The discursive construction of Goldfields Residence: an assemblage of change agents, an apartheid chronotope and a convivial multiculture

By

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DECLARATION

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own original work that I am the owner of the copyright thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously, in its entirety or in part, submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Charné Pretorius

March 2020

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Abstract

Documenting readers' responses to linguistic landscapes (LLs) is a common field of enquiry in linguistic landscape studies (LLS) (cf. Garvin, 2010; Lou, 2009; Malinowski, 2009). However, these studies have predominantly served to determine the LL for the participants and have drawn their attention to multilingual signage in an attempt to uncover the singular intention behind a sign. Given that meaning is "radically indeterminate" (Pennycook, 2017:279), it seems futile to continue following an approach of this kind. Bock and Stroud (2018:24) suggest an alternative whereby one collects a "force field" of meanings and readings of the LL. This thesis aims to rise to this "provocative challenge" (Malinowski, 2018:224) by focusing on individual interpretations of the LL. In order to give prominence to participants' *experiences* of the LL (Tuan, 1977), methods such as the participatory photograph interview (Kolb, 2008) are implemented. The specific place under investigation in this thesis comprises the communal areas of Goldfields Residence at Stellenbosch University (SU), South Africa (SA) – the first residence designated for coloured students and first mixed-gender university housing. Through embracing multiple interpretations of the LL of Goldfields Residence, it is possible to observe the complex ways in which the LL endows the chosen space with meaning, thereby discursively constructing it into a particular *place* (Lou, 2007:174; Tuan, 1977:6). Apart from myself, the participants included two postgraduate linguistics students and six Goldfields residents. The reader will experience the discursive construction of Goldfields in three parts, each from a different perspective. In each part, the participants assume 'an expert role' (Kolb, 2008), taking responsibility for determining what constitutes the LL and subsequently for analysing what they had identified in order to enable them to share their perspective of the discursive construction of Goldfields. Interestingly, participants identified very few linguistic items as part of the LL but rather foregrounded the architecture, the furniture and those areas in the residence hall in which interactions customarily take place. In a process akin to grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), I was led to Bakhtin's (1981) notion of 'chronotope' and Gilroy's (2006b) construct of 'convivial multiculture' in describing the complex discursive construction of the residence hall. The findings suggest that spaces of spoken language interactions and objects often communicate more meaning to participants than do written language in place. This finding adds to a growing body of research that foregrounds people in place in LLS. In addition, the study offers food for thought for language policy makers by expanding the approach to

include verbal understandings of place instead of focusing on public signage. It would seem that creating environments in which people are able both to have dialogue and to engage with one another is just as important as deciding on which particular languages to use.

Opsomming

Die dokumentering van lesers se reaksies op taallandskappe (TLe) is 'n algemene ondersoekveld van taallandskapstudie (TLS) (cf. Garvin, 2010; Lou, 2009; Malinowski, 2009). Die doel van sodanige studies was egter oorwegend die bepaling van die TL vir die deelnemers deur hul aandag te vestig op veeltalige tekens ten einde die besondere bedoeling van sodanige tekens bloot te lê. Gegewe die feit dat betekenis, volgens Pennycook (2017:279), "radically indeterminate" is, blyk dit futiel te wees om vol te hou met so 'n benadering. Bock en Stroud (2018:24) suggereer 'n alternatief waardeur 'n kragveld van betekenisse en interpretasies van die TL ingesamel word. Die doel van hierdie tesis is die aanvaarding van hierdie prikkelende uitdaging (Malinowski, 2018:224) deur die klem te plaas op individuele interpretasies van die TL. Ten einde prominensie te verleen aan deelnemers se *ervarings* van die TL (Tuan, 1977), is metodes soos Kolb (2008) se deelnemende foto-onderhoud aangewend. Die spesifieke plek vir die onderhawige ondersoek behels die kommunale areas van die Goldfields Koshuis by die Stellenbosch Universiteit (SU), Suid-Afrika (SA) – die eerste universiteitskoshuis wat verblyf verskaf het aan bruin studente en aan manlike en vroulike studente op dieseflde perseel. Deur die veelvoud van interpretasies van die TL van die Goldfields Koshuis te aanvaar, word die waarneming van die komplekse wyse waarop die TL betekenis aan die gekose ruimte verleen, moontlik en kan dit derhalwe diskursief tot 'n spesifieke *plek* gekonstrueer word (Lou, 2007:174; Tuan, 1977:6). Benewens myself, het die deelnemers twee nagraadse linguistiekstudente en ses inwoners van die Goldfields Koshuis ingesluit. Goldfields se diskursiewe konstruksie word in drie dele aan die leser gebied – elk vanuit 'n ander perspektief. In elke deel neem die deelnemers die rol van 'n deskundige aan (Kolb, 2008) deurdat hulle verantwoordelikheid neem vir die bepaling van wat die TL behels en daaropvolgend vir die ontleding van wat hulle geïdentifiseer het en wat hulle dan, uiteindelik, in staat gestel het om hul perspektief van die diskursiewe konstruksie van Goldfields te deel. Dit is interessant dat die deelnemers baie min linguistiese items as deel van die TL geïdentifiseer het, maar eerder die argitektuur, meubels, asook daardie areas in die koshuis waarin interaksie gewoonlik plaasvind, uitgelig het. In 'n proses soortgelyk aan gegronde teorie (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), is ek gelei na Bakhtin (1981) se chronotoopteorie en Gilroy (2006b) se konstruk van 'konviviale multikultuur' ten einde die komplekse diskursiewe konstruksie van die studentekoshuis te beskryf. Die bevindinge laat blyk dat ruimtes van gesproke taalinteraksies en -objekte

dikwels 'n groter mate van betekenis aan deelnemers kommunikeer as geskrewe taal wat ten toongestel word. Hierdie bevinding is 'n toevoeging tot 'n toenemende navorsingskorpus wat die fokus op mense in ruimtes binne LLS plaas. Hierbenewens bied die studie stof tot nadenke vir taalbeleidmakers by wyse van 'n uitbreiding van die benadering deur nie net op openbare reklameborde te fokus nie, maar om ook die verbale begrip van plek in te sluit. Dit wil voorkom of die skep van omgewings waarin mense in staat is om in gesprek te tree en by mekaar betrokke te raak net so belangrik is as om te besluit watter spesifieke tale om te gebruik.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1   Background to the study

My first encounter with the notion of 'linguistic landscapes' (LLs) was in an undergraduate linguistics course about language planning and policy. This field of enquiry sparked my interest because I had never considered the potential meaning-making capabilities of signs and the ideologies that shape them. Although I was introduced to linguistic language studies (LLS) as a potential means of investigating de facto language policies, I was however more interested in seeing whether I could study these phenomena in a context with which I had grown familiar in my years at Stellenbosch University (SU). I wanted to bring together my experience in student leadership and my interest in the study of LL.

In 2017, as part of a requirement for my Honours degree, I conducted a research project in which I attempted to bring the aforementioned worlds together. The aim of the research project was to investigate the discursive construction of three residence halls at Stellenbosch University (SU). As my point of departure, I considered Tuan's (1977:6) conviction that 'space' is a meaningless vacuum, which only becomes 'place' once it is endowed with value. Language possesses the ability to endow space with meaning, thereby transforming it into a meaningful place (Lou, 2007:174). This particular phenomenon can be described as the "discursive construction of place" (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010:1). I approached this task by surveying the LL of each of these spaces in order to understand the 'type of place' each residence hall was being construed as through the LL. Typically, LL refers to inscribed language usually on display in a public area (Barni & Bagna, 2015:10; Blommaert & Maly, 2015:1; Shohamy & Gorter, 2009:1). I therefore focused on items such as posters, notices, name boards, graffiti, etc. and how these items shaped the communal spaces within the three selected residence halls.

A few months after I had completed the Honours research project, I took new postgraduate linguistics students to one of my research sites as a practical component of an introductory seminar on LLs. They were tasked with observing the LL and also with sharing their thoughts on how they thought these shaped the space. To my alarm, their analyses not only differed

from mine but actually seemed to contradict mine (this is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4). I was made to question the validity of my initial analysis but have subsequently decided to turn this contradiction into a research opportunity and further investigate this phenomenon in my Master's thesis. This thesis is therefore an extension of my Honours research project, and it continues to draw on my experience of student leadership, of student communities and my interest in LLS. In what follows, I outline how I was led to transform the contradicting analyses mentioned above into a research opportunity.

1.1.1 Embracing a multitude of readings and meanings

One of the residence halls I investigated in my Honours research project was Goldfields Residence. This residence stood out to me for being the first mixed-race, mixed-gender student housing at SU. The significance of Goldfields is discussed in further detail in Section 1.7. However, as I briefly mentioned above, my analysis of the LL of Goldfields turned out to be spurious when I invited postgraduate linguistics students to the research site: their analyses stood in stark contrast to my own. In their constructions, Goldfields turned out quite different to what I had determined it to be. Furthermore, the LL items that formed part of their analyses barely featured in my initial investigation. Although I was alarmed by the insights that the postgraduate students had shared and felt that the argument presented in my Honours research paper had been discredited, I was reassured that such was not the case when I came across a relatively old study by Malinowski (2009).

Malinowski's study (2009) investigated the authors' intentions behind their signs. However, he found these actually to have been more complex than one would have assumed. He demonstrated that there had been instances where the meanings of signs had not even been apparent to the authors of particular signs and that this had often been due to the authors having produced signs that had either not been in their first language or in an unfamiliar context (Malinowski, 2009). In considering his findings, Malinowski (2009) 'warned' that the interpretations of a sign may be as numerous as there are repeated readings of the sign. Reading this study reassured me that it is possible to state that my interpretation of Goldfields' LL is not actually invalid, but merely a different reading of the signs interpreted by the other postgraduate linguistics students.

Multiple understandings or interpretations of signs are attributable to the indeterminate nature of 'meaning'. It is never truly possible to know, with absolute certainty, the 'meaning' of an

object (Bock & Stroud, 2018:24). Given that a single LL item may be interpreted differently by every individual and that one can never truly determine its meaning, it is difficult to imagine that it is possible to determine how that item may shape a space. For this reason, Bock and Stroud (2018:24) suggest a new approach to studying the LL, one that embraces a multitude of readings and meanings of signs. These authors pose the following question: "Rather than searching for a singular intention behind how we are reading a sign, should we not rather be generating a force field of possible meanings and readings?" (Bock & Stroud, 2018:24). Malinowski (2018:224) considers the production of a force field of readings and meanings of LL to be a "provocative challenge" for LL scholars. The stance taken by Bock and Stroud (2018:24) led me to embrace the contradicting analyses of the two postgraduate linguistics students and further to investigate the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence, but to do so in a way that incorporates multiple interpretations of its LL.

The rest of this chapter is devoted to stating the particular research problem that this thesis aims to address. In it, I also clarify the research aim and the accompanying research questions of this thesis in addition to discussing my approach to the research problem. This is followed by the ethical considerations of the study. Subsequently, I contextualise Goldfields Residence by providing an overview of the residence hall's history. Lastly, I provide an outline of the chapters.

1.2   Problem statement

The recent challenge posed by Bock and Stroud (2018:24), namely to embrace a "force field of possible meanings and readings" of the LL has served as the basis of this thesis. In order to rise sufficiently to this challenge, I will present three different readings of the LL of Goldfields Residence. Specifically, this study foregrounds the perspectives that various SU students have of the LL of Goldfields. Participants were therefore allowed to determine the LL and actively analyse these landscapes. Subsequently, the participants shared their individual readings and meanings of the LL and produced a 'force field' of perspectives of the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence.

1.3   Research aim and specific research questions

The aim of this thesis has been to observe the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence by collecting a 'force field' of readings and meanings of its LL. In order to fulfil the research aim, I have asked the following question and subquestions:

1. How do various groups of SU students understand Goldfields Residence through observing its LL?

2. What, according to the participants, constitutes the LL of the residence hall?

1.4   Place as a construct of *experience*

The discussion above has briefly alluded to the fact that participants played an integral role in fulfilling the research aim of creating a force field of interpretations of the LL of Goldfields Residence, and consequently of the discursive construction of the place. In order to design a research project that allows people's perspectives of 'place' to be highlighted, it is important first to understand how individuals 'make sense' of that which surrounds them. In the discussion below, I will consider Tuan's (1977) "experiential perspective" as a means of approaching the study of individual constructions of place.

Tuan's (1977) experiential perspective describes how people come to 'know' the world around them. According to Tuan (1977:8), individuals construct reality through 'experience'. However, in this instance, 'experience' has a very specific meaning. In Tuan's (1977) experiential perspective, 'experience' refers to our senses such as smell, taste, touch and perception (visual and haptic) (ibid.). Individuals therefore only 'know' the world around them through these senses, through their 'experience', and they utilise a specific sense in making sense of place. Tuan (1977:12) regards 'sight' to be essential for the construction of place. 'Sight' refers to perception, both visual and haptic, and it is through this sense that individuals are able to gauge the organisation of a space and to construct place.

In contrast to Tuan's (1977) convictions, recent ethnographic studies have moved away from emphasising "how others 'see' their world" (Pink, 2007:245). Instead, ethnographers have become more concerned with movement and how the body moves through space. Ingold (2004:330), for instance, suggests that locomotion needs to be the focal point of any study concerned with perception, this being so because we know more about our surroundings through our feet than through our eyes. Lund (2006:41) similarly states that by studying how people move in a space, we are observing how all the senses are integrated, thereby gaining a more in-depth understanding of people's experiences. Interestingly, even Tuan (1977:18) contends that one needs to consider all the senses in the construction of place, stating that "place achieves concrete reality when our experience of it is total, that is, through all the senses". However, he also points out that perception (both visual and haptic) is essential

because it allows one to engage with the organisation of space whereas the other sensory organs "expand and enrich visual space" (Tuan, 1977:16).

As regards Tuan's (1977) stance on the essential role of sight in individuals' construction of place, the data collection conducted by the participants themselves focuses on how they 'see' the LL of Goldfields Residence. The convictions of Lund (2006), Ingold (2004) and Tuan (1977) regarding the importance of movement and the other senses in individuals' place-making processes are considered in the interview section of the data-collection process. I discuss the data-collection methods of this study in more detail in Section 1.5 below.

1.5   Participants, data collection and analysis

This section explains the data-collection methods utilised in this thesis in more detail. I also clarify who participated in the research and lastly how I approached the analysis section of the study given the need to foreground the perspectives of the participants.

In Section 1.2, I mentioned that the reader would experience the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence by observing various participants' perspectives of the residence hall's LL. In order to curate this experience for the reader, I present the discursive construction of Goldfields in three parts. The first part is my perspective of the discursive construction of the residence as I formulated it in my 2017 Honours research project. This is followed by the perspectives of the two postgraduate linguistics students whose understandings of the LL contrasted with mine (Part Two). Lastly, the reader will experience how six Goldfields residents make sense of the LL of their residence hall and share how this serves to construct the place. Because these three parts each involves varying numbers of participants and actually follow on from one another (as opposed to being conducted concurrently), each part has its own data-collection method. Ultimately, however, these three parts converge to create a 'force field' of understandings of the LL of Goldfields.

As I have explained in Section 1.4, this qualitative research study utilises methods that focus on how people 'see' the LL of Goldfields Residence. Each data-collection method is detailed in the corresponding part of the thesis (see sections 3.2, 4.4 and 5.2). Initially, I had intended that the data captured by the participants and their narratives (or analyses) would, in a sense, speak for themselves. However, when I was recently invited by Goldfields Residence to participate in a panel discussion on culture and multiculturalism, I was forced to rethink my position on letting the data speak for itself. This was prompted by the host – a student leader

in the residence hall – wanting to know, "What are we doing wrong?". His question was based on a preliminary paper that I had written about the perspectives of the two linguistics students. The title of the paper began with the words "the fading rainbow". This title had originated from something that one of the participants had mentioned to me during an interview. Though I was taken aback by the host's question, I hastened to reassure the attendees that they were not doing anything wrong and that I was not there to tell them what they were or were not doing correctly. Hoping to clarify the situation and alleviate the negative impact of the paper's title, I explained precisely what the participant had shared with me about her perspective of the LL of Goldfields. The jarring question however reminded me that, as the researcher, I have a responsibility, not only to foreground the participants' perspectives, but also to create some sort of coherent picture of the data so that the stakeholders can make sense of the research project and 'do' something with the study.

The event described above is evocative of a statement by Blumer (1969), namely "[i]f you don't have a language, you can't talk – and if you can't talk, you can't do, and the basis of many professions is still doing". Therefore, in order to ensure that my research truly benefits the project stakeholders (i.e. that the research actually *does* something), I need to create a 'shared language' in which the stakeholders can engage with one another. I have attempted to do this by following a process akin to grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) whereby I "denote[d] theoretical constructs derived from the qualitative analysis of data" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008:1). In essence, I 'grounded' the various perspectives of the participants in theoretically informed concepts (Corbin & Strauss, 2008:8). This bottom-up approach has enabled me to foreground the perspectives of the participants whilst producing a shared understanding that allows stakeholders to *do* something with the research. In Chapter 6, I discuss this approach in more detail and also present the two theoretical concepts I identified in the participants' perspectives.

1.6   Ethical considerations

This study required permission from various stakeholders. Firstly, I contacted the staff member in charge of Goldfields Residence, Ms Renee Hector-Kannemeyer, to gain permission to conduct research both in and about the residence. In the letter, I detailed the research topic and explained what I would need from the participants. After I had received this permission from Ms Hector-Kannemeyer, I moved on to obtaining ethical clearance from the Research Ethics Committee (REC): Humanities at Stellenbosch University (Appendix A).

In this application, I stipulated how I would ensure participants' confidentiality and maintain their anonymity. In order to fulfil this requirement, all participants were given pseudonyms and all their information – including the recorded interviews – were stored on a password-protected computer and external drive. The data from this study will be kept on a password-protected computer and external hard drive for five years, after which the data will be destroyed. The ethical clearance process also entailed submitting a research proposal, a letter of permission from Ms Hector-Kannemeyer and the participant consent form (Appendix B). The participants were provided with the consent forms via email, this having given them time to read over the form and ask any questions. On the day of the interview, the participants gave informed consent by signing the consent form. I also gave them a hard copy to keep in case of any future queries. The current research project also required the granting of institutional permission by the Division for Institutional Research and Planning of Stellenbosch University because the subject of study and the research site fall under the management of Stellenbosch University. The letter granting institutional permission can be found in Appendix A.

1.7   Research site: Goldfields Residence

I have already mentioned, that language has the ability to endow space with certain meanings and values, this thesis seeks to unveil some of these meanings and values with which the LL endows the respective spaces (Lou, 2007:174). However, LL items derive their meanings as a result of when, where and how they have been placed, which means that the sociocultural contexts of these items need to be considered (Scollon & Scollon, 2003:2). At this point, therefore, it is essential to present an overview of the history of Goldfields Residence.

Goldfields is a significant role player in the transformation of SU. It was the first mixed-gender, mixed-race residence at the university. It was established in 1987, nine years after SU first allowed coloured[1] students to enrol (Conradie, 2015:6). Suffice it to say, Goldfields has acted as a catalyst for integration at SU. In the following discussion, I outline some of the significant events that have occurred at the residence and indicate some of the difficulties that it has had to face as the first residence for coloured students at SU.

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[1] The apartheid era Population Registration Act of 1950 classified the population into four racial groups: white, black, Asian and coloured (Venter, 1974:7). While these racial categories still prevail today, many individuals are however reclaiming these essentialist labels and are creating complex positive identities.

Initially, Goldfields was a residence designated for coloured students, and only in the 1980s were black students allowed to enrol at SU and to live in the residence (Conradie, 2015:16). It was originally home to 31 students, a number that had, by 1996, increased to 84 students of whom 14 were white (Conradie, 2015:10, 16). Although the establishment of this residence at SU was significant, it was not given the same treatment as the other residence halls. For instance, unlike other student housing, the residence is located quite a distance from the centre of campus. The map in Figure 1 below shows the residence's position relative to the centre of campus. I have also marked the Engineering Faculty on the map because most students consider this area of SU to be 'off-campus' and engineering students seen in the centre of campus are often asked if they are visiting for the day before heading back to their own campus. Goldfields is even further away from the centre of campus than the Engineering Faculty. According to Goldfields residents, it takes them 20 to 30 minutes to walk to class. This is quite a distance compared to the other residence halls, all located within a 10-minute walk of the centre of campus. Conradie (2015:25) also notes that, initially, Goldfields did not have a dining hall or meeting area. This meant that the residents had to use other residence halls' dining facilities, a circumstance further complicated by the lack of a lit path to and from campus facilities, which made this a precarious activity.
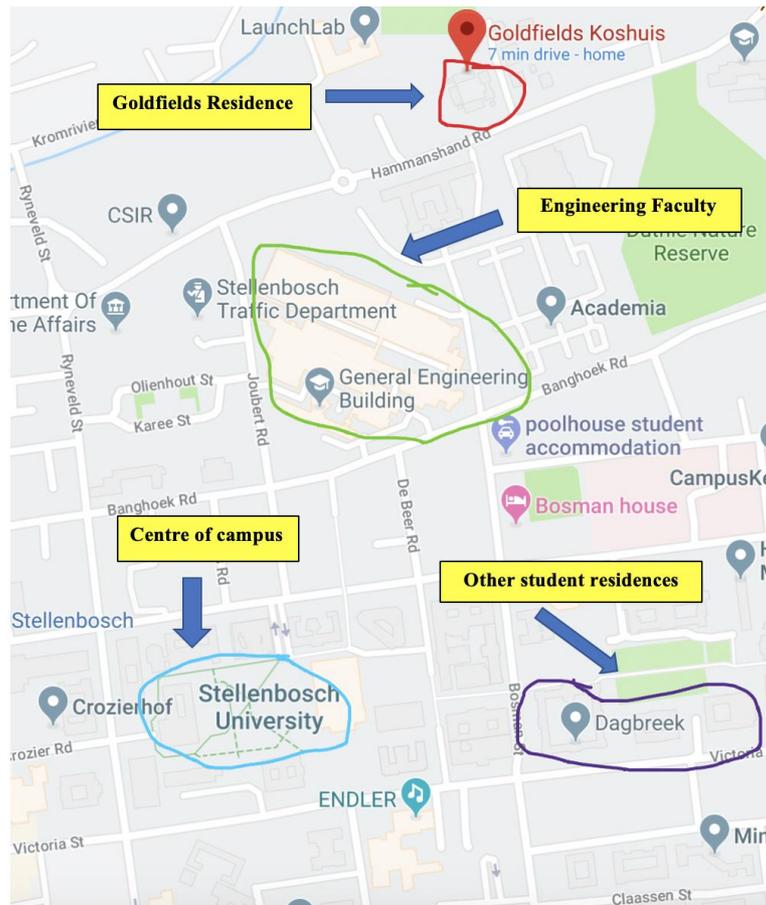
Figure 1: Map showing location of Goldfields Residence

Besides these aforementioned issues, the students of Goldfields grew ever more impatient with the lack of integration at Stellenbosch University. Their discontent mounted to a point where the residence became a hub for protest and action at the university (Conradie, 2015:25). One of Goldfields's most pivotal protests was a march from the SU Library steps to the administrative block. The goal of the demonstration was to persuade SU not only to open the other residence halls to coloured and black students but also to push for further integration in campus life in general. The protest was non-violent until a group of white students surrounded the protesting students and started throwing food at them (Conradie, 2015:26). Goldfields boycotted campus sporting and social activities, including the SU Welcoming Programme for First-year Students to protest the lack of integration in student life (Conradie, 2015:27). Because of their boycott of the university's official welcoming programme, Goldfields occupied their first-year students with community-service activities during orientation (Conradie, 2015:26). These community-interaction activities actually inspired SU to make such activities a permanent fixture in the current campus-wide SU Welcoming Week Programme.

Goldfields has primarily focused on creating a welcoming culture in terms of which students of all races are able to discover a space in which to succeed (Conradie, 2015:28). This culture is today still apparent in the residence. Most of the other residence halls at SU emphasise hierarchical structures between first-year students and the senior students and participate in house traditions that often include initiating newcomers. Goldfields, however, is considered one of the more relaxed residences when it comes to hierarchical structures and is known for making newcomers feel comfortable and welcome. Today, whereas the residence participates in many activities presented all over the campus, it still manages to put a unique spin on its participation so as to enhance the experience for the students.

1.8   Thesis outline

This thesis comprises seven chapters. **Chapter One**, the current chapter, forms the introduction to the study. It not only provides background to the study but moreover sets out the research aims and questions. Chapter One also clarifies the slightly unconventional nature of the thesis (such as the three-part investigation, each utilising its own methods) and the methodology applied in this study. Lastly, it contextualises the research site and describes the ethical considerations that have guided my research effort. The paragraphs that follow briefly outline the contents of the other chapters.

Chapter Two is an overview of LL literature. I specifically focus on literature that highlights the trend that uses participants in LLS research designs and how it is that collecting a multitude of interpretations of signs can be considered a 'provocative challenge'. I have discovered a pattern where LLS have gone from not including participants (even though studies often speculate about the intentions of people) to more recent studies that place participants at the centre of LL research. In this chapter I argue that researchers alone have been responsible for determining the LL on behalf of participants, often even pointing out specific signs in specific locations. This has resulted in an overemphasis on multilingual signs and on readers' interpretations of these, thus neglecting other semiotic elements that may influence the passer-by and limiting our understanding of people's experience of a particular place.

Chapter Three marks Part One of the three-part story of the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence. This chapter comprises my own interpretation of the residence's LL and I explain my understanding of the discursive construction of the residence hall.

Throughout the chapter, I reflect on what influenced my reading of the space and I attempt to clarify my 'locus of enunciation'[2] (Mignolo, 2000).

Chapter Four forms Part Two of this thesis. In this chapter I explain how a pedagogical activity I conducted with postgraduate linguistics students turned into a research opportunity. It focuses on the written assignments they completed as part of an introductory seminar to LL and the interviews I subsequently conducted to gain better insight into their understandings of the LL of Goldfields. The chapter presents the students' perspectives of the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence.

Chapter Five is the final part of the three-part discursive construction of Goldfields Residence. This chapter comprises the discursive construction of the residence hall from the perspective of six Goldfields residents. It offers an explanation of how I employed the participatory photograph interview as a means of collecting the residents' experiences and interpretations of the LL of their residence. This is followed by each participant's photographs of the linguistic environment of the residence hall and their interpretation of what it captures about Goldfields.

Chapter Six is devoted to bringing together the three parts of the investigation into the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence by presenting a "theoretically informed retrospective" of the participants' experiences (Bock & Stroud, 2018:24). In this chapter, I provide an explanation of how I approached the qualitative data by using methods similar to those used in grounded theory. This analytical framework entails identifying theoretical concepts that are present in the data provided by the participants. The two concepts that I discuss include 'chronotopes' (Bakhtin, 1981) and 'convivial multiculture' (Wise & Velayutham, 2014). In Chapter Six, I also iterate that the researcher plays an active role in the process of identifying concepts and that this process, far from being 'objective', is one that is shaped by the researcher's histories, epistemologies and biases. This chapter is, however, ultimately focused on making sense of the heterogeneous perspectives with a view to presenting a more holistic image of the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence.

In **Chapter Seven**, I conclude the thesis by summarising the three-part story of the discursive construction of Goldfields. I also discuss potential implications of the research for future LLS

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[2] This notion is rooted in decolonial theory and refers to the individual's histories and epistemologies that have served to influence their meaning-making processes. I will expand on this in Chapter 3.

and speculate about the significance of the participants' interpretations of the LL of Goldfields, particularly for the residence hall itself and for SU in general. I moreover outline limitations of the study and conclude by offering some suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2

From the invisible subject to personal narratives: the role of people in LLS

2.1   Introduction to LL

Two decades ago, human geographers, Rodrigue Landry and Richard Bourhis coined the term, "linguistic landscape" (1997:23-25). This concept has been a relatively recent addition to the discipline of linguistics and other language-related fields of study such as linguistic anthropology. LL research has been described as a "highly dynamic and productive field" (Blommaert, 2016:1), one that has not only expanded in respect of the topics it investigates, but also as to how it is investigated. The latter forms the particular focus of this chapter.

In Chapter 1, I mentioned that this thesis would aim to present a 'force field' of understandings of the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence. In order to achieve this, this study has had to put people at the centre of the investigation and allow them to express their 'experience' of the LL of Goldfields. As also mentioned, this approach to LLS is considered a "provocative challenge" (Malinowski, 2018:224). In what follows, I examine how it is possible that collecting multiple readings and meanings of the LL of a place can be considered to be such a challenge. This is done by considering how and to what extent this "highly dynamic and productive field" has included people in the research process in order to gain their perspectives of the LL (Blommaert, 2016:1). This entails firstly, examining whether studies have included participants in the research design and secondly, the extent to which participants have been involved in the research process (e.g., filling out surveys, walking with the researcher to react to signs, sharing narratives of their experience of the LL, etc.).

The overview presented below leads me to emphasise that in those studies that include participants, researchers often happen to be responsible for determining the LL on behalf of the participants by pointing to specific signs in order to elicit particular responses. This limits the interpretation of the LL of a place to a predetermined set of signs and it perpetuates the approach to LLS whereby LL scholars make futile attempts at determining the "singular

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intention behind how we are reading a sign" (Bock & Stroud, 2018:24). Moreover, such researchers have overemphasised multilingual signs and participants' responses to the linguistic codes on these signs, thereby limiting participants' meanings and readings of the LL. However, in this chapter I argue that the gap to which Bock and Stroud (2018:24) call attention to in LLS (i.e. the failure to embrace multiple possible understandings of LLs) has partially resulted from the fact that participants have generally not been given the opportunity to determine the LL for themselves. They have subsequently not generated responses to those elements of the LL that they themselves have found salient.

In the remainder of this chapter, I deal with trends in LLS that vary in terms of the extent to which they utilise participants. Section 2.2 features studies that theorise about the intentions of people who engage in producing signs without including any participants in their research design. These LLS are mostly early quantitative studies and are characteristic of the first wave of LL scholarship. The second trend in LL research discussed in this chapter considers studies that are not only interested in how passers-by respond to signs but also in the sign-writers' intentions behind the signs (see Section 2.3). However, as this section reveals, even though these particular LLS capture people's perspectives of the LL, the participants are not afforded the opportunity of sharing which signs they may find prominent in a space or of identifying the elements of the sign that they have found important in creating meaning in that space. The aforementioned trend in LLS coincides with what is considered to be the second wave of LL research – the 'qualitative turn' in LLS. The 'qualitative turn' in LLS has brought about many debates about methodology and consequently a number of significant studies have been conducted in order to explore new ways of conducting LL research. LL scholars have subsequently employed ethnographic methods to explore the meanings of LLs. These studies still do not place people at the centre of enquiry and choose rather to focus on 'thickly describing' signs in place, with the exception, that is, of Lou (2009) (see Section 2.3.1). Lastly, Section 2.4 of this chapter examines the trend in LLS that foregrounds 'the person' in the research so that LL scholars are better able to understand the significance of the LL in quotidian place making. These studies form part of the most recent wave of LLS that have adopted a phenomenological orientation and focus on the "human-sign interface" (Zabrodskaja & Milani, 2014:2). It is within this third wave of LL that this thesis situates itself.

