

How Does Code-Switching Affect Group Members?

An Exploratory Study of Feelings, Thoughts and Behaviors in Controlled Group Settings

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Abstract: With the rise of multinational companies it has become ever more important for corporations to be able to operate effectively in linguistically diverse environments. Employees thereby have to act across linguistic barriers; nevertheless, they frequently engage in code-switching (CS), the switching from one language to another. Despite the increasing importance of group work in companies, research on code-switching in groups has wrongfully been neglected by the literature. In order to fill this gap, we employed a cross-disciplinary design to study how code-switching affects group members in terms of feelings, thoughts and behaviors. Based on the patterns in our studies, we were able to analyze code-switching from the perspective of an established group-dynamics framework, the IMOI model developed by Ilgen et al. (2005). Using this model, we identified four different types of groups based on the group members' feelings, thoughts and reactions related to code-switching. In particular, we found that code-switching can be perceived as a limited threat to the group, as an affective threat to group cohesion, or as a cognitive threat to shared cognition. With this framework we enable scholars to take a more holistic view on the effects of code-switching and provide them with new links to concepts across different theoretical fields. Furthermore, we believe that the innovative method for studying groups through ethnographic experiments will spark interest among other researchers to reap the benefits of combining qualitative and quantitative methods. Last but not least, with the patterns identified team leaders and managers can improve their way of handling the effects as well as reducing the occurrence of code-switching.

Key words: code-switching, language, groups, emergent states, ethnographic experiments

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Key Concepts

Concepts Related to Communication

Code switching (CS) – generally considered to be the switching from one language to another one (Hinds, Neeley & Cramton 2013)

Indirect/direct – the extent to which the sender of communication is expected to be explicit, i.e. direct, or the recipient of the communication is expected to correctly interpret the underlying signals, i.e. indirect (Hammer 2005)

Emotionally expressive/restrained – the extent to which feelings are openly communicated or hidden from other people (Hammer 2005)

Concepts Related to Groups

Input – composition of the team in terms of people and resources available at individual, team and organizational level (Kozlowski, Ilgen 2006)

Process – the act by which a group comes together to do something either in terms of transition, action or interpersonal activities (Mathieu, Marks & Zaccaro 2001)

Emergent state – group constructs that emerge in the group and change over time; can act as both inputs and outputs on the group processes; broken down into affective (i.e. emotional/feelings-driven) and cognitive (i.e. rational/thinking-driven) component (Ilgen et al. 2005)

Output – conceived of as comprising two dimensions; the external/task-type goals in terms of performance and the internal/social-type goals in terms of group functioning (Hackman 1987)

Group trust – a group construct of members' willingness to be vulnerable; is dependent on favorable view of peoples' intentions, competence and integrity (Mayer, Davis & Schoorman 1995)

Group cohesion – attraction to the group, both from the individuals' perspectives and as a total team perspective (Carron, Widmeyer & Brawley 1985)

Shared cognition – the shared knowledge within a team, incorporating the act of sharing that knowledge (Cooke et al. 2004)

In-group/out-group – the people deemed to be part of a group and the people deemed to be out of the group depending on the marker of social identity and self-categorization theory (Tajfel, Turner 1979, Turner et al. 1987, Hogg, Abrams 1988)

Concepts Related to Norms

Social norms – the general set of rules and standards on a societal level that govern behavior, these are developed out of social interaction and are punished by social networks, not by the rule of law (Cialdini, Trost 1998)

Group norms – a sub-set of social norms; the shared expectations among the group members about how other members ought to behave (Levine, Moreland 1990)

Prototypical norms– the norms associated with the perfect group members; could also be a hypothetical construct (Hogg, Reid 2006)

Code-switching norms – a sub-set of social norms; the shared expectation about what language is appropriate depending on the context (Wei, Milroy 1995)

Concepts Related to Ostracism

Social ostracism – being excluded or ignored by a group, often with limited explanation and limited negative attention (Williams 2007)

Linguistic ostracism – a sub-set of social ostracism; exclusion from the group when members speak a language not understood by the excluded one (Dotan-Eliaz, Sommer & Rubin 2009)

1. Introduction

This chapter will provide the reader with a first insight into the topic of our thesis by exploring the background through which we developed our research question followed by an explanation of the relevance of it and the overall structure of this paper.

1.1. Background

In the past decades, businesses have become more global by expanding to new countries and operating outside their home markets. With this internationalization processes and the emergence of multinational companies (MNCs), it is inevitable for companies to have to work with employees speaking different languages (Marschan-Piekkari, Welch & Welch 1999a). Yet, despite its immense managerial relevance, research on inter-organizational language heterogeneity has received only little attention in the past (Janssen, Lambert & Steyaert 2004). Recently, however, more and more scholars have realized the importance of this field and started exploring it (e.g. Luring, Selmer 2010, Luring, Selmer 2010, Hinds, Neeley & Cramton 2013, von Glinow, Shapiro & Brett 2004, Harzing, Köster & Magner 2011).

In order to generate a better mutual understanding many companies employ a common corporate language to cope with the heterogeneity of languages (Feely, Harzing 2003). Still, despite this language policy, many employees engage in code-switching, the act of “shift[ing] from one language to another in the course of a conversation” (Hinds, Neeley & Cramton 2013). Studies focusing on broader language dynamics in MNC teams uncovered code-switching as a serious issue, with people subjected to code-switching reporting feelings of irritation, discomfort, exclusion and suspicion (Luring 2008, Hinds, Neeley & Cramton 2013, Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing 2013). These studies showed that code-switching, together with broader language dynamics, lead to challenging sub-group dynamics in MNC teams.

Whilst uncovering code-switching as a significant issue in businesses, these studies have not explored code-switching per se. They rather explored general language dynamics from the perspective of social identity (Luring 2008), faultline (Hinds, Neeley & Cramton 2013), or team trust (Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing 2013). Code-switching was not the focus of the analysis and findings about code-switching were therefore only collected to how the individuals perceived the code-switching. Code-switching was not studied as a group phenomenon per se in these studies.

Other studies have picked up on the importance of code-switching and analyzed the effect of code-switching per se (Hitlan et al. 2006, Dotan-Eliaz, Sommer & Rubin 2009). However, these studies have also only focused on code-switching from individuals' perspectives, taking a social psychology perspective to measure how people respond to language exclusion in a vignette-based study (Hitlan et al. 2006) or language exclusion in a group introduction (Dotan-Eliaz, Sommer & Rubin 2009). Again, neither of these studies explored code-switching as a group phenomenon.

1.2. Purpose and Research Question

We believe that research on code-switching has wrongfully neglected the effects of code-switching on groups. Companies are shifting from individual jobs in functionalized structures to teams embedded in more complex workflow systems (Devine et al. 1999, Mathieu, Marks & Zaccaro 2001, Lawler, Mohrman & Ledford 1995, Lawler, Mohrman & Ledford 1992). Tasks demand skill diversity, high expertise levels, fast response and adaptability, which are all enabled by teams (Kozlowski et al. 1999). This is why group work becomes more prevalent in the corporate setting in order to manage complex tasks that exceed the abilities of one individual (Bittner, Leimeister 2014). Therefore, team members, who are increasingly located around the globe (Kozlowski, Ilgen 2006), have to create a common understanding despite the language barrier present in group work (Bittner, Leimeister 2014).

Given these trends of increased group work in MNCs comprising an increasingly diverse workforce, code-switching in groups will become even more of an issue in global MNCs than it already is (Hinds, Neeley & Cramton 2013, Luring 2008, Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing 2013). Yet, no studies have so far investigated the group-level effects of code-switching. Thus, the purpose of this paper is to take the first step to fill this research gap by exploring the question: "How does code-switching affect group members?". We will investigate the feelings, thoughts and behaviors of individuals in the context of groups and thereby draw a holistic picture of the group-level effects of CS.

1.3. Contribution

First and foremost, this study is intended as the initial step in this under-researched field in order to generate interest among other scholars to prompt further research. Through the lens

of such a specific group phenomenon as code-switching, we will draw on diverging perspectives from various strands of literature. We will use concepts from different theoretical fields, including small group research, language in MNCs, norms, social ostracism, social identity, and sociolinguistics to explain a phenomenon. By drawing on such a wide set of literature we will provide novel links to the research field that will not only benefit the study of languages in groups but also expand the other research fields covered.

Furthermore, we believe in the great importance of investigating this field due to its relevance for the management of heterogeneous groups in a corporate setting (Bittner, Leimeister 2014). As mentioned before, past research on code-switching has shown the negative feelings associated with code-switching and how it harmed the relationships between people (Lauring 2008, Harzing, Feely 2008, Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing 2013, Hinds, Neeley & Cramton 2013). Exploring the reasons behind these feelings as well as how they are transposed into the behavior of group members will increase the understanding for how CS affects the work environment. This way, we will provide team leaders with insights about a phenomenon that can be highly disruptive to teams (Lauring 2008, Harzing, Feely 2008, Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing 2013, Hinds, Neeley & Cramton 2013). Our insights will help them handle the effects of code-switching effectively and, through certain measures, even prevent the code-switching from happening.

Last but not least, we will use an innovative way of studying code-switching by inserting ethnography into a controlled experiment. This proved to be an effective way of exploring an under-researched phenomenon with little theoretical foundation. This method not only generated a raft of new insights, but also provides scholars with a modern way of using experiments (Sherman, Strang 2004a, Williams 2005).

1.4. Thesis Structure

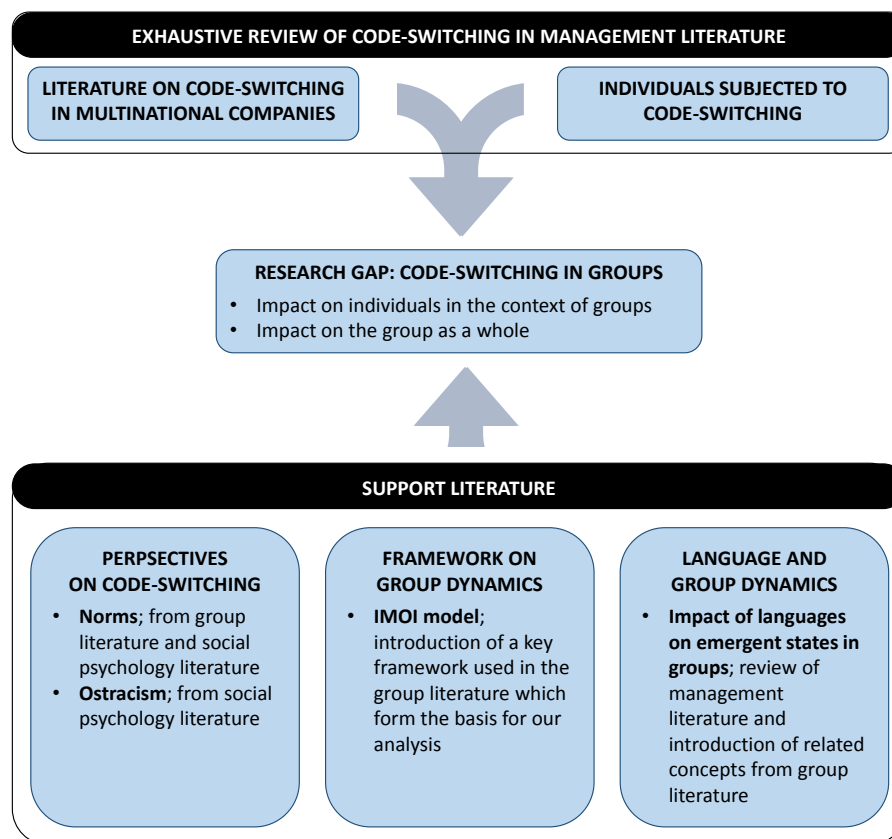
Following this introductory section, we will provide the reader with a literature review (Chapter 2), which will give a comprehensive overview of past research on code-switching that is narrowed down to a research gap, before giving an overview of relevant research on groups and languages that will help our understanding of these concepts. Then, we will elaborate on the methodology employed and the reasoning behind it (Chapter 3) before moving onto a relatively brief depiction of the main findings (Chapter 4). In Chapter 5, we will

analyze the findings from a more holistic point of view with the help of an existing group dynamics framework, giving a detailed explanation of the patterns identified and drawing on literature where applicable. We elaborate on the relevance of our findings, go through the limitations of our study and identify further research needed within the field in Chapter 6. Finally, a concluding section will wrap up our thesis by summarizing the main points one more time for the reader.

2. Literature Review

In this review we will provide an exhaustive review of the management literature that covers code-switching that we narrow down to a sizeable research gap to introduce our research question on code-switching in groups. We then bring in support literature from various fields to elaborate on the models and concepts used in this paper. Figure 1 below illustrates the rough structure of this literature review.

Figure 1: Overview of the Literature Review



2.1. Introduction to Code-Switching

Language is widely considered an under-researched topic in the management literature (Maclean 2006), with most of the literature being written after ground-breaking research by Marschan-Piekkari, Welch & Welch 1999a, Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing 2013, Marschan-Piekkari, Welch & Welch 1999b. Most of the management research on languages has emphasized the role of languages in large MNCs, in particular on how the separate language groups are brought together through language policies or remain in opposition due to language-related challenges. There is a strand of literature focusing on how MNCs should

approach the implementation of appropriate language policies, but this literature is also quick to state that language tends to be a complex issue in practice.

The management literature on languages has uncovered a raft of real-life language issues in businesses. Some of these issues were relatively straight-forward, for example, that language discrepancies introduce communicative disruptions (Harzing, Köster & Magner 2011, Feely, Harzing 2003, Bargiela-Chiappini, Nickerson 2003, Charles, Marschan-Piekkari 2002) or affect people's sense of status and comfort (Tange, Luring 2009, Neeley 2013). Other issues resulted in more complex communication patterns, where MNCs experienced parallel communication networks based on languages (Marschan-Piekkari, Welch & Welch 1999b, Makela, Kalla & Piekkari 2007, Vaara et al. 2005) and employees became communication nodes due to their language skills (Feely, Harzing 2003, Andersen, Rasmussen 2004).

Facing this raft of potential issues when communicating in a second language, a common approach people take in critical moments is to code-switch. According to Chan (2004) the motivations to switch to your native language can be split up into pragmatic, social and psychological reasons. The first is made use of when CS acts as a 'textualization cue', which delineates the code-switched parts as different from the surrounding discourse, in order to communicate effects or inferences. Secondly, code-switching can have social aims such as identity declaration, exclusion of participants or domination and control (Gafaranga 2001, Cromdal 2004). Lastly, there are psychological motivations driven by the internal state of the speaker (Chan 2004).

In addition to underlying motivations, there are certain situations in a work setting that elicit code-switching. In some cases it can be an active strategy for employees to huddle together in a meeting to compare notes and align themselves (Harzing, Feely 2008) or it can be more situational, for example when an employee experiences cognitive overload or strong emotions, which they try to mitigate by conversing in their mother tongue (Cook 1977). In some settings, code-switching can also be employed in a collaborative manner with the practical purpose of circumventing language issues (Nikko 2007, Harzing, Köster & Magner 2011). Depending on the degree of language variety in a company, code-switching can also lead to continuous conversation in the native language due to the comfort experienced when talking in their native language (Tenzer, Pudenko & Harzing 2013, Cook 1977).

2.1.1. Effects of Code-Switching

Having covered the context around code-switching and why it happens from a motivational and situational perspective, we now focus on the effects of code-switching. Here we note that there have been two widely differing approaches to this issue in the literature. One approach has come from the management literature on languages where code-switching has been observed as a key language issue as part of ethnographic observations and interviews (Hinds, Neeley & Cramton 2013, Luring 2008, Tenzer, Pudenko & Harzing 2013). The other approach comes from the social ostracism literature where controlled studies have explored the impact on individuals depending on whether they were excluded linguistically or socially (Hitlan et al. 2006, Dotan-Eliaz, Sommer & Rubin 2009). These five studies are summarized briefly in Table 1 below, followed by a more detailed discussion about the main points of the studies.

Table 1: Summary of Studies on the Effect of Code-Switching

Studies on the effect of code-switching	Specific focus	Methodology
Code-switching as part of language dynamics in MNCS		
Lauring (2008) <i>Rethinking Social Identity Theory in International Encounters: Language Use as a Negotiated Object for Identity Making</i>	How language and social identity interact in a corporate environment where there is competition for resources and recognition	Ethnographic field study (with interviews) of interaction between Danish expats and local employees of UK subsidiary recently acquired by the Danish company
Hinds, Neeley & Cramton (2013) <i>Language as a lightning rod: Power contests, emotion regulation, and subgroup dynamics in global teams</i>	How language diversity acts as a faultline within the teams	Ethnographic field study (with interviews) of 96 globally distributed members across six teams
Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing (2013) <i>The impact of language barriers on trust formation in multinational teams</i>	How language impacts trust formation in teams, exploring both the affective and cognitive components of trust	Interviews with 90 team members, team leaders and senior managers from 15 teams across 3 companies
Individuals subjected to code-switching		
Hitlan et al. (2006) <i>Language Exclusion and the Consequences of Perceived Ostracism in the Workplace</i>	How ostracism in the workplace (either socially or linguistically) impacts work attitudes	Vignette-based study of 600 undergraduate students, measuring the association between ostracism and organizational commitment, organizational citizenship and perceived threat
Dotan-Eliaz, Sommer & Rubin (2009) <i>Multilingual groups: Effects of linguistic ostracism on felt rejection and anger, coworker attraction, perceived team potency, and creative performance</i>	How ostracism in a group (either socially or linguistically) impacts contribution to the group in a brainstorming task	Participants were ostracized as part of the socialization in a controlled three-person group. Participants were then asked to brainstorm ideas individually, either as an individual task or on behalf of the group

Code-Switching as part of language dynamics in MNCS

The study of language dynamics in MNCS uncovered numerous interesting perspectives. In the context of an English subsidiary, which was acquired by a Danish company, code-switching was not only considered as a deviation from social norms and rude, but also associated with feelings of unease and discomfort among the English employees that were in a weaker position (Lauring 2008). These concerns played into broader issues among the English-speaking workers, who were worried about losing their jobs. Language in general, but also code-switching specifically, became a tool to categorize the employees into two groups, in which language became a source of identity.

Language issues proved to be an issue in another study of language dynamics in a Germany-based MNC (Hinds, Neeley & Cramton 2013). In this study, non-German employees reported strong feelings against CS with some of them even considering leaving their jobs because of it. In this case, code-switching also extended to other realms of office life, with e-mails and documents being written in German. Language asymmetries and the associated code-switching were found to interact with other faultlines, such as nationality and location. However, they would only come alive in cases of power struggles. Members in such dysfunctional teams would be more likely to take protective and reactive – as opposed to emphatic – stances towards the language asymmetries.

Another study also explored a Germany-based company, this time focusing on how language diversity affects trust formation in teams (Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing 2013). As part of this wider research on how languages affect teams in a corporation, they found that languages affected both rational and emotional aspects of trust in people. Code-switching was one of the four ways in which languages affected trust and was also found to have both an affective and a cognitive dimension. Respondents with more cognitive considerations found code-switching acceptable as long as episodes were short and the content of the code-switching was shared with the broader team afterwards. Yet, the majority of respondents viewed CS from an emotional perspective, considering it annoying, impolite or unfair, which was considered to affect benevolence-based trustworthiness.

Individuals Subjected to Code-Switching

Code-switching has also been studied from the perspective of how it affects individuals within controlled groups drawing on social ostracism literature. One experiment introduced linguistic ostracism in a group setting (Dotan-Eliaz, Sommer & Rubin 2009). The unknowing participants were put in groups with two Russians, who would switch into Russian during the socialization phase of the experiment, leaving the sole non-Russian speaker ostracized. Following this, participants were asked to engage in an individual brainstorming task, either on behalf of the group or for their individual benefit. Among people who were ostracized linguistically feelings of rejection and anger were higher, whilst feelings of team potency and attraction towards the team were reduced. Moreover, based on social ostracism research, the study tested for the impact of people's individual social self-efficacy and rejection sensitivity. The study found that people high in social self-efficacy that were subjected to ostracism actually performed

better when the brainstorming task would benefit the group. People high in rejection sensitivity however felt greater negative feelings when being ostracized.

