



Superdiversity in a Cameroonian diaspora community in Ghent

The social structure of superdiverse networks

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Preface

Approximately six or seven years ago in 2008, I was involved in what would later turn out to be the first of many courses in intercultural communication as part of the curriculum of my HBO bachelor. As from that moment the subject had some strange kind of attraction and it came back in many different ways throughout my life. In 2011 I have spend a semester in the Southwest region of Cameroon as a communication intern in a local NGO aimed at preventing deforestation and alleviating poverty. What I perceived as my understanding of intercultural communication allowed me to bond with the people I met during that journey, causing me to fall in love with the country and its inhabitants.

Now, a few years later, the understanding I have of intercultural communication has expanded and is much deeper (fortunately), resulting in this master thesis. The process leading to its finalization has been both joy- and stressful. During some parts of it, I have felt overwhelmed and insecure. Even though I was not almost the most pleasant person to be around – especially when the design of tables and figures did not turn out the way I wanted it to – there were always people to encourage me, and I would like to take this opportunity to express my eternal gratitude to them. First of all I would like to thank my supervisor, Prof. Dr. Blommaert for his guidance throughout the process. Additionally many thanks to my family and friends, especially to Paul Veerman, for supporting me and being there for me at times it was most needed (read: those times I wanted to jump up and down on my laptop and ritually burn all my field notes). Lastly, I would like to thank the members of the Cameroonian diaspora community in Ghent for allowing me into their community to gather the necessary data. To all of you, please enjoy the following poem that I once read during those first years of studying intercultural communication. It was in the first book on the subject I ever read, and has stuck with me ever since.

“We and They

*Father, Mother, and Me, Sister and Auntie say
All the people like us are We, and everyone else is They.
And They live over the sea while We live over the way,
But – would you believe it? – They look upon We
as only a sort of They!*

*We eat pork and beef with cow-horn-handled knives.
They who gobble Their rice of a leaf are horrified out of Their lives;
Feast on grubs and clay, (isn't it scandalous?) look upon We
As a simple disgusting They!*

*We eat kitchen food. We have doors that latch.
They drink milk and blood under an open thatch.
We have doctors to fee. They have wizards to pay.
And (impudent heathen!) They look upon We
as a quite impossible They!*

*All good people agree, and all good people say,
All nice people, like us, are We, and everyone else is They.
But if you cross over the sea, instead of the way,
You may end by (think of it!) looking on We
as only a sort of They.”*

- Rudyard Kipling, in Jandt's (2007) 'an introduction to intercultural communication'.

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to examine the social structure of superdiverse networks. The approach in doing so is mainly qualitative and ethnographic in nature. A case study of a Cameroonian diaspora community in Ghent composed of highly skilled migrants gives an insight in the linguistic and socio-cultural diversity as well as in the infrastructure of the network's framework. Analyses of the linguistically diverse repertoires of the participants and their individual networks demonstrate the repertoires and communication instruments to be functionally specialized: they are neither random nor interchangeable. Specific ingredients of repertoires are applied under specific circumstances in specific situations. Additionally, the study explains how the social construction of the network enables its members to understand a global message in its local perception, preventing miscommunication and misunderstandings. Repertoires throughout the diaspora community overlap, unraveling the indexical value in the network's various spaces and domains.

1.1 Globalization and superdiversity

As a process set in motion with the start of the industrialization era - known for its technical and innovative inventions, globalization can be described as a social process through which the geographical boundaries set by mankind gradually recede (Waters, 1995). In Water's definition, people are aware of these receding constraints, although to where this awareness reaches is debatable. Matters such as increasing mobility and expanding business markets are concrete examples as well as consequences of the globalization process. On a more abstract level, inventions such as the internet enable individuals from all over the planet to connect and exchange information through fairly new tools of communication, which could actually be regarded as a contemporary, modern form of increased mobility in which the individual does not necessarily have to travel in order for the message to reach its destination. What arise are forms of communication in all sizes and shapes between an amount of different cultures, making intercultural communication from a globalizing perspective a highly fascinating topic of study. Simultaneously, all these different forms of communication and increasing mobility drastically complicate the field of communication, and sociolinguistics in particular. McLuhan (1989) describes the globalizing world with regards to communication as a village, since according to his orientation all the world's citizens are connected by communication technology. Although this statement might hold some general truth, the situation naturally is more complex than the metaphor suggests. One of the researchers coming to this conclusion is Vertovec (2006) in his research on the superdiverse composition of the United Kingdom. His most enlightening finding in relation to the subject is that the metaphor is too general and too limited, since it only exposes one dimension in the complex field of globalization as a process (Maly, Blommaert, & Yakoub; 2014). According to Blommaert (2010), among the factors complicating sociolinguistics, globalization introduces and enables new and higher distinct levels of communication. For example, if Juan in Costa Rica updates his Facebook status, Marie-Claire in France could read that status in real time. Blommaert (2010) claims such phenomena have implications on the general comprehension and awareness of meaning, since every 'global' utterance lands in a 'local' environment. In order to prevent miscommunications and misunderstandings, the main issue is therefore to learn to better understand and be aware of the context of meaning (Blommaert, 2010).

Among the other dimensions that are not covered by the 'village metaphor' is the dimension of so-called superdiversities. Superdiversity is a concept which encompasses the "diversification of diversity" (Vertovec, 2006; Blommaert, 2010), meaning the immensely enlarged variety of resources, linguistic, religious, and/or ethnic, that epitomize modern societies (Jørgensen & Juffermans, 2011). The development of superdiversities is directly inherent to globalization regarding the new

developments that emerge. Two of these – which are in fact the ‘essence of superdiversities’ - are the aforementioned increased mobility leading to new migration patterns, and the technological developments with regards to communication and communication instruments (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). New means of communication such as social media are invented on a daily basis. Complimentary to and contemporary with such inventions of modern communication instruments is the ever ongoing technological development of (mobile) communication devices such as cell phones, laptops, iPads, etcetera.

In order to gain a better understanding towards how complex superdiverse networks actually are, any research directed at unraveling and exposing their framework requires an approach that is in itself dynamic and flexible. Dynamic since the structure of the framework is multi-layered and interdimensional, and flexible due to the ever flowing movements between these layers and dimensions. The word ‘network’ returns frequently within this dissertation, since the phenomenon under study is actually a component of what Castells (2011) refers to as ‘the network society’; a society that is composed of “numerous networks, large and small, in all dimensions of social practice and organization” (Castells, 2011, p.1968). Networks are not held back through national frontiers, which results in networks being global systems on their own. However, networks are still strongly associated with and connected to geographical places, although they are open frameworks and the identification of boundaries might be challenging. Therefore, it is particularly difficult to recognize centers and marginal areas (Falzon, 2009). The relationship between the observer and the individuals within the network is influenced in such a way that boundaries become even less clear. Additionally, Wittel (2000, p.4) explains that “the more multi-sided an (ethnographic) study of a network is, the less time is available for researching individual nodes of the network”. A third issue that complicates the work of the researcher is that of access. The researcher needs to get familiar with all the information flowing within the network.

Although studying networks may sound more complicated than traditional field work, due to the increasing mobility of people it is necessary in order to conduct an ethnographic study that takes into account all factors of why people within these networks behave as they do. Approaches that have proven to be useful in visualizing the layers and dimensions are usually a combination of approaches that are both quantitative and qualitative in essence. The aforementioned research of Vertovec (2006) for example, uses a quantitative approach in order to map and analyze the multiple variables of superdiverse networks. However, the research is qualitative in reviewing and comparing existing literature in order to understand the diversity within a migrant’s relationship and interactions both in- and outside of the place of residence. Another study indicating the complicated structure necessary for researching the subject matter is Sepulveda, Syrett, and Lyon’s (2011) research on superdiversity in the city of London. Due to a lack of existing data, Sepulveda et al. studied “secondary materials in combination with primary ethnographic observations and interview data in relation to six new arrival communities” (Sepulveda, Syrett & Lyon, 2011, p.2).

A contextual problem superdiversities entail is the sociocultural lack of predictability in relation to migration patterns (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011), caused by globalization allowing migration to move through changing spaces, times, and dimensions (Blommaert, 2010). Vertovec (2010, p. 86) explains: “More people are moving from more places, through more places, to more places”. When expanding the quote through adding the concept of globalizing sociolinguistics (More people are able to communicate from more places, with the communication flowing through more places, to more places), what emerges is a complex network of people, spaces, and geographical areas. Both Sepulveda, Syrett, and Lyon’s (2011) as well as Vertovec’s (2006) study seem to take into account the absence of heterogeneity and the absolute context of the relationship and interaction patterns of migrants in attempting to unravel the framework of superdiverse networks. However, both studies portray ‘the migrant’ as a somewhat homogeneous human concept, whereas in reality, ‘the migrant’ in its homogeneous form does not exist. The mistake of generalization is easily made, since the definition of a person moving from one to place to another still holds ground. The nuance in the notion of migration should be placed in the structuralization of the migrant community and its underlying migrational motives, since people usually have very different reasons to (temporarily) leave their countries of origin. Examples are guest workers, fortune hunters, or refugees forced to leave their houses.

Relatively new phenomena are diaspora communities composed of highly skilled individuals who emigrate from developing countries in order to conduct their studies and/or work in first world countries before moving back to their native lands (Meyer & Wattiaux, 2006). The so-called ‘knowledge migrants’ are usually highly educated and competent and have the purpose of bringing their acquired knowledge back to their nations of origin. Most often, these individuals have been selected and financially given the chance to go abroad by their respective families, communities, and/or tribes - with the expectation that upon returning the individual can support the ‘investors’ either financially or through helping the community develop otherwise (Terlingen, 2011). Since the largest percentage of these knowledge migrants will in time return to their home countries and are abroad merely temporarily, the contact between them and their friends and families remains fairly strong (Meyer & Wattieux, 2006). However, in the mean time they connect with their new environments and with individuals of the same ethnicity within those environments. Through interacting individuals of the same ethnicity, knowledge migrant diaspora communities emerge all over Europe and North America (Ember, C., Ember, M., & Skoggard, 2005). The diaspora members connecting and interacting with their new environments result in globalization on both a small and large scale, and additionally to the emergence of superdiversities. Blommaert & Rampton (2011) explain:

“While emigration used to mean real separation between the émigré and his/her home society, involving the loss or dramatic reduction of social, cultural and political roles and impact there, emigrants and dispersed communities now have the potential to retain an active connection by means of an elaborate set of

long-distance communication technologies. These technologies impact on sedentary 'host' communities as well, with people getting involved in transnational networks that offer potentially altered forms of identity, community formation and cooperation" (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011, p.3).

In the current study, which is empirical in nature, the network of members of the Cameroonian knowledge migrant diaspora community in Ghent is the subject of research. The goal is to provide an insight in the complex structure of diversification within superdiversities. Before doing so however, it is necessary to gain some understanding of Cameroon, its people, and its linguistic diversity to a certain extent.

1.2 Cameroonian diversity

Cameroon is situated in West, Sub-Saharan Africa and counts ten provinces of which two are Anglophone and eight are Francophone (see figure 1.1). Due to that division, French and English are the two official languages of the country. However, approximately 280 indigenous living languages are spoken throughout the nation, categorized under 24 major language groups (Lewis, Simons & Fennig, 2013). With a little over 23 million inhabitants, that would result in a different language per 82,000 citizens, although one language has more speakers than the other. According to Lewis, Simons & Fennig (2013), of all Cameroonian languages, 280 are living, whereas six are extinct. 12 of those living languages are institutional, 99 are vigorous, 54 are losing speakers at a rapid pace, and 24 are on the verge of extinction. Since communication and interaction might be quite troublesome among the speakers of all these various languages, the country is united through a lingua franca. In most parts of Western Africa, people communicate by means of speaking a pidgin vernacular, which, although showing slight variations among countries, serves as a lingua franca nonetheless. The Cameroonian variant of this vernacular, spoken by approximately ten million people and referred to as Kamtok (Menang, 2008) evolved out of many European languages of former colonizers, such as Portuguese, German, French, and English, and is – contrary to what it sounds like – not a form of ‘broken English’ (Bellama, Nkele & Yudom, 2006; Mesthrie, 2008). The word is deteriorated from the words ‘Cameroonian’ and ‘talk’. That Kamtok, although sounding like a variant, is remarkably different than English is something the author got the chance of experiencing herself, while residing in the South-West province of Cameroon during an internship in 2011. It was during those six months of her stay that she bonded with the country and its people, while simultaneously experiencing amazement concerning the country’s linguistic diversity.



Figure 1.1

Map of Cameroon, retrieved November 19, 2014, from <http://www.emapsworld.com/cameroon-provinces-map.html>

During the early years of the colonial period, indigenous languages had great prestige and were used for educational purposes, even long before the country was claimed and colonized by the Germans in the second half of the 19th century (Echu, 1999). Towards the end of the First World War, Cameroon was divided into two by the League of Nations, resulting in an English speaking and a French speaking part. In 1960, the French-administered part of Cameroon declared itself to be independent, and went by the name of 'République du Cameroun' (DeLancy, M. D., Mbuh, & DeLancy, M. W., 2010). In post-colonial Cameroon the French language was selected as the official language, and is used throughout the whole nation. Therefore, it could be considered as a lingua franca - in addition to Kamtok. The decision to install French as an official language was made due to the postcolonial government considering it to be a neutral language in a country with many tribes and language groups. Additionally, since the French colony had been quite large and French was spoken throughout the whole area and used in government and public administration, it was a logical option, practically and financially (Kouega, 2007). This form of status planning additionally resulted in the least possible disruption, making installing a quite neutral language the safest option as well. According to Wolf (1997), French is the de facto dominant language over English, due to the geographical large area that once was the French colony. French administrators initiated an assimilation process with the aim of diminishing the status of indigenous languages and transforming Cameroonians in overseas French citizens, speaking the French language. This form of acquisition planning promoted schools that used French as language of instruction, which finally resulted in French being the only language of

instruction in the French speaking colony of Cameroon (Echu, 1999). The South West and the North West provinces are part of Cameroon's English speaking regions, since they after the First World War became a colony of the United Kingdom. At that time, the British part of Cameroon was referred to as 'the Northern and the Southern Cameroons'. After gaining independence in 1961, the Southern Cameroons reunited with the Republic du Cameroun and was henceforth known as the Republic of Cameroon (DeLancy, M. D., Mbuh, & DeLancy, M. W., 2010). In the first years after being British overseas territory, British rules practiced a policy referred to as 'indirect rule', meaning that indigenous languages and English were used simultaneously, in for example education – but also in everyday life (Echu, 1999). According to Echu, the practice of indirect rule changed dramatically after Cameroon became an independent nation and the English speaking territory reunified with the Francophone region. For similar reasons as the installation of French as an official language, English became the country's second official language, not in the least because it was advantageous for the 'new' nation's financial situation, since it meant lesser material costs. For a similar reason, indigenous languages were to be kept at a distance from the classrooms and official institutions in public administration and governance. Nowadays, in schools (primary, secondary and higher education), English coexists next to French as language of instruction (Anchimbe, 2013), hence the English speaking population artificially adopted English as a standard language, as did the French speaking part of the population with the French language. Cameroon's indigenous languages however are still the greatest in number, due to the many indigenous peoples and tribes. Wolf (2001), challenges the amount Lewis, Simons, & Fennig (2013) have estimated, claiming the researchers mistakenly labeled dialects as languages. He labels 247 languages as the country's indigenous languages. As mentioned before, during the colonial period, indigenous languages were to a great extent being removed from the class rooms and the public sphere, resulting in the disappearance of various languages (or dialects, depending on the interpretation of the researcher). However, even during colonial times, missionaries still educated Cameroonian children in their mother tongue in multiple places throughout Cameroon (Echu, 1999). In order to protect the country's indigenous languages and cultural heritage, independent organizations such as the 'National Association of Cameroonian Languages (NACALCO)' and the 'Programme de Recherche Opérationnelle pour l'Enseignement des Langues Cameroun (PROPELCA)' have since long promoted Cameroon's indigenous languages, and advised to reconsider the policy of restricted mother tongue education.

As the above section clarifies, most Cameroonians are multilingual and speak at least two languages. The percentage of citizens with access to primary education is approximately 50% (with an equal amount of both boys and girls) in 2004, and 72% of individuals of age 15 and above are literate (Ewoudou & Vencatachellum, 2006; Bame Nsamenang & Chombe, 2011). This group has already learned to speak both French and English during their school years. Furthermore do Cameroonians acquire Kamtok and their tribal and/or community languages as a mother tongue (Chumbow, 1981). Even through this small insight in Cameroon's sociolinguistic situation, it already becomes clear that

the country is quite diverse in sociolinguistic structure, and that within this diversity people use certain languages in particular situations. It should not be surprising if during the case study in Ghent a similar pattern becomes apparent, since the subjects of study already belong to what could be called an ‘ethnic superdiversity’. Because of its history of colonization, in the light of globalization Cameroon among other African nations might even be considered to be one of the first superdiversities in the world. The situation is similar to what Blommaert (1999, pp. 3-8) describes as ‘homogenization from above, diversification from below’ in his book on state ideology and language in Tanzania. The colonial and post-colonial governments of Cameroon portray a community held together through symbols such as the two common languages, culture and tradition. However, due to the many interacting tribes, communities and languages, the situation the government outlines is in fact undermined by reality: a Cameroon wherein increasing mobility and migration in addition to the ethnic and linguistic diversity depicts bottom-up diversification. The overall argument is that apart from modern technology, Cameroon is a sociolinguistic superdiversity in itself. Taking that into account, highly educated knowledge migrants coming to the Western world bring along that diversification in their ‘sociolinguistic backpacks’.

1.3 Cameroonian diversification in Ghent

The interaction these Cameroonian knowledge migrants involve in – with others and among themselves – is likely to have an effect on the structure of the superdiverse diaspora communities that arise. This research will attempt to shed light on how a linguistic and semiotic communication repertoire is developed and structurally played out, while simultaneously providing an insight on how these networks are structured within the Cameroonian diaspora community in Ghent (see figure 1.2). It is desired to demonstrate a concrete social structure in which people of new superdiverse migrations live. As the concept of superdiversities indicates, the networks are complex. The repertoires within these networks are most likely not randomly structured and used, and for each of the aspects within the repertoires it is expectable the diaspora members stick to an unwritten rule on how to use what with whom. Before going in-depth on the theory behind network structures and repertoires however, the Cameroonian diaspora community will be briefly introduced.

All of its members are highly skilled knowledge migrants who are either enrolled in a higher academic program such as a master or advanced master program, or have already finished said program and are pursuing their Doctor of Philosophy degree. Four of those members agreed to actively participate in this research. In order to make an effort on reflecting how diverse the diaspora is as a whole, four anonymized profiles of these participants are being elaborated upon.



Figure 1.2 City of Ghent, retrieved November 19, 2014, from <http://images.holidaycityeurope.com/belgiumhotels/map.gif>

1.3.1 Amadou

Amadou is a highly educated 29 year old Cameroonian man who originally comes from Bamenda, a city in the North-West province of Cameroon (see figure 1.4). After spending his childhood in Kumbo, he moved with his family to Buea, a city in the South-West province (see figure 1.3), where he attended a local high school and later conducted his studies at the University of Buea. He came to Ghent five years ago, and in the mean time obtained his master degree. Currently he works in a factory but is actively applying for PhD positions in his field, geology. He lives in an apartment just outside the city center, and has a young daughter together with his Belgian ex-girlfriend. In Ghent he speaks Dutch and English with the people outside of the Cameroonian diaspora community, and Kamtok with his friends within the diaspora. He frequently contacts his friends and relatives back in Cameroon, with whom he uses mostly Kamtok – by the Cameroonians referred to as Pidgin. Amadou was raised a Christian, but is currently agnostic.

1.3.2 Martial

Leaving his hometown Limbe in the South-West of Cameroon in 2011, Martial has been in Ghent for a little over three years. He completed his master studies and has a degree in statistics. Currently he is 27, and enrolled in an advanced master program, also on statistics. He spends his limited free time online, remaining in touch with his friends and family in Cameroon. Most of those people live either in Limbe where Martial grew up and where his family lives up to this very day, or in Buea where Martial attended university before moving to Ghent. With most of his friends and family he speaks in Kamtok, although he usually speaks English with his father. Unfortunately, his mother passed away when he was in his early teens. His father has a well respected job with a corresponding salary, and Martial therefore belongs to what in the Western world would be considered ‘upper middle class’, although translated to Cameroonian standards. In Ghent he rents a student room and likes to

play soccer with other Cameroonians and Ghanaians on Saturday mornings. With the Cameroonians he only uses Kamtok, whereas with others he speaks English. Martial is quite religious and attends a Cameroonian catholic church every Sunday.

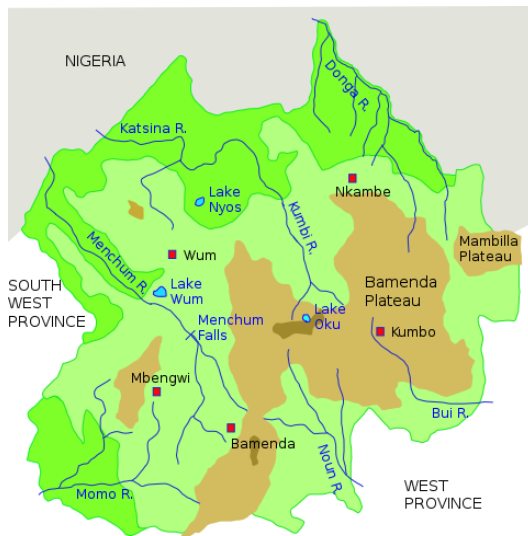


Figure 1.3

North-West province of Cameroon, retrieved November 19, 2014, from http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/9/96/NW_Cameroon.svg/220px-NW_Cameroon.svg.png



Figure 1.4

South-West province of Cameroon, retrieved November 19, 2014, from <https://www.google.nl/maps/place/Cameroon/>

1.3.3 Sainge

Sainge was born in a village called Ndop, which is part of Bamenda in the North-West province of Cameroon, and has lived there throughout his childhood. After high school, he attended the University of Buea and was enrolled in a physics and astronomy program. He then came to Ghent to pursue a master degree in climate and weather modeling and is currently enrolled in a postgraduate program concerning the same topic. His parents are not ‘computer literates’ as he calls it, but Sainge still manages to contact them quite frequently. Out of all respondents he is the only Muslim, and therefore communicates with his family in either the language of their religion called Fulbe, or in their dialect called Vengo. With other Cameroonians back home and in Ghent he communicates by means of Kamtok. In Ghent, Sainge lives in a student house and enjoys playing soccer on Saturdays. Since there is no mosque in the region where they speak Fulbe, he does not regularly visit one because he does not understand Arabic. His best friend is Nigerian and also lives in Ghent.

1.3.4 Chinedou

The fourth and final participant is Chinedou, a 27 year old man who was also born in Bamenda. During his late teenage years he left Bamenda for Buea, where he completed an education in statistics. Chinedou then temporarily replaced Cameroon for Ghent in order to complete a master program. Currently he is a PhD candidate and researches statistical prognoses for breast cancer in women. This PhD will be completed two and a half years from today. In Ghent Chinedou lives together with his Belgian girlfriend, and regularly attends a South-African catholic church on Sundays. Furthermore he – similar to his Cameroonian friends – plays soccer on Saturday mornings and additionally likes to watch movies. He has frequent contact with his friends and family back in Cameroon, with whom he communicates in Kamtok. His sister lives in the United States, and he additionally communicates with her through social media. Chinedou speaks English, French, a little Dutch, and his tribal dialect Mbengwi, but refers to Kamtok as his mother tongue.

1.4 Unraveling the superdiverse diaspora

As the participant profiles already elucidate, a great amount of communication and interaction flows within the many layers of the diaspora community. Diaspora members use numerous online and offline communication instruments and various languages in multiple thematic spaces. Fragmentations exist within the diaspora, and the community is porous and open. Because of such openness, the communication forms and languages (including dialects and other vernaculars) flow in and out of the diaspora, resulting in a dissemination and circulation of linguistic repertoires within the network. The two main dimensions within the diaspora are composed of networks and such (linguistic) repertoires.

