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“The Languages of Other People”: The Experiences of Tutors, Administrators, and Students in a South African Multilingual Writing Center

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“THE LANGUAGES OF OTHER PEOPLE”: THE EXPERIENCES OF TUTORS, ADMINISTRATORS, AND STUDENTS IN A SOUTH AFRICAN MULTILINGUAL WRITING CENTER

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ABSTRACT

This ethnography, conducted at Stellenbosch University in South Africa, conveys the experiences of tutors, students, and administrators in a multilingual writing lab. As the number of both multilingual and international students in American universities increases, more writing centers in the United States have begun to explore the idea of multilingual tutoring. This study offers implications for establishing American multilingual writing centers based on data that emerged from observations and interviews conducted at Stellenbosch. Several themes emerged from the data that have important implications for American centers. First, there must be a clear understanding of what defines a multilingual writing center. To that end, this study presents three different models from which American labs can choose. Findings also discuss the importance of a strong language policy to back up the work of the lab, as well as information on when and how multilingual tutors and students codeswitch in sessions. These findings are tied to theories of Ubuntu, social justice, developmental ecology, and literature on multilingualism. Given that this study took place at a time during which Stellenbosch students were protesting the university language policy, findings on the operations of the writing lab are tied to the greater context of student protests, which are now taking place in the United States as well as South Africa. One of the primary implications to emerge from this study was that writing labs can serve as a much needed safe space amid even the most stressful political and racial tensions. The overall finding was that the Stellenbosch University multilingual writing lab serves a social justice function in helping underrepresented students succeed in college.

PREFACE

May 2015 seemed like any other end of semester when I flew from Terre Haute Indiana, where I work and study at Indiana State University, to Stellenbosch, South Africa, where I planned to conduct ethnographic work for this study. However, when I arrived, I found that a movement was starting among students. It had in fact been going on at University of Cape Town, where students demanded the removal of the Rhodes statue, and it was picking up steam at Stellenbosch as not just a movement to remove symbols of oppression on campus but to change the way languages are used on campus to better accommodate Black students, a minority that has been growing on campus since apartheid. The movement started out small and grew slightly over my time there.

When I returned to the United States, the student protests had crossed the ocean. The past year saw American student anti-discrimination protests that called for the removal of university presidents who were seen as not responding adequately to racism, for the founding of cultural centers and spaces for minority students; for more hiring of diverse faculty and, sometimes, the removal of faculty; for more minority representation in the curriculum; and for more training on intercultural competence. This movement can be seen in schools as diverse as tiny, private Oberlin College, massive, public University of Missouri, and Ivy League Yale. In fact, as I prepared to analyze data and write this study, a movement formed at my home institution. Free

ISU, like student organizations at other schools, created a list of demands and has so far been successful in both opening up a campus-wide conversation and obtaining some requests, such as renovations to the campus African American Cultural Center and a new administrative position dedicated to inclusion. At the time of this writing, protests are still going strong across the country, with most campuses conceding that things need to change, even if they have not yet all determined how that needs to happen.

It is difficult to say how these movements will end, but in talking about student inclusion and language, it is impossible to ignore them. In fact, just in the short period between data collection and this writing, Open Stellenbosch has succeeded in their effort to convince administration to revise the language policy – Stellenbosch University has decided to make English the language of instruction instead of using both Afrikaans and English. This is both a practical change and an important political one given that the students protesting view Afrikaans as a language of oppression. The protests in South Africa are closely related to protests here in the United States. In both places Black and other minority students feel unwelcome, and they sense systems still in place to keep them from succeeding. In both locations, minority students see constant reminders of their outsider status, whether it be through statues of those who condoned slavery or apartheid or microaggressions in the classroom. Reactions to their protests are mixed, but it is undoubtedly important for administrators at any university to listen and to try and determine what college campuses can do to better make sure everyone has a chance to succeed. As the students of Open Stellenbosch indicate, this may start with thinking about how to address minority students, whatever groups they may come from, and in what language.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study would not have been possible without the hospitality of the staff and students of the Stellenbosch University writing lab. They patiently allowed me to poke through their daily work lives, sit in on their writing sessions, and drink their coffee. It will come as no surprise to anyone who has worked with writing labs that the people of the SU lab are warm, funny, full of character, and fiercely passionate about helping underserved students succeed in their university work. I also need to thank the eerily similar, equally wonderful staff of a center thousands of miles and several time zones away in Terre Haute, Indiana. My own student workers were patient and supportive throughout this process, even when it meant they had to run the Math & Writing Center by themselves for six weeks. Their ability to step up and take the initiative to develop new programs and solve problems in my absence proves that dedicated student workers are capable of far more than we often give them credit for. Special thanks also the International Writing Centers Association, as winning the Ben Rafoth Graduate Research Award allowed me to fund this research, and whose members listened to and provided valuable feedback on my data soon after it was collected at their annual conference.

The process of writing a dissertation makes it clear who your people are, and mine are thankfully numerous. Thank you to Ellie, one of the only people I could have trusted with my tutors and center, who did such a wonderful job that she now runs the whole operation, and who

somehow tolerated the cycles of insomnia, hyperactivity, total forgetfulness, crankiness, giddiness, and stress as only a true friend could. Thank you to Eric for reading the first proposal draft despite a general disdain for qualitative work, for being a loyal ear, and for understanding when I needed a Netflix zone-out and when I needed someone to tell me to quit complaining and just get it done. Many thanks to Amy, my Java Haute writing buddy, whose spontaneous outbursts of laughter made the process mercifully lighter and at times downright fun. To Miranda (world's best dart player), who can make me laugh in any circumstances, to E, who can not only commiserate, but who can curse just as loudly and creatively as I can. To my cohort members, who are the most supportive group of classmates I could possibly imagine. To the members of my committee, who trusted me with a massive amount of creative freedom, and to my boss, who supported me and challenged me as both an administrator and a professor throughout the process.

Completing the dissertation is an exercise in balance, with its highs and lows, insomnia and long naps, binge eating and ramen-only nights. It seems only fair to thank those things that kept my life even: my personal trainer and the distillers of Larceny whiskey, the evil makers of Marlboro cigarettes, the fabulous baristas at Java Haute, the curators at Pandora, the lovely people of every country I visited to escape my dissertation, the Jimmy Johns drivers, every pharmacy that stocks melatonin, whomever started the adult coloring book trend, and everyone who told me that "the best dissertation is a done dissertation."

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Under the presidency of Barack Obama, the United States has seen a variety of attempted policy changes that would affect higher education by admitting and accommodating students who may not have otherwise had access to a college education. One example is the executive order on immigration reform that took place in November 2014. This order affects students who have come to the United States to attend school. Under the new policy, these students will be able to remain in America for a year to 29 months after completing their program in hopes that they will start businesses and become productive citizens of this country (Redden & Stratford, 2014).

Soon after the immigration executive order, President Obama proposed legislation that would entitle students in all states to two years of free community college education, contingent upon their maintaining at least a C average in their courses (Mangan, 2015). Though it seems unlikely that this measure will become law, its suggestion ensures that colleges of all types will rethink both their costs and admissions criteria, as offering students two free years of community college would necessitate all other kinds of institutions becoming more competitive and increasing marketing efforts for underserved students. This is an intriguing policy-based start to including more traditionally underserved students in higher education, but it will then be up to universities to provide the support services that give these students an actual chance to succeed. To that end, schools will likely need to adapt programs like tutoring and supplemental

instruction, as well as possibly add new support services specially targeted towards language and citizenship.

Policy and voluntarily efforts on the university level provide positive opportunities for both international students and low-income students, many of whom are immigrants or children of immigrants. This means that higher education institutions will need to think about revising the way that they educate students for whom Standard English is not a first language or who speak multiple languages fluently, perhaps going so far as to offer services and support in other languages and acknowledging dialects spoken by urban and rural students who may not have attended school in large numbers previously. Though colleges in the United States have long included students from diverse language backgrounds, American schools have sadly lacked sufficient support for these students, many of whom leave school before graduating (White & Ali-Khan, 2013). This is a blemish on the face of American higher education given that other countries have long made attempts to educate students in multiple languages (Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009; Choi, 2013; Thije & Zeevaert, 2007). Administrators at American universities will need to rethink ways to incorporate common languages like Spanish, as well as non-standard dialects like Ebonics, if a diverse body of students is to be graduated and retained.

The United States is not the first nation to face the problem of accommodating students of diverse language backgrounds, which means that the country is poised to learn from other countries that have taken strides towards this goal. South Africa is one such nation. Having only recently come out of an apartheid system, South Africa has spent the past couple of decades trying to incorporate Black, Coloured, and Indian students[1] who speak English or a variety of

[1] During apartheid, racial classifications defined White as a person who looked White, "but does not include a person who, although in appearance obviously a white person, is generally accepted

native languages into schools that previously served only Whites speaking Afrikaans (Lemon & Battersby-Lennard, 2012; Mwaniki, 2012; Ndhlovu, 2013; Webb, 2012). The transition to inclusion has not been easy, which means that there is a wealth of information available on what has worked and what has not. Schools in South Africa continue to try different language policies. Stellenbosch University is a previously Afrikaans campus that has attempted various models meant to include native languages and English. One of the ways in which they attempt to include students of these linguistic backgrounds is through their language and writing centers, which allow students to choose the language in which they write and communicate, though they are encouraged to become bilingual or multilingual. Only one such multilingual center exists in the United States.

Recently, Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, promoted the opening of what they refer to as a multilingual writing center. This center helps students write in eleven different languages, and most tutors who work there speak at least two languages (Dickinson, 2014). Dickinson's new model has led to a trend of marketing writing centers as multilingual because the tutors who work there can speak multiple languages, even if the only language in which they help students write is English. Currently, most conferences on writing centers include presentations and entire panels on multilingual centers (International Writing Centers Association, 2014). While the goals and operations of such centers are positive, as these labs encourage language development and awareness of diversity, the purposes of creating such centers in the United States are not always what the outside observer might guess. In addition,

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as a coloured person" (Posel, 2001). The classification of "native" was used to describe a person from any aboriginal race or tribe. A Coloured person was anyone who did not fit into the other two categories.

these centers can complicate an already unclear definition of what it means to be a multilingual writing center. Though no clear definition has been set out so far, it seems that currently any center that employs writing tutors who can speak multiple languages can claim to be multilingual regardless of whether tutors actually help students write in languages other than English, or whether tutors talk about Standard English writing in additional languages. By this rather loose definition, many centers can claim to be multilingual without serving the important social justice function of allowing students to communicate in their native tongues. The data presented in this study will help clearly define the traits of a multilingual tutoring center for those who hope to emulate the Stellenbosch University writing lab model.

It may seem surprising that the first multilingual writing center in the United States should spring up in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, a relatively rural town of mostly English speakers. This phenomenon seems more likely to occur in a state with a higher percentage of Spanish speakers. Investigation as to the purpose of the center reveals that the Dickinson multilingual lab was designed with a focus on helping the school's students prepare for study abroad, where they have to write their academic work in another language, instead of being established to help bilingual students write in both their native language and the language of American academia: English. Thus, the purpose of the center is not the social-justice oriented mission that might be implied by the title multilingual writing center. Although the director of this center is promoting diversity (as is the school by sending so many students abroad), this writing center is very different from a multilingual center in a country like South Africa, where the purpose of working in multiple languages is to accommodate previously underrepresented students and spread the use of native languages throughout academia.

Problem Statement

Despite Dickinson's effort to provide student writing support in multiple languages, the vast majority of centers in the United States only support papers written in English or, more specifically, Standard English despite the fact that an increasing number of students attending college speak another language at home. In fact, Cuban scholar Humberto Lopez Morales caused some alarm in the academic community and the population at large by predicting that the United States will be have more Spanish speakers than any other country by 2050 (EFE, 2011). If this is true, it would be impossible for American schools to ignore Spanish as a language of instruction and academic work. Higher education's approach to Spanish will need to be based upon procedures of K-12 institutions, and it seems likely that administrators would at least have to entertain the idea of dual instruction or offering students the option of writing in both languages in certain contexts.

In addition, as more urban students enroll in universities due to increased access, writing centers are seeing more students who write in Ebonics (DeBose, 2006; Rickford, 1997; Salikoko, Rickford, Bailey, & Baugh, 1998; Smitherman, 1986). Currently, most writing centers and composition courses deal with Ebonics by "fixing it" to read like Standard English, implying that the student's home tongue is incorrect (Christensen, 2008; Davila, 2012). This mode of operations cannot continue for long, as eventually administrators, faculty, and students alike will realize that writers deserve help in their home language as well as the language of instruction. At the least, the student's home vernacular can be used explicitly to offer them assistance switching to Standard English, as has been done in a few classrooms already (Christensen, 2008; Rickford, 1997).

There are international writing centers from which American writing centers can learn. In the past decade, South Africa has created bilingual and multilingual writing centers to accommodate students with a variety of home languages. Unlike the United States, which has no national language, South Africa has eleven recognized languages (Mdepa & Tshiwula, 2012), and their government is beginning to see a need to switch from apartheid language policies, which prized English as the language of instruction for privileged White students, to a post-apartheid system that promotes the use of Afrikaans and some of the most popular native languages (Hlatshwayo & Siziba, 2013; Mdepa & Tshiwula, 2012; Mwaniki, 2012; Teferra, 2003). The purposes of these multilingual writing centers are thus very different from a school like Dickinson. Students at universities like University of Stellenbosch and University of Pretoria are given a choice American students do not have; they can choose their language of instruction (within limits) At Stellenbosch specifically, students may choose to do their coursework in Afrikaans, which is a native language for many, or English. Such a choice gives students the freedom to choose which language they feel will benefit them the most in their careers, though most end up fluent in both languages, which is a benefit in and of itself.

Right now there is little understanding in the writing center community as to how multilingual centers abroad function both on a conceptual and practical level, nor is there extensive literature on the use of other languages in settings that offer assistance with composition in general (Matsuda, Lu, & Horner, 2010). The limited research available on multilingual centers is based on schools like Dickinson University, where multilingual has a very different meaning than it does in a country like South Africa. Little literature exists on multilingual centers in countries that offer more than one language of instruction.

Purpose of the Study

This study filled a lacuna in current research regarding multilingual writing centers abroad, as well as to provide a starting point for other schools interested in exploring this issue. Specifically, the purpose of this ethnographic study was to understand the experiences of students and tutors in the multilingual writing center of Stellenbosch University, South Africa. The information gained answered a plethora of questions American writing center directors have when approaching the idea of multilingual services. For one, interviews with the administrators who work in the center shed light on how to hire and train multilingual tutors, as well as how best to allow students to select their preferred language when making an appointment. The experiences conveyed by tutors revealed when and why code-switching should occur in sessions, and whether most tutors find it worthwhile to provide tutoring in multiple tongues. The experiences of students answered the most relevant question a director can ask: is it worth the effort and cost to attempt a multilingual center, or will most students simply use English in their sessions despite the availability of other languages?

The research questions, which were explored through interviews, observations, and artifacts, are; a) what are the experiences of students visiting Stellenbosch University's multilingual writing center, and b) what are the experiences of tutors who work in Stellenbosch's writing center?

Organization of the Study

The next chapter of this study will explore literature that provides context for this ethnography. The reader will be provided with definitions of bilingualism and multilingualism, a brief history of how bi and multilingual students have been treated in education, and information on how these linguistic backgrounds affect learners and those who work with them. This

discussion will also define Creole and Pidgin languages, as Ebonics (also called African American Vernacular), Spanglish (a mix of English and Spanish), and Chinglish (a mix of Chinese and English) can be considered such languages. Specifically, literature on how schools in both the U.S. and abroad accommodate multilingual education will be discussed. To provide greater understanding of how the United States and South Africa are situated within the topic of multilingual education, the literature review will explore the political situations surrounding higher education in each country. In the case of South Africa, this will touch on the history of apartheid.

The theoretical frames of Ubuntu and Developmental Ecology, a theory that explores how students are affected by specific locations and structures in which they exist, are included in the literature review, as these provide the lens through which the interviews conducted with tutors and students will be viewed. Ubuntu, an African concept that dictates how people treat one another, will be applied to provide an understanding of the students' cultural backgrounds and the philosophies with which they live. Finally, literature on writing center theory will be presented.

Chapter 3 will focus on this study's methodology, including an explanation of why ethnography was selected. Site selection will be discussed, and the sample will be described. Information will be given on data collection methods, with attention given to artifacts, field notes, interview protocol, and coding of themes found in the interviews. Researcher perspective will be offered and limitations of the study will be explored. Though the site of Stellenbosch University, located on the Cape of South Africa, will be explored in Chapter 3, the history, politics, and make-up of the university merit a separate chapter. Chapter 4 will provide readers with a comprehensive background of Stellenbosch that will allow them a greater understanding

of the current policies and struggles of this particular university, as well as allow them a window into the past experiences of students, tutors, and directors who supplied the data for this study through interviews and artifacts.

Data analysis will be presented in Chapters 5 and 6, with writing lab themes presented in Chapter 5 and protest themes presented in Chapter 6. Both chapters include quotations from interviews with a variety of student visitors to the language and writing centers and the people who work there. Field notes are incorporated to provide observations about Stellenbosch University itself and about the interactions between tutors, students, and directors observed by the researcher. Analysis of collected data will be revealed in Chapter 7, where prevalent themes will be explored. Finally, Chapter 7 will offer a discussion of how the research findings can be applied to other universities wishing to better support for non-native English speakers and those who speak non-standard dialects at universities in the United States.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The history of education in both the United States and South Africa is a history of both oppression and empowerment, and a multilingual writing center in either country cannot be divorced from this context. Faculty and administrators wield the power to offer students a way to improve not only their own lives but also the lives of their families and communities. Yet too often, universities have marginalized certain populations by not taking measures to include them. This is in part why campuses across the world are seeing students protest their policies. This literature review will explore the role that writing centers specifically can play in social justice by allowing bilingual and multilingual students to use multiple languages in their tutoring sessions to further the learning process.

To begin, this chapter will explore the connection between higher education and politics. It may seem obvious that the two would be inextricably linked, but it is easy to forget how much of what goes on in universities and colleges is the direct result of governmental policies and public attitudes towards current controversies. Institutions of higher learning in the United States and South Africa have taken rather different approaches to dealing with students who have been marginalized as a result of political conflict, and understanding their current modes of operation necessitates an understanding of these political contexts.

Just as the United States and South Africa have dealt with similar political and racial struggles, both continue to deal with the challenges posed by having multilingual students in the classroom. This literature review will explore the linguistic climate of both countries as well as how languages have been and are currently incorporated in the school system. Language planning will be discussed, as will discrimination based on language in both the United States and South Africa.

The literature review will conclude with specific information about writing centers, exploring the theories that govern current center operations, as well as how writing centers can be used to either elevate or further oppress minority students. Attention will be given to the significant differences between how South African and American universities accommodate with students from different language backgrounds, including native languages in South Africa and non-standard English dialects in the United States. Specific attention will be paid to Ebonics: one of the most common non-standard dialects in America.

Politics and Education

Institutions of higher education can at times be portrayed by those outside their walls as isolated bubbles full of people far removed from the pressures and realities of the world (Reynolds, 2014). Since their inception, popular media has portrayed colleges as glamorous havens for self-exploration, though not necessarily places for serious academic work (Byers, 2005; Keroes, 2005). Nonetheless, today's universities, especially those tied to public funds, are subject to political pressure. It is within a school's best interest to conform to current political viewpoints and pressures, as doing otherwise could limit its funding. Politics can in fact influence not only what is taught but also how it is taught, by whom, and for whom. This is true in both the United States and South Africa, where universities have been linked with the political

climates of their home countries since their beginnings. Colleges are under increased pressure right now to promote certain fields and graduate students who will go on to take in-demand, high-paying jobs. The university's funding may be linked to job placement rates as well as to retention and completion. The dramatic increase in tuition costs has also put higher education in the public eye, as parents and students demand to know why obtaining a degree is so expensive. For this reason, universities are finding it necessary to share information like salaries, costs of athletics programs, and information regarding donations and public monies. If they are not transparent, the public and the media may question their operations, and if the university is too heavily scrutinized, students may choose to go elsewhere given that so many options for both traditional and online colleges exist.

Politics in American Higher Education

American institutions of higher education have been guilty of discrimination based on race, socio-economic status, gender, sexual orientation, religion, culture, physical ability, and language (Anderson, 1988; Perkins, 1997; Rudolph, 1990; Solomon, 1985; Thelin, 2011). Many of these inequalities were the direct result of laws, such as the historic Jim Crow. Thus far, measures like No Child Left Behind that were put in place on a national scale to close achievement gaps have been ineffective (Rowley & Wright, 2011). Others inequalities are the result of political or social issues. For example, since the attacks of September 11, Muslim students have been subject to discrimination on college campuses in a way that is representative of the intense scrutiny placed upon them by society in general. Though college campuses may be more liberal and tolerant than many other settings, the dangerous generalization that all Muslims are terrorists, or at least of questionable morals, leaks into even this environment (Hopkins, 2011). For example, currently there is much debate in the United States over immigration,

particularly of Hispanic and Latino people. This directly influences many people's feelings towards Spanish speakers-even those who have lived in the United States for a long time. This can often display itself in unwillingness on the part of schools to provide scaffolding when teaching English to students whose native language is Spanish so as to equip them with the skills they need for a successful American education (Field, 2011). Additionally, *No Child Left Behind* can harm these students because of its focus on short-term, measurable goals, which do not take into consideration the time or talent it takes for students to translate their thoughts and convey them in English (Souto-Manning, 2013). Language skills develop over a long period of time and are not currently prioritized in our school systems (Field, 2011).

Despite the marginalization of students whose native language is Spanish, many English-speaking American students elect to take Spanish as a foreign language in middle or high school because it is such a popular language abroad. Those who successfully learn Spanish as a second language are highly marketable, even though bilingual students of color may have a difficult time finding work because of prejudices against their cultures (Field, 2011; Greusz, 2013). This disconnect between those who speak Spanish as a native tongue and those who learn it as a second language to advance their careers and educations is symptomatic of the way that cultural biases and prejudices affect students of diverse language backgrounds in our schools.

Politics in South African Higher Education

Although most traditionally aged American students do not remember schools being legally segregated by race, those attending school in South Africa were born just as formal segregation was ending (Subotzky, 2003). Some will argue that we in America enjoy a "post-racial" society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012), but South Africa struggles with the wounds inflicted all too recently by apartheid. Like America's Jim Crow laws, apartheid was a political

and legal measure put in place to separate the races, purportedly allowing education for all, but on entirely unequal terms (Lemon & Battersby-Lennard, 2009; Mdepa & Tshiswula, 2012; Subotzky, 2003). In South Africa, students were divided into four racial categories: White, Black, Coloured, and Indian. The term *coloured* refers to students of mixed race (Botma, 2012). This often vague racial classification determined what university a student was allowed to attend (Mdepa & Tshiswula, 2012). Schools were also segregated by language, with English being the primary tongue of instruction for White students receiving an education that would prepare them for the most lucrative careers in a global economy and students of color completing their academic work in the native languages, which were considered only suitable for blue-collar positions in the local region (Kanana, 2013).

Though apartheid did not formally begin until the National Party's rise to power in the late 1940s, the segregation of higher education in South Africa began much earlier, in the 1800s, due to conflict between the British and Boer Afrikaans. At this time, higher education was a privilege only accessible to Whites (Mwaniki, 2012). This led to the founding of historically White and historically Black institutions, some of which worked in English and others in Afrikaans, the language of most Black South Africans and many Whites of Dutch descent (Subotzky, 2003). Though a few universities fought against segregation, apartheid did not officially end until the 1990s, which means that colleges have had only a couple decades to try and reposition themselves in such a manner as to educate the entire population instead of just a subset of it. This has led to racial and linguistic tensions and a surge of violence in the past several years (Beukes, 2012). Although most South African universities include in their mission statements the task of connecting their country to the rest of African culture, they must also prepare students to work in an international and intercontinental setting that includes English and

many European languages that are crucial to business (Bawa, 2012). These schools must thus include native languages and the languages of international business in their curriculum, which presents challenges.

Multilingualism

Multilingualism is defined as when a speaker can use three or more languages, though this definition does not imply that the speaker can use them all with equal or almost equal proficiency (Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009). Similarly, bilingualism is understood as when a speaker can use two languages (Baker, 2011). Both the United States and South Africa are home to many multilingual and bilingual speakers. Nonetheless, not all languages are treated equally in business and higher education, and those who speak certain languages are often shunned by those who make up the language majority. Current political situations often dictate which languages are prioritized. For example, Arabic speakers in the United States may be treated with distrust and disdain in the United States because of political conflicts at the same time that languages like French and German, which are not among the most commonly spoken world languages, are favored in high schools because of positive relationships with these European countries.

Even though South Africa is home to a wide variety of languages, languages like English and Dutch are often still prized over native tongues like isiXhosa, with parents preferring to send their children to school with instruction in English or Dutch rather than a native language (Hlatshwayo & Siziba, 2013; Kanana, 2013; Lemon & Battersby-Lennard, 2009). In both countries, one finds conflicting viewpoints over whether it is beneficial for a young person to grow up speaking multiple languages. It is also generally recognized that students who use English, or Afrikaans in the case of South Africa, have an advantage over students who speak a

native language at home. Though the multilingual student may become quite comfortable speaking and writing in English, those from a native language background may have difficulty picking up on subtle writing techniques like irony or metaphor (Bester, 2012). One should thus not assume that using the term multilingual in reference to a student means that he or she can use all his or her languages perfectly (Baker, 2011).

Multilingualism and the Individual

Many bilingual and multilingual students in both the United States and South Africa are "consequential" bi-or multilinguals, meaning that they did not intentionally seek to learn a second or third language; they learned it of necessity (Baker, 2011). Perhaps their parents speak one language at home, most of their community speaks a second language, and their formal education takes place in a third language. On the other hand, some students are bilingual or multilingual because their parents or schools engaged in status planning, which means that they taught their children or students languages simply so that they would have an advantage in the business world (Baker, 2011). The bilingual or multilingual student may use his or her languages in different contexts. Fisher and Lapp (2013) pointed out that there are multiple language types, including formal (language used for professional writing and in formal settings), intimate (the language used between close friends and family members), consultative (the type of language found in classrooms and work settings, though it is not as formal as the language used for writing and is thus mainly spoken), casual (used between acquaintances in informal settings), and fixed, which is unchanging and associated with published or memorized texts like the Pledge of Allegiance or prayers (Fisher & Lapp, 2013). Students may use English in their formal and consultative language settings, Spanish with their family, and Spanglish in casual speech. In addition, students may code switch, or flip between their languages, within one conversation.

Speakers may also switch languages based upon their audiences. Scholars who apply social-interaction identity theory to multilingual students see this as an effort to maintain relationships with different groups of people (Mantero, 2007).

To students who grew up monolingual and attempted to learn a second language later in a classroom, growing up speaking multiple languages would very likely seem like an immense advantage. Nonetheless, there has been considerable debate regarding whether growing up with more than one tongue is an advantage or a disadvantage. Debate regarding this topic persists, with studies being conducted on the reading, writing, and speaking skills of multi-and bilingual students (Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009; DeSousa, 2012). Historically, bilingualism was seen as negative, as children who spoke multiple languages were seen as having split identities. They were assumed to be outsiders who would not fit in with any culture. Psychoanalysts were so fascinated by multilingual people that in the 1940s, after an influx of immigrants moved to the United States and United Kingdom as a result of World War II, they studied them intently with the aim of determining how their language abilities altered their personalities (Pavlenko, 2005).

Although psychologists were historically concerned with the effect of speaking multiple languages on identity formation and social inclusion, some linguists have another concern about children growing up with multiple languages; they fear that some languages will be lost and allowed to die because children of their cultures are learning more dominant languages like English (Rooy, 2013). Though language death is a disturbing issue, many studies reveal that, instead of eventually shedding one language, multilingual speakers simply learn to code-switch, using whichever language is most convenient in a particular setting or conversation. They may switch depending on their audience, or, if speaking with another multilingual person, they may switch languages mid conversation based on which vocabulary best expresses an idea or feeling

(Baker, 2011; Myers-Scotton, 2006; Rooy, 2013). Code switching occurs both in the United States and in South Africa, as students speak another language or a non-standard dialect at home but realize that the language of academia is English or (in the case of South Africa) Afrikaans.

Like all countries, the governments of both the United States and South Africa engage in language planning. The specifics of how each nation has planned its language use will be explored in the following sections, but it is important to note that there are three central components of language planning: status planning takes place when a society determines which language or languages will be used by the government and in schools, corpus planning standardizes the language/s, and acquisition planning determines who will learn which languages and when, how, and where that learning will take place (McCarty & Warhol, 2011).

Multilingualism in the United States

Though English is the language most closely associated with the United States, it is important to remember that America does not have an official national language. The founding fathers could have adopted a national language-and were in fact pressured to do so by many prominent individual-including Benjamin Franklin, who feared competition from the German language, however they consciously choose not to take this action. This is likely in large part because Creole tongues were crucial to trade at that time (Matsuda, Lu, & Horner, 2010). It was not until the publication of Johnson's dictionary in the 1700s that Standard English rose to linguistic dominance, leading to a stigma against dialects that had previously been acceptable (Matsuda et al., 2010). Perhaps uniquely, corpus planning took place before a significant amount of status planning had been completed (McCarty & Warhol, 2011). Though they would not make English official, the federal government did show a willingness to get involved in language issues with the Muhlenburg vote of 1795, in which settlers petitioned the government to start

publishing official documents in German and were denied by a slim voting margin (Matusda et al., 2010). By involving themselves in linguistic affairs in this way, the government took a step in status planning and ensured that the government and schools would operate primarily in English. Despite this acknowledgment, the idea of making English the sole official language has been proposed many times throughout United States history, but each time this decision has been struck down on a national level (Ogawa, 2011).

Nonetheless, some individual towns have made attempts to adopt English as the official language of government publications. In towns like Thurmont, Maryland, this has created controversy because it means that documents such as court orders, bank contracts, and leases need only be supplied in English. Thurmont has an increasing Spanish speaking population, and these residents would be forced to sign important documents in English, possibly without even understanding what they are signing, as many are low income workers and cannot afford translation services. All of this is part of a general language panic that sees monolingual English speakers threatened by an influx of populations that do not speak English as their primary language. This panic leads to so-called “English Protection” laws like those attempted by Thurmont, Maryland (Greusz, 2013). Though so far attempts to make English the sole official language of the United States have been unsuccessful, more than half of the states now use it as their exclusive official language, prompting some writing-oriented organizations like the Conference on College Composition and Communication (CCCC) to issue statements regarding the danger and unconstitutional nature of such policies (CCCC Guideline on the National Language Policy, 2015).

Despite efforts by towns like Thurmont to deter speakers of languages other than English from moving to their areas, most school systems in the United States exist in places with no

official language policy. Nonetheless, in the vast majority of the country's public schools and universities, English is the only language of instruction outside of specific language classes. Though there is an increasing amount of interest in multilingualism, this interest appears to be mainly in educating American students in other languages so that they can travel and be competitive in an international market. The interest is less about incorporating minority students of multilingual backgrounds (Field, 2011). Many schools, with the exception of those on the coasts or in Texas, seem to have few teachers who speak languages other than English fluently. Those who are multilingual or bilingual teach foreign language courses, so there is not much opportunity for students who speak multiple languages to use all of them in their school work. This is despite the fact that schools do not generally have English-only policies. Though there are no rules against languages other than English, they tend not to be used outside of foreign language classrooms.