I should like to emphasise that even though there has generally been a linear development in how people have been included in LLS, this by no means implies that these broad trends do not coexist. During the course of the overview featured below it will become clear that recent studies include those taking a quantitative approach and also some older studies that focus on human-sign interactions.

2.2   The invisible subject

The most obvious trend in LLS regarding the extent of participant involvement that I want to highlight is that though researchers use the LL to speculate and theorise about people's behaviours and attitudes, they do not consult people in their research. The authors of these studies insist that keeping people at a distance ensures a more accurate representation of 'facts' (cf. Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara and Trumper-Hecht, 2006:26). People are thus absent from the research design – though they are the subjects of investigation – and can thus rather be said to be invisible in such studies.

This section reviews three seminal LLS and an additional study that one would not necessarily describe as seminal. The first seminal study is the one by Landry and Bourhis (1997) in which they coined the term "linguistic landscape". This is the most widely cited LLS because of its role in delineating LL as a field of enquiry. The second seminal work discussed here is that of Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), which provides an analytical framework based on three sociological theories that describe the forces that shape the LL. This study is particularly significant to the current thesis because of the authors' convictions that their approach of utilising LL analysis to uncover "social realities" is more effective than "opinion surveys" because it investigates "sheer facts" and not "subjective attitudes". I expand on these convictions below (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006:26). The final seminal work I discuss is Backhaus's (2006) study on the LL of Tokyo. I chose this particular study because it adds to the understanding that the first wave of LLS is heavily quantitative and as a result – similar to the work by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006:8) – theorises about the actions of people without consulting people in the research process. I include one additional study in this section. The study by Amos (2018) is an example of a recent study that showcases the value of quantitative methodologies in LLS. It moreover indicates that it is possible to employ such methodologies without people and still produce meaningful research.

Most linguists who conduct research in the field of LL cite Rodrigue Landry and Richard Bourhis's (1997) definition of LL, namely as "the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region". This definition includes road signs, street names, billboards, signs on government buildings, etc. Landry and Bourhis's (1997) study is widely held to be the first LL study (although not the first to consider linguistic codes on signs (cf. Spolsky & Cooper, 1991). Below is a brief description of the seminal study that coined the term "linguistic landscape".

Landry and Bourhis (1997:35-36) investigated the relationship between the LL and aspects of ethnolinguistic identity and language behaviour in a multilingual context. Their study synthesised data from previous studies that had used the same questionnaires to gauge the aforementioned aspects. These questionnaires included 2010 Canadian Francophone students (Landry & Bourhis, 1997:36). The findings of the study indicate that the salience of French in the LL affects how frequently Francophone speakers use French and, conversely, also that the greater the perceived Francophone ethnolinguistic identity of the students, the greater is the prominence of French in the LL (Landry & Bourhis, 1997:45).

In terms of the theme of this chapter, it is further possible to describe this landmark study as, to a certain extent, including participants. One could however argue that the merging of participants' responses to questionnaires from previous studies does not constitute *including* people in the research design. Landry and Bourhis (1997) did not conduct their own interviews and they did not have any contact with the participants: instead, participants were already represented in the form of statistics prior to the study. Their findings were nevertheless based on the opinions of people – even if these people were reduced to mere statics from surveys prior to that study. It is interesting to note that this study provides the initial definition of LL, one that explicitly expresses that LL refers to the salience of languages on signs (Landry & Bourhis, 1997:23). This means that from the outset, LLS were framed as investigating linguistic codes and, more specifically, multilingual signage.

In the early 2000s, LLS started gaining momentum. Books, such as Gorter's *Linguistic landscape: a new approach to multilingualism* (2006), were published. It is clear from the early works in LL that multilingualism in public signage was the predominant focus. Specifically, LL scholars were interested in the ideological implications of either the presence or the absence of particular languages on top-down (government) versus bottom-up (private) signs (cf. Backhaus, 2006; Ben-Rafael, 2009; Gorter, 2006; Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009). In

the discussion that follows, I unpack the seminal work of Ben-et al. (2006) in which these authors advocated a sociological approach to the study of LL.

Ben-Rafael et al. (2006:8) state that LLs are not a "given context of sociolinguistic processes" that are observable as is implied in Landry and Bourhis's (1997) approach. This assumption ignores the dynamics that shape the LL (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006:8). Furthermore, the LL is also not only shaped by a single entity as Spolsky and Cooper (1991) imply. According to Ben-Rafael et al. (2006:8), the latter approach overlooks the complexity of the LL. Eliezer Ben-Rafael and his colleagues (2006:8-9) posit that there are numerous actors – from autonomous actors to larger societal forces – that shape the LL; they therefore suggest that by systematically studying the LL, one is able to uncover certain "social realities". The objective of this approach is to "[read] the meanings of actors' behaviour in their very behaviour" (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006:9), thus making it clear in the introduction to their study that they are attempting to explain people's actions by considering the products of these actions (i.e. the LL) and not people's self-reported explanations of these actions. In order to achieve this, Ben-Rafael et al. (2006:9-10) formulated a sociological approach to the study of LL. They used three sociological theories to explore and explain the actions of sign-writers that mould the LL: Bourdieu's power-relations theory, Goffman's presentation-of-self theory and Boudon's 'good reasons' approach. The Bourdieusard perspective in the context of LLS argues that unequal power relations between dominant and subordinate groups shape relations of dominant and non-dominant codes in the LL (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006:10). Goffman's presentation-of-self approach is used to hypothesise that the LL is a vehicle for community-identity markers and Boudon's 'good reasons' approach explains that the LL is informed by its potential influence on its audience (ibid.).

Ben-Rafael et al. (2006:11) visited various areas in Israel characterised by their "Jewish, Israeli-Palestinian, and non-Israeli Palestinian" demographics. The authors, focusing on the predominance of Hebrew, Arabic and English in the various sites, observed whether the sociological approach outlined above would produce accurate hypotheses. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006:24) summarise the hypotheses as follows:

> … a Bourdieusard perspective expected here that Hebrew, the dominant group's language, has a predominant role in all LL sites; that from the presentation-of-self perspective a multiplication of Arabic markers are expected wherever Arabs

reside in important numbers; that the good-reason perspective expects in any case that LL facts can be accounted for by benefit consideration of LL actors.

In order to test these hypotheses, the researchers considered the socio-political context of each research site and then continued to quantify the LL items according to the presence of the languages used on signs (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006:10-13). These data were next categorised and tabulated according to their locality (e.g., Jewish localities: West Jerusalem, Upper Nazareth, etc. versus Palestinian localities: Tira, East Jerusalem, etc.) and category (top-down versus bottom up) (ibid, 16-21). Ben-Rafael et al. (2006:16-17) found that the Jewish areas were characterised by an LL that was dominated by Hebrew (98%), with a significant quantity of English and little Arabic. The Israeli-Palestinian localities, in contrast, were found to have an LL dominated by Arabic (64.7%), with significant presence of Hebrew and minimal English. The final locality, namely non-Israeli Palestinian, was predominantly Arabic (roughly 85%) with much English (roughly 74%) and an insignificant Hebrew. From these findings, the researchers (2006:24) conclude that the three hypotheses stated above, based on the three sociological perspectives, "do not exclude each other and are fully compatible with what [they] found in the different LL sites".

I mentioned at the beginning of this section that I chose to review the study by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) because of their conviction that by studying the products of human behaviour, like the LL, it is possible to uncover "more faithfully the meanings of behaviours" than any form of questionnaire would be able to uncover. According to Ben-Rafael et al. (2006:26), surveys and questionnaires reveal only "subjective attitudes" whereas their sociological approach to LL reveals "sheer facts". However, it is difficult to believe with certainty that the three sociological approaches adequately explain sign writers' behaviours when none of them were consulted. The study by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) explicitly excludes the participation of people and justifies this by describing people as unreliable sources when it comes to describing the intentions behind their behaviours. Therefore, this study represents the trend where people are the subject of investigation but are absent in the research design.

In a similar vein, Backhaus (2006) conducted a study in Tokyo focusing on the presence of linguistic varieties on multilingual signs and what one can infer about the intentions of the sign writer. In his quantitative study he demonstrates how language choice in top-down and bottom-up signs (or "official" and "nonofficial" signs) can be explained in terms of being the vehicle for expressing solidarity and power (Backhaus, 2006:52). In all, Backhaus counted

2 321 multilingual signs of which 75% were bottom-up signs and 25% were top-down signs. He found that 14 languages featured on the signs, with English, Japanese, Chinese and Korean appearing in quantities above 1%. Japan's language policy permits the use of Japanese, English, Chinese and Korean on top-down signs. Backhaus describes how Japanese appears more frequently on top-down signs than on bottom-up signs. Intriguingly though, English appears even more frequently than Japanese does on top-down signs (English only being absent from three signs) (Backhaus, 2006:55-57).

With a view to interpreting the data from this particular study, Backhaus (2006:61-62) uses Spolsky and Cooper's (1991) framework for explaining the presence and absence of languages on signs. This resonates with the approach outlined in Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), namely the use of a framework to account for the actions of sign writers as opposed to directly consulting these people. According to the framework set out by Spolsky and Cooper (1991:74-94), people would "prefer to write signs in [their] own language or in a language with which [they] wish to be identified". This means that the language appears as an assertion of power (the ability to choose the language being used at a given time is a means of declaring power over the space) or of showing solidarity (making a statement about with which 'group' the individual wishes to be associated) (Spolsky & Cooper, 1991:84). Backhaus (2006:62) concludes that "language choice on official signs is determined by power relations, whereas nonofficial signs tend to make use of foreign languages in order to express solidarity". It is furthermore argued that the dominant presence (97%) and position of Japanese over other languages on top-down signs is the sign writer's way of expressing power and power relations (Backhaus, 2006:62). The use of English on bottom-up signs is interpreted as the sign writer's desire to be associated with the English language community and its values (Backhaus, 2006:63).

Although Backhaus (2006) uses a convincing framework for the interpretation of his data, it raises doubts identical to those expressed above regarding the study by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006): How can one truly know the intentions of sign writers when none were consulted? Just as in the study by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), no participants had been used in a study about human behaviour. Although quantitative studies in the field of LL are commonplace in early LLS (cf. inter alia Backhaus, 2007; Centoz & Gorter, 2006; Lanza & Woldemariam, 2008), these have been subjected to vehement criticism and LLS have largely shifted to

qualitative methods. However quantitative methods in LLS are still used in contemporary LL research and do have value in terms of investigating phenomena.

Amos (2018), employing an LL lens, utilises quantitative methodology to discuss the institutional identity of the Mariani Campus (University of Corsica). Specifically, it is argued that, by considering both the choice of the dominant variety, French, or the local variety, Corsican, in conjunction with the type of sign writer, one can conceptualise the notion of institutional identity (Amos, 2018:125). Amos (2018:127) photographed 394 LL items and found that 61% of the items contained French, 42% Corsican, while only 1% contained English. Only 14% of the items were multilingual, containing both French and Corsican (Amos, 2018:126-127).

Authorship of the LL is of importance to researchers. In the section entitled "Authorship: three levels of institutional agency", Amos (2018:132) identifies seven categories of authorship: university management; external organisations; student organisations; collaborations; individual workers; and individual students. These categories are then divided into authors internal to the institution and authors external to the institution. Amos (ibid.) found that external authors preferred French, having used only French on 95 of the 109 items. In contrast, signage that had been erected by university management (49%) displayed Corsican as its preferred language as a means of preserving the "Corsican identity desired by the university's senior management" (Amos, 2018:132-133). However, not all internal authors happened to be in management. Individual employees and students who formed part of the internal authors of the Mariani Campus differed in their choice of linguistic variety, having shown a preference for French rather than Corsican. The combined 19 items authored by students and individual workers contained only two Corsican items, both of which were also bilingual French signs (Amos, 2018:133). Amos (2018:135-136) concludes that at a managerial level there is a strong projection of a Corsican identity and, given the dominating nature of this signage, "the LL of the Mariani Campus is an institutionally Corsican space".

It should be noted that what sets this recent quantitative study apart from its predecessors is its topic. Earlier quantitative LLS are particularly concerned with topics such as language policy and language ideologies. Amos (2018) has however expanded this methodology into the topic of identity presentation and maintenance at an institutional level. The study discussed above has utilised a quantitative methodology to explore institutional identity through the LL. Although there are no participants, the author rarely makes interpretations

about sign writers' intentions and instead focuses on the complexities of identity presentation. This demonstrates that though there is value in quantitative methods in LLS, careful consideration needs to be given to drawing conclusions about human intentions from quantitative data.

The preceding discussion has highlighted those LLS that have not utilised participants in their research designs despite investigating and making assumptions about people's behaviours. The studies by Backhaus (2006) and Ben Rafael et al. (2006), on the other hand, use the presence/absence of linguistic codes on signs in particular locations and combine these with explanatory frameworks so as to describe the meanings behind sign writers' behaviours. This section further demonstrates that the emphasis of LLS on linguistic codes and multilingual signs is traceable to Landry and Bourhis's (1997) significant study in which the notion of LL was first conceptualised. The next section considers studies that include people in their research designs and examines the extent of such involvement.

2.3 Gaining perspective

The absence of people in early LL scholarship did not go unnoticed. In fact, the quantitative methodologies that often explicitly excluded people from the research designs (cf. Ben-Rafael et al., 2006) were severely criticised (Huebner, 2016:5), thereby bringing about what is known in the field as the 'qualitative turn'. According to Huebner and Malinowski (2019), this turn widened the scope of analysis to include qualitative data from LL participants. This brought about an expansion in terms of methods, which included interviews, questionnaires and walking tours. This section reviews some of the early qualitative LLS that were particularly interested in people's perceptions of the LL. The review illustrates that some of the early LLS struggled to break away from the quantitative tradition in LLS by converting the qualitative information obtained from participants into statistics. Additionally, this section highlights that even when early LLS employed more qualitative methodologies to gain insight into the experiences of participants, these experiences were often limited to predetermined LLs set out by the researcher.

The first LLS that I will review is the paper by Malinowski (2009) on sign writers' intentions. This is a significant paper because it is one of the first to call for LL scholars to place more emphasis on people and to investigate the LL through people. Malinowski (2009:124) urges LL scholars to "situate … studies in the lives of those who read, write, and conduct their lives

amongst the signs of our field". He illustrates the importance of such a shift in LLS in his own study about the authorship of signs by demonstrating the complexity of sign authorship.

Malinowski (2009:113) interviewed business owners in Telegraph Avenue (Oakland, California) with a view to uncovering the motivations and intentions of sign writers in their choice of linguistic variety. According to the data, the business owners were not always responsible for what appeared on the signs and were seldom aware of the meanings readers were making of the signs (Malinowski, 2009:116). For example, one participant was not even aware of the linguistic varieties present on the sign above her shop and stepped outside with the researcher to examine the sign (Malinowski, 2009:117). Malinowski (2009:124) found that the meanings of signs are not only layered in a multitude of meanings for the passers-by, but authors are also not always privy to the intended meanings of signs because of larger historical processes. Even though the findings of the study offer little tangible insight into LL authorship and intentions, it speaks back to those LLS discussed in Section 2.2, which explicitly exclude people from the research design to ensure that only 'facts' about people's behaviours are presented (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006). Malinowski's (2009) study, however, demonstrates that these 'facts' happen to be more complex. Given that the meanings of signs are not necessarily always apparent to sign writers, as Malinowski (2009:124) argues, explanatory frameworks such as those put forward by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) and Spolsky and Cooper (1991) alone are not adequate to the task of explaining the intentions of sign writers (even if they do point to larger societal forces). Interestingly, some of the authors of the study discussed in Section 2.2 later admit that the principles expressed in the sociological approach to LL "do not necessarily represent the same weight in the melding of specific areas of the LL. Only empirical fieldwork can attempt to supply answers to the questions raised by these assessments" (Shohamy, Ben-Rafael & Barni, 2010:xix). Therefore, LLS that are concerned with the authorship of the LL and subsequently the construction of space, need, in response to Malinowski's (2009:124) plea, to engage with the people who interact with these signs on a daily basis.

Since Malinowski's (2009) call for a shift in focus to the human element of the LL, interest in the complexity of the interpretations and intentions of the LL has grown. LL scholars have therefore increasingly become interested in people's perceptions regarding linguistic varieties in the LL (cf. Aiestaran, Cenoz & Gorter, 2010; Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Gurau, 2015; Garvin, 2010; Trumper-Hecht, 2010). In the rest of this section, I discuss two studies that

have focused on people's perceptions of the LL. The first of these is a study by Aiestaran et al. (2010) in the city of Donostia-San Sebastián and the second is Garvin's (2010) study in which she designed a method for exploring peoples' cognitive and emotional responses to the LL.

The book entitled *Linguistic landscape in the city,* edited by Shohamy, Ben-Rafael and Barni (2010), comprises a collection of studies that investigate the LL in cities in order to "systematically analyse … the formation and essential aspects of urban spaces" (Shohamy et al., 2010:xii). This is yet another seminal work aimed at expanding LLS, specifically to topics regarding the LL of urban spaces. One of the sections of the book is dedicated to the perceptions of readers or passers-by. This section of the book covers three LLS, namely those of Aiestaran et al. (2010), Trumper-Hecht (2010) and Garvin (2010). The first two studies are relatively similar in respect of their focus and methodology by emphasising inhabitants' feelings and preferences concerning the LL. However, whereas the former involves researchers having to interview people on the streets, Trumper-Hecht (2010) conducted telephonic surveys. I decided to opt for Aiestaran et al. (2010) over Trumper-Hecht (2010) because I am particularly interested in methodologies that involve participants in a more direct sense.

In the study by Aiestaran et al. (2010), these researchers were interested in the perceptions and preferences of local residents regarding languages on signs in Donostia-San Sebastián. In this study, 'perception' refers to participants' awareness of the presence of linguistic varieties in the LL (Aiestaran et al., 2010:219). These authors take a unique angle in respect of the issue of passer-by LL preferences by questioning inhabitants' monetary commitment to adapting the LL to suit their preferences. This technique has been inspired by environmental economics and it estimates the economic value that inhabitants assign to languages in the LL (ibid.). Aiestaran and his colleagues (2010:225) interviewed 303 passers-by with a view to answering their three research questions, namely: (1) What are the differences between L1 Basque and L1 Spanish speakers' perceptions of the presence of linguistic varieties in the LL?; (2) What are these speakers' "preferred way to have signs in the [LL]"?; and, (3) What economic commitment would these speakers be willing to make regarding their preference of linguistic variety in the LL? Although the method described by the authors is qualitative in nature, the interviews are presented in five tables in terms of numbers and percentages

(Aiestaran et al., 2010:227). I next turn to a discussion of some of the findings from this study.

Aiestaran et al. (2010:226) found that both groups (Spanish L1 and Basque L1) predominantly recognise Spanish as the dominant language in the LL. Specifically, 66% of Spanish L1 participants and 78% of Basque L1 participants acknowledge Spanish as "the most commonly used language". It is noted that this perception corroborates findings from previous studies that documented signage in the area and found Spanish to be dominant in the LL (Aiestaran et al., 2010:228). Spanish speakers reported seeing Basque more frequently than Basque speakers see their own L1 (Aiestaran et al., 2010:227). Further findings indicate that both groups – Basque L1 speakers (97%) and Spanish L1 speakers (98%) – prefer that more than one linguistic variety appear on signs, with 59% of Spanish speakers leaning more towards multilingual signs and Basque speakers being "equally divided … about preference to have bilingual or multilingual signs" (Aiestaran et al., 2010:228). Additionally, Aiestaran et al. (2010:231) found the Basque group to be more willing than the Spanish group to pay to have signs made according to their preferences. Given a hypothetical 100 Euros, Basque speakers would, on average, spend 16.12 Euros to have the signs changed, while Spanish-speakers would only spend 9.28 Euros (Aiestaran et al., 2010:231). The authors posit that the motivation behind Basque speakers' relatively high economic commitment to changing signage is related, firstly, to their perception of the under-representation of Basque and, secondly, to their preference for Basque in the LL (ibid.). Aiestaran et al. (2010:232) extrapolate from these statistics that L1 Basque speakers "are probably more aware of the risks their L1 is exposed to" and therefore more willing to commit financially to sign changes than Spanish speakers. Conversely, the Spanish participants are aware that their Spanish is under no threat and they therefore need not commit anything substantial to sign changes. They are also willing to have a multilingual LL, "perhaps [as] … an expression of support for the efforts to safeguard the minority language" (Aiestaran et al., ibid.).

The conclusions drawn by Aiestaran et al. (2010), although certainly plausible, highlight an important issue in the early participant-driven LL research. The inclusion of participants in these early qualitative LLS does not necessarily mean that participants were given the freedom to articulate their perspectives and experiences. Rather, participants' experiences were limited to a closed set of questions and their responses were reduced to statistics (Aiestaran et al., 2010:225-227). This approach led the researchers to extrapolate the reasons

for Basque and Spanish speakers' preferences and perceptions, which would not be necessary had the participants played a more active and central role in the research process. This study's 'conservative' use of participants (employing closed questionnaires and needing to postulate perceptions) demonstrates how Bock and Stroud's (2018:24) suggestion to embrace multiple perspectives of LL and to centre participants in LL research can be regarded as a "provocative challenge" (Malinowski, 2018:224).

In a more direct response to Malinowski's (2009:124) plea to include people in LLS – both as a topic of investigation and as part of the research design – Garvin (2010) designed a new methodology to "investigate emotional and cognitive responses to the LL in urban communities in Memphis, Tennessee". In a way, this study is way ahead of its time: it delves deeper into human-sign interactions and the LL's role in "thoughts, feelings, actions and identity formations" (Garvin, 2010:254). Garvin's LLS focuses on eliciting emotional and cognitive responses to the LL, specifically an LL that reflects migrant identities (*migrant cityscaping*). Three research questions are posed (ibid.):

> In what ways do individual residents understand, interpret and interact with the LL in the communities? What are their thoughts and feelings about multilingualism or changes in the LL? In what ways does the LL connect residents to their social and psychological identities?

Using a methodology she terms "the postmodern 'walking-tour' interview", Garvin (2010:255) investigates the processes of "the co-construction of knowledge mediated and stimulated by the LL". She explains that this methodology draws on Farrell's (2006) work on reflective practices (an extension of Schön's (1983) process of reflection-in-action). This work suggests that reflecting in the moment of action and seeing, sharpens the senses and elicits "thoughts and emotions that are often socially constrained or suppressed by time" (Garvin, 2010:256). Garvin (2010:255-256) outlines a methodology similar to established methodologies in visual and sensory ethnography. For instance, Pink (2007:249) established the "walking with video" methodology as a means of attending to "sensorial elements of human experience and place-making". I mentioned in Section 1.4 that ethnographers such as Pink (2007), Lund (2006) and Ingold (2004) outline the importance of the body moving through space when it comes to understanding people's perceptions. These convictions stem from the late twentieth century when ethnographers were developing theory relating to corporeality and embodiment (cf. Schilling, 1991) and sensory perception (cf. Ingold, 2000).

Garvin's (2010:255) idea of the central role played by the body-in-movement in co-constructing knowledge resonates with that of Pink (2007), Lund (2006) and Ingold (2004) (discussed in Section 1.4). She is however specifically interested in participants' emotional and cognitive responses to the LL that is discursively constructed within the "aesthetic experience of moving in the landscape". Although, for her methodology, Garvin (2010:255-256) draws inspiration from linguists such as Alastair Pennycook, Thomas Farrell and Jan Blommaert, it is indeed clear that the 'walking-tour interview' has interdisciplinary roots.

The LL in this study is viewed as both a text and a stimulus during interviews (Garvin, 2010:255). This means that the LL is not simply viewed as a piece of text that represents the language use of that time and place, but also a research tool used to uncover participants' emotional and cognitive workings (ibid.). In these 'walking tours', the author, accompanied by ten participants, walked around a specific neighbourhood (one with many multilingual signs) and asked questions while they were navigating the area (Garvin, 2010:258). Below are some of the questions posed to the participants (Garvin, 2010:261):

- How do you feel when you see signs in languages other than English?
- When was the first time you noticed new languages present on signs in this area?
- What do you think the languages on the signs say about the people in this area?
- Do you go into stores and shops that advertise in languages other than English?

The findings of this study reveal that the 'walking tours' interview elicited a myriad of responses ranging from individual identity to culture and ethnicity. For instance, Garvin (2010:261-262) illustrates two instances involving two different participants in which the LL as a stimulus resulted in the participants making self-positioning statements. In the first instance, argues the researcher, the participant accesses his identity as an educated individual by positioning himself at a distance from the migrant discourse (Garvin, 2010:262). The participant comments that he does not discriminate against services because of the service provider's migrant status; instead, he employs a pragmatic approach: if he needs the service, he will use it regardless of the unfamiliar language (Garvin, 2010:263). The second participant, Garvin (2010:262) argues, accesses her Hispanic identity by commenting that "our population is growing" (talking about immigrants in the USA), thus positioning herself in the migrant Hispanic community. According to Garvin (2010:263), the most emotionally provocative LL item was a Statue of Liberty holding a cross and a bible verse with the words, "America must return to Christ". According to the author, the responses were not only

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emotional but also diverse, which indicated how each participant made meaning of and understood the LL differently in accordance with their own world views and experiences (Garvin, 2010:265).

The study also established that "the LL is never a neutral context" (Garvin, 2010:266). Garvin (2010:265) notes that during the 'walking tours' participants brought up a variety of topics and social issues, for example "religion, segregation, illegal immigration", etc. The researcher was able to demonstrate how the participants' understandings of the LL are influenced by wider discourse. One participant, for instance, noted how she had not had any particular feelings about the use of Spanish until wider political discourse about illegal immigrants became prominent: "… the political controversy came out about them being illegal … and [that] maybe changed my view a little bit" (Garvin, 2010:265). According to Garvin (2010:266), this non-neutral nature of the LL and the understandings of the LL being influenced by wider discourses demonstrate that "there is always some form of psychological response to the LL". In the concluding section to her study, Garvin (2010:268) states that the postmodern 'walking tour' interview methodology is effective in investigating responses to the LL on a cognitive and an emotional level. The heterogeneity of the responses elicited by this methodology indicates that it is a useful research tool for demonstrating the complex ways individuals interpret and interact with the LL.

As I have mentioned above, Garvin's (2010) LLS appears to be ahead of its time as it takes a phenomenological approach and delves deep into human-sign interactions. This approach to LLS is characteristic of third-wave LLS; however Garvin' (2010) study appeared prior to the acknowledgement of the latest wave in LL research and alongside second-wave LLS. I would argue that Garvin (2010) embraced multiple understandings of the LL and in a way, met Bock and Stroud's (2018) challenge before the challenge had even been issued. Yet, Garvin (2010:258) limits her participants' experiences of the LL by predetermining the LL for them and focuses solely on their responses to the linguistic codes on signs.

In this section, I have discussed some of the early LLS to have included people in their research designs. Although these early qualitative LLS are participant-driven, it is obvious that the extent to which participants were involved in the research process is limited. All three studies discussed above focus on people's perceptions of the linguistic codes present on signage. Malinowski (2009), for instance, is interested in sign writers' intentions in their choice of linguistic codes. Therefore, participants in these LLS were limited to expressing

their perspectives of the multilingual nature of the LL and, in the case of Aiestaran et al.'s (2010) study, participants were reduced to statistics so that the researchers could extrapolate from the quantitative data (despite the qualitative data-collection method) the reasons for participants' perspectives and preferences.

I have alluded to the idea that the studies in this section are considered 'early' qualitative LLS, the reason being that the debate about methodology in LLS has been expansive and, as a result, numerous qualitative approaches have emerged throughout the years. One such approach that has made an impact on the field is ethnography. In the next subsection (2.3.1), I briefly discuss the incorporation of this approach in LLS.

2.3.1 Signs in time and space

The 'early' qualitative LLS, like those discussed above, made great strides in implementing new methodologies that allowed people who produce and interact with LLs to participate in the research process. Some of these studies were more successful than others at centring these actors in the research process (cf. Garvin, 2010). However, the 'qualitative turn' in LLS encompassed more than just the utilisation of qualitative methodologies such as interviews and 'walking tours'. It brought about a new stance in regard to the production and significance of the LL. In terms of the production of LLs, LL scholars began to recognise that LLs are not mere static objects, but are rather "a diachronic process" of which the meanings can only be understood by considering its histories (Pavlenko, 2010:133). This led Blommaert (2013:14) to suggest that LLS need to "become the detailed study of situated signs-in-public-space … identifying the fine fabric of their structure and function in constant interaction with several layers of context". This nuanced stance on LLs in time (emphasising diachronicity) and in space (foregrounding interactions with different levels of context) ultimately caused LL scholars to adopt an ethnographic approach in LLS.

In what follows, I will briefly discuss Stroud and Mpendukana's (2009) study on the material ethnography of Khayelitsha. This is a relatively early LL ethnography and is widely cited for its approach of describing not only the linguistic configuration of signs but also the materiality of the signs. This specific study is furthermore relevant to this thesis because it was conducted in South Africa. Having done this, I shall outline Blommaert and Maly's (2015) ideas behind their "ethnographic linguistic landscape analysis" (ELLA), the only coined ethnographic approach in LLS. These approaches, however, fail to include

participants, and I consequently discuss Lou's (2009) PhD dissertation on the ethnography of Washington DC's Chinatown LL that employs specific methods so as to gain perspectives from the community members. In 2016, Jackie Lou eventually published a book entitled, *The linguistic landscape of Chinatown: a sociolinguistic ethnography*, based on the work in her dissertation. This book, unlike her dissertation, is cited widely and is considered a recent contribution to the field despite having been conducted five years earlier. Not having access to the book, I reference Lou's (2009) dissertation, treating it as a recent addition to LLS.

Stroud and Mpendukana (2009:380) conduct what they term "material ethnographies of place" that can be described as 'thick descriptions' of artefacts, in this case LL items, located in a particular place. These authors posit that LL items are material articulations of socio-economic and linguistic contexts (i.e. reflecting the community's multilingual resources) (Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009:380). They observed this phenomenon by firstly identifying different areas in which multilingual signs occur in Khayelitsha and then describing these areas in a Bourdieuan sense (Bourdieu, 1984:23, cited in Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009) as *sites of luxury, sites of necessity* and *sites of implosion* (Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009:367). Stroud and Mpendukana (2009:380) then make use of the ethnographic method of 'thick description' and describe the LL items in these sites in meticulous detail, not only noting their linguistic and orthographic elements but also the material composition of the signs.