In a later section of this theoretical framework these repertoires shall be further elaborated upon, but for now the focus remains on the various nodes and connections within the diaspora network.

1.4.1 Network structures within the diaspora

The current study aims at exposing a concrete social structure wherein individuals of new superdiverse migrations live. In that social structure are spaces which on the one hand 'house' the migrants, and provide room for information and communication flows on the other (Blommaert, 2012). Within the network, every member brings along its own individual network. Matters that increasingly complicate the network structure are connected to its openness and its flow of members: new ones frequently join, whereas others leave the diaspora communities to return to Cameroon or other destinations.

At a first glance, the structure appears to be quite random. Previous study results of Vertovec (2006; 2007), Sepulveda et al. (2011), and Maly (2014) indicate however that randomness is not at all present within these social structures. According to Castells (2011), a network connects the local with the global, and is therefore complex, but not at all random. He explains that individuals and their messages find their own route within and throughout the network, and show coherent meaning at any place within the network as a whole. In this process, emphasis should be placed on the communication instruments and means. Within the scope of globalization, technological developments are partly responsible for the network's superdiverse character since they enable individuals within the network to easily maintain contact with people from all over the world, as is also visible in the case study of this thesis. From an ethnographic perspective this entails the following. Multiple researchers have yet determined that ethnographic research is moving from the traditional field to digital spaces (Wittel, 2000; Beaulieu, 2004). According to Wittel, this shift brings along a dilemma within ethnography, since the concept of field as a geographically bordered site is overdue, although it has proven to be hard to escape from notions of field and fieldwork. The current study relies on both the traditional and modern notions of ethnography, with the latter explaining why it is difficult to unravel complex structures as such networks. The infrastructure of the network depends on both on- and offline instruments, and is to a certain extent partially virtual.

1.4.2 Linguistic repertoires and communication flows within the diaspora

The repertoires of fairly new migrants, and thus that of the Cameroonian diaspora members, often appear to be what Blommaert refers to as 'truncated' (Blommaert, 2010, p.8). He describes these repertoires as "highly specific bits of language and literacy varieties that are combined in a repertoire which reflects the fragmented and highly diverse life-trajectories

and environments of such people” (Blommaert, 2010, p.8). Repertoires in this sense could be explained as a set of linguistic resources that an individual has (Rymes, 2014), in what was earlier referred to the ‘sociolinguistic backpack’. However, an individual does not necessarily have to be equally fluent in all of those languages. Within the diaspora community, a variety of repertoires is visible. The knowledge migrants, although sharing the same ethnic background, have their cultural heritage roots from different geographical locations throughout Cameroon. Two grew up in the Bamenda area, of which one comes from a small village of Bamenda’s suburbs. A third was born in Bamenda but spent his childhood and teenage years in Kumbo and Buea, whereas a fourth practically lived his whole life on the coast in the South-West region of Cameroon before moving to Ghent. Additionally the participant’s tribal, socio-economic and religious backgrounds should be taken into account, since they also are of great impact on the diaspora members’ linguistic repertoires. Within the superdiversity, Blommaert (2012) argues that terms such as ‘multilingualism’ and ‘codeswitching’ do no longer cover the complexity that arises within such systems. According to Blommaert (2010), all these various linguistic repertoires have an indexical value in certain spaces and situations. He explains this indexical value as repertoires always being ‘functionally specialized’: “language means are used in order to create specific tasks and create specific effects” (Blommaert, 2010, p.104). It is therefore, that despite the numerous languages, dialects and vernaculars, misunderstandings hardly occur. Additionally, Rymes (2014) explains that such elements of repertoire become functional in their performance. In other words, the tapping of a certain repertoire in a specific situation serves the function the particular situation calls for at that specific moment in time. It is safe to state there is the presence of common ground within the diaspora and its repertoires to a certain extent, however, due to the network’s different nodes; every situation requires the establishment of common ground over and over again. Rymes claims that in order to create common ground, individuals have to stick to unwritten rules in order to prevent miscommunications through using an insufficient or inappropriate language in a particular situation. When done successfully, individual repertoires will gradually overlap with those of others. With respect to diversities, this development becomes increasingly important considering the ongoing process of globalization. It is highly essential to gain a better understanding of repertoires in order to discover patterns of language resources within the communication flows of superdiverse networks.

With regard to those networks, Blommaert & Backus (2013) argue that languages and repertoires flow through its layers as well, while they might seem absent on a first notion. This process is what Rymes describes as the ‘principle of diversity’, meaning that “the more widely circulated a communicative element is, the more highly diverse the interactions with it will be” (Rymes, 2014, p. 10). However, as the participant profiles already indicate, the

individual repertoires and networks to a certain extent overlap. All respondents use Kamtok to communicate with their friends back in Cameroon for example. The exposure of the actual superdiverse network will most likely indicate an overlap in communication instruments as well. The cause of the overlap finds its origin within two reasons, which are (1) the infrastructure of the network, and (2) the linguistic resources within the repertoires. Although the repertoire of every individual within the diaspora community slightly varies, the overall resources are similar. Blommaert and Backus (2013) explain that in the context of globalization, individuals and languages become increasingly more mobile, leading to minimal modes of adding new complete resources to repertoires due to individuals merely coming across particular bits of language. The individual could in turn learn and use the language in particular ways. In other words, people encounter languages, but do not learn a new language in its complete form. The argument Blommaert and Backus offer explains why there is an overlap within the linguistic repertoires of the Cameroonian diaspora members: They share amongst others the same ethnicity, education level, manners of spending leisure time, and to a certain extent acquaintances within the receiving society.

1.4.3 Similarities among networks and linguistic repertoires

Languages and their speakers are traditionally connected to a fixed geographical area. Within the scope of superdiverse networks however, languages and speech communities are no longer bound to certain regions, although they are still connected. Increasing mobility has had – and still has its influence on both elements (Pennycook, 2010). Blommaert (2012) addresses the vicious cycle of complexity through indicating that superdiversity seems to add layer upon layer within the network structure of a diaspora community, as well as upon the semiotic construction of sociolinguistic repertoires. Sociolinguistics and the diaspora community's network structure are hereby simultaneously under influence of the ever changing composition of the diaspora and its members.

Instead of merely functioning as complicating factors, both sociolinguistics and the technological development of communication instruments provide a tool for the analysis of the social and linguistic structure of the superdiverse diaspora community. Blommaert (2012) explains that when superdiversity comes across as a challenging subject of study, it is merely because of the change which has occurred in the fundamental features of reality. Linguistic repertoires are such a tool. To emphasise once more, it has to be understood that linguistic repertoires are 'functionally specialized' and are therefore flexible, which makes analyzing them the main approach in unraveling the social structure of the superdiverse diaspora community.

1.4.4 Overall questions and expectations of the study

As the theoretical discussion suggests, subjects that relate to terms as superdiversity, networks, social structure, sociolinguistics, and repertoires are not easy to grasp, and it is even more difficult to generalize the outcomes of case studies concerning these terms. However, this research aims at doing just that. Its purpose is to unravel the social structure of superdiverse diaspora networks through analyzing sociolinguistic repertoires. The main question of the study logically concerns this social structure, and asks what it looks like. Concerning the tool of analysis, based on the yet existing theory on sociolinguistic repertoires, it is expected repertoires will be strictly organized, and additionally that infrastructural and linguistic means within and between such repertoires are extremely specified and not interchangeable. Referring back to what was said at the beginning of this chapter concerning the context of meaning globally versus locally; an additional sub hypothesis is formulated in case the expectation will be confirmed. If the research indicates that repertoires are indeed strictly organized, it is expected that the context of meaning explains the careful dispersion of the individuals within the Cameroonian target group.

As was mentioned in the introductory chapter of this work, globalization has to such an extent influence on people's language and mobility that it requires sociolinguists to redefine the perspective of the access to and reconstruction of linguistic repertoires. According to Blommaert en Backus (2013), the only way to determine and analyze repertoires and their functions is from within the group of users. In other words, the functions of the linguistic resources of the speakers belonging to the Cameroonian diaspora members in Ghent need to be discovered and established ethnographically. The following chapters elaborate on the case study as a whole, but specifically on the route that was traveled in conducting the research.

Chapter 2 From network to field work

In the past, many social scientists have applied multiple research techniques in order to study the concepts of sociolinguistics and superdiversity. As the previous chapter mentions, these approaches were both quantitative and qualitative in nature. Since the subject matter is quite complex both structurally and contextually, the main approach taken during the current study was essentially qualitative and empirical – also taking into account the notion of Blommaert & Backus (2013) on using ethnography as a research technique in studying superdiversity and linguistic repertoires. Superdiversity and linguistic repertoires within a superdiverse community are predominantly social phenomena which occur naturally, which provides another reason for taking a qualitative approach. In short: due to its ethnographic core, the study has taken an empirical interpretive approach, with the developments of concepts such as repertoires as main instrument of analysis.

2.1 Access to the field

Before even considering issues as analyses however, the main issue to tackle was to somehow gain access to a field. Keeping in mind Wittel (2000) and Beaulieu's (2004) remarks on the shift of the field from a traditional geographical area to a more abstract domain, it was still to be determined what would be the actual field of the study. The only factor that had been decided in advance was that the diaspora members should have their roots in a third world country. Due to her stay in Cameroon, the author knew of at least one individual of Cameroonian descent living in Europe. This individual was Martial (see introductory profiles of the participants). Martial was approached and requested to (1) participate in the study, and (2) 'open the gate to the field', i.e. introduce the researcher to the community and its members. Through using the so-called snowballing technique (Cohen & Arieli, 2011) respondents contacted their network in order to include more participants in the study, resulting in four main participants. One of those four later withdrew and was substituted by the final member who was also brought in through snowballing. With these four individuals started the journey of overcoming the traditional concept of fieldwork through studying the field toward an ethnography of networks, containing the examination of a net and the connections and flows within and between the network's nodes (Wittel, 2000; Castells, 2011).

2.2 Participants illuminated.

As the introductory participant profiles reflect, all participants are male. There were no female participants included in the interview part of the data collection. The gender discrepancy is clarified through the following two explanations, of which one has to do with an internal implication, whereas the other is concerned with external factors. The internal factor that contributed to the exclusion of female participants is related to the research matter being complicated as it is without the influence of gender, although the outcomes of previous research suggests the results will in broad terms correspond

to and show similarities with earlier research. The external explanation is concerned with the simple fact that there were not many female diaspora members in comparison to the number of male migrants. The few women present were not able or did not feel comfortable towards participating in the study. The contradiction between the numbers of present male versus female knowledge migrants is explicable through highlighting the ethnicity and socio-cultural heritage of the diaspora members. According to the work of Eloundou-Enyegue (2004), Cameroonian girls are significantly lower educated in comparison to Cameroonian boys. As the research of Ewoudou & Vencatachellum (2006) and Bame Nsamenang & Chombe (2012) indicated, the access to primary education is quite similar for both boys and girls. However, Eloundou-Enyegue claims that girls hardly enroll in secondary education, let alone a form of higher education. Especially in rural areas, the necessity for girls pursuing a degree is simply not seen or understood, and the general conviction is that girls should help around the house, support relatives like parents – and later on the husband in their/his work, get married and bare children. Eloundou-Enyegue additionally states that it is ought not to be strange that girls involved in any form of secondary or higher education often drop out due to pregnancy. Another contributing factor is the traditional roles of men and women, which in Cameroon is still a very common phenomenon. Kyomuhendo (2001) claims that even Cameroonian universities appear to be gender bias, favouring male students over female students. Partially due to the above mentioned issues, the overall general perception is that men are the breadwinners and are the gender with better chances at success. It is therefore that their families, tribes and/or communities are more likely to invest in a boy than in a girl (Mbongo Endeley & Nchang Ngaling, 2002).

2.3 Data collection

After gaining access to the field and having found migrants willing to participate, the next step concerned the collection of valuable data. All the reported data are various nuggets that were gathered throughout the study by means of participant observation, interviews, and an observation of participant's online behavior in interaction. This section of the paper briefly discusses all three methods one by one.

2.3.1 Participant observation

As from the moment of the introduction (in)to the diaspora community, the participants were observed. Deliberate attention was paid to the way diaspora members interacted with each other, what languages they used within that interaction, and how the general relationships within the community were constructed. Additionally, it was closely studied how they interacted with individuals outside the diaspora community, and with their friends and relatives living in the country of origin, Cameroon.

One of the occasions that seemed to serve as a highly appropriate moment for participant observation was a gathering of a large part of the diaspora community in honor

of the safe arrival of a new migrant. The gathering took place in the apartment of one of the Cameroonians, and counted approximately twenty guests – of which 17 were male and three were female. After learning of the researcher's familiarity with Cameroon and its culture almost all guests encouraged her to take part in the festivities, which enabled a certain form of immersion. The fourth chapter of this thesis gives more information on the outcome of the participant observation through immersion by means of a key incident analysis.

2.3.2 Interviews

Within ethnography, the interaction with the subjects of study is inextricably linked to context (Blommaert, 2005). He claims no researcher can do without context, that it is absolutely necessary in any kind of analysis. This concept is referred to as contextualization, which can be described as the concept of placing a linguistic utterance in a context (Van Dijk, 1997; Blommaert, 2005), making contextualization appropriate as for purposes of study: through contextualization, people succeed in interaction (Gumperz, 1992). From an ethnographic perspective, Gumperz (1992) observed that in relation to contextualization people even pick up 'unsaid' meanings in interaction. Blommaert states that as a result, "what is usually referred to as interpretation or understanding, is indexically made to fit a particular context within interaction" (Blommaert, 2005, pp. 42-43). In relation to the field in which the current study was conducted, taking into account Blommaert's (2005) warning to not overlook contexts of resources and the shifting of discourse across contexts is crucial, especially when considering the meaning of messages that flow within the superdiverse network structure.

In order to prevent misinterpretations of context and additionally ensure the overall validity of the research, it was determined to collect the largest share of data through conducting qualitative interviews, which are composed of a combination of semi-structured and unstructured, in-depth interviews in the form of small life histories – a research method additionally valuable since the study concerns the feelings, opinions and experiences of the knowledge migrants. Additionally, the combination of semi-structured and open interviews provided both structure and flexibility within the actual interviews. The open interview gave room to connect with the participant and make them feel comfortable, whereas the combination of structure provided the possibility to ask the approximate same question to each interviewee while simultaneously leaving enough space for flexibility and follow-up questions if needed. In preparation of the interviews an interview guide was established, which was primarily used as a tool to create some coherence between the individual interviews, and additionally as a reminder underlining the subjects that needed to be discussed at that period of the field work phase. Mostly, these subjects concerned language use with different individuals throughout the network of the interviewee, as well as instruments of communication used in order to remain in contact with friends and relatives

in Cameroon.

The interviewees were approached during the festive house gathering, and after their agreement on participation appointments were made for the first round of interviews. As mentioned before, one of the participants decided to drop out due to a tight schedule, and during an interview with one of the remaining interviewees another participant was introduced, who proclaimed to have no objections towards participating in the study. Because of his joining, all interviews were individual, except for one. Every interview was recorded with a mobile device, and participants were ensured of their anonymity. It is therefore that names throughout this dissertation are fictitious. After the conduction of the interviews, the recorded data was transcribed into individual transcripts, on which a substantive statement analysis was performed. The transcripts and substantive statement analyses form the basis of all further analyses.

2.3.3 Observation of online behavior

In order to secure the validity and ‘control’ the quality of statements on language use that were made during the interviews, an observation of online behavior was carried out since such an approach serves as an appropriate tool of taking into account socio-technological developments as for example the participant’s virtual lives in comparison to their offline lives (Varis, 2014). The observation served as instrument which merely counted the number of interactions between the interviewee and his contacts, and was conducted through following the participant’s Facebook profiles. The number of interactions was divided by terms of the ethnicity and current place of residence of the individual at the other end, and the language that was used within that online communication.

Chapter 3 Analyses

As discussed in the first and second chapter, in order to unravel the linguistic structure of diversity within the diaspora community, certain forms of analysis had to be applied to the collected data. This chapter elaborates on those performed analyses and additionally explains the interpretations of the outcomes. In order to be able to do so clearly, attention is paid to salient features of the participant observation. Secondly, the combined results of the interviews, field notes, and substantive statement analyses are discussed and explained by means of a key incident analysis and a detailed scheme in order to create clarity and structure.

3.1 Welcoming the newcomer

During the house gathering, the freshly arrived newcomer was given a warm welcome through immediately introducing her to a large number of other Anglophone Cameroonians in Ghent. The newcomer was the wife of one of the knowledge migrants, and many people came to celebrate her and her husband's reunification after spending a few years apart, living on different continents. They did so through preparing tasty Cameroonian dishes, playing and dancing to Nigerian music (songs that are actually very popular throughout the whole of West-Africa), and drinking (alcoholic) beverages. Interestingly, a computer was set up in a corner of the room; through which family members in Cameroon could witness all that went on by means of a Skype video chat. Not a single partygoer seemed to perceive this as strange and when asked, all replied that it is a common way of including relatives back home into their celebrations, as long as the internet connections allowed them to.

Approximately halfway through the evening, guests started giving speeches. Speeches contained lovely messages on how to maintain a loving relationship and a successful marriage. Not all partygoers took the floor, and it turned out that only the closest friends of the host took a turn. All speeches were given in Kamtok, and most guests also spoke the Cameroonian Pidgin to the researcher. Fortunately, not all did, which enabled her to have some actual conversations with some of the present diaspora members. Those speaking English in the end also turned out to be the three initial participants. With each other however, all attendees merely spoke Kamtok.

3.2 Contextualization in language varieties among the diaspora members.

As the theory demonstrates, Cameroon in general counts many languages, dialects, and vernaculars. Throughout the interviews, it became clear that the four respondents are also quite multilingual individuals. Their individual linguistic repertoires are comprehensive sets of multiple varieties, built up throughout their lives. Factors influencing the construction of the repertoires are the region/city of birth, the tribe in which one was born into, religion, access to education, and the socio-economic status of the family. All participants being born in the Anglophone region of Cameroon explains why the English language is a strong element within their repertoire for example. There is a lot of room for English within the repertoire when additionally taking into consideration it being one of the nation's

official languages and the language of instruction in most Anglophone schools. However, almost all participants claimed Kamtok to be their native language, over English. Through the interviews as well as the participant observation, it becomes clear that within the diaspora community, the role of Kamtok is greater than that of English in almost any form of interaction. English is a language of ‘outsiders’, used when communicating with an individual outside the diaspora community, whereas Kamtok serves as a connecting lingua franca between in-group members.

However, as mentioned earlier, the content of the average Cameroonian Anglophone knowledge migrant’s repertoire is made up of multiple languages. Many of those are used particularly with relatives back in the home country, since they are not shared between repertoires within the diaspora, e.g. Sainge’s regional Vengo dialect or Chinedou’s and Martial’s tribal languages Mbengwi and Lamnso. With individuals in Cameroon other than family members, Kamtok usually serves as the language of communication, especially with friends. A few participants indicated that in communication with people higher in status such as teachers and professors, English or French are used unless the other person is the one starting to use Kamtok. Participants explained being able to speak Kamtok opens doors and is a great vernacular for achieving certain goals like bargaining prices on the market. An outsider aiming to overcome certain group boundaries, being able to communicate in Kamtok creates trust and recognition among the people, facilitating the communication process as a whole.

Obviously, apart from Cameroonians there are not that many speakers of Kamtok, although interviewees mentioned the Ghanaian and Nigerian pidgin vernaculars to be quite similar. In Ghent the diaspora community members have come in touch with individuals of various different ethnicities. Naturally, the language to communicate with their international friends and colleagues is English. Relationships with native Belgians contributed to the small knowledge of Dutch of two of the interviewees, of which one of them even has a child that is half Dutch and attends a Flemish Belgian elementary school. With all those interactions between the diaspora community and individuals of other ethnicities or people with languages repertoires that do not in any form overlap with the repertoires of our knowledge migrants, the oversight of languages used rapidly becomes quite complex. The following key incident analysis attempts to create an insight on how the complexity of the linguistic diversity within the community itself is actually quite transparent and not experienced as complicated at all.

3.2.1 Key incident analysis: linguistic diversity

The transcription in this section is drawn from one of the actual interview transcripts. It reflects on the linguistic variety Cameroonian diaspora members deal with on a daily basis when interacting with people in Ghent of ethnicities other than Cameroonian, other Cameroonian knowledge migrants, and their friends and relatives back home.

J = Interviewer
 A = Interviewee 1 (Amadou)
 S = Interviewee 2 (Sainge)
 [[xxx]] = unidentifiable segment
 # = short pause
 [...] = overlap in turns
 ((..)) = non-verbal signals
 <..> = question directed at one of the interviewees

1. J: So which # which languages do you speak?
2. A: Hoeveel? Around?
3. J: No, I mean # just in general.
4. A: It depends on the occasion. Like if I'm going to a shop I speak Dutch. It is easier for the guy # who is working there. It is easier for me # but in schools # I think it is English, right? You guys speak English? <Question directed at interviewee 2>
5. S: Yeah, English. Or French.
6. A: Oh, French? On the street it is English.
7. S: Or my Pidgin language with other people.
8. A: ((laughs)) Do you know what Pidgin is? <Question directed at me>
9. J: Yes, yes # I know what it is.
10. A: Do you speak Pidgin?
11. J: I don't speak but I understand.
12. A: You understand? ((Laughs))
13. J: Small small ((laughs)) ['small small' is Kamtok for 'just a little'].
14. A: Small small! ((laughs))
15. J: So just in general # how many languages do you speak?
16. S: Dialects, because there are also dialects for us. There are dialects # dialects I speak # I can speak. I speak my mother # I speak English. I speak my mother tongue dialect Vengo [..]
17. J: Sorry?
18. S: The Vengo.
19. J: Vengo?
20. S: Yes, yes, that is it.
21. A: Is that a language?
22. S: Yes. And I also speak Fulbe # of my faith.
23. A: Fulbe?
24. S: Fulbe. Because I am a Muslim, for Muslim faith I also speak Fulbe # and I can understand some of the dialects around me like [xxx] some small small in the villages.
25. A: The problem is in Cameroon we have lots of languages you know? We have close to 300 languages so [..]
26. J: ..] Yeah.
27. A: It is a little bit different sometimes to communicate. It is not like here when you have like one general language. So most of the time we can speak multiple languages. But I don't speak my dialects ooh. He speaks a lot more languages than I do. I did not live in my village # I traveled a lot when I was living in Cameroon, so I didn't get a chance to learn. I speak just English, French # not perfectly, but # and a little bit of Dutch.
28. J: Oh I'm sure it is better than mine ((laughs))
29. A: ((laughs)) I don't know # we just have to find out # I don't know.
30. J: So, with the people back home # Do you speak Pidgin?