Though the majority of the population of the United States speaks English, there are a variety of languages spoken in households across the nation. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the most common language besides English spoken in American households is Spanish, which has seen over a 210% percent increase in usage since 1980 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). The number of people speaking Chinese at home has risen even more (over 290%) though the total number of Chinese speakers is still significantly less than those conversing in Spanish in the daily lives. Aside from Spanish, all the languages commonly taught in high schools (German, Italian, and French) have seen minimal increases, and more often than not decreases, in the percentage of households using them at home (see appendix A). However, languages like Russian, Vietnamese, and Tagalog are seeing huge growth (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011).

In addition, while certain parts of the country like the Midwest used to be home to only a small percentage of immigrant, non-native English speakers, many immigrants are now moving to these areas. Not only are they choosing to settle in areas that were primarily overwhelmingly English-speaking, because poverty rates are falling among immigrants, they are sending their children (and themselves) to school in these areas (Preto-Bay & Hansen, 2006). Thus it is not just colleges on the coasts that now see a large number of bilingual, multilingual, and non-native speakers in the classroom. This begs the question of why we continue to educate our K-12 students in languages that are becoming less useful here in the United States while ignoring or deprioritizing those languages seeing the largest growth.

Admittedly, there are far too many languages currently being spoken in the United States for schools to incorporate all of them into the K-12 or university classroom. Because of the plethora of languages available and the difficulty of incorporating all of them, students have for decades been expected to simply assimilate by immersion. This method of teaching (or asking students to teach themselves) English is based on the equal opportunity language ideology, which states that any student can succeed in a language if they put enough effort into learning the standard version of the preferred tongue (Siegel, 2006). This particular ideology sees monolingualism as the norm and would not allow for the mixing of languages that occurs in Spanglish (a fusion of English and Spanish that will be explored in a later section) or Chinglish, a mix of Chinese and English. Thankfully, this rather outdated and restrictive ideology is slowly being replaced by the awareness approach, which draws attention to the differences in dialects through open conversation (Siegel, 2006). This is the method currently in use by those teachers and professors who talk to students about the grammatical structures of Ebonics, or by those who practice code-switching with their bilingual or multilingual students. The shift in the way

language is being dealt with in the classroom is indicative of acquisition planning, though American schools have often not formalized or documented these plans in the way that South African schools have (McCarty & Warhol, 2011). The awareness approach to language seems reflective of the methods being used at multilingual universities like Stellenbosch, where having multiple language of instruction should necessitate open conversation about the uses of each language and the differences between them.

While there have been many attempts to include students from bilingual or multilingual backgrounds into composition, language arts, and English classes at all levels of education, these classrooms are often not suited to bilingual students who were actually born in the United States, instead catering their instruction to international students. Generally, courses on English grammar and usage focus on teaching the rules of sentence construction as if it is entirely new information. There is no comparison between the structure of English and other languages or dialects (such as Ebonics) that would allow students to place sentences in both their languages next to one another in order to dissect the structures of each. In addition, these classrooms tend to separate the uses of each language instead of allowing students to mesh and interweave their languages (Matsuda et al., 2010). Furthermore, it is noted that even when English is taught alongside another language, priority is almost always given to English (Byrnes, 2011). In fact, when administrators and faculty label students based on language ability, they measure in relation to English. Some scholars argue that our propensity for labeling students based on their language use is a problem in and of itself, as it leads to linguistic containment, where teachers educate students differently based on whether the student is labeled ESL, bilingual, first language, second language, English with difficulty, native speaker, or multilingual. Often these labels do not even accurately reflect the unique situation of the student (Matsuda et al., 2010;

Preto-Bay & Hansen, 2006). For example, a student whose parents speak Japanese, but who was born in the United States and sent to a dual-language Spanish and English daycare, who can speak conversational English with fluency, but who struggles with professional English, would be very difficult to classify. It would be a disadvantage to place the student in an ESL classroom, yet the student may struggle if placed with a teacher that assumed he or she should write the same way as native English speakers.

Spanish and Spanglish. Roughly 12% of America's population speaks primarily Spanish. This figure excludes bilingual people who can speak English and Spanish equally well (Field, 2011). Too often, these students who hear Spanish at home and may have little experience with English can only attend K-12 schools where English is the only language of instruction and simply expected to pick it up. Though some schools use dual-immersion models, where native English speaking students learn Spanish and Spanish-speaking students learn English, these designs are generally implemented only in states with extremely high percentages of immigrant students (Ogawa, 2011; Valdez, 2002). Higher education does not use such models because it is assumed that students entering college have already mastered English, though they may offer tutoring or other special programs to allow students to catch up on their language skills.

Many students of Spanish speaking parents who were born in the United States speak Spanglish, a mixture of English and Spanish that pulls vocabulary from both languages. Unlike Ebonics, Spanglish does not have a firmly set grammatical structure. Instead, it varies distinctly by community and, as a living language, it is always evolving and changing (Matsuda et al., 2010). Spanglish is such a complicated phenomenon that linguists still have not definitively agreed upon what it is: a Pidgin language, a Creole, or a dialect (Matsuda et al., 2010). A pidgin language has elements of both languages being mixed, but generally has a simpler grammatical

structure and fewer vocabulary words than either language (Rickford, 1997). It could be argued that Spanglish and Chinglish are both at the Pidgin stage. Over time, a Pidgin language will eventually solidify in structure and add more vocabulary words. Once it is formalized and its rules become consistent and predictable, it becomes a Creole.

Spanish is in fact not the only language currently being mixed with English in such a loose and practical way; a recent article in Wired magazine spoke to the rise of Chinglish, used by a Chinese population that studies English extensively for business (Erard, 2008; Matsuda et al., 2010). Although many teachers and professors may see this mixing of language as negative, these combinations reflect important changes in our global society, leading some scholars to believe that it is more important for composition instructors (and thus writing centers) to help students move between languages than to force Standard English upon them (Canagarajah, 2011; Matsuda et al., 2010). This seems to be one of the goals of Stellenbosch University's writing centers: to help students use all the languages at their disposal and to learn how to switch between them depending on audience and purpose. This is indeed a useful skill, as students write for a variety of audiences, in a variety of settings both formal and informal. The ability to determine when to use each language and in what way is not intuitive, and both writing tutors and students could learn by exploring these issues together.

Ebonics. Though America has a long way to go in incorporating foreign languages into formal education, there is an even further distance to travel in regards to including non-standard dialects of English like Ebonics, or African American vernacular . This dialect, frequently spoken by urban Black students, divided linguists and the public in the 1990s, when the Oakland school district in California decided to acknowledge its existence in K-12 education (Rickford, 1997). This controversial decision called into question laws that stated that funds set aside for

limited-English students could not be used for speakers of Ebonics (Jackson, 1997). The decision and the disagreements that followed also underline how difficult it is for Americans to agree on acquisition planning. This is likely in part because of the stigma attached to Ebonics or African American vernacular.

Although many members of the general public see Ebonics as slang or the product of laziness, many linguists acknowledge it as a Creole language, which is formed when people are forced to communicate and do not have a common language. In the case of Ebonics, Black slaves were forced to interact with English speakers in America and thus developed a Pidgin language (Smitherman, 1986). This theory that Ebonics is a Creole language is supported by the fact that Ebonics follows set grammatical rules (Debose, 2006; Rickford, 1997; Smitherman, 1986). Though some teachers advocate talking about the differences between Creole and Pidgin versions of English and Standard English in the classroom in order to scaffold the linguistic knowledge of students and open up a conversation about how language works, most simply ignore this dialect (Christensen, 2008).

Even those teachers who do use Ebonics in the classroom to help students understand the difference between the dialect and Standard English rarely delve into the history or formation of Ebonics, despite the fact that an estimated 90% of African-American students can speak the dialect to at least some extent (Matsuda et al., 2010). These students thus live with a permanent gap in not only their linguistic knowledge, but with a lack of information about their ancestry and culture. Many teachers and professors grade harshly on grammar, which in turn disadvantages students who are still learning to switch between their home dialect and Standard English. Some scholars thus argue that not only should students be taught the history of dialects like Ebonics, Spanglish, or Chinglish that exist in their local area, they should also have frank

discussions about how different dialects are prized and elevated, and they should be allowed to voice their own experiences with language. This would lead to a critical awareness language ideology that would ideally replace the previous equal opportunity and current critical awareness ideologies (Perez, 2000; Siegel, 2006).

Because multilingualism and bilingualism is not well supported in K-12 schools across the country, institutions of higher education face the challenge of trying to allow students to use all of their languages once they have already been trained to write and speak primarily in Standard English, even if they cannot do so as competently as their teachers might like. Even though it is difficult to challenge the perception that there is one correct language for academia once a student is already an adult, this is a worthwhile challenge that writing centers are in a good place to embrace. Because a writing center is not a formal writing environment where students are actively being graded, writing tutors are at liberty to explore issues of language with a student and to have conversations about when and how to use different languages or dialects. It is a space where students can experiment with combining languages and test out different linguistic ideas without fear of punishment. Lastly, the writing center provides a place for students to ask questions about when and how to code-switch that they might be too embarrassed or shy to ask in the composition classroom because of the common assumption that students already know how and when to use Standard English when they arrive at college. Universities like Stellenbosch have seemingly already realized the potential for writing centers as spaces that are conducive to multilingualism, and many of their ideas can translate to American writing centers.

Multilingualism in South Africa

Currently, South Africa claims 11 official languages, with nine being African and two being the language of former colonizers (Mdepa & Tshiwula, 2012). The official languages of South Africa were determined in the status planning stage of the country's language planning, which has been revisited many times before and after apartheid. Currently, many Whites and Blacks speak English, those Whites of Dutch descent speak Afrikaans or Dutch, and at home Blacks speak Afrikaans (which has strong ties to Dutch and French), English, or one of the many native languages like isiXhosa or Xhosa (Bradlow, 2008). At the end of the 1900s, roughly half the population of South Africa felt most comfortable speaking in Afrikaans, though recently the number of Xhosa numbers has increased (Lemon & Battersby-Lennard, 2009), possibly because of language policies put in place to protect native languages, and possibly because some institutions are beginning to encourage the use of languages other than English in education (Stellenbosch University, 2013). However, universities that strive to accommodate multiple languages are still fairly rare.

Many schools did not change their language policies after the end of colonial rule despite the Constitution of the Republic, which states that those from all language backgrounds should have an opportunity to be educated (Kanana, 2013; Mdepa & Tshiwula, 2012). Some took part in acquisition planning and drafted documents outlining how and when their universities would use various language, including whether they would use dual or parallel medium instruction (discussed in a later section) and setting out a timeline for when shifts in language use would occur. However, universities like Stellenbosch have found it necessary to change or revise these policies after various failures (Botman, 2009). These policies will be discussed in Chapter 4. Naturally it would be difficult for a school in a country like South Africa to draft one language

policy and adhere to it strictly, as language shift can be very unpredictable depending on the population and how intensely people in the area wish to maintain their native languages (Paulston, 1994). It is because of this desire to maintain native languages that some South African universities are beginning to incorporate isiXhosa into the institution by promoting its use as an academic language and creating the scientific terminology that the language currently lacks (Botman, 2006a).

Because of the complex language situation in South Africa, universities now find themselves faced with the pressure to operate in multiple languages. While campuses like Stellenbosch University and University of Pretoria work simultaneously in Afrikaans and English, an increasing amount of attention is being given to native languages. Schools like Stellenbosch are adding language centers in order to promote multilingual instruction (Stellenbosch University, 2013). This is in part an effort to prevent language shifts that would endanger native tongues like isiXhosa, which could be overshadowed by English and Afrikaans. Attention must also be paid to the fact that, just as there are many dialects of English, there are also dialects of Afrikaans. Students who are fluent in Afrikaans may speak a dialog that is not considered acceptable in the classroom (Botma, 2012). Aside from dealing with a plethora of languages, universities must also deal with Creoles and dialects.

Even recently, parents and students alike expressed a preference for having academic work and instruction take place in English (Lemon & Battersby-Lennard, 2009; Mwaniki, 2012). This preference may be because students and parents feel that their native languages do not adequately prepare them to be competitive in a global society, but it could also be because they still experience injustice based on their home language (Choi, 2013). Students whose home language is English also prefer to maintain the advantage they perceive themselves as having

when their instruction takes place solely in English (Seabi, Seedat, Khosa-Shangase, & Sullivan, 2014). The preference for English instruction would naturally put students with a native language as their home tongue at a disadvantage. Nonetheless, if students are only willing to be taught in their native language if they will learn the same global skills they might learn in English, faculty members may be more supportive of multilingual education (Fortanet-Gomez, 2012; Hlatshwayo & Siziba, 2013). Administrators and politicians may even be more open to the idea of multilingual education than students and parents if numerous new language policies are any indication.

Language policies can be put in place to either limit or help extend the use of particular languages. These policies may be supported by the opening of multilingual or bilingual schools, as was the case in Guatemala. The government feared that the Mayan language would be lost if students continued to study in Spanish, and bilingual schools were opened to encourage the revitalization of Mayan (Choi, 2013). Many schools in South Africa drafted their own language policies after the end of apartheid in response to the Constitution's statement that students should be allowed to pursue education in their native tongue to advance their education (Mdepa & Tshiwula, 2012; Ndhlovu, 2013). The lack of a cohesive language policy that encompasses all South African schools can be seen as prohibitive to social justice, as many institutions choose to carry on instruction in only one language (Mwaniki, 2012). Choosing a monolingual model denies students the chance to be productive multilingual citizens (Ndhlovu, 2013). Many countries in Africa find themselves in positions where, after political turmoil, they must now adjust their education systems to meet the social justice needs of their populations. Some scholars argue that these countries are similar enough to learn from one another (Orwenjo, 2012).

By reading literature produced around the world, administrators can easily learn that a multilingual education benefits students. Students who can learn in their native language while being taught a global language like English or French can become better global citizens while maintaining their own culture, which is expressed in large part by language (Baker, 2011; Hlatshwayo & Siziba, 2013; Kanana, 2013). Of course, when a university decides to offer instruction in multiple languages, it must also offer multilingual support services. Many bilingual students are stronger in one language than another, even if they grew up hearing both (Baker, 2011). However, with practice, bilingualism can have positive effects on reading comprehension in both languages (De Sousa, 2012). A writing center is one support service on campus that can help students develop their expertise in reading and writing, hence it is important that a multilingual university have a multilingual writing center.

Developmental Ecology and Organizational Culture

Though the missions of writing centers can be very similar to those of writing programs and composition classes, centers are known for having their own distinct cultures. Every individual workplace, including a student support service, has an organizational culture (Kuh, 1998). The organizational culture governs how employees treat one another, the rituals of the workplace, and the symbols associated with that organization. The organizational culture of Stellenbosch's language and writing centers will be examined in more depth in Chapter 4. The center, with its distinct organizational culture, also provides a microsystem for students who work there or who use it for assistance. This microsystem provides both opportunities and hurdles for the development of the student (Evans, Forney, Guido, Patton, & Renn, 2010). A microsystem is defined as "a pattern of activities, roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given face-to-face setting with particular physical, social, and

symbolic features that invite, permit, or inhibit engagement in sustained, progressively more complex interactions with, and activity in, the immediate environment" (Evans et al., 2010, p. 163). Though the theory of developmental ecology was created based on small children, its developer has acknowledged that people continue to develop through the outlined systems well into adulthood (Bronfenbrenner, 2000). As Bronfenbrenner (1977) noted, many types of activities can take place in a microcosm including educational activities, work functions, and social activities. Indeed, in a writing center, all of these take place simultaneously.

The space of the center itself is also important because it is a human environment, made up of both physical features and the people who populate it. Those who direct student learning centers must pay special attention to the space, as different spaces will attract and retain different types of people. It will be important for directors to attract tutors who are energetic, loyal, and consistent. Similarly, the space is important for students who use it (Strange & Banning, 2001). The physical layout of a writing center sets the tone for what a student can expect there. A center with cubicles that each contains a computer and a chair would indicate that the student will sit and work while a tutor circulates around the room, helping as needed. A space with many circular tables, each with multiple chairs around it would indicate a social environment where the student might expect group tutoring. A space with modular, mobile furniture would indicate a flexible environment that can change based on needs at the moment. The physical space of Stellenbosch University's writing center will be explored extensively in Chapter 4, as it is important to gain an understanding of the message that the center's administrators send to student visitors and tutors by the way they arrange and decorate the rooms of the writing lab.

Within the space of the language and writing centers, tutors play various roles. They are employees, students, mentors, peers, assistants, teachers, researchers, friends, and colleagues.

They perform these roles within a setting that has its own specific policies and social norms (Strange & Banning, 2001). These policies and norms tend the give the tutor and student a great deal of freedom in developing their individual identities, though they also restrict certain types of behaviors and relationships that would harm the reputation and function of the center. This study will offer insight into how the tutors and students interact and develop within the context of this particular microsystem.

In addition to an exploration of the writing center microsystem, this study will also discuss the mesosystems of Stellenbosch University, which may be conducive or detrimental to student development, or which may hinder it. In Bronfenbrenner's (1977) view, the mesosystem "comprises the interrelations among two or more settings in which the developing person becomes an active participant" (p. 208). In this study, the university itself acts as a mesosystem, bringing together a variety of settings like residence halls, the writing center, classroom spaces, and activity centers in which students can develop.

The exosystem, which "does not itself contain a developing person, but in which events occur that affect the setting containing the person" (Bronfenbrenner, 1977) includes the administrative offices of Stellenbosch University, as well as a variety of locations around the Stellenbosch and Cape Town area, including prominent businesses that may affect the community. All of these places affect students, though not directly. The policies and politics of the university may not be made explicitly clear to students, but they do affect their individual microsystems. In fact, the microsystem of the language and writing center will feel the impact of decisions made by administration regarding language policy very strongly, despite the fact that students are not privy to those decision make processes. Finally, the study explores the over-

arching system of South Africa as politics and issues of social justice affect institutions like Stellenbosch and students who attend them (Evans et al., 2010).

Social Justice

As noted, each microsystem has its own culture. Inherent in the culture of most writing centers are the ideas of acceptance, inclusion, and social justice. As the International Writing Centers Association (IWCA, 2015) noted, it is important for tutors in a center to reflect the demographics of the university. This idea is also important in critical race theory, which notes that students from underrepresented groups need to see others like themselves succeeding (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Lynn & Dixson, 2013). Critical race theory shares many of the same tenets as social justice theory, which is unfortunately not always clearly defined. In fact, scholars in the field of critical race theory openly discuss the fact that there is no agreed upon definition of social justice in literature on education (Lynn & Dixson, 2013). Perhaps the most commonly accepted general idea of what social justice means was presented by Rawls (1972), who contended that everyone in a society needs equal access not only to resources, but to the ability to succeed. This sentiment is also echoed by Freire (2000), who agreed that social justice means fighting for those who have been systematically repressed in order to provide opportunities for them to break the cycle of oppression and succeed.

Because writing centers work individually with students from all background, most centers make efforts to allow students to express themselves through their writing because culture and language are inextricably linked (Clinton & Higbee, 2011; Mwaniki, 2012). In composition courses that rely on a banking education model to tell students how to write correctly and expect them to thus write to academic standards, students have noted that they find themselves simply mimicking the language used by their instructors instead of truly learning it

and using it as a tool to express their own ideas creatively (Freire, 2000; Kurtyka, 2010). These classrooms rely upon the assumption that Standard English is somehow naturally superior to all other forms of writing and that being an American in an American school means speaking only English; this creates linguistic privilege (Gallagher-Geursten, 2007).

Because they work individually with students and have lengthy discussions about why students write in their particular voices, tutors are well positioned to question Standard English as the norm; however, many do not. This is likely because many tutors themselves come from a place of language privilege, which has allowed them to excel enough in their skills to be hired as writing tutors. Even if this is not the case, it is often the assumption of the tutee visiting the writing center that the tutor must be naturally linguistically superior because of his or her position. This creates an inherently unbalanced power dynamic within the session. Though most tutors do not like to acknowledge that they have the power to entirely shift the way a student uses language, the reality is that they do (Carino, 2003). The students visit the tutors asking to be told how to write like the tutors themselves would, and thus an opportunity to discuss social justice as it pertains to language is often lost when tutors succumb to this wish and help the students transform their writing into Standard English.

The organization that influences the most writing centers in the United States, the IWCA, is well aware of the links between writing center work and social justice. In fact, the association includes a statement on racism, anti-immigration, and linguistic intolerance. This statement is a response to laws that were passed in several states that sought to exclude speakers of English as a second language. The association explicitly stated in its document that this type of exclusions is unacceptable and that writing centers and labs should be places where diversity of all types is celebrated. The document closes by not only urging lawmakers to repeal racist measures. In

addition, the authors encourage writing centers to try and foster conversations about linguistic and racial diversity within their boundaries. It also states plainly that the work of writing centers is the work of social justice (IWCA, 2010).

Ubuntu

Because the focus of this research is on a South African writing center, it is also important to apply distinctly South African theories of learning and living to the setting. Much of South Africa's education and legal policies are influenced by the theory of Ubuntu, which is very prevalent in that region. Ubuntu is based on the philosophy that it is relationships with other people that allow a person to discover his or her own humanity (Broodryk, 2002; Vervliet, 2009; Villa-Vicencio, 2009). Ubuntu goes beyond philosophy and is also considered a livable experience that governs the way people act towards one another. Examples of people who lived by the rules of Ubuntu are Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela (Berg, 2013). Ubuntu is such a prevalent way of life in South Africa that it is incorporated both into schools and into the nation's constitution (Bennett, 2012; Gade, 2012; Villa-Vicencio, 2009). Not only is Ubuntu part of the legal structure of South Africa, it is also incorporated into business practices. It shows in organizations that value their people over material wealth and that allow their staff at all levels to take part in sharing and leadership (Malunga, 2009). This idea would translate to institutions of higher education as well.

While Ubuntu sounds like a positive philosophy steeped in the idea of peace and inclusion, some scholars note that it is problematic in practice. Though Ubuntu is generally about inclusion, it can at times also be used to exclude those who are not Black Africans (Gade, 2012). More commonly, scholars criticize Ubuntu because it is steeped in ancestral heritage and can cling to outdated traditional notions. In addition, because of its pacifist implications, it can

encourage citizens to comply with unfair treatment instead of resisting or rebelling (Vervliet, 2009; Villa-Vicencio, 2009). Problematic though it can be in practical settings, the idea of Ubuntu may well explain why South African organizations of higher education are more

Importantly for writing centers, the idea of Ubuntu is in fact closely linked to language. Ubuntu is largely based in and understood through the use of proverbs that express its central themes and tenants (Kamwangamula, 1999; Meylahn, 2010). Though one scholar has argued that the idea of Ubuntu pre-dates language and can thus not be linked to any one particular tongue (Meylahn, 2010), another has argued that the proverbs that form its base come from the Bantu languages, which are exclusive to Africa (Kamwangamula, 1999). Nonetheless, both agree that a philosophy can only be understood through discourse about that philosophy, and in that way Ubuntu and the language used to describe it are inextricable (Kamwangamula, 1999; Meylahn, 2010). This means that, in a university setting, the ability for students to write about their philosophy in their native language and the language of academia would be extremely important.

Language and Power

In discussing multilingualism, it is impossible to ignore the link between language and power. As has been mentioned previously, entire groups of people have been discriminated against in numerous countries simply based on their native tongue. Entire groups can be isolated and kept from holding the best jobs in a community based on their language, especially in countries where there is one standard language that is evaluated by strict rules, as is the case with Standard English in America (Milroy, 2001). This ability to prize particular languages over others because of who speaks them leads one scholar to refer to language as a “technology of control” (Thurlow, 2011, p. 232). It is also crucial to note that the inextricable link between language and culture influences the way students make decisions in their own languages. As

Norment (1995) stated, “When writers shape their discourse, they are making choices by applying certain expected sets of rhetorical, linguistic, cultural and grammatical criteria to their writing” (p. 558). The way that a student writes is firmly grounded in his or her experience with the language within his or her culture, yet the impact of the student’s personal experiences on the way he or she writes is often ignored in the classroom.

Another explanation as to why some languages end up being considered more acceptable than others is social identity theory, which allows people to make sense of their worlds by placing others in groups based on uncontrollable features like ethnicity, race, and home language (Lonsmann, 2014). Stereotypes of certain groups may also be made based on the language they use itself. For example, the volume, tone, and sound of a language can dictate how non-speakers feel about that group. People who speak languages that tend to be delivered in a fairly monotone way can be seen as cold, where dialects with a lot of inflection (like many Irish dialects) may be seen as passionate and emotive (Pavlenko, 2005). Using such arbitrary factors to determine in and out groups both creates and perpetuates current power structures, which serves to keep already oppressed groups down (Seargeant, 2009).

These power dynamics of course make their way into school systems. The selection of which language will be the primary language of instruction is based on power, as this decision almost always privileges the language that has historically held the most prestige in the geographical region of the school (Thije & Zeeveart, 2007). Though schools should serve to promote social justice by including and supporting students of various language backgrounds, this mission is often prohibited by the political history of the area. This has been the case in both the United States and South Africa, where the idea that some languages are more valuable than others is so ingrained that teachers rarely give students who grew up with other native tongues a

fair chance (Mwaniki, 2012; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Schools can make a positive start by offering instruction in multiple languages and by thoughtfully using language planning strategies.

It should of course be noted that not all scholars and professors agree with the theory that multilingualism in higher education is beneficial to students. The most common argument against the use of Ebonics in classes, for example, is that when students graduate, they will be expected to speak and write Standard English in their careers, thus it is a disservice to the student to allow and encourage them to explore alternative dialects when they will not be able to use them in the future. One could also argue that because the majority of the United States is composed of monolingual speakers, being multilingual is simply not prioritized. In fact, many professors feel much the same way the general public seems to: that being American means speaking only English (Gallagher-Geursten, 2007). Because multilingualism is not prioritized, it could be argued that students would be better served by putting their effort into something other than language learning, which is time consuming and possibly not worth the same monetary reward as knowing a mechanical or office skill.

Thankfully, many who work in higher education do understand the benefits of multilingualism. While it is true that students will be expected to write and speak Standard English in their careers in the United States, there are also many opportunities for graduates working in the U.S. to speak other languages, especially if they live in a state with a large minority population, or if they work in specific fields like healthcare or business. In fact, many employers favor applicants that can speak or write multiple languages. Some professors and administrators also recognize that, though the population of the United States is largely multilingual, the number of multilingual speakers is rising. Just as more people are moving to or

traveling to the United States from countries that speak other languages, more American students are traveling abroad, either through school or for work or leisure. Thus, the ability to speak multiple languages is helpful both at home and abroad.

Writing Centers

Writing centers have been inherently linked to language usage on campus since their rise to popularity in the 1970s, when colleges began implementing more open admissions policies (Carino, 1995). Originally, centers focused on tutoring students who were underprepared for the writing they would need to complete in their college courses, though now many centers serve a diverse population of students, including graduate and honors students. Though there is an abundance of possible models for writing centers, also frequently called writing labs, most make use of peer tutors. The use of peer tutors tends to define the social culture of a center, as students often feel more relaxed with a peer than they would feel receiving instruction or assistance from a faculty member or college administrator (Bruffee, 1984).

Despite the fact that most tutors in a writing center are themselves students, it is important to note that student and tutor do not have an entirely equal relationship. Generally the tutor is an upperclassman who may be majoring in a writing-heavy field, while the student may be an underclassman who has not taken as many composition courses or who is writing in an unfamiliar field. Because of this difference, the tutor inherently holds more authority in the session, and the student will usually defer to his or her suggestions (Carino, 2003). Even if the student chooses not to implement changes suggested by the tutor, the tutor's reaction will still influence how the student thinks about his or her own abilities (Gillam, 1991). This power dynamic means that tutors have to be especially careful in responding to the work of students who are using a combination of languages or a non-standard dialect. Tutors are in a position to

either further social justice or inhibit it. One example can be seen in the way that writing centers in the United States deal with the use of Ebonics.

Though tutors are extremely knowledgeable about both their work and the populations that they serve, their experiences have been overshadowed in recent literature by a focus on theory as it applies to literature and also a focus on whether and how writing centers contribute to sweeping university goals like retention and job placement (Fallon, 2010). This creates a gap in current literature that could be filled by interviewing tutors regarding the issues they see every day regarding language and social justice. It seems likely that tutors housed in very different centers in different countries might have similar experiences, so insights learned from one group may transfer at least partially to another.

Generally, writing centers follow very similar models throughout the United States and abroad, with most relying on individual consultations lasting roughly an hour, and with students encouraged to visit multiple times at different stages of the writing process. Tutors are generally selected in similar ways based on writing samples and professor recommendations, and often they are trained in similar topics, many of which are suggested by the College Reading and Learning Association, which acts as a quality assurance device for writing centers (College Reading and Learning Association, 2015). Just as the processes used by centers is similar, so too are the many goals of writing centers. It is notable that the IWCA does not provide a single mission statement for writing centers, but instead lists general guidelines and recommendations for the work they should do. This list notes that the student using the center should guide their own learning, that the sessions should be interactive, with the student talking more than the tutor, and that the center should allow for experimentation in writing as it is a low risk setting (IWCA, 2015). This means that, contrary to popular belief, the default goal of a writing center is not to

force students to learn Standard English. Instead, the student has the choice of which dialect or language to use. It is rare to hear a director argue that students should only be helped at the center if they are writing in Standard English; instead, there is an understood but unstated rule that centers should promote social justice by providing a space for frank discussions about language and the power structures inherent in our language choices.

Writing centers in the United States are often misperceived by faculty members as students as places for students who need remediation-perception centers continually strive to fight because centers are supposed to be for everyone (IWCA, 2015). This is especially important to the discussion of multilingual writers, who may not be coming to the center with a deficit but instead with a need to learn how to switch between languages. Thus, a center like that at Stellenbosch University will have as one of its many goals to help students manage their languages based on audience.

American Writing Centers and Language

Every day, writing center staff members encounter students who speak and write in a non-standard dialect of English or who mix languages to communicate. Currently, the norm is for tutors to help the students change their papers so that they read as Standard English, which means that a lot of the writing session will be spend on grammar and correcting vocabulary mistakes. Unfortunately, most tutors do not discuss codeswitching with students because they are not trained to have such a discussion. Students accept this because many who speak a dialect like Ebonics recognize that Standard English is considered the ideal way of writing in academia (Bir, 2003). While administrators, faculty members teaching composition, and tutors alike may wish to think of themselves as liberal and open-minded, many will advise the student to comply with Standard English in his or her writing without a discussion of codeswitching (Bir, 2003; Davila,

2012). Even though some writing center staff see this as unfair and culturally biased, many are afraid to help students with writing in Ebonics because they fear that the professor, who is administering the student's grade, will not only fail the student's paper but express negative concerns about the center's decisions.

