

When socio-political pressure is more powerful than the boss: Workplace language policies by Kurds that restrict Kurdish

Introduction:

The Turkish government's long history of restricting its citizens' use of non-Turkish languages is well known, especially with respect to local varieties of Kurdish (See Coşkun, Derince & Uçarlar 2011 for a thorough overview). A break with this history came between the early 1990's and 2015 during the much heralded *Kurdish Opening* in which Turkey's lawmakers introduced reforms to address human rights concerns associated with these historically restrictive policies. Despite these developments at the de jure level, the language – together with the attachment to a Kurdish identity that it indexed – remained stigmatized during this period at research sites located in cities such as Istanbul (Schluter and Sansarkan 2014), Izmir (Saraçoğlu 2011), and Erzurum (Polat 2011). Reasons for this stigma can be many, but prominent among them include perceptions of Kurdish speakers' opposition to a shared Turkish identity and associations between this opposition and terrorist activities. These attitudes stymied Kurdish speakers' full use of their enhanced rights at the de facto level even during the optimistic years of the Kurdish Opening.¹ While highly restrictive state-mandated language policies have certainly trickled down to local practice, the negative reception of Kurdish that continued throughout the Kurdish Opening suggests a less-than linear relationship between official policy and situational practice. By exploring language policies at Kurdish workplaces in Istanbul, the current study provides insight into Kurdish managers' positionality and ability to dictate language practice in their own eating establishments that are embedded within local as well as trans-local social structures. The data, which were collected between the fall of 2014 and the spring of 2015 at four Kurdish-run eating establishments, provide snapshots into local language practice during a relatively optimistic period of a very dynamic socio-political system. Based on these data, which show restrictions on spoken Kurdish during this timeframe, it is possible to reflect on the language policies of eating establishments amidst the return to heightened tensions that characterize the current post-Kurdish Opening era.

Theoretical Framework:

¹ There are numerous examples from different contexts in which Kurdish speakers who were mistreated, abused, and even killed for speaking or singing in Kurdish even during the Kurdish Opening. In terms of singers, these include Aynur Doğan's Kurdish-language contribution to the Istanbul Jazz Festival in July of 2011 that was cut short by hostile audience members who launched projectiles and chanted nationalist slogans at her (Radikal 2011). A Kurdish man in the Avcılar district of Istanbul was killed in the fall of 2015 for singing in Kurdish (Umut Gazetesi 2015). In terms of citizens on the streets, a Kurdish hotel worker and his cousin were attacked in the fall of 2014 by a mob of fifteen men in Antalya for speaking Kurdish. One of the men died, and the other was severely injured (Radikal 2014). In the Kagithane district of Istanbul during the fall of 2015, a recent migrant from the Kurdish region of Batman was stabbed by six men while speaking Kurdish on his cell phone at a bus stop (Turgut 2015).

This investigation into local-situational policies with respect to trans-local and national contexts provides new insights into a classic debate about agency. It has been inspired by Block's (2012) review of the topic and his call for always considering the larger socio-cultural setting when interpreting local-situational sociolinguistic data from any individual (often small-scale) research site. Discussion of this debate often begins with Marx, who asserts that individuals' actions are never novel but, rather, pre-determined: they are grounded in the traditions passed down from their ancestors (Marx 1972 [1852] in Block 2012: 50). Bourdieu (1977), similar to Marx, points to individual action as a reproduction of the cultural context in which it is embedded. He emphasizes the central role of the habitus in perception formation and decision-making. As the habitus comprises a set of values that are shaped by individuals' social reality, these social realities guide individual action. Through its reconceptualization of individual action as determined by the habitus rather than a pre-determined formula, Bourdieu's perspective can be considered a softening of Marxist thinking. Nevertheless, Bourdieu emphasizes the dominance of social structures through his rejection of the individuals' capacity to act consciously and deliberately (Bourdieu 1977).

Since Bourdieu, other researchers have departed further from Marx. Giroux, for example, emphasizes the incomplete nature of reproduction; furthermore, he points to individuals' ever-present access to the "partially realized elements of opposition" that allow them to act independently of hegemonic forces (1983: 283). Similarly, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) imbue individual free will with greater power. With the breakdown of traditional units of society, they reason, social structures cannot be reproduced. In this vacuum, individuals reinvent themselves in autonomous ways. Ortner (2006) and Archer (2000, 2007) also deviate from Bourdieu by criticizing his failure to recognize the ability of individuals – who necessarily include researchers like him who analyze such matters – to reflect on their own social circumstances. Both Ortner (2006) and Archer (2000, 2007), nevertheless, consider social structure as strongly influential of individual action. Unlike Ortner (2006), Archer (2000, 2007) specifies that the magnitude of this influence varies depending upon the degree to which individuals undertake – or do not undertake – 'projects', all of which require individuals to engage with the social structures present in a given environment. If one is not currently undertaking a project, one can disengage with the social dynamics of the setting. Finally, Ahearn (2001: 112) emphasizes the power of the socio-cultural setting to constrain individual free will in her oft-quoted definition of agency as the "socio-culturally mediated capacity to act", and Block (2012) echoes this position in his reminder to always allow larger scale social structures to inform analyses of local research sites. In this way, the agency debate spans from Marx's position that envisions social structure as all-dominant to Beck and Beck-Gernsheim's (2002) position that rejects traditional social structures' influence on individuals' actions

because of the current era's break from these traditions. In the middle lie Ortner (2006), Archer (2000, 2007), Ahearn (2001), and Block (2012) who point out individuals' potential to act consciously but also recognize the importance of the social circumstances that contextualize this potential.

This debate has been applied to language. Bourdieu's (1977, 1982) theory of *symbolic capital* and, by extension, the *symbolic market* parallels his position on agency: the language variety favored by the elite reflects the dominant language of the marketplace, which he envisions as unified and central within a national context. Furthermore, the capital associated with this variety at the macro (central) level is recognized at the local (peripheral) level. In the same way that individual action is shaped by surrounding social structures, Bourdieu posits that practices and policies in the periphery orient to those of the center. As with the more general discussion about agency discussed above, some of the subsequent language policy and ideology literature departs from Bourdieu by presenting sites with language practices that deviate from the prestigious norms of the center. Woolard's (1985) analysis of language attitudes in Catalonia that do not align with regional attitudes and practices represents one such example; she introduces the concept of *alternative marketplaces* to provide a category for such exceptions to Bourdieu's symbolic markets. More recently, Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck's (2005) profile of the language practices of a mixed migrant community in Ghent, Belgium provides an example in which speakers borrow from trans-nationally prestigious varieties rather than the one which is prestigious within the national and more local context of Belgium. Blommaert et al.'s (2005) description of standard literacy practices in a South African township school, too, shows deviation from Bourdieu and alignment with Woolard (1985) through its description of the language policy of an institution located in the periphery that orients simultaneously to local, non-standard language practices and those of the dominant society. In their (2013) edited volume on multilingualism in the periphery, Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes tie such discussions more explicitly to center-periphery dynamics. Hiss (2017) provides a more recent contribution to this literature through his analysis of the language practices at a multilingual copper mine in the peripheral space of nineteenth century northern Norway where economic interests supersede the language norms of the center. In each of these studies, positionality in the periphery, which, according to Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes (2013) is defined only according to a given perspective and with respect to the center, allows for deviation from the center's norms. In the current study, peripherality emerges as a variable that influences language policy; findings from the current study, thus, add to the recent literature that discusses center-periphery distinctions with respect to language policy and practice.