31. A: Yeah, Pidgin English. Ya. A lot.
32. J: And how do you keep in touch?
33. S: Well it depends up on the person that I'm speaking ehh? Back at home ehh? If I'm talking to my lecturer or to my professor it is English. If I am talking to my friends like my business partner back at home is purely English. Then I don't like Pidgin. But if I am talking to my father it is the dialect ehh? That Fulbe that I speak with my father # we speak about two or three languages # so either # I can choose Pidgin language, the Fulbe, or the Vengo dialect.
34. J: So it really depends on the occasion and the person you are talking to?
35. S: No it just depends on # upon # If I make 'Allo'? And maybe he is 'Arsalaam' then I speak with him in the Fulbe. At times if he speak and he # maybe he responds in the dialect but seldom in Pidgin language. Pidgin language maybe he was doubting. Maybe I call with a private number # he doesn't know who is and he responds in Pidgin language.
36. J: So Pidgin is kind of like the lingua franca language in Cameroon ehh?
Connecting..
37. S: Yeah.
38. A: I # I # We have two official languages, English and French # but the Anglophones # English speaking part # we mostly speak in Pidgin. Is like our own language, you know? We come here # like my friend # I don't remember the last time we spoke in English. Speaking in Pidgin is # is a common language. Most English speaking Cameroonians always speak Pidgin. Sometimes that has it to on our English # cause some of the pronunciation in Pidgin influences our English as well so # in schools it is discouraged for us to speak Pidgin but we don't really care, because what it is what we like, you know.
39. J: And if they catch you speaking Pidgin, you're in trouble?
40. A: Yeaah, you're in trouble ((laughs)) You are in big trouble I guess # But some teachers don't really mind. Like, especially in university. I have some professors, we speak in Pidgin. Yahh, but not all. Most of them want you to speak English. Ya, they don't want to recognize Pidgin English like # a language. They think it is street language and we shouldn't be speaking it.
41. J: So it has quite a negative connotation?
42. S: Yes.
43. A: They think it is negative, but [..
44. S: ..] Ah yeah, Pidgin is negative ehh? If you speak Pidgin, you will write Pidgin.
45. A: ((Laughing)) I don't think so. If you aks me, you can take as your own language. Why not? Languages start from somewhere. English started from somewhere, French started from somewhere. So it just depends on how we perceive it, you know? I don't know why it is so negative, but [..
46. S: ..] But you know like # for the # the way someone talks # like the accent # like the phonetics of a language. It makes you not to talk well when you when national # when you're international. Maybe you will make error # I will make errors # but you, you will make them too.
47. J: I don't quite understand why that would be a bad thing. Because I have a Dutch accent, naturally. So [..
48. A: ..] The problem is # the pronunciation in Pidgin. The words are mostly like # similar to the words in English, but the pronunciations are different. So when you speak in Pidgin sometimes # or when you speak in English, sometimes you forget you were speaking in English and use the pronunciation from Pidgin in English.
49. S: People will make a joke of you. They will laugh at you.
50. A: Yeah, yeah. But if you aks me you know it is not a problem. People should have their accents # it makes you who you are, you know? [..

51. J: ..] It is your identity.

52. A: In Cameroon.. # Yeah it is your identity. You are Dutch, you speak like Dutch. If you are American you speak American. So, the accents shouldn't be really a problem, you know?

During this interview, Sainge and Amadou were discussing the languages they frequently speak. Starting with a few smattering questions on language use, what towards the end arises is a vivid discussion on the status and daily use of Kamtok. Contextually, the discussion is to such an extent interesting because it reflects diversity within the diaspora: different members use languages for different purposes and situations, even though their linguistic repertoires overlap.

Lines 1-7: Amadou and Sainge are naming the languages they use to interact with people in Ghent. When doing groceries, Amadou taps from his knowledge of Dutch. Sainge mentions that in school he uses both English and French, depending on the situation. Furthermore do they indicate their usage of Kamtok with fellow Cameroonians.

Interpretation: Living in Ghent forces the diaspora members to use languages appropriate for the situation and sufficient for both interlocutors.

Lines 8-14: When the subject lands on the Cameroonian pidgin, the interviewees discover the researcher – though not being able to have conversations in the vernacular – is able to understand, to a certain extent, conversations in Kamtok. When asked if she is able to speak it, the interviewees find it amusing that she answers in Kamtok.

Interpretation: Although being used to switching between languages multiple times a day, it is perceived remarkable when an 'outsider' is able to limitedly communicate in the main language of communication within their community.

Lines 15-24: Sainge explains that when contacting his relatives in Cameroon, he has various linguistic options to choose from: the two regional dialects of his village, or the language associated with his Islamic faith in Cameroon.

Interpretation: It is not merely in Ghent that diaspora members have to select different languages on a frequent basis. On the contrary, it is an omnipresent part of their live regardless of who they interact with.

Lines 25-31: Amadou indicates that the phenomenon of the enormous amount of languages and dialects in Cameroon can also be quite troublesome. He for instance has moved to different places within Anglophone Cameroon during his childhood, causing him to not fluently speak any regional dialects, but merely the official languages and Kamtok. It is therefore he mainly uses Kamtok when contacting his friends and family in Cameroon.

Interpretation: The linguistic variety in Cameroon is to such an extent diverse that

when an individual does not reside at the same place for a longer period of time, he will not be able to speak the languages of the region he lives in, regardless of it being his cultural heritage.

Lines 32-35: When contacting Cameroon, Sainge reveals it depends upon the person he interacts with and the purpose of the interaction which language he uses: English (high prestige) with teachers and business partner, and the regional dialect, the Cameroonian Muslim vernacular, or Kamtok with his parents. This depends upon in which language the relative on the other end answers the phone.

Interpretation: Proficiency in multiple languages within the repertoire enables Sainge to select the language he deems appropriate for a certain purpose or situation.

Lines 36-40: The interviewees indicate that Kamtok is the language that connects people throughout (Anglophone) Cameroon. It has low prestige and is not officially recognized, but it is the language of the people. Schools however discourage pupils to use it, since the common conviction is that it will negatively influence one's capacity of speaking and writing English.

Interpretation: Although of low prestige, Kamtok is the language connecting Anglophone Cameroonians – it is the one language almost every Anglophone Cameroonian has in its repertoire, regardless of the socio-economic status, tribal background, or religion.

Lines 41-52: Despite having the heaviest Kamtok accent when speaking English out of all participants, Sainge expresses his disapproval of people code mixing between Kamtok and English within a conversation predominantly carried out in English. Amadou disagrees, stating that it should not matter, and that the low prestige of the pidgin is quite anomalous and unjustified.

Interpretation: Among Cameroonians, the opinions on the use and prestige of Kamtok are divided. As a result, it is considered to be an unofficial street language. People who use it during official occasions are perceived as uneducated.

The key incident analysis scrutinizes the multilingualism of the interviewees, and additionally touches upon how the role of the linguistic diversity has a very particular function within different domains and situations.

3.3 Utilization of communication instruments throughout the community

In the many contacts the diaspora members have within and outside the community, various tools for communication are used. Throughout the previous analyses a few examples have already come forward, e.g. the Skype connection with Cameroonian relatives during the social gathering. However,

the use of communication instruments might require an even more subtle selection than the choice of language. In other words: whereas linguistic repertoires overlap, the selection of communication instrument might be more individual, considering the diverse demographic backgrounds of the diaspora members. For example, not all Cameroonian relatives might have an internet connection stable enough for a Skype connection. In order to analyze and highlight the similarities and differences between the structure of linguistic diversity and the use of communication instruments within the diaspora community, the following two fragments are extracted from the interview transcripts.

3.3.1 Communicating with Cameroon: Key incident analysis, excerpt A

- J = Interviewer
 C = Interviewee (Chinedou)
 [[xxx]] = unidentifiable segment
 # = short pause
 [...] = overlap in turns
 ((.)) = non-verbal signals
 <.> = question directed at one of the interviewees
1. J: Yeah, so last time we talked about languages and everything, so I think today it is good to discuss the instruments you use ehh # to maintain contact with Cameroon.
 2. C: Hmm hmm, yeah.
 3. J: So, could you tell me what you use?
 4. C: Okay. Most frequently is Voip.
 5. J: Yeah
 6. C: And Skype. Yes that. Voip and Skype. And sometimes Lyca mobile. It is # You know Lyca?
 7. J: Hmm hmm ((nods)).
 8. C: Those are the three.
 9. J: Ehh?
 10. C: Those are the three, and Voip is on the computer. Lyca is on the phone # most of the time.
 11. J: So why do you use those things?
 12. C: Because they are cheap, yeah.
 13. J: And Skype, is the connection good enough for Skype? I remember Sainge telling me that his connection # or the connection of his father in Bamenda was not good enough for Skype.
 14. C: Yeah I think Skype # yeah ((sighs)) it is for those in the city, because my sisters and brother # the connection there is better. But for my mom I use Voip, because she doesn't need to # to use the internet I think.
 15. J: Does she have internet at home?
 16. C: No, no. So I use Voip and I call her cell phone directly.
 17. J: Directly with the Lyca thingy?
 18. C: So, it is with Voip that you can call # You use your computer and call a cell phone.
 19. J: Yeah.
 20. C: But with Skype, we cannot do that.
 21. J: Hmm hmm.
 22. C: With Lyca mobile you can use your phone to call phones too.
 23. J: Oh yeah, yeah.
 24. C: So with Voip is ehh the best.
 25. J: Okay. Ehh # ehh and do you also use for example Facebook to stay in touch with friends back home?
 26. C: Yeah, Facebook, yes.
 27. J: Yeah?

28. C: Hmm hmm.
29. J: So, any other things?
30. C: Facebook, yes # and # Ah! Yahoo Messenger. You know it?
31. J: What is that?
32. C: It's # It is a # It's a messenger like ehh # ehh MSN, but it is from Yahoo.
33. J: Okay.
34. C: Yes.
35. J: Okay. And how did you learn of the existence of those things?
36. C: Skype, I already knew Skype in Cameroon. Voip from some friends here. Lyca is just some mobile telephone network here, so, yeah.
37. J: Okay. So, ehm # when you use your cell phone, is it just Lyca or do you have different cell phones for different occasions?
38. C: Lyca is # Yes, I have Vikings for Belgian numbers. [Vikings is a Belgian provider]
39. J: Ehm, so, # ehm When you first arrived did someone advice you on the best and ways to # the cheapest ways to keep in touch?
40. C: Yes, yes. I had a friend who did that, and he told me to use Voip. I # I # you know, you ask 'how do you communicate back home' and he tells you to use this, that, and that.

Lines 1-10: Chinedou mentions the three communication instruments he uses most often: (1) Voip – Voice over IP, a program that enables the caller to call a mobile phone over the internet, (2) Skype, a program that enables the caller to call another individual over the internet, and (3) Lyca mobile, a phone provider which offers fairly cheap calling rates to international numbers.

Interpretation: Chinedou has contact with people who might not be computer literates or have access to the internet, explaining the use of Voip and Lyca. Additionally, Chinedou has contact with Cameroonians with access to stable internet connections, explaining the use of Skype.

Lines 11-12: The reason behind using those three instruments is because they are cheaper than other options such as making a normal phone call.

Interpretation: Life in Belgium as a knowledge migrant from a third world country is not cheap, one has to be creative in finding relatively inexpensive ways of contacting his home country.

Lines 13-24: Skype can only be used with individuals that have a stable internet connection, which are mostly people living in larger cities. It is therefore that Chinedou is not able to use it with his parents who live in a small village. With them, he uses Voip or Lyca.

Interpretation: With whom one uses which tool of communication depends on the geographical area of the individual at the other end.

Lines 25-40: Chinedou learned from other Cameroonians that already resided in Ghent upon his arrival which communication instruments were easiest and cheapest to use.

Interpretation: Diaspora members advice each other on which instruments to use: in-group members share with each other which instrument is cheapest at what time, and which tool has the best connection.

4.3.2 Communicating with Cameroon: Key incident analysis, excerpt B

J	= Interviewer
M	= Interviewee (Martial)
[[xxx]]	= unidentifiable segment
#	= short pause
[...]	= overlap in turns
((..))	= non-verbal signals
<..>	= question directed at one of the interviewees

1. J: So last time we talked about languages and communication things, and this week I wanted to go deeper into that. Could you tell me one more time what it is you use in order to stay in touch with your friends and family in Cameroon?
2. M: Ehm # I think I use ehm # apps, like Voip # Low rate Voip or # at times I get to use Viber, Whatsapp, sometimes Skype. At least I will know that the connection is not that good, but most of the times I use Voip to stay in connection with the family and to call them.
3. J: And do you use different kinds of Voip like Low rate and what's # what's [..
4. M: ..] Not different kinds # I think just Low rate Voip. I know there are so many types, but [..
5. J: ..] Oh there are different types?
6. M: Yeah there are different types, but I prefer using Low rate Voip.
7. J: Because it is the cheapest?
8. M: Ehm # Yeah it's is cheap # and then they give you free days I think to call # sometimes you can call the US for free, you call any number in the US for free, so if I got friends there I only need to know when they are available and I can decide to make a call and then # that's just it. That is just it.
9. J: Okay, thank you. So, ehm # what are your reasons for using the things you just mentioned? Like, for example ehh # why do you use Voip or Skype or Whatsapp or ehh stuff like that instead of ehh # calling or ehh Facebook?
10. M: I use that because ehm # I am aware that ehm # Internet is not that cheap in Cameroon, and ehm # at times you just want to # you know, just pass on a message quickly, or you guys get to talk, or the fact that maybe even though that person is on the internet they may be reluctant to use maybe Facebook and things like that, so it's just # you do not want to give chance to # how do I put it # ehm # You want to make sure you get it to the person you are talking to # Yeah, because # I can say # we've got internet at home, but for some reason nobody is # for some reason nobody really cares, trying to use Facebook. Maybe they are tired or something, and then the phone you can just put on the loud speaker and you're talking, and talk, and talk, and stuff like that. And then, Voip for me is cheaper to use to call Cameroon, since ehm # as I told you last time, to call using Camtel is about ehh # nine cents per, per minute. So it's quite cheap, yeah.
11. J: And the connection is good?
12. M: It can be good. At times it can be # it can be bad. I think Camtel is # it's ok.
13. J: So you usually contact your family in # in Buea? And in Limbe, right? Or your family in Limbe I mean, and maybe friends in Buea [..
14. M: ..] Not really. I hardly use Voip to call friends. I can use Whatsapp and stuff. I mean, it's family, so ((laughs)) So I think my friends, they're more into ehm # using you know, Internet on your phone, so they kind of use # they also want to be able to chat with you freely. So they can just pay for the internet and then download the Whatsapp, Viber [..
15. J: ..] In Cameroon?
16. M: Yeah. With the phones.
17. J: So it really improved since 2011?
18. M: Yeah it's improved! It's improved. It's improved.

<Later during that same interview>

19. J: But, ehm # ehh, let me check. Oh yeah, how did you learn about these things that you are using now?

20. M: Okay. I would say eh # Low rate Voip, when I came here, I urgently wanted to make eh # like pass information back home that # for them to know that I ehm [..]
21. J: ..] Safely arrived.
22. M: Okay. Yeah, I arrived safely, or maybe there were some things that maybe ehh at the time, I couldn't just get back from home. Maybe, some money I didn't maybe just # it was very difficult for me to open an account from Cameroon here. So, with time you're like 'Okay, I wanna pass information quickly', and then # # and then ehm, yeah # Cameroonians who were here were like 'Okay you can use this app.

Lines 1-2: Martial mentions the instruments he uses in order to communicate with Cameroon. Most frequently he uses Voip, and when the connection in Cameroon is strong enough he uses Whatsapp, Skype, or Viber – an application for smart phones through which enables one to call and send messages for free with people who also downloaded the application onto their smart phone.

Interpretation: Which instrument is selected for communication at a specific time depends on the strength of the internet connection in Cameroon.

Lines 3-8: Martial expresses his preference for using 'Low-rate-Voip', one of the many types of Voip applications. He is satisfied with the pricing, and uses the free days they give out to call international friends residing in countries other than Cameroon.

Interpretation: Money is an important factor in deciding which communication instrument to use.

Lines 9-12: Which instrument is used does not only depend on money, Martial explains. The person in Cameroon needs be able to afford an internet connection, and the connection should additionally be stable enough when using certain instruments. When desiring to pass a quick message, Voip is the best option since one does not depend on an internet connection in Cameroon.

Interpretation: The selection of medium of communication is related to both the means the individual in Cameroon has access to and the urgency of the message to pass.

Lines 13-18: Voip is used merely for contacting direct family in Cameroon. Martial feels obliged to call them and hear each other's voices. With friends however, more modern techniques such as chat options of Facebook, Whatsapp and Viber in order to talk freely. Most friends of Martial have smart phones at their disposal, which enables them to download such applications.

Interpretation: Reaching out to family requires different instruments than reaching out to friends. The hierarchical status of the individual on the other end could thus in some scenarios determine which instrument is appropriate.

Lines 19-22: After arriving in Ghent, Martial felt the desire to contact his family. Cameroonians that he met in Ghent explained to him which instrument to use

when feeling like sending a quick message.

Interpretation: Cameroonian diaspora members help new arrivals with advice on how to contact their friends and relatives in Cameroon, and additionally explain which medium to use for which purpose.

When comparing both excerpts on communication instruments, what is striking is the similarity in answers. Although there are some small differences between the two interviewees in which instruments they use, in broad terms their answers are quite similar: both mainly use Voip since it does not require the other interlocutor to have access to the internet, and it is fairly cheap. Additionally do both participants mention that they were taught by other diaspora members which instruments facilitate contacting Cameroon, having received advice on which tools ensure a high quality connection for a fair price upon arrival. The differences between their indications on utilization of communication media have to be explained demographically. Chinedou is from a small village in which people have relatively little access to the internet, considering they are computer literates in the first place. If an individual in such an area has a smart phone at his disposal, it is highly unlikely the phone will be able to connect to the internet. Martial on the other hand grew up in a city that was large and fairly developed. For Cameroonian standards, that particular city is quite touristic, resulting in better infrastructural means for communication.

3.4 Overlap in linguistic repertoires and infrastructure within the diaspora community

The previous analyses have given an insight in the repertoires and communication instruments of the diaspora members, as well as in the extent to which the community is linguistically diverse.

Additionally did they yet unravel a small component of its social structure. However, merely these extracts do not provide a clear image of the overall structure and diversity. It is therefore that the next section presents an overview made up of a substantive statement analysis and a network analysis per individual.

As mentioned in the second chapter, the substantive statement analysis pays attention to any relevant statements the participants made during the interviews. The analyses provide clarification on what a participant is actually conveying. How each individual heading within the analyses contributes to this overall goal is clarified through the following explanation. Under the first heading all the relevant initial statements made by the participant are collected. Secondly, the initial code explains in a few words which theme the substantive statement is concerned with,

e.g. multilingualism, linguistic diversity, communication instruments, etcetera. Subsequently, the secondary code clarifies what is going to be explained in the final heading, the selective code, which gives the actual explanation of the initial substantive statement. Since one of the interviews took place with two participants simultaneously, this substantive statement analysis is provided in the profile of Amadou.

The network analyses unravel the dimensions of interaction both in- and outside the diaspora community for every individual participant. Additionally it provides links between certain aspects of communication instruments and language selection between the various domains that clarify the infrastructure within the diaspora group. The actual analyses are colour-coded, in which the following colours represent the following items: (1) red represents the participant, (2) blue reflects the interdimensional domains in which the participant is active, where (3) green stands for the locations/contacts within the domains, and (4) yellow represents the languages used with those contacts. Lastly, (5) orange reflects the communication instruments and infrastructure within the domains with the contacts of the participant. Together with the substantive statement analyses they provide an insight in the actual structure of the sociolinguistic framework of the superdiverse network out of which the Anglophone diaspora community exists.

3.4.1 Substantive statement and network analysis: Amadou

Interviewee substantive statement	Initial code	Secondary code	Selective code
S: I am not interested	Learning Dutch	Reason of not learning	Many people speak English
A: Dutch is important when looking for a job	Learning Dutch	Reason of learning	Interims do not hire if no Dutch
A: When I go to a shop I speak Dutch	Using Dutch	Reason of speaking Dutch	It is easier for communicating with store employees
S: I speak Fulbe, of my faith	Speaking Fulbe	Reason of speaking Fulbe	It is the language of Islam in Cameroon
A: Most of the time we speak multiple languages	Multilingualism	Reason of multilingualism	There are many languages in Cameroon
A: I don't speak my dialects	Unproficient in dialects	Reason of improficiency	Moving house often prevented him from learning regional dialects
S: It depends upon the person which language I am speaking	Speaking different languages with different people	Reason of diversification	Particular situations/people require a particular language
A: We mostly speak in Pidgin	Pidgin is dominant	Reason of dominance	Perceived as a language of the Anglophone people
A: In schools it is discouraged for us to speak Pidgin	Speaking Pidgin is perceived as negative	Reason of negativity	It influences the English pronunciation
A: We don't really care	We speak Pidgin anyway	Reason of speaking	It is an ergonomic lingua franca
A: Professors don't recognize Pidgin as a language	They want you to speak English	Reason of non acknowledgement	It is seen as street language
A: They see it as street language	Pidgin has a low status	Reason of low status	It is the language of the uneducated
S: People will laugh at you	When one codeswitches one is perceived as a lesser person	Reason of lesser perception	Association with low socioeconomic status
A: I don't use Skype	When contacting his family in Cameroon, Skype is not used	Reason of not using Skype	Internet is not very accessible for Cameroonians
A: Most times I call	When contacting his siblings in Cameroon, he usually calls	Reason of using the phone	Facebook connections are very slow in Cameroon
A: Voip is the major way we communicate	When contacting his family, Voip is the main medium of use	Reason of using Voip	It is the cheapest option

A: You have to call your parents	Older relatives are merely contacted through calls	Reason behind contact form	They do not use the internet
S: People in Douala I contact through the internet	Only people in the city are contacted through the internet	Reason behind merely Douala residents	The internet connection is good in the Douala region
S: Those in Bamenda I do not contact through the internet	Merely Voip is used to call people in Bamenda	Reason behind not using the internet	The internet connection is poor in the Bamenda region and too expensive
A: My mom just has to beep me and then I call her	When his mother rings his phone once, he calls her back	Reason behind him having to call back	It is too expensive for her to call him in Belgium
S: My father only beeps when he wants to talk	Sometimes 'beeps' resemble greeting	Reason of Sainge's father beeping	He wants to talk to Sainge
A: My mom might text	When his mother wants to talk she lets him know through sms	Reason of texting	It is cheaper than calling Amadou
A: Back home we have much more contact with friends and family	Cultural difference of contact frequency between relatives	Reason of difference	Cameroon has higher (extended) family values
A: We are living a virtual life here	Social contact is limited	Reason of limited social contact	People meet online instead of face to face
A: My very close friends are Cameroonians	Friendship	Reason of friendship with Cameroonians	Having similar ideas and experiences
S&A: Belgians are not open	Meeting new people	Reason of difficulties meeting Belgians	They are a closed group/difficult to become in-group member
A: Us Africans have a bad reputation in Belgium	Minority image	Reason behind image	Africans are perceived as not trustworthy
S: I hang out with other Cameroonians because we help each other	diaspora community maintenance	Reason behind maintenance	Common ideas and objectives

Table 1 Substantive statement analysis Amadou and Sainge

Interviewee substantive statement	Initial code	Secondary code	Selective code
I mostly use the computer to contact friends back home	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason of using the computer	It has social networks as Voip, Facebook, and Skype
With my friends I use Facebook most of the time	Using Facebook for contacting Cameroon	Reason for using Facebook	It is what youngsters use most frequently
I stopped using the computer to call my family	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason to quit using the computer	The network was very poor (Voip)
Now I call my family through a call shop	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason for using the call shop	The quality is very good, although it is not cheap
Upon arrival I was told to use Voip	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason behind using Voip back then	At the time, the quality was very good
My mom wishes I'd call her daily, but I cannot	Frequency of contact with Cameroon	Reason for no contact on a daily basis	It is too expensive
I don't use my Lyca simcard anymore	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason to quit using the Lyca Sim card	It is not that much cheaper than the call shop
I would advise a newcomer to use Voip	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason of advising Voip	Sometimes it works (it depends on the location of family in Cameroon)
Among friends here, we usually text	Communication instruments for contact with friends in Ghent	Reason behind using text messages	It is convenient for everyone
Texting is convenient for everyone	Communication instruments for contact with friends in Ghent	Reason of texting being convenient for all	Provider offers unlimited texting, sending texts between that provider is free
I don't use Skype to contact friends in Cameroon	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason for not using Skype with friends	It is addictive and takes away all your time
I use Skype to contact my family	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason for using Skype	Possibility to show daughter to grandmother over the webcam

Table 2 Substantive statement Analysis Amadou (2)