Conversely, many faculty members who teach writing feel ill-prepared to deal with students who speak a non-standard dialect of English. For this reason, they may ignore the issue or lower students' grades because their writing does not comply with standard grammar (Newkirk, William, Harris, & McDaniels, 2013). Some scholars would argue that writing center tutors need to stand up for students by becoming "radical intellectuals" who exist outside of the curriculum of the university and who are willing to challenge the traditional norms of writing in the classroom and the traditional model of writing centers as a place to fix student grammar (Cooper, 1994; Murphy, 1991; North, 1984). This could in part be done by talking explicitly with students about how and why to code switch and even practicing it with them (Bir, 2003; Godley & Escher, 2012). Most certainly, both composition instructors and writing center tutors need to be trained more thoroughly on how to deal with limited English proficiency students (Preto-Bay & Hansen, 2006). Composition instructors and writing tutors could then provide numerous low-stakes writing assignments in which the student was encourage to code-mesh as a way to practice communicating using the range of their languages (Michael-Luna & Canagarajah, 2007). The writing center would be an ideal place to use this sort of exercise since most students would not get such opportunity in a composition class where the teacher is expected to assign large, formal research essays.

South African Writing Centers and Language

In South Africa, most writing centers work only in the preferred language of instruction at their school. This is unfortunate, given that writing centers can serve as proponents of social justice, allowing students to explore their own voices and styles. Writing centers in South Africa are in a unique position because they need to support universities that are required to offer instruction in multiple options, thus they must be able to tutor in several tongues. Stellenbosch University's writing center works equally in Afrikaans and English, with a director from each language background. Students can choose which language they write in and, no matter what their choice, they can receive help from a knowledgeable tutor (Stellenbosch University, 2013). Thus, Stellenbosch's writing center is currently an anomaly in the world of student success. If their multilingual operations are sustainable, their model could prove worthy of emulation by American centers.

Multilingual Writing Centers Moving Forward

Though little has been published up to this point on multilingual writing centers, it is clear that this is becoming a more popular area of scholarly interest, as seen in the fact that this year saw the publication of an entire book by noted writing centers scholar Rafoth (2015) on the topic. In it, the author acknowledged that increased student growth, as well as the increasing number of immigrants wishing to attend college, indicates that universities will soon need to find more effective ways to assist multilingual writers. It will no longer be enough to merely help non-native speakers or those who speak multiple languages to write in Standard English. Instead, Rafoth (2015) agreed with other prominent composition studies scholars in stating that writing center professionals will need to help students use the variety of languages at their disposal to make rhetorical choices (Canagarajah, 2011). The belief that students are and should be

monolingual is no longer relevant, and it would likely set American students behind if they are only able to write in one language while international students can mesh languages to create meaning in creative, expressive ways. Writing tutors, instead of merely scaffolding the knowledge of non-native speakers to help them arrive at standard grammar as has been suggested even recently (Cogie, 2006), can help students explore ideas using whatever language is best for the particular assignment or concept. Naturally, this assumes that the tutors themselves can speak multiple languages with moderate proficiency (Canagarajah, 2011).

Though not many multilingual writing centers yet exist, many writing programs see the importance of better including bilingual and multilingual writers in universities. Prominent writing organizations like the CCCC have written, revised, and maintained position statements that urge schools to take particular steps both inside the classroom and out to assist multilingual writers. As CCCC's statement notes, the number of second, third, and fourth language speakers and writers at all types of institutions of higher learning is rising rapidly across the United States and Canada, forcing better accommodation of these students (National Council of Teachers in English, 2016).

The CCCC has since the 1970s stood by the idea that students have a right their own language-a principle with which the Council of Writing Program Administrators agrees (NCTE-WPA Whitepaper, 2014). Recently, CCCC added to this stance by specifying that it is in fact beneficial for students to incorporate their home language into their writing (NCTE Resolution, 2011). This would foster the idea of code-switching as a valid educational and expressive practice. These and many other position statements by organizations strongly linked to college-level writing provide the framework by which university writing centers operate, and most directors and administrators are linked to these bodies. At some times, these policies may be at

odds with campus or state in which the writing center operates, but these position statements almost universally ask that writing center personnel take action against discriminatory language policies whenever possible.

The idea that a writing tutor can serve to help students make the most of their linguistic abilities by mixing their languages is theoretically fascinating, and it speaks to those administrators and faculty members seeking to promote social justice. Nonetheless, there are obvious practical implications that may not be so easy to deal with. For example, it is often already difficult for writing centers to find qualified tutors; hiring tutors that represent all the languages across a campus, whether it is in the United States or abroad, could be a daunting task. Training tutors would also become complicated, as the director assisting them would naturally be limited in his or her ability to speak about each language in use. It is for these reasons that an ethnographic study of a currently multilingual writing center is most beneficial. Experiencing how this center works on a daily basis offered information on the challenges and strengths of this model, which will help determine how such a structure impacts the lives of the students who visit and work there. The structure for this study, including sample, data collection techniques, and interview protocol, is outlined in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 presents a site analysis of Stellenbosch University and the surrounding town, while Chapter 5 presents data collected during the study. Finally, Chapter 6 uses the information gathered to discuss whether it is feasible to create a multilingual writing center similar to Stellenbosch's in the United States.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This study took the form of a critical ethnography. In the summer of 2015, I traveled to South Africa for six weeks and embedded myself in the writing lab at Stellenbosch University. This took place in May 2015, which marks the end of the South African semester. The writing lab at Stellenbosh was fully functional at this time, and the first couple weeks of my stay were quite busy with end-of-semester papers, allowing me to observe the day-to-day interactions of directors, tutors, and student visitors. Once the lab quieted down slightly, I was allowed ample time to interview tutors and some of those students who were still on campus.

The Selection of Ethnography

It is only recently that ethnography became a widely respected form of qualitative research. Initially used by those in the field of anthropology, ethnographies were largely disregarded by the academic community before 1992 (Hillyard, 2012). The form continues to be closely associated with anthropology, and the word ethnography itself may conjure up images of National Geographic journalists living among remote tribes for months or years in order to convey to the rest of their world what their lives are like and what struggles they face (Hawkins, 2010).

The thought of journalists living among remote tribes does well represent the purposes of ethnography. The purpose of this form of writing is for the researcher to ingratiate him- or

herself into a group of people with a common history, culture, and values, gaining their trust to both report on their experiences as described by the people themselves and to corroborate those statements with observation. An example of an ethnography in the field of language is Heath's (1983) book *Ways with Words,* in which the researcher spent a decade living among two communities in order to explore how their children formed language. Though the information gained cannot be replicated or generalized, it can inform educational practice. Although the ethnographer collects his or her information as an insider in the group, that data is analyzed from an outsider's perspective (Fetterman, 1989). Hillyard (2012) explored several purposes of ethnography. One such purpose might be to describe a phenomenon. For example, a community of people who communicate using no spoken language whatsoever may be the subject of ethnography because their means of understanding and making themselves understood would be so drastically different than the rest of world. Groups of people with unusual or poorly understood religions or practices may also make likely subjects, as the researcher might wish to bring their beliefs to light so that they may be better understood by others outside of the community.

Another purpose of ethnography is to explore microcosms, or relatively small groups that form within a larger society (Hillyard, 2012). As mentioned previously, for the purposes of this study, the microcosms are the language center and writing lab at Stellenbosch University. An ethnography allows the researcher to explore why the microcosm formed, who is in it, and how the values or practices of those within the system differ from the larger society in which they exist. The researcher may then place the microsystem in the greater context of the meso and macrosystems that exist in the environment (Evans et al., 2010).

Ethnographies can be used to create new theories. This is possible because the ethnographer enters into his or her research without specific assumptions As Fetterman (1989) argues, ethnographers generally do not enter their study subscribing to one particular theory; this is too restrictive. Instead, the ethnographer uses a plethora of theories that link back to one over-arching or grand theory (Fetterman, 1989). The researcher knows that a particular group of people is interesting or different in some way, but she merely hopes to observe experiences instead of drawing definite conclusions about the populations. By going into the research with an open mind and finding themes throughout the experience, the researcher creates a theory that stems from the population instead of imposing a theory on the population.

Conducting an ethnography allows a researcher to experience the culture of the writing lab and the university more thoroughly than any other type of qualitative study and was the most useful qualitative method for exploring the values and relationships of people in this environment (Creswell, 2013; Merriam, 2009; O'Reilly, 2009). The ethnography allowed the gathering of more complete information than a case study or grounded theory because it allowed for an extensive amount of time observing, listening to, and speaking with those who use the center (Creswell, 2013; Merriam, 2009). This information is crucial in understanding the experiences of tutors, students, and administrators in a multilingual center. Although in the future it may be helpful to compare attitudes towards multilingual centers using a quantitative approach, at this point it was most advantageous to understand how just one center affects those who use it in depth before making comparisons. Because work on multilingual centers is a rather new field, fully understanding one center is more beneficial than surveying a variety of different sites, as would be the case in quantitative research (Creswell, 2013; Merriam, 2009). Finally, ethnography allows a researcher to experience the organizational culture of the writing center in

a way no other method could. The best way to experience a culture is from within it, and most other forms of research take place from outside the group looking in (Fetterman, 1989).

This critical ethnography does not aim to report findings objectively but instead to advocate for a certain position based on data found through the research (Creswell, 2013; Merriam, 2009; Noblit et al., 2004; O'Reilly, 2009). Although the realistic ethnographer may try to maintain neutrality and objectivity, I use my findings to suggest what is possible when universities attempt to accommodate students of various language backgrounds who have not previously had adequate access to higher education (Creswell, 2013; Merriam, 2009; O'Reilly, 2009). I set out to possibly make connections between the multilingual Stellenbosch University and to speakers of African American vernacular and Spanglish in the United States, who have been underserved in our university systems thus far. However, during my data collection I tried not to make this viewpoint known, as I feared it would have an effect on the answers respondents gave in interviews. I wanted my participants to know only that I was interested in multilingual writing centers. Nonetheless, a few participants did ask what types of languages and dialects are seen in American writing centers, and when asked directly I did mention Spanish, Spanglish, Ebonics, and Arabic.

Sample Description

The target population consisted of tutors, administrators, and student visitors to Stellenbosch University's multilingual writing lab. This unit is closely associated with and housed in the same building as the school's language center and offers writing consultations to students from a wide variety of language backgrounds including native South African and foreign languages at both the undergraduate and postgraduate levels. The center includes a variety of tutors at various levels in their academic careers, a director of Afrikaans, a director of

English, an office manager, an administrative assistant, and a workshop coordinator. The center primarily helps students write in English and Afrikaans, though the language center also supports isiXhosa (Stellenbosch University, 2013).

Stellenbosch is a large university with over 23,000 students, but this specific sample includes only those students who work in or access the Stellenbosch writing center (Stellenbosch University, 2013). This site was chosen because it is the oldest multilingual writing center in South Africa. As such, it is well established and its culture more firmly in place than it could be at other institutions. South Africa was chosen as the host country because of its political background, where the recent abolishment of apartheid has led to an academic mix of Afrikaans and English speakers, which necessitated dual-language instruction in institutions of higher education. The use of native languages such as isiXhosa further complicates South Africa's need for multilingual education.

Except for the administrators, all members of the population were students at the university. This population collectively spoke a number of languages, including both the colonial tongues and native languages like isiXhosa. Many participants were bilingual or multilingual. Members of this population represent a variety of races and ethnicities, White, Black, Coloured, or Indian, as well as a variety of language backgrounds. Some grew up speaking primarily English at home, some are most comfortable with Afrikaans, and some were most fluent in a language other than these two (Statistical Profile, 2013). Having a variety of languages represented was important, as this linguistic situation is what led to the development and culture of the Stellenbosch writing center. The population also represented a variety of socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds, as well as ages, majors, and career goals, which fostered maximum variation (Creswell, 2013).

Sample Selection

Opportunistic and snowball sampling (Merriam, 2009) were used to determine who was interviewed. Snowball sampling was employed by asking administrators in the center to recommend students and tutors to interview, and opportunistic sampling was used when tutors or students happened to be in the center and have free time for an interview. Because initial contact was made with the writing center directors, these two individuals were able to recommend which tutors I should interview based on their availability and experience. The administrative assistant for the lab was crucial in helping me determine when each tutor would be available based on his or her appointment schedule, and each day she would alert me to which student workers would be available at what time the following day. Those tutors, along with the administrative assistant, were in turn able to recommend student visitors whom I could interview. I asked directors and tutors to recommend student visitors from a variety of language backgrounds.

Because the center sees a large number of students every semester, I tried to limit myself to speaking only with consistent writing center users nor those who had visited at least a few times. Since these students had the most experience with the center, they were able to offer the most valuable insights regarding its operations, strengths, and weaknesses. Of course, snowball sampling is somewhat limiting; it would be easy for the directors or tutors to steer me towards students whom they though would give the responses I or the writing center wanted to hear (O'Reilly, 2009). However, I do not believe that this was the case in this study, as the directors seemed just as anxious to hear a variety of perspectives as I was, as they plan on eventually reading this piece. I was in fact more limited by simple student availability than by any biases on the parts of the administrators recommending interviewees. Overall, I was limited to talking with students who happened to use the center within the six-week time frame in which I was present,

and I was not be able to talk to all visitors because of scheduling conflicts, as many of them left for home after their classes ended.

Data Collection

This study used multiple data collections methods, as suggested by most texts on practicing ethnography (Creswell, 2013; Merriam, 2009; O'Reilly, 2009). The primary focus of data collection was semi-structured interviews with the writing center administrators, tutors, and student visitors. Interviews were chosen because of their ability to empower participants by allowing them to tell their stories in their own words at their own pace. Because participants were asked to discuss what could be potentially difficult topics regarding their treatment based on native language and their thoughts on language protests, the one-on-one interview allowed them to express their opinions and let their voices be heard with the understanding that their name would be changed in the document eventually produced (Noblit, Flores, & Murillo, 2004). In addition, participants were offered an interview in a separate room with a door should they prefer to not be out in the open. All interviews were recording using Audacity software, and field notes were kept to chronicle any discussion before or after recording, as well as relevant body language observations.

Interviews

Each interview started with a question about which languages the participants could speak, his or her native languages, and what language they chose to write his or her academic papers in. However, most questions were open-ended to encourage the participant to tell stories about his or her experience in the multilingual center (O'Reilly, 2009). Student visitors were encouraged to talk about what they did in the center and their reactions to the environment as well as how they made decisions regarding which language they use for their academic writing.

Tutors were prompted to discuss their feelings towards working with students from various language backgrounds, as well as questioned regarding when and how they switch languages in a session based on my observation of that phenomenon when I was merely watching tutoring appointments. Administrators provided insights on the practical implications of working with a linguistically diverse student body. Writing consultants were also asked questions about how tutors are trained to work with multilingual learners. Questions supplied in Appendixes B, C, and D of this paper were adjusted to individual situations, as it was important to formulate questions once in the actual environment, especially given that there happened to be a language protest going on at the time (Fetterman, 1989). All interviews were recorded on a laptop and transcribed by the researcher.

Field Notes

Extensive field notes were taken throughout six weeks in Stellenbosch University's writing lab. These notes include information on the physical space of the center, the interactions observed between administrators, tutors, and students, and descriptions of the languages switches observed in the lab. They also include details from tutor training and extensive description of the language forum sponsored in part by a student organization protesting the language policy, as well as notes from a visit to the Stellenbosch University language center, housed in the same building as the writing lab, which focuses on promoting multilingualism on campus. These field notes are incorporated into this study in order to either support or contradict the information gained from interviews (O'Reilly, 2009).

Artifacts

In the interest of triangulating my data, artifacts were collected at Stellenbosch (Creswell, 2013; Handwerker, 2001; Merriam, 2009). The university, writing center, and language center's

mission statements and other relevant documents were examined where available. Additionally, the electronic form students fill out when making an appointment with the writing lab, which revealed how the student selects his or her language of choice, was reviewed. Like field notes, these documents are used to support information gained during interviews. The collection of artifacts began before commencement of research in South Africa, as many items such as mission statements were readily available on the Stellenbosch University website. Collection continued through my time with the university.

Unlike artifact collection, the collection of field notes did not begin until arrival in Stellenbosch. The first three weeks in South Africa were concerned with making preliminary notes and becoming acquainted with tutors, directors, and students so that my presence was not as strange or intimidating. The goal was to gain the trust of all participants so that they would feel more comfortable speaking to me during interviews. Though interviews are never entirely comfortable for participants, some basic level of comfort was necessary if participants were expected to be honest about how they and others are treated based on the language they speak. Tutors who understood the purpose of having a researcher in the writing center were also more likely to speak candidly about their experiences with the university and their directors in the center. The directors fostered this understanding by introducing me formally at tutor training and allowing me to talk about and answer some basic questions about my work. I was able to tell the tutors about my own writing center in the United States so that they could establish a connection with me and see that my goal is to help writing centers become better instead of simply critiquing their work. Thus, participants were engaged in informal, non-recorded conversations so that they were familiar with me. They were aware before being interviewed that I am a writing

center director in the United States, and that I am interested in learning about experiences in a multilingual writing center. Each of their interviews is presented under a pseudonym.

Data Analysis

In Chapter 4, an "interpretation of the culture sharing group" (Miller & Salkind, 2002, p. 161) is provided. This chapter is concerned solely with describing the values, beliefs, relationships, and norms that make up everyday life in Stellenbosch University's multilingual writing center. This portrait provides the reader with a glimpse into the functions of the center as well as impressions of the physical space of the lab. It details the daily activities and interactions of the administrators, tutors, and student visitors within the confines of the physical space of the writing center. In collecting details about the everyday life of the center, this research relied on other ethnographies like Heath's (1983) work, in which the researcher took copious notes and provided detailed descriptions of the social conditions of life in a community. This chapter introduces and provides context for a subsequent section on the themes found through the data collection in the writing center.

Coding

As data were collected through interview, artifacts, and field notes, process of open coding was used both on paper and electronically to jot down notes on emerging themes (Merriam, 2009; O'Reilly, 2009). These notes were prompted by specific words or ideas that came up repeatedly in conversations, and many are of instances of code-switching that occurred in tutoring appointments. Many notes were taken on the body languages and dynamics of the language protest forum that included Open Stellenbosch and professors and administrators of the university. Once most data were collected, the focus turned to coding to narrow down the most relevant themes (O'Reilly, 2009). These themes are the focus of Chapters 5 and 6. All coding

was done by hand initially, Nvivo software was used to double check and confirm themes by scanning for recurrences of the same words.

Researcher Perspective

I was interested in researching this topic because, as a writing center director, I felt that examining other centers could help me improve the way my own center works. I also feel that writing centers can be strong advocates for social justice if they are willing to take risks but that too often they simply reinforce the dominant culture of the institution, often through language oppression. It was professionally beneficial for me to explore how a center that works in multiple languages out of necessity functions. This research in fact led me to add multilingual tutoring as a service of the Math and Writing Center that I oversee at Indiana State University.

As a current writing center director, I benefited from an in-depth knowledge of how the multilingual writing centers functions. My studies in education administration also allowed me to view Stellenbosch University with an understanding of the politics and policies that can shape institutions of higher education as well as the issues that face such settings. Finally, my background in composition and rhetoric made me particularly well suited to using critical ethnography as a method because it relies heavily on the conventions of storytelling and argumentation studied extensively in this field.

Another advantage in completing this research over which I had no control is my race. I am a White woman entering a society with a history of racial tension, where Whites have traditionally held and in many ways still hold power over the Black population. I also speak English, which was beneficial when talking to students and people in the community because almost everyone could speak my language. Because of my race and linguistic background, as well as education, it is likely that those people to whom I spoke saw me as distinctly privileged.

This may have changed the way that Black students and tutors, as well as those who spoke Afrikaans, responded to me in interviews.

In addition to the advantages I brought to my research, I had to also be aware of the philosophical leanings I brought to Stellenbosch with me (Creswell, 2013). While I feel that my philosophical leanings toward social justice were beneficial in most cases, allowing me to pick up on power dynamics that may otherwise be invisible. I also realize that my propensity for viewing relationships through this lens may have limited my perspective as a researcher. I needed to be very careful not to lead my participants during interviews or pressure them into expressing negative feelings towards race relations and language interactions that may not have existed otherwise. While I did view some situations, particularly the language forum, as having critical race theory underpinnings, I had to respect the way that my participants viewed their experiences with language and race and not let my views cloud their responses.

My language background presented only a slight challenge to this study. I speak English with only German as a foreign language. I was at some disadvantage by not being able to speak or understand Afrikaans, though I could understand parts of conversations in this language because of its English and German influences. Nonetheless, people in the community who speak Afrikaans may have been more open with me had I been able to speak with them in their language. Generally, I was not hindered much by not being able to speak or understand isiXhosa because I rarely heard it spoken at the university or in the lab. At several points I observed tutoring sessions that switched languages partway through, but it was not as important that I be able to understand exactly what was said as it was that I be able to determine why the switch had occurred.

Limitations

This study did not enable me to compare Stellenbosch's writing center to any other center, multilingual or otherwise. Future quantitative research may be necessary if more information is desired on how tutoring strategies and student learning outcomes compare in various centers. Furthermore, the information related in this study cannot be generalized to other centers; just because one aspect of multilingual tutoring works particularly well for Stellenbosch does not, for example, mean that the same method or technique would work well at Dickinson University. All universities, writing centers, and student populations are entirely unique and, though this study provides valuable insights into the experiences of participants in one particular center, it would be a mistake for readers to try replicate exact practices without first examining the culture and circumstances of their own tutoring environment. Although many aspects of Stellenbosch's multilingual approach may indeed be very relevant to practices in the United States and abroad, further research and inquiry would be necessary before establishing a center that mirrors Stellenbosch's. Writing center directors can be rather quick to whole-heartedly embrace a change that could benefit students, but they should be reminded that the political and social environment in South Africa is quite different from that in the United States, so any changes to tutoring centers based on ethnographical studies such as this one should be thoughtfully planned using a robust body of research on best practices.

Finally, Stellenbosch's center will necessarily change over time, thus these results may not necessarily hold true at a later date. This is especially true of the language protests, which will surely evolve if they continue. Nonetheless, this initial study could prove beneficial in understanding how a bilingual or multilingual center evolves over time should someone wish to study the same site later. Naturally there are also concerns that come with studying only one site;

all bilingual centers will inherently differ, and it would be beneficial to either conduct ethnographies at other sites or to follow up this research with a quantitative study that compares different locations.

CHAPTER 4

SITE ANALYSIS

This six-week research study took place at Stellenbosch University from May to June of 2015. My residence in the town was only blocks away from the campus. During this time I was also able to visit the surrounding areas to get an idea of the cultural climate in which the university was situated. The first three weeks of research were spent getting to know the structure of the university, the language center, and the writing lab, which will be discussed at length at the end of this chapter. Time was also spent talking informally to people of the town and watching the tutors and clients of the writing lab go about their daily tasks. Many formal observations of writing consultations were conducted, which resulted in copious field notes. I became familiar with the procedures of the writing lab. During the second three weeks, interviews with 19 administrators, tutors, and students, whose backgrounds will be discussed in this chapter, were conducted. In addition, a tutor training session was observed. Spending even this short amount of time at Stellenbosch University yielded a plethora of data. This chapter explores the context in which those data arose, including information on the town of Stellenbosch, the university, and the language center and writing labs themselves. My impressions as a researcher and a visitor to the campus will be explored, particularly as they relate to the issue of language.

The Town of Stellenbosch

The town of Stellenbosch is located roughly half an hour outside of Cape Town, on South Africa's Western Cape, yet the culture of the two cities is distinctly different. While Cape Town is home to roughly four million people, many of whom are immigrants, Stellenbosch has roughly 150,000 residents, though the town does not always include students in its count. Both are racially diverse, with the majority of residents in both cities identifying as Coloured, which is South Africa denotes as a mixed race. Both locations are home to significant numbers of Black, White, and Indian residents. Nonetheless, Cape Town and Stellenbosch are significantly different economically and culturally. While Cape Town is home to many blue-collar workers, with a high unemployment rate, Stellenbosch houses a very comparatively wealthy population. Many in Stellenbosch are affiliated with the high profit wine industry, as the town is surrounded almost entirely by vineyards. Others who do not own or work in wineries own expensive restaurants or boutique hotels, and many are affiliated with the university. Stellenbosch does not see the large number of immigrants that Cape Town does, and those who live in the town seem to have long family ties to the area. Residences in Stellenbosch are often lavish, with gates, elaborate security systems, razor wire fences, and guard dogs. At least in the area of campus, there are security guards posted on every corner. This is in stark contrast to the Cape Flats, an expansive area of metal shanties with no plumbing or electricity that circles the city of Cape Town. Here is it typical to see children tending animals along the side of the highway, and because of the structure of the homes, there is no protection against theft, rape, assault, or intrusion.

Race in Stellenbosch

Typically, crime rates in Stellenbosch are significantly lower than those found in Cape Town. Low crime statistics, however, cannot hide the fact that there are still enormous racial disparities in town. Walking around the downtown area even a few times, it becomes obvious that Blacks are still largely relegated to positions in service (waiters, taxi drivers, security guards), while Whites work in or own wineries, serve as administrators and businesspeople, and teach. There is also a significant homeless population in Stellenbosch, and virtually every person seen sleeping on the sidewalk or asking for coins is Black. This issue is surely tied to language, as Afrikaans is the language of access to the wealthy culture of Stellenbosch, and most Black residents do not speak it. While the campus may provide something of a bubble for students who study there, the community still obviously has a long way to go in regard to ensuring equal opportunities for all populations.

Language in Stellenbosch

As noted in Chapter 2, South Africa has 11 official national languages. Afrikaans is spoken largely by White and Coloured people whose families have been in the country for a long time, and many of whom were or are associated with the farming industry. These people are of Dutch descent and are generally lighter skinned. Though Afrikaans is generally considered the language of privilege in South Africa, it is important to note that there are many dialects. For example, the population known as the Cape Coloureds, a mixed race population concentrated around Cape Town, speak their own dialect, which some Afrikaans speakers claim to sometimes have a difficult time understanding. Because most Cape Coloureds are bilingual in Afrikaans and English, their dialect is a Creole of those two languages called Kaapse Afrikaans. Some Afrikaans people in Stellenbosch speak about this dialect with open disdain in the way many

English speakers talk about Ebonics, implying that not only is there a correct language to speak in a country with 11 languages, but there is a correct way to speak it.

The student population in Stellenbosch makes up the primary group of English speakers. Though many residents of Stellenbosch can speak English (a definite benefit for those who work in the tourism and wine industry), many choose to speak Afrikaans any time they can. Language at Stellenbosch University will be discussed in more depth. IsiXhosa is the third most prevalent language heard around the town of Stellenbosch. Though South Africa has such a large number of official languages, the languages one will hear in everyday use depend on where one is in the country. Some regions, for example, have a high concentration of isiZulu speakers, of which there are few in Stellenbosch. Like Cape Town and the rest of Western Cape, isiXhosa is a language traditional to the area. It is spoken by much of the Black population, whose relatives are native to the area.

Languages in Use

While racial demographics in Stellenbosch and Cape Town may be somewhat similar, the language dynamics in the two cities are very different. Cape Town sees a fairly even split of native English, Xhosa, and Afrikaans speakers, with a variety of other first languages in the mix, while Stellenbosch houses a clear majority of Afrikaans speaking families. Though most people in Stellenbosch can understand and possibly speak English, those for whom it is a first language are a minority, with even less people identifying their first language as Xhosa or another language. This means that, while one hears largely English walking around Cape Town, it is much more common to hear Afrikaans in Stellenbosch, both on campus and off. Waiters tend to greet White or Coloured patrons in Afrikaans, speaking English only when it becomes clear that the patron cannot understand. Bookstores in Stellenbosch display books in Afrikaans

prominently near the front of the store, while in Cape Town one has to go towards the back, through the English language texts, to find them. One rarely hears Xhosa being spoken in businesses, though it is sometimes heard on the street, primarily between laborers going about their tasks in groups. It is quite clear almost immediately that Afrikaans is the language spoken by professionals and the wealthier people in the town, while English is largely spoken by students and young people, and Xhosa spoken by Black workers.

While it is easy for an English speaker to navigate Cape Town because signs tend to be in English and Afrikaans, often as well as Xhosa, Stellenbosch is more difficult because most signage is in Afrikaans exclusively. Though some signs on the campus are also written in English, the names of buildings are all in Afrikaans, which means that if someone tells a guest to visit the Science building, it would be difficult to identify it simply by its name. This is the case with other historic buildings within the town as well. Posters, flyers, and campus announcements printed and posted around the university are also largely in Afrikaans unless they are distributed by a minority or diversity-centered student organization. Marketing materials, as noted by an administrative interview participant, are written in the language of the target audience or future student, which can sometimes be misleading. Often, as writing lab director Kate reveals, a student will receive marketing materials in English, only to find when they arrive on campus that they cannot understand half the written material with which they are presented. While the campus embraces an identity as a multilingual university, an outsider can find it difficult to navigate both the campus and the town of Stellenbosch without being able to speak Afrikaans.

Public Reactions to Language

During my time in Stellenbosch, it was easy to get people talking about language no matter where I went, as protests that will be discussed at length later ensured that it was on

everyone's minds. My accent gave me away as a foreigner, so when asked why I was in South Africa, the answer that I was researching language at the university prompted everyone from cab drivers to the young man who sold me a pair of running shoes would give their opinions on what should be done about language. Almost no two people had the same opinion, yet all were passionate in their convictions. A tuktuk driver stated that multilingualism was necessary. In explaining this he started in English, then switched to Afrikaans, then to Xhosa, at which point he had to re-state his point in English. His argument, which this manner of conversation confirmed, was that no one language had all the words he needed. Others felt vehemently that Afrikaans should be eliminated at the university because it was exclusionary and allowed Afrikaaners to exclude others, while still more Stellenbosch citizens celebrated Afrikaans and bemoaned the fact that its usage is declining as more young people learn English. Having such a diversity of opinions just from people who could speak to English made it clear that language is a sensitive and complex issue in the community, and this was without being able to converse with a significant portion of the population who speak isiXhosa.

As a White person, I quickly noted that most other Whites attempted to begin conversations with me in Afrikaans. When I noted that I speak English, many politely asked why I did not speak Afrikaans, forgiving me for not speaking their language when I revealed that I am not South African. However, I also noted that White people from Stellenbosch are not so easily forgiven. After listening to a waiter being harassed for not speaking Afrikaans even though he was White and from Stellenbosch, it became obvious that Afrikaans-speakers are passionate about maintaining their language. They are convinced that their language, and thus culture, will die if it is crushed by English. Evidence of this dynamic was apparent when talking with the directors of the Writing Lab. While most Afrikaans speakers can also speak fluent English, many

English speakers cannot speak Afrikaans. Consequently, the directors generally speak English, because the director for whom that is a first language is not as fluent in Afrikaans as the Afrikaans native speaker is in English. Though the two directors joke about their language use, noting that both of them see their Afrikaans deteriorating because they are bad influences on each other, it is clear that within the community, this is taken quite seriously. While the community cares about maintaining Afrikaans as a prevalent language, the views of most people are also conflicted because they realize that English is a more useful language internationally. This is why many of the students would prefer to learn in English. It appears that most of the population would prefer that young people learn both languages equally, but it is of course difficult to maintain a perfect balance, especially as the younger generation is increasingly influenced by English-language media.

Stellenbosch University

Stellenbosch University has been part of the town community since it was established in the 1860s. In the late 1800s, the school existed as Victoria College, changing its name and identity to Stellenbosch University in 1918 in response to the University Act (Stellenbosch University, 2015). The campus was highly involved in Die Vlakte in the 1950s and 60s, when the races were separated into difference schools and residential areas (Stellenbosch University, 2015). In 1977, the university decided to begin accepting Black and other minority students to its graduate and undergraduate departments if they wished to study a field that was not offered at their own university. Students still had to speak Afrikaans, as that was the language of teaching and learning at the university at that time (Kalley, Schoeman, & Andor, 1999). It was not until post-apartheid that the university began accepting students of all races, as well as linguistic

backgrounds. The move to multilingualism is quite recent, and it is clear that the university is still navigating this territory.

