rich and nuanced understanding of the lived experiences of individuals navigating the linguistic landscape of Europe's largest environmental NGO network.

By critically examining the implicit language policy of CAN Europe and the role of English in this context, this research contributes to a better understanding of the challenges and opportunities inherent in the multilingual and multicultural settings of international environmental NGOs. The findings seek to inform more inclusive explicit language policies and practices within such organizations, fostering a communication environment that acknowledges and values linguistic diversity.

ABSTRAKT

Niniejszy projekt badawczy analizuje skomplikowaną interakcję między praktykami językowymi a przekonaniami językowymi w międzynarodowych pozarządowych organizacjach ekologicznych (ENGO), ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Climate Action Network Europe (CAN Europe). Opierając się na założeniu, że pracownicy trzeciego sektora często posiadają biegłość w więcej niż jednym języku, badania mają na celu problematyzację podwójnej natury języka angielskiego w tym sektorze. Z jednej strony, język angielski służy jako pragmatyczny zasób językowy ułatwiający skuteczną komunikację między osobami z różnych środowisk językowych i kulturowych. Z drugiej strony, praca ta bada również potencjalne nierówności wynikające z powszechności języka angielskiego. Na przykład, badanie identyfikuje przypadki, w których język angielski może przyczyniać się do kwestii uczestnictwa i reprezentacji w CAN Europe. Niniejsza praca podkreśla również nierówną dystrybucję języka angielskiego i utrwalanie hierarchii językowych w tejże organizacji. Wreszcie, niniejszy projekt badawczy podkreśla symboliczną moc języka angielskiego, która może nieumyślnie przyćmić wielojęzyczne umiejętności pracowników organizacji pozarządowych. Teza ta ma na celu rozpakowanie zniuansowanej interakcji między językiem, władzą i kapitałem symbolicznym w konkretnym kontekście międzynarodowych organizacji pozarządowych zajmujących się ochroną środowiska.

Metody zastosowane w tym badaniu obejmują czternaście bezpośrednich i internetowych wywiadów z pracownikami, którzy pracują na różnych szczeblach CAN Europe, uzupełnionych kompleksową dyskusją w grupie fokusowej i obserwacjami. Te metody badawcze oferują bogate i zniuansowane zrozumienie żywych doświadczeń osób poruszających się po językowym krajobrazie njawiększej europejskiej sieci organizacji pozarządowych zajmujących się ochroną środowiska.

Poprzez krytyczną analizę domniemanej polityki językowej CAN Europe i roli języka angielskiego w tym kontekście, badania te przyczyniają się do lepszego zrozumienia wyzwań i możliwości związanych z wielojęzycznymi i wielokulturowymi środowiskami międzynarodowych organizacji pozarządowych zajmujących się ochroną środowiska. Wyniki badań mają na celu informowanie o bardziej inkluzywnych, jawnych politykach i praktykach językowych w takich organizacjach, wspierając środowisko komunikacyjne, które uznaje i ceni różnorodność językową.

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Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: MARTA BAS-SZYMASZEK

Title of thesis: Exploring Language Practices and Beliefs in The Non-Profit Sector: Language Policy at Climate Action Network Europe (CAN Europe).

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;

2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;

3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;

4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;

5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;

6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;

7. None of this work has been published before.

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Acknowledgements

Definitions and Abbreviations

AI	Amnesty International
BELF	Business English as a Lingua Franca
CAN E	Climate Action Network Europe
CAN I	Climate Action Network International
CC	Climate change
CLM	Corporate Language Management
CLP	Critical Language Policy
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
EU	European Union
FoE	Friends of the Earth
INGOs	International Non-governmental Organizations
MOs	Member Organizations
MNCs	Multinational Companies
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
Oxfam GB	Oxfam Great Britain
UN	United Nations
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis explores language policy in the under researched context of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs). In this chapter I discuss the problem of English in international contexts that motivated this research study. I also present my research questions, summary of methodological inquiry employed in this project and definition of key terms. The final subsection presents the structure of the thesis.

1.1   Research aims and rationale

The main aim of this study is to explore language practices and language beliefs of employees and possible power structures introduced by English in the context of international organization –Climate Action Network Europe (henceforth CAN Europe). I explore English and multilingual language practices and language beliefs and the extent to which the language policy in place allows for flexible language use. I especially seek to find out how the employees of CAN Europe evaluate the linguistic arrangements within CAN Europe and how they feel about language related power structures that arise as a consequence of CAN Europe's implicit English-only LP.

In the following subsection I discuss the rationale of this research project.

1.1.1   Researching English and LP in international non-governmental organizations- NGOs

International non-governmental organizations (INGOs) are characterized by a high degree of multilingualism and intercultural communication (Nowicka and Hans, 2013). Many employees in the third sector already speak two or more languages. However, the role of English in these settings is problematic. On one hand, English serves as a practical tool for facilitating international cooperation and collaboration among NGOs. It helps manage the multilingual and multicultural environment by being the most commonly used language. On the other hand, English can contribute to inequality and create barriers in communication. It establishes a language hierarchy and symbolic power that devalues the multilingual skills of INGO employees. This thesis addresses the "invisible" language policy within CAN Europe, which is based on implicitly observed practices. It critiques the naturalized position of English as the most pragmatic choice and highlights its potential to overshadow the rich sociolinguistic reality within the organization.

Although the benefits of a common language, such as English, may appear evident in international collaboration, this research questions the assumption that its prevalence guarantees effective communication in multicultural and multilingual settings. One crucial aspect to examine is the potential undervaluing or disregard for multilingual skills within ENGOs, as the prominence of English often overshadows the linguistic diversity present in these organizations.

The danger lies in unintentionally excluding valuable perspectives and contributions from individuals fluent in languages other than English. By focusing solely on the practical aspects of language, this research project aims to uncover the subtle forms of linguistic exclusion that occur when English usage becomes synonymous with expertise, authority, and access to information. This dynamic not only obscures the contributions of non-English speakers but also reinforces a hierarchy where English proficiency measures competence and influence within the organizational structure.

Additionally, the symbolic power of English in today's globalized world cannot be ignored. As a language with historical colonial roots and contemporary global dominance, English has the ability to shape narratives, influence decision-making processes (Footitt et al., 2020), and perpetuate power imbalances (Roth, 2019; Tesseur et al., 2022). This research also explores how the symbolic power of English may impact internal organizational dynamics. Many of the issues in language in development NGOs have been well illustrated in the growing literature. However, this project focuses on an international environmental NGO. While development and environmental NGOs share many characteristics, it cannot be assumed that development NGOs represent all NGOs. Development NGOs are characterized by a humanist, non-profit ethos, which means many of them, especially human rights NGOs, already take language into consideration since language is a human right. In contrast, environmental NGOs are less concerned with language as it does not directly affect their values. Furthermore, environmental NGOs are the second largest group of NGOs worldwide, making them a worthy subject of examination. This research aims to problematize the role of English within diverse environmental NGOs, shedding light on the complexities of linguistic inclusion and exclusion. By critically examining the symbolic power dynamics at play, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of language's role in shaping

multicultural, multilingual environmental NGOs and advocates for a more equitable and inclusive approach to language in the NGO sector.

This project hopes to provide insight into implicit, English-only language policy in an international NGO – Climate Action Network Europe.

1.2   Research questions

The factors listed in the subsection above have led to developing the research questions that guide this project:

1. What language practices and language beliefs are in place in CAN Europe network?

    a.   How is English used as language practice?

    b.   How are English language practices sustained?

    c.   How and to what extent languages other than English are used/ accepted?

    d.   To what extent does the existing LP in CAN Europe allow for flexible language use?

2. How do the employees of CAN Europe reflect on the ways the existing language policy impacts member organizations' participation within the CAN Europe network?

    a.   What power relations does English introduce in this context and how do they affect the employees?

The first set of research question explores language practices and language beliefs with respect to English and other languages (RQs 1a, b, c). RQ1d addresses the aspect of flexibility of the existing language policy in CAN Europe.

The second research question set seeks to explore opinions and beliefs of CAN Europe's employees. It specifically seeks to address the issue of language related power structures that are brought about by English as the chosen language for communication in CAN E.

By providing answers to the above research questions, this thesis offers an empirically grounded investigation into language policy (language practices and beliefs) in a European

network of environmental NGOs. It contributes to the growing literature on language policy, English, and multilingualism in NGOs (Footitt et al, 2020; Lehtovaara, 2009; Tesseur, 2014, 2017, 2021). It is hoped that this project also contributes to a debate about the potential 'usefulness and effectiveness of written [language] policies' in an NGO context (Tesseur, 2021:263; also, Footitt et al., 2020).

1.3 Methodology of inquiry

This project was designed to explore language policy in an organization operating at different levels of society, from supranational to local. To be representative of the context, the investigation was undertaken with individuals who worked at different levels, from international – the Secretariat in Brussels, Belgium, national offices of member organizations (henceforth MOs) to local member organizations (six different contexts and fourteen interviewees altogether). The project employed qualitative approach for both data collection and data analysis. The specific tools for data collection used for this project were observations, focus group discussion and interviews (face-to-face and online). These methods allowed the participants to express their opinions in the least constrictive way, thus producing information rich data set. Thematic analysis was the chosen method for data analysis.

1.4 Defining terms

In this thesis, I conduct research on language in non-governmental organizations (NGOs). However, I would like to clarify the conceptualizations of both language and NGOs that I work with in this thesis.

1.4.1 Named languages or linguistic repertoires

The conceptualization of language in this project aligns with the new post-structuralist ontology of language as practice (Canagarajah, 2005; Pennycook, 2007, 2010). According to this conceptualization, language is fluid, dynamic, and personal (Shohamy, 2006), rather than a closed, pre-existing, idealized system. Language is understood as a social practice. On the other hand, named languages exist in beliefs (Spolsky, 2021). Unlike language practice, they are political constructs that oversimplify the nature of linguistic repertoires/resources (Blommaert, 2010). Yet, it is important to acknowledge that named

languages and their artificial borders still play a significant role in the wider public's understanding of the (socio)linguistic space (Saraceni, 2019). This is how participants in this study define and identify themselves and others, as well as how they perceive the linguistic realities they find themselves in. Therefore, I use the terms linguistic repertoires and resources interchangeably when referring to the complexity of the participants' language repertoires. However, I am also confined to named languages when reflecting on the participants' reporting of their language practices, opinions, attitudes, and beliefs towards specific languages. Therefore, whenever I mention named languages such as English, Turkish, etc., these should be understood as part of individuals' linguistic resources.

1.4.2   Language Policy – LP

In this research project, we approach the concept of Language Policy using Spolsky's comprehensive definition (see also section 2.3). Language policy is defined as a "set of rules for language use" according to Spolsky (2012: 3). Within this study, language policy consists of three interconnected elements: language practices, language beliefs, and language management, as outlined by Spolsky (2004, 2019, 2021). Language practices refer to the tangible choices of language varieties and speech repertoires used by speakers (Spolsky, 2019: 326). Language beliefs involve the values attributed to languages and their variations. Lastly, language management pertains to the intentional efforts made by individuals or groups to "modify the practices and beliefs of community members" (ibid: 326). In the specific context of this research, language policy serves as a framework that encompasses the rules governing language use, as manifested through the dynamic interplay of practices, beliefs, and management strategies within Climate Action Network Europe.

Furthermore, in this research project, LP (Language Policy) refers to the implicit policies, decisions, and practices that shape the use and dynamics of languages within Climate Action Network Europe (CAN Europe). It encompasses both explicit and implicit strategies that influence language choices, linguistic behaviours, and the overall language landscape within the organization. Since there is no formally declared language policy, this study explores how language practices, beliefs, and decisions impact communication, inclusivity, and power dynamics among the diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds of CAN Europe members. The focus is on understanding the nuanced ways in which language is managed, leveraged, or unintentionally shaped within this specific environmental NGO.

1.4.3   Non-governmental organizations – NGOs

Another important term that is the subject of this study is NGOs. Therefore, I feel it is necessary to outline what is meant by NGO and how these organizations are conceptualized in this thesis.

Although NGOs share many similar features, there is no 'typical' NGO (Willetts 2011:31). They differ in their system of values, the work they do, the areas they work in, their structure (whether they are purely non-governmental or have affiliations with a government), and how they are funded, to name just a few. This diversity contributes to the difficulty of defining exactly what characteristics should be included in a definition of a non-governmental organization (Princen and Finger, 1994; Fisher, 1997; Willetts, 2011). The existing literature proposes some general characteristics of NGOs (Betsill and Corell, 2001; Steffek, 2013) or discusses the need for a framework to aid the classification process of NGOs (Martens 2002; Vakil, 2018). However, these discussions mainly lead to the reconceptualization of the term in light of specific studies, and no standardized version of the definition is provided.   In addition, there are overlapping terms often used interchangeably, such as 'non-profit,' 'voluntary,' 'third sector,' and 'civil society' organizations (Lewis, 2010). These terms are mainly associated with specific cultural contexts in which the conceptualization of NGOs emerged (ibid). For example, in the UK, 'charity' or 'voluntary organizations' are commonly used, which are associated with Christian values. However, the acronym NGO is predominantly associated with international work and the United Nations.

Since NGOs are considered a sub-group of third sector organizations, along with trade unions and arts and sports trusts, for this project, I define NGOs as self-governed, non-profit organizations operating at various social levels, from local to international, and actively engaged in environmental protection in various forms. This definition allows for contrasting NGOs from other groups within the third sector. It also differentiates between development and human rights NGOs and environmental NGOs. Lastly, it aligns with the description of CAN Europe, the focus of this study.

1.5   Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical approaches to language policy that inform this study. The main theoretical underpinning in this project comes from is Spolsky's (2004, 2019, 2021) framework of Language Policy, but it is complemented by theoretical concepts of practiced

language policy (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012), agency and structure (Archer, 2012). The discussion on language ideologies is complemented with processes of naturalisations, symbolic power by Bourdieu (1991) and standard language ideology with notion of native English speaker.

Chapter 3 reviews literature on language policy in international non-governmental organizations (henceforth NGOs). The cross-sector review of literature begins with a brief discussion of globalisation and the spread of English in the world to illustrate the reasons behind the now established position of English as a lingua franca in the world, especially international domain. The review of the literature on English and language regimes in international development NGOs is to embed this project in the literature on the English and language policy and to identify the research gap that this study is hoping to address.

Chapter 4 provides background of the context. It introduces the necessary contextual information about the organization – Climate Action Network Europe (henceforth CAN Europe) as the object of investigation of this project.

Methodology that guides the investigation of language policy in the context of international NGOs and the analytical framework applied during data analysis are provided in Chapter 5. Descriptive and practical aspects of research methods employed in this project are also included in this chapter.

Chapters 6 and 7 present analysis and discussion of findings. Chapter 6 presents findings in relation to my first research question set. Namely, it explores language policy in place through language practices and beliefs of the participants – employees of CAN Europe Secretariat and CAN Europe member organizations. Interviews were the main research tool that elicited discursive and meta-discursive practices from the participants. Participant observations were also drawn on, mainly for data triangulation where possible. Chapter 7 presents the participants' reflections, observations and attitudes towards English in CAN Europe. It focuses on exploring English language-related power structures in this context and their consequences as reported by the participants. For example, aspects such as individual's marginalisation, exclusion or status loss are all raised as consequences. This chapter also provides an insight into network-wide power structures introduced by English and resulting in lower participation of certain MOs. Thematic analysis was the primary analytical instrument used in both these chapters.

Finally, Chapter 8 presents a review of the findings in relation to the research questions. It summarizes the results and discusses the study's contributions and implications with respect to studying English in international contexts with no written language policy. This chapter also considers the implications for both international non-governmental organizations and CAN Europe. Before concluding, this chapter also provides limitations and future research directions.

Chapter 2 Language Policy conceptual framework

2.1   Introduction

In this chapter, I consider key elements of language policy framework and outline the conceptual framework for this project. I begin by defining the key terminology and examining different conceptualisations of language policy, especially the concept of policy as practice in practiced language policy (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012). Language ideologies with Standard English language ideology as one type of significant beliefs about language, especially English are discussed next. Within this discussion I also embed the concept of naturalisation and symbolic power by Bourdieu (1991). These are two significant aspects that play a role in giving the shape to the language policy in the context under study. Finally, I discuss the third element of Spolsky's (2019) language policy framework, i.e., language management, which is discussed in relation to the notions of agency and structure.

2.2   Conceptualising language policy and planning (LPP): focus on the individual

Language Policy and Planning (LPP) was originally a top-down, prescriptive approach to language in society, where governmental institutions and language planners were responsible for decisions on how a language is to be used, taught, appropriated and developed in society. LPP research emerged in the mid-twentieth century as a multidisciplinary but also specialised field (Garcia and Menken, 2010). Throughout its history, the field of LPP continued to evolve amidst the complex changes in social world, the unprecedented human movement and as a result growing diverse multilingual and multicultural practices in social life. Research in the LPP field revealed tensions between the top-down, macro-level discourses and practices that valued and prescribed the correct language use and function in social life and individual-level realities where the official objectives of language policies were verified (Glasgow and Bouchard, 2019).

Indeed, recent research into LPP has rejected the one-dimensional view of LPP as solely top-down decisions and plans as to language, and instead embraces the perspective of LPP

operating at various levels (Johnson, 2013). The multi-layered 'onion' approach to LPP in fact gave way to a wave of research under the *ethnography of language policy* phase (Hornberger and Johnson, 2007) in LPP research (Ricento, 2000). The turn to the ethnography of LPP can be seen as an attempt to 'reclaim the local into the LPP' studies (Canagarajah, 2005). Similarly, Pérez Milans & Tollefson (2018) argue that the LPP research should not be limited to only studying the discursive realities in LPP, but also focus on the individual human being.

The main tenet of the *ethnography of LPP* is that the LPP research needs to move beyond the focus on the macro-level policymaking and the ideological perspectives underpinning it (Martin-Jones and da Costa Cabral, 2018). Instead, it posits the agentive role of human beings 'who act as interpretive conduits between the language policy levels' (Hornberger and Johnson, 2007: 528). Although the 'onion' metaphor used in relation to the LPP research extended the focus of LPP studies to the different layers of the language policy making processes, levels and contexts of their interpretation and appropriation, the main tenet that I take from this critical ethnographic lens is the focus on language as an act and an individual as having the power to co-construct their social life though interaction. This study aligns itself within the *ethnography of LPP* approach and explores the practices and beliefs of employees of an international NGO network as they navigate their contexts which at times constrain but also allow their capacity to act.

In this thesis, I will use the term language policy rather than language planning. This is because the terms are associated and used in different ways. Language planning is predominantly associated with the period of LPP studies when the field was thought to be neutral ideologically (see the discussion above, see also Ricento, 2000; Tollefson, 1991, 2006). Language policy, on the other hand, is used with reference to much broader than simply *managing* the language (or language policy). Language policy is also concerned with aspects such as culture and history that influence individual's language beliefs and language practices which are the focus in this study.

2.3   Language Policy conceptual framework

Although there is not an overarching theory of language policy developed yet (Ricento, 2000), I take Spolsky's broad definition of language policy as 'set of rules for language use' (2012: 3). To account for the different linguistic complexities of language policy situations, Spolsky also devised a theory of language policy that encompasses three elements that are separate but interdependent. For Spolsky (2004, 2019, 2021) language policy is comprised of language practices, language beliefs and language management. Language practices are defined as 'the actual choice of language varieties and the nature of speech repertoires known and used by speakers' (Spolsky, 2019: 326). Language beliefs are the values that are assigned to languages, language variations. Finally, language management refers to the efforts of an individual or a group to 'modify the practices and beliefs of members of the community' (ibid: 326). It must be emphasized that instead of Spolsky's (2019) language management element I employ the concepts of agency and structures discussed in section **2.3.3** below.

2.3.1   Language practices – practiced language policy

As mentioned above, the theoretical underpinning of language policy in this project comes from Spolsky (2004, 2009, 2019). I also believe that language practices and language ideologies play a role in forming a language policy in a given context. In addition to the contribution to the field of LPP with his famous tri-partite model of language policy, Spolsky (2019) also extended and postulated to conceptualise language practices as policy (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012). This is an important move away from seeing the notions of policy and practice as separate and adding to Ball's (1993) existing conceptualisations of policy as text and policy as discourse. '[L]anguage practices are analysed with regards to language policies identified in texts, discourses and *practices themselves*'. Bonacina-Pugh 2012: 216, emphasis in original). In other words, policy as practices focuses on the actual language practices.

In addition, in practiced language policy, as argued by Bonacina- Pugh (2012), individuals deduce what the practice is from language practices. In other words, speakers chose a language in an interaction based on the interactional patterns that they have observed

(Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000). In this sense, it is the language practices, or patterns of language choice that guides, or 'exerts a "force" onto speakers' language choice acts (Spolsky, 2007:4). In other words, the practices that an individual observes influence his/her choice of language in an interaction with particular interlocutors in particular contexts/situations.

Practiced language policy is a practical approach, especially helpful in instances where there is no identifiable official/explicit language policy in place as it helps us to move beyond the focus of LP on tensions that exist between the official texts and discourses on the one hand, and the actual language(s) choice in a local context, on the other hand (Li Wei and Martin, 2009). In this sense, 'practiced language policy' helps us to see that the 'interactional norms of language choice constitute a language policy (…) in the sense that they inform speakers of what language(s) is appropriate or not' (Bonacina-Pugh, 2020: 443).

However, in her studies, Bonacina-Pugh (2012, 2020) focused on language choice in interaction, i.e., at the level of an interaction/ conversation. In this study, however, I argue, that the notion of 'practiced language policy' can also be deduced from meta discourse, i.e., how people talk about/describe their and others' actions or decision-making processes in specific contexts. Thus, by exploring language practices in international NGO, I hope to explore the tacit understandings of policy that is unarticulated but known by my participants and contribute to the wider implicit LPP studies and the concept of 'practiced language policy'.

2.3.1.1 Implicit language policy

There seems to be an agreement as to what forms an explicit language policy in the field of LP, however, implicit language policy is still differently understood. Shohamy (2006), similarly to Spolsky (2004), names official documents that, for instance, declare an 'official' or 'national' language as the explicit LP, but she adds other types of documents to the list, such as, language standards, curricula, tests etc. (Shohamy, 2006:50). Differences arise when implicit understandings of language policy come into play. For Spolsky (2004) policy is either an overarching term that includes practices, beliefs and management (see above), or in the absence of the official/formal policy, policy may be implicit, i.e., 'discovered in the linguistic

behaviour (language practices) (…) [and] in the ideology or beliefs about language of the individual or group.' (*ibid*: 217). Similarly, but with a more critical perspective, Shohamy (2006) posits that in case of a lack of an explicit policy on a national or any other level, covert language policy 'can be derived implicitly from examining a variety of de facto practices' (ibid, p50). In other words, language policy resides in language practices. Shohamy (2006) calls this type of LP more subtle and hidden from the public eye (ibid: xvii), hence calling for a more critical perspective towards examining implicit LP. The choice of the word 'covert' reveals Shohamy's (2006) critical perspective on language policy. An even more critical LP view of implicit language policy is expressed by Tollefson (2013). He directly links implicit rules to being set by those in power.

In addition, the choice of terms may indicate a difference in understanding of what is meant by implicit, therefore, an explanation is needed. Similarly, to the discussion above, there is a consensus about the meaning behind explicit, de jure, or overt language policy which all refer to the official or legal written or spoken language policy of a nation, institution, organization or community. However, literature on LP distinguishes few terms that can be used to describe the unofficial language policy of a community, and these are: implicit, de facto or covert. Unfortunately, the terms that are used for the unofficial meaning of policy, do not mean the same (for a more detailed explanation and discussion of terms relating to different types of LP see Johnson, 2013). For example, 'implicit' language policy happens in the absence of, or in spite of, an official written or spoken language policy (Johnson, 2013), but 'covert' language policy is more suitable for situations where the practices are intentionally concealed. The difference between these two terms lies in the intent therefore, in the present study I decided to use the terms implicit language policy. This is to emphasize that the context under study, does not have an official written or spoken language policy. The rules that exist in place in the organization under investigation are 'implicitly understood' (Tollefson, 2011: 358) but are not formalized. Therefore, I believe the term 'implicit' is best suited for this project. Having explained my choice of terminology referring to unofficial LP, I would like to turn to a discussion about perspectives on the link between implicit language policy and culture to argue for the importance of studying implicit LPs.

The strength of implicit language policy lies on the cultural assumptions that underpin practice, and language policy generally, therefore, to understand a given LP it is crucial to study its implicit side. Culture is integrally connected with language practices and is transmitted through language practices. For Schiffman (1996) implicit language policies are embedded in culture and, similarly to Spolsky's (2004) and Shohamy's (2006) views, Schiffman (1996) argues that implicit LPs rest on the beliefs and ideologies that are prevalent in a group of people, but also transcend to individual level of speakers as a form of 'cultural baggage' (Schiffman, 1996: 275). Therefore, implicit language policies are not neutral, and they happen regardless of the official or explicit LPs. As an example of an implicit LP, Schiffman (1996) uses the US national language policy and argues that it is not the legal or official status granted to language in the US but the 'subtler workings of (…) implicit language policy' (1996: 211) that constitutes its strength. In other words, it is the implicit language policy manifested in cultural and ideological assumptions of language that supports and shapes a given LP, in this case the US LP.

To understand the workings of a given LP it is crucial, therefore, to investigate the implicit policies that are always present in a community whether there is a written, stated or official language policy. This suggests that Schiffman (1996), as well as Spolsky (2004, 2009, 2019), and Shohamy (2006), claims that implicit LP is stronger than explicit LP because it rests on the cultural assumptions that are expressed in language beliefs and ideologies that speakers hold. As 'every language policy is culture specific' (Schiffman, 1996: 279) it is crucial to examine values, beliefs and attitudes to understand better the reasons how and why language policies develop and the effect they have on organizations and individual's lives (ibid), a topic I now turn to.

2.3.2   Language ideologies – multiple, interested and embedded in the social realm

The previous subsections introduced the concepts of 'practiced language policy' and the importance of implicit LP. In this section, I turn to the discussion of language ideology the second element of Spolsky's (2019, 2021) LP framework.

Language ideologies can be categorized as either a neutral or negative phenomenon (Woolard, 1998). The neutral refers to the view that language ideologies are rooted in

human, that is, social experience (Woolard, 1998: 6). The negative is mainly associated with inequality and dominant groups who strive to 'acquire and maintain power' (ibid, p.7). Language ideologies are defined differently by scholars and this stems from the values that those scholars attach to the term. For example, Spolsky's (2019) reviewed Language Policy framework defines language ideologies as: 'language beliefs, often collected as established ideologies which assigned values to named and unnamed varieties and to identifiable variations in language choice' (Spolsky, 2019: 326). Similarly, Piller (2015) focuses on social emphasis in the concept of language ideologies that according to her refer more broadly to beliefs or feelings that are socially shared conceptions about language. Both definitions, by Spolsky (2019) and by Piller (2015) seem to fall in the first, neutral view. For example, Spolsky's choice of words, i.e., 'collected' in relation to ideology seems to, first directly associate ideologies to human/social experience and second, Spolsky (2019) seems not to question how, by whom and for what purposes language ideologies in a given context are collected, but he seems to neutrally state that they are.

On the negative side of conceptualisations of language ideology, there are scholars who claim that ideologies are not neutral social phenomenon. Irvine embeds language ideology in 'the cultural system' of ideas that underpin social and linguistic relationships which are loaded with 'moral and political interests' (1989: 255). Those interests that Irvine (1989) adds to the definition of ideology suggest that ideology cannot be viewed as disinterested. Language ideology has also been defined as 'sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use' (Silverstein, 1979:193) or with a greater critical emphasis as representing the view of language which is constructed to serve the interests of specific social or cultural group (Kroskrity, 2010). Silverstein's rationalisation refers to the speakers' awareness and it implies that users are not neutral in their choice of language. Despite the differences in conceptualisations of language ideologies, what the scholars that take a more critical view on language ideology share is a view of ideology as a social phenomenon closely tied or embedded in experiences of different social positions (Gal 2005; Gal and Irvine 1995; Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994) which in turn implies that, in a given community, language ideologies reflect power relations but also that they are multiple.

However, there is lack of agreement among scholars as to the defining characteristics of language ideologies. For example, for Silverstein (1979) linguistic and functional awareness are key characteristics. Irvine (1989) and Makihara and Schieffelin (2007) emphasize the cultural ties with language ideologies. Rumsey (1990) highlights the sharedness of language ideologies and Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006) see them as deeply rooted and not questioned.

In contrast, critical scholars, such as Tollefson (1991, 2006) and Fairclough (2001) associate ideology with power. Both scholars see ideology as operating at the sub-conscious level. Tollefson argues that ideology refers to 'unconscious beliefs and assumptions' (2006: 46) that are "naturalized" thus contributing to hegemony (*ibid.*). Similarly, Fairclough (2006) sees language ideologies as rooted in linguistic conventions that are 'common sense'. These, as Blommaert argues, are 'being (re)produced by a range of practices' (1999:10). I outline my perspective on language ideology below after discussing the characteristics of this phenomenon.

To discern what the concept of language ideology and its defining characteristics are, I turn to Kroskrity (2000, 2010). The author enlists four partially overlapping layers of language ideologies naming the concept as a *cluster concept*. The layers, as Kroskrity (2010) argues, are useful in analysis because they, on the one hand, allow for exemplifying beliefs about language and, on the other hand, allow for studying those beliefs.

The first characteristic concerns language ideologies as representing 'the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group' (Kroskrity 2010: 195). What this means is that language ideologies are rooted in a person's individual social experiences and are tied to the (usually) dominant socio-political and economic interest of that group. Individuals, therefore, cannot be reduced to 'socio-politically disinterested users' (*ibid.*) and language ideologies are 'interest laden' (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994: 58), thus not neutral (Irvine, 1989).

The second feature of language ideologies is that they are multiple. Kroskrity argues that 'language ideologies are profitably conceived as multiple because of the multiplicity of meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites, generations, and so on) within

sociocultural groups' (2010: 197). Whereas the first characteristic referred to wider culture language ideologies were tied to interests of specific social groups, the second characteristic focuses on an individual's social experience. This implies there may be multiple and diverse beliefs and ideologies about language use in any context/community because the social experience is not 'uniformly distributed throughout' a society *(ibid*.). These social and demographic factors underlie the complexity and variety of views as to language use (Blommaert, 2005).

The third characteristic of language ideologies is concerned with the explicit/implicit dimension of ideologies and beliefs. Kroskrity labels it as 'varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies' (2010: 198). While some language ideologies may be explicitly stated by individuals, others can only be learnt about from the actual usage. As Silverstein (1979) suggested, this is the only way to discern the individual, private language ideologies at a personal level. This is what Spolsky (2009) and Spolsky and Shohamy (2000) suggest doing in the absence of an explicitly or officially stated LP.

The final layer of language ideologies refers to 'members' language ideologies mediat[ing] between social structures and forms of talk' (Kroskrity 2010: 200). In other words, language ideologies form a bridge between a person's socio-cultural experience and their linguistic resources. It is through language ideologies that people tend to link language and its speakers with aspects of prestige, power/authority, aesthetics, (or lack thereof) etc., based on the perceptions they have, socio-cultural and historic background and the level of consciousness (also discussed in section on standard language ideology below).

My understanding and perspective on the concept of language ideology is aligned with the above multi-layered characteristics model brought by Kroskrity (2010) which sits within the cognitive perspective on ideology (Blommaert, 2005). I also understand ideology to be permeating spheres of cultural to personal; being inextricably tied to personal social experience; being multiple not only representing individual perspectives based on social and demographic factors but also multiple in the sense that there may be different perspectives, wider, group ideology (Blommaert, 2005) and individual ideology which may not necessarily be aligned with the group's ideology (Spolsky, 2004); explicit and/or implicit; tied with socio-

economic interests of certain groups; associating certain groups with power (or lack thereof) (Tollefson and Pérez-Milans, 2018).

But above all, I also share the understanding of language ideologies as being socially constructed, often normalised or naturalised 'patterns of thought and behaviour' (Blommaert, 2005: 159). Therefore, in this research I will adopt a critical approach to language ideologies where I will attempt to explore the multiple ideologies at play to determine and make explicit the beliefs that have been articulated by the participants of this study.

2.3.2.1 Symbolic power and naturalisation

This subsection will first define what is meant by the two terms: symbolic power and naturalisation. Then it will explain the connection between them. The literature presented below lays ground for the analysis presented in Chapter 7 where I will attempt, among other things, to challenge the pragmatic view of English in the organization under investigation here. However, it is noteworthy that this project, although applying critical perspective on language policy should not be considered as critical of the language policy under study, nor the English as used by the participants in this study. Instead, I apply the critical perspective in relation to ideology to better understand the forces/the ideology, behind the existing language policy in Climate Action Network Europe (CAN Europe).

'It is rare in everyday life for language to function as a pure instrument of communication' (Bourdieu, 1991:502). I take Bourdieu's quotation as the starting point of the discussion because I believe it represents the position that language is not neutral and that ideologies about language create unequal power relations among speakers and users of languages (also partly introduced in the discussion about language ideologies in the section **2.3.2** above). The quotation also represents the line of argument I make here about pragmatic belief/view on English as a tool of communication in international settings, specifically, in an international network of environmental organizations. The underlying assumption is that English cannot be claimed to be a neutral language (Baker, 2015), or merely a tool for communication in such settings. I base this argument on the fact that the speakers/users of English language in these settings come from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds

where speakers that mastered English best (usually from the Western and Northern Europe), including native speakers of English, are at an advantaged position compared to those from other regions of Europe (Eastern and Southern). Therefore, I believe that the choice of English as the means of communication in these settings should not be viewed as neutral. To be able to explain it better I apply Bourdieu's (1991) concept of symbolic power which explains how relations of power are intertwined with ideology and thus legitimize social hierarchy among speakers.

The concept of symbolic power was introduced by Bourdieu (1991) who explains that social relations are symbolic interactions based on linguistic interactions. These linguistic interactions represent symbolic power between speakers who have the competence and who use a language (the capital) and the groups to which a possession in that language is ascribed (the market). Thus, the market can be described as a system of linguistic power relations because of the unequal distribution of the capital in it (Beswick, 2013). For example, in this study, the knowledge and use of English by the native and non-native English speakers alike reinforces English's symbolic power as the dominant language in this context. However, the varying competence in English in that group/community will create unequal power relations with native and near-native speakers enjoying the privileged positions, leaving other speakers as dominated.

This brings me to the concept of naturalisation or normalisation (Blommaert, 1999) which can be defined as a process whereby certain language behaviours and/ or language ideologies become a norm. As explained by Fairclough, ideologies are closely connected to power because 'the nature of ideological assumptions that are embedded in social conventions, depends on power relations' (2001:2), therefore, social conventions are a way of legitimizing both the social relations and differences of power. In other words, ideologies work through social conventions – understood as 'familiar ways of behaving' (*ibid*) which with time and reoccurrence, legitimize or naturalise the existing social relations and differences of power, thus take unequal power relations for granted. Similarly, Blommaert explains that the more a linguistic ideology is used in a setting the more probable it is for that ideology to go through processes of normalisation: a 'hegemonic pattern in which the ideological claims are perceived as "normal" ways of thinking and acting' (1999: 10–11). For

example, the assumption of the use of English in CAN Europe is so naturalised that it is hardly questioned by the users. Thus, the assumed position of English in this context takes for granted the power relations among users of English in that context.

In addition, the process of naturalisation may not be conscious, as pointed by Tollefson (2006) since ideology is often an unconscious belief and/or assumption. Therefore, it becomes more difficult to question the position of a particular language that is already established as dominant. Fairclough (2001), mentioned above, explained how ideologies are linked to power, but Tollefson (2006) here adds a critical perspective to the naturalised unconscious beliefs/assumptions that may (and often do) lead to hegemony. In other words, by incorporating Critical Theory to the study of Language Policy in general, and specifically to language ideology, Tollefson (2013) shows how naturalised beliefs and practices become 'invisible'. This invisibility, I would argue, is at the heart of processes of naturalisation. Naturalisation, thus, helps to explain why language and the social hierarchy created by it are often overlooked in everyday life by its users.

In summary, the concepts of symbolic power and naturalisation are discussed here in relation to language ideology. The concept of symbolic power introduced by Bourdieu (1991) questions the neutrality of language, because of the existence of language ideologies and beliefs that are present in every community and even within every interaction. Through the above discussion, I attempted to show the workings of ideologies and validate my choice of Bourdieu's (1991) concept of symbolic power in relation to ideologies. For example, as English has been widely accepted implicitly as *the* only language for international communication among the members of the CAN Europe network (consent), it naturalized and legitimized 1) the position of English as the communication means in that context (naturalisation) and 2) social hierarchy among the speakers of English in that group (symbolic power). Adhering to this implicit 'order' means taking part in and (re-)creating certain language practices, thus sustaining language practices but also domination and language hierarchy overtime. This is an aspect that this project is aiming to make more explicit.

2.3.2.2 Standard language ideology

Given the multiplicity of language ideologies (Kroskrity, 2010 above) different language ideologies were identified and named. Here, I mainly focus on ideologies about the ways of using language.

One of the most frequently studied ideologies is the standard language ideology. The notion of standard language ideology is a social construct (Cogo, 2012) that implies 'imposition of uniformity' upon a language (Milroy, 2001: 530). In other words, standard language ideology is a socially constructed belief about a standard (uniform) way of using a particular variety of language. Historically, standards developed from ways of speaking and/or perceived superiority of varieties spoken by the most powerful groups of speakers who managed to instil their variety as the superior under the guise of purity and correctness. This discourse then sieved through and naturalised in the wider public discourse. It is a way that people think about language, its 'correct' and 'grammatical' use (Shohamy, 2006). From a more critical stance, Lippi-Green defines standard language ideology as 'a bias toward an *abstracted*, *idealized*, *homogeneous* spoken language which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions and which names as its model the written language, but which is *drawn primarily from the spoken language of the upper middle class*' (2012:67; emphasis mine).

What transpires from this definition is: first, idealised perception that standard language is the best one an individual can produce (the notions of correctness and legitimacy are specifically strong in the case of standard language). It is a kind of desired language use where the focus is on the *form*, rather than *practice* which suggests that for many individuals it is possibly unattainable. Second, unequal power relations. What Lippi-Green (1997) illustrates in her definition above, is how certain languages are directly connected with higher prestige. This usually comes from associating language with certain 'higher' status groups (dominant and rich) with legitimacy (Milroy and Milroy, 2012; Piller, 2015; Woolard, 2005;). Thus, anyone who can reproduce the standard language may gain the social attributes associated with it (e.g., educated, professional, expert etc.). This is what Kroskrity (2010) described as the final characterisation of language ideologies discussed in **2.3.2.** above.

In addition, the nature of standard language ideology, as emphasized by Milroy (1999), is naturalised and deeply rooted historically. It is traditionally associated with one language variety or monolingual perception of language. The 'homogeneous' (Lippi-Green, 1997) language ideology makes a language variety to be seen as the only one that is correct in the spoken form based on written model (Milroy, 1999). Any divergence from the standard is thus seen as incorrect and inappropriate. This is what Woolard conceptualises as 'ideology of authenticity' whereby 'one must sound like that kind of person who is valued as natural and authentic' (2005: 4). Language becomes the property of its speakers who are the only authentic users of that language. I return to this in the subsection below where I discuss native English speakers.

Similar and often conflated with standard language ideology, is the notion of native speaker, or native-speakerism (Holliday, 2006). Central to NS idea are the forms of speech that are perceived as fitting the 'native speaker construct', i.e., someone who happens to have been born in a native-speaking community or living and learning in a native-speaking country. Thus, it is not only about the language (as is the case with the standard language ideology) but also the speakers who speak that language and how they are perceived by those not belonging to the native speakers group. Essentially, *nativespeakerism* is a reduction of all that fall under the 'non-native speakers' category as detrimental to the standard norms. According to this ideology, the linguistic differences that arise in the use of a language among NS are perceived as variation that arises from the use of the language in the contexts from which these NS come from (Milroy, 2001; Milroy and Milroy, 2012). The same linguistic differences produced by NNS are, however, perceived as errors.

The notion of native speaker is underpinned by three ideologies (Doerr, 2009). The first is the belief that having a citizenship of a nation-state corresponds to being automatically granted the status of a native speaker of the national/official language of that country. Irvine et al. (2000) and Irvine and Gal (2019) represent this by their semiotic process of *iconisation* whereby certain social groups (speakers of the national language) are 'iconic representation of the whole society' (Doerr, 2009:19). The second ideology is the perceived homogeneity of both language and speech community. Irvine et al. (2000) name this *erasure* whereby linguistic diversity but also diverse language practices of the people belonging to one

community are 'erased', i.e., made invisible. The final, and I would argue, central ideology underpinning native speaker notion is the perceived authority a native speaker has over a language. Native speakers of any language are assumed to have 'a complete and possibly innate competence in the language' (Pennycook, 1994:174). This perceived high level of competence in the first language grants native speakers the authority, therefore, creating and (re)producing relations of dominance between native and non-native speakers. Nativeness thus is a distinguishing feature, one that is also closely associated with power and relevance (Jenkins, 2014). Since language ideologies 'naturalise (…) representations [of linguistic differences between groups of people] as something universal' (Doerr, 2009:18), the social hierarchy between native and non-native speakers is reproduced. This is well illustrated by Jenkins who argues that 'NS norms continue to "colonize the minds" (Tsuda, 1997 cited in Jenkins 2007:32) of non-native (…) speakers leading to assumptions of NS superiority (2007:32). However, as Seidlhofer (2011) rightfully notices, on the one hand, NNS have the tendency to submit to NS 'authority', on the other hand, the NS accept to be 'arbiters of linguistic correctness or acceptability' (2011:36). Thus, social dominance of NS may be reproduced by both native and non-native speakers.

2.3.2.3 Standard English language ideology and Native English Speaker

Given the unprecedented spread of English language globally, it is not surprising that the one well discussed kind of standard language ideology is the Standard English ideology (henceforth StE). It can be defined as sets of beliefs and ideas about English as the role model, i.e., the standard to which both NES and NNES should conform to when using English language regardless of the linguistic or cultural background of these English users (Cogo and Jenkins, 2010). In addition, StE is very often regarded as the goal to which every user of English should conform to.

Jenkins (2007) and Seidlhofer (2011) point the education as the primary site where Standard English language ideology and beliefs about native English speakers' assumed authority are reproduced and transmitted (Seidlhofer, 2011). Jenkins (2007) focuses on teachers and their attitudes towards NES and concludes that the mostly negative attitudes towards non-native English are the result of teacher training. Seidlhofer (2011) points to the naturalisation of the StE that leaves both the students and teachers unaware of. Once set, these ideologies and

beliefs continue to influence non-native speakers' perceptions of their English not only in educational settings, but beyond. I make this an empirical pursuit in the analysis of my participants' evaluations on the extent of influence of StE ideology on their working life.

Not surprisingly, the ideology of StE has been subject to criticism. For example, research on English as a lingua franca clearly demonstrates how the notion of standard language produces a misconception of the nature of language. Standard implies stability, uniformity and invariance (Cogo, 2012; Milroy, 2001; Widdowson, 1994), but in practice language is fluid, dynamic, constantly (re)negotiated (Baker, 2015; Cogo, 2012; Jenkins, 2015; Wei, 2011). For example, Seidlhofer (2011) challenges the hegemonic position of Standard English as static. Instead, she posits to view English as fluid and adapted by its speakers to any contact situation. Essentially, what ELF research is aiming to emphasize in relation to Standard English and NES norms is redefinition of the model. A model that will incorporate the different purposes for which English is being used by its speakers in the world today (Jenkins, 2015; Mauranen, 2018; Seidlhofer, 2011).

Yet another strand of criticism about StE, one that is closely connected to the previous, is whether StE is attainable for most users and learners of English. Whether such StE norms are in fact valid for intercultural contexts is contested by ELF scholars, for example, Jenkins (2014) and Mauranen (2018). Mauranen (2003) and Hall (2014) conclude that StE is mostly unachievable and irrelevant variety, yet one that is at the same time the most promoted among learners and users by different stakeholders.

Moving to Native English Speaker (NES) notion. It has also been challenged by the research in the fields of ELF and Intercultural Communication (IC). Baker argued that rather than focusing on the conformity to native English speaker's norms, what the users of English in intercultural contexts need is to 'make use of linguistic and other communicative resources in the negotiating of meaning, roles, and relationships in the diverse sociocultural settings of intercultural communication through English' (2011: 63). While these claims present a valid counterargument for both StE and NES ideologies, it is not yet known whether they are in the position to challenge these ideologies in real life, i.e., those prevalent in the wider public discourses on (English) language.

2.3.2.4 Language gatekeepers and boundary spanners

A related problem to the native English speaker specifically, and StE more generally, is the issue of language gatekeepers and boundary spanners. As discussed in the section on naturalisation and symbolic power, StE introduces unequal power relations between users of a specific variety of language. As a result, certain individuals may act as a bridge between two linguistically different contexts. This may not always be a positive outcome, as I argue below.

As Brutt-Griffler notices 'languages do not have either power or rights, their speakers do. Languages *can serve or hinder the purposes of their speakers*, but on their own they are not social agents' (2005: 31, emphasis added). Language can only be the tool to either grant or restrict access to social upward mobility, information, services and more. Possessing the right linguistic capital, therefore, influences the communication within international environments. Existing literature in the context of multinational businesses defines such individuals, as, on the one hand: 'gatekeepers' (Marschan et al., 1997); 'bridge individuals' (Feely and Harzing, 2003); 'language nodes', 'language mediators', or 'bridge builders' (Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999); and, on the other hand, as 'boundary spanners' (Koveshnikov et al., 2012).

Language gatekeepers are individuals who 'facilitate communication between two linguistically and/ or culturally different parties' (Tse, 1996: 485). For some, brokering is an act of translating and interpreting without any official training (Tse, 1996). For others, it is mediating information considering socio-cultural differences and power dynamics between all the stakeholders within the communication (Weisskirch, 2013) and micro level language planning as presented by Gonçalves and Schluter (2017). In addition to that, language gatekeepers are often thought of as decision makers, they can assess and act accordingly in given situations (Gonçalves and Schluter, 2017).

The literature portrays these individuals as either: neutral translators/interpreters who transmit information between different stakeholders using their bi-multilingual skills and tacit knowledge of socio-cultural contexts in which the translation takes place (child language brokers literature: Hua and Costigan, 2012; Tse, 1996, Weisskirch, 2013); or

'gatekeepers' - individuals with disproportionate power thanks to knowledge of the common corporate language Corporate Language Management (CLM) literature: Logemann and Piekkari (2015), Marschan et al., (1997), Charles & Marschan-Piekkari (2002), and Sanden (2015). In CLM literature, it was found that such individuals can 'filter, distort and block information, possibly in a negative, counter-productive way, if they wish to do so' (Sanden, 2015: 23).

Contrary to 'language gatekeepers' (Marschan et al., 1997), there are also individuals who thanks to their multilingual (and multicultural) skillset facilitate interaction between two (or more) organizations or units. These individuals bridge (linguistic and cultural) boundaries 'support flows of knowledge and (…) advance harmonious cooperation' within multilingual and multicultural contexts (Yanaprasart, 2018: 14). These individuals are named 'boundary spanners' (Koveshnikov et al., 2012).

During the data analysis, I have found instances of both types of language 'gatekeepers' (Marschan et al., 1997) and 'boundary spanners' (Koveshnikov et. al, 2012), but these findings should be treated as preliminary, especially in the case of language gatekeepers, and more in-depth study of this phenomenon in international NGOs is needed (see section **8.4**.). Nevertheless, both concepts were useful in identifying the different language power relations among individuals in CAN Europe based on the individuals' linguistic capital.

In summary, the above section has reviewed the concept of language ideology and its characteristics. I discussed the concepts of naturalisation and symbolic power to be able to show how ideologies through discursive practice naturalise policies and create and/or sustain power relations between users of a language (in the case of this project English). This is of great importance in contexts where there are no written or official policies. Finally, I have revisited the concepts of standard language ideology and ideologies of StE and native English speaker and touched upon the concept of English as a Lingua Franca. As the discussion and analysis chapters will show, the concepts of standard norms and superior competence of native English speakers are problems the participants frequently report despite successfully functioning in English. Therefore, I included a brief discussion about concepts that define certain individuals with disproportionate power thanks to their linguistic capital (language gatekeepers) and those who facilitate international and

intercultural communication (boundary spanners). I now move on to discussing the third and final element of Spolsky's (2004, 2019, 2021) LP framework – language management.

2.3.3 Language management and the concept of agency and structure

The concept of 'practiced language policy' allows to determine what language policy is in place, however, it does not allow for exploring the individuals' power to construct, recreate and constrain language choices. Practiced language policy, as mentioned above, emphasizes the actual, local practice. What I attempt to postulate here is that individuals are active in creating their social reality, and language 'is undoubtedly the most important way that we go about making the world what it is' (Onuf, 2012: 59). According to Liddicoat and Taylor-Leech anyone 'may be an actor in language related decision-making, especially at the micro-level' (2021: 7). It may present to be specifically the case in contexts where no formal/explicit language policy exists and employees (as is the case in this research project) are left with the decision on what language practices to choose in what situations (see also Angouri, 2013; Sanden and Kankaanranta, 2018). In such contexts, Sanden and Kankaanranta (2018) argue, similarly to Liddicoat and Taylor Leech (2021), that all participants in their study may be seen as language planners 'whenever they make a language choice' (2018: 557). This is not to say, however, that there are not constraining structures that limit the freedom, but I return to this discussion below.