The perspective of social ostracism has also been applied in controlled scenarios, again with the intention of studying how individuals were affected by code-switching. Hitlan et al. (2006) set up a vignette-based study in which different participants were asked to read a fictional text involving one of these three scenarios; being ostracized in English, being ostracized in Spanish or being included by their co-workers. The results showed that ostracism had a negative effect on respondents' feelings. Respondents felt less accepted by and less similar to their co-workers and also had lower affective commitment towards them. However, the study found a relatively limited difference between ostracism in the native language and ostracism in another language.

2.2. Research Gap

As mentioned earlier, we see a clear research gap between these two strands of literature. Neither strand focuses on the group as a unit of research in terms of code-switching. In the MNC literature on code-switching, the statements that individuals make about code-switching are never analyzed as a group phenomenon, but rather treated as statements made by individuals in the context of cross-functional teams within corporate departments. Code-switching is therefore only used as a finding to support broader team-level models about how language diversity in general interacted with social identity (Lauring 2008), faultlines (Hinds, Neeley & Cramton 2013), or trust (Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing 2013). Moreover, the study of code-switching in these corporate studies was also complicated by a series of factors. Code-switching was part of a range of other language-related issues, such as recently introduced language policies, official documents being written in native languages, geographically dispersed locations, or power distortions between the language groups (e.g. Marschan-Piekkari, Welch & Welch 1999a, Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing 2013, Marschan-Piekkari, Welch & Welch 1999b). These factors presumably interacted with CS, thereby inhibiting the study of how CS impacts groups.

In the linguistic ostracism literature, the focus of the study is explicitly the individual, although the way the individual is ostracized happens in a group context. While Dotan-Eliasz, Sommer & Rubin's (2009) study may seem like a group study, the code-switching happens during the

socialization stage and the dependent variable is how participants performed in an individual task. Code-switching was not part of the process that was measured, which means that study did not analyze how code-switching interacted with group processes. Hitlan et al.'s (2006) study is a study of individual feelings within a fictional corporate setting, which means that the group phenomenon was not studied. Moreover, both of these studies explored situations involving three people, so that the subject was the only person excluded.

2.3. Research Question

Based on this research gap, we designed a study that explores 'how code-switching affects group members'. Table 2 below highlights the key ways in which this study differs from the two other strands of research.

Table 2: Key Differences between Strands of Research on the Effect of Code-switching

Focus area	Existing studies	Analysis of code-switching	Methodology	Perspective of code-switching
Code-switching as part of language dynamics in MNCS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Luring 2008) • Hinds, Neeley & Cramton (2013) • Tenzer, Pudenko & Harzing (2013) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effect on individuals • Indirect effect on specific group constructs 	Ethnography in the field	Deviation from <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • corporate policy • social norms
Individuals subjected to code-switching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hitlan et al. (2006) • Dotan-Eliaz, Sommer & Rubin (2009) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effect on individuals 	Quantitative experiments	Exclusion
Groups subjected to code-switching	----	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effect on individuals • Effect on group dynamics 	Ethnography within an experiment	Exclusion + Deviation from <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • group norms • social norms

The main difference is that we will look at both how the individuals feel and think about code-switching, but also how the group as a whole responds to it. Moreover, these two aspects are studied in the context of each other through ethnographic research within controlled group experiments. Through this study we are able to get a perspective on CS that is more isolated than the corporate ethnographic studies because code-switching will not be complicated by

the broader considerations mentioned above. Meanwhile this study will be more natural than the set experiments given that code-switching will be part of the group processes and more people will be subject to the code-switching.

This approach to the study will also enable us to combine diverging perspectives from the two different strands of research. In the MNC literature on languages, code-switching is treated as a deviation from corporate policy and a deviation from social norms. In the literature on individuals being subjected to code-switching, code-switching is treated as a mechanism for excluding one individual in a social setting as per the social ostracism literature. Our study draws on both approaches, looking at code-switching as a deviation from social norms as well as a mechanism for excluding people. But we also add a twist to the norm deviation, by including the perspective of code-switching as a deviation from group norms.

2.4. Two Perspectives on Code-Switching

To improve the analysis of code-switching, we found it helpful to explore the literature within the two perspectives on code-switching we will use; a mechanism for exclusion and a norm deviation. We therefore explore the relevant literature on these perspectives from the small group research and social psychology literature.

2.4.1. Code-Switching as a Mechanism for Exclusion

The field of social ostracism is dedicated to how people respond to exclusion from groups. It is grounded in social psychology and focuses on the psychology of the person excluded. It examines, for example, how the reactions to social ostracism differ depending on people's level of social anxiousness ((Zadro, Boland & Richardson 2006), self-esteem (Sommer, Baumeister 2002), desired control over their environment (Warburton, Williams & Cairns 2006) or rejection sensitivity (Downey et al. 2004).

Nevertheless, the literature has only weakly explored how social ostracism interacts with group processes, i.e. the two-way interrelation between group dynamics and social exclusion. Only Wittenbaum, Shulman & Braz (2010) studied how feelings towards ostracism differed depending on whether the ostracism was done by a member of the perceived out-group or in-group and found that exclusion by an in-group member was worse.

Still, a clear conclusion from the social ostracism literature is that people tend to respond negatively towards social ostracism and that it can impact people's psychology as it threatens

four fundamental needs: the need to belong, to maintain self-esteem, to perceive control over one's social environment and to feel worthy of attention (Williams 2009). Moreover, in broad terms the responses can be likened to stress behavior, where Williams (2007) categorizes reactions in terms of fight, flight, tend-and-befriend or freeze.

2.4.2. Code-Switching as a Norm Deviation

Group norms can be defined as “shared expectations about how the members of a group ought to behave” (Levine, Moreland 1990, p. 600) whereas behavioral irregularities, specifically strong ones, are considered as norm deviations. There is a huge strand of research on social norms, dating back to Sherif's (1936) demonstration that people's perceptions of events are governed by social norms that are quick to establish themselves. Cialdini, Trost (1998) show how powerful social norms can be in shaping our behavior.

Social norms also govern the way we communicate, for example impacting the turn-taking patterns in conversations (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974, Stivers et al. 2009) and the way we speak in different settings (Van Den Berg, M. E. 1988). Norms also govern our attitudes towards code-switching, as evidenced by the study of Chinese communities in Britain (Wei, Milroy 1995). It was found that clear norms existed, for example governing the switching between languages depending on who communicated (e.g. within and across generations), content (e.g. the seriousness of the content) or the conversation pattern (e.g. the prevalence of code-switching earlier in the conversation).

These social norms interact with the norms formed in groups, but are nevertheless distinct. According to Postmes, Spears & Cihangir (2001, p. 919), group norms “may be situationally and locally defined, and hence may be quite independent and distinct from social norms that exist at the levels of communities and society.” The literature on group norms is primarily focused on how norms emerge. Feldman (1984), for example, offers four reasons for norm development in groups, i.e. survival, increasing predictability of behavior, avoiding personal embarrassment and expressing central values. Bettenhausen, Murnighan (1985) expanded on this by analyzing the process of norm formation in groups. They found that group norms emerged through the interaction of members' previously scripted norms and their interpretation of the current situation. Differences between these scripts and interpretations were then negotiated within the group. The authors categorize the norm negotiation in three

ways; i.e. revising beliefs about appropriate action, implicitly agreeing or overtly challenging the implied norm.

The literature on norm enforcement has unfortunately not dealt with enforcing group norms, but rather general norms. Wilson, O’Gorman (2003) studied people’s emotions and actions associated with norm-breaking events related to hypothetical events of finding gold. They draw a link between the emotions people feel and the associated actions and found large discrepancies in feelings and actions towards norm deviation, both across people and situations.

2.5. Theoretical Framework

To enable the study of code-switching from a group perspective, we first need to lay the foundation in terms of the frameworks used to understand the groups we observed. We will introduce one framework about intercultural conflict styles to understand the behaviors observed (Hammer 2005) and one to understand the overall group dynamics (Ilgen et al. (2005).

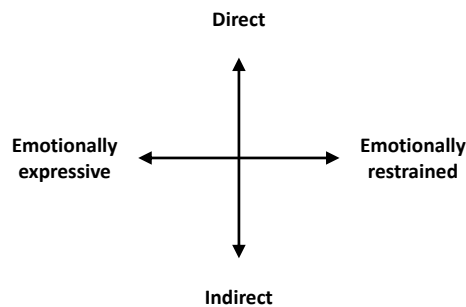
2.5.1. Model for Understanding Behaviors Observed

As will become evident in our analysis there are parallels between the reactions during the experiments and conflict behavior. Traditional studies about conflict styles have placed styles along two dimensions; one dimension measuring the caring for self or the task and the other dimension caring about the other or the social aspect (Moberg 1998). Moberg (1998) showed how these dimension have been similar across studies and have all essentially yielded four conflict styles that are similar across different theories; facing the conflict, minimizing differences, trying to maximize one’s outcomes at the expense of others, and eluding conflict. A fifth style has also been proposed by some theorists; compromising when there is a moderate measurement along the two dimensions.

While these frameworks provided some assistance, we found Hammer’s (2005) framework for categorizing conflict styles across cultures to be more appropriate in categorizing the behaviors that we saw. Hammer’s (2005) framework comprises two dimensions, i.e. level of emotional expression and level of directness (see Figure 2). Hammer (2005, p. 680) distinguishes the direct/indirect dichotomy in terms of whether the sender or the receivers are responsible for clarifying misunderstanding, where the former relies on “precise, explicit

language” and the latter relies on “ambiguity in language, use of analogies and metaphors, hinting or saying one thing to mean another”. Emotionally expressive behavior “overtly and visibly demonstrate[s] feelings” while emotionally restrained behavior “contain[s], hide[s], mask[s] or otherwise minimize[s] more overt emotional expression”.

Figure 2: The Dichotomies of the Hammer Framework



2.5.2. Model for Understanding Group Dynamics

Classic works on groups often utilized the Input-Process-Outcome framework to understand groups (Steiner 1972, McGrath 1984, Hackman 1987). Input refers to individual member characteristics, team-level factors, organizational and contextual factors. These inputs are combined into various processes, which will result in certain outcomes, which are usually measured in terms of task, i.e. against the intended objective, and relational performance, i.e. members’ view of the group itself (Mathieu et al. 2008).

Research has, however, disagreed with the broad grouping of processes, arguing that there are in fact entirely different types of processes. Cohen, Bailey (1997) distinguished between internal processes and group psychosocial traits, such as shared mental models, norms, affect and cohesion. These traits are considered to be malleable over time and were thus referred to as emergent states by Marks, Mathieu & Zaccaro 2001. These emergent states can be considered both, as team inputs and as proximal outcomes (Marks, Mathieu & Zaccaro 2001) and can be categorized as being either cognitive or affective (Ilgen et al. 2005).

This distinction between processes and emergent states was later incorporated into the IMOI model (Ilgen et al. 2005), in which M stands for mediators, which comprise both processes and emergent states. Inputs are added back at the end and the dashes originally used in the I-P-O abbreviation are removed to illustrate the interconnected and iterative nature of the process.

2.6. Relevant Literature on Languages and Groups

To delineate the relevant literature for our thesis, we will explore the emergent states that have been linked with the management literature on languages. Much of the language literature has, however, not explicitly separated emergent states from processes; thus, we will explore the processes as part of the emergent states and give an overview of general group theory to provide the background for each of the relevant topics.

So far, there has been no attempt to create an exhaustive list of emergent states with only collective efficacy, potency, cohesion, situational awareness as well as trust, respect and cohesiveness being mentioned (Marks, Mathieu & Zaccaro 2001, Jehn et al. 2008). Mathieu et al.'s (2008) literature review refers to team confidence, empowerment, team climate, cohesion, trust, and collective cognition as the most studied emergent states, whereas Rico, de la Hera & Urbieto (2011) considered team potency, team efficacy, team climate, cohesion, trust and shared cognition as the most studied states.

Drawing clear lines between these overlapping constructs is outside the scope of this thesis; therefore, we will instead focus on the emergent states that have been identified in the management literature on language. Three emergent states were covered most often, i.e. group cohesion, group trust and shared cognition. For each of these emergent states we will also give a brief introduction to the topic from the group literature.

2.6.1. Group Cohesion

This is by far the most common area within research on language in terms of groups. The concept of group cohesion dates back to Festinger, Schachter & Back (1950, p. 164), who defined it as the “total field of forces causing members to remain in the group”. Group cohesion was later conceptualized in terms of an individual's attraction to the group (personal involvement) and the total members' attraction to the group (similarity and closeness among the members) with those dimensions having a task and social component (Carron, Widmeyer & Brawley 1985). Based on this, Carless, De Paola (2000) developed a measurement of cohesion in work teams, in which the individual attraction to the team was considered one dimension separate to task cohesion and group cohesion dimensions.

Another prominent way of thinking about cohesion is the four-stage model of group development, in which cohesion and norms are usually tied together. Hare (1976) referred to

integration as one of the four basic group needs, which are the results of norms that coordinate activities and cohesion keeping the group together. This was later mentioned as a key element in a four-stage model of group development (Tuckman 1965).

A third perspective on cohesion can be found in social identity theory and social categorization theory (Tajfel, Turner 1979, Turner et al. 1987, Hogg, Abrams 1988). It is based on the idea that people derive their identity from the group around them and have a desire to categorize themselves into certain groups. Based on this perspective, it is argued that norms provide group members with an idea about the prototypical group member (Hogg, Turner & Davidson 1990), which forms the basis for the strong in-group sentiments that people carry and for the behavior that people seek to assimilate towards (Hogg, Reid 2006).

A final related perspective is the faultlines literature initiated by Lau, Murnighan (1998), who expand on existing diversity literature by adding social categorization theory. They argue that faultlines are more likely when there is a clear divide within a group. For example the group will be more split if it only has people from two nationalities than if every member is from a different nationality. Researchers within this field have found that several faultlines interact with each other to become stronger the more there are (Thatcher, Jehn & Zanutto 2003), that faultlines differ depending on whether they derive from surface-level or deep-level diversity (Phillips, Loyd 2006) and that the salience of a diversity measure will depend on the context and the salience of the social categorization (Randel 2002, Garcia-Prieto, Bellard & Schneider 2003). Lau, Murnighan (2005) found that these faultlines affected perceptions of team learning, psychological safety, satisfaction and expected performance.

The topic of cohesion is central to the management literature on languages given the inherent link between language and social identity. Language is used to express social identity, acting as a tool for people to make positive or negative differentiations and to mark their identity (Giles 1977).

Three studies have built on the social identity perspective in order to understand the divisive effects of languages. A link between language shaping self-identity and the establishment of language-driven sub-groups in MNCs has been identified (Harzing, Feely 2008). The failure to communicate effectively promoted faulty attributions, conflict, and distortion in management teams that did not share the same mother tongue. Furthermore, in a study on Danish expats

in England, Luring (2008) found that English employees were sensitive about the acquisition and the intentions of the Danes. In this environment of competition for resources and recognition, language became a key issue as language differences were used to form social identities in sub-groups. It has also been shown that faultlines based on language, which can be a more salient and explosive factor than nationality, interact with other faultlines and can be activated by power contests within a team; yet, they often lay dormant before these contests (Hinds, Neeley & Cramton 2013).

Another strand of research linked language to cohesion through the effects of language on the socialization process. Lagerström, Andersson (2003) noted that languages pose a particular difficulty when it comes to socialization processes within MNCs and are less of an issue when it comes to technical conversations, which was also confirmed by Henderson (2005). Moreover, it was shown that making the effort to speak someone else's language, even if done relatively amateurishly and only to a limited extent, will improve the facilitation process (Goodall, Roberts 2003, Henderson, Louhiala-Salminen 2011). The concept of language was also tied to social capital with language having an impact on social capital and the networks people establish (Welch, Welch & Piekkari 2007). Conversely, Madureira (2004) found that social exclusion through language can affect the individual's sense of belongingness to the organization, i.e. corporate identity, and thereby hamper the effort to create corporate cohesion.

2.6.2. Trust

Trust has been defined as “the willingness of a party to be vulnerable” which is composed of three aspects that we look for in the other party; that their intentions are good, i.e. benevolence, that they are able to perform according to expectations, i.e. competence, and the consistency of their actions, i.e. integrity (Mayer, Davis & Schoorman 1995, p. 712). Additionally, it was proven empirically that trust could be separated into an affect-based and cognition-based component (McAllister 1995). These two trust components were also incorporated into a team model of trust, in which cognitive trust was related to team efficacy and affective trust to psychological safety (Schaubroeck, Lam & Peng 2011).

Language differences can also inhibit trust between employees and thereby add complexity to cross-lingual cooperation. Language related factors can both inhibit and foster trust

building; people, who gained awareness of language issues through multilingual settings did better, both in terms of being trusted and trusting others (Henderson, Louhiala-Salminen 2011). A more comprehensive analysis of how language differences affect trust showed that language impacts both affective and cognitive aspects of trust (Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing 2013). It showed that there are multiple ways in which language diversity affects trust resulting in language-based faultlines within MNCs, particularly when there are strong relative differences in language competencies. The conclusion was language is fundamentally different to other forms of diversity, first because it runs so deep in us, but also because language diversity only has negative effects according to their findings. Language proficiency has as such also been linked to levels of inter-unit trustworthiness within MNCs located in different countries (Barner-Rasmussen, Björkman 2007).

2.6.3. Shared Cognition

The concept of shared cognition dates back to the works of Cannon-Bowers, Salas & Converse (1993) and Klimoski, Mohammed (1994). Klimoski, Mohammed (1994, p. 426) provided an extensive conceptualization of team mental models, which is a term often used interchangeably with shared cognition. They defined team mental models as how “group members as a collective think or characterize a phenomenon” and they conceptualized it as a relatively diffuse, emergent concept that is shared among group members. However, many of the recent reviews of group literature refer to collective cognition or shared cognition (Mathieu et al. 2008, Rico, de la Hera, & Urbieto 2011) rather than team mental models as these are broader concepts. Cannon-Bowers, Salas (2001) described four types of shared cognition, i.e. knowledge relevant to a specific task, more general knowledge related to several tasks, knowledge about the other team member, and shared attitudes and beliefs. Cooke et al. (2004, p. 88) conceptualized shared cognition as being comprised of two intertwined aspects, i.e. “individual cognition of team members and team process behaviors.”

The literature on shared cognitions is closely linked to the literature on decision making processes as achieving shared cognition is often part of the same process. It hence ties in with what notions of decision making processes we have, for example, majority versus consensus, and our process for exchanging views. It was found that people are more likely to consider processes fair if they have been given the chance to voice their opinion; the so-called voice effect (Folger 1977). Stasser, Titus (1985) stated that groups are more inclined to discuss

information that is shared among group members. Similarly, it was found that people with central roles in terms of information would gain greater influence (Kameda, Ohtsubo & Takezawa 1997). Furthermore, the concept of cognitive consensus, i.e. merely arriving at the place of common understanding about key assumptions before making decisions, as an intermediary step in group decision making was introduced (Mohammed, Ringseis 2001).

Language plays a role in shared cognition by introducing potential interferences. Henderson (2005) found that people often operate under the illusion that their communication is in sync when they in fact mean different things. Most people are unaware of their conditioning, lack the sociolinguistic knowledge about different linguistic and communicative practices and therefore use meanings and frameworks based on their native language when communicating in a foreign language. Similarly, Henderson (2005) stated that people's communicative patterns often differ across languages, in line with different cultural traits, whereas Scollon, Scollon (1995) found that communicative issues arise because people use grammatical structures from their native language.