In their analysis of the linguistic elements of the signs, Stroud and Mpendukana (2009:368) note how the language and language varieties are used (e.g., choices of creativity, variable language choices) and also describe the orthographic conventions, grammar and extent of code-mixing. These elements, according to Stroud and Mpendukana (2009:367), are determined by the nature of the sites, i.e. either luxury or necessity. For instance, Stroud and Mpendukana (2009:372) observe that in sites of luxury (economically advantaged areas) English is the most prominent language and any accompanying linguistic code (such as the pan-Africanist, 'waya-waya') is "staged" rather than an instance of code-mixing. They also note that the English text is "highly edited" to conform to standard English (Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009:368). More economically disadvantaged areas (sites of necessity), on the other hand, contain non-standard forms of English, code-mixing and "adapted loans from English and isiXhosa" (Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009:375-376). Significantly, Stroud and Mpendukana (2009:365) also describe the material configuration of the signs and how the different *sites* determine the material constraints or possibilities. For instance, sites of luxury

are characterised by large commercial and high-tech billboards involving large-scale economic commitment. In sites of necessity, one is likely to encounter signs made from easily available materials (e.g., cardboard) and are often handcrafted, thus indicating both low economic investment and the local economic context (Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009:367). Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) ultimately demonstrate that material ethnographies of place (thick descriptions of LLs situated in a particular location) enable one to gauge the meaning-making economies of the place and then to interpret the socio-economic and linguistic contexts.

The approach taken by Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) satisfies Blommaert and Maly's (2015:3) preliminary 'yardstick' for the development of qualitative LLS in that they devote more attention to individual signs. However, Blommaert and Maly (2015:1) also assert that the LL has the ability to indicate social change, thereby implying that LLS need to take a diachronic approach, which means that LLS would need to go beyond detailed descriptions of signs' linguistic and material compositions, such as those presented by Stroud and Mpendukana (2009), and to consider signs over time. Blommaert and Maly (2015) outline an ethnographic approach to LLS, coined "ethnographic linguistic landscape analysis" (ELLA), which views the LL through a diachronic lens that constitutes the LL over a period of time. This ethnographic approach allows one to witness the complexity of a layered "system of systems (individual, peer, local, national, etc.)" and "detect socio-political change" (Blommaert, 2013:12; 2016:3).

It is interesting to note that the approaches followed by Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) and those taken by Blommaert and Maly (2015), although both being ethnographic, somehow exclude those who live among the signs that the researchers so adequately describe. These LL scholars are so concerned with what the LL can reveal about the people, their relationships, patterns of social interaction and socio-economic contexts that they fail to corroborate these findings with the people themselves. Stroud and Mpendukana (2009:382) admit this to be a limitation in their study and state that they are only able to offer possible readings of the signs. This limitation is more complex in the case of Blommaert and Maly's (2015) study: Blommaert happened to have been a resident in the research site for about 20 years and was therefore embedded in the community and privy to changes in the community over time. Although this approach fulfils their stated aim of illustrating how ELLA may provide insights into the complexity of a "superdiverse neighbourhood", the analysis is limited to

Blommaert's perspective of the LL and how he perceives the social change in the neighbourhood (Blommaert & Maly, 2015:5).

Thus far, my discussion of LL ethnographies has indicated that LL scholars adopted a very narrow ethnographic approach focusing mostly on thick descriptions of phenomena. There is, however, one study that I would argue stands head and shoulders above other LL ethnographies: Jackie Lou's (2009) ethnography on the LL of Chinatown in Washington DC.

The stated aim of Lou's (2009:260) LLS was to "better understand the roles of language and discourse in the place-making of Washington, DC Chinatown". Interestingly, her aim is similar to the aim of the current thesis. Essentially Lou (2009) and the author of this thesis are interested in the discursive construction of a particular place and specifically in how the LL gives *spaces* meaning to turn them into particular *places*. Lou's (2009:85) study is particularly impressive because it entailed 18 months of ethnographic fieldwork and she used numerous ethnographic techniques to fulfil the aim of the study. In my discussion below, I briefly mention the data-collection techniques that Lou (2009) employed in her ethnography.

The first data-collection method used by Lou (2009:84) is not unfamiliar to LLS. She photographed the LL and explains that this helped her to develop a 'researcher's' perspective on the LL and the meanings it brings to the space. However, because Lou (2009:78) was also interested in observing how the LL interacts with other aspects of the context in order to 'construct' the place, she needed to observe people and activities in the place and understand their perspectives. So as to reach the community members' perspectives and observe how people interact with LL, Lou (2009:86) embedded herself in the community by volunteering at the community centre. This allowed her to interact with a variety of members who produce and 'consume' the LL. Lou's (2009:76) position in the community allowed her to conduct participant observations and open-ended interviews. Additionally, Lou (ibid.) conducted in-depth interviews with community leaders and policy makers with a view to understanding the "various historical processes about Chinatown". According to Lou (2009:90), the 13 individuals she interviewed were all "related to the place of Chinatown in various ways". These individuals were asked about their personal history related to Chinatown, whether Chinatown had changed, how it compared with other Chinatowns, the shopping and dining scene of the place, and the interviewees' perspectives on the of future of Chinatown (Lou, 2009:95). Lou (2009:96) states that these interviews helped her gain valuable insights into people's experiences of Chinatown. She recorded community meetings where policies

regarding language on signage were discussed and collected various documents addressing signage in Chinatown (Lou, 2009:99-100). This allowed her to analyse the production of the LL. This particular research design allowed Lou (2009:259, 260) to observe the complex dialogic relationships that exist among language, discourse and place, which ultimately led her to a better understanding of "Chinatown's place identity". It is evident from the ethnographic methods described above that Lou (2009) ensured that the discursive construction of Chinatown was not limited to her perspective and that the dissertation presented a well-rounded understanding of how the LL influences the place-making of Chinatown. I agree with Gorter (2017:593) that it is unfortunate her book took so long to be published. Had it been published at the time of her dissertation, it would have had a markedly bigger impact on the field of LL.

Lou's (2009) study seems to be somewhat of an exception in LLS. The ethnographic tradition in LL scholarship has seemed to follow the frameworks described by Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) and Blommaert and Maly (2015). This means that LLS that adopt an ethnographic approach tend to focus on thick description of signs in time and space (i.e. signs in context) in order to comment on social change or current realities. Although the approaches put forward by Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) and by Blommaert and Maly (2015) do not focus solely on linguistic codes, they are nevertheless limiting in that they do not allow for the incorporation of the perspectives of those who reside among the signs. Although the latter studies did not do much in the way of foregrounding people in LLS, by investigating the complex ways in which place shapes LLs and LLs construct place, they did however offer a stepping stone to the third and current wave of LLS.

2.4   Getting personal

In the previous section, I mentioned that LLS have broadened to include investigations into the ways in which the LL gives spaces meaning. According to Peck, Stroud and Williams (2018:1), recent work in the field of LLs trend towards the understanding of place where 'place' is treated as an entity removed from 'the person'. The authors contend that the field could benefit from understanding place through people – thereby foregrounding people in LLS (Peck et al., 2018:2). This most recent wave of LL scholarship has been described as adopting a phenomenological orientation that focuses on the human-sign interface (Zabrodskaja & Milani, 2014:2). It seems reminiscent of the early quantitative LL research except that the rationale has been reversed. Whereas the early quantitative LLS were

concerned with what the LL of a place can divulge about the behaviours of the people in that location, recent LL work examines the symbiotic relationship between people and LL in order to unpack the complexity of a place.

Foregrounding people in LLS in order to observe place-making processes brings with it all their 'humanness' – their senses, bodies, imaginations, emotions (or affect). This means that LL research needs to adopt an approach that goes beyond the 'linguistic'. In their book, *Semiotic landscapes: language, image, space*, Jaworski and Thurlow (2010:2) already argued for the need to consider the role of other elements in the "construction and interpretation of place". This book has brought the concept of 'semiotic landscapes' to the study of LLs as a means of drawing attention to the ways in which linguistic elements interact with other modes such as images and architecture to create meaning (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010:2). These authors define 'semiotic landscape' as "any (public) space with visible inscription made through deliberate human intervention and meaning making" (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010:2). This term has been used widely across LLS and is sometimes used synonymously with 'linguistic landscape'. For instance, Wee (2016:105) explains in a footnote that he uses the term 'linguistic landscape' instead of 'semiotic landscape' because he focuses mainly on language, despite the latter term being appropriate. Jaworski and Thurlow's (2010) work, although still placing language at the centre, has given LLS 'permission' to expand beyond the 'linguistic'. Now, with the burgeoning emphasis on the dialogic relationship between people, the LL and place, there are LLS that place an increasing number of facets of the 'human' into the field of LLS. Examples in this regard are inscribed bodies (e.g., "skinscapes" – Peck & Stroud, 2015); human senses (e.g., "smellscapes" – Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015); human imagination and memory (cf. Ben-Rafael & Shohamy, 2016; Bock & Stroud, 2018); gender and sexuality (cf. Correa & Shohamy, 2018; Milani, 2014); affect (cf. Stroud & Jegels, 2014; Wee, 2016); and most recently, the gut, heart, stomach and liver (i.e. "visceral landscapes" – Stroud, Peck & Williams, 2019).

In summary, the new approach to LLS, which focuses on the symbiotic relationship between people and the LL in order to observe the complexity of place, has had two major implications that has set third-wave LL research apart from the first two waves. The first implication is that people are foregrounded in the study of LLs so as to ensure that place is not being investigated as something removed from 'the person' (Peck et al., 2018:2). Secondly, LLS have shifted to beyond the 'linguistic' to consider LLs' multimodality

(Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010) and also to examine the "sign as an aspect of corporeal, sensorial, placement of Self in place" (e.g., the human body, senses, sexuality, etc.) (Stroud et al., 2019:8). The implications of third wave LLS have led to new ways of conducting LL research that embrace the central role of participants and allow for the analysis of other forms of semiosis. Below, I discuss two studies that use such methodologies. The first LLS I discuss is that of Stroud and Jegels' (2014), which considered the role of individuals' affect in constructing their sense of place, thereby foregrounding 'the person' in the research project. The second study I discuss is a paper by Bock and Stroud (2018) in which they put forward the notion of a "zombie landscape", that is a semiotic landscape that exists in participants' imaginations as a means of making sense of present-day South Africa. I use Bock and Stroud's (2018) study to emphasise how third-wave LLS have incorporated other elements – specifically the human dimension of imagination – to understand individuals' place-making processes. I have chosen the two studies because both were conducted in the Western Cape, South Africa, where the research for my thesis was also conducted. Moreover, the study by Stroud and Jegels (2014) has recently become the inspiration for an entirely new addition to the field, namely "visceral landscapes" (Stroud et al., 2019). As is clear in the introduction (Section 1.1.1), the study by Bock and Stroud (2018) has played a major role in the current thesis by serving as inspiration.

Stroud and Jegels (2014) collected residents' personal narratives of place in the multilingual township of Manenberg, Cape Town with a view to exploring the meanings and constructions of place. Specifically, the authors uncover the "mechanisms behind the multiple constructions of place" such as an individual's affect and social capital (Stroud & Jegels, 2014:180). The authors emphasise the dialogic relationship between place and the LL, noting that while the LL has a role in organising place, place simultaneously determines how the LL is read (ibid.). Ultimately, these LL scholars argue that, "a central aspect of place-making is in fact the way affect and movement through space is organized, narrated and interactively accomplished by means of – direct and indirect – engagement with situated material semiotic artefacts" (ibid.).

Stroud and Jegels (2014:183) adopt the method of 'narrated walking' – reminiscent of Garvin's (2010) 'walking tours' discussed in the previous section – where participants took the researchers on a tour of Manenberg and its various areas. The participants were prompted

to tell the interviewer "what one 'ought to know' about a particular zone[3]" (Stroud & Jegels, 2014:183). It is important to note that Stroud and Jegels (ibid.) also prompted their participants to expand on certain points in their narrative related to the LL. Presenting findings from two zones in Manenberg, the authors firstly describe the area, then provide a genre analysis of its signage, and, lastly, interpret the participants' narrations in conjunction with the area description and genre analysis (Stroud & Jegels, 2014:184-195).

According to Stroud and Jegels (2014:186), the LL of Zone 1 – a main access point to Manenberg with several taxi and bus stations – is characterised by bottom-up business signage and municipal signage. The genre of the signs in Zone 1 is either deictic (pointing to other entities and locations in the township) or representational (naming buildings or locations) (Stroud & Jegels, 2014:188). These genres represent a "discourse of aspiration and futurity, mobility and change" (ibid.). The participant in the study by Stroud and Jegels (2014:189), describes Manenberg as a "mobile place of fleeting encounters, and accompanying dangers"; for example, the participant explains that there is a particular place (a bridge) where people who come by taxi are often robbed. The authors are able to point out similarities in the themes from the narrative, the signage genre and the content themes of the signs (Stroud & Jegels, 2014:190).

Zone 2 is described as a "lived-in" and "personalized" space (Stroud & Jegels, 2014:190-191). The LL is dominated by local shop signs, often advertising household services and goods (e.g., salons and groceries). One can interpret these kinds of services as having an intimate nature because shop owners and customers interact daily and become familiar with one another (Stroud & Jegels, 2014:192). These authors (ibid.) demonstrate that the majority of signs display the identity of the service provider (e.g., "Wayda's fruit and veg"), therefore the signage genre is one of 'personalisation'. The emerging discourses are consequently centred around "care, motherhood, providing for, neighbourliness and coping" (ibid.). According to Stroud and Jegels (2014:193), these themes are reflected in the narratives of the participant and actually occur at the moment when the participant talks about the use of tuck shop signs in the area. For instance, discourse about coping is reflected in the participant's narration of how people who have lost their jobs obtain Coke signs to indicate they are running a small tuck shop in order to earn some form of income.

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[3] Manenberg is a township created during apartheid for black and coloured families who had been forcibly removed from their previous homes. Authorities divided the township into three zones and later an NGO added two further zones (Williams, 2010 cited in Stroud & Jegels, 2014:5).

Stroud and Jegels (2014:193-194) go on to illustrate how people use the LL as a means of making sense of a certain place and subsequently navigate that space. In Zone 1, the participant's movement is structured in terms of named locations (e.g., a specific bridge that is avoided for fear of being robbed). In Zone 2, the participant uses different genres of signage to navigate the space (e.g., a Coke sign indicates unemployment) (Stroud & Jegels, 2014:195). The authors conclude that the LL acts as "a backdrop and a point of reference" for talking about and navigating place (Stroud & Jegels, 2014:195-196). In essence, the authors argue that the LL has an impact on a person's affect, which, in turn, determines how the individual makes sense of a place. This study is a relatively early LL study that considers the human dimension of 'affect', which is evident in its emphasis on the impact of the LL on this particular aspect of 'humanness', as opposed to more recent studies that highlight the dialogic relationship between LL and people. Stroud et al. (2019:8), to whom this study is pivotal in introducing how semiotic landscapes are read through 'viscerals', comment on the fact that the study was conducted at a time when LLS as a discipline was starting to broaden into a multidisciplinary field. Because of the time Stroud and Jegels' study was conducted (2014), it is not surprising that they did not consider the complex dynamics between the participant's own human features (later identified as the participant's 'viscerals' (Stroud et al., 2019:8)) and the semiotic landscape in the place-making process. By utilising the 'narrated walking' method and examining the participant's narration of place, this study is however an example of an LL study, which, to a greater extent, places the person at the centre of the LL research process.

Similar to Stroud and Jegels (2014), Bock and Stroud (2018) analyse participants' narrations of place. However, Bock and Stroud (2018) investigate a semiotic landscape that is not materially realised but, instead, is imagined in the mind of the participant. Specifically, the authors explore how it is possible that apartheid still plays a role in shaping the way young South Africans perceive themselves and navigate the spaces they move through. Bock and Stroud (2018) illustrate how the participants express apartheid as place. In contradistinction to Stroud and Jegels' (2014) study in Manenberg, apartheid is not a physical landscape through which one moves, but rather a "system of legalized racism, a product of the regime's policy of separate development … underpinned by a raft of discriminatory laws" (Bock & Stroud, 2018:11-12). Bock and Stroud (2018:22) argue that apartheid acts as a mental landscape through which young South African's perspectives are constituted. The authors coin the notion of "zombie landscape" in order to capture the idea of a 'semiotic' landscape

that is not materially realised in the present but occurs in the space of imagination (Bock & Stroud, 2018:13). According to these authors (ibid.), the use of the word 'zombie' represents how "the 'undead' and highly racialized ways of speaking about space and place that we find in our participant narratives continue to 'haunt' the present despite having no legal standing after two decades of democracy".

The participants in the study were all senior students from the University of the Western Cape (UWC). In addition to one interview, the researchers conducted six focus groups (three 'monoracial' and three multiracial) (ibid.). The groups were prompted regarding the following open-ended questions: "What they knew about apartheid, how they felt about it and how it had affected them" (ibid.). Unlike Stroud and Jegels (2014), who directly highlighted the LL in order to uncover how the participants incorporated it into their personal narratives of place, Bock and Stroud (2018) did not prompt their participants to talk about apartheid in terms of place. The authors systematically analysed the data by analysing the use of words in context such as "apartheid, place(s), town(s), cit(ies), rural, areas, school, university, and varsity as well as all place names" so as to understand how participants conceptualised apartheid as place (Bock & Stroud, 2018:13).

Bock and Stroud (2018:14-21) illustrate how the participants construct apartheid as an imagined place bounded by time and place instead of 'remembering' apartheid as an oppressive regime (Bock & Stroud, 2018:14-16). For instance, one participant speaks about apartheid in terms of areas that he imagines do/do not experience oppression: "[a]partheid is still there in certain places … semi-rural places …" (Bock & Stroud, 2018:14). Subsequently, it is indicated that apartheid as an imagined landscape functions as a framework (or metaphor) by means of which contemporary South Africa is understood (Bock & Stroud, 2018:19-22). For instance, Bock and Stroud (2018:19) quote one of their participants who talks about feeling "undermine[d]" in certain shops as a black person – as though the shop attendants believe that she cannot afford the clothes in the store because she is black. The participant "invokes the apartheid hierarchy" (white people on top, coloured people somewhere in the middle with Indians and black people at the bottom) to make sense of why shopkeepers undermine her, saying, "they normally look at coloureds first or whites, and blacks later" (ibid.). This example indicates how apartheid is being used as an imagined semiotic landscape to make sense of present-day issues. Ultimately, Bock and Stroud (2018) demonstrate the considerable power of this 'zombie landscape' as a sense-making mechanism

in post-apartheid South Africa. In terms of third wave LLS, these authors manage to highlight the symbiotic relationship between 'the person' (and her/his human dimension of imagination) and the LL (or semiotic landscape) in making sense of place or the self in place.

This final section on the discussion of the role of people in LLS shows that LL research has expanded to allow people to be centred in the research process. The phenomenological orientation of this recent wave of LLS has led LL scholars to methodologies that foreground people and their 'humanness', thereby expanding LLS to beyond the 'linguistic' and incorporating other forms of semiosis (material, corporeal and sensorial). The present thesis situates itself within this latest wave of LLS. It is a linguistic landscape study that foregrounds the experiences of participants with a view to observing the complexities of place-making that ultimately (even if unintendedly) entails a variety of semiosis.

2.5   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the ways in which people have either been included (or excluded) in LL research as a means of exploring how collecting a force field of readings could be considered a challenge for the field. The early studies did not have any participants despite being concerned with "people's behaviours" (Ben Rafael et al., 2006:9). This eventually changed when LL scholars became interested in sign writers' intentions and the perceptions of passers-by. However, the early studies to have included participants were also still, for the most part, representing participants in the form of statistics and thus not affording participants themselves the opportunity of determining the LL. This began to change when LLS expanded so as to consider how the LL constructs place. LL ethnographies went into detail, describing signs and what they revealed about place and social change in place (cf. Blommaert, 2013; Blommaert & Maly, 2015). However, these ethnographies were often devoid of participants and relied on the researcher's embeddedness in the context to verify such readings of the significance of the LL. The exception here was Lou (2009) who presented an LL ethnography that included the perspectives of various community members. This ethnographic approach to LLS proved to be a gateway for LL scholars to recognise the complexities of the human-sign interface and how this functions dialogically in the construction of place (Stroud et al., 2018). This recent understanding of the dynamics of place-making expanded the field of LLS to encompass more than a mere focus on linguistic, orthographic and material features of public signage. LL scholars have since become interested in how our human aspects (senses, imaginations, sexuality, etc.) inform our

interpretations of LLs and how the LL may impact us on the various levels of *self*, ultimately determining people's perspectives of place (cf. Milani, 2014; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015; Stroud & Jegels, 2014). The recent focus on the symbiotic relationship between people and LL has led to LLS that adopt methodologies placing people at the centre of the research and that go beyond the linguistic elements of the LL. Although the field of LLS now produces person-centred research and considers numerous semiotic resources in the production of place, the challenge, as Malinowski (2018:224) suggests, still remains to embrace a kind of LL study that is 'persons'-centred, literally meaning multiple people, so as further to reveal the complexities of place and the dialogic relationship between people (their 'humanness') and the LL.

Part I

My perspective of the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence

Chapter 3

The LL of Goldfields Residence: locating the researcher in the research

3.1   Introduction

In Part I of this thesis, I explain my perspective of the way in which the LL serves to give meaning to the communal areas of Goldfields Residence. My perspective, as I mentioned in Section 1.1, was conceived in the course of the project I undertook as part of my Honours degree research requirements. In it, I surveyed the LL of the residence hall so as to allow me to determine what 'kind of place' it is, that is, I wanted to know how Goldfields is discursively constructed. Although I had never intended to claim that my findings reflected any kind of modernist universalism, this was clearly the tradition under which I was operating when I discovered that other students had presented readings of the space that differed from mine and I started questioning the validity of my own study. In a thesis that aims to foreground multiple individuals' subjective experiences, I would be ill advised to suggest any form of universality. Menezes de Souza (2002:263) states that to reverse "the prevalent drive to universalize in academic knowledge production" it is important to emphasise 'loci of enunciation' (Mignolo, 2000). 'Locus of enunciation' is a term rooted in decolonial theory. Menezes de Souza (2019:10) glosses this term as "the space from which we speak" and explains that "meaning is always attributed to a sign (semiotic or linguistic) in a particular place, by a particular person located in a particular moment in time". Therefore, one's locus of enunciation refers to the particular time and place from which one is interpreting. The term affords recognition to the fact that all individuals have their own epistemologies, which influence their moments of meaning making (Menezes de Souza, 2019:11). Hence, making one's locus of enunciation known implies clarifying that which impacts one's construction of meaning. Bearing this in mind, I aim to redress the unintentional universalist tradition underlying my initial investigation into the discursive construction of Goldfields by revealing my locus of enunciation in the discussion that follows.

In what follows, I will discuss the methodology and analytical framework (Section 3.2) used to answer the research question in my initial investigation conducted in my Honours year. In Section 3.2, I also provide the reader with insight into my locus of enunciation at the time of the study. This will then be followed by the discussion of the data in Section 3.3. In Section 3.4, which concludes the chapter, I discuss some of the points upon which I reflected while conducting the study.

3.2 Data collection and analysis

The data were collected from the communal areas of Goldfields Residence. These areas included foyers, dining areas and also noticeboards in hallways. Data-collection methods included taking photographs of any material displaying language (e.g., posters, blackboards, clothing, etc.). Beyond this, I took fieldnotes of any phenomena I considered salient in the space. In these fieldnotes, I noted my initial impressions of the various spaces prior to analysing the data and logged where each LL item was located within the residence hall.

This research project utilised the qualitative analytic method of thematic analysis. Some scholars posit that identifying themes in empirical data is a tool used in various methods and is not a specific approach (cf. Boyatzis, 1998; Ryan & Bernard, 2000). However, Braun and Clarke (2006:5) argue that thematic analysis is a method in its own right "which can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data". The latter authors argue that the greatest benefit of thematic analysis is its freedom from any particular theoretical or epistemological position (Braun & Clarke, 2006:4-5). Other qualitative analytic methods that apply some kind of process of theme identification are often tied to and limited by specific theoretical frameworks – such as conversation analysis or discourse analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006:4). However, because it creates a sense of 'anything goes' within the research process, Braun and Clarke (2006:5) note that the flexibility of thematic analysis is often used as a criticism against the method. To avoid this impression of the data analysis, I will clarify the aim of thematic analysis, explain what is meant by a 'theme' and enumerate the steps that I took to identify a theme.

Thematic analysis aims to identify and analyse "repeated patterns of meaning" in data. This analytic method searches for these patterns across an entire data set (as opposed to within one data item) (Braun & Clarke, 2006:15). I used an inductive approach to identify themes, making my analysis data-driven and not theoretically bound. This approach allowed me to

get a better overall sense of the discursive construction of Goldfields, without having to limit the analysis to a pre-existing theoretical framework (Braun & Clarke, 2006:12). At this point, I should however like to make it clear that the identification of themes does not occur in an epistemological vacuum. According to Braun and Clarke (2006:12), researchers can never be completely free of theoretical stances. This position taken by the authors resonates with decolonial theory and the notion of 'locus of enunciation', since loci of enunciation are constituted of our histories, which include our epistemologies and our location in space (Mignolo, 1999:238). Interestingly, social anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1983:4) similarly expressed that to a researcher

> … sorting through the machinery of distant ideas, the shapes of knowledge are always ineluctably local, indivisible from their instruments and their encasements. One may veil this fact with ecumenical rhetoric or blur it with strenuous theory, but one cannot make it go away.

The above quotation refers to the idea that the meanings researchers create are ultimately products of 'who they are' ("their instruments and their encasements"), their locus of enunciation. Braun and Clarke (2006:7) further affirm that themes do not 'emerge' from data – whether an inductive approach is taken or not, because researchers, with their epistemological 'baggage', play an active role in identifying themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006:7). Ely, Vinz, Downing and Anzul (1997:206) astutely explain that "if themes 'reside' anywhere they reside in our heads from our thinking about our data and creating links as we understand them". In line with the above convictions, I find it of the utmost importance to declare my locus of enunciation and situate my approach to and interpretation of the LL of Goldfields Residence.

At the time of my initial investigation into the discursive construction of Goldfields, I was investigating the LL from the perspective of a recent graduate in Humanities, majoring in general linguistics, whose knowledge of LLs was limited to a few undergraduate, third-year level lectures that had focused on first-wave LLS (see Section 2.2 for a detailed discussion on this topic). This meant that I had really only been exposed to (1) viewing LLs as comprising items on which language was inscribed, and (2) using quantitative methods to determine the prominence of linguistic codes on signs (cf. Backhaus, 2006; Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Then, too, I wrote from the perspective of a student leader who had for three consecutive years been a house committee member of Olympus Private Student

Organisation (an organisation for off-campus students that fulfils roles similar to those of on-campus residence halls) and who had worked with Goldfields Residence to arrange events around the current issues on campus and in South Africa at large. This was part of my 'critical engagement' portfolio. Taking into account my locus of enunciation at the time, I am able retrospectively to reflect on how it influenced my research design and, ultimately, my analysis. It is clear to see that my exposure to first wave LL literature had led me only to identify with objects displaying written language as being meaning-making objects. It followed that my reading of these objects was heavily influenced by my student leadership position and by my involvement with Goldfields. I now return to the discussion on data collection and analysis by briefly describing what a 'theme' is and how I identified one in my data.

A theme is a "unit of meaning" that can be observed in the data set (Guest, MacQueen & Namey, 2011:50). The role a theme needs to fulfil is twofold: firstly, it needs to say something about the data in relation to the research question and secondly capture a pattern of meaning in the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006:10). The research question I put forward in Section 3.1 is very broad and as it would be challenging to identify a theme based merely on the question, I therefore attempted to identify a theme that speaks both to the history of the place, as reported in Section 1.4 and to its present-day context. Additionally, because I am concerned with the discursive construction of the place, I identified and labelled a theme in accordance with the 'type of place' Goldfields had led me to believe it to be by means of its LL. Though the steps taken in identifying and defining the theme are discussed in further detail below, I should first like to make clear which LL items I included in my analysis and which I decided to exclude.

I photographed a total of 80 LL items. Of these 80 LL items, 15 were included in my analysis. After I had photographed the 80 LL items, I grouped the items according to their similarities. Two groups were included in my analysis because they contained the largest number of similar LL items. The first set of LL items that I grouped together were six objects inscribed with the Goldfields insignia. Considering my locus of enunciation within student leadership, it is not surprising that I found the insignia significant in the space because I was aware that they had been designed to capture the essence (the values and history) of the residence hall. They were therefore a key part of the LL that adds meaning to the communal areas of Goldfields Residence. The second set of LL items that I grouped together was a

collection of nine inspirational quotations by public figures printed on paper and stuck on the walls of the recreational room in the MetLife-Centre. These stood out to me because they were the only items displaying 'linguistic' information in an otherwise linguistically empty room (a result of my locus of enunciation within a limited knowledge of LLS). In order to analyse the aforementioned LL items, I followed the steps suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006).

I followed three essential steps to reach the theme discussed below in Section 3.3. I began step one of the process by coding each individual LL item I had photographed. Contrary to early LLS (cf. Ben-Rafael et al., 2006), I did not focus on the linguistic codes present on the items, my interest being the meanings contained *within* the signs. As a result, my initial identification of codes had been based on the semantic content of the items (Boyatzis, 1998:63). Step two of the process involved combining the different codes to "form an overarching theme" (Braun & Clarke, 2006:19). According to Braun and Clarke (2006:20-21), the next step involves refining the themes by either rejecting certain themes because these are not supported by the data or by bringing themes together to form a single new theme. However, as all the coded items seemed to fit into one particular theme, I considered the themes in my data set from Goldfields Residence to require no further refinement. I was thus able to move on directly to the final step, which entails defining the theme (Braun & Clarke, 2006:22). The theme I eventually identified is discussed in relation to the data in Section 3.3 below.

3.3 Data discussion: a place for agents of change

The theme I identified and defined from the LL items of Goldfields Residence is labelled 'a place for agents of change'. This theme refers to a place that encourages its inhabitants to make positive changes in the world and to believe that they, as individuals, are capable of bringing about great change. This theme is evident in the data I collected from the communal areas of Goldfields. The data set comprises the insignia of Goldfields Residence and a large collection of posters containing quotations from various public figures.

3.3.1 Goldfields insignia

The Goldfields Residence emblem features six times in the data set. This insignia is inscribed on two large blackboards in spaces devoid of other LL items. The one chalk drawing is in the dining area of the MetLife-Centre (now known as the Deli after the construction of a new

dining hall) (See Figure 2 below). The other is in the open quad area of the residential blocks. These drawings seem to be the more informal version of the insignia. The formal insignia appears on printed notices pinned to noticeboards across the residence hall (Figure 3). The insignia also appears on clothing on display in the computer area of the MetLife-Centre (See the photographs in Figure 4 and Figure 5).