Here I part with Spolsky's (2009, 2019, 2021) language management element of LP model as he seems to assume the 'managed' to passively receive a given LP – which seems to be the traditional top-down model of LPP. Instead, I believe that individuals enjoy agency when deciding on a given language choice. As I will argue below, the concept of agency does not need to be only equated with deliberate manipulation or change of others linguistic behaviour (as is postulated in Spolsky's language management element) but can also be viewed as a force that influences the 'continuity of practices' (Liddicoat and Taylor-Leech, 2021: 6). In other words, agency is not only tied to change, but it can also be viewed as an aspect sustaining or continuing certain practices over time. The understanding that transpires from this is that agency cannot be equated with power at the top level only but that it is more dispersed within society (Zhao and Baldauf, 2008).

Literature that deals with agency produces different and sometimes divergent conceptualisations of agency. For instance, Layden (1997) sees agency as creativity, Emirbayer and Mische situate agency on a timeline (past, present, future) arguing it being 'a temporally embedded process of social engagement' (1998: 963). In other words, individuals make a judgement on the best course of action in the present context/situation by drawing on their past experiences constituting of often naturalised courses of actions while also orienting to possible future scenarios. Finally, Archer (2012) relates agency to reflexivity. In the last conceptualisation of agency, it is individual's reflexive analysis of the external circumstances that one is situated within when making decisions of the course of action. In this project, agency is understood following Archer's (2012) concept to which I would add Choi's (2018) aspect of human beings' goals in interaction/negotiation situation. Individuals reflect upon their circumstances and guided by their (communicative) goals make decisions on what language choice to make.

However, agency should not be equated with unconstrained freedom of action. As Ahearn argues, agency understood as free will is devoid of the 'social nature of agency' (2010: 29), that is the 'influence of culture on human intentions, beliefs, and actions' (*ibid*.). A similar point is made by Blommaert (2005) who sees that to every agentive act, there is always structure. In other words, there is a dual relationship between structure and agency (Giddens, 1984; Glasgow and Bouchard, 2019). Structure is not independent of actors but equally it is not determining their actions/ behaviours. Rather it is seen as 'sets of rules and capabilities that actors draw on to construct their actions and by acting in reference to these, they reproduce them and their normative impact on action' (Liddicoat and Taylor-Leech 2021: 9). Thus, structure is seen as a human construct that is developed through prior agency. Structure in the LP refers to language ideologies, beliefs (Spolsky 2009, 2019), or even wider construct, culture (Schiffman, 1996, 2012) and agency to language practices/ choices (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012; Spolsky, 2004).

As it is argued above, in the dual relationship between agency and structure, agency influences the form of structure. Therefore, it can be argued that agency can equally sustain the structure by re-creating the normative rules in particular contexts/ situations. Hence, contrary to Spolsky's (2009, 2019) focus on change and transformation, I see agency as

transforming but *also* re-creating, thus sustaining practices over time even if these re-created practices (intentionally or not) re-produce hierarchy and power relations within a given context (see also **2.3.2.3**. and **2.3.2.4**.).

Finally, the concept of agency puts this project in the perspective on LP as agentive, i.e., allowing individuals to make language decisions in contexts (Liddicoat and Taylor-Leech, 2021). It is a 'side' concept that allows to understand that within communicative contexts, individuals play active roles on deciding on the best course of action (language choice) given the external environment. Unlike the language management element, the concept of agency, therefore, seems more suitable to discussing language practices and beliefs in CAN Europe.

2.4   Summary

This chapter has reviewed the key language policy theoretical concepts in the literature that are related to this project. To explore language practices and language beliefs around English in the context of an international non-governmental organization, I take the conceptualisation of 'practiced language policy' (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012, 2020). This approach allows me to explore the language practices in the context of implicit language policy arrangements. I review the participants meta-discourses, i.e., how people talk about their and others' language choices (practice) to allow for discerning the practiced language policy in place in CAN Europe. This is consistent with the methodological tools employed in this project (see sections **5.6.3**, **5.6.4**. and **5.6.5**). This is also in line with the epistemological perspective taken in this project, namely constructivism (see section **5.3.1**) which posits knowledge to be socially co-constructed through interaction (Burr, 2017). Moreover, I also take the concept of structures in the form of ideologies and beliefs, because I believe that actors when making decision on the course of action may also base it on the beliefs of what is appropriate or not in a given situation.

The issues discussed in this chapter helped me to design the research questions of this project. I explain them in Chapter 5 together with the methodology employed to address them. Now, I move on to discussing literature on English as a lingua franca and language policy in the non-profit sector.

Chapter 3 English as a Lingua Franca, Languages and NGOs: a research niche

3.1   Introduction

The previous chapter introduced the theoretical framework of language policy that I am working with in this thesis. In this chapter the focus turns to English, multilingualism and language, in general, in the third sector – the non-governmental organizations. I begin the discussion with introduction of key terms and approaches to studying English in international context and provide the approach taken in this study. Then I turn to introducing and defining English as a lingua franca (ELF) and multilingualism before proceeding to a discussion on language issues in the non-profit sector where I identify the research gap that this project is hoping to fill.

This chapter is split into two parts, the first one is devoted to the conceptual discussion on ELF from a more neutral position, for example, English as coexisting within the multilingual and multicultural contexts (relevant to the discussion in Chapter 6). The second half of the chapter is devoted to issues of language in the international NGO (INGOs) where the literature takes more critical view on English and its position within the INGOs (more relevant to the analysis and discussion in Chapter 7). Both discussions are relevant, as the conceptual framework of ELF and multilingualism underpins my understanding of the complexity of language in general in international, multilingual and multicultural contexts. However, the literature on ELF, especially the newest strands in the ELF literature that refocuses ELF as multilingual (Cogo 2016; Cogo and Lee 2017; Cogo 2022), does not address situations in which English may become a linguistic capital that leads to inequality between people (Roth, 2019) an observation that is also noted in this thesis (see Chapter 7 for more details).

Having briefly outlined the structure of this chapter I now move on to discussing the conceptual frameworks that aim to capture the phenomenon of global spread and use of English.

3.2 The phenomenon of global spread of English – conceptual frameworks review

The literature proposes different models that aim to explain the development of English as the global language. It also uses different terms to refer to the English language as used in international context. English as an International Language (EIL), World Englishes (WE), Global Englishes (GE) and English as a lingua franca. This discussion will help to clear any confusion surrounding the different nomenclatures. It will also help in positioning this study within theoretical framework that I believe is the closest in reflecting the use of English in an international context.

The term EIL was first used by Smith (1976) to denote the use of language other than one's mother tongue, for communicative purposes with people from different nations. He distinguished between mother tongue and non-mother tongue users and observed that the adherence to the mother tongue norms in international use of English hindered communication in these contexts. Later, Smith (1978) listed characteristics of EIL as: first, English is not a property of its native speakers; second, speakers of EIL do not need to internalise the cultural norms of the native speakers to use EIL effectively; third, EIL is a functional language and pedagogy of teaching it should reflect its functionality for the learners. Yet, as Seidlhofer observes, the term *international* is misleading and assumes that it is 'distinguishable, codified and unitary variety' which as research into ELF shows, it is not the case (2004: 210).

Another important term used in the literature is World Englishes that denotes variety in the different *Englishes* in the world*.* The most popular model within WE is the theory of Concentric Circles by Kachru (1992). Kachru designed the model that represents the historical and geographical distribution of English in the world with native speakers at the centre (Inner Circle) post-colonial territories or territories where English has been institutionalised as an additional language (Outer Circle) and everywhere else where English is being taught and learned as an additional, foreign language (Expanding Circle). This paradigm sees the speakers of the new varieties as agentive and creative multilinguals whose varieties of English must be seen in their own right. The model is a significant contribution to the ELF approach, discussed below, as it recognized the new uses and

varieties of English (hence the term World English*es*). It also helped to see language as natural, changing and dynamic phenomenon as it challenged the native speakers as the only legitimate speakers of English.

Despite its significant contribution to ELF and, more generally, to the field of (socio) linguistics, WE has its shortcomings. First, it has the varieties (usually national) at its centre (Bolton, 2015), which is problematic because the global use of English is truncated to a family of Englishes that are 'linguistically identifiable [and] geographically definable' (Kachru 1992: 66). Such stratification of English, although grounded on the theoretical assumption that each variety of English is valuable and therefore should be legitimized, focuses mainly on the 'traditional variety- oriented speech community' (Jenkins, 2015: 55), such as Singaporean English or Indian English. This, according to Jenkins (2003) simplifies the real linguistic diversity of Englishes in the world and *fails* to accommodate the diversity *within* the circles. Whereas the study of variety of Englishes brings features of the language use and function within the different contexts of use, it is based on racial and linguistic classification (Mufwene, 2001). What this suggests is that the application of the neutral (Bolton, 2015) notion of 'variety' produces unwanted consequences that stratify not only the language varieties but also its speakers. For this and other reasons discussed above, I believe that WE paradigm is not appropriate for this study.

Another comprehensive approach for studying different uses of Englishes is that of Global Englishes (Pennycook, 2007). This model does not only focus on the regional or localised varieties of English use, but also on the international, lingua franca uses of English. In the model of GE, Pennycook, proposes to move beyond looking at the spread of English in the world from the perspectives of, for example, homogeneity or heterogeneity but instead see English as 'a language of fluidity and fixity that moves across, while becoming embedded in, the materiality of localities and social relations' (Pennycook, 2007: 6). The paradigm of GE focuses on the diversifying uses of English in today's world and at the same time it illustrates local efforts of individuals to negotiate meaning (Murata and Jenkins, 2009).

3.2.1   English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)

The approach on the use of English globally that is of most importance to this project is English as a Lingua Franca. ELF views global language from the perspective of *variable* use of English in the world (Seidlhofer, 2011). Its focus is 'to account for the amorphous, ongoing, moment-by-moment negotiation of English that is actually its daily reality' (Pennycook, 2009: 201) This focus of ELF, according to Pennycook (2009), addresses the gap in the WE paradigm which faces difficulty in building understanding of, on the one hand, English as an international language that is neither dependent on the hegemonic national English nor on the local new varieties of English, and, on the other hand, constantly re-negotiated spaces of today's English language use (*ibid*). Even though WE played part in epistemological understanding of English in early English as a Lingua Franca research, the two approaches are distinct in studying the phenomenon of global English. The first phase of ELF research (Jenkins, 2015) was influenced by the WE paradigm, because it focused on form to codify ELF so that it is a legitimate variety of English. However, even the early research into ELF depicted the accommodation strategies and creativity of ELF speakers in the processes of co-construction of meaning (Jenkins and Leung, 2017) which marked depart from WE paradigm. Despite different ideological underpinning of both WE and ELF, scholars from both WE and ELF agree that English as used in the world today is not predominantly learned to interact with native speakers of English, nor it is a learner, or deficient language (ibid). Nevertheless, ELF researchers view the global English as fluid and hybrid, therefore they reject the traditional variety-oriented approach proposed by WE (Jenkins et al, 2011). The phenomenon of English as a Lingua Franca is not another new variety (Seidlhofer, 2017) it is 'a means of transcultural communication that cuts across all three [Kachruvian] circles' (ibid: 8; emphasis in original). These epistemological shifts that Jenkins (2015) discusses mark the ELF field as evolving and constantly developing. I consider the ELF perspective of significance to this project due to its empirical (see below) and conceptual work on the nature of English language use in global, international and intercultural contexts. Below I outline the definition of ELF and proceed to discussion of relevant literature on ELF, its uses and users.

3.2.2 English as a (multi)lingua franca

The understanding of ELF in this project is in line with Seidlhofer (2011) who provides a functional definition of ELF as: 'any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option.' (2011: 7). First, it is inclusive, i.e., people from any linguistic background are included. Therefore, both native and non-native English speakers are included, unlike definitions provided by, for example Firth, (1996) or House (2003). Second, the definition is inclusive of the different situations and constellations of language use situations where speakers of different languages choose English as the language to reach their communicative goals. Third, it emphasizes choice which sometimes may be dictated by English being the only common denominator in a multilingual communication, but not necessarily the only one (Jenkins, 2015).

Despite the initial focus on English in ELF research, it soon became apparent that the phenomenon of ELF is much more complex (Cogo 2012; Jenkins, 2015). Other linguistic resources were often employed by the ELF speakers to accommodate within communicative activity in multilingual environments. In fact, as Jenkins, (2015) argues, without multilingualism there is no ELF. Therefore, as the research into ELF phenomenon illustrated a 'multilingual turn', its theorising expanded beyond English.

Specifically, one characteristic of ELF communication that ELF researchers now focus on is hybridity. As Jenkins (2015) observes, it is an aspect neglected by earlier ELF research that predominantly focused the effect of other languages (L1s) on the use of English in certain groups of speakers. Nevertheless, together with scholars from wider sociolinguistic field (Blommaert, 2010; Canagarajah, 2011, 2013; García and Li Wei, 2014), ELF research 'turned' towards seeing an individual's multilingual repertoire holistically (see section 3.2.2.1 below). This means linguistic repertoire is not composed of separate clear-cut, bounded languages. Rather, the languages form a 'language continuum' (García, 2009:47) whereby the languages influence one/each other.

In addition to the above, it is not only the linguistic influence of multiple languages on each other in a person's multilingual repertoire. Rather the notion of English as a (multi)lingua

franca repositions English in multilingualism to bring out multilingual practices that are inherent in today's global encounters (Jenkins, 2015; also, Ishikawa, 2020). As Jenkins argues 'English as a Multilingua Franca refers to multilingual communicative settings in which English is known to everyone present and is therefore always potentially 'in the mix', regardless of whether or not, and how much, it is actually used' (2015: 74). This perspective captures a holistic view on multilingual repertoire, but most importantly for this project, multilingual practices that are everyday occurrence for the individuals in this study.

3.2.2.1 Translanguaging through ELF

To further refine the 'multilingual turn' in ELF research, the work of Alessia Cogo illustrates well the conceptual shift in understanding of ELF. Instead of focusing on the individual languages in contact in the phenomenon of ELF as a multilingua franca, Cogo (2016, 2022) retheorizes the concept of ELF through translanguaging.

Originally, translanguaging was introduced by William (1994) to study bilingual Welsh and English students and their alternating language practices in the classroom (Garcia, 2012). In other words, it is an approach to study bilingual or multilingual discourse practices. The theory of translanguaging that seems to be applied to the study of ELF contexts is that there is a single linguistic repertoire for bi- and multilingual speakers. Thus, multilingualism, and essentially ELF, can be understood from the perspective of transformative rather than additive perspective. In other words, in a communication situation speakers draw on their entire linguistic repertoire in order for the communication to work. As Cogo (2017) argued in her study, ELF is a translingual phenomenon which allows its users to employ their multilingual resources which are mainly covert to successfully communicate. But to fully understand the concept of translanguaging, the notion of multilingualism must be explained.

The idea of multilingualism has traditionally been conceptualised on monolingual language ideology that assumed language to be a separate system and therefore multilingualism was (and in some cases it still is) viewed 'as the sum of different languages' (Cogo, 2020: 39). Essentially individual multilingualism is built on the perception that language is a separate unit with separate vocabulary and grammatical structure and individuals possessing

knowledge of two or more languages rely on either of the languages when communicating (Stavans and Hoffmann, 2015).

However, it must be noted that Cogo's work, essential and invaluable, is still within the conceptual or theoretical realm. The reality is still based on the additive perspective on language and multilingualism. For example, the public or lay person still views languages in a traditional way as separate systems because that is the conceptual system within which they operate (of which Cogo, 2016, 2020 and other researchers such as García and Li Wei, 2014 are aware of). Therefore, whilst it is important to extend and even re-theorise the concepts of language and multilingualism (including ELF) as the ELF research leads in this respect, one cannot forget that it takes time to for such retheorisation to anchor in the general public and for the system to change accordingly. García and Li Wei (2014) themselves argue that the multilingual subjects of their research on translanguaging who engage in translanguaging practices may describe them from the monolingual ideology.

I acknowledge this important epistemological turn in ELF, especially useful for exploring naturally occurring speech. At the same time, since I am exploring individuals' opinions and reflections about the practices in CAN Europe network I am bound by the traditional view of languages as separate in order to reflect the participants' opinions as they were voiced. In other words, I conceptualise the participants' repertoires from translanguaging perspectives, to be one and transformative. However, I am also aware of the traditional view on multilingualism based on the monolingual ideology, consisting of separate languages that is widely understood and naturalised in wider public including the participants of this study.

While this section presented a neutral position towards the use of English in multilingual and multicultural contexts and predominantly introduced the concept of ELF, the section below will focus on language, in the general sense, in the context of the NGO sector. Apart from illustrating little interest in language matters within and by NGOs themselves, the section below will also present a critical discussion about the role of English in this context.

3.3 Non-governmental organizations sector – a research niche for LP study

The phenomenon of spread of English on a world scale is unprecedented (Maurannen, 2018) and its importance spilled across many different domains of social life, making it the language for communication across the world. English was once one of the many languages, it is now 'in a category of its own' (Hopkyns, 2020: 2). It is defined in the literature as the 'hypercentral' language (de Swaan, 2001) with an estimated one third of world's population communicating in English 'to a useful level' (Crystal, 2012: 155). English is an official or semi-official language in seventy countries and enjoys a privileged status in twenty more (McArthur, 2003). It thus reaches every continent of the world. In addition to that, English serves the role of 'global academic lingua franca' (Jenkins, 2014: 10). Together with technology English is perceived as the tool of globalisation (Tsui and Tollefson, 2007). It is thanks to globalising processes that English spread to various domains of social life: communication, media, international business, international politics and governance. Therefore, English is always present in any language policy discourse (Bamgbose, 2019; Spolsky, 2004; Pennycook, 1994). For example, English seems to be a fundamental component of different institutions and organizations especially those whose work can be characterised as international. In the debates about the role of language in these settings English has received considerable attention because it is often the only common means of communication whether explicitly stated or not.

Of the three sectors: public organizations, private business and the third sector organizations, the non-profits have received the least scholarly attention when it comes to studying language and its impact on the work and daily functioning of these organizations. This is surprising given the number of international non-governmental organizations (henceforth INGOs) 66,425 compared to 7,825 Intergovernmental organizations (Union of International Associations, 2021). This study is hoping to add to the growing literature on language in the non-governmental organizations, with particular interest on environmental NGOs.

As a product of globalisation NGOs are also influenced by the spread of English as the language for international and intercultural communication (Tesseur, 2017). In many

instances, English is the de facto language for communication in informal institutional settings despite the multilingual LP in place (Hopgood, 2006; Lehtovaara, 2009; Tesseur, 2017). English is also used as the assumed means of communication in international work. Literature on language policy, multilingualism and English language in the third sector organizations offers growing interest among scholars about how language is addressed in INGOs and how these organizations work and regulate their multilingual realities. For example, scholars working in the field of LP (Footitt et al, 2020); translation policies and economic aspect of LP in NGOs (Codó and Garrido, 2010; Garrido, 2017; Moreno-Riviero, 2018; O'Brien et al. 2019; Tesseur, 2014, 2017,2018, 2021; Tesseur et at., 2022); internal and external communication within international NGOs (Lehtovaara, 2009)[1]. Below I review the growing literature on languages and LP in INGOs and I outline the literature gap that this project is hoping to address.

3.3.1 Significance of language issues in the third sector organizations

This subsection will discuss the implications of low priority given to language in international, development NGOs as also illustrated and emphasized by Footitt et al. (2020).

Cultural understanding and building trust are one aspect where languages are of central importance. The issue of language in development NGOs was debated at the University of Reading, UK in 2014 during a workshop on language policy in NGOs (Crack, 2014). During this workshop, multiple development NGO representatives presented their perspectives on the linguistic challenges faced by their organizations on a daily basis. The workshop produced several relevant preliminary findings, among which low priority of language in the development NGOs was the most prevalent across the participating NGOs (Footitt et al., 2014; also reported in Footitt et al., 2018 and 2020). These were the issues especially visible in the organizations that had the Anglophone headquarters which assumed the language matters to be catered for by the partner NGOs further down the chain. However, not having the financial means to allocate to linguistic services to better help the local beneficiary

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[1] Lehtovaara's study is referred to in this research project because it discusses a very relevant topic to this study. However, it must be borne in mind that this is a master's thesis, therefore not a peer reviewed reference.

communities may lead to mistrust and therefore barriers to delivering aid to those in need (Hamaidia et al., 2018).

Neglecting language in the development NGOs may also have dire consequences for the individuals working in the sector and their organizations. For example, Tesseur at al. (2022) discuss the significance of language in the development organizations from the perspective of translation and interpreting. The authors illustrate that linguistic diversity that the development NGOs can be characterised by *and* the handful of big languages such as English, French or Spanish as the main languages for communication may in fact exclude some of the individuals working in the sector and therefore contribute to marginalisation of certain members of staff. Similarly, Roth (2019) argues that the command of certain languages, notably English, is essential for employment opportunities in international development NGOs and, therefore, excludes many individuals who do not fulfil this language criterion. I will discuss the position of English in the international NGOs organizations in greater detail later in this chapter (see section **3.3.2** below). It suffices to say that language skills or lack thereof (especially but not exclusively in English) may influence and shape the career paths of individuals working in the aid organizations.

Similar to the personal or members of staff perspective, Crack (2019) discusses marginalisation problems in the development from the organization level. The author argues that there is little attention and deeper thought about the role of language in the relationship building between the donor, NGOs and community of beneficiaries. Crack (2019) emphasizes the marginalisation or exclusion of NGOs that are the intermediaries of the aid in the process of application for funds. Tacit knowledge of English provides opportunities to access international funding for projects. Thus, Crack (2019) highlights that in this respect the competency in English can magnify already existing power inequalities between different NGOs, especially the Northern based that highly skilled in English and thus have an advantage over the Southern and/or local NGOs providing help in the crisis zones. This is an important factor because the local organizations are often the ones who know the context better than the Northern NGOs and can deliver aid more efficiently and effectively (Crack, 2018; Roth, 2019).

Low priority given to language in the aid and development NGOs operating internationally overshadows the rich linguistic resources of its staff (Roth, 2019) often because there is one or two linguistic resources, notably English and other colonial languages such as French and Spanish, that often do not allow for full understanding of the real potential that members of staff have at their disposal (Tesseur et al., 2022). This is a topic I now turn to.

3.3.1.1 Language capacity and linguistic inclusion

This subsection explores the concept of language capacity in development NGOs from different angles. It begins by defining language capacity. It then explores the mismatch between multilingualism of the employees and the limited use of these skills due to the dominant position of the big languages such as English, French or Spanish in the NGO sector overall. It then illustrates how language is often taken for granted and not included in the planning or writing up of internal policies, procedures and systems. The discussion then steers to investigate the language from the local/national NGOs perspective

Language capacity can be understood as an individual's ability to speak, write and understand different languages. With respect to the development and aid NGO sector, this refers to the employees' multilingual skills, or their multilingual repertoires (Tesseur et al., 2022). As it is reported by the work of Tesseur et al., (2022), employees of the international NGOs (in this case GOAL) have a very rich linguistic resource at their disposal. For example, based on the survey data used by the authors, the employees of the headquarters (only) of GOAL were multilingual in twenty-four languages. Such an impressive language resource, however, is not being utilised to the advantage of the organization or to increase collaboration by incorporating these multilingual skills to enhance effective communication. This is because, as Tesseur et al., (2022) argue, there is no effective utilisation of the rich linguistic resource in GOAL. Despite the staff being multilingual, the official or working languages for international collaboration in GOAL, apart from English, are Arabic, French and Spanish. However, the number of people in GOAL's headquarters who had a good command of these languages and could use them in their day-to-day work was limited.

Furthermore, Tesseur et al., (2022) argue that linguistic competence of the staff is often overlooked when policies, procedures and systems are designed. There is a general

assumption that GOAL staff at different levels (international and national) has a good knowledge of GOAL's working languages, especially English. However, such overgeneralisation results in marginalising or exclusion of certain employees who are not proficient in the primary working languages at GOAL.

In addition, some international NGOs do not give overt consideration to languages (Footitt et al., 2020). The authors illustrate it very well. For example, they observe how languages are 'invisible' in different phases of project planning (*ibid.*). Despite the voices from the southern partners of international NGOs that languages are important in projects that involve local communities, the responsibility to translate is passed on to the local NGOs who usually do not have funds allocated to language. Furthermore, because the language skills of the local employees are not officially acknowledged, it leads to a significant oversight in valuing the contribution made by these employees. I will delve into the problems of translations and interpreting in a subsection below, but it suffices to say here that language capacity is often an overlooked and assumed factor in the work of, especially international, development NGOs.

A similar observation in relation to language capacity in NGOs in the process of decision-making and policies, but from the perspective of donors, is reported by Crack (2019). The author highlights that those in decision-making powers tend to overlook the importance of language in the development NGOs. Specifically, the issue is with the donors who assume the language capacity of the organizations working at the local level. In essence, the donors responsible for dictating funding conditions, project evaluation frameworks and feedback criteria rarely take into account the language proficiency of the local NGOs who work with beneficiaries. It is simply assumed that the NGOs will be able to meet the linguistic requirements needed to accurately communicate with local communities in their vernacular languages. Meanwhile, English is frequently required for funding applications, as noted by Crack (2019), a language that many local NGOs do not have the capacity for. This results in local NGOs with the ability to use vernacular languages being excluded from much-needed funding because of English.

Overall, as it has been shown from the examples in the literature on language in the development NGO sector languages in general do not have a high priority in development

non-governmental organizations. In addition, there seems to be a wide-spread assumption in the NGO sector about the position of English as the main language for communication and little consideration of the actual English language skills among all that work in this sector. On the other hand, there is a lot of multilingual work being done 'behind the scenes' to help deliver aid and development programmes in the beneficiary communities. Therefore, as this subsection tried to emphasize, there is a need for more awareness of the importance of languages in the work of development NGOs.

The next section takes the argument of the importance of languages in the INGOs further and presents the evidence from literature that deals with translation and interpreting in these settings.

3.3.1.2 Language provision and translation

Just as there are no standardised definitions of NGOs (see section **1.4.2** above), there is no standard approach to language in general and translation and interpreting (henceforth T&I) specifically among NGOs. The diversity of approaches to translation and interpreting in these contexts stems from the varying language and translation policies that greatly differ and are influenced by factors such as specific stakeholders involved, location, the linguistic context as well as time and financial resources.

Even though T&I in the NGOs has not attracted much attention compared to other international institutions and organizations from public or private sectors alike (Tesseur, 2018), there has been a steady growth in research on translation in the third sector. One of the claims is that the T&I has been associated largely with volunteering translations. Most notably, as Pym argued NGOs "rarely have the funding necessary for symbolic translation practices; their use of translation is closer what might precariously be termed as 'real needs', they are far less likely to employ in-house staff translator or interpreters" 2008:77 cited in Tesseur, 2018: 4).

Some international NGOs set out multilingual language policies that correspond to the core values of these organizations. This is especially the case with NGOs who work to defend human rights and equality (Tesseur, 2017). For example, by looking at language and translation policy in Amnesty International, Tesseur, (2014) highlights the selection of a

number of official languages to maintain the principle of language equality. Yet, AI can be characterised as strategically oriented in language use. Lack of funds, pressure to respond, maintaining high profile, and reaching prospective donors and activists are the reasons why AI seems to use languages more strategically. Amnesty International aims to assess each of its official languages with respect to its overall contribution to the organization's goals (ORG 33/002/2006 cited in Tesseur, 2014). Language use, in general, is very closely linked to these organizations' actual language needs (Tesseur, 2014). Amnesty International uses language to increase 'the organization's impact and growth rather than as symbolic tool to express [language] equality' (Tesseur, 2014: 574).

Translation and interpretation in crisis zones, on the other hand, requires an entirely different approach. Contrary to an institutionalized translation in AI, NGOs who respond to emergencies and natural disasters must cater for multilingual and multicultural mediation on top of providing aid in the emergency situations. Federici and O'Brien (2019) argue that language and translation must be included in the disaster management plans to better respond to the needs of the communities that are at the centre of the crisis zones. Without the means to secure effective multilingual communication for affected communities may have an adverse effect on trust between the providers of aid and the beneficiary communities. Overall, the authors argue that there is lack of recognition of translation in crisis zones communication and insufficient focus on language barriers that stem from general limited attention to language needs in the international NGOs.

As it can be seen from the discussion above, the theme of low priority of languages in the NGO sector (Footitt et al. 2020) is also very visible and cuts through the translation and interpretation in the NGOs literature. Another topic that is often cited and has already been mentioned in the subsections above is the established position of English and the invisibility of multilingual skills that many NGOs rely on to build trust and accountability (Hamaidia et al., 2018; Tesseur et al., 2022). NGOs, as other international organizations, are embedded within numerous stakeholder relationships. The literature terms it as the 'aid chain'. The aid chain can be defined as communication with different stakeholders as visualised in a form of 'a chain of accountability'. The top-level chain refers to the relationships with donors, governments and partner organizations on international and national levels. The lower end

of the aid chain mainly consists of communities and aid beneficiaries as well as local partner organizations (Hamaidia et al., 2018; Tesseur, 2018).

However, each end chain communication is related to different language problems that arise when it comes to communication. For example, Crack (2019), Footitt et al., (2014) and Tesseur (2014) investigate the top end of the aid chain and report on problems such as language barriers in delivering aid and services to beneficiary communities (Footitt et al., 2014). In her later article, Crack (2019) discusses the language related problems from the donor perspective and argues that language is essential for building trust between NGOs that are funded by the donors and the local communities and that it is imperative for effective communication between these NGOs and communities they serve – this is the part of the picture that Crack (2019) highlights as removed from the donors' perspective. In other words, donor organizations assume that any language-related issues that may arise will be catered for the NGOs in the middle of the aid chain position, which is often the case, but not to an extent that it would produce good results if it were reflected on in the top-end chain. In addition, this comes at a price, local NGOs not only invest their scarce resources to language mediation, but because of lack of formal training in T&I the outcomes may and often do affect the relationships of the NGOS with their beneficiary communities.

At the level of international NGO unawareness of certain T&I among the staff at Amnesty resulting in different outputs in translated texts that may affect how Amnesty is represented was reported by Tesseur (2014). In her PhD thesis, Tesseur (2014) analysed Amnesty International and its translation policy. The author found that despite a formal and explicit language policy in AI and T&I being considered as 'an activity for which great expertise is needed' (Tesseur, 2014: 172), there is still discrepancy in views and practices within Amnesty International offices (local AI section) and its Language Resources Centres on the role of translation and interpreting. This is an important finding as the differing views within AI Structures may have an impact on the way in which the voice of AI is represented (Tesseur, 2014).

On the other end of the aid chain research identifies the evolving landscape of translation spaces and their impact on international development practices (Hamaidia et al., (2018). At This end of the aid chain, languages impact on the development projects' effectiveness in

bettering lives of people in poor communities. The authors highlight how 'messy, complex, informal and unplanned' the T&I reality is for the front-line development workers (Hamaidia et al, 2018: 2). The grassroots level of aid distribution often occurs in the local language(s). The translation or interpreting is often ad hoc and unplanned according to the present needs. With the current emphasis of the research on language in INGOs in the top end chain, there is less attention and resources being devoted to the local diverse projects and practices. As a result, the low-end NGO aid chain projects are often underfunded (Mawdsley et al., 2002).

So far, I have discussed the issues of languages being taken for granted in the NGO sector with respect to T&I and how the different stakeholders within an aid chain and their work are affected. However, not all research into T&I in NGOs identifies problems only. For example, Doerr (2012) investigated how grassroots activists navigate linguistics barriers in the European Social Forum. The author argues that multilingual translation employed by these activist groups is a bottom-up approach that may be used to reach the marginalized groups and hence contribute to and facilitate more democratic deliberation within the highly multilingual European Social Forums. The exact working of this approach is including or involving non-commercial translation network 'Babels' to help bridge linguistic gaps in heterogeneous societies and public spaces.

The discussion in this subsection has emphasised the need for an explicit debate about the role of language, including T&I, in the aid chain and a more discussion needed on the different stakeholders, especially at the local level of the aid chain. It has been mentioned that individuals working in the NGO sector often act as translators and interpreters, but their role has not been discussed. The next subsection is going to address this.

3.3.1.3 The role of language mediators in the development NGOs

The conceptual underpinning of the concept of language gatekeepers and boundary spanners were introduced and discussed in Chapter 2 (see section **2.3.2.4** above). Here I discuss the role of such individuals from the existing literature on language in development NGOs. In doing so, I provide a prelude to discussing the role of such individuals discovered in the process of data analysis (see section **6.3** with its subsections for the discussion on

multilingual skills used by the staff at CAN Europe to bridge language gaps; see also section **7.2.3** for the findings in relation to language gatekeepers). I begin by defining language brokers as it is used in the relevant literature on languages in NGOs.

The terms 'language brokers' or 'language intermediaries' refers to individuals who facilitate communication between linguistically different groups (Crack, 2019). Specifically, *language intermediaries* facilitate effective communication between different stakeholders in the aid chain including the local beneficiary communities, but also outside stakeholders such as government agencies.

Crack (2019) discusses the role of language mediators at the implementing of development programmes in the local contexts. Despite the intermediary's crucial role in development interventions, their role is often overlooked by both researchers and policy maker. What is more, these individuals' role in the in the development project is not discussed among the donor organizations, as there is a general assumption that the local NGOs will cater for the local language needs. This, according to Crack (2019), is a clear indication that there is a lack of deep thought given to the question of human resources needed for language support.

Another serious issue that Crack (2019) indicates at in her article is that the individuals in the role of language brokers or language intermediaries are not interrogated and their identity is not checked at the recruitment process. This is specifically important from the perspective of cultural awareness and cultural knowledge, both indispensable when working with affected local communities. Despite there being a high level of awareness about the importance of cultural knowledge among the participants from the donor governmental organizations – UK's former Department of International Development, the individuals that work as intermediaries are often people from the community who speak the language of the local community but are without specialized training. This is an important aspect, because, as indicated in Crack's (2019) article there often are discrepancies between what was said at the local level by the affected community and what ends up in an English version report.

In summary, the role of intermediaries is crucial for the implementation of the development programmes at the local levels, however, there is too little attention being paid to such individuals and too little is known of the effect their work has on language mediating

between local people and donor organizations. Therefore, researching the role of such individuals, not only the positive, but also possible power relations that such individuals hold would be crucial in understanding better this phenomenon.

3.3.2 Inequalities based on language in the aid sector

From power inequalities ignited by the linguistic capital (Crack, 2019; Footitt et al., 2018; Roth, 2019), through communication barriers that impact on the delivery of aid (Federici and O'Brien, 2019; Hamaidia et al, 2018, Tesseur, 2017; Tesseur et al, 2022) to exclusion or marginalisation of staff (Roth, 2019) and of organizations (Crack, 2019; Tesseur et al., 2022) are some of the most significant consequences of taking for granted the language issues within international, multilingual and multicultural settings such as the NGOs.

The two subsections below will discuss in detail the specific inequalities relating to English language in the NGO sector. The first section will examine English as the hegemonic language within multilingual settings, and the second will focus on the speaker's perspective and the linguistic capital of English which results in perpetuating inequalities within the NGO sector.

3.3.2.1 Hegemonic position of English in NGOs

The concept of "hegemonic multilingualism," as introduced by Krzyżanowski and Wodak (2010), explores the language ideology of efficiency. While initially applied to the language ideologies of EU institutions, it also sheds light on the role of English in other sectors, such as NGOs. This ideology suggests that specific core language(s) are often selected as the "working language(s)" of an institution or organization, driven by cost and efficiency considerations. In the context of NGOs, particularly those operating internationally, English emerges as the sole "working language" despite the existence of official multilingual language and translation policies. However, this choice gives rise to various tensions within these NGOs, as we will discuss below. From a critical perspective, Lehtovaara's (2009) study on internal communication in Oxfam GB illustrates that English is a limiting or even discriminatory factor. While the organization has four official languages (English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish) English is given priority and not all languages are treated equally. The overreliance on English can be attributed to the fact that Oxfam GB only recently (in

1991) designed its official multilingual language policy to reflect its diversity. Before that, English was the sole language for communication in Oxfam GB. Although employees view the steps taken by Oxfam GB to become more linguistically diverse positively, they also indicate that there is still room for improvement (Lehtovaara, 2009).

Some employees working at national/local levels consider the use of English by Oxfam GB's headquarters in its communication with local affiliates to be discriminatory. Despite the multilingual language policy, translations from English to the other three official languages of Oxfam GB are either delayed or non-existent. Additionally, English is seen as a barrier to career advancement. Applying for an international position requires excellent English skills, regardless of the multilingual language policy in place. Similar findings regarding linguistic discrimination resulting from the overreliance on English are reported by Hopgood (2006) in the case of Amnesty International. Like Oxfam GB, AI also adopted a multilingual language policy (Arabic, English, French, and Spanish) in 1980. However, AI's international Secretariat continued to use English as its working language (Hopgood, 2006). This meant that only those proficient in English could work in the International Secretariat, thereby depriving individuals from diverse socio-economic backgrounds of equal opportunities.

Taking AI as a case study, Tesseur (2017) explores the power dynamics between English and other languages within international NGOs. Tesseur (2017) effectively illustrates the complexities faced by international NGOs, like AI, as they strive to challenge the established dominance of English as the main (and often only) language of communication while representing the voices of local multilingual and multicultural communities. The problem with English is that although it is a cost and time-effective means of communication, it is deeply entrenched within global structures. Therefore, organizations within these structures would face more challenges if they do not rely on English.

However, not all literature that investigates the role of English and multilingualism in the NGO sector reports on English being hegemonic. Luchner (2020) investigated the role of English and multilingualism in Kenyan NGOs. The study revealed that English plays an undeniable role in both the international NGO sector and Kenyan NGOs. However, it was observed that English is not viewed as neutral within the aid chain, which includes Kenyan NGOs and their relationships with Northern NGOs and donors worldwide. The ability to

communicate in English provides Kenyan NGOs with a strategic advantage when engaging in the aid chain, including interactions with beneficiary communities. The article effectively demonstrates how proficiency in English is associated with power, prestige, and social status in the Kenyan context. Although Kenyan NGO workers reported no issues with using English, there was a discussion about an unequal relationship between native and non-native English speakers, as reported by the Kenyan NGO staff. Native English speakers from the US and the UK are often perceived as difficult to understand and require assistance in communicating with beneficiary communities.

Having discussed the hegemonic position of English in the development NGO sector and the issues it raises, I will now move on to discuss the concept of linguistic capital of English in NGOs.

3.3.2.2 Linguistic capital of English

While the subsection above discusses the position of English in the development NGO in relation to other languages, this section focuses on the symbolic power of English. This is an important distinction as we shift the focus from the languages themselves to the people who speak them.

Bourdieu (1991) introduced and discussed the concept of symbolic power in Chapter 2 (see section 2.3.2.1). Linguistic capital can be defined as the value placed on language skills in a specific context. In the NGO sector, for instance, proficiency in English is highly valued. Therefore, the symbolic capital of English in this context can be leveraged to gain access to employment opportunities (Roth, 2019). However, despite English serving as a lingua franca in the sector, it also creates some barriers. Footitt et al. (2018 and 2020) report that, although English is assumed to be the lingua franca, different languages are crucial for the successful completion of projects in international cooperation. English is considered a discriminatory factor for employees working in national/local partner organizations. These employees consistently report feeling disadvantaged in a "predominantly Anglophone environment" (Footitt et al., 2018: 6). The main challenge lies in writing in English. Non-native English speakers feel that it negatively affects their ability to convey "the dynamism of activities through report and feedback mechanisms" (ibid: 6). Therefore, for those whose

first language is not English, English may hinder communication in international and intercultural contexts.

However, as Roth (2019) explains, the aid sector can be characterized as multinational, multilingual, and multicultural. These organizations rely on the multilingual skills of their staff to successfully undertake and complete projects. Meanwhile, the multilingual repertoires and language skills of staff working at the national level organizations are often overlooked and taken for granted (Roth, 2019: 41; Peters, 2016). Furthermore, as Roth (2019) and Méndez García and Pérez Cañado (2005) point out, the hegemony of English as the lingua franca in the aid system allows monolingual English speakers to depend on their bilingual or multilingual colleagues who can use their language skills as "bridging capital" to facilitate communication and relationships within the organization (Heugh, 2013; Roth, 2019). Therefore, the linguistic capital of English in the aid sector, as argued by Roth (2019), reflects power dynamics and inequalities, perpetuating a biased position favouring Western staff.

In summary, the previous subsections discussed the current literature on languages in the NGO sector. The discussion highlighted the importance of considering language in this sector, as all NGO activities are language-based. However, it also revealed issues of exclusion and marginalization. English is widely recognized as the lingua franca in the NGO sector (Luchner, 2020), but the discussion raised various problems related to English. For instance, English is seen as a dominant language and cannot be considered a neutral means of communication in the multilingual, multicultural, and multi-ethnic NGO sector. Another important issue is the linguistic capital associated with English. Not only does it benefit English-speaking employees, but it also contributes to perpetuating inequalities within the entire NGO sector.

3.3.3   Multilingualism and English in environmental NGOs – research gap

As it has been portrayed in the subsections above, most of the work that researched languages in the NGOs has been conducted in the development NGOs. This is not surprising because they form the biggest group of NGOs in total (Willets, 2011). However, the second largest group within this sector are environmental NGOs, but there is no, to the best of my

knowledge, research conducted on languages in the international environmental NGOs to date.

However, it can already be stated that there is a great overlap of findings from the development NGOs and what I have reported on their environmental counterparts (see Chapters 6 and 7 for the discussion and analysis of findings on languages in environmental NGOs). For example, the findings from this project illustrate enormous language capacity among the staff and the symbolic power of English in such contexts as international NGOs. I believe languages in the environmental NGOs sector is a topic worthy of study because, as it has already been illustrated by the numerous accounts in the literature above, languages play a crucial role in effective operation of these organizations. Not taking languages into consideration, on the other hand, may lead to exclusion and marginalisation of both employees of the sector and NGOs within the wider NGO community. This project is hoping to contribute to the bigger debate by bringing findings from the environmental international NGOs based in Europe. It is hoped that the findings will contribute to bringing more awareness to the language issues in international contexts such as NGOs. Finally, it is hoped that the findings will be of use to all those working in the international NGOs.

3.4   Summary

This chapter has outlined the approach to studying English in international contexts, such as international NGOs, as taken in this study. Specifically, it introduced and discussed the concept of English as a lingua franca and engaged in a detailed discussion of the role of language in the NGO sector. It has reviewed the existing literature on the topic of multilingualism and English in the international NGOs with particular emphasis on the low priority of languages in this sector and the possible consequences, including exclusion and marginalisation of employees and organizations from within the sector. Finally, this chapter has outlined the research gap that this project is hoping to cover. I now move on to providing background information on the subject of this study – Climate Action Network Europe (CAN Europe).

Chapter 4 Climate Action Network Europe – background information

4.1 Introduction

The previous two chapters outlined the theoretical underpinning of this study (Chapter 2) and research gap in the existing literature on English and LP in international contexts that this project is hoping to fill (Chapter 3). This chapter introduces background information about CAN Europe as an organization – the subject of this study. It presents different aspects of CAN Europe, from its composition to linguistic profile. I begin by outlining CAN Europe's governance and composition. I then discuss its mission and vision followed by areas of expertise. Next, internal activities such as e-mail lists and events organized by CAN are discussed. Finally, I focus on the linguistic diversity present at CAN Europe. The aim of this chapter is to present background information about CAN E. It is also to illustrate that its activities are closely linked to languages and that it is a multilingual site worthy of research.

4.2 Governance and composition of CAN Europe

Climate Action Network Europe (CAN Europe) is a regional node of CAN International. It is an environmental non-governmental organization that was established in 1989 as Climate Network Europe (CNE). The reason for its establishment was to form an official network which would help support and coordinate climate change activities at national and regional levels (CAN International, no date) as well as support NGOs during high level meetings and the UN's international climate negotiations and conferences. It offers its member organizations 'coordinated strategy and strengthen[s] their political impact' (Willetts 2011:53).

Initially, CAN Europe was the only regional node but soon it was joined by two country nodes Climate Action Network US (USCAN) and Climate Action Network UK. CAN Europe was the first Climate Network node originally managed by Stockholm Environment Institute (SEI). The current title 'Climate Action Network Europe' (henceforth CAN Europe) was adopted in 2002. It is registered in the EU Transparency Register (Uia.org, 2017) as a non-profit organization focusing its work on climate change and energy issues. At the time of writing, CAN Europe is 'Europe's leading NGO coalition' (CAN Europe, 2022) with a hundred-and

eighty-five members from thirty-eight European countries (*ibid*). CAN Europe has its main office – the Secretariat in Brussels, Belgium and additional offices and staff based in Germany, Poland, and Turkey (CAN Europe, 2023).
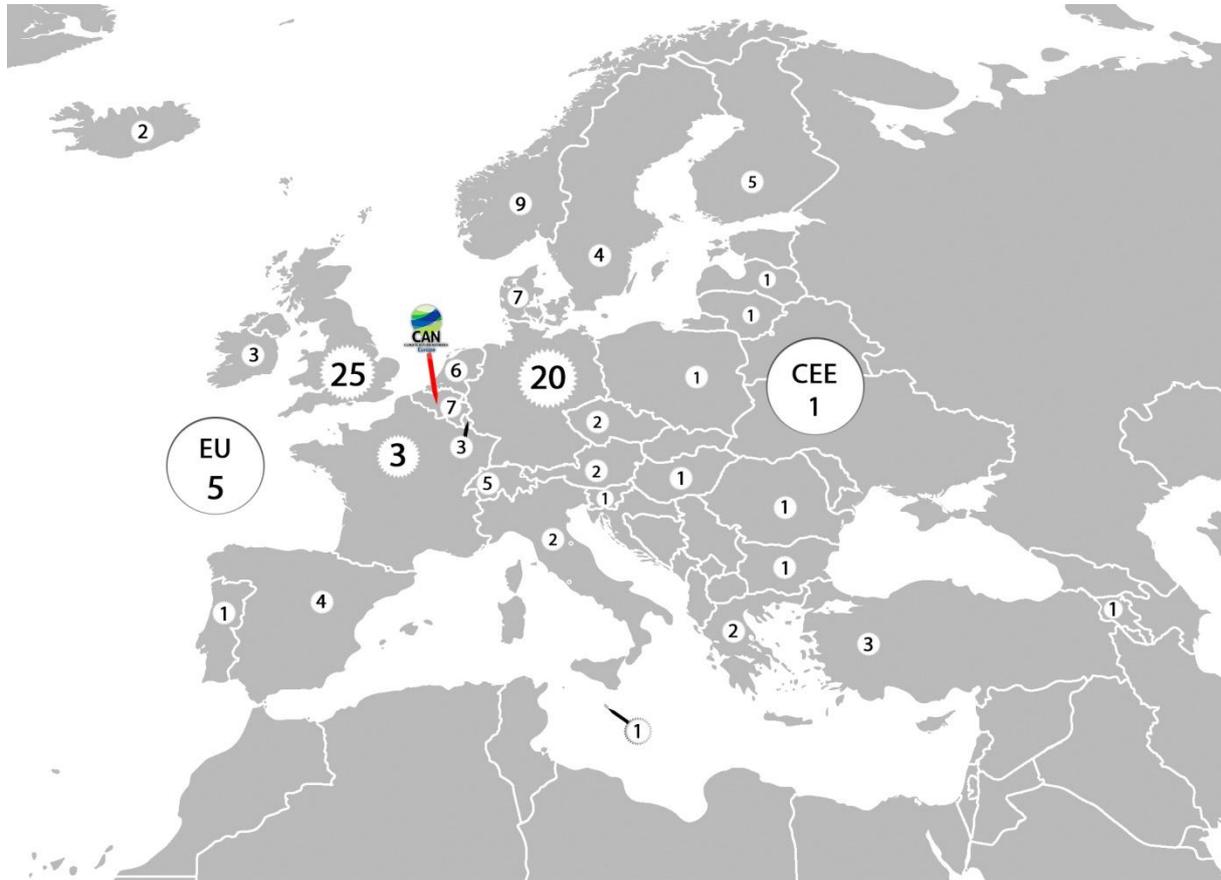
Figure 1 - Map of CAN Europe

The figures in the map represent the number of MOs (usually national or regional level) in each of the country these numbers are placed over. The two biggest circles represent international organizations that are also part of the CAN Europe's network.

CAN Europe is an organization with a legal status. It is guided by CAN Europe Statutes and CAN Charter (CAN International). Both the documents provide rules on how CAN is organized and how it works (CAN International, 2021). The highest authority of CAN Europe is the General Assembly (held bi-annually). As of 2017, there are seven members, appointed by the GA, in the Board of Members who represents CAN Europe in all circumstances (CAN Europe Statute, 2017). Finally, the regional office is also represented by the Director who oversees the work of coordinators working for the Secretariat (either in Brussels or Secretariat staff based in countries listed above).