However, language can also have a more direct effect on achieving shared cognition with employees purposively excluding outsiders from work-related issues and decision-making (Lauring 2007, Wright, Kumagai & Boney 2001).

3. Methodology

In this section we will explain the scientific approach and explore our multi-step research design comprised of a pre-study, observations and experiments. After elaborating the sample selection, set-up, data collection and analysis, we will mention the different limitations due to the methodology employed in this thesis.

3.1. Scientific Approach

Given that the state of the current theory on code-switching in groups is so limited, we responded to the call of Piekkari, Welch (2006) and Sackmann, Phillips (2004) to employ an exploratory qualitative approach. The nascent state of research within this area makes rich and detailed data needed, which renders qualitative, open-ended data, which later need to be interpreted, most suitable. An inductive approach using grounded theory will be used to generate direction and eventually, suggest subsequent action in the research area (Edmondson, McManus 2007, Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2009).

We consider our study a first step into the exploration of the effects of code-switching on groups with tentative answers to novel questions with the ability to suggest connections between concepts (Edmondson, McManus 2007). Thus, we focused on a relatively homogenous sample of people in order to limit the influence of other variables, yet generate new insights for researchers and managers. Moreover, we see it as a great incentive for other researchers to further investigate the patterns identified through our thesis.

3.2. Overview of Research Design

In order to fully understand the effects of code-switching we employed a multi-step qualitative approach (Edmondson, McManus 2007). We did qualitative pre-studies, followed by observation of groups in a natural setting, before a final experiment that was coupled with in-depth interviews was conducted. These steps were seen as an iterative process, in which we learned and reflected on our findings to further improve our methodology.

We studied master students from only one university to limit the potential factors that would impact the study. Students from our university, Stockholm School of Economics (SSE), fit well in terms of being international and having experience of previous intercultural interaction, which would ensure that all participants have already been exposed to group work with CS.

Thus we were able to generate insights that not only reflected the specific group setting but also tapped into the accumulated experience of study participants.

3.3. Pre-Studies

This initial step was used in order to grasp the experiences of students with code-switching and identifying the right method to study this phenomenon. During this stage we collected data from our class mates about how they experienced code-switching during their studies and what effect it had on them and why they engaged in it.

3.4. Observations

The second step of our methodology was the observation of student groups in a micro-ethnographic study (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2009). Observation was chosen as a method given that all students in the pre-study mentioned that they were engaging in or exposed to CS during group work, but still had a hard time to remember specific incidents of code-switching as well as the feelings and reactions associated with it. Moreover, observations provided us with insights on not just what study subjects say, but also how they say it (Gorden 1987). We also believe that the study of actual group interaction is the most appropriate way to study group phenomenon, thereby following the call made by Wittenbaum, Moreland (2008) to focus group studies more on actual behavior instead of merely looking at ratings.

3.4.1. Sample Selection

A combination of different non-probability sampling methods was used in order to study our research question. We sought to minimize the number of variables influencing the effects of CS through homogenous sampling. We therefore chose to do purposive sampling of students from the two Specializations within SSE, in which the international students had similar nationalities and the students in general would be relatively unknown to the researchers (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2009). We invited any group containing a non-Swede to participate in the experiment and relied on self-selection sampling from those groups as we had no means to coerce attendance (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2009). As an incentive, we offered students a group discussion room, food and beverages in return for being allowed to observe group meetings. This approach enabled us to ethnographically observe the dynamics of three group meetings.

3.4.2. Set-Up

In order to become invisible (Berg 2001) and limit the observer effect (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2009), we positioned ourselves in the corners of the room and made sure to interrupt the group work as little as possible with our attendance. We immersed ourselves in the situation and employed the position of complete observers, in which we do not interact with the study subjects and merely observe (Waddington 2004).

3.4.3. Data Collection

In addition to noting down nationality, gender and participants' positioning at the table, we collected observational data through ethnographic accounts (Berg 2001, Ritchie, Lewis 2003) and audio recordings. We took field notes about who, when, how long code-switched on what content and even tried to identify assumptions about why it might have happened.

3.4.4. Data Analysis

Grounded theory was used in order to identify patterns in the data collected (Strauss, Corbin 1998). However, the limited data set, which contained about a dozen instances of relatively minor code-switching, made us stop after the open coding stage. The observations were rather taken as learnings about how code-switching occurs. We also came to realize that code-switching needs to be more intense or group dynamics more accentuated for code-switching to have an effect.

3.5. Experiment

As a third and final step, we created a complementary experiment and interview set-up in order to investigate our research question (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2009). We conducted ethnographic experiments, thereby entering an innovative area of research that unites the divisive lines between the social sciences and the humanities as well as between quantitative and qualitative approaches (Williams 2005, Sherman, Strang 2004a). We believe that scholars wrongfully focused on just one side and therefore, take advantage of the young field of CS and do not follow traditional paths, like Williams (2005) did. Thereby, we want to reduce the flaws of employing one method without the other.

When conducting experiments, social scientists are not concerned about being able to predict the behavior of certain individuals, instead they aim to identify the broader terms and identify

the existence of a certain phenomenon (Williams 2005). They believe that qualitative research is unreliable, biased, not rigorous, and of too small scale to be valuable (Wimmer, Dominick 1997) The humanist, on the other side, “is not trying to draw a broad conclusion about society, but simply identify the existence of a phenomenon, much like the pure experimentalists, if with less concern with control and external validity” (Williams 2005, p. 9). They criticize that the quantification of human experience is valueless as the experiential quality cannot be summarized by a number (Jensen 1991). Therefore, by keeping those parts separate generalizability as well as context cannot be achieved (Williams 2005).

In order to achieve exactly this and uncover the black box of the reasons behind the reactions to CS (Sherman, Strang 2004a) as well as be able isolate and analyze outstanding individuals rather than depicting an average reaction to CS (Sherman, Strang 2004b) we employ a combined methodology. We placed a greater focus on the qualitative parts as the aim of our study is to draw patterns on individual behavior rather than generalize findings for a big population. In line with Wimmer, Dominick (1997) and Fortner, Christians (1989) we employed a multi-theoretical approach to advance understanding and complement the weaknesses of either one approach by placing a greater focus on the quantification of variables as well as generating patterns in the analysis phase. Thus, we explored the individual effects of CS while creating a rigorous and systematic ethnographic study (Fortner, Christians 1989).

Due to the limited time frame we saw the ability to control for the extent of CS and thus, be sure about observing reactions to it, as outweighing factors to the unnatural, yet controlled set-up of an experiment. In line with Willer, Walker (2007, p.25), we were following the principle that ‘a good experiment will answer questions; a better one will generate new questions’.

3.5.1. Sample Selection

Again, we narrowed our study to master students at SSE for the same reasons as in the observations. This time, however, we opened invitations to other specializations as these had larger pools of international students given that we were no longer bound to study pre-existing groups. We were now freer to create the samples that would give us the group composition we wanted. Self-selection sampling remained valid for the same reasons, but in

this case we incentivized participants with 100 SEK compensation (cash or donation to charity), similarly to Kooij-de Bode, van Knippenberg & van Ginkel (2010) given that the experiments would be outside of the students' ordinary curriculum.

We generated a sample of ten groups comprising two participants each. The ten groups all differed in terms of gender, nationalities and specializations. Isolating one variable was not possible with this sample size and would have felt contrived given the exploratory nature of the study. While this sample size may have been on the small size (Sherman, Strang 2004a), this study was not set up to draw conclusions but rather draw tentative patterns about CS in group.

3.5.2. Set-Up

To assure the occurrence of code-switching (Willer, Walker 2007) we recruited Swedish SSE students as actors in the experiments. The actors were three class mates, who felt at ease with acting out the code-switching. Actors received a briefing with basic guidelines, as shown in Appendix 2, which placed the importance on letting the code-switching and overall group experience be as natural as possible, whilst seeking consistency throughout the different experiments. The guidelines also gave some examples of possible CS, which were used of to a large extent (Tenzer, Pudenko & Harzing 2013, Chan 2004, Du-Babcock, Du-Babcock 2001).

Each group comprised of four individuals, two actors and two participants. The actors pretended to be regular participants receiving the same treatment as the other participants. They were seated next to each other at a round table to enable code-switching easier. After greeting each other, we started with a quick introduction round in order for the participants to loosen up and get to know each other. Then the group received an instruction sheet for the survival scenario, as depicted in Appendix 2, they were asked to solve. The sheet was adapted to the Swedish environment by including items such as surströmming, Dagens Nyheter or KEX bars so that the actors could naturally switch to Swedish. Members were instructed to spend five minutes to decide their personal ranking of items necessary for survival followed by a 15 minute group discussion. A discussion was found suitable as coordinative task have the greatest language effects (Hambrick et al. 1998). Code-switching occurred in all phases, i.e. introduction, individual ranking and group discussion; however, the majority of it was done during the main task discussion. Similarly to the observations, we

positioned ourselves in the corners of the room, still with a good view on the participants, in order to avoid being noticed (Berg 2001).

Immediately after finishing the experiment, we conducted 15-minute content-mapping individual interviews, i.e. opening up the research field and identifying which issues are relevant for participants. These investigated the participants' feelings towards the group and code-switching (Ritchie, Lewis 2003). Each researcher was interviewing one subject at the same time with the Swedes being allowed to leave. Due to the limited time between the task and interview we ensured that participants were still aware of their feelings, but at the same time comfortable with the interviewer due to the familiarity generated through the experiment (Berg 2001).

To minimize interviewer as well as interviewee bias, researchers conducted the interviews with the participant they knew the least (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2009). Firstly, we opened up the field by asking ground mapping questions, followed by dimension mapping as well as perspective widening questions in order to fully grasp the effects of code-switching on the group (Ritchie, Lewis 2003). We made sure to ask the questions in a way that participants could easily understand (Wengraf 2001) and also posed those, which were related to CS, at the very end of the interview session in order to avoid any bias.

Upon completion of the interview participants were debriefed about the real research question being investigated. In line with Willer, Walker (2007), we dehoaxed students in a first step in order to not make them feel betrayed. This way we also ensured that the role deception of our actors and the possibly associated negative effects on the actors' image towards the participants were eliminated. Secondly, we answered the questions of participants regarding our study in the desensitization phase giving them the time they needed in order to prevent altered self-concepts.

3.5.3. Data Collection

A multifaceted approach was employed to generate in-depth data from different points of views. Firstly, we continued using adapted ethnographic accounts (Berg 2001, Ritchie, Lewis 2003), as shown in Appendix 2, and audio recordings in order to grasp both the verbal and non-verbal responses to CS from the researchers' point of view. Both researchers were present at all times in order to ensure the greatest degree of accuracy. During the semi-

structured interviews, as stated in Appendix 2, which focused on their perceptions of the group discussion as well as effects of code-switching, notes and audio recordings were taken. Moreover, additional data on the time spent in Sweden as well as language knowledge according to Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR) definitions were collected (Herzog 2003) (cf. Appendix 2).

What is more, actors were instructed to respond to a short questionnaire about the group work right after completing the experiment to get their insights about the group dynamics and to what extent they found the code-switching easy.

3.5.4. Data Analysis

As in the observations, grounded theory was used to analyze the data generated through the experiment, actor and participant questionnaires as well as interviews (Strauss, Corbin 1998) (cf. Appendix 1).

In a first step, we had to eliminate two groups from the analysis, as two participants realized the actual set-up of the experiment. Following this, we translated all data and put it in a similar layout while still mentioning the different sources of each note, accumulated it and generated a complete picture of the group work and individuals participating, as shown in Appendix 3 to 10). This step was done separately by each researcher in order to avoid one of the greatest threats to reliability, i.e. the researchers own interpretation, which might not be shared by others (Silverman 2013).

After individually painting out the full picture on each group, each researcher started open-coding the insights generated (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2009). Then, we again added the two coding and generated group categories through discussing our perceptions and interpretations of the data.

As a next step, axial coding was employed in order to identify the relationships and patterns found (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2009). Categories and sub-categories were developed and theory questioning, supporting or explaining our findings was gathered. Existing as well as new terms were used to structure the data obtained. Consecutively, we narrowed the mass of findings down to one core category through selective coding (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2009).

3.6. Limitations

Throughout the data generation process, we tried to minimize and offset the limitations of our study. Nevertheless, in line with Lacity, Janson (1994), we agree that objectivity cannot be achieved using this approach. Due to the set-up of it, mostly due to the fact that humans were studied by researchers in an experimental environment, various limitations can be identified.

3.6.1. Study Subject

The sample of eight groups (16 participants) negates any generalization to a larger population given the uniqueness of each individual. Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier, our chief aim with this study was rather to draw tentative patterns about code-switching in groups.

The study was most likely affected by the fact that we studied a rather homogenous sample of mostly European business students, who were incentivized and who were used to interacting across cultures due to their studies in Sweden. It is also worth bearing in mind that this student sample does not correctly represent the corporate demographics as it is generally younger and more international than the working population.

In general, all our participants were aware that they are part of a study, which in itself could have biased them (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2009, Willer, Walker 2007). Still, we believe that the engaging task as well as the researchers' low involvement in the discussion reduced these effects by blocking out the participants' awareness of the experimental set-up.

Furthermore, participants were at risk of evaluation apprehension thereby acting differently than they normally do, which could have in turn affected the validity of our study (Cook, Campbell & Day 1979). Even though we tried our best to assign the groups in a way that subjects do not know each other, it was impossible in one case due to the limited availability of participants. Additionally, half of the study subjects were acquainted with one of the researchers and four had previously met one of the actors before; this could have strengthened the evaluation apprehension and modified interview responses or behavior during the experiment.

The interviews were asked after the task discussion, which means that the aggregated feelings and thoughts communicated by the participants would only give an overall picture of their perception of the whole experience and could hence not be attributed to specific points

in the experiments. Being open and honest about their feelings in the interviews might also have been an issue for participants (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2009, Willer, Walker 2007). We sometimes got the feeling that participants downplayed their emotions when being asked about the effect CS had on them. The responses during the interviews might also have been influenced by the previous group interaction through the consistency principle, which is a strong force in directing human action (Cialdini and Trost, 1998). This could have played a role in our study as respondents may have felt compelled to stay true to their initial actions and thereby rationalize their behavior when describing their perception of code-switching.

Furthermore, similarly to Luring (2008) some of the interviews were conducted in the participants' mother tongue by native speakers in order to get a better insight and make them feel more comfortable whereas others were done in English. Thus, more in depth data might have been collected from the participants, who were interviewed in their mother tongue.

3.6.2. Researchers

As mentioned before, also the experimenters were at a risk of being biased and thereby could have adversely affected the reliability of data obtained (von Glinow, Shapiro & Brett 2004, Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2009, Willer, Walker 2007, Silverman 2013). Nevertheless, both researchers, engaged in critical self-reflection, called reflexivity, in order to reduce possible biases (Cassell, Symon 2004).

As mentioned earlier, due to the existing relationships with some study subjects, specifically one researcher was a risk for bias. Therefore, we decided that the other researcher as well as the insights of the actors had a stronger vote in case of conflicting opinions. Yet, in most cases the opinions of the researchers were very much aligned and together with the actors' data gave us a full and coherent picture of the groups and individuals studied.

Given that we are not professional researchers, there is no doubt that we have missed some data. Nevertheless, we used the initial group observations to improve our ability to notice and understand reactions and organized ourselves so that one researcher focused more on body language while the other focused more on what was being said. This way we were able to grasp more of what happened as a collective research effort.

3.6.3. Experiment Set-Up

As mentioned before, we tried to create a very natural setting and are well aware of the limitations of our experiment.

Nevertheless, the specific and controlled conditions in the experiment make it difficult to generalize any finding. All subjects were studied in an unnatural environment, with a short socialization phase in the beginning, very limited time and researches openly being present, which in turn possibly biased the results and decreases external validity (Silverman 2013). Several factors, such as the seating of the Swedes, which made it easier for the participants to perceive a separation between Swedes and non-Swedes, as well as the Swedish set-up of the task and overall experimental setting in Stockholm, which could have increased the power of the latter (Andersen, Rasmussen 2004) might have affected the results.

Furthermore, as mentioned earlier only one actor participated throughout the experiment with the other two doing just five set-ups each. Different personalities of the actors as well as the decrease in their motivation towards the end of the experiment could have affected the results in many different ways.

4. Findings

In this section we will state the overall patterns identified through the pre-studies, observations as well as experiments. We will do this on a very high level before analyzing the results more in depth in the following section.

4.1. Pre-Studies

The interviews in the pre-study phase confirmed that every single participant had been exposed or engaged in code-switching and had negative associations with being the code-switcher. This supported our notion that code-switching has effects on individuals and is not merely accepted by them. Furthermore, CS mostly occurred in social settings, but was also used specifically to exclude certain group members from a conversation during group work. We also realized how difficult it is for people to think of specific CS incidents in hindsight.

4.2. Observations

Despite the minimal data collected during this step, we identified two major learnings, which helped us improve our methodology for the experiment. First of all, it became apparent that code-switching occurred, but the observations in themselves would not show whether the code-switchers were affected or not. Thus, in order to generate a sufficient amount of data in the time available, we decided to control the occurrence of code-switching. Combining the insights from the pre-study that people cared about CS and the weak reactions we observed in the observation, led to the understanding that exploring the individual's feelings more thoroughly was necessary in order to understand the non-transmitted emotions. We therefore chose to use interviews as part of the study and to increase length and frequency of code-switching to observe reactions (Harzing, Köster & Magner 2011).

4.3. Experiment

All these findings were integrated into our main experiment, in which we collected data through observations, interviews and actors' notes, which in turn provided us with the following generic patterns identified when exposing groups to code-switching.

4.3.1. Observations

The behavioral reactions to code-switching varied from person to person; however, every single one of the 16 participants reacted to it in one way or another. In the majority of the

groups, one member took a stronger behavioral stand in voicing concerns. The tone of voice varied greatly from member to member: Some of them remained very positive and friendly laughing while they talked whereas others seemed to be more annoyed and angry. Still, the tolerance for code-switching was different across groups with some of them stopping it after just a couple of seconds and others waiting almost a minute to react to it.

At some point during the experiment every group member also displayed more subtle reactions to code-switching, such as asking for the time or starting to talk in English while the actors talked Swedish. Furthermore, there was a variety of non-verbal responses to code-switching, such as looking at the code-switchers, the other participant, or the researchers as well as looking down at the paper or phone, smiling, withdrawing from the discussion, or engaging a discussion with the other non-Swede.

4.3.2. Interviews

Similarly to the behaviors observed, we were able to describe a wide range of different feelings towards code-switching through the data collected during the participant interviews. On the one hand, some of the subjects were not really bothered by CS, but on the other hand, there were people, who deeply cared about it. Subjects often mentioned if they were used to code-switching happening as well as if they understood why it happened during the experiment. Different concerns, such as a reduction in efficiency, decision making during code-switching as well as feelings of exclusion, group splitting, annoyance or impoliteness were stated.

4.3.3. Actors Notes

Interestingly we saw that the actors were themselves affected by the dynamics of the groups across the eight set-ups. In some cases, they appeared to enjoy the act of CS, whereas in others they seemed uncomfortable to code-switch and stopped the attempts of the other actor by responding to it in English.

Actor 1 (A1) mentions in Swedish that A2 really want the surströmming in the ranking

A2 responds in English: "Yeah, I have a plan!"

A1 tells A2 in Swedish to start by putting down the lighter in the ranking

A2 [switching to English halfway through]: “Tänd... Eeehm... The lighter is number one.”

Through a questionnaire given to the actors after each experiment we also obtained information about how the actors thought the code-switching affected the group. Here responses varied greatly indicating no impact to the atmosphere deteriorating. The actors also gave us comments about how easy it was to switch to Swedish in the various groups, which also varied greatly between the groups.