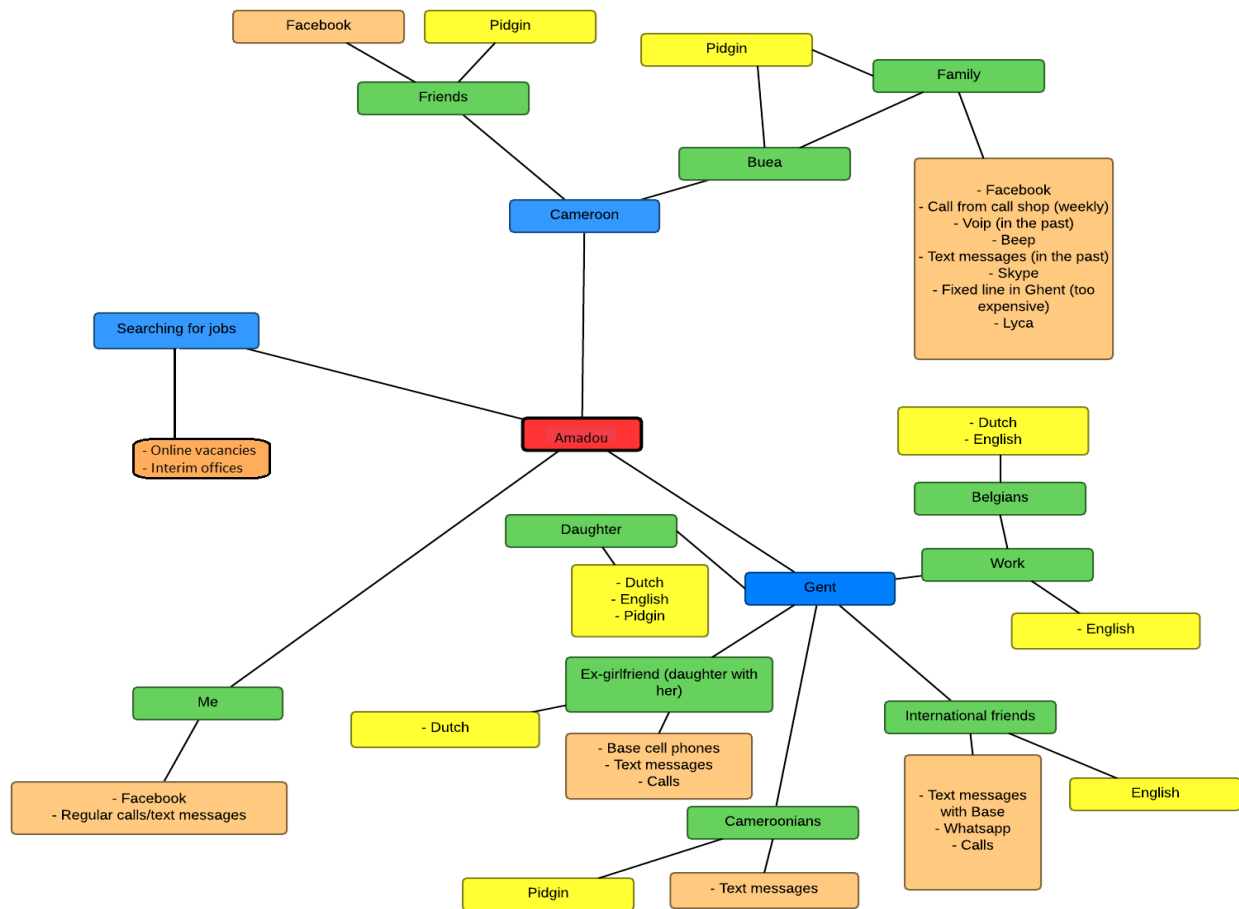


Figure 5 Network analysis Amadou

3.4.2 Substantive statement analysis and network analysis: Sainge

Interviewee substantive statement	Initial code	Secondary code	Selective code
Mostly I use my phone for communication with people back home	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason behind using the phone	Possibility of replacing sim cards in order to use the cheapest option
I used to use my Ortel sim card for phone calls back home	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason to quit using the Ortel card	It is no longer the cheapest option
I usually use my Lyca sim card for phone calls back home	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason for using the Lyca card	It is relatively cheap and the network is clear
I hardly use Voip for phone calls back home	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason for hardly using Voip	The network is not stable
If I have something important to say I do not use Facebook	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Not using FB for important information	Facebook is a medium of recreation for relaxation
I learned about Lyca internally	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Way of learning about Lyca	It was learned through publicity through friends and other Cameroonians
Sometimes I hear of cheap ways to communicate through	Communication instruments for contact	Ways of learning through	Pop-ups on the computer

commercials	with Cameroon	commercials	
We use different types of Voip from time to time	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason of using different types	Network quality and price variations
I have two cell phones	Communication instruments for (inter)national contact	Reason behind owning multiple phones	One is used for communicating back home, the other one is for Belgium
What I advise to use for contacting home depends upon the individual	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason of dependence of individual	What works best depends on where their relatives and friends back home are located
I never use Viber to contact friends and family back home	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Not using Viber when contacting Cameroon	None of the friends and relative make us of Viber
I never use the Internet to contact my brothers, just the phone	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason for not using the internet	The brothers live in a place without internet access
My parents never use the internet	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason for not using the internet	There is no internet access in the whole village
My father cannot use an internet flash stick	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason for not using the internet flash stick	He is a not a computer literate
It depends upon the time of day what way of communicating I use	Communication instruments in general	Reason behind dependence on time of day	No use of internet applications during work
Since I am in Belgium I use Base	Communication with people in Belgium	Way of learning about Base	From another international student
Since I am in Belgium I use Base	Communication with people in Belgium	Reason of using Base	All the people use Base, also international students
I don't like Facebook	Personal preference concerning comm. instruments	Reason of dislike of Facebook	Privacy is not an absolute guarantee
Elderly people, including my father, will see Facebook as less important	Perception of Facebook by elderly Cameroonians	Perception of FB being less important	It is not taken serious, perceived as a platform to find (sexual) contacts
I use Skype for staying in touch with other international friends	Communication instruments for international contact	Reason for using Skype	It is not necessary to use something that requires money
I speak English with international students	Language choice in communicating with internationals	Reason for choice of English	They do not speak Pidgin, but English
It depends if I help people on what things to use for communication	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason behind dependence	Someone has to ask, and then it is only told if it is someone close to you
Communication tools depend on people's personal preference	Personal preference concerning comm. instruments	Reason behind personal preference	It depends on someone's perception of the user-friendliness of a certain instrument

Table 3 Substantive statement analysis Sainge (2)

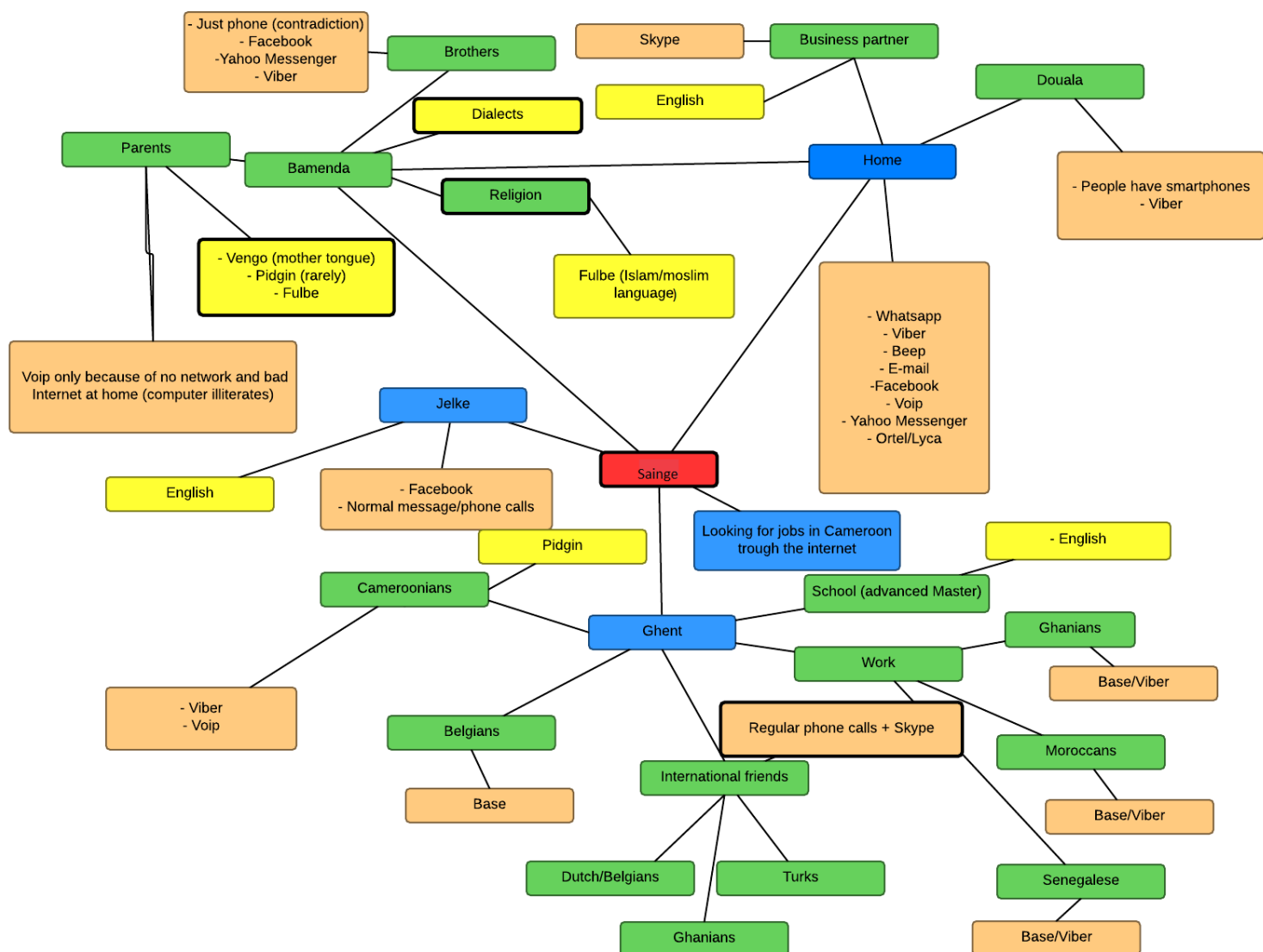


Figure 6

Network analysis Sainge

3.4.3 Substantive statement analysis and network analysis: Martial

Interviewee substantive statement	Initial code	Secondary code	Selective code
I have contact with my neighbours	Contacts in Ghent	Ways of having contact with neighbours	We greet and talk in the hall ways
I am not going to the graduation of a Cameroonian tonight	Contacts with Cameroonians in Ghent	Reason of not attending the graduation	No contact with home for a while, so the night is spend with contacting family
I only meet non-Cameroonians during the week	Contacts in Ghent	Reason behind only meeting during the week	People go home during the weekends
At first it was really strange living in Ghent	Living in Ghent	Reason why it was strange	Many cultural differences in comparison to Cameroon
It was strange because I was alone for the first time ever	Living in Ghent	Reason for feelings of loneliness	Always in close distance of his family
Hanging out with other Cameroonians makes you feel comfortable	Contacts with Cameroonians in Ghent	Reason for feeling comfortable with other Cameroonians	They have the same experiences
It is good to have Cameroonian contacts in Ghent before traveling	Contacts with Cameroonians in Ghent	Why it is good to have contacts in Ghent	It enables you to make new friends and get familiar with the new environment
The main cultural difference is that you can cross your legs here	Cultural differences	Reason behind cultural difference of crossing legs	In Cameroon it is perceived as disrespectful, in Ghent nobody cares
The biggest cultural difference is the relationship between parents and children	Cultural differences	Reason behind cultural difference of child-parent relation	In Ghent children and parents discuss as equals and talk freely to each other
When I was in university I could talk more open with my father	Communicating with Cameroonian parents	Reason for being able to talk more open	University students are perceives as adults, and the father openend up after the mom's passing
In Cameroon I know better what to do than here in common situations	Cultural differences	Reason behind knowing better what to do in Cameroon	Adaptation is not easy when experiencing a whole new culture
Time consciousness is context related	Time consciousness	Reason behind being context related	Cameroonians use time and being on time differently in different situations
Cameroonians use time and time consciousness differently in different situations	Time consciousness	Reason behind being context related	At work and when meeting with new people, time conscioussness is important, otherwise not so much
If I communicate with people back home depends on my time	Communicating with Cameroon	Reason behind letting it depend on availability	If there is time during the week it is done at that moment, otherwise it is done during the weekends
We like to get a hall and have a Cameroonian party there	Contacts with Cameroonians in Ghent	Reason behind partying with other Cameroonians	It makes them feel the atmosphere of home
We try to mimic home	Contacts with Cameroonians in Ghent	Reason for trying to mimic Cameroon	It is fun in Cameroon, so it should be fun in Ghent
When all Cameroonians are together we speak Pidgin	Contacts with Cameroonians in Ghent	Reason behind speaking Pidgin	Every Cameroonian understands Pidgin
When I finish I will be leaving this place	Living in Ghent	Reason for leaving Ghent	The incapability of speaking Dutch limits career opportunities
Some landlords do not want black people in their appartments	Living in Ghent	Reason of argumentation	Experiences of respondent and acquaintances of respondent
With my dad I usually speak English	Communicating with Cameroonian parents	Reason behind speaking English with father	The father's lexicon of Pidgin is limited
My father learned Pidgin because it is easier in daily life	Speaking Pidgin in Cameroon	Reason behind it being easier in daily life	Things get done faster if you speak Pidgin, it shows one is a member of an in group

When you speak merely English, things in Cameroon are more expensive	Speaking English in Cameroon	Reason behind things being more expensive	People assume one has money, since he does not speak Pidgin (the language of the street)
In addition to Voip I also use Whatsapp and Viber with my friends	Communicating with Cameroon	Reason behind using Whatsapp and Viber	It is easier to text, and a lot cheaper than Voip
Many people also use Lyca for contacting home	Communicating with Cameroon	Reason behind using Lyca	One does not need an internet connection in order to call
Lyca gives more possibilities than Voip	Communication in general	Why Lyca provides more possibilities than Voip	Lyca gives out free minutes
For contacting Augustin (friend in Cameroon) I use Facebook	Communicating with Cameroon	Reason behind using Facebook	Augustin is always connected with the internet
Contacting through social media is easier than using paid services	Communicating with Cameroon	Reason behind stating it is easier	It is free and thus easier accessible
More people in Cameroon get smart phones	Communication with and within Cameroon	Reason for more people to buy smart phones	Being able to use social media and similar applications through their phones
I think it is mostly youngsters using social media	Cameroonians using social media	Reason why merely youngsters using social media	He does not know many Cameroonian adults/elderly who use social media
Calling a Camtel line is cheaper than calling MTN or Orange	Communicating with Cameroon	Reason why a Camtel number is cheaper to call to	Camtel is for fixed lines, Orange and MTN are cell phone numbers
I can talk for a long time when calling a Camtel number	Communication with Cameroon	Why a phone call to a Camtel number can be lengthy	Camtel is relatively cheap (nine cents per minute)
I regularly use voicemail to leave a message to friends and relatives	Communication with Cameroon	Reason for leaving a voicemail	The connection might be too bad to have an actual conversation
I don't understand why people do not have Skype	Skype	Reason for not understanding	Skype is free
If I contact my dad through the internet we use Yahoo messenger	Communicating with Cameroon	Reason of using Yahoo messenger	Even if the connection is bad, the messages are forwarded
I have twitter but I hardly tweet	Twitter	Reason for not tweeting	Using Twitter to search for job vacancies online

Table 4 Substantive statement analysis Martial (1)

Interviewee substantive statement	Initial code	Secondary code	Selective code
Most of the time I use Voip to connect with my family	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason for using Voip	It is cheap and they give out free days to call
Even though there is Internet, my family does not use FB	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason for not using FB	They do not care about facebook
I like using apps on my phone for contacting my family	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason behind preference for phone	It enables one to get a message through right away
I hardly use Voip for calling friends back home	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason for hardly using Voip	They are more into internet applications
Friends back home just pay for internet on their phones	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason for having internet on the phone	It enables them to talk freely through apps like Whatsapp and Viber
When I just arrived I used Voip to contact family	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason for using Voip	Wishing to let them know respondent had arrived safely
Some communication instruments I found online	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Way of finding instruments online	Pop-ups and online commercials
You will not find my father using internet applications	Cameroonian relatives using communication	Reason behind not using internet apps	The father does not want to and is not interested in them (maybe does not know how?)

instruments			
I contact my friends and family during evening and weekends	Frequency of contact with Cameroon	Reason behind that frequency	During those times most people are available

Table 5 Substantive statement analysis Martial (2)

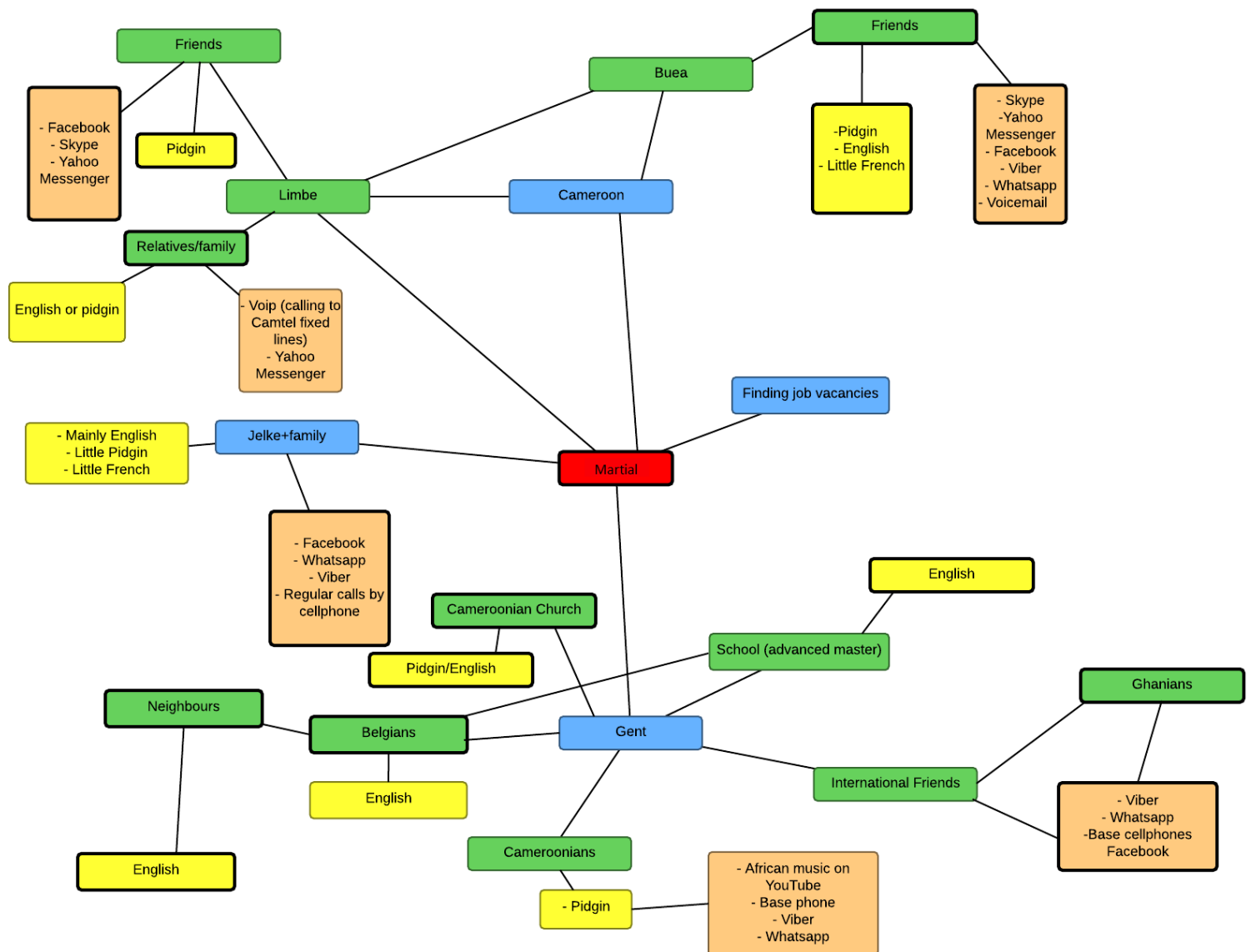


Figure 7

Network analysis Martial

3.4.4 Substantive statement analysis and network analysis: Chinedou

Interviewee substantive statement	Initial code	Secondary code	Selective code
I live in Ghent because of my studies Apart from work, I watch movies and series When we play soccer with Ghanians we speak in English	Living in Ghent Spending leisure time Communicating with Ghanians	Reason of living in Ghent Reason of watching movies and series Reason behind speaking English Reason behind feelings of sadness	Respondent is doing a PhD Respondent experiences feelings of loneliness The Pidgins of Ghana and Cameroon differ too much
I think my life here is kind of sad	Living in Ghent	Reason behind loneliness	Respondent experiences feelings of loneliness Respondent only sees his friends during the weekends
I feel lonely	Living in Ghent	Reason of positivity Reason for preferring Belgium over Cameroon	Respondent gets help relatives financially Respondent gets help relatives financially
Living in Ghent is not all bad news	Living in Ghent	Frequency of contact Reason behind using those media platforms	Contact on a weekly basis Not specified
Being in Belgium is better than being in Cameroon I communicate with friends and family in Cameroon a lot	Living in Ghent Communicating with Cameroon	Reason for using Pidgin and Mbengwi	Pidgin is the lingua Franca, Mbengwi the dialect of the respondent's clan, Meta
For contacting friends and family in Cameroon I use Skype and Voip When communicating with friends and family we speak Pidgin or Mbengwi	Communicating with Cameroon Using Pidgin and Mbengwi Contacts with Cameroonians in Ghent	Reason of doing things for one another Reason for experiencing difficulties surviving	To meet other Cameroonians who are living in Ghent Feelings of loyalty and the will to help each other out Other Cameroonians will try and steal each other's jobs
Cameroonians organize parties everyone attends	Contacts with Cameroonians in Ghent	Reason for arguing they are not bad people	Job-stealers' are merely friends trying to survive as well
Upon arrival I got picked by another Cameroonian I had never met before	Contacts with Cameroonians in Ghent	Reason behind stronger friendships	Cameroonians in Belgium are small in number and the urge to share experiences is strong
At times it is difficult to survive	Living in Ghent Contacts with Cameroonians in Ghent	Reason behind friendship	Working together in the University created an opportunity to bond
They are not really bad people Relationships between Cameroonians in Ghent is stronger than among friends in Cameroon	Contacts with Cameroonians in Ghent Contacts with international students in Ghent	Reason behind attendin South-African church	It is refreshing compared to attending Cameroonian church
I have a really good friend who is Nigerian	Religion	Reason behind feeling rushed	It seems as if there are less hours in a day than in Cameroon
I go to a South-African church	Living in Ghent	Reasons of experiencing stress	During the week everything is choked up
I feel very rushed living in Ghent You can only relax during the weekends	Living in Ghent	Reason behind trusting Belgians easily	They do as they say
Trusting Belgians is really easy English is what I use to communicate with Belgians and international students	Living in Ghent Using English in Belgium	Reason for using English Reason behind existence of two types	Respondent is fully proficient in English
There are two kinds of Pidgin in Cameroon	Pidgin	Reason for prohibiting Pidgin in schools	The Francophones started to mix some French in it (Respondent is talking about Camfranglais)
You are not allowed to speak Pidgin in school	Pidgin	Reason of general negative perception of Pidgin	It is very unofficial It influences the quality of one's capability to speak English
Pidgin is perceived as negative	Pidgin		

Table 6 Substantive statement analysis Chinedou (1)

Interviewee substantive statement	Initial code	Secondary code	Selective code
I most frequently use Voip, Skype, and Lyca for contacting Cameroon	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason behind preference of these communication instruments	Voip, Skype, and Lyca are the cheapest options to contact Cameroon
With my sisters and brother I use Skype	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason behind using Skype with siblings	Siblings live in the city and have a stable connection
With my mother I use Voip	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason behind using Voip with mother	Mother lives in the village and she has no internet access
I have two different cell phones	Communication instruments in general	Reason for owning two phones	One phone is used for contacting Cameroon, the other one for daily life
I learned about Voip and Lyca from a friend	Communication instruments for contact with Cameroon	Reason for friend advising respondent	Respondent had asked for advice
When I was in university in Buea i called my family through Orange and MTN	Communication instruments within Cameroon	Reason for using Orange and MTN to call	It was the only option for calling Bamenda from Buea