The network is a heterogeneous one, that is, firstly, it comprises of variety of organizations that are not necessarily strictly environmental by character but share the common goal of environmental protection along with justice and sustainable development and they focus their work towards achieving this goal. Secondly, it comprises of local, regional, national and international organizations. Finally, the member organizations engage in various activities from local campaign organizations to lobbying at international level, and are not restricted to one issue area, but work on many simultaneously.

The above means that CAN Europe is open to members who are non-profit organizations and who do not represent either government or industry interests and 'which actively promote ambitious climate action and sustainable development' (CAN International, 2021: 3). The quoted part of the sentence is an explicit criterion for accepting members. It is not the type of work that the prospective non-profit organization does, but the fact that within its work it recognizes and works on climate change and sustainable development. CAN Europe is a membership organization that brings together an impressive number of heterogeneous organizations who are committed to actively work on climate change issues. The member organizations range from big to small, from campaign-oriented to policy-oriented and they have their separate organizational frameworks as well as being part of other networks. There are organizations from purely environmental organization, such as Greenpeace or WWF, to Christian/ religious organizations, such as Christian Aid or World Council of Churches. Recently, many development organizations joined the network. In addition to the member organizations, CAN Europe also represents over 1,700 NGOs (CAN Europe, 2022) though the work of the member organizations and represents about forty-seven million citizens (*ibid*).

Apart from being a network, CAN Europe also co-operates with three other international networks: CAN International, Green 10, and Renewables Grid Initiatives.

Overall, Climate Action Network works as a platform for environmental NGOs for strengthening their influence in policymaking by aggregating interest and coordinating communication strategies (Adolphsen, 2014, Willetts, 2011). It also empowers its member organizations (henceforth MOs) to influence the policy process in Europe, both at the European Union level and at the national level in countries within and outside of the EU. It does so by first, working to influence the officials at the EU level, and second, by supporting

its MOs in their activities from local to governmental level. Finally, 'CAN Europe is recognised as an established civil society voice in (…) the UN climate negotiations' (CAN Europe, 2017).

4.3 CAN Europe's mission and vision

CAN Europe as an organization is guided by its vision of 'a world striving actively towards and achieving the protection of the global climate in a manner that promotes equity and social justice between peoples, sustainable development of all communities, and protection of the global environment. CAN unites individuals and organisations to work towards this vision' (CAN Europe, 2022).

CAN Europe's mission is 'to support and empower civil society organisations to influence the design and development of an effective climate change policy in Europe, both in the European Union as well as in its Member States and in European countries outside of the EU' (CAN Europe, 2022).

4.4 Areas of expertise

In accord with its mission and vision, CAN Europe works in five main policy areas: Climate Action, Energy Transition, Europe in Transition, Financing the transition and global transition.

Main areas of expertise	Sub-areas of expertise	Broad description of goals in each of the main areas of expertise.
Climate Action	Effort Sharing, Emissions trading, Industrial transformation, Climate plans and laws	Bolstering EU climate ambition to reach the 1.5°C goal of the Paris Agreement
Energy in transition	Renewables, energy savings, Gas, Coal, Buildings, Energy Charter Treaty	Advocating for 100% renewables, energy savings and fossil fuels phase-out
Europe in transition	Western Balkans, Turkey	Advancing sustainable energy in EU's neighbouring countries.
Financing the transition	EU Budget, The EU's recovery funding, Fossil fuel subsidies	Shifting EU finance away from fossil fuels towards climate-neutral economies.
Global transition	International Climate negotiations, International climate finance,	Raising global efforts to fight dangerous climate change

	Climate, sustainable development and human rights, Trade	

Table 1 CAN Europe areas of expertise (source: CAN Europe, 2022)

The table presents the areas of expertise of CAN Europe, but the goals set in each area are indicative of the activities of CAN E. as policy watchdog. For example, in Climate Action area, CAN E. lobbies the EU officials to keep the set targets for greenhouse gas emissions in the EU. To effectively lobby for the set targets, CAN Europe relies on coordinated communication with its members to present information from national and local levels. These activities are all dependent on language. Therefore, it will be interesting to see how language is utilised in this organization.

4.5   Internal e-mail lists in CAN Europe

E-mail correspondence is the main means of communication within the network by far. At the time of the data collection there were eight permanent working group lists, four temporary task lists, one general e-mail list for CAN International and twenty-one working group e-mail lists[2]. The latter two e-mail lists were on the CAN International level, but CAN Europe as the regional node had access to them and used them whenever there was a need to do so. These e-mail lists served as the platform for information exchange, sharing opinions, commenting on issues, raising awareness of issues in different corners of Europe, acting jointly in working groups, coordinating work/projects and more. It is important to mention the e-mail lists as it is through these channels that the network is sustained and can operate efficiently. The only language for *all* these e-mail lists was English. However, from time to time, there were rare instances of e-mails from the members in other languages, particularly French or German usually in the form of a forwarded message.

4.6   Events and meetings organized by CAN Europe

As it was stated above, CAN Europe has its own constitution which all the members must adhere to. It is in the Charter that the rule about biannual General Assemblies (GAs) are

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[2] The information was included in the welcome pack that was dated April 2014. It is a document that was accessed online and downloaded as part of research materials. The updated welcome pack for the members does not include any information about different e-mail lists within CAN Europe.

organized in Brussels by the Secretariat which the representatives of MOs must attend. Non-attendance for two subsequent GAs results in withholding a member status from an organization. The schedule for each of the GAs is prepared by the Secretariat's staff and always consulted with the MOs.

The GAs usually last for two days over a weekend. The purpose of the GAs is to decide on matters relating to the network, such as welcoming new member organizations, updating the congregation on the progress of the projects that were undertaken by CAN E. The first day is normally devoted to presentations by the staff from the Secretariat with an aim to update all the members about the policy work at the EU level. After that there are presentations from the representatives of the MOs as a form of update on their work. The second day is devoted to small-group talks, video conferences and small working groups made up of members of Secretariat and employees of MOs. This is mainly to align the activities of the members and the Secretariat, to agree on the narratives coming from both the Secretariat and MOs in reference to coming events, campaigns, issues to be discussed at the yearly UNFCCC Conference of the Parties (COPs[3]) that CAN Europe is to attend. Moreover, different strategies for the UN International conferences (COPs) where CAN Europe is to represent its members are discussed and agreed upon.

All the official talks, presentations, conference calls, and working groups during GAs are conducted in English only. All materials that are prepared for these events are also in English only. The informal talks in between meetings, however, predominantly happen in variety of languages.

In addition to the GAs, there were staff weekly meetings at the Secretariat. These were scheduled for a particular day of the week. Members of staff mainly updated everyone on the work done and work planned, any achievements in the previous week, or problems they faced. These meetings were always conducted in English, however, there were instances when some members of staff used either French for small talk (one-to-one), or phrases directly translated from, Dutch or French, to English. As only English was commonly shared among all the members of staff it was the working language chosen for this type of events.

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[3] United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). These conferences are formal meetings of the UNFCCC Parties (Conference of the Parties, COP) that focus on assessing progress in dealing with climate change and on negotiating legally binding agreements among the parties.

4.7 Linguistic and cultural diversity in CAN Europe network

Since this project is focused on exploring language practices and language beliefs of those working at CAN E., it is necessary to introduce its linguistic make-up. CAN Europe network spans across European continent, thus it inevitably covers a territory that is very rich linguistically and culturally. Its local and national level member organizations operate in the local/national languages in addition to English. They use the official and/or local language when addressing their national/local audience. Even though the majority of the MOs are from other than English speaking countries in Europe, the main working language of the network is English. Therefore, whenever contacting the network, or communicating within it, staff at MOs choose English.

4.7.1 Employees of CAN Europe Secretariat

Similarly to the situation of the network, CAN Europe's Secretariat comprises of members of staff from variety of linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The overall number of people working at CAN Europe's Secretariat, at the time of the data collection, was nineteen (this number includes interns, that is, temporary members of staff). There were six Belgian nationals, four of whom were Dutch native-speakers. One of the Belgian nationals was French-native speaker and the last person had dual nationality Libyan and Belgian with French as the native language. In addition to that all the Belgian staff were multilingual and had either French or Dutch or both in their repertoires in addition to English and other languages such as Arabic. The remaining employees were from: Finland, Ireland, Italy, Poland, Serbia, Greece, the Netherlands, USA/Germany, Switzerland and Turkey and they spoke the languages of their homeland in addition to English and at least one of the official languages of Belgium, mostly French.

4.8 Summary

In summary, this chapter presented the profile of CAN Europe as an international organization. It illustrated how CAN Europe is organized and it discussed the different activities performed by CAN Europe. This was to illustrate that every activity of CAN E. is closely linked to language(s). Therefore, any member organization that interacts within the CAN Europe network is faced with a multilingual and multicultural reality. This calls for an interdisciplinary approach to understand better the role of language in such organizations

and its effect (positive and negative) on those working in this context. Having presented the background information about the subject of this study, I now turn to discussing methodological aspects of this project.

Chapter 5 Research Methodology

5.1   Introduction

Chapter 2 outlined the conceptual framework I work with in this thesis. Chapter 3 embedded this project in wider literature and identified a research gap that I hope this study will fill. The previous chapter (Chapter 4) outlined the background information about Climate Action Network Europe (CAN Europe). This chapter focuses on the different research design aspects that I employed in this project.

First, I outline the aims and the research questions that guide the current project. Next, I move to discuss methodology of inquiry chosen for this study. In the *Qualitative Inquiry* subsection, I include a brief ontological position taken in this project, the challenges and changes of the scope of the study and access to fieldwork and researcher's role. I then proceed to discussing the research methods I employed in this project along with justification for each of them. Ethics of the face-to-face and online interviewing are discussed next. The chapter then moves on to the analytical framework of data analysis process. In here I provide a comprehensive description of the stages taken in the process of data analysis in the light of the utilised Reflexive Thematic Analysis approach. Also included in this section is a discussion about concepts of reliability and validity in the context of this study along with the Lincoln and Guba's (1985) rigour criteria and strategies used in this project. The chapter concludes with a section on aspects of the presentation of the data, such as transcription conventions and data anonymising.

5.2   The aims of the study and research questions

The general aim of this research project is to provide insight into an implicit language policy in an international, environmental, third sector organization – Climate Action Network Europe (CAN Europe). More specifically, I was interested in exploring not just what the language practices and language beliefs are in this context, but to investigate English language practices and language beliefs and the extent to which multilingual language

practices are allowed/ accepted and used and in what circumstances. This aimed at understanding the complexity of language policy in place in CAN Europe.

My second aim was to explore language-related power structures within this research context. I was particularly interested in investigating how my participants felt about the language policy in place and how they thought it affected them.

5.2.1 Research questions

This research project originated partly out of personal interest in the third sector organizations and partly from empirical findings, reviewed in Chapter 3. These greatly influenced the formulation and development of the research questions (RQs). In order to address the literature gap as indicated in Chapter 3 above, this project is guided by the following set of research questions:

1. What language practices and language beliefs are in place in CAN Europe network?

    a. How is English used as language practice?

    b. How are English language practices sustained?

    c. How and to what extent languages other than English are used/ accepted?

    d. To what extent does the existing LP in CAN Europe allow for flexible language use?

2. How do the employees of CAN Europe reflect on the ways the existing language policy impacts member organizations' participation within the CAN Europe network?

    a. What power relations does English introduce in this context and how do they affect the employees?

The first RQ set aims at exploring language practices and beliefs in CAN Europe. Since there is no explicitly stated language policy in CAN E., the first RQ set helps to make the implicit rules explicit. This is done with respect to both English and other languages. Despite English serving the role of the working language in CAN E., the actual practice is assumed to be

complex, dynamic and strategic (Angouri, 2013). It was, therefore, assumed that other languages may play a role in the participants' daily activities, but the extent of their use was not known. My approach to language policy here is aligned with and informed by Bonacina-Pugh (2012), Spolsky (2009, 2019), and Shohamy (2006) all of whom recognize the significance of exploring language practices as policy.

The RQ1a focuses on English as it is the main language for communication in CAN Europe. It explores the participants' meta-discourses and compares them to the observed English language practices. Here, I was particularly interested in how the individuals felt about the role of English in CAN Europe. Thus, RQ1a explores participants' experiences with English as the main language for communicative activities in the network.

RQ1b relates to participants' English language beliefs, their understanding of and expectations as to the use of English in CAN Europe network. This research question helped to uncover the standardized or naturalised position of English within the network and form the basis of the discussion that was expanded in the second RQ, i.e., about the language related power issues that English brings to the context.

RQ1c, on the other hand, explores the extent to which other languages are used by the multilingual staff at CAN Europe. I was interested in exploring in what situations the participants would draw on their multilingual repertoire and why. Despite a neutral stance that I take in this part of the project about the use of multilingual resources, there exists more critical research that emphasizes the actual extent of the reliance on these resources in the international development NGOs to ensure effectiveness of communication *and* the fact that these multilingual practices are somewhat invisible because of English's position in the NGO sector overall (Tesseur at al., 2022).

As a natural extension from RQ1c, RQ1d seeks to understand to what extent the employees may be free or limited by the language policy in place in CAN Europe. This research question forms a kind of summary by drawing on the previous questions to understand how the participants understand the rules and flexibility/limits the language policy in CAN Europe gives/imposes on them.

RQ2 addresses the participants' evaluations of the existing language policy in CAN Europe. In particular, the aim here is to explore participants' views on the consequences of implicit, English-only language policy in CAN Europe both at the organization and individual levels. This research question was mainly motivated by the existing empirical research on languages in the NGO sector (Crack, 2019; Footitt et al., 2020; Tesseur, 2017; Tesseur et al., 2022; Roth 2019). The studies indicated that despite language being the overlooked aspect in the development NGOs work, it has an impact on inclusivity in these organizations. In the light of this and in addition to English not being equally distributed in CAN Europe, I expanded the scope and set to explore the potential consequences on participation of the member organizations in the work of the network.

Finally, RQ2b is partly motivated by the need to expand the discussion from outlining practices and beliefs only and partly by the need to empirically investigate the critical perspective on (B)ELF (Ehrenreich, 2015). The critical perspective was, to some extent, addressed in ELF research, specifically in studies that investigated standard language ideology with NES ideologies and attitudes towards NESs norms (e.g., Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer and Widdowson, 2018). However, I am not only interested in identifying the existing NES and NNES dichotomy. I am also interested in understanding power relations brought about by English among the participants and how these individuals perceive themselves within these symbolic structures of power.

5.3   Qualitative inquiry

Qualitative inquiry (henceforth QI) was chosen as the methodology for this project. This approach is particularly useful when there are problems to be explored that 'cannot be "easily measured"' (Liamputtong, 2019: 12) or that are difficult to find answers to using the quantitative approach (Hesse-Biber, 2019). The main assumption on which QI is based is how people make sense of social experiences through their senses (Bradbury-Jones et al., 2017). Therefore, the characteristics of QI greatly align with the aims of this study: to explore language practices and beliefs of the participants and their evaluation of the language policy in place.

Moreover, it is an effective approach to deal with the research questions above. QI focuses on asking questions like 'why', 'how', and 'what' (Hesse-Biber, 2019:4) which allow to collect the data in which 'multiple meanings (…) surface' (Liamputtong, 2019: 15). The open-ended questions guiding this project, therefore, allow for understanding of the meanings that the participants co-construct about their and others' language practices, beliefs and attitudes. Moreover, QI allowed the participants to build these conceptualisations and evaluations using their own words, based on their individual experience. Qualitative inquiry therefore is valuable in the context of this project as it is concerned with gaining an understanding of lived experience (Richards, 2003).

From the perspective of the phenomenon studied here, quantitative approach would not be suitable, because studying language practices and beliefs cannot be accounted for or predicted quantitatively. Rather for investigation of highly complex issues as language with its variety of use, language choice and language beliefs shaped by individual experiences, qualitative inquiry is preferable as it promotes rich insights and in-depth understanding obtainable thanks to qualitative methods.

5.3.1   Social constructivism

I take interest in how individuals in my study co-construct meaning of their experiences and the world around them. The epistemological underpinnings that guide this investigation come from constructivism which sees knowledge as 'socially constructed' (Jung, 2019: 2).

Social constructivism is an approach that sees the world not as material (Adler, 1997) per se but governed by rules, beliefs and assumptions which are a foundation of the social world. Understanding these rules is subjective to the interpretation of individuals who construct meaning. Thus, as argued by Adler (2005) and Finnemore and Sikkink 'all research involves interpretation, and thus there is no neutral stance from which they can gather objective knowledge about the world' (2001: 395). In other words, interpretation is an intrinsic part of any kind of research, and this is the epistemological stance I share with social constructivists.

Finally, as argued by Onuf (2013) individuals construct their realities by language. How we understand the reality in which we live is constructed by us and for us through language. For

Onuf, 'people always construct, or constitute, social reality even as their being, which can only be social, is constructed for them' (2013: 4). Similarly, Burr and Dick (2017) observe that social constructivism sees language as a tool to structure our (social) experiences of the world and of ourselves. Therefore, for social constructionists, language has a significant role in human life. The implications for this study coming from that argument are that language shapes individuals and their social reality. Therefore, studying it contributes to our better understanding of the link between language and society. By studying the language practices and language beliefs of my participants, I present interpretation of the individuals' social world and how they actively position themselves in it by co-constructing their social realities.

5.3.2   The scope of the project: challenges and changes

Before discussing the methods of data collection employed in this project, I would like to first present the problems I faced when deciding on the scope of the project and recruitment of participants.

5.3.2.1 Access to fieldwork and recruitment of participants challenges

In the initial stages of this project, I planned to research a Central or Eastern European NGO. Ideally, it would be an organization that worked across this region of Europe. I was interested in what language they worked in and if it was English how they coped with it. Despite having those criteria set, the task of finding a suitable subject for this research project was a very long process that took almost a year. In the initial stages of planning and organizing, I prepared a list of Central and Eastern European organizations of interest and sent a personalized e-mail to each of them. The response rate was fair, however, all of the organizations that replied refused to take part in this project. The organizations that did not refuse at first had their reservations as to their size and whether this would yield good results for this study. Others were not sure about the extent of the multilingual environment they functioned in. Still others, were worried that the project would be better suited to organizations who employed more staff than they did. As a consequence, the first attempt at having recruited a subject of this study failed.

I evaluated the responses from the organizations and decided to introduce additional criteria that guided the process of finding a suitable subject for this project:

- international
- environmental NGO
- based in Europe.

The level of operation, i.e., national or international, was not of priority initially, but as the project progressed this aspect was incorporated into the characteristics as one of the variables which are very interesting from the linguistics perspective. In other words, the fact that the subject of this study is an international organization working across variety of languages gives the project an extended scope. On a very practical level, international organizations are generally bigger in size, i.e., have more staff and funding, hence can afford an office where I could collect data for this study.

Environmental INGOs are of particular interest here as they comprise one of the largest communities of NGOs. In fact, they are the second largest groups of NGOs after the human rights NGOs (Finger and Princen, 1994, Willetts, 2002, 2011). In addition, as I stated in Chapter 3, environmental NGOs, are an under-researched area of study with respect to language policy (for the research gap in the existing literature on language and language policy in NGOs see section **3.3**). To the best of my knowledge there is no study conducted on aspects of language and language policy specifically in environmental INGOs. Therefore, when making a decision about the subject of the study, I took these two factors (environmental and gap in literature) as guiding my choice.

Europe, and Brussels in particular, is home to many of environmental INGOs that were of interest. Thus, the decision on location maximised the opportunity for this research study being accepted by one of the organizations residing there. The fact that an organization is situated in the Western part of Europe means that it is already well established in its political context. Western ENGOs are often already confident political actors. What follows is that they are more open to sharing information about themselves and their language practices; the issue of trust is less of a problem when compared to organizations from Eastern part of Europe who only recently started to establish their position in their political contexts.

Therefore, firstly, international environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs) at the EU level work closely with NGOs from across Europe and are part of international networks, thus creating a truly intercultural and multilingual environment. Deciding on such organization also meant that I had access to the Eastern and Central organizations' perspectives, but I could only realize that part of the initial idea when I decided to expand the original scope of this study, which I discuss in the subsection below.

Secondly, choosing a bigger organization meant that more people worked there whom I could observe. Offices of such organizations are in themselves multilingual and multicultural as they are staffed with people from variety of cultural and linguistic backgrounds, a crucial point for this project. This proved to be an important step in having access to rich data. Most importantly, the employees of such organizations are (generally) used to a good rotation of internship candidates that often observed their work for various reasons, and this aspect proved useful when I decided to employ observations as the research tool. Finally, from the linguistic point of view, big, international organizations already function in English. The fact that English is the language for communication in many Western-based organizations allowed for comparison of Western and Easter organizations with respect to English language practices and attitudes and to tease out any diverging opinions, thus, identify language-related problems.

Owing to these criteria, the second attempt at recruiting subject for this study was successful. After an initial e-mail correspondence with the chosen organization that showed interest in the project, an interview was arranged. The interview between the director of the organization and I was held on the 1st April 2014 and lasted for about one hour. It was during that Skype talk that the director agreed for the research to take place at the premises of CAN Europe Secretariat in Brussels. The agreed start date for the placement was 2nd March 2015. At that point I began preparing the ethics documents for this project. Prior to the interview I was also in contact with both Human Resources Manager and the Communications Manager.

To find out as much as possible about the people that worked in the CAN E. Secretariat, I contacted the person whom I was supposed to work closely with during the three months' placement. In total I held three Skype interviews with different members of staff prior to

commencing the data collection process. A month before the placement, I had scheduled a face-to-face meeting with the Secretariat members of staff in Brussels prior to which I emailed the participant information sheet (see **Appendix B**). The meeting was approximately one hour long, and it was mainly devoted to the technical aspects of the data collection. It also served as an excellent opportunity to answer any questions about my project that the staff had from the initial project introduction e-mail and the participant information sheet. In addition, I was able to present myself in person to all the people who worked for CAN Europe Secretariat at that time.

To summarize, selecting a suitable subject of this study and obtaining approval from the ethics committee were the initial steps in preparation for the fieldwork. Unexpectedly, it was much more difficult to recruit a subject for this project than it had been thought initially, but the problem was overcome by continuous search, perseverance and reflections on the entire process. Overall, rethinking of the strategy of approaching these types of organizations resulted in successful recruitment of a desired subject for this study.

5.3.2.2 Decision to expand the scope of the study

After securing a place at CAN Europe for this study, I planned to research language policy in the office of CAN Europe in Brussels only. However, the data that I gathered during my three-month stay in the Secretariat were already illustrating that I may only be producing one-sided perspective on language policy in CAN E. The Secretariat in Brussels coordinates the work of CAN Europe's member organisations, but the employees of the Secretariat language practices could not be said to be representative of the rest of the individuals in the Network. Therefore, upon reviewing the data and the initial familiarisation of problems discussed by the Brussels participants, I decided to expand the scope of the study to include participants working at national/local levels of the network, i.e., those working for member organisations (MOs).

This decision had its both, advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, it meant that the study would present a more accurate and balanced view on the issue of language in the CAN Europe network. This meant more data for analysis, but the analysis would be enriched by the views expressed by the MOs member employees. A more in-depth insight into the

language practices and beliefs within the network emerged as a result. On the other hand, I faced a challenge to recruit more participants for the study. Having met some of the MOs employees at the General Assembly, I thought the recruitment will be easy. Unfortunately, I faced a 'priority' challenge which meant that for the busy employees of the national member organisations of CAN Europe taking part in my study was less important, therefore the response rate was quite low. In addition to that, guided by the issues raised by Brussels employees about the problems communicating with Eastern and Southern NGO members, I aimed at recruiting participants from these specific regions to be able to present their perspectives. Despite low response rate to my e-mail invitations, I managed to secure interviews with four participants from different Eastern (Central) and Southern European territories and two interviews with participants who worked on the national/ local level but were employees of the Secretariat (a hybrid role). Thus, I managed to secure different perspectives that helped me to provide a more insightful account of the language practices and beliefs in CAN Europe network, than I would have otherwise be able to present with the data from the Secretariat only.

5.3.3   Researcher's role in CAN Europe

My role at the organization was not to only sit and observe. I felt that being part of the team would help me access more relevant information about the participants, their interactions, choices they make in these interactions, etc. Therefore, at the interview with the director of CAN Europe a year prior to commencing field work at the CAN Europe Secretariat in Brussels, I decided to join the team as an unpaid intern. My responsibilities were mainly to assist the policy officers and the Communication team in their daily activities. These included planning meetings, research and data gathering and discussing these with relevant people, contacting and interacting with different stakeholders form the CAN Europe network and liaising back with the policy officers. I was also invited to attend various working groups. In this role I mainly assisted Policy Officers form the Secretariat and member organizations on research, information sharing and project(s) planning.

From the language perspective, I helped with proofreading documents, letters to Ministers (EU level), editing op-eds and other materials produced by the staff working at the Secretariat and to be published on the CAN Europe's social media channels. On Two

occasions, I was also asked to help with translations from Polish to English as those are two languages I speak proficiently.

Most of these activities described above were in English. However, many documents that I edited were mainly translated to English versions of documents form member organizations' local languages. My role was to edit these so that the English language of the document was consistent and 'correct', often, native speaker-like.

Overall, being an intern at CAN Europe, allowed me more personal level contact with those working at the Secretariat and some who worked in the member organizations. I was able to observe and reflect on the language policy at hand: how those involved went about their daily activities in the languages they had in their repertoires? How they interpreted and acted on the implicit language rules? How much thought they gave to language(s) overall?

I feel that this decision to be an intern at CAN Europe allowed me an insider view of what was happening in terms of languages on the ground. Being an observer only may have resulted in obtaining partial view of the language practices. The role was most certainly useful in networking with the member organizations' employees which proved useful for recruiting some of the participants in the second phase of data collection (online interviews). I understand that e-mail correspondence and a limited number of online meetings with MOs' employees have their limitations, especially when it comes to gaining information about language practices at the level of member organizations. Nevertheless, I believe I gained more valuable insight into the workings of CAN Europe network and the language use in place.

5.3.3.1 Researcher's positionality

Having explained my role in CAN Europe Secretariat, I think it is also important to make a few comments about my personal background that influenced the decision to study languages, in the first place, and to focus on the role of English and any effects this language may have on multilingual individuals who work in intercultural and multilingual settings such as international NGOs.

As a researcher from Central Europe and a non-native English speaker, my positionality shaped the trajectory of my investigation into language policy within an international network of environmental non-governmental organization – Climate Action Network Europe (CAN Europe). Having experienced the challenges of language barriers first-hand, I recognized the pivotal role of my own experiences in directing the course of data collection. For example, I focused on individuals who were not native speakers of English and who relied on their English language skills at work. I understand that this may introduce the biased view on the role of English in the context. To alleviate this situation, I attempted to invite native English speakers (NES) even though their numbers were much smaller compared to employees who identified as non-native English speakers (NNES) in CAN Europe.

In addition, coming from a region characterized by linguistic diversity, my perspective as a non-native English speaker heightened my sensitivity to the nuances of communication within the context of international NGO, which thrived on multilingualism and multiculturalism. This unique position allowed me to delve into the intricate dynamics of language use and policy within the organization, shedding light on the complexities and implications of linguistic diversity in an international, multilingual and multicultural setting. One example of this is the data analysis stage of this project. When developing themes based on the interview transcripts, one of the first themes that I developed was the language power inequalities as felt and reported by the participants in this study. Despite my knowledge of the phenomenon of English as a Lingua Franca which presupposes a rather pragmatic role of English in international contexts, I could not help but notice that the participants reported on feeling somehow constrained, limited and even 'handicapped' when in a communicative activity with others, especially NES. I strongly believe in the pragmatic side of English as a means of communication in such multilingual and multicultural contexts as the CAN Europe network, however, I felt it was a duty for me to honestly report on the negative side of having English as the only language for communication in CAN Europe. After all, this was a frequently brought up issue in the interviews.

Overall, through my research, I aimed to contribute to a better understanding of how the complexity of roles, functions and interactions across the network resulted in dynamic and

flexible patterns of language practices that intersected policies and assumptions about the default language choice of English in CAN Europe. This research also aimed at developing our understanding of how the implicit language policy of CAN Europe (English only) through such dynamic and flexible language patterns facilitated knowledge flows and strategically supported cooperation within the Network (see section **6.3** for a detailed discussion on "hidden" multilingual practices).

5.4 Methods and data collection process

In this section I will describe each method that was employed in the process of data gathering. The study employed different research techniques that belong to the ethnographic research toolkit, and these were: participant observations, field-notes, focus group discussion and face-to-face/online interviews. Opinions, attitudes but also rules governing the use of languages in the research settings are of importance here and this is the rationale for using the data collection methods mentioned above. I believe that these techniques complement each other to help to tease out people's opinions and gather information about [perceived] language policy within both the office and the network. They allow for comparisons of views of the people who work on different levels in the network and see whether there are any tensions or diverging perspectives as to the existing language policy in CAN Europe. Below, I will discuss each research method in the sequence they were used. I will begin with the observations as this method paved the way to focus group discussion and individual/online interviews.

5.4.1 Participant observations

I begin with a brief discussion about what is meant by observation and the argument for it to be seen as a valid research method. I then proceed to why this method was chosen and how it was utilised for this project.

'Observation is the act of perceiving the activities and interrelationships of people in the field setting through the five senses of the researcher' (Angrosino and Rosenberg, 2011:37). In other words, the researcher immerses herself/himself in the process of observation in order to recognize the interrelationships between and activities of the people under

observation. However, the same author disqualifies participant observation as a method in itself (ibid.) and that it is to be complemented by other methods. It is not to say that it is invaluable. My understanding of this claim is that observation is seen not as robust a method because it is dependent on subjective interpretation of the researcher. To support my point, the Angrosino and Rosenberg call participant observation a 'personal style adopted by field-based researchers' (2011:18).

On the other hand, as claimed by Gobo (2011) and emphasized in Silverman, participant observation is 'more than *just a method*' (2016: 233, emphasis added). Atkinson and Hammersley (1998) go a step further and claim that participant observation forms basis of all social research. What is more, participant observation has an added value because it allows observing actions and behaviours of people, thus expanding the perspective from attitudes or opinions only (Gobo, 2011). Perhaps the most significant aspect of participant observation being treated as a research method lies in the fact that it is 'fundamental to understanding another culture' (Silverman, 2011: 123; emphasis added).

The main reasons for the decision to employ observation was to get to know the culture of the environment, to understand the participants and their roles and relationships in their community, to understand and uncover the implicit rules governing the use of different languages in this particular setting, the perspectives of the individuals' on the existing practices and English as a lingua franca (ELF). Observations were the main tool to address the contextual research questions of this project (see section **5.2.1**). This method proved to be of great significance because I had not been familiar with the settings prior to conducting the data collection. It was also an opportunity for individuals working in CAN Europe at the time to build rapport with me prior to interviews when they shared their opinions and beliefs about their and others language practices. Finally, the method was used as a tool to start accumulating knowledge about prospective participants for both focus group discussion and in-depth interviews. It allowed for allocating the 'information-rich' individuals among all of the employees of CAN Europe Secretariat. In addition, it helped greatly to identify those organizations that always responded to e-mails and those that were mostly silent in the intra-network communication which proved to be extremely useful in the

second phase of data collection. Overall, this project would not yield the same results if it was not for the application of participant observation as a research method.

Observations began as soon as I settled in the Secretariat of CAN Europe in Brussels, Belgium. They lasted for full three months (from March 2015 until June 2015). Although at the end of the stay, I was preoccupied with conducting focus group discussion and face-to-face interviews, observations continued until the last day at the CAN Europe office but were the most useful at the beginning of the three-month stay.

In the first week of the placement, it was thought to be appropriate to focus on observing how everything works in the organization. No formal notes were recorded, but the time was spent to socialize with the employees and to familiarize with the culture of the office. This provided a chance for the members of staff to get accustomed to my presence, to ask questions about the project and to build social relations with me. The approach that was taken was the one often described as 'fly on the wall'. This meant that in the initial stages of observations I did not ask questions as to why a particular language policy existed in place or individuals' opinions about it. The main purpose was to familiarize with the individuals, their daily activities and language practices. I thought that my questions may have 'intruded' in the spaces and obstructed the natural working of the group. Therefore, I recorded what group members did, for example, what rules they followed when addressing colleagues both from the office and from the network (usually via telephone, Skype or email (I was treated as a member of staff from day one and had access to the main, intra-network e-mail lists). I focused my attention to aspects such as: which language they chose when discussing work related topics; if they spoke about language(s) issues when and how they did that; implicit language use rules, for instance, when communicating with other people on the phone, or addressing people , language 'habits' or behaviours, informal talks and the language choices for these, and people's awareness of their multilingual environment. As suggested by Silverman (2010), I recorded my reflections in the observation field notes (see section **5.5.2**).

In summary, observations were a prerequisite method that guided the rest of the data collection process. It drove the question formation process for focus group discussion and interviews. The method proved to be invaluable in getting to know the culture of CAN

Europe Secretariat, identifying prospective participants for focus group discussion and in-depth interviews. Lastly, it allowed for narrowing down the focus of the study thanks to reflections on experiences of CAN Europe network context.

5.4.2 Field notes

Throughout the duration of placement with CAN Europe Secretariat (from March 2015-June 2015) I kept two separate notebooks, one for field notes and one for recording my reflections in the form of research diary. Both were filled on a daily basis. The former includes examples of language behaviours and interesting events that took place together with information about the context in which these events happened. For example, rules that are applied to when greeting colleagues, ad hoc language decisions, and language attitudes expressed by individuals randomly caught in casual lunch conversations. The diary was the space for my reflections on the data gathered, participants, events, issues and possible solutions during the data collection process and developments in recruitment of participants for interviews (see also section **5.3.3.1** above). It also included questions concerning the process of data collection, the approach to conducting focus group and which participants would be most suitable for the group discussion. And on a personal level, they included reflections on the research skills such as approaching and conducting interviews.

At the beginning of the observations all the relevant events associated with language policy were recorded. However, with time I began to narrow down the focus to be able to get more details about the most significant events for this project. For instance, not only content of the conversations was recorded, but also contextual information about them, that is, people's attitudes about language practice in the office, or who initiated an interaction and in what language, etc. What is more, there were a number of themes that I started to develop after just the first month of observations which were then further developed as I progressed in the data analysis process, but I return to that later in this chapter (see section **5.7)** and in Chapters 6 and 7. The initial themes included:

- English language practice,

- Beliefs and attitudes towards multilingual language practices,

- Beliefs and attitudes towards English

- Effects of the existing language policy on individual members of staff

Field notes of participant observations and reflections on the process of data collection are of primary importance because they:

- focused my observations to specific themes,

- laid foundation to construction of questions of FG discussion and interviews,

- helped manage the process of data collection and organization, and

- were the first phase of data analysis.

5.4.3   Focus group discussion

Only one focus group was conducted in the process of data collection. Originally this research tool was not planned for this project. However, during observations I began to accumulate questions about various events and decided to conduct the focus group discussion. The aim was to find out what the participants really thought about the issues of language use within the organization. After all, '[t]he intent of the focus group is to promote self-disclosure among participants.' (Krueguer and Casey, 2009: 2).

Another rationale for using this research tool was to pilot the interview questions which was an opportunity to review and remove any ambiguity from them. I felt that it served its purpose well in terms of focusing and clarifying the interview questions. FG also revealed new aspects that I had not assumed prior to conducting the group discussion. For example, speech accommodation. Staff working in the Secretariat reported that they would accommodate their English to the level of member organizations, especially those from the Eastern and Southern parts of Europe. However, I felt that this would be a good point to discuss in interviews with the participants from MOs. Therefore, I prepared additional questions for the interviews in the first and second phase of interviews.

This research tool gave me an insight into both the Secretariat and member organizations' opinions about different aspects of language practices in CAN Europe network. In fact, the

realisation that there are issues with English in members from particular parts of Europe, a topic often raised in the discussion, was a drive to extend the project from its original scope Secretariat only and to include views of the member organizations (see section **5.3.2.2**).

I believe that FG was a very useful technique that allowed for gaining an insight into language practices in the network, attitudes towards the language practice and English as is used in the network – English as a lingua franca and the effects of the language practice and English on the work of the individuals in the network. It was also useful in gaining more insight into perceived language matters and a strong rationale for expanding this research project to include the perspective of individuals working at the MOs.

5.4.3.1 Location of focus group discussion

'A permissive environment is where participants feel comfortable in the group discussion to share their true feelings, behaviors or attitudes' (Hennink, 2007: 133). To accommodate with the requirement of creating a 'permissive environment' (*ibid*) I planned to have a separate room booked for the discussion to take place away from the office environment. The building where CAN Europe Secretariat is placed is equipped with conference rooms that can be booked for free by members of staff of organizations that are housed there. It proved to be of convenience because the participants did not have to travel long distances from their workplace which saved time and money for all of them as well as the researcher. The room was also very well noise dampened which helped with recording as there was no noise in the background and this, in return, helped in the process of transcribing the discussion.

5.4.3.2 Selection of participants for the focus group discussion

Identifying the '"information-rich cases" (…) those from which one can learn a great deal about the issues of central importance to the purpose of the research' (Patton, 2002: 46) was the priority for this project. The selection process began shortly after I settled into the environment of the office. The observations and reflections noted in the field diary helped to make an informed decision about whom to invite for the focus group discussion. For instance, the number and the heterogeneity of participants were taken into consideration so that people who take part in the discussion did not feel intimidated by power relations. The aspects that I particularly paid attention to when selecting FG participants were:

Age – too much of a difference could intimidate the younger participants, as this is closely linked to the level of experience the participants had. Although the environment was very friendly and people were generally very polite and understanding, it was felt that the younger employees would generally feel at a disadvantage and would look up to the attitudes or ideologies expressed by the older participants. Therefore, the age difference between the participants did not exceed five years.

Work experience - similarly to the aspect of age, the power relations could skew the data in the manner that the people who had little work experience in the field may not have wanted to reveal their true attitudes about language use in the office. It was felt that their 'inappropriate' answers, that is, ones that do not fully agree with views of staff with greater experience, could put them in an uncomfortable position. Another consequence could be withdrawing or not fully participating in the discussion, which I wanted to avoid at all costs having only planned one focus group discussion.

In general, most of the staff that worked in the office were 'information-rich cases' as they had information that would be of importance to this project. However, for the focus group what I believe mattered was that I aimed to have a good selection of participants from different positions but within the same age group. That way I could achieve views from participants who had different experience with language in their positions. For example, I chose participants who were both policy officers, but one of them worked with NGOs in a specific region – the Balkans, and the other participant's work was primarily focused on EU's policy. Similarly, it was thought that different experience with language of a person who was involved in communication team's work and a person responsible for network outreach activities could produce divergent views and perspectives on the practices. Therefore, when selecting the participants for the focus group discussion, I took into consideration a variety of aspects.

5.4.3.3 Researcher as a moderator

Krueguer and Casey warn to pay 'particular attention to achieving moderator neutrality whereby moderators do not share their personal views on the topic' (2009:169). On the other hand, there is the interactional nature of focus groups or interviews where the

moderator or interviewer sometimes needs to disclose some background information about herself/himself and cannot stay entirely in the background (Silverman, 2014). In a similar vein, Holstein and Gubrium argue that focus groups and especially interviews are not 'neutral communicative grounds' (2011:150) but are full of interactions. How we perceive neutrality of moderator/interviewee is of importance. For some active and interactional character of FG or interviews is already a case of disclosing attitudes. However, I believe that for the purpose of this project disclosing some interest in the subject that I study helped me to build rapport with the participants and gain their trust.

Having said that, at the stage of question preparation I avoided any adjectives that may signal to the participants how I felt about the issue of language use in organizations such as CAN Europe. I took an approach somewhat in between so I was trying to stay neutral when I received answers from the participants so that the participants did not feel they are not providing useful input to this project. On the other hand, I really wanted the discussion to be as natural as possible because this would make the participants feel comfortable. I was part of the discussion, and I did not want to impose rigid structure to it by simply staying in the background and adhering to the pre-planned structure of the FG by managing the discussion with the questions. I planned the FG discussion to be semi-structured and flexible, I allowed myself to use probing questions, I asked for clarification whenever an utterance seemed ambiguous and used my mimic/nodding and gestures to probe for more information. Naturally, I gave the ground to the participants and minimized my input to the discussion to actively listening and asking questions, but I strove to achieve a more natural group conversation rather than question-answer interview with no additional comments, or opinions.

To sum up, the focus group discussion was used here to test the assumptions that were made during the participant observations. It also served as the pilot test for the face-to-face interviews that were to follow. This research method proved to be of significance for this project even though it was not planned initially. The technical aspects of focus group discussion were managed in such a way that they facilitated its conduct and allowed for obtaining rich data. Evaluation of FG discussion allowed for learning how to approach the

participants in a discussion, becoming more confident in asking for clarification and additional information and prepared me for the one-on-one interviews that followed.

5.4.4   In-depth, face-to- face interviews

In this subsection I will argue that interviews are a good tool for obtaining information about social reality of the participants. My position is mainly influenced by the constructivist/interpretivist orientation to qualitative research (see section **5.3.1**). Furthermore, it is in line with Kvale who proposes that '[a]n interview is literary an inter-view, an inter-change of views between two persons conversing about a common theme' (1994:21). What is particularly appealing in this perspective on the research interview is that it places emphasis on the fact that knowledge is co-constructed between the participants, that an interview in itself is 'a construction site of knowledge' (ibid.), and that it allows for obtaining an insight to participants' opinions, meta-practice and language beliefs on the existing LP in CAN Europe network. Furthermore, people's understanding of implicit rules can be unfolded in the interaction. Completed by the observations it gives a fuller account of how the observed language practices are matched with how people situate themselves in them and how they apprehend such communicative events. What is more, different aspects of the language policy in place can be teased out from the interactions between the interviewee and the interviewer. For instance, the awareness that the individuals show about the multilingual environment they work in and how they deal with it through the means of English as a Lingua franca, *and* other languages where relevant. I paid particular attention to how the individuals in my study adapted their language use to the dynamic contexts they worked in.

There were two phases of interviews; one took place in 2015 and the second in 2017-2018. Overall, fourteen interviews were recorded, seven of which were conducted with the members of staff at CAN Europe Secretariat. Additional seven interviews were conducted with individuals working at the national, local CAN Europe's member organizations, or employees of the Secretariat based outside of Brussels (these were online interviews, see section **4.4.5** below for more details). Each of the face-to-face interviews lasted for approximately one hour. They were audio recorded and then transcribed following the transcription convention adapted from the VOICE project on ELF corpus (see section **5.7.1**).

As the second phase of interviews did not involve observations more detailed and tailored questions were of great significance to obtain richer data. For example, contextual questions about the organization, communication practices and linguistic resources of the staff working for the member organizations were added to the original questionnaire (see Appendix G).

5.4.4.1 Location of interviews

Similarly, to the focus group discussion discussed above, the face-to-face interviews were held either in the conference rooms that were located Mundo-b building, the same building that the CAN Europe Secretariat is located in, or in the meeting room within the office space. This was to minimize the cost and time spent on traveling to a different location for both the participants and the researcher. What is more, the idea to have face-to-face interviews in a separate room was to make the participants feel comfortable when sharing their views and opinions about language policy without any obstruction from the outside environment. Even though it cannot be claimed that the participants' beliefs or views expressed in the face-to-face interviews had not been influenced by other people's views, I strived to minimize sharing the information between the participants by asking them not to disclose or discuss any questions that were raised in the interview until all the interviews were conducted – to which all the participants agreed. The interviews in the second phase of data collection happened online which was very convenient for both the participants and the researcher.

5.4.5   Online interviews

Having decided on expanding the scope of this study to include perspectives from employees of member organizations at national/local levels, I opted for online synchronous (real-time audio and video) interviews (O'Connor and Madge, 2016). The use of online methods, such as online interviewing, has become more common in the last decade (Cann et al. 2011; James and Busher, 2009; Bauman, 2015). The main reasons for this decision were time and cost efficiency of the method. Since the member organizations are dispersed around Europe, it would have been very costly and not time efficient to travel to the different locations only to conduct one hour interview.

Online interviewing using Skype (and telephone in one of the interviews, S12) proved to be extremely useful and practical for this phase of data gathering. It allowed real time spontaneity with visual clues (all the Skype interviews were conducted using video chat). As argued by Mann and Stewart (2000), online interviewing has similar advantage to face-to-face interviews in that the responses may be more honest because there is not time to consider the desirability of answers by participants, unlike for example e-mail (asynchronous) interviewing, which was at one time, also considered as a possible option for this phase of data collection. The main reason for not employing e-mails was the fact that there was potentially big risk of low response rate. Individuals working in the CAN Europe network operate on a priority basis which means that it may be easy for them to ignore or delete e-mails that are not directly relevant for their work if they are too busy (O'Connor and Madge 2016).

Despite the advantages that online, synchronous interviewing offered for this project, there were some challenges that this method posed. The most difficult challenge to overcome was recruitment of participants. Thank to my involvement with the work of CAN Europe during the three-month stay in Brussels I had contact with and met some of the individuals working for member organizations during the General Assembly (in April 2015). In 2017 when I began recruiting participants for the second phase of data gathering, I decided to contact the network outreach person from the Secretariat to provide me with a list of organizations across the network that were relatively active in the work. Luckily, there were individuals I had known and some of them agreed to take part in this project. Nevertheless, online recruitment was a challenging aspect that required manoeuvring in terms of active networking.

5.5   Ethics

In the meantime, of actively searching for the subject for this project, I was preparing all the necessary documentation with details that concerned the ethics of the study. The importance of ethics consideration has also been consulted in the existing literature (Cohen at al., 2017; Lichtman, 2010). This research was considered safe to the participants, but I ensured that the prospective participants in CAN Europe were also informed of the importance I placed on the ethics. After receiving an invitation to stay in Brussels in CAN

Europe office, I e-mailed the project plan and the participant information sheet to the members of staff at CAN Europe Secretariat. This provided an opportunity for the individuals to ask any questions about the project's focus, my stay, the methods of data collection etc.

During the first weekly staff meeting at the beginning of March 2015, I provided the opportunity to ask questions again. I discussed the issues of confidentiality of respondent's data. I made explicit that participation was voluntary and that a decision to withdraw from the project could be made at any point of the project (not only during my placement at CAN Europe Secretariat). No audio recordings had been made prior to obtaining signed consent forms from the participants. Finally, I distributed participants' consent forms to all of the employees of the Secretariat after clearing any ambiguities concerning this study.

5.5.1   Ethics of focus group discussion and face-to-face interviews

The last month of my placement at CAN Europe Secretariat in Brussels was devoted to recruiting participants for and conducting of the FG discussion and interviews. These were scheduled so that about ten minutes were incorporated to allow for the explanation of the purpose of the method in this study and ethic forms to be signed prior to commencing the discussion or interviews. Busy schedule of the participants were also taken into consideration and we worked around them to arrange the most suitable time for the participants. All of the participants were happy to take part in the project and showed a good degree of interest in it.

5.5.2   Ethics of online interviews

The second phase of data collection took the form of online interviews via Skype/telephone with CAN Secretariat staff based outside Brussels and staff working for member organizations across the network. I followed the same sequence of first e-mail invitations, sending information about the project, and voluntary participation in ithis phase of data collection. Next, I addressed gaining consent from those who agreed to participate prior to commencing online interviewing and recording.

In summary, the information about my project was distributed to the participants prior to data gathering. Everyone was informed about voluntary type of participation and that a withdrawal was possible at any point of time. There were numerous opportunities for the participants to clarify any doubts they might have had about participation in this research study.

5.6   Coding process of raw data

The entire process of data analysis is summarized in table 2 below. Here, I present a more detailed account of the process. The substantial first step of interview data analysis was to transcribe all of the interview recordings. I specifically decided to do 'full' transcriptions rather than partial transcription because I felt that at this stage it was too early to decide which fragments could be omitted and which would be important. Despite the process of translation being laborious and time consuming, it helped me to familiarize myself with the data better and to form profiles of the participants better. The prosodic features such as laughter, emphatic stress, and pauses were also transcribed throughout the interviews. The transcription conventions that I decided to employ come from the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) project website. The conventions provided on VOICE are very clear and I had been familiar with them prior to commencing the transcription process. I must mention, however, that I adapted the conventions for this project. For example, since I am not focusing on specific linguistic features in participant's language use, conventions concerning these linguistic features were omitted. The full list of transcription conventions I followed is provided in the Appendix C.

Once the transcribed interviews were ready, I transferred them to QSR International NVivo 12 Pro where I created cases for each participant and a separate case for focus group discussion. NVivo proved to be very useful in arranging, storing, managing and retrieving the data. I used a mix of deductive and inductive approaches when coding the raw data. This produced thirty-one main codes and forty-nine sub-codes. These eighty codes and sub-codes were too many to produce a meaningful framework for data interpretation. However, I learnt about my data and was able to better reflect on it. At this point, I checked the codes and sub-codes for any duplicates and transitioned to the second cycle coding.

Second cycle coding was more focused on finding relationships, patterns and common meaning expressed by the participants and reflected in the existing codes (see section **5.6.1** below). This stage was mainly to reorganize, re-code, and synthetize the codes into categories to develop 'some level of patterned responses or meaning within the data set' (Braun and Clarke, 2012: 63). The second cycle coding produced seven main codes/categories and twenty-three sub-codes from which I developed the five themes and their corresponding fourteen subthemes. I found that second cycle coding was more intense because it required more active engagement with the data and the existing codes. Unlike in the first cycle coding, where I mainly attempted to group the raw data as a way to familiarize myself better with it, second cycle coding was more challenging as I tried to question the assumptions I held in the first cycle coding to be able to move to a more conceptualized level of data analysis. In addition, as I re-read the transcripts, I realised that there were more implicit rules that people expressed and that I had missed in the first cycle coding. Re-reading of the transcripts was an imperative action to develop categories from the initially created codes and to begin 'themeing' of the data (Saldaña, 2016).