Such studies that discuss the short-comings of Bourdieu point to an important criticism of his work: its embeddedness in modernity and, as such, its limited application to the socio-

political dynamics that influence language practice in the current post-modern era (Archer 2007; Blommaert 2010; Block 2012). Bourdieu's work took the nation-state as an a priori reality; references to macro-level influences could often be interpreted as national influences. With increased mobility, however, the situation has become messier (Blommaert 2010): a migrant may orient to the norms of more than one national context. The emergence of supra-national entities through globalization, in tandem with strengthening neoliberal structures, further complicates the clear identification of the macro-level. In light of the additional spheres of influence that have been added to the Bourdieusian model, the traditional micro-macro dichotomy has become overly simplistic (Li Wei 2012). Moreover, attention to the influential structures that lie between the two poles has long represented a subject of discussion in the LPP literature, including the multi-layered onion (Ricento & Hornberger 1996). The concept of *scales* (Blommaert 2007, 2015) has been adopted to refer to the relative widening and narrowing of scope of given sociolinguistic contexts without the presupposition that only two (micro vs. macro) levels exist. Incorporated within this notion of scales is the idea that the microscopic local-situational scale is generally fashioned according to higher-order scales, which, according to Blommaert, frame utterances before speakers verbally realize them (2007: 77). Following Hult (2010), this paper applies the notion of scales to the analysis of language policy and practice.

With this multi-scalar vision of a post-modern system, much of the literature – starting with Heller's (2003) work on globalization and the new economy and Urry's (2007) work on mobility – has pointed to a paradigm shift in which mobility and neoliberal forces play a central role in our analysis of sociolinguistic phenomena (cf. Blommaert 2010; Duchêne and Heller 2012; Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes 2013; Flubacher and Del Percio 2017; Lorente 2017). In a more recent summary about individuals' national vs. global orientations in the current era, Block (2018) contends that "the nation-state may still be a point of reference for the neoliberal citizen, but, progressively, affiliations are stretched to global collectives" (p. 104). As the socio-political structures that mediate an individual's capacity to act vary according to this point of reference, an important goal of the current paper (as reflected in research question 2 below) also includes investigation into the relative influence of local, trans-local, regional, national, and supra-national scaled structures that act upon the participants at the local-situational setting. In this way, it provides further insight into the degree to which a nation-state orientation vs. trans-national orientation fits a Turkish example of a multilingual workplace that exists in the current neoliberal era. This paper's theoretical focus, thus, uses an analysis of language policy in Istanbul to address the larger theoretical concerns of agency and its embeddedness within social structures in the current neoliberal era. Toward this end, it targets the three research questions that appear below.

Research Questions:

By drawing on interview and observation data from four different eating establishments located in the same district of Istanbul, the current study offers a sample of different approaches to language policy by individual Kurdish managers who are positioned similarly within the same socio-political setting. Analysis of these data allow for informed answers to the following questions:

To what degree are the language policies influenced by the social structures present in the local and trans-local setting vs. individual free will?

What do the findings suggest about the relative influence of the socio-political structures present on local, regional, national, vs. supra-national scales?

Which definition(s) of agency do these findings best support?

Methods:

The current study adopted an ethnographic approach, which, as outlined in Hornberger & Johnson (2007), can serve as an effective tool through which to gain nuanced insight into the multi-layered structures that affect language policy. Data for this paper are part of a follow-up study to an investigation conducted over a 1.5 year period between 2012 and 2013 that addressed, through mixed methods, the (in)visibility of Kurdish at eleven Kurdish eating establishments in Istanbul. The data from this study showed that three times more Kurdish was spoken in work environments to which customers did not have access than those in the same eating establishment to which customers had access. Results suggested that the managers' positioning as minority employers provided greater freedom to hire Kurdish employees and speak Kurdish behind closed doors. However, this freedom was largely restricted when determining language policy in front of customers (Schluter and Sansarkan 2014).

In an effort to explore further the theme of language policy in these eating establishments' dining rooms, a second round of data collection took place at the same research sites between 2014 and 2015. It consisted of semi-structured interviews with thirteen Kurdish managers at the eleven eating establishments. Each interview addressed larger questions related to the managers' language attitudes and workplace language policies, including the spaces, the conditions, and the degree to which they were enforced. Following these discussions, participants outlined their motivations for implementing their policies.

To help contextualize and verify the data collected from these interviews, the methods also included observations of the workplaces during peak and off-peak working hours. In addition to varying the times of day during which observation took place, we also made sure to visit the eating establishments at different times of year (i.e. high tourist season in the summer vs. low tourist season in the winter) as both considerations helped to determine the types of

customers who entered the research sites and they, in turn, influenced the employees' language practices. During this time, we also conducted interviews with five frequent customers. For the purposes of the current paper, the presented data are limited to observations as well as interview quotes and paraphrases of four managers and one customer of the eleven eating establishments. The interviews took place primarily in Turkish but also included some utterances in Kurdish and English. As notes were taken during the interviews in English, however, the quotes presented here also appear in English.

The managers who participated in the study were also partial owners of the eating establishments. All are male migrants from Turkey's Southeast who moved to Istanbul between twelve and twenty-three years prior to the study (with an average length of residence in Istanbul of fifteen years.) Aged between twenty-seven and forty-three at the time of the second round of data collection, all had been in Turkey's Southeast during the eighties and/or early nineties, a period during which the Turkish military undertook some of the most brutal crackdowns on its ethnically Kurdish citizens in history. The memory of this bloody conflict remained vivid in a number of the participants' minds; moreover, as will be shown later, it played a role in some of the participants' decisions about the language policy of their eating establishments. All of the participants were dominant in Kurmanji Kurdish and spoke this language with their parents; however, they had developed into Kurdish-Turkish bilinguals since arriving in Istanbul. The hometowns of the four managers featured below include Muş (participant: Mazin), Diyarbakır (participant: Salih), Silvan (participant: Erdem), and Silvan/Hakkari (participant: Azad, who moved due to forced migration).

The relationships developed during the previous study allowed the managers to feel comfortable with the research conducted at their workplaces. The benefits of this pre-established relationship were two-fold: achieving access was straightforward, and their responses to interview questions were candid. An important reason for the rapport between researchers and participants included the alignment of pro-Kurdish political opinion. This bias is stated openly here. As a product of qualitative measures that rely on such shared political perspectives and previously established relationships, therefore, the interpretations of the data presented here carry some degree of subjectivity. At the same time, however, this positionality also facilitated – relative to studies in which participants and researchers do not share political perspectives – the collection of richer data that allowed for a more informed analysis of language policies in these workplaces.

The setting:

Local-Situational: All four of the eating establishments featured in this paper are situated within walking distance of one another in Taksim, Istanbul. Their location in an important entertainment district puts them in close proximity to numerous competitors. As many of the nearby businesses display very similar menus, customer service represents a primary distinguishing feature between them. Local culture values efficient, pleasant customer service; customers who do not receive such service can very easily take their business elsewhere. This high value placed on customers' satisfaction is rooted in power asymmetries

between customers and staff; the friendly and professional service provided by lower status workers acts as a strategy for appealing to higher status customers. The ubiquity of such social structures in the businesses profiled here influences both language policy and practice.