5. Analysis

In this section we will provide a more thorough analysis of the findings and discuss these in light of the literature on code-switching, languages in business and group dynamics. We start by categorizing the groups based on reactions towards and perceptions of code-switching and establishing the links between reactions and perception. Having established four categories for the groups, we explore how those four differ in terms of potential antecedents to perceptions and effects of reactions. After mapping out the 'value-chain' in terms of code-switching in the group context, we then develop a framework about how code-switching affects group members, which we will further illustrate through a timeline analysis of the experiments for the respective groups.

5.1. Categorizing the Groups

5.1.1. Categorizing the Reactions towards Code-Switching

To make sense of the varying reactions towards code-switching we will employ Hammer's (2005) framework for categorizing conflict styles across cultures as we found the reactions to be akin to the dichotomies applied in that conflict style framework.

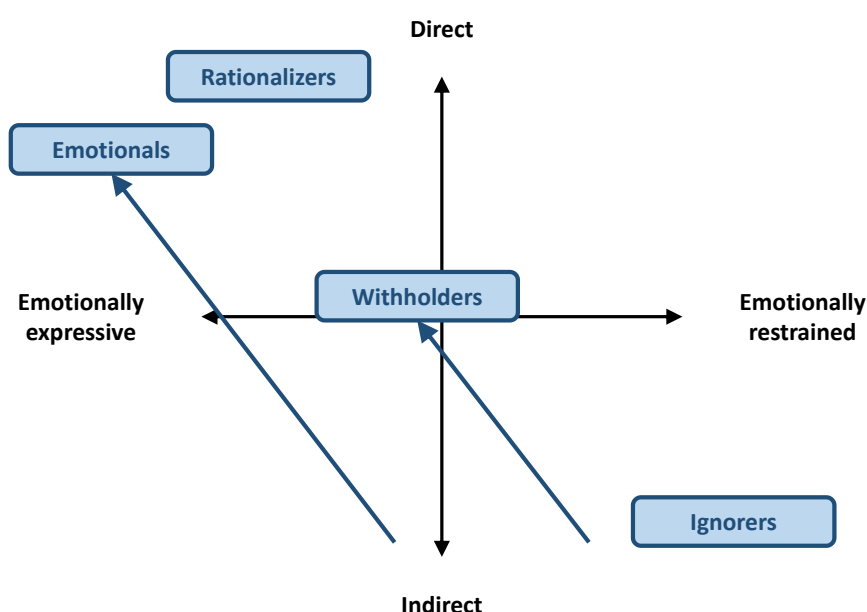
As mentioned earlier, a role patterns emerged where one person had much stronger and more consistent reactions towards code-switching throughout the discussion. This person effectively took responsibility for steering the group away from code-switching. Through the course of this paper, we label this person the Interferer while the other person is called the By-stander. While the Interferer reacted towards code-switching, the By-standers often behaved in the shadow of the Interferer, neither explicitly agreeing or disagreeing with the behavior of the Interferer, the By-standers implicitly let the Interferer act on behalf of the non-Swedes.

This dynamic makes sense when viewing code-switching as a norm deviation. Bettenhausen, Murnighan (1985) described how norm negotiation in groups is a process where the members, who explicitly displays a set of behavior sets the initial group norm. Group members that disagree with the norm then face the choice between overtly disagreeing with the norm, implicitly agreeing with it or changing their beliefs to agree with the norm. One perspective is hence that by acting in the shadow of the fellow non-Swedes, the By-standers

implicitly agreed with the norms set by Interferers. However, one could also assume that the By-stander does not identify with the Interferer and hence has no conscious association with the behavior exhibited by the Interferer.

We saw major differences in the groups depending on how the Interferers behaved, as that behavior set the tone for code-switching in the group. We therefore consider it appropriate to categorize the groups based on the Interferer's behavior (see Figure 3). The groups are categorized into the Hammer (2005) framework as follows.

Figure 3: Plotting the Interferers in the Hammer Framework



- **Ignorers:** Two Interferers effectively ignored code-switching; they merely switched the discussion back to English and progressed on the task. There was no emotion in their reaction and only one of them addressed code-switching directly, albeit in a relatively soft way. They stayed in the emotionally constrained / indirect corner throughout the discussion.
- **Withholders:** Two Interferers initially ignored CS, not even re-directing the discussion but letting it pass. However, in these groups code-switching at some point became so prevalent that the Interferers experienced what we label a forced reaction, i.e. code-switching that lasted unusually long and led to an eventual reaction. These situations prompted an emotional response through which code-switching was addressed directly. The prevalent emotion here was upset, but it was not fully expressed. These

groups travelled from the emotionally constrained / indirect corner to the emotionally expressive / direct corner.

- **Rationalizers:** Two Interferers reacted to the first code-switching with a direct response. Code switching was addressed head-on with an emotional tone of annoyance. They remained in the emotionally expressive / direct corner throughout the session.
- **Emotionals:** Two Interferers acted particularly emotionally towards code-switching. They started with indirect reactions, where you could infer some level of emotion. After a relatively short while these emotions escalated to be highly visible. Their initial responses were in the emotionally expressive / indirect corner but became direct and more emotionally expressive as time passed.

5.1.2. Categorizing the Perceptions of Code-Switching

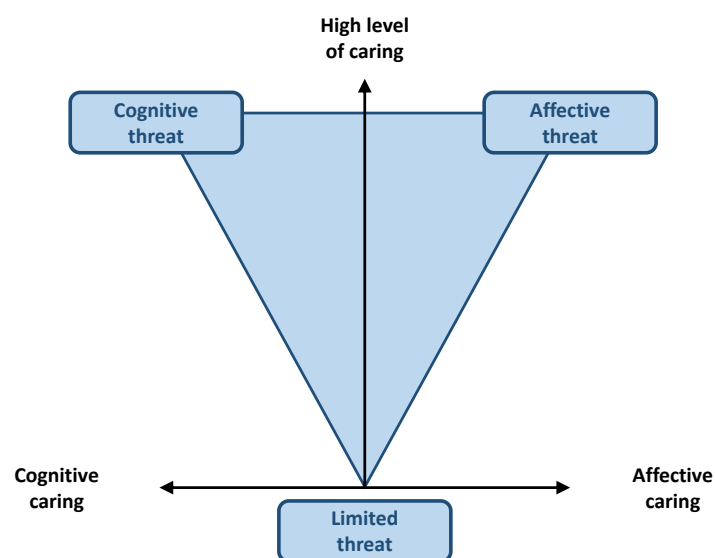
Based on the interviews we realized that people differed in two important respects; they had displayed levels and types of caring in response code-switching. Some did not care much, often citing previous exposure to code-switching or that the code-switching was relatively short. Among the people who did care, the type of caring went into two different directions: Some saw it primarily as an affective threat towards the group whilst others saw it primarily as a cognitive threat towards the task itself.

We noticed a pattern where these threats were linked to two different emergent states. The affective threat was towards group cohesion, where we follow Festinger, Schachter & Back's (1950, p. 164) broad definition as the "total field of forces causing members to remain in the group". In our view this "field of force" is broad enough to incorporate the various aspects of cohesion outlined in the literature review; the members' personal involvement and collective closeness per (Carron, Widmeyer & Brawley 1985) and social identity driven conception of in- and out-groups (Tajfel, Turner 1979, Turner et al. 1987, Hogg, Abrams 1988). Important to our consideration of group cohesion is that it is primarily an affective state. This is in line with the inherent affectivity within the social identity approach towards cohesion (Hogg, Turner 1985), but also ties in with how Carron, Widmeyer & Brawley (1985) conceptualized cohesion. They measured cohesion based on affective and behavioral manifestations of cohesion, both of which could transpire into the task and social dimension of cohesion.

The cognitive threat, on the other hand, was towards shared cognition. Given the vast confusion within the literature about the terminology with regards to shared cognition and team mental models (Klimoski, Mohammed 1994, Mohammed, Klimoski & Rentsch 2000), it is not straight-forward to delineate the terminology. We use the term shared cognition because it is a broader conceptualization (Mohammed, Ferzandi & Hamilton 2010) and because the concept, as defined by Cooke et al. (2004, p. 88), also incorporates the process by which cognition is shared among the team. They describe this process as follows: “team members interact through communication, coordination, and other process behaviors and in doing so transform a collection of individuals’ knowledge to team knowledge that ultimately guides action.” This perspective hence intrinsically links shared cognition with the process of sharing, which helps explain why a process interruption can be such a clear threat to shared cognition. This is in line in with our observations of code-switching threatening shared cognition, where the process of sharing cognition was under threat.

Figure 4 below depicts a diagram to analyze how people perceived code-switching, plotting level of caring against type of caring. In general people would fall in between the three points outlined by the inverted pyramid. The point titled limited threat is where people did not care too much about code-switching and hence neither saw it as a cognitive nor an affective threat. At the other two points, the caring was higher, but the two points differ in terms of direction of caring. One is a cognitive threat and the other is an affective threat.

Figure 4: A Framework for Analyzing the Perceptions of Code-Switching



This depiction of code-switching as a cognitive threat, an affective threat, or a limited threat ties in with the view that emergent states can be either cognitive or affective (Ilgen et al. 2005). This is because the limited threat is not really a third direction of the dimension, but rather a representation that people simply did not care as much about the code-switching.

The responses within the affective threat category had the common denominator that they considered group cohesion an objective in itself. There was a greater level of emotion in their interview responses as some sort of core value or principle seemed to have been violated. People referred to CS as splitting the group or excluding certain individuals. Responses within the cognitive threat did not talk about cohesion as a goal, but rather as a means to solving the task. They saw code-switching as an interference with the practical challenge of achieving agreement around a decision. Here responses mentioned both how the decision-making process would become less efficient due to CS or how CS could even lead to distortions in getting to a common decision.

We will explore these differing perceptions from two different angles about how people may perceive code-switching that were outlined in the literature review. People may see it as a mechanism to exclude particular individuals, either from feeling part of the group or from the decision making process. Or people may see it as a norm deviation that threatens the unspoken norms that are taking shape in group, either to create a group feeling or to create a smooth decision making process.

5.1.3. Code-Switching as a Mechanism for Exclusion

Affective Threat: Excluded from the Group

The social ostracism literature has shown that people have strong feelings and reactions towards exclusion, even when the exclusion is not related to the task (Williams 1997) or done by a group you do not like (Gonsalkorale, Williams 2007). Humans tend to seek acceptance from groups as they meet fundamental psychological needs, which has led to the need-threat model that links to ostracism to a psychological, affective (Williams 2007).

This depiction of ostracism as an affective threat is in line with our conceptualization of code-switching as a threat to affective emergent states in groups. Speaking a language that others do not understand is a fairly direct way of excluding someone, as previously raised by Tenzer,

Pudelko & Harzing (2013). It also ties in with the notion that not speaking a language makes people feel like outsiders (Takeuchi, Wang, Marinova, 2005).

Many interviewees therefore mentioned Swedish knowledge as an important factor in this regard as it would make the exclusion more salient. People also referred to whether the Swedes knew that the non-Swedes did not speak their language, which was considered even more of an exclusion.

Ignorers/By-stander: "My Swedish is just good enough to understand so I'm not too annoyed about it. But I think it's impolite to speak Swedish in front of people who don't speak the language."

Ignorers/By-stander: "I think it's rude to speak Swedish, especially if they don't know how much Swedish the others speak. I mean, I mostly understood what they said, but they didn't know that."

Cognitive Threat: Excluded from Decision Making

The voice effect is an important principle in the decision-making literature (Folger 1977). It stipulates that people consider a process fairer if they have been able to voice their opinion. It helps explain why so many of the participants consider it much worse if the content of the code-switching is part of the decision-making process. Most of the respondents here sought to identify the meaning of the code-switching to understand the underlying content and used this as a way to assess whether code-switching was acceptable.

Withholders/By-stander: "It was obvious that it was not about making a decision, but rather about explaining things."

Rationalizers/By-stander: "It was nothing important that was decided. I knew that it was small talk in Swedish."

Rationalizers/By-stander: "I think it becomes a real problem when what they're talking Swedish about is part of a sidebar discussion. Then it matters because the discussion can go in a different direction."

Rationalizers/By-stander: "If it would have been about making decisions, it would have definitely been important, but as I figured that they were just talking between the two, I didn't really care."

Withholders/By-stander: "What [the Swedes] said in the end made sense, it would have been different if they went into a completely different direction."

5.1.4. Code-Switching as a Norm Deviation

Affective Threat: Group Is Being Split

Norms are an important component of creating group cohesion. Norms and cohesion are linked in the third stage, which is even referred to as the Norming stage, of the four-stage group cycle developed by Tuckman (1965). Norms and cohesion are also linked in the social identity and self-categorization literature where prototypical norms form the basis for defining a group (Hogg, Reid 2006). Viewing code-switching in this light means that code-switching is a threat towards the broader formation of a group. For example, if speaking Swedish becomes an acceptable norm in the group, then two of the members are effectively cast as out-group members per self-categorization theory (Tajfel, Turner 1979, Turner et al. 1987, Hogg, Abrams 1988). Respondents here often spoke as if code-switching violated a general principle, referring to code-switching as rude, impolite, or disrespectful.

Emotionals/Interferer: "If other people are there, I really dislike [code-switching. [...] That really, really bothers me [...] It's a principle, because even if it is a useless discussion, it [is] just people feeling, you know, excluded and that is not the purpose of being a group."

Emotionals/Interferer: "It is a bit impolite; especially after we let [the Swedes] know they should have taken the discussion in English."

Moreover, the language norm becomes even more important when seen in light of the faultlines literature, which has found that faultlines interact with each other (Thatcher, Jehn & Zanutto 2003) and that a faultline can become more salient in certain settings (Randel 2002, Garcia-Prieto, Bellard & Schneider 2003). Group norms about language-use can in this case introduce another faultline that then interacts with other existing faultlines to create a more divisive group. For example, group members might already have felt that the faultlines existed between the Swedes and non-Swedes in terms of cultural affinity, understanding for the task, or existing relationships. Accepting deviating language norms would introduce language as a highly potent additional faultline to the group that would help split the group. This perspective helps explain some of the comments about the group being split in two. Some of these comments considered the faultlines in terms of cultural differences, but many of the respondents referred to how code-switching would split the group at certain points. This would tie in with (37 Hinds, P. J. 2013) assessment that languages can lie as dormant faultline that is triggered by other types of conflict.

Withholders/Interferer: "I was feeling at that particular moment [when they talked Swedish] that the discussion was on the other side of the table and we were the ones not understanding and not being part of the discussion, you know. [...] Thus, I sort of felt that it is us versus them. [...] If you are working as a team and you know [that] the others can speak English very well, so there is no barrier in language or whatsoever, then it feels weird because they know you cannot understand, but they still do it. [...] I knew what the task was and I wanted to just do it as a team and not me and the [other participant against] the two Swedes."

Emotionals/Interferer: "[Them talking Swedish made] you in a way [...] feel that you are not part of the group anymore."

Ignorers/Interferer: "Well, I would say that the two people from Sweden were more closely working together and we were more on our own."

Rationalizers/Interferer: "Constellation wise, I think the Swedes had a better agreement, because they had some passages, where they only talked Swedish. [...] There was like a coalition, I would say."

Ignorers/Interferer: "It was a bit divided because they spoke Swedish to each other, I thought, a little bit."

Ignorers/By-stander: "The Swedes were a sub-group when they spoke Swedish."

Cognitive Threat: Decision Making Becomes Less Efficient

Nevertheless, CS can also be a threat to the norms governing appropriate discussion. People have pre-conceived notions about what constitutes appropriate behavior in a decision making processes, particularly in terms of decision making rules and participation (Postmes, Spears & Cihangir 2001, Green, Taber 1980). These general perceptions of the group discussion were echoed in many of the responses by our interviewees, characterizing the dynamics as good because they felt that members listened to each other, were able to participate in the discussion and that the group reached a decision together. Some of the respondents, however, expressed more specific norms in terms of the decision making itself. Respondents mentioned how code-switching took time away from the task, how people lost focus due to code-switching, and how unnecessary it was.

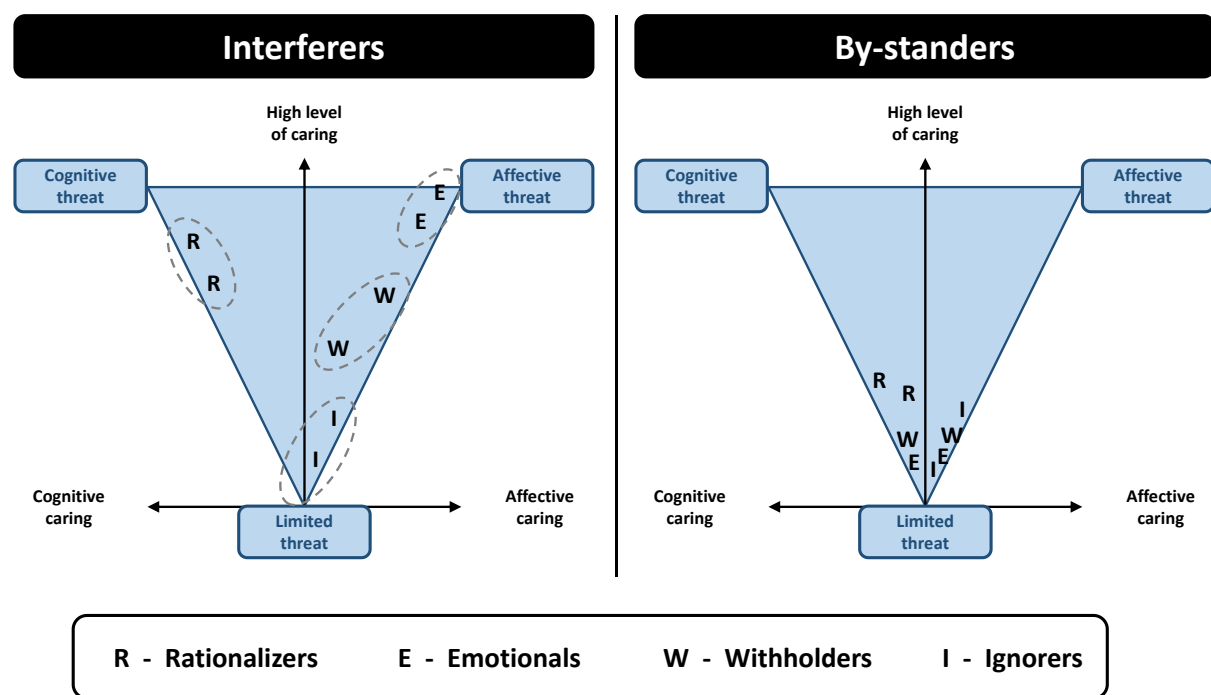
Emotionals/Interferer: "When they talk Swedish, you start thinking of something else because you can't participate in the discussion."

Rationalizers/By-stander: "[Code-switching] was [...] a bit annoying, because you were not sure how you were doing time wise."