Possibly more important to coding itself was the place I created in NVivo for my thoughts and ideas that emerged/developed during the two cycles of coding: memos and annotations. I linked the different memos to specific codes and/or participants. In addition, I found the practice of writing memos and annotations very useful and effective in growing my ideas and interpretations of the data. I used annotations for specific fragments in the transcripts/documents that I found particularly relevant for either the relationship, my research questions, or at times to include a reference from the literature.

5.6.1   Analytical framework – Reflexive Thematic Analysis

In this project I employed Reflexive Thematic Analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 2020) as the main analytical framework to analyse my data set consisting of observations, interviews and focus group discussion.

Thematic analysis (henceforth TA) is one of the most common methods of data analysis in qualitative research paradigm. It had been in use by scholars despite it not being discussed in the literature extensively (Boyatzis, 1998). Since publication of the article by Braun and

Clarke (2006) demarcating thematic analysis this method of analysis has gained a lot of scholarly attention and is now a well-established method of qualitative research paradigm with many forms of it (Braun and Clarke, 2019). In this project I follow Braun and Clarke (2019, 2020) and their reflexive thematic analysis approach because it allows for flexibility of the theoretical assumptions that inform the analysis in this project, i.e., social constructivism (see section **5.3.1** above).

Reflexive Thematic Analysis 'is best described as theoretically flexible *generic* method' (Braun and Clarke, 2019; emphasis in original). What this means is that reflexive TA does not prescribe any theoretical assumptions; therefore, it is not a methodology but a method of data analysis. However, as the authors themselves emphasize, there will be limitations to the flexibility of TA 'constrained by qualitative paradigmatic and epistemological assumptions about meaningful knowledge and knowledge production' (Braun and Clarke, 2020: 331). As it evolved, TA branched out to realist and constructionist research orientations. The research orientations guiding this project reside in the constructionist camp. Unlike realist, I believe that knowledge production is a social process, meaning is constructed and reconstructed socially (Burr and Dick, 2017) and research is not about finding the truth but constructing meaning. Therefore, subjective skills of the researcher and qualitative research values are brought together by reflexive TA as valuable aspects of knowledge production (Braun and Clarke, 2020).

Central to reflexive TA is a theme which, Braun and Clarke define as 'patterns of shared meaning underpinned by a central meaning-based concept' (2019: 593). In other words, a theme represents a patterned meaning that is developed during data analysis process. It is not the number of times a meaning appeared in the dataset; rather the meaning and what it represents are what counts as a theme. Furthermore, integral to theme development is the process of coding of data, which according to Braun and Clarke (2020), is a process of immersion in the data, reflecting on the data, questioning it and a process that takes a lot of time. Even though there is no one accepted or agreed upon definition of a theme, I take the above characterization as the guiding principle in what a theme represents.

Little guidance exists on how to conduct reflective thematic analysis in the literature, despite the method being popular among qualitative researchers. Some propose four-stage

approach to thematic analysis, for example, Dörney (2009). Others, such as Braun and Clarke (2006, 2019) advocate a six-stage approach. Braun and Clarke (2006) outline steps of doing thematic analysis. However, by doing this they do not subscribe to the view that data analysis should be a linear and rigid process based on either/or choices. Rather, the authors provide the steps of thematic analysis *but* the researcher has the choice in deciding what is a meaningful pattern and what is not, based on his/her epistemological and ontological assumptions and orientations to research.

In this project I followed Braun and Clarke's (2019) approach for developing themes and the steps are summarized in the table below.

PROCESS	DESCRIPTION
FAMILIARISATION (TRANSCRIPTION)	Interviews transcribed and read to familiarize with the data; Observation notes turned into electronic version; Search for preliminary patterns in the data;
CODING	Codes developed through data familiarisation process based on patterns appearing across data; Initial codes were created from semantic/surface focus (for language practices) and latent (the implicit rules of the language policy in place); All codes checked for duplicates; Codes and relevant data extracts collated together;
INITIAL THEMES	Themes created based on the existing codes; Theme generation guided by research questions; Active construction of themes by re-reading the existing codes;
REVISION AND REDEFINITION OF EXISTING THEMES	Themes checked against the coded data and the entire data set and re-defined (where necessary); Maps/ networks of existing themes created for interpretation purposes;
ANALYSIS (DEFINING AND NAMING THEMES)	Data interpreted rather than described; Essence of each theme identified; Each theme analysis written;
WRITING UP	Analytic narrative supplemented with extracts from data to present a coherent story about the data;

Chapter 5

The discussion implemented the narrative within the existing
literature;

Table 2 Thematic analysis interview data: from familiarisation to written report (based on Braun
and Clarke, 2006)

As mentioned in subsection 5.4.1 the process of data analysis began early before conducting
interviews. Due to the character of the data gathering process that commenced with a
three-month stay in the secretariat of CAN Europe in Brussels, Belgium, the analytic process
can be said to be both deductive and inductive. It was deductive because of the observations
and prior reading which were the lens through which I set out to collect the interview and
focus group data. Deductive coding was mainly based on Spolsky's (2004, 2009) LP
framework and Bonacina- Pugh's (2012) practiced language policy. When I coded the data, I
tried to arrange it according to the three elements of the LP: language practices, language
ideologies and language management. However, soon I realized that there is much more
complexity in the data, for example, participants expressing their opinions or sharing their
experiences that would not fit neatly into one or the other. Nevertheless, using reflexive
thematic analysis deductively for this project allowed me to explore evidence for, for
example, practiced language policy the existence about which I had read, and I could
observe in the context (see sections 2.3.1. and 5.4.1).

Inductive approach was predominantly used for interview and focus group data analysis in
this project. I grounded the exploration in the data. In other words, I developed themes
through exploration and grounding in the interview and focus group data. This approach
allowed me to explore the latent meanings, beliefs and assumptions behind the explicit
statements (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Like Braun and Clarke, I do not believe it is possible to
be in a 'theoretical vacuum' when doing reflexive thematic analysis (2020: 331).

The use of both approaches to data analysis meant that they complemented each other. It
allowed me to achieve a better focus (deductive approach) and develop non-obvious themes
(inductive approach) 'that could never have been anticipated in advance of analysis' (Braun
and Clarke, 2020: 322). One example of the 'non-obvious' theme developed in the process of
analysis is the North-South divide (see section 7.2.4). It was thanks to observations that I

noticed that this topic could be worth asking about in the interviews. The data from one-to-one interviews further allowed me to explore the meaning behind this theme.

Having outlined my analytical approach, I now turn to issues of reliability and validity.

5.6.2   Reliability and validity

The concept of reliability is used to evaluate the quality of a research project. It is about consistency. In other words, reliability measures the extent to which results from a study can be reproduced under the same conditions. Immediately this concept becomes problematic for qualitative researchers (Flick, 2014). Holstein and Gubrium reject such construct for qualitative research as they argue that one cannot expect to reproduce the same answers on two occasions because they emerge from 'different circumstances of production' (2011: 17). As Cuba and Lincoln (1994) explain the positivist construct of reliability is not appropriate for explorations of social worlds, meanings and interpretations of them. Applying the positivist approaches to qualitative research '"is not really getting" the assumptions, values and sensibility of a qualitative paradigm' (Braun and Clarke 2019:333). However, this is not to suggest that quality in qualitative research can be ignored. Mason (2002) argues that qualitative researchers should be transparent about how they generated and analysed data in an accurate, honest and appropriate way.

Validity is yet another positivist concept that is often applied in quantitative research to evaluate to what extent the results measure what they are supposed to measure. As Flick (2014) states 'whether the researchers in fact see what they think they see' (2014: 483). As a way to enhance validity in my project, especially of the interview and focus group data, I followed Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) suggestion to ask for clarification and continually check the meaning of what is being said with participants.

To ensure the quality of this study I decided to focus on trustworthiness (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This framework consists of credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability. The table below illustrates the rigour criteria, together with their brief description and strategies that were utilised in this project.

RIGOUR CRITERIA	PURPOSE OF THE CRITERION	STRATEGIES APPLIED IN THIS PROJECT
CREDIBILITY	To establish confidence level from the perspective of the participant that the results are true and credible.	• Three months stay in Brussels office and at least 8-week immersion in the research context prior to piloting and conducting interviews. This was to engage with the research contexts, people working in the settings and to make observations about the prospective research participants. • Interview questionnaire piloted in focus group discussion. • Field notes taken throughout the duration of the researcher's stay.
DEPENDABILITY	To confirm the results of this study are replicable.	• Rich description of the study methods provided. • Prepared and distributed participant information sheets prior to commencing the data collection. • Weekly reports on data collection process sent to my supervisor; • Cyclical revisiting of the codes and themes; double checking the codes and themes with the supervisory team.
CONFIRMABILITY	To develop the confidence that the results of this study can be confirmed or corroborated by other researchers.	• Reflective journal kept in NVivo throughout the data collection process. • Data triangulation applied; different data sources complement each other during the data analysis process.
TRANSFERABILITY	To outline to what degree the findings of this project	• Criterion-based sampling; the participants were chosen based on

can be transferred or generalized to other settings.	their roles, locations, and experience (at least five years of working in the NGO context).
	• Collected data from interviews until reaching a satisfactory level of data saturation.

Table 3 Trustworthiness – strategies adapted from Lincoln and Guba (1986)

Applying reflexive thematic analysis in this project for data analysis meant that emphasis was put on the researcher's subjectivity. For Gal and Irvine's (2019) researchers are part of the system of social relations by co-creating it, therefore striving to achieve complete objectivity in qualitative research may be seen as against the values of qualitative research (Braun and Clarke, 2020). Instead, the focus here is on the subjectivity of the researcher and her 'reflexive engagement with theory, data and interpretation' (Braun and Clarke, 2020: 330). To ensure reflexivity, I kept a reflexive journal throughout the duration of the project. This proved especially useful during data analysis when I noted my actions, thoughts, questions, and my interpretations of the data.

5.7   Presentation of data

The aim of this section is to specify what transcription codes were applied and how I anonymised all of the data that bore any name tags or could be identifiable by others who know the organization/staff working for CAN Europe.

5.7.1   Transcription conventions

I decided to adapt the transcription conventions from the VOICE (Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English) project. There are several factors that influenced my decision. First of all, it is very thorough and covers a wide array of aspects that makes them applicable to any type of project. However, I omitted linguistic features of speech, such as, pronunciation, phonology or phonetics as I do not concentrate on the linguistic features of the language I study. Therefore, I simplified the transcription convention by omitting these. Second, the mark-up conventions are very user-friendly and intuitive. They are also replicable, as I have done in my project. Because the transcription conventions for the VOICE

project were used to capture the reality as close as possible, they are quite useful to also note the nuisance information, such as contextual events or non-verbal feedback from participants in the interview. These are sometimes useful as they show, for example, that the participant finds something surprising or puzzling. Such reactions of speakers are sometimes important in data analysis, as they may show, for example, speaker's un/awareness of language issues in their environment. Below is an example of the marking conventions for an utterance taken from my data:

1. S7: And I think just because (2) that's the way to/
2. Mod: /email/
3. S7; the fact that we, like English is dominant and it makes me feel like you know, I'm KIND of (1) useless @
4. Mod: @

The fragment above is only for illustrative purposes, S7 refers to the participant. The numbers are assigned to the participants in order of the interview plan. The numbers in brackets refer to the time taken by the participant to think before replying. The / / indicate overlap and @ laughter. Words that are emphasized by the speakers in an interaction are always fully capitalised. For more details the transcript convention is included in the Appendix C.

5.7.2 Anonymizing

All the gathered data that come directly from the participants were anonymised. Beginning with the focus group discussion I assigned the speaker numbers to the people in order they spoke. As the face-to-face interviews took place later additional numbers were assigned to speakers. In addition, the same numbers were applied to the speakers who took part in both focus group and face to face interview discussions. Namely, a speaker who participated in an interview would be referred to S1, S2 and so on. Assigning numbers to the speakers that were mentioned in the discussion or interviews that did not participate in the study but were/are permanent members of staff at the Secretariat or member organization were not given a number. Instead, I substituted the number with a double X. Where the speaker was only mentioned but was not an interviewee, he/she was referred to as SXX. In instances where a person could be identified by the position or place of work/region he/she

coordinated SX was used. As far as the personal pronouns are concerned, these were substituted by the code: SX. SX is also used whenever there may appear a possibility of finding out who the participant may be or whom he/she may refer to in the interview. That way it becomes more difficult to de-code who the speaker is, or whom he/she may refer to.

This subsection briefly discussed the transcription conventions that I adapted from the VOICE Corpus of English as a lingua franca and the approach I took to anonymizing the speakers to minimize the chance of the participants being recognized by others. Full, adapted conventions are in the Appendix C.

5.8   Summary

This chapter has provided information on the aims of this project and the research questions this study addresses. It also provided in-depth discussion of the methodology of inquiry and a comprehensive description of the methods of data collection. It also included a discussion of the analytical framework used in this project and technical aspects of data coding and presentation. In the next two chapters I explore language practices, meta-discourse and language beliefs of the participants. I also investigate how the existing language policy in CAN Europe is evaluated by individuals working in the network including views on power relations within the network.

Chapter 6 Language Practices and language beliefs

6.1   Introduction

This chapter is organized around my participants meta-discursive language practices and language beliefs in CAN Europe network. It explores the personal perspectives on language practices and beliefs among the members of staff of CAN Europe either working at the Secretariat in Brussels or member organizations (national or local level). I divided this Chapter into two parts. The first part begins with exploration of the practiced language policy and language beliefs (English) and the second part is devoted to multilingual language practices. The findings presented in this chapter focus on answering RQ1 set:

1.   What language practices and language beliefs are in place in CAN Europe?

   a.   How is English used as language practice?

   b.   How are English language practices sustained?

   c.   To what extent languages other than English are used/ accepted?

   d.   To what extent does the existing LP in CAN Europe allow for flexible language use?

The sections below provide a rich discussion of the findings. I developed two main themes: **Communicative need for English** and **Strategic use of languages other than English** which are further divided into subthemes. The table below illustrates the themes with their corresponding sub themes for this Chapter, i.e., referring to both language practices and beliefs about English and other languages in CAN Europe. It is worth emphasizing that there exists overlap between the subthemes themselves and their respective main themes. The analysed data in the sub themes is supported with extracts from my data. The main data source used here is interviews and focus group discussion supported by other sources of data (fieldwork observations and CAN Europe's documents) where possible.

Themes	*Subthemes*
The communicative need for English	• *Naturalisation: shared understanding of English as a default language* • *English as the practical language resource* • *English as the common denominator* • *English as time efficient tool for communication* • *International use of English as a factor in language choice decision in CAN E.*
Strategic use of languages other than English	• *Targeted audience communication* • *Closer cooperation within the network* • *Access to sources of nuanced information* • *Head start access to information*

Table 4 Implicit language policy themes

6.2   The communicative need for English

Since Climate Action Network Europe (CAN Europe) does not have an explicitly stated language policy, I draw on Spolsky's (2004) idea that there is policy within practices. Thus, here I explore language practices at CAN Europe to decipher the implicit rules that speakers draw on when they communicate within the network. This is what Bonacina-Pugh (2012) coined as *practiced language policy* (see section **2.3.1**).

All fourteen participants in my study stated, almost univocally, that English is the main language for communication between the Secretariat and the member organizations (MOs) and for all communicative activities within/across the network. It is the language for all documents production, distribution of templates, publishing on social media and sharing information. All the events organized by CAN Europe, such as, the General Assembly,

working/regional groups, meetings, workshops etc., are also conducted in English (see also Chapter 4). Therefore, I argue that speakers orient towards the practiced language policy of CAN Europe according to which English is allowed *and* required.

In the interviews I asked my participants how in their opinion the prospective member organizations or new employees of CAN Europe find out about English being the preferred means of communication. In general, the assumption held by my participants is that these new members learn what the language practice is from practice – the fact that CAN Europe works in English. It must be emphasized that naturalized position of English in international contexts plays part in this, but I return to this topic later in this Chapter (see **6.2.1**) where I will also try to illustrate how these two reinforce the position of and sustain English in CAN Europe. For now, I focus on the aspect of *practiced language policy* to explore how CAN Europe establishes its policy with respect to English through the work of their employees.

Extract 6.1.

1. Mod: **I looked through the documents** (.) erm **on the website that are available**
2. **TO** the mem- **prospective members**
3. S5: yeah
4. Mod: people who want to apply **there's no mention of the language**. So is this
5. like, an unwritten rule? What is /this:/
6. S5: /yeah/, that's an unwritten rule
7. Mod: mhm. But **how do they find out about this rule**?
8. S5: well, **I think it's quite simple**, I I. **All the documents you mentioned are in**
9. **English**
10. Mod: mhm
11. S5: and **if you don't** re- **read another language yeah you can't really** [be part of
12. the network]

S5 directly links the practice which is providing only the English version of the Welcome Pack to prospective member organizations by CAN Europe Secretariat. Thus, it influences the language choice and limits it to English of those who would like to apply for membership in the network. Lines 8 and 9 are indicative of the practice and lines 11 to 12 illustrate that if you do not read English, you will not be able to be part of the network. First, it is about the ability to read and understand English, and second, to be able to reply in that language. I

discuss this form of gatekeeping in CAN Europe in Chapter 7 (see section **7.2.1**), but I argue here that the language practice of the Secretariat of CAN Europe sets the 'rule' of their preferred medium of future interactions. Such practice is set from the beginning of each relationship with the members as all new organizations must go through this recruitment process.

As part of the analysis, I also reviewed documents produced by CAN Europe. Only the Application Package had an indirect mention of the preferred language to communicate within the network.

Extract 6.2

1. **At least one person subscribed to our general list**, **reading emails on a regular**
2. **basis.** The most common way of communication within the network is via our
3. email lists. Hence, **it is essential that at least one person of your organisation** is
4. **subscribed as a minimum** to **our main list in order to stay updated on things**
5. **happening in the network**. (Application Package, 2022)

Although it is not directly stated in the Application Package that English is the language for communication in the network, the fact that it is available in English only sends a signal that English is the preferred and only language for communication in the CAN Europe network (e-mail communication) line 2. Therefore, the Secretariat explicitly puts a request on all the prospective member organizations to have *at least one person* with tacit knowledge of English to be able to receive and distribute information from and to the network. This is the only official, yet indirect statement from the Secretariat about the practiced language policy in CAN Europe.

In practice, the Secretariat also sets the language policy to be English only by conducting all of its formal communicative activities in English.

Extract 6.3

Observation notes March-May 2015

1. So far it **is very much English as a lingua franca** (ELF) if I look at **the internal communication** both **within the office** and, probably, not verified yet, **intra network communication**. (9th March)

2. The day started with a general meeting where everyone introduced themselves. **Everything was conducted in English** (10th March) **English is used in all the staff meetings** so far(14th May)

3. I have now insight into how email lists are organised I have full access to the main email list. **All the information is in English in the emails**. (11th March)

4. **English is used for information sharing and gathering** and contacting with member organisations **in most cases**. (12th April)

5. GA in the Brussels Office building – Mundo B. The agenda introduction and talks/presentations that followed (update) **were all in English**. (…) **All formal talks/ presentations were conducted in English only** (April 30th).

In line of Spolsky's (2004) argument language practices can be considered as policy only when they form regular patterns. Only then these practices can provide implicit rules of language choice that influences other language choices (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012). The observations are dated to illustrate that the English language practices by CAN Europe Secretariat in all its 'official' communication activities were in English. This included all e-mail communication with the network, meetings[4], working groups' information sharing and gathering, and all formal presentations and talks at the General Assembly (GA).

The above was the 'formal' perspective on practiced language policy from the Secretariat which proved to persistently use English. I now turn to the individual members of staff and their meta-discursive practices to evaluate to what extent different language practices of the members of staff at the Secretariat may also reinforce and sustain the English practiced language policy of the Secretariat. To do so, I asked individuals who are directly involved in communication with the members on a daily basis, i. e., employees of the Secretariat who worked at departments such as network outreach, communication and social media, and administration.

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[4] Weekly staff meetings were often accompanied by members of staff from working groups from MOs who joined online via Skype or GoToMeetings.

Extract 6.4

1. S3: **We use English**, **I would say ONLY**, it's **very rare occasions** that **we would**

2. **communicate in another language**. And it's, I would say, **accidental**. So, **the rule**

3. **is** that **we communicate everything in [English]** language and **all the products**

4. that we **produce**. **They're also/ [in English]**

S3 reports on the communicative activities of her department and in great majority of cases S3 confirms they are in English. The emphasis on *only* in line 1 illustrates that other languages are not considered and if used, they are *accidental* (line 2)*.* Later in the interview, S3 explained that the accidental use of languages other than English would be considered for activities, such as, re-tweeting messages of other organizations, often MOs, in the original language. Such activities, cannot be said to be part of the practiced language policy of CAN Europe Secretariat, because they are not regular. English, on the other hand, is.

Similarly, many of my participants reported that the e-mail correspondence within the network across all working groups is in English only.

Extract 6.5

1. Mod: You mentioned **emails and like intranet- intra-network communication**

2. S5: mhm

3. Mod: **what languages are used**?

4. S5: er For our **formal communication it's always English as simple as that.**

5. Mod: yeah, is there: **are there any other languages that are being used** that

6. YOU know?

7. S5: **within ALL the emails and so on**

8. Mod: mhm

9. S5: er **no**. **Not for the network as a whole**? I think **I've never asked myself that**

10. **question** but **it's ALMOST always English**.

When asked about practices that S5 observed in the intra-network communication, S5 stated without hesitation that English is *always* the language choice in all communication within the network. This is another area that regular English language practices are a norm –

thus they form a policy. I return to this in the section where I discuss naturalisation of this policy in CAN Europe and illustrate that it is in fact already anchored among in member organizations. When prompted to reflect on the practice and especially on instances when other languages could have been used, S5 admits that English is *almost always* used. This suggests that those involved in communication within the network are orienting to the practiced language policy of CAN Europe according to which only English is allowed for general and formal communication in the network.

Extract 6.6

1. S10: I would say that **with network when there's something to share**, **it's**
2. **usually sharing in English**, assuming they actually can understand which
2. Mod: uhm
4. S10: which might not be exactly right, but at the same time, **all the General**
5. **Assemblies they are done in English**, **all documents from the Secretariat** are in
6. **English** too. So, yeah, I think **most of the time it's in it's in it's in English it**
7. **remains in English**

Similar to S5, S10 illustrates the working of the practiced English-only language policy in CAN Europe in internal communication. However, S10 refers to sharing information within the network. What is also interesting is the fact that S10 seems to associate the language practice of the Secretariat (lines 4 to 6) with the preferred language for activities such as information sharing. In other words, S10 deduces the implicit rules for information sharing within the network based on the activities (that are also aimed at informing or distributing information) conducted by the CAN Europe Secretariat.

The above suggest that formal activities of the staff at the Secretariat set the standard for communication in CAN Europe network. It is well illustrated by S7 who discusses her standard language behaviour when initiating a communicative activity (e-mail or telephone call) with the member organizations.

Extract 6.7

1. S7: er, so, but **for the most part it's English**, I mean I think **it is rare** that er **I**

2. **would initiate an email** or **a call** and **have it in any other language than English**

Although it is not made explicit by S7 as to the formality of the communication she is referring to, I assume here that it is both formal and informal. In her individual communication, S7 is clear to orient to the practiced language policy of CAN Europe when initiating contact with others in the network. In addition, this is the language she speaks best and therefore, it can be an additional factor that in her practice she reinforces enactment on the practiced language policy in CAN Europe. Nevertheless, her language choice is not random and will most probably impose the same language choice on her addressees. The same pattern of English language practices was observed by all other participants who work at the Secretariat of CAN Europe.

Drawing on the practiced language policy was also reported in instances of confusion. Sanden and Kankaanranta (2018) study on implicit language policy in an international MNC and Lehtovaara (2009) study on official multilingual LP in Oxfam GB report on instances of confusion as to what language to resort to in communicative activities among their participants. Similar issue was raised by some of my participants in the focus group discussion. However, unlike in the studies above, my participants seem to resort to the practiced language policy – English, when initiating a communicative activity with unknown constellation of the speakers in the audience.

Extract 6.8

1. S2: when I think what are the factors I guess **when I am not sure I would go with**
2. **English**

S2 refers to situations when she contacts member organizations that can be characterised by high level of diversity both linguistic and cultural. Even though she has a choice for this particular communicative situation between her L1 (which functions as a lingua franca in certain regions in Europe) and English the L1 may not be the best/ the most efficient language to resort to for political or communicative reasons. S2's example is an enactment on the practiced language policy of CAN Europe in all those situations that she may find potentially confusing as to which language to choose. Despite the English only practiced policy in place in CAN Europe, members of staff are not always limited to English only, but I

return to this topic later in this Chapter (see section **6.3.** below). Thus, the practiced language policy concept was useful for not only deducing the implicit rules for communication in CAN Europe, but also to illustrate that it helps in situations when individuals may face potential communicative problems.

So far, I have focused on illustrating that the concept of *practiced language policy* (Bonacina, 2012) helps to determine the implicit rules based on the patterned language practices in and by CAN Europe network. I also attempted to show that these rules are enacted upon and even become standardized in this context. However, since it is widely known that English is the preferred language of CAN Europe, why is CAN Europe not making the explicit rules about English language use? To address this question, I draw on the concepts of naturalisation (see section **2.3.2.1.**) and ELF (see section **3.2.1**).

6.2.1   Naturalisation: shared understanding of English as a default language

As discussed above, the practiced language policy in CAN Europe naturalised the use of English to an extent that language choice in the network becomes 'invisible' (Piller, 2017: 81). This invisibility can be interpreted as English becoming the norm for communication – neutral position. In other words, English is not seen as the dominant language, but a practical tool for communication. It can, however, be approached from a critical perspective (Blommaert, 1999; Tollefson, 2006) by which the naturalised position of English also reproduces the power relations within CAN Europe's context. The neutral position is explored here. I return to the critical perspective in Chapter 7.

English is recognized as the 'most commonly used lingua franca' in the world today, which 'puts it at the centre of international communication settings' (Cogo, 2012: 233). CAN Europe, as other international organizations in the public and private sectors, is not immune to the unprecedented spread of English (Mauranen, 2018), yet unlike its international public and private counterparts, CAN E. has not defined explicitly its language policy. To help me address the question about why CAN Europe is not making explicit rules about English as the preferred communicative medium in the network, I argue that, from the sociolinguistic point of view, the processes of naturalisation of English as *the* international medium of communication seems to also *generally* apply to the international NGO sector (Hamaidia et

at., 2018). As a way to demonstrate that, I explore my participants' (employees of the NGO sector) expectations as to what the preferred language practices are in CAN Europe.

Extract 6.9

1. Mod: Are you finding **the language practices in CAN Europe network**, a
2. **different experience from what you expected prior to joining the network**?
3. S12: **NO**
4. Mod: So, no, so **you were expecting** it was **English**?
5. S12: **Yes**.
6. Mod: could you (.) tell me a little bit more about that? (…)
7. S12: So but I I mean, **of course it was not a surprise for me** that **everything would be in English.**

Extract 6.10

1. Mod: Right. Let's go into **internal communication** here. By that I mean, **within CAN**
2. **Europe**. Okay. So **are you finding the language practices in CAN Europe network**,
3. **different experience from what you expected prior to joining the network**?
4. S11: **No, no**, because I tend to have very low expectations. So, I was surprised on
5. the positive side. **No, no**
6. Mod: **You weren't surprised that it's English**?
7. S11**: No**, I have to tell you, I know very little er **I know very few international**
8. **organizations who don't have the same practices**.

Both S12 and S11 stated directly that they expected the language practices to be English. In the case of S12, it was her then work experience of working at the national MO that allowed her to observe the practice and thus deduct the rules. For S11, it was his work experience as networker outside of CAN Europe network in partner international NGO. In this position, S11 could not only observe the language practices in CAN Europe, but also to compare CAN Europe's English language practices (as policy) with other international networks language practices. Thus, S11 comments on wider NGO community and language practices in them (Extract 6.10: lines 7 to 8).

The naturalised position of English is well illustrated by S14 who engages in the deep self-reflection about the role of English in CAN Europe.

Extract 6.11

1. Mod: Let's move on to specifically intra-network communication. So here I'm
2. referring to **CAN Europe how you communicate** and how you sort of **find things**
3. with the network **within the network**? Right. So **are you finding the language**
4. **practices in CAN Europe network**, **a different experience** from **what you expected**
5. **prior** to **joining the network**?
6. S14: [shaking the head] **No**, (.)
7. Mod: so **you expected it to be English**.
8. S14: **Yeah**. (…)S14: **I think English is**? **Is it**? I'm looking for? Like, I'm trying to find out
9. if there is anything more to this question than that. **But because it's very, it's very**
10. **self-explanatory.** (1) **To me**, er (.) **it's very logical to me that it would be in English**.
11. And I'm saying **I'm questioning this notion of me**. And **I'm saying why should it be**
14. **in English**? **But I can't find a better question** er a **a better the answer**, it should be
15. **in English**.

S14 is a prime example of how English became established at both practice and belief level to be the language for communication in CAN Europe. The questioning of the position of English from lines 8 to 11 illustrates well this deeply rooted belief. On the one hand, S14 states that it is evident to him that English is the working language in CAN E., on the other hand, he attempts to question this belief but is unable to produce a strong argument against English serving the function of the working language in CAN E.

The socially shared assumption of English as the language for internal cooperation within the network often surfaces across the dataset. This assumption became a recurrent theme for many participants, but was discussed from different positions, e.g., individual (S14 above) to collective (S5, S4, S6).

Extract 6.12

1. S5: so, but it's **it's something that everybody knows** that that er **in**

2. **international work** it's **it's most of the time in English**.

Extract 6.13

1. Mod: there's no written language policy in CAN Europe, you don't state "we use

2. English for our internal or external communication with members". On

3. general level?

4. S4: **I think it's an assumption that it's clear for everyone that at the European**

5. **level**, **it's in English**.

6. Mod: umm so do you say it's **among everyone**?

7. S4: **I think it's an assumption that's true for everyone**

S5 and S5 both expressed an extended assumption of choosing English for international

work (S5) at the European level (S4) to *everyone*. In other words, for S5 and S4 it is a widely

held assumption that English is the language that is being used the most and that this

assumption is shared among *everybody* who works at the international level. These

examples provide an idea of the naturalised position of English in the context of European

work and match numerous studies that identify the role of ideology of English as the global

language that naturalises the use of English in international, multilingual contexts (e.g.,

Cogo, 2012; Lønsmann and Mortensent, 2018; Angouri, 2013).

My participants also made references to the fact that English is the established working

language in the international NGO sector, similar orientation to English as the language of

international business (Cogo and Yanaprasart, 2018).

Extract 6.14

1. Mod: and **I could not find anything about language being mentioned** in terms of

2. 'if you join the network we're expecting, well er not not in the pre- precise

3. wording that I am putting it

4. S6: mhm

5. Mod: now, but **there's no mention of the language**. So **how do the members**

6. **know which language** (.)

7. S6: (.) it's er very good observation?

8. Mod: mhm

9. S6: **I would ASSUME that most people ASSUME that it's English**.

10. Mod: mhm why?

11. S6: erm because what I kind of said before

12. Mod: mhm

13. S6: that (.) the **the international NGO movement in general it has KIND OF**

14. **been ACCEPTED**

15. Mod: mhm

16. S6: **that En- English IS the lingua franca**.

This is a similar view to that of S4 and S5 above, however, S6 explicitly acknowledges that the position of English is assumed within the international NGO sector overall. As I examined these accounts (S4, S5 and S6) it became clear that they were distinguishing English for its communicative need for the network. Therefore, it can be argued that English is already established as an international and preferred means in both CAN Europe and in wider NGO community. This may be why there is not an explicitly stated position on the preferred language for communication by CAN Europe. Since English is believed and expected as the preferred lingua franca in CAN E and in the international NGO community, there is no need to specify it in a policy document.

To further demonstrate that the belief of English being the preferred language for communication in CAN Europe is widely anchored in employees' language beliefs, one of my participants describes what he witnessed in the internal communication among the member organizations' employees who whilst exchanging information did so in language(s) other than English.

Extract 6.15

1. S6: if you have a a kind of **an open communication** it **will be in English**? **Sometimes**

2. you will **see that people would send around documents in French or German** and

3. so **on but then they kind of APOLOGIZE**

4. Mod: mhm

5. S6: **for the fact that it is in German** and **just say** well it's for **those who can read**

6. **French** or **those who can read German** but **it's kind of accepted that English is the**

7. **standard**.

Given the fast-paced environment the NGOs are, sometimes information must be passed quickly, thus no translated versions is available (see also section **6.3.4**). Thus, it is possible that such documents are sent in the original language in *an open communication* (line 1) which is English (lines 6 and 7). The fact that individuals who deviate from the norm apologize for not conforming to the accepted practice signals that the naturalized position is deeply internalized among the employees of CAN E. This language belief of the English as the working language therefore applies a limit to other language practices in situations of open/general intra-network communication among all working in the network.

Another example that I believe supports the argument about naturalized position of English in CAN Europe is reflected also in the expecting only English version documents from the CAN Europe Secretariat. This also supports the practiced language policy as discussed above.

Extract 6.16

1. Mod: uhm **and if we think about er documents that you receive from** CAN

2. Europe network, or **CAN Europe Secretariat** to be more specific, would you

3. **would you prefer to get er do the translation yourself or get a ready made**

4. **document** in say German? **In the language that you work** at the moment?

5. S12: erm (1) well, I mean **ideally it would be in German of course**, **but I don't**

6. **think I can expect that from CAN Europe**.

When given a theoretical choice of receiving documents in either the national language or English, S12 opts for the *ideal* practice, i.e., not real to receive documents in her national language from the Secretariat (line 5). However, the entrenched English as the standard language for communication in the network limits the expectation, thus, sustains the language practices at the level of English only in the network. What I would emphasize here is that it is a bottom-up perspective from an individual working at the MO level. It adds weight to the argument because it demonstrates that the beliefs is not only shared among those who work at the international level (the Secretariat), but also bottom-up. This, I

believe, reinforces and sustains the CAN Europe's language policy at the different levels of the network.

In summary, this subsection explored the expectations that are shared among individuals in my study who are employees of CAN Europe. In reviewing the individual opinions and perspectives I attempted to show that the position of English is not only deeply entrenched in the practices, but also in the beliefs of my participants. In addition, I included different perspectives from individuals working at different levels of the network that reinforce the overall argument about the naturalised position of English in CAN Europe. In line with Schiffman's (1996) argument about the covert language policy in the US, an explicit language policy is often not needed because English is already established as the default language in individuals' 'basic' beliefs. I attempted to demonstrate that a similar situation seems to be in place in CAN Europe. In doing so, this subsection also contributes to wider debate about the potential 'usefulness and effectiveness of written [language] policies' in the INGO sector by providing an insight into CAN Europe's implicit language policy (Tesseur, 2021: 263).

Having addressed the language beliefs aspect of the CAN Europe language policy that developed the understanding behind CAN Europe's decision of not explicitly stating its language policy, I now turn to the practical aspect of one language policy approach which further supports the argument of the established and sustained position of English in CAN Europe.

6.2.2   English as the practical language resource

The idea of a lingua franca (that I draw on here) is that it forms a 'common medium of intercultural communication used among speakers from different lingua-cultural backgrounds' (Cogo, 2016: 79). As already mentioned, English is not only the global, but increasingly a European lingua franca (see Chapter 3). Given the multilingual constellation of the individuals working in the network, English becomes the practical means of communication. 'ELF emerges in multilingual settings. It is not only realised *within* but also *through* linguistic diversity.' (Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer, 2013: 388). Thus, in the discussion below it will become clear that English, as it is used in the network, serves the role of a lingua franca. In this subsection I explore the opinions and attitudes of my participants on

English as the practiced language policy in CAN Europe. To do so, I draw on the concept of language attitudes which are understood here as a way to assign social meaning to a language, in this case, functionality of English (Schiffman, 1996).

Due to the role of English in CAN Europe, it was not surprising that a fair amount of talk in interviews and focus group discussion revolved around this topic. The three main subthemes explored here in supporting the argument are *English as the common denominator*, *Time efficient communication* and *English as an internationally established standard.* This is another dimension of the aspects that influences and sustains the language policy in CAN Europe with practiced language policy and naturalisation discussed above.

6.2.2.1 English as the common denominator

Research on ELF emphasizes the multilingual and multicultural constellation of speakers as one of the reasons for the choice of ELF in an interaction (Baker, 2015; Cogo, 2012; Cogo and Dewey, 2012; Mauranen, 2018, Seidlhofer, 2020). In line with this argument, for the majority of my participants English is an essential means for communicative activities in the network because of the rich diversity of lingua-cultural backgrounds of CAN Europe's employees.

Extract 6.17

1. S7: and **for an organization like CAN**, I mean, **I think**, like (1) yeah, **the English**
2. **thing is obviously essential because** you know we have **our meetings** and when
3. **you've got so many nationalities in one room**. It's, you, you know, **you have a**
4. **common denominator**. (…) S7: but **I think** (1) yeah like er, in a way (1) **when it's**
5. **a network it's difficult**, like it's diff, **like you NEED one common language?**

S7 conceptualises of English as *essential* (line 2) for communication in international organizations like CAN Europe. To illustrate her point, S7 refers communicative activities such as meetings (line 2) that bring together an international audience. English serves here as a common denominator (lines 3-4). In other words, the audience is marked by differences (linguistic and cultural) but English makes it possible to communicate through these differences because it is the only means that is shared, albeit to a varying degree, by all of those working in and for CAN Europe. S7 is predominantly refers to the diversity of

individuals that characterise CAN Europe. Thus, there is a need for a common resource, and at the moment English fulfils that function.

Similar to S7 above, S8 perceives the diversity that characterises the network as the main reason behind the use of English. The difference, however, is that S8 is referring to the office (Secretariat in Brussels) rather than the network. In addition, while S7 presented her pragmatic view on English as the means of communication in CAN Europe, S8 resorts to language attitudes about English in CAN Europe. S8's attitude is indicative of how he perceives the functional role of English in CAN Europe.

Extract 6.18

1. S8: but anyway, but I think, but since I left or just before I left **the policy was to**
2. **more and more write**, **maybe not speak**, but to write (**in as far as**) **in English**.
3. Mod: mhm
4. S8: within the [name of organization] Belgian office **which I find ridiculous and**
5. **a shame**, because you know @@ when Belgian people speak English
6. among themselves it's (.) **I do it here because** it's
7. Mod: well, /you
8. S8: /**the/ context is er: English speaking** but otherwise you know
9. Mod: mhm. **What do you mean by English speaking**? You have such a (.) variety
10. of languages here.
11. S8: yeah, yeah, but **I mean the common one is clearly English here because of**
12. **the variety**

S8 first described practices in his previous job at a Belgian, national NGO. Since Belgium has three official languages (Dutch, French and German) the society is at least bi-lingual. This was also the case in the described past experience of S8. The fact that the Belgian NGO decided to incorporate a language policy as to written communication to be in English for this community is viewed by S8 negatively (lines 1 to 4). He seems resentful about this decision as indicated by his words choice: *ridiculous* and *shame*. His preferred language practice in terms of writing among Belgians is clearly the local languages. However, it is interesting that S8 is not resentful about the English language policy in CAN Europe (lines 6 to 8), despite Belgians being the majority in the CAN Europe Secretariat at the time of data

collection[5]. S8 argues that the context of the Secretariat is *English speaking* – English is the only common language shared among all at the Secretariat, thus its role is more functional/ practical rather than symbolic in this context. Implicit to this is the neutral position to English, i.e., acceptance of the functionality of English rather than its dominance.

In their discussions of English as the common denominator, some participants were also explicit about their neutral position towards the fact that English serves the function of a lingua franca in CAN Europe.

Extract 6.19

1. S5: I mean, if if you only come to **the network** and you come to **the Genera**l
2. **Assembly and you only speak German well @@@**
3. Mod: mhm
4. S5: **5% will understand you**/
5. Mod: /yeah
6. S5: so, then **YOU have a problem**, eh?
7. Mod: mhm, yeah, yeah, exactly.
8. S5: So, I think **it's not about English being dominant it's about finding** er a **a**
9. **common language amongst each other**?
10. Mod: mhm
11. S5: **that we're able to work in**. And **a natural language**.

Similar to S8, S5 seems to focus on the practical function of English as a lingua franca across the multilingual context of CAN Europe. S5 attempts to build his argument about the practicality of English by illustrating a hypothetical situation of someone addressing the CAN Europe's audience in German in a General Assembly. Though the given by S5 may not be accurate with the statistics, it demonstrates that English is the only means of communication, accepted and practiced, in CAN Europe because it is the most commonly shared language across the network (lines 1 to 6). Lines 8 to 11 are the most indicative of S5's neutral position towards English in CAN E. In other words, English is not seen as

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[5] At the time of the first phase of data collection, during the 3-month stay in the Secretariat in Brussels there were 8 permanent employees who were Belgian nationals of whom, the majority spoke Dutch as the first language.

dominant (neutral), but a common means of communication that enables work in this otherwise linguistically diverse context. In addition, English is also valued by S5 because it is a *natural* language. This is another indication of S5's neutral position towards English in the network.

While S7, S8 and S5 represented a somewhat neutral view of the English for the purposes of communication in the network, one participant was more critical of English in the role of the common denominator. Although in minority, those who were more critical of or negative about English as the language for communication in CAN Europe were individuals who expressed negative attitudes towards English generally.

Extract 6.20

1. S12: **but in the supranational** I mean **I HAVE the feeling** that **everybody is just**
2. **trying to speak English**, of course because **we need language** and **it is the ONLY**
3. **one we have** (…) But **I think**, **of course** it is the common, **THE only common**
4. **language is English** so **there is no choice**, but I er- **English is no choice today**

While S12 recognises the importance of having one common language for the network, she expresses a negative attitude towards English as the language for communication in international contexts (CAN Europe) and English as the only choice there is. In lines 1 to 2, S12 expresses a negative attitude towards English from the linguistic perspective. Everybody is just trying to speak English indicates that English as being used in the international communication within the network does not match the norm (standard language). Phrases such as English is the ONLY one we have (with original emphasis on only) and English is no choice today, on the other hand, suggest that S12 is resentful about not having other options but English as the means of communication with the international audience of CAN Europe network. In other words, S12 does not reject the functionality of English, but she seems to be negative about this particular choice because she seems to feel constrained by it and because the norm (Standard English) is not adhered to in the network.

Despite the varying attitudes towards English the participants, even those more critical about the position of English in CAN Europe, express certainty about the communicative function served by English. English is the only commonly shared language among all those

who work in CAN Europe network. Thus, these findings contribute to the literature on English as a lingua franca in Europe and ELF and multilingualism. First, the role of English as illustrated above is not a national one (Seidlhofer, 2020), but a commonly shared language that most of the participants agreed on. Second, ELF is chosen out of necessity in this context – which is constellation of speakers' linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Cogo, 2016). In addition, it seems that there are two interlocking aspects at work here. On the one hand, multilingual diversity drives the language choice towards English. On the other hand, mostly neutral attitudes which further instil this language choice in CAN Europe. Unfortunately, as it was seen in the case of S12, this particular language choice can also be constraining. The reason for exploring language attitudes in this subsection was to demonstrate that they are a significant aspect that helps us understand better why English, despite the constraints it may put on language choice, is sustained in and by CAN Europe.

6.2.2.2 English as time efficient tool for communication

Practicality of English was further supported by my participants' views and opinions about English offering time efficient communication. Similar findings are demonstrated in BELF and CLM literatures; namely one common language is often driven by pragmatic reasons as it eases communication in linguistically and culturally heterogeneous contexts (Ehrenreich, 2015; Logemann and Piekkari, 2015; Lønsmann, 2011; Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta, 2012; Sanden and Kankaanranta, 2018; Piekkari et al, 2014). In addition, as is illustrated by literature in the public sector and third sector (see sections **3.3.1.** and **3.3.3.**), practicality of English supersedes (in practice) the official language policies that are driven by ethical values and ethos of some of these international bodies (Krzyżanowski, 2014; Lehtovaara, 2009; Tesseur, 2017, 2021). One co-occurring theme in the literatures of both public and third sector international organizations revolves around translation which, even though seen as a fairer option (Gazzola, 2016b) is not always simultaneous to all official languages. As a consequence, delays in translations to official languages may impact negatively the information distribution, thus efficiency and effectiveness of these organizations (Schjerve and Vetter, 2012) and lead to disadvantaging those who do not speak English (Gereke and Brühl, 2019). On an individual level, those employees who are dependent on translations to other official languages are at a disadvantaged position as was the case reported in studies by Footitt et al., (2020) and Lehtovaara (2009). One of the reasons why one language policy

(whether explicit or not), in this case English, is so powerful is that it offers time efficient communication, unlike the use of translations.

Time was a factor that the participants in my study often raised in interviews in relation to 'one language' communication in the network. CAN Europe is a fast-paced environment. Its employees often need to respond to media reports, outcomes of high-level meetings at the EU and the UN, or campaign events in a timely manner. A fair amount of talk in interviews revolved around a hypothetical situation where CAN Europe used a multilingual repertoire. Although all of my participants expressed a positive attitude towards such a language policy arrangement, when it came to practice my participants stated that for time efficient communication English only policy is the best choice for CAN Europe.

Extract 6.21

1. S4: I think **within the current situation**, the current
2. **context**, it's **just not feasible** to have **different kind of communication** or **a way**
3. **of working**, **different languages**, **to use constantly different languages to**
4. **communicate**. Because **it would take too much time**.

Expanding the practiced language policy beyond English in CAN Europe is generally seen by S4 as not possible. At the time of the interview, CAN Europe was in the process of 'expansion' to the South and East of the European Continent. In other words, it was recruiting and welcoming new member organizations from the Balkan region. This is what S4 refers to when he states the 'current context'. Having member organizations from Southern/Eastern European region, which formerly belonged to the Eastern Block, only reinforces the position of English in the network, despite some problems which I discuss in Chapter 6. The advantages of adding more linguistic resources to the then current language practices seem not to exceed the communicative advantages of English-only when it comes to intra-network communication. Again it is the constellation of the member organizations that seems to prevent a more multilingual approach in the network despite a rich language resource bank of all the multilingual employees both at the Secretariat and MOs level.

Similarly to S4, S5 agrees that the most efficient way to communicate in an international context is to have one language type of communication.

Extract 6.22

1. S5: erm and it's also **easy in international cooperation**. **Imagine** what **it would**

2. **be if we had like 5 languages** and **you need to talk that all the time**, it's simply

3. **not workable**, **it's efficient**.

4. Mod mhm

5. S5: **In a work environment you want to be efficient**

6. Mod mhm

7. S5: at least I do @@

S5 directly refers to the international cooperation as easier when conducted in one language, which, similarly to private sector international companies and MNCs means English (Ehrenreich, 2015). S5 clearly disagrees with the added benefit of working in more than one language by stating that it is *simply not workable*. Such pragmatic views about language are also shared by other participants in my study (e.g., S1, S10). In this respect, CAN Europe seems to be more pragmatically oriented to aspects of language and communication, like international businesses (Cogo and Yanaprasart, 2018; Sanden and Kankaanranta, 2018) and unlike public sectors international organizations, the EU and the UN (Krzyżanowski, 2011, 2014; Krzyżanowski and Wodak, 2011), and the third sector development INGOs AI and Oxfam GB (Lehtovaara, 2009; Tesseur, 2017, 2021). This is an important finding as it contributes to our knowledge about the orientation to language matters in the wider international NGO sector (see also section **3.3**).

6.2.2.3 International use of English as a factor in language choice in CAN Europe

Spolsky (2009) argues that 'perceptions of the value of an international language and especially of English permeate other domains' (2009: 252; also see section **2.5.**). Therefore, as argued by van Els (2001) language decisions in one domain can have certain consequences on language choice and practice in another domain[6]. In addition, the choice of English is often linked to its widespread use in global communication (Ammon, 2013; de Swaan, 2001; Ferguson, 2012; Graddol, 2006; Nickerson 2005; Tietze, 2008). Therefore, here

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[6] Although I do not use the concept of a domain in my study, I share a similar understanding of an ecological relationship between different types of (international) organizations and their mutual influence on aspects such as language choice.

I attempt to demonstrate, by looking at the views of my participants, that *English language practices* of other international organizations (specifically the EU and the UN) may be an aspect that influences the language policy choice of English in CAN Europe.

One of the main reasons for establishing CAN Europe was to gain a stronger position of NGOs in international policy negotiation processes. CAN Europe operates as an advocacy network of organizations that mobilizes information in a strategic way to help 'persuade, pressurize and gain leverage over much more powerful [international] organizations and governments' (Keck and Sikkink, 1999: 89-90). Linguistically, CAN Europe must match the practices to maximize their efficiency and effectiveness in these advocacy activities. Since English is the main working language of the formal *and* informal policy negotiations both at the EU and the UN levels (Gereke and Brühl, 2019), it makes it a practical and efficient means to: first, address these organizations; second, have access to both formal and informal negotiation processes; third, to communicate about the processes and the outcomes of these negotiations to the outside world.