Table 7 Substantive statement analysis Chinedou (2)

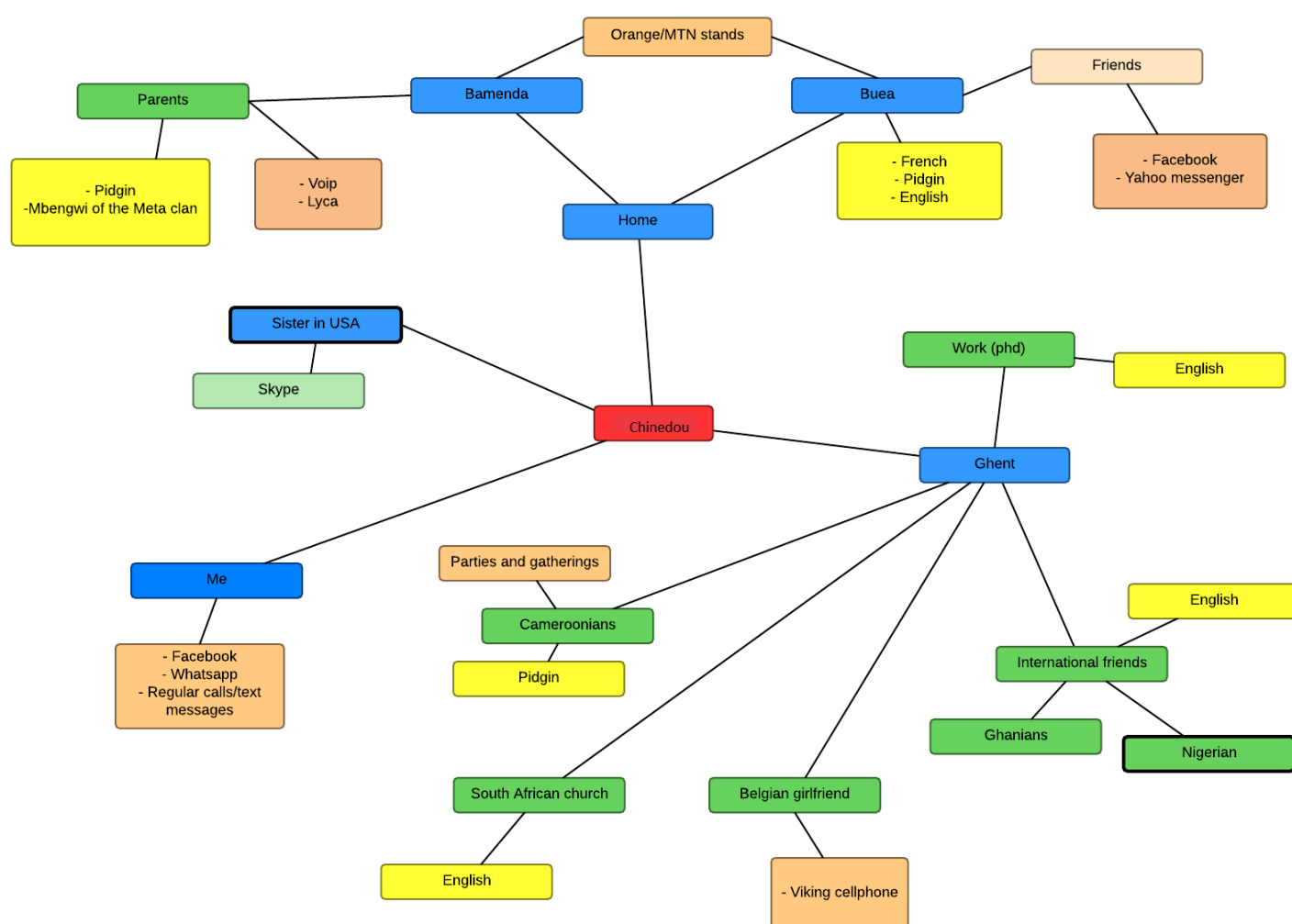


Figure 8

Network analysis Chinedou

3.4.5 Comparison and interpretation of analyses

As the substantive statement analyses and network analyses demonstrate – in line with the result of the key incident analyses – similarities between participants are great in number, whereas differences are quite shallow, and are easily explained through factors as demographics and socio-economic situations of friends and relatives in Cameroon. Other discrepancies, such as types of contacts outside the diaspora community in Ghent are related to the participant's relational statuses and social skills and are not all that relevant for the current study. In broad terms however, the analyses show great resemblance: all participants learned about linguistic infrastructure tools for contacting Cameroon from another individual within the diaspora community, after which participants individually figured out what is most sufficient for their personal situation. Within the network the local is connected with the global through the partly overlapping linguistic resources and communication instruments, unraveling the indexical value in the network's spaces and domains.

3.5 Quality control analysis

In order to determine if the linguistic resources the participants claim to use are actually used in reality, an analysis is conducted through studying the participant's online behavior. Through Facebook, it was studied with whom they interacted and what languages were used. Naturally, the researcher's access to the content was limited, but the overall picture should resemble the participant's statements made throughout the interviews, considering the substantive statement- and network analyses were based on those utterances.

3.5.1 Online behavior analysis Amadou

Interaction over a period of two months	Frequency	Language
Interaction with Cameroonians	6	Kamtok: 3 English: 3
Interaction with Cameroonians in Ghent	0	n/a
Interaction with individuals with other nationality	4	English: 3 Dutch: 1
Interactions with Cameroonians in other countries	1	Kamtok: 1

3.5.2 Online behavior analysis Sainge

Interaction over a period of two months	Frequency	Language
Interaction with Cameroonians	7	Pidgin: 3 English: 3 French: 1
Interaction with Cameroonians in	1	Pidgin: 1

Ghent		
Interaction with individuals with other nationality	1	English: 1
Interactions with Cameroonians in other countries	0	n/a

3.5.3 Online behavior analysis Martial

Interaction over a period of two months	Frequency	Language
Interaction with Cameroonians	16	Kamtok: 11 English: 5
Interaction with Cameroonians in Ghent	1	English: 1
Interaction with individuals with other nationality	1	English: 1
Interactions with Cameroonians in other countries	4	English: 2 Kamtok: 1 French: 1

3.5.4 Online behavior analysis Chinedou

Interaction over a period of two months	Frequency	Language
Interaction with Cameroonians	6	Kamtok: 1 English: 5
Interaction with Cameroonians in Ghent	6	English: 4 Kamtok: 2
Interaction with individuals with other nationality	4	English: 3 Dutch: 1
Interactions with Cameroonians in other countries	3	English: 3

3.5.6 Interpretation of online behavior analyses

In general, the results of the Facebook analyses correspond to what is demonstrated in the other analyses. When taking a closer look, certain forms of language selection do not seem to correspond with the interview data, e.g. Chinedou claimed to predominantly use Kamtok when interacting with fellow Cameroonians. The analysis of his online behavior however indicates that he predominantly selects English as language of communication with other Cameroonians. On the other hand is this analysis merely a snapshot within reality, and was he fortuitously communicating with individuals whose proficiency in Kamtok was limited.

Chapter 4 The social structure of the diaspora community Revealed

Throughout the time of conducting the study, what repeatedly came forward is the diversity within the diaspora community: members have different tribal, geographical, and socio-economical backgrounds. As a result of this variety, the linguistic diversity within the community seems to be particularly extensive. Additionally do the analyses show participants make use of a substantive amount of communication instruments to communicate with other members of the migrant diaspora community and with non-members of various ethnicities. As a consequence, members have fairly substantial and vast linguistic repertoires. These repertoires together with the technological developments in relation to communication instruments are the factors responsible for seemingly complicating the structure of the superdiverse network, in line with what Blommaert (2012) explains in his chronicles of complexity.

However, after scrutinizing the resources within the linguistic repertoires and the infrastructural tools used for conveying messages in- and outside the diaspora community, what becomes apparent is the organized nature of communication and communication tools. Although particular resources are truncated, repertoires enable diaspora members to effectively function in everyday life, since their repertoires are functionally specialized and generally overlap. The role of Kamtok thereby functions as a lingua franca within the network, due to it being a shared resource throughout the diaspora. Another example which highlights the specialized role of resources is the function of the religious, tribal, and geographical vernaculars being used when communicating with family in Cameroon. The example additionally shows the non-interchangeability of these resources, since a lack of common ground would cause misunderstandings and miscommunications when member A would use his regional dialect with member B, but when individual A contacts his mother in Cameroon using said dialect, communication runs smoothly and flawless. Obviously, diaspora members at all times consider the importance of knowing which language to use with whom, in which the ethnicity and status of the interlocutor and the purpose of the conversation plays a determining role. Referring back to Rymes' (2014) notion on resources becoming functional in their performances, this is exactly what happens within the Cameroonian diaspora in Ghent.

The same argument holds ground for the communication instruments. In addition to the above mentioned factors, merely when communicating with individuals in Cameroon the choice of which communication instrument to use depends upon the geographical location of the interlocutor (does he/she have internet access in the region?), the interlocutor's financial situation (are there financial means to ensure internet access?), the urgency of the messages (does it have to be conveyed in real time, or is time arbitrary?), and the content of the message (is the content private and only intended for the eyes or ears of the interlocutor?). What members additionally have to take into account is that in case the individual at the other end *does* have access to the internet, is how stable the internet connection actually is, since some communication instruments demand more broadband space than

others. It is because of this wide range of issues that diaspora members to a certain extent advise each other on which communication instrument is most appropriate in which situation.

The visible organization in both repertoire and infrastructure that seems to emerge naturally can be considered to be the 'glue' of the social functioning of the superdiverse diaspora community as a whole: it explains the general understanding of meaning within the diaspora. In other words, due to increasing mobility and technological development, communication that is in essence local - e.g. a message from an individual in Cameroon - but becomes global due to the route it has to travel, is perceived and understood in its local form throughout the community. Although being a framework composed of diversity, the dogmatic and functionally specialized nature of its members' repertoires and the infrastructural means within the diaspora community results in a superdiverse network which enables its members to understand a global message in a local perception, preventing miscommunication and misunderstandings through the dispersion of linguistic repertoires that are neither random nor interchangeable. This functional specialization of linguistic resources, even if members are not equally proficient in every language, reflects the diversity within the diaspora, and additionally indicates and unravels the network's sociolinguistic composition. Specific ingredients of a repertoire are purposefully dispersed over concrete target groups (Cameroonians in Cameroon, Belgians in Ghent, international students in school, etc.) with whom communication and interaction takes place on specific themes by means of a set of communication instruments specifically identified for that very purpose, e.g. the communication of a diaspora member with his mother in Cameroon in a tribal dialect both individuals have in their repertoire, while using Voip as an instrument of communication since the mother has no access to the internet. The diversity of the diversity, i.e. the slight differences within individual repertoires of the diaspora members enable them to connect the local to the global through their overlap, unraveling the indexical value in the network's various spaces and domains as indicated in the network analysis of this study.

However, the current study has some limitations, of which the first concerns the number of active participants. Finding individuals able and willing to commit their time and attention in the short timeframe that was available proved to be more difficult than on forehand expected. Nonetheless, the four individuals that did participate in the study in combination with the access to the field provided and created the possibility to study the diaspora community from the inside. A second limitation is related to the lack of female participants. Future studies could attempt to include female participants, although an advice is to approach them with care, preferably while trying to portray one is not an 'intruder' into their community. What could be of aid towards doing so is a male researcher or a male participant approaching women within the diaspora on behalf of the researcher. A final flaw is concerned with the geographical location within the cultural heritage of the diaspora community members. All members the researcher observed and/or interacted with were Anglophone Cameroonians, meaning they all emigrated from either the North- or Southwest region of Cameroon. The subject, field, and method of the research however offer a possibility for a study with a

profoundly extended reach, i.e. the whole of Cameroon including both Francophone and Anglophone participants, or even participants descending from the whole of West-Africa. The field could in such a scenario be extended to the whole of Flanders, or another region quite densely populated by communities of West-African cultural heritage.

Overall, the findings of this paper highlight the functionally specialized repertoires of the Anglophone Cameroonian knowledge migrants in Ghent, creating an insight in a network that at first seems complex and unstructured. In this case, the heterogeneous concept of migrants leads to a sociolinguistic diversity, resulting in a superdiverse diaspora community that is unraveled as a social structure that in essence is a porous but strong network in which all dimensions and layers are carefully constructed, enabling communication to structurally flow throughout its framework, which is in line with what scholars like Rymes (2014) and Blommaert (2010; also 2012) explain throughout their work.

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Appendix Interview transcripts

Transcription interview 20-09-2014 with Sainge and Amadou.

J = Interviewer

A = Interviewee 1

S = Interviewee 2

[[xxx]] = unidentifiable segment

= short pause

[...] = overlap in turns

((..)) = non-verbal signals

<..> = question directed at one of the interviewees

1. J: So, it is the 20th of September and I am interviewing Mr. Sainge # Is that your # is that your # Am I pronouncing it right?
2. S: Just say Sainge, is # is all right.
3. J: Okay. And Mr. Amadou.
4. A: Amadou # yeah, yeah # That is right.
5. J: So what do you guys do in daily life when you # you work? Or you study? Or..
6. S: Both. For me, both. He, he works.
7. J: <question directed at interviewee 1> And what do you do?
8. A: I used to be a student # but now I work. So [..
9. J: ..] Oh you graduated?
10. A: Yeah.
11. J: Congrats.
12. A: Thanks. It was a couple of years ago # two years ago.
13. J: ehhehh.
14. A: But right now I am just working. He is the student ((Points at interviewee 2)) So maybe he should have a lot of things to say # you know ((laughs)) instead like # Yes.
15. J: <Question directed at interviewee 2> And what program are you involved in?
16. S: Physics and astronomy and specifically climate and weather modeling.
17. J: Oh that is really cool, that is really interesting. So climate and # and # is your major?
18. S: Yeah, climate and weather modeling under the department of physics and astronomy.
19. J: Okay, cool!
20. S: It is a program [[xxx]] physics.
21. J: and # and that's in Ghent? That is why you came to Ghent?
22. S: No, I # that was like ehh # It is my postgraduate program after my masters.
23. J: Oh okay, so it is your PhD?
24. S: No, it is not PhD. It is # is an advanced master.
25. J: Oh okay, I see. I see # Oh I think you told me ehh # last Saturday.
26. S: Yeah.
27. J: Cool. So # do # do you live together in Ghent? Or do you live in an apartment? Or # how do you live in Ghent?
28. S: I live in a student kammer.
29. J: In a student house?
30. S: Yeah!

31. J: Oh okay.
32. S: And for him ((looking at Amadou)) he does have # he live in a eh #
33. A: I live in an apartment.
34. S: Yeah, an apartment.
35. A: I used to live in a student room when I was a student. But it was a little bit too small for me when I graduated, so I moved out.
36. J: And was it easy to find a job here?
37. A: Ehm # It is not easy ((laughs))
38. J: It is never easy is it? ((laughs))
39. A: You know, when you don't speak Dutch # Nederlands # you know it's a lot more difficult. But I took some courses # I am not that fluent in Nederlands but I can # you know # speak the basics, so it was a little bit easier for me to get a job.
40. J: And you are also from Cameroon?
41. A: Yeah.
42. J: And where # where are you guys from?
43. A: In # from Cameroon?
44. J: Yeah?
45. A: I am from the North West province # from Nkwen #from Bamenda # I don't know if you #
46. J: Yeah.
47. A: You know where that is?
48. S: You know which part of Cameroon?
49. J: Yeah. I know Bamenda is in the North West. I have been to Cameroon in 2011.
50. A: Ah, really?
51. J: Yes.
52. A: That is interesting # wow! What were you doing there?
53. J: Ehm # an internship with # CENDEP eh # an NGO # the name of the NGO. And it was eh # educating local farmers on how to grow eru and how to keep bees # to eh # alleviate poverty.
54. A: Cool!
55. J: yeah
56. A: So you know what eru is! ((laughs))
57. J: Yeah, but I do not like it ((laughs))
58. A: You don't like it? Oh my God! You make me want to eat eru now! ((laughs))
59. J: I don't like the taste of it! I am sorry ((laughs))
60. A: It is okay, it is not a problem.
61. J: <Question directed at interviewee 2> Are you also from Bamenda?
62. S: Yeah. From Ndop [[xxx]]
63. A: Ahh! You from Ndop?
64. J: What is Ndop?
65. S: Ndop is eh # is one of the divisions in Bamenda.
66. J: How do I spell it? N-D?
67. S: N-D-O-P.
68. J: Ndop.
69. S: Yeah, yeah, but my village Ndop is in the middle of different villages so specifically I am from Babongo.

70. A: Babongo.
71. S: Yeah, that is it. Ndop is a [[xxx]] # Is a # is a ehh [..
72. A:..] I know Ndop, yeah. You guys have a rice # a rice plantation, right?
73. S: Yeah. Aouaouaou it is like the food basket of Cameroon ehh?
74. A: ((laughing)) The food basket of Cameroon!
75. J: Your village # Ndop is the food basket of Cameroon. It is where they grow the # okay!
76. S: They have a lot of # they have good soil. It has produced food of everything.
77. J: So it is a rich region, cool.
78. S: Yeah. In agriculture.
79. J: And you said # ehh <Question directed at interviewee 1> you've already been here for a couple of years [..
80. S:..] yeah.
81. A: I have been here for almost five years.
82. J: Five years. That's quite a while.
83. A: Yeah.
84. J: And how long have you been here? <Question directed at interviewee 2>
85. S: This my two years something. Two years six months.
86. J: Okay.
87. A: Two years and six months?
88. S: Yes. Now we are # like two years # two years, nine months.
89. A: All right, that's cool.
90. S: Two years, nine months.
91. J: And did you learn a little Dutch?
92. S: Me?
93. A: A little bit ((Thinks the question is directed at him))
94. J: Yeah? (In respons to interviewee 2)
95. S: No no!
96. A: ((Laughing))
97. J: It is difficult ehh?
98. S: I am not interested.
99. A: ((Laughing))
100. J: Yeah but it is # Do you think it is like ehh necessary as well because people here speak English?
101. S: I don't see Dutch as a necessary language for me.
102. A: But I think Ghent is a little bit easier to speak English because most people here do speak English you know, because it is a student town # a student city and ehh [..
103. J: ..] Lot of international students?
104. A: Ya yeah. Everywhere you go you can speak English. I think Dutch is important when you are looking for a job. Yeah, because most of the time the interims don't want to take students that don't speak Dutch. That is when you go to where ever you're working you can # you cannot read the instruction # they're all in Dutch. And most of the people working there, they don't speak English. So # I think # I think English is like an important language here, # Dutch as well. It just depends on what you want to do.
105. J: Yeah that is true.
106. A: Yeah.

107. J: So which # which languages do you speak?
108. A: Hoeveel? Around?
109. J: No, I mean # just in general.
110. A: It depends on the occasion. Like if I'm going to a shop I speak Dutch. It is easier for the guy # who is working there. It is easier for me # but in schools # I think it is English, right? You guys speak English? <Question directed at interviewee 2>
111. S: Yeah, English. Or French.
112. A: Oh, French? On the street it is English
113. S: Or my Pidgin language with other people.
114. A: ((laughs)) Do you know what Pidgin is? <Question directed at me>
115. J: Yes, yes # I know what it is.
116. A: Do you speak Pidgin?
117. J: I don't speak but I understand.
118. A: You understand? ((Laughs))
119. J: Small small ((laughs)).
120. A: Small small! ((laughs))
121. J: So just in general # how many languages do you speak?
122. S: Dialects, because there are also dialects for us. There are dialects # dialects I speak # I can speak. I speak my mother # I speak English. I speak my mother tongue dialect Vengo [..
123. J: Sorry?
124. S: The Vengo.
125. J: Vengo?
126. S: Yes, yes, that is it.
127. A: Is that a language?
128. S: Yes. And I also speak Fulbe # of my faith.
129. A: Fulbe?
130. S: Fulbe. Because I am a Muslim, for Muslim faith I also speak Fulbe # and I can understand some of the dialects around me like [xxx] some small small in the villages.
131. A: The problem is in Cameroon we have lots of languages you know? We have close to 300 languages so [..
132. J: ..] Yeah,
133. A: It is a little bit different sometimes to communicate. It is not like here when you have like one general language. So most of the time we can speak multiple languages. But I don't speak my dialects ooh. He speaks a lot more languages than I do. I did not live in my village # I traveled a lot when I was living in Cameroon, so I didn't get a chance to learn. I speak just English, French # not perfectly, but # and a little bit of Dutch.
134. J: Oh I'm sure it is better than mine ((laughs))
135. A: ((laughs)) I don't know # we just have to find out # I don't know.
136. J: So, with the people back home # Do you speak Pidgin?
137. A: Yeah, Pidgin English. Ya. A lot.
138. J: And how do you keep in touch?
139. S: Well it depends up on the person that I'm speaking ehh? Back at home ehh? If I'm talking to my lecturer or to my professor it is English. If I am talking to my friends like my business partner back at home is purely English. Then I don't like Pidgin. But if I am talking to

my father it is the dialect ehh? That Fulbe that I speak with my father # we speak about two or three languages # so either # I can choose Pidgin language, the Fulbe, or the Vengo dialect.

140. J: So it really depends on the occasion and the person you are talking to?

141. S: No it just depends on # upon # If I make 'Allo'? And maybe he is 'Arsalaam' then I speak with him in the Fulbe. At times if he speak and he # maybe he responds in the dialect but seldom in Pidgin language. Pidgin language maybe he was doubting. Maybe I call with a private number # he doesn't know who is and he responds in Pidgin language.

142. J: So Pidgin is kind of like the lingua franca language in Cameroon ehh? Connecting..

143. S: Yeah.

144. A: I # I # We have two official languages, English and French # but the Anglophones # English speaking part # we mostly speak in Pidgin. Is like our own language, you know? We come here # like my friend # I don't remember the last time we spoke in English. Speaking in Pidgin is # is a common language. Most English speaking Cameroonians always speak Pidgin. Sometimes that has it to on our English # cause some of the pronunciation in Pidgin influences our English as well so # in schools it is discouraged for us to speak Pidgin but we don't really care, because what it is what we like, you know.

145. J: And if they catch you speaking Pidgin, you're in trouble?

146. A: Yeaah, you're in trouble ((laughs)) You are in big trouble I guess # But some teachers don't really mind. Like, especially in university. I have some professors, we speak in Pidgin. Yahh, but not all. Most of them want you to speak English. Ya, they don't want to recognize Pidgin English like # a language. They think it is street language and we shouldn't be speaking it.

147. J: So it has quite a negative connotation?

148. S: Yes.

149. A: They think it is negative, but [..

150. S: ..] Ah yeah, Pidgin is negative ehh? If you speak Pidgin, you will write Pidgin.

151. A: ((Laughing)) I don't think so. If you aks me, you can take as your own language. Why not? Languages start from somewhere. English started from somewhere, French started from somewhere. So it just depends on how we perceive it, you know? I don't know why it is so negative, but [..

152. S: ..] But you know like # for the # the way someone talks # like the accent # like the phonetics of a language. It makes you not to talk well when you when national # when you're international. Maybe you will make error # I will make errors # but you, you will make them too.

153. J: I don't quite understand why that would be a bad thing. Because I have a Dutch accent, naturally. So [..

154. A: ..] The problem is # the pronunciation in Pidgin. The words are mostly like # similar to the words in English, but the pronunciations are different. So when you speak in Pidgin sometimes # or when you speak in English, sometimes you forget you were speaking in English and use the pronunciation from Pidgin in English.

155. S: People will make a joke of you. They will laugh at you.

156. A: Yeah, yeah. But if you aks me you know it is not a problem. People should have their accents # it makes you who you are, you know? [..