This particular collection of LL items contains the logo of the residence, the year it was established and the motto of the house written in Latin: "[i]n hoc [signo vinces]" (Figure 2, Figure 3, Figure 4 and Figure 5 below). Though the motto is misspelled on the insignia, it is nonetheless interpretable. This Latin motto translates directly to: In this sign, you will conquer. To understand how this LL item may invest the space with meaning, it is worthwhile investigating the history of this Latin motto.

Figure 2: Goldfields informal insignia on blackboard

Figure 3: Goldfields formal insignia on notice

Figure 4: Goldfields insignia on T-shirt

Figure 5: Close-up of insignia on T-shirt

The motto dates back to the time of Constantine the Great, the first Roman emperor to convert to Christianity (Harris, 2017:38). This is significant because the Roman Empire was largely pagan and Christians experienced prejudice. In his early years, Constantine received his formal education at the court of Diocletian where he was free to mix with Christians and Pagans alike (Barnes, 1981:72-74). However, he also witnessed Diocletian's "'Great Persecution', the greatest persecution of Christians in Roman history" (Odahl, 2004:73). Diocletian retired as emperor making Galerius the new emperor of Rome. Constantine was forced to flee to Great Britain to avoid conflict with the new emperor (Odahl, 2004:75-76).

Prior to Constantine's inauguration as Rome's emperor, he had received letters from the people of Rome begging him to defeat the cruel government of Maxentius (son-in-law to Emperor Galerius) (Odahl, 2004:101). Constantine began to march on Rome in late spring 312 with a relatively small army of forty thousand men (Barnes, 1981:41; Odahl, 2004:101). On his journey to Rome, he fought in two battles: one in Segusium (modern-day Susa, Italy), the next in Augusta Taurinorum (Turin, Italy) against Maxentian cavalry (Odahl, 2004:101-102). These battles reduced Constantine's already small army.

One morning, before the battle for Rome against an army twice the size of his, Constantine looked up to the sky and there appeared a cross of fire accompanied by the words, *In hoc signo vinces* (Haaren & Poland, 1902:257). Once Constantine had determined the meaning of this vision, he created an army standard in the shape of this flaming cross behind which his army then marched. Constantine and his military soon defeated the forces of Maxentius and liberated the people of Rome (Haaren & Poland, 1902:259). Constantine the Great brought

great reform to Rome, which, according to Haaren and Poland (1902:259), included putting "a stop to [the] dishonest practices of the officers" and establishing "just methods of carrying out public affairs". Significantly, Constantine the Great changed policies relating to Christians so that they would be treated fairly and kindly within the Roman Empire (Frend, 1965:137). The people of Rome loved Constantine so dearly that, in his honour, they erected a marble arch bearing the inscription, "To the founder of our peace" (Haaren & Poland, 1902:260).

Many consider the story of Constantine the Great to be one of the establishment of Christianity in Rome. It can however also be read as a story about courage, reform and equality. The latter reading makes the story of Constantine the Great a strong analogy for the formation of Goldfields and the actions of its residents. The establishment of Goldfields Residence at SU, the first university housing for coloured students during apartheid, was an act symbolising conquest of a space from which its residents had previously been barred. This is analogous with Constantine's success at the battle for Rome and of his inauguration as Emperor despite his, then unpopular, views concerning Christians. Furthermore, the founding of Goldfields Residence acted as a catalyst for great change and reform at SU, especially as regards equality. Under the guidance of Goldfields Residence, the early student body of the house acted as change agents at SU. As well as fighting for racial equality across activities at SU (classrooms, sports teams, other residence halls, etc.), these early students fought for just reforms in respect of better facilities at Goldfields (Conradie, 2015:25). This fight for change by the students of Goldfields is reminiscent of Constantine's policy changes for the fair treatment of Christians within the Roman Empire.

Given the analogy between the history of Constantine the Great (indexed by the Latin motto) and the formation of Goldfields, the insignia conveys not only a message of courage and equality, but also signals to the residents that they are able to effect great change under the guidance of Goldfields Residence. This specific important LL item therefore constructs a place that encourages individuals to bring about positive change in society and to work towards equality.

3.3.2 Inspirational quotations from public figures

The recreational room of the MetLife-Centre features a collection of nine quotations by public figures such as Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King Jr. and Mother Teresa printed on

white A4 paper. These posters were positioned all around the room on all visible walls. The quotations appeared in high frequency in comparison with any other LL item in the space. The semantic content of the posters conveys a message that any ordinary individual has the ability to bring about change. It is also interesting to note that the quoted figures – with the exception of Albert Einstein and Steve Maraboli – had been victims of some kind of oppressive system and subsequently became agents of change. Each quotation contributes something to the abovementioned message and will be discussed below.

With exception of one outlier, the posters appear to fit into two semantic strands. The first strand includes quotations from Steve Maraboli, Nelson Mandela and Albert Einstein (See Figure 6, Figure 7 and Figure 8 below). These quotations seem to suggest that if one wishes to change society, it would be best to start with inner-change by changing one's own thinking or attitude. The second semantic strand conveys the message that any ordinary person is able to effect great change and that there is no need to be a leader in any official capacity. The quotations that convey this message are from Mother Teresa (Figure 9), Martin Luther King Jr. (Figure 11), Barack Obama (Figure 10) and Anne Frank (Figure 12). The outlier to which I referred captures an overarching theme instead of contributing to the two semantic strands discussed above. This outlier is a quotation from Nikki Giovanni (See Figure 13 below) and conveys a message that change is inevitable. In what follows, I will discuss each quotation in relation to the outlined semantic strands.

The Steve Maraboli quotation, seen in Figure 6 below, suggests that if people wish to witness incredible change in their lives, it is best to control what they can instead of futilely seeking control over that which they cannot. This quotation seems to tell its readers that it is best to spend one's energy on the things one knows one is able to change and that this will ultimately ensure great change in one's lifetime. Therefore, it is important, first, to seek within oneself the truth about what can change and then to make sure that one's actions align with that truth before attempting to bring about greater change 'out there'. Similarly, the Nelson Mandela quotation (Figure 7) suggests that in order to change others, one needs first to reflect on one's own attitudes and beliefs and then change them according to the vision one has for changing others. The two quotations discussed above both allude to this idea that if one wants to witness greater overall change, it is best to start with oneself and to start with a journey of inner change. These two quotations do however differ in that they appear to be talking about 'overall change' on different levels. Steve Maraboli seems to suggest change on the level of

the individual's life – "incredible change happens in your life" – as opposed to change on a more societal/interpersonal level, like Nelson Mandela who states that, "I could not change others". Interestingly, Albert Einstein takes 'change' to an even higher level. The quotation in Figure 8 below suggests that individuals are able to change the world by changing their thinking, thus taking 'change' to a global level. The quotation from Albert Einstein also contributes to the first semantic strand by suggesting that the world can only be changed by changing one's thinking – again implying that change within the individual needs to occur before greater change can be set in motion.
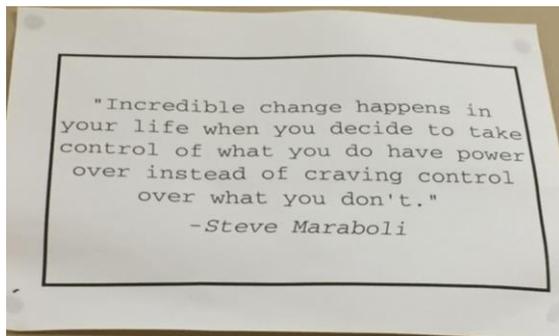
Figure 6: Steve Maraboli quotation
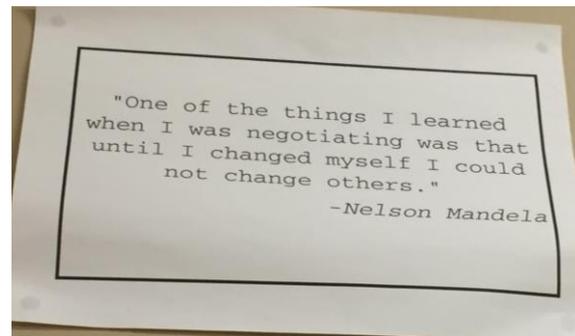
Figure 7: Nelson Mandela quotation
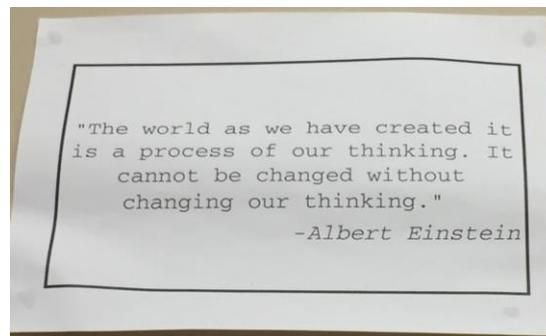
Figure 8: Albert Einstein quotation

The second semantic strand conveys the idea that all individuals can themselves effect great change. For instance, Mother Teresa (See Figure 9 below), presumably referring to elected leaders, states that it is not necessary to "wait for leaders" to "do" something, it being possible to accomplish something on an individual level on one's own. Similarly, the quotation from Barack Obama (Figure 10) states that all people can bring about change once they take action. Obama's words specifically mention "ordinary people", which is reminiscent of Mother Teresa's sentiments about not waiting for "leaders" but doing things oneself. The quotation from Martin Luther King Jr. in Figure 11 reinforces the same message conveyed above. He is quoted as saying that "everybody can be great … because anybody

can serve" as long as you have grace and love. He points out that any individual can "serve" – not clearly indicating whether he is referring to serving others or serving God. In the context of Goldfields Residence, I choose to interpret this as serving others. Martin Luther King Jr. specifically mentions that one does not need to be educated or even have perfect grammar, which adds to the message that one does not need to be 'extraordinary' in any sense of the word to be 'great'. Although this quotation from King Junior does not explicitly mention the idea of bringing about change, I do believe it reinforces this idea that anyone has the ability to be of service to others and be an agent for the betterment of society. The quotation from Anne Frank (Figure 12) carries a similar message about improving society. Specifically, she is quoted as saying that everyone, no matter who, can change the world for the better immediately. This serves to corroborate the idea that any individual is capable of effecting great change.
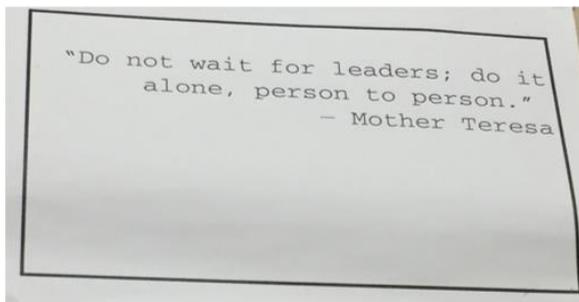
Figure 9: Mother Teresa quotation
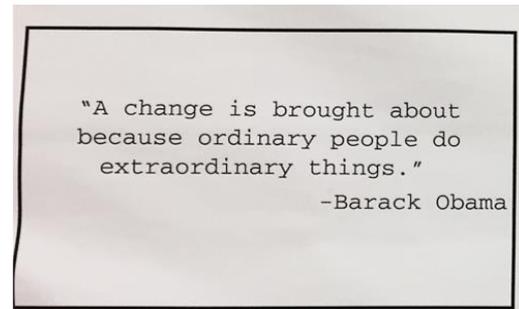
Figure 10: Barack Obama quotation
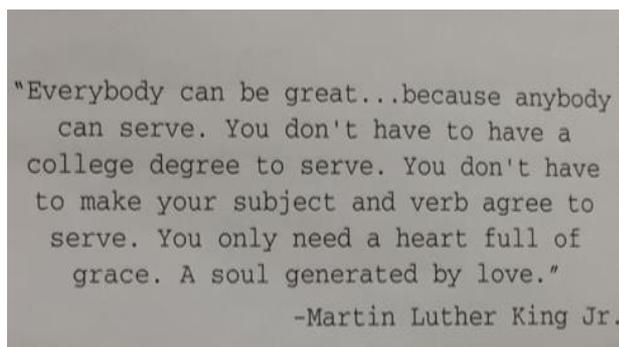
Figure 11: Martin Luther King Jr. quotation
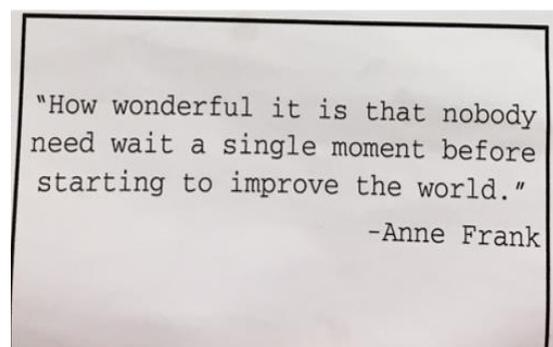
Figure 12:Anne Frank quotation

The last quotation I wish to discuss comes from Nikki Giovanni (Figure 13, below). Though an outlier, it perfectly encapsulates the message of the other seven quotations in conveying the message that change is inevitable. Considered in more depth, it is possible to read the quotation as suggesting that change is not only inevitable but also natural (no matter how

much people resist it). The quotation in Figure 13 emphasises the 'change' aspect of the greater message to which all the other quotations allude.
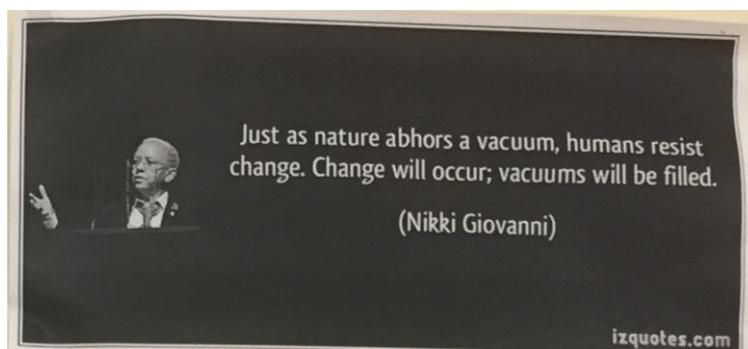
Figure 13: Nikki Giovanni quotation

It is interesting to note that the quotations discussed above seem to take the reader on a journey from the inside outwards. The journey starts with the first semantic strand that suggests that one first needs to reflect and change from within before attempting to effect change outside oneself. It then moves to the second strand, which reassures its readers that any individual, no matter what their background, has the ability to bring about great change in the world, one just needs to start taking action. The journey culminates when Nikki Giovanni reassures these potential agents of change that "change will occur".

I mentioned at the beginning of this section that the collection of quotations in the recreational room at Goldfields Residence conveys a message that all individuals have the ability to bring about change, thereby signalling its residents that they have the ability to effect change. These LL items, together, construct a place that encourages everyone to be an agent of change and improve the world.

3.4   Summary

I perceived Goldfields Residents to be a place for agents of change. This refers to the idea that one takes an active role in creating change in society. My interpretation of the LL of the residence hall is shaped not only by the signs themselves, but also by my locus of enunciation. Firstly, because I only had experience of first wave LLS I only considered objects displaying bits of inscribed language. Secondly, the items that I found salient reflected my relationship with Goldfields in my capacity as a student leader. The latter especially comes to the fore in my analysis of the LL items in order to 'label' the residence hall in accordance with my interpretation of the 'type of place' it is. I can recall that during

my analysis of the LL items I was moved by the history of the Latin motto. (According to Goodrich (2003:193), Latin itself is a "heavy signifier" that holds a certain amount of gravitas. The Latin motto in the Goldfields insignia, I argue, conveys the message that the residence hall is a place that ensures that one will be successful in effecting change and conquering the oppressive spaces. Additionally, the quotations in the recreational room encourage the residents, in a more explicit fashion, actively to take a part in improving society. The Latin motto and the inspirational quotations took me by surprise, because in my years of working with residents of Goldfields, I had always found them to be a very 'laid back' group who did not want to get too involved on campus and had a kind of laissez-faire approach to leadership. Therefore, once I had observed and analysed the LL, I felt the need to give Goldfields a 'label' that spoke both to their significant history and to their current efforts in inspiring their residents to effect positive change in the world – a side of Goldfields Residence to which many people are not privy. As such, I decided to label the residence hall a place for agents of change. This label reflects the LL that shapes a space that empowers students of Goldfields Residence to utilise the space to become effective agents of change and to change society. The label ultimately communicates my perspective of the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence.

Part II

Postgraduate sociolinguistic students' perspectives of the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence

Chapter 4

A pedagogical activity for interpreting the LL of Goldfields Residence

4.1   Introduction

In this chapter, I continue with the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence. Here, however, unlike the case in Chapter 3, I shall not be presenting my own findings. Instead, I discuss the perspectives of two postgraduate sociolinguistics students. These perspectives were generated from a pedagogical activity I designed as an introduction to the concept 'linguistic landscapes'.

A few months after I had completed my study on the discursive construction of Goldfields, I decided to adapt it for use as a pedagogical activity for a new postgraduate linguistics course called "Re-imaging multilingualisms" (See Section 4.2 for more details). Goldfields Residence, and the steps I took in my study invoking its LL, offered an accessible means of introducing students to the concept of 'linguistic landscapes' and how this can be applied in research. The students who accompanied me on the excursion to Goldfields eventually produced their own work on the LL of the residence hall and what 'kind of a place' they found it to be. Because their interpretations of the residence's LL differed markedly from my own, I felt inspired to turn the pedagogical activity into a research opportunity and to interview the students about their perspectives regarding the discursive construction of Goldfields. At the same time, these vastly different readings of the LL of Goldfields made me question the validity of my own interpretation of the LL, a dilemma that led to Part III of this thesis.

In this chapter, I first provide background on the new postgraduate linguistics course (Section 4.2) and describe the activity that I asked the students to complete (Section 4.3). This is to be followed by a brief discussion about how I transformed the pedagogical activity into a research opportunity (Section 4.4). In Section 4.5, once I have provided background on the students' work, I present their completed assignments and discuss these together with the

interviews I conducted with each student. I conclude the chapter (Section 4.6) by summarising the perspectives of the participants.

4.2   Background

In 2018, the Centre for Multilingualism and Diversities Research (CMDR) at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) in conjunction with the Department of Linguistics at SU and at UWC designed and piloted a new Honours-level module on multilingualism, entitled "Re-imagining multilingualisms". Funded by the Mellon Foundation (Unsettling Paradigms, n.d.), this new module forms part of a five-year supra-institutional collaborative project called "Unsettling Paradigms: the Decolonial Turn in the Humanities Curriculum at Universities in South Africa". According to the Unsettling Paradigms website, this supra-project uses decolonial theory as a framework to "shift towards an inclusive and democratic curriculum". One of the aims of the project is to "redefine pedagogical practices and modes of teaching and learning" to ensure that tertiary institutions are no longer "lacking in social, contextual and political relevance" (Unsettling Paradigms, n.d.). Consequently, the new module is designed not only to offer traditional seminars, but also to get students to explore alternative notions of multilingualism by encouraging them to tap into their own lived linguistic experiences. The purpose of the module is to explore issues of multilingualism and transformation in higher-education pedagogy and practice.

The first year of the Re-imagining multilingualisms course comprised five seminars that took place every Wednesday (April to May) from 10:00 to 16:00. The seminar sites alternated weekly between SU and UWC. These five seminars covered topics such as linguistic ethnography, creative writing and multimodal / arts-based pedagogies, language and its materiality, and 'linguistic citizenship' (Stroud, 2001). Each seminar included a task to be completed by the students. In our attempt to "redefine pedagogical practices" and allow students truly to reflect on their lived experiences, we resolved to avoid 'traditional' forms of assessment, such as essays, and rather to embrace a more arts-based pedagogy and encourage students to complete tasks by using multiple semiotic resources. These tasks were then collectively presented in a portfolio. Each student received a bound reader consisting of seminar outlines, prescribed readings and instructions for the tasks. In the following section, I describe the seminar and the task related to LL and discussed in this chapter.

4.2.1   A seminar on LL

The fourth seminar of the module explored language and its materiality. For the seminar outline given to the Honours students, see Table 1:

Table 1: LL seminar outline

Linguistic landscapes is defined as "the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs of government buildings combined to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration" (Landry & Bourhis, 1997:25). The field has allowed for many new and dynamic approaches to the study of signage in public space, such as inter alia*:* ethnic co-existence in place, (Shohamy, Ben-Rafael & Barni, 2010; Shohamy and Gorter 2009); the erasure of belonging, memorialisation on the linguistic landscape (Shohamy & Waksman, 2010); the sexualisation or heteronormativity of place (Milani, 2014); racialisation (Steyn & Foster, 2008) and also revealing the presence of history in place and mobility (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010). For this session, we shall consider the theoretical moves currently emanating from the South.

We explore these theories and core readings in relation to site visits in Stellenbosch, specifically: (1) 'little Europe'*,* (2) the Arts and Social Sciences Building and (3) Goldfields Residence.

The LL seminar outlined above comprised two parts: the first was theory and background to the field of LL, and the second, a practical component. Within the practical component of the seminar, SU and UWC linguistics students could choose one of three activities. As is evident from the extract above, one of the excursions was a site visit to Goldfields Residence. In preparation for the excursion, the handout issued to the students was an abbreviated version of my Honours project (discussed in Chapter 3). It included the historical context of the residence hall (similar to Section 1.7), a brief introduction to thematic analysis (see Chapter 3) and an overview of my own findings.

Three students and one linguistics lecturer from UWC joined me on the day. The three students were registered at SU, but none of them lived in an SU residence hall (being private students who commuted to the university from home). The two students, whose works I discuss in this chapter, were included because these students had been available for a follow-up task and interview. In the section below, I discuss not only the task that the students (who

eventually became participants) completed on the day, but also the follow-up task and interview I had decided to conduct as part of the current research.

4.3   The task

In preparation for the LL seminar, the students were given a document that outlined the lecture and the assessment that they would have to complete. The activity involving Goldfields was labelled "Group 3" and appears in Table 2 below. The name of the task, 'A place for agents of change?', is the label I had given Goldfields after I had completed my thematic analysis of its LL in my 2017 Honours research paper (See Chapter 3 for more details). I included a question mark because, as the activity outline indicates, I was interested in the perspectives of the students and whether they too would see Goldfields as a place for agents of change.

Table 2: Activity instructions

Group 3:

A place for agents of change?

- Students will visit Goldfields Residence at Stellenbosch University, a student residence with an interesting history.
- They will be asked to observe the space and take photographs of linguistic items.
- Working from their impressions of the LL, students will then answer the questions relating to whether Goldfields is indeed a place for agents of change by either relabelling or not relabelling the space.
- Students must then write a brief justification either for choosing a new label or for staying with the original label.

Although I did not hand out a hard copy of the activity on the day, I did give verbal instructions once we had reached Goldfields Residence. I explained to the participants that they would, in a way, be recreating my Honours paper, but from their own perspective. I instructed them to provide a 'label' for 'the kind of place' they thought Goldfields was, one that was consistent with how they viewed its LL and then to follow this up with a short justification or reflection. These reflections were important for the new module because, as I have explained in Section 4.2, we wanted students to explore language through their own

lived linguistic experiences. I also reminded them of the history of Goldfields at SU. At this point, two of the students expressed surprise at how significant the residence hall was since they had only learnt of its existence in their third year of studying at SU, to say nothing of its role in transformation at the university.

At the time of the activity, the communal spaces of Goldfields Residence had not undergone much change since I had visited the site a few months earlier. Most of the LL items I had documented were still visible, and, in my opinion, still relevant. The only difference between my visit and the visit with the postgraduate linguistics students was the addition of construction then in progress next to the MetLife-Centre. At the time, I was not aware of what it was that they were building at Goldfields. Only 11 months later did I realise that Goldfields Residence had erected a brand new, state-of-the-art dining facility.

I gave the students between one and a half to two hours to walk around Goldfields and observe its LL. In this time, they discussed some of the LL items among themselves and also asked me questions about whether a particular item had been present during my previous research project. They took down notes of some of the items and also wrote down some initial thoughts. I was also often asked to clarify certain aspects of the residence hall, such as which were the men's blocks, whether all the residents were allowed to park their cars inside, etc. Once we had gone to all the communal areas in Goldfields, the group got together to summarise their impressions, which they later shared with the larger Honours class. The students then recorded these thoughts, interpretations and feelings on paper and submitted an assignment containing their labels for Goldfields and their reflections on these labels. For two of these completed tasks, see Appendices C and D. I shall, however, also discuss them in Section 4.5.

4.4   Converting a pedagogical activity into a research opportunity

The work submitted by the students was particularly intriguing. Their perspectives of the discursive construction of Goldfields differed vastly from my own interpretation. This reflects Mignolo's (2000) notion of 'locus of enunciation' and the convictions of Ely et al. (1997:206) that themes do not autonomously emerge from a vacuum within which data reside; themes reside in the head of the researcher and the researcher plays an active role in identifying these themes. Therefore, it makes sense that these students, given their unique loci of enunciation (with their own histories and epistemologies), had a different experience

of the LL of Goldfields. In light of this, I decided to do a follow-up activity and also conduct a semi-structured interview 11 months after their first visit. This was the point at which the students became participants.

The follow-up activity was similar to the initial task they had completed, except that instead of asking them to produce a piece of written work, I invited them to join me for an interview. There I asked the participants to re-analyse the LL of Goldfields and now also to consider the new dining hall that had been completed four months prior to their follow-up visit. The one participant, Jax, met me at Goldfields to do another walk-through of the spaces and to view the new dining hall. We eventually found a table in the new dining hall at which we started talking about her reflections from the previous year and also her new impressions, indeed if she had any. The second participant could not join me for a second walk-through of Goldfields because she had a full-time job and had many commitments. She was however able to do a follow-up session telephonically. I sent her photographs of the new dining hall in order to gain her perspective on this new space. Most importantly, though, I was able to gain more insight into her original reflections on the LL of Goldfields. In these semi-structured interviews, I wanted to find out more about the labels they had originally designated Goldfields after viewing its LL. I was interested in what stood out for them as they walked through the spaces and particularly the LL items they found prominent. I probed about the process of their written reflections and of how they eventually came to their labels. Finally, I asked whether the addition of the new dining hall (taking into account its LL), would change their original label.

In the next section, I discuss the completed tasks that the participants shared with me and consider some of the themes they highlighted during the interviews. I also provide photographs of some of the objects that the participants found prominent in the space.

4.5   The perspectives of the postgraduate linguistics students

The perspectives of Jax and Vanessa are discussed below. I first look at Jax's original task and share some of the insights into this piece of work that I gained from our interview 11 months after the task had been completed. I also mention some of her thoughts on the new dining hall. I next share Vanessa's work and the reason she gave for her unique presentation of her perspective. It is interesting to note that both participants shared similar interpretations

of the LL of Goldfields, this perhaps being due to the collaborative nature of their initial site visit to the residence hall. However, the insights they shared in their perspectives varied.

4.5.1 Jax: "The fading rainbow"

Jax was an Honours student at SU who was a recent Bachelor of Arts graduate from the university. The reflection that Jax submitted for the LL seminar task came in the form of prose or a stream of consciousness. Her full piece can be seen in Appendix C. I use extracts from both the written submission and our interview to explore Jax's label for Goldfields, namely "The fading rainbow".

In both her task reflection and her interview, Jax explained that Goldfields, specifically the MetLife-Centre, reminded her of the type of building you would find in an old coloured community. She found it visually at odds with the rest of Stellenbosch, which is always changing and well maintained. Jax stated that the MetLife-Centre has "an old coloured-community vibe to it". In her reflection, she likens it to a town hall or community centre in Belville or Belhar (areas in Cape Town designated as 'coloured' during apartheid[4]). Several items within the residence hall contribute to this overall impression of Goldfields. In Jax's description of the residence, one of the main contributing factors to her overall interpretation of the space is the lack of maintenance.

On several occasions in Jax's reflection, she mentions that the space seems uncared for and in her interview, she calls it a "forgotten space". In the extract below, taken from Jax's written reflection, she mentions some of the issues she noticed:

Extract 1: Jax on maintenance issues

Although I get the sense that this space is used often, it smells a little musty. There is old equipment lying in the corners of the room and there is one wall in need of some TLC, as it seems as if someone did an incomplete paint job and there are cables attached to the wall, which have not been covered properly. I think to myself that this space would be warmer and more welcoming if these little jobs were taken care of.

In addition to issues such as uncovered electrical wires, Jax later also talks about the furniture that seems to be second hand (captured in Figure 14). It is interesting to note that in her reflection and in her interview she mostly takes note of objects in the space such as the

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[4] The Group Areas Act of 1950 designated certain areas to certain racial groups in order to ensure segregation between the races and exclude 'non-whites' from more developed and affluent areas (Mabin, 1992:422).

furniture and the walls as opposed to taking notice of LL items. Jax also notices the musty smell and later on a room that "needs ventilation", all of which contribute to her perspective that the place is not well maintained. Although 'smell' seems to be far-removed from the notion of 'linguistic landscapes', Pennycook and Otsuji (2015) argue for a sensorial view of LL, one that includes individuals' sense of smell, which has led them to coin the term 'smellscapes'.

Figure 14: Second-hand furniture

Although the objects mentioned above seem to contribute significantly to her overall perspective of Goldfields, there are three LL items that Jax also finds salient in the space. She first mentions a drawing on a chalkboard that has been partially erased (see Figure 15 below). This is the same chalk drawing I took note of in my initial investigation when discussing the Latin motto of the residence hall (see Section 3.3.1). She describes this LL item as follows:

Extract 2: Jax on the chalk drawing

The chalkboard with the residence's slogan is fading away and the quote "achieve your goals" has been erased halfway, which is symbolic of how the residence has been fading away concerning being proud of its diversity and being pioneers for integrating people of colour into positions of power within the university.

The chalkboard with the drawing is pictured below in Figure 15:

Figure 15: Half-erased chalk drawing

In Extract 2, Jax interprets this sign as symbolic of the loss of pride the residence seems to have experienced regarding its significant role in terms of integration at SU. She mentions this loss of pride a number of times in her interpretation of Goldfields's LL. Jax also notes that the "slogan is fading away". The word 'fading' appears in her label for Goldfields but comes up again when she talks about another LL item that she found prominent, namely the banner proclaiming the house's values, displayed in the MetLife-Centre recreational room. Before I discuss this banner, I should like to draw the reader's attention to the other LL item, which, according to Jax, signals a loss of pride in the residence hall's history.

Jax had taken note of Goldfields Residence's annual house photographs. These large photographs were positioned high on a wall in the dining area of the MetLife-Centre (see Figure 16).

Figure 16: Goldfields house photographs

These photographs stood out to Jax. In her interview, she explained that, apart from the lack of maintenance in the space, these photographs were among the items she considered to be most prominent. Jax reflects on these photographs in her written task:

Extract 3: Jax reflects on house photographs

> After glaring at the picture[s] of past residents, which are perched up against the walls, I realize that each year, more white faces appear until it appears that coloured and black people are no longer the majority of the residents. Perhaps this is how the residence lost its reputation and pride of being proudly for coloured and black students.