The interview question about the role of language in CAN Europe brought up the topic of English being the established lingua franca in the international sphere among my participants. It appears to be a commonly shared opinion among all this study's participants.

Extract 6.23

1. Mod: In general, what do you think about the role of language in such networks
2. like CAN Europe?
3. S13: well, specifically for CAN Europe, I think **you just have to use the most**
4. **practical language** @ cause it like the er er **CAN Europe is concentrated on EU**
5. **policies, so use the language** that is (.) **that the EU policies are made in**, right? **I**
6. **would understand the needs** of **CAN to translate some stuff with into French**
7. **or Spanish** or something like that if **they would deal a lot with organizations**
8. from other parts of the world **that only speak those languages**.
9. Mod: Yeah.
10. S13: **So, first thing is there isn't a need for that for CAN Europe**.

11. Mod: **there is a need for more translation?** Is that what/

12. S13: **/No/**, **I don't think there is**.

S13 explicitly links the choice of language in CAN Europe to the work of the EU. Since CAN Europe concentrates on European environmental policies and these are (often) prepared and discussed (at least in the initial stages) in the three working languages of the EU (English, French and German) with predominant role of English (Krzyżanowski, 2011), English becomes the most useful and valued language. It allows for an early access to these discussions and preparations and responding to them. Therefore, S13 concludes English in these situations is *the most practical language* (lines 3 to 4). First, it makes it easy to follow the policy developments at the EU level. Second, it is practical because it allows sharing information with the MOs without a delay that translation would probably cause. Next, S13 tries to justify a possible scenario of CAN Europe translating some documents into other languages, such as French or Spanish (lines 6-7), but this option is quickly discarded by S13 as there is no cooperation between CAN Europe and organizations *that only speak those languages.* The English language choice by CAN Europe therefore, as perceived by S13, is influenced (partly) by the language use in the EU's predominant use of English in its policy negotiation processes.

Another participant also links the use of English in CAN Europe with the EU, but also with a general assumption of English serving the role of an international lingua franca.

Extract 6.24

1. Mod: Right. So, would you describe what you think about English being the

2. dominant language in the communication within the network? So, what's your

3. opinion about the fact?

4. S10: Well, I think it's a bit er- **I think it is the most common language**. So I think

5. it's just **kind of amazing solution**. On the other side I mean, French is also going

6. into the world. So why not equal Spanish or Arabic? **If it comes to EU bubble**

7. **then it make sense**? **On practical level? Yes. it make sense**? Maybe it would

8. have been great if we would have succeeded in you know, creating this. What

9. was it called? You know, that we **all speak the same language**. I mean, okay,

10. **that's my view world where we mix the languages** and **but yeah, that's how it**

11. **is**. I mean, I don't have I don't have a strong opinion on that. I think **it's just very**

12. **pragmatic** er-

At first S10 resorts to the lingua franca type of communication that English serves in the international context and shows a positive attitude (*amazing solution*). She then introduces the aspect of multilingualism to the picture (lines 5 and 6), but returns to one language choice for CAN Europe (English) for the practical reasons (lines 6 to 7). S10 explicitly links the language choice at CAN Europe with the *EU bubble* (line 6) which refers to the EU institutions but also the EU regional nodes of international NGOs. The use of English in these settings, according to S10 is also connected to the practical or pragmatic decision of CAN Europe to choose English. This seems to clash with her personal orientation to multilingualism, or even equality based perception of using mix of languages (lines 7 to 10). She concludes that the language choice is dictated by pragmatic reasons in CAN Europe (*that's how it is* and *it's just very pragmatic*) in lines 10 to 11.

Some participants extend the perspective even further to other big organizations and opponents of CAN E.

Extract 6.25

1. S14: what, what **would be nice**, I mean, **ideally**, **an ideal world** would be nice, so

2. that **you can speak all languages**, that you can have like a **central hub** that

3. **distributes and communicates in various languages** so that **we can have equal**

4. **participation** and **be more fair and invest in our equity**. But **we have so limited**, so

5. limited **resources**. And, and **on the other hand**, **everybody works in that way**. I

6. mean, **our opponents work that way**, a **bigger organization working that way**. (…)

7. And **it makes sense to keep one one language**.

Similar to S10 above, there is a clash between the ideal and the practical choice of language by CAN Europe as perceived by S14. The former *ideal* position is equated with the concept of equality among speakers of different languages in CAN Europe. However, this perspective is immediately constrained by a sobering thought about the resources (both financial and human) needed for such a multilingual project (lines 4 to 5). Interestingly, S14 then brings an

argument about English being the general practice for *everybody*, be it the opponents of CAN E., or other bigger organizations. In other words, S14 perceives the language choice of English in CAN Europe as being responsive to and influenced by the outside world that works in English. Since, English is already established as the communication means across languages and communities (Cogo, 2012; Kaluzewska, 2021; Seidlhofer, 2021) *it makes sense to keep* [this] *one language* as the means of communication in CAN Europe.

In summary, in this section I attempted to illustrate the complexity and the co-existence and co-dependence of both English language practices and beliefs that have an impact on why English is the language choice in CAN Europe and how this policy is sustained. In the first section I employed the practiced language policy concept to deduce the implicit rules of language policy in CAN Europe with respect to English and then I revisited the concept of naturalisation to help me answer the question about why CAN Europe is not stating its language policy explicitly. Discussing this question contributes to a debate about the potential usefulness of explicit (written) language policies in the INGO sector (Tesseur, 2017). Next, I explored the English language beliefs and attitudes of the participants to demonstrate that the language policy of CAN Europe stems from a pragmatic language perspective. In this respect CAN Europe is similar to its international business counterparts which are guided by pragmatism in their corporate language choice. Here, I divided the main theme: **English as the practical language resource** into three subthemes: *English as the common denominator, English as time efficient tool for communication* and *International use of English as a factor in language choice decision in CAN E*. The subthemes presented the participants' beliefs, attitudes and opinions with respect to the practicality of English in CAN Europe. In other words, I attempted to illustrate the different dimensions of the practicality of English as expressed by the participants that have an influence on the shape of the language policy in CAN Europe with respect to English.

Despite the practiced language policy favouring English only, it does not restrain my participants to employ their other linguistic resources for certain communication activities. To show the full complexity of the reality of language use in CAN Europe, I now turn to the use of languages other than English.

6.3 Strategic use of languages other than English in CAN Europe

Despite the common discourse about English being the most practical language in CAN Europe, as discussed in the first part of this Chapter, other languages also play an important role. In this part of the Chapter I explore how the individuals in my study manage 'linguistic dynamics' in CAN Europe by employing their multilingual linguistic repertoires to achieve their communicative goals (Cogo and Yanaprasart, 2018: 98). To do so, I review the data from interviews and focus group discussion. The theoretical underpinning here comes from ELF and English as a Multilingua Franca EMF (Ishikawa, 2022) literature which shows that it is not only English, but other languages which are employed in practice. As Jenkins argues, there are instances in '[m]ultilingual communication in which English is available as a contact language of choice, but is not necessarily chosen (2015: 73 emphasis added). I also draw on the 'preference-related switching' concept (Auer, 2013) which explains that individuals choose to switch to a language because they feel more comfortable or confident in it.

I aim to illustrate here, in line with other BELF studies, that English is not the only resource that is being drawn on in interactions. Nor is English in competition with multilingual resources of its speakers. Rather (B)ELF is a 'dynamic medium of communication with multilingual resources coming to play' (Cogo and Yanaprasart, 2018: 101). To emphasize, however, the focus is not to provide a linguistic analysis of naturally occurring interactions among the participants. Rather, I focus on the sociolinguist perspective of multilingual repertoires and how different individuals in this study strategically employ them to achieve their communicative goals. In other words, I explore when and why participants may draw on their multilingual repertoires. This is to argue, that: first, English is not the only resource being drawn on; second, multilingual resources are employed on a regular basis in certain situations, thus co-exist with English; third, the LP in place, despite favouring English, is not prescriptive on *all* language choices of the employees of CAN E.

The findings that I discuss in the sub-sections below are organized into subthemes. The main theme is **Strategic use of languages other than English** and it is further divided into four sub-themes:

- *Targeted audience communication,*

- *Closer cooperation,*

- *Access to sources of nuanced/ detailed information* and

- *Heads-up access to information in languages other than English.*

The findings indicate that language practices are multilingual, flexible and dependent on context and interlocutors. Guided by their communicative goals my participants reflect on their contexts of interactions, interlocutors and experiences and based on those factors they make language choices (Steyaert et al., 2016; Choi, 2018). Thus, they develop pre-conscious and naturalised courses of action. This allows them to strategically mobilise their linguistic resources in certain situations. One individual in my study summarized language practices in CAN Europe (Secretariat) as follows: S8: 'I think the: (.) **use of language happens at two levels**. That, **top, general level is English used spoken, written between everyone** and then when you have like **more bilateral conversations** or email exchanges some, **some things happen also in other languages** by the two, or three or more people'. I think it captures well two things: first, it illustrates that the practices are not monolingual, a frequent assumption of big, international organizations; second, that speakers are not limited to one language, but can, and do, also refer to their preferred language(s) in specific contexts.

6.3.1 Targeted audience communication

When communicating within the network, be it from the top-down (Secretariat to member organizations) or between the MOs, in contexts where there is a shared or mutual language in addition to English in the mix (Jenkins, 2015) language choice is sometimes on languages other than English, i.e., English is not always the most suitable resource to draw on in certain situations. This can be explained by speakers' preference to certain languages in interaction because they feel more confident or comfortable in that language, a 'preference-related switching' (Auer, 2013:125). For example, it is often reported by individuals in my study that they either choose their L1 (targeting audience in their home country) or another shared language, if they feel more confident in it than in English. However, 'preference-related switching' cannot account for all language choices. Therefore, drawing on the existing ELF and multilingualism research is of particular relevance here. It illustrates that speakers in ELF situations have 'flexibility in language use' (Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer, 2013: 394). In other

words, ELF allows for speaker's linguistic resources to be 'concurrently available for use' (ibid.). ELF research here accounts for the reasons behind language choices of the participants in specific situations. At the more general level of language policy in CAN Europe, this demonstrates that the LP in place allows for strategic use of participant's linguistic repertoires.

Extract 6.26

1. S5: **What happens from time to time** is **of course** that where **organizations in**
2. **certain countries start to communicate amongst each other**
3. Mod: mhm
4. S5: or, er: for example, when I I as **I am a Dutch native speaker** and **I have contact**
5. **with organizations in Belgium or in the Netherlands**
6. Mod: mhm
7. S5: **I often do it in my own language** and **even for** the, I also speak **French** so also
8. for **the Walloon part of the country** [Belgium] **I sometimes do it in in French**,
9. Mod: mhm
10. S5: **but that's then a targeted one email communication,** or **to two persons**,
11. Mod: mhm
12. S5: but **not to the whole of the network**

S5 describes what is considered the common practice in terms of using languages other than English that he has observed in the network (the use of *of course*) line 1. To illustrate that, he provides an example of his own language practices (lines 4 to 8) *often* in Dutch and *sometimes* in French. Therefore, S5 draws on categories of language preference when addressing certain audiences. The preference order for S5 seems to be Dutch, English and French. In his interview S5 indicated that English is the second language he 'speaks best' (Interview S5). English is in the mix in S5's linguistic repertoire; however, in situations where he can choose (bilateral communication) his language choice seems to be guided by preference. He employs his other linguistic resources to achieve his communication goal (Choi, 2018).

S5 represents the perspective from the Secretariat, the participants who work for the member organizations, on the other hand, experience a reversed language situation to that in the Secretariat. For all those who work in the national or local MOs the predominant language choice is on the national language rather than on English for the majority of communication activities. Only for international contacts, international cooperation, within international situations where there are individuals from different linguistic backgrounds, i.e., not sharing the local language, joining their team, the communication will be in English. Nevertheless, the concept of ELF multilingualism also applies here, because these instances are part of multilingual communication but where English is not chosen (Jenkins, 2015).

Four participants who work at national/local levels of the network, stated that predominant part of their work happens in the local language (of the MO), for two of them (S13 and S14) it is an easier option as it is also their native language, for one (S12) it is a must because the expectations are that she works in the local language (not her L1), and for the last participant (S11) it is the requirement of the specificity of his fieldwork.

To investigate individual's language choices at member organizations (MOs), I asked them to provide me with an account of their daily language practices.

Extract 6.27

1. Mod: Okay, thank you. And could you describe your role in your organization?
2. S12: er well I
3. Mod; I mean in terms of tasks, but if you could connect it somehow to language
4. that would be perfect.
5. S12: Okay, well, I'm responsible for European climate policy? So, so, I am
6. responsible for, for trying to er make er make the German voice in EU policy as, as
7. progressive as I can. So, **I am kind of in the middle** that **we have to er interact a lot**
8. **with German government**, but **I have to interact a lot with the CAN Europe**
9. **network or knowledge NGOs in Europe** trying to make links er with other member
10. states and with Brussels. So, in terms of language, I mean on one, **on one side I'm**
11. **interacting with the German government obviously it is all in German**, and **on the**
12. **other side I am interacting with other NGOs** and in er other sorry it's other NGOs in

13. **Member States or in Brussels, this is MAINLY in English**, and **sometimes**, as

14. **it is pretty rare, actually**. I, **I can use my French** @

15. Mod: @ yhm and **what kind of occasions would you use your French**

16. S12: well, er **when I work with the French NGOs or sometimes Brussels NGOs** [flat

17. intonation and quieter voice] **some of them speak French**

Similarly to S5, S12 has extensive knowledge of her context and she draws on it when making language choice to match her specific audience. S12 is a multilingual individual and is flexible in operating with her linguistic resources. However, there seem to be some limiting factors in the form of social expectations that limit the amount of flexibility in S12's language choices. On the one hand, interactions with the German government happen in German – the choice is an expectation (*obviously*) line 10. On the other hand, interactions within the CAN Europe network can only happen in English due to the multilingual and multinational constellation of the network (also discussed in section **6.2.2.1.** above). French, which is S12 native language, seems to be employed less, but this is dictated by the contexts which S12 identified as French (preference) speaking. Although S12's language choice may be constrained in certain situations, she flexibly navigates in her contexts thanks to the use of different linguistic resources she has in her capacity. In some of the situations English is employed, but in others it is not, which suggests flexible language use.

So far, I have looked at perspectives from Brussels (Secretariat) and member organizations (MOs). However, there are also individuals within the structures of the CAN Europe network who work 'on the ground' but are staff of the Secretariat. It is in a way a hybrid role comprising elements form both policy coordinator (Secretariat role) and grass-roots activist (MOs role) perspectives. Similarly to the S12, I asked the next participant (S9) to provide me with an account of his/her usual language practices.

Extract 6.28

1. Mod: So, what languages do you use in your role on a daily basis? I assume it's

2. Turkish.

3. S9: **Turkish, English**, depending on what kind of week that is. So, if there's more

4. stuff, so **my written language is English** or **Turkish** again, so **it always depends on**

5. **the context**. But **I also speak French**. So, for instance, in 2015**, we ran this campaign**

6. **with French and Turkish local groups and national groups** against this one, French

7. investor in Turkey. And **then** like, er **on, day to day basis**, **I was using my French** and

8. **English as well**. So, it's kind of depends on the day or the week, **but mostly Turkish**.

S9 is another example of a highly multilingual speaker who employs his/her multilingual resources flexibly and strategically. The context and the interlocutors are the predominant determinants of the language choice by S9 (lines 3 to 8). Turkish is mainly used as the communication tool 'on the ground' as it is the national language of S9's context of work. S/he mainly uses it with other advocacy groups in Turkey and to pass information from the CAN Europe network to the local NGOs. English is in the mix of possible languages, and it features prominently in this (as well as other participants' language choices), but its main use is in the international arena (communication with the CAN Europe network). French is also within the internal linguistic repertoire of S9 and s/he employs it when communicating with the French NGOs (lines 5 to 7). This fragment illustrates that S9 actively extends his/her language practices by resorting to his/her multilingual repertoire. What is more, S9 demonstrates tacit knowledge of what language is more valued in which context, therefore accommodating his/her language choices/ practices.

I have attempted to illustrate that the communication within the network is, with respect to specific audience, a site of multilingual practice. The next subtheme is connected to this as it is also part of addressing specific audience, but the reason for doing so is to address "information gaps". In other words, using English for certain regions of the CAN E. network does not always work. Therefore, other linguistic resources are employed to bridge these gaps in communication.

6.3.2   Closer cooperation within the network

CAN Europe thrives when there is a good level of cooperation within it. 'Informed, engaged and well represented' member organizations are key to successful operation of the network (CAN Europe, 2021). Language is the fundamental activity that binds together cooperation, but English may not always be the most suitable (successful) choice for some contexts within CAN Europe. Thus, individuals who possess knowledge of other languages often act as

'boundary spanners' (Koveshnikov et al., 2012; see also section **2.3.2.4**). The concept refers to individual(s) who thanks to their multilingual (and multicultural) skillset facilitate interaction between two (or more) organizations. These individuals bridge (linguistic and cultural) boundaries 'support flows of knowledge and (…) advance harmonious cooperation' within multilingual and multicultural contexts (Yanaprasart, 2018: 14). This subtheme illustrates how CAN Europe's employees strategically employ their multilingual resources to bridge linguistic boundaries to achieve closer cooperation within the network.

Many of my participants report on 'diverting' from the English-only language policy to other linguistic resources in communication. This is specifically the case for those who are engaged in working with communities of NGOs from specific geo-political locations. In this capacity, the participants act as *boundary spanners* who facilitate closer cooperation between the Secretariat and specific group(s) of MOs. The context of the below discussion was that my participant who took part in the focus group discussion were describing their language practices and more generally the role of languages in CAN Europe.

Extract 6.29

1. S2: well **for me** and Turkish work I would say it is **slightly different** (…) because
2. **our work is specific** that in **99% I would communicate with them in in the**
3. **local language** which is, which is **Serbian**, for me, but for them their native
4. language would be Montenegro or Bosnian or whatever it's called but **it's**
5. **essentially the same language** and **we can understand each other** so, and also
6. for the media work over there we need to translate our press releases into local
7. language (…) and yeah, **I think it helps a lot** because, also, **the NGOs there are**
8. **not so used to working in English** and then **it makes it a lot easier for them to**

9. **just say what they want and what they need in their local language**.

S2 describes her language practices with specific group of NGOs in the Balkan region. S2 here acts as a *boundary spanner* because she draws on her linguistic (and cultural) background as well as her past experience of working in one of the local NGOs in the Balkans region to achieve closer cooperation with the organizations she targets in her communication. Thus, for her, the language choice with this particular group is Serbian, a lingua franca in the

region (lines 1 to 5). Unlike the concept of *language gatekeeper/ broker* which denotes individuals who have a more advantageous position thanks to his/her "right linguistic skillset", S2 does not use her linguistic repertoire to gain a better position, but to help build closer relationship with the NGOs from the Balkans (lines 7 to 9). This demonstrates that S2 is strategically orienting to Serbian as a lingua franca, because she knows the context and the fact that English is not so widely used in this region. Thus, her language choice to Serbian aids a more active participation of MOs from the Balkans in the work of the CAN E. network.

Some participants reported on strategic language choice to aid cooperation with certain groups from Southern Europe that they witnessed.

Extract 6.30

1. S3: But **with the network I think it also matters** like at least I know. I can
2. remember **one example**. Umm I am not sure if this was a well member
3. organization or an NGO **we cooperate with strongly within one of the policy**
4. **files** that we cover? I am not exactly sure, but I know that umm **it was a group**
5. **from Italy** who umm had **well a probably a lower level of English and then if it**
6. **turns out that if somebody from the office can actually speak the same**
7. **language** then, **well they did**, **well people expressed the fact that's gonna be a**
8. **totally different cooperation**

This is a fragment from focus group discussion where my participants discussed their perspectives on the role of languages other than English in the network. S3 expresses her opinion that knowledge of other languages *matters* in cooperation within the network (*it* in line 1). The event that S3 refers to involved the Secretariat and *a group from Italy* (line 4). The choice of English was problematic for *the group*, therefore, the Secretariat decided to communicate in Italian with the group (line 6) thanks to one of the policy coordinators who spoke Italian natively. The decision to employ Italian was strategic and guaranteed closer cooperation.

In summary, English is not equally distributed across the network, and therefore it creates 'gaps' that the staff at CAN Europe Secretariat fill thanks to their multilingual resources. I have attempted to show that these are strategic language choices and that my participants act as *boundary spanners* to tighten cooperation within the network. I now turn to another aspect of strategic language use in CAN Europe, i.e., access to nuanced information.

6.3.3   Access to sources of nuanced information

The importance of multilingual practices is highlighted in the experiences of this study's participants and their collaborative work. Similar results are presented by Cogo and Yanaprasart (2018) who argue that languages other than English have an important role in the work of international business professionals. This subtheme, however, explores not only the role of other languages in accessing valuable information, but also how the participants report on their and/or their colleagues' linguistic resources being actively employed to negotiate and enhance understanding (Cogo and House, 2017) in different communicative activities. It also illustrates that the constellation of practices is not monolingual (English only) contrary to the widespread discourses about the English practices in CAN E. (see section **6.2.**).

Below I present three perspectives: information exchange between the Secretariat and MOs as observed by S9; individual code switching to access more detailed information from specific context (S3); and bottom-up perspective where employees from the member organizations contribute to a better understanding of issues thanks to their multilingual skills (S11). These three perspectives not only demonstrate that it is common practice to employ other linguistic resources in CAN Europe, but also that these participants are flexible to do it even though it is not part of their task.

Extract 6.31

1. S9: Yeah, but I think the way **we solve this at the moment it's not hundred percent**
2. **solved**, but then **in the Secretariat**, like **we are numerous** and, and **we are quite**
3. **diverse** when it comes to **spoken language**, like, **we had a lot of people that speak**
4. **all sorts of languages**. And we have two Polish people, for instance, now, (…). So,
5. they sort of **it's not their task**. But **as I do, they also do the information exchange**

6. **from English to Polish and Polish to English where necessary**. So, **they're not doing**

7. **one for every piece of information**. But **then where necessary, they sort of fill us up**

8. **entirely**. **I do that for Turkish**. And I'm also based here, so doing the exact work that

9. **between the English-speaking world then the Turkish speaking world**, and **on our**

10. **issues**, and then **for Balkans as well. The new SX@**

S9 is discussing the issue of information gaps and how s/he has observed it is being addressed by the employees of the Secretariat in Brussels and him/herself. In lines 2 to 4, S9 refers to the multilingual constellation of the employees' linguistic resources as being used voluntarily to access detailed information that otherwise might not have been accessible (lines 5 to 6). The fact that the *exchange* is not done for *every piece of information* indicates that different linguistic resources are being strategically employed for instances where more information is needed. The practice of language switching as observed by S9, therefore, helps the Secretariat to stay well informed about the most strategic issues. S9's perspective can be called as top down, with employees at the Secretariat reaching down to the national or local MOs. The individual perspective of S3 below confirms that this is indeed the practice.

Extract 6.32

1. Mod: So, when you contact the, the member organizations, to help you or to

2. cooperate with you, what would it be like? What kind of language would you

3. use? would you use **English only**?

4. S3: **Yeah**,

5. Mod: for all of them?

6. S3: Yeah,

7. Mod: even **from your own country**?

8. S3: Okay, **this can be a bit of a difference**. Indeed, **if it comes to my country**,

9. then I would probably. Well, **it depends on time**, basically, because we **will**

10. **probably send a general email to the list**. And then if we see **there is diff, there**

11. **is interest**. This **email will be in English**. So then if there is interest from Greece,

12. and **somebody from Poland,** I would **probably switch to Polish to discuss the**

13. **details or ask for more**, I don't know whatever the like the **the additional stuff**.

14. That would be that **that happened, actually.** And we did this like I switched to
15. English to talk **to person from Krakow of in Poland** to **Polish sorry**, we **spoke in**
16. **Polish**.

Initially, S3 does not differentiate between the different audiences when communicating as all general communication happens in English (see also comment by S8 in section **6.3.** above). In lines 11 to 15, however, S3 not only states she switches languages to gain access to more detailed information, but also provides an example of such practice that happened between her and an employee from local NGO. It is also worth emphasising that the interview with S3 was conducted three years earlier than the interview with S9 but they both demonstrate the same strategy of employing different linguistic resources. Thus, it indicates that the multilingual practices were true at the time of both interviews. It also validates the examples of strategic use of diverse linguistic resources to access information by the employees of CAN Europe in general.

So far, I focused on the perspectives from the Secretariat, i.e., top down perspective. However, there are some accounts of practices of bringing the information to the attention of the network by its member organizations.

Extract 6.33

1. S11: So, a lot of times **people without knowing Polish** get a **different context**
2. which is on purpose made much nicer that for people **who speak both**
3. **languages**. And this is something, for example, that **non-Polish speakers** in **a lot**
4. **of networks are struggling with**
5. Mod: yhm yhm yhm so you'd say that the documents, you are referring to the
6. documents produced by your organization?
7. S11: no, no I am referring to/
8. Mod: /general/
9. S11: official websites, documents (.) (…) you have a **website of the of the**
10. **Ministry organization and there is a nicer look and less detail in English** or **less**
11. **updated and there is much more in Polish** and it **sometimes is just lack of** (.)
12. **resources but sometimes it's er it's a conscious policy**. (…)

13. Mod; yhm so what do you, do you normally do when you see something like

14. that, you see two documents that are(.) at the, sort of about the same issue but

15. actually present the issue in a slightly (.) /

16. S11: /well that's/

17. Mod: / let's say a nicer way in English and then (.)

18. S11: yep

19. Mod: not so nice (1)

20. S11: that's part of where (.) **membership in network like CAN can help** because

21. then you say, 'look hey by the way **this is what you get** and **this is what the**

22. **English people understand** and **this is all the official negotiators** will say **but**

23. **actually this is different** and **it's different** in **this and this and this level**'. And

24. **HERE** again it **only happens with people speaking BOTH languages**.

Even though the context of S11 is national MO, the reason for employing other linguistic resources is the same as in the examples above. Namely, general information is available in English and more detailed in other languages. S11 demonstrates that there are situations in which two language versions of the same document may exist. However, the problem arises where these two language versions create differences in understanding of a particular issue (lines 3 to 12). To be an effective player in policy-making negotiations at the EU level, CAN Europe relies on its members to bring up information in such instances (lines 22 to 23). Therefore, the ability to use other languages to inform the network in this case illustrates that the practices are multilingual at different levels. In addition, even though English is used as the means of general informing of this issue here, this would not have had place had it not been for the other linguistic resource (Polish). Inherently this demonstrates co-dependence of languages in the processes of accessing specific information that would otherwise not be available in one language only. Thus, these findings contribute to wider literature on ELF and multilingualism. On the other hand, they also illustrate that language practices are multilingual and they serve a strategic role in CAN Europe.

The next subtheme addresses the final aspect of strategic language use in CAN Europe, namely the situations where multilingual employees use their linguistic resources to gain information that is not publicly available yet.

6.3.4   Head start access to information

Apart from obtaining more nuanced information, sometimes multilingual resources open doors to relevant information prior to it being published, thus they give a head start position for the network to start cooperating on a response. These multilingual practices demonstrate that different linguistic resources are employed dynamically and flexibly (Cogo and House, 2017; García and Wei, 2014) and as such seem to be accepted language practices in CAN Europe.

My participants referred to using their multilingual repertoires to access information that was either not available in English (S8) or that allowed for spreading news about specific issue into the world (S9).

Extract 6.34

1. S8: **sometimes I share information** I mean if er (.) I don't know. **Sometimes I get**
2. **access to er** (clicks the tongue) er **internal information**?
3. Mod; what do you mean internal information?
4. S8: I mean er in in to er **insider information**?
5. Mod: Inside meaning **the network** or inside meaning in your field?
6. S8: No, I mean, **inside from the European institutions**
7. Mod: OK
8. S8: **sometimes it can be in French**, for instance, **I try to translate a summary**
9. but sometimes, depending on the document and so on. Sometimes **I send, send**
10. a **document in er; French with a short accompanying message**, people can
11. always choose Google translate if they can, yeah. **If I do that in French a lot of**
12. **people will read French so it's easy**, but **if I get access to documents in er Dutch**
13. for instance, then/
14. Mod: /mhm, you have to/
15. S8: **the Germans read Dutch more or less**, but **many people wouldn't**
16. **understand** a word so they have to use Google translate and **then they**
17. **sometimes get back to me to ask whether they understood correctly and so**
18. **on**.

S8 describes situations in which he strategically employs his multilingual repertoire to circulate important information in the network. CAN Europe is 'the central coordination body of NGO activities' at the European climate negotiations (Gereke and Brühl, 2019: 877); thus, accessing *insider* information thanks to multilingual resources may put CAN E. at an advantaged position in these negotiations. From the perspective of language practices, S8 demonstrates that, on the one hand, he mobilises his multilingual resources strategically to help CAN Europe stay informed (line 1). On the other hand, multilingual language practices are accepted in situations that prompt circulation of information is necessary. What transpires from this is that multilingual resources (including English) are valuable assets that help in negotiation of meaning (lines 16 to 17), thus may contribute to overall effectiveness of CAN Europe as a policy player.

Some participants also referred to using their multilingual repertoires in direct actions, such as campaigning. Similar to the example of S8 above, S9 describes an event that needed a timely response to be more effective. Unlike S8's example, S9 describes a situation where multilingual resources are employed also partly outside of CAN Europe's internal communication. Nevertheless, it is a valuable example of multilingual practices that are also part of the day-to-day tasks of CAN Europe's employees.

Extract 6.35

1. Mod: Do you have any examples of maybe that er does anything like come to
2. mind/?
3. S9: uhm
4. Mod: of language knowledge and access to/
5. S9: /Yes! Like ONE example was this **campaign** that I mentioned you about **in**
6. **2015**, we did a **joint campaign with French groups**, so [name of organization]
7. and [name of organization] and then [name of organization] was helping out etc.
8. **and the local groups here with a little help from national groups**. So that **was**
9. **helpful for me**, to follow up the 'Engine' - 'Engine' is the name of the utility,
10. French utility (…) So, because **I could follow the campaign**, because I was
11. interested anyways even without like er **before finding the Turkish hook** (.), **that**
12. **helped like kicking off the campaign**, AND one example is that (.) so, **we were**

13. **doing a joint action**, it **was a day of action**, our **French colleagues were opening**

14. **a banner IN PARIS** in **front of The 'Engie' headquarters**, saying that "ENGIE stop

15. (unintelligible) like the plans [for] Like the power plant in Turkish er in in Turkey",

16. and **then I was with local communities** in [unintelligible name of place] Bay

17. where the plant was planned and **we were holding banners in three languages**

18. because this was like it was **Turkish, English and French**. And **I think if I wasn't**

19. **there on the ground the French banner wouldn't be there**. And then **French**

20. **groups used that photo with the French messaging**, because i**t was a day of**

21. **action**. And the message was given to the French utility base in Paris. And so, **you**

22. **know the French, they're, like @ with English**, they're like they're bit lazy. So,

23. **they're always prefer using French messaging** and stuff. So **that was helpful in**

24. **that context**.

As an example of the advantages of languages other than English in the context of CAN Europe, S9 discusses a joint campaign between the French and the Turkish local and national groups/NGOs (lines 5-8). The knowledge of French in S9's case helped to prepare in advance the campaign on the ground in Turkey. It was important, because the event was a short, one-day action so it required prior knowledge of the activities around this matter to prepare the campaign in Turkey (lines 11 to 13). S9's involvement in the campaign resulted in information on banners in three languages (lines 15 to 19). As S9 emphasizes, this was significant because the message was more powerful in the national contexts (especially in France). The multilingual practices thus allowed for better preparation of the event, were important from the international collaboration perspective and overall, were employed strategically to achieve a successful outcome, i.e., different language versions of banners that contributed to more powerful messaging.

6.4   Summary

In this chapter I have presented findings in relation to CAN Europe's implicit language policy. To deduct the implicit rules that individuals in my study resorted to, I employed the concept of practiced language policy (Bonacina- Pugh, 2012) and overall Spolsky's (2019) language policy framework with particular attention to language practices and beliefs. The findings illustrate that despite English being the language that permeates all activities of my

participants and is the preferred choice at the CAN Europe network (general communication), in certain activities my participants resort to strategic use of their multilingual resources. Overall, the findings illustrate that CAN Europe's implicit language policy despite constraining language choice in certain areas (English only for general communication), in certain situations it allows individuals to employ other linguistic resources dynamically and flexibly to enhance understanding, participation and collaboration. Therefore, the findings contribute to the implicit language policy by illustrating what the language practices and beliefs are. They also contribute to the literature on multilingual practices in the field of ELF and multilingualism (Cogo and House, 2017; Cogo and Yanaprasart, 2018; Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer, 2013). Finally, the results contribute to the growing literature on language, in general, in the NGO sector, especially to the literature that deals with implicit language policy in the NGO sector. Whilst this Chapter focused on exploring language practices and language beliefs in CAN Europe, Chapter 7 presents findings on the consequences of English as the preferred communicative choice for international communication in CAN Europe. The findings are presented as evaluations of the language policy by the employees of CAN Europe network at both the Secretariat and MOs levels.

Chapter 7 English language – related power structures in CAN Europe

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 illustrated language practices and beliefs in CAN Europe. It demonstrated that English is used in CAN Europe to interact across linguistic boundaries. It also showed how the participants make use of their multilingual repertoires in a skilful, strategic and flexible manner. This chapter extends the discussion by exploring the critical perspective on English and the participants' views on the implicit English-only LP in CAN Europe. The conceptual underpinnings for this chapter come from the work of Bourdieu's (1991) symbolic power (see section **2.3.2.1**). As discussed in section **6.2.1**, naturalisation forms a foundation for this discussion where I explored the position of English as the default language for communication in CAN Europe entrenched in the participants' language practices, beliefs and expectations. Although in certain situations multilingual resources are employed, in the light of the *practiced language policy* (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012) they are not regular practice to an extent to lift the *all* the inequalities created by English-only practices. Therefore, the aim here is to explore CAN Europe's employees' beliefs, opinions and assumptions about English as the chosen language for communication within the network. Specifically, the discussion will revolve around existing language-related power issues as seen and reported by the participants.

As argued by Schiffman (1996), language policy that favours one language is not neutral. In other words, because English is the preferred choice of communication in CAN Europe (an argument made in the previous chapter), it dominates other possible language choices restricting or constraining them in the general communication within the Network. In addition, multilingual skills of staff are often taken for granted with English native speakers enjoying privileged position due to symbolic power of English in CAN Europe but also in the wider international NGO sector (Roth, 2019; Tesseur et al., 2022). This chapter focuses on the participants' evaluation of the language arrangement in CAN Europe in relation to English. In particular, it aims to address the second RQ set:

2. How do the employees of CAN Europe reflect on the ways the existing language policy impacts member organisations' participation within the CAN Europe network?

a. What power relations does English introduce in this context and how do they affect the employees?

There are two main themes that will address the research questions above. The table illustrates the themes with their corresponding subthemes developed for this Chapter.

Theme	Subthemes
Exclusion from participation	• *Without English access denied* • *Symbolic power of English and participation*
Unequal distribution of English	• *Native English speakers' superiority* • *Status loss* • *Language gatekeepers*
Non-accommodation in English	• *Abbreviation and acronym use in CAN Europe*

Table 5 List of themes with corresponding subthemes

7.2   Exclusion from participation

English is an established language choice for communication in international contexts (Cogo, 2017; Yanaprasart, 2018; Mauranen, 2018; Neeley et al., 2012) and, more specifically, international development NGOs (Roth, 2019; Tesseur et al, 2022). It is a pragmatic language because it is the most commonly shared language in the international arena (Jenkins et al,

2018). However, despite being the practical language in international communication situations, English is also linked to aspects of inequality and exclusion, especially in relation to international organizations (Roth, 2019).

One participant observed that English is the reason behind exclusion of certain employees or organizations from the CAN Europe network.

Extract 7.1

1. S11: **there's a big part of people speaking passively**, so understanding
2. documents and reading (.) **not really able to communicate back** so **usually this**
3. **communication will be either through somebody or they'll simply stop**
4. **engaging** because it will take **them an effort to engage to ask somebody else**
5. Mod: aha
6. S11: so (.) **it it it concerns especially smaller organizations** in bigger
7. organizations. It's usually they are like (.) just the (.) let's say (.) the the more
8. grass roots you are and the less city based you are the bigger an issue it is
9. Mod: ah ok
10. S11: **in a lot of those organizations** for example **there is is not n- n- nobody**
11. **speaking English or very little** (.)

In his argument, S11 is trying to make explicit the problem of engagement and participation of small, grass roots organizations in the Network which are often excluded from networks such as CAN Europe because of English. Whilst a big proportion would be able to understand written communication, their low proficiency in English would not allow them to take part in intra-network discussions. According to S11, local (*grass roots*) organizations are at a bigger disadvantage because there (usually) are no employees who speak English.

Since English language skills are not equally distributed within the CAN Europe network, English may be a barrier to fuller participation. For example, English may lead to exclusions of certain speakers/organizations, usually those with little proficiency in the language (Ehrenreich, 2015). Instances of individual's exclusion have been reported by CLM literature (Blazejewski, 2006; Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999) and in literature that focuses on language policy in international, development NGOs (Lehtovaara, 2009[1]; Roth, 2019; Tesseur, 2017;

Tesseur at al., 2022). The following two sub-sections address the (English) language-related power issues in a context that is highly multilingual, thus they address the call for more research on power and English in international contexts 'beyond the mere "NS problem"' (Ehrenreich, 2015:140).

To further understand the phenomenon of English and the power issues it brings to the CAN Europe network, I draw on data from the semi-structured interviews. As a research tool, interviews (online and face-to-face) are a powerful tool to explore and interpret 'phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003: 5). In this case, interview data allows for an in-depth exploration of people's beliefs, opinions and views on the consequences of English as the only working language in otherwise multilingual and multicultural CAN Europe.

7.2.1   Without English access denied

Given the naturalised position of English in CAN Europe (see section **6.2.1**), it is not surprising that the majority of the participants saw it as a natural and common-sense choice for the international work within the network. English has become an integral part of "business" knowledge in the NGO sector similarly to international business contexts (Cogo, 2016; Ehrenreich, 2015; Méndez García and Pérez Cañado, 2005). The "natural" choice of English, however, reproduces 'social relations and power structures' (Blommaert, 2005: 159; also, Méndez García and Pérez Cañado, 2005; Roth, 2019). English is the practiced language policy in CAN Europe (see section **6.2.**); it is the basic requirement that member organizations and individuals wishing to join CAN Europe must fulfil. At this juncture, English becomes a barrier to prospective member organizations and employees whose English language skills do not match the requirements. In this subsection, I try to illustrate that English is being used as a gatekeeper by CAN Europe network (and those MOs whose employees took part in this study) that favours speakers of English with certain level of proficiency in that language. The discussion begins with presentation of the participants' opinions about the network and then moves on to present reflection of an individual who went through the process of recruitment in one of the member organizations of CAN Europe.

The interview discussions on the role of English in CAN Europe often brought up issues of 'access'. English is the language of all documents production, including the Application Package (see section **6.2.**). If a prospective member organization does not employ anyone with English language skills, it will not be able to join the CAN Europe network thus is excluded from this community. This is what S4 below observed in the context of CAN Europe.

Extract 7.2

1. S4: I think it's an assumption that's true for everyone. **I'm quite sure** that **some of**

2. **the organizations that might be interested in working within CAN Europe are not**

3. **member because of the language**.

First, S4 refers to the general assumption held among all those who work at CAN Europe (Secretariat or member organizations) that English is the preferred language for communication in such international settings as the network (see also **6.2.1**). Based on this assumption, many organizations do not apply for membership within CAN Europe, since they may feel they do not fulfil the English language requirement. This is especially true for the smaller, grass-roots organizations that often lack the funds to employ someone with English language skills on top of the professional experience. Although S4 does not provide specific examples of organizations, the fact that he raises this issue in the discussion without being prompted is indicative of the awareness among the staff of exclusion based on language. As argued by Saunders (2013), small grassroots organizations play an important role in caring for environmental matters locally. Following this line of argument, exclusion of these grassroots organizations due to language may become an important problem for the network. This is because the choice of English may result in unequal representation of voices from the NGO community that CAN Europe is said to represent (CAN Europe, 2022).

Similar views are expressed by those from national/local level of CAN Europe. For example, S11 explicitly states English is a barrier to organizations which want to become part of the network.

Extract 7.3

1. Mod: but if we think of the organization that you work for with er in purely

2. **Polish context. Do you know, they suffer from the fact that English is the main**

3. **language**? and **THOSE what ARE part of CAN Europe** of course. Do you /know

4. S11:/Well/ the **first thing**, **some of them won't be in CAN Europe because**

5. **they're not having any English speakers**

6. Mod: Ah

7. S11: so that's the first thing (.) yeah? And that's kind of the first thing **you don't**

8. **see because they will never get to CAN Europe**.

S11 emphasizes that the most immediate consequence of English as the main means of communication in CAN Europe is exclusion of all those organizations that do not operate in English (lines 4 to 5). This means that local organizations, who usually are underfunded, will not be part of CAN Europe unless they employ someone with English language skills that will act as a 'link' and through whom they will be able to communicate. In lines 7 to 8, S11 emphasizes (again) that without English those organizations *will never get to CAN Europe*. In other words, English is the reason why they are not part of the network.

From an employee's perspective, individuals who wish to work for CAN E. are also subject to English language requirements. MOs have their own variety of language policy that exists in the wider sociolinguistic ecology of CAN Europe (Spolsky, 2009), however, English still dominates the essential requirements list of its member organizations.

Extract 7.4

1. Mod: How does your organization deal with the **fact that English is the main**

2. **language for general communication within the network**?

3. S12: er **I don't think it's a problem for anybody**.

4. Mod: uhm so everyone/

5. S12: /I mean / **this is the expectation you have in the job interview** and if you

6. don't, **if you cannot <u>er fulfil this requirement that you will just not get the job</u>**.

7. Mod; yhm so do do you remember **your er job description** where you

8. **specifically asked to/know English?**

9. S12: /**yeah yeah/** I to I had to speak **I had to speak also English in my job**

10. **interview**?

10. Mod: So, they sort of checked.

11. S12: **Yeah. they checked**

S12 shares her individual perspective on the recruitment process to the national level member organization of CAN Europe. She stated that English was not only the expectation but also a formal requirement for her job position. In addition, S12's competence in English had had to match the English 'linguistic market' of the organization (Bourdieu, 1991); otherwise, she would have not been accepted (lines 6-9). Even though S12 was successful in the recruitment process for her job, her example illustrates that language policies which require English language competence create and sustain unequal access to CAN Europe to all those with little or no competence in English. It is an important barrier within CAN Europe, because it may impinge on participation within the network (Dombrowski, 2010; Gereke and Brühl, 2019) a point that I return to on few occasions in this chapter (see sections **7.2.2.** and **7.3.1.**).

In line with Baker's (2015) argument that linguistic choices are not neutral, the choice of English in CAN Europe may result in exclusions of potential prospective member organizations and individuals (employees). The fact that English is a basic requirement generally acts as a barrier to all those who lack the skills in the language. As a consequence, not all member organizations will participate in the work being done by CAN E. Specifically, member organizations from certain parts of Europe may have a varying degree of proficiency in English which, as a result, may lead to 'silencing effect' of English (Piekkari, et al., 2015), thus resulting in lower participation of certain member organizations within the network. The next section has been allocated to a detailed discussion of this topic.

7.2.2   Symbolic power of English and participation

This subtheme is directly linked to the main theme: *Exclusion from participation* as it illustrates participants' observations about (and awareness of) unequal participation within the network created by English. It is also linked to the theme: *Unequal distribution of English* as it can be argued the symbolic power of English is a consequence of English not being equally distributed across the network. The discussion in this subtheme is a prelude to the more in-depth analysis of the symbolic power of English in the CAN Europe network.

The growing dominance of English as a lingua franca adds to the disparities between speakers because it is unequally distributed within the CAN Europe network. Western and

Northern parts of Europe are usually associated with better English and their Southern and Eastern constituents less so. For the sake of the argument made in this chapter, I consulted International Relations literature (IR) to observe whether language issues are at all mentioned. The result was that, although language inequalities are usually not overpopulated subject of International Relations (IR) literature, language marginalisation because of English is reported in a handful of recent articles within the discipline of IR. Specifically, Gereke and Brühl report that English language is a 'structural factor of exclusion' that marginalizes the Southern NGOs in the UN high-level negotiations (2019: 883) in which they are represented by CAN International. Similar views are also expressed by Dryzek and Stevenson (2011). Although the focus of the two studies was on unequal representation of North and South NGOs in the UN's high-level negotiations, they are relevant because they mention the problem of *linguistic* marginalisation within the NGO context; therefore, they add weight to the overall argument here about the importance of language in the context of NGOs. They also serve as examples of, I believe, a growing awareness on language as the source of power in the IR.

Returning to the discussion on *symbolic power of English and participation* subtheme. During interviews participants from both the Secretariat and member organizations acknowledged that there is a language barrier within the network albeit not to an extent to severely disrupt intra-network cooperation. Their comments were mainly concerned with English being a *barrier* and introducing unequal power relations between individuals and organizations in the network from different parts of the European continent. Overall, their views on English as the preferred language in CAN E. confirmed that this choice of language may lead to unequal participation within the Network.

There is a good level of awareness among the participants interviewed about the role English plays in excluding certain individuals/organizations from participation in the work of the Network. Some of the most senior members of staff report on this issue, for example, S6 who has an extensive experience of working in the environmental movement globally, regionally (mainly EU) and nationally (EU member state), stated that:

Extract 7.5
1. S6: the **obviously** (.) er both **in CAN Europe** as in other (movements) **it's clear** that

2. **language is a barrier** and there are people in (.) **in this part of the world for whom**

3. **English is not the most** (.) **natural way of communicating,** in particular people from

4. **Southern Europe** er (.) **have a barrier there but also lots of people from Eastern**

5. **Europe** and if, you're looking world-wide erm (.) like Japanese and Chinese people

6. and so, on it's a very limited amount of people (.) that (.) that know English in (.)

7. even while ev- MUCH, **MUCH more than in CAN Europe in CAN International**

8. **ENGLISH IS the only language that is**

9. Mod: mhm

10. S6: and so, **if you want to be part of the international network you have to be able**

11. **to speak English** which means that **for certain parts of Africa,** **certain parts of Latin**

12. **America, certain parts of Asia** (.) **there is not much participation**

English language can be and is a barrier in international NGO movement. S6's use of the word *obviously* signifies that there is awareness of the issue, both in the wider context of movement and in CAN Europe (lines 1-2). In his argument, S6 clearly draws the line between the Northern and the Southern and Eastern Europe in which the ability of speaking English varies and as a consequence there is less participation of those from the south and east Europe. The association of the general belief and practice that in international contexts it is English-only appears to be even stronger for CAN International according to S6. English is an important, yet under prioritized aspect that seems to contribute to the division within CAN Europe. As a result, the symbolic power carried by English in this context seems to be connected to lower participation from MOs in the Southern and Eastern Europe. This is well illustrated by S14 below.

Extract 7.6

1. Mod: And when you mentioned culture, do you see er you compared European to

2. Asian? Would you say **if you have a meeting** within, let's say, **in CAN Europe**, but

3. **across the European continent**? **Would you say this is also the case**?

4. S14: **Yeah, definitely**. **But this comes with power**. This is mostly related **with power**

5. **and not with culture**. For example, **a bunch of European meeting people** who come

6. in **from Germany or from the UK, or from Nordic countries, or from Netherlands** or

7. **Switzerland, are more outspoken than somebody from Central and Eastern**

8. **European countries**, or **from Italy, or from Greece**.

9. Mod: would you say **languages play a part in this** as well? /

10. S14: **/of/ of course**, because these countries, I think, also have an educate er

11. education system that integrates the English language from a very early stages,

12. resulting **thus resulting in them being a lot more fluent and eloquent** when they

13. **use the English language**. which **is not the case for countries like in Greece**, for

14. example, or **Hungary or Italy or Spain**. And **that creates an imbalance in the room**

15. (…) **where you have people dominated in a room for a for a variety of factors and**

16. **languages** came that, and **then other people not actively participating in that**, or

17. **even suffering in silence**.

S14 frames his argument in such a way that he brings power between the Northern and Southern countries of Europe to his argument and when asked about his opinion about the role of languages in these unequal power relations, he explicitly brings English to the discussion. What is more, S14 clearly divides those who are traditionally associated with *better* skills in English from those who, again traditionally, are thought of as not having this ability to the same extent. Under the umbrella of efficiency in communication and pragmatic use of English, there is the symbolic power of English that devalues all those (multilingual) speakers who are not as *fluent and eloquent* in English. To put it differently, S14 in in his opinion reflects Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power (see sections **2.3.2.1**. and **7.3.1.**), which defines social relation as symbolic and based on linguistic interactions (Bourdieu, 1991). Those who have practical competence in English, in this example, the speakers from the Northern Europe (*Germany, UK, the Nordic Countries, the Netherlands and Switzerland*) possess symbolic power over those from southern (and eastern) parts of Europe (*Italy, Greece, Hungary and Spain*). In the eyes of S14, the northern and western European NGOs employees are *more fluent and eloquent* in English (lines 6 to 8 and 13). Thus, in linguistic interactions those from the north of Europe are on a more advantaged position to, or have symbolic power over, their counterparts from Southern and Eastern Europe. Thus, the *imbalance* created by English leads to withdrawal from active participation in the Network meetings of the NGOs from the south and east parts of Europe.