157. J: ..] It is your identity.

158. A: In Cameroon.. # Yeah it is your identity. You are Dutch, you speak like Dutch. If you are American you speak American. So, the accents shouldn't be really a problem, you know? As long as people can understand what you say.. # I don't know # That is just my opinion. Ehh Sainge? ((Laughs))
159. J: I think you might have a point.
160. A: That is just what I think.
161. J: So # I imagine that you stay in touch with your friends and family back home, right?
162. S: Yeah.
163. J: What kind of channels do you use for that contact # like # Skype? Or..
164. A: Not skype, not skype. Not skype. For me, not skype # Because eehm back in Cameroon internet is not very accessible to the population. Though it is changing [..
165. J: ..] Yeah, I remember that.
166. A: Yah, even # is really changing now # cause ehh I am able to communicate with my kid brother and kid sister # we use Facebook sometimes. But it is very slow, so most times I call.
167. J: Okay.
168. A: Yeah, but I use ehh Voip. It is voice over IP or something like that. It is cheaper, because if you use a regular phone it is a lot more expensive. I think that is the major way we communicate. Or Facebook. The younger people are much more people into social media, so.. [..
169. J: ..] Yeah.
170. S: And Whatsapp, Viber [.. [[xxx]]
171. A: Yeah! Yeah, yeah! Stuff like that! But the older generation # They don't have it # they're not into it, so..
172. S: Yeah.
173. A: If I want to talk to my mom I have to call her up. She wouldn't want to go a cyber, because most of the guys that want to use internet # you have to go to a cyber cafe. It is pretty expensive to have it in your house, so # but I have the time. You have to call them up.
174. J: I see.
175. A: I don't know about Sainge. Sainge, how do you communicate with your friends and family?
176. J: Is it the same?
177. S: Yeah, I ehm # For me, for my mom and dad # I have to call using the same medium that you use ((looking at interviewee 1)) the Voip connect or # internet calls, and for my brothers # some on Facebook, Yahoo messenger. Through the internet, let's say it like that. And then, few on Viber ehh?
178. A: What is that?
179. S: Few.
180. J: A few on Viber.
181. S: Yeah. For # those that are in Douala, most of the time it might be Viber. But those from Bamenda # no.
182. A: They don't like Viber?
183. S: No, they # they they see it like bother. It is expensive and the network is very poor there.
184. J: Aah, okay.

185. A: That's the problem with Africa, you know? Communication is a big problem.
186. J: Would you say that is like the biggest difference between here and there? Or..
What is # Like, when you came here # and now # You've been here for a while. What do you think is the major difference between here and back home?
187. S: On what basis?
188. A: The people here speak Dutch, back home they don't speak ((laughs)).
189. J: ((laughs)). Just in general, what do you think is the biggest change?
190. A: Ehm # If you aks me I would say here # We are talking about communication so let's start there. Here communication is a very important part of the economy, you know? If you can't communicate with people easily # accessibly # it is a problem. Back at home # it is really just expensive, you know? Just making a regular call is quite expensive for the locals. They cannot afford it. I would say ahmm # [..
191. J: ..] That is why they beep?
192. A: Yah yeah! Ah you know that? Yeah! ((laughs)) Of course they beep a lot. In Africa sometimes # my mom, she wants to talk to me # she just has to beep me, you know? And then I call.
193. S: With my father, that is a different way. When I receive his beeps # he doesn't just beep, he beeps when he wants to talk.
194. A: If you see my mom calling me # my dad calling me, something really important is going on and she really needs to talk to me right away. Other than that she wouldn't call me, you know? She might text, because it is a little bit cheaper for her. She might send a text sometimes. And changes # climate as well. You know the weather is very harsh # and Africans when we just get here, you know, change in climate # it is very hot up there # nice weather, tropical weather, tropical climate. But here, it is [..
195. J: ..] Cold.
196. A: It is cool and it sucks. It sucks right? Do you like the winter? <Question directed at interviewee 2>
197. S: No.
198. J: Well, that makes three of us then.
199. A, S, J: ((All laughing simultaneously)).
200. A: I love the summer. You can go out and walk and do stuff like that. Ehm # infrastructure as well, it needs to be worked on back home as well, because ehh # we're quite backward with respect to that. And what else, what else? What else man? You tell me, I don't know ((laughs)) <Question directed at interviewee 2>
201. S: Really big difference in food.
202. A: Yeah, yeah, yeah!
203. J: You prefer Cameroonian food I think?
204. S: Ya, ya, ya.
205. A: Definitely! Right?
206. S: yeah.
207. A: But we, we # we love Belgian food as well. That fries, frietjes! ((laughs))
208. J: Frietjes! ((laughs)). But frietjes make you fat.
209. A: We are open for # yeah it makes us fat but we don't care # it is okay. But we're open to learn new things. The cultures are quite different, the social interactions are different.

210. J: Do you have a lot of contact with Belgian people?
211. A: ((sighs)) I wouldn't say a lot.
212. J: Do you have Belgian friends?
213. A: I have friends.
214. S: Yeah, I have. I have Belgian friends.
215. A: But, here you know, it is quite different. Back home # we have # we have a lot of # much more contact with friends # with family. We have a high value for family, you know. But here it is not that way. Here, everybody thinks about going to work, coming back, and then just their immediate family. But in Africa, your family is quite extended, you know?
216. J: Yeah.
217. A: Yeah, ya. And friends, we always hang out a lot there. But here, maybe just through the internet, you know. We are living like a virtual life here. Social contact is quite limited, right Sainge? Sainge is my friend but it has been a long time that I # I don't have time to see him and he doesn't have time to see me, so everybody is busy. There is no time. And I think that has a very negative impact on # on us and of course on everybody. People should talk more, people should have more contact.
218. J: So the contact you have here, is it most of all with Cameroonian people?
219. S: No.
220. A: I wouldn't say so, but # I am much more closer to Cameroonians. Because ehh # [..
221. J: ..] Sorry?
222. A: Because my friends # my very close friends are Cameroonians. Because, sometimes we think the same, we have the same ideas. But we also have Belgian friends, friends from everywhere, but I have problems with the Belgians, you know. They are not open. For like, they are just to themselves. All right, Sainge? They don't want to meet # meet new people most of them # I'm not saying all of them but most of them # it is difficult for them to # to open up to new people, to learn new cultures. At times, you know # they're not in to it.
223. S: Unless you have break into them.
224. J: Unless?
225. S: Unless you have broke and are now in their medium.
226. J: Ah you are in their in-group.
227. A: Yeah. When they know you, it is fun.
228. S: When they know you, they are happy # You, you # you can make fun. But when they don't know you it is difficult because I remember, where I worked # no, where I graduated, I had a friend and he was dating one of the ehh # a girl in our student home. And coincidentally we finished school, we didn't yet have career job. We were working in that our GLS company, with the same guy. So I can say that I know you. And he said: yeah I know you, but I didn't want to come to you because maybe you have to come to someone first, you do the first approach in my.. # #
229. J: And he was Belgian?
230. S: Yeah he was Belgian. He was very good. From there we became very good friends and I think through him # because I had other ehh # course mate or class mates that I # I might not be seeing them again, but him na helped me to # he helped me # he had a party and we all sit # where we all sat and meet again and were reunited # so I have now broken

into their out and come into their midst, which is not good. People are # people just have to open up to everyone they see.

231. A: I think that is # that's really pronounced here in Belgium. Actually I have been to Holland, I have been to a lot of places like Romania, East-Europe, the United States.. People are much more friendly, you know? Especially to # like minorities. I think in Belgium there is a big problem with that, they are not [..
232. S: ..] No, but here. Not in Brussels. Because I was in Brussels [..
233. A: ..] Yeah in Brussels it is different.
234. S: I was in Brussels and there, I have spend the whole of my [..
235. A: ..] Especially in the villages, you know? Around here. They are not used to seeing # maybe they are not into black people, they don't like to # interact with them, you know. Maybe they are scared of them, I don't know. They have this fear factor ((laughs)).
236. J: Well you guys don't look that scary ((laughs)).
237. A & S: ((laughing simultaneously)).
238. A: Do I look scary? Am I scary? Maybe. Sainge?
239. S: No. But maybe for you no because you have been to Africa <reply directed at me>
240. J: Who knows? ((laughs))
241. A: Maybe, I don't know.
242. J: No, I don't # I don't think in general that people are scared of [..
243. S: ..] No.
244. A: Somewhat, some are.
245. J: I think # maybe it is unfamiliarity or something. You know what I mean? Like # I don't know.
246. A: Some have problems trusting # like Africans. Us Africans, we have # we have a very bad reputation here. It is ehh # [..
247. J: ..] You think so?
248. A: I think so because ehh # when it comes to like, opening up and trusting people # most of them think ehh we are not trustworthy enough, you know. But it is not true. You know, no matter where you are from, you always have good and bad people, you know? And you have [..
249. J: ..] Exactly.
250. S: I had a friend in Holland and he said oooohhh you have a double problem in Europe ehh? You are a criminal and you are a terrorist. And I remember one time I was in the school. My teacher said to me # she is living in Antwerp # she was saying 'no no no no no no, you are the only one I trust among the few'. Because most of the program we were like only five percent black. So she didn't trust anyone.
251. J: ((makes sound of amazement)).
252. A: ((laughs uncomfortably)).
253. J: I am kind of flabbergasted ((laughs uncomfortably)).
254. A: Is it too much to take in?
255. J: It is. Ehm # well let's just continue with another question ehm #
256. A: All right.
257. J: So, how does it feel in general to live here in Gent? Do you feel comfortable living here? Are you homesick?

258. A: I for one am not homesick. I mean, I miss my family, I miss everybody, but I try to stay in touch with them. I would love to visit them much more often, but apart from that I am fine I guess. I don't know about Sainge. I am fine, very fine.
259. S: For me # I am now like this # I am homesick.
260. A: Ooooh poor boy! ((laughs))
261. S: Ya, because I # It is not eh # at times I am happy when I make those calls home but when I am done and I make them I am happy. But then after time again when I think of home, I become nostalgic and I say # I say I should go home for a time. I should stay there for a while so I can really see the difference between home and here. Because you cannot just compare one thing and I want to live # I have lived here, lived here in Ghent so I want to live at home and really see the difference. But I know like you <talks to interviewee 1> you have lived back home and you're not [[xxx]] [..]
262. A: ..] Yeah I've gone back yeah.
263. J: Oh you've gone back and come back here?
264. A: Yeah.
265. S: He has gone like two, three times.
266. A: Yeah. But when you go back it is a lot different. You see things differently.
267. S: Yeah. Because if you go you'll see the difference. Right now, I can't really see the difference.
268. A: Yeah, it is different, I know.
269. S: It is different.
270. A: You miss family and there is nothing that can replace that. No matter where you are, home is always home.
271. J: Yes, that is true. And your heart always [..
272. A: ..] Yeah, no matter.
273. S: It is like when you are rich, maybe your company was here and the relocation must have changed.
274. A: The location is going to change?
275. S: It is the thinking like, the location would change. Things will change.
276. J: What do you mean with the location?
277. A: ((laughs)).
278. S: You say, eh # maybe my company is in the east, and then it will not longer be in the east but maybe it is in the south, ya, yah.
279. J: Ah. Ok. Things change over time.
280. S: Yeah, yeah ((Nods)).

At that point in time, the last respondent of that day should have arrived, but he was not there yet. So while waiting for him, we engaged in a conversation. We changed the location of our seating from inside to outside because the official interview was over and one respondent wanted to smoke. We did however engage in a conversation. Below there are some parts of that conversation of which I thought they could be interesting for the research.

281. J: So why do Cameroonians go to meet other Cameroonians here?
282. S: What?
283. A: Where do you go to meet other Cameroonians? Where do you hang out with other Cameroonians? Is that the question?

284. J: Yes.
285. A: Where do we hang out with.. # tell me <question directed at interviewee 2>
286. S: Waah yeah. For # because # we might need help, we might need help and we understand each other. So simple, because it's not easy. You have maybe common ideas or objectives. So, I hang out with you ((looks at interviewee 1))
287. J: And you know where you come from, right? You have similarities, probably.
288. S: Yeah. Let's say we have a common rule, or a common objective. But with some other people.. # I wouldn't hang out with them because of school or their objectives are not mine and we are not in the same light.
289. J: Okay,so # you think ehm # or let me rephrase that. The people you hang out here with most, is it Cameroonians? Or more with other nationalities? Belgians?
290. S: Eeeeeehm # Other nationalities ehh? I'd say other nationality because most of the time if I go to club I am with him ((points at interviewee 1)) [..
291. A: ..] What kind of club? Night club?
292. S: Yeah. We go to a night club. We always do # we go to cafes. When I'm with him it might just be the two of us and with other people who are from Belgian, different places like Senegal, Morocco, it is not just with other Cameroonians. Like where I work, the majority of the people there are Ghanians and Dutch and people from Turkey.
293. J: And your free time, is it # also # well night club of course is free time.
294. S: Yeah. Well for me I think in my free time I if I am in my room I am alone. If I am hanging out # at times I don't have any view with whom I am going. Maybe I just say I am going to this club. Maybe it is him that I meet then there. If I don't meet him there, I don't have any specific # any specific goal.
295. J: And you? Do you usually hang out with Cameroonians? <Question directed at interviewee 1>
296. A: I hang out with everybody.
297. J: But you are # you are part of a Cameroonian community eh? Both of you.
298. A: Yeah. But I don't hang out with all the Cameroonians. No, sometimes we just meet on social occasions. There are some of the Cameroonians who are my friends. I hang out with those.
299. J: But why do you think Cameroonians hang out with other Cameroonians? Like # why does a community form itself?
300. A: What I would say is # something else. I am not sure. I would like to say ehh # it is like a European community, or Belgian, I don't know. I am not so much open with Africans. Let me not say Cameroonians only. It is students. You know, when you graduate and you want to live here, you know why not? They should be much more open with us. They are not like # they are not into # He's a student ((looks at interviewee 2)). If he graduates and maybe wants to look for a job here, you know, I don't think they are much more open with like # letting you stay here.
301. J: You mean like officially with visa?
302. A: Yeah, yeah. They wouldn't want that.

During this section, we were discussing gender inequality for smokers in Cameroon. The interviewees mentioned that with time, women who smoke will be more accepted.

303. A: Mentally changes. So.. # # #
304. J: So you think it will change over time?
305. A: I think so, I think so [..
306. S: ..] I think in the towns, but not in the villages.
307. A: It needs time. Things are changing. Things are really changing.
308. S: In Douala, a girl can smoke, but not in the villages.
309. A: Technology is influencing everything, you know. Everything is really changing.
310. J: Yeah, that is kind of the topic of my research. Like, how does the globalization process affect the [..
311. A: ..] Yeah, like mobile phones are way more common now in Cameroon. Everybody has a mobile phone. Things are changing. I think it just needs time, and they'll catch up hopefully. I hope they will f*cking catch up.

A little later during the conversation, both interviewees are discussing their future plans. Currently one is working a foam-producing factory, the other one is enrolled in an advanced Master program.

312. A: I am open to going back to Africa and work there. I have been looking for a job there. So immediately If I find something really good # I don't care where it is # I'll just move.
313. J: How do you search for jobs in Cameroon?
314. A: Oh online. Online.
315. J: There are jobs available online?
316. A: Yeah. Yeah. Yeah.
317. J: Okay, so when I first came back from Cameroon I had just graduated from my Bachelor and I missed it so much that I looked for jobs in Cameroon online, but I couldn't find any.
318. S: I don't really know, but there are jobs in Cameroon. You have to search by ministry, [[xxx]].
319. J: Okay.
320. A: There are jobs! I don't think you should have a problem finding a job in Cameroon. Maybe you just didn't search well.
321. J: ((laughs)).

J = Interviewer

A = Interviewee

[[xxx]] = unidentifiable segment

= short pause

[...] = overlap in turns

((..)) = non-verbal signals

1. J: Okay, what's the date today, 27th?
2. A: I don't know.
3. J: 27th of September, and this is the interview with Mr. Amadou. So, last week we talked a little bit about what you do here in Ghent, and what languages you speak. Now, ehh # for today the focus is going to be on the communication tools you use. Ehm, so which # for communication with your friends back home, which communication types do you use?
4. A: Ehm, that with my friends?
5. J: Yeah, friends, and your family.
6. A: Friends in Cameroon. Ehm with my friends I think ehm # basically, it is on my computer. And that is what I use mostly. Shall I close the window because of the noise?
7. J: Oh no, it is fine. It is fine.
8. A: You can hear? Okay.
9. J: Yeah. But thank you.
10. A: It is okay, it is all right. Just considering your recordings.
11. J: Well, I will just put it closer to you so it can hear you talk. ((laughs)).
12. A: It is so noisy here with the trams and the buses and everything. Ehm, I think I got # I talk with my friends on my computer.
13. J: Do you use Facebook, or Skype, or Voip?
14. A: Ehm to my friends most of the time I think it is Facebook. We use Facebook, you know. Especially the young people, Facebook is the most important social media we use. Skype, that is when I am calling family.
15. J: Where does your family in Cameroon live?
16. A: You know Buea?
17. J: Buea? The university town?
18. A: Yeah. I have lived there for quite a while. Seven years I think. We have a house there. My family decided to stay there because my dad works there. My phone as well.
19. J: You know, that is so funny. I might have seen your dad, not knowing it was him.
20. A: Maybe, you were in Buea?
21. J: Yeah, we went to Buea quite often. A couple of times a week to # with ehh # the supermarket.
22. A: A supermarket? In Buea?
23. J: Yeah, there is a big supermarket in Buea.
24. A: Aaah! Yeah, yeah, yeah! Ehm, the supermarket # is that it?
25. J: Fu, Fu, # Fa # Fa # Fakoship is that it?
26. A: Aaah! Fakoship! Aah!
27. J: Yes.

28. A: Really, with your NGO?
29. J: Hmm hmm.
30. A: Just for shopping, or what?
31. J: No, selling honey.
32. A: Aah you were selling honey? Where did you guys get the honey from?
33. J: From the farmers. We taught them how to keep bees and how to make enough honey for themselves to have food and everything, you know. Everything they had left, we bought it from them, and then we tried selling it and tried selling it at the supermarket.
34. A: Ah, that is a pretty sensible thing to do! That is nice.
35. J: So, Buea. I kind of know Buea. ((laughs))
36. A: ((laughs)). And Bamenda as well, you know there is # that's where I come from. I didn't live there for a long time, because ahm # [..
37. J: [.. But that is where you were born?
38. A: That is where I was born, yeah. I was born there, and we lived there just for like three years before we moved to Kumbo. I lived like all my childhood in Kumbo, and eh # yeah, in Kumbo. At a little village in Kumbo called # oh my goodness, I forgot the name of the place! ((laughs)). I think # am I okay? Am I fine? Am I talking correctly?
39. J: Yeah.
40. A: Because I have just gone off.
41. J: No, you are talking correctly ((laughs)).
42. A: Oh my goodness. All right, that is it. Just Facebook. You are looking good by the way.
43. J: It is recording eh?
44. A: I know ((laughs)). Do you want something to drink?
45. J: No, I am fine, thanks.
46. A: ((walks into the kitchen to get himself some water)). So that is it.
47. J: So, Facebook mainly.
48. A: Facebook, yeah that is it.
49. J: And do you call your family, or your parents, or your friends?

At this point, the previous interviewee Sainge calls to see if I arrived at Amadou's house safely. After a little conversation in which I confirm I did, the interview continues.

50. J: Yes. And so, when you call # when you call family, what do you use?
51. A: Ehm, I use # I used to use my computer, but the quality was so poor that I stopped using it.
52. J: Oh, Voip, or Skype.
53. A: The Voip, yeah, the Voip thing. Sometimes you have to wait # wait for like fifteen minutes, ten minutes, just to get the call through. I don't know, there was always something. Shit like that is not that reliable. So most times when I want to call I use eh # there is a call shop at [[xxx]]
54. J: How is it called?
55. A: Hoverpoort.
56. J: Hoverpoort.
57. A: yeah. It is close to the university # I call there. It's it's it's not cheap but it is fine.
58. J: Okay.
59. A: I used to use my house phone, but I got a huge bill ((laughs very loudly))
60. J: ((laughs))

61. A: So I stopped, I stopped. That was the worst thing to do, I had to stop.
62. J: So, when you first came here there were no other Cameroonians telling you 'oh you should use this, you should use that, it is cheap'?
63. A: Aahm, yeah. Yeah, when I came there were guys telling us to use Voip. That is what they told us to use. At the time, Voip was pretty good but now, it is not that good. Yeah, sometimes when I call my mom, she really has to scream for me to hear what she is saying. Because, ehh, back there the network is not good as well. It is difficult to # to get to hear what someone is saying when you use Voip. Maybe it is just my Voip. I don't know about anyone of those other guys. When I talked today [..
64. J: [.. No, Sainge also said that his Voip wasn't very good at the moment.
65. A: I don't use it. So my mom was like complaining 'Why am I not calling her so frequently', and I said 'Well, I am sorry but sometimes when I get home from work I am just so fucking tired'. Oh! Am I cussing so much? I am sorry ((laughs))
66. J: ((laughs))
67. A: All right, I am sorry. I hope you do not have a problem with that.
68. J: No.
69. A: Ehm # when I get back from work I am so tired that I can't go back to # to make a call there. It's # I called her yesterday and it was a good call, so..
70. J: Okay, good. So, you call her often?
71. A: Yeah. My mom, yeah.
72. J: Like, daily or weekly or..
73. A: Not daily ((laughs)). She wishes! She wishes I should call her daily, but I can't, because ehm # it's expensive.
74. J: Yeah.
75. A: I would say I call her weekly. I want to.
76. J: And do you also use your cell phone for calling?
77. A: To call my mom?
78. J: Yeah? Like, with Ortel or Lyca?
79. A: I don't use to # I use to have a Lyca sim card, but # I don't use it that often, because it is a little bit cheaper, but the call shop is pretty good. It is the cheapest place.
80. J: So, if there would be a new Cameroonian coming to Ghent now, what would you advise him? Or would you advise him something or do people just figure it out for themselves?
81. A: With respect to, like, communication?
82. J: Yeah?
83. A: Eh, I would, I would, I would advise him or her not to use your cell phones to call # to use call shop or to go back to Cameroon, ah I am kidding! ((laughs)) Yeah, yeah, basically. Or try Voip. The Voip thing # sometimes it works, sometimes it just doesn't work. Sometimes it doesn't work, so that is it.
84. J: Okay. Ehm, so if you use your cell phone, you use Lyca?
85. A: If it is an emergency [[xxx]] ((Incomprehensible because I am talking through his answer))
86. J: Or did you also # did you have multiple cell phones?
87. A: I # I like to keep just one cell phone, so most of the time I have just one. But, if there is an emergency I use anything I can find close to me.
88. J: Yeah, of course, yeah.
89. A: So, that is it.

90. J: Ehm # so when you first came to Buea to study, where your parents already there in Buea?
Or did they live in Bamenda still, or in Kumbo I mean?
91. A: We lived in Kumbo, ehm # My dad got a transfer, so we all moved to Buea together.
92. J: Ah, okay. And then you went to university in Buea?
93. A: Not just university. For like, high school..
94. J: Oh, okay.
95. A: Yeah. I was there for quite a while.
96. J: Okay.
97. A: And after that I went to university.
98. J: I see. Cool.
99. A: Yeah, it is a cool place, it is a student city. It is like Ghent, you know. You will like it, it is a nice place. Good weather as well.
100. J: Yeah, I remember. It is not too hot, it is just nice ((laughs)).
101. A: Yeah, the temperature is good.
102. J: Ehm, so # I only have one last question. Which communication platforms do you use, like, in general, also with your friends here.
103. A: My friends here?
104. J: Like, your # not specific # specifically Cameroonians but just in general.
105. A: ((laughs about my stuttering over the word specifically)) Just with everybody.
106. J: Yeah.
107. A: Ehm, I try most of all to meet face to face, but mostly we text.
108. J: Text.
109. A: We text, yeah. But not like # we got # we got into texting because it is convenient for everyone. It is convenient for everyone, you know. When you send an sms you can always [[xxx]] the convenience at work and stuff. You never know when someone is at work, so I think texting # I, I love texting. Some people don't. What do you text?
110. J: Ehh, well, I usually use Whatsapp.
111. A: Whatsapp, yeah ((also pronounces it as whatsapp, just like Sainge)).
112. J: Because it is like, free texting.
113. A: Yeah but ehm, most of the ehm # subscriptions they have unlimited texting, so..
114. J: Ah, okay, yeah.
115. A: Especially when # because most of the students use ehm Base, Base. So Base, when you are texting a Base it is always free, so..
116. J: Ah, Base to Base is free. I see.
117. A: And when you have a subscription you can text everyone and it's always free.
118. J: Okay.
119. A: But calling, sometimes you get over your bundle and then you pay a lot # a lot more.
120. J: Hmm, hmm, I know. I have that problem often ((laughs)).
121. A: Ah, I had that # last three months, so I am trying to reduce the way I call. I think I call for # I talk too long.
122. J: Because calling is easy, you know! You immediately know what is up.
123. A: Yeah, yeah. Yeah, but if you make it you have to pay a lot of money and you have to think about it.
124. J: Yeah, yeah.