These businesses are located within a half kilometer of Taksim Square on side streets with varying degrees of proximity to the pedestrian zone of İstiklal Caddesi, the social hub of European Istanbul. By applying the metric of the symbolic market to this context, İstiklal – through its generation of considerable revenue and resonance with both the Turkish and foreign elite – qualifies as part of the center. From a situational standpoint, each establishment's position can also be described with respect to its relative physical proximity to this center. Figure 1 (below) provides a visual display of the eating establishments with respect to the center, neighboring districts, and one another.

Local: This area attracts a large cross-section of the Turkish population as well as foreigners who come here for social activity and entertainment. The trendy district of Cihangir, with its expensive cafes, bars, and restaurants, borders the Southern side of this section of the pedestrian zone. Tarlabası Boulevard, a busy thoroughfare named for the notoriously high crime district to its north, marks the northern boundary of the İstiklal area. Although Tarlabası has been gentrified and parts of it have been converted to a tourist-friendly pedestrian zone, some elements associated with Tarlabası, like prostitution, remain.

In addition to serving as an important social hub, this area has also traditionally provided a space for political protest. The mood of the local setting is, therefore, partly shaped by the very local political climate of the moment. Although the picture has since changed with the government's increased intolerance of those expressing anti-government sentiment, Taksim Square and İstiklal Caddesi were the backdrops of the Gezi Park anti-government protests in the spring of 2013. Due in part to Taksim's history as a gathering place for protestors, there is a strong police presence in the area. Taksim, with İstiklal as its center, has traditionally been a place for everyone, including law enforcement and the Kurdish managers in this study. The wide-ranging demographics represented by those who frequent Taksim can also be used to describe the potential customers of the Kurdish eating establishments profiled here.

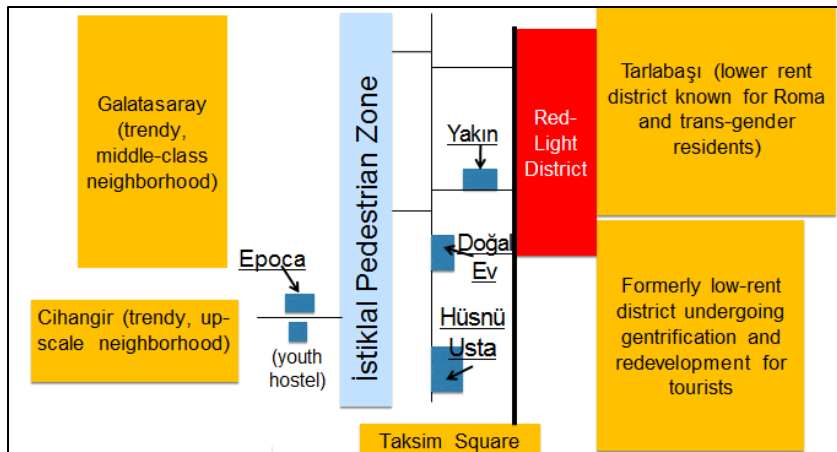


Figure 1: Map of featured eating establishments (Taksim)

Regional: As Turkey's largest city, Istanbul holds considerable economic importance. The city has a long tradition of welcoming internal and international migrants, many of whom have come to seek education and employment opportunities unavailable to them in their hometowns. A number of Istanbul's migrants, like many of the Turkish Kurds who arrived in the eighties and early nineties as well as the Syrians and Iraqis of today, have also been fleeing war zones. Generations of migrants from Turkey's Southeast have contributed to a sizeable Kurdish population, many of whom have assimilated quickly (within a single generation) into cosmopolitan Istanbul. According to Goffman (1959), language qualifies as a 'discreditable' feature, or one that is possible to hide, especially for those born in Istanbul. As language represents the clearest indication of a Kurdish migrant's affiliation with this stigmatized group, it is common for them to manage their image by hiding – through language choice and accent modification – their Kurdish roots (Polat 2011). The long history of migration to Istanbul continues through today with an influx of Iraqis and Syrians, some of whom are also Kurdish.

National: Built from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire in 1923, Turkish citizens trace the founding of their nation to the battlefield victories against various factions – many of whom represented powerful European interests – across the territory known today as Turkey. A fierce nationalism sprang from these beginnings, and the daily rituals and curriculum of the Turkish public education system reflect it. All Turkish males experience this nationalism again during their mandatory military service. The linguistic landscape throughout Turkey reinforces such nationalistic sentiment through the display of nationalistic slogans and symbols. These slogans and symbols are especially abundant in Turkey's largely Kurdish Southeast, where they are likely a part of the Turkish government's ongoing strategy to assimilate Kurds.

Such strategies are a by-product of Turkey's centrally controlled nation-state structure that promotes a monocultural, monolingual conception of Turkish identity. Through this lens, the use of Turkish symbolizes a shared national identity; the use of a non-Turkish language represents a challenge to national unity. Turkey's notoriously restrictive policies toward minority languages, including Kurdish, have emerged from this tradition. These attempts at Turkifying Kurds have led to a much chronicled history of exclusion of Kurdish culture in Turkish society through the 1990's; such actions have contributed to large-scale assimilation on the one hand and armed resistance on the other (Içduygu, Romano & Sirkeci 1999). Moreover, politicians' allusions to Kurdish attempts to divide Turkey through terrorism still resonate with many Turks today. The managers profiled here have all grown up in the shadow of the Kurdish-Turkish conflict in the Southeast. In Istanbul, as in the case of Izmir (Saraçoğlu 2011), casual observers may mistake them for players in this ongoing national conflict if they display their Kurdish identity.

Supra-national: Iraqi Kurdish fighters played a visible role in the first Gulf War in the nineties and, as a result, raised the profile of Kurds throughout the region. The Kurdish issue eventually became a point of discussion between Turkey and its NATO allies. Later, when Turkish officials participated in talks with EU officials about their bid to join the Union, the

improvement of human rights, especially those of Kurds, represented one of the key criteria for the EU's consideration of Turkey. This pressure contributed to the Kurdish Opening described above. Such developments cast light on an alternative channel in which to appeal for enhanced freedoms: actions that may be carried out in Turkey may initially have limited effect; however, their impact may be magnified when directed at an international audience.

Kurdish satellite television stations, such as the banned Roj TV (now Sterk TV), which are broadcast by the Kurdish diaspora in Europe and are accessible to the Kurdish populations across Turkey, Iraq, Syria, and Iran have created a pan-Kurdish identity, or as Sakr (2002) describes it in his analysis of the station, "Kurdistan in space". Membership in such a supra-national community has provided Kurds with a different context through which to view their identity: a Pan-Kurdish identity offers a picture of ethnicity and nationality that, when considered through the nation-state perspective projected by the Turkish education system and propaganda machine, do not conflict with one another.

Interview Data and Analysis:

Epoca and Yakın Meat Restaurant: No Turkish allowed in the dining room

Out of the four managers interviewed, two of them, Mazin and Erdem, maintain a strict no-Kurdish language policy in the areas accessible to customers. Mazin's interview and observation data appear first, followed by that of Erdem.