Consistent with the comments made on the matter of unequal power relations within the network caused by English, S9 contributes to the overall argument about the symbolic

power of English in CAN Europe by presenting her observations which also support the arguments made by the previous two participants.

Extract 7.7

1. S9: I mean one, one thing that that can be interesting, I think **that's something we**
2. **bring up quite often in the Secretariat** and **the network**, as well, **that in a European**
3. **network**, **you can clearly see the differences**, **the cultural differences between**
4. **Western European countries and Eastern countries**.
5. Mod; uhm
6. S9: **So, there comes the language issues as well**, why like one can, like one can, I
7. think assume, rightfully that **the Western European countries**, **just the level of**
8. **English speaking is higher than the Eastern countries**. So, **we always try to involve**
9. **more groups from Eastern Europe into the work that we're doing**, because we
10. usually, like **the more engaged groups are from Western Europe**. But like, I think
11. this is also interesting to think of that, like, **maybe not everyone is, in the Eastern**
12. **Europe is, is practically using English in their day-to-day life**. So, then it brings this
13. **this additional burden on their shoulders like in order to get involved**, they have to
14. **first go through one colleague that speaks English and then and then get engaged**.
15. **But sometimes things go really fast and will be passed in the network as well**. So,
16. **they are not able to catch up**. But this is only my observation, this is not verified

In the construction of his/her argument, S9 demonstrates awareness of the differences (cultural and linguistic) within the CAN Europe network. S/he explicitly links unequal distribution of skills in English language with issues of unequal participation within the network (lines 8 to 9) and consequently what is being done to address this problem (see also section **6.3.**). S9 makes an explicit statement that organizations and individuals from Western European countries are more involved in the work of the network because their ability in English allows that. In other words, although S9 is not explicit about the symbolic power of English in CAN Europe, lines 7 to 10 may be interpreted as illustrative of the symbolic domination of the northern and western European NGOs within CAN Europe network. On the other hand, Eastern European MOs, in addition to their priorities, must also

accommodate the language gap problem. In situations when information needs to be passed in a timely manner those who do not have competence in English are left behind. As a result, English puts those individuals and MOs from Eastern Europe under the risk of underrepresentation (lines 11 to 14). It is an important finding, because the organizations that are underrepresented are generally those who are already at a disadvantaged position, i.e., those who have little to no financial resources to allocate to language matters.

One of the participants went a step further and observed that poor ability in English, among other factors, for example, Spanish as another valuable international language in the example below, raises the issues of language-related power issues. English has the highest value as the language for communication within this context. It directly influences participation with possible direct political consequences for CAN Europe, such as less political influence over the EU, or being less effective as a political player.

Extract 7.8
1. S5: but I think that SOMETIMES it's a GOOD point like there are sometimes like in
2. **Spain** that's a totally other country they have the kind of culture, **their English is**
3. **sometimes quite poor**
4. Mod: yeah?
5. S5: and **they have a kind of tendency to stand on their own** and it's also Spain,
6. **Spanish is a big language**, eh? (.) They have a lot of possibilities with it in the world.
7. And (.) Yeah, it's, **it isolates them a bit**.
8. Mod: in what sense?
9. S5: well **if you don't come out** if you don't speak out **in the** (.) **international**
10. **network** and **you need to do it in English**, **OK then you have less influence**. And
11. Spain is such a big country and it has politically (.) it has a lot of votes in the in the
12. European Council things and so on, and so on, it's a big countries. But still, you don't
13. hear them? (.) They, **they don't come out a lot**.
14. Mod: mhm, mhm. (.) So maybe that's a thing to er/
15. S5: /so/, if **if, you're NOT** erm (.) **prepared** let's say **to come out in English you have**
16. **less influence**. **It's as simple as that.**

S5 links low competence in English, and possibly language attitude of the Spanish as the global language, with the *tendency to stand on their own* among the Spanish MOs as two contributing factors in lower participation in the work of the Network and, therefore, less political influence. To put it differently, individual NGOs 'strengthen their political impact by working through the Climate Action Network' (Willets, 2011: 53); however, since the Spanish organizations rarely participate in the work of the network because of, among other things, lower ability in English (lines 2 to 7) it also weakens the influence of CAN Europe on the EU level (lines 11 to 13). As argued by Mamadouh, language, in this case English, provides access to international policy-making processes and allows 'to control political representatives' and 'supranational (…) decision-making processes' (2002:330). Without the input from Spanish MOs who can lobby their political representatives at national level, CAN Europe cannot win the *votes in the European Council* (lines 12 to 13). Thus, English directly influences MOs participation within the network, which as a result may impact on the efficiency of CAN E. as a political player at the EU level. The symbolic power of English here is directly linked to influence on a wider European Union level. Because the value of English is higher than Spanish in CAN Europe network, there seems to be less participation from all those Spanish organizations who have lower level of skills in English.

The examples of the *symbolic power of English and participation* subtheme illustrate well how aspects such as language can contribute to unequal power relations within international contexts. Specifically to CAN Europe, symbolic power of English seems to be connected to lower active participation of Member Organizations from southern and eastern parts of the European Continent. That is why, it is important to bring such issues to debates, especially in contexts where language may not be of priority (Footitt et al., 2020) but is a contributing factor to underrepresentation, as seems to be the case in CAN Europe. It must be emphasized here, however, that these findings should be treated as preliminary, and more in-depth study is needed to draw strong conclusions about the role of English in unequal representation in CAN Europe, or any other international network of NGOs for that matter (see also section **8.4**.). This study only made causal links between symbolic power of English and active participation and representation within the CAN Europe network as it was not the original focus of this project.

In addition to exclusion, this subtheme also began to uncover the results of unequal distribution of English language skills within the network, a topic that I now turn to.

7.3   Unequal distribution of English

The foundation for discussion in this theme lies in language ideologies generally and standard language ideology more specifically. As explained in Chapter 2, language ideologies are a multi-layered concept, they are rooted in personal experience and they link languages (and their speakers) with power, prestige etc. (Kroskrity, 2010). A specifically useful concept that emphasizes the relationship between language and power and inequality is the concept of symbolic power by Bourdieu (1991) on which I draw on in this discussion as well. Bourdieu (1991) explains that social relations are based on linguistic interactions (symbolic interactions) which represent symbolic power between speakers with competence in a language (capital – English) and groups to which the competence in that language is ascribed (the market – CAN Europe). Since the market is characterised by unequal distribution of the capital, it becomes a field of linguistic power relations. Applying this to CAN Europe's context: the fact that English is used by the employees reinforces its symbolic power as the main language of CAN E as already mentioned in the section above with respect to symbolic power of English and participation in the Network. However, the varying degrees of competence in English among employees in the Network creates unequal power relations with native and very proficient speakers of English being perceived as privileged or associated with power (Kroskrity, 2010; Méndez García and Pérez Cañado, 2005; Tollefson and Pérez-Milans, 2018) leaving other speakers as dominated. The social hierarchy thus created is one of the consequences of the choice of English as the medium of communication in CAN Europe. First, I explore the social hierarchy created by varying degrees of competence in English Native Speaker superiority. I then discuss status loss of non-native English employees of CAN Europe and the third and last subtheme is devoted to language gatekeepers (Marschan et al., 1997) a direct result of the unequal distribution of English in CAN E. Those are the main consequences of the LP in CAN Europe that the participants reported on, and the results help to address the second RQ of this study.

7.3.1   Native English Speaker's superiority

As discussed in Chapter 2 the notion of standard language ideology is a socially constructed belief that associates certain varieties and its speakers with superiority. What is more, English standard language ideology, as argued by Milroy (2000), has been naturalised and is deeply rooted historically and interwoven in the social fabric through processes of education (Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer, 2011). Despite changing perspective on the English standard language ideology and native English speakers (NES) thanks to research undertaken in fields such as ELF, standard language and the concept of native English speaker still seem to be prevalent in wider public as observed by Tsuda (1997) and illustrated by this subtheme.

It was anticipated that participants' narratives would include some form of judgement, attitudes, socially shared assumptions about native speakers of English (or those whose proficiency in that language was perceived to be high) because English is the only "official" means of communication in CAN Europe (Jenkins, 2011, 2007). Participants' comments were mainly concerned with the fact that native English speakers and all those with native-like proficiency in English would be more advantaged in any communicative situations. In other words, native speakers of English (or near-natives) were often invoked as comparative frameworks. They were perceived as the standard, or to put it simply "better" than the non-native English speakers (Ehrenreich, 2015). Therefore, such orientation towards NES norm is seen as symbolic. It assumes NES or near natives to be superior to other users of English. Standard language ideology, in general, lies behind the symbolic gatekeeping as it valorises only one variety – the native English (Milroy 2000). To present an interpretation of the consequences of unequal distribution of English within the network, I explore participants' language beliefs and attitudes.

For many of the participants English was not the mother tongue and they often perceived those with higher levels of proficiency in English as more powerful (Bourdieu, 1991; Pennycook, 1994). On a general level, there was a good level of awareness about this issue among employees of the network. I noticed more critical reflections about NES to be particularly prominent in interviews with employees working in the member organizations. However, not all of those working at the national/local level were critical of the native English speakers and their superior position within the network (e.g., S13 who stated she did

not feel disadvantaged because of the fact she was not a NES). Furthermore, also some Secretariat members of staff showed awareness of NES superiority, as S7 reports below.

Extract 7.9

> 1. S7: I also **think I really take for granted the fact** that I can, **that English**, **being a**
> 2. **native English speaker** is **probably already an advantage to many organizations**

As S7 explains, being a NES is *already* perceived as an advantage to many organizations within the wider environmental movement in Europe[2]. This is an implicit statement about the dominant role of English in the wider sector of NGOs and an explicit statement about NESs being more valued by organizations. Thus, practices of the NES are highly valued not only because these NES have 'greater institutional control to promote the value of their languages', but their symbolic power transforms their utterances into 'valued symbolic capital' (Park and Wee, 2012: 28). In other words, the power of the NESs seems to lie in the belief that they are better users of the English language, thus their perceived competence in English is an asset that gives them advantage over those who do not have the same ability.

Similar views about the native English speakers and their active involvement in the communication within the network are also expressed by S3.

Extract 7.10

> 2. S3: People who **are native speakers are more involved in the network**, or **more**
> 3. **visible**, or **more vocal** on **certain issues**, but I don't think I know the network
> 4. enough to actually make that statement. And **there are obviously examples of**
> 5. **not** er **non native English speakers [who] are also very**, **very active**. And you
> 6. were really, you know, feel a difference like **French people, German people**, a lot
> 7. of you know, **different nationalities** that come to my mind that **I don't think that**
> 8. **the language is** any **obstacle** in their er in their position. So it's very hard to say
> 9. that, you know

S3's perspective, although cautious, adds to the overall argument here that the native speakers of English or near-natives (albeit Western Europeans) create an imbalance in the network. According to S3's observations, those with "high" level of competence in English are more *involved*, *visible*, and *vocal* in the work of the network. Even though S3 is cautious of not making overt generalisations as to native English speakers and their level of

involvement (lines 3 to 4), she nevertheless continues with her argument and states that others (high proficient speakers) are also highly contributing individuals to the work of the network. It is not surprising that the first examples that came to S3's mind were Western European nationalities (line 6), because the assumption of high competent speakers of English are Western and Northern nationalities in Europe. This of course, is not an indication that only those from the Western Europe are competent in English, thus only contribute to the Network. Nevertheless, S3's perspective illustrates that there is an unequal distribution of competence in English in CAN Europe which gives an advantageous position to NES and near natives in this language in the network.

In his explanation, S11 expresses a more critical view to that of S3 about the dominant position of native and proficient speakers of English.

Extract 7.11

1. S11: and **you can see** (unintelligible) also especially (.) first of all **that people**

2. **who are NATURALLY (.) English speaking are more important or present within**

3. **network**/

4. Mod: /yhm/

5. S11: /so **they have a (.) a better standing** (.) **from the very moment** because

6. they don't think about what they are saying **it's natural for them**? (.)

7. S11: and second of all (.) **they are not really a lot WILLING to** (.)

8. Mod: yhm

9. S11: **accept or think about other[s] not having this ability** (.)

Even though S11 is not explicit about what he means by *naturally* speaking people, it can be assumed it is all those who have mastered English to such an extent that gives them an advantage over those who do not have the same proficiency in English. S11 highlights the fact that the competence in English is strongly associated with power, therefore NES and very proficient speakers of English are perceived as *more important* (line 2). This point supports the observation made by S7 above, that NES are perceived as superior in the NGO community. In fact, it is the ability to speak English that allows them to participate and be vocal in discussions. In other words, all those individuals with high level of competence in English often participate in discussions within the network's working groups, they begin to

be perceived as those with more authority, with big advantage to all those who do not have such competence in English (see also section **7.2.2** above). In addition, they are not accommodating their speech to others, thus create a kind of barrier between them and the others based on the ability in English. Such discriminatory actions are the exact enactment of Bourdieu's (1991) symbolic power and are also documented in CLM literature, for example, Welch and Welch's (2008) study. The competence in English, as explained by S11, helps to create and maintain social hierarchy among employees of CAN Europe (users of English).

The discussion so far has emphasized that competence in English is a contributing factor to unequal power relations among employees of CAN Europe. It illustrated that NS of English enjoy an advantaged position and are perceived as more important in the network. The subtheme below illustrates that this can lead to professional status loss among the non-native English speakers.

7.3.2   Status loss

The choice of English as the working language in CAN Europe also results in employees perceiving themselves as less valued as professionals defined as 'subjective experience of decreased professional regard irrespective of English fluency level' (Neeley, 2013: 476; also, Sanden, 2015). Such issue was also reported by international business literature (Neeley, 2013; Neeley at al., 2012) and to some extent in Lehtovaara's (2009) study on Oxfam GB. Even though all the participants who took part in this study were successful users of English in their contexts, some of them reported feeling disempowered because of English.

S10 below explicitly states that it is the proficiency in English that places its NSs or near natives at an advantaged position. It is something that up until this point in the discussion was an implicit statement that I attempted to make more explicit.

Extract 7.12

1. S10: **I also think** as I said, **native speakers are** (.) **taking a lot of space** and er **I**
2. **don't think that's fair**, because <u>**it is not that they have more to say**</u>, <u>**they just**</u>
3. <u>**say it better**</u>

S10 ascertains here that native speakers are dominant in the network. Their fluency in English empowers them in relation to non-native speakers despite not having more expertise in the related field (line 2). What S10 seems to imply here is professional status loss that S10 experienced in such situations irrespective of the fact that she functions in English successfully. The underlined fragment succinctly emphasizes that it is the proficiency in English that gives those native speakers and near-natives an advantage over others who do not have the same level of skill in English.

Similar disempowered experience in international meetings is expressed by S14 below.

Extract 7.13

1. Mod: Do you ever **feel at a disadvantaged position because of** the fact that **English**

2. is the dominant **language in the network**?

3. S14: **Yeah, pretty often**

4. Mod: uhm, okay.

5. S14: And, and **that happens when I'm engaged in a discussion**, verbal, ora- er oral

6. discussion **where people start talking faster**, or **they're using more abstract**

7. **expressions**, or, **in written when you have a strategy**, let's say paper, and **you**

8. **enter a debate**, and **you start with a competitive disadvantage**, **just because** of the

9. fact that **you <u>can't really use the words to your advantage</u>**, **while** the let's say the

10. <u>**counterpart can**</u>. So **my main**, let's say **struggle** at some point is that **I feel that we**

11. have to start, **we start with a handicap**.

12. Mod: yhm yhm. So./

13. S14: / I'm/ **making it sound like it's a battle, but it's not**. It's er **everything is kind of**

14. a **negotiation,** right?

15. Mod: uhm

16. S14: I mean, **especially within a very diverse and multicultural organization** like

17. **CAN everything is like a negotiation**. And **you start this negotiation with a**

18. **comparative disadvantage**. **You start with a handicap** and **that is language**

19. **limitation**.

S14 reports on the situations when he feels disadvantaged. His individual experience is that he feels he lacks skills in English and this puts him in a less favourable position in discussions (lines 5 to 8). He overtly states that it is the proficiency and fluency in English language that prevents him from feeling to being on equal terms with all those whose competence in English is perceived by S14 as high (lines 6 to 10). Even though S14 does not see such situations as *struggle* or *battle*, he does perceive himself (and other non-native speakers – the use of *we*) as *handicapped*. Lines 16 to 19 are a clear statement that CAN Europe as a linguistic market can be characterised by social hierarchy of employees based on their competence in English, with S14 feeling to be in the position of the dominated.

In a similar vein but from a multilingual speaker perspective, S12 reflects on her feelings (as a non-native English speaker) about the status loss she experiences in communication situations where her choice of language is confined to English only.

Extract 7.14

1. Mod: **Do you have any specific example where you actually felt that** you know,
2. those **native speakers**? were sort of **better off because that's the language in**
3. **which you are communicating**.
4. S12: each time I go, each each I mean, **each time I I am in this situation**. I **I have**
5. **that feeling**.
6. Mod: So, in any type of meeting where there are native English speakers?
7. S12: yeah.
8. Mod: Does that make you any any er (.) [cliques the tongue] Any any ? inferior or
9. any? Because you don't, er you know (.) You are not/ a native speaker of English?/
10. S12: /well, yeah I mean/, I, of course I I it it **I feel kind of handicapped because I**
11. **cannot say what I would like to say so well but of course, I speak other languages**
12. **but it just doesn't matter** (.) in **in the moment who I'm talking**

English is a highly valued resource in CAN Europe due to it being the only commonly shared language, therefore not being proficient in it is a disadvantage. As S14, S12 reports on feeling *handicapped* and this happens in any communicative situation with native speakers of English (line 11). In her position, S12 often relies on her multilingual linguistic resources[3]. On those occasions, she seems to navigate between different linguistic markets (Park and Wee,

2013) and scale levels (Blommaert, 2010) across which value of different languages is not constant. Therefore, in interactions with native English speakers or those whom she only shares English with (*who I'm talking* line 12) in the context of CAN Europe she believes her multilingual skills do not bring any value since she cannot use them.

This subtheme highlighted the issue of disempowerment in the form of status loss among non-native English-speaking employees in CAN Europe. This, it can be claimed, is a direct consequence of unequal distribution of English among the employees of CAN Europe. Another observed and reported consequence is the existence of language gatekeepers which the next subtheme discusses.

7.3.3   Language gatekeepers

Language brokers (Gonçalves and Schluter, 2017) or gatekeepers (Charles & Marschan-Piekkari, 2002) are individuals who, thanks to knowledge of a particular language, in this case, English, facilitate communication in the multilingual context between those who speak English and those who do not. In this relation, language brokers enjoy a more privileged position and increase their authoritative power. Contrary to 'boundary spanners' (Koveshnikov et al., 2012; see also section **6.3.**), language gatekeepers are individuals, who also have the power to 'filter, distort and block information, possibly in a negative, counter-productive way, if they wish to do so' (Sanden, 2015: 23). The ability to work in English gives such individuals more power/ influence they would not otherwise have if the competence in English was distributed equally across the network (Charles and Marschan-Piekkari, 2002).

The topic of language gatekeepers was raised on few occasions during interviews, but S11 was the most explicit about individuals who gained a more 'powerful' position thanks to their skills in English. As argued by Bourdieu (1991) language is an object of social inclusion/exclusion and it regulates to what extent different members are involved in or excluded from communication. Thus, it is a relevant problem because it demonstrates unequal power relations between speakers of English within multilingual and multucultural organizations like CAN Europe.

Extract 7.15

1. S11: For example, in **Poland there are a lot of organizations** or **quite interesting**

2. **people** (.) **who are BARRED from** (.) **European fora because they don't speak**

3. **English well**.

4. Mod: ah

5. S11: yeah? So, **they only**, for example **stay through and then somebody else has to**

6. **filter their ideas** like a (.) ff focal point or whatever (.) and given that we are very (.)

7. individualistic in a movement we try to form big coalitions but there are a lot of

8. strong egos and individualistic **depending who filters** (.) **filters sometimes YOUR**

9. **idea**? **or sometimes a little bit of interpretation of his idea** so there is (.) there is

10. this notion of (.) **actually the ability of speaking language provides another**

11. **power**(.) **to those nexus points that others do not have**

S11 overtly states that he knows of certain people within his context who are not able to participate and contribute to European fora[7] because they lack the ability to communicate in English. It seems disappointing since the fora loose perspectives from *quite interesting people.* The only way for such individuals to get engaged is through an individual who can *filter their ideas* for them. This is where the unequal power relations become problematic – the individuals given the filtering role have the agency to change or distort the original idea (lines 8 to 9). The ability to speak English puts those individuals in a more advantaged position over those who do not have the same language skills. Such reallocation of power is also documented in CLM literature (Charles & Marschan-Piekkari, 2002; Fredriksson, Barner-Rasmussen & Piekkari, 2006; Marschan et al., 1997; Tietze et al., 2003). In other words, being able to speak English gives those individuals more *power* which they may use to their advantage.

Even though the findings in relation to gatekeepers are not extensive in my study and therefore should be treated as preliminary. They, nevertheless, document the existence of such individuals in the context of environmental NGOs. Therefore, they contribute to the existing literature on language policy – language gatekeepers in contexts other than

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[7] CAN Europe is one of such forum where information is distributed among different stakeholders (NGOs)

international business. Nevertheless, it is a potent future research path that I also discuss in section **8.4**.

In summary, varying degrees of competence in English creates inequality among employees of CAN Europe network. Such inequality is felt as native English speakers being perceived as superior leaving non-native English speakers, or those on the lower end of the competence in English spectrum, feeling disempowered. In addition, there are some grounds to believe that the unequal distribution of English within CAN Europe may lead to certain individuals gaining more influence and act as language gatekeepers which may be counterproductive for the network if such individuals decide to withhold/change interpretation of the information they pass.

7.4   Non-accommodation in English

Unlike the two previous main themes which mainly explored participants' attitudes, opinions and observations in relation to language-related power issues among users of English, this theme relates to attitudes towards English language as is used in the network. It focuses on the use of abbreviations and acronyms and how this hinders common understanding within the network.

It is generally taken for granted that abbreviations and acronyms used in communication within the Network are widely understood, but the problem is that many national and local organizations do not work with specific EU policies on a daily basis which are the source of those abbreviations and acronyms. In other words, those who use abbreviations and acronyms in their communication within the Network often do not accommodate their messages to their recipients at the local level of CAN Europe.

Unlike the research on pragmatics in ELF where accommodation studies are mainly focused on convergent linguistic behaviours among ELF speakers (Baker 2015; Cogo 2009, 2016; Cogo and House, 2018; House 2010; Hülmbauer 2013; Kalocsai 2014; Zhu Hua 2015), the data in my study represents, to some extent, divergence or maintenance that individuals employ when communicating. *Divergence* is understood as not adjusting the communicative

behaviour to the interlocutors and *maintenance* refers to maintaining the linguistic behaviour despite interlocutor's accommodative needs (Shepard et al., 2001).

7.4.1 Abbreviation and acronym use in CAN Europe

Participants in this study perceived acronym and abbreviation use in the Network as problematic and a frequent cause of confusion. To build my argument, I present individual and collective[5] views on this issue. Both **non**-**accommodation** and **naturalisation** processes, which are at the centre of this subtheme, will become apparent as I discuss the findings.

Since CAN E. acts as a representative for the community of predominantly environmental NGOs in Europe, such specialist vocabulary becomes a barrier to a more engaged cooperation within the network. Therefore, as signalled by S9, wider communication from the Secretariat to the Network should be clear from abbreviations and technical language.

Extract 7.16

1. S9: erm, yeah, I mean, yes, this would be what we said about **the policy**
2. **coordinators, including myself** to, **to communicate** briefly, but at the same time
3. **without falling into the abbreviation and technical language TRAP**.
4. Mod: uhm
5. S9: I mean, if **it's inside different teams**, or **inside specific email group**, like if you
6. have (.) we have a CAN Europe renewable energy email list for instance, **that's ONLY**
7. **people were into renewable energy stuff**. So I guess there you can use as **you can**
8. **go as techie as you want to get**@.
9. Mod: uhm @
10. S9: **Because everyone is like interested in the same issue**. **But when they're like**,
11. **open lists**, like, **CAN Europe list** or **CAN International** lists? Or the er **all the staff**
12. **lists**, we have that as well, inside the Secretariat staff lists, **internal list where you**
13. **don't only have policy coordinators, but also admin people** and and
14. **communications coordinators** and the and the (.) yeah, **human resources person**,
15. etc, then **it would be good to, to ADOPT the kind of language** that **is**
16. **understandable WHILE being able to explain people what** what **is on your agenda**?

S9 demonstrates a good level of awareness of the problem that abbreviation use can cause especially in common communication channels. Even though S9 views abbreviation use as an efficient way to communicate (lines 2 to 3 and 16), s/he is well aware of such practice as being problematic in wider communication. This is because of the varied involvement in matters discussed in the open communication. As S9 explains, in specialist e-mail communication to specific groups, people are involved in the matter, therefore, they usually are well aware of the different acronyms and abbreviation used in their field (lines 5 to 9). However, in wider communication channels this is not the case. Therefore, abbreviations and acronym use in CAN Europe may influence the level of common understanding.

Even though it may not yet seem as though the abbreviation/ acronym use in the Network is a significant issue, as viewed from the MOs employee's perspective, this problem takes on other resonance.

Extract 7.17

1. S11: **CAN, CAN is horrible**
2. Mod: @
3. S11: **I mean CAN has SO MANY abbreviations** they are **SO ETHICAL that you go out**
4. **of the room and it's a complete bubble**. I mean, one thing you wouldn't get in our
5. organization is we try the first time or actually we don't use any abbreviations
6. almost at all
7. Mod: yhm
8. S11: **in CAN almost every second phrase you have an abbreviation but if you don't**
9. **know it just need to be explained** so yeah, it's **it's a very techni techni** and
10. **abbreviation speech which is also not English**,
11. Mod; yeah yeah, and that's that's what I heard from people who said "I don't know
12. it's just like creating a list of new words for me' so yeah it's a probably a learning
13. curve for those people as well. Erm right thank you
14. S11: **well only if you want to** (unintelligible) because I **I think what what one of the**
15. **problems in CAN is that** (.) (unintelligible) and in any organization
16. Mod: yhm
17. S11: (.) er **people feel that they needed ton of experience to ask questions** which is

18. **not true**. (.)

19. Mod: yhm

20. S11: and **they tend to think that they have to learn a little bit to start asking**

21. **questions about what it means** and **it's not true**. And er and then it's er it created

22. this thing that 'I am saying things, I don't have questions so, I think I am understood'

23. **they are not understood** but '**I don't feel I know enough to ask questions**'.

24. Mod: yhm

25. S11: **And it creates** a whole lots of fields of of **lack of understanding**.

S11 presents his personal account towards the issue of abbreviation use by the Secretariat in the communication within the Network. Words such as *horrible* (line 1) and *complete bubble* (line 4) are illustrative of S11's attitude. S11 seems critical of the language practices of staff working at the secretariat level in Brussels to be predominantly EU centred and not accommodating their communicative competence to the varied audience in the Network. He even goes as far as to claim that the policy-oriented language used by the Secretariat is *not English*. Therefore, those who want to follow the communication and have a good level of understanding need to learn the meaning behind the abbreviations and the EU environmental policy specific vocabulary otherwise they will be excluded on that level.

Another aspect that S11 raises in relation to not understanding the abbreviations, is the lack of confidence among employees, especially the less experienced ones, to ask questions. In other words, there seems to be culture of not asking questions *and* not explaining everything in full terms. As a result, the problem of l*ack of understanding* arises (line 25), which could have been avoided if the practice was more accommodative to the wider Network audience as S9 above rightly indicates and S5 below forcefully illustrates.

Other participants described their personal accounts and the frustration of how it felt like to be in the middle of communication but somehow being excluded from it because of the abbreviation barrier.

Extract 7.18

1. S5: **it's not only about language but the work we do is sometimes quite** (.)

2. **technical**, but **not in the sense of IT** but

3. Mod: yeah

4. S5: **political technical**

5. Mod: yeah, yeah

6. S5: **and then you have all these abbreviations** and **all the policy processes** and

7. **these people are so used to** (makes a whoop sound) **throw it out** and **if they do**

8. **that in a quick way** and **in a direct way** at the end of the day **you don't know what**

9. **they are talking about**

10. Mod: yhm

11. S5: **I remember my first six months at CAN Europe were quite difficult to simply**

12. **understand what is happening here**? Wha- what are they saying, **I could sit in a**

13. **meeting** and they were saying like '**oh we are working on an FFS from the MMSV**

14. **from the'** and **you're sitting there and think what the fuck is this**?

15. Mod: @@@

16. S5: So, it takes like, yeah **it takes like a year before you, you grab it**.

S5 begins with stating the problem of the use of abbreviations and how it seems to be already naturalised in this context. The phrase *political technical* that S5 uses in line 4 refers to the EU environmental policy-related vocabulary that permeates to the communication within CAN Europe. Combined with non-accommodative behaviour, acronym and abbreviation use pose a problem to many members of staff who may not be yet acquainted with this specialist vocabulary. This is described well by S5 in lines 11 to 14 where he reflects on his first six months in the organization and when S5 often felt excluded. Line 14 is very illustrative of the frustration S5 had to deal with at that time. Similar findings with respect to sophisticated vocabulary use and non-accommodation in BELF contexts are also reported in Ehrenreich (2010), but it mainly focuses on non-accommodation on the part of NES. This research project, however, also presents contexts where the non-accommodation happens between non-native English speakers, or ELF users. Unlike ELF research (Cogo, 212; Jenkins et al. 2011) that reports on accommodative strategies used among ELF users in 'relatively equal encounters', the unequal power relations among the employees of CAN Europe does not always allow for accommodation to take place as reported by the participants above (Guido, 2012: 219).

One form of open communication (as referred to by S9 above) is the General Assembly where all member organizations attend via their appointed representative. On these bi-annual events employees from the network (Secretariat and MOs) attend presentations and talks that inform and update them on the progress of different projects that are coordinated by the Secretariat. However, as above, these presentations are not accommodated to their audience.

Extract 7.19

Observation notes 29th April 2015 (General Assembly)

1. During those talks one of the participants from Sweden (with good English skills)
2. **expressed his/her worry** that **s/he was not able to understand a lot of the jargon**
3. and **abbreviations that were used in the talks** in the past two days.
4. S/he said in an informal conversation: '**I find the language very technical** and **all**
5. **these abbreviations@ I felt that each time I heard abbreviations or technical**
6. **words I had to note them down**. It is like **learning new words again**!' Although
7. English was used for all the formal talks s/he struggled to **follow some of the talks**
8. **because of the jargon or abbreviations of specific programmes** (EU or UN ones) or
9. **policies at the EU level concerning environmental topics** such as climate change
10. (CC), use of land and climate change (LULUCF) etc.

The observations are a record of an informal chat the researcher had with one of participants of the General Assembly between plenary talks and presentations. This participant expressed worry and possibly felt anxious to some extent (laughter '@' in line 5) of not being able to follow the talks fully. The phrase *it's like leaning new words again* (line 6) may suggest that this particular person felt disempowered or felt downgraded to learner status. This participant was in the communication's role; therefore, it was of great importance for him/her to understand fully what was discussed so that the information could be passed down to the local NGOs in his/her country.

When perceived from the above perspective, this is a problem for CAN Europe specifically because the idea behind establishing the network was to represent and coordinate the work of NGOs in Europe. However, if individuals from member organizations are not following discussions, then problems, such as not being able to pass the information back to the NGOs

at local level – 'communication blockage' or miscommunication may arise (Charles and Marschan-Piekkari, 2022: 10). This is well illustrated by S2 below.

Extract 7.20

1. S2: And so **if she can't even report back** I mean, because **the aim eventually is that**

2. **if this one person** from (name of country) **comes [to the GA] and didn't**, you know,

3. hears all this stuff, will (.) it, **it will be good that she can understand it and transfer**

4. **this** to **other people in her NGO and even to other NGOs in** (name of country)

5. **ideally**, but **if she can't really process the information that it's a problem** and this is

6. also I think partly and **to a large extent actually into this technical terms and**

7. **acronyms** as as we discussed

S2 invoked one participant who attended one of CAN Europe's General Assemblies (GA). She illustrates well in this fragment how important it is for all of the stakeholders attending the GA to have a common understanding of the issues discussed. Abbreviation use in the GA, however, is seen as a barrier not only to common understanding, but also how well updated and informed of the issues the MOs in different regions of Europe are. S2, therefore, makes a causal link between the abbreviation use and lower common understanding in CAN Europe (lines 5 to 7).

In summary, abbreviation and acronym use presents a language barrier in the Network to many of the participants (Ehrenreich, 2010). The use of EU environmental policy specific vocabulary in CAN Europe contributes to the concept of accommodation in English as a lingua franca context (Jenkins, 2015). Specifically, to the issue of non-accommodative behaviours in ELF contact situations (Guido, 2012). However, contrary to Coleman optimistic view about the possibility of English becoming 'a more democratic model' (2006: 11), certain aspects, such as the one dealt with in this subsection illustrate that even within this non-standardized use of English in international and intercultural contexts, English cannot be said to be a fully neutral and always accommodative form of communication.

7.5 Summary

This chapter has attempted to illustrate that despite English being the practical working language in CAN Europe, in certain situations it acts as a barrier to equal participation, common understanding and even contributes to exclusion of certain organizations or individuals from the CAN Europe network. This chapter has also shown that there are aspects other than only native and non-native English speaker dichotomy that English as the preferred communicative choice produces (Ehrenreich, 2015). Language related power issues in the context of CAN Europe are present as reported in the current study. They relate to both individual and network level. For example, individuals with no or lower proficiency in English are excluded from CAN E. Equally, organizations without an employee who has English in his/her linguistic repertoire are also excluded from the work of the network. Unequal power relations brought about by English may also result in issues such as the phenomenon of language gatekeeping, and/or unequal representation of perspectives from certain regions, specifically south, east and central Europe. Although the findings relating to these two aspects should be treated as preliminary, they indicate at areas that so far have not achieved much attention in the scholarly literature, certainly not in the scholarly work on languages in the international, development NGOs.

In conclusion, while there are limitations to this research, it is hoped that the critical perspective on English will provide a valuable insight into the issue of language in the context of environmental NGOs. In addition, it is hoped that the discussion provided in this chapter contributes to (B)ELF research and to wider debate on English as a Lingua Franca in international contexts from the critical perspective. By demonstrating the consequences of the choice of English, it is hoped that this study opens new research avenues for future projects (critically) exploring the complexity of English in multilingual and international contexts. Finally, it is also hoped that this will lead to more understanding of the complexity of English in multilingual, multicultural contexts of the NGOs sector as a whole.

In the following chapter I summarize my findings in relation to my research questions, discuss their relevance and implications and conclude this research project.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

In this final chapter I discuss the connection between the themes that were developed in the process of the data analysis, my interpretation of the research findings and possible implications that these have for the theorisations about language policy, and English in international contexts with specific focus on the environmental, non-governmental sector in Europe. I first review the findings from Chapters 6 and 7 to provide answers to this study's RQs in the light of their implications and contributions. This is followed by limitations of this study and suggestions for further research and then final conclusions.

8.1   Research questions and overview of the research findings

As I stated in Chapter 1, the overall aim of this research project was to gain an insight into language policy of and international, environmental NGO, Climate Action Network Europe (CAN Europe), into how languages are used, for what purposes and on what grounds, and what language beliefs are manifested by the employees of CAN Europe. The particular focus was on the language policy and its effects, both positive and negative as reported and evaluated by the employees of this network. Since there is no written or official language policy in place in CAN Europe and English is not the first language for the majority of individuals in the network, exploring the language practices and their impact was the first step to better understand the role of language in contexts such as international NGOs and the effect a particular language policy has on the individuals working in this context.

This subsection summarizes this attempt by exploring each research questions individually. The research questions of this project are:

1. What language practices and language beliefs are in place in CAN Europe network?

   a.   How is English used as language practice?

   b.   How are English language practices sustained?

   c.   How and to what extent languages other than English are used/ accepted?

    d.   To what extent does the existing LP in CAN Europe allow for flexible language use?

2. How do the employees of CAN Europe reflect on the ways the existing language policy impacts member organizations' participation within the CAN Europe network?

    a.   What power relations does English introduce in this context and how do they affect the employees?

The previous chapters (Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7) investigated separate elements of a bigger picture. For example, Chapter 4 provided background information about the research setting – Climate Action Network Europe (CAN Europe). Through this I hoped to introduce invaluable information for a better understanding of the kind of context this project investigates and its language composition. Chapter 5 provided a detailed account of the research design and the methodology of inquiry adopted in this study. Chapters 6 and 7 described language practices and beliefs present in the CAN Europe network but also evaluations of how the practices and beliefs impact the participants and participation within CAN E. These chapters include detailed analysis and my analytic interpretation of the findings. While the four chapters include a discussion of various aspects of this research project, with Chapters 6 and 7 providing the answers to the research questions posed in this study, this evaluation will bring the findings together and will allow for a broader treatment of the topic of LP in an international, environmental NGO context. This includes contributions, implications and future research paths. First, I summarize all the findings by reviewing each of the research questions separately.

8.1.1 RQ1 Language practices and language beliefs in CAN Europe

In order to address the RQ1 data from observations, one-to-one interviews (both online and in-person), focus group discussion, and to some extent qualitative document analysis of the documents and website materials was utilised. Due to implicit character of the language policy in CAN Europe network, multiple method approach was thought to be the most appropriate because it allowed for obtaining a rich dataset. For example, the observations were extremely useful for seeing the language practices and manifestations of language

beliefs among the staff on a daily basis. But interview data (semi-structured interviews) allowed for exploration of beliefs, opinions in a more in-depth approach (see section **5.4**).

During the process of data analysis, two main themes were developed each with a corresponding number of sub-themes. The first main theme was devoted to English language practices and beliefs (**The communicative need for English**). It included two main subthemes: *Naturalisation: shared understanding of English as a default language* and *English as the practical language resource*. The latter was further split into: *English as the common denominator, English as time efficient tool for communication* and *International use of English as a factor in language choice decision in CAN E*.

The second main theme was named: **Strategic use of languages other than English**. Its four main sub-themes were: *Targeted audience communication*, *Closer cooperation within the network*, *Access to sources of nuanced information* and *Head start access to information*. These were addressed by my RQ1 c and d and will be summarized in the following subsections.

The data analysis revealed that the rules for using English are mainly deducted by the practice from the Secretariat and in the internal communication within the network. Furthermore, language practices are differentiated by the type of task and communicative activity. For example, general communication within the network will almost always be in English. Some exceptions to this rule are when documents with strategic information must be circulated within the network in a timely manner. On the other hand, multilingual resources are employed when necessary for smaller-scale communication, such as, personal communication.

It was anticipated that English constitutes the majority of language practices within the CAN Europe network. However, the naturalised position of English as the preferred language for communication in this setting overshadows the rich sociolinguistic reality that CAN Europe represents (a similar findings are presented, albeit from a critical perspective towards English, in the aid sector in Roth, 2019 and Tesseur et al, 2022; also reported in Lonsmann and Mortensent, 2018 for international business contexts). For instance, the analysis revealed that the staff, most of whom were from different linguistic and cultural

backgrounds, are very flexible in using different linguistic resources alongside English in their daily work lives. What is more, multilingual resources were used strategically and in a fluid way to gain access nuanced information.

In addition to the above, naturalisation processes made the English language choice in CAN Europe 'invisible' (Piller, 2017) and by looking at the different perspectives (individual expectations, general assumptions about English language practice in the network, expectations reported by the MOs employees about receiving English versions of documents from CAN Secretariat), I attempted to demonstrate that such beliefs are deeply ingrained in the participants of this study.

Another general finding is that English is perceived as a pragmatic choice for the context of CAN Europe network (Ehrenreich, 2010 and 2015; Kankaanranta and Planken, 2010; Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta, 2011; Kankaanranta and Lu, 2013; Kankaanranta et al., 2015; Pullin, 2015 in BELF and international business research; acknowledged in Roth, 2019; Tesseur et al., 2022 in international development NGOs). Here the findings mainly contribute to the growing literature on language use in the third sector international organizations - INGOs.

8.1.1.1 RQ1a How is English used as language practice?

This research question specifically focused on the role of English in the communication within CAN Europe network. As it was presented there was not any explicit language policy in CAN Europe. In order to deduct the implicit rules of language practices I drew on the concept of practiced language policy (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012). This allowed me to demonstrate that there are patterned language practices that form the policy. To build a strong argument about the practiced language policy in CAN E., I triangulated data sources. I used documents produced by CAN E. (Application Package, 2017), observation notes to interviews.

The main findings are that English is used as a lingua franca in the network. It is the choice that is naturalised with many of the participants holding a neutral view of English being the main language for most communicative activities. These findings contribute to the existing literature on ELF in Europe (Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer, 2013; Seidlhofer, 2020). These

findings, however, are the main contribution to the growing literature on language policy in the third sector (Footitt et al., 2020: Lehtovaara, 2009; Tesseur, 2014, 2017, 2021), specifically on the implicit character of LP in the NGO context (Tesseur et al., 2022). To the best of my knowledge, there is no previous study that would address this problem in an international, environmental NGO context.

8.1.1.2 RQ1b How are English language practices sustained?

This research question focused on two sub-themes:

- Naturalisation: shared understanding of English as a default language, and

- English as the practical language resource.

The latter sub-theme was further divided into three subthemes: *English as the common denominator*, *Time efficient communication*, and *International use of English as a factor in language choice decision in CAN E*.

Due to the multilingual constellation of the members in CAN Europe (Cogo, 2012; Cogo and Yanaprasart, 2018; Tesseur et al, 2022), English is unofficially adopted as a working language for the network especially at the level of the secretariat (Sanden and Kankaanranta, 2018; Tesseur et al, 2022). The majority of communication is done through the means of the English language which serves as a lingua franca in this context. The cross-sectoral review of the literature also reports similar findings in respect to English as the working language: Business English as a Lingua Franca (BELF) literature (Ehrenreich, 2010; Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta, 2012) and Corporate Language Management literature (Sanden and Kankanaaranta, 2018; Logemann and Piekkari, 2015; Lønsmann, 2011). International organizations' official language regimes with overreliance on English are reported in (McEntee-Atalianis, 2015) for the UN; (van Els, 2001; Krzyżanowski 2014; Wright, 2016) for the EU. With respect to the LP studies that investigate language in the NGO sector, despite official multilingual language policy in place, the working language is still in majority English (Footitt et al. 2020; Lehtovaara, 2009; Tesseur, 2017, 2020).

In addition, a considerable proportion of discussions revolved around language beliefs about the role of English as the working language in CAN Europe. There was a general consensus

about the practicality of English in this role among the participants from both contexts (Secretariat and MOs).

8.1.1.3 RQ1c To what extent languages other than English are used / accepted?

The aim of this RQ was to address the multilingual language practices and whether they were accepted and, if so, to what extent. The main findings about multilingual practices in CAN Europe is that the participants often drew on their multilingual resources to address 'information gaps' created by English. In addition, they did so in a strategic manner. Multilingualism was a vital component of the language practices in CAN Europe. Despite the English only practiced language policy for general communication, other languages served the role of either lingua franca that was employed in international communication in specific geo-locations (e.g., S2); or were employed to reach certain audiences for more detailed information.

The most important finding is that English and other languages seem to exist in, to some extent, an ecological relationship, as observed by the participants. The choice of English as a lingua franca for communication in CAN Europe is the consequence of multilingual constellation of speakers in that context, equally, other languages are employed because of the unequal distribution of English in the network. Thus, these findings contribute to the existing literature on ELF and multilingualism by illustrating that speakers draw on their multilingual resources when needed to achieve their communicative goal (Cogo, 2016; Cogo and Yanaprasart, 2018; Hamaidia, et al., 2018; Jenkins, 2015; Seidlhofer, 2020).

On a micro level, the findings suggest that the participants in my study are well aware of what rules apply in terms of communication, both general level and specific audience despite the policy not being officially or explicitly stated, unlike the findings reported by Sanden and Kankaanranta (2018) in international business enterprises. The problem reported by the authors was the use and role of Finish, which was the mother tongue of the majority of the company's employees in question. My findings, on the other hand, contribute to our understanding of contexts which are characterised by diversity (linguistic and cultural). The participants in this study also oriented to their L1s and L2s whenever they could, but the context of this study seemed to be much more multilingual thus such

opportunities for the use of one's mother tongue overall were not as frequent as in the study of Sanden and Kankaanranta (2018).

8.1.1.4 RQ1d To what extend does the existing LP in CAN Europe allow for flexible language use?

This research question is an attempt to collate the findings from all the themes and subthemes developed during the data analysis process in Chapter 6 in order to evaluate to what extent the existing language policy in CAN Europe allows the employees flexible language use. As illustrated in the previous three subsections, the participants reported on their language practices and language choices to be multilingual overall. Even though the preferred language policy is English, it is not prescriptive about the use of other languages. In fact, many of the participants reported to resort to their multilingual resources strategically. Thus, multilingual practices are a vital aspect of CAN Europe's employees' everyday work, they are accepted for certain contexts and situations. Most importantly, multilingual resources may contribute to:

- more effective collaboration within the network, and

- CAN E. being more effective policy player.

Similar to what Sanden and Kankaanranta reported with respect to the 'language planning agency' of their participants (2018: 557), it was observed that individuals in this study also had agency when making language choices for different communicative situations. Even if the multilingual repertoires of the participants were now always visible, they were always present implicitly (Jenkins, 2015; Sanden and Kankaanranta, 2018). Therefore, the informal language policy of CAN Europe allows its employees to flexibly use their linguistic repertoires for work related tasks.

Finally, the findings illustrate that CAN Europe, similarly to international business companies, has a pragmatic approach to language matters, even though it does not explicitly state its language policy. Overall, the results contribute to wider language policy research in international contexts, including third sector organizations (Cogo, 2016; Cogo and Yanaprasart, 2018; Crack, 219; Ehrenreich, 2015; Federeci, O'Brien et al,2019; Footit, et. al.,

2020; Lehtovaara, 2009; Krzyżanowski, 2014; Sanden and Kankaanranta, 2018; Seidlhofer, 2020; Tesseur, 2017, 2021; Tesseur et al., 2022).

8.1.2 RQ2 How do the employees reflect on the ways the existing language policy impacts member organizations' participation within the CAN Europe network?

To address this research question, I utilised the data that come from interviews (face to face and online), focus group discussion and observations. There were three main themes and six subthemes developed in the process of data analysis for Chapter 7. These are: 1. **Exclusion from participation** further divided into: *Without English access denied* and *Symbolic power of English and participation;* 2. **Unequal distribution of English:** *Native English speakers' superiority, Status loss* and *Language gatekeepers;* 3. **Non-accommodation in English:** *Abbreviation and acronym use in CAN Europe.*

The two subthemes that contributed most to this RQ were: *Language gatekeepers,* and *Symbolic power of English and participation.* It was anticipated that there will be varying degree of agreement about the role of English in the network. Since English is not the mother tongue of the majority of participants interviewed, this RQ focuses more on the critical perspective on English as the working language in the CAN Europe network.

Of the least anticipated yet significant findings are the existence of language gatekeepers and the symbolic power carried by English in CAN Europe. Both these themes illustrate the language related power structures in the network. On the individual level (language gatekeepers), those with tacit knowledge in English may enjoy more power in a counter-negative way, i.e., they may block or distort some information as illustrated in, for example, CLM literature (Charles and Marschan-Piekkari, 2002; Marschan et al., 1997). The findings in my study reveal that in fact such individuals do exist at lower levels of the network, but their role could not be fully explored because of the scope and limitation of this research project.

On the network level, the concept of symbolic power of English illustrates that the unequal distribution of competence in English across the network may contribute to underrepresentation of certain perspectives within CAN Europe. The fact that English is in the position of the linguistic capital creates hierarchy between the internationally and nationally and locally employed staff. As a result, there may be problems with participation

in the work of the network from certain European regions that CAN Europe covers. It is an important problem for CAN Europe, because it may impinge on the NGOs community representation and participation (Dombrowski, 2010; Gereke and Brühl, 2019). However, these findings should also be treated as preliminary, as I emphasized in Chapter 7, because it would require further study to explore in depth the role of English in contributing to the unequal participation in CAN Europe or similar contexts (see sections **8.3** and **8.4** below).

8.1.2.1 RQ2a What power relations dose English introduce in this context and how they affect the employees?

The main theme that illustrates unequal power relations between individuals in this study is the **Unequal distribution of English proficiency** and the subtheme *Without English access denied.* I delve into my participant's attitudes towards English and its role in CAN E. as well as their reflections and observations on how it affects them.