125. A: We don't earn a lot, so # we have to make the most out of what we got.
126. J: What kind of job were you working again?
127. A: With # I work with a foam company. Foam.
128. J: Oh yeah, oh yeah. Of course.
129. A: You remember?
130. J: Yeah. Now I remember.
131. A: But next year I am going to stop, because it sucks. I don't like it.
132. J: Is it # it is a in-between solution?
133. A: It is a in-between solution, you know? Right now, you just have to do what you gotta do # # to keep things going.
134. J: yes. So, let me switch off the recording, because I think we are kind of done.
135. A: No more questions? Okay, okay. But maybe I like to ask you a few questions!
136. J: Sure, of course! Sorry, sorry, sorry.
137. A: No problem! So # What did I want to aks you? Okay, how did I do? Did you get everything you needed?
138. J: For this week, yeah I think so.
139. A: All right.
140. J: Yeah, during the week I talk to my supervisor and we look at what we have and what we still need.
141. A: And do you have like # other Cameroonians in Holland? In Netherlands? How do you prefer me to call it? Netherlands or Holland? Or doesn't it matter?
142. J: It doesn't matter that much.
143. A: You have other Cameroonians there you talk to?
144. J: No. It is just you guys, but actually my supervisor has asked me to try and find other Cameroonians here in Ghent to try and talk to, because now it is only four and it is only men. So you know like, I need some women.
145. A: Yeahyeahyeahyeah!
146. J: Martial knows a girl, but she is working during the weekends, so it is complicated.
147. A: I know other girls. If I knew I could have called them and see if they had time.
148. J: Maybe for next weekend? Can you arrange something?
149. A: Yeah, I will talk to some girls. Just girls, right?
150. J: Yeah, that would be wonderful.
151. A: Yeah, to get some girls.
152. J: Yes, to see if they do and see things differently.
153. A: Just from Cameroon, right?
154. J: Yeah.
155. A: So you are based on just Cameroonians? You don't talk to other Africans? Because maybe we all have the same kind of thing going. But you are just based on Cameroon?
156. J: Yeah. Just to, you know # for example # we could take the whole of Africa, but my thesis period just lasts for four months so that would be a little too much, you know, to put it all in four months time.
157. A: Why not the whole year?
158. J: No, just four months.
159. A: But four months is a short time.
160. J: Yeah.

161. A: Because here, I we had like one whole year.
162. J: For just the thesis?
163. A: Yeah.
164. J: Okay.
165. A: One whole year, just working on my thesis. I didn't use one year, I used like three months ((laughs)) I am so lazy, oh my goodness.
166. J: What was your thesis on?
167. A: I am so lazy, you know. I was working on eh # on a volcano. A volcano in Cameroon. You know mount Cameroon?
168. J: Oh! Yeah, Mount Cameroon, yeah.
169. A: Yeah, I was trying to work # map out some land forms in Cameroon using satellite images and GIS and [[xxx]]
170. J: Cool.
171. A: Well, shit, I wasn't really interested. It was just because I got aksed to do it. But it is all right. It was okay. I got to learn a lot.
172. J: Cool. Do you miss it? Cameroon?
173. A: Cameroon?
174. J: Yeah?
175. A: Cameroon, yeah. I wish I could go back.
176. J: Yeah, but you have your daughter here.
177. A: Yeah, next time # next time I will go, I will take her there. She has to see her grandmom, she has never been to Cameroon. My mom wants to see her as well.
178. J: Yeah, of course.
179. A: It has been like two years since I was there.
180. J: So, do you use Skype, or Voip, to video connect and show her [..
181. A: ..] On Skype, yeah, yeah. We do that often. I think that is the only person # my family # I use Skype with my family, but with friends I sometimes avoid talking, because if you start talking with them online you can talk all day, you know. It is so addictive ((laughs)). I don't like it, especially when you have something to do. And when they send a message and you can't reply immediately they are pissed off, so at times # at times I try to reply, but I cannot reply to everybody. Because, when it is with Cameroon # they always aks a lot of money, all the time, you know? You are talking to someone and they say 'can you send some money?' All the time! They think we are rich, you know, but that is not true! You don't understand how difficult things are here, you know? Whatever. It is okay ((speaks very softly, almost whispers)).
182. J: I know, they ask me too.
183. A: So you talk to four Cameroonians now eh? Sainge, I, [..
184. J: ..] Chinedou and Martial.
185. A: And Martial, ah Martial.
186. J: Yeah, and Serge was supposed to be one of the respondents, but he was too busy in the weekends.
187. A: Too busy in the weekends.
188. J: Yeah, and then there was one other guy I met at that first party. I think his name was # Sola, Zola? [..
189. A: ..] Ah.. Zola, ah.

190. J: But he never replied to my messages. ((laughs))
191. A: ((laughs)) That is not cool! Why is that? He replies to none of your messages?
192. J: No. So I guess he doesn't want to be in the study, which is fine. And fortunately, Sainge brought you last week, so I still have four people.
193. A: Yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah. It is fine. Next week I'll try to get a girl. To get a girl to talk to you. But you have one lady in the group! You are a lady! Ah, of course, you are the researcher. It is all right.
194. J: Yeah.
195. A: So, it is not a problem. Let me call my ex to pick up my daughter.

After this last statement the interview ended.

J = Interviewer

S = Interviewee

[[xxx]] = unidentifiable segment

= short pause

[...] = overlap in turns

((..)) = non-verbal signals

1. J: Ok, let's start. Do you mind if I tape again?
2. S: No problem. [[xxx]] still sleeping. I called him # he drank a lot yesterday.
3. J: ((laughs))
4. S: Maybe you also # he also # can you drink a lot?
5. J: Me?
6. S: Yeah.
7. J: Ehh # depends on the occasion. If I have to do something the day after I do not drink. Do you want something to drink by the way?
8. S: No, no, no, no, no.
9. J: Maybe just a coffee, or # ?
10. S: No, no I am # just from eating before # I ate a lot, that it is. Maybe let's start ehh Yeah. Along the line it will go.
11. J: Yeah. Okay, so ehh # What we're going to do today is ehh # the questions I had last week we're going to continue with those but then a little bit deeper. And ehh # especially focusing on the communication ehh things that you use for contact with friends and family back home. So can you tell me which kind of communication you use ehh # like # which channels?
12. S: Ehh what you mean by channel? What do you [..
13. J: ..] They're like # which ones do you use # like Facebook, Voip, and which ones do you use for what occasion?
14. S: Most of the time I use but my phone ehh? I # like this phone? ((shows me his old Nokia phone))
15. J: Yeah?
16. S: I have like an Ortel simcard.
17. J: Ortel?
18. S: Yeah, Ortel. I # probably it was cheaper but now is no longer cheap. But I have Lyca # is also relatable cheap compared to base, so I always use it for # for the network to be clear. But if I use like mobile Voip, is not so clear. The communication line will not be one hundred percent sure # so most of the time is this one.
19. J: The Ortel? Or the Lyca?
20. S: Yeah. And Facebook is just # tsss # Facebook is when I am relaxing ehh? I don't use # If I have something important to say I don't go to Facebook.
21. J: And Skype?
22. S: Aaah Skype # No I don't communicate with anyone at home on Skype. Except, somebody for academic purposes # or a business purpose. Just like family? No.
23. J: Okay, so which channel do you use with whom then? Like for example, you use Voip for calling your father?

24. S: Yeah, Voip # When the network is clear ehh? Yesterday internet Voip like my laptop or but on my phone.
25. J: And is then # does it depend on the network in Cameroon or the network here?
26. S: Maybe the network # I don't know. Maybe, I don't know. At times it will indicate that poor network, so I don't know which of the networks.
27. J: Okay, yeah. And ehm # Ehhhh # how did you learn about the existence of for example the Ortel and the Lyca sim cards?
28. S: Eeaahh # It is like ehh # pop ups on my computer. At times it just like # for Lyca it was truly internal, like ehm # publicity # people moving around. For something like Ortel, it # like eehmmm # no, on my computer it said call cheap # call Cameroon at a cheaper price. It was like pop-up.
29. J: Okay.
30. S: Naah I don't use it. ((he means he did not use it at that time, so he was interested when he saw the pop-up))
31. J: Okay, and did you also learn it from other Cameroonians who were here before you? Like, do they tell you what kind of channels are cheap and which ones [..
32. S: ..] Yah, yah, when I came here they told me low rate Voip was the cheapest [..
33. J: ..] What was?
34. S: Low rate Voip. ((Articulates very well))
35. J: Okay.
36. S: Low rate Voip is no longer the cheapest, because every day it goes up.
37. J: Okay, so then you discovered the # ehh # Ortel and Lyca by yourself? It is not that someone advised you to [..
38. S: ..] Yeah, no. Yeah, there was other ones like the Hot Voip. There was # It just # Because we have Voip # Voip ehm # different type of Voips. We'll have like Voip Connect, Hot Voip, Low rate Voip, just Voip. There are different type of Voips at different rates. So at times, someone might discover the cheapest one, like the Hot Voip is now very cheap # cheap with a poor network. Low rate Voip is relatively expensive and the network is always good.
39. J: Okay, so it's more expensive but you can talk better [..
40. S: ..] Yeaah, yeah.
41. J: And ehm # So, I guess # I see two cell phones now. How many do you have?
42. S: Two.
43. J: Okay. So, one with Ortel and one Base?
44. S: Yeah.
45. J: Okay, yeah. So, when you first arrived here, did someone advice you on the best ways to keep in touch with Cameroon?
46. S: No, no # no, no.
47. J: So, you found it all out for yourself?
48. S: When I arrived here I was using my phone, my Base phone, and I realized that it was very expensive for me to use that. Then I stopped # I didn't even call again for a while until when # until when I bought a computer. It was a second hand and I saw # I bought it from Amadou, yeah. On the computer I saw some like Low rate Voip business, I saw that [..
49. J: ..] He had used it in the past.
50. S: Yeah.

51. J: Okay. So, if a new Cameroonian would come here now, ehm # would you # what would you advice him to use # or does it depend on where he comes from in Cameroon?
52. S: No, it depends upon the individual, yeah # and also upon of where he comes from, because some people who are in town, ehm # some people have like smartphones, and they have Viber, Facebook on the phone. So, they communicate using Viber and Whatsapp at home # ehm Viber mostly, very cheap. So, it depends on where the family of the person lives.
53. J: Do you use Whatsapp as well?
54. S: Uhh, no. For communication, none of my friends back home use Viber, but some use Viber. I know of people that use Viber to communicate with home. My people are in the # my parents are in the village [..
55. J: ..] Of Ndop, right?
56. S: Yeah. My brothers are in the town, so I don't communicate with them on those internet issues. Just the phone.
57. J: Only the phone. Okay, clear. Ehm, so when you lived in Bamenda, you went to university, right?
58. S: Yeah.
59. J: And was that the University of Bamenda?
60. S: Uhh, Buea.
61. J: Buea. So, you where far away from your family already at that time.
62. S: Uh, yeah. Yeah, I has been always far away from them since secondary school.
63. J: Ahww, okay. And which # How did you stay in contact with them then?
64. S: Yeah, then it was very ease with # ehmm # then at first was not easy. In the ninetynineties it was not easy, because you have to write a letter. Then the networks # the telephones were not so common. You had only fixed line. Then I think ehh about [..
65. J: ..] And your parents had a fixed line in the house?
66. S: No, no, no we didn't have it. Most only # fixed line were for people in town. In about # in the year 2000, 2002 phones where # mobile phones were not very rampant, but I had one. But I couldn't # I couldn't call my parents, because it was very # it was expensive. I just write but letters. Like, when I graduated, my father got a mobile phone because it was not easy. Most people didn't like it, because it was typical in the village you see, a liability # because I have to put credit # some of the people don't want # so my father had one phone and at time communication became very easy. I no longer write him letters.
67. J: Yeah, okay.
68. S: And from there, yeah.
69. J: And do your parents now have internet at their house? Or do they go somewhere?
70. S: No, they don't go to # for any internet. They don't have it at home, they don't go for it.
71. J: So, do you think they know how it works?
72. S: Yeah, my father might probably know, but he doesn't # there is no internet in the whole village, I think.
73. J: Okay, so there is no cyber [..
74. S: ..] Yeah, there is no cyber in # Because half Ndop has other small villages like in Ghent you go right into the suburb. In the village there is no internet. But, no! Now I think ehm # there are some # I don't know how you can call it # you can have internet through like a flash, like a memory stick.
75. J: Oh, yeah! Yeah.

76. S: But then, what the stick contains is sim card.
77. J: Like in a phone?
78. S: Yeah, like that of a phone and then you put in computer. I think that is what some people use home, but my father is not a computer literate, so he can't use that.
79. J: Okay, I see. So, then # what communication platform do you use overall then, here? Like, not only with Cameroonians but just in general?
80. S: Which communication platforms.. Aaahh!
81. J: ((grins))
82. S: In general, I think #
83. J: Is it many?
84. S: No. Yeah, there should be many because, depending upon the time # Most of the time I work and # as for the past I have been working, so I don't have time to # to # when I am working, I prefer to make a call, but if I'm not working I will write on Facebook, or e-mails.
85. J: Yeah, and you use whatsapp.
86. S: Yeah, all of them, Viber, I use all of them.
87. J: Okay. And which is # Sorry for keeping asking, but # which is all of them?
88. S: Eh like # because on my phone I have Viber, I have Whatsapp although lately I have not been using Whatsapp ((Interviewee pronounces Whatsapp as Whatsup)). I use Viber, and Base to communicate with people.
89. J: Okay, and did you # which ones # which ones did you learn about in Belgium? Which ones did you already know?
90. S: Which?
91. J: Which ones did you learn about in Belgium and from whom?
92. S: Ehh # when I first came here I learned of Base. Most of the international students were using Base. I learned from a friend. He said ha okay [[xxx]] [..
93. J: [.. And he was Belgian?
94. S: No, he was an international student. But for most of the Belgian I don't think they use Base. Maybe the other networks.
95. J: Yeah, I think my phone has Base now. ((Looks at phone)) Yeah.
96. S: Your phone is Base?
97. J: Yeah, in Belgium. Normally it is KPN, it is the Dutch variant of Base. But when I go to Belgium it automatically switches over to Base.
98. S: To Base.
99. J: Yeah, yeah. Uhm # yeah, that went kind of quick, because that were sort of the main questions I had.
100. S: Ah, okay.
101. J: Uhm # Let me see. So, why for example # do you # not use Facebook for ehm # business things? Is it too informal?
102. S: Aaah! I, I # I # It is not like too informal # I don't like Facebook to.. Because it is like # Facebook is part of Google. Like you do a # I don't think there is privacy over Facebook. So I don't want to use Facebook if I want to talk about things on business. If I want to talk with my father I don't use Facebook, because my father will see Facebook as less important like [..
103. J: ..] But he has Facebook?

104. S: No, no, no. I know that he # because like # elderly people, they don't go to Facebook. They don't see Facebook. They see that like, a social network # for people maybe # people who wants to get more friends # that wants to get girlfriends. They don't like it.
105. J: Okay.
106. S: And, I had a friend, he doesn't like Facebook. He said 'Okay, Facebook brings # make other people know about you when they were not supposed to know about you, make people envy you'. He deactivated the account, because on Facebook 'what do you do, where do you work, where do you live' so Facebook always gives all this information about you to others. People don't like that.
107. J: So, you want # you are going to delete your Facebook as well?
108. S: No, for me # for me, I don't put such informations on Facebook. So I # at times when I am too busy I deactivate my account, but sometimes Facebook is very good for communication. Maybe it is for some people, for me not.
109. J: Okay. Ehm, so you also have international friends [..
110. S: ..] Yeah, from different countries.
111. J: How do you stay in contact with them?
112. S: Yeah.. ((sighs))
113. J: Also through Voip?
114. S: No, not through Voip. Skype, I think it is Skype.
115. J: Skype. Okay.
116. S: Skype, and they have mobile numbers.
117. J: And in communication with different people, what languages # because last time you told me you speak many languages [..
118. S: ..] Yeah, it depend upon the # in Cameroon I speak but my # In Cameroon it depend upon the person, I can speak the dialect, like the Vengo [..
119. J: ..] Yeah, how do I spell that, because I didn't write that down last time.
120. S: It is like, it is # it is on the internet [..
121. J: ..] I found something that was F-O-N-G-O.
122. S: It is like this ((scribbles down 'Vengo' in my notebook))
123. J: Oh, Vengo. Okay.
124. S: But, I don't really know there are some other spellings. But if you type like this # If you type like this Babongo dialect, it should automatically take you to this.
125. J: Babongo. Okay, I spelled that one correctly, I think. ((laughs))
126. S: Yes, it just is Babongo. Because for me, I also speak the Fulbe, so my father speak both Fulbe # I don't speak English with him, I don't speak Pidgin with my father. It is the dialect that I speak. Those two. And with other people who are not students, I speak but Pidgin.
127. J: And with international students you speak English?
128. S: Yes, they don't know Pidgin. Pidgin is just from Cameroon, Nigeria, and Ghana.
129. J: Okay. Well, I think that was a kind of short interview then, but I guess we have everything. Or ehm # do you have something to add? Do you think 'you should know this' or.. #
130. S: No. I forgot your thesis topic.
131. J: How ehh Cameroonian immigrants stay in contact with their home # with their friends and family, and how the diaspora stays together, like the group of Cameroonian

friends you have now. Like, how you stay together, if you for example 'Aah Voip is # or Low rate Voip # you should use it because it is cheap'.

132. S: Eeerrh, yeah.

133. J: You do that?

134. S: No, it depends. Only if somebody aks. If they don't aks they don't tell.

135. J: Okay, so it is not like you advice each other like 'Oh I found something'.

136. S: If # if you are closer to someone who finds they can tell you # but they don't just # because, different people have their # like for me, I feel like Hot Voip has a poor network, but other people will appreciate it. It depends upon somebody's preference.

137. J: Okay, okay.

138. S: Somebody will also be my # maybe Martial will say that he prefer Facebook, or Amadou, or I don't know. It depends.

139. J: Okay.

140. S: When will Martial be coming here today?

141. J: Martial will not be coming, he is in Brussels today. So today I am meeting you, Amadou, and Chinedou.

142. S: I think Chinedou was at the field, but I did not go there. I was equally in Brussels but I just came back.

143. J: Oh, really?

144. S: I am always on Saturdays in Brussels.

145. J: Oh, I didn't know. You should have told me, we could have met later.

146. S: Ah, from now I go assist a friend, so there is no problem.

147. J: Okay. I will stop recording then and not take any of your time any longer ((switches off recorder as interviewee is departing)).

J = Interviewer

M = Interviewee

[[xxx]] = unidentifiable segment

= short pause

[...] = overlap in turns

((..)) = non-verbal signals

1. J: Okay, I am recording now. It is the 20th of September and I am sitting here with Martial. So, just for the record, because I already know # what do you do # what is your occupation?
2. M: I am a student. I spend most of my time studying. And for my free time # I try to take a stroll # I visit friends, Cameroonian friends, and a few Belgian friends. And ehh # #
3. J: One Dutch friend! One Dutch friend! ((laughs))
4. M: I spend some time on social media or watch news, listen to some music # particularly African music # so not a lot. Just to get in touch you know # what is happening # and ehmm on Saturdays in particular I play football. On Sundays I go to church, I think you know that already. And if there are parties or other occasions # like the one we went to last Saturday [..
5. J: ..] With fellow Cameroonians?
6. M: Yeah. Fellow Cameroonians. And ehm # I always look for a reason to attend one, yep.
7. J: There is one tonight ehh, I think.
8. M: Yeah, there is some graduations. But I don't think I'm gonna be there, because I've got something I need to do # Very urgently tonight.. # ((laughs)) Which is not what you think! But I think it is important for me to handle. I haven't called home for a long while, so # I just want to [..
9. J: ..] And when you call home # do you use the phone, or skype, or..
10. M: Not Skype. I use # ehm the internet of course # but ehm there is a special app, you know.
11. J: Voip?
12. M: Yeah, to call.
13. J: Yeah I had discussed it with Chinedou earlier today.
14. M: Okay, okay, okay.
15. J: Yeah, I didn't know what it was, but now I know.
16. M: I think I used it when I was at your place # When I came to Holland I had to download it, the software. Because I already had some # you know some cash on it, so I only needed to download the software, install my username and stuff.
17. J: Okay. So let's continue with the second question. How do you live # How do you live in Gent? Well, of course I already know that you live in a student house. Do you have like # contact with your neighbors?
18. M: Eeehh # Well, I just moved in. So, I am hoping that I will have a lot of contact with them .
19. J: And with your previous neighbors?
20. M: Yah, a lot of them, yeah. I have ehm # I have the contacts # We get to meet, once in a while # I visit them once in a while. And some of them, you know, have gone back to their countries.
21. J: So do you have # in your spare time, do you have lots of contacts with Cameroonians? Or also non-Cameroonians?

22. M: Ehm, I would say mostly Cameroonians, and then non-Cameroonians I mostly get to meet them during the week, because you know they travel home during the weekends.
23. J: Yeah.
24. M: So it makes sense. At times it is not very easy to get to them
25. J: Do you feel it is hard to get in to the ehh # in-group of Belgians? Because that is what Sainge described # he found it difficult.
26. M: Yeah, it's # it's ehm # It's quite difficult but ehm # at least when you really get to meet with your neighbors and then from there you guys can really # So I think it is easy for me to be with neighbors. Ehm, but what I do now, I get to study with Belgians, and it is very easy for us to meet and communicate and meet up. But in weekends they go home to be with their families and so.. we meet during the week and that's it.
27. J: Okay, okay. And so # how do you feel living in Gent?
28. M: At first it was really strange.
29. J: Why?
30. M: Everything was different from what I had been doing before. I was expecting it to be different but at times you need to really leave it to really understand how different it is. And I think it is # It's more or less normal when # like I used to go to school in Cameroon I was happily at home with my parents # almost all my school I was there with my parents, so by time I just felt that way but now I am somewhere where I need to like ehm # transceive, I can get something going like # let's say like a job too # depends on so much # ehm what else # # I used to live alone in Buea but I mean # I could always go home for the weekend but yeah here [..]
31. J: ..] Yeah, it is not possible.
32. M: It is not really possible, it is not feasible and ehm #
33. J: Do you think that is why Cameroonians here look for other Cameroonians? To hang out with? Or do you think there is a different reason?
34. M: I think it is # It's just normal that ehm # who are your people living in that place. Maybe they are experiencing the same thing as you and they can help you to # you know, move out of that situation and feel comfortable before # you know, I'm going to explore now. I think it is stuff that nobody gets to tell you # it is just feelings # feelings that way and you get to move in that way.
35. J: Like Nicky and I in Limbe.
36. M: Yeah of course. Like # Just like that. It's, you don't find # it doesn't have to be oh it is just them # to meet new people here in Belgium, yeah.
37. J: And how did you meet the other Cameroonians here?
38. M: I think when I came, ehm # Normally before coming it is always good to have some contacts over this way, and that they get to present you to a few # or you find yourself come let's go somewhere and you find other Cameroonians there and you guys get to speak, chat, exchange numbers, exchange addresses and stuff like that.
39. J: But it's mostly guys ehh, here?
40. M: No there's girls too. Girls too.
41. J: Yeah? There are Cameroonian girls?
42. M: Yeah, there are girls.
43. J: Because at the party last week there were [..]