Here, she attributes the changing demographics of Goldfields throughout the years to its lack of pride in its achievements at SU during apartheid. In Extract 2 and Extract 3, Jax talks about loss of pride in terms of a loss of caring about the significant history of the residence hall. However, she also briefly links 'loss of pride' and 'lack of maintenance':

Extract 4: Loss of pride as lack of maintenance

> This loss of pride is also felt as we move into the room that seems like a lounge, but we are told that students very seldom use this room to watch TV and sometimes meetings are held here. The room is dark, needs ventilation and there are about twenty old office chairs arranged in a strange way that suggests that no one has used this space in a while.

This link that she identifies seems to indicate that the loss of pride that she experiences in the space as a result of interpreting its LL, happens to be one of the factors that led her to her overall impression of Goldfields as being "the type of [place she'd] expect to find in a

coloured community" and that "it does not feel like the rest of Stellenbosch, which is constantly changing and constantly being improved".

I have briefly referred to the third LL item that Jax had found striking in the space, one that had played a major role in her conceptualisation of her label, namely the banner containing the faded imprint of the house values. In the recreational room of the MetLife-Centre is a large banner, larger than a door, hanging on the wall. This banner proclaims the four core values of Goldfields: respect, responsibility, freedom and unity (see Figure 17 below).

Figure 17: Faded banner proclaiming Goldfields's house values

Jax describes this LL item as follows:

Extract 5: Jax describing the banner

The residence's values, "Respect", "Unity", "Freedom" and "Responsibility" have been painted onto white sheets of material, forming a curtain, but also faded quite a bit and no one has re-painted it or taken it down, which also suggests a sense of carelessness.

In Extract 5, as in Extract 2, Jax again mentions the 'faded' motif. The difference, however, in her interpretation of the two LL items is that the faded chalk drawing (Figure 15)

symbolises a loss of pride, whereas it seems that the faded banner (Figure 17) reflects "a sense of carelessness", which signals a lack of maintenance. The faded banner thus contributes to her perspective of the space as being poorly maintained and thus standing in contrast to the rest of Stellenbosch in making it seem more like an old coloured community.

In my interview with Jax, she attributes the inspiration for her label to the banner in Figure 17 and the fact that it is very faded. In light of this, I asked Jax to explain the label 'the fading rainbow' and what she meant by it. Her reply is captured in Extract 6.

Extract 6: Jax on the meaning of her label

I just described the environment and I just thought about it as a space that has lots of potential and [is] very promising – as a rainbow is a reminder of some kind of promise. The potential is there, but faded out … like the university just has to tap into that again to make it great because … um … We spent a lot of time in front of the cabinet with articles (Figure 18) and I saw [Goldfields] were very involved … and just being known on campus and honestly I only knew that Goldfields was a Res [residence hall] by my third year. I always just thought that this was a sports ground … so just the fact that they don't seem as involved as they were in the past, I just thought that that could be something they could be working on.

The outlook that Jax communicates in the above extract seems to counter her more 'gloomy' perspective of Goldfields as a rundown place in which the students are detached from its significant history. Instead, she explains that she tried to capture the idea that despite the negatives of the space, there is potential in which the university and the residents just need to invest.

Figure 18: Cabinet with newspaper clippings of Goldfields

Figure 19: New dining hall

I mentioned in Section 4.4 that I also asked the participants whether the new dining hall, captured in Figure 19 above, had changed their overall perspective of the discursive

construction of Goldfields Residence. Jax mentioned that the new building "looks very nice" and that she had found it a very welcoming space that "definitely has a different feeling". She also noted that the building was rather devoid of any LL items, but that this was a sign of things to come rather than of neglect. When asked what she would photograph in an attempt to capture her sense of the space, she replied that she would take a photograph of the lights to show the dining hall's higher ceilings that contribute to the open and light atmosphere of the space. I followed this up by asking Jax whether she would change her label for Goldfields now that the residence had the new dining facility. There was a long pause during which she looked around, deep in thought, and eventually shrugged her shoulders and replied, "the fading rainbow with a pot of gold at the end".

4.5.2   Vanessa: "A poem with no title"

Vanessa was an Honours student at SU. She had not embarked on tertiary studies directly after high school, which meant that she was slightly older than most of her cohort. Vanessa, unlike most of her Stellenbosch peers, received her Bachelor's degree from UWC. The completed assignment that she submitted is a poem about her experience walking through Goldfields Residence. Entitled, "A poem with no title", it is written in English and in Kaaps (her first language) (see Table 3). I briefly describe the history and socio-cultural context of Kaaps with a view to understanding the significance of this particular case of code-switching.

Hendricks (2016:11) describes Kaaps from a variational-linguistic perspective as a chiefly spoken variety of Afrikaans that "dates back to the seventeenth century influence of slaves on the formation of Afrikaans". It was the first form of Afrikaans to be codified in the early 19th century (in an Arabic writing tradition). Currently, the literary practice of Kaaps is, however, becoming more popular (Hendricks, 2016:32). According to Hendricks (2016:10), it is more accurate to conceptualise Kaaps as a sociolect rather than an ethnolect because it is spoken by "Cape Muslims and/or coloured people, but also white people" who all form part of the working class of Cape Town. He does however note that the largest population of speakers of Kaaps are coloured people (Hendricks, 2016:11). Hendricks (2016:31) also points out that most people who speak Kaaps also communicate in other linguistic codes such as English or standard Afrikaans.

Code switches between English and Kaaps are evident in Vanessa's poem. Even though Kaaps is a "functionally adequate language code", the Afrikaner nationalist movement was

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responsible for its stigmatisation and marginalisation in that it circumvented Kaaps in the linguistic description and teaching of Afrikaans (Hendricks, 2016:31, 33). Not only did those associated with Afrikaner nationalism view Kaaps as subordinate to the newly (and might I add, arbitrarily) standardised form of Afrikaans, but Kaaps speakers themselves felt that it was inferior. Vanessa's choice therefore to use her first language in her reflection is powerful, especially in a place like Stellenbosch that prides itself on 'safeguarding' Afrikaans (the standard version). The use of Kaaps in her poem also makes her reflection that much more personal and she almost deliberately declares her locus of enunciation from the outset.

My interview with Vanessa was particularly enlightening because she was able to share some of her thoughts and feelings about Goldfields Residence in greater detail. Her perspective of the 'type of place' Goldfields is, is very similar to Jax's, except that it seems to come from a more personal place. Vanessa perceives the residence hall as a place that is separate from the rest of Stellenbosch and reminds her of a poor coloured community. This resonates with Jax's perspective, but Vanessa specifically compares the residence hall to where she grew up, and where she now works, namely Bishop Lavis –a poverty-stricken area, originally designated a 'coloured' area during apartheid. I now turn to Vanessa's poem itself and to the insights she shared with me regarding both the poem and her experience of the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence.

Table 3: A poem with no title by Vanessa

<u>A Poem with no title</u>

I entered this place that swallowed my heart
I thought this was the past,
Jarre! Why you follow me around?
I'm in a place I don't belong.
A thought came to mind
"We not racist"
But Julle … Bly daa'
I'm in a place I don't belong.

I stand in the place that swallowed my heart.
Ek voel hulle pyn en hoor hulle sig.
My oë skiet vol water en ek kannie praat.
Ek wil help, but hoe?
Ek issie WIT!
I'm in a place I don't belong.

I entered a room that broke my soul.
Second hand goods all over the place,
faded quotes against the window seal.
My mind is blir … in this broken space.
I want no more of this place
I hate this space,
I want to go out! Because
I'm in a place I don't belong.
Dit briek my hart
En rik my siël
O Here, help.
Ve'daala daai image.
My heart can't quiver
Because I'm in this place
That swallowed my heart.

Vanessa entitled her reflection, "A poem with no title". This seems to be a play on the activity I assigned to them, asking the students to give Goldfields a label according to the 'type of place' they perceive it to be, therefore one could also read it as 'a place with no title'. I did not ask Vanessa to elaborate on this title/ label, but I did gain other insights into her poem. For instance, the poem contains a recurring refrain: "I am in a place I don't belong". Vanessa explains in Extract 7 what she was trying to express in this refrain. *Note*: I first present her comments in italics as she originally communicated them to me (a combination of English and Kaaps), after which I provide a translation below the original comments:

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Extract 7: Meaning of the refrain in the poem

What I mean by that is that ek was in 'n situasie waar ek gevoel het, 'ek het dan net so hard sô daai wit kind gestudy hoeka moet ek as 'n coloured hie' kom bly? Wat is die difference van my qualifications en daai wit student se qualifications wat daa' daai kant toe bly?'… Dit gaan meer oor … um … equality. My education wat ek gekry het, wat ek ontvang het, wat ek so hard voor gewerk het, is dieselfde wat … you know … ander derdejaar studente by Stellenbosch gekry het.

What I mean by that is that I was in a situation where I felt that, 'I studied just as hard as that white child, so why must I as a coloured live here? What is the difference between my qualifications and that white student's qualifications who stays to that side of town?'… It is more about um … equality. My education that I received, for which I worked so hard for, is the same as … you know … other third-year students' who received theirs at Stellenbosch.

Vanessa explains in Extract 7 that the refrain refers to her feeling that she and the coloured students who came before her, deserve so much better than Goldfields appears to have to offer. She does not initially explain why she considered the space to be inferior to the "white student's … who stays to that side of town". I therefore asked her to describe her experience of Goldfields in more detail and to try and link this to what she captures in the poem. Extract 8, Extract 9 and Extract 10 below contain some of Vanessa's initial thoughts and feelings about the residence hall space. However, before I discuss these extracts, I should like to focus the reader's attention on the way in which Vanessa seems to imagine herself as a Goldfields resident.

The poem contains a few lines in which Vanessa seems to be expressing that she has stepped into the past and is somewhat living that history in the here-and-now. For instance, in stanza one, lines two and three, she writes, "I thought this was the past. Jarre! Why you follow me around?" which is followed by "Ek voel hulle pyn en hoor hulle sig [I feel their pain and hear their sighs]" in stanza two, line two. These lines seem to indicate that Vanessa has stepped into the past, back to the apartheid era, where she is in the presence of the original residents of Goldfields. Vanessa thus seems to imagine herself to be a Goldfields resident residing within the residence during apartheid. This 'imagining' featured a few times in my interview with Vanessa. In it, her perspective of Goldfields is expressed as if she is viewing the space as it was originally developed – as a residence hall exclusively meant for coloured students during the apartheid regime. I will indicate these moments as I move through the discussion. I did not receive any more explicit information about the poem itself (maybe because 11

months had elapsed since she had written it). Vanessa however shared some of the thoughts and feelings that had inspired the emotional poem.

Vanessa noted numerous things on her visit to Goldfields that she claimed had shaped her perspective of the discursive construction of Goldfields. As already mentioned above, she interpreted the residence as a place typical of Bishop Lavis (a poverty-stricken, former 'coloured' township) and that the students (particularly past coloured residents) who resided there deserved more than the space actually had to offer. In my interview with Vanessa, she related three anecdotes from her initial site visit. These anecdotes (Extract 8, Extract 9, and Extract 10) contain her thoughts and the feelings that influenced her perspective of the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence and also served as inspiration for her poem.

The first story that Vanessa told me involves the first few moments after she had walked into the dining area of the MetLife-Centre and saw coloured staff having lunch. In Extract 8, Vanessa describes what she felt when she noticed this scene:

Extract 8: Vanessa's thoughts about the MetLife-Centre

What I saw was a norm ... I saw coloured people, right, sitting around and behind them was like a broken...dink dit was 'n muur wat gebriek is agter – ek dink dit was stukkend gewies ... en die environment het really baie poor gelyk. There's the word 'poor gelyk'... so the link there is that when you look at coloured people you think of, or you see poverty. I saw myself. I saw ... um ... the environment I grew up in and I saw that even though we are at Stellen'posch', and I say that word again 'Stellen-posch', it is nog altyd dieselfde.

What I saw was a norm … I saw coloured people, right, sitting around and behind them was like a broken … I think it was a broken wall behind them – I think it was broken … and the environment looked really poor. There's the word, 'looked poor' … so the link there is that when you look at coloured people you think of, or you see poverty. I saw myself. I saw um … the environment I grew up in and I saw that even though we are at 'Stellen-posch', and I say that word again 'Stellen-posch', it is still the same.

She describes the space as "looking poor" and reminding her of where she grew up. The MetLife-Centre dining area transports Vanessa back to her childhood in Bishop Lavis during apartheid. The broken wall that Vanessa talks about in Extract 8 is also mentioned in Jax's reflection. Jax describes it as a wall that is halfway painted. This wall creates a very powerful image for Vanessa as it represents a norm that coloured people are stuck in poverty even though they are surrounded by affluence (i.e. "Stellen-posch": a pun on Stellenbosch). Vanessa's description of Goldfields as a "poor-looking" environment that is reminiscent of a

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past coloured township reinforces her perspective of the residence hall as being inferior. Sadly, I did not take a photograph of the hole in the wall at the time and by the time I had returned, the wall had been repaired. However, I took a photograph in the same area of a portion of ceiling that seemed to be falling apart (see Figure 20). This must have had the same effect on the participants as the hole that had previously disfigured the wall.

Figure 20: Ceiling in a poor condition in the MetLife-Centre

The second anecdote (Extract 9 below) shared by Vanessa in her interview describes the generally run-down nature of the residence and how this stands in contrast to the conditions in rest of Stellenbosch.

Extract 9: Vanessa's initial thoughts about Goldfields

When we got there, and I looked at the place, dit het verskriklik verwaarloos gelyk, verniel and is almost like … I think we spoke about it and said … I asked, 'is this really part of Stellenbosch?' I remember me and Jax asking each other, 'is dié part van Stellenbosch?' because die Stellenbosch wat ek ken … dié is nie die Stellenbosch wat ek sien nie of gesien het so vêr nie, you know, because wat ek gesien het so vêr is buildings, mooi buildings.

When we got there, and I looked at the place, it looked very neglected; in dis-repair and is almost like … I think we spoke about it and said … I asked, 'is *this* really part of Stellenbosch?' I remember me and Jax asking each other, 'is this part of Stellenbosch?' because the Stellenbosch that I know …. *this* is not the Stellenbosch that I see or that I have seen so far, you know, because what I have seen so far is buildings, beautiful buildings.

In the reflection recorded above, Vanessa states that she immediately noticed the apparent lack of maintenance at Goldfields Residence. She then compares Goldfields with the parts of Stellenbosch that she has seen and comments that the residence hall does not fit in with the 'beauty' of the rest of the town. Extract 9 can therefore be said to capture Vanessa's

impression that Goldfields Residence is not as good as its counterparts in the rest of Stellenbosch.

Vanessa lastly commented on the distance between Goldfields and the main campus area. In Section 1.7, I outlined that Goldfields had been built on a boundary line beyond the apartheid-designated 'whites-only' area. The relative distance from the residence hall to the centre of campus can be observed in Figure 1 (Chapter 1, Subsection 1.7). In the following anecdote, Vanessa again imagines herself as a Goldfields resident residing there in the heyday of apartheid:

Extract 10: Vanessa's thoughts regarding the location of Goldfields

Toe ons gery het na die plek toe, Goldfields, toe dink ek myself 'maar dis darem vêr, hoe die hel kom die kinders daar?'... I thought to myself that ... um ... 'ok, ek is in my tweede jaar, I'm coloured – ek het niks geld nie, ek is broke want ... um ... you know ... ek is net broke. Ek het gisteraand three o'clock gaan slaap want ek skryf vanoggend eksamen. Hoe laat moet ek opstaan om my way to find na die lecture hall toe wat daa' doer is?' Hoe laat moet daai student ... um ... sacrifice om ... of hoe voel daai student in die oggende as hulle moet gaan skryf en hulle moet nog 'n 20-minute walk doen? Dit is things like that wat my laat bevraagteken: 'Wat de hel dink julle is ons? Wat dink julle van ons? Basically, om vir ons daar in die bos te gooi?'... Jy sien nie vir Fruit & Veg hulle daar nie en vir whatever ander ... um ... nice plekke ... jy sien niks daar nie. Hoekom nie? Because they wanted to hide us there, that side, that is why!

When we drove to the place, Goldfields, I thought to myself 'but this is really far, how the hell do the students get there?'… I thought to myself that … um … 'ok, I am in my second year, I'm coloured – I have no money, I am broke because um … you know … I am just broke. Last night I went to sleep at three o'clock because I am writing an exam later. At what time do I have to get up to find my way to the lecture hall that is way on the other side of campus?' At what time must that student … um … sacrifice to … or how does that student feel in the mornings when they have to write an exam, but still have to do a 20-minute walk? It is things like this that makes me question: 'What do you think we are? What do you think of us? To basically throw us into the bush?'… You do not see Fruit & Veg there and whatever other … um … nice places … you see nothing there. Why not? Because they wanted to hide us there, that side, that is why!

In Extract 10 Vanessa expresses her disgust at the location of the residence hall. She is almost in disbelief that students have to endure such a long walk to get to their exams and would thus subsequently have to sacrifice sleep or study time in order to get to the venues. Therefore, the location of Goldfields hampers students' education. Vanessa emphasises her disapproval with her line of questioning that asks those in charge (I assume) what they thought of coloured students to house them in the middle of nowhere. She then herself

answers her question about the inappropriate placement of Goldfields by stating that "they wanted to hide us there, that side, that is why". The impact of the relative distance from Goldfields to the main campus is also highlighted in Vanessa's poem. In stanza one, lines five to seven, the poem reads: "A thought came to mind, "We not racist" But Julle … Bly daa' [but you people … stay there]". These three lines seem to express the ignorance and racism of those who had originally planned the positioning of Goldfields Residence. It is clear then that the location of the residence hall had a major impact on Vanessa's perspective of the place – not only separate and inferior to the rest of Stellenbosch in terms of its appearance, as alluded to in Extract 9, but also so in more literal, geographical terms.

The discussion above highlights some of Vanessa's thoughts that shaped her perception of Goldfields Residence. The location of the residence hall played a major role. However, in Extract 8 and Extract 9 she shares impressions similar to those of Jax. Firstly, that the space seems both neglected and to lack maintenance, and, secondly, that Goldfields stands in contrast to the rest of Stellenbosch. Vanessa does not name the items that left her with these impressions (a requirement of the initial activity) – apart, that is, from the broken wall. When I decided to ask her about this, she replied that the hole in the wall stole her focus so badly that "all [she] could see was *that* hole in the wall". However, Vanessa says that the hole in the wall also led her to notice loose electrical wires hanging from the wall.

I asked her to reflect on some of the LL items that had inspired her poem and influenced her interpretation of the discursive construction of Goldfields. In what follows, Vanessa describes the items that she found significant in the space and which she had perceived to be discursively constructing the place. Jax also mentioned some of these items (see Section 4.5.1). First, Vanessa describes posters that she saw in the computer area of the MetLife-Centre. She explains that the posters were faded and were "hanging by a thread from the wall". She also mentions this LL item in her poem (in stanza three, line three): "faded quotes against the window seal". However, these are the only LL items that Vanessa highlights as she shifts towards talking about other elements of the room. For instance, she mentioned that the windows were dirty and that the computer area was generally untidy, which made her feel that the space was "unattractive and disgusting". One of the major factors that Vanessa mentions is the condition of the equipment (broken desks and chairs) and the general lack of equipment in the space. In the following extract, Vanessa compares the equipment at Goldfields to equipment at a school in Bishop Lavis:

Extract 11: Poor equipment in the MetLife-Centre

Like honestly it … it reminds ... nou dat ek daaraaan dink nè, in die skool waar ek skool hou – it's the same ... ek hou in die Lavis skool, by 'n skool waar, you know, the poverty is diep. Die skool waar ek skool hou het nie eers projectors nie en die banke wat die skool het is pathetic. So how does that connect with what I'm trying to say? That that is the same strategy ... that is the same ... um ... not format, but ... daai's wat ek sien in 'n plek wat nie supposed om daai te het'ie, om dit so te stel. You can expect that type of ... um ... equipment and ... set up at Lavis, at Bishop Lavis because the mense kry swaar. But you don't expect that in Stellenbosch because, Hello! I mean Stellenbosch, you know, people pay a lot of money to go study there.

Like honestly it … it reminds … now that I think about it, in the school where I teach – it's the same … I teach in Lavis at a school where there is a lot of poverty. The school where I teach does not even have projectors and the classroom workbenches are pathetic. So how does that connect with what I'm trying to say? That that is the same strategy … that is the same … um … not format, but … that is what I see in a place that's not supposed to have that, let me put it that way. You can expect that type of … um … equipment and … set up at Lavis, at Bishop Lavis because the people do not have money. But you don't expect that in Stellenbosch because, Hello! I mean Stellenbosch, you know, people pay a lot of money to go study there.

In Extract 11, she explains that the type and condition of the equipment that she noticed at Goldfields Residence reminded her of the equipment she has at the school where she teaches in Bishop Lavis, where poverty is rife. Vanessa also takes note of these items in her poem, writing, "second hand goods all over the place" (stanza three, line two). These objects impel Vanessa to compare the residence hall to Bishop Lavis. This resonates with what Jax has said, except that Jax is reminded of "an old coloured community" maybe in "Belhar or Belville", which, though close to Bishop Lavis, would not be considered to be poverty-stricken areas.

The general lack of equipment and the condition of the equipment in the MetLife-Centre are not the only instance where she uses the comparison between Goldfields Residence and Bishop Lavis. In Extract 12, she explains how the tuck shop in the dining area of the MetLife-Centre reminds her of a type of shop you would find in Bishop Lavis. It is also interesting to note that she compares the space to a place that might be under construction, which also creates an impression of untidiness. The tuck shop can be seen in Figure 21 below.

Extract 12: The tuck shop that is like a 'huiswinkeltjie'

The structure of the tuck shop, you know, die … die … dit het my honestly ge-remind van Lavis or 'n plek in Lavis miskien …'n shebeen, honestly 'n shebeen … um … waar daar nou 'n huiswinkeltjie of 'n huis nè wat … um … ge-renovate is in 'n huiswinkeltjie of wat besig is om ge-renovate te word in 'n huiswinkeltjie – 'n huiswinkeltjie is just a shop that … um … you have at home basically.

The structure of the tuck shop, you know, the … the … it honestly reminded me of Lavis or a place in Lavis maybe … a shebeen [informal bar], honestly a shebeen … um … where there is now a 'house shop' or a house that … um … has been renovated into a 'house shop' or that is busy being renovated into a 'house shop' – a 'house shop' is just a shop that … um … you have at home basically.

Figure 21: Tuck-shop in MetLife-Centre

Vanessa's overall perspective of Goldfields as being inferior to its counterparts in the rest of Stellenbosch and her interpretation that the space is inadequate in terms of providing its residents with what they deserve seem to be summarised in stanza three, line four: "My mind is blir … in this broken space". According to Vanessa, Goldfields Residence is rather comparable to what you would expect in a poor 'coloured' area – such as in the poverty-stricken Bishop Lavis – and not in an affluent town like "Stellen-posch". She attributes her impression of the "broken space" to the generally unkept nature of the MetLife-Centre and to the poor condition of the limited equipment. The location of Goldfields also plays a major role in her perspective of Goldfields because it transports her back to the apartheid era where coloured students were forced to reside outside the 'whites-only' areas where they were being hidden from the rest of the community, even though this was an impediment to their

education. The hole in the wall and the generally "poor" appearance of MetLife-Centre has a similar effect by transporting Vanessa back to her childhood and the apartheid-designated Bishop Lavis township.

My final follow-up question to Vanessa as to whether the new dining hall at Goldfields has changed her initial impression and whether she will change her original label, is given a direct answer: "Ek is nie impressed nie [I am not impressed]". She explains that she cannot understand why it has taken 25 years (i.e. since democracy) to construct the dining hall and to improve Goldfields Residence. She follows this with a string of rhetorical questions:

Extract 13: Vanessa's thoughts on the new dining hall

Hoekom het hulle 25 jaar lank gevat om daai plek reg te maak? ... Wie het vir hulle ge-push, nou? Hoekom het hulle NOU so ['n] gebou gedoen? Hoekom kon hulle nie [al] jarre terug reg gedoen het nie?

Why did they take 25 years to fix that place? ... Who pushed them now? Why did they do such a building NOW? Why could they not have built it years ago?

Vanessa's scepticism regarding the new dining hall is followed by a slightly more optimistic view. She explains that "change is always good" and that she hopes that the addition of this state-of-the-art building will prevent "other coloureds [from] feeling the way [she] felt when [she] stepped into Goldfields for the first time". Vanessa expands on this by explaining that she felt "disgusted" when she walked through the residence hall and does not want any other students, "students of colour and white students", to experience what she experienced in that space. Vanessa ends the interview by stating emphatically, "Would my label change of before? No, no, no, no".

4.6   Summary

Jax and Vanessa both perceive Goldfields Residence to be a place that one would find in a coloured community. Though, for Jax, this could be any coloured community – maybe in Belville or Belhar. Vanessa however is much more specific. Her interpretation is that the residence hall is reminiscent of the types of place one would find in her childhood neighbourhood of Bishop Lavis. Vanessa's perspective of the type of place Goldfields is thus goes beyond 'a coloured community' and rather encapsulates a particular poverty-stricken coloured community during apartheid. Both participants attribute their impressions of Goldfields to the unkept and untidy appearance of the residence. This includes a wall that is in a poor condition, loose electrical wires, old furniture, old equipment and also faded

posters/banners hanging on the walls. It is intriguing that both Jax and Vanessa remark that Goldfields seems at odds with the rest of Stellenbosch. They view Stellenbosch as a well-maintained and ever-improving town. This view of Stellenbosch stands in contrast with the lack of maintenance they observed at Goldfields Residence. The location of the residence hall moreover reinforced their perception of Goldfields as being unlike and separate from the rest of the town.

Part III

Goldfields residents' perspectives of the discursive construction of their residence hall

Chapter 5

Collecting perspectives from Goldfields residents

5.1   Introduction

The final component of this three-part study of the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence takes into account the perspectives of Goldfields residents. Parts I and II of this study reflected different interpretations of the LL of Goldfields. However, the people who generated these interpretations, namely two postgraduate linguistics students and I were all outsiders to Goldfields Residence who entered the place as sociolinguists and used a sociolinguistic lens through which to view the discursive construction of the residence. In order to round off my attempt at producing a 'force field' of meanings and readings of the LL of Goldfields, I included the insights of six Goldfields residents. These participants' perspectives are valuable because, being insiders, they are entering the space from the epistemological position of community members (or 'Goldies', as they call themselves).

In chapters 3 and 4, I have used thematic analysis to determine the 'type of place' Goldfields is. This approach was useful in terms of foregrounding the experiences of the two linguistics students who were afforded the opportunity of themselves analysing the LL and giving the place a 'label'. However, as I mentioned in Section 4.2, this was part of a pedagogical activity designed to introduce the concept of 'linguistic landscapes', which was neither the aim of this research project nor necessary for the participants from Goldfields Residence. Instead, it is more important to let these participants' 'experiences' (Tuan, 1977:8) take centre stage by utilising a method that foregrounds how they 'see' the LL of Goldfields, their community. The method I used to achieve this aim was the participatory photograph interview as described by Kolb (2008), who considers this method ideal for "involving local residents in a scientific process" and emphasises local understandings of the research question.

In what follows (Section 5.2), I describe the participatory photograph interview in more detail and explain what the different steps of the method entail. After this, I detail (Section 5.3) the

interpretations and perspectives of the six Goldfields residents who participated in the study. I summarise their perspective in Section 5.3.

5.2   Participatory photograph interview

The participatory photograph interview has been employed with a view to foregrounding participants' 'experiences' of Goldfields Residence. According to Kolb (2008), this method is useful for "involving local residents in a scientific process". A method often used in interdisciplinary studies, it involves researchers from various disciplines in investigating and resolving community issues. The researchers aim to understand the problem from the perspective of the community members, thereby emphasising local understandings of the research question (Kolb, 2008). Although this thesis does not set out to resolve a particular problem in a community, it does aim to emphasise residents' experiences of their community. Kolb (2008) explains that in the participatory photograph interview, the perspective of the researcher is "move[d] to the background" in that the participants use a camera to capture their perspectives and ideas. The photograph has an integral role to fulfil in the interview because it motivates the participants to participate in the interview, instead of merely somewhat passively having to answer questions posed by a researcher (Kolb, 2008). Photographs taken by the Goldfields residents, like the two postgraduate linguistics students' written assignments, were used (Chapter 4). This ensures that respondents do not assume the role of 'research subjects' but rather take an active role throughout the data-collection process (Kolb, 2008). In this way, this data-collection method not only foregrounds how participants read the LL but it also allows participants to determine what they consider the LL to constitute. This is different to LLS in which researchers often determine the LL items to which they wish their participants to respond (Malinowski, 2009; Garvin, 2010). The utilisation of the participatory photograph interview allowed the Goldfields residents to take a more active role in the research, while affording me the opportunity to gain their perspectives and experiences of the linguistic environment of Goldfields.

According to Kolb (2008), the four phases of the participatory photograph interview include the "opening phase", the "active photo shooting phase", the "decoding phase" and the "analytical scientific interpretation phase" (Kolb, 2008). These phases are comparable to the more 'traditional' research phases of recruiting participants, collecting the data and data analysis. I now turn to describing each phase and how each has been implemented in the current study.

5.2.1 Opening phase: recruiting participants

The opening phase of the participatory photograph interview entails the recruitment of participants and the introduction of the research (Kolb, 2008). The goal of this phase is to have a list of respondents prepared to take an active role in the research. One of the key strategies in recruiting such community members, according to Kolb (2008), is to take time to explain the research and to allow for open communication between the researcher and the potential participants. In the ensuing discussion, I explain how I recruited my participants from Goldfields Residence.

In August 2018, I contacted the newly elected student leadership structure (known as the house committee) of Goldfields. In an email I introduced myself and my research to the student president of Goldfields asking whether I could join a house committee meeting to fully explain the proposed study. At the meeting with the leaders in September 2018, I presented a summary of the research and a description of the participatory photograph interview process and mentioned that I was interested in their experiences of Goldfields. I offered to answer any questions they had. They were not interested in any particulars regarding the study but requested my contact information. I provided all house committee members with my email address and cellphone number and emphasised that they were free to ask me anything and to contact me at any time. The student leaders seemed excited that someone was conducting research about their residence hall and invited me to a house meeting with all the residents of Goldfields.

The house meeting took place in January 2019. Again, I introduced myself and the study, and encouraged the students to participate in the study. Although I allowed some time for questions, none were forthcoming. Being aware that a house meeting is a large forum and people may be shy or embarrassed to ask questions, I provided my contact details verbally and on the sign-up sheet. I encouraged the Goldfields residents to note down my details so that they could contact me if they had any questions or if they wished to withdraw from/participate in the research. There were no limitations as to who was allowed to sign up, except that participants had to be current residents of Goldfields. The potential participants provided me with their names and email addresses. I explained that I would contact them individually to confirm their possible participation in the study and would then set up an interview time and date. I circulated two sign-up sheets and received the details of 33 potential participants.