Mazin runs Epoca, a restaurant on the south side of İstiklal that is also located near the trendy, upscale district of Cihangir. His younger brother is in charge of the kitchen, and his youngest sister helps to serve customers when she is not in school. Away from work, they address each other primarily in Kurdish, but they are careful to use Kurdish in the dining room at the restaurant. Mazin and his family are originally from Muş but immigrated to Istanbul in 1987 without any education or knowledge of Turkish. His brother and sister continued in school, and he went to work. He acquired Turkish in workplaces that catered to Turkish customers and is currently trying to acquire English. He expresses a positive attitude toward all three languages.

In reference to his restaurant's language policy, he states, "We have this rule not to speak Kurdish in front of customers. We used to warn [the employees], but now we just make sure they're aware." When describing the reason for his policy, Mazin refers to negative experiences at his previous restaurant in which his open display of his Kurdish identity made him the target of attacks by people who believed him to be a part of the militarized Kurdish movement group, the PKK. He fears that open use of Kurdish at this workplace may, once again, lead to such associations and negative consequences; he does not want to expose his business and employees to such risk again. Even though Mazin enforces this rule, his opinion about such policies is negative: "We have to speak 100% Turkish [at work] because of the psychology of society. If I could choose, I would choose Kurdish [at work]." He also considers the effects of speaking so much Turkish: "First, you are forced to speak Turkish. Then you get used to it. We

“speak Turkish so much because of work that it becomes a habit. We have become like robots.” Although he is the manager and owner of the restaurant, he views himself as powerless to choose a language policy that would be more in line with his language preferences.

Based exclusively on these interview data, social structures appear to dictate individual agency completely. Moreover, the tracing of Mazin’s Turkish-only language policy to his negative personal experiences suggests alignment with Bourdieu (1977): his characterization of the habit of speaking Turkish as robotic points to the unconscious nature of this language practice. An analysis that explores beyond the denotational meaning of these interview excerpts, however, suggests that he possesses more individual agency than Bourdieu (1977) would predict. For example, it is clear that, at least for him, his use of Turkish at the restaurant is a conscious act. Unlike in Bourdieu’s framing of the reproduction of hegemonic forces, Mazin shows the capacity to deviate from social norms through his use of Kurdish at his previous workplace. Furthermore, his ability to identify this unconscious habit indicates his capacity to reflect on it. This finding provides support for Ortner’s (2006) and Archer’s (2000, 2007) conceptualizations of agency that allow for individuals to be conscious of the connections between their actions and the social structures that frame them.

Observation of his restaurant showed evidence of his employees’ adherence to this language policy when speaking to one another in the dining room. Indeed, they could only be overheard speaking Turkish. Nevertheless, through his musical selection, we found Mazin himself engaged in a small act of resistance to his own language policy. Mixed among Spanish, French, Portuguese, and English-language songs, Kurdish-language songs sometimes played through the speakers in the dining room. This act of resistance was invisible to the Turkish customers as they likely classified the songs together with the other foreign music they heard. Such resistance was noteworthy, however, because it made reference to a point Mazin had made in his interview about some of his previous Turkish employers’ language policies. Speaking Kurdish with other employees in these workplaces, regardless of the presence of Turkish customers, “would be reason to lose a job. Even a [Kurdish-language] newspaper or song would be enough.” In this way, while Mazin’s language policy may appear to be a conscious reproduction of the language policies he experienced as an employee, this finding shows an example, in line with Giroux (1983), in which the powers of reproduction are incomplete. Mazin may enforce similar rules as his previous managers who disdained the Kurdish culture and language; however, he has also shown some resistance to them.

Together with his uncle, Erdem owns and manages Yakın Meat Restaurant. Both are migrants from Silvan, a region outside of Diyarbakır from which many Kurds were forced to migrate in the nineties. Yakın Meat Restaurant is a prepared food cafeteria in the small streets on the other side of İstiklal that is closer to Tarlaşa. The proximity of this business to a lower-rent residential area, combined with the quick accessibility of its inexpensive, ready-made food, attracts predominantly single, low income males whose apartments lack kitchens of their own. These regulars typically come by themselves and stay for limited amounts of time; eating – rather than gathering with others and socializing – represents their primary objective. The resulting atmosphere of the dining room is, relative to the others profiled here, anonymous.

Furthermore, it influences the business's language policy. As the owners are unfamiliar with the clientele and their political beliefs, they do not know whether contact with Kurdish would be disturbing. They suspect that it would be. Erdem's description of language practice, thus, relies on the presence or absence of customers: "We speak 100% Kurdish in the kitchen... In the dining room, we speak 50-70% Kurdish when we are alone. We speak 100% Turkish if there are customers." Furthermore, Erdem explains, if the employees are communicating with one another in Kurdish when a customer arrives, they immediately switch to Turkish. Our observations and earlier transcript analysis of the cafeteria support this claim: Turkish represents the only language of the dining room which was observed, recorded, and transcribed.

This switch between Kurdish and Turkish is also quite present in Erdem's communication with his uncle. He explains, "While we are working, we speak Turkish. When we are by ourselves, we speak Kurdish. We're from the same town and we're also relatives, so it's more natural [to speak Kurdish]." Kurdish is, thus, the unmarked language of communication between Erdem and his uncle. Despite a change in setting, interlocutor, and topic, this pattern persists in the kitchen, to which customers do not have access. However, with the introduction of an additional participant, a customer, within the setting of the dining room, individual language choice comes into contact with local social expectations. In this situation, Erdem and his uncle adopt the less natural code to communicate with one another. The local social norms, thus, appear to dictate individual action and to supersede Erdem and his uncle's default language practice. The anonymity of the cafeteria, too, contributes to this dominance of social structure. With its lack of knowledge of customers' political views, Erdem remains mindful of every customer's potentially anti-Kurdish viewpoints.

The militarization and forced migration of Erdem's hometown during the late eighties and early nineties, combined with current tensions in the region, have left Erdem and his uncle with little appetite to make their workplace a site of conflict. Indeed, during our data collection, the fallout from the most recent Kurdish-Turkish clashes in the Southeast had brought Turkish flag-wearing nationalists together to advocate their cause on İstiklal. Wary of these protestors' presence, Erdem warned us to refrain from behavior and/or dialogue that may identify us as pro-Kurdish. Although he does not refer to an explicit rule, Erdem's description of his workplace's implicit language policy and its roots in his self-preservation mirror those of Mazin. Both men view their individual agency as tightly constrained by social structure; personal experiences have fostered an awareness of these constraints and have led them to reproduce the prevailing social norms through their workplace language policies. In Mazin's case, this reproduction is conscious. The degree to which Erdem and his uncle are conscious of this reproduction is less clear. As Ortner (2006) allows for this to be both a conscious and unconscious phenomenon, her conception of agency appears to be best suited for Mazin's and Erdem's workplace language policies.

Hüsnü's Kebap House and Doğal Ev: Some room for Kurdish in the dining room

In terms of the other two eating establishments' language policies, both fall short of a 100% Turkish rule. While one business places more limitations than the other on Kurdish-language communication in front of customers, both allow workers to address their Kurdish customers in Kurdish. Unlike those in Yakın Meat Restaurant, employees in these workplaces attempt to foster relationships with their customers. If customers prefer to communicate in Kurdish, waiters have some flexibility to build relationships in Kurdish. The use of Kurdish for receiving some Kurdish customers helps to highlight two competing social norms that workers try to balance. On the one hand, local social norms dictate that the eating establishments project themselves as Turkish monolingual workplaces. On the other hand, Turkish and Kurdish cultures also place a high value on hospitality. As connections with some customers can best be achieved through friendly, courteous service in the shared first language, Kurdish-language service can function as a resource for creating a loyal customer base. The degree to which employees exploit this resource is largely tied to the language policy and practice specific to each workplace, which is tied further to their fear of a backlash from their Turkish customers.