Environment

One may forget while walking across the Stellenbosch campus that the school is located in Africa because the buildings have a distinctly European feel. The school reflects its European heritage, with its large open amphitheater and white columned buildings. Though the campus looks like it could easily be situated in Great Britain or the Netherlands, reminders that the university is dealing with problems typical of modern South Africa are abundant. For example, it is difficult to walk to the library, for example, without passing the campus HIV and AIDS clinic, encountering homeless Stellenbosch residents asking students for leftover food, or noting the numerous security guards pacing the sidewalks. At night and during evening load sheds, where the power in the entire city goes out to save energy, female students travel only in large groups. The symbols of founders and donors appear similar to those seen in almost any country, but at Stellenbosch many depict White men who were known for their racism, oppression of minorities, and encouragement of the apartheid system. While this is true at some European and American institutions, apartheid is still so fresh in South African minds that plaques and statues honoring these people have not yet disappeared into the background and, as will be discussed, they still make some students very uncomfortable. Despite these differences, in general Stellenbosch University has the feel of a prestigious European university – a feeling that some students do not seem to feel suits a South African university.

Student Population

Stellenbosch University is very selective and is considered one of the best schools in the country-possibly in all of Africa. It is difficult to tell because colleges are not ranked the same way in Africa as they are in the United States or Britain. Nonetheless, those who attend and work at Stellenbosch consider it a world-class institution. The university produces prolific scholars and sound research. For this reason, the campus attracts a large number of international as well as South African scholars. While researching at the university, I encountered students from South Korea, American, France, Germany, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and a variety of African countries. Many of the White and Coloured students are originally from South Africa, though interestingly very few Black South African students enroll. Though roughly 18 percent of the students are Black, most come from other African countries, a fact that Kate noted when she conducted a study of minorities on campus. Kate also notes that the university is currently unclear on how many minority students are in attendance and why those groups that are missing do not apply to attend the school. Research on this issue is ongoing.

Though it may seem surprising that only 18% of the student body of Stellenbosch is Black, this is a dramatic increase from twenty years ago. Stellenbosch's efforts to include more diverse students post-apartheid have moved quickly, though the university still needs some improvement. The university's statistics can also be misleading, as some minority students take online classes and are thus not physically present at the main school. The university has made a concerted effort to include students from more linguistic backgrounds, though current estimates show that roughly half of scholars speak Afrikaans as their home language (University of Stellenbosch, 2015). Roughly another 40 percent of students speak English as their native tongue, this means that the percentage of students speaking Xhosa, Zulu, or another African

language as their native tongue is low, with Xhosa speakers comprising only 3.2 percent of the student population, and speakers of other official South African native languages accounting for only 5.1 percent of students (see Appendix F for a complete breakdown of language at Stellenbosch University). The school's press releases and plans continue to call for increased diversity, though students seem divided on whether this is taking place quickly and thoroughly enough, with many noting the lack of minority faculty members. This theme will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

Student Activism

As soon as I arrived on the Stellenbosch campus, I noticed that the students were protesting. It was a small group: roughly thirty protestors standing outside of a chapel, handing out brochures. These students were some of the first members of Open Stellenbosch, which grew slightly during my time there. When it became obvious that this group was protesting about the use of language on campus, I made the decision to include data about their efforts in my research, as their actions and beliefs contribute to the greater mesosystem of Stellenbosch University, and in fact of the town, given that Stellenbosch is a fairly small community and most of its members at least hold an interest in what happens on campus. It also seemed logical that the interviewees at the Language Center and Writing Lab would be aware of and likely influence by the movement. Because these events directly affected the data collection, information from the protests was included. Themes that emerged regarding activism will be interwoven into Chapters 6 and 7.

Protests at Cape Town

In large part, it seems the protests at Stellenbosch University were inspired by student activism at University of Cape Town, a short bus or taxi ride away. Cape Town experienced the

formation of a group called Rhodes Must Fall, whose primary goal was to have the statue of Rhodes removed. The group felt that, though Rhodes gave significant funds to education in their area, it was symbolically oppressive to keep his statue on campus because of his affiliation with apartheid and thus with discrimination and racism. The ensuing protests were highly publicized and, according to some participants interviewed at Stellenbosch, political parties began backing this organization. This will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 5. Because of the close proximity of the two universities, students at Stellenbosch were able to follow the progress of their Cape Town counterparts closely. Most likely, students involved in Rhodes Must Fall visited Stellenbosch, or vice versa, and inspired Stellenbosch students to begin objecting to statues and plagues for controversial figures on their own campus. On the Stellenbosch campus, it was possible to extend the argument to language. While University of Cape Town is English medium, the use of Afrikaans at Stellenbosch gave students a starting point for discussing linguistic oppression and exclusion. Open Stellenbosch was born of this related, but somewhat separate, discussion of language.

Open Stellenbosch

Open Stellenbosch is comprised of roughly 100 active students. In some ways, its mission, which will be discussed at length in Chapter 6, overlaps with the mission of Rhodes Must Fall. While Open Stellenbosch fights for language equality, Rhodes Must Fall presses for universities to remove plaques, statues, and other artifacts of its Afrikaans, exclusionary past. At the time of the writing of this study, students have been petitioning for the removal of a plaque on the Stellenbosch campus commemorating HF Verwoerd, who was hailed as a hero in his time, but is now considered an oppressive figure by younger students of oppressed families. Student demonstrations, petitions, and protests against the new, Afrikaans-speaking Vice Chancellor

have prompted recent responses from university administration. This plaque is now set to be removed at the end of May, and some buildings named after controversial figures have already undergone name changes, though those names still tend to appear in predominately Afrikaans.

On May 13, 2015, the Vice Chancellor released a letter addressing these issues, as well as a video titled "Let's Talk." The materials were provided dually in Afrikaans and English. In it, the Rector reaffirms that diversity is a priority for Stellenbosch and talks about new measures being taken to promote inclusiveness, including a bursar fund specifically for students whose families were displaced in the 1970s, when the university decided to use lands that had been expropriated. The university ultimately benefitted greatly from the unjust actions the government took in removing families and communities from the area. He concludes his letter by stating that Stellenbosch is a multilingual campus and urging faculty and students to continue talking about the issue. The final lines read: "let the conversation continue, no matter how difficult. For if we cannot speak our mind and do not really listen to each other, we will get nowhere" (Professor Wim de Villiers, May 13, 2015, e-mail).

While the Rector's letter vaguely mentions isiXhosa, noting that the school works with it when possible, the primary focus is clearly on what Stellenbosch sees as its primary two languages, Afrikaans and English. As complicated as the language issue is at South African universities, this divide between Afrikaans and English is not the extent of the problem. There is disagreement amongst Afrikaans speakers as to what version of Afrikaans should be used. As previously mentioned, Afrikaans is a Creolized language that was formalized by the privileged class. Some advocates suggest incorporating other dialects used by Black populations into educational settings while some groups, like many students at Stellenbosch, prefer instruction in standard Afrikaans, in part because it helps them maintain privilege (Van der Wall, 2012). In

addition, some scholars advocate for the use of native languages in educational settings (Webb, 2012), while others argue that there is no point in teaching students in these languages because they are not used in the global marketplace (Beukes, 2010). It is important to note that, according to its director, Johannes, the Language Center at Stellenbosch is currently working to add scientific and academic terminology to the Xhosa language, preparing it to eventually be used as a language of education. Nonetheless, this would be an extremely long and time-consuming process. There is no clear answer regarding how to deal with languages for Stellenbosch or universities like it, but scholars offer a range of suggestions, including hiring firms to build language plans for communities that can work closely with institutions of higher education and studying multilingual universities ethnographically to better understand their operations and successes (Beukes, 2012; Hornberger & Johnson, 2007).

At the onset of this study, the Open Stellenbosch movement was beginning to gain a visible presence, and newspaper articles on their activities were appearing almost daily in both school and town newspapers. Ironically, some of these articles appeared only in Afrikaans. The presence of this movement, and the fact that almost every interviewee was aware of it, added an interesting and unexpected dimension to the data collection. Although this study originally sought to investigate life inside the writing lab, it was impossible to divorce the work of the tutors from the strife regarding the school's language policy, as of course the work of multilingual tutoring is directly linked to this policy. Tutor, student, and administrator reactions to the protests will be discussed at length in Chapter 6. Early in the data collection, efforts to ground the language policy protests with other research were made, as to ignore them would have been detrimental to getting a holistic picture of language and writing assistance on campus.

Surely the protests would influence the staff and students of Stellenbosch University's language center and writing lab on some level.

Language Forum

The language policy forum was held in the art gallery of Stellenbosch University, a beautiful and elegant building with only a small seating area that was surely thoughtfully chosen not only to contain the number of attendees, but to provide a civilized and academic atmosphere to what promised to be a controversial and possibly heated dialogue. The event was sponsored by Open Stellenbosch, but university professors and staff members had been invited to speak on the language policy in panel format. Power dynamics were apparent from the start of the event. Five panelists were seated at a long table at the front of the gallery: Four White and one young Black man who represented Open Stellenbosch. The audience of primarily White staff members sat lined up in front of the panel, with the predominately Black members of Open Stellenbosch occupying the back seats in the room. Whether this was by choice or accident is unknown, but either way it reveals their symbolic place in the university. Before the panelists began speaking, feelings were incensed when the moderator, a White woman, introduced all of the panelists except for the Black student representing Open Stellenbosch. She skipped over him entirely. During his presentation, one of the other presenters realized the moderator's mistake and addressed the student by name, noting for the audience with a slip of the tongue that he was there "representing Africa." When the students at the back of the room pointed out what they saw as a racist slip towards the end of the discussion, the panelist attempted to explain that he had simply confused Open Stellenbosch with the name of another organization that he oversees, but the damage was done. The students saw the panelist as associating Blackness with the rest of Africa. As an outsider, this was a bit confusing initially since the majority of participants in the room

were African, but it became apparent later in interviews and informal conversations that South Africa sometimes prefers to distance itself culturally from the rest of the continent.

The panelists presented formal power points about the language policy, all of which presented an argument for why or how the language policy should or should not be changed. Opinions varied, but the panelists in general supported keeping the use of Afrikaans on campus, stressing that historically that was the language of the university. They did seem accepting of the idea that English is currently the language of academia in much of the world, though one panelist spoke about his effort to push back against this by publishing his newest book in his native language: Afrikaans. At the end of the presentations, audience members were able to ask questions. The dialogue became more and more heated as time went on. Some students representing Open Stellenbosch noted the fact that the Black graduate student had not been introduced at the beginning, which led to some unease and discomfort from the panel. Many audience members defended the use of Afrikaans, saying that it was not fair to expect staff to speak English because now Afrikaans speakers cannot get jobs at the university. The perception is that English speakers are now taking the jobs that would have normally been taken by Afrikaans speakers. During the discussion, participants could not reach an agreement on the goals of Open Stellenbosch. Some members expressed their desire for signage and publications in English as well as Afrikaans, instead of having situations like with the school newspaper where half the articles are in one and half are written in the other, so non-bilingual speakers only get half the content. Some other participants talked primarily about race on campus, stressing the need for more Black or Coloured faculty and staff members. A few participants actually addressed the language policy itself, suggesting alternatives to in-class translation and interpreting. The dialogue felt frustrated and frustrating at points because participants were not

necessarily arguing about the same things. The Afrikaans speakers seemed to feel they were under attack, while the Open Stellenbosch students who promoted English appeared to be silenced.

The Language Center

The Language Center at Stellenbosch was founded in part in order to fulfill the university's mission of becoming multilingual. The director of this center is a trained linguist whose first language is Afrikaans, but who also speaks Dutch, English, and some isiXhosa. He is a White South African who has been given the pseudonym Johannes for the purposes of this paper. As part of his duties, Johannes plays an integral part in helping to draft, revise, and help implement the university's language policy. The center helps carry out this work. As part of its operations, it offers translation services, language classes, and workshops. In addition, the center also works on transforming isiXhosa and some of the other African languages into scientific languages by developing vocabulary words that can be used to talk about scientific and academic concepts. Such words have not previously existed in these languages, as they were primary languages of conversation. While the Language Center has its own professional staff, it also houses the Writing Lab. The Writing Lab, as part of the Language Center, shares its mission statement (see Appendix G), which states that the center exists to offer a wide variety of support for language and communication. The full mission statement goes into significantly greater detail regarding types of support offered and how the language center aligns with the rest of the university, but interestingly the full document, as opposed to the summary provided, is written entirely in Afrikaans (Vision and Mission of the Language Center, 2009).

The Writing Lab

It is within this complicated context that the Stellenbosch University Writing Lab performs its job of helping students write academic papers. The Writing Lab is part of the Language Center, which is integral in helping to draft the university's language policies. Nonetheless, they have their own mission, and they appear to sometimes move ahead of what is being done officially at the upper levels by offering assistance in languages that are not languages of instruction in the name of offering access to all students. Still, their daily task is to develop tutors and help students succeed in writing. The writing center staff specify that they do not teach languages, but they will help students write in whatever language they chose, insofar as they are able. The staff ends up helping in Afrikaans or English, with some students working with consultants in Xhosa, and students occasionally discussing their writing in a language like German or French if there happens to be a consultant available who can do so.

The Writing Lab consists of two directors, one for Afrikaans and one for English, a senior administrative assistant who schedules appointments along with another administrative assistant, and roughly 24 graduate writing tutors, most of whom are bilingual in Afrikaans and English, but many of whom also speak third and fourth languages. The two directors report to the director of the Language Center. Amongst the tutors there is no apparent hierarchy, with consultants largely working independently. The graduate staff members are hired based on their grades and their desire to tutor. Though preference is not given based on home language, the directors consider it a bonus if the tutor can work in multiple languages. After a tutor is hired (after submitting a written application and coming in for a face-to-face interview wherein the directors can evaluate their communication skills and knowledge of what it means to tutor), the candidate is asked what language/s he or she would be would be willing to provide consultations.

Even if a tutor can speak a second language, he or she is not pressured to tutor in that language if doing so would be uncomfortable.

When students schedule an appointment, they can request what language they would like to speak during their session, and the tutors with whom they can work are limited based on their choice in the online scheduling software. Of course, students are only given the ability to choose between English and Afrikaans, so if they speak isiXhosa or another language and so happen to have a tutor who can speak that language, it is merely a happy coincidence and they may request that tutor in the future. Like most American writing centers, the writing lab at Stellenbosch sees a high number of repeat visitors who request the same tutor on a regular basis. This may be because that tutor speaks the same home language, or because the student simply gets along well with that individual and understand how he or she explains concepts.

Physical Space

This staff is housed in a building that used to be a row of houses, and the original layouts have largely been maintained. Tutoring takes place in several different rooms, each of which features two to four small circular tables for consultations. When the center gets busy, appointments overflow out into a small courtyard or into the administrators' offices. The general atmosphere is one of busy excitement and warmth. The walls were intentionally pained a sunny yellow by the directors in order to keep the space, which can get dark and chilly because of the trees right outside, feeling bright and comfortable. The center is traditional and based on the American writing centers model, with one-on-one consultations taking place over printed off papers. Technology use is limited, though not barred, and the tutors focus on conversation and Socratic questioning. Though group study and workshops are offered, these take place in a separate room, as do write-ins, where students write independently, only calling on a tutor as

needed. Overall, it is a bustling place, and in the first couple weeks of this study, the tutors were completely booked with appointments as students prepared for finals.

Methods

The goal of the Stellenbosch University Writing Lab is consistent with the goals of those American writing centers after which it is modeled. In general, the lab aims to make students better writers through the use of Socratic questioning in individual consultations with a more experienced peer. Like other centers, the lab stresses its wish to promote a "friendly and relaxed atmosphere" where students will feel comfortable talking about their writing (Stellenbosch University, 2015). The techniques employed by consultants at this center, like most, foster independence in a student to help them improve their skills so they can write independently once they enter the workplace. For this reason, the Stellenbosch University writing lab tutors do not edit, but instead guide the student through his or her own work, encouraging a discussion of the writing process. When necessary, tutors point out mistakes and talk students through how to correct them. In general, the mission of the lab is to make students better at writing in whatever language they have chosen.

The Stellenbosch University writing lab is modeled after American writing centers, as one of the directors, Nenet, studied in the United States and worked in a center there. Sessions are typical of centers worldwide, with tutors meeting one-on-one with a student who has scheduled an appointment for approximately an hour to discuss the organization, content, support, citations, and grammar found in the piece. Like most centers, Stellenbosch emphasizes that they do not copy-edit, but instead take a holistic approach to writing. Tutors and students frequently read the papers out loud, which is common practice in most centers, and tutors encourage the students to write their own notes. Scheduling is done online, with students

providing information about the type of writing and course. The only significant difference in the scheduling process is that, when scheduling with the Stellenbosch writing lab, students are asked what language they would prefer the session take place in, with Afrikaans and English being options. When students arrive at the lab, they are greeted by a tutor, who introduces him or herself in the students' selected language. The tutor asks the student about his or her goals and any particular issues of concern, and the session proceeds from there, with an ongoing dialogue about the piece of writing at hand. Tutor observations revealed that the only significant difference noted between a Stellenbosch Writing Lab session and a consultation in my own American center was that some tutor/tutee pairs would switch between languages when convenient: a theme that will be explored in Chapter 5.

Training

Despite the general discussion about language, it was interesting to note how little the directors and tutors talked about the use of language and the language policy in their training session. The directors of the center have written scholarly works on running a multilingual center, and this was to be the theme of that particular training session. There were two separate meetings so that all tutors could attend, as trainings are mandatory for tutors who have not yet been there a certain length of time. Each session was also to include a special presentation by one of the tutors in the sciences about writing for science. There was also a brief discussion of a special event being held at the university on tutoring. The multilingualism training itself included the tutors pre-reading a selection of text and discussing their reading. However, the training focus was more on writing in the sciences, about which the tutors had more questions. The conversation took place primarily in English; only a couple times did a tutor lapse into Afrikaans, then quickly return to English because there were people in the room who could not

understand. During the training, I briefly discussed my study and my background, focusing on my work in the Math & Writing Center I operate in the United States. The tutors had many questions about this combined center, and about language in the United States. Because limited time was available for a discussion, many of the tutors decided to set up interviews, in part so that they could continue asking questions.

Writing Center Staff Interviews

This study took place during the winter, thus this was not the busiest time for tutoring and there were fewer tutors on the schedule than normal. Nevertheless, this study includes interviews with both writing lab directors, the primary administrative assistant, the director of the Language Center, ten tutors, and five students. Most participants were interviewed in a private room in the Language Center, with administrators interviewed in their offices. One tutor chose to be interviewed in the graduate section of the library, while another chose to be interviewed in her office in another building, as did a student. Most interviews lasted between forty-five minutes to one hour. The sample group was very diverse: 10 women and nine men, three individuals who identified themselves as Coloured (an indication that most closely translates to mixed race in the United States), four who identified as Black, one who identified as Indian, and 11 individuals who did not identify their race. All unidentified participants appeared White, though the distinction between the many race classifications in South Africa is not always clear to an outside observer.

Participants spoke a wide variety of languages, with all but one being at least bilingual and several speaking five or possibly more languages. The first question asked of all interviewees was to describe their language backgrounds. All mentioned their native languages and when they learned English, though not all listed all languages they have studied. Ten

participants were native Afrikaans speakers; five claimed English as a first language, and four claimed other first languages (Swahili, Xhosa, Shangani, and Xwana). One participant is fully bilingual in English and Afrikaans, and one speaks only English. Other languages spoken by those interviewed include Zulu, Spanish, German, Dutch, and Japanese. Tutors and students included represented a variety of majors and academic interests.

The actual recorded interviews themselves generally did not last more than an hour, but most all of the participants wanted to continue talking after the recording was turned off. Many were interested in talking about American politics and possible presidential candidates. Tutors in particular were interested in knowing more about the languages we experience in our writing centers. The tutors were surprised to hear that my university has a high number of Arabic speakers, as many seemed to assume that the only language we would hear aside from English would be Spanish. They were also very interested in our unique dialects. As the interviewees reported, there are many dialects of Afrikaans, though the center only helps with Standard Afrikaans. Our countries are in similar situations, where South Africans from densely populated areas (like those around Cape Town), speak a very specific dialect. Some students also told stories after their interviews about their experiences learning English. One student, from Uganda, recollected that in his English class, any student caught speaking his or her native language was forced to wear a wet dog's skin until someone else lapsed out of English. If a student was unlucky enough to be the last person of the day to accidentally speak the native language, he or she would have to wear the dog skin home. If by chance the skin was lost, the student was expected to find another dog to kill and skin.

Though this student told the story quite flippantly, his story reveals the seriousness with which some teachers in Africa instruct English, knowing that their students will need that

language to succeed academically. Of course, some tutors, administrators, and students also wanted to talk about their own research or tell success stories about their time in the writing lab after the recording was turned off. Overall though, like seemingly most people who work in writing labs, the tutors and administrators wanted to talk about their work because they enjoy it and view it as important. Aside from suggestions regarding daily operations, all expressed how happy they were to work with the writing lab and how much they have learned from working there. The importance of working with student writing in multiple languages was one of the things that all participants agreed on, though there was some disagreement regarding smaller aspects of the operation.

As previously mentioned, the writing lab includes four administrative positions: two directors (one for Afrikaans and one for English), one administrator who primarily greets students and alerts tutors when their tutees arrive, and one administrator who performs more of a coordinator function. The directors of the center are Kate and Nenet. Kate has been director for English since 2001. Prior to her accepting this position, she worked at the Stellenbosch campus in the bookstore, as an instructor, and as a tutor. Though Kate's career goal when graduating with her MA was to become a writer, she seems content with her position in the writing lab. Nenet, the Afrikaans director, had a significantly longer previous career as headmaster of a high school. When the school restructured post-apartheid, Nenet and others were offered attractive retirement packages. Nenet used the opportunity to do some community work and adult teaching, steering clear of government-based work until the position at Stellenbosch opened. Like Kate, she has been with the writing lab since its inception. Both Nenet and Kate were hired by Johannes, the language center director. Johannes began the language center after earning his PhD in syntax. He is a self-proclaimed "hard-boiled linguist" by trade, though he also has a

background in document design. He has been at the university longer than Nenet or Kate. Beth, whose position is similar to a coordinator's, has also been with Stellenbosch for a significant amount of time, as she was hired alongside Kate and Nenet to work as their office manager. Previous to coming to work for the university, Beth had completed an undergraduate degree elsewhere and was living in a small town with her child. All of the administrators in the language center and the writing lab have thus been in their positions since at least 2001. Over this time, student needs have naturally changed as the demographics of the student body shifted exponentially.

Table 1shows all participants interviewed for this study, as well as their positions within the writing lab and languages spoken. Languages and race are self-identified, and the race of those who did not identify themselves was not assumed because some people's classification is not obvious. Many of the participants learned English, Afrikaans, and possibly another language in close succession, but only one identified himself as thoroughly bilingual. Thus, whatever language the participant identified as their native tongue is listed as first language, though they may be fluent in another or others as well.

Table 1

Interview Participants by Position, Race, and Languages

Name	Position	Race	First Language	Other Languages	Gender
Kate	Writing Lab Director-English	White	English	Afrikaans	Female
Nenet	Writing Lab Director-Afrikaans	Coloured	Afrikaans	English	Female
Beth	Writing Lab Coordinator	Coloured	Afrikaans	English, Xhosa	Female
Johannes	Language Center Director	White	Afrikaans	Dutch, English, Xhosa	Male
Aidan	Tutor	Black	Shangani	English	Male
Ali	Tutor	Indian	XhaSwahili	English	Male
Patrick	Tutor	White	Afrikaans	English, Japanese	Male
Lagatha	Tutor	White	English	Afrikaans	Female
Joseph	Tutor	White	English		Male
Aleid	Tutor	Unknown	Afrikaans	English	Female
Sabra	Tutor	Unknown	Afrikaans	English, Xhosa	Female
Andrew	Tutor	White	Afrikaans/English		Male
Alya	Tutor	Unknown	English	Afrikaans	Female

Mark	Tutor	White	Afrikaans	English	Male
Titus	Student	Black	Swahili	English, 2nd undisclosed	Male
Noelle	Student	Unknown	Afrikaans	English	Female
Roberta	Student	Black	Afrikaans	English, Xhosa, Spanish,German	Female
Lily	Student	Black	Xhosa	Zulu, English, Xwana	Female
Jakobus	Student	Unknown	English	Afrikaans, Zulu	Male

Chapter 5 will discuss those themes particularly related to operating a multilingual writing center, with a focus on the difference between viewing language as a resource and as a source of identity, self-consciousness about language, the perpetual struggle to accommodate students from all language backgrounds, how and when code switching works in a writing consultation, and the importance of a strong language policy, which were anticipated themes for this research. Chapter 6 will cover unexpected themes; namely those related to the protests that serendipitously occurred during this study, which closely related to the themes of Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS

The first three weeks of this study were spent observing writing lab sessions, getting to know the community, and talking to people who live and work in the area to try to get a sense for the atmosphere and culture. These activities were beneficial, as they provided context, understanding information that would be gathered through interviews. Interviews began with a series of open-ended questions that varied slightly based on the participant's role within the center. All participants were asked to share their language background and discuss the multilingual nature of the center. In addition, tutors were asked practical questions about when they switch languages within an appointment and how they were trained to deal with multilingualism. In addition, all participants were asked to recount a story that exemplified their experience in the writing center (See Appendixes B, C, and D for a list of questions). These questions, as well as one about whether the interviewees experienced Ubuntu in the writing lab, were the original set for obtaining data. However, after realizing that students were protesting the language policy, questions were added regarding those movements, their intentions, and the participants' feelings towards them.

The questions yielded two parallel and strongly related sets of data; one set deals with the practical, daily operations and environment of the writing center and the other deals with students protesting language policies and the political implications of this situation. In addition,

the climate created by the protests affects the students, administrators, and tutors who use the lab, even if they do not experience a lot of this in their daily work. The protests are particularly important in this case because the director of the language center, which governs the writing lab, is a key player in the drafting of the language policy. In this chapter, findings regarding the work of the multilingual writing center will be explored, while Chapter 6 will present data related to themes of protest and student activism.

The Importance of Understanding Language as a Resource

The most striking outcome from interviews with the administrators, tutors, and students of the Stellenbosch writing lab was that no one described work in a multilingual lab as being difficult. The words *difficult*, *tough*, and *hard* do not come up in reference to the multilingual nature of the lab. When participants discussed consulting in multiple languages, they talked about simply asking the students which language they want to use, then switching as is appropriate for the conversation. Most discussion of language use revolved around the theme that language is a resource. This was striking. As a creative writer who studied literature and works in composition, the idea that language is an integral part of identity has been engrained in me quite thoroughly. Conservative citizens of the United States complain about the use of other languages in schools and in the community; towns try to pass ordinances that would allow important documents to only be published in English (Greusz, 2013). The lack of emotional attachment to language that presented itself in the words of tutors and students was thus shocking, though it does not come as a surprise to one of Stellenbosch's directors, Kate, a White bilingual speaker who's first and preferred language is English. Kate conducted a study recently that revealed how faculty members are pragmatic about their language choice, and even if they do feel attached to a particular language, they will teach in whichever tongue most benefits their students. This

sentiment was echoed by Nenet, the center's other director, who is also bilingual, but whose first language is Afrikaans. She stated that "Stellenbosch is not an Afrikaans university; it's not an English university, so the language is just an instrument to achieve goals."

The center's tutors in particular spoke to the idea of language as a tool that, like technology, should be used and manipulated to help people achieve. Writing consultants Mark and Noelle noted that knowing English is essential in the workforce, while Lagatha stated that learning any foreign language allows one to empathize better with others, and Andrew noticed that it is worth learning another language because people will treat you better when you travel. Almost all of the 19 participants stated that, regardless of their native language, they write in English simply because it gains them the biggest academic audience since the most widely circulated journals are English language. In fact, the only time a tutor spoke to language and personal identity was when Andrew, who grew up bilingual in Afrikaans and English, stated "The assumption is that if you're White you must speak Afrikaans and be an Afrikaaner. We're dealing in perceived stereotypes and there's strong resistance to that." Obviously this connection between perceived identity and language is a negative one, which could explain why students resist tying language and identity together. This thought was reaffirmed by Nenet when she stated that "lack of ownership of the dominant languages can impact negatively on the teaching and learning of our students. They see Afrikaans and English as the language of other people." Though she expressed concern about the lack of ties students have to their languages, her thought that students view the dominant languages as belonging to others, and in fact often belonging to those whom they see as oppressors, may explain why students hesitate to develop personal attachments to their language. It is the lab's administrators who see this as cause for concern, not the students (including tutors, who are also students) themselves.

Although all participants interviewed agreed that language is a resource, most of the administrators expressed varying amounts of distress regarding the fact that students do not see language as inherently tied to their identities. Johannes summed up the feelings of many academics when he stated that

> at the moment people are so strongly focused on English that they will even … let go of their mother tongue. You will find if you speak to young people that they're not that bothered bout the advancement or retaining of their language …. That's quite a challenge.

The students do not see this as a challenge, nor do faculty who choose to teach in a language that is not their native tongue for the sake of student learning. Kate expressed her surprise at the same finding, present in her study, as did Nenet. In general, this seems to be a divide between the student population and the administration: students are fine with seeing language as a tool to use for advancement. They do not seem to need to tie it to their culture, their family, or their history. The administrators have possibly grown up with the perception that language is a marker of identity, and they wish the students saw it that way as well, though they are also both realistic and accepting of the way modern students use their languages. Nonetheless, their emotional connection to language reflects the way that most American academics and citizens feel about language: that it is somehow intrinsically linked to who they are as a people and a society.

In fact, the data pertaining to Open Stellenbosch and its protests of the language policy reveal that students at Stellenbosch are in fact personally invested in language. This is clear in the passion with which they responded to questions about the movement. Though some students and tutors supported the movement and others opposed it, no matter their stance, it was generally

defended with vehemence and, often, anger. The students seemed to feel so strongly about the movement because they understand that there is an intrinsic link between language and politics.

Embracing Linguistic Imperfection

While the practical operations of the multilingual center are not difficult, interviews with the staff of the Stellenbosch writing lab revealed that those who work in the writing lab will never be satisfied with their own language skills or their ability to accommodate every student's language needs. Of the 19 participants interviewed, 13 expressed self-consciousness about their own language proficiency, with many stating that they do not really feel that they know a language even though they studied if or many years and can converse in it. The standard to which the Stellenbosch population holds itself regarding language fluency seems markedly higher than the American standard, which generally holds that you speak a foreign language if you studied it in school at an intermediate level. For example, one of the writing tutors, Ali, stated,

> I can speak Afrikaans, but not on the level that the Afrikaans main language students can. I can speak and write and did it for 12 years in school, but not higher grade Afrikaans, so I try not to consult on that level because I feel I wouldn't be of much help.