I then emailed ten random potential participants. When after a few days I had received no reply, I repeated the process until I had contacted all of the 33. In the email to the potential participants, I once again outlined the project and my expectations. I also provided my cellphone number and invited them to contact me at any time should they have any questions. Once I had received confirmation from the residents who wanted to participate in the study, I began the process of setting a date and a time, and provided detailed instructions of the photo interview. In this detailed email, I explained that I wanted them to take photographs of the "linguistic environment of Goldfields" (I discuss this prompt in more detail in Section 5.2.2) and that I would discuss the chosen photos with them on the day of the interview. The respondents were given the option of taking the photographs with their own cameras prior to our meeting or they could do so with a small digital camera that I would provide on the day of the interview. I concluded the email by providing my mobile number and an invitation to ask any questions. As suggested by Kolb (2008), I made sure that I would be available to address any queries.

5.2.2 Active photo-shooting phase: data collection

The active photo-shooting phase is the second phase of the photo interview method. According to Kolb (2008), participants already begin to reflect on the general research question in the previous phase and start the cognitive process of conceptualising their viewpoints in terms of photos. In the second phase, "participants implement their reflections by taking photos of specific subjects in their social and material surroundings" (Kolb, 2008). The active shooting phase allows the participating residents to make their experiences explicit (Kolb, 2008). Below I explain the steps I took in implementing this phase and also discuss the prompt I gave the participants for the activity.

In the previous subsection, I detailed the instruction I issued to the participants via email prior to our meeting. Once I had set a time and date for the interview, I met with the respondents at Goldfields Residence. Most interviews were conducted in the newly built dining hall; others chose the MetLife-Centre as their preferred meeting place. I wanted to make the participants feel at ease and as though they were really in control of the process. I moreover brought along some refreshments to encourage the participants to engage with and to take an active role in the study.

The activity in which the respondents would be participating required the participants to take five photographs of the "linguistic environment of Goldfields Residence as [they] experience it". Wishing to avoid any preconceived notion as to what this concept may refer to and thus ultimately limit their interpretation of their experience of Goldfields, I avoided explicitly using the words 'linguistic landscape'. I considered 'environment' to be an appropriate layperson's term that, though slightly more open-ended, still alludes to the concept of 'linguistic landscape'. However, in the interview phase of the activity, I asked the participants whether the use of the words 'linguistic landscape' would have changed how they had approached the activity. While most of the respondents denied that it would have made a difference, two said they would only have taken photographs of the outdoor areas of the residence hall. In Section 5.2.3, I discuss how I gained insight into their interpretation of the LL of Goldfields during the interview.

Corresponding via email prior to meeting with the respondents gave them some time to start reflecting on their perspectives and most of them also began taking photos. On the day I met with the participants, most of them had already taken the photographs and had chosen the five that they wanted to show me. Kolb (2008) states that it is important to allow the participants to choose the photographs they would like to discuss so that they will be able to frame the discussion and guide the interview. The interview that forms part of the decoding phase of the participatory photograph interview is outlined in Section 5.2.3 below.

5.2.3   Decoding phase: data analysis

In the decoding phase of the participatory photograph interview, the participants share their photographs with the researcher and explain their thinking behind the photos (Kolb, 2008). I set up a meeting with the participants and sat down with them to talk about the photographs they felt best reflected the linguistic environment of Goldfields. I brought along an audio recorder to record and later to transcribe the interview. Though I also made notes as the interview progressed, I tried not to let this distract participants too much. The interviews were conducted where the respondents felt most comfortable to talk. I ensured that the location was not noisy.

In this phase of the interview, the respondents become the 'experts'. Being responsible for the analysis of the data they had collected and also having to verbalise their experiences (Kolb, 2008), I let the participants take control of the interview. They could flip through the

photographs as they wished and often told me stories or anecdotes about particular images. As recommended by Kolb (2008), I allowed the participants to choose the order of the photos and to decide whether they wanted to talk about fewer or more than five images. All of the respondents were eager to tell me about their photos and often began the interview without my having to prompt them. The fact that I had never lived in a student residence hall really helped me to be genuinely curious about how the various places in Goldfields are utilised, which, in turn, encouraged the participants to assume the role of 'expert' in the interview.

Kolb (2008) recommends encouraging respondents to report in a storytelling form by allowing them to speak freely. Because of their notion of this being an 'interview', it was at first challenging to get participants to adopt a natural narrative style. They often waited for me to ask questions that they could only answer once they had shared where the photograph had been taken or why they had taken it. However, this became more natural as the interview progressed and the respondents were more at ease. As the participants told me stories suggested by the content of the photographs and about Goldfields, I had three questions to help me further understand their perspectives. These questions were about how they interpreted 'linguistic environment', what is was about their experience of the residence hall that they had captured in their photographs and whether these perspectives captured on camera reflected their overall experience of Goldfields. Kolb (2008) states that the researcher should not avoid asking questions if the questions further uncover the participants' understandings. I thus tried to frame the questions in such a way as to gain further insight into my participants' interpretations of the LL of Goldfields.

The interviews lasted for as long as the participants wanted to share their motivations for having taken the photos or for as long as they had time before they had another commitment. The interviews varied from between 20 and 40 minutes in duration. Once I had conducted the interviews, I transcribed the conversations in order to organise the sentiments of the participants and accurately report their perspectives in this chapter.

Kolb (2008) suggests that a further analysis takes place when the researcher considers the interview transcripts (i.e. the participants' analyses) in conjunction with the photographs taken by the respondents and then codes the various items. This is known as the "analytical scientific interpretation phase" (Kolb, 2008). However, I did not deem it necessary to include this phase in my study because I did not want to present my own interpretation of the LL that the residents had shared. I wanted rather to present a force field of readings of the LL of

Goldfields. I feared my own interpretation of the photographs would overshadow those of the participants. However, as I have mentioned in Section 1.5, I approached the qualitative data from the bottom up and identified theoretical concepts in the participants' perspectives (to be reported in Chapter 6). This grounded-theory approach (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) differs from what Kolb (2008) is suggesting because I approach the data holistically (the interpretations and photographs as a whole). Instead of analysing the visual material that the participants had already analysed and thereby imposing my reading of the LL on the experiences of the Goldfields residents, I allow their perspectives to stand on their own while I provide a more "theoretically informed retrospective" (Bock & Stroud, 2018:124).

In the next section, I present the six Goldfields residents' understandings of the linguistic environment of Goldfields and how they experienced it. The discussion includes each participant's photographs and also extracts from the interviews.

5.3   Goldfields residents' experiences

5.3.1   Robert

Robert is a first-year student currently residing at Goldfields Residence. The five images he brought me included a photograph of posters from an 'international evening' event (Figure 22); a photograph of his friends having a meal in the new dining hall (Figure 23); his housemates playing table tennis in what had previously been the dining facility, also known as the Metlife-Centre (Figure 24); a couple watching a movie in their room (Figure 25); and a photograph of his friends sitting on a veranda late in the evening smoking cigarettes (Figure 26).

Figure 22: Posters from international event
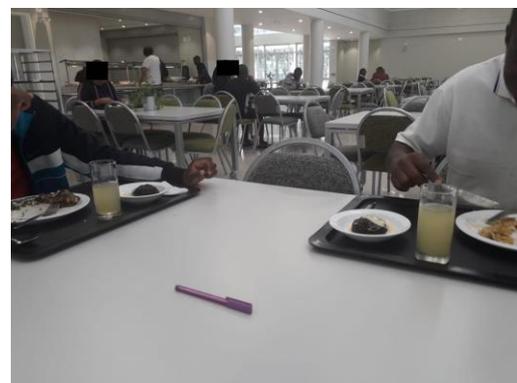
Figure 23: Chatting to friends at dinner

Figure 24: Relaxing after a test

Figure 25: Chilling in the 'usual' place

**Figure 26: Smoking cigarettes and
breaking down binaries**

According to Robert, the linguistic environment of Goldfields comprises two parts, one being people and the other being how they interact. The following extract is his understanding of the residence's linguistic environment:

Extract 14: Robert's experience of Goldfields

So, in Goldfields … it's a very open-minded Res, very 21st century, so most of our activities you['ll] find … it's discussions, engaging ones. I find if I go hang out with friends, it's either we gonna hang out in their room or I'll smoke a cigarette and talk with someone and talk about things that could range from gender norms and all that stuff. You'll find any activity we do … the main aspect of it will be talking.

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Robert's five photographs reflect his understanding of the linguistic environment of Goldfields. The images below show either *places in which* Robert feels people often interact – such as, for example, the bedroom (Figure 25) and at the table tennis table (Figure 24) – or *how* people interact – for example he and his friends over a meal (Figure 23) or conversing late at night while smoking cigarettes (Figure 26).

Robert elaborates on his interpretation of Goldfields's LL, mentioning that "there's a central theme [in] … the ways in which [people] converse … we're very open in the sense of we're always learning about something". This theme of learning through interacting with others is captured, according to Robert, in Figure 22 and Figure 25. He explains that in the photograph of the 'international evening' event (Figure 22) he has tried to capture the kind of social interactions that are common in Goldfields. In this case, it is a social event where one learns something while being with other people. In similar vein, Robert explains that he and his friends often relax in one another's bedrooms and this is where he has learnt a great deal about his fellow students' cultures. The extract below (Extract 15) is a short anecdote Robert shared with me while expanding on the significance of the diversity of Goldfields Residence:

Extract 15: Robert's anecdote

> I mean, last term I was chilling in a room. I used to have braids and while they were taking out my braids, we started talking about … because the people who lived in that room were Zimbabwean and most of the people in there were Zimbabwean and they were telling me about Zimbabwean culture and how they'll catch our slang, but a few years later, so they say stuff like 'dos' and stuff like that … you know what I mean … and that was crazy, I didn't know that. And they tell us about the rich part and the poor part and the rich schools, and all that stuff.

Roberts' experience of Goldfields Residence is one of people coming together and interacting with one another in order to learn new things. The LL is constituted of those places in the residence hall where people come together to engage with one another. The next participant has a similar experience and understanding of the linguistic environment of Goldfields Residence.

5.3.2   Tegan

Tegan is a second-year student at SU and is a member of the Goldfields student leadership, known as the house committee. In her description of her experience of Goldfields, she articulated what they, as the student leadership, are trying to achieve in the residence:

Extract 16: The goal of Goldfields Residence

What we try and get people to engage in is that they have this whole world outside their room so you['re] not just here for academics, you're not just here to get a degree and leave. We want to teach you a lot more. We teach you about cultures outside your world. We want to teach you more than just what a classroom is going to teach you.

The leadership's goal of trying to get the residents to learn about cultures outside their own and engage on matters outside the classroom is echoed in Tegan's understanding of the linguistic environment of Goldfields Residence. She describes the linguistic environment of the residence as places in Goldfields where she has learnt about languages and cultures. According to Tegan, these places are "not really limited in Goldfields because we have so much diversity and so many opportunities to get to know cultures". The discussion below presents Tegan's five photographs of the places around the residence hall where she feels she has learnt the most about different cultures and languages, and some of the anecdotes and the reasoning behind the choices that Tegan shared during our interview.

Tegan started the discussion by explaining the significance of Figure 27, below, namely the common-room area in her residence block. She explains that this is the area where she customarily sits with others and has conversations whenever she has free time or where she will cook a meal with friends. She again emphasises that the diversity which characterises the residence makes it easy to learn new things and explains why particularly she took a photo of the common room of her block (Figure 27): "Whenever I sit with people in my Res, I'm meeting so many people that it's like you['re] constantly learning new languages, you're constantly hearing people speak different languages, you're constantly learning about cultures."

Similarly, her justification for capturing the dining area in the Metlife-Centre, shown in Figure 27 below, is that this is where she sits after meals with her peers and has conversations that have led to her learning about their cultures. She even shared a specific anecdote about a friend, Lethabo, who taught her about a language they use in Pretoria in which five or six languages are combined in one language[5].

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[5] Tegan is most probably referring to Sepitori.

**Figure 27: Meeting place in
residence block**

Figure 28: MetLife-Centre dining area

Figure 27 and Figure 28 show areas in Goldfields also highlighted by some of the other participants. However, one particular photograph that Tegan shared with me differed markedly from anything else the other residents had captured. This intriguing photograph is of the netball courts at Goldfields Residence (Figure 29). Tegan explained that she really loves playing netball and, according to her, it is on a sports field that one feels "the most open and willing to learn about people". In her experience, she has learnt much about her teammates' backgrounds, their origins, their cultures and how they have managed to get to where they are now. It is therefore possible to understand that the netball court is an important and special place for Tegan as this is where she has most often connected with people. On the netball courts, she has not only learnt about her teammates' cultures but also about their personal journeys.

Figure 30 of Tegan's personal bedroom shows another personal place for Tegan, much like the netball courts, where she has connected with someone on a one-on-one level. Tegan tells the story of herself and her roommate who come from vastly different backgrounds. She explains that they speak different languages and come from different cultures. However, this was not an obstacle in their 'roommate-ship' because both Tegan and her roommate approached it as a learning opportunity and, through numerous conversations, they were each able to learn much about the other's background and culture. Therefore, just like the netball court, Tegan's bedroom is a place where she has really been able to connect with someone on a more personal level about that person's culture and language.

The last photograph to feature in our interview can be seen in Figure 31. The last place Tegan chose to discuss is the recreational room in the MetLife-Centre at Goldfields Residence. Ever

since she has been living in Goldfields Residence, this room has been used to host numerous events at which students came together to engage critically on certain issues. She describes it as a place where she has spent much time engaging with her peers about critical issues and about culture.

Figure 29: Netball courts

Figure 30: Personal bedroom

Figure 31: Recreational room in MetLife-Centre

The images above reflect Tegan's conviction about the goal of Goldfields Residence, namely to get its residents to learn about a world beyond their bedroom and outside their classroom. Her photographs represent the places in the residence hall where she has engaged with others

to learn about new cultures and languages. Some of these engagements have been organised events, such as Figure 31. Others have been on a more casual day-to-day basis, such as the conversations she has had in the common room of her block (Figure 27) and in the MetLife-Centre's dining area (Figure 28). Lastly, she has learnt about others' cultures and languages, and has got to know them on a more personal level on the netball courts (Figure 29) and through her roommate (represented by Figure 30). It is interesting to note that Tegan's experiences of the linguistic environment of Goldfields echo those of Robert whose perspective is also one of places in which people come together to engage with and learn from others. Although Robert does not highlight the diversity of the Goldfields residents as passionately as does Tegan, the next participant, Warren, makes a point of highlighting how the diversity within Goldfields is its best strength that is clearly reflected in the linguistic environment of the residence.

5.3.3   Warren

Warren is a fourth-year engineering student who is also involved in many aspects of Goldfields Residence such as its *a cappella* singing group and its leadership structure. His interview and photographs reflect not only the many ways in which he is involved in the activities of the residence, but also his commitment to it.

Early on in my interview with Warren, he declared Goldfields to be a "very diverse place". His description of the photograph of the men's residence block (Figure 32 below) attests to this conviction. Warren explains that the men's block is considered the most diverse block at Goldfields:

Extract 17: Warren discussing diversity in the residence hall

There's a lot of different languages. I know in a lot of other blocks there's a lot of like Zimbabweans and … um … English and Afrikaans, but here, there's a lot of Xhosa, Zulu and Zimbabwean, Afrikaans, English … and everyone speaks in their different languages all the time … it's a very diverse sort of a place … a big culmination of different cultures and languages.

Warren's description of Goldfields as a diverse place informs his perspective of the linguistic environment of the residence. According to him, the linguistic environment of the residence comprises those "places that people meet and talk … where you have an interaction of different cultures". Although his photographs depict the places in which people come together, the interview clearly reveals that these places are very specific to his experience of Goldfields Residence. In other words, much of what Warren shared with me was about places

in which he has been responsible for organising events that bring people of differing backgrounds together.

Figure 32: Diverse men's residence block

Figure 33 and Figure 34 below depict some of the scenes of Warren's involvement in the planning of various events hosted by the residence and they represent the places in which students have come together. Figure 33 is a photograph of the braai area where he organised Heritage Day celebrations. He told me that he considers the event to have been a great success in that many students from varying backgrounds had attended the celebration. Warren describes this braai area as "a classic place for people [bent on] meeting and engaging". At the flagpoles captured in Figure 34, Warren arranged for both the South African flag and the Goldfields Residence flag to be raised for the first time. He explained how all the residents came together and sang the house song. Like the South African national anthem, the Goldfields house song, too, is multilingual. When asked about this, he told me that the song has English, Afrikaans and Xhosa lyrics. He was quick to point out that diversity happens to be the residence's strongest point.

Figure 33: The fire place – a classic place where people come together

Figure 34: Flagpoles

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The images shown above reflect Warren's experience of the linguistic environment of Goldfields as being those places where a diverse resident population gather and interact. Warren's next object is the piano in the MetLife-Centre (Figure 35), which illustrates another aspect of his commitment to Goldfields Residence. He explains that he is involved in the campuswide *a cappella* competition called SUAcapella and that Goldfields residents gather around it to rehearse. According to Warren, he sometimes fiddles around on the piano to figure out the medley for the competition and that people will often come up to him there to chat. Although the piano is not a place where the majority of the Goldfields residents might gather, Warren still considers it to be a place where he gets to meet with his fellow 'Goldies' and work collaboratively or just chat more casually.

Figure 35: Piano for rehearsal and casual chats

Warren's final photograph is of a blackboard in the Metlife-Centre (Figure 36). Though there are various inscriptions on this blackboard, one can discern that the original inscription is "Women are equal to men". Warren explains the story behind the inscriptions:

Extract 18: Warren's explanation of blackboard in the Metlife-Centre

This was from a women empowerment session last year. Everyone who was present was welcome to write whatever they wanted on the chalkboard and someone had written 'women ARE equal to men'. Then somebody came and scratched out or wrote 'not', 'women are not equal to men'… it is just interesting to see how people had felt about that. There is also some stuff … other people that have come past … and also scribbled and signed, so I think it's like a big combination of everyone in the Res – a little piece from a lot of people all in one place, engaging but independently engaging.

Figure 36: Women empowerment chalkboard

Because it is not something in which he was directly involved, this blackboard appears to be an outlier in comparison with the rest of Warren's photographs. However, he finds it significant because it still represents the diverse residents of Goldfields engaging with one another even though they have done so 'independently'.

In Warren's experience, Goldfields is a diverse place and its linguistic environment comprises all those places in the residence where people come together during events and activities to talk and interact with people from different cultures. Warren showed me photographs of numerous places around Goldfields where he has been involved in bringing his peers together and where student interaction occurs. The following participant, Lluwellyn, focuses on one particular place where interaction and engagement take place in Goldfields.

5.3.4   Lluwellyn

Lluwellyn is a third-year student at SU and a member of the executive of the Goldfields house committee. That Lluwellyn is also a third-year linguistics student becomes apparent in his interpretation. The photographs he took can be seen below. These images, with the exception of Figure 37, are of various people in the new dining hall of the residence.

Figure 37: Deli where staff and students have coffee

Figure 38: Mealtime friends



Figure 39: A man of many languages
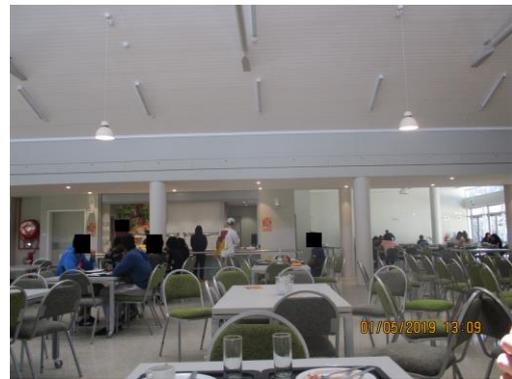
Figure 40: Bustling new dining hall

Figure 41: People in the dining hall

According to Lluwellyn, he interprets the linguistic environment of the residence hall as the "language identity within Goldfields". He later adds to this by explaining that there are different cultures in Goldfields and people who speak different languages. Reinforcing the sentiments of the other participants, Lluwellyn states that this "just adds to [Goldfields's] diversity". He however only seems to mention 'language identity' in relation to Figure 38 and Figure 39. He describes the people in Figure 38 as two very different people, who, though they speak different languages, are good friends. He describes the one as "deeply Afrikaans … from the Northern Cape, which is a different sort of Afrikaans". Figure 39 shows a single male standing up at table. Lluwellyn explains that the man in this photograph is able to speak more than five languages. He comments that this man's upbringing fascinates him in that this man, while ever so deeply rooted in his Sotho identity, has mostly Afrikaans-speaking friends, to whom he speaks Afrikaans.

Our discussion about the rest of the photographs reveals Lluwellyn's experience of the linguistic environment of Goldfields to have been similar to that of his peers, namely places where people converse and socialise. He explains that in Figure 40 and Figure 41 (photographs of people in the new dining hall) he tried to capture "the social side of things", pointing out that in Figure 40, "you can see there are people talking and having a discussion". He, therefore perceives the linguistic environment to be one in which people socialise and gather to have a discussion.

The 'outlier' photograph that Lluwellyn shared with me shows the deli in the MetLife-Centre (Figure 37). He had decided to photograph this place because it had played a significant role in his overall experience of Goldfields Residence. Lluwellyn explained to me that the MetLife-Centre is the first space he had been introduced to when he got to Goldfields. He moreover stated that the MetLife-Centre had much history attached to it seeing that the original residents fought very hard for its establishment. Lluwellyn further admitted that the place plays a significant role in his experience of Goldfields because it is where he spends time interacting with the residence hall's staff and students:

Extract 19: Lluwellyn's time with staff and students

I love working with the staff – from the [student leadership] perspective now. I have a very good relationship with them, and I always go there for coffee, free coffee even [laughs]. They know that 'ah [Lluwellyn] is obsessed with coffee' so they know… you'll always find me either there or in that side talking to either the staff members or the students.

The above extract highlights the role that the MetLife-Centre has played in Lluwellyn's term as an executive member of the Goldfields house committee. It is a place where he meets with various stakeholders of the residence hall and engages with them. Therefore, Lluwellyn reiterated that his particular understanding of the linguistic environment of Goldfields was constituted as a place where people come together and interact.

I was interested in why Lluwellyn had chosen to capture the new dining hall in the majority of his photographs. My question as to whether he spends considerable periods of time in that particular place elicited the following response:

Extract 20: Lluwellyn discusses the significance of the new dining hall

Yes, because I … and it's a deliberate thing because last year we had a lot of challenges from that leadership term and … I'm trying to show to my house that 'hey actually I care and I'm here' and I try to do that by having conversations because I feel like that [we] can be more impactful than trying to achieve this grand goal that's out there – where you can actually have a conversation with someone, you can sort of build that relationship of trust … and that's why I love being in that environment.

It seems that even though Lluwellyn's original intention was to capture the "linguistic identity of Goldfields", he ultimately perceives the linguistic environment of Goldfields as constituting those places where the residents come together and converse with one other. However, he does point out the linguistic diversity of Goldfields at the beginning of the interview when discussing the people in Figure 38 and Figure 39. Lluwellyn and his peers describe their experience of the linguistic environment of Goldfields as places where diverse, multicultural people come together engage and – for the most part – learn from one another. Sam, the next participant, has a similar interpretation, though, for him, the engagement takes place in a more everyday, spontaneous type of conversation.

5.3.5   Sam

Sam is currently taking a degree course in molecular biology and biotechnology and also serves on the Goldfields house committee. During our interview, Sam focused on places around the residence hall where he engages in everyday conversations or, as he puts it, "just the general, you know, over a cup of tea, 'how's the day?'" conversations. The following was Sam's articulation of his interpretation of the linguistic environment of Goldfields Residence:

Extract 21: Sam's understanding of the LL of Goldfields

The way I took it … was like in terms of linguistics: Where within the Res does conversation happen? … doesn't necessarily have to be anything planned, but something that, whether it be spontaneous or whatever, but we all like [to] talk about something or something that just happens naturally.

The photographs in the discussion below are of places where Sam engages or has often seen others engage in "spontaneous" or "natural" conversations". The first photograph that Sam shared with me is of a bench outside the residence blocks (Figure 42). He explained that this is where many people will sit and wait for their friends to walk to class together. This is his description of the image:

Extract 22: Sam's description of a bench for casual conversation

It's always been like a waiting point … like if you're waiting for someone if you're walking together to class you'll … and they [are] taking a bit longer … you'll sit there and wait or even if people are coming back from somewhere or just chilling out in the sun, it's always a place where people come and talk about their day, their degree, what their plans are for the day.

Sam describes the bench in Figure 42 as a place where people might engage in spontaneous chats with passers-by. He describes an area under a tree (Figure 43) in similar fashion, explaining that this particular area outside the MetLife-Centre is where a group of his friends meet before and after meals and "just talk a whole lot of nonsense". Therefore, he again highlights a place in Goldfields where people come together and converse in a 'natural' way.

Figure 42: A waiting bench for spontaneous chats

Figure 43: Talking 'nonsense' at mealtimes

Although Sam perceives the linguistic environment of Goldfields to be a series of places where people engage in everyday types of conversations, he did describe some places where students come together more intentionally for meetings or events. One such place is the

common room in his residence block (Figure 44). Sam explains that this is where they hold their block meetings and where they "talk about issues within Res, issues that people are going through that they would like assistance with or just relaying certain information". This place also serves as a venue for students who want to come together to work and, according to Sam, "it's just a fun learning environment … and on the odd occasion everyone just sits and has a laugh". In this instance, Sam seems to share sentiments about the linguistic environment similar to those of the rest of the participants in that he had photographed a place in which residents come together to engage with one another.

Figure 44: Block common room for coming together

The Quad (Figure 45) is another place for organised events, one that allows the residents to come together. Sam describes an event called The Quad Chill where the first-year residents bring their mattresses to the quad and line them up in order to "just chill and have conversation". It is interesting to note that even though the quad is a venue used for organised events, Sam highlights an event that is more relaxed than a critical-engagement discussion. Thus, even though Sam recognises more intentional interactions in the linguistic environment of Goldfields, he still emphasises the more 'natural' aspect of interactions. Sam further explains that "The Quad … symbolises a very intimate part of Goldfields … where [they] are a mixed Res where guys and girls can come out of their block, can come and just have fun together and enjoy each other's company." Here he again emphasises the significance of the quad in bringing the residents of Goldfields together to engage in casual conversation.

Figure 45: The Quad

Up to now, Sam's discussion has highlighted various places where the residents come together for events, both spontaneously and more intentionally to interact with one another in a relaxed fashion. The final photograph shared by Sam however seems to be an outlier. His final photograph is one of the new dining hall at Goldfields (Figure 46). He describes this place as "the main focal point for everything we [the leadership] have done" and where he has learnt about other people's opinions and has had "very interactive", planned critical engagements. This description stands in contrast to his interpretation of the linguistic environment of the residence hall as constituting a place where people have everyday conversations. According to Sam, the new dining hall is however a place where people come together for meals and where people might study together late at night.

Figure 46: New dining hall

It is clear that Sam's experience of the linguistic environment of Goldfields differs slightly from that of his peers. The other participants describe places in which residents from various backgrounds come together to engage and usually to learn about each other's cultures. Sam,

however, focuses on cites where more relaxed and spontaneous 'chit-chats' occur. Even though his interpretation is unique, the linguistic environment of the residence still happens to be those places in the residence where students come together to converse and interact. Another unique perspective on the linguistic landscape of Goldfields residence came from the last participant, Shanté.

5.3.6 Shanté

During the course of my interview with Shanté it became clear that what she had wanted to capture in this activity had been her experience of Goldfields Residence. She explained to me that she took photographs of her different, personal milestones at the residence hall. This means that the photographs that Shanté shared tell her personal story of Goldfields and not particularly through the lens of its linguistic environment – although a few items she had photographed could be considered an LL item. This unique interpretation of the task means that I was able to get a better sense of what Goldfields Residence has to offer its students and what this might mean to the students. I will now discuss the photographs that Shanté took and the reasons for deciding to capture these particular items. This is followed by our conversation about the different types of diversity that Goldfields has to offer and what she feels her images can tell me about the residence hall in general.

The first two photographs that Shanté showed me were both related to her initial arrival at Goldfields Residence. For instance, Figure 47 shows the names of residents and the years they arrived at Goldfields. Shanté explained that she had arrived at Goldfields after the official orientation period at SU and that she had therefore added her name "sneakily". According to Shanté, "I initiated myself, they didn't have a ceremony for me, but I felt I belong at Goldfields, so I just did it myself". Even though there had been no official ceremony for her, she still considered it a personal milestone because she felt like a "true Goldie" and that her name therefore belonged on the paving. The other photograph that marks Shanté's initial arrival at Goldfields is an image of the first residence block in which she stayed, namely Wes Driefontein (Figure 48).

Figure 47: Names on the pavement

Figure 48: Wes Driefontein residential block

The forgoing discussion shows that Figure 47 and Figure 48 have captured some of Shanté's first milestones at Goldfields. Firstly, there had been her own "initiation" into the residence hall with her painting her own name in the quad. Secondly, her first place of residence. However, when Shanté continued with her narrative of her milestones at Goldfields Residence, her description of the next two photographs (Figure 49 and Figure 50), contained anecdotes about specific events that had occurred in these places. I should like to draw the reader's attention to these because the events and the places that Shanté describes are similar to those described by the other participants in that she also captures instances where residents come together to interact with one another and enjoy one another's company.

Figure 49: Venue for "Henne en Hane"

Figure 49 (above) shows the dining area of the MetLife-Centre. Shanté explained that this is where the "Henne en Hane" event is held. This event is a special dinner for all the residents

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who are leaving Goldfields. She describes the significance of this place and the event as follows:

Extract 23: Shanté's explanation of "Henne en Hane"

This was the exact same spot where I first sang in front of the entire residence and got a standing ovation. It was just so cool. I was doing Adele's 'Don't You Remember' and everyone just took out their flashlights and did a little wave. It was a very warming experience for me and at that point, I really felt like I belong at Goldfields.

In this extract, Shanté describes the first time she sang in front of the residence. This experience had been very positive because she had been given a standing ovation. Similar to the painting of the name on the pavement in Figure 47, this event also marks a moment where Shanté felt as if she really belonged in Goldfields Residence. The next place Shanté identified that represents an important milestone in her time at Goldfields is the recreational room in the MetLife-Centre (Figure 50).

Figure 50: A place in which to practice cultural activities

Shanté told me that two particular events had occurred in the room in Figure 50, which had been significant to her. The first is that this is where she had first auditioned to be part of Goldfields *a cappella* group to compete in the campuswide SUAcapella competition. It was also where they rehearsed. The second event that Shanté told me about is her 'Toneelfees' [drama festival] experience. This festival is another campuswide cultural competition for which the various residence halls prepare and perform plays. Shanté explained that the recreational room of the MetLife-Centre is where she and Lluwellyn came together to bring their 'Toneelfees' vision to life.