Salih, a migrant from Diyarbakir, is one of two managers at one of these two eating establishments. Together with his uncle who is also from Diyarbakir, he runs Hüsnü's Kebap House, which is located approximately 200 meters from Taksim Square on a small street. Similar to Yakın Meat Restaurant, it is located on the north side of İstiklal. Unlike Yakın Meat Restaurant, however, it is closer to the gentrified tourist district than to Tarlabası. Through his workplace language policy, Salih seeks to create a Turkish-dominant dining room but also recognizes the value of welcoming Kurdish customers in their native language. He estimates that thirty percent of his customers are Kurdish and that they provide word-of-mouth advertising for his eatery. This comment marks an additional difference from Yakın Meat Restaurant: employees at Hüsnü's Kebap House initiate and foster relationships with their customers.

Similar to Mazin's and Erdem's descriptions, the presence or absence of customers influences language policy, including the workers' switch to Turkish if Turkish customers arrive during a Kurdish-language exchange between co-workers: "When we realize [the customers] are Turkish, we change immediately. We do not give them the chance to be offended. We do this to obey work regulations." When referring to a scenario in which a Turkish customer might overhear a Kurdish-language customer-employee exchange, he repeats the same policy almost verbatim: "we don't allow the customers to react. When we realize they are Turkish, we change immediately [to Turkish]. So, we do this to obey the work regulations." His repeated reference to his commitment to "workplace regulations", together with his reflexive vision of Kurdish as potentially offensive, suggests that he has internalized values linked to the social structures that frame monolingual Turkish workplace settings.

As the interview continues, however, he distances himself from these values. He deems his approach to be necessary but unfortunate: "The workplace is where you earn your bread, so you have to respect the rule not to speak Kurdish in front of Turks, but it shouldn't be that way. Everyone should respect each other's language." His status as a manager technically grants him the power to shape the language policy in his workplace according to his own language

attitudes, which consider Kurdish and Turkish to be equally worthy of respect. However, such a vision is at odds with his understanding of workplace regulations, which require that Kurdish employees speak Turkish in front of customers.

Through their clear mapping of the local social structure onto the local-situational setting, Salih's comments suggest that, similar to Erdem and Mazin, workplace regulations override managers' language attitudes. The rules dictated by social structures dominate any rules he may introduce. He differs from Mazin and Erdem, however, in defining the boundaries of the territory to which this reproduction of social norms applies. Rather than applying the Turkish-only rule to all interactions in the dining room (as in *Epoca*) or to all interactions in the dining room when a single Turkish customer is present (as in *Yakın Meat Restaurant*), Salih determines the appropriateness of Kurdish according to individual employees' proximity to Turkish customers. Within this Turkish-only space, Salih's language policy suggests a conception of agency that is largely determined by prevailing social structures rather than the individual capacity to determine them. Similar to Mazin, both his disapproval of this language policy and ability to discuss it suggest an awareness of this reproduction that fits with Ortner's (2006) and Archer's (2000, 2007) definitions. At the same time, his reconceptualization of the boundaries that divide Turkish-only zones from Kurdish-friendly spaces suggests that, while reproduction might be considerable, it is possible to narrow the scope of reproduction as the individual deems appropriate.

An interview with a frequent Kurdish customer, together with observations of Hüsni's Kebab House, provides further evidence of the capacity to make judgements that do not reflect prevalent social structures. The interviewee, a fifty year-old owner of a small, inexpensive clothing shop located a twenty minute walk from this eatery, estimates that he comes to Hüsni's Kebab House at least once each week. Along the way, he walks past numerous other kebab eateries with menus that closely resemble that of Hüsni's. He keeps returning to this eatery because of the workers' sincere, Kurdish-language reception. His loyalty underlines potential financial benefits of using Kurdish with customers. As the owner of a business that has been the site of conflict with police, however, he deems the cost of speaking Kurdish in the workplace to be greater than this benefit. He emphasizes that the presence of any Kurdish at the workplace can be interpreted as a pro-Kurdish political statement. Since many people, including potential customers, associate Kurdish politics with terrorism, this becomes a very risky business practice. Viewed through this lens, Salih's decision to allow Kurdish-language conversations to cater to Kurdish customers in the dining room appears far more rebellious.

As a supplement to these interview data, observations show some use of Kurdish in an additional domain: employees' clarifications with one another about confusing orders. While this use of Kurdish only occurs between employees in close proximity and is likely inaudible to most customers, its very presence in inter-employee communication indicates resistance to prevailing social norms. These waiters are not the robots to whom Mazin refers. In customer-employee interactions, the use of Kurdish could be justified as a means by which to satisfy the competing social norm that places a high value on customer service, especially in the case of older Kurdish customers who may lack proficiency in Turkish. In inter-employee interactions,

however, the same justification does not apply. Speaking Kurdish in this context, thus, presents a bolder challenge to social structures. Both of these findings point to the relevance of Giroux's (1983) interpretation of agency: while reproduction is a wide-spread phenomenon, elements of resistance emerge alongside it.

Resistance features even more prominently in the language policy of Azad, the fourth of the Kurdish managers interviewed. A native of Silvan and Hakkari, Azad experienced the Kurdish-Turkish conflict first-hand and remains deeply resentful of the injustices Kurds in Turkey have historically suffered. He has spent several years in Iraqi Kurdistan, a region he describes in very positive terms for its acceptance of open displays of Kurdish identity, including open use of Kurdish. He deeply resents the forced adoption of Turkish as the dominant language in Turkey, and the language policy of his restaurant, Doğal Ev, reflects his strong preference for Kurdish. In terms of his restaurant's location, it is situated on the north side of İstiklal approximately one block away from Yakın Meat Restaurant. In terms of its language policy, however, there is substantial distance between the two eating establishments. As with Hüsnü's Kebab House, this difference can be largely tied to relationships with Kurdish customers.

Through friendly Kurdish-language greetings and service, Azad and his employees have built a largely Kurdish clientele. In fact, he estimates that Kurdish customers from Iraq, Syria, and Turkey represent 80% of his local clientele during the day and 50% at night. International tourists, many of whom are lured by the restaurant's colorful and authentic-looking Eastern Anatolian décor, also frequent the restaurant in high numbers during the summer season. The presence of tourists allows greater freedom to deviate from the Turkish-dominant norms: workers assume them to be either unable to distinguish between Kurdish and Turkish or indifferent to this distinction. Azad explains that, in fact, no language policy exists at his restaurant; employees are free to speak the language of their choice. His co-manager backs up this statement. Moreover, Azad indicates that he feels closer to his employees when they communicate in Kurdish. If they have to communicate in Turkish, they do their best to "keep it short." Azad is conscious of the prevailing social structure, and he assumes the risks associated with challenging it. To give in to these challenges, he reasons, is to "accept assimilation". Such a perspective runs counter to predictions based on Bourdieu's habitus: Azad's awareness of his restaurant's positioning within larger local and trans-local social structures allows him to make a deliberate choice in his restaurant to avoid being an agent of reproduction.