More than likely, Ali could consult in Afrikaans and be perfectly fine, but his self-consciousness about not having learned Afrikaans from childhood prevents him from doing so. Student Lily, who conducted her interview in English, and who writes all of her coursework in English though she is a Xhosa native speaker, stated in exceptional English, "I feel like even when people are listening to me, maybe they don't understand what I'm trying to say." Tutor Aleid noted "I started to learn English here at the university. I mean, we wrote exams in school, so I could

speak it but I wasn't comfortable speaking it." Several tutors noted that having to practice all the time in the writing lab has made them more comfortable speaking English.

Administrators interviewed offered similar insights into their self-consciousness about speaking in their non-native languages. Beth, who runs the daily operations of the center and must constantly use both English and Afrikaans, noted that she is sometimes self-conscious about speaking English, even though she can do so fluently, because she is afraid she will mispronounce words or choose the wrong word. Nenet told the story of being hired for a tutoring position and questioning why anyone would want her to tutor English with her Afrikaans language background. Kate noted in her interview that, though she can speak Afrikaans in addition to her native English, she is "lazy" about it and has days where she feels like she can speak better Afrikaans than on other days. Johannes, who is a linguist and speaks many languages, told the story of teaching in the Netherlands and having to overcome his own shortcomings in speaking Dutch. He had a sense of humor about the situation, stating that

> it's difficult. So when I started out with my set of lectures, I always warned that I'm going to teach in Dutch, but it will be a mess. But I'll try and you're going to help and you're going to laugh at me and that's fine.

Though most everyone interviewed seemed to wish their language skills were better, they continue to do their work, realizing that language skills can always be improved upon. This is important for centers in the United States to recognize, too; tutoring in multiple languages does not mean that one has to be perfect in all of them. In fact, in some ways it may be most beneficial for students to see that we are all struggling to be multilingual and that it is an imperfect process. Seeing a tutor struggle to grasp a word, whether it be in English or another language, can go far

in negating the perception that people are just born perfect writers or that people perfect their language skills.

Another common theme revealed during interviews was that the writing lab staff and students are never quite satisfied with how many languages the writing lab can tutor. Almost everyone interviewed wishes that the writing lab could do more than it is already doing regarding which languages they can tutor. Opinions were divided on whether the lab was multilingual or bilingual, however most agree that English dominates in the space. Nenet stated, "we … do not speak enough Afrikaans even though it is the language of instruction or teaching and learning." Joseph agrees, saying

> I would say it's bilingual, but the language which is mostly consulted in is English or Afrikaans. Afrikaans dominates a little more than English [at the university]. Not in this space, but that's probably because academic writing tends to be written in English.

Beth was also of the mindset that the lab is not yet truly multilingual, but that "it's trying to be multilingual," which echoed tutor Alya's sentiment that "I think it's a very good start because we're moving towards accommodating everyone and accepting all languages." The students who use the center agreed that it would be great to have more languages represented. Titus was optimistic about the expansion of linguistic offerings: "I think with time it might even increase to consulting in Swahili! I think it's an advantage to offering more languages."

Though Stellenbosch identifies itself as a multilingual university, many instead call it bilingual because the languages of teaching and learning are Afrikaans and English, and these are the languages in which student newspapers and announcements are written. Although the university does support creating academic vocabularies for native languages like Xhosa and Zulu, these are not languages of instruction or writing. The writing center, however, pushes the

bounds of what languages are included in the academic life of the university. Though it is an informal setting, the writing lab is certainly a teaching and learning entity, yet it includes languages not included in classrooms. In many ways, the writing lab is a safe environment in which to test linguistic boundaries. Though a student whose native language is Swahili may never have the opportunity to write a paper in Swahili or speak it in class at Stellenbosch, the writing lab is a space where, if there happens to be a Swahili-speaking tutor at the time, the student can talk about academics in his or her home tongue.

Interviewees were somewhat divided regarding whether the writing lab is bilingual or multilingual. There also seemed to be disagreement about which languages tutors could speak. Tutor Andrew is one of those who views the center as bilingual. "I see it as bilingual because there's a limited amount of consultants who offer a third language. It's very much Afrikaans and English. There are exceptions." Joseph agreed, as did Johannes, who stated that "still Afrikaans and English are the two dominant languages, and now it's more equal. It's an equal bilingualism. That's the goal." Alied stated, "I don't see other languages [besides English and Afrikaans], but I think there might be a place for more intensive types of consultations with a person who can't speak English." Titus compared the linguistic situation to his home, where multilingualism is even more pronounced. "Here at the university I don't see multilingualism carried out like in other places I've been. For example in Tanzania, much of the language is English, and the official language is Swahili and that is published; it's official." He went on to say that most things at Stellenbosch, like signs, are only in Afrikaans.

Others who work in or visit the writing lab disagreed. Aidan claimed to hear "all kinds of languages. Even though I speak Shangani, I'm able to speak with someone who speaks Xhosa. I'm able to speak with someone who speaks English." Though Titus sees the campus as largely

bilingual or even monolingual, he sees the writing center as a place that pushes the boundaries by offering additional linguistic support, finding that "they consult in Afrikaans and English and IsiXhosa. There are three languages there." Though Titus specifically mentioned the availability of tutoring in isiXhosa, some tutors do not believe that there is currently a Xhosa speaking consultant, though they do believe there are consultants who can speak European languages like German or French. Because of tutor turnover, it is understandable that some staff might not know what languages are available at a given time.

Code-Switching in Sessions

Before interviewing participants, I was able to spend several weeks observing writing sessions. Although many of these sessions took place exclusively in English, quite a few sessions featured a mix of languages, with the primary switch being between Afrikaans and English, though sometimes a student would lapse into his or her home language without the tutor being able to understand. One session also made use of Swahili, as both the tutor and student spoke that language even though student had not sought a Swahili-speaking tutor. During these sessions, switching took place seamlessly. Because it was not always clear why the switches took place, I asked about the switching as a follow up to the question about multilingualism when speaking to tutors and when talking to students whom I had noticed switching in their appointments.

Unconscious switching

There were several answers given during interviews as to why the code switching occurred and when. However, many tutors and students interviewed agreed that switching happened naturally and organically, usually without either party making the conscious choice to change languages. As tutor Andrew stated, "It happens at times but it's not a conscious thing."

Patrick stated almost the exact same thing in his interview: "Very rarely is the decision to switch codes conscious." For some, the switch is so automatic that they may not realize they are doing it. This happens for bilingual consultant Sabra, who said, "sometimes when I speak I can't remember what language that was because I just remember the content." Though it may be difficult to imagine for a monolingual speaker who has struggled to learn a second language, bilingual and multilingual speakers can in fact be so fluent that they do not need to think consciously about which language they are using at the moment. Lily noticed this among faculty members who teach classes in multiple languages. Lily was asked to explain why a particular professor chooses to switch languages and revealed that "he speaks English and then all of a sudden he speak Afrikaans," indicating that the faculty member does not necessarily realize that he has switched. Jakobus noted the same phenomenon: "They'll switch to Afrikaans because it's their home language, so we'll listen to Afrikaans for five minutes, then someone will raise their hand and they'll go 'oh sorry.' I don't think it's a choice. I think it's unconscious." Although it can be problematic for a professor to switch languages in a class where not all the students can speak multiple languages, in a one-on-one writing session, it is not problematic. The tutor mirrors the language usage of the student, usually switching only when the student switches. If the tutor does accidentally use a phrase in his or her own language, which happened in a couple of the sessions observed, the confusion on the student's face becomes obvious so quickly that the tutor can promptly just repeat what was said in the target language and the session easily moves forward. When switching happens unconsciously in a session, it may in fact be an expression of positivity, as Mark noted. "There are times when I'll get excited that the students are getting it and I'll switch to Afrikaans. I'll do it in front of Zulu or Xhosa students who don't understand and I'll say 'I'm sorry! I just got excited!'" This switch unconsciously occurs because the tutor in

this case is overwhelmed by a positive emotion, though he obviously catches the switch quickly and acknowledges why it happened for the student.

Switching to access vocabulary

Though sometimes students, tutors, and faculty members will unconsciously shift languages, at other times this shift is very intentional. Naturally, all languages have different vocabularies, and one vocabulary might not have a word for a particular concept. In English, we find this with the German concepts of weltanschauung and zeitgeist, which don't have direct equivalents. This is true with South African languages as well, so at some points in a writing session, the student or tutor may wish to access a word that does not directly translate in the primary language in which the student is working. In these cases, if both parties speak another common language, they will switch for the sake of identifying the correct word. The tutor is then sometimes able to help the student explain that word in English. Aidan expressed this eloquently by saying that

> when you're talking to someone who understands, switching can be a way of expressing or explaining or trying to find the right word to explain … If you run out of words to explain a particular thing, you have other resources to turn to than if it's just one language.

Patrick agreed that this is a regular part of speaking in South Africa. "That happens a lot. Sometimes the Afrikaans vocabulary eludes me and you just drop a couple English words. He went on to state, "I sometimes switch to English because I don't have the Afrikaans academic vocabulary. If I'm trying to suggest a phrase, I might not know what to say in Afrikaans." Lagatha, who speaks several languages, finds herself switching among them for vocabulary reasons frequently. "It just happens. You get stuck on a word in say Flemish. We have a couple

Flemish terms we just use, but in Afrikaans we'll have a word that's more apt. But then something else happens and you switch back."

Most tutors talk about switching for a particular academic term or vocabulary word. Mark more humorously discussed switching when he swears, which thankfully does not seem to take place in writing consultations. He chooses to speak English instead of his native Afrikaans most of the time but also revealed that "Afrikaans is the language I swear in, so if I'm mad, I switch to Afrikaans. It has the most beautiful, colorful words to express to people just how upset you are." Although this is a fun example of code-switching, Mark still made the point that the vocabulary of one language may not be sufficient or suitable for what needs to be expressed, and in that case multilingualism allows the speaker to find the right words in another language.

Switching to clarify a concept

Similarly, tutors expressed that they switch languages in a session when they need to explain a particularly difficult concept. As Patrick stated, "I think it usually happens in cases where you're explaining things in Afrikaans and trying to make it as accessible as possible." Along similar lines, Mark found that "sometimes I express a certain concept better in Afrikaans than I do in English. And I'll say "does that make sense?' and maybe I'll switch. It's nice to reinforce." For the consultants, it is a matter of testing the waters regularly. If, for example, the paper on which the student is working has a structural issue and needs to be reorganized, the tutor may try and explain that in English. However, if the student does not seem to understand and the tutor knows he or she can speak another language, the tutor may try explaining in that language to see if the concept is clearer. Andrew saw this: "If they are an Afrikaans student writing in English, by nature you have to find a middle ground. If they could understand the concept or illustration in Afrikaans better than English, you might do that." Lagatha added that

> when we discuss the actual writing we work in English, but it's in the mindset of 'it's ok to figure it out,' so then we use Afrikaans to think about 'where do you want to go?' You have to figure out their needs and find a place where they're comfortable.

Obviously it is quite advantageous to be able to switch languages and try explaining again if the student does not understand a concept in the target language. The likelihood of getting the challenging concept across is improved, which thus improves the overall tutoring session.

Switching for inclusion

Students, administrators, and tutors also found it important to note that politeness governs some switching. This is less the case in tutoring sessions, when the tutor and student are the only participants, but it is the case when tutors or administrators are spending time together between sessions in the center. Obviously the staff speaks a variety of languages, though most can speak English with some degree of fluency. Depending on who is in the room at the moment, the conversation may start in Afrikaans, but if someone who does not speak Afrikaans enters the room, the speakers will automatically speak to a common language, usually English. I noted this many times while in the lab. If I walked into a room in which an Afrikaans conversation was taking place, the speakers automatically shifted to English. While observing sessions, I had to request that tutors carry on the session as they would were I not there after finding that they would begin switching to Afrikaans then, remembering that I was there, remain in English. Because it was more important for me to see when and how they switched than to know the exact content of their conversation, I requested that they act naturally, which they then did, switching between languages frequently.

Beth noted that she switches when a person who looks like they probably do not speak Afrikaans (her home language) enters the room.

> I can see who's Black. Mostly then I will code switch. Sometimes I will say something in English and I will say it in Afrikaans as well. Sometimes I will just speak in English because some of the Afrikaans students will say 'it's ok. You can speak English' because they know that in the group there are some who don't understand Afrikaans. I think they are quite sensitive to the other students.

Alya noticed this switch for the reason of inclusion happening across campus, where even close groups of friends who speak a common language will switch if an acquaintance who does not speak the language enters the space.

> Even in my group when I studied, when the Xhosa students were speaking, they would speak to each other in the native language, but in the group, if it's multilingual, they would speak the English language. This is the common observation.

This idea of switching languages so that someone else does not feel excluded relates closely to the idea of Ubuntu, which will be discussed at length in Chapter 6, but Sabra summed it up well when she stated that "obviously as soon as someone comes into the room who doesn't understand, you would switch to be polite. It's not nice when you don't understand."

Bad language days

Obviously there are a number of reasons for students, tutors, and administrators to switch languages in the writing lab and across campus. Though those given are generally tangible, the final reason given is less so. Several participants speak to switching languages because they are having what they referred to as bad language days. Patrick noted this when he mentioned that sometimes the right word evades him. Beth explained this especially well when she admitted that "it's funny; sometimes you have your English tongue and sometimes you have your Afrikaans tongue." Kate also noted that "I'm fine to read things [in Afrikaans], and if I'm having a good

language day I can conduct fluent conversation." Though it may be difficult to come up with a scientific reason for people having good or bad language days, it is nonetheless a phenomenon that came up in multiple conversations with interviewees, and it does seem to account for at least a small percentage of switches that take place at the university. As Kate went on to say, this process of holding a conversation that switches casually among multiple languages, or which muddles through is "kind of a student way of talking." At a campus where a plethora of languages are spoken, and where even more are included as students who were not historically admitted join the culture, it only makes sense that the student and tutors would adapt by mixing their languages, whether consciously or unconsciously.

A Strong and Fluid Language Policy

Not only do universities need to be aware of the language situation on campus, they also need to be prepared to respond with a language policy. Most American campuses have diversity plans but not necessarily language policies. A language policy outlines how language differences are handled in the classroom and in other areas of campus. Policies let instructors know when and how materials should be translated, as well as letting students know what is expected of them in terms of using language for their academic work. Symbolically, language policies also make the campus community aware that the university accepts students from diverse language backgrounds, and that all are welcome. Practically, a language policy also helps writing center administrators determine what languages they need tutors to speak. It is a living document that needs to be updated frequently.

The Stellenbosch University language policy has changed significantly over time. Although the university is historically Afrikaans, in the interest of inclusiveness, the policy was updated to reflect the fact that English is now the language of business and academic publication.

For this reason, the university saw that its students need to be able to work in English and determined that the school would be bilingual. The language policy outlines how this works in the classroom. Classroom implementation has also changed over time, with different models such as real-time translation and options where classes are offered in different languages being piloted. For example, as Nenet noted, "the language plan said that if you're teaching in Afrikaans, your slides have to be in English also." She also mentioned that one version of the language plan instructed faculty members to write their own plans for language in their classrooms, specifying how they would deal with offering multiple languages in the classroom. Kate noted that "if a class is conducted in Afrikaans, then the interpreters will do English and so on and the materials are supposed to be both languages." She also spoke to the evolution of the language policy, revealing that the school used to use parallel medium, where students were in either an Afrikaans class or an English class but that they have moved away from that because it encourages the separation that the university now tries to avoid. Parallel medium in some ways reflect the United States' Jim Crow laws, where Black and White students were in separate spaces even though their curriculum was supposed to be equal. Though students' opinions on the language policy are divided, with some in fact protesting what they see as the disproportionate use of Afrikaans on campus through Open Stellenbosch movement, all tutors, administrators, and students who were interviewed seemed to have a clear understanding of what the language policy actually says. Interviewees confirmed how the policy works in classrooms and revealed the same concerns, like the fact that trying to listen to an interpreter while also hearing the professor is distracting and that just offering slides in the student's language is not enough because the professor also adds information to the slides in a language they do not understand. This is

another instance where the use of language is not perfect but the effort to include everyone is worthwhile.

Ubuntu

Many of the participants interviewed were not clear on the definition of Ubuntu. Many asked for a definition or clarification, though those who supplied their own definitions agreed that it is a sense of community, and of being human through interactions with other humans. Most added a sharing component where Ubuntu implies wanting to help others. One tutor, Patrick (a White Afrikaans speaking man), defined Ubuntu with some of the same skepticism found in much modern literature on the concept, stating, "It's a sort of somewhat romanticized idea of functioning as a collective to some extent." This skepticism was echoed more strongly by Joseph, a White English only tutor, who stated,

> This is my understanding. It's helping each other. Community. Let me just say a lot of Black South Africans are quite critical of that idea. It's a romanticism of African culture that might have existed but doesn't anymore.

Indian tutor Ali defined it simply as "friendship, brotherhood, sisterhood. Johannes, the White, Afrikaans native speaking and multilingual director of the language center, defined Ubuntu through examples, noting times when he was able to connect with other people through shared understanding, even if they did not speak the same home language. He talked specifically about listening to music to which he could not understand the lyrics and bonding with a gas station attendant who explained the words to him. In addition, he talked about bonding with students he teaches in Dutch, with which he struggles, because they helped him make his meaning clear. He sees this as "Ubuntu of language," meaning that the attempt to understand one another is of the utmost importance, though he also added "the concept of Ubuntu is 'I am because we are'."

Mark defined "the concept of Ubuntu as the traditional 'everyone shares'." In Beth's view, Ubuntu comes down to individual as opposed to the collective, though she also noted that she had never heard of Ubuntu until during the recent World Cup, when "there was a lot of articles about Ubuntu and how everybody has it," which frustrates her. Tutor Aleid, a native Afrikaans speaker of undisclosed race, asked in response to whether she sees Ubuntu on campus, "What's that? It means … what?"

Ubuntu in the writing lab

Many students and tutors who do not see Ubuntu in the community or on campus see it as present in the writing lab, and those who do cross racial and linguistic boundaries. Aidan, a Black tutor who speaks Shangani, noted that

> the policies, respect for the student, coming to the lab on time, honoring, giving your best for the student, not doing work for the student …. yes I'd say the Ubuntu is there. For the benefit of the student … yes that's Ubuntu.

Beth sees the lab as crossing racial boundaries, which contributes to Ubuntu: "If I look at the writing lab, then I think the spirit is there. I really think so. I must say, the consultants really talk with each other. It doesn't matter which race they are, or nationality." Alya, an Indian tutor whose first language is English, but who also speaks Afrikaans, thinks about Ubuntu in the writing lab as opposed to the lack of Ubuntu in her previous job teaching in secondary schools: "It's actually strange experiencing it here …. Teaching before, I usually didn't experience it with colleagues or students, but here, yes." Titus, a Black student, feels Ubuntu in the lab as well: "When you go there you're treated well. I can ask anything. I don't know the principle of Ubuntu, but I'm comforted when I'm there. Outside no, but inside I think you feel Ubuntu."

Although the above participants spoke specifically to the named concept of Ubuntu, others hinted at its presence through talking about the environment and microsystem of the lab, but without actually using the word Ubuntu to describe it. Andrew, for example, found that the center has

> a very tight knit group of consultants. I think everyone enjoys working here, so they're happy at work and that spills over into the way we relate to each other in the workspace. Everyone gets along. There's a collegial atmosphere.

Though Patrick may be reluctant to apply the term Ubuntu to this setting, he does see it as a positive environment. Joseph specified why he thinks the environment of the writing lab is a good one:

> I'd say it's one of the few places where there's almost no politics among people. Even given the fact that it's almost all bilingual students, it's a very apolitical space. I haven't picked up racism. It seems potentially revealing that this consultant equated a lack of politics with a positive, supportive environment.

This indicates that the tutors may be tired of talking about politics on campus, or they see it as too tense a topic to come into the workplace, which seems likely given that they generally do not see Open Stellenbosch affecting their work.

One tutor disagreed that Ubuntu is present in the lab because those who work there get paid to do their jobs, and because students are there for self-serving reasons. Mark is one who feels that Ubuntu is not present for these reasons. "I appreciate the concept, but I also appreciate the fact that they're there to help themselves, which is the inverse of it. Right, so you're there to help yourself so you can go home and help your family." Mark added that it makes sense that Ubuntu is not present at the university because the whole concept of the college is a European

and Middle Eastern one. Nenet stated in her interview that the writing lab was based on the American model, which seems like a reasonable explanation as to why Ubuntu may not exist in the writing lab given that Ubuntu is a distinctly African concept. However, it seems more likely that people who use the lab impose their own ideas of Ubuntu upon it. Most participants who stated that they do feel Ubuntu in the lab are not from the Stellenbosch area, and most are not White. White, Afrikaans-speaking students seemed less inclined to say they felt Ubuntu, perhaps because their experiences with the concept has been limited.

The fact that tutors and students do not necessarily perceive Ubuntu in the lab is actually good for American writing centers because it means there is not some cultural ideal that Africans have that Americans do not and cannot emulate. Even without Ubuntu, the staff and students who use the center agreed that it is a positive atmosphere, and this means that American centers could emulate this within a multilingual center even though culturally the context is different. This theme, as well as other implications for American multilingual writing centers, will be explored in the next and final chapters.

CHAPTER 6

DATA ANALYSIS – STUDENT PROTESTS

Although the writing lab is a microsystem in which tutors, staff, and administrators exist, doing their daily work and interacting with one another, the language lab is a macrosystem, as its rules and functions govern the writing lab's work. The protests of Open Stellenbosch and Rhodes Must Fall took place in the greater exosystem of Stellenbosch University and its surrounding community, and this exosystem influences both the language center and the writing lab despite the fact that the people who work in the lab do not see the protests as having an impact on their daily tasks. To try and understand either of these entities without understanding the greater community would be to remove these settings from their contexts, which would limit the amount of information to be gained from this study. In addition, the themes presented in this section reflect potential difficulties that could come from any multilingual setting, thus American centers and universities hoping to become multilingual can benefit from noting these protests and how they affect the campus and those who work with language. Chapter 7 discusses the interplay between these streams of information, as obvious student feelings towards language and power on campus are strongly related to their experiences with writing. The protests can also serve as a cautionary tale as administrators consider the implications for what universities in the United States can learn from Stellenbosch. For that reason, the background of these protests merits further exploration.

Background of Open Stellenbosch and Rhodes Must Fall

Open Stellenbosch, though it was only becoming visible in the time that I arrived at Stellenbosch, is steeped in a history of politics, language, and other protest movements in South Africa. Tensions at Stellenbosch have been present for some time because of its history of being an Afrikaans university and its efforts to transition to becoming more inclusive, as discussed in previous chapters. Students feeling these tensions seem to have been inspired to action because of the presence of a protest movement at nearby University of Cape Town called Rhodes Must Fall, which aims to remove statues and plaques that represent oppressive Afrikaaners on college campuses. Though the mission of Open Stellenbosch, which will be discussed in depth in this chapter, seems to differ somewhat from Rhodes Must Fall, the underlying theme of attempting to erase the memory of oppressive regimes from the campus is certainly present. There is overlap between the two movements, and the work of Rhodes Must Fall can be seen on the Stellenbosch campus, which has recently removed a statue and a plaque dedicated to figures of oppression and racism. At the time of this study, Open Stellenbosch was a small movement of maybe 100 students and a few very dedicated and passionate faculty members. They were just beginning to hand out literature, to confront the university rector, to publish articles about their work, and to hold forums regarding the language policy. It is likely because they were still in the formation process that the tutors, administrators, and students interviewed often seemed unclear about the mission of the group. Though their understandings of the group's work were often scattered, most interviewed were clearly passionate about their group, whether for or against their perceived goals. Their opinions on Open Stellenbosch reveal much about the link between language and politics on campus.

Despite the protests of the language policy and student desire for more materials, courses in English, and a more racially diverse faculty, the overall consensus revealed in the data was that creating and implementing a writing center is easy. Tutors did not find working in multiple languages particularly challenging, and administrators did not mention any particular problems related to training tutors to work with multiple languages or troubleshooting any issues that arise from multilingual assistance. Nonetheless, the participants did offer valuable insights on both the mindset necessary for making a multilingual center work and for approaching a session that could take place in multiple languages. The most interesting of these revelations concerns the view that language is not a source of identity that binds one inextricably to his or her history and culture but a tool that a student can use to help get ahead both in education and in a career within a global society.

Political Origins of Open Stellenbosch

Because such a strong link between these ideas has existed for such a long time in South Africa, many of the students interviewed seemed skeptical about the political origins of the student groups fighting for change. Multiple interviewees theorized that these supposedly student-led organizations are actually backed by major South African political parties, of which they seem resoundingly skeptical. Mark felt quite confident that "Open Stellenbosch has got behind the scenes support from the Economic Freedom Fighters." Ali saw the same link, noting that the Open Stellenbosch movement began after the leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters gave a talk and held campaign activities on campus. He was also skeptical of the intentions of the students spearheading this movement and Rhodes Must Fall, noting (of Rhodes Must Fall), "the guy who was running it had two Masters degrees and was some sort of consulate. They're using it to try to gain political experience. I think with humans, if we have a charismatic person talking,

things that weren't an issue are now an issue." Not only did people on campus seem unclear about the origins of the Open Stellenbosch movement, there was also ambiguity about their actual mission and purpose.

Conflicting Views of the Goals of Open Stellenbosch

When asked the question in interviews about the interviewees' feelings towards Open Stellenbosch, many asked for clarification regarding the goals of the movement. When that happened I would note that my understanding from newspapers and casual conversations was that they supported the increased use of English on campus. The interviewees almost always ran with that point, adding other theories regarding what they thought Open Stellenbosch hoped to accomplish. It quickly emerged that students see two different missions in the movement: a mission to replace Afrikaans with English (though there were conflicting ideas regarding whether the group wants Afrikaans entirely removed or not) and a mission to remove White professors in favor of Black professors. Most agreed that the mission of Open Stellenbosch is somewhat related to, but separate from, Rhodes Must Fall. As Kate noted,

> The Rhodes Must Fall group began at University of Cape Town, and they've been involved in Open Stellenbosch, but my impression is there's more to Open Stellenbosch; it's more of an initiative for people who are here. It's not altogether different, but their issues might different from those here.

Kate sees Open Stellenbosch as dealing with the local issues of Stellenbosch, including language. One of the primary differences between the two universities, aside from the fact that Cape Town is located in an extremely large, urban environment and Stellenbosch is placed within a small, wealthy town, is that Stellenbosch is a multilingual university and Cape Town is

not. This obviously means the two campuses have quite different problems regarding student inclusion.

Although Cape Town does not have to worry about the inclusion of the Afrikaans language and can instead focus on removing reminders of apartheid history, Stellenbosch accommodates students who speak only or primarily Afrikaans. Some on campus see the sole purpose of Open Stellenbosch as being to remove Afrikaans entirely. Ali explained his perceptions of the movement as such:

> What's happening is the students want to drop Afrikaans completely, but it's not easy to do because it's rooted into the Afrikaans university. It is an Afrikaans University. The vice rector said something like 'you came to Stellenbosch and didn't expect to hear Afrikaans? What did you expect?' A bit excessive but you can't take out Afrikaans.

Ali seemed firm in his belief that Open Stellenbosch wants Afrikaans removed entirely. Lily, a Black student who supports the group, seemed firm in her belief that people like Ali are wrong: "I don't think they're saying they don't want the school to be in Afrikaans; they're saying include the people who can't speak Afrikaans, so do English and Afrikaans, not just one language."

Some of the tutors seemed confused about what the group wants as an outcome to the protests. Joseph seemed less sure about that the student group wants, questioning his own understanding when he said

> this is my understanding. My understanding is that Afrikaans as a language is causing problems with accessibility for other students so … access has to do with bringing in other languages of instruction. Possibly Anglicizing the university a bit more, bringing in Black languages as well. Is that right?

This uncertainly was echoed by Sabra, quoted as saying, "As far as I understand what they want is English everywhere. But I'm not sure if they want to erase Afrikaans or if they just want English next to it everywhere." Even Johannes, who plays a major role in writing the university language policy, seemed as yet not entirely clear on the motives of Open Stellenbosch when he said, "What the Open Stellenbosch movement in essence is asking for as I see it is that this university goes to English." He did not specify whether he thinks the students involved want Afrikaans removed entirely or if they simply want more English on campus. Whatever the group's specific goals, Lagatha saw them as opening up a conversation about language and the language policy: "I do think they raise valid points as far as English and transformation and language policy, which are big issues on campus."

Open Stellenbosch and Race

Though most participants noted that Open Stellenbosch is hoping to alter the university's language policy in some way, a focus that is corroborated by newspaper articles and publications by and about the group, many people also see the movement as racially charged. Some interviewed suggested that, in addition to moving the university more heavily to English, Open Stellenbosch wants to remove Afrikaans-speaking, White faculty members. Mark's perception of what the group wants was the most extreme expressed in interviews. He believes that "they now want the removal of all White professors and to replace them with Black academics." Though most participants did not suggest that the university wants to replace all of its White faculty members, others did mention the hiring of more Black faculty. Roberta noted that she agrees with Open Stellenbosch's sentiment that the faculty needs to be more diverse: "We need more Black professors; that's obvious. We need more Black, Indian, everything other than White academics. Not just support staff." Student Jakobus saw the language issue as directly related to

faculty, noting that not all faculty members are proficient in English. He suggested Open Stellenbosch wants the university to "train people. Find lecturers and train them … there are a lot of Afrikaans speakers with good English." Aleid, who does not necessarily support the movement, feels that particular faculty members are taking the mission of the organization too far, trying to impose their values on students and persuade them to join Open Stellenbosch. She talked about a professor who spent much of her English Literature class talking about social justice and tying it to Open Stellenbosch. Aleid, whose first language is Afrikaans, became frustrated when the professor brought a Black poet to class who pointed out the number of White people in the room. Aleid felt this was racist and that the professor had brought her in specifically to try to make the students feel uncomfortable. She did not feel that the classroom was the place to talk about the movement or their connection to race and social justice.

Implications of the Movement

Just as participants perceived the purpose of Open Stellenbosch differently, they have very different ideas of what the overall outcome of the movement could be. Some feel strongly that the repercussions could have a negative impact on the quality of learning at the school, while others believe that only positive outcomes can result from students taking action. There are also varying opinions on how important the movement is and whether it is necessary, and opinions do not seem to be divided amongst racial and linguistic lines. For example, Patrick is a White, Afrikaans speaking tutor with English as a second language. He sees the movement as very important, stating,

> At times I think OS is too radical, but maybe that's what is necessary. If you're too complacent you need to step it up. It's hard to negotiate that. How do you find a platform for it to be a diverse state? I can say in the past four years, I've

> noticed the student population is more diverse. There are more Black and Coloured students. It's good in one sense, but it's also like "yes there are more, but it's superficial." There is little actual connection between White and Black students. They're still segregated …. There's still a lot of work to be done with integrating the student community, and the question is how to do it. The language policy is an important part of that, the balancing White Afrikaaner cultural identity, which has many negative aspects but has to be acknowledged, and how to rectify past wrongs at the same time. It's trying to balance a lot of things.

In Patrick's view, the university does need to acknowledge the aspects of the university that make students from oppressed backgrounds uncomfortable, and he realizes that drawing attention to these things in any forum is going to be unpleasant. Though he may not always agree with the way Open Stellenbosch goes about drawing attention to its cause, he seems to see it as an overall necessary conversation to have, and he clearly sees that conversation as being about both language and race. As Patrick noted in his interview, bringing more diverse students to campus has not created better relationships between racial groups. Protests may help foster those relationships by bringing students from different racial backgrounds together for a common cause, but those relationships are most often created when individual students get to know other students from different backgrounds. The writing center is one place where this relationship forming can take place because students are not self-selecting a friend group but rather seeking out another student for help without knowing that student's background or race.