5.1.5. The Link between Perceptions and Reactions

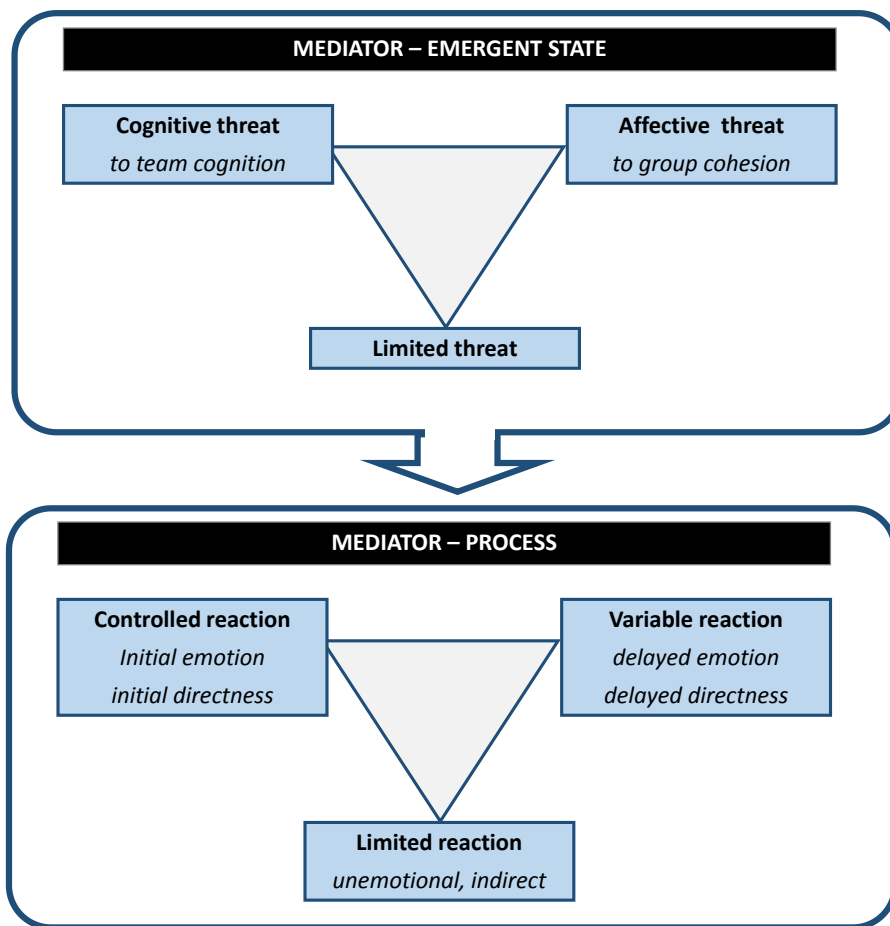
Plotting the individuals in terms of perception of code-switching, we see a clear relation with the reactions towards code-switching outlined previously (see Figure 5). Firstly, we identified that the By-standers generally cared less about code-switching than the Interferers. Among the Interferers, we see that two largely saw it as a limited threat (the Ignorers category), two saw it as a cognitive threat (the Rationalizers category) and that the last four saw it was an affective threat (the Emotionals and Withholders categories). The six Interferers that did not belong to the Ignorers category cared the most about code-switching out of all the participants.

Figure 5: Plotting Participants Based on Their Perception of Code-Switching



This link between reactions and perceptions when it comes to code-switching enables us to detect some patterns (see Figure 6). Limited threats were associated with unemotional and indirect reactions (a limited reaction). Only greater level of caring would be associated with more direct and emotional reactions, but here we saw differences between cognitive and affective threats. For Interferers perceiving a cognitive threat the reactions would be direct and emotional early on (controlled reaction), whilst Interferers perceiving an affective threat would only exhibit direct and emotional reactions after a delayed period (variable reaction). These relationships are depicted in the diagram below.

Figure 6: Linking Perceived Threats to Reactions



This analysis of threats and perceptions is interesting in light of previous research characterizing code-switching as a potential conflict moment (Scotton, Ury 1977). Our assumption is that code-switching is first perceived as a threat to the group that then results in a conflict-like behavior to address the code-switching. It ties in with the exclusion perspective of code-switching, in which much of the social ostracism literature has analyzed reactions towards exclusion in terms of flight, fight, tend-and-befriend or freeze (Williams 2007). It also ties in with the norm deviation perspective, where Wilson, O’Gorman (2003) analyzed the behaviors towards norm breaking in terms of various conflict behaviors; withdrawal, violent confrontation and non-violent confrontation. You could even draw the analogy of code-switching as a conflict moment one step further by invoking the four-stage model of groups (Tuckman 1965), where the conflict-ridden Storming stage precedes the cohesion-forming Norming stage. It follows from that perspective that conflict about code-switching helps reinforce norms about code-switching.

5.1.6. Antecedents to the Perceptions of Code-Switching

We saw some tentative patterns within the categories in terms of the input variables and the code-switching. Even though these relationships will not be generalizable due to the small sample size, we nevertheless feel that they are worth pointing out.

Traditional Diversity – Language Skills

Language skills were often listed in interviews as being a factor driving how code-switching was perceived. Participants made comments about their language level affecting their perception of the code-switching.

Ignorers/Interferer: “And because I do understand I’d say 85% of what [the Swedes] are saying - that makes it a bit easier. So I don’t feel like I’m completely excluded.”

Withholders/Interferer: “At first I thought they were basically trying to confirm a word in English, but then, because I’m taking this Swedish class, so I could catch a few words, so I knew that they were talking about the canvas and that it would protect you from the wind.”

Language skills became particularly interesting in the one group where neither of the non-Swedes had any Swedish knowledge. This group probably had the most emotional reaction where the Interferer made a joke that played on the fact that neither of the participants spoke Swedish (cf. Appendix 1). This can be linked to the social ostracism literature (Williams, 2007) and that code-switching would have been clear exclusion in this group. Moreover, this situation evokes parallels to Hinds, Neeley & Cramton’s (2013) study of language-based faultlines, where language diversity acted as a dormant faultline that could be triggered by conflict situations. Moreover, it could confirm Tenzer, Pudenko & Harzing’s (2013) view that language diversity is a particularly complex form of diversity because it runs so deep.

These views of language skills as a central determinant of how code-switching affected the group dynamics can also be linked to the pattern that in almost all cases, the Interferer had better Swedish language skills than the By-stander. The Interferer may as such have felt an obligation to protect the By-stander from exclusion. In some cases though, the Interferer may have simply acted as a language node (Feely, Harzing 2003, Andersen, Rasmussen 2004), bringing the group to a common position by converting the code-switching to English.

Traditional Diversity – Personality

Personality presumably played a large role in terms of affecting the perceptions of and reactions towards code-switching. The link between personality and conflict style is well-established in the literature (Antonioni, 1998 and Moberg, 1998) and would presumably have played a large role in terms of how people reacted to code-switching.

Personality has also been linked to how people generally behave in groups (Mann, 1959) and, more specifically, it has been shown that more vocal members in groups tend to take leadership roles (Mullen et al., 1989). We observed a pattern where the Interferer was the most active participant out of the two non-Swedes in almost all the experiments. This could be explained through the norm perspective of code-switching, where social identity theory ties the prototypical group member with leadership positions (Hogg, Reid 2006). This link could suggest that the group leader is the natural norm enforcer and that the Interferers had put themselves in leadership positions through vocal participation.

Traditional Diversity – Other Factors

The other traditional diversity measures seemed to have less of an impact and were also never raised directly in the interviews. However, we note two patterns with regards to gender and cultural background that may have played a role. Members in the Rationalizers groups were male and from Germanic cultures, i.e. Austrian, Dutch or German (cf. Appendix 1).

Moreover, three of the four women participating in the study were part of the Ignorers groups where reactions were the weakest (cf. Appendix 1). Wilson, O’Gorman (2003) showed that in response to violation of social norms, men had more confrontational reactions towards the norm-breaking event.

Code-Switching Norms

Another potential factor that may have affected perceptions of and reactions towards code-switching are pre-existing social norms among individuals. Bettenhausen, Murnighan (1985) shows how pre-existing scripts are a key part to the negotiation process when group norms are established. These pre-existing scripts are to a large extent defined by social norms, which are distinct from group norms (Postmes, Spears & Cihangir 2001). A particularly interesting sub-set of those social norms will be code-switching norms, which govern the extent to which

it is acceptable to code-switch in social settings. Wei, Milroy (1995) showed how strong these norms can be in governing whether code-switching is acceptable or not.

This corresponds with our interview data, where interviewees mentioned their previous exposure to code-switching and their understanding for code-switching in general as qualifiers for some of their statements. However, we saw no clear patterns between these statements and how participants perceived or reacted to CS.

Withholders/By-stander: "I can completely understand that they could operationalize their thoughts before turning to English. [...] I guess in a way, if I could speak [my mother tongue] to somebody I probably would try to, especially, if they were struggling with English, for example, just to try to explain to get them on the same page."

Withholders/Interferer: "I thought it was very impolite even though you can understand why they do it. I mean the natural feeling to talk Swedish is too strong."

Rationalizers/By-stander: "I try to avoid talking German if there are two Swedes around, but I can understand that it happens, which might have to do [with the fact] that I have many Swedes around on a daily basis."

Emotionals/By-stander: "I am used to it here at the school in group discussions with people talking Swedish from time to time. So I think it is a bit of a 'being used to it' thing."

Emotionals/By-stander: "I have been living and working in many countries, where I did not speak the language so I already got used to [code-switching]. [...] But no bad feelings, just like that, I think it is really part of socialization, that's all. So it is reasonable."

Group Objectives

One potential mediator on the experiment could have been the objectives that the participants had with the experiment. Hackman (1987) outlined the two types of objectives group members can have; social or task. One could plausibly posit that people with social objectives see a greater affective threat and people with task objectives see a cognitive threat. We see some indications that the Rationalizers cared particularly about the task, but the same was also true for some of the Ignorers.

Extent of Process Interruption

The total time spent talking Swedish and the frequency of CS varied among groups as the primary objective of the actors was to remain natural. In general the groups with worse perceptions of and stronger reactions towards code-switching experienced a higher level of code-switching. This ties in with findings by (Harzing, Köster & Magner 2011, Tenzer, Pudenko & Harzing 2013) that people are more negative towards code-switching, the longer it lasts. This effect was particularly evident among the Withholders groups, that each experienced a particularly long code-switching that resulted in a negative emotional reaction.

Ignorers/Bystander: "It was as a bit annoying that they spoke Swedish. If it would have been more I would have said something."

5.1.7. Consequences of the Reactions towards Code-Switching

Effects on Group Cohesion

We saw that in some of the groups there were signs of the group splitting up.

A1 about Rationalizers: "Highly efficient, practical focus" and A2: "German, highly efficient"

A1 about Rationalizers: "Super German structure. Highly focused on goals and efficiency."

A2 about Rationalizers: "German"

It is interesting to note that in one of these groups, the discussion even split off, with the two non-Swedes concluding the assignment alone. While this split may not have been solely due to the code-switching, we note that the direct reactions towards the code-switching may have been part of what made these groups seem so 'German', 'practical' or 'efficient'.

Another effect on group cohesion was deterioration in overall atmosphere. Here the actors actually only referred to the groups that had predominantly indirect behavior towards the code-switching, where the undeterred code-switching was considered to build up tension in the group. As observers we would also agree that the undeterred code-switching was a source of tension in most groups as most participants considered it some sort of threat to the group.

A1 about Ignorers: "The atmosphere was a bit annoyed and frustrated"

A2 about Withholders: "It created a somewhat annoyed atmosphere at some times"

A3 about Ignorers: "It create a more hostile / competitive atmosphere instead of a team."

A2 about Withholders: "Negatively. They didn't tell us, but the atmosphere worsened."

In some cases code-switching affected the norms underlying code-switching. This type of norm formation could be seen as a positive step towards group cohesion per the four-stage group dynamics models ((Hare 1976, Tuckman 1965)) and the social identity perspective of groups ((Hogg, Reid 2006)) In some of the groups the reactions towards code-switching did result in group norms emerging that made it more difficult for the actors to code-switch. However, we did not see any direct positive effects of the code-switching.

A2 about Rationalizers: "Harder because they really told us."

A2 about Withholders: "They reacted in such a polite way that it was hard to continue."

A2 about Ignorers: "By understanding and answering in English [the Interferer] made a clear example that was hard to deviate from."

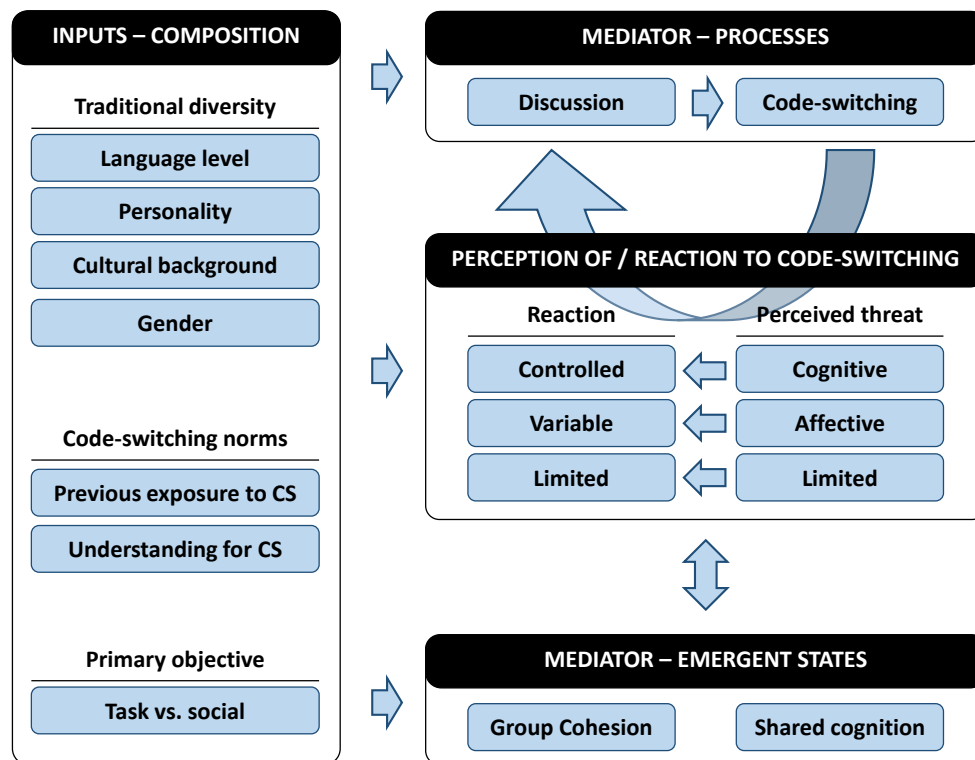
Effect on Shared Cognition

We did not observe any actual effects on the shared cognition, which makes sense given that the code-switching did not involve decision making, the actors did not take the decision making itself too serious and, most importantly perhaps, because the Interferers usually put a stop to code-switching relatively quickly.

5.2. Synthesizing a Framework for Code-Switching in Groups

The analysis above can be inserted into the IMOI model (Ilgen et al. 2005) for a better understanding of the interrelationship between components (see Figure 7 below). The inputs, processes and emergent states interact to create a certain group dynamic, before code-switching is introduced into the process. This resulted in a perceived threat towards emergent states that was either cognitive, affective or limited. This perceived threat could have an associated reaction that in-turn affect the process via the reaction towards code-switching. That reaction and perceived threat could in some cases also translate into an actual impact on the emergent states.

Figure 7: A model of for Code-Switching in Groups

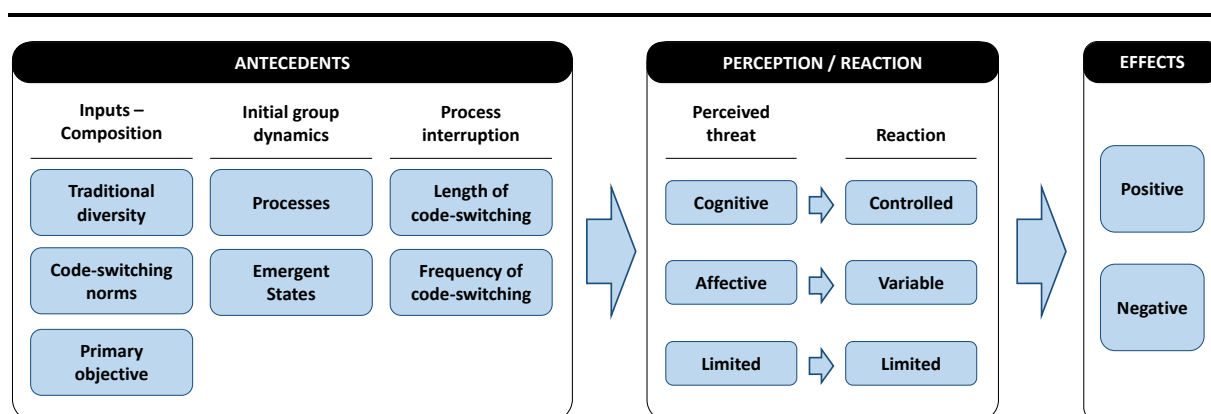


This depiction of code-switching as interacting with inputs, processes and emergent states in a myriad of ways shows the highly interactive nature of these components in a group. Depicting code-switching in this way supports a central aspect of the IMOI model that distinguishes it from the I-P-O framework, the idea that emergent states can act as both an input on the process and an outcome of the process (Marks, Mathieu & Zaccaro 2001).

5.3. Illustration of IMOI Model through Group Development

In this part we will describe the development of the groups in order to illustrate how the IMOI model for code-switching would pan out in reality. Central to this section is to illustrate the iterative nature of the IMOI model (Ilagan et al. 2005) and to show the relationship between antecedents, the perception of code-switching, the reaction towards code-switching and the effects (as per Figure 8 below). We will do this by plotting the behavioral reactions across timelines of the experiments and tying these in with relevant interview quotes and observations. That way we will give an overview of how the groups developed over time according to the IMOI model for code-switching.

Figure 8: A Timeline Model for Code-Switching in Groups



5.3.1. Ignorer Groups

Two groups can be described as hardly being concerned with the code-switching, even though members still reacted to it. The extent of their responses as well as the mere occurrence of reactions to CS were, however, very weak and rare.

As can be seen in Figure 9, in one case the subgroup even split up with the actors talking Swedish for an extended period of time. Still, the participants simply reacted to this by asking the Swedes about their opinion on the task.

A1 and A2 code-switch for 35 seconds

By-stander to Interferer while actors talk Swedish: “Can you do that? Can you light 50% liquor?”

Interferer: “Yes, I think vodka is also quite good.”

By-stander to actors: “Guys, does anyone of you know? Can you light alcohol with 50%?”

A2: “Yeah, I think it’s highly flammable actually.”

The low display of behavior is further supported by the expression of their limited concern with code-switching during the interviews, which they explained by the CS not being sufficiently long as well as them trying to learn Swedish by listening.

Interferer: “Well, I just, you know, waited for a second in a sense that, how long it was going to last. If that would be too long, I would have definitely asked them to switch back, but since I am also a little bit learning Swedish as I am already here staying for, for half a year. I just tried to understand what they say. [...] I am just, you know, taking it as an occasion trying to understand and as soon as it gets too

long then I interrupt and you know, ask to switch back because, you know, we're actually working here and I don't understand, right."

Ignorers/Interferer: "Well, [them talking Swedish] doesn't really bother me [...] It happens quite a lot. Sometimes there's a group and there is Swedes and they kind of start switching to Swedish at some point [...] so I'm just trying to bring it back to English."