Observation of Azad's workplace and reviews of the transcripts show that, indeed, Kurdish is used to greet, take orders, and make small talk with Kurdish customers. In light of the majority Kurdish clientele and Azad's stated language policy, this finding is not surprising. However, it is surprising to find that, in fact, much of the waiter-cook and waiter-waiter communication in the dining room takes place in Turkish. When asked about this observation, Azad acknowledges pressure to project a monolingual Turkish identity when Turkish customers or police are within earshot, but he simultaneously expresses his discontent: "We are speaking Turkish because we have to in this country. It's not a nice language." With these words, Azad references the considerable pressure for people in his position to comply with social norms. His

strong desire to act independently of them is insufficient for opposing them completely. Through this example of language data collected at a small-scale research site that cannot be fully and accurately analyzed without consideration of the socio-political framing, this finding helps to support Block (2012). In line with his emphasis on considering the larger-scale social structures that influence these smaller-scale studies, an awareness of the local pressures to adhere to monolingual Turkish norms, which, according to his description above, have trickled down from national-scale ideologies, is important for interpreting the language practices on the local-situational scale at Azad's restaurant.

Although Doğal Ev caters primarily to an ethnic niche market, it is still subject to some of the social norms of the local mainstream marketplace. In this way, it simultaneously orients to the center of a Kurdish alternative marketplace (Woolard 1985) as well as its mainstream Turkish equivalent. The degree to which it is possible to make this orientation to an alternative marketplace visible to the public, according to interview results, is in part determined by the businesses' relative proximity to the center of the symbolic market, İstiklal pedestrian zone. For this reason, Azad explains, "We wouldn't have the opportunity to speak any Kurdish if our business were in the middle [of İstiklal]. We don't like this fact." It is, thus, not surprising that Eopca, which is between İstiklal and the trendy Cihangir district exhibits Turkish-only language policies. Central vs. peripheral location, thus, emerges from this analysis as a salient distinction and helps to describe the potential for an alternative marketplace (Woolard 1985) to form. Businesses located in the center are too closely bound to its language norms to orient to a Kurdish center. As businesses become more peripheral, there is less oversight and they attract different kinds of customers; employees of these businesses can use Kurdish to cater more openly to Kurdish customers and to match more closely the language practices of alternative marketplaces.

Discussion and Conclusion

Through interview and observation data, a range of approaches to dining room language policy have emerged. In Mazin's restaurant (Epoca), an explicit policy restricts Kurdish to spaces to which customers do not have access. Nevertheless, Mazin occasionally plays Kurdish music in the dining room to challenge his own policy in a way that is only clear to Kurdish speakers. Employees at Erdem's cafeteria (Yakın Meat Restaurant), too, are required to speak Turkish at all times when any customers are present; however, Kurdish is commonly spoken when the dining room is empty. Salih's eatery (Hüsnü's Kebap House) allows some use of Kurdish primarily to cater to Kurdish customers, but the language policy renders this use of Kurdish inaudible to the Turkish customers. Finally, Azad's restaurant (Doğal Ev) has the most liberal language policy that does not specifically restrict any language. In practice, a lot of Turkish is still spoken between employees; Kurdish is reserved primarily for interactions with Kurdish customers.

In the cases of Epoca and Hüsnü's Kebap House, therefore, explicit language policies restrict the use of Kurdish in front of customers. Yakın Meat Restaurant adheres to a more implicit language policy to avoid using Kurdish when customers are present. As Kurdish is the unmarked language of communication between Erdem and his co-owner and uncle, the use of Turkish in the dining room signals the presence of a customer and serves as a model for employees to speak Turkish. In contrast to the managers at these three establishments, Azad does not outline any implicit or explicit language policy for his employees at Doğal Ev. Thus, in three of the four eating establishments profiled here, managers have introduced language policies that restrict the use of Kurdish. In two of the four, managers state these policies explicitly to their employees.

These findings allow for informed reflection on the topics of the first two research questions, the first of which investigates the classical question of agency: to what degree does individual free will vs. existing social structure influence the language policies of the eating establishments profiled here? Following this query, it becomes possible to address the second research question, which focuses on characterizing the relative influence of the existing socio-political structures on local, regional, national, vs. supra-national scales.

In terms of the question of agency, the preceding analysis points to the dominance of local and trans-local structures that reinforce Turkish nationalist ideologies; they are largely responsible for the creation of monolingual Turkish settings for Turkish customers in the three eating establishments with language policies. At Doğal Ev, the eating establishment that has no policy, Azad's approach represents an attempt to oppose these social structures and assert his individual free will. Moreover, his Pan-Kurdish identity, strengthened through his earlier residence in the Kurdish-dominant region of Northern Iraq, provides him with a perspective that allows him to view these structures in a more critical manner. His international Kurdish clientele helps to reinforce this perspective, and the regular presence of foreign tourists at Doğal Ev provide additional space in which an orientation to a supra-national scale that conflicts with national and local ones may be acceptable. Nevertheless, Azad describes heavy pressure to conform to the social norms of speaking Turkish in the workplace because of nationalist ideologies; these pressures ultimately help to inform his and his employees' language practices. Furthermore, the police, as representatives of the state and enforcers of the locally dominant structures that maintain the existing hierarchy, exacerbate this pressure during their frequent visits. The employees' adherence to a de facto language policy in the absence of any manager-initiated policy, in fact, suggests that, even despite a shared pan-Kurdish identity at the workplace, these social structures are quite present and influential indeed.

For Mazin and Erdem, policy that is in line with the norms of language practice at the local center (the İstiklal pedestrian zone) represents a strategy for avoiding potential conflict with customers. Rooted in their negative experiences in their southeastern hometowns which serve (and, at times, continue to serve) as active sites of the national Turkish-Kurdish conflict,

their decision to implement policy that minimizes the potential for such conflict in their own workplaces is guided by trans-local structures informed by regional and national scales. In addition to this trans-local basis for his language policy, Mazin can also cite an important reason from the local setting: his resistance to Turkish monolingual norms at his old business that resulted in threats, injury, and, ultimately, his business's failure. For these reasons, Mazin and Erdem adopt the language practices that come out of the dominant social structures in the local setting. Situated between a trendy, upscale neighborhood and İstiklal, Mazin's restaurant is located in a less peripheral setting in which, according to the findings discussed above, pressures to adhere to these language practices are even more pronounced.

At Hüsnü's Kebap House, Salih's perception of Kurdish as potentially offensive to Turkish customers suggests that he has internalized language ideologies used to push the agenda of the Turkish nation-state and, in this way, has allowed national scale structures – also reflected in the language practices of the local center – to dictate his policy. As these visions deviate from his personal belief that Kurdish and Turkish are equally worthy of respect, these findings from the interviews suggest the dominance of social structures over individual free will. At the same time, however, data from observations and an interview with a Kurdish customer show an expanded role for free will. It is one that is tied to the local notions of respect and professionalism that guide customer service. As orienting to the customer's native language can be considered a part of this service, Salih's decision to allow Kurdish customers to be served in Kurdish can be justified by the local social structures that place a high value on friendly customer service. In his attempts to accommodate simultaneously the social norms of monolingual Turkish professionalism as well as customer-oriented service in Kurdish or Turkish, Salih's language policy represents a balancing act that one of his Kurdish customers describes as risky and dangerous. Most likely, Salih is aware of these risks but asserts some free will by continuing to pursue this policy nevertheless.