The findings presented to answer this research questions reveal that despite English being the most pragmatic choice for CAN Europe, it introduces social hierarchy among all its users in the network. The consequences of English as the communicative choice in CAN Europe is the fact that in certain situations English is used as a gatekeeper by both the CAN Europe Secretariat and MOs. The preference is on the specific organizations and employees, i.e., those who already have the ability to communicate in English. Thus, in these instances, English is a barrier to prospective member organizations and employees. Unlike some claims in the BELF studies, English cannot be said to be a neutral language for international communication when looked at from the critical perspective (Louhiala-Salminen et al., 2005; Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta, 2011).

In addition, the issue of NES and NNES surfaced in the interview discussions frequently. Not surprisingly native and near-native speakers are perceived as more important in the network. Tacit knowledge of English, therefore, acts as an open access to this position. As a result, some of the participants experienced subjective decrease of professional status loss (Neeley, 2013), or as portrayed by Roth (2019) native speakers are perceived as the more professional staff, just because they can speak English better. For example, they reported on feeling *handicapped* in situations and interactions with native English speakers. Despite being successful ELF users, many of those participants still perceived themselves as

somehow dominated or disadvantaged. Furthermore, there is a strong orientation to the native speaker norm among those participants that were the most critical of NESs' position in the network.

Another finding that contributes to the social hierarchy created by unequal distribution of power in the network due to English is non-accommodation in communication. Specifically, the use of abbreviations and acronyms in communication within the network that led to feelings of exclusion, frustration and disempowerment among the participants. However, this is another area that this project uncovered, but where more research would be needed to confirm this in similar contexts especially involving (non-native) ELF users in situations with unequal power distribution, such as in Guido (2012).

Overall, the findings provided by the second set of the research questions illustrate that despite English serving as the lingua franca in the context of CAN Europe, there are some consequences on both the individuals and the network alike. English leads to exclusion and impacts on participation. There is a strong orientation to the native speaker as the standard which indicates that NS norms are still present and deeply ingrained in the public.

8.2   Contributions and implications

The aim of this study, as stated in Chapter 1, is to explore and understand better language practices and beliefs in the context of an international environmental NGO in Europe. It specifically focuses on the implicit language policy in place – English as the assumed working language at CAN Europe. At this juncture I would like to note that I frequently refer to studies on language outside of NGO sector, such as international business where there are no corresponding studies in the language policy in the development NGO sector. The reason for this is that the existing literature on language in the NGO sector is growing, but still quite small. In addition, making references to wider literature on language policy in international contexts provides a solid anchor for the results discussed in this project.

Previous studies that problematized the LPP in international NGOs have looked at organizations that had an explicitly stated language policy (Lehtovaara, 2009; Tesseur, 2014, 2017, 2018) or problematized the multilingual reality of these organizations (Footitt et al, 2020). This study aimed to contribute to the field of LPP in two ways. First it offered an insight into how INGOs, as powerful policy actors in the global politics arena, manage their multilingual reality by the means of an *implicit* LP (Tesseur, 2017; Tesseur et al., 2022; Willets, 2011). This was done by illustrating the practices and beliefs of the employees working for CAN Europe, Secretariat and MOs level. Second, it aimed to offer insight into the NGO sector in general, by presenting findings from the second largest NGO group – the environmental NGOs. To the best of my knowledge, there are no previous studies with the focus on the implicit LPP in an international, environmental NGO context.

In addition, this project sheds light on the *implicit* LPP and the assumed position of English in an international non-governmental organization context. I draw from the body of research dealing with English and implicit language policy in international business sector, specifically BELF research (Ehrenreich, 2010; Lonsmann, 2011; Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta, 2012; Sanden and Kankaanranta, 2018) and language capacity of humanitarian organizations (Tesseur et al., 2022) as illustrative for my context of research that deals with implicit LP in an NGO sector. Furthermore, international business and BELF studies focus on international workplace which this study also centres on albeit workplace in the third sector, i.e., neither public nor private. My study corresponds with the reported, assumed, and agreed upon position of English as the chosen language for communication. In particular, my findings correspond with the studies above about English being the only shared or common language among all of the participants (Lonsmann, 2011; Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta, 2012; Sanden and Kankaanranta, 2018).

Previous LPP research in international, development NGOs (as discussed in Chapter 3) investigated the role of English and its prevalence in contexts with official, explicit and multilingual language policies (Footit et al., 2020; Lehtovaara, 2009; Tesseur, 2017), the symbolic power of English and inclusion in the development NGO sector (Crack, 2019; Roth, 2019; Tesseur et al., 2022). This study's findings support the reported hierarchy of languages with English being the most frequently chosen as the means for communication for

pragmatic reasons, and thus introducing unequal power structures in the context of international NGOs.

My findings also support the results of (Ehrenreich, 2010) who found that despite the dominant position of English, other languages are also employed strategically. However, Ehrenreich (2010) emphasized the role of the German language, which was the language of the company's headquarter, my study differs in this respect. Because of the diversity among the staff (both at the Secretariat and at MOs) not one language, other than English, could be said to have also a prominent role. Instead, the participants were utilising their L1s and/or L2s to varying degrees depending on the contexts, communicative activity or the audience. This study therefore emphasizes that an implicit policy may allow more individual agency to the participants to use their language resources flexibly in different situations without jeopardising successful internal communication. The flexibility in language choice seems to be a constant aspect of the daily realities of the individuals in this study. Therefore, this project contributes to the existing body of research on English as assumed working language in international contexts. In particular, this project sheds light on implicit LP in an international, environmental NGO context which up to date, has been given little academic consideration.

Another important, yet unanticipated contribution of this project is the aspect of language-related power structures within the NGO sector (Gereke and Brühl, 2019; Roth, 2019) as discussed in section **7.2.2.** The findings indicate that due to unequal distribution of English language skills (Bourdieu, 1991) within the CAN Europe, people from certain regions of the network (Southern and Eastern Europe- based members organizations) could be contributing and benefiting somewhat less to and from the work being done by CAN E. network. The findings about unequal distribution of English language skills confirm that the linguistic hierarchy among speakers of English 'beyond the mere 'NS problem'' exist in multilingual contexts such as international organizations, thus they contribute to (B)ELF theorising about English in ELF environments (Ehrenreich, 2015: 140). However, the findings are to be treated as preliminary. To what extent English, and language in general, is the contributing factor is a potent future research path.

Finally, together with the existing studies on the international NGOs (Gereke and Brühl, 2019; Willets, 2011) and language issues in the INGOs (Tesseur, 2021), this study calls for a move towards multidisciplinary research to help us understand the phenomenon of INGOs as actors in global governance. I hope the results of this project help to indicate at the need to bridge the divide between disciplines of language studies (LPP specifically) with international relations (IR) that is called for by, among others, Fierke (2003).

8.2.1 Implications for international NGOs

There are a number of implications for the international environmental non-governmental organizations that are part of wider networks as a result of this study which I outline below.

- Recognize the important role of languages in the organization. Ensure that multilingualism is valued across the organization and integral to operating of such interculturally complex contexts. It is also recommended that acquiring additional language skills is actively promoted by the organization.

- Recognize the unequal distribution of English language skills among the staff, which may sometimes affect the participation and cooperation. Consider providing training in English especially for the employees from less privileged backgrounds.

- Recognize and address the discomfort of employees about their level of English, especially written English. The traditional/ standard English language belief seems to still hold a strong position among employees of this sector.

- Recognize the additional workload of bi- and multi-lingual staff who voluntarily perform language mediation work. This is often in addition to the tasks agreed in their job description.

- Consider assisting with translation of documents into languages other than English to assist partner NGOs from the local and grassroots levels of society.

8.2.2   Implication for Climate Action Network Europe

In addition to the above recommendations, this study highlighted some problematic areas that I believe should be addressed by the CAN Europe network. These are outlined below.

- Ensure to address the issue of abbreviations and acronyms of EU programmes and EU policy jargon use within and across the network. Such specific vocabulary use frequently leads to confusion which impacts common understanding in CAN Europe network.

- Consider restoring additional languages training to support the staff in developing their linguistic repertoires. This will benefit the efficient use of language resources in information exchange and sustained knowledge production within the organisation.

- Offer financial assistance, when possible, for the member organizations who may struggle to meet the costs of translations to/from English so that they can contribute to and benefit from the work of the network.

8.3   Limitations of the study

Although generalisation was not the final goal of this research project, it must be stated that my findings are a snapshot of the practices and beliefs in a particular context with a particular constellation of participants and their linguistic repertoires and cultural backgrounds. There may be similarities with other international environmental and/or development NGOs in relation to language policy, but the findings do not offer possibility of prediction for linguistic choices and beliefs in similar contexts (see section **5.6.2** for a detailed discussion on the reliability and validity in this research). I hope this project serves as an insight into the rich sociolinguistic reality of such contexts as CAN Europe, an aspect that can easily be overlooked.

It must also be acknowledged that my study is limited to language practices and beliefs of the employees of the secretariat in Brussels and a handful of employees from the member organizations (MOs). The views and opinions expressed by those interviewed especially from MOs are not representative of all of the CAN Europe employees. To partly overcome this, the design of the data gathering was organized so that people from various roles were

recruited to the extent this was possible, and people from variety of member organizations (international, local etc.) and from different geographical locations (Western, Eastern, Northern, Southern Europe) to have more representative data. Having said that, I believe that it would be one of the future research ideas to explore member or partner organizations' perspective when analysing the effects of the language policy in place in CAN Europe or other similar international NGOs.

Methods of data collection about practices in member organizations was mainly through online interviews. This is a limitation because it does not allow to fully explore the language practices at offices of member organizations. There is a risk of subjective reporting on the language practices as compared to using two methods, observations and interview data, as it was the case for the first phase of data collection in this project. To partly overcome this problem, the interview questionnaire included additional questions for the linguistic context and constellation of staff at the participating member organizations (see Appendix G).

The process of data analysis was also an area that proved not to be free from limitations. Specifically, themes being developed from the data and interpretation of the final findings. The approach for coding and themeing the data that I used in this project was Reflective Thematic Analysis (RTA) by Braun and Clarke (2013, 2014 and 2020). In the process of developing themes from codes there is always a possibility of human error or unanticipated/missed interpretations. To manage this problem, I used tools such as frequent revisions of codes and coded data, theme generation (research) diary where I allowed myself the space to think about the themes, and supervisors' second opinions on the themes and interpretations of the findings to make sure that I have not missed or misinterpreted the data.

In addition, researcher's effect is another issue that must be mentioned. Being part of the Brussels team for three months allowed me to become familiar with everyday language practices and manifestations of language beliefs, however, there was a risk of bias of the context on the researcher (myself). Being part of the CAN Europe landscape at times was manifesting in producing taken-for-granted accounts of the practices within the network, assumed so to speak. For example, my research was 'dominated' by the Secretariat employees' perspective, i.e., international level practices that were not representative of the

network as a whole. Therefore, I expanded the original scope of the research and incorporated participants from the member organizations. By including perspectives from the lower levels of the network, I believe I avoided the 'elite bias' (Miles et. al, 2014: 298).

8.4   Further research directions

This study is of relatively small scale, despite focusing on the European largest environmental NGO network. Further research could broaden the scope and focus on LPs in the member organizations from within the CAN Europe network. This would help in better understanding the context of the national and local NGOs that are part of such international networks. Although I have tried to recruit participants from different regions of CAN E., this was not always possible, therefore, a future study could include participants form all four geographical locations (North, West, South, and East) especially in the light of the findings of this project about unequal distribution of English and the symbolic power of English in CAN Europe.

In addition to the above, as the findings of this project suggest, there exists an unequal distribution of English within the network. Particularly, the differences between the North and West Europe and South, Central and East Europe in relation to command in English language. Further research could examine closer whether and to what extent English perpetuates/sustains the hierarchy between staff working at the different levels of CAN Europe. This is important because English is the main means of communication within the network. Unequal distribution of English language skills may lead to issues of overrepresentation of the Northern/Western perspectives, thus marginalising other perspectives and undermining the *raison d'être* of such networks like CAN Europe which strive to provide balanced representation of, in this case environmental, NGO movement at the high-level policy making at both the EU and the UN level.

This study's aim was to investigate the language practices and language beliefs of CAN Europe's employees; thus, the focus was mainly on language. However, it is clear that the network is an intercultural context. Research investigating cultural aspect of the intercultural communication taking place in CAN Europe, or similar multicultural and multilingual contexts, could further our understanding of the intercultural communication competencies

of the employees in the third sector thus, contributing to the theorisation of both English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and Intercultural Communication (IC).

Another possible future research path is to explore the role of language brokers/gatekeepers in the context of international NGO communication. This project has indicated that these individuals exist and through their mediating skills contribute to information exchange in international forum of CAN Europe. However, a more in-depth study is needed in assessing the extent to which such individuals hinder communication and the consequences of their activities in international contexts. This would further our understanding of the complexities of individual's socio-linguistic realities within a given language policy setup.

This project has indicated that the position of English as a lingua franca in international arena may be one of the reasons why it was also chosen as the communicative means by the CAN Europe network. According to Spolsky (2019), external environment can and often does have an influence on the decisions on language policy in its constituent parts. In other words, CAN Europe does not exist in a language policy vacuum and its policies towards language reflect the inside and outside tensions resulting in specific linguistic arrangements. Future research could investigate what linguistic and non-linguistic factors from wider environment have an influence on the language policy within CAN Europe, or similar networks. Such research could result in theoretical implications for the existing theory of LPP.

Interviews were the main source of information about language practices in member organizations (MOs). This limited the insight into individual member organizations' language practices. Future research could expand the scope and add ethnographic observations to account for this limitation, especially conducted in several locations, MOs.

As this project indicated, there may be issues of linguistic inequality among organizations and individuals experienced within the CAN Europe network. Specifically, the problem of representation and/or participation, as presented in this project, Crack's (2019) illustration of issues with marginalisation in the process of application for funds, and Tesseur et al., (2020) indication of issues of inclusivity in their more quantitative study on mapping the multilingual skills and the time spent on language (translation) work by multilingual INGO

staff. With the surge of new technologies such as ChatGPT, Google translate etc., new research could investigate to what extent these technologies be employed by the organizations to help them bridge the gap in the formal processes of application for funds as well as addressing internal written communication barriers to provide a more inclusive working practices (Tesseur, 2022). In addition, new research could also investigate the potential pitfalls of relying on such new technologies in the intra-network communication.

Finally, language in the NGO sector is under-represented in research, as I have attempted to emphasize in this project. Therefore, any future project that investigates the role of language within the third sector will add to our understanding of the linguistic complexity environmental and other international NGOs must grapple with.

8.5   Summary and conclusion

This project has offered an insight into LPP in an under-researched context of international network of environmental NGOs – Climate Action Network Europe. In this investigation I have explored how the employees of CAN Europe utilise their linguistic repertoires in their daily activities. In particular, I examined the implicit language policy in the form of practiced language policy (Bonacina- Pugh, 2012) with respect to English and other languages. The findings suggest that the employees skilfully and flexibly operate in this environment and that there is a good level of awareness of what language practices can be employed to successfully communicate in this linguistically (and culturally) diverse context.

On the level of beliefs, the findings suggest that there exists a dichotomy in the perceived role of English in CAN Europe. On the one hand, English is seen as the most practical means of communication in CAN Europe because it allows for international cooperation to take place. In addition, English also co-exists with other languages allowing for flexibility in choice of the most appropriate means of communication in a given contexts/situation. On the other hand, English introduces inequality among the employees excluding some individuals from certain communicative activities. In addition to that, the findings also suggest that the standard English language ideology still holds a relatively strong position among the employees, thus resulting in favouritism towards English native speaker forms/norms.

Although this research is a modest contribution to the fields of LPP, and ELF research specifically, in the international NGO context, it offers a first step in exploring the language policy (practices and beliefs) in a context where languages are not given overt consideration (Footitt et al., 2020). Despite being secondary priority in the context of INGO, language is in fact an elementary component of all the activities.

I hope that the implications of this research drawn from the exploration of language practices and beliefs will encourage active collaboration of experts from the fields of (socio)linguistics and international relations. First, to highlight the role of multilingualism and English in the contexts of INGOs, thus challenging the perceived linguistic homogeneity of international contexts such as international NGO networks; and second, to better understand INGOs as a phenomenon brought about by processes of globalisation (Tesseur, 2017).

Appendix A   Consent form observations

CONSENT FORM *(Observations)*

Study title: Language policy in the network of environmental non-governmental organizations – Climate Action Network Europe (CAN Europe)

Researcher name: Marta Bas-Szymaszek
Staff/Student number: 23791675
ERGO reference number: 13606

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information sheet (09/03/2015) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be used for the purpose of this study

I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time without my legal rights being affected

Data Protection
I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a password protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of this study. All files containing any personal data will be made anonymous.

Name of participant (print name)...

Signature of participant..

Date..

Appendix B   Participant information sheet

09/03/2015

Study Title: Language policy in the network of environmental non-governmental organizations – Climate Action Network Europe (CAN Europe)

Researcher: Marta Bas-Szymaszek **Ethics number**: 13606

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

My name is Marta and I am a PhD student at the University of Southampton, UK. I am very interested in languages and how they are used in institutional context. That is why, after completing my Masters courses in Applied Linguistics and Global Politics I decided to combine the two fields together to examine language policies and their influence on the maintenance of relationships within a network of non-governmental organizations.

In my research project, I intend to examine language as a resource and how it is used in CAN Europe. I am interested in internal language policy – what rules/norms govern the use of particular languages within the network, what problems are experienced in terms of language use by individuals or organizations within the network, and whether language use helps or hinders working relationships within the network.

It is NOT the purpose of the study to judge, observe or evaluate language skills of the people working at CAN Europe. Information that is circulated inside or outside of CAN Europe network will NOT be gathered, recorded or stored for the purposes of this study.

Why have I been chosen?

You are a valuable participant for my study because:
- You have experience in working within the organization
- You will be able to provide me with information about what languages are used within the organization/network and in which context
- Your insight is valuable to this study

What will happen to me if I take part?

The study is designed to have two stages: observations and face-to-face interviews. As a participant of the study you will be observed in your everyday work for a period of time of approximately 2 months (as soon as you give consent to be observed). I do not intend to observe anyone in separation. The aim is to look at the entire environment in which languages are used and what rules exist in that environment. I will record all of the observations in the form of notes using special software that will then help me with later stage of data analysis. It will not be a constant process of me taking notes. I plan to take notes of only the instances that are relevant to this project. And take reflexive notes at home after work.

It is important that you to perform the tasks you normally would. You will not be required to do any extra work. I will take notes of instances that are relevant for my project, that is, situations where (different) languages are used in the communication between CAN Europe and its member organizations.

The observations will provide me with an insight into languages used at work and any stated and unstated rules about language use within the network. This will serve as the context for my study and the basis for the second stage – face-to-face interviews.

You will then take part in a face-to-face interview lasting approximately an hour. I anticipate that all the interviews will take place within the last three weeks of my internship. The interview is a form of a follow up from the observations, which means that I will ask you more detailed questions about language/s that were used in specific contexts or specific language rules you (appear to have) applied. Interviews will be audio recorded and your name will be coded in order to ensure your anonymity. We will discuss and choose the time and location (if different from CAN Europe premises) most suitable for you.

If you wish I can provide you with a preliminary report of the findings after the basic data analysis.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

The study will be of benefit to CAN Europe as the project will shed light on the language practices within the network and may identify what rules or norms concerning language use may have an impact on the overall communication within the CAN Europe network. Another benefit of your participation in the study will be your contribution to knowledge on language policies within NGO networks.

Are there any risks involved?

There are no additional risks involved over and above those of working in an office. The data collection process will take place in a friendly and safe environment, if possible, on the premises of CAN Europe.

Will my participation be confidential?

All the collected data will be stored on a password protected laptop and remain confidential at all times. The data obtained in the course of this project will not be used to harm the good image of either you or CAN Europe. The process of gathering information for this project is in compliance with the UK Data Protection Act/University of Southampton Policy on the Ethical Conduct of Research involving Human Participants.

What happens if I change my mind?

You have the right to withdraw from participating in this study at any time without your legal rights being affected.

What happens if something goes wrong?

In the unlikely case of concern or complaint, please contact the Chair of the Faculty Ethics Committee Prof Chris Janaway; T: 0044 023 80593424, email:c.janaway@soton.ac.uk

Where can I get more information?

If you have any additional questions or need further information regarding any part of the study, participant involvement, rights or any other query, please feel free to contact me and I will be more than happy to discuss any doubts with you. My contact details are:
Marta Bas- Szymaszek
E-mail: mb6e09@soton.ac.uk
T: (0044) 07751865781

Appendix B Participant Information Sheet

Appendix C   Transcription mark-up conventions

NOTE: Adapted from VOICE version 2.1. June 2007. The examples that are used come from the VOICE transcription convention and where no examples were relevant in the VOICE transcription conventions, fragments form this project's interviews were taken. Description is mostly from VOICE but customized for this project at times.
VOICE Project. 2007. "Mark-up conventions". VOICE Transcription Conventions [2.1]. http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/documents/VOICE_mark-up_conventions_v2-1.pdf (last accessed 19/06/ 2019).

1. SPEAKER IDS	
S1: S2: …	Speakers are generally numbered in the order they first speak. This was also dictated by the interview schedule for face-to-face interviews.
SS:	Utterances assigned to more than one speaker (e.g. an audience), spoken either in unison or staggered, are marked with a collective speaker ID SS.
SX:	The speaker ID is given at the beginning of each turn. Utterances that cannot be assigned to a particular speaker are marked SX. For anonymity purposes SX is also applied whenever there arose the probability of de-coding who the participant/speaker is, or in instances that a person mentioned in the interview could potentially be recognized.
SXX	Speakers that were mentioned in interviews but were not interviewees were marked SXX.
2. EMPHASIS	
Example: S7: er internationalization is a very IMPORTANT issue Example: S3: toMORrow we have to work on the presentation already	If a speaker gives a syllable, word or phrase particular prominence, this is written in capital letters.
3. PAUSES	
Example: SX-f: because they all give me different (.) different (.) points of view	Every brief pause in speech (up to a good half second) is marked with a full stop in parentheses
Example: S1: aha (2) so finally arrival on monday evening is still valid	Longer pauses are timed to the nearest second and marked with the number of seconds in parentheses, e.g. (1) = 1 second, (3) = 3 seconds.
4. OVERLAPS	

Example: S1: it is your /best case/ scenario (.) S2: /yeah/ S1: okay	Whenever two or more utterances happen at the same time, the overlaps are marked with / /.
Example: S9: it it is (.) to identify /some/thing where (.) S3: /mhm/	All overlaps are approximate and words may be split up if appropriate.

5. LENGTHENING

Example: S1: you can run faster but they have much mo:re technique with the ball	Lengthened sounds are marked with a colon ":".
Example: S5: personally that's my opinion the: er::m	Exceptionally long sounds (i.e. approximating 2 seconds or more) are marked with a double colon "::"

6. REPETITION

Example: S11: e:r i'd like to go t- t- to to this type of course	All repetitions of words and phrases (including self-interruptions and false starts) are transcribed.

7. WORD FRAGMENTS

Example: S6: with a minimum of (.) of participa S1: mhm S6: -pation from french universities to say we have er (.) a joint doctorate or a joi- joint master	With word fragments, a hyphen marks where a part of the word is missing.

8. LAUGHTER

Example: S1: in denmark well who knows. @@ S2: yeah @@ that's right	All laughter and laughter-like sounds are transcribed with the @ symbol, approximating syllable number (e.g. ha ha ha = @@@).

9. UNCERTAIN TRANSCRIPTION

Example: S3: i've a lot of very (generous) friends	Word fragments, words or phrases which cannot be reliably identified are put in parentheses ( ).
Example: S9: how you were controlling such a thing and how you (unintelligible)	For words that are unintelligible parentheses are used with the word 'unintelligible' in them.

10. NON-ENGLISH SPEECH

Example: S13: I do not know, but c'est la vie @ SS:@	Phrases from other languages when used in an interview are transcribed as they are.
Example: S16: You (unintelligible)	In instances where a word or phrase was from the language not know by the transcriber, the word 'unintelligible' is put in parentheses.

11. SPEAKING MODES

Example: S2: because as i explained before is that we have in the <fast> universities of cyprus we have a specific e:rm procedure <yawning> <fast> <slow> <loud> <soft>	Utterances which are spoken in a particular mode (fast, soft, whispered, read, etc.) and are notably different from the speaker's normal speaking style are marked accordingly. The list of speaking modes is an open one.

<whispering> <sighing> <reading> <imitating> <on the phone> <singing>	
12. SPEAKER NOISES	
(cough) (clear throat) (sneeze) (blow raspberry) (snort) (applaud) (whistle)	Noises produced by the current speaker are always transcribed. Noises produced by other speakers are only transcribed if they seem relevant (e.g. because they make speech unintelligible or influence the interaction). The list of speaker noises is an open one.
Example: S1: yeah /what/ i think in in doctor levels pointed S7: /(clears throat)/	These noises are transcribed as part of the running text and put between ().
13. NON-VERBAL FEEDBACK	
(nods) (shakes head)	Whenever information about it is available, nonverbal feedback is transcribed as part of the running text and put between brackets ().
Example: S3: but i think if you structure corporate governance appropriately you can have everything (1) S2: (soft) mhm (nods the head)	
14. ANONYMIZATION	
Example: S1: I know she works in (org1) in (Country S) S2: When I spoke to S13 it became clear that…	As a general rule, names of people, companies, organizations, institutions, locations, etc. are replaced by aliases and these aliases are put into brackets (). The aliases are numbered consecutively, starting with 1. Companies and other organizations need to be anonymized as well. Their names are replaced by (org1), etc. Names of places, cities, countries, etc. are anonymized when this is deemed relevant in order to protect the speakers' identities and their environment. They are replaced by country and the first letter of the country's name . Whenever speakers who are involved in the interaction are addressed or referred to, their names are replaced by their respective speaker IDs.
Example: S8: he get the diploma of (name1) university	Other names or descriptors may be anonymized by (name1), etc., as in e.g. Charles University.
15. CONTEXTUAL EVENTS	

{mobile rings} {S7 enters room} {S2 points at S5} {S4 starts writing on blackboard} {S4 stops writing on blackboard} {S2 gets up and walks to blackboard (7)} {S3 pours coffee (3)} {SS reading quietly}	Contextual information is added between curly brackets { } only if it is relevant to the understanding of the interaction or to the interaction as such. If it is deemed important to indicate the length of the event, this can be done by adding the number of seconds in parentheses.
16. INSERTION OF TEXT	
Example: Mod: okay and that [communication] would be in which one which/ S2: /that/ depends on	Information that is important but is not included in the original transcript fragment is added in square brackets [ ]. This is done only in instances where it is relevant to the understanding of the fragment.
16. TRANSCRIPTION BORDERS	
Example: S7: ehm, part of me gets a bit like, kind, re, er: regretful about it (raises the tone as if questioning) cause it's like 'oh it's easy for ME' (time 10:24.110)	During transcription process some utterances were marked with time, minute, second and millisecond to mark the moment in the recording. This was usually done as a kind of bookmark and a signpost within the entire recording. The time randomly bookmarked in each transcribed interview.

Appendix D   Focus Group Questions

Introduction:
By language policy I mean rules, either explicit or implicit that you follow in your daily dealings. Also I would like to know not only how you feel about the office environment but also any intra-network events/communication that you're involved in.
Engagement questions:

1.   What is your opinion on language's/' role in organizations/networks like CAN Europe?

2.   How would you describe the current language use/practice in CAN Europe office and the network? (Do you ever do any translations or set them to the member organizations)?

Exploration questions:

3.   How many languages do you use at work?

4.   Who or what influences your choice of language when you communicate with the member organizations (or outside orgs)?

5.   How do you feel about the fact that English is the dominant language used in CAN Europe?

6.   Does the fact that you mostly work in English affect your work anyhow?

7.   Do you think CAN Europe should have a language policy (stated)? Why/why not and what should it look like? (Is there anything you'd change about the existing language policy in CAN Europe? Why? Why not?)

Exit questions:

8.   Is there anything else you'd like to add about language practice/s in CAN Europe network?

Appendix E   Interview Sample: Focus Group Discussion 11/05/2015 Brussels office

Mod: what is your opinion on language's/s' role in an organization like CAN network

All: @@@

S1: in the network itself? I think… (1) English is . I mean if, if you know English that's fine I think that's the, the (.) the way

S2: that's the way @

S1: @ yeah, the way we communicate, it's not (.) at least from my experience it hasn't been a need where I I need to speak my ahm language

Mod: yhm

S1: probably (.) , it it's more about if you're from a country and you call som a colleague from your country it's more because you know the situation, rather because you speak the same language, and then there is the understanding of what you're talking about and you can go deeper in the discussion and the details rather than on anything else, I think

Mod: yhm

S1: other than that, at least in the network, it's it's good, English is only, if you know English it's fine

Mod; yhm

S1: outside the network and, and doing the advocacy group errr work in like,

Mod: yhm

S1: going to meetings with Commission, or, then language is is more of an issue, language is much more important, I think.

Mod; What do you mean that you should … ?

S1: Well if you go, if you go to a French guy and he speaks better French then you communicate in French that's much, much open with you or if you speak Polish,

S3: yhm

S1: or if you speak then a language is an important matter

Mod; yhm

S1: but within the network, I don't I don't think it is

S2: well for me and Turkish work I would say it is slightly different because we also work a lot with organizations that are not formerly CAN members but yeah they are often considered either partner organizations or we treat them as they are members because our work is specific that in 99% I would communicate with them in in the local language which is, which is Serbian, but for me, for them their native language would be Montenegro or Bosnian or whatever it's called but it's essentially the same language and we can understand each other so, and also for the media work over there we need to translate our press releases into local language also (name of the person from the secretariat) does the same with Turkey and the Turkish members

Mod: yhm

S2: and yeah I think it helps a lot because also the NGOs there are not so used to working in English

Others: yeah (agree)

S2: and then it makes it a lot easier for them to just say what they want and what they need in their local language, although within the network yeah I agree that the English is…

S3: hmm

S1: yeah that's what

S2 is the dominant one, I mean there's no

S1: I think that's what I'm I'm thinking that if as soon as you join the network (.)

Mod: yhm

S1: it's kind of an imperative that you communicate in English

S2: yeah yeah if you communicate with the network English yeah

S1: if you want (.) if the network wants to reach someone outside even if it's an NGO then it's better if someone from from they speak the language or something like that

S3: yhhm

S1: at work

S3: yeah (.) yeah I would totally agree that it matters a lot for the outside world like in the media work. Of course there's a big difference if you speak the same language as a journalist so we would even divide the work among us. Like different communicators according to the languages we speak

Mod: yhm

S3: so, for instance a French girl would talk to the French and the Belgian journalist and the native speaker would talk to native speaker. I would talk to the Polish journalist like obviously you know there's gonna be a better connection. And umm yeah we do quite a lot of that so the more languages you have in your like internal capacities

Mod: yhm

S3: the better uhm your reach to the outside world? But with the network I think it also matters like at least I know. I can remember one example. Umm I am not sure if this was a well member organization or an NGO we cooperate with strongly within one of the policy files that we cover? I am not exactly sure, but I know that umm it was a group from Italy who umm had well a probably a lower level of English and then if it turns out that if somebody from the office can actually speak the same language then well they did, well people expressed the fact that's gonna be a totally different cooperation.

S1: (breathed the air in to say something)

S3: Like they will

S1: yhmm

S3: you know be more

S1: But

S3: communicative and they will show more and

S1: but that's

S3: it's just gonna be easier and I don't know how that works for me being Polish if like you say like you say, you know I can have a better cooperation with them there just because I know the language or just because of the fact that rather the fact that I used to work there so, I know them and I know the issue and all that

S2: (unintelligible word) I guess the other

S3: but I, but I think it is like there is an issue like for instance the fact that I can translate the information that is in Polish

Others: yhm

S3: to English and they don't need to do this

S1: yeah, but that's what I am saying is that(.) if the work within the network when you communicate for things that you want in a more systematic way, I don't know how, if you wanna put the focus on a country

S3: yhm

S1: or even reach the local level or like the audience at the national level I went to a workshop in in Portugal and it was in Portugese and I was the only English speaking. If I speak spoke Portuguese then that would be but I was not communicating to my member I was communicating to the outside world

S3: yeah, OK

S1: Tha that is what I am saying. Of course it is very important if you can communicate in in the national language but that's also done by the member itself I guess and

S3: yhm

S1: that that

S3: But you know for instance

S2: But it's helpful

S1: yeah yeah I know I agree

S2: like the pledge example when we had this Serbian Parliament pledge

S1: yeah

S2: for instance we

S3: when was that?

S2: that was eehmm(.)

S1: last year

S2: last year before the parliamentary elections in the European Parliament

S3; yhm

S2; we made

S3: yhm

S2; like a pledge for the MEPs that

S1: translated into other languages

S2: that you know they commit to climate action and it was translated to all 28 (turned to D) aaa was it ?

S1: unintelligible

S2: /maybe not/ in 28 languages but yeah whatever the capacity we have in the office for people who actually translated and give to to our members as as (.)

Mod: ready product

S2: something that is done whether they use yeah instead of doing the all translations themselves

Mod: yhm

S2: of course they can do it themselves but I think it is like a step that makes it so easier when we have time to actually do it of course

S3: yeah

S2: this was like, I don't know 1 page max

S1: yeah

S2: few paragraphs so it doesn't take much time to translate

S1: so

S2: but if we were to translate other products then it would be massive workload (?)

S1: the same goes for the action we get we did on the the 22nd of January when the (_) the proposal of the Commission was coming out about the climate energy package 2020

S3: yhm

S1: we had all the signs in different languages

Others: yhm

S1: as well it could help but yeah you can relate more to the message if it's only in your own country just that ahm I never had a problem calling a member and saying 'hello this is D and I want to ask you something

S3: yeah

S2: yeah

S1: it was never a barrier for me to communicate with my mem with our members

S3: yeah

S2: @@ with my members @@

S1: MY OWN MEMBERS like mine like my face

S2 @@

Others @@@

S3: yeah I would definitely not call it a 'BARRIER' like you know

S1: yeah

S3: something like a huge difficulty but I think e we it's just important to (_) recognize the fact that it's a different amount of work for instance so (_) yeah it can be a question of a priority for members like for instance say that there is a member that speaks English like on a regular basis it's from a native country

S1: yhm

S3: and they then need to share information with us and then the member from Poland for instance needs to share this information too but then they need to translate so (_)

S1: no this is

S3: you know they will probably share a bit less

S1: yes that's what I was going to say that's, maybe that's also one of the maybe issues that I would say that (.) although members have all the information that we'd probably need

Mod; yhm

S1: sometimes they don't feel comfortable in sharing because of the language issue

S3:yhm

S1: they speak English but but they don't

S2: they need to write it and

S1: yeah

S3: yhm

S1: it's not even I mean sometimes we see that they have information but they limit themselves in few sentences or they don't want to speak more on the issue

S3: yhm

S1: that problably is (unintelligible) I'd agree

Mod: M, what do you think?

S4: I agree

Others: @@@

S3: *coughs* sorry

S1: your experience with ETS work, would you have any

S4: well, with ETS it was all in English

S1: yhm

S4: I think the only times I didn't spoke English was when I had contact with umm local members that I have personal connection with or personal relation with and that I can speak their own language with and then I would speak (.) their own language also in emails. For instance, with (*name of person)* from (*name of organization)* from Germany

S1: yeah

S4: I will speak in, I will try to write in French and speak in French

Others: yhm

S4: just because we find it too stupid that we speak English to each other

Otehrs: @@@

S4: if we can speak French

S3: yeah

S4: um (.) but a lot of times, even if you talk to Dutch person or a Dutch speaking person or French speaking person that out of habit you start talking English and after a while

S1: yeah?

S4: and after a while you realise 'oh yeah we speak the same language'

S2: really? @

S1: I have, I have seen that all the time with a colleague with have the same problem. We start speaking in ehm English and he's Greek so

S3: @

S2:@

S1: sorry (*mimicking what would happen in the conversation – that they'd say sorry to one another*)

S4: but that's strange, you're just, you're used to speaking English or you speak English to everyone

S1: yeah

S4: and then you forget that sometimes it's just easier to just speak your language

S3: @

Mod: it's not the case in the office though.

S4: true

Mod: it's not always the case

S4; that's true (_) (thinking)

Mod: for instance, you and (mane of person) would speak French

S4: yeah because she's the only person that speaks French in the office so I

Mod: well (name of the person) the one who speaks French and you speak to him in English

S3: aaaaaa (/?) (smiles)

Others: @@@@

S2: there you go

All: @@@

Mod: (name of the person) is another example you'd speak Dutch to him

S4: well that's true

Mod; and (name of person)

S4: I will try to speak English to (name of person) actually

Mod: yhm

S4: as a French sort (_) and he will try to speak Dutch to me

Mod: yhm

S4: but it is true that with (name of person) it's more regular than with (name of person)

Mod: yhm

S4: (.) I have no idea why

S1: intervention interference

S2 maybe (name of person) @ played the (unintelligible)

All: @@

S1: (name of person)

S2: well, (name of person) buys (name of the person) (unintelligible)

All: @@@

Mod; OK so you've mentioned barrier, or your um your work and then what would you say, or who normally influences your choice of language when you communicate with members? What are the factors that would influence your choice? So, M. mentioned

S4: just the the type, which which language you speak? Or which

Mod: yhm,

S4: or what word you chose,

Mod: How do you chose, OK 'I'm contacting this person, how do I chose which language' … what do you … do you ever think about that? Or (.)

S4: *hesitant* no always in English

S2: I only have

S1: I don't have one I only have two so @

S2: @

S1: that I I feel comfortable in speaking so yeah that's my choice @

S3 yhm

S1: um unless there's it, it's not a member unless there is someone on the phone asking for (name of person) then I am trying to
S2: @@@
S1: get the French out @ but it's a bit difficult @

All: @
S1: but I would still try and say she's not here and then, she's working from home and you can call on Monday yeah, very simple stuff but still, I guess it's
S2: @
S3: yeah I think the rule for me would be that I always just you know just speak English and then (.) yeah and then if there's a native speaker from Poland like from you know my my language then we chose our native language
Mod; yhm
S3: that's it. I guess it's more complicated for people who speak a couple of languages then the story is different
S1: yeah
Mod; yhm
S4; for instance, do you then, do you hear in someone's English if he's Polish and then you switch automatically?
S1: I hear it, I got switched automatically
S3; I mean (_) (.)
S1: No I'm just, I sometimes I feel uncomfortable asking people if they're Greek or not.
S4: Oh yeah
S1; some people get offended because you understand their accent
S4: oh yeah
S3: ah (_)
S2: but isn't this obvious by name, no?
S1: well if you don't know the name, you just hear someone on the phone
S2: oh OK I thought that would be people you know
S1: it happens many times (.) you just yeah happen to meet them
S3: yhm
S2: but yea that
S3: but then it's a it hardly ever happens to me because normally I know the people already so I don't have that confusion, but that's true that there was one guy during your workshop on Energy Efficiency who was actually based in Poland but his name is totally not Polish so there was a little bit of confusion and I started in English and continued for like three sentences and only then I asked (.) and actually (name of a person form the office) was also with us
S2: yhm
S3: so that was an obvious choice then I asked if he speaks Polish and then (name of the person from the office) left
S2: @
S3: and we could speak Polish @
All: @@@ (15.40.697)
S1: the director of that organization
S3: yeah
S1: he's a very yeah (unintelligible) but yeah I mean. I (_) usually I'm not making choice on the languages since I can't, but I do (_) try to think of the member I am calling or I'm talking to
Mod: yhm
S1: if if I have the experience of how much they use English and how much they understand and can communicate um um if they don't then I'm trying to use simple um words and it's probably easier for me because I am not a native sk speaker and I can understand(16.18.147)

Mod: In English?

S1: yes

Mod: simple words in English?

S1 :yeah

Mod; yhm

S1: simple and shorter and clear like ehm I guess that's what I am saying for me not being a native speaker that probably is easier than a native speaker

Mod: yhm

Others: @

S3: yeah

S1: @ because I can understand a point, I mean, so

S2: @ I have a bit more complicated situation @

Others: @ @@

S2: @ so yeah I also kind of as within the network especially use English as (.) without really thinking but when it comes to the region

Mod: yhm

S2: like with people that I that I know and that I know they are either like Serbian, Montenegro Bosnian, Croatian, I automatically use Serbian.

Mod: yhm

S2: but then there are also several cases when I am not sure like Macedonian and Slovenian because these languages are very similar to Serbian, but also not identical, so in in some situations like people would really understand you if you write everything in Serbian they would read it normally

Mod: yhm

S2: but I got responses in Slovenian sometimes and and@ I have no idea what they are saying to me, so and then I really need to switch to English

Mod: yhm

S2: @ because it's not really the same language @

S1: it isn't working

S2: yeah @

S3: yhm

S2: so, but it's it's difficult that it's all (unintelligible) when I think what are the factors I guess when I am not sure I would go with English or yeah test when it's like a sentence or two or just ask like 'o you understand whatever Serbo-Croatian?'

Mod: yhm

S2: and things like that. But then I also have a colleague that's British

Mod: yhm

S2: but who who works in Croatia and speaks Croatian so with her I have a complete mess and we we keep switching between the two languages

Others: yhm

S2: and like I feel that kind of out of respect to her I should speak in English but then she feels the same that she should speak ehm

Others @@

S2: like Croatian and practice

S1 practice

S2: her Croatian more and more

Others: @@

DS2: and then it's like (unintelligible) it's best at the meetings that we just kind of we find ourselves speaking in English and we're like 'why are we speaking in English and we stwitch to @

Others: @

Worker

S2: to Serbian-Croatian and then the conversation goes and then we back in English and that's that's @
S3: yeah @
S2: that's communicated
S3: (unintelligible – 18.29.105) @
S2: @ well that's always the case with her with everyone around. And (unintelligible) at some point 'Why are we speaking in English? Because she's really fluent it's not perfect but she can really fully work in (.)
S1: Croatian
S3: yhm
S2: basically yeah
S3: yeah
S2: but everyone can understand her, so so yeah it's fun @
S3: yeah I have the same with like Slovak, for instance, it's very similar to my language but I would speak English
S2: (unintelligible 18.54.678)
S3: but it's like from the habit
Mod: yhm
S3: and then I just wanna say one more thing that it's nice it's very nice that even if you have like hmm native speakers of one language for instance Dutch or like French
Mod: yhm
S3: And there's this one person who
S1: ahh yeah
S3: does not understand they always change
S3: yeah I, I also
S3: into English there's this like a
S1: I really don't like hmm with Greeks we do it all the time (.)
S3: you don't? (.)
S2: you would use? (.)
S1: nee sorry
S2: Greek?
S1: we only speak Eng, Greek
S2: (unintelligible) yeah in Balkans we do it all the time
S3: yeah?
S2: yeah
S1: even if there's one person that
S3: argh
S2: yeah
S1: it's really bad
S3: @
S1: and I agree I try
S2: (unintelligible) (*the two speakers A and DR speak in the background when speaker D tries to explain her point*)
S1: It usually happens (.) when people (.) live abroad (.) then they
Mod: yhm
S3: yeah
S1: feel
S3: very true
S1: more compelled to talk to speak in English
S3: yhm
S1: if you have a lot of people in that are Greek

S2: yeah
S1: and they don't they never change it's
S3: yhm
S1: it's a nightmare
S2 I I felt often that during the GA because this new Serbian member came
Mod; yhm
S2: and she would like (name of the person from the office) was there and they were sorting out the like receipts and she would then come to me and say things in Serbian just like you know helping and figuring out things, but I like she's just (turns to D) (.)
S1: yeah but that's yeah that's like
S2: just weird @ like she was there
S3: yhm
S2: room of people
S2: arranging things in English so (.) speak in English why do you /change/(unintelligible)
Mod: yhm
S3: but do you think it's the habit or it's like, because maybe they don't feel comfortable
S1: aaa
S2: I think it's more more that but
S3: yhm
1: if you if you don't understand then it's probably (.) it's a group of people that usually don't speak their own language also in a in a they speak aaa in a daily basis another language then meet together and it's kind of a making sure that you haven't forgotten what you have @ your language @ you know
Others: @@
S1: like you speak it's easier like makes it more like
S3: yeah
S1: flows better
S3: yeah
S1: (unintelligible) and then (.) you just yeah don't think of the other person
S3: yhm
S1: the French have the same thing
S3, S2 and S1: /look at the male participant who is Belgian Dutch but speaks French as well and laugh/ @@@
S4: I agree
All @@@
S2: (unintelligible)
S1: but (.)
S4: French speaking people don't like
S1: yeah
S4: speaking other languages
S3: yes!
Mod: yhm
S4: just like Spanish or (.)
S1: yeah
S4: most British
S3: breathes the air in as if to say something but doesn't
Mod; with British it's a different case though
S3: @
S1: oh yeah
Mod: because English is
S3: because they don't have to @@

S1: because they don't know any other language

S4: true

S2: yeah

S3: OK but like I know that for my umm I mean for Polish people it's the case of hm of not feeling good enough

Others: yhm

S3: at the language (Eng) like very very often it's just this

Others: yhm

S3: not some general arrogance @

S1: yeah it's very funny because that (murmurs) and that ends up being one person @ trying to be make a conversation @

Others: @@

S3: that's true

Mod: isn't that /stops for other participant to say something as both start at the same time)

S3:but I would (stops)

Mod: yhm /gives a way to speak to participant A)

S3: I just I wanted to say that in the office and in the network there's this general like rather you know this willingness to try

S1: yeah

S3: I have very positive experience

Mod; to try other languages?

S3: to (.) no to include other people like if there are like you know three Dutch people

Mod: yhm

S3: then they would just change so that's really cool

S1: Dutch people are not an example

Others: @

S1: Dutch speaking

S3: Dutch speaking people

S1: yeah I Ok Dutch people is like speaking English even between them/selves/

S3: yeah

S1: so

Others: @

S3: that's very true

S1: they normally speak English @

S3: they lost their

Others: @@

S4: (unintelligible 22.28.591)

All @@

S1: you say I don't know @ (unintelligible)

S3: oyy I mean Flemish speaking people

S1: @@

S3: and that you can feel that (unintelligible) @

S3 @

S1@

S2@

S3: confusing, but that's another topic

S4: true

S3: @

Mod: so that that you mentioned about (.) you talked about English and other languages, how do you feel about English being the dominant language (.) in ?

S2: those (unintelligible) /pointing at M/

All @@@
Mod: now that you mentioned that!
S2: I'm just kidding of course
S4: it would be useful if everyone spoke Esperanto
S3: @
Mod: @ why Esperanto?
S4: cause it's
S2: it's the universal
S4: universal language that no one speaks
All: @@
Mod: so how would that be useful then@@
S3: oh (unintelligible) @@
S4 It was completely built to help
Others: @@
M: @ globally spoken so
S3: oy yeah
S2: Or Greek you know (unintelligible) @
S1: yeah, no
S2: Alexander the Great @
S3: @@
S1: yeah if if that goes through Congress was different that's what we say in and English eehm Greek didn't become the language of the United States for one vote (.)
S3@@
S2: @@
S1: so that's a
S3: wow! @
Others @@
S2: is this true or?
S1: no! aagh it's a myth that (unintelligible) @@@
All: @@@
S2: it was yeah,
S2: that's /why/ I don't believe that@
S1: but um I don't know I um (.)
S3: yhm
S1: I think it's good that we have one dominant language you can act, communicate with people more
Mod: yhm
S1: that's for sure (.) I I think the connotation it's also that one dominant language only umm has to do also with one dominant state or which is the US or less than UK
Mod; yhm
S1: then it gives you a different kind of (.) feelings but that doesn't have to do with language
Mod: yhm
S1: I think um At the end of the day it is an easy language @ I guess
S2: @
S1: because otherwise (.)
S3: imagine it was like yeah
S1: what we have
S3: Finnish
S1: in Europe, yeah, exactly
S3: @
S2: Chinese, maybe? @

S1: yeah
S3:@
S2: @
S1: so
Mod: so would you say it makes your work easier?
S2: yeah for sure

Appendix F   Semi-structured interview questionnaire

- 1st phase of the data collection

Opening questions

1. Could you describe what your role in CAN Europe Secretariat is, please?
2. Could you tell me a little bit more about your experience in working in an NGO environment? If you could link this with languages that would be perfect.
3. What languages do you speak? (Question included in the second phase online interviews)
4. Suppose it is my first day at your organization, what would it look like in terms of language use? (Question included in the second phase online interviews)

Questions about communication practices in the network/org.

5. Can you tell me something about the kinds of communication that you engage in within the network?
6. What languages do you use on a daily basis?
   Probe: what it involves, is it typical for other people in the office, frequency of contacts, languages used

Questions about English and other languages used in the network and office

7. What is your opinion on language's role in organizations/networks such as CAN Europe?
8. Do you ever experience problems with communicating something across to members?
   Probe: when? What was the issue?
9. Which languages do you prefer to use in your communication and why?
10. How does working in X language affect your work?
    How do you feel about English being the dominant language for the communication in the network? Probe: should it be like that? Should it be more multilingual? How?
11. Do you ever feel at an advantaged position because you speak English?
12. Do you ever feel at a disadvantaged position because of English?

Closing questions

13. What is your opinion whether CAN Europe should have a language policy?
    Probe: what should it look like? Purpose, characteristics benefits for CAN E.?
14. Is there anything you'd change about the existing language practice/policy in CAN Europe?
    Probe: Why (not)? What?
15. Is there anything else that you'd like to say that hasn't been covered yet?