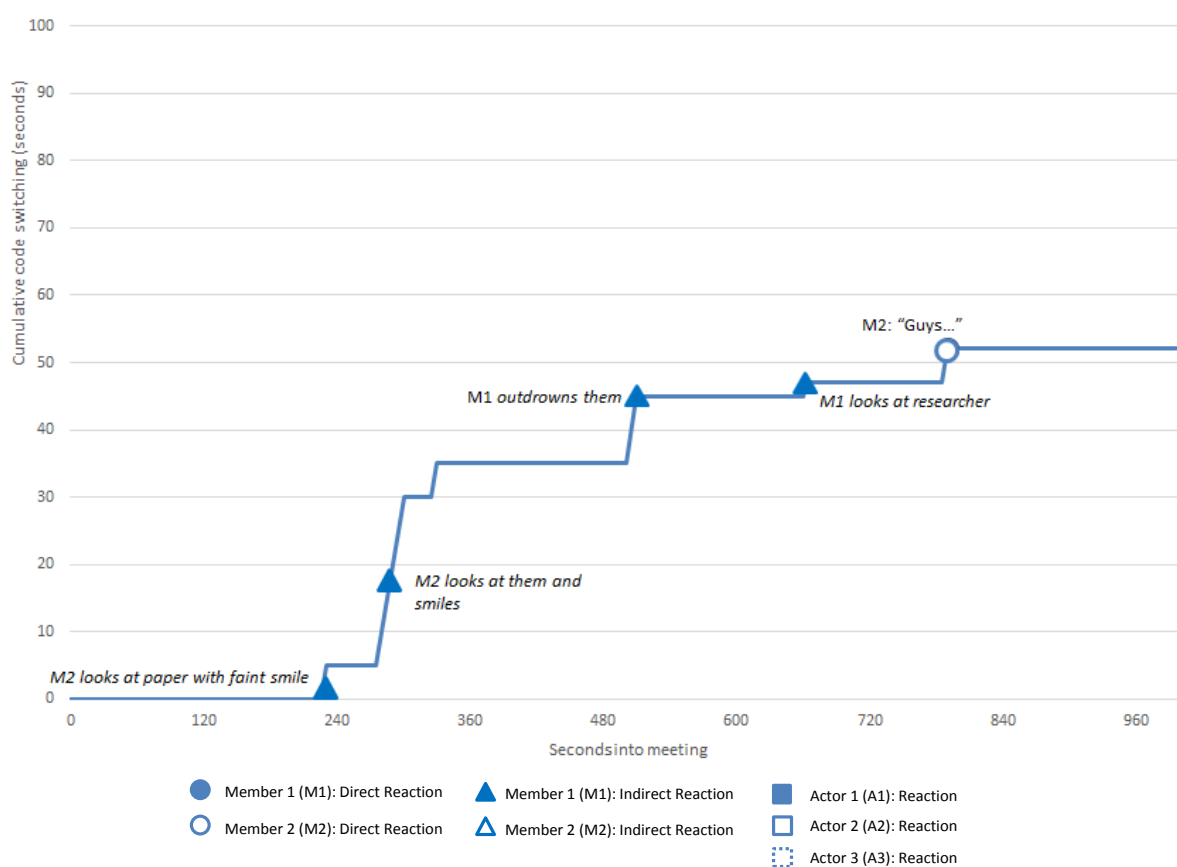
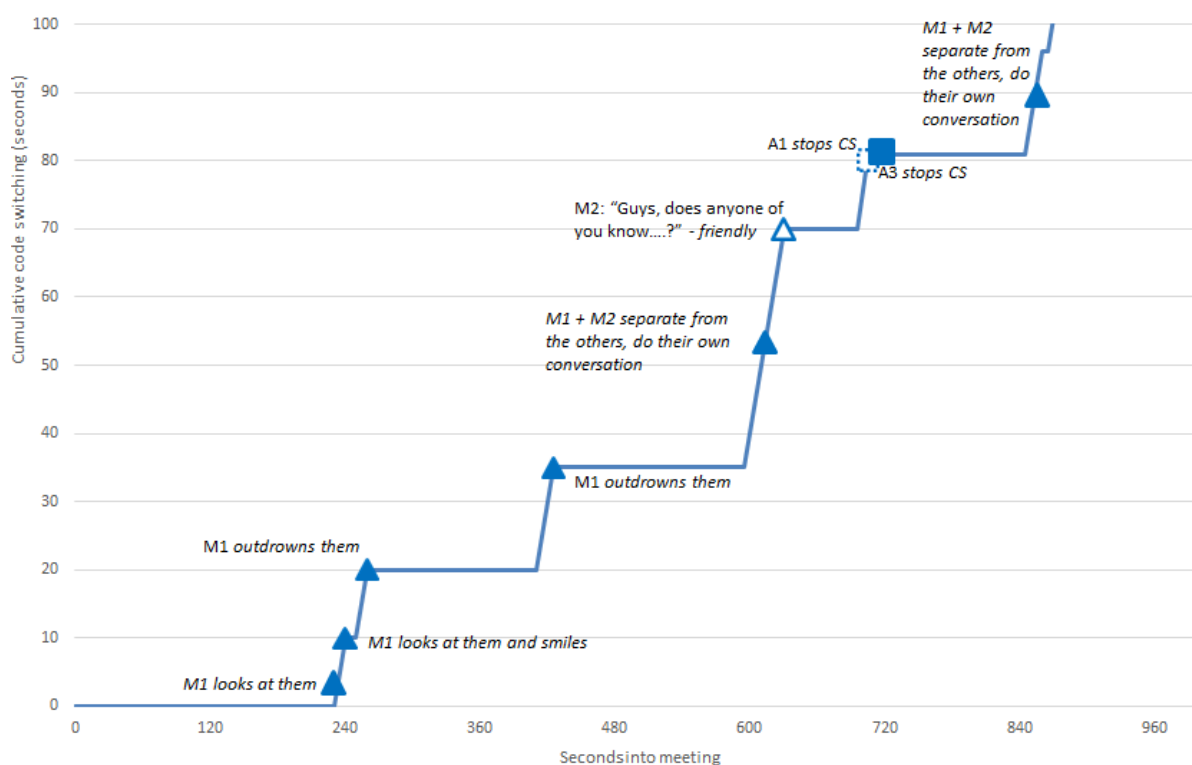
As depicted, participants' first reaction to code-switching was to just look at the actors which later developed to them simply outdrowning the actors, i.e. talking more loudly or responding to the actors in English. Even though the actors stopped talking Swedish immediately after these indirect reactions, they still continued to switch language afterwards. Thus, at some point the study subjects reacted more directly, yet softly by simply saying "Guys" in a tone implying that all members knew that speaking Swedish was undesirable.

In one of the groups, the actors seemed to experience difficulties in CS with both of them stopping the attempts of the other. Even though the actors did not appear to feel confident switching language, the participants still felt that there was a group division, i.e. Swedes versus non-Swedes. Yet, the overall atmosphere remained positive, with subjects being happy with the team work, even though the CS bothered them to some extent.

Interviewer: "How would you describe the group work in general?"

By-stander: "Good, I was very content, [but] I didn't really find it empathic of him to talk Swedish. I would have liked to improve that. I didn't find it so bad, but I didn't understand anything. It would have been more efficient to talk English - then we would have understood what it was all about. [...] But I thought that they probably had their reasons for talking Swedish, maybe they didn't know the word in English, but [overall] I was content with the group work."

Figure 9: Timeline of Reactions in Ignorer Groups



- Member 1 (M1): Direct Reaction
- ▲ Member 1 (M1): Indirect Reaction
- Actor 1 (A1): Reaction
- Member 2 (M2): Direct Reaction
- △ Member 2 (M2): Indirect Reaction
- Actor 2 (A2): Reaction
- Actor 3 (A3): Reaction

5.3.2. Withholder Groups

These groups had mild feelings towards the code-switching. As stated in Figure 10, responses to CS started out indirect with members looking at the actors or outdrowning them. However, when the actors continued with CS, the most extensive code-switching was eventually followed by a direct interference of the dominant member, who seemed to be annoyed or stressed when responding to it.

A code-switch for 41 seconds

Interferer to A: "Can we say it in English. We don't understand."

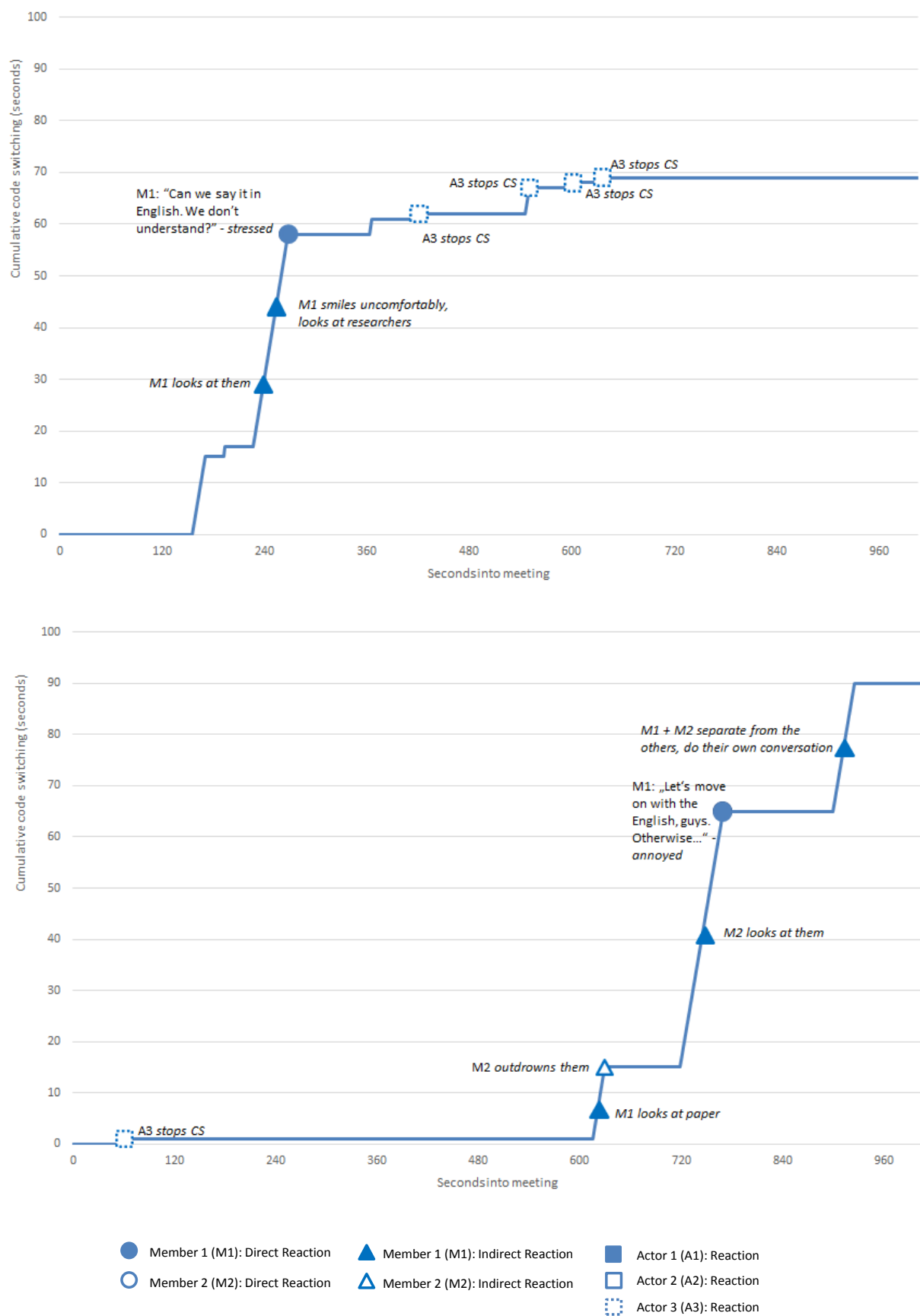
A code-switch for 50 seconds

Interferer to A: "Let's move on with the English, guys, 'caus otherwise we're not gonna really end up with any conclusion, if you just speak Swedish."

In both set-ups the actors experienced difficulties to switch and even actively stopped some attempts to CS. Group members cared about the code-switching, especially, as the Interferer in each team felt that there was an affective threat to the emergent state.

Withholders/Interferer: "You stay closer to the one you feel more attached to. It's only human. It's natural to stick to the people you are the closest to. So there was a group of Swedes, on one level I would say. And on another level, a grouping of Europeans."

Figure 10: Timeline of Reactions in Withholder Groups



5.3.3. Rationalizer Groups

The two groups belonging to the Rationalizers groups cared about the code-switching as it affected the efficiency of the group discussion. The perceived threat to emergent state was cognitive as members mentioned the inefficiency of CS and the importance of the Swedes not making decisions during CS.

Interferer: "It doesn't make sense to jump back to your mother tongue if you have a joint problem solving task, where everybody has to participate."

By-stander: "I didn't understand why they [switched], it was not a really important discussion."

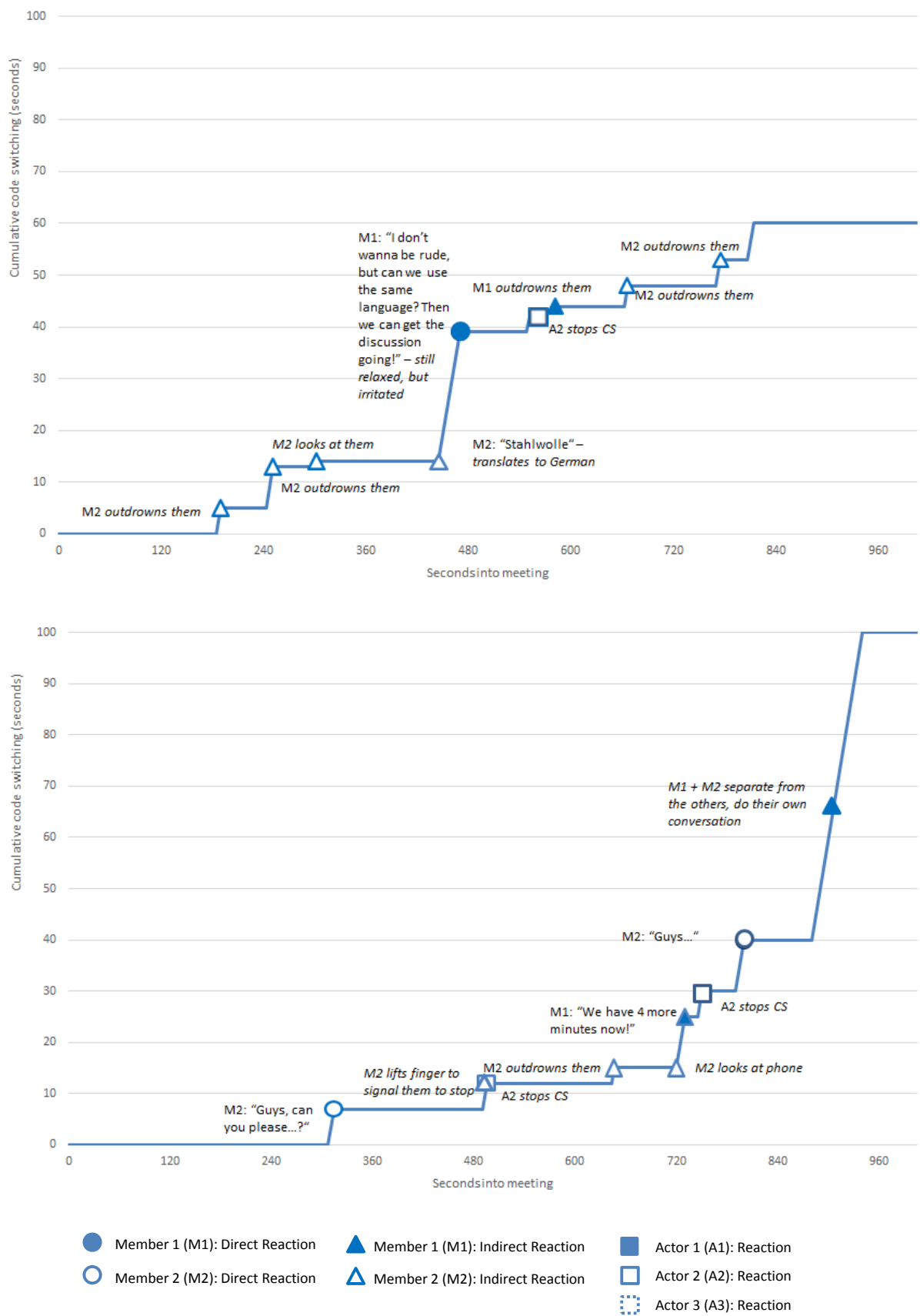
Interferer: "[Code-switching] was a bit stupid as it took away the flow [...] and it didn't seem to be an important discussion."

As can be seen in Figure 11, both groups displayed indirect reactions; yet, the order of reactions varied from other groups. In one group the first CS was addressed directly by the Interferer, who then continued to simply outdrown them. Interestingly, this group experienced a separation at the end with participants putting down the final ranking while the actors talked Swedish with each other.

The other team was more passive in the beginning with the By-stander outdrowning them and even switching to German by asking for the meaning of steel wool at some point. This was followed by the most extensive CS and consecutively addressed directly by the Interferer, who still seemed to be relaxed, yet irritated by the CS.

This again seemed to influence one of the actors, who did not respond to one CS attempt. In both groups participants and actors perceived a splitting of the group along linguistic and cultural lines.

Figure 11: Timeline of Reactions in Rationalizers Groups



5.3.4. Emotional Groups

These were the two groups, which reacted the strongest to the code-switching. Participants perceived an affective threat to the group cohesion. Yet, the reasons behind these feelings were very different with one member mainly being concerned about the overall group atmosphere with one participant not being able to understand any Swedish whereas the other member was in general annoyed with the Swedish talk, which he found to be very rude.

Interferer: "The Swedes always switched to Swedish [...], I didn't know if [the other participant] understands, so I felt like it was not nice to do that. [...] It might not be fair to [the other member]."

Interferer: "It was very annoying that they talked Swedish. [...] It was a bit of a pity."

As shown in Figure 12, the Interferers started out with indirect responses mostly just looking at the actors. Yet, in the group concerned with the overall group feeling a direct, yet friendly and positive response was quick to follow. This was then again followed by an indirect reaction and a consecutive direct one, which had much stronger emotions associated with it.

A code-switch for ten seconds

Interferer to A: "Are we having a strong surströmming discussion now?"

A code-switch for two seconds

Interferer to A: "Can we speak English? I mean I understand but I don't know if you do? [referring to other participant]"

By-stander: "No."

Interferer jokes: "Do you understand? We can make a language course!"

After that many indirect responses followed where the Interferer sought to steer the conversation back into English. However at some point the responses took an unexpected turn when the Interferer jumped in to say the numbers in Swedish, presumably to make a point of the code-switching. The other group handled the code-switching very differently, again starting out reacting indirectly. Nevertheless, the third CS was followed by a passive aggressive joke, which one of the subjects made to the co-participant.

A code-switch for ten seconds

Interferer annoyed to By-stander: "I agree. Isn't that what you think?"

By-stander to Interferer: "Yeah, I think that is also a nice idea."

With the increasing negativity perceived, also the actors felt more uncomfortable and stopped the CS themselves. Nevertheless, despite this strong behavior towards code-switching, members did not observe a group split between Swedes and non-Swedes.