The events that Shanté describes above all seem to capture her significant cultural impact on Goldfields. She is involved in all the major cultural activities of the residence hall and this is

very important to her. I mentioned above that the events she describes somewhat echoes the sentiments of the other participants regarding the linguistic environment of Goldfields Residence. Shanté explains that the places in Figure 49 and Figure 50 are where she was able to share her talents with the rest of the residents of Goldfields. Therefore, she describes instances where residents have come together in order to engage with her. These engagements, however, are not limited to her cultural talents. In the next photograph (Figure 51), Shanté attempted to capture another one of her milestones at Goldfields, one in which she engaged with the residence hall about her leadership potential.

The photograph below (Figure 51) shows a sign on one of the doors in the MetLife-Centre. This sign says "HK Kamer", which refers to the room used by the house committee of Goldfields Residence. Below this sign is a poster with all the members of the house committee and their contact details, which, for ethical reasons, I unfortunately had to crop.
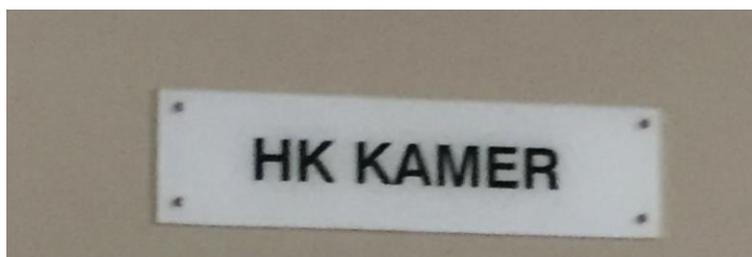
Figure 51: Shanté's leadership term on the house committee

Shanté explained to me that she had never expected to become part of the house committee because she had arrived later in the year than the rest of her cohort. She told me that despite being able to sing in front of crowds, she had a fear of public speaking – an important part of the house committee election process. In the extract below, Shanté explains what a personal challenge it was to run for the committee.

> **Extract 24: Shanté's experience of applying for a house committee position**
>
> I just took a leap of faith because … um … I have a fear of speaking in front of people. Singing in front of people and speaking is two different things. I used the caucus … um … to challenge myself, to kind of overcome the fear. And when the house actually chose me to become their leader, I was like, What?! Like, it was crazy. So ja, becoming HK was definitely a milestone for me.

The photographs and anecdotes Shanté shared with me all represent important milestones for her at Goldfields Residence. I asked her how she interpreted 'linguistic environment' and she replied that she really wanted to capture what the residence hall means to her. She explained

that many of the photographs were of instances where Goldfields had "groomed" her into the person she is today. She added to this by saying that her photographs showed "the different spaces that Goldfields provides … a space of social activity and also for showcasing your talents". Shanté clearly demonstrated her personal journey at Goldfields Residence, and the important role it has played in her life.

Shanté's unique interpretation of the activity allowed me to gain some insight into what Goldfields has to offer its residents. However, I was still interested in what Shanté thought her unique perspectives could tell outsiders about Goldfields Residence. Towards the end of the interview I asked Shanté what she thought her photographs could tell people about Goldfields generally, her reply is seen in Extract 25.

Extract 25: The various diversities of Goldfields Residence

I think these pictures in general show diversity … um … there obviously is no people involved, but diversity in social spaces, the spaces that Goldfields provides for students … Goldfields kind of focuses on 'you need to take a break, there needs to be a balance so we are going to create these spaces and these events and these committees for you to kind of take a study break or showcase your talents'. I feel like there's different parts of diversity; we have our race, our culture, our languages, ethnicity, backgrounds and then I was like 'ok cool, let me capture the diversity of our spaces'. I feel like we aren't just diverse in terms of race, like the common things Goldfields is known for, but in terms of our spaces as well.

Shanté's reply in the above extract is interesting because, much like her fellow residents who participated in this research project, she highlights the diversity of Goldfields. Even though this was not her original intention, Shanté recognises that her photographs and narratives present Goldfields as a place with numerous (or a diverse range of) activities in which to engage. She states that she intentionally avoided talking about topics such as race, ethnicity and language because this is what is so often related to Goldfields. She therefore wanted to share with me a different aspect of the residence hall that she thought could also be considered 'diversity', namely the various spaces in which to explore one's talents.

5.4 Summary

The photographs and stories the participants from Goldfields Residence shared with me create the impression that Goldfields is experienced as a place that is diverse in many ways (language, culture and even activities). It is interesting that in their perspective of the linguistic environment of the residence hall, they all interpreted it as being constituted of

those places in Goldfields where residents come together and interact with one another. This differs from my focus on inscribed language and also Jax and Vanessa's emphasis on objects around the residence hall.

The participants each shared their own personal experiences of Goldfields, thereby highlighting places around the house in which they have been involved in engaging with their fellow 'Goldies'. It is interesting that some participants, for example Robert and Tegan, focused on places where they had learnt about other people's cultures. Sam (and to some extent, Shanté) showcased the more everyday kinds of interactions that occur among the diverse residents of Goldfields. Lluwellyn and Warren, on the other hand, highlighted places where the residents tended to congregate, whether for special events or for the everyday activities.

The perspectives described above add another layer to the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence. My own perspective, the perspectives of the sociolinguistics students and now the perspective of the Goldfields residents create a very complex and layered image of the residence hall. In the following chapter, I attempt to bring these perspectives together into a more theoretically informed retrospective with a view to making sense of the complex discursive construction of Goldfields Residence.

Chapter 6

Grounding *experiences* in theory

6.1   Introduction

In the introductory chapter of this thesis, Section 1.5, I mentioned that it would be necessary to create a holistic perspective or a shared understanding of the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence. This necessity was prompted by an incident in which a Goldfields resident, who had read a preliminary paper about the perspectives of the linguistics students, asked me, "What are we doing wrong?" Taken aback by this question, I reassured the resident that I was not there to dictate what the residence hall was doing right or wrong, but rather aimed to share some insight into how others were experiencing the place through its LL. I realised, however, that it would not be enough simply to share these perspectives and let them stand on their own. Instead, it would be vital that I 'make sense' of these perspectives and create a shared understanding.

I explained in Section 3.2 that in order to understand how I came to my own understanding of the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence, it was necessary to describe my locus of enunciation, that is, to explain how my epistemologies influenced how I understood the meaning of the place. In that section, it was possible for me to articulate my locus of enunciation so as to give more in-depth insight into my meaning-making process. I explained that my limited knowledge of LLS at the time and my relationship with Goldfields determined the items that I chose to analyse and influenced my subsequent interpretation of the data. I summarised my analysis by characterising the residence hall as 'a place for agents of change' (see Section 3.3), explaining that Goldfields is a place that encourages its residents to be active citizens and effect positive change in society. It also reassures the students that they do not need to be exceptional people to achieve societal change and that any individual can be an agent of change. In Chapter 3, I was able to give the reader in-depth insight into my own reading of the place, thereby 'making sense' of my perspective in the process. When it comes to the participants, however, I cannot speak for their loci of enunciation at their moments of interpretation without falling into an 'identity politics' trap. I therefore needed to find a different approach to providing the reader with a coherent image of

the participants' readings and meanings of the LL. Consequently, I adopted a bottom-up approach similar to grounded theory, one that roots participants' experiences in extant theory.

This chapter is devoted to a discussion of how I followed a process akin to grounded theory to create a shared understanding while still foregrounding the participants' experiences. In the discussion, I not only briefly outline the origins of grounded theory but also justify the appropriateness of this approach in the current study. I also discuss how I applied grounded-theory techniques to the data presented in chapters 4 and 5. This is followed by a discussion of the two theoretically informed concepts, namely 'chronotope' (Bakhtin, 1981) and 'convivial multiculture' (Gilroy, 2006b), which capture the experiences of the two postgraduate linguistics students and those of the six Goldfields residents.

6.2   Grounded theory

Grounded theory is a "specific methodology developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) for the purpose of building theory from data" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008:1). The development of this methodology came at a time when qualitative research was under scrutiny and the dominant belief was that quantitative studies were the only systematic form of inquiry in the social sciences (Charmaz, 2003:249). Glaser and Strauss's (1967) introduction of grounded theory was considered revolutionary because they sought to demonstrate that inductive methods were as legitimate as the deductive model. These authors were calling for qualitative research to "move towards theory development" as opposed to merely testing existing theory (Charmaz, 2003:253).

According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), the purpose of grounded theory is to create theory from data with a view to explaining studied phenomena. Charmaz (2003:252, 273) argues that grounded theory need not be a "rigorous approach" but could instead be used as a set of flexible strategies for analysing data that prioritise the meanings of the participants over those of the researcher. Charmaz (2003:252) points out that the early conceptualisation of grounded theory followed a positivistic or objectivistic tradition, one that assumed that the researcher was aiming to present an objective 'truth'. However, the turn of the 21st century brought about a shift towards postmodernism and the poststructuralist schools of thought that put the researcher in the centre of the research and problematised the notion of an 'objective researcher' (Corbin & Strauss, 2008:viii). In light of this shift, Charmaz (2003:250) introduced a constructivist grounded theory that "takes the middle ground between

postmodernism and positivism and offers accessible methods for taking qualitative research into the 21st century". This approach recognises that both the subject and the researcher are responsible for creating knowledge and uses the tools of grounded theory to understand empirical worlds without assuming the truth of the analysis.

The above outlines both the origins of grounded theory and the shifts that have taken place in the interpretation and application of the methodology. It is important to emphasise this because, as I have already mentioned, I did not follow grounded theory 'proper' as described by Glaser and Strauss (1967). I was not interested in developing a theory about the discursive construction of Goldfields. Instead, I applied grounded theory as a flexible strategy by means of which to interpret the experiences of the participants or, as Charmaz (2003:273) states, "interpret how subjects construct their realities". This approach to grounded theory required that I "define [the] conditional statements" that I used to interpret the respondents' perspectives (Charmaz, 2003:273). In my application of the method, these 'conditional statements' are in the form of theoretically informed concepts. In the latest edition of *Basics of qualitative research,* Corbin and Strauss (2008:1) describe this as applying grounded theory in a more "generic sense" in terms of which the researcher talks about concepts derived from qualitative data. This constructivist grounded theory allows me to prioritise the meanings of the participants while presenting a holistic image of the various perspectives (Charmaz, 2003:272). It is important to note that this image is *a* reality, not a universal, single reality (Charmaz, 2003:273). Readers, from their particular loci of enunciation, may interpret the experiences differently. However, I hope to provide the stakeholders of this project with some form of in-depth understanding of the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence. This understanding of the residence hall can then be debated and shared (Corbin & Strauss, 2008:8).

The way in which I have approached grounded theory is not without criticism. Braun and Clarke (2006:9) state that any approach to grounded theory that does not work towards the development of theory – as it was originally designed to do – "is essentially grounded theory 'lite'". According to these authors, this 'lite' version entails only procedures of coding data much like those described in thematic analysis (ibid.). These authors are not wrong in that there are numerous similarities between thematic analysis and grounded theory. It may then seem that adopting a grounded-theory approach in the sixth chapter of this thesis is redundant when much of what has been done in the previous chapters utilised some form of thematic

analysis (especially chapters 3 and 4). However, this brings me back to Blumer's (1969) view of the importance of using a shared 'language' in trying to achieve anything. Bearing this mind, and the fact that this thesis investigates a specific residence hall, it is essential to produce research with which the stakeholders are able to *engage* and with which they are able to *do* something. In order for the stakeholders to engage with the research, I need to provide some sort of shared language or understanding. Grounded theory provides the means of creating and using a shared language or a shared understanding (i.e., theoretically informed concepts) so that stakeholders can *do* something with the research. For instance, Charmaz (2003:273) explains that grounded theory creates or uses concepts that other researchers can then "transport to similar research problems and to other substantive fields". Thematic analysis, I would argue, does not provide the same scope of opportunity for applying research because it does not emphasise using a 'shared language'. In fact, Braun and Clarke (2006:27) point out that one of the drawbacks of thematic analysis is that it has "limited interpretative power beyond mere description". This limitation means that I, the researcher, would be forced to describe what the respondents have already expressed instead of being able to create a shared understanding that provides in-depth insights into the context and moreover allows stakeholders and professionals alike to debate or discuss the interpretation (Corbin & Strauss, 2008:ix).

The bottom-up approach provided by grounded theory allowed me to foreground participants' perspectives and capture as much of the complexity as is evident in their experiences as possible (Corbin & Strauss, 2008:8) while producing a "more holistic and theoretically informed retrospective" (Bock & Stroud, 2018:24). In Section 6.3, I briefly describe the steps that I took to identify concepts in the participants' perspectives.

6.3 Identifying concepts

The process I followed to identify concepts in the empirical data is based on steps and suggestions provided by Corbin and Strauss (2008). I heed the advice of Charmaz (2003:251) who states that grounded-theory strategies can be used as "flexible, heuristic strategies" as opposed to rigid procedures. Ultimately, by following this process, I aim to scrutinise data to establish their essence and then to express this essence as a single concept that describes the data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008:159). In the discussion below, I outline the steps I took to identify two theoretically informed concepts in the qualitative data provided by the postgraduate linguistics students and the Goldfields residents.

The first step I took was to listen to the recordings of the interviews and break these up into manageable segments (Corbin & Strauss, 2008:160). These pieces mostly consisted of what participants believed to constitute the LL of Goldfields, anecdotes about their experiences of the residence hall and their perspectives on how the LL has shaped the place. I also took note of any 'anomalies', topics that I did not expect the participants to broach. Once more manageable, I was able to begin coding the data.

Coding is the second step in the process. Charmaz (2003:258) points out that, in contrast to quantitative research that requires data to be placed into "preconceived standardized codes", grounded theory entails that the researcher's interpretation of the data shapes the codes. This requires the researcher to put aside any notions of what the data 'should' contain and allow the "data and the interpretation of it to guide analysis" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008:160). Codes describe the data in a word or two and capture the ideas contained within the data (Charmaz, 2003:258; Corbin & Strauss, 2008:160). In my case, the process of coding occurred in two stages. Firstly, I applied what Corbin and Strauss (2008:195) call "open coding" and followed this with "axial coding". Open coding simply refers to allocating labels to blocks of data. During the process of open coding, I wrote memos in which I defined the codes and explained, with reference to the raw data, to what the codes referred. These memos then allowed me to group similar or related codes together (i.e. implement axial coding) (Corbin & Strauss, 2008:198). In the step following the data coding, I deviated from Corbin and Strauss's (2008) description of the process of grounded theory.

Corbin and Strauss (2008: 160) explain that once the researchers have a collection of codes or categories, they have the task of creating a concept that captures their understanding of the essence of the data. This concept is then refined through the process of theoretical sampling in which the researchers collect "delimited data to fill conceptual gaps" and to identify conceptual boundaries (Charmaz, 2003:265). However, as I have made clear before, I was not interested in delineating my own concepts. Instead, once I had coded the data, I identified extant theoretical concepts that captured my interpretation of the meanings that the participants had expressed. My interpretation, and thus the concepts I identified, are limited to my own knowledge and experience. Corbin and Strauss (2008:32) view the researcher's background not as a limitation, but as an asset that assists the researcher in being in tune with the data and being able to pick up on relevant "happenings in the data". According to Dey (1993:63), "there is a difference between an open mind and an empty head. To analyse data

researchers draw upon accumulated knowledge. They don't dispense with it. The issue is not whether to use existing knowledge, but how". I therefore wish to make it clear to the reader that I am in no way suggesting that the theoretical notions, namely chronotope (Bakhtin, 1981) and convivial multiculture (Gilroy, 2006b) discussed in the next subsections are 'objective' representations of the data. The nature of the analysis that the reader witnesses below is "data talking through the 'eyes' of the researcher" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008:33).

6.3.1   Apartheid chronotope

Jax and Vanessa, the two postgraduate linguistics students, shared fascinating interpretations of the LL of Goldfields Residence. These two participants shared two particular readings of the discursive construction of the residence hall. Firstly, they understand Goldfields to be a place that stands in contrast to the town of Stellenbosch and, secondly, they understand the residence hall as a place you would find in a 'coloured community'. Jax and Vanessa, specifically, make sense of the 'type of place' Goldfields is by referring to a specific time and space. Throughout their written reflections and interviews, they link Goldfields to apartheid-era coloured communities. The links that the participants make between the present-day LL of Goldfields and 'coloured communities' during apartheid impelled me to use Bakhtin's (1981:84) notion of "chronotopes". Therefore, I sum up Jax and Vanessa's perspectives of the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence as indicating that the residence hall is caught up in an apartheid timespace dimension. In the ensuing discussion, I briefly look at how the notion of 'chronotope' has been conceptualised in sociolinguistics, after which I will clarify the definition I use in this section. Afterwards, I highlight the instances in which Jax and Vanessa make sense of the discursive construction of Goldfields by invoking an apartheid chronotope.

Holquist (2010:19) states that many scholars have found it challenging to define the term "chronotope" and that the term is thus riddled with ambiguities and uncertainties. Bakhtin (1981:84) directly translates this Greek term into the English word, 'timespace' and explains that it refers to the inherent inseparability of time and space. 'Chronotope' has been used widely across a spectrum of social sciences and has assumed a multitude of meanings with every application and interpretation (Holquist, 2010:19). In sociolinguistics, there has been a variety of applications (cf. Blommaert, 2015; Oostendorp, 2018; Rosa, 2016). However, there has been a particular focus on extending 'chronotopes' to include identities – the inseparability of time, space and identity. Agha (2007:320) maintains that "entextualized

projections of time cannot be isolated from those of locale and personhood". It is worthwhile mentioning that though the entanglement of 'the person' within time and space was already recognised in Bakhtin's (1984) work on the carnival, it only became prominent in sociolinguistic studies in the early 2000s (Merino, Becerra & De Fina, 2017:62). Taking into account the inseparability of identity, time and space (Agha, 2007; Blommaert & De Fina, 2017), it is not surprising that the participants invoke a particular chronotope to make sense of the 'type of place' (i.e. identity) Goldfields seems to be. Furthermore, sociolinguistics scholars have posited that the entanglement of personhood, time and space is established through semiotic means (Agha, 2007; De Fina, Paternostro & Amoruso, In press: 2-3; Luphondo & Stroud, 2012:45). Therefore, in this thesis, it is understandable that the LL items observed by the participants are "tropic emblems" that invoke an apartheid chronotope (Blommaert, 2015:12). These emblems are discussed in detail in Section 4.5. Given that this thesis is a sociolinguistic study, I turn to an understanding of 'chronotope' as it is used by other sociolinguists.

The discussion in this section utilises Blommaert's (2015:9) definition of chronotope. He specifically develops the notion for its use in sociolinguistics as a way to engage with recent attempts at "adequate[ly] contextualis[ing] language signs" (Blommaert, 2015:1-2). Blommaert (2015:9) glosses "chronotopes" as "invokable histories". He describes them as "elaborate frames in which time, space and actions coincide and create meaning" (ibid.). Although he (ibid.) uses the word 'frames' to imply widely shared and recognisable associations, these shared associations are susceptible to change when reconfigured by different individuals in different contexts (De Fina et al., In press:2-3). These reconfigurations are due to 'the body', as Oostendorp (2018:301) highlights, being chronotopic. This adds to the complexity of chronotopes because various chronotopes may co-exist simultaneously due to different 'bodies' existing simultaneously despite being located in their own histories and invoking their own unique histories so as to create meaning resulting in a number of timespace dimensions being called forward simultaneously (Bakhtin, 1981:252). This complexity is reminiscent of Mignolo's (2000) conviction that everyone speaks from a particular locus of enunciation, i.e. at the intersection of their history and location. Decolonial theory, however, avoids the term 'identity' (or personhood, persona, etc.) because it has often been conceptualised as something rigid and fixed whereas 'locus of enunciation' suggests a fluid process in terms of which different parts of 'the person' are brought forward at different moments in time and space (Menezes de Souza, 2019:10-11).

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The connection I am making here between the recent trend in sociolinguistics of considering, on the one hand, the interconnectedness of time, space and personhood and the decolonial construct of 'locus of enunciation', on the other, is to make it clear to the reader, as I did in the introduction to this chapter, that I am in no position to comment on the participants' 'identities' in the moments that they invoked the apartheid chronotope in making meaning from the LL of Goldfields. However, I am able to highlight these moments of invocation and discuss the timespace dimension to which they seem to be referring in their perspectives of the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence. In what follows, I summarise the moments that Jax and Vanessa refer to apartheid and 'coloured communities' when making meaning from the LL of Goldfields Residence. Each participant expresses this chronotope differently and each uses it in a unique way to make sense of Goldfields Residence. Below, I first outline how Jax subtly brings to the surface the apartheid chronotope in her reflection and interview. This is followed by Vanessa's more obvious references to how apartheid South Africa seems, in her moments of interpretation, to be present in the LL of Goldfields Residence.

Jax does not explicitly mention apartheid in her interview but rather invokes an apartheid chronotope when she references places that are indicative of the apartheid era. Jax, in both her written reflection and the interview, mentions that Goldfields Residence reminds her of a place in an "old coloured community". Although she does not qualify the word "old" with any specific year or timeframe, she later specifically mentions that the residence hall reminds her of a town hall or community centre in Belville or Belhar, thereby linking "old coloured community" to specific places. Jax's reference to these places is significant because they are areas of Cape Town that were originally designated as 'coloured' by the apartheid regime. Thus, by comparing Goldfields to Belville and Belhar, she seems to understand Goldfields as a coloured community during the apartheid era. In an even more subtle invocation of the apartheid timespace dimension, Jax reflects on her interpretation of the residence as a place that has lost its sense of pride. The loss of pride that Jax refers to is specifically the residence's lack of recognition for its role in integrating SU during apartheid. She mentions several times that the poor maintenance of the building (Extract 4), the faded posters (Figure 17) and the photographs reflecting an ever-increasing white demographic (Figure 16) indicate to her that the residence hall is no longer "proud of its diversity and being pioneers for integrating people of colour into positions of power within the university" (Extract 2). Jax moreover says that the half-erased chalk (Figure 15) drawing is symbolic of the residence's

lack of "pride of being proudly for coloured and black students" (Extract 3). It is evident that Jax constantly links the LL of Goldfields to a very particular point in its history – the significance of its establishment as a residence hall for coloured students during apartheid. She therefore makes meaning from the LL by invoking an apartheid chronotope in interpreting the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence as being caught up in an apartheid timespace dimension. Vanessa also understands the residence as a place suggestive of an apartheid-era coloured community but does so more explicitly than Jax.

In Section 4.5.2, I pointed out that Vanessa, on several occasions, puts herself in the position of the original residents by transporting herself back to Goldfields in the 1980s. In the interview, she explained some of the thoughts that ran through her mind as she walked around the residence hall and how this made her feel upset and angry on behalf of the first few cohorts of residents of Goldfields Residence. For instance, in Extract 7, Vanessa says, "I felt that, 'I studied as hard as that white child, so why must I, as a coloured, live here?'" In her poem (Stanza 1, Lines 1-2), she writes "I entered this place that swallowed my heart, I thought this was the past". Obviously, she was not living there, and it was not the 1980s, however she explicitly brings a different time (apartheid) into the here-and-now, thereby invoking an apartheid chronotope. Another explicit example of her bringing into play an apartheid chronotope is when Vanessa specifically says that the LL items remind her of her childhood and where she grew up in Bishop Lavis (a poverty-stricken community originally designated a 'coloured' area during apartheid). In Extract 11, she comments that the second-hand furniture and old equipment are what "you can expect … at Bishop Lavis, but don't expect that in Stellenbosch". She often references Bishop Lavis in her reflection and comments that the lack of maintenance makes the place "look poor" (Extract 8), which in turn reminds her of her childhood in Bishop Lavis. Moreover, Vanessa comments that the set-up of the deli/tuck-shop reminds her of "a place you would see in Lavis" (Extract 12). In these examples, Vanessa does not necessarily reference apartheid in terms of a certain time-period, but instead invokes the apartheid chronotope by bringing the 'there' into the 'here'. Like Jax, Vanessa references an area of Cape Town, namely Bishop Lavis, that was originally designated as 'coloured' by the apartheid regime and so characterises the residence hall as a place suggestive of a community designed in the apartheid era. This discussion highlights the ways in which Jax and Vanessa invoked the apartheid chronotope in order to make sense of the discursive construction of Goldfields. Both participants express this in terms of the LL reminding them of (apartheid-designated) coloured communities. However,

they differ in respect of how, explicitly, the chronotope is invoked. There is one more instance of where Jax and Vanessa invoke the apartheid chronotope. They do so by referring to the 'separateness' of Goldfields Residence from the rest of Stellenbosch.

Jax and Vanessa express the 'separateness' of Goldfields in two ways: its geographical position in relation to the centre of campus and its aesthetic in comparison with the rest of Stellenbosch. In their interviews, they explain that the relatively distant location of Goldfields Residence from the centre of campus emphasises the geographical 'separateness' of the residence hall. In her poem (Stanza 1, Line 6), Vanessa writes: "But julle … bly daa'." She does so in order to capture how far away Goldfields is from the rest of campus. Importantly, Vanessa links the isolated location of Goldfields to the intentions of the apartheid regime, i.e. to separate the coloured people from other races: "What do you think of us? To basically throw us into the bush … they wanted to hide us there, that side, that is why" (Extract 10). In this instance, she again explicitly brings the then into the now. Interestingly, the participants mostly point out the aesthetic 'separateness' of Goldfields. In Extract 8, for instance, Vanessa comes up with a clever pun to capture the aesthetic of Stellenbosch by calling it "Stellen-posch". She states that the poor maintenance and the overall 'poor' look of Goldfields stand in contrast to the rest of "Stellen-posch". Later on in the interview (Extract 9), Vanessa explains that when she first saw Goldfields she asked Jax "is this part of Stellebosch? Because this [is] not the Stellenbosch I see … you know [usually] beautiful buildings", thereby insinuating that the buildings of the residence hall are not up to the standard of the beautiful buildings she is used to seeing around the town. Jax also comments that she is not used to seeing such rundown and poorly maintained places in Stellenbosch and that this situation stands in contrast to the "ever-developing, and well-maintained" town (Extract 1). Importantly, Jax says that it is for this reason that it tends to remind her of a place characteristic of Belhar or Belville, which, as I have mentioned before, is indicative of the apartheid regime. Jax and Vanessa's perspective of the isolated and contrasting nature of Goldfields Residence resonates with how the apartheid regime designed coloured communities: areas that are separate from and inferior to the elite areas. The participants thus not only invoke an apartheid chronotope when describing how Goldfields resembles an "old coloured community" but also when they point out how the residence hall stands in contrast to and is separate from Stellenbosch.

The foregoing discussion and the examples given above illustrate how Jax and Vanessa invoke an apartheid chronotope when making meaning from the LL of Goldfields Residence. They understand the residence hall as a 'coloured place', specifically one characteristic of the apartheid era – a poor, poorly maintained, inferior place separate from the elite and well-maintained areas. Thus, these participants perceive Goldfields Residence to be caught up in an apartheid timespace dimension.

6.3.2 Convivial multiculture

The perceptions of the six Goldfields residents are quite different from those of the two linguistics students discussed in the previous section. These six participants not only experience the discursive construction of Goldfields differently, but their interpretation of exactly what it is that constitutes the LL is also unique. The Goldfields residents understand the LL of the residence hall to be places where people come together and interact with one another. The discussion below highlights how their experiences and interpretation of the LL of Goldfields drew me to the notion of a "convivial multiculture" as described by Wise and Velayutham (2014:407).

'Conviviality' is a concept that has been used across many disciplines and in various contexts. Though, in layman's terms, it can be best described as "the capacity to live together" (Wise & Noble, 2016:423), scholars have elevated it to a notion that captures how people of different cultures living in close proximity negotiate differences in real time to create an atmosphere of ease and welcoming (Blommaert, 2013:102; Gilroy, 2006b:40; Wise & Velayutham, 2014:410). Although it might seem adequate to capture the participants' perspectives in the term 'conviviality', their strong convictions regarding the diverse nature of Goldfields and how, on a daily basis, they interact with this indelible feature of the residence hall, impelled me towards adopting a notion that explicitly mentions this aspect, namely 'convivial multiculture' (Gilroy, 2006b). The second part of this theoretical construct, 'multiculture', refers to "everyday diversity" (Valluvan, 2016:204). Gilroy (2006a) uses the postcolonial notion of 'multiculture' to create distance from the ideas and assumptions of 'multiculturalism'. The latter notion is rooted in ethnic absolutism and perpetuates colonial imaginings and fixed notions of race and identity (Gilroy, 2004:xi). Valluvan (2016:207) explains that even if multiculturalism is conceived in terms of "multiple belongings and multiple identities", it is still underpinned by European ideals in terms of which minority

identities are recognised but ultimately expected to integrate into the white majority (Gilroy, 2006a:6). Valluvan (2016:206) points out the following:

> The appeal of Gilroy's argument lies not only in his rejection of integration and its emphasis on securing shared identities of national self, but also his departure from principles of 'respect', 'recognition' and 'culturalism' … when theorizing multi-ethnic cohabitation.

Gilroy's argument outlined above leaves us with what Amin (2013:3) describes as an ethos of "indifference to difference". This is different from a liberal, universalist framing of difference as non-existent and actually emphasises an anti-racist (as opposed to a non-racial) approach to difference (Amin, 2012:18; Valluvan, 2016:217). Thus, Gilroy (2006b:40) is not conceptualising conviviality as absent of "racial, linguistic and religious particularities" but rather providing an account of multi-ethnic interactions that considers these differences as commonplace and unremarkable. According to Valluvan (2016:211), this imagining of difference creates a sense of "non-intrusive" difference as opposed to non-existent difference. I should like to point out, however, that this does not necessarily imply a harmonious coexistence. Williams and Stroud (2013:293) contend that conviviality is often achieved through "tense interactions and negotiated differences". The misconstruction of 'conviviality' as inferring 'festive' and 'happy' is due to the oversimplified meaning of the English word 'conviviality' (Wise & Noble, 2016:425). According to Wise and Noble (ibid.), the Spanish notion of "*convivencia*" is more complex as it includes "not just 'happy togetherness' but negotiation, friction and sometimes conflict", thereby making multi-ethnic coexistence hard labour (Noble, 2009; Wise & Velayutham, 2014). In fact, Gilroy (2006a:6) explains that his rationale for the development of the concept of 'conviviality' is to give recognition to the fact that people live alongside various tensions and manage these tensions in creative and intuitive ways in order to "live together in real time". In summary, 'convivial multiculture' is the process of cohabitation and interaction in instances of quotidian intercultural coexistence characterised by a mode of relations in which differences are negotiated in real time and rendered non-intrusive (Wise & Velayutham, 2014:407). I now turn to the perspectives and experiences shared by the six Goldfields residents.