Additional questions from observations and FG discussion: personalised to participants

Appendix G   Semi-structured interview questionnaire – 2nd phase of data collection

1. Organization background information:

   1. On a daily basis what level does your organization operate (e.g., supranational, national, regional, or local)?
   2. How many different nationalities work in your organization?
   3. Is there a written language policy in place?
   4. Suppose it was my first day at your organization. What would it be like in terms of language use? (describe the use of languages in your organization)

2. Participant's background information:

   5. How many years have your worked in the NGO sector?
   6. Could you tell me what type of communication technologies you use to communicate in the network?
   7. What language/s do you use in your role on a daily basis? (This question is very similar to q 1.4 repetitive?)
   8. Which languages do you prefer to use in your communication and is there any particular reason for that?
   9. Would you describe how you think working in two or more languages affects your work? (English in particular)

3. Translations in the organization:

   10. Does your organization ever do translations of any documents/pieces of information etc? If so, who does the translations?
   11. Does your organization have an in-house translation/interpreting services? Or a long-term contract with a translator/an interpreter?
   12. Do you have any rules as to how a translation should be done? E.g., it must be edited by a native speaker of the language?
   13. Suppose you receive a relevant document (in English) from the CAN Europe's Secretariat. What would you do with it?
       1. Do you prefer to do the translations yourselves or would you prefer to receive that document as a ready product (already in your national language)?

4. Intra-network communication:

   14. Are you finding the language practices in CAN Europe network a different experience from what you expected prior to joining the network?
   15. Would you describe what you think about language's role in networks such as CAN Europe?
   16. How does your organization deal with the fact that English (provided it is an additional language for the organization) is the main language for general communication within the network?
   17. Would you describe what you think about English being the (dominant) language for communication in the network?
   18. Do you ever feel at a disadvantaged position because English is the language for communication in the network?
   19. Have there been any instances when you could not get access to relevant information that you needed because of the language barrier?

  20. Would you describe what you think the ideal language practice in CAN Europe network would be like?

5. Closing question:

  21. Is there anything else that you'd like to say that hasn't been covered yet, or you think is relevant for you or your organization?

Appendix H   Interview Sample S6

Transcript S6 May 2015; Brussels
Mod: maybe we'll start with your experience. Could you tell me a little bit more about your experience in working in an NGO environment?
S6: You mean (.) all my previous experiences? @
Mod: erm you don't have to very detailed but I'd like you just tell me a little bit more about your work background and (.)
S6: So I have worked for NGOs my whole career which is now about a bit more than 30 years. (clears the throat)
Mod: mhm
S6: Erm: at different levels, so. Most of the time I worked erm within Belgium
Mod: mhm
S6: either for the Flemish organizations or with Greenpeace for the national organizations, just saying because language-wise this is relevant
Mod: mhm
S6: because it's different environment. Erm And I worked for a European Human Rights organization before Mod: mhm
S6: and then now here at the European level and I worked for Greenpeace international which wasn't in completely an international (.)
Mod: mhm
S6: position.
Mod: mhm
S6: So.
Mod: and then you joined CAN
S6: yeah. Yeah, but I mean I'm just saying this is not a chronological order/ of my career
Mod: /yeah, yeah, yeah
S6: /I'm just saying that I worked in NGOs er
Mod: different levels
S6: at both at at national level and the European level, international levels
Mod: yeah, so similar to what S5 said with his experience. So we had an interesting discussion about how (.) for instance he sort of dealt with erm different (.) erm organizations on a national level so there's like more of er goose er grass roots
S6: mhm
Mod: erm so that was also interesting. And now erm I have to ask that question. Could you describe me your role in CAN Secretariat? Tell me a little bit more about (.)
S6: it's difficult to (.) describe
Mod: mhm
S6: so (.) my role is to coordinate and:
Mod: mhm
S6: as such I coordinate both the, let's say, the administrative and logistic/
Mod: mhm
S6: /part of the office.
Mod: mhm
S6: I coordinate the er the policy work we do.
Mod: mhm
S6: In particular trying to do that on the more high level er contacts?

Mod: mhm

S6: And I coordinate the found rising

Mod: mhm

S6: which is taking a lot of my time.

Mod: do you ever contact member organizations?

S6: yes,

Mod: in any of your roles?

S6: yes.

Mod: mhm and (.)

S6: Err it's probably more that they contact me than that I , I actively reach out but

Mod: mhm

S6: I mean I I communicate to the network through the different mailing lists, and so on

Mod: mhm

S6: so I think everybody can see that err

Mod: mhm

S6: and again in (.) a number of cases when we develop a POLICY positions when they are a bit more controversial, I will take (.)

Mod: mhm

S6: the leadership role, so then I of course I get the communication.

Mod: mhm

S6: And at the GA (General Assembly) and so on and so on

Mod: so you tr-

S6: And I KNOW, I mean I would say that (.) probably (.) half of our GA I knew before I started working here

Mod: mhm, you mean the organizations or people?

S6: well, the organizations definitely but also many of the people. I mean

Mod: /mhm

S6: /of course there's lot of changes but I would say in in many of the organizations I know people from before

Mod: mhm

S6:   working for CAN Europe, so it's different kind of relationships.

Mod: and that actually comes from your experience I guess?

S6: That comes from the fact that I've been (.)

Mod: mhm, yeah

S6:   working around for such a long time.

Mod: so you know quite a lot about the whole environment of NGOs? You know how they work

S6: yes

Mod: erm OK so since we started talking about the communication erm, could you tell me a little bit more about er what kinds of communication do you engage erm within the network?

S6: (.) I would say that all: kinds that are available

Mod: mhm

S6: which means erm (.) email

Mod: yeah

S6: mailing lists I mean all those kind of instruments that are a bit (.)

Mod: mhm

S6: easier to do (again I need time) err I have (.) not so often (.) to phone, that's but it happens, but I'm not somebody who uses my phone a lot.

Mod: mhm

S6:   Erm and then meeting both face-to face meetings

Mod: mhm

S6: and as: conference calls video conferences

Mod: mhm

S6:   erm I don't have much (.) informal contacts,

Mod: mhm

S6:   because I mean I don't engage in the Europeans here in Brussels

Mod: mhm

S6: and for the rest it's difficult I don't have informal contacts with the members when there are a couple of thousand

Mod: mhm, yeah

S6:   even if it' s from here, except of course at the: er UN Climate Change Negotiations.

Mod: mhm so that's difficult?

S6:   But I I am MUCH less present there than I:

Mod: mhm

S6: was in especially in my previous job in Greenpeace,

Mod: mhm

S6: or in the beginning when I was with CAN because that was the kind of because that was I've been doing that for four years.

Mod: mhm, mhm

S6: er so I knew a bit more on that, but now I try, I mean I let SX and S7

Mod: mhm so (.)/

S6: /and other people in the office

Mod: I was actually wondering how it all started. Do you know how CAN [7.02.590] was set up? Because I know you weren't the (.) first/

S6: /I wasn't aroun- I wasn't around er

Mod: yeah

S6: because CAN was established

Mod: mhm

S6: a bit more than 25 years ago

Mod: 1991 was it? Or (.)

S6: 1989 actually/

Mod: OK

S6: and so what happened was (.) erm (clicks the tongue) the: couple of organizations including the world of meteorological organizations

Mod: mhm

S6: started to look at climate change issue and somehow I don't exactly know the details of that process within the UN it was agreed that er (.) the UN should try to set up a convention on climate change

Mod: mhm

S6: and so at the very START of that discussion in the UN couple of NGO people that were dealing with climate change:

Mod: mhm

S6: but in (preliminary) at that moment (.) felt that it would be good to look at how can we cooperate

Mod: mhm

S6: to ensure that we have er NGO voice during that negotiation process. And that's how CAN

Mod: mhm

S6: got established. Erm bit, a bit at different places at the same time. So because CAN was first established at the ra- national regional level

Mod: mhm

S6: and only later on it got then

Mod: to international

S6: a k- an international organization

Mod: mhm

S6: because I think first it was called Climate Network Europe that was the first name/

Mod: so it started with Europe? European level?

S6: well it started in Europe and it started I think in South- South Asia,

Mod: mhm

S6: South-East Asia and then probably in the US you have. Because a lot of these NGOs were Greenpeace and WWF

Mod: mhm

S6: and so on so they did the same initiative in different (.)

Mod: parts of the world

S6: places of the world

Mod: mhm

S6: but it wasn't a worldwide thing at the beginning

Mod: ah OK

S6: but it quickly went into that because it's of course international negotiations

Mod: yeah, yeah, yes. OK so now we're getting into the core. Have you ever had problems communicating something across (.) to the members?

S6: er (.) I definitely have but

Mod: mhm

S6: but I'm not immediately thinking of SPECIFIC examples

Mod: mhm

S6: but I mean there are cases where where you know that the tool is the tool is not necessarily the most efficient? Because a lot of the communication is through email and that's (.)

 Mod: mhm

S6: communication tool that doesn't (.)

Mod: always work,

S6: well yeah. That doesn't always work because people have too many emails (.)

Mod: mhm

S6: er don't read too much, don't necessarily see the essence

Mod: mhm

S6: se- see it too late so on and so on. So I think that's one problem with the communication. Er and second the obviously (.) er both in CAN Europe as in other (movements) it's clear that language is a barrier and there are people

Mod: mhm

S6: in (.) in this part of the world for whom English is not the most (.)

Mod: mhm

S6: natural way of communicating, in particular people from Southern Europe er (.)

Mod: mhm

S6: have a barrier there but also lots of people from Eastern Europe and if, you're looking world-wide erm (.) like Japanese and Chinese people and so on

Mod: mhm

S6: it's a very limited amount of people (.) that (.) that know English in (.)

Mod: mhm

S6: even while ev- MUCH, MUCH more than in CAN Europe in CAN International ENGLISH IS the only language that is

Mod: mhm

S6: and so if you want to be part of the international network

Mod: mhm

S6: you have to be able to speak English which means that for certain parts of Africa, certain parts of Latin America, certain parts of Asia (.) there is not much participation, because/

Mod:/ mhm

S6: people just (.) I mean they can't read the messages. And even IF they are good enough to READ it they would not dare to reply because they don't feel (.)

Mod: confident?

S6: well confident enough. That's another odd barrier specifically related to email

Mod: mhm

S6: is that in a meeting that definitely if it's a small meeting, you can still feel that well

Mod: mhm

S6: my English is not perfect but I can speak it. But if you (very) if you lacking confidence about the way you WRITE English

Mod: mhm

S6: because I mean, in writing is much more obvious that there's a problem.

Mod: mhm

S6: I think many people don't write because of that.

Mod: mhm

S6: And therefore er email communication is limited.

Mod: as well, yeah. So now we're actually getting to the core of the interview and I'd like you to now think before the time that we had a discussion about the focus group and what the people said (.)

S6: uhm

Mod: or before even I came erm to: to do my study over here. Could you tell me what you think the role of languages is in organizations like CAN Europe? And I mean organization in the sense of the/

S6: /the network

Mod: network [11;40.642] yes

S6: (.) language

Mod: so what's your, what's your opinion in general about (.)

S6: well language is how you communicate with each other

Mod: mhm

S6: yeah? (.) and so: (.) if you look at it from a (.) very holistic perspective (.)

Mod: mhm

S6: it's er people are looking for a language that (.) both of them understand

Mod: yeah

S6: so the the Sender and the receiver in order to have a communication (.) [a person entered the room and greeted us in French: Bonjour]

S6: erm: (.) and (.) OVERTIME, this has clearly become English

Mod: mhm, yeah

S6: and it kind of (.) accepted and never questioned.

Mod: mhm

S6: I mean, I I still remember. It's a different, it's a different environment but I still remember the time when (.) the (.) EU was only: twelve or fifteen member states

Mod: mhm

S6: there were two official langauges in the European Commission which was English and French

Mod: mhm

S6: and quite a lot of the: people working for the Commission would only know French. They wouldn't know sufficient English

Mod: mhm

S6: that is NOW COMPLETELY unthinkable.

Mod: mhm

S6: If you want to work for the European Commission you have to be fluent in English or (.) you'll never start there. So French has gone completely lost

Mod: mhm

S6: and that is BECAUSE of the addition of the Eastern European Countries

Mod: mhm

S6: who all of them didn't have any connection to the French but at least could

Mod: mhm

S6: accept English

Mod: mhm

S6: because some of them after the (.)

Mod: communism?

S6: the fall of the (.)

Mod: Berlin wall

S6: Berlin wall more looked to the US as a kind of a partner so. And so on and so on.

Mod: mhm

S6: erm but in the NGO movement since, since I started working it's kind of accepted English is the way we communicate with each other.

Mod: mhm

S6: so:

Mod: but that's not always the case, so in, well it is always the case let's say in the in the general erm sort of network so for instance in CAN Europe you've got (.) would you say it's er it's not a written rule?

W: it's not a written rule

Mod: mhm

S6: in, but I would say that people we commu-, I mean , err if, it's different form if you have one on one over selected group etc

Mod: mhm

S6: but if you have a a kind of an open communication it will be in English? Sometimes you will see that people would send around documents in French or German and so on

Mod: mhm

S6: but then they kind of APOLOGIZE

Mod: mhm

S6: for the fact that it is in German or French and just say well it's for those who can read French or those who can read German but it's kind of accepted/

Mod: /mhm

S6: that English is the standard. of course you have certain (.) people from certain languages

Mod: mhm

S6: that have their own (.) means of communication/

Mod: yeah

S6: and and of course I mean you notice that in office and you will notice that in in the GA or in any other MEETING people who speak the same languages will have different, separate conversations.

Mod: yeah

S6: I mean they (.) informally they will get together and they will speak about other things

Mod: mhm

S6: or about kind

Mod: work

S6: still about work

Mod: mhm

S6: and so on, but with- within their languages.

Mod: mhm But I wanted to ask you another question about: erm about the about the role of other langauges except of English because as we say, yes. So for instance, you have S2 and S9 who work in two different areas of Europe regions of Europe I should say. And they use their native languages. When you were recruiting erm, were you actually looking for someone who could speak those languages? Or your primary idea was yes that that person should have those and those skills but not looking at languages as: such

S6: there was a difference for, between S2 and (.) and S9.

Mod: mhm

S6: Because S9 from the beginning, that person was to be located in CountryT

Mod: mhm

S6: so that was a condition.

Mod: mhm

S6: I don't think in the ADVERTISEMENT we really said they needed to speak LangT, but it was kind of assumed that if you work in a completely CountryT environment and you have to live in CountryT that you (.) would be able to

Mod: mhm

S6: manage the language. You DIDN'T NEED to be NATIVE LangT speaker.

Mod: yeah

S6: For S2 it was different because it was first of all based HERE

Mod: mhm

S6: and secondly because the COVER of the (.) countries

Mod: mhm

S6: meaning, in the region it was not just the Balkans but it also included CountryT and CountryU

Mod: and CountryU

S6: but to a lesser extent. But I mean there's many different languages so you would never find/

Mod: mhm

S6: /somebody who would be erm able to communicate. And I Actually never talked to S2 how S2 communicates with the people in CountryC or CountryM/

Mod: /S2 said

W: but I ASSUME it's in English, but

Mod: No,

W: it's in LangS?

Mod: it's LangS, S2 said those a different languages but they are similar enough for us to understand. But for instance S2 said with CountrySL S2 just use an- er uses English because S2 once @got a reply in LangSL and S2 didn't know what it was about. So S2 said erm with the erm Balkans region S2 would use erm (.)

S6: yep, well I mean one of the things that I don't know if I would ever raise this with S2 there.

Mod: mhm

S6:but but would wonder

Mod: mhm

S6: is HOW the other people from other countries look at LangS, because Country S used to be kind of the (.) RULLING/

Mod: yeah

S6: group within the former CountryY

Mod: mhm

S6: It's like in many Eastern European Countries people would know LangR but they would not necessarily appreciate if you sstart speaking LangR to them

Mod: mhm

S6: I think.

[digression about LangR and the experience of the Mod learning it]

 [19.16.610]

Mod: wha- wha- what's your opinion about the translations?

S6: so (.) first, for anything that is general (.)

Mod: mhm

S6: you, I mean, I mean communication, er meeting and so on, you can't (.) provide, I mean we can't provide translation at our GA, for instance,

Mod: mhm

S6: that would be

Mod: too much?

W: yeah, I mean it would be physically impossible erm

Mod: mhm, but would you like to have this done? If you had/

S6: I

Mod: the means and capacity?

S6: I'm not sure: if it would really help the connections because then (.)

Mod: mhm

S6: people (.) from different languages would speak less to each other etc. so I mean/

Mod: /mhm

S6: it's not bad that you kind of have people who are sufficient, fluent (.) or have a basic knowledge of English coming to our GA so that

Mod: mhm

S6: that they can speak to each other also/

Mod: /so (.)

S6: outside of the formal sessions.

Mod: so would you fear that if you provided let's say translations people would go back to their languages and they/ would think that they could use (.) their (unintelligible)

S6: /NO, I I mean for me the concept of providing translation would also mean that people who DON'T (.) speak English would attend our GAs.

Mod; would not or would/?

W: WOULD.

Mod: mhm

S6: But they would not necessarily be able to connect to other people (.)

Mod: mhm

S6: outside of the formal meetings (.)

Mod: mhm

S6: where there is no translation available, that's a bit where I think. But having said that I mean

Mod: mhm

S6: We (.) we used to HAVE until quite some time in many of our grand applications funding for translations of briefing papers and so on.

Mod: mhm

S6: Erm (.) and STILL even so, doesn't necessarily mean much more WORK

Mod: yeah

S6: it just means it's a bit of contact the translator and so on

Mod: mhm

S6: but with the budget you can just have somebody else do that.

Mod: mhm

S6: we noticed that it wasn't USED.

Mod: mhm

S6: Erm a) because (.) several countries and I speak now (.)

Appendix I   Observation notes sample

Observation notes 9th March week one
there are at least 4/5 languages used in the office between people members of staff on a regular basis for all kinds of situations: casual talk most of the time and business meetings one to one the languages that are used in the office or English for all email communication and some talk between people whose first language is not French or Dutch there are also a number of other language which is Italian rarely used Polish not used yet French used quite often for small talk but also for outside calls for example today a journalist called the office and both the office coordinator and director spoke to him her on the phone in French the policy is probably made on the basis of what works and who can cannot speak my elwen my first language so far it is very much elf English as a lingua franca if I look at the internal communication both within the office and probably not 100% sure intra network. Possibly, there are other languages, especially the coordinator for southern Europe he could be using other languages than English for intra network communication. If it happens that English is used 100% there is not much else going on in terms of languages then language policy then maybe focus on English as a lingua franca or strategies rather than policies., I have quite a lot of access to information how they do an produce the info the info etc.

Observation notes 10th of March 2015 meeting day
the day started with a general meeting where everyone introduced themselves. Everything was conducted in English, but more languages are added on to the resources. The staff are highly multilingual speaking at least 2 languages, 3 languages are the norm. It may be also due to the fact that Brussels the environment/ context is highly multilingual and multicultural. I found out that there are more email list to which I will be added and will have access to an email list where there is a dialogue between CAN Europe and its members. It may be useful to contact dragana as she has contacts with the Balkans and the way she works with the members from the Balkans. Will be very useful to work with speaker five to have an insight into intra network communication. Other policy coordinators also contact the relevant policy members about particular policies. The members when receiver position letter at cetera. Translated within their own resource is if needed et cetera tomorrow I will send an email to everyone about my project information and approach people on one to one basis and speak to them about being part of the study signing consent forms for observations etc.
11th of March 2015
Speaker 6 will be very important to observe and interview as speaker six seems to be aware of many, if not all, issues / things in the office including languages, I think sets some rules for example today someone called and he asked the person about his her language skills: English, Dutch, French sufficient level to make yourself understandable.
I have now insight into how email lists are organised I have full access to the main email list. All the information is in English in the emails there are many English native speakers in the communication email exchange. I was thinking of internal and external members plus people; the emails are mainly about info sharing this is the core for the network to prosper. I will have to think about categories plus different personalised questions for interviews.
This will give me more background to what languages people use et cetera. There are considerably long moments of silence when people work. If I look at intra network communication what can I observe? Emails would be the main part of data, but they are only in English and the spoken interactions are more interesting and multilingual. Speaker 2 has already agreed to take part in my

project and that is going to be very interesting as the speaker deals with southern Eastern Europe and speaks the languages the language with them not English.

12 of March 2015

I managed to have some forms consents signed.

The languages that are used in the office are mainly the ones I described earlier I need to focus on the language policy literature to be able to define any frameworks that would be applicable to the settings. How languages work seems to be very pragmatic; things seem very much focused on the information exchange, very specific and goal oriented (no wasting time) type of environment. On the other note, people are very cooperative, nice, happy to help etc. It's nice to work in such relaxed atmosphere. People don't seem to care too much or be somehow uncomfortable with me being there. They treat me as part of the team; with so many interns that come and go they (the staff) are not behaving in a way that, they either play or try to be secretive. In general, there is a lot of work going on, it's quite work absorbed atmosphere hands sometimes there are some silent gaps/ moments. Also the environment is very multicultural/ multilingual: 5 belgium's, two Italians, two Polish, one Spanish, one Greek, one Serbian , one finish one Irish. I will be involved in the general assembly work as well, I will be attending talks with members of the network (28th to 29th April)

13th of March 2015

In general I decided on a primary plan for my observations and for the time being I have identified three main areas of interest with subsections in each.

1. Office work : business talk (staff 1:to:1 meetings of staff working on the same project); b) meetings (general update meetings for the members of staff from the office); c) casual talk between staff;

2, intra network communication: a) meetings outside office this one will depend on the logistics and if people will be willing to read and ask questions about my project may be problematic from the ethics perspective. B) Meetings with member organisations (General Assembly) emails plus telephone.

3. Outside communication (journalists NGOs that are interested in cooperating and politicians)

can office multilingual communication English 100% so far members at least bilingual native language plus English for general communication intra network

Today I had a quiet and informative talk with the director who introduced me to some concepts such as the idea that Belgium is generally divided be cause of the two different languages and very much divided as far as culture is concerned. This is also very interesting to dig into a little bit because the environment will probably have some influence over at least peoples skills languages

16th of March 2015

There is a very good mixture of languages being used. Unfortunately, I am still not able to record as I need three more people to sign the forms for me. I started to think of a place where I could possibly have placed my recorder. I was sitting at [lorenzo] place and I was with my back to everything that was going on. This was the worst place to observe any interactions. I've noticed, however, a lot of code switching, for example, the secretary was talking to the finance coordinator in English, but then they started to joke about one French person a policy coordinator and they all started speaking French; when the joke finished, the secretary and the finance coordinator switched back to English. Also, when the director moves from his desk and goes to a meeting at cetera there is more talk between policy officers. They suddenly start talking more. There is a lot of categories and people already know what rules apply in the office for example that is, when addressing particular people come up stuff already knows which language is best to be used (often it's English as a lingua franca for non native speaker to non native speaker), but not always. There is a lot of code switching even if both interlocutors share one language for example, speaker six and speak of five mixed English and Dutch. People are generally very comfortable and flexible to use different languages.

17th of March 2015 meeting day

(notes from my supervisor : "note down as much as you can at the moment and what happens in these meetings and how people interact. Compare how people interact in different settings").

there was a meeting concerning a policy issue, position of CAN Europe to be addressed and agreed within the network. A survey will be distributed among the members (probably in English as the person who prepared it is a native speaker of English and German but it probably won't have a German version). I started recording as I have all of the ethics signed there are more and more languages used within the office but for the purpose of intra network communication that is German, Italian, Dutch, French, Polish but English still dominates "floor".

18th of March 2015

Speaker 5 spoke to Catherine in English (non-native speaker to native speaker) and walking back to his desk

19th March 2015

People are very much livelier today. I started recording the office communication – I placed the recording device in the middle of the office. Matthias on the phone in English. Staff usually pick up the phone in English.

There is a lot of document production that is based on research materials from different sources. A lot of the resources that are used for this practice are originally English (some of the sources come form news and media agencies, research agencies based in Brussels). It would be interesting to find out, if staff uses their languages to get information from different regions of the EU. Also, do they use publications from member organizations who already translated the info into English 9 or any other language that happens to be within the staff at the Secretariat's internal capacity – people's knowledge of other languages since the staff is highly multilingual).

Reinhilde picked up the phone in English and then asked @Parlez-voud Francais? Or Netherlanden? And then switched to French.

24th March 2015

There was the weekly staff meeting and one of the staff members siad that there is a lady for the maternity cover of one of the staff members and the person described the prospective member of staff: 'she's French and she has good English. The necessary languages are French for the admin staff and English for the rest.

3rd April 2015

Matthias asked about translation into different languages – version of the map with facts of the coal use across the European countries – members states. The Communication's team came up with the idea of map facts and consulted policy officers who work on coal phase out in the office. The meeting was help in English; no NS were present. There was no mention of who would work on the translations, the assumption was that staff at the office could do part translations. M: ' if it is local people who are going to be involved then it is a good idea to translate the website [map] into at least the general story level'? Others agreed, but did not really dwell on this and moved onto the taking ciritical data from the local members and putting it into international coal context – the interactive map : local stories on coal, financial streams to show numbers and other data. There seems to be little interest in languages with respect to this project and other projects as well. (Update: 30th April: the map is live – only English version is provided with no other language version – not even planned to translate.)

Random parts of conversations:

'S4: We have certain habits and you use them. For instance, I'd never speak French with Cinda
But you both speak French natively, so why is that?
S4: We never spoke French with one another only English".

'S5: I never speak Irish with SX, I only speak English. Sx, do you speak Irish?
SX: Yes, quite well' and she then goes on to describe how things work in Ireland in connection to English.

'S8: Well, I work in an English environment' reference to the office – the Secretariat.

S6:'Let's hope that people who receive it [a document produced by the office – not sure who and what kind of document they are talking about] are not English speakers@'

People are generally interested in languages – on a personal level; and how they work. Many staff, especially S8 and S4 learn at least few words in different languages and greet staff in their native languages;

There is some translation being performed by staff; SX usually performs translations from Serbian to English ; I was asked to double check the English version for any grammatical, stylistic or other mistakes. It would be useful to ask about the process of hiring people – English is usually stated on job posts. But for specific policy areas or for specific work within a particular region of Europe (e.g. the Balkans) were they looking for someone who speaks the language of the Balkans? Would they assume that they could not communicate in English in that region?

S6 meant the office is an English environment – but there are a lot of different languages used on a daily basis – English is the language used by many, but mostly by NNS.

4th April

Communications meeting: there was communication's group meeting. One of the questions that I asked during the meeting, which was mainly devoted to how to get member organizations to respond to info that the staff at the Secretariat is sending. What purpose do the matrials sent by the Secretariat is for the members – what can they do with it? : they are able to circulate the materials to other NGOs that might be interested, but are not members of CAN and therefore may not have heard of the info; they can reuse the info in their publications, online or otherwise; they may reuse materials in campaigns or other projects, they may also engage the public by using info form the materials, they may translate and contextualise the info into their own countries.

7th April 2015

A native speaker of English and German practice: morning meeting in English and then spent all afternoon in German, setting up work in Berlin office – this is in preparation to move coal phase out programme of CAN E. to Germany -Berlin Office. This generally illustrates the daily activities of multilingual staff working in the office. This is an example of a native speaker of both English and German – the speaker was brought up by bilingual parents (German and American) and that is why speaks the two languages and makes frequent use of the two languages at work.

Different languages are used for the purpose of intra-network communication – usually the big languages such as French, German – possibly because of the wider environment Brussels. In general, the Brussels based NGOs that are part of the network cooperate in English but may at times pass on relevant documents in other languages, French or German. English dominates the communication. What kind of questions could I ask at the interviews? - possibly role of English(?) And how people feel about the fact that it is English for the majority of communication in the network and office?

On the member organizations – are they anyhow prepared or required or introduced to the LP of the network?

So far the office is more multilingual than I assumed first. But the network communication is mainly English. People seem to be happy about using different languages that work for them in order to achieve their goals – communication (effectiveness of communication guides the choice of English). Mondays and Tuesdays almost everyone in the office.

An Intern uses a lot of Italian in his contacts – phone, and written communication.

Language practices, ideologies and management: there seems not to be too much of management visible; everyone seems to be talking in the language that seems to provide them with their means/goals (communicate successfully). They may want to have their papers (for publication) checked but that's about it. Is the English langauge and no translation of the website materials an indication of management? Possibly not as nobody tries to alter the behaviour of the member organizations – also visible on the email communication and intra-network communication.

The exchange of info seems to be the crucial part of the network. It thrives on exchange of info among the members and the secretariat – especially on the supranational level- this may also be the case for bigger national/regional organizations – but speaking of CAN e. specifically this is the case.

1. People tend to use English (for both NS and NNS and NNS and NNS) interactions

2. People tend to use their L1 with other of the same L1 only when speaking to themselves (in L1 group)

3. There is a lot of code-switching

4. Ppl already know the context well and know what 'rules' apply in what situation. There is a lot of learning by observation what others do – especially visible among the new staff who come and some of them get confused as to what language to use, especially with the Belgian staff (French/Dutch speakers).

5. People often describe their practices as habits that formed at some point in the past and stayed like that. S4 and S6 in particular mention this a lot.

6. The existing e-mai llists – to which I have access to (I am subscribed internally to) operate in English only and the member organizations that reply to emails – usually representatives of NGOs from Brussels or Western EU countries; usually these are the same people that are frequently visible in these email lists. Not many people from Southern or Eastern replying to the emails; they are generally less visible in the emails.

8th April

The office was quiet as there were not many people in – most of them worked from home. However, after work I walked with one of the members of staff and we had a conversation about languages and his/her experience with languages. We talked about how language(s) in general are rarely noticed by staff in the work of the office, but how s/he feels it is one of the most important aspects of all of the activities that they – as an organization perform. 'I think we rarely think about languages in our work, that is something we only notice when we have problems getting information across'. For example, I know there were people form Southern part of Europe, from Italy who we cooperated with. And the communication did not go. And it is these moments that you start to think, what else can I do'.

This would be interesting to explore in interviews: how do the staff at the secretariat level manage the diverse (from language perspective) audience, especially when NGOs they cooperate with do not have sufficient English for communication.

April 12th 2015

Website quotes:

'Can Europe is Europe's largest coalition working on climate and energy issues. With over 120 member organizations in more than 25 European countries, CAN E. works to prevent dangeroud climate change and promote sustainable climate and energy policy in Europe' (last accessed 12th April, 2015, at 10.34 am)

'Today CAN E. has over 120 member organizations in more than 25 European countries. The wider and better informed group we are, the stronger our voice!' (last accessed 12th April, 2015 at 10.43 am)

English is used for info sharing and gathering and contacting with member organisations in most cases. However, other langauge are also used for some of these purposes. There is a positive attitude towards the use of other languages – people are positive about different langauges being used in the office – Brussels Secretariat. Due to the fact that Europe is diverse linguistically English is used as the main medium of communication - S5'how else would we function?' English is essential for CAN E. but so are other languages to a lesser extent.

13/04/2015

Lunch informal talk

S6: ' he has a habit of whenever there is a Dutch speaking person around, he speaks Dutch, it doesn't matter if the rest doesn't speak Dutch@'

28 April 2015

GA in the Brussels Office building – Mundo B. The agenda introduction and talks/presentations that followed (update) were all in English. There are about 90 people present all of whom are representatives of their organizations; very multilingual and multicultural event. I was generally

involved in coordinating, helping to prepare and sitting in talks/ presentations. The majority of people are not NS of English; the ones who gave presentations were only 3 were NS. All formal talks/ presentations were conducted in English only. At lunch breaks there were variety of languages French nad Dutch among the most frequently used ones. I met most of the participants in the GA who were active in email lists – they were the representatives of their organizations.

29Aptil 2015

Day 2 of the GA.

Again all formal talks were presented in English: there were again main formal talks followed by split into groups talks depending on the topic. These were followed by informal talks in the hall of the Mundo-B building where the GA was held. During those talks one of the participants from Sweden (with good English skills) expressed his worry that he was notable to understand a lot of the jargon and abbreviations that were used in the talks in the past two days.

One of the participants of the GA said in an informal conversation: 'I find the language very technical and all these abbreviations@ I felt that each time I heard abbreviations or technical words I had to note them down. It is like learning new words again!'

Although English was used for all the formal talks s/he struggled to follow some of the talks because of the jargon or abbreviations of specific programmes (EU ot UN ones) or policies at the EU level concerning environmental topics such as climate change (CC), use of land and climate change (LULUCF) etc.

30April 2015

Today is the last day of the General Assembly. There are a lot of abbreviations and very technical language – very heavy policy related language – usually EU policy e.g. EU ETS, LULUCF, INDC, EIB, G20– these are the only ones I understood, but in general the talks/presentations are heavy on this type of language. After the main introductory talks, some from the staff from the secretariat and some from member organizations the rest of the day was spent in separate rooms discussing topic specific issues – mostly led by the members of Secretariat S7, Urlika, Ania and S4.

Lunch break informal talks: many of them happened in English, but the majority of the talks were in different languages, French, Dutch, German were the most frequently used, but there were other languages, Polish, Serbian (or one of the Serbo-Croatian languages) used.

I engaged in a conversation with one of the staff from member organization that works predominantly in Brussels, but has its member organizations scattered across the EU, but mostly outreaching the Eastern part of the EU, but the organization's outreach activities spread towards the Eastern Europe. The organization had a meeting as to what languages and translation into what languages to provide. In order to reach the audience in the Eastern European organization and cooperate with them, the organization decided to translate their documents with information and ready-made products (in the form of bulletins, newsletters and other policy statement documents, op-eds etc) the languages chosen were, apart from English: Polish, German, Lithuanian (on the way). The choice was mainly dictated by the most strategic (for the organization) members/ prospective members. The decision to provide translations was to cooperate closer with the organizations in these countries – because they are the main areas of work of that organization. When asked why, the member of staff from that organizations said: 'it's better to use the language of the person/organization, because it makes the info to be absorbed better'.

May 2015

Staff meeting:

People share info so that everyone is updated and update on the work among the staff working in the Secretariat office. Each person updates on what he/she achieved that week and what s/he is working on. Everyone takes turn. Everything is in English. There are 2 native speakers and 10 NNs of English plus the researcher. English is used in all the staff meetings, but there are some translations from other languages, particularly S5 often makes jokes by translating Dutch or French jokes to English. Sometimes these jokes are only understood by Dutch or French speakers as they are the only

ones who laugh. People seem to be comfortable with the English language being used for the meetings.

Outside of the meeting: two people talk in Dutch, one speaks Turkish on the phone and one person speaks Polish. After the Polish person finishes his/her conversation on the phone, another person makes a comment: SX: I like when you speak Polish, you change your voice, it's nice'.

05.05.2015

Activities meeting: follow up session.

Some CAN E. organizations mentioned the challenge of getting members cooperate in workgroups, the challenge being that not all organizations see the point, or feel motivated to cooperate and devote time to workgroups that sometimes have the goal different to the organization's priorities.

'J: Well, in general, there's er I know a bit on organizational design, and when you are a real network organization and having a working group actually limits your flexibility and such organization looks better, but the organization in practice, er it just takes away your flexibility and also makes your organization more exclusive and enclosed and slows down your, er limits your agility as an org. And from what I assume from my limited time here is that you have to move fast, especially in the campaigning and communications area'

'W: the concept of the proposal is based on the fact that [proposal to get members working together - to include member organizations and give them more of a leading role, for them to be more proactive in convening conference calls, producing articles etc.] many of our (.) members still fail to see CAN E. as a network, but see CAN E as an organization that is of course a (unintelligible) the case here in Brussels; CAN Europe is considered as another organization next to WWF and Greenpeace etc but is also very much the case among our members outside of Brussels who call in to our meetings to see what we say but they are not necessarily considering what we are doing is actually what they are doing that is one and the same, that's and so the idea is that, there are two rather different approaches. ! Is the approach that happens in CAN International that not many of our member know where you have membership who take active ownership of working groups that are designed and decided by the members because CAN Int does not have additional 12 members of staff who can actually support the working groups. And there's CAN Europe where it is the staff who does everything in terms of organization'

'S5: Sometimes it is nice to use your own language for once even if you're talking about work, it takes your mind off'.

On the staff meeting concerning follow up from the GA, there were discussions about what to do to make the individual members more responsive – this impact the info exchange across the network. Generally the organizations take what is being said and many of them do not take active participation beyond that. Brussels NGOs are well informed on Brussels matters but beyond that there is not much active participation. The NGOs at national levels (individual member states) seem not to share actively what is being done and what CAN E can help with.

General findings form the observations

- English is the most popular language in the office
- English is predominantly used in the email communication with the member organizations
- English is the language of CAN E.'s social media – website, twitter, Facebook.
- English is used for all the staff meetings
- English is used in the official meetings, discussions, presentations and conferences at the General Assemblies
- Everyone assumes that English is the language in this context (CAN E. specifically, but some people also mention that English is the language of the NGO sector)
- The assumption of the position of English is based on the practice – people see what is being done and accept it as it is. Many people, in the informal talks refer to English as the 'tool for efficient communication' especially within the network;
- CAN E. does not have a written language policy that would state the language of communication; it is implicit

- Other languages are often used for work related tasks – communication with members/ prospective members, regional updates (Balkans or Turkey);
- The constellation of members of staff dictates which languages will be used the most/least in the office on a daily basis; at times Dutch dominates the office, especially when there are no staff who don't speak Dutch at all present in the office (especially S3, S2).
- There are members of staff who use their languages for work related tasks (phone conversations) (Greek, Turkish, Finnish, Serbian, Polish);
- There are certain members of staff who always communicate with other members of staff 'bubbles' in one particular language, or two languages: Reinhilde and Wendel – Dutch; W and JF French, English, sometimes Dutch; C and W – English, W. and E Dutch, J and W – Dutch rarely English, M and C French and E
- Multilinguals who communicate in English only in the office, but who often use their other language(s) in the network:
    - S2, S3, S1, S7, S9, SX
- There is no rule set for communication in English or any other language in the CAN E. Charter or Statute;
- Application pack for prospective member organizations (in English only version) it is 'expected' of new /prospective members to:
- 1. have at least one person subscribed to the main (at least) email list – reading emails regularly; 2. share relevant information on the respective email list(s); 3. comment on information and policy discussions where relevant; 4 respect common positions.
- People seem to be comfortable in this multilingual environment (Secretariat office)
- Even though all of the materials being in English 9Secretariat level) often the process of creating the materials relies heavily on other languages, e.g., communication op-eds/articles for the website – the staff uses their languages to gather information, to contact relevant member organizations for more nuanced info, articles/ correspondence in other languages – usually the L1 of the person who works, but also different version of the same document but in two languages, e.g. an official website of a governmental institution may publish two languages but the versions would differ – there would be less nuanced info in the English version than in Polish – or any other language. Comms person who participated in my project stated that there was once a situation that a member organization contacted him/her stating that there was such a discrepancy in the version of a crucial document and that the English version lacked the nuanced info which would skew the perspective on that issue for speakers of English only. I am not sure what happened next because I was not there when this happened.

06/05/2015
'L: WHat is the word for this in French? (seller tape)
W: we call it plank (Dutch) but what it is in French?
E: What do we call it in French? (turns to speak Dutch) E: replies in Dutch
L: We call it Scotch in Italian
W: We don't speak French, huh? @
W, E and L @@@
W: We only speak Dutch@
L: I know Flemish people don't speak French
W: We speak Dutch!
W, E and L @@@'
The interaction took place in the office between W and E who are Belgians from the Dutch part – north of the country and L who is Italian and was an intern at that time. What is interesting about this fragment is the playfulness of the speakers and the fact that they W and E stick to the values – despite both W and E speak French, W is a native speaker of French and E speaks French but is not native, they both subscribe (here humorously) to the value that is attached to Dutch among the Flemish part of Belgium. There is the general rejection of the French and their language in this part of

the country and people tend to have strong positive attachment to their language – Dutch. The Walloon part of the country, on the other hand, is French speaking and has attachment to the French language, both groups are said not to 'like' each other, but more in a humorous sense. L is Italian but also fluent French and English speaker and turns to the speakers that are fluent in French for 'help'. As the interaction evolved, it turned out that L was not able to get what s/he wanted, because the two were not willing to jokingly to admit they speak French and therefore know the word for seller tape in French.

Appendix J   List of themes, subthemes and codes

Themes	Subthemes	Codes	Example fragments
The communicative need for English	• *Naturalisation: shared understanding of English as a default language* • *English as the practical language resource* • *English as the common denominator* • *English as time efficient tool for communication* • *International use of English as a factor in language choice decision in CAN E.*	Opportunities, pragmatic, Natural language, Time efficient communication, International cooperation, Basic knowledge of English, Rules, Habits, Power, Language behaviour, Assumptions,	S3: We use English, I would say ONLY. (…) So, the rule is that we communicate everything in language [English] and all the products that we produce they're also (1) [in English] Focus Group discussion: S1: I think that's what I'm thinking that if as soon as you join the network (.) it's kind of an imperative that you communicate in English S2: yeah, yeah if you communicate with the network English yeah S12: well, specifically for CAN Europe, I think you just have to use the most practical language @ cause it like the er er CAN Europe is concentrated on EU policies, so use the language that is (.) that the EU policies are made in, right? I would understand the needs of CAN to translate some stuff with into French or Spanish or something like that. They would deal a lot with organizations from other parts of the world that only speak those languages. Mod: Yeah. S12: So, first thing is there isn't a need for that for CAN Europe. S6: I'm not sure: if it [translations provided during GAs] would really help the connections because then (.) people (.) from different languages would speak less to each other etc. so I mean it's not bad that you kind of have people who are sufficient, fluent (.) or have a basic knowledge of English coming to our GA so that, that they can speak to each other also outside of the formal sessions.S4: I think it's an assumption that it's clear for everyone that at the European level, it's in English. S6: you could of course make a case about CAN Europe using other languages but that doesn't mean that, for instance, on our mailing lists OTHER people would be use- er I mean they would still use English as the mean of communication so I think it's (.) it is probably a reflection of the reality. Mod: The question was, whether the practices in CAN Europe, intra-network communication, which is English, were a different experience for you, from what you expected before you joined CAN Europe? S14: No, no, I expected to be English. (…) I think English is? Is it? I'm looking for? Like, I'm trying to find out if there is anything more to this question than that. But because it's very, it's very self-explanatory. (1) To me,

			er (.) it's very logical to me that it would be in English. And I'm saying I'm questioning this notion of me. And I'm saying why should it be in English? But I can find a better question er a a better the answer, it should be in English. S7: like it's never really said, but I think people just assume and also, like I think if you look at like the job descriptions of the last few positions we put out, I IMAGINE there it's like, English is like not native but like (unintelligible) or equivalent is a requirement and therefore, like I kind of er like we could say the working language of CAN Europe is English. S6: erm: (.) and (.) OVERTIME, this has clearly become English. And it's kind of (.) accepted and never questioned. S5: So (.) it's a practical language and at the same time you need to respect the diversity of course. And as a network, of course we could be stronger if we would work in more languages and target people in their own language and so on, I totally agree. But imagine what it would be if we would have to do that for everything I mean we are small secretariat
Exclusion from participation	• *Without English access denied* • *North South divide within the network*	Inequality, Language barrier, NNES attitudes, NES attitudes, Standard English norms in communication, Access, Superiority, Loss, North-South divide, Filtering agents, Handicapped, Non-accommodation, Resource constrain,	S11: For example in Poland there are a lot of organizations or quite interesting people (.) who are BARRED from (.) European fora because they don't speak English well. Mod: ah S11: yeah? So they only, for example stay through and then somebody else has to filter their ideas like a (.) ff focal point or whatever(...) depending who filters (.) filters sometimes YOUR idea? or sometimes a little bit of interpretation of his idea. So there is (.) there is this notion of (.) actually the ability of speaking language provides another power(.) to those nexus points/
Unequal distribution of English	• *Native English speakers' superiority* • *Status loss* • *Language gatekeepers*		S7: but I think (1) yeah like er, in a way (1) when it's a network it's difficult, like it's diff, like you NEED one common language? But that probably excludes a lot of fantastic people working at their own national level that can't contribute or take from what we're doing, which is: somehow a shame but that's the nature of languages, I think it, probably, every association and every kind of network kind of has the same challenge. S6: I mean yeah in principle people have to have a fairly good knowledge of English in order to be able to work with us. S14: I think I think it relates to the fact that I mean, the hiring process for the NGO sector, the bare minimum in terms of languages is fluent understanding of oral and written English. And that is the very basic and then

			to a lesser extent comes French, or I don't know what else S12: But I think, of course it is the common THE only common language is English so there is no choice, but I er English S2: it [English] automatically narrows down some choices S5: They [Spanish NGOs] have a lot of possibilities with it [Spanish language] in the world. And (.) Yeah, it's, it isolates them a bit. Mod: in what sense? S5: well, if you don't come out if you don't speak out in the (.) international network and you need to do it in English, OK then you have less influence. And Spain is such a big country and it has politically (.) it has a lot of votes in the in the European Council things and so on, and so on, it's a big country. But still, you don't hear them? They, they don't come out a lot. S4: I think it's an assumption that's true for everyone. I'm quite sure that some of the organizations that might be interested in working within Europe are not member because of the language. Even now, sometimes we have problems with people that don't really understand English, English. And they will be somewhere. Geographically, well, the the things that I the examples that I have, in my mind are South-eastern Europe. Mod: And when you mentioned culture, do you see you compared European to Asian? Would you say if you have a meeting with it, let's say, in CAN Europe, but across the European continent? Would you say this is also the case?
Non-accommodation in English	• *Abbreviation and acronym use in CAN Europe*	No common understanding, Abbreviations, Confusion,	S10: it's in English it remains in English and we try to keep it as a very erm kind of simple English even though I mean the technical jargon is unavoidable on a policy level I mean this is very, very specific. So, I mean, we try to keep it simple but still it's still quite technical S5: maybe more than language, OK language is ex- ex- er important but we once had a day with our staff with er with er (clicks the tongue) with a kind of GROUP expert and he stated that that kind of network we are working in are typically a network of experts and they have a kind of expert complex and they have to be the best at what they do and using this difficult language is like to 'look I know a lot and I'm the one that knows it and they are all the time busy with that S9: So, it is, it is important to keep in mind and in big networks like that, to be able to

			translate like at least like, not everything of course, if someone does only legislative process, then you cannot translate everything to that person. But then still in a way to, to define a process so that the people at least could follow what the issue is, and what is big news around it. Because otherwise, it's it feels like it's too much. For CAN Europe is too much EU bubble oriented. So it's kind of hard to reach out outside that bubble that we want to influence and for international for CAN international it's the UNFCCC erm (.) audience that will be targeted. So it's usually good to have people who ask questions, and who assess the policy document, whatever, er (.) in a more normal er (.) day to day language. S7: in this environment you you use a lot of technical terms and I mean to be honest a lot of the technical terms that DO develop end up staying in English/
Strategic use of languages other than English	• *Targeted audience communication* • *Closer cooperation within the network* • *Access to sources of nuanced information* • *Head start access to information*	Access, Detailed info, Sharing info, Flexible, Multilingualism, Power, Context based communication, L1 use at work, Translations, Opportunity, Better cooperation, Multilingual skills, Importance, Pragmatic, Language resources, Language lessons in CAN E. Funding, Workload, Attitudes, Native languages, Strategies, Priority,	S9: Yeah, but I think the way we solve this at the moment it's not hundred percent solved, but then in the Secretariat, like we are numerous and, and we are quite diverse when it comes to spoken languages, like, we had a lot of people that speak all sorts of languages. (…) So, they [two Polish speaking staff] sort of it's not their task but as I do, they also do the information exchange from English to Polish and Polish to English were necessary. So, they're not doing one for every piece of information. But then where necessary, they sort of fill us up entirely. I do that for Turkish. And I'm also based here, so doing the exact work between the English-speaking world then the Turkish-speaking world, and on our issues, and then for Balkans as well, the new SX@ S3: But with the network I think it also matters like at least I know. I can remember one example. Umm I am not sure if this was a well member organization or an NGO we cooperate with strongly within one of the policy files that we cover? I am not exactly sure, but I know that umm it was a group from Italy who umm had well a probably a lower level of English and then if it turns out that if somebody from the office can actually speak the same language then well they did, well people expressed the fact that's gonna be a totally different cooperation. Mod: OK, and that would be in which language? S2: that depends on all the participants, so, but it would in most cases be in English because we, we have people like from, for instance, from BankWatch which is our

		245	partner organization. We have people who work on the Balkans but are Romanian, so they they're not able to understand any of the Serbian, Bosnian, Croatian languages and they are also colleagues from for instance Irish, but he's working in Bosnia so he can understand fully but he cannot speak so then we simply just use English again as, as and we resort to it if there's a call where everyone from the region or speak Serbian whatever Croatian any of the Serbo-Croat languages then it would be in Serbian, but mostly in English yeah, that's pretty much the selection. And sometimes in meetings that are regional and you would always have 80% Serbian Croatian speaking people then just 10 to 12% of people who speak Albanian or some other language that's completely different then it's a bit of a problem because we tend to shift to Serbian and that of course excludes automatically some people and they you know there are always people who remind us through the conversation back to English but it just happens.

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