Though Patrick sees the movement as important in opening up discussion, another White, Afrikaans speaking tutor who learned English as a second language sees the movement as a waste of students' time. As Mark stated,

> It doesn't serve anyone. It doesn't serve a purpose except to polarize an already polarized society. The majority of people don't care. They are here to learn. Now you get a few people who are unhappy because they're not performing and they want to learn something or maybe they need a scapegoat.

Though Mark was more opposed to the movement than most students or tutors interviewed, he went on to bring up a point echoed by several other interviewees, and that is a concern that Open Stellenbosch, if it succeeds in making Stellenbosch more an English university, will hurt the quality of the school's education and thus hurt its brand and the value of the degrees it confers. Joseph agreed that "one does unfortunately see a drop in standards when going through transition," but he seemed more understanding of the fact that this may be necessary if the school is to foster social justice and diversity and include students from African language backgrounds. Student Titus, who is Black with a Swahili language background, does not necessarily see the value in the movement because he fears it aims to erase an entire language.

> I don't see the value of erasing Afrikaans for the sake of English. The time will come when we say 'let's go back to Afrikaans, oh no, let's switch.' We will be swinging the pendulum. We cannot be static. We should make more effort to make the languages equal.

Some participants were still trying to determine their stances at the time of the interviews. As Patrick, who is actively involved in Open Stellenbosch through his work with another campus organization, and who helped set up a forum to discuss the language policy, stated, "We'll say

we're [his student organization] is trying to identify our exact position. It's a very complex situation." Even though Patrick is involved in Open Stellenbosch, he and his friends do not know whether they agree with the movement or have the same goals as the protesting students. One consultant interviewed declined to give an opinion on the movement. Those who had taken a side seemed conflicted about how the results of the movement might play out in practice. Lily hopes that students will be able to choose to take classes in either English or Afrikaans, while others recognize that this solution, which has in fact been offered by the university before, is impractical. Patrick pointed out that, of the couple hundred students he helps teach each semester, only five or six choose to write and learn in Afrikaans, thus hiring professors for classes of that size would not be worthwhile.

Despite heavily divided opinions on Open Stellenbosch, every tutor and student interviewed who was asked whether they felt the movement impacted their work or learning in the writing lab said that it does not affect their time in the center. They did not see a direct correlation between the way the lab deals with language and the protests. Though both directors who work in the lab noted that they have heard tutors talk about Open Stellenbosch, no one seemed to see a negative or positive impact of the movement on the way tutors deal with students, or the way students approach their writing. This could reaffirm the idea that, especially in the space of the writing lab, language is a tool that is used to achieve a goal, not a source of identity. Though it does seem like some participants are invested in or opposed to Open Stellenbosch for personal reasons, such as experiences with social justice or race on campus, they did not view themselves as bringing those feelings into the lab. Of course this could be happening on a subconscious level, as the protests going on will raise stress levels and make people more aware of language in general.

Instead of viewing language the way South African students do, many Americans would agree with the sentiments of South African academics, echoed by Nenet, who believe that "if you speak to a person in a language he understands, you speak to his head. If you speak to a person in his own language, you speak to his heart." Of course, most students in the United States have the benefit of growing up speaking what is currently one of the primary languages of academia. Those students in South Africa who grew up speaking Afrikaans, isiXhosa, isuZulu, or one of the many other languages common to the country realize that they are at a distinct disadvantage when they enter college because English is the language in which most of the journal articles and textbooks they read will be published. Similarly, when students go to publish themselves, they realize it is beneficial to do so in English because journals in that language get the widest circulation. While it is an advantage to enter the university speaking English, as Nenet eloquently put it, it is important to realize that "academic discourse is nobody's first language." This is true in the United States as well. Even a student who grows up speaking Standard English is often unprepared for academic writing. This is why most colleges offer English academic writing courses. The jump then from a non-standard dialect to academic English seems less daunting, yet American universities are concerned that they will spend even more time and money on getting students prepared to write if they attempt to accommodate a more diverse body of language backgrounds. Johannes, who oversees the budget for the language center, found that the cost is minimal in the greater scheme of university expenses and that money spent helping students become multilingual is well worth it. This makes sense, given that students who succeed in their academic writing are more likely to publish and place into prestigious jobs, which reflects well on the university.

For a multilingual center to work, students must view language as a resource and be willing to choose a language that is best for their purpose without feeling their identity is offended by using another language. This concept is important for centers in the United States since there is no official language in this country. The emotional tie to English, and the vehemence with which more conservative populations defend its sole use, is becoming outdated as the country diversifies. Like Afrikaans in South Africa, English could be seen as a language of oppression if Standard English continues to be forced on students. As Nenet stated, many students in South Africa find themselves constantly speaking "the languages of other people" in their academic work, specifically Afrikaans and English, because they cannot use their native language in the classroom. The ability to branch out and accept other languages would be both symbolically significant in making students feel welcome no matter what their linguistic background, and linguistic diversification would also be practical for helping students succeed in a global world. Writing centers are well positioned to question the ways in which people use language on campus, and could thus lead the way in experimenting with helping students in other languages. As Stellenbosch shows, the daily operations of a multilingual lab are relatively easy if the writing lab has proper support.

Links Between Protests, Politics, and Language

As stated earlier, questions about the protest were added after several other questions had already been asked, allowing the participants time to get comfortable with the interview process and the interviewer before delving into what proved to be a sensitive and passion-invoking topic. The question was met with a variety of non-verbal reactions, from people sitting up excitedly in their seat to eye rolls and head shakes. Some participants made faces that showed their discomfort, though all but a couple interviewees spoke fairly openly about their opinions on the

situation. Tutors gave the most extensive answers, while some students seemed to know little about the movement. Administrators were the group least forthcoming in their views, most likely because they were worried that presenting an unpopular view could have negative repercussions in the workplace, and because they may not want their staff to know their stance so that they can keep an open atmosphere where students feel free to express their opinions.

All participants seemed to agree on the fact that there is a strong link between language, politics, and protests on campus. As Andrew summarized, "There's a social justice component, which is strong. Then of course everything in South Africa is political because it's inevitably racialized. It's not necessarily a racialized society, but a society drawn along class lines." Andrew seems to see this as a natural state of affairs for his country, as does Ali, who stated that "South Africa is always like this. People strike. Everyone wants equality. It's a tricky thing. There are also political careers built on this." Aidan, who speaks Shangani as a first language, reveals in his interview that he does not necessarily understand why language on campus is such a problem. He realizes that "the politics of language is just something I grew up with, so if you wanted to circulate in an environment, you just had to know the languages." Johannes saw this particular problem as stemming directly from the politics of language.

> The languages in South Africa are not equal. There's a certain discordance there and obviously English is most powerful for obvious reasons. But then again if you take the 11 official languages, Afrikaans is in a stronger position than the others for a number of reasons.

With so many official languages, and with so many people talking about language as the university attracts more students from varied linguistic backgrounds, it is not uncommon for people to get tired of thinking about the issue, and several tutors and students expressed

something akin to exasperation in their responses, indicating that, though the protests have not been going on for long, they are already somewhat tired of the issue. Nenet has also noted this in faculty members, whom she has spoken with informally and formally through studies.

> One of the things they also said, they suffered from language fatigue because language was such an issue on campus that they were all time talking about it. But my take on that is sometimes talking about language makes people uncomfortable.

Nonetheless, participants realize that the issue of language and all of its political implications will not go away on campus in the near future. After all, the complicated politics of South Africa, as well as its racially divided history, affects the education students get in the languages. Nenet noted that many students entering the university come from poor K-12 schools that were left with fewer resources when the wealthy families in their districts moved their children to other schools, so those who were left in the underfunded schools must catch up once they enter the university. Nenet approached her point from her unique experience teaching K-12, where she saw students who were unprepared to receive an education in English, or sometimes even in Afrikaans. Consultant Patrick comes at the issue from the perspective of his work as an Anthropology major who is interested in the history of scholarship and learning at Stellenbosch. He expressed concern common among Afrikaans speakers that, if tertiary schools stop teaching in Afrikaans, the language will be lost. Though none of the consultants revealed that they explicitly felt their language and their identity were directly tied together, Patrick's concern does indicate an acute awareness of the link between culture and language.

The tutors, who were generally quite perceptive regarding what was going on around campus, were also aware of the link between race and language on campus, which plays a large part in both the Rhodes Must Fall and Open Stellenbosch movements. Tutor Andrew noted that

"10 years ago when [he] was an undergraduate, if you had a Coloured person in your class it was an exception. It was a big thing. We've come a long way. Particularly in the arts faculty, there are more Coloured people now than White people, and they've done that in three years." He also noted that transformation is difficult, especially when done in such a short amount of time, and that it is bound to lead to some problems and unrest. Overall though, he was satisfied that his department has adjusted well and embraced the university's newfound diversity. Roberta also noted that things were different at Stellenbosch when she started as a student (she is now a tutor and student).

> When I used to come here as a first year in 2002, we used to have a huge classroom of about 300 students. Probably like 10 to 20 Black students were in the class. You really stood out from the rest, and you notice all the other Backs on campus because … there were so few of us.

She proceeded to talk about how there are now more Black students on campus, which she sees as giving more leverage to student protestors because there are more students affected by the language policy as Black students generally do not speak Afrikaans.

Joseph, a tutor who speaks only English, spoke to the assumption that Afrikaans speaking people are inherently racist, noting that students in his generation were born at the end of apartheid.

> We were born in 1993 towards the end of apartheid; we don't want to be associated with that. But at the same time, not every Afrikaans person is a racist. You cannot make those assumptions. But at the time that was my thinking as an anti-apartheid activist, so that thinking got in me.

Joseph spoke at length in his interview about how his mother was an anti-apartheid activists and how that influenced his thinking. Although he has always been interested in social justice, he was forthcoming in revealing that he was formerly biased against Afrikaans people, a bias he is overcoming at Stellenbosch. In fact, he noted in the interview that he is now studying the Afrikaans language because he has become fascinated with it after making Afrikaans friends on campus. The admission that people can be so readily racist towards a group because of the language they speak and its political connotations reveals that the link between language, race, and politics is strong on campus and in the country.

The Effect of Open Stellenbosch on Ubuntu

Though the tutors and students who use the writing lab do not necessarily see Open Stellenbosch has having an effect on their daily tutoring work, this movement going on within the exosystem of Stellenbosch University undoubtedly affects the microsystem of the lab, even if it is simply by making the people in the center more cognizant of attitudes towards the languages they speak. As a researcher, I was keenly aware of this when asking those who use and work in the center whether they feel that Ubuntu, a South African philosophy that in part states that people discover their own humanity through interaction with others, exists on campus and in the lab. Responses to this question were very mixed, but this could in part be because Open Stellenbosch is creating a more divisive atmosphere than is usually felt on campus. Then again, given the history of the university, it could simply be that the community always feels somewhat divided. The concept and presence of Ubuntu in the writing lab need continued research as it is important for American universities to understand if they seek to emulate the work of those in South Africa. Additionally, it is important to note that events on campus at the time likely impacted responses to the question of Ubuntu. As Lagatha noted,

> in terms of the larger campus … that is a very different thing [than the writing lab] because with the whole Open Stellenbosch movement going on, where it might have been more a sense of Ubuntu, I think now there are strong divisions coming to light, which might have been there previously, but they're being highlighted. Maybe this facade we've been putting on is not reality.

In fact, most people interviewed talked about Ubuntu on campus and Ubuntu in the writing lab as two separate things, and those who saw Ubuntu in one place did not always see it in the other, perhaps because of the greater cultural climate on campus.

Ubuntu on Campus and the Community

Opinions varied regarding the extent to which Ubuntu can be found in the town of Stellenbosch and on the campus in particular. Some felt moments of it, while others adamantly argued that Ubuntu does not exist in Stellenbosch or at the university. Jakobus, a student from Durban who speaks English, Afrikaans, and Zulu, stated,

> I don't feel like in this town it's much of a thing, but where I come from I feel it …. I don't think it's the town's fault. I think it's just how it is. It's just an Afrikaans area. It's hard to share something if you can't communicate with someone. Especially if you have nothing…It's a big barrier.

This quote almost places the Afrikaans language in direct opposition to the idea of Ubuntu, with the language acting as a barrier that prevents people from feeling this sense of community. Roberta, a Black student who speaks English, Afrikaans, and Xhosa, stated that she would "not generalize it to campus because people are on their own little paths," and Noelle agreed that on campus she feels it "not so much." Tutor Patrick, White and Afrikaans-speaking, does not see Ubuntu "because things are still stratified and you have different student demographics not

mingling as much as they should in my opinion." Noelle, whose first language is Afrikaans, does see it in the community:

> Not so much on campus, but literally everywhere I go I do get some experiences that are. But my life on campus and me walking from my flat to campus are two different experiences …. people don't know what race I am, so if I greet the, it's like this shock and they smile. And afterwards they smile and wave and even shout 'hey!', and I think that's a great feeling that shows Ubuntu.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Chapter 5 of this study presented data meant to answer the questions "what are the experiences of tutors in a multilingual South African writing center?" and "what are the experiences of students in a multilingual South African writing center?" Although these questions were answered in great depth during interviews with these two populations, a significant amount of information was also gained regarding the experiences of administrators in a multilingual South African center, as more administrators were available for interviews than previously expected and as these administrators talked at much more length about their personal experiences with the lab than anticipated. This additional data allows for an even more thorough understanding of the world of a multilingual writing center than hoped. Many robust emergent themes came to light in Chapter 5, with additional themes presented in Chapter 6 related to the protests and student unrest found at Stellenbosch University at the moment of data collection. The use of ethnography allowed both sets of themes to be captured, which was useful given that the findings that relate to the multilingual writing center are situated within the greater context of the themes uncovered because of student protests. This chapter provides implications for how those findings may be applied in American writing centers.

The Benefit of Ethnography

The decision to use ethnography as the qualitative methodology for this study allowed me to gather information that I may not have been able to gain using any other methodology. Conducting an ethnographic study allowed me to immerse myself entirely in the site of Stellenbosch University, which meant that I became very familiar not only with the campus but also with the community surrounding it. Informal conversations with people living in the town would not have been possible without using this methodology, and it is unlikely that I would have had access to the Open Stellenbosch language forum had another methodology been selected. In addition, ethnography allowed me to observe many tutoring sessions, which gave credibility to many statements conveyed during the interviews. For example, tutors talked about the ease of code-switching in sessions, but because I was able to actually watch them tutor, I was able to confirm that in fact switching was natural and did not create awkward or cumbersome pauses in the tutoring session. In general, ethnography proved the best method for answering the question of what the tutors and students in a multilingual writing lab experience in their time in sessions.

The Study's Place in the Research

The study takes a small step in filling the lacuna in literature about multilingual writing centers. As early as 1989, scholars called for the use of ethnographies in multilingual settings to determine how and when students used their languages (Wallace & Goodman, 1989). Yet few such studies have been produced. Although professionals have begun studying multilingualism as it relates to writing center theory in the past several years, these have largely been case studies or the work of administrators writing about their own centers. There has been little work written on multilingual labs that are so for reasons of social justice because, until the past few years,

there have been none of these in the United States. Even international multilingual writing centers are fairly rare. Despite South Africa's 11 official languages, there are only two prominent multilingual (or bilingual, depending on perspective) writing labs: Pretoria and Stellenbosch. The decision to examine an international writing lab was thus, part necessity and part desire to create connections between American writing centers and those abroad. Given that the work done in centers worldwide is strikingly similar, it makes sense for those who work in and supervise these centers to exchange notes and study one another.

In addition to filling a gap in writing center literature, this study unintentionally shed light on the connection between writing labs and the politics of language. The emergence of the Open Stellenbosch movement allowed me to gain a better understanding of how language policies are formed and how they grow and change based on the reactions of needs of those affected by them. It was especially useful to be able to observe these protests, then to talk with the administrator who helps craft the language policy and the students taking part in it. Noting how the protests both do and do not affect the work of the writing center was also useful because it is likely that writing centers in the United States will be similarly affected by protests in this country, whether they be the result of racial issues as they are now or the future result of changing language dynamics on campus caused by immigration and increased access for Latino/Latina students.

Perhaps most importantly, this study offers practical information for centers looking to begin offering multilingual tutoring. The experiences of those who both work in and use the writing lab at Stellenbosch are invaluable in shedding light on what works best. Though overall their stories reassure us that starting a multilingual center is plausible, there is much to be learned by their thoughts and feelings on administrative moves such as having two joint directors,

housing the center within a language center, and ensuring that the writing lab is tied directly to the language policy. There are also many small procedural things to be learned from the way tutors are scheduled, how students select the language of tutoring, and how multiple languages are accommodated in training sessions. Finally, and most importantly, the data from this study yields important information on when and why students and tutors code-switch within sessions. The information gained from both observing sessions and speaking with students and tutors who code-switch will surely guide any center that chooses to accommodate multiple languages in the future.

Applying Theories to Data

When selecting the theories through which I would explore the data yielded by these interviews, I intentionally chose developmental ecology (Evans et al., 2010) because I knew that, no matter what else I found, the writing lab would be a microsystem affected by the greater macro and exosystems of the university and South Africa. This theory would allow me to explore the impact of the university and surrounding town on the lab. I was also aware that social justice theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Freire, 2000; Lynn & Dixson, 2013; Rawls, 1972) would be applicable at the start of this study because the reasons for Stellenbosch creating a language policy that includes multiple languages was born out of a need for social justice in South African schools post-apartheid. This theory also became very relevant in light of the protests about inclusion and faculty diversity. By contrast, I included the theory of Ubuntu without knowing what I might find because it was important to explore a South African theory instead of simply imposing Western educational theories on the data. Ubuntu indeed ended up being one of the most interesting topics in the interviews, as some students saw it and others did not. Even though

it seems that Ubuntu is not part of all tutors' and students' experience in the lab, each of these theories is nonetheless uniquely important.

Developmental Ecology

In Chapter 3, the term microsystem, used in reference to particular locations discussed in developmental ecology, was defined as

> a pattern of activities, roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given face-to-face setting with particular physical, social, and symbolic features that invite, permit, or inhibit engagement in sustained, progressively more complex interactions with, and activity in, the immediate environment. (Evans et al., 2010, p. 163)

The Stellenbosch University writing lab is a microsystem. The patterns of activities that take place in the center would include the way that students come in to schedule appointments, then show up and wait in the lobby for their tutor to be free, eventually following the tutor back and going through the same questions and format for each session. This routine is important because students must know what to expect and how to prepare when they visit for a tutoring session. The patterns are strikingly similar to most American centers, with the exception that code-switching and the selection of a language when the student makes the appointment are added in the multilingual center.

Just as the patterns of the Stellenbosch lab are much like those followed in labs and centers worldwide, so are the roles of the tutors and administrators. The tutors act as guides, using Socratic questioning to help student improve their own writing, while the administrators provide training and create programming to help the lab furthers it mission. The way that the staff interacts with one another is similar in that everyone is friendly and cordial, hanging around

sometimes to talk even after sessions have ended, or having coffee together before appointments or when leaving. Like so many American centers, Stellenbosch also employs a flat hierarchy, where everyone jumps in to help one another and where people with lower-level roles that are not generally given significant responsibility, such as administrative assistants and student workers, perform very meaningful work that can significantly change the course of a student's academic career. Like elsewhere, the administrators keep open doors and allow themselves to be interrupted by the student workers, realizing that interacting with the tutors and students is the most important part of the job.

Like all microsystems, the writing lab is defined by a particular space, and this space has purposefully been created to make students feel welcome and comfortable. Like many other centers, small round tables are employed so that students and tutors can sit close to one another. Bookshelves display relevant manuals and textbooks on writing, which students and tutors can browse through as needed. This particular lab is divided into multiple rooms, which cuts down some on noise, though students do still occasionally complain that it can get a bit loud; this desire for a quiet space is not found in all labs and is a characteristic of Stellenbosch's unique lab. Similarly, this lab is without a lot of extra technology, a choice that some centers reject and others embrace. Both are valid, but the lack of laptops and desktops does contribute to the more intimate, personal feel of Stellenbosch's center, just as the yellow walls contribute to the homey but vibrant feel of the former residence that houses it. The physical space also includes symbolic and social features like a space to tutors to gather and a coffee set-up that allows tutors to make drinks for themselves, one another, or the students they are tutoring. Multiple tutors and students mentioned the coffee in their interviews, pointing to it as a symbolic bonding ritual that allows them to feel relaxed and sociable in the center.

Overall, aside from some comments about noise levels, everyone interviewed seemed happy within the microsystem of the lab. Though obviously all participants have chosen to use the lab or to make it their place of employment, many made an effort to note that they felt particularly comfortable in the physical space, meaning that it is a positive microsystem for developing students and tutors. Comments regarding how the writing lab's work is not affected by outside protests show that people feel insulated and protected within the center, where they can talk about Open Stellenbosch and voice their opinions without feeling threatened or pressured to either join or deny the movement. Instead, healthy debate can and does take place regarding its merits. Of course, the lab is quite affected by the movement, even if the tutors do not see this manifesting itself during their regular session.

During an interview with Johannes, it was revealed that, as the director of the language center, he has a strong part in not only advising the university regarding the language policy, but he also has a hand in actually writing the policy. Johannes advises the university regarding what languages would be best to formally include as well as how to incorporate those languages in the classroom. Though he of course does not have complete control regarding the linguistic choices ultimately made by the campus, he is in an important position given that his center provides programming to support the language policy. The language lab, as mentioned in Chapter 4, offers courses in the various languages supported by the university, such as isiXhosa and Zulu, as well as the languages of instruction. They also work on creating scientific vocabulary for African languages that do not already have them. At the time of my visit, the primary focus seemed to be on isiXhosa. Like the writing lab, the language center is a microsystem that exists within the larger context of the macrosystem of Stellenbosch University. Stellenbosch University is naturally influenced by the exosystems that comprise the town of Stellenbosch, nearby Cape

Town, and South Africa in general. The South African government is an important exosystem in this case, because language policies being created there affect the work of the writing lab and language center of Stellenbosch University, even though the people who work there are not part of the government system.

The most important finding in regard to developmental ecology revealed in this study was that the protests–Open Stellenbosch and, to a lesser extent, Rhodes Must Fall–in some ways bridged the gap between the microsystem of the language center, the macrosystem of the university, and important exosystems, including the University of Cape Town and the government of South Africa. While the students are arguing for change particularly at Stellenbosch, they are influenced by the student movement at Cape Town, and they are protesting not only their own administration, but in turn the post-apartheid government, which they see as still embracing apartheid symbols too heavily, and also the media, which carries news stories about what is happening at Stellenbosch internationally. The presence of the media of course influences the way the protests take place, and the audiences that read these stories may be swayed to particular actions because of how the reporting is done. The connection between all of these systems is important because, though it may raise an uncomfortable conversation, it allows the government and the university administrators to know how students feel about their education and how language plays into it. Students who are developing their sense of ethics and social justice may take part in protests, and the systems in play at the university, within a politically tumultuous country, allow them to move along in their developmental path. However, the protests did not manage to bridge the gap between the macro and exosystems and the microsystem of the writing lab. Almost all participants insisted that they did not think that the work of Open Stellenbosch in any way impacted their experience in the writing alb. While many

enjoy the fact that the writing lab is not a political space, it would make sense for the writing lab to serve as a counterspace for students to talk about language and the unrest surrounding the university's languages of education.

Social Justice

As mentioned in the second chapter, writing centers tend to be social justice oriented because they are concerned with fulfilling the needs of students who may be underprepared, non-native speakers of the language of instructions, or have a disability that challenges their ability to excel in writing. In addition, Stellenbosch University is concerned with social justice in that they offer multiple languages in order to accommodate students who do not speak Afrikaans, which was the traditional language of instruction during apartheid. The language center specifically fulfills a social justice mission by developing the academic terminology of native languages to perpetuate the use of those languages and prevent their death. The writing lab in particular works heavily in the social justice arena by pushing the bounds of the language policy. Though the language policy only accounts for English and Afrikaans as languages of instruction, the writing center uses other tongues such as Xwana, Shangani, Swahili, and Xhosa to accommodate students in their home languages so that they have a better chance of succeeding at the university. The center is not required to do this, but as the interviews revealed, all who work there feel that it is important that they do so and wish that in fact they could do more.

Writing centers across the world subscribe to social justice theory in that they believe students should be able to use their heritage language in their academic work, even if it is not in formal research essays. This stance is clear through the policies and guidelines of such prominent organizations as CCCC, IWCA, and WPA. In addition, scholars who study the use of language among students agree with critical race theorists such as Lynn and Dixson (2013) and Delgado

and Stefancic (2012) that it is a disadvantage to not allow students to have instruction on when to switch between their native language and academic English based on audience (Canagarajah, 2011; Perez, 2000; Siegel, 2006). Such scholars understand that it is oppressive and counter to a social justice mission to treat multilingual speakers as if they are second language learners and try to teach them Standard English as one would a non-native English speaker (Matsuda, Lu, & Horner, 2010).

Like many writing centers, Stellenbosch University's fulfills the social justice mission by allowing students who would typically be considered underprepared because their home language is one other than the language of instruction to talk about their language use and practice switching between languages with a tutor who has mastered codeswitching. In addition, the language center at Stellenbosch furthers the social justice mission of including native languages at the university by developing scientific terminology for languages like ixiXhosa that serve as the mother tongue for a growing number of students on campus. In general, the Stellenbosch University serves a social justice mission by not only allowing students to talk about writing and write in the university's language of education, but it pushes the bounds in allowing students to bring home languages that are not recognized by the campus into the writing lab and use them to better understand writing. This is what leads the Stellenbosch lab to quietly challenge notions of linguistic privilege, which should be a function of writing centers in both the United States and South Africa (Carter, 2009; Nichols, 1998). In this way, the writing center serves as a counterspace where students are free to talk about the politics and privilege associated with language without fear of judgment and without the trepidation that comes from being graded in a formal class setting (Lynn & Dixson, 2013). Though the writing center should always remain an informal discussion space where students can choose whether or not to talk

about linguistic privilege, it is important for the space and staff to be available for and open to such talk, and to ensure the confidentiality of those conversations that take place in the center.

Ubuntu

The theory of Ubuntu was explored in this research because it was important to consider a uniquely South African concept to understand a South African institution. The findings were not entirely expected in that only half of the participants understood Ubuntu or recognize it as existing at the university. All of the participants' thoughts on Ubuntu are back by literature because the literature itself is divided on the importance of this philosophy to the lives of Africans. The opinion of some tutors that Ubuntu is simply a romanticized notion of what it means to be South Africa is reflected in some of the literature on Ubuntu, which corroborates the fact that some participants had not even heard of Ubuntu until the media started talking about it during World Cup coverage (Villa-Vicencio, 2009). The opinion that Ubuntu is present because it is a South African way of life is also supported (Bennett, 2012; Gade, 2012). Administrators who work in the writing lab and the language center see Ubuntu as present and hope to create an atmosphere where Ubuntu can thrive, and this is obvious because they value their employees and contribute to their education well-being (Malunga, 2009). Whether students saw Ubuntu in the lab or not, the environment of the writing center works because students who did not identify Ubuntu as present at the university talked about a sense of community and a welcoming atmosphere there.

The finding that Ubuntu was not an important factor in the writing lab is itself significant, as it sheds light on the fact that students often do not understand the concepts that administrators, faculty, and outside stakeholders may see as integral to their experience. Most administrators interviewed saw Ubuntu as part of the environment of the lab, but it is clear from tutors'

responses to questions about Ubuntu that the concept has never actually been discussed in the lab, given that many of them did not know what it was. The administrators likely assume that tutors and students experience Ubuntu in the same way that they do when this is not actually the case. Similarly, outsiders reading about the South African experience might expect students to feel Ubuntu because the concept is celebrated in scholarly work and popular media about South Africa (Berg, 2013). As this study revealed, administrators and stakeholders should not assume that students understand the basic founding concepts on which administrators base their expectations in the same way that administrators themselves do. This can be seen not only in the concept of Ubuntu, but in American concepts like democracy and social justice, which administrators and faculty tend to assume students understand without evidence to affirm this belief. It is not only students traveling to the United States from abroad who do not understand abstract concepts like what it means to live in a democracy or what it means to practice social justice: there are students at our universities who have lived in the United States their whole lives who likely do not understand these concepts. It is thus important that administrators clearly express these concepts and teach them to students under the assumption that they do not understand if we feel it is important that they should share the same principles as those teaching and mentoring them at the university.

Emergent Themes and Subthemes

A variety of interesting themes and subthemes emerged during interviews with tutors, students, and administrators. Though some themes focused exclusively on the work done in the center, other themes directly tie together the work of the writing lab and the student protests taking place on the Stellenbosch University campus. It was not always clear that participants saw

the link between protests and their experience in the center, though it is clear that the turmoil regarding the language policy does directly affect the workings of the lab.

Influence of Politics on Writing Centers

Though most of the tutors interviewed stated that they did not feel that the Open Stellenbosch movement impacted the work they conduct in writing lab, all were aware of the movement and expressed strong feelings about its purpose and possible outcomes. One tutor in the center is directly involved with the movement, and three of the four administrators interviewed attended the language forum. The fourth was out of the country and thus could not attend. No matter which side of the Open Stellenbosch agenda they ended up on, the people who work in and use the writing lab had clearly spent extensive time before the interviews thinking about the language policy and how they felt about it. This would likely explain why all were so quick to answer when asked if there was anything they felt the writing lab could improve. Most stated that the lab could be more inclusive by offering tutors for other native languages like Xhosa and Zulu.

Not only have the protests prompted those affiliated with the writing lab to think more extensively about language, they have also shaped the functions of the language center, as its director helps to write the language policy. The writing tutors may not realize the full extent to which the language center directly shapes their daily work. For example, were it suddenly decided that Xhosa would be an offered language of instruction, the writing lab would most likely gain a third director to represent that language, and tutors fluent in Xhosa would be hired. Some training materials may be offered in Xhosa, and the demographics of student visitors would likely shift to represent more Xhosa students. In fact, if this were to happen, it would likely be a direct result of the language center's work to make Xhosa an academic language.

Everyone involved in the language center and writing lab is thus very much affected by the Open Stellenbosch protests, even if they do not feel that impact in their everyday one-on-one sessions with students.

Historical Perspectives of Administrators

Just as the writing lab will inevitably be impacted by the outcome of the protests, it is shaped by the history of the university. The tutors', administrators', and students' experiences in the lab are a direct result of the school's and their own place in South African history. It is worth noting that all administrators in the language center and lab began their careers during apartheid. The four of them thus saw racism and segregation at its worst and, though they do not talk extensively about feeling oppressed, the two non-White administrators likely felt the repercussions of racism for a long time. This may well explain the staff's dedication to inclusion as well as their more emotional reactions to language and identity. The fact that all four lived through apartheid also accounts for their rational, patient, understanding, but outsider perspectives on Open Stellenbosch; as Kate mentioned, they have seen protests before, and this one does not surprise them as much as it seems to surprise students and tutors who were not mature adults at the time of apartheid. The historical outlook of the administrators makes them well equipped to understand the changes going on regarding language on campus, and it helps them understand the strong correlation between language power, which shapes the work all of them perform in the writing lab and language center.