Among the three eating establishments profiled here that have adopted language policies, local structures, which reflect national-scale ideologies, play influential roles. Although an orientation to a supra-national scale, coupled with a clear opposition to the national and local structures that create pressure to speak in Turkish, guides Azad's decision to avoid implementing any language policy at Doğal Ev, his employees' language practice, nevertheless, reflects adherence to the same structures that inform the other three eating establishments' language policies. Such an orientation suggests that the national scale remains extremely salient in this context despite its de-emphasis in the language and globalization literature (Cf. Heller 2003; Blommaert 2010; Duchêne and Heller 2012; Flubacher and Del Percio 2017; and Lorente 2017) which focus instead on the dominant role of global scales in the current era of neoliberalism. Block's (2018) allowance for some individuals' continued orientation to the national scale is more relevant to the current setting; however, the prominence he places on

the growing importance of global scales is out of proportion with their less influential role here. This finding leaves open the question that, perhaps, the individuals profiled here do not qualify as the neoliberal citizens to which Block (2018) refers. Thus, the current findings support a nation-centric perspective in which the more recently discussed global structures play a role, albeit a small one.

Moreover, as alluded to in the analysis of Doğal Ev, the degree to which such globally and other non-nationally scaled structures may inform language policy and practice relies in large part on the eating establishments' central vs. peripheral locations. Tucked in the more peripheral side streets between İstiklal and lower rent districts, there is some room to deviate from the norms of the center and to assert free will over language choices. Such is the case for Azad at Doğal Ev and Salih at Hüsnü's Kebap House, both of whom allow some Kurdish to serve Kurdish customers. This room for deviation, however, does not apply to all peripherally located businesses as demonstrated by Yakın Meat Restaurant's Turkish-only language policy. In this case, use of the language practices of the center serve as an established default mode of operation that allows employees to avoid conflict with customers with whom they do not cultivate relationships. It is also quite likely that the manager's personal experiences still guide his decisions about policy. The peripherally located businesses profiled here, thus, suggest a greater *potential* to serve an alternative market and to use the language that is prestigious according to an alternate center (Woolard 1985), regardless of whether policy and practice actually reflect this potential. In this way, a center-periphery distinction emerges with respect to the alternative marketplace; moreover, it adds to the literature (Cf. Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck 2005; Blommaert et al. 2005; Kelly-Holmes 2013; and Hiss 2017) on peripheral contexts in which the intensity of the center's influence over language practice is diminished.

In terms of the third research question, namely, which definition(s) of agency the findings support, the interpretations that follow hold relevance. An important theme that has emerged from the preceding analysis includes the effects of participants' past on their present-day language policy judgments. All four came of age in areas that were sites of violent government crackdowns on Kurdish fighters and citizens. All four experienced government policy first-hand that aimed to assimilate them culturally and linguistically into Turkish society. At work in Istanbul, their previous employers all forbade Kurdish at work. Their language policies are informed by these experiences. As Bourdieu's (1977) habitus emphasizes the importance of previous experiences such as these in shaping individuals' values and causing them to reproduce existing social structures, they are relevant to the current findings. To a large degree, the language policies at Epoca and Yakın Meat Restaurant reproduce their experiences as Kurdish speakers in Istanbul workplaces. Reproduction is also present in Hüsnü's Kebap House and Doğal Ev albeit to a lesser degree. Despite such examples of reproduction, however, the ability to speak Kurdish in the workplaces in itself (including spaces not accessible

to customers) represents a departure from language policies at the managers' previous workplaces. This finding mirrors Giroux's (1983) critique of Bourdieu in which he asserts that the forces of reproduction are never complete. The various ways in which each of the managers has committed acts of resistance against these forces, too, provide further support for Giroux in his criticism of Bourdieu.

The unconscious nature of Bourdieu's habitus represents an additional area of criticism by Ortner (2006) and Archer (2000, 2007). Data presented from two out of four of the managers' interviews back up this criticism. Mazin and Azad demonstrate their awareness of social structures that foster monolingual Turkish language practices; moreover, they show distance from these social structures by voicing their disdain for them. Erdem's interview data provide less clarity about his awareness of these social structures; it is possible that he is unaware. With their emphasis on individuals' *potential* – rather than clearly present – awareness, Ortner's (2006) and Archer's (2000, 2007) conceptions of agency are, nevertheless, still applicable. In these ways, the current findings support Ortner's (2006) and Archer's (2000, 2007) definitions of agency more accurately than that of Bourdieu.

With her emphasis on the role of projects as the means by which individuals' engage with social structure, Archer's (2007) position on agency is particularly applicable to the current study in which language policies serve primarily as a means of influencing workers' interactions (projects) with the local public. According to interview data, Turkish workplaces traditionally do not allow their employees to speak any Kurdish at work, regardless of the presence of customers. Each of the participants has narrowed the scope of their language restrictions from 100% Turkish at work to allow for varying amounts of Kurdish in certain contexts. In each case, limitations on speaking Kurdish have been associated with the practical concern of Turkish customers' potential to overhear it. At Epoca, the scope of restriction is the widest of the four eating establishments: there is a clear distinction between dining room and kitchen language policy. Mazin frames employees' projects according to customers' accessibility to the different settings. The scope of restriction narrows slightly at Yakın Meat Restaurant, in which Erdem determines projects according to the presence of Turkish customers in the dining room rather than the space itself. This scope is narrowed further at Hüsnü's Kebap House in which projects are envisioned as engagement with individual customers: it is possible to speak Kurdish as long as it is not overheard by Turkish customers. Although Azad claims to have no language policy at Doğal Ev, the language practices at his restaurant mirror those of Hüsnü's Kebap House. While it is true that these different contexts are sites of partial reproduction, these data suggest that, in the case of the three eating establishments with language policies, this reproduction occurs in contexts that are clearly defined by the managers. In this way, it is possible to identify individual managers' control over their setting through their personal interpretation of the boundaries of their employees' engagement with the public.

As these findings reflect reproduction of existing social structures on the one hand and some free will on the other, they provide evidence of the socially embedded nature of agency. For this reason, they do not support Beck and Beck-Gernsheim's (2002) definition of agency,

which favors individual free will over no-longer-valid forces of reproduction. These small-scale language policies reflect managers' perceptions of their customers' attitudes toward the minority language and, as such, their interpretations of tensions that are rooted in the legacy of restrictive national language policies and more local orientations toward them. Resulting societal pressures restrict restaurant managers' ability to introduce language policies that reflect their language practices and, in line with Ahearn (2001) and Block (2012), provide a reminder of the importance of considering social structure when investigating small-scale research sites.

Concluding Remarks:

The findings from this study provide an example from the current neoliberal era in which global structures have limited influence next to the nation-state, which continues to act as a dominant point of reference for the participants. The eating establishments profiled here show uniformity in their formulation of policy that responds to perceived pressure to project a monolingual Turkish identity in front of Turkish customers. In this way, the four workplaces show an orientation to the language practices of the local center. Given Turkey's highly centralized organizational structure, it is not surprising that these language practices are in step with nationally prominent language ideologies.