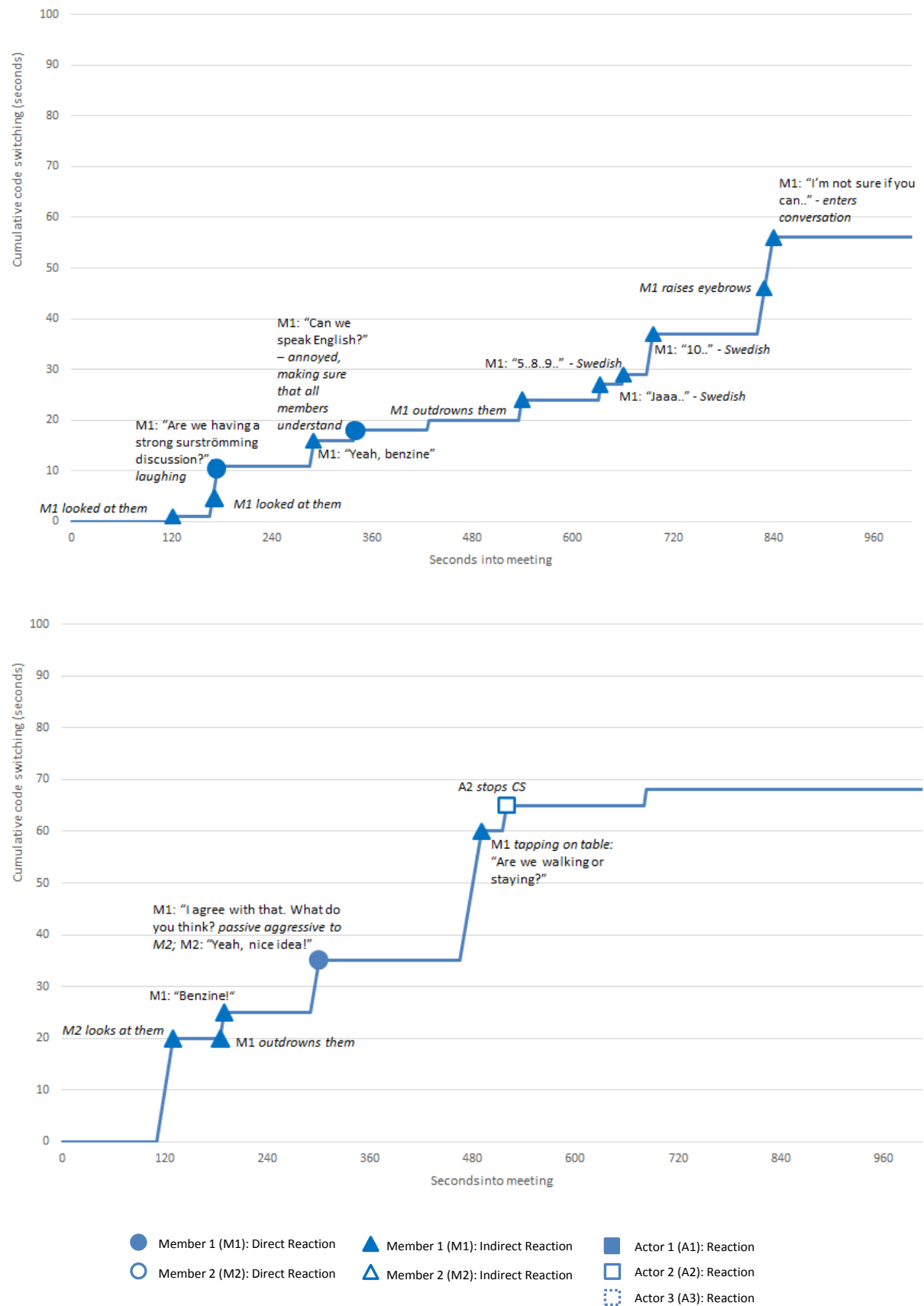
Interferer: "I think [actor 2] and I were on one side and [actor 1 and member 2] were on one side."

By-stander: "I wouldn't say there were any subgroups. There were different questions and there were sometimes maybe two people pro and two people con, but that would always change. So there were no sub-groups."

The two By-stander s withdrew almost completely from reacting to the CS leaving it to the other one to take care of it.

By-stander: "[The other member] reacted straight away, faster than I. [...] But I think I let [the other member] react and saw it a bit more relaxed. [...] I didn't feel like it was something important they discussed."

Figure 12: Timeline of Reactions in Emotional Groups



6. Discussion

This section discusses our findings and analysis in a larger context. We show how the study has true relevance from a theoretical, methodological and practical perspective. Notwithstanding the value of this work, there are limitations to this study that will be discussed before elaborating on the possible paths for future research in this field.

6.1. Relevance

With our thesis we explored entirely new territories and provided scholars with a first step into the field of how code-switching affects group members. Thereby, we generated new theoretical, methodological as well as practical learnings relevant for both scholars and managers.

6.1.1. Theoretical Relevance

With our thesis we showed scholars new ways of investigating the effects of code-switching by providing them with a framework that can be used to understand how CS affects group members. By focusing on behaviors, feelings and thoughts, not only in isolation but in the context of each other, we were able to provide a more holistic, in-depth view of the concept and explore different facets of the effects of code-switching.

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Within this field of study, we drew new links between different concepts from the literature. We are the first to study code-switching from the perspective of the IMOI model (Ilgen et al. 2005). Taking this approach, we were able to validate the iterative nature of the IMOI model, in particular how emergent states interact with processes in recurring ways. Moreover, we are the first to conceptualize a group process as a threat to an emergent state and from that perspective discuss how that threat impacts a process, which in turn can lead to an actual effect on the emergent state. Additionally, we took a different approach to code-switching by characterizing it as a threat to an emergent state rather than as a definite detractor to emergent states the way Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing (2013) did.

What is more, we are the first to explicitly study code-switching as a deviation from group norms as previous studies of code-switching have either seen it as a mechanism for exclusion (Hitlan et al. 2006, Dotan-Eliaz, Sommer & Rubin 2009), like identified in our pre-studies, or

breaking of social norms or corporate policies (Lauring 2008, Hinds, Neeley & Cramton 2013, Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing 2013). By viewing code-switching as a deviation from group norms, we were able to provide additional suggestions for how code-switching may interact with group cohesion and shared cognition. Moreover, the perspective of code-switching as a norm brought interesting perspectives about how code-switching acts as a potential conflict moment, adding to previous literature on norm enforcement and conflict literature.

Furthermore, through our results we were able to show that there are cognitive and affective aspects of code-switching, which linked code-switching to group cohesion and shared cognition. Surprisingly, however, in contrast to past research our interviews did not show any links between code-switching and trust (Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing 2013). This might be attributable to the context of the study, where our experiments did not carry great long-term significance to the participants and there was limited conflict during the discussion. Moreover, people came from relatively homogenous backgrounds, with a shared organizational culture that would support trust. Moreover, participants were linguistically and culturally competent, which may have facilitated people's understanding that the code-switching was not intended in a negative way.

6.1.2. Methodological Relevance

In our thesis we employed an innovative mix of qualitative and quantitative methods in order to explore the code-switching phenomenon (Williams 2005, Sherman, Strang 2004a). We combined an experimental set-up with an ethnographic study and quantitatively analyzed parts of our data in order to reap the benefits of both methods. This way we were able to ensure the occurrence of CS in a controlled environment while collecting data on individual behaviors, thoughts and feelings (Sherman, Strang 2004b, Williams 2005). Thereby we provided scholars with new ways of studying humans in-depth in a fairly natural, yet controlled setting. We think that this method gives researchers the opportunity to complement for the weaknesses of a humanist or social scientist perspective (Williams 2005). Additionally, we think that this method is not just beneficial in research on CS, but also for studying other group phenomena, such as group cohesion or shared cognition.

6.1.3. Practical Relevance

In addition to its relevance for scholars, managers as well as group leaders can benefit from the insights generated when working in heterogeneous groups (Bittner, Leimeister 2014). When taking a holistic view on what we observed in our study, unsurprisingly, it can be seen that different people reacted differently to code-switching. There is no one-size-fits-all model as humans differ so greatly from one another; yet, all of them perceived CS negatively (per Harzing, Feely 2008, Luring 2008, Tenzer, Pudenko & Harzing 2013).

Furthermore, the specific group set-up is also going to influence the perception of CS with different dynamics being observed across team set-ups depending on a variety of factors, but in particular the Interferers' reactions. Thus, managers need to be aware that one individual might greatly affect the overall group dynamics in response to CS. Moreover, in groups where there is a designated leader, that leader may be expected to be the Interferer, meaning that the group leader should pick their behaviors with regards to code-switching wisely as it may set the tone for the group.

The behavioral patterns observed in our study could provide leaders with an insight into why people react the way they do. What is more, managers can improve the way they handle code-switching by, on the one hand, preventing it from happening, or on the other hand, anticipating its effects correctly and thus, being able to more properly mitigate its effects. This way the negative effects of code-switching could be limited and groups could rather benefit from the positive ones such as facilitating conversations (Nikko 2007, Harzing, Köster & Magner 2011). Furthermore, by limiting the exclusion of group members, leaders can prohibit poor performance that can arise due to linguistic ostracism (Dotan-Eliaz, Sommer & Rubin 2009).

Through our results we noted that being able to understand what the code-switchers say is of great importance. Through having certain language skills participants managed to reduce the effects of code-switching and figure out what the actors were talking about, i.e. social talk, clarifications or decision making. Therefore, managers can limit the negative effects of code-switching in multilingual groups by putting individuals with certain language skills together in one group.

Additionally, by being able to understand some of the reasons behind the participants' reactions, managers will be able to act more empathically and understanding when dealing with these individuals. Managers need to be aware of what aspect of the effects of CS, i.e. affective or cognitive, is important to the code-switchers. This way they can reduce the negative effects by addressing group members concerns correctly. In light of this, Tenzer, Pudielko & Harzing (2013) found that people with cognitive concerns about code-switching, were often appeased if the content was translated to them.

Last but not least, group members, i.e. switchers and switchers, can also benefit from the insights generated in our thesis. The patterns drawn make code-switchers aware of what effects their behavior can have on others and what other people care about when they talk in a different language. Through this they can learn how code-switching can be carried out without irritating group members and thus benefit from the positive effects of CS (Nikko 2007, Harzing, Köster & Magner 2011). Switchers, on the other side, can learn that it is not just the reaction to the CS, which will affect the following engagement of others in code-switching, but rather the interplay of multiple factors, such as likability or leadership, which can affect the ease of code-switching.

6.2. Limitations

Entering an entirely new research field also entails multiple difficulties as a novel area of immense size was explored with very limited resources and little access to real-life working groups. Thus, we needed to make a decision on what aspects of CS to study and to exclude many other aspects of CS, such as corporate or individual-level effects, which are of great importance to theory and practice. We limited ourselves not just in terms of research areas, but also with just one, yet highly integrated and representative model. As mentioned before, this was the first time that the IMOI-model was brought into connection with code-switching. Therefore, relationships explored are still highly tentative and the same limitations as there are to the model apply to our thesis due to it being used as the basis of analysis (Ilgen et al. 2005).

Through the analysis of our results, we then realized that in all groups there was a dominant member, who reacted the most strongly to CS, and a quieter second subject. The former influenced the overall group-level effects of CS to a large extent; especially in a set up with

two actors and just two subjects. Additionally, it is very difficult to be sure about the cause-effect relations from our findings, e.g. did we observe reactions due to a certain amount of CS or did participants react at a specific point and thus limited or extended the extent of CS.

Specifically, the influence of the study subjects' motivation posed a danger to the generalizability of our findings with regards to the two distinct ways in which code-switching threatened cohesion, which may have been due to the way these particular individuals saw this group project. Some of our participants may have come to this experiment with the intent of winning the competition whereas others may have seen it as more of a social exercise of helping the researchers or meeting other students. These diverging objectives may have in turn influenced to what extent people cared about the cognitive or affective aspect. Perhaps the same people would have entirely different concerns about code-switching in a real-life group with a different focus. Furthermore, the strength of the effects of language and thus, also the results of CS, differ with the type of task carried out, which could have in turn influenced our results as we were using the type of task, which usually entails the biggest effects. (Hambrick et al. 1998)

Even though our group set-up is more realistic than those investigated in the past, for example Dotan-Eliaz, Sommer & Rubin (2009), it still might not accurately depict work groups, both in regards to team size as well as nationalities present. Additionally, the sample studied was small and extremely international being exposed to a variety of cultures and countries through studies, work or travels abroad. This goes hand-in-hand with being in touch with different languages as well as code-switching. Additionally, all participants were fluent in various languages and have been exposed to the Swedish language, which for a majority of them was also very similar to their mother tongue. All these factors correctly present nowadays business students; yet, older, less international generations or groups of people, which are currently occupying the working place, would have most likely reacted differently in our experiment.

Last but not least, the overall setting of the experiment in Sweden with international students, who are all at least to some extent interested in the country, its inhabitants and possibly their language, also limits the generalizability of our study. If the code-switching

would have been done in the same set-up but in another language, again, the emerging patterns would have most likely been different.

6.3. Future Research

From the limitations described before as well as the current state of research on code-switching, we derived different possibilities for future research.

First of all, we want to encourage scholars to further explore the area of code-switching and to do more in-depth research on the patterns identified. Thereby, scholars should also identify if the IMOI model, which fit well with our findings, is also applicable with other group settings, be it in real-life or controlled experiments. Akin to this, researchers might want to explore whether code-switching has an impact on other emergent states, in particular trust (per Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing 2013) but also group affect could be an interesting area of study. This could for example also be done by inserting code-switching to a greater extent in other group processes (e.g. socialization or idea generation) to see what effects that leads to throughout the IMOI model.

Furthermore, we strongly believe that the combination of qualitative and quantitative studies through ethnographic experiments is a great way to study the effects of code-switching. In line with Williams (2005), we thus encourage more scholars to work across disciplines and benefit from the synergies created. Nevertheless, we also see a great importance in studying the effects of code-switching on groups in a natural setting through longitudinal ethnographic studies, which more correctly depict reality and thus increase the relevance for managers. An important facet for the data collection is to study groups that are relatively close to the applicable reality that the study seeks to emulate (e.g. one with a greater number of foreigners with international exposure to resemble the corporate setting in the country under investigation). Additionally, a more natural set-up with greater amounts of foreigners will enable the researcher to reduce the influence of the dominant member and get more balanced results.

Last but not least, we believe that it is important for future research to control for certain variables, for example social norms, the diversity measures, or motivational aspects, which seem to have had a great effect on the reactions towards code-switching. A particularly interesting perspective here would be to explore the role of personality based on the social

ostracism research (per Dotan-Eliaz, Sommer & Rubin, 2009) and combine this with personality research in the group literature. This could provide interesting insights about the Interferer phenomenon.

7. Conclusion

In this final section, we will provide the reader with a short and final summary of the core message of our thesis.

So, what can you learn by reading our thesis? By investigating the question of ‘How does code-switching affect group members?’ we entered an entirely new research area. Past research has only touched on CS as part of broader language issues within entire departments (Lauring 2008, Hinds, Neeley & Cramton 2013, Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing 2013) or they have focused on CS but only in settings where the individuals were studied in isolation (Hitlan et al. 2006, Dotan-Eliaz, Sommer & Rubin 2009). Research has thereby neglected the study of code-switching in a group context, an important context given the prevalence of team work in companies (Bittner, Leimeister 2014). By studying the effects of code-switching in a group setting through interviews, observations and experiments on students we were able to identify common tentative patterns.

As so often in the case of studying humans, there is no single way of how they react. Nevertheless, with the patterns observed we were the first researchers to link the group-level effects of CS to the IMOI-model by Ilgen (2005). In line with the framework, three different behaviors in how group members react to code-switching were identified. Firstly, some groups only felt a limited threat to the emergent state and thus, only reacted weakly. Secondly, there were other teams which perceived the act of CS as a threat to the affective emergent state, as they felt that it split up the group according to language capabilities. Lastly, others felt a threat to the cognitive emergent state as code-switching inhibited the discussion efficiency by disrupting and distorting the conversation. Even though the limited sample size of study prohibits the generalizations of the patterns identified, we believe that certain group characteristics, i.e. traditional diversity measures and social norms, impacted how people felt, thought and reacted to CS.

All these patterns can be used in order to understand the reactions of group members to code-switching as well as their reasoning behind it. This way, managers can reduce the negative effects of CS (Lauring 2008, Hinds, Neeley & Cramton 2013, Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing 2013) as well as possibly benefit from the positive sides to it (Nikko 2007, Harzing,

Köster & Magner 2011). Furthermore, they can even try to prohibit it by creating a certain environment which limits the ease of engaging in CS.

What is more, by combining qualitative, i.e. ethnography, and quantitative methods, i.e. experiments, we were able to reap the benefits of both. Through the former we were able to isolate individuals, who influenced the reaction more strongly through their reactions, whereas the latter allowed us to control for certain conditions and therefore limit the influence of other variables. We believe that this unlikely combination of research methods should be employed more often in the future in order to understand group processes (Sherman, Strang 2004a).

Our study can be considered a first exploratory step into the research on the group-level effects of code-switching, which we linked to other research areas, such as group cohesion, shared cognition and group norms.

We hope that with our thesis we created an interest in this area so that many other researchers will further explore the patterns identified in different settings. This would enable more general conclusions to be drawn and thus improve multilingual group work in corporate settings.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Group Member Analysis from Experiments

CATEGORY	IGNORERS		WITHOLDERS		RATIONALIZERS		EMOTIONALS	
Group Number	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Interferer / Bystander	I B	I B	I B	I B	I B	I B	I B	I B
INPUTS: TRADITIONAL DIVERSITY								
Gender	F F	F M	M M	M M	M M	M M	F M	M M
Nationality	GER LAT	POL GER	ITA TWN	CZE LAT	GER GER	GER NED	AUT GER	GER HUN
Swedish Level 0-5 (low to high)	1 1	2 1	2 1	1 1	2 1	2 1	2 1	0 0
INPUTS: LANGUAGE NORMS								
Previous CS Exposure	N Y	Y N	Y ?	N Y	N Y	Y ?	Y Y	Y Y
Understanding for CS	N Y	Y N	Y ?	N Y	Y N	N ?	Y N	N N
Time Spent in SWE (Months)	18 8	12 4	12 18	4 8	9 8	30 3	12 8	4 4
PROCESS INTERRUPTION								
Total CS Length	52	101	69	90	60	100	56	68
CS Maximal Length	25	35	41	55	25	60	10	20
CS Frequency	7	9	9	3	12	9	12	9
THREAT TO EMERGENT STATE								
Level of caring	Low Low	Low Low	Med Low	Med Low	Med Low	Med Low	High Low	High Low
Primary direction of caring	Aff Aff	-- --	Aff Aff	Aff --	Cog Cog	Cog Aff	Aff --	Aff --
AFFECTIVE STATEMENTS								
Exclusion from Decision Making				X X	X X	X X	X	
Norms about Efficiency		X			X	X	X	X X
COGNITIVE STATEMENTS								
Exclusion from Group		X	X	X	X		X	
Norms about Group Behavior	X X	X X	X X	X	X X	X X	X	X X
REACTIONS								
Direct / Indirect	I I/D	I I	I/D I	I/D I	I/D I	I/D I	I/D I	I/D I
Expressive / Restrained	R R	R R	E R	E R	E R	E R	E R	E R

Appendix 2: Support Material for Experiments

Personal Data

All data collected will be processed and used anonymously in our thesis

Name: _____

Age: _____

Compensation type: Cash Donation to Cancerfonden None

How long have you been living in Sweden? _____

Language knowledge:

Language: _____ Level: 1.1 1.2 1.3 1.4 1.5

Language: _____ Level: 1.1 1.2 1.3 1.4 1.5

Language: _____ Level: 1.1 1.2 1.3 1.4 1.5

Language: _____ Level: 1.1 1.2 1.3 1.4 1.5

Language: _____ Level: 1.1 1.2 1.3 1.4 1.5

Other comments:

Elementary proficiency (L1): basic vocabulary, can fulfill travelling needs, Q&A for simple topics, understands basic questions and speech.

Limited working proficiency (L2): speaking vocabulary sufficient to respond simply with some circumlocutions, satisfy routine social demands and limited work requirements, can get the gist of most conversations on non-technical subjects, has an accent, imperfect grammar

Professional working proficiency (L3): can participate effectively in most conversations on practical, social and professional topics, can discuss particular interests and special fields of competence with reasonable ease, has a general and broad vocabulary, has an accent, has a good control of grammar whose errors virtually never interfere with understanding

Full professional proficiency (L4): able to use the language fluently and accurately on all levels, can understand and participate in any conversations, would rarely be asked for a native speaker, but can respond appropriately even in unfamiliar grounds or situations, rare and minute errors of pronunciation and grammar

Native or bilingual (L5): fluent as an educated native speaker.

Actors Observation Sheet

Group # _____

How would you characterize the group discussion?

How did code-switching affect the group (discussion, atmosphere)?

Member 1: _____

How did he/she react to the code-switching?

How do you think he/she felt?

Member 2: _____

How did he/she react to the code-switching?