Historical Perspectives of Students and Tutors

The tutors and students who use and work in the lab come from distinctly different historical backgrounds. Many are too young to remember apartheid, and thus they are impatient for change and a remedy to the problem of racism because, having not lived it, they cannot grasp

how present and recent apartheid feels for the older generations. They are anxious to get rid of symbols of the negative past, such as the statue of Rhodes at University of Cape Town, so that they can move forward and shape their society into one they see as more fair. Their impatience, which is positive in that it prompts discussion about necessary changes, extends to language. These students were not alive when Afrikaans was chosen as the language of wealth and power, and they live in a society where their news, social media, and entertainment are largely in English. Naturally, it is hard for those who have grown up with English to understand why their university would hold on so vehemently to Afrikaans. In addition, they are in closer contact with people who speak Xhosa, Zulu, and other African languages because they are at least no longer formally segregated into separate communities. It makes sense that current Stellenbosch students would thus not understand why those languages are not included at the institution in a formal way. It is worth noting that some tutors did vehemently oppose Open Stellenbosch's work in promoting English at the institution, and that these tutors were primarily from rural areas where primarily Afrikaans is still spoken. Nonetheless, even those who oppose Open Stellenbosch very much embrace the idea that the writing lab should accommodate as many languages as possible as quickly as is plausible. In the end, the tutors, students, and administrators seem to agree that the school should include and accept as many languages as possible, but the emotional responses the administrators and students have to how this should happen are sometimes different because they come from different historical backgrounds.

Expectations for Experiences versus Reality

It is natural for writing lab administrators to try and shape the experience tutors and students have in a center. In fact, creating a culture is one of the most engaging and least tangible parts of the administrator's job. Beth and Nenet attempt to create particular experiences for tutors

and students who visit their lab by supplying coffee, holding trainings, and painting the walls a sunny color. For almost all writing lab administrators, the goals are to create an environment where students and tutors feel comfortable asking questions, engaging one another and, most importantly, writing. This is true in writing labs across the globe. Nonetheless, without an understanding of experiences of tutors and students in countries other than the United States, it is tempting to impose expectations based on where the center is based geographically. For example, given the abundance of literature produced recently on Africa and Ubuntu, it is tempting for international scholars to assume that Ubuntu is an integral part of a student's experience in any African university. As the tutors and students at Stellenbosch show, these expectations may be unfounded. Half of the participants interviewed stated that they either do not feel Ubuntu on campus and/or in the lab or that they are not familiar enough with the concept to even comment on it. Some seemed offended at the notion that they should feel Ubuntu, and one referred to the notion as "romanticized." As noted in Chapter 2, some current literature on Ubuntu affirms the point that is can be seen as an idealized notion that Westerners have latched onto to create their own mental image of Africa.

Outsider Expectations of African Student Experiences

It is dangerous to assume, as an outsider, that all tutors and students in African writing centers will experience Ubuntu. It would be unwise for administrators to assume that because Ubuntu exists everyone gets along well and feels treated fairly. While the Stellenbosch tutors and students clearly get along well, including with the administrators, writing lab stakeholders should not lose track of the fact that, as Mark stated, in the end the tutors are just there to do their jobs, and the students are there to meet the personal goal of getting ahead academically. As briefly noted in Chapter 5, this is not a bad thing because it means that the positive, collaborative

environment found in the Stellenbosch writing lab is replicable; it is not the result of a uniquely African feeling of community that American centers could not hope to duplicate. The fact that so many participants reject the idea of Ubuntu at the university also underlines the important point that we must always be willing to update our notions of what students are experiencing on campus. Though older generations may have been more in touch with the notion of Ubuntu depending on their race, background, and where they lived, the concept may simply not be as relevant for modern college students, who are having a different cultural experience based on a number of ever-changing factors. The disconnect between administrators hoping to shape campus environments and the actual experience of students can be felt worldwide.

Expectations and protest. Some administrators and tutors interviewed expressed surprise at the Open Stellenbosch movement on campus. This reaction may come from a disconnect between what is expected of the student experience and what students actually experience. In the eyes of the university administrators, who have seen social situations change rapidly on their campuses in the past quarter century, Stellenbosch University is speeding along down a path towards inclusion and justice. As noted previously in this chapter, most of those administrators remember apartheid, and thus situations now seem infinitely better. For students, the pace of change may seem slow. This is the case for students associated with Open Stellenbosch. Although administrators remember a time when there was only one language of instruction, and some of them worked hard to remedy that situation by offering English as an equal language, some students do not even understand why Afrikaans is even still used. Given these entirely different perspectives, it is not surprising that administrators and even older tutors are taken aback by Open Stellenbosch. They assumed that, like themselves, students were happy with having two languages offered on campus, which is still not the case even in most South

African universities. Those in administrative roles assumed that students felt they were being treated fairly whichever language they chose to use in class, but clearly this was not always the case. The Open Stellenbosch and Rhodes Must Fall movements are a clear message from the students to their administrators that their expectations are not being met (The Economist, 2015; Sampson, 2015; Woolf, 2015).

A similar phenomenon is occurring in the United States, Great Britain, Chile, and across the world, with students protesting university policies that they feel put them at a disadvantage. In Chile, students have successfully protested against tuition rates that they felt prohibited from accessing education, which they feel is a public good (Munoz-Lamartine, 2011; Provost, 2015). In Great Britain, students are holding similar rallies to protest unruly fees (Hughes & Harley, 2015). In the United States, students are protesting campus policies, and sometimes a lack of policies, regarding diversity. These protests are sometimes met with backlash from within the campus community as, like at Stellenbosch, questions are raised regarding the motives and possible outcomes of these protests (Korn & Belkin, 2015).

Like many of the students of Open Stellenbosch, students at schools like University of Missouri and Indiana State University feel that their experiences of students of color are not as positive as the experiences of White students as a direct result of administrative action and inaction (Fairbanks, 2015). Like in South Africa, these protests have caught some administrators, and the general public, by surprise because it was assumed that all students felt comfortable on campus. Many administrators and members of the public are in such little direct contact with students of color that they missed the fact that many were dealing with harassment and a notable lack of representation in leadership positions. The end result is that students feel unified in

objecting to their on-campus situations, with South African students noting that they feel validated by the Black student protestors in the United States (Birnbaum, 2015).

Student protests are nothing new to higher education. Throughout history, they have been a way for students to show that something about the campus is not meeting their expectations. The United States dealt with a surge of protests regarding racial inclusion and diversity in the 1960s, much like today. Students who have had a particularly negative experience or grievance with race relations on their campus are more likely to protest than those who have not, though hope that the situation can be rectified is also a crucial factor in deciding whether or not a student is likely to protest. Both a grievance and hope that things will change are key to motivation (Biggs, 2006), as are factors like parental political views, parental activism (Block, Haan, & Smith, 1969), and even socioeconomic status (Paulsen, 1991). Students are also more anxious than their peers to protest when they have political interest, much like many of the student leaders in the Rhodes Must Fall movement or when they are tied to a particular political organization (Schussman & Soule, 2005). Of course, students are most inclined to protest if they are asked to do so. In the cases of Rhodes Must Fall, Open Stellenbosch, and many of the current protests occurring in the United States, professors, peers, and social media-distributed petitions are calling for students to get actively involved. When this call comes from someone a student respects, he or she is more likely to answer by taking action (Schussman & Soule, 2005). Activism based on the involvement of people close to the individual also ties to the idea that protests can play an active part in students' identity formation, as well as help them find their place in a group with similar interests (Polletta & Jasper, 2001).

Expectations of connections to language. Just as the data revealed that students and tutors did not feel as expected about Ubuntu or the equity of the language policy, interviews also

revealed that they do not feel the way many writing center and writing program administrators would expect them to about their relationship with language. Many scholars contend that as human beings, we feel deeply connected to our native language because it is so closely tied to our culture. This assumption is the basis for heritage language education in the United States, where students go to after school programs that use their native language and reinforce the link between the language of their parents and their cultural identity (Leeman, Rabin, & Roman-Mendoza, 2011). These programs "are often created out of a community's desire to pass on their language and culture from one generation to the next in order to maintain connections within families and communities" (Kelleher, 2010, p. 1). Heritage language programs are often started by first generation immigrants, but studies on these programs show that sometimes the first generation parents of the children involved are more invested in the language than the children themselves. While the parents might want their children to maintain the culture of their heritage via language, the children themselves do not identify with the home language as strongly, most often possessing a fluid, hybrid identity (Otcu-Grillman, 2016; Sheyholislami & Sharifi, 2016).

Despite the fact that younger generations of students do not feel the tie between language and culture as strongly as their parents, policy makers still often base the use of language in businesses or schools on the thought that native languages need to be protected against English. For example, Le Phan (2013) finds in a study of English use in Asia that, though most all Asian countries use English extensively as a language of business, most also take steps to protect the use of their native languages and discourage people from speaking English outside of an academic or English context because they fear that, as the English language begins to permeate Asia, so too will the culture that comes with it (Le Phan, 2013). These fears are echoed in South Africa among the Zulu speaking population, as Parkinson and Church (2011) found in a study of

Zulu speakers, who revealed that they do feel that their language is tied to their cultural identity but that, like the students at Stellenbosch, they concede that English is a resource that they must use to make progress in their education and career (Parkinson & Church, 2011).

The students and tutors interviewed at least outwardly rejected the notion that their identity is intrinsically linked to their home language, stating instead that language should be used as a tool or resource to get ahead, even if the beneficial language is not one's native tongue. Though the fact that many who stated this sentiment did become passionate when talking about Open Stellenbosch reveals that maybe they are more connected to their language than they think, it is hard to deny that their actions confirm what they say; they are willing to use a language not spoken in their home if it is professionally and academically beneficial. Almost every participant admitted that he or she writes in English even though for most it is not his or her first language just because it is most beneficial for publishing and reading textbooks.

The administrators at Stellenbosch expressed some sadness that students do not feel personally connected to their language, meaning that they would expect them to do so. Similarly, American writing center administrators tend to conduct their work based on literature that says people are tied to their home language on an emotional level; this is confirmed in the United States by the reactions many people have to immigrants speaking other language. Many times those new to the country are met with suspicion, distrust, and hostility because they do not speak English. It is thus important for writing center administrators worldwide to monitor the attitudes of tutors and students towards language. Students in the United States, for example, may not feel the same way as South African writing tutors. If they do still feel personally connected to their home languages, administrators need to be aware of that barrier to creating a multilingual lab. However, if like their African counterparts tutors in the United States view language as a

resource to get ahead, significantly less discussion may be had in regards to the importance of constructing multilingual centers, as they would already understand the benefits of multilingualism in global society.

The Practicality of Multilingualism in the Center

Overwhelmingly, the experiences of tutors, administrators, and students showed that using multiple languages in the writing lab based on what languages students speak and what languages tutors happen to represent is both important for social justice and exceedingly practical. Everyone interviewed talked about the convenience of being able to switch languages based on audience or the purpose of communication. As revealed in Chapter 5, tutors especially noted that there are many reasons to switch languages and that most times it happens naturally and organically. Though the students noted that it is not convenient when a professor switches to a language they do not understand, this does not happen in the lab because the session is one on one and the student has chosen the language for the his or her tutoring. As a researcher with experience only in monolingual labs and classrooms, it was my expectation that the question of when, how, and why to switch languages would be a difficult one to answer. It was my assumption that sessions would only take place in one language-Afrikaans, English, Xhosa-that was predetermined. It seemed from the outside as if a shift occurring mid-session would require a discussion about the language change and that it would create awkwardness and lost time. Instead, the theme that emerged was that switching in sessions is not only beneficial but efficient and smooth. In fact, the codeswitching that occurred in some of the sessions I watched actually saved time because the tutor was able to explain the difficult concept or scientific term faster in the home language than in English.

Along with the idea that switching is natural comes the finding that tutors do not need to be specifically trained on when and how to switch. If the tutor and the student speak the same language, this will happen on its own. Most of the tutors interviewed could not remember if they had been trained on when to switch. Some said they thought they had been, others said they had not been, and none could give specifics of what that training entailed. That is of course not to say that training was not provided or that it was not beneficial; it indicates that this is such an organic process that the tutors do not even remember having learned how to do it. Tutors who claimed they were not trained in code-switching were just as able and comfortable with doing so as those who recalled being trained, so it seems as if as long as all tutors know the broader implications of why their lab is multilingual and what languages they will see, switching will take care of itself. This is good news for American writing labs, as it means that administrators may not need to spend extensive time reviewing when within a session the tutors should switch languages; they can then instead focus on larger pedagogical issues and focus on the social justice mission behind offering multiple languages in the lab.

Ease of Implementation for a Writing Center

The most obvious, but also most surprising theme to emerge from the data is that running, working in, and using a multilingual writing lab is easy. The administrators do not spend more time than other writing lab personnel recruiting, training, and interviewing tutors. They advertise in both Afrikaans and English to ensure that they get applicants from both languages, but aside from that they count it as a bonus if a student can work in other languages instead of intentionally trying to meet quotas for other languages. This makes sense, given that the student population changes regularly and they would constantly then be struggling to accommodate infrequently seen languages that may not be utilized in the future. It should be

noted that everyone interviewed agreed that the lab could use more Xhosa-speaking tutors, and thus in the future there may be a more targeted effort to find student workers from this language background.

Just as the administrators do not find it particularly challenging to work with multiple languages, neither do the tutors. This is surely in large part because the tutor gets to decide what languages to tutor and can simply decline to work in a language with which he or she is not comfortable when hired. After that, the scheduling software ensures that the tutor is only booked for the language/s in which he or she chooses to work. When the student schedules, he or she can only see whether the tutor speaks Afrikaans or English instead of all the languages spoken, so if they happen to speak a common third language like Xhosa or Swahili, that is a happy coincidence and tutor and tutee may then use that language in the session. In this case, the student can request that tutor in the future. Because there are so many languages in the mix at Stellenbosch, this process makes sense and ensures scheduling is efficient and not as needlessly complicated as it would be if students could select from every language tutors could speak, which would be well over a dozen and which would change every term. The only future change that seems likely to this process is adding Xhosa as it becomes a more fully developed scientific language.

Finally, the experiences of students as revealed through their interviews showed that they find the center easy to use, and they find codeswitching within their sessions easy as well. Like students who visit any writing lab, they try out a couple tutors to find the one that is most compatible linguistically and personality wise, then they tend to stick with that tutor until either they graduate or the tutor leaves. The ease of student use is also present because he or she is in control of the language used and when, how, or whether switching happens. In most cases, the

student him-or herself initiates the switch, and if the tutor initiates and it is unwelcome, the student simply uses the language he or she prefers and the session switches back. It makes sense then to have the student remain in control of the language used. In general, the multilingual model is surprisingly user friendly for everyone and the little additional effort and resources it takes to use tutors who speak multiple languages is clearly well worth it based on student and tutor feedback and experience.

The Multilingual Center as Safe Space

One of the most profound findings to emerge from this study was a confirmation of what many writing center personnel already intuitively know; the writing lab should be a safe space. The chance to observe such important protests at the same time as working within the writing lab allowed for a clear glimpse of how racial tension and protest affect the work of a writing center. What emerged was that the writing lab provided a space that serves two purposes in regards to the protests–it allowed students and tutors to process the protests and the issues surrounding them, and it served as a space for students to actually exercise the linguistic freedom that those protesting either supported or attempted to hinder, based on one's stance. Some members of Open Stellenbosch wanted Afrikaans removed because they saw it as the oppressive language of White privilege, while others wanted Afrikaans maintained but other heritage languages like isiXhosa included. While the Open Stellenbosch students protested and made their thoughts known to the university and the media, the writing lab conducted the non-judgmental work of helping students in any language so long as there was a tutor available to do so. Students who chose to write in Afrikaans could do so just as easily as students writing in English, and they received the same level of support. Even though Open Stellenbosch was fighting to have isiXhosa better included in the language policy, the writing lab was already having conversations

with students in isiXhosa about their writing while the language lab worked to develop isiXhosa as a scientific language. The practice of accommodating all writers and helping them shift between their languages supports the work of linguists, teachers, and writing center theorists who believe that teaching students to access all of their languages is crucial for social justice (Canagarajah, 2011; Christensen, 2008; Matusda, Lu, & Horner, 2010; Rafoth, 2015).

The writing lab is already doing the work that Open Stellenbosch wants to see done on campus – it is supporting students equally regardless of language or race, even if the staff wishes they could do even more. This supports the literature on writing center theory that states that students are more comfortable talking about language in the writing lab than in the classroom or with their professor (Bruffee, 1984). This finding also supports the policies of the IWCA (2015) and CRLA (2015), which encourage writing centers to allow students to incorporate heritage languages without judgments. Though some Stellenbosch students wanted to talk about language and push the school to rethink the languages of education, no one in the writing lab felt pressured to take a side regarding the protests. That is, in fact, what students and tutors said they like most about the center – they view it as nonpolitical, nonracist, and comfortable for asking questions about language. The administrators of the writing lab attended language forums and kept up to date with the protests, even sometimes asking questions about the goals of Open Stellenbosch, but they maintained some distance from the protest and, though they might start a conversation about the protest with their tutors, they did not explicitly state their sides. This is the smartest route they could have taken because it ensured that the tutors who work in the lab feel comfortable enough to explore those issues and have conversations without feeling like they would say the wrong thing in front of their supervisors. Their interest in but distance from the protests also prevented the writing lab from being associated with Open Stellenbosch or its

opposition; it remained neutral ground throughout the protest while continuing to do the social justice work of helping students from all linguistic backgrounds succeed. The writing lab as a safe space is a model that American universities may find themselves needing to emulate as students in the United States continue to protest diversity issues that already include race and may eventually include language.

Applying Findings to American Writing Centers

It will be important for any American writing center administrator hoping to establish a multilingual center to begin the process with a clear definition of what the term means. Previously, centers have claimed multilingualism based on tutors' abilities to speak multiple languages without necessarily considering whether these languages are actually used in sessions either verbally or in written form. The Stellenbosch University writing lab provides a clear understanding of what a multilingual center can and should be. First, any multilingual writing center does indeed need to employ tutors that can speak multiple languages. Additionally, those tutors need to be capable of speaking with student writers in multiple languages. For example, an American student may be writing in English but desire to have a conversation about the piece in their native Spanish. In this case the tutor needs to be able to speak both Spanish and English. These two features, multilingual tutors and multilingual conversations about writing, are the two common features of all multilingual centers. Beyond that, multilingual writing centers can be broken into three types: partially multilingual, foreign language focused multilingual, and native language focused multilingual.

In some cases, it might be logical for a writing center to provide conversations about writing in multiple languages even though the actual writing itself takes place only in the language of instruction. Most American universities only currently accept coursework written in

English, with the exception of foreign language classes, so there would be no need to offer students help writing in another language until the university begins accepting writing that makes use of multiple languages. Nonetheless, many universities that only accept Standard English writing have numerous students who speak Ebonics, Chinglish, Spanglish, or a foreign home language. The partially multilingual center would then serve the important social justice function of allowing students to talk about and ask questions about writing in English in their native language or dialect, thus allowing them access to the language of privilege that they may not receive otherwise because they could not talk to anyone about writing in language in their own terms. Partially multilingual centers, though beneficial in their own right, could serve as a starting point for centers that wish to become native language multilingual eventually. Beginning as partially multilingual would allow such centers time to transition and gain faculty and administrative buy-in while working out issues of scheduling and hiring that come with adding multilingual tutors to the center's operation.

For universities with a large number of students who travel abroad to study, like Dickinson University, the center may employ tutors who can both speak to students in multiple languages and help native English speakers write in a foreign language in preparation for completing academic work abroad. If the university sent numerous students to France and Germany every year, it would make sense for such a center to employ English-speaking students who had also studied French and German, and who ideally had studied abroad themselves. This center would be fully multilingual in that both conversation and writing take place in multiple languages, but it is important to note that this is foreign language-centered tutoring. The students visiting such a center are primarily English speakers learning a second language to travel abroad.

There is a significant difference between this center and Stellenbosch's, which works with students with a home language other than the language of instruction.

A center where tutors could converse with the student and help them write in both the academic language and their home language would be native language-focused multilingual centers. While foreign language-centered centers serve the important purpose of encouraging students to succeed in study abroad and thus broaden their understanding of global society, native language-focused centers–like Stellenbosch University's–serve a more social justice oriented purpose of including students who are traditionally underrepresented in academia because their home language has traditionally been a hindrance to their education. The native language-focused multilingual center would assist the student in understanding when to switch languages, whereas this would most likely not be necessary in a foreign language-focused center. The first step an American writing center professional should thus take would be to determine what type of model he or she wished to establish based on the needs and priorities of the individual university, then to hire multilingual tutors accordingly.

Promoting Language as a Tool

One of the common findings in interviews with tutors and students was that they view language as a tool for advancement and do not link it intrinsically with their personal identities. Though this seems unusual, it makes sense that this view would exist in a country that has 11 national languages. The ability to speak multiple languages is valued in South Africa in a way that it has not heretofore been valued in the United States because the dominant language was so clearly English. Codeswitching is common in South Africa, and because every student needs to communicate with many different linguistic groups, the more smoothly one can switch, and the more languages one can use for switching, the better.

Convincing American students that it is worth their while to learn another language is also difficult because of the commonly held notion that language is tied to personal identity and one's heritage. Much of the literature on linguistics produced in the United States confirms the connection between the way people think and the vocabulary of their home language, neglecting the fact that the more languages one speaks, the more access they have to the ability to express ideas and feelings. Though more contemporary literature has begun exploring the benefits of multilingualism, it will take some time for especially the older generation of professors and administrators to embrace the idea that language can simply be a tool, and that these languages can be combined and manipulated, even imperfectly, to communicate with more diverse groups of people. This change in mindset would provoke changes in grading, as professors would need to reevaluate the way they mark grammar and sentence structure as students learn to combine languages and dialects. In turn, writing centers would need to re-train tutors or re-affirm the belief that content and meaning comes first and that grammar need not be perfect for a paper or project to succeed. This is something that Stellenbosch University's language lab does well. Both directors are adamant about the fact that tutors should not immediately check and correct grammar, which is a more cosmetic part of the paper. In fact, the sessions switching languages helps to negate the natural instinct of most tutors to be quickly bothered by grammar, as there is more to do with clarifying and expressing ideas when multiple languages are in play. Changing the mindsets of administrators, faculty members, and tutors would clearly take time, but as the Stellenbosch center proves, it is time well spent.

Preparing for Codeswitching

This study found that tutors and tutees codeswitch numerous times for a variety of reasons within sessions. It will thus be important for any and administrators working in the

partially or fully multilingual center to have a firm grasp of what it means to codeswitch, why it is done, and when it is appropriate for a particular audience. Administrators will need to work closely with the stakeholders who draft the language policy to ensure they have an understanding of when students are able to use their home languages or dialects in their coursework and outside of class. This information will need to be disseminated to tutors through regular training sessions in order to ensure that tutors are not helping students write using a language that is not a language of instruction when it is not appropriate for the assignment. Given that many tutors in American multilingual centers will not be bilingual or multilingual like many of the tutors found at Stellenbosch University, codeswitching within a session may also not come as naturally to them. Administrators should regularly observe sessions to determine whether multiple languages are being used and whether switches are happening smoothly. If codeswitching is not occurring because tutors do not know when to switch, the writing center director or coordinator will need to hold specific training on the uses of codeswitching. These reasons were previously stated in Chapter 5 and include accessing vocabulary words, clarifying difficult words, inclusivity, and the potential that the student is having a difficult language day.

Contrary to Mantero's (2007) findings, this study did not reveal that students codeswitch to maintain previous relationships, though the codeswitching that takes place during a tutoring session can both build and maintain the relationship between tutor and tutee, just as the relationships between tutors are strengthened when those working in the center switch for the sake of inclusivity. Thus, writing center directors or coordinators should speak with tutors in training about the power of sharing common languages and codeswitching in sessions to build relationships with students. These relationships are crucial to helping students succeed in their

writing and to ensuring that they return for further visits to the center. During this training, tutors could have mock sessions where they practice codeswitching with one another.

It is important to note that this study also did not yield data on switching between dialects. Tutors at the Stellenbosch University writing lab switching between a variety of languages, but none of them used non-standard dialects of either Afrikaans or English in their sessions, and they confirmed in their interviews that, though they are aware of different dialects of both languages, they only tutor in the standard. This study cannot given recommendations for American writing centers regarding incorporation of dialects, but preparing students to have conversations with students who speak Ebonics or another such variation of Standard English would still be beneficial, as it serves both a social justice function and the practical function of helping those students understand why Standard English is expected at the university and when it should be used.

Creating a Writing Center Culture

The finding that Ubuntu is not responsible for the positive, welcoming environment of the writing center and the good relationship between people in that microsystem is a positive for American centers wishing to emulate the Stellenbosch model because it means that, even though we do not have the concept of Ubuntu in the United States, we can still capture the atmosphere of the lab without it. It is clearly important for centers to create a culture such as that which Kuh (1988) write about where people feel included and assisted, but this can be done simply through regular meetings with tutors as a group, and through the little welcoming efforts that most centers already make, such as offering snacks or coffee, using lively art, or having a front desk person to welcome students. These seem to be the elements that make students and tutors feel

comfortable at Stellenbosch instead of a shared sense of Ubuntu, and this bodes well for American centers.

As previously mentioned, it is also important that administrators intentionally create writing centers as safe spaces. This means housing the center in a physical location that is slightly separated from faculty and staff who might overhear conversations between tutors and tutees, which would make students less inclined to talk about sensitive language issues in the center. Administrators would also need to intentionally train student workers regularly on a variety of diversity issues including race, learning disabilities, linguistic difference, and privilege. It is important that tutors understand where their student visitors are coming from culturally, ethnically, socioeconomically, and linguistically if they are to build strong relationships that lead to open conversations about language and educational opportunity. It is likely that the writing center director will not feel comfortable moderating all of these topics, and in that case he or she should create strong connections to the campus diversity office or multicultural centers in order to recruit guest speakers or trainers.

Writing center administrators should consider safe zone trainings, which provide tutors with information about gender, but also often discuss intersections of sexuality, race, and socioeconomic status. Overall, it is necessary for tutors to have as much information as possible on the backgrounds of students at their university so that they know how to include everyone without accidentally offending a student who comes from a different background than they do. This also makes it necessary to carefully screen potential tutors and to have at least one question in their interview about their experience with diversity, which will give the director some indication of whether this student will be accommodating or hostile with diverse populations. Regular trainings on diversity will ensure that tutors feel comfortable talking about these issues

and sharing experiences or getting advice on how to handle difficult diversity-based situations. Every tutor should also be presented with the university's diversity policy or statement as part of their training materials, and a discussion should be had about the policy to ensure that tutors understand the school's values.

The Guidance of a Language Policy

Just as tutors in the center should be guided by the university's diversity policy, the writing center itself should be governed by a language policy. Currently, many American campuses include a brief mention of language in their diversity policy, but language is such a complex issue that this is not enough – language inclusion merits its own document. Even if the university only offers English as the language of instruction, the policy should clarify that all languages are welcome and that students are allowed and encouraged to use other languages in academic settings such as residence halls, tutoring centers, and in student organizations. The policy should note this explicitly to cut down on student complaints about groups of their peers speaking home tongues, which they can see as exclusionary and suspect. It would be wise for the language policy to specifically note the work of the writing center and how language works in that setting. A language policy would be especially helpful for universities in towns and cities with a high percentage of Spanish and other foreign languages. For example, Indiana State University has a high population of Arabic-speaking students who, given the current political context, can tend to feel marginalized. If their peers complain when they speak Arabic before class or in the residence halls, this problem will only get worse. The school can be proactive by clearly stating that all languages are welcome and that students may discuss their academic work in their home languages.

Of course, language policies can be problematic, and it is necessary for administrators to be aware of the hazards of such documents before creating one. First, an American school creating a language policy would not have federal standards off of which to base their statement, meaning they would have little guidance (Hill, 2009). In addition, they would need to realize that when a language policy is created at the university level, it needs to include some guidance with pedagogy, otherwise faculty and staff implementing the policy will have a difficult time adjusting their teaching methods to comply with the document (Liddicoat, 2014). It would be helpful for writing center staff to partner with their campus faculty center and new faculty orientation efforts to provide training on the pedagogy piece of the language policy.

Writing centers themselves can support a language policy by intentionally hiring tutors who can speak Arabic to talk to students about their written work. This perpetuates the idea that the university is inclusive and demonstrates that the language policy is meaningful. The writing center is a clear way to push the bounds of a language policy. Like Stellenbosch's, it can serve as a test ground to see what languages students are using and how they would like to use them in their academic work. The writing center may find that students from certain language backgrounds have specific needs or even that some students do not wish to use their home language at all while completing their academic work. American writing centers must be prepared to be adaptable and to keep good data regarding what languages students are using, when they are code-switching, and how they are using their languages. In this way, they can get ahead of the curve by incorporating languages that the university has not yet sought to accommodate. In turn, if the writing center creates an innovative way to include students, their guidance could help shape changes to the language policy, which must remain fluid. This point is demonstrated by the fact that, since the time of this study, the Stellenbosch University language

policy (see Appendix E) has changed. Though the new policy has not yet been published, the university recently decided that the language of education would be English, as that is the common language of the campus. Other services and resources may still use other languages depending on the needs of students (Petersen & Evans, 2015).

Of all the tutors, administrators, and students interviewed, no one saw using or running a multilingual writing center as difficult. None expressed a wish that the center instead serve only one language, and almost all wished that it could formally serve more languages. Some specifically mentioned that providing multilingual assistance is easy and natural. The takeaway for American centers is clearly that this can be done without a lot of additional work. The interviews also prove that it is a worthwhile endeavor; the students see this because they see their academic work improving, and tutors see it because they also learn from the experience of tutoring multiple languages by honing their own language skills and learning to adapt to the needs of others. In short, for American centers, starting multilingual services is worth a try.

Pushing the Boundaries of the Language Policy

Writing center administrators must be willing to advocate for a fluid language policy, but they must also be prepared to use their unique space to push the limits of this policy by experimenting with offering languages and dialects that may not be included in the language policy. As previously mentioned, writing labs are well positioned to assess student linguistic needs on campus. The space of the writing center is also uniquely informal, which encourages students to have frank conversations with their peers about language use. Writing center administrators should offer training, or provide guest trainers, to help tutors learn how to conduct potentially difficult and sensitive conversations about language privilege, as many students who use writing centers have been underserved precisely because they did not grow up speaking the

language of the majority. Practically, pushing the boundaries of the language policy means making students aware that they may request a language for their session that is not on the appointment form. There may be a write-in section next to the boxes students tick when they make their session. For example, if the writing center offers tutoring in English, Spanish, and Arabic, a student should be able to write in that they would like a tutor who can speak French. Even if no such tutor is available at the time, this would allow writing center administrators to see which languages students would prefer and to hire accordingly.

Another practical implication of pushing the boundaries of the language policy is that writing centers must be a confidential space. A student who speaks a non-standard dialect may decide to visit the writing lab after being accused of plagiarizing because he or she switched codes in a paper. In this case, the student needs to be able to have an open conversation with a tutor about language privilege and what it means to codeswitch for an audience without fear that he or she will be overheard. This means that private rooms or cubicles should be available for tutoring, at least upon request, and that the writing lab should not automatically share information with faculty members or administrators regarding student reasons for visits. If students know that their professor will automatically be notified if they visit, they are less likely to have difficult or potentially controversial conversations about language, and the writing lab may be the only space on campus in which they can do so. Though specifics of student visits should not be share outside of the center, those who work in the writing lab should compare notes regularly on what types of conversations are taking place in the center so that if recurring themes start to surface around language, the administrator in charge of the center can bring the issue to those who craft the language policy and, if need be, it can be changed to better include

all students. In this way, the work of the writing center and the drafting of the language policy should be cyclical, with one always influencing and testing the other.