I briefly mentioned above that all the participants insisted on the diverse nature of Goldfields Residence. They made it clear to me that diversity was woven into the very fabric of what generally makes Goldfields unique. Warren, Tegan and Robert, for instance, specifically

pointed to the cultural diversity of the residence hall. Tegan explained that interacting with different cultures is "not really limited in Goldfields because we have so much diversity". Warren and Robert both noted that there were numerous residents from Zimbabwe and other African countries and Warren reported that the house was proud of its diversity and viewed it as its greatest strength (Extract 17). Lluwellyn (Section 5.3.4) largely focused on the residence hall's linguistic diversity by sharing anecdotes of residents who got along despite having vastly different linguistic backgrounds. Shanté's perspective is a rather unique interpretation of the diversity that Goldfields upholds. She shared that she believed the residence hall also had "diversity in [its] social spaces" (Extract 25). In regard to this perspective, Shanté spoke of all the cultural activities she had been a part of that had been offered by Goldfields (Section 5.3.6). Therefore, it is clear from the interviews with the six residents that the residence hall is made up of a diverse student group (racially, culturally and linguistically) and engenders other sorts of diversity not just related to human attributes. It is important to bear in mind that the nature of a residence hall (i.e. a place where people live together) implies that the diverse resident population are in constant interaction and, quite literal, cohabitation on a daily basis, thus making it possible to denote the participants' descriptions as "everyday diversity" (Valluvan, 2016:204). In fact, in his interview, Sam (Extract 21) actually emphasises the 'everydayness' of interactions with the residents and explains that for him the linguistic environment of Goldfields is about "just the general, you know, over a cup of tea, 'how's your day been?'" types of interactions. As such, it is possible to characterise Goldfields Residence as a complex multiculture. This, however, does not imply a sense of conviviality. The notion of 'conviviality' comes to the fore once one considers how the six residents interpreted the LL of Goldfields.

The participants' unique interpretations of the LL of Goldfields as places in which residents convene and interact with one another invokes the notion of a 'convivial multiculture'. Put differently, the participants perceive the discursive construction of Goldfields as a place where a group of diverse students negotiate their differences in real time in order to coexist and interact with one another on a daily basis. Some of the 'linguistic' places that the participants highlight are clearly locations of quotidian interactions and cohabitation. For instance, Tegan photographed her bedroom, the common area in her residential block and even a netball court (Section 5.3.2). Similarly, Robert (Section 5.3.1) also pointed out that both the bedroom and the outside veranda and table tennis area were places where he routinely interacted with his peers. Lluwellyn and Warren highlighted areas where the

residents generally come together and share meals such as in the dining hall (Figure 40) and braai area (Figure 33). I would argue, however, that even the places pointed out by the participants as being places for more focused engagements – such as for meetings or discussions about global issues – can still be considered quotidian in the student residence context. Student housing projects are often designed to encourage residents to engage in co-curricular activities (Palmer, Broido & Campbell, 2008:93), therefore making such activities part of the everyday operations of the residence hall. Tegan (Extract 16) actually sums up this role of student housing from a student leadership perspective:

> What we try and get people to engage in is that they have this whole world outside their room so you['re] not just here for academics, you're not just here to get a degree and leave. We want to teach you a lot more. We teach you about cultures outside your world. We want to teach you more than just what a classroom is going to teach you.

This goal of the residence hall is reflected in some of the places in which the participants felt they engaged with other residents in discussions about relevant topics and participated in other extracurricular activities. For instance, some of the participants indicated that the MetLife-Centre, like the new dining hall, were often venues for critical engagement sessions and cultural activities (see for instance Figure 31 and Figure 46, and Shanté's discussion in Section 5.3.6). Interactions of this kind might not reflect 'everydayness' as defined by Wise and Velayutham (2014:407). However, as Tegan's conviction alludes to, these engagements are part of the everyday goals of the residence-hall context, thereby infiltrating the everyday operations of the student-housing context. In view of the participants' interpretation of the residence's LL as a place where residents interact with one another, coupled with their insistence on the diversity of the residence hall, it is possible to capture their perspectives in the notion of 'convivial multiculture'.

It is interesting to note that the participants did not share any anecdotes about tensions or friction. In my personal experience of working in such student communities, the residence halls are fraught with tension. The participants seem to focus on what Wise and Noble (2016:425) call "'happy clappy' togetherness". It is possible that my position as an outsider to Goldfields Residence and as a researcher compelled the participants to share only those aspects of their experience in the residence hall that they deemed positive. This focus is intensified when one moreover considers that most of the participants were also members of the student leadership committee of Goldfields and they were mostly responsible for the way

in which the residence operated. There is one LL item, however, that does bring to the surface tensions over differences. Figure 36 shows a chalkboard with the words "women are equal to men" written in chalk and various words surrounding it. Warren (Extract 18) explains that it was part of an activity coordinated by a women empowerment group:

> This was from a women empowerment session last year. Everyone who was present was welcome to write whatever they wanted on the chalkboard and someone had written 'women ARE equal to men'. Then somebody came and scratched out or wrote 'not', 'women are not equal to men'… it is just interesting to see how people had felt about that. There is also some stuff … other people that have come past … and also scribbled and signed so I think it's like a big combination of everyone in the Res – a little piece from a lot of people all in one place, engaging but independently engaging.

Warren's description of the inscription and the activity that followed around the chalkboard illustrate some of the tensions and conflict in Goldfields Residence, which, as Wise and Noble (2016:425) point out, is part and parcel of conviviality or of the Spanish *convivencia.*

The forgoing discussion illustrates the ways in which the six Goldfields residents' perspectives of the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence reflect the theoretical construct 'convivial multiculture' (Wise & Velayutham, 2014:407). Their emphasis on the diverse nature of the residence hall along with their focus on places where the students of Goldfields come together to engage with one another resonates with the aforementioned notion that refers to instances in which diverse populations negotiate differences in order to interact and coexist in close proximity.

6.4   Summary

This chapter outlines how I approached the perspectives of the participants with a view to presenting a theoretically informed holistic description of the discursive construction of Goldfields. I followed a process similar to grounded theory to identify concepts that reflect not only the perspectives of the two postgraduate linguistics students but also those of the six Goldfields residents.

The construct I identified in the perspectives of the linguistics students is Bakhtin's (1981:84) notion of 'chronotope'. This concept refers to the inseparability of time and space and how they may act in the here-and-now as meaning making agents (Blommaert, 2015:9). Jax and Vanessa specifically invoke an apartheid chronotope. These two participants refer to coloured communities as they were designed by the apartheid regime (i.e. separate and inferior) in

order to understand the discursive construction of Goldfields. Jax and Vanessa accordingly understand Goldfields as a place caught up in an apartheid timespace dimension. Interestingly, Bock and Stroud (2018) also found that young South Africans invoke apartheid in their narratives as an imagined semiotic landscape (one residing in the head of the individual) in order to make sense of their experiences in contemporary South Africa. These authors coined the term 'zombie landscape' to refer to the "'undead' and highly racialised ways of speaking about space and place that … continue to 'haunt' the present despite having no legal standing after two decades of democracy".

In contrast to the perspectives of Jax and Vanessa, those of the Goldfields residents can be said to be in alignment with the notion of 'convivial multiculture' (Wise & Velayutham, 2014:407). This theoretical concept refers to how people with "different trajectories of life and different ways of going about things" manage their differences in real-time in order to interact and coexist with one another (Blommaert, 2013:102). This process is evident in the perspective of the six Goldfields participants who emphasise that Goldfields is a diverse place that encourages its residents to engage with one another on a daily basis. Therefore, Goldfields, in terms of their perspectives, can be understood as a convivial multiculture.

Chapter 7

Concluding remarks

7.1   Introduction

In this final chapter, I provide the reader with an overview of the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence by answering the two main research questions posed in Chapter 1 of this thesis. Next, I discuss the possible implications and significance of this study by relating it to the literature discussed in Chapter 2. Some conceptual developments in the broader field of sociolinguistics will also be considered. Finally, I examine some of the possible limitations of this thesis and make some recommendations for further study.

7.2   Experiencing the discursive construction of Goldfield Residence

In this thesis, my aim was to rise to the challenge of collecting a 'force field' of meanings and readings of the LL of Goldfields Residence (Bock & Stroud, 2018:24; Malinowski, 2018:224). To this end, I asked how Goldfields is discursively constructed by various registered students at SU. Included among these were two postgraduate linguistics students, six Goldfields residents and myself. The perspectives expressed in the previous chapters provide an in-depth and complex understanding of the residence hall as simultaneously representing a place for agents of change, an apartheid chronotope and a convivial multiculture. These perspectives are summarised in detail in the discussion that follows.

The various participants understand Goldfields Residence differently. In my initial investigation into the discursive construction of the place (completed as part of an Honours degree research requirement), I observed the LL of the residence hall and identified it as a place for agents of change. This theme is based on LL items that shape the space into a place that encourages its residents to become agents of change and to bring about positive changes in society. A more recent reflection on this theme revealed that my understanding of Goldfields had been rooted in my 'locus of enunciation' (Mignolo, 2000) at the time of the initial study. This decolonial theoretical construct refers to the way in which a person's epistemologies and histories intersect at a specific time in a specific place and then influence one's meaning-making process. In Section 3.3, I declared my locus of enunciation at the time of the initial investigation and reflected upon how my limited knowledge of LL had

influenced my choice of LL items to investigate (only signs displaying written bits of language). I also considered how my experience in student-leadership structures at SU had led me to emphasise the social justice aspect of the LL. I thus understood Goldfields as being a place for agents of change. The perspectives of the other participants differed from and indeed somewhat contradicted my interpretation of the LL of the residence hall.

The two postgraduate linguistics students, Jax and Venessa, were first introduced to the LL of Goldfields as part of an introductory seminar to LL. They originally completed a pedagogical activity in which they observed the LL of the residence and wrote a reflection about the label they would assign Goldfields according to the 'type of place' they interpreted it to be. Their perspectives were so vastly different from mine that I decided to turn the activity into a research opportunity and interview them to gain more insight into their understanding of the LL of Goldfields Residence. Vanessa wrote a poem entitled, "A poem with no title", and stated that Goldfields reminded her of the past, of the subordination of the coloured people during the apartheid era. Both in her reflection and during the interview, it was interesting to note that Vanessa kept imagining herself to be a Goldfields resident when the place was first established – in the heyday of apartheid. It was clear that the LL items of which she took note reminded her of a place characteristic of a 'coloured' area during apartheid. She specifically mentioned that Goldfields seemed like it should be in Bishop Lavis (a poverty-stricken, formerly coloured area of Cape Town) and not in the 'posh', predominantly white location of Stellenbosch. Similarly, Jax also compared the residence hall to the apartheid-designated coloured areas of Belville and Belhar. She was also taken aback by the lack of care and maintenance of Goldfields and declared that it stood in contrast to the ever-improving town of Stellenbosch. Additionally, Jax made sense of the LL of the residence by continuously linking that which she had observed to the significant role Goldfields had played in integrating SU during apartheid. These participants' perspectives of the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence led me to consolidate their interpretations into the single notion of apartheid 'chronotope' (Bakhtin, 1981). This notion refers to Goldfields as a place caught up in a timespace dimension that resembles a coloured community during the apartheid era. This understanding of the discursive construction of the residence hall not only stands in contrast to my initial perspective of the place, but also seems to contradict the sentiments of the six Goldfields residents.

The six Goldfields residents who participated in this study shared an understanding of Goldfields that can be captured in Gilroy's (2006b) notion of a 'convivial multiculture'. This notion refers to how people of different cultures living in close proximity negotiate differences in real time to create an atmosphere of ease and welcoming (Blommaert, 2013:102; Gilroy, 2006b:40; Wise & Velayutham, 2014:410). I was pushed to this theoretical construct by the participants from Goldfields Residence who had photographed places in the residence in which they customarily engaged with their diverse cohort of peers. Some of the places included those spaces they occupied on a daily basis, such as bedrooms, verandas, common meeting areas and dining areas. Other places represented areas of engagement that were reserved for more formal events such as the discussions on issues faced on campus and which were often held in the recreational room of the MetLife-Centre. Most notably, these participants emphasised the diversity of Goldfields. They all mentioned that the residence generally prides itself on being racially, culturally and linguistically diverse and that this is engrained in the ethos of Goldfields Residence (maybe not so surprising if one considers the history of the residence hall). The six Goldfields residents also explained that they were constantly encouraged to engage with their fellow Goldies. To some of the participants, this meant having to interact with others in order to expand their worldview and learn about other cultures; to others it was more about ordinary, everyday conversations and activities. These participants' perspectives thus create the impression that Goldfields Residence is a place that espouses everyday intercultural interaction by encouraging residents to negotiate their differences in real time and create an atmosphere of ease among the diverse resident population. It is interesting to note what these six participants consider the LL of Goldfields to constitute. I next consider this in more detail by answering the second research question of this thesis.

In Chapter 2, I argued that one of the reasons why collecting multiple interpretations of the LL could be considered a "provocative challenge" (Malinowski, 2018:224) is because LL researchers often either determine the LL for the participants or ask participants to expand on their meanings of the signs that the researcher deems significant (often because these signs are multilingual). This thesis consequently set out to determine what the participants believed the LL of Goldfields Residence to be. I already mentioned above that in my initial investigation (Chapter 3), I only considered those items containing inscribed language to be part of the LL. However, the other participants considered an expanded version of the LL.

Vanessa and Jax, who had just been introduced to the concept of LL, pointed out a few LL items that I would describe as items that are typically regarded as constituting the LL, i.e. items displaying language. These items included posters, writing on a chalkboard and a banner proclaiming the values of Goldfields. However, most of the items referenced by Jax and Vanessa as having influenced their perspective of the place and as constituting the LL could indeed be characterised as other forms of semiosis. These items included second-hand furniture, old equipment, photographs, paint, general maintenance and the architecture of the building, and even smells. Though Shohamy (2015:153-154) opines that there has been an increase in the inclusion of such items in LLS, this instance is particularly interesting in that these specific participants (being linguistics students) had only just been introduced to the concept of LL that focuses on descriptions of LL – comprising signs displaying linguistic codes – that are both more typical and easier to grasp. I will discuss the significance of this in further detail in Section 7.3 below. Although Jax and Vanessa presented an LL in line with current trends in the field, the six Goldfields residents identified a conceptualisation of LL that has left me both puzzled and intrigued. These participants believed that the LL of their residence hall comprised those places in Goldfields in which they often interacted and engaged with their peers. They did not identify objects or signs as such (the piano and the women empowerment chalkboard being exceptions). However, the discussions regarding the piano were less about the object itself and more about the interactions and events that occurred around the object. In the following section, I attempt to engage with the possible implications of the Goldfields residents' understanding of what it is that comprises the LL of the residence hall.

In summary, Goldfields Residence can be understood as a complex place that is simultaneously discursively constructed as a place for agents of change, an apartheid chronotope and a convivial multiculture. Although the participants' conceptualisation of the LL of Goldfields is in accordance with current LLS, it also departs quite significantly from the field. I now turn to the possible implications of these findings.

7.3   Implications and significance

In Chapter 2, I outlined that this thesis situates itself within the most recent wave of LLS that have taken on a phenomenological orientation, focusing on the symbiotic relationship pf people, place and the LL. I argue that LLS have been limited in their approach to studying such phenomena because of the restricted way in which participants have been incorporated

in LL research. I thus adopted a research design that would foreground the 'force field' of meanings and readings of the LL that the participants shared and would allow them to identify the LL for themselves. This approach has produced a complex and somewhat contradictory insight into the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence. It is particularly interesting that the residence hall has been understood not only as a place caught up in a timespace dimension that resembles a coloured community during apartheid (an apartheid chronotope) but also as a place that espouses intercultural co-existence and togetherness (a convivial multiculture). Although I ultimately reached these findings by utilising a bottom-up approach to create a more coherent perspective of the heterogeneous interpretations, it is evident in chapters 3 to 5 that each individual participant had their own, unique experience of Goldfields and its LL. Given the vast range of semiotic objects that the participants referenced – especially Jax and Vanessa – it is possible to argue that the field of LLs needs to continue expanding its semiotic inventory. However, I believe a more enduring approach to this phenomenon is called for and would require a way to capture the relationships between people and these various forms of semiosis.

In the previous chapters, I have already used the decolonial notion of 'locus of enunciation' to explain how people's histories and epistemologies intersect to influence their moments of interpretation. I nonetheless believe the findings in this study point to a concept being developed in sociolinguistics, specifically in conjunction with translanguaging, that would be useful in the field of LLS, namely the notion of 'semiotic assemblages' (Pennycook, 2017). Pennycook (2017:269-270) developed this term as a way to expand on what is understood by translanguaging – a means of questioning the borders between linguistic codes – and to incorporate an expanded version of language that attends to the borders between semiotic modes. Interestingly, he draws inspiration from work in LL and states (Pennycook, 2017:270):

> Just as [LL] research has shifted from a focus on languages on signs in public spaces … towards a much broader range of semiotic potential, so translanguaging research can benefit from questioning not only the boundaries between languages, but also the boundaries between different modes of semiosis.

Pennycook (2017:217) does however admit that it is not sufficient merely to add more semiotic items to "translinguistic inventories", but that it would be better to attempt to grasp the relationships among such objects. Drawing on Bennett's (2010) development of the

notion of 'assemblages' (a way of describing how things are brought together and function in new ways), Pennycook (2017:278) advanced the notion of "semiotic assemblages" as a way of suggesting that people are not simply making linguistic choices but that there is rather "a range of linguistic, artefactual, historical and spatial resources, which are brought together in particular assemblages in particular moments of time and space". This term, therefore, affords researchers the opportunity to address the complex ways in which the trajectories of people, semiotic resources and objects meet at particular moments and places.

Through embracing multiple interpretations of the LL of Goldfields and foregrounding these perspectives, this thesis showcases the complexity of the relationships between people (and their loci of enunciation), semiotic resources and place. The implication of this complexity, I suggest, is that instead of continuing to expand the semiotic inventory of LLS (such as those objects highlighted by Jax and Vanessa) it is essential that the field engage on a deeper level with the mechanisms that underlie this complexity. I suggest that just as Pennycook (2017) is inspired by LLS in its expansion of forms of semiosis, his notion of 'semiotic assemblages' can inspire LL scholars to have a more in-depth engagement with the abovementioned dynamic relationships and the mechanisms that shape them.

Admittedly, the Goldfields residents' conceptualisation of the LL leaves me slightly puzzled. These participants viewed the LL of the residence as places for interacting with their peers. Though I have yet to come across this kind of understanding in LL research, at a recent conference, Lou (2019) also discussed particular instances in which learners photographed rooms or areas around the school as their interpretation of the multilingual LL of the school. At the time of this presentation, Lou (ibid.) was still unsure as to what to make of this phenomenon. I shall therefore consider broader trends in sociolinguistics in an attempt to unpack the significance of this particular understanding of LL.

The conceptualisation of LLs as places of interaction is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, the participants seem to have ignored written bits of language and to have focused only on spoken language. Secondly, their interpretation of spoken language seems to have gone beyond bound linguistic codes and rather to have been conceptualised as an action – a moment of interaction. Thinking about language in this way is in fact very much in tune with recent attempts in the broader field of sociolinguistics to rethink what 'language' means. Translanguaging, for instance, is one of these attempts and conceptualises language as something that is borderless – we do not possess separate, well-defined linguistic codes.

Instead, we have at our disposal a repertoire that we use as a resource in given situations (Pennycook, 2017:270). Allow me to draw the reader's attention to the second part of that term, namely 'languaging'. This suggests that language is an action, it is language conceptualised as doing. Wei (2011:1223) posits that language users essentially put on performances because they "[bring] together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment … their beliefs and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into a one coordinated and meaningful performance". This performance, in turn, gives space meaning (Wei, 2011:1223). As regards the Goldfields participants' understanding of what constitutes the LL, it may be possible to think of the LL as places that afford people the opportunity of coordinating language performances, i.e. to participate in 'languaging'. I believe there is potential to investigate this phenomenon further. For now, however, I wish to turn to the ongoing language debate at SU and the light that the six residents have shed on this matter.

Language is a contentious issue at SU. Student groups and political organisations alike have engaged in the debate about language at the university. For instance, Open Stellenbosch (a student movement) called on SU to amend its language policy so that "no student should be forced to learn or communicate in Afrikaans and all classes must be available in English" (Daily Maverick, 2015). In contrast, AfriForum took SU to the Western Cape High Court to ensure the University give Afrikaans equal status to English as a medium of instruction (News24, 2016). The matter escalated to such an extent that it was taken to the Constitutional Court, which very recently ruled in favour of SU's present language policy (Ngatane, 2019). This debate has been ongoing for a number of years and has resulted in numerous revisions of the SU language policy (cf. Language Policy of Stellenbosch University 2002, 2007, 2014, 2016). The language debate and the language policy revisions have all centred around what linguistic codes (Afrikaans, English and Xhosa) should be used when and how. For example, English should be present on lecture slides, but the lecturer may speak either English or Afrikaans or a combination of both. I find it fascinating – in view of the language debate on 'appropriate' linguistic codes – that the six Goldfields participants conceptualised the LL of the residence hall as places of gathering where students engage in chit-chat or critical discussions. The ever-present language debate at SU made me assume that the participants would share images of inscribed linguistic codes. I was expecting photographs of lingering Afrikaans signs and building names (often associated with pre-democratic South Africa) or discussions on the dominance of English. Yet, the participants were not interested in the

linguistic codes present in their residence hall and instead highlighted moments when they used language to interact with their peers.

A brief scrutiny of the SU language policy concerning language use in residence halls, viewed in conjunction with the perspectives of the participants as discussed above, reveals an oversight by SU and a potential area for growth for the university. The Language Policy of Stellenbosch University (2016) states:

> In residences and other living environments, language is used in such a way that, where reasonably practicable, no stakeholder is excluded from participating in any formal activities in these environments.

I should like to draw the reader's attention to the use of "formal activities". Activities that take place in residences are very rarely formal because this is where students reside and engage in more informal activities. The participants demonstrate that, in the student housing context – where there are more informal interactions than formal ones – 'language' assumes a different meaning. Therefore, if SU is truly invested in "a transformative student experience", as their strategic framework for 2019–2024 states, then it would perhaps be key to start interpreting 'language' as more than just linguistic codes and rather to consider *where* and *how* students are engaging with one another.

7.4   Limitations

The present study has one primary limitation and that is its focus on one of the senses of the participants, namely sight. Although I was able to argue for this emphasis in Section 1.4, it is clear that LLS are heading in a more multisensorial direction by including sounds, movements and smells, and, most recently, visceral feelings. In fact, Pennycook (2017:279) states that we need to consider the multisensorial nature of our worlds in order to gain a more in-depth understanding of semiotic assemblages – a notion this thesis hopes to bring into the field of LLS. The experience of the discursive construction of Goldfields Residence may therefore have been even richer had I embraced a more multisensorial approach.

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Appendix A: Research permissions

NOTICE OF APPROVAL

REC Humanities New Application Form

15 August 2018

Project number: 7267

Project Title: The Discursive Construction of Goldfields Residence

Dear Miss Charne Pretorius

Your REC Humanities New Application Form submitted on **15 August 2018** was reviewed and approved by the REC: Humanities.

Please note the following for your approved submission:

Ethics approval period:

Protocol approval date (Humanities)	Protocol expiration date (Humanities)
07 June 2018	06 June 2021

UNIVERSITEIT • STELLENBOSCH • UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

INSTITUTIONAL PERMISSION:

AGREEMENT ON USE OF PERSONAL INFORMATION IN RESEARCH

Name of Researcher: Charné Pretorius

Name of Research Project: The Discursive Construction of Goldfields Residence

Service Desk ID: IRPSD 925

Date of Issue: 6 July 2018

You have received institutional permission to proceed with this project as stipulated in the institutional permission application and within the conditions set out in this agreement.

Appendix B: Consent Form

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

You are invited to take part in a study conducted by **Charné Pretorius**, from the **General Linguistics Department** at Stellenbosch University. You were approached as a possible participant because **you are currently residing in Goldfields Residence/ a positional leader within Goldfields Residence/ are a SU student and have never resided within Goldfields Residence.**

Please take some time to read the information presented here, which will explain the details of this project and contact me if you require further explanation or clarification of any aspect of the study. Also, your participation is **entirely voluntary** and you are free to decline to participate. If you say no, this will not affect you negatively in any way whatsoever. You are also free to withdraw from the study at any point, even if you do agree to take part.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is to explore how you, the participant, understands this place called Goldfields through interacting with its various linguistic items. The aim is to collect and explore various perspectives of the linguistic environment of Goldfields, and forefront the voices of the participants.

2. WHAT WILL BE ASKED OF ME?

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to participate in a data collection activity that will involve capturing your perceptions of Goldfields and its linguistic environment. Once the activity is completed, you will be interviewed in order to gain greater understanding of your perspective. This will take approximately 60 minutes, however the participant is really in control of how long or short the session is. The interview will be recorded and it will all take place at the Goldfields Residence.

3. POSSIBLE BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO THE SOCIETY

Although there may not be any direct benefit to the participants, this study will give all participants an opportunity to share their thoughts and feelings about Goldfields without being overshadowed by that of the researcher. These perspectives could then be used to reflect on the residence's culture and whether changes are needed or not.

4. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

All participants are taking part on a voluntary basis. They will receive no compensation of any kind in return for their involvement.

5. PROTECTION OF YOUR INFORMATION, CONFIDENTIALITY AND IDENTITY

Any information you share with me during this study and that could possibly identify you as a participant will be protected. This will be done by assigning each participant a pseudonym whenever they are mentioned in the report. All data will be stored and saved on a password-protected personal computer where only I, Charné Pretorius, will have access to it. The information may be shared with my supervisor, Dr Marcelyn Oostendorp, but participants' identities will be kept secret. Participants are welcome to review any of the data (photographic and audio) concerning them. It can be made available for them on request by email at 17082544@sun.ac.za.

6. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you agree to take part in this study, you may withdraw at any time without any consequence. If you decide to withdraw, the data collected on you will be destroyed. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The researcher may withdraw you from this study if for some reason you do not fit the criteria, previously stated.

7. RESEARCHERS' CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact **Charné Pretorius** at 17082544@sun.ac.za, and/or the supervisor **Marcelyn Oostendorp** at moostendorp@sun.ac.za

8. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT

As the participant I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.

- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.

- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.

By signing below, I _____ *(name of participant)* agree to take part in this research study, as conducted by Charné Pretorius

_____   _____

Signature of Participant   **Date**

DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

As the **principal investigator,** I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions. In addition I would like to select the following option:

	The conversation with the participant was conducted in a language in which the participant is fluent.
	The conversation with the participant was conducted with the assistance of a translator (who has signed a non-disclosure agreement), and this "Consent Form" is available to the participant in a language in which the participant is fluent.

_____   _____

Signature of Principal Investigator   **Date**

Appendix C: Jax's written reflection

The Fading Rainbow

Driving through the entrance of Goldfields, I see beautiful buildings and green, green grass (despite the Level 6 water restrictions). The air smells fresh as I step out of the car, as if I can smell the fresh oxygen entering my lungs as I examine the tall trees and I wonder "How old are these trees?"

I instantly feel as though I am at a vacation location when I look at the Dutch-style house close to the Met-Life Centre. We quickly head over to the centre and everything looks beautiful and well-maintained, but as I enter the Met-Life Centre, I feel like I'm back in Belville or Belhar's townhall or community centre where I'd expect to see coloured staff and coloured citizens standing in lines, waiting to be helped. We step into the cafeteria space, which was not always a part of Goldfields, and we're greeted by three friendly staff members in their kitchen uniforms.

With Goldfields being the first residence on campus exclusively for people of colour, it was no surprise to see that the staff is coloured and we began scanning through the faces on the walls since the opening of the residence, most of the faces were coloured too. Even though this is a functioning space where students buy food, sit down and eat and play table tennis the space seems somewhat uncared for. The chalkboard with the residence's slogan is fading away and the quote "achieve your goals" has been erased halfway which is symbolic of how the residence has been fading away concerning being proud of its diversity and being pioneers for integrating people of colour into positions of power within the university.

Although I get the sense that this space is used often, it smells a little musty. There is old equipment lying in the corners of the room and there is one wall in need of some TLC, as it seems as if someone did an incomplete paintjob and there are cables attached to the wall, which have not been covered properly. I think to myself that this space would be warmer and more welcoming if these little jobs were taken care of.

After glaring at the picture of past residents, which are perched up against the walls, I realize that each year, more white faces appear until it appears that coloured and black people are no longer the majority of the residents. Perhaps this is how the residence lost its reputation and pride of being proudly for coloured and black students. This loss of pride is also felt as we move into the room that seems like a lounge, but we are told that students very seldom use this room to watch TV and sometimes meetings are held here. The room is dark, needs ventilation and there are about twenty old office chairs arranged in a strange way that suggests that no one has used this space in a while.

The residence's values, "Respect", "Unity", "Freedom" and "Responsibility" have been painted onto white sheets of material, forming a curtain, but also faded quite a bit and no one has re-painted it or taken it down which also suggests a sense of carelessness.

Overall, this space makes me feel nostalgic as it reminds me of the type of building I'd expect to find in a coloured community, it does not feel like the rest of Stellenbosch which is constantly changing and constantly being improved. This space also makes me feel a bit sad as I know that this residence was originally designed quite far off main campus, no shuttle

services were provided for residents, there was no dining hall, there was no lights to and from this residence onto campus which means that the university failed to account for the needs of these residents.

However, Goldfields has worked so hard to establish themselves as an involved, diverse, dynamic and up-coming residence. It is as shame that one does not get this sense when going to Goldfields and this same dynamic spirit is not illustrated in the intricacies of this space.

The beautiful fields of green grass, regularly used for soccer game events, the new block of rooms situated behind the Met-Life centre, modern and built from dark wood, and the new braai areas illustrated that the residence is attempting to redeem itself and improve the lifestyle standards of the students who stay here. Goldfields could be on its way to being as proud and as bright as they used to be, if they can learn to make the little things count again.

Appendix D: Vanessa's poem

<u>A Poem with no title</u>
I entered this place that swallowed my heart
I thought this was the past,
Jarre! Why you follow me around?
I'm in a place I don't belong.
A thought came to mind
"We not racist"
But Julle… Bly daa'
I'm in a place I don't belong.

I stand in the place that swallowed my heart.
Ek voel hulle pyn en hoor hulle sig.
My oë skiet vol water en ek kannie praat.
Ek wil help, but hoe?
Ek issie WIT!
I'm in a place I don't belong.

I entered a room that broke my soul.
Second hand goods all over the place,
faded quotes against the window seal.
My mind is blir…in this broken space.
I want no more of this place
I hate this space,
I want to go out! Because
I'm in a place I don't belong.
Dit briek my hart
En rik my siël
O Here, help.
Ve'daala daai image.
My heart can't quiver
Because I'm in this place
That swallowed my heart.