Despite this orientation to the nation-state, the influence of the national scale is not complete. Moreover, Bourdieu's concepts of habitus (1977) and symbolic market (1982), which are natural companions to this nation-centric perspective, do not provide a perfect fit for the results: the forces of reproduction are considerable but not omnipotent; moreover, the center does not fully determine the practices of the periphery. The findings presented here, instead, provide evidence to support Ortner's (2006) and Archer's (2000, 2007) definitions of agency, with particular relevance placed on Archer's (2007) concept of projects. With respect to the symbolic market, cracks in this interpretation also exist, especially in the more peripheral eating establishments that serve an alternate market (Woolard 1985). Here, in line with Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck (2005), Blommaert et al. (2005), Kelly-Holmes (2013), and Hiss (2017), there is more potential to deviate from the norms of the center, which, in this case, is strongly influenced by national scales.

The interpretations presented here provide insight from a novel context to contribute to current discussions in the literature about the relative influence of global vs. national scales as well as center vs. periphery status as they interact with multilingual situations in the current era of neoliberalism. Future studies could more thoroughly explore the emergent variables of relationships with customers and managers' personal histories as they relate to the capacity to drive language policy in minority-operated, peripherally-situated workplaces.

References

- Ahearn, L. M. (2001). Language and agency. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 30, 109-37.
- Archer, M. S. (2000). *Being human: The problem of agency*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Archer, M. S. (2007). *Making our way through the world: Human reflexivity and social mobility*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Beck, U. and Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2002). *Individualization*. London: Sage.
- Block, D. (2012). Unpicking agency in sociolinguistic research with migrants. In S. Gardner & M. Martin-Jones (Eds.), *Multilingualism, discourse and ethnography* (pp.47-60). New York and London: Routledge.
- Block, D. (2018). *Political economy in sociolinguistics: Neoliberalism, inequality and social class*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Blommaert, J. (2007). Sociolinguistic scales. *Intercultural Pragmatics*, 4(1), 1-19.
- Blommaert, J. (2010). *The Sociolinguistics of globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blommaert, J. (2015). Chronotopes, scales, and complexity in the study of language in society. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 44, 105-116.
- Blommaert, J., Collins, J., & Slembrouck, S. (2005). Spaces of multilingualism. *Language and Communication*, 25, 197-216
- Blommaert, J., Muylleert, N., Huysmans, M., Dyers, C. (2005). Peripheral normativity: Literacy and the production of locality in a South African township school. *Linguistics and Education*, 16, 378-403.
- Bourdieu, P. (1982). *Ce que parler veut dire: l'économie des échanges linguistiques*. [What speaking means: The economy of linguistic exchanges] Paris: Fayard.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Coşkun, V., Derince, M. Ş., & Uçarlar, N. (2011). *Scar of tongue: consequences of the ban of the use of mother tongue in education and experiences of Kurdish students in Turkey*. Diyarbakır, Turkey: DISA.

- Duchêne, A. & Heller, M. (2012). *Language in late capitalism: Pride and profit*. New York and Oxon, U.K.: Routledge.
- Flubacher, M-C. & Del Percio, A. (Eds.), 2017. *Language, education and neoliberalism: Critical studies in Sociolinguistics*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Giroux, H. A. (1983). Theories of reproduction and resistance in the new sociology of education: a critical analysis. *Harvard Educational Review*, 53(3), 257-293.
- Goffman E. (1956). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh Social Sciences Research Center.
- Heller, M. (2003). Globalization, the new economy, and the commodification of language and identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7(4), 473-492.
- Hiss, F. (2017). Workplace multilingualism in shifting contexts: A historical case. *Language in Society*, 46, 697-718.
- Hornberger, N. H. & Johnson, D. C. (2007). Slicing the onion ethnographically: Layers and spaces in multilingual education policy and practice. *TESOL Quarterly*, 41(3), 509-532.
- Hult, F. (2010). Analysis of language policy discourses across the scales of space and time. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 202, 7-24.
- İçduygu, A., Romano, D., Sirkeci, İ. (1999). The ethnic question in an environment of insecurity: the Kurds in Turkey. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(6), 991-1010.
- Kelly-Holmes, H. (2013). Translation in progress: Centralizing and peripheralizing tensions in the practices of commercial actors in minority language sites. In S. Pietikäinen & H. Kelly-Holmes (Eds.), *Multilingualism and the periphery*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Li Wei. (2012). Introduction to Part I: linking local practices to wider social processes. In S. Gardner & M. Martin-Jones (Eds.), *Multilingualism, discourse and ethnography* (pp. 19-23). New York and London: Routledge.
- Lorente, B. P. (2017). *Scripts of servitude: language, labor, migration, and transnational domestic work*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Ortner, S. (2006). *Anthropology and social Theory: Culture, power, and the acting subject*. Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press.
- Pietikäinen, S. & Kelly-Holmes, H. (2013). Introduction to multilingualism and the periphery In S. Pietikäinen & H. Kelly-Holmes (Eds.), *Multilingualism and the periphery*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Polat, N. (2011). Examining the nature and content of L2 socialization patterns: Attainment of a native-like Turkish accent by Kurds. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 8, 261-288.
- Radikal. (2014). Kürtçe konuştuğu için' 10 saniyede linç edilmiş!. [Lynched in ten seconds for speaking Kurdish!]. 13 November. <http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/kurtce-konustugu-icin-10-saniyede-linc-edilmis-1229771/> Accessed 20 March 2017.
- Radikal. (2011). Caz festivalinde Kürtçe şarkı söyleyen Aynur yuhalandı [Kurdish singing Aynur brought down at the Jazz Festival]. 16 July. <http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/caz-festivalinde-kurtce-sarki-soyleyen-aynur-yuhalandi-1056494/> Accessed 12 April 2017.
- Ricento, T. & Hornberger, N. (1996). Unpeeling the onion: Language planning and policy and the ELT professional. *TESOL Quarterly*, 30(3), 401-427.
- Sakr, N. (2002). *Satellite realms: transnational television, globalization, and the Middle East*. London: I.B. Taurus.
- Saraçoğlu, C. (2011). *Kurds of modern Turkey: Migration, neoliberalism, and exclusion in Turkish society*. New York, NY: Tauris Academic Studies.
- Schluter, A. and Sansarkan, M. (2014). Language choice as a function of power and solidarity in the Istanbul workplace. In A. İçduygu & Z. G. Göker (Eds.), *Rethinking migration and integration: Bottom-up responses to neoliberal global challenges* (pp. 127-175). Istanbul: The Isis Press.
- Turgut, T. A. (2015). Telefonda Kürtçe konuşuyor' diye öldürüldü [Killed when he said he was speaking Kurdish on the phone] 7 July. *Evrensel News*. <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/260129/telefonda-kurtce-konusuyor-diye-olduruldu> Accessed 28 March 2017.
- Umut Gazetesi. (2015). Kürtçe şarkı söylediği için öldürüldü, emniyet yalanlıyor [Killed for singing in Kurdish, Police lie], 25 October. <http://umutgazetesi2.org/kurtce-sarki-soyledigi-icin-olduruldu-emniyet-yanliyor/> Accessed 25 March 2017.
- Urry, J. (2007). *Mobilities*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Woolard, K. (1985). Language variation and cultural hegemony: Toward an integration of sociolinguistic and social theory. *American Ethnologist*, 12, 738-48.