Learning from Protest

As campuses across the United States see increased numbers of bilingual, multilingual, and non-native English speaking students, it is inevitable that protests regarding language will occur. Writing labs must be prepared to serve as a space where dialogue can take place, as well as a place where data is gathered that will influence language policies. The physical space of the writing lab itself should be maintained as a neutral, comfortable, confidential place for students to talk about language and writing. However, writing center administrators themselves are ideal people to conduct panels and discussions on language with administrators, faculty, and students given that they work closely with all of these populations, yet are not closely aligned with any one particular stakeholder or department. One important finding that emerged from Open Stellenbosch is that a language protest needs to have clear goals. Everyone on campus needs to understand what the students want in regards to change, otherwise misconceptions can arise. Many of the participants of this study expressed confusion about the goals and possible outcomes of Open Stellenbosch, and those need to be as clear as possible. The writing lab director or coordinator is a good candidate to ask questions of any student protest group that arises to get them to clarify exactly what they want in terms of language since it is their recognized field of expertise. Though the director need not weigh in or take a side regarding a protest, they are in a natural position to act as a liaison between students who are unhappy with linguistic diversity on campus and those in a position to make a change.

Beyond the scope of the writing lab, protests reveal that students are not always as satisfied with their experience on campus as administrators might like to think. This is very

applicable to American universities, which are currently dealing with a large number of student protests regarding racism and diversity on campus. Recently, schools like University of Missouri have forced the removal of their presidents because they saw those top administrators as not taking action even when it was obvious that problems of racism existed on campus (Dickey & Luckerson, 2015). Even when they have not taken measures this far, schools like Indiana State University have formed groups to push for better inclusivity on campus, which is the mission of Free ISU, a primarily student-led organization that began organizing in the last year with momentum from similar campus movements across the country (Loughlin, 2015).

These student protests, which have gone so far as getting athletes involved and threatening not to play scheduled big games, in addition to calling for the removal of administrators and professors, show that students are not as satisfied as we might think they are (Bump, 2015). Generally, those who work on college campuses assume that the needs of students are being met until proven otherwise, and students are currently showing that they do not feel accepted or fairly treated in their institutions. This is the same thing as is happening at University of Cape Town and Stellenbosch, though the focus in the United States is on including more diverse faculty and starting more programs on multicultural, while South African schools focus on including more diverse faculty and including more languages at the university. In general, this means that universities should pay close attention to the student experience, listening to what they are saying frequently so that measures can be put into place to prevent widespread protests by ensuring that students' needs are met. For a writing lab, this could mean periodically holding focus groups with students to ask if they are satisfied with the way tutoring is working and its quality, while simultaneously looking at university data to see what language groups are most heavily represented on campus. As dominant linguistic minorities can change

frequently, the university may then have to adjust what languages it offers in the writing lab. It also means paying close attention to protests going on at similar and nearby schools, as students across the nation may have similar experiences, and may easily share those experiences and organize using social media.

Building on the Success of the Stellenbosch Model

Despite staff's desires to do more with language, Stellenbosch University's writing lab should be considered a successful multilingual model. Not only does the data collected from interviews reveal that students find it beneficial to be able to talk about their writing in their own language, but observation of sessions reveals that switches between languages do not hinder the speed or productivity of the consultation. Students stated in their interviews that they feel comfortable with particular tutors who speak their home language, and that they seek these people out for appointments. Watching some of these student/tutor combinations at work, it is obvious that they are comfortable, and comfort is an important part of the student experience in a writing center, as it is what makes them into regular visitors. The writing lab at Stellenbosch allows a forum for students to talk about their language choices instead of simply having to choose between Afrikaans and English like they do in their coursework. That dialogue is important if students are to progress in the use of all of their languages to further their education (Leonard, 2013).

Not only did the students reveal satisfaction with the experience of the multilingual lab - so do tutors. Many of the tutors stated in their interviews that their own language skills have improved as a result of working with students in multiple languages, and most tutors working in the lab are also actively studying another language or have expressed a desire to do so. It is likely that being surrounded by numerous languages every day motivates them to want to be able to

communicate with even more people. This would hopefully be a positive side effect in an American center too. The goals of most writing labs are to help students become better writers (not just to produce better papers) and to aid in the professional development of tutors. Based on what tutors and students say about the experience in the lab, Stellenbosch University is clearly meeting these goals.

To build on the success of the Stellenbosch model, it is important that American writing centers first encourage their home universities to draft a language policy that welcomes numerous languages and rejects the notion of a monolingual university. The contents of this policy will depend upon where in the country the campus is located –which largely determines what languages are prevalent at the university– as well as factors like the mission of the university. A university that strives to accept and graduate a large number of traditionally underrepresented students may have a more linguistically inclusive language policy than a university that mainly caters to well-prepared, native English speaking students. Those drafting the language policy would also need to consider the particular climate of their campus, as faculty and administrators would be responsible for everyday implementation of the policy. A school where there is strong faculty resistance to incorporating linguistic difference might choose to be more conservative in its language policy knowing that faculty may resist having to read student work that codeswitches or uses foreign vocabulary. A more liberal campus might take more risks in including a larger number of languages or dialects in the language policy.

The center administrators should conduct a thorough assessment of what languages are being used on campus and where in order to determine which languages the center should attempt to accommodate. Because fewer students in the United States are multilingual than those in South Africa, administrators may have to make a concerted effort to recruit multilingual

speakers, possibly collaborating with linguistics and language departments or student organizations to find appropriate tutors. Though tutor training need not include specific information on how or when to switch languages in a session, all-staff meetings should include discussions about the benefits of code-switching and multilingualism where tutors read scholarship on these subjects. Even more importantly, administrators themselves should continuously attend conferences and trainings or conduct research to keep abreast of trends in student language use, as student needs change over time. It would be useful for the center to hold regular focus groups and solicit feedback from students regarding what languages they are using, how, with what audience, and in what situations. This would allow the center to anticipate changes in student needs and adjust, hire, and train accordingly.

Future Research

Although this study provided a nicely comprehensive overview of the experiences of tutors, students, and administrators at the Stellenbosch University writing center, there are many avenues left to pursue for future research. The most obvious information that would be helpful to collect would be the experiences of students, tutors, and administrators at University of Pretoria, which also houses a multilingual writing center. It would be possible to conduct a similar ethnography using mainly the same list of questions, though questions regarding protests could be removed if there are no student movements going on regarding language at the time. Because Pretoria is obviously a different university with its own unique micro-and macrosystems, there are similar exosystems in place, and it would be beneficial to know whether tutors in the center react the same way to code-switching and dealing with multilingual students. It would be especially helpful to look at the difference between power structures between Stellenbosch's lab and Pretoria's. Pretoria may not have the same dual-director set-up wherein the lab is placed

within the language center. It is unlikely that Pretoria has the advantage of having a language center director who helps create the language policy so closely linked to the writing lab, and this may change the culture of the lab and the relationship between microsystems. Once research on another South African multilingual lab has been conducted, it would be possible to branch off and examine other individual multilingual centers internationally. This would allow for a more complete understanding of tutor, student, and administrator experiences.

There are also possibilities for quantitatively examining instances of code-switching within multilingual tutoring sessions. It would be of interest for multilingual centers to know exactly when instances of switching occur within a session, and to categorize them based on why the shift occurred, whether it be to clarify an idea, to provide relevant terminology, or simply because the student or tutor could not think of the word they wanted. Exploring the topic of how frequently and when switches occur between various languages could be worthwhile for centers (as the information could be used in training tutors to run multilingual centers) and for linguists who wish to better understand the phenomenon of codeswitching. Similarly, it would be beneficial to further examine the choices students make when they select the language in which they wish to be tutored. It seems likely that students from particular languages, such as those without scientific vocabularies, do not wish to use their home language as much in their sessions, but this cannot be confirmed without further study.

There is significantly more research to be done in the field of student language protest. Though the protests of Open Stellenbosch and Rhodes Must Fall at University of Cape Town have gained significant media coverage, as have student protests related to diversity in the United States, few scholarly articles have yet examined the links between international student protests. Case studies of protests in both South Africa and the United States could reveal

philosophical connections between protests groups, as well as reveal information on how students communicate with one another and share strategies. A closer examination of the Open Stellenbosch movement in particular would be useful because the messages of this particular protest group are apparently unclear. It would be helpful to interview the students involved and to examine the group's artifacts to determine when and how mixed messaging occurs and how it can be avoided.

In regards to student protest in general, it would be beneficial to conduct an ethnography of a current student protest organization. Though there are studies of protest movements from the Civil Rights era (Biggs, 2006; Block, Haan & Smith, 1969), it would be useful to understand why contemporary students protest and what role social media plays in their decision to organize. Given that there are many reasons for protest currently, such as diversity, sexual harassment and rape on campus, and rising tuition costs, ethnographies or case studies of several different types of protests would reveal how and when a focus is chosen and how the members go about developing and promoting their message. Findings could reveal what makes a successful student protest, such as those that end with removal of faculty, creations of new student resources, or drops to tuition rates, as opposed to those that do not succeed or disband before any demands are met.

Finally, there is further work to be done regarding the examination of racial and linguistic identities of writing lab directors in multilingual centers. The participants in this study provided a wealth of information regarding their language heritage and their experiences with language that were ultimately outside the primary scope of this study. Nonetheless, further information on why directors choose to create multilingual centers and how their own linguistic and/or racial backgrounds influence this decision might reveal findings that would influence how American

writing centers are staffed and the types of training writing center directors undergo. A similar study could be conducted using multilingual tutors as participants in order to examine the motivations and personal linguistic development of those tutors who choose to work with student writing in multiple languages.

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APPENDIX A: LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN US HOUSEHOLDS

Appendix Table 2. Languages Spoken at Home: 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2007.

	1980	1990	2000
Population 5 years and over	210247455	230445777	262375152
Spoke only English at home	187187415	198600798	215423557
Spoke a language other than English at home1	23060040	31844979	46951595
Spoke a language other than English at home1,2	23060040	31844979	46951595
Spanish or Spanish Creole	11116194	17345064	28101052
French (incl. Patois, Cajun, Creole)	1550751	1930404	2097206
Italian	1618344	1308648	1008370
Portuguese or Portuguese Creole	351875	430610	564630
German	1586593	1547987	1383442
Yiddish	315953	213064	178945
Greek	401443	388260	365436
Russian	173226	241798	706242
Polish	820647	723483	667414
Serbo-Croatian	150255	70964	233865
Armenian	100634	149694	202708
Persian	106992	201865	312085
Chinese	630806	1319462	2022143
Japanese	336318	427657	477997
Korean	266280	626478	894063
Vietnamese	197588	507069	1009627
Tagalog	474150	843251	1224241
MARGIN OF ERROR3			
Population 5 years and over	20028.0248	21184.3867	20150.5611
Spoke only English at home	29366.8871	32574.7518	33988.2214

	1980	1990	2000
Spoke a language other than English at home1	23436.7816	27136.1067	29907.7961
Spoke a language other than English at home1,2	23436.7816	27136.1067	29907.7961
Spanish or Spanish Creole	16709.4189	20685.6433	24049.8332
French (incl. Patois, Cajun, Creole)	6389.13988	7127.07033	6899.06955
Italian	6525.84029	5875.49922	4793.19118
Portuguese or Portuguese Creole	3052.17492	3376.32859	3589.55094
German	6461.99819	6387.14583	5610.53955
Yiddish	2892.43504	2376.00786	2022.16189
Greek	3259.68678	3206.2768	2888.80192
Russian	2142.42928	2531.01126	4013.51972

U.S. Census Bureau, 2011

APPENDIX B: STUDENT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1) What do you usually visit the Writing Center to get help with?
2) What is the primary language in your household?
3) In what language do you usually seek help for your assignments?
4) What is your perception of the multilingual nature of the campus?
5) Can you tell me a story that exemplifies your experience in the writing center?
6) Do you feel that there are different environments within the Stellenbosch campus? If so, which ones do you feel shape you as a learner and how?
7) Can you discuss your experience with language on the Stellenbosch campus in general?
8) How do you experience Ubuntu in your everyday life?
9) Is there anything else you would like to talk about in regards to your experience with language and/or writing at Stellenbosch?

APPENDIX C: TUTOR INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1) What language do you use to write your class assignments? Why?
2) What are your perceptions of the multilingual nature of the writing center?
3) What are your feelings about the use of isiXhosa on campus?
4) Can you tell me a story that exemplifies your experience with language in the writing center?
5) Do you feel that there are different environments within the Stellenbosch campus? If so, which ones do you feel shape you as a learner and how?
6) Can you discuss your experience with language on the Stellenbosch campus?
7) How do you experience Ubuntu in your everyday life?
8) Is there anything else you would like to say in regards to your experience with language or writing at Stellenbosch or in the writing center?

APPENDIX D: DIRECTOR INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1) Tell me about how you arrived at your current career.
2) In what language do you write and/or publish academic work? Why?
3) What are your perceptions of the multilingual nature of the writing center?
4) Do you feel that language use in the writing center represents language use across campus?
5) How do you select tutors?
6) Can you explain the political/cultural climate of the campus for me?
7) Do you feel that there are different environments within the Stellenbosch campus? If so, which ones do you feel shape you as a director and how?
8) How do you experience Ubuntu in your everyday life?
9) What changes could or should be made to the way the writing center deals with language?
10) What are your goals for the tutors/students/the center?
11) Can you tell me a story that illustrates your experience with language in the writing center?
12) Is there anything you would like to add?

APPENDIX E: STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY LANGUAGE POLICY

Language Policy of Stellenbosch University

Reference number of this document	
HEMIS classification	
Purpose	To formulate a policy to guide language planning and language management at Stellenbosch University (including the development, approval, operation, implementation, publication and revision)
Type of document	Policy document
Accessibility	General (external and internal)
Date of implementation	1 January 2015
Date/frequency of revision	Every five years – or sooner, depending on compelling interim amendments
Previous revisions	This is the first revision of the Policy after implementation in 2002
Owner of this Policy	Vice-Rector (Learning and Teaching)
Institutional functionary (curator) responsible for this Policy	Senior Director: Learning and Teaching Enhancement
Date of approval	22 November 2014
Approved by	Stellenbosch University Council
Keywords	policy, language, language planning, language plan, multilingualism, languages of learning and teaching

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The essence of the Policy

At Stellenbosch University, language is used in a way that is oriented towards engagement with knowledge in a diverse society. The University is committed to the use, safeguarding

and sustained development of Afrikaans as an academic language in a multilingual context, while increasing the teaching offering in English to enable optimal learning and teaching for all South Africans at this University. The University also accepts responsibility for the judicious advancement of isiXhosa, where feasible, as an academic language and a language of social engagement.

By means of its Language Policy and Language Plan the University is committed to the advancement of multilingualism on both the institutional and individual level. This Policy and Plan acknowledge language diversity and promote accessibility for staff and students, and develop the inherent value of multilingualism. The application of multilingual learning and teaching is effected in a pragmatic way and by means of a variety of support mechanisms.

1. Introduction

One aspect of the diversity of our society is the variety of languages we use. The Constitution grants official status to eleven different languages and regards all these languages as assets that should be used as a means of developing the human potential of our country. The Constitution further determines that everyone has the right to receive education at public education facilities in the official language or languages of their choice, where that education is reasonably achievable. This important personal, professional and social asset should therefore be exploited collectively – also by the South African tertiary education sector.

These objectives are reaffirmed in the National Development Plan 2030, which clearly articulates the importance of multilingualism, the sustained development of the languages in our country and the necessity of developing people's skills in more than one language.

The core function of Stellenbosch University (SU) within the abovementioned context is engagement with knowledge. The knowledge spectrum of the University is limited in the sense that a number of focus areas comprise its core; the spectrum is extensive in the sense that it covers a variety of academic disciplines and entails both undergraduate and postgraduate learning and teaching, as well as research. In this engagement with knowledge, the University takes account of the diversity in society, especially regarding our linguistic diversity, and the intellectual wealth inherent therein.

The University further believes that the international context is essential to the acquisition and application of knowledge. At the same time, the SU takes account of the local socio-cultural context in South Africa, particularly in the Western Cape region. The University strives for local application of the knowledge created in international context, inter alia, with due allowance for the diversity of the regional and national community.

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2. The multilingual context

Against this background, the University contributes to multilingualism in such a way that Afrikaans as an academic language can be used, safeguarded and advanced, while utilising the value of English as an international academic language and a common language for the many speakers of other indigenous South African languages. Furthermore, SU devotes attention to the judicious advancement and application of isiXhosa as an academic language and as a language of social engagement. The University therefore follows a dynamic process to make the institution more inclusive and diverse, also through our language offering. Through its multilingual approach SU advances institutional multilingualism (the use of more than one language by the institution) and individual multilingualism (the use of more than one language by die individual). The University's commitment to Afrikaans as an academic language therefore does not exclude the use of various languages at the University in the acquisition and application of knowledge.

Afrikaans

The Afrikaans language community is *demographically* – regarding both the number of its users and their regional and national geographical distribution – one of the strongest language communities in the country. *Culturally* Afrikaans is a standard language that has functioned as an academic language for decades and that is a national asset, being a fully developed cultural language.

The University is committed to the utilisation, safeguarding and advancement of the academic potential of Afrikaans as a means of empowering a large and diverse community. This includes a significant group from educationally disadvantaged communities.

English

The University makes use of English in its execution of the University's knowledge function because of the international value and local function of English as language of access.

IsiXhosa

IsiXhosa is an official language used by one of our largest language communities, spread over a large area of South Africa and on the increase in the Western Cape, among other regions. By means of specific initiatives the University undertakes to contribute to the advancement of isiXhosa as a developing academic language in addition to the advancement of isiXhosa as a language of communication.

3. Application of the Policy

The Language Policy applies to all faculties, support services divisions, management bodies, staff and students of the University. The scope of application of the Policy is set out in more detail in the Language Plan of Stellenbosch University.

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4. Purpose of the Policy

The purpose of the Language Policy (together with the Language Plan) is to guide language planning and language management at the University for the advancement of institutional and individual multilingualism.

5. Aims of the Policy

1. (a) To comply with the University's Vision 2030 by means of a balanced multilingual offering, as contained in SU's Institutional Intent and Strategy, and make it more feasible to advance *inclusivity.*
2. (b) To facilitate effective learning and teaching as well as service delivery at SU by utilising the superior value of multilingualism.
3. (c) To be used in conjunction with the Language Plan to guide those responsible for the development and revision of language policy implementation.
4. (d) The Language Policy upholds multilingualism as an important distinguishing characteristic of the University.

6. Policy principles

The University's Language Policy is to be executed with due observance of the following important principles:

1. (a) The University is a centre of excellence with a focus to generate knowledge through research, learning and teaching.
2. (b) The University acknowledges and respects the core values enshrined in the South African Constitution.
3. (c) The University takes account of strategic national policies and policy-making processes.
4. (d) The Language Policy supports and advances the values and points of departure described in the University's Institutional Intent and Strategy.
5. (e) The University acknowledges the particular status of Afrikaans as an academic language and will contribute to the safeguarding and advancement thereof.
6. (f) The University acknowledges the status of English as an important local language as well as an acknowledged international academic language.
7. (g) The University acknowledges the status of isiXhosa as an important local language as well as a developing academic language, and will, within the limits of feasibility, actively collaborate in the development of this language for academic use and as a language of communication.
8. (h) The Language Policy positions the University to make a contribution to the advancement of both institutional and individual multilingualism as an asset.
9. (i) The University accepts the principle that the success of the Language Policy is directly dependent on the establishment of suitable and sufficient language support and language services.

7. Policy provisions

The Language Policy of Stellenbosch University is summarised in the following provisions:

1. (a) Afrikaans and English are the University's languages of learning and teaching, and SU is committed to purposefully extend the academic application of both languages.
2. (b) Afrikaans and English are applied in various usage configurations.
3. (c) Parallel-medium teaching and real-time educational interpreting are used as preferred options where practically feasible and affordable.
4. (d) In postgraduate learning and teaching, both Afrikaans and English are used, with significant utilisation of English as an international academic language.
5. (e) The development of students' academic language skills in Afrikaans and English are encouraged systematically.
6. (f) The University promotes institutional multilingualism by judiciously employing Afrikaans and English as well as isiXhosa, depending on the circumstances.
7. (g) Documentation of prime importance (e.g. policies and strategic HR documents relating to service conditions) is made available in Afrikaans and English.
8. (h) Afrikaans and/or English and, where feasible, isiXhosa are the University's languages of external communication.
9. (i) Stellenbosch University respects the language policies and/or language preferences of her partners. This means that normally the official communication and documentation with her partners (this includes official meetings) will be in the language of preference of the partner, or that the necessary services (e.g. translation or interpreting services) will be implemented to take the language of preference into consideration. Where the University does not have the capacity to fulfil the language preference, the medium of communication will be English.
10. (j) SU encourages the advancement of isiXhosa within the formal programme offering where feasible and affordable. In certain programmes provision is made for isiXhosa with a view to facilitate effective learning and teaching, especially where the use of the language may be important for career purposes.
11. (k) Being a developing academic language, isiXhosa is advanced through the University's Language Centre, among other structures where feasible and affordable.
12. (l) The University offers language support and language services in respect of Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa.

8. Conflict resolution

The final responsibility for conflict resolution lies with the Vice-Rector (Learning and Teaching), who performs this function in consultation with existing management bodies. Complaints about the implementation of the Language Policy and Language

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Plan are dealt with in the first instance by the deans (in the case of faculties) or line managers (in the case of support services). A further level of conflict resolution for the academic environment

is the Senate's Academic Planning Committee or, in the case of the broader University, the Rector's Management Team.

In cases where the utilisation of the mentioned structures is not suitable, complaints may be submitted to the ombudsman for settlement in consultation with the relevant structures.

9. Policy governance

The Language Policy is approved by Council with consent by Senate and after consultation with the Institutional Forum.

The owner of the Policy is the Vice-Rector: Learning and Teaching. The Vice-Rector is responsible for the implementation, management and updating of the Policy, and reports on it to Council via the Rector's Management Team, the Academic Planning Committee and Senate. The Vice-Rector is supported by a Language Planning and Management Project Team that advises and performs tasks on behalf of the Vice- Rector as determined from time to time.

The curator of the Policy is the Senior Director: Learning and Teaching Enhancement. The curator also acts in an advisory capacity to the Vice-Rector and works closely with the Director: Language Centre. The Director: Language Centre acts, together with the Language Centre staff, in a research, planning, advisory and supporting capacity to execute the Language Policy effectively in faculties and support services environments.

The roles, implementation, monitoring, reporting and other aspects of policy governance are set out in more detail in the Language Plan.

10. Revision

Stellenbosch University takes into account that language policy-making is a dynamic process. Therefore, the University undertakes to test the Language Policy continuously against changing circumstances by

1. (a) conducting research on the implementation, application and monitoring of the Language Policy,
2. (b) regularly consulting with the broader University community,
3. (c) processing and publishing information gained from such research and consultation, and
4. (d) amending the Language Policy where necessary.

11. Disclosure

The Language Policy is a public document and is published along with the Language Plan on the University's website.

12. Supporting document

The Language Plan, being a supporting document to the Language Policy, articulates the most important issues relating to the implementation of the Policy.

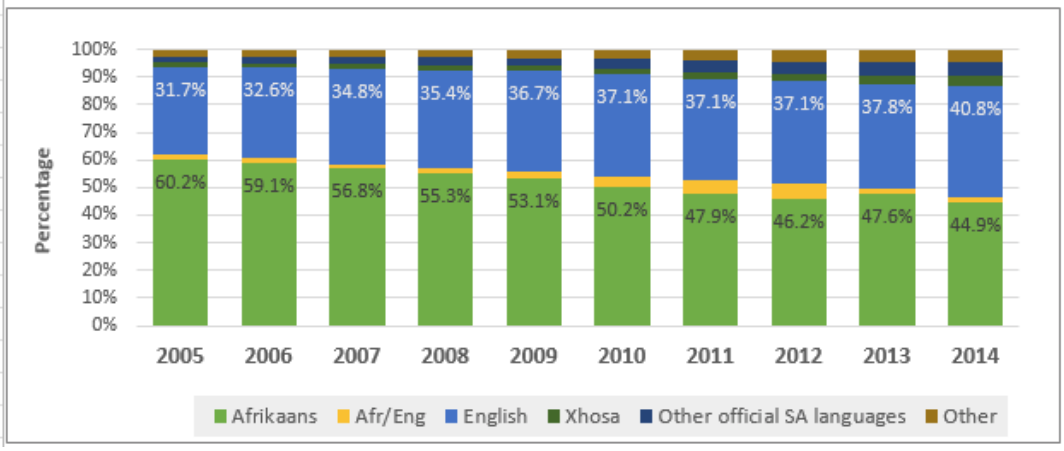
APPENDIX F: LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH STUDENTS

Enrolments by year and home language

Language	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Afrikaans	13,300	13,338	13,314	13,646	13,930	13,913	13,502	12,843	13,399	13,208
Afr/Eng	360	355	380	454	722	980	1,267	1,483	539	383
English	6,996	7,364	8,153	8,739	9,638	10,281	10,463	10,313	10,638	11,987
Xhosa	397	374	419	475	456	613	708	769	835	947
Other official SA languages	419	465	559	707	671	928	1,121	1,191	1,395	1,488
Other	610	673	614	663	826	979	1,132	1,224	1,350	1,380
Total*	**22,082**	**22,569**	**23,439**	**24,684**	**26,243**	**27,694**	**28,193**	**27,823**	**28,156**	**29,393**

Distribution

Language	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Afrikaans	60.2%	59.1%	56.8%	55.3%	53.1%	50.2%	47.9%	46.2%	47.6%	44.9%
Afr/Eng	1.6%	1.6%	1.6%	1.8%	2.8%	3.5%	4.5%	5.3%	1.9%	1.3%
English	31.7%	32.6%	34.8%	35.4%	36.7%	37.1%	37.1%	37.1%	37.8%	40.8%
Xhosa	1.8%	1.7%	1.8%	1.9%	1.7%	2.2%	2.5%	2.8%	3.0%	3.2%
Other official SA languages	1.9%	2.1%	2.4%	2.9%	2.6%	3.4%	4.0%	4.3%	5.0%	5.1%
Other	2.8%	3.0%	2.6%	2.7%	3.1%	3.5%	4.0%	4.4%	4.8%	4.7%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**



APPENDIX G: LANGUAGE CENTER MISSION STATEMENT

Summary: Our vision is to offer the widest possible range of academic and support services in the field of language and communication skills development. In order to realise this vision, we continually strive for excellence in a context of professionalism, accountability and student- and client-centredness. The full vision, mission and values of the Language Centre can be read here.

(Soos hersien Mei 2009)

Visie en Missie van die Taalsentrum

Agtergrond

Ons visie- en missiestellings artikuleer met die visie en missie van die Universiteit en dié van Akademiese Steun, en met al die relevante beleidsdokumente van die betrokke omgewings.

Visie

Ons visie is om die wydste moontlike versameling akademiese en ondersteunings- dienste op die terrein van die ontwikkeling van taal- en kommunikasievaardighede aan te bied. Om hierdie visie te realiseer, sal ons altyd strewe na uitnemendheid binne ’n konteks van professionaliteit, verantwoordbaarheid en student- en kliëntgesentreerdheid.

Missie

Ten einde ons visie te realiseer, is dit die missie van die Taalsentrum om binne die volgende spesifieke areas sy aktiwiteite te fokus:

Leer en onderrig – die aanbieding van kursusse en lewering van dienste met betrekking tot:

Akademiese geletterdheid
Professionele en besigheidskommunikasie
Taalontwikkeling en taalverwerwing

Taaltoetsing
Een-tot-een skryfkonsultasies
Lees- en skryfondersteuning
Gefokusde opleiding vir tutors, konsultante, kontrakteurs, ens.

Navorsing – navorsing in die verskillende vakkundige velde binne die Taalsentrum in terme van:

Tradisionele navorsing (gepubliseerde artikels en ander vakkundige werke, referate, meesters- en doktorale studies)

Kontraknavorsing (navorsing vir kommersiële entiteite)

Aksienavorsing (om prosesse en produkte te verbeter)

Kommersialisering – die lewering van hoë-kwaliteit kommersiële dienste aan die buitemark met betrekking tot:

Die aanbieding van kort kursusse en werkswinkels Die lewering van vertaal-, redigeer- en tolkdienste Die lewering van konsultasie- en adviesdienste

Bevordering van meertaligheid – die bevordering van Afrikaans, Engels en isiXhosa onder verskillende teikengroepe, te wete personeel, plaaslike en internasionale studente, en buitekliënte met betrekking tot:

Die bevordering en ontwikkeling van die betrokke taal as akademiese taal

Die ontwikkeling van algemene taalvaardighede in die betrokke taal

Gemeenskapsinteraksie – die benutting van die kundigheidsterreine van die Taalsentrum tot voordeel van die gemeenskap deur middel van:

Werkswinkels Spesifieke projekte

Waardes en beginsels wat die aktiwiteite van die Taalsentrum rig

Ten einde ons visie en missie te realiseer, word ons aktiwiteite deur die volgende waardes en beginsels gerig.

Ons verstaan in die eerste plek dat die Taalsentrum ’n sentrum van die Universiteit Stellenbosch is wat binne die Akademiese Steun omgewing gesitueer is. Ons leef daarom ons eie visie en missie binne die konteks van die visie, missie, waardes en beginsels van hierdie entiteite uit.

Ons besef ook dat die Taalsentrum se visie en missie uitgeleef word binne die konteks van die vyf eenhede en hulle spesifieke werksaamhede. Die eenhede vorm ’n wedersyds-ingeligte en daarom

ondersteunende en inklusiewe geheel. Ons werk dus almal saam om ’n omgewing te skep waar daar ’n eenheid in die veelheid van aktiwiteite gevestig word deur doeltreffende bestuur en kommunikasie.

In die Taalsentrum is ons ten slotte toegewyd aan ons taak en die omgewing waarbinne ons funksioneer, deur medeverantwoordelikheid te neem vir die volgende waardes:

onderlinge respek, vertroue en waardering vir mekaar en die werk wat elkeen doen tot voordeel van die Taalsentrum
begrip vir en verdraagsaamheid teenoor mekaar
lojaliteit teenoor die Sentrum en die personeel van die Sentrum

integriteit en eerlikheid, ondersteun deur ’n kultuur van deursigtigheid
die aanvaarding van en waardering vir die diversiteit van idees, kulture en kundighede die besondere gees van samehorigheid en onderlinge ondersteuning wat nodig is om in ’n uiters uitdagende konteks effektief te funksioneer

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die skep van ’n wetenskaplike, administratiewe en bestuurlike onderbou wat gekombineer word met die toewyding en aanpasbaarheid wat nodig is om in ’n dinamies veranderende konteks effektief te funksioneer

diensbaarheid en professionaliteit teenoor kollegas, studente en kliënte ten einde die hoogste vlak van bemagtiging van hierdie kollegas, studente en kliënte te verseker