How do you think he/she felt?

Other comments:

Code-switching (CS) Guidelines

General

- Do it as natural as possible
- Do what you feel comfortable with
- React to their reactions/comments how you would in real-life
- Do not overly offend the foreigners ☺
- Be as consistent as possible among the different groups - same type, timing, length of CS
- Always talk in Swedish when you are solely addressing the other actor/actress
- Approximately 3 minutes of CS per session (total length of each session is 15 minutes)
- Aim is to see whether or how they react, not to get them to react

Specifics

Introduction

- Start with a very brief CS in the introduction when figuring out you are both Swedish (social CS) (don't aim to get people to notice the CS too much, just so you have a Swedish basis to build the following CSs from)

Discussion

- Talk about parts of the discussion in Swedish (task CS)
- Talk about surströmming in Swedish (task CS)
- Talk Swedish even after completing the task (social CS)

We're going to explain all of this in more detail in the briefing ☺

You and your companions have just survived the crash of a small plane. Both the pilot and co-pilot were killed in the crash. It is mid-January and you are in Northern Sweden. The daily temperature is 25 below zero and the night time temperature is 40 below zero. There is snow on the ground and the countryside is wooded with several creeks crisscrossing the area. The nearest town is 30km away. You are all dressed in city clothes appropriate for a business meeting. Your group of survivors managed to salvage the following items:

- A ball of steel wool
- A small ax
- A loaded gun
- A can of surströmming
- Dagens Nyheter (one per person)
- A cigarette lighter (without fluid)
- Extra shirt and pants for each survivor
- A 6x6 meter heavy-duty canvas
- A sectional air map made of plastic
- 250ml of 50% Absolut Vodka
- A compass
- Family-size KEX bars (one per person)

You need three things to survive: food, water, shelter. Your task as a group is to list the above 12 items in order of importance for your survival. List the uses for each. You must come to an agreement as a group.

Group number: _____

Group members: _____

Item	Rank	Reason
A ball of steel wool		
A small ax		
A loaded gun		
A can of surströmming		
Dagens Nyheter (one per person)		
A cigarette lighter (without fluid)		
Extra shirt and pants for each survivor		
A 6x6 meter heavy-duty canvas		
A sectional air map made of plastic		
250ml of 50% Absolut Vodka		
A compass		
Family-size KEX bars (one per person)		

OBSERVATIONS - PROCESS						
Entry #	Who switched	When	What <small>did they do/say & was the context (setting/topic)?</small>	How <small>did member 1 react?</small>	How <small>did member 2 react?</small>	Others

Appendix 3: Interview Notes: Ignorers – Group 1

	Interferer	By-stander
ACTORS' OBSERVATIONS		
How did he/she react to the code-switching?	<p>A3: She got annoyed. Started talking louder.</p> <p>A2: She got irritated but didn't tell us. Tried to sch us but continued to solve the case. Talked louder than us to mark disapproval.</p>	<p>A3: Quiet, might have anticipated it</p> <p>A2: Not big reaction</p>
How do you think he/she felt?	<p>A3: Irritated</p> <p>A2: Irritated and frustrated</p>	<p>A3: Indifferent, it was annoying probably but don't think she really cared. Loss of team-feeling</p> <p>A2: I don't think she cared a lot</p>
INTERVIEWS		
1) How did you feel about the group work?	<p>Okay, could have been better, very used to group work, Swedish people were shy, not so smooth with timing, By-stander less active, different strategies among members</p>	<p>Was a bit annoying that they spoke Swedish. If it would have been more I would have said something. The girl from Latvia started off good giving a structure about whether we should focus on staying or leaving. Nobody took a clear leader role, only A3 for writing down the decision. Everyone was able to state their views and everyone was listened to. Swedes said more because of the implicit knowledge in the task.</p>
2) How did other group members affect the group discussion?	<p>Swedes were closer to each other vs. By-stander & Interferer, subgroups had different visions, Swedes were more active because it was a Swedish case, A3 was proactive and took leading role, she herself contributed</p>	<p>Swedes were only a sub-group when they spoke Swedish. Thinks it's rude to speak Swedish, especially if they don't know how much Swedish the others speak. Mostly understood what they said. Swedes don't often do code-switching.</p>
3) How did you feel about the other 2 switching from English to Swedish?	<p>Waited for them, if it was longer she would have said something, tried to understand what they said, used it as an occasion to learn Swedish, By-stander didn't understand it</p>	<p>The facial expression was more about surprise than offense. But Germans do it as well. I was surprised because it happens so rarely. When they discussed the fish it was fine, because that wasn't part of the discussions. It depends whether it's part of the decision making or not.</p>
4) How did you react to the code-switching?	<p>By-stander reacted by asking them to switch back, but it was just a short switching, she herself can relate to it as she's also not a English native speaker</p>	

Appendix 4: Interview Notes: Ignorers – Group 2

	Interferer	By-stander
ACTORS' OBSERVATIONS		
How did he/she react to the code-switching?	<p>A3: She tried to answer in English and led us back to the group</p> <p>A2: Listened and answered in English</p>	<p>A3: Passive, tried at times to lead us back to the group discussion by asking 'so guys, what do you think..'</p> <p>A2: He pleasantly waited it out or continued the case solving in English, then asking us a question to lead us back in the group discussion</p>
How do you think he/she felt?	<p>A3: Excluded, at first I think she just thought that we fell into it, but I think she got more and more irritated</p> <p>A2: Not bad</p>	<p>A3: Excluded, might not be as used to group work with Swedes because of exchange so would not know what is normal.</p> <p>A2: Not bad</p>
INTERVIEWS		
1) How did you feel about the group work?	<p>Was a bit divided because they spoke Swedish to each other. I tried to answer in English to steer the conversation back into English.</p> <p>Doesn't bother me anymore as it happens a lot. The Germans do the same.</p> <p>I don't make a big thing out of it, I prefer to just keep it in English.</p>	<p>Good, but impolite to do it in Swedish, didn't understand anything, he liked that he was leading the group and that problem was structured according to him</p>
2) How did other group members affect the group discussion?	<p>Did a good job not clashing too much. We argued our reasoning well. Other people got convinced when we reasoned our case.</p> <p>A2 had some sort of knowledge of coping so maybe we listened to him. Saw him as more experienced (making trap, reading stars, spending his Easter in Finland). So we might have taken his opinion more seriously.</p> <p>No dislikes within the group.</p>	<p>Interferer got conversation back to English, By-stander was dominant, Swedes were similar and cooperative</p>
3) How did you feel about the other 2 switching from English to Swedish?	<p>A2 was a bit more relaxed. They both started talking Swedish. I don't think too much about it. I understood about 85% of it as I've studied Swedish</p> <p>Level of understanding impacts how you feel about it. By-stander would have gotten more annoyed as he understood less Swedish.</p> <p>It's a bit difficult when it comes to jokes because you feel excluded, but not like it makes a big difference.</p> <p>Decision making in Swedish is very annoying because you're then out of the process. Mentioned example of her boyfriend's family that sometimes makes decisions on her behalf in Swedish.</p>	<p>Didn't matter to him, very relaxed, would have been different if he cared more, SSE very competitive</p>
4) How did you react to the code-switching?		No reaction

Appendix 5: Interview Notes: Withholders – Group 1

	Interferer	By-stander
ACTORS' OBSERVATIONS		
How did he/she react to the code-switching?	A3: Annoyed, got a bit "aggressive" once and told off. A2: Irritated and confronted us in the start	A3: Not at all A2: Didn't really react
How do you think he/she felt?	A3: Annoyed, like it affected the efficiency A2: Irritated	A3: Excluded A2: Felt left out (maybe) or didn't really care
INTERVIEWS		
1) How did you feel about the group work?	Initially it went well The two Swedes were closer to each other in understanding (local products, case was in the North of Sweden) Taiwanese / Chinese was more silent. Fits the stereotype of an Asian working in a group with Westerners. Task was not too challenging, important to steer away from the option of walking to find the local town.	Nice group, F talked a lot, Er spoke a lot of Swedish, Em helped by putting down the ranking
2) How did other group members affect the group discussion?	A3 had useful insights. By-stander did not speak up, we just kept speaking expecting him to intervene. A2 had some good points. I was responsible for the bigger categories (i.e. food vs. shelter etc.). The group was on the same page in terms of a lot of things. Spoke Swedish a some times. I didn't want to annoy them. Thought it was very impolite even though you understand. The task had difficult words that made it more natural.	He himself was quiet
3) How did you feel about the other 2 switching from English to Swedish?	The natural feeling to talk Swedish is too strong. You stay closer to the one you feel more attached to. It's human / normal. You stick to the people you are the closest to so there was a grouping of Swedes and a grouping of Europeans. If it's short, then it's better but still bad.	okay for him, not okay for others
4) How did you react to the code-switching?		F asked them to speak English

Appendix 6: Interview Notes: Withholders – Group2

	Interferer	By-stander
ACTORS' OBSERVATIONS		
How did he/she react to the code-switching?	<p>A3: Quite passively until he got really annoyed and told us to stop</p> <p>A2: Being silent and waiting out but after a long time of Swedish he told us to take it in English</p>	<p>A3: First got quiet. Second time started speaking even louder</p> <p>A2: Being silent at first, trying to answer in English, then trying to complete the case</p>
How do you think he/she felt?	<p>A3: Annoyed, like it affected efficiency</p> <p>A2: Irritated and left out</p>	<p>A3: Really annoyed, but I think since he understood what we were talking about he just let us.</p> <p>A2: alright</p>
INTERVIEWS		
1) How did you feel about the group work?	<p>IF there was no time limit we would be here for hours because of different opinions, good to have a time limit</p> <p>Everyone trying to pursue their own opinions / beliefs, but need to make a decision at some point.</p> <p>People with strong opinions needed to make the discussion lighter.</p> <p>The work itself was very smooth, no real fights.</p>	<p>Fine, but too much Swedish, he's learning Swedish, can relate to the switching, CS had not effect on group, nobody got aggressive</p>
2) How did other group members affect the group discussion?	<p>They were speaking Swedish. Makes you feel you're not part of the group anymore / excluded</p> <p>In the beginning the discussion wasn't very dynamic.</p> <p>In terms of culture, he's not someone who divides people based on where they come from.</p>	<p>Everybody was equal, no leader,</p>
3) How did you feel about the other 2 switching from English to Swedish?	<p>At first I thought they were trying to confirm a word, then I realised that they were talking about the canvass. You can sense whether the discussion topic is important or not.</p> <p>It became a clear us versus them feeling in the group. Part of how we structured the experiment (the seating).</p> <p>It's obvious that you code-switch because it's your native language</p> <p>If you're working as a team and you know that people speak English, then there's no excuse.</p> <p>If you want do the task as a team, then someone has to say to them to switch. "I mean come on, if you speak Swedish, how will you get to a consensus"</p> <p>If I'm the only barrier to a decision because I don't speak the language then I'm fine with the group taking a decision on my behalf. I would trust them.</p>	<p>High tolerance for other languages, would have been different if they made decisions or formed a coalition</p>

Appendix 7: Interview Notes: Rationalizers – Group 1

	Interferer	By-stander
ACTORS' OBSERVATIONS		
How did he/she react to the code-switching?	<p>A1: Very irritated, reacted strongly that we should switch back, in order to solve the assignment we should all use the same language.</p> <p>A2: strongly</p>	<p>A1: Reacted by turning silent until we finished or started to talk about the assignment again in English, started to switch to German as well</p> <p>A2: Frustrated and irritated</p>
How do you think he/she felt?	<p>A1: Irritated and frustrated</p> <p>A2: Silent, passively waiting, actually switched to German at some point</p>	<p>A1: Almost bored, the CS made the group inefficient</p> <p>A2: Probably the same as Interferer but expressing it less</p>
INTERVIEWS		
1) How did you feel about the group work?	<p>Good discussion with everyone contributing a different perspective Helpful to have someone from Sweden who might have a local understanding Has done similar tasks before, but not this one</p>	<p>Typically Swedish: talk around the bush, everything alright, fast, content; Interferer quickly integrated, would have preferred more structured way of discussing</p>
2) How did other group members affect the group discussion?	<p>Swedes had a better agreement because they talked Swedish with each other. This led to a bit of a coalition. Generally understands what they were saying but still found it annoying. He realised that what they were saying was in the same direction, which made it less critical. If it's not excessive then it doesn't make sense to jump in to stop it The other German was overrun a bit. Among the three dominant talkers, he considers himself to have talked a bit more than others (40 / 30 / 30 split between those three)</p>	<p>Interferer: good plan, innovative thoughts A1: writing, helps in decision making process A2: all over the place, good ideas, questions other people's ideas FredA2: listening</p>
3) How did you feel about the other 2 switching from English to Swedish?	<p>"It's just nicer if everyone understand everything right away" If it happens once or twice it's fine It's natural, I understand why they do it. In general feels that the school is so anglophone already, so almost not fair to complain. He called it "we complain at a high level"</p>	<p>Interferer said something, F got the sense of it and noticed that it was not important content, started to become annoying after some time, very normal in Sweden, himself tries to avoid talking German in front of foreigners</p>
4) How did you react to the code-switching?	<p>Told them, they apologised, but fell back into it.</p>	<p>Didn't react at all, awkward moment, wanted to continue with discussion and not be interrupted</p>
5) How did you feel about individuals/subgroups?		<p>Interferer: very good, decisive A1: friendly, too easy to convince, likable A2: likable, all over the place</p>

Appendix 8: Interview Notes: Rationalizers – Group 2

	Interferer	By-stander
ACTORS' OBSERVATIONS		
How did he/she react to the code-switching?	<p>A1: He was very strict as a structured moderator and asked us to switch back right away or to keep focus</p> <p>A2: Giving us a sharp reprimand. Laughing with and then going back to the task. Going back to the task / interrupting us</p>	<p>A1: He basically ignored it, waited</p> <p>A2: No impression, he didn't seem affected</p>
How do you think he/she felt?	<p>A1: Interrupted. Irritated, he didn't want us to lose structure</p> <p>A2: Stressed, irritated</p>	<p>A1: He wasn't really affected, he kept his focus on the task</p> <p>A2: No impression, he didn't seem affected</p>
INTERVIEWS		
1) How did you feel about the group work?	Smooth, feels comfortable in leading role, worked well	<p>The German / Dutch influence made it more structured.</p> <p>Not a lot of tension or irritation</p> <p>Everyone was open to make their contribution</p>
2) How did other group members affect the group discussion?	<p>A1: engaged in beginning, lagging in the end</p> <p>Derk: little contribution, calm, smart in beginning, good comments</p> <p>A2: not motivated</p>	<p>"My side was more dominant" (meant Interferer and himself). Interferer engaged me in the beginning and made me participate. Culturally less, more forward and more direct.</p> <p>Everyone spoke English very well which facilitated things. Culture was not a big issue. There was not a very "versus atmosphere"</p>
3) How did you feel about the other 2 switching from English to Swedish?	Didn't understand why they did it, casual switching,	<p>Swedish is just good enough to understand</p> <p>Not too annoyed about it, but considers it impolite.</p> <p>It becomes a real issue when the code-switching is part of a "sidebar discussion", a discussion that matters / goes a different direction</p>
4) How did you react to the code-switching?	Stupid, messed up the flow of discussion, unimportant discussions	No need to jump in, first of all because Interferer already did, but also because it was not an important discussion and they did not take it in a different direction

Appendix 9: Interview Notes: Emotional – Group 1

	Interferer	By-stander
ACTORS' OBSERVATIONS		
How did he/she react to the code-switching?	<p>A1: Asked us to switch back, she said she understands but Til doesn't, she told Til what we were talking about, trying to make a joke that we had a private conversation, in the end she actually switched to Swedish (numbers)</p> <p>A2: Passive aggressive from start (channeled through a joke at the same time informing Til on what they talked about), immediately put her foot down, eventually talked Swedish</p>	<p>A1: He reacted more silent when we switched waiting for us to switch back</p> <p>A2: silent</p>
How do you think he/she felt?	<p>A1: a bit irritated, she reacted as if we kept forgetting not as if we were mean</p> <p>A2: frustrated</p>	<p>A1: Left out, he was the only one not understanding</p> <p>A2: Left out</p>
INTERVIEWS		
1) How did you feel about the group work?	<p>Did not care about the individual things, rather about getting the big groupings right</p> <p>Nice, but the Swedes always switched to Swedish. Not an issue for the outcome and not an impact on her, but no sure about the other member's Swedish and how it impacted him.</p> <p>Knows A1 from the welcome week</p>	<p>Harmonic, aligned, very little arguing, compromises, very likable people, nobody left out, maybe too harmonic</p>
2) How did other group members affect the group discussion?	<p>A1 was really results-oriented. Everyone was able to give their view, there was equal participation in the group, everyone had to sacrifice. The members joked a lot and the atmosphere was relaxed.</p> <p>Her and A1 had similar starting positions so they were often on one side and the guys on another in the way we argued. Did not see this as being about gender or personality, but rather about simply having similar ways of thinking.</p>	<p>A2: good points about weapon, well explained</p> <p>Rest of people: equal share of discussion, nobody too dominant</p> <p>A1: took leader role, got confirmation from group</p>
3) How did you feel about the other 2 switching from English to Swedish?	<p>If there are other people around, it's not ok. It's about the principle about being a group and working together. She understands that it happens as it happens in a lot of settings, also for Germans.</p>	<p>Surprised, not good for discussion, but they changed relatively quickly so it was okay, not a big disrupting factor, didn't understand anything they said</p>
4) How did you react to the code-switching?	<p>She told them about it. She doesn't consider it a personal thing of any sort. (e.g. attack or something)</p>	<p>Interferer reacted faster, relatively used to it from SSE environment (a lot of CS there)</p>

Appendix 10: Interview Notes: Emotionals – Group 2

	Interferer	By-stander
ACTORS' OBSERVATIONS		
How did he/she react to the code-switching?	<p>A1: He understood a little and tried to answer in English Otherwise he waited so we could continue as a group</p> <p>A2: Passive aggressively. Just silent and then after 10-15 second interrupting us</p>	<p>A1: He was offended and made a "joke" about that being a great idea when he didn't understand. The rest of the times he ignored it.</p> <p>A2: Not noticeable, quiet and waiting</p>
How do you think he/she felt?	<p>A1: He wasn't really affected he was more waiting for us to finish</p> <p>A2: Frustrated and irritated</p>	<p>A1: Offended</p> <p>A2: Probably felt concern, frustration and irritation</p>
INTERVIEWS		
1) How did you feel about the group work?	Annoying that they talked Swedish, got less focused due to CS	Hadn't met with the Swedes before. Had met Interferer before, but didn't know him at a deep level. Had talked to each other and attended lectures together. The general dynamics were fluid
2) How did other group members affect the group discussion?	<p>A1: took charge of writing and decision making</p> <p>A2: new ideas, but not focused</p> <p>By-stander: focused</p>	<p>People were always picking the guidance of each other and ideas were always listened to. No destructive powers within the group. Interferer started leading and then A1 took over. Those two spoke more</p> <p>There were some moments when they spoke Swedish but it didn't hurt the results. Didn't hurt the timeframe.</p> <p>Apart from that, there were no sub-groups. The only splittings were in terms of people's opinions, but here the differences kept evolving.</p>
3) How did you feel about the other 2 switching from English to Swedish?	Typical behavior, started thinking about something else, lost focus	<p>It's quite natural that we have to speak English.</p> <p>Code-switching is rude when it happens constantly. If it would have happened 5-6 times then he would have said something. Understands it when it's part of the socialisation process. But if it happens later on during the real discussion then it's a real problem.</p> <p>Thinks they were made to realise and then stopped. Would have been a problem if it kept happening.</p>
4) How did you react to the code-switching?	Annoyed, wanted them to stop, very impolite	Has already gotten used to this happening, but thinks it's important that they are made to realise that they are doing it.