44. M: ...] No, no, there were # there were # most of them were like eh # Maybe they travel, they've gone for holiday or they were working, you know it is Saturday. Some of them get to work then, or go to bars and stuff. On Saturdays, at times it is very easy to find them and at times it is not so easy. Like I told you last week, this was particularly during the holidays when the holidays # there is not a restriction in the number of days you can work, so they get to work most of the time. Most of them want to work at this moment and make some real cash right now and then so during school they can sit down with their books and study and save up for later days.
45. J: Yeah, okay. So, what do you think is the main difference between living here and living back home?
46. M: The main one. Can there just be one main difference?
47. J: No, you can name multiple if you want.
48. M: Okay. I will say, the language # the culture #
49. J: What is so different about the culture? The language I understand #
50. M: Ehm #
51. J: Well, the culture I understand too, but I'd like to hear it from you ((laughs)).
52. M: Okay, okay. As for the culture, I will say # what we think is ehm is not maybe do # not for us to maybe do #
53. J: What do you mean?
54. M: Like ehm # at times I don't feel I can sit somewhere back at home and I get to cross my legs.
55. J: Huh? I don't # I don't understand, sorry.
56. M: You don't get it.
57. J: No.
58. M: Okay, ehm I will say with the culture for us is ehm it is not respectful for us to have your legs crossed, right? When your parents are there.
59. J: Really?
60. M: It is # For us # I don't know, it is just out of respect. You don't get to do that and stuff. I don't think if I do it they are gonna really mind # I mean we grew up in a certain way in school, like we've been taught not to do this and not to do that. At times you just grow with it and you find out that everyone is doing the same thing, so you are like # at first you're shocked to see that it's just very normal here and with time # if you don't live with them you don't understand, yes. So..
61. J: That is the biggest # the biggest cultural difference for you?
62. M: Yeah, that is a cultural difference and ehh # at times you have to look at it and you have to understand that you decide to follow it or not, because it is not the best for me to sit and then cross my legs. If I don't do it here nobody is like # going to care or yeah, so #
63. J: I don't care if you cross your legs ((laughs)).
64. M: Yeah, yeah, of course you don't care, you know. So that is just it. There are other little examples, but I think that you understand really what I maybe mean.
65. J: The relation between parents and kids here, you mean? And then between parents and kids back home.
66. M: Yeah it's far. It is different, though there are some exceptions, you know. I will say for us in, in # I will say for my own situation, when there # you don't get to just chat with your parents. Though, you guys can talk it is not as free as when you grow. When you grow you

can say maybe you are at a university level and you guys really get to open up about some things and discuss # You know, you guys really get to talk as if you're friends. At times there are other situations which come into play. If you lose a parent # and you are like [..

67. J: ..] Like you?

68. M: Yeah, like me # I say for my own case I used to ehh always # Let's say for one time I was like I am gonna go meet my mom and then it was so easy for me to get to my mother # It's also with my dad # But it was like # this man is really too strict and it's just # it's just like that. So when I lost my mom I had no way # no choice other than to talk and discuss with my father. And then # I think it was easy then. What made it easy was that I was getting to university, so I was like, I mean, I have to talk to this man. So, it's just that, but eh you know, I think that I really had a cultural shock. So with time, you just blame everything. If I go back to Cameroon, I think I'm gonna know what I am going to do # At times I will be like [..

69. J: Because people here plan more? Or what do you mean? Do you mean, like, people here are more time conscious and plan ahead than people in Cameroon? Or #

70. M: No, no, no, no, no. I mean if I go home I know what to do. Like, you know, where go to # There are many things that maybe if I do them here I'll not be [[xxx]] because it's disrespectful at times and people respect what they do. At times it is good, if of course it is not harming you # you have to respect some of those things. And I try to accept it in a way # I try to look at it in a way and I choose what I like # and it's okay, it's okay.

71. J: Okay. So what about, you know # like time consciousness or the weather, or [.. Because that is what the others mentioned as a big difference..

72. M: ..] Ooh you guys are well planned, it is like # is like well planned, it is well planned. I think there is this thing of the culture for us when # there is that part of the time where it doesn't # at times here, they say do this, do that, and for some reason someone has to do something late, I don't know why. It is something # it's something that can be done much faster if everything is just like, you know, # [..

73. J: ..] On the same level.

74. M: Yeah, they can do that # at times ehm let me say in a job, of course they could do that, but we seem to confuse the fact that although we may be friends it doesn't mean that business # we need to also put that at the top, ehm #

75. J: So it is a context thing, you think?

76. M: Uhm..

77. J: The time consciousness

78. M: Time consciousness, it's ehm it's really bad. It is really, for us [..

79. J: ..] But it is context related? Because I remember for example, that in CENDEP people would work really hard.

80. M: Yeah, yeah, and come maybe at times early. But sometimes come very late.

81. J: Yeah, but if you have an appointment in your free time I was always waiting like two or three hours before the person would show up. So is it context related?

82. M: I think it's context related because ehm with someone else, let's say someone doesn't know you. You sure to be early, because you want to be on time. At times, just because of the way things are, maybe transportation was not all right or okay, things can happen.

83. J: Yeah.

84. M: Over here it is just not that way.

85. J: I felt really bad that I was an hour late today.

86. M: Yeah you felt really bad, but for us it is just # If I really had something for us like # If you say you were gonna come at six thirty, if I had something to do at six thirty that I really thought was pressing, I would have pushed you away. I would have been like 'oh we should do this on Skype'.
87. J: Yeah, yeah, oh I see. So, eh for the next question. I think # I've asked you already a lot of questions [..]
88. M: ..] Really?
89. J: Yeah, but one is like # how do you spend your free time here?
90. M: Ahh, I hope I am not repeating myself. With friends, Cameroonian friends, maybe on Facebook. At times I get to chat on Facebook with someone, and sometimes I don't have time and I'm like 'let's put it to the weekend, and then we can chat on Skype and all of that'. Yes. And then maybe in the night I can go out.
91. J: You go to night clubs?
92. M: No, once in a while, once in a while. But it has been a very long time since I've been to a night club. Once in a while.
93. J: You remember I took you to a night club in Maastricht?
94. M: Yeah ((laughs))
95. J: ((laughs)).
96. M: Over here, there's an African night club, yeah where we go there, and they get to play all sorts of African music. Some I've never heard before and I'm like I'll look for this on Youtube. I am going to check this out on Youtube. But most of the times we get to do this, you know, in our homes, go to parties [..]
97. J: ..] Ah, like last week?
98. M: Yeah, like last week. Like we # we get a hall, it's just # just a small hall and we get to be there. Because for us when there is a party it is just if there is food # I love food where people [..]
99. J: ..] African food # Cameroonian food.
100. M: Yeah, great. So that we feel the atmosphere from back home.
101. J: Do you think that is why # there is a reason for you # like on the parties, that you try to mimic the situation back home?
102. M: Yeah if we can, we can do that. It is very good.
103. J: And it is because to make you feel at home? Or why?
104. M: Ehm, Maybe. I will just say ehm # there are certain things we just ehm we # a particular situation can only go in one way. Yes. But, maybe some people are going to these parties and here, we do it like this in Cameroon, so why should we change it here? Yeah.
105. J: Yeah, of course. You have the same experience as back home, yeah.
106. M: Yeah.
107. J: And then, when you're all together then, do you speak Pidgin? Or another language?
108. M: Pidgin.
109. J: Pidgin.
110. M: Yeah, Pidgin.
111. J: And what languages do you speak in general?
112. M: Ehm, I also speak Pidgin, generally # you mean with Cameroonians, Belgians, or?
113. J: Just overall. Like, what kind of languages are in your repertoire?

114. M: Okay, okay, okay. English, Pidgin, French. As for Dutch, I'm still thinking of when I am going to learn that one. It's really gonna be ehm #
115. J: Yeah, but the question is if it is necessary.
116. M: Yeah.. #
117. J: Maybe for a job.
118. M: Well, ehm, at times we have # though I wanted to say someone's # one person's experience is generalized to others, but it gets really frustrating when someone learns the language # you know, there are some stages like level one, level two.. # Then you reach a very high level and because you apply for something, and they say it is not that good you know, they go like 'okay, show proof of Dutch proficiency'. And you cannot show that, en they are like 'it is not that good, you can't have this'. And you're like demoralized. And then you come back and people ask why you feel this way? And then you just say that story, and the others are like # it should just be where it is. If you finish I will be leaving this place and you know.
119. J: So, do you feel welcome here in Ghent? Like, by the Belgian people?
120. M: I think yeah, I think ehm # [..
121. J: ..] You feel comfortable living here?
122. M: Yeah, I think with time you get, you get comfortable. Uhm # maybe at times you will have some trouble # uhm # trying to get something, because maybe in the past, you know, I wouldn't hide the fact that there have been some like, some things that # locally or maybe generalized can # uhm # Something must have happened to them that they have seen, and they are like # No, for me to ever get a black is not happening. Sometimes for housing, you see, you want to rent a place. You have the cash and everything, but they just tell you it is taken. When of course that is not the case. And then you come and if someone is coming to the same place for an interview and the room is given to that person it is you are feeling tired # just because you are black and stuff # maybe something must have happened. I don't want to come up and say someone is racist or something # It is always going to be around there maybe something must have happened to this person [..
123. J: ..] Yeah, like my landlord in Maastricht, I don't know if you have met him?
124. M: Not sure, no, not sure.
125. J: I don't think so. Anyway, he used to be there a lot and # Okay you didn't meet him. But he, he didn't like having tenants from Southern Europe, because he said they're not time conscious, so they # for me I pay the rent # and I had some German house mates and they pay the rent like, on a certain date. And they were just like # you know, ehm # # and they just paid the rent like a couple of days later, you know. Or a month later ((laughs))
126. M: ((Giggles)).
127. J: And it is not that they couldn't pay it.. # It was just that they were not that time conscious as he was used to, and he couldn't deal with that.
128. J: But so # So when you call with your father through Voip, or with other people back in Limbe, or when you talk to Augustin, what language do you speak?
129. M: Ehm Pidgin.
130. J: Pidgin. Always Pidgin.
131. M: Not always, but most of the time it will be Pidgin.
132. J: And, and # and Banson?

133. M: No,no, I hardly speak the dialect with them. Yeah. So, with my dad I speak mostly English, because # I just think it is better that way, for me. To express myself better. He doesn't really know Pidgin that well.
134. J: No?
135. M: Yeah.
136. J: How come?
137. M: It is possible. There are people who do not # [..
138. J: ..] Oh, of course, of course.
139. M: There are people who every day get to meet people who only speak English and ehm # he decided to know some Pidgin because he was like # there are many things that could be done in a certain manner much more cheaper [..
140. J: ..] when you speak Pidgin.
141. M: Yes. Especially for those if you have # let's say you want to go meet a mechanic # I mean you get to # that Pidgin should really be there, because if you go to some sort of specialist # where you need to use Pidgin, it is the same thing the guy is doing. The guy doesn't know # let me say the less educated person maybe, for let's say one third of the price. So it is ehh # #
142. J: So if I want to build a house in Cameroon I need to speak Pidgin with the people who are going to build my house.
143. M: No, but it is better. Because, when you speak English, they will just come and look at you, and put a price on your head. Okay, you can pay this, you want this? You can pay this.
144. J: Yeah, I had that in the market.
145. M: Yes! You know the mouth really gets to play out. And it happens here also.
146. J: Yeah?
147. M: Yes! Because when I go # there is a certain market, second hand shops, you know that?
148. J: Yeah.
149. M: At times when you go there # maybe # sometimes they put prices when they see the people and then you try to # you try to debate the price. And when you begin to debate the price # you begin to debate it and then you say something in Dutch, and then they like it and the price drops ((laughs))
150. J: ((laughs)).
151. M: But in the supermarket the prices are really #
152. J: Yeah, they're fixed.
153. M: yeah. I mean before coming they give you these brochures, so you're like 'let's go over there'. And then when we get there you cannot debate the price.
154. J: Or like, if you # You get brochures in school about that?
155. M: Ehm, it is on the website. You can find the things. One of us from Cameroon he saw that # I just started laughing. I said okay, okay. In Cameroon it is funny when you don't debate the price and just go pay. You look at the price and if you can pay it is fine. If not, then you debate.

At this point we ordered some food, and discussed a little more on the price of foods. After we had finished the meal, we went to sit outside and continued the interview.

156. M: I forgot to mention that besides Voip, some people use # I in particular and some of my friends # we use Viber, or Whatsapp. It is easy to text, and it is far cheaper than Voip. And there is this particular # have you heard of Lyca? Lyca mobile? Yes?
157. J: Yeah, yeah, yeah.
158. M: Yes. So, many people use it because we pay, pay # Voip is good and cheap, but the problem is you need an internet connection.
159. J: Yeah, yeah.
160. M: But, with Lyca you can almost pay the same price as for Voip, but you do not need an internet connection. So, I can just pick up my phone and if I have got a Lyca sim I can just that and I can just call. And then Lyca gives you more possibilities to chat with someone who is even here in Belgium or across Europe. They give you several free minutes. You can use that and call and call, and chat and chat. At times it is unlimited, you just # At times it is just unlimited, except when you have to call that your family at home. You discover that when they don't have the internet you can still make the call and really talk.
161. J: So, what if you # When you # when you chat with Augustin, what kind of channel do you use?
162. M: I hardly call him again on Voip. I just use Facebook because he is always connected.
163. J: ((laughs)) He is, isn't he?
164. M: Yeah, he is always connected for some reason. ((laughs)) And eh, he is connected at eh [..
165. J: ..] Yeah, it is true! You can come online at like three AM in the night and Augustin is there.
166. M: Then Augustin is there, yes. So, it is # At times I understand with Facebook it is disconnected and it still shows I am online for ten, fifteen minutes. But it shouldn't be a co.. # For me, I think it is no longer a coincidence finding Augustin at a certain time, online. That is just what I wanted to point out, you know. Social media is more easy, it is very free these days. So, people more # even in Cameroon # they get smartphones, a very basic smartphone which can download those things and then # I think with Viber it is.. # but Voicemail now, you can call and say something, and then you let it go.
167. J: You think it is just youngsters? Like us?
168. M: Yes. I think mostly youngsters, I spoke to my dad and I was like 'Hey, can you get something like Viber and stuff'. He's got a good smartphone with internet, but.. #
169. J: ((laughs)) He has no idea what you are talking about?
170. M: No, he may go and find it, but I think he just wants to call. I don't know why. I don't know why. And ehm # in my home calling a mobile phone # you're calling an MTN # Let me say you are calling an MTN number, or an Orange number # It is far more expensive than calling to Camtel.
171. J: Oh really?
172. M: Yeah.
173. J: What is Camtel? I only knew Orange and MTN.
174. M: Okay, Camtel is # ehm #
175. J: Is it the Cameroonian telephone company?
176. M: Yes. Actually, yes. It is by the Cameroonian government, but I think, the thing is that ehm # [..

177. J: ..] Like Base here?
178. M: Base? It is not like Base.
179. J: Oh.
180. M: They got a mobile service too. But you mostly use Camtel to put for # for fixed phones they mostly # # Camtel # Camtel is mostly used in Cameroon. I think Camtel is the only provider in Cameroon supplying internet. They supply # So they supply the internet to MTN and Orange. Although. MTN and Orange advertise it in such a way that you would never know it is Camtel who does it ehh # who is like selling it to them or something.
181. J: So, like the internet key Eric had, is it from Camtel?
182. M: It is Camtel, yes. It is Camtel.
183. J: Okay, I understand.
184. M: Yeah, now you understand. Camtel. It could be from MTN, but know that every internet connection that we have comes from Camtel. It is just that [..
185. J: ..] They have a monopoly position in Cameroon.
186. M: Yes. So, since we have a Camtel phone at home I mostly try to reach the family through Camtel. Yah, I know it is boring and if they are not there I am like, Okay what number are they picking up? Then I try an Orange number or a mobile # an MTN number, but it is very expensive.
187. J: I know, because I call Eric sometimes on # for example his birthday and I called him. And I only have like his regular cell number. So, but it is crazy. It is like fifty euros for ten # well not even ten minutes.
188. M: With Camtel ehm # If I am to call a Camtel number it is nine cents. Just imagine! How long am I going to talk? Let's say I can call now maybe home and if my kid sister is at home, because she goes to university and comes back home during the weekend. I sit and take that phone # take that phone with me and I'm gonna talk and we keep talking and talking and talking and talking and talking and talking and talking and talking ((laughs)).
189. J: ((Laughs)). So do you have contact with them often? Like on a daily or weekly basis, or montly basis?
190. M: I would say ehm # Well my kid brother is not ehm # social media savvy, or he just maybe hates to be like all the time online and # even if I will like it I would not have the time to be online all the time. Because I just have something I have to do, so not all the time I get to talk to them. If I meet one of them online when I am with my phone, when I have some free time, you get to talk.
191. J: So, weekly? You would say?
192. M: Yeah, weekly, because I'll aks # How is this person? How is that person? You know, stuff like that.
193. J: Okay. I Skyped with Augustin recently. And it was crazy to hear his voice again. I was like 'Aaaah I hear your voice' and he goes 'Aaahh I hear you too!'. But the connection was really bad.
194. M: That is the thing. The connection is bad, so what I do now is eh # I use a voicemail. That is an application on Whatsapp or on Viber.
195. J: And do you ever use the Facebook calling option?
196. M: I hate it. I hardly do it. I used to do it, but [[xxx]]

197. J: Yeah I don't use it either. Eric uses it, so # because Lahm always likes # he loves it # they put on the webcam and then he can see me and I make crazy faces and he laughs # so it is funny, but I prefer Skype. But they don't have Skype.
198. M: Who doesn't have Skype?
199. J: Eric.
200. M: Why? What is the reason people don't have Skype?! It is there for free so ((laughs))
201. J: I don't know. He always uses the Facebook calling option.
202. M: I think it is like # opening Facebook, opening Skype, maybe it is # # I don't usually like the Facebook calling.
203. J: No, me neither. The connection is even worse than [..
204. M: ..] Yeah. Well, I think, when I want to talk to Cameroon, especially with my dad # When we have decided we are gonna be using the Internet # I use eh # Yahoo messenger.
205. J: You use what?
206. M: Yahoo Messenger. To chat with my dad.
207. J: What messenger?
208. M: Yahoo. You know Yahoo messenger?
209. J: No.
210. M: No?
211. J: Oh, Yahoo messenger?
212. M: Yes!
213. J: No, I have a hotmail account. No Yahoo.
214. M: Ah, okay, okay, okay. I use Yahoo messenger and eh #
215. J: Is it like MSN?
216. M: I don't think.
217. J: Or you know MSN?
218. M: I know MSN but I don't know about the messenger stuff. It is free # free messaging or something. But for us # I use Yahoo messenger # lot of connections get really bad on Facebook and I can call during Yahoo messenger, so no matter how bad the messenger they always go through.
219. J: Do you also use Badoo or something? Because I got a Badoo invite from you like a year back or something.
220. M: Then that is gonna be a [..
221. J: ..] a scam?
222. M: Yes.
223. J: Good that I didn't accept. I didn't know what it was and I just thought I am not going to use that.
224. M: Well, I have some friends who use Badoo, but it is # I am not there with them.
225. J: Do you # what is it?
226. M: I don't know. I don't know. I think it's well # what I thought it was # It's a sort of application where you link maybe your Hotmail, your Facebook, everything so it is just one application.
227. J: Ah, so it is like Gmail? Because with Gmail you have the same. Everything synchronizes with your gmail. That is why I don't like Gmail.
228. M: Ah, ok. I didn't know.

229. J: Yeah, it synchronizes like Facebook, and Google +, and all that stuff.
230. M: I have Gmail, but I don't just want to install so many things, you know?
231. J: Yeah, I know. It's crazy. Do you have Twitter?
232. M: Yeah. I have a Twitter account.
233. J: Oh yeah, I am following you.
234. M: Yes. That is it. But I hardly Tweet.
235. J: Yeah, I hardly use it either.
236. M: I hardly tweet, I am just like # I need jobs and ((laughs))
237. J: Uhuhh. Well, for that Twitter is quite good.
238. M: Yes. Jobs online, okay. But it is the same. You are following me and I'm just like # #
239. J: I got some funding opportunities for the NGO I work for now through Twitter.
240. M: Okay. So are you # are you gonna come back next week?
241. J: Well it depends on who is here and who has time. Because I now already know that
you're not going to be here, but maybe Chinedou or Sainge.. Can you check what time it is?
242. M: He has send me a message four minutes ago.
243. J: Who?
244. M: Chinedou.
245. J: Oh.
246. M: I think this thing on vibration doesn't help me that much.
247. J: Turn the sound on.
248. M: Yeah.
249. J: But what time is it then?
250. M: 18.30
251. J: 18.30 Okay.

After realizing I had to catch the train soon, we walked to the train station together and I went back to Tilburg.

J = Interviewer

M = Interviewee

[[xxx]] = unidentifiable segment

= short pause

[...] = overlap in turns

((..)) = non-verbal signals

1. J: ..] short interview today.
2. M: Okay.
3. J: So last time we talked about languages and communication things, and this week I wanted to go deeper into that. Could you tell me one more time what it is you use in order to stay in touch with your friends and family in Cameroon?
4. M: Ehm # I think I use ehm # apps, like Voip # Low rate Voip or # at times I get to use Viber, Whatsapp, sometimes Skype. At least I will know that the connection is not that good, but most of the times I use Voip to stay in connection with the family and to call them.
5. J: And do you use different kinds of Voip like Low rate and what's # what's [..
6. M: ..] Not different kinds # I think just Low rate Voip. I know there are so many types, but [..
7. J: ..] Oh there are different types?
8. M: Yeah there are different types, but I prefer using Low rate Voip.
9. J: Because it is the cheapest?
10. M: Ehm # Yeah it's is cheap # and then they give you free days I think to call # sometimes you can call the US for free, you call any number in the US for free, so if I got friends there I only need to know when they are available and I can decide to make a call and then # that's just it. That is just it.
11. J: Okay, thank you. So, ehm # what are your reasons for using the things you just mentioned? Like, for example ehh # why do you use Voip or Skype or Whatsapp or ehh stuff like that instead of ehh # calling or ehh Facebook?
12. M: I use that because ehm # I am aware that ehm # Internet is not that cheap in Cameroon, and ehm # at times you just want to # you know, just pass on a message quickly, or you guys get to talk, or the fact that maybe even though that person is on the internet they may be reluctant to use maybe Facebook and things like that, so it's just # you do not want to give chance to # how do I put it # ehm # You want to make sure you get it to the person you are talking to # Yeah, because # I can say # we've got internet at home, but for some reason nobody is # for some reason nobody really cares, trying to use Facebook. Maybe they are tired or something, and then the phone you can just put on the loud speaker and you're talking, and talk, and talk, and stuff like that. And then, Voip for me is cheaper to use to call Cameroon, since ehm # as I told you last time, to call using Camtel is about ehh # nine cents per, per minute. So it's quite cheap, yeah.
13. J: And the connection is good?
14. M: It can be good. At times it can be # it can be bad. I think Camtel is # it's ok.
15. J: So you usually contact your family in # in Buea? And in Limbe, right? Or your family in Limbe I mean, and maybe friends in Buea [..
16. M: ..] Not really. I hardly use Voip to call friends. I can use Whatsapp and stuff. I mean, it's family, so ((laughs)) So I think my friends, they're more into ehm # using you know, Internet on your phone, so they kind of use # they also want to be able to chat with you freely. So they can just pay for the internet and then download the Whatsapp, Viber [..
17. J: ..] In Cameroon?
18. M: Yeah. With the phones.
19. J: So it really improved since 2011?
20. M: Yeah it's improved! It's improved. It's improved.

21. J: So, when I was in your room, I saw that you have like four # four cell phones.
22. M: What four cell phones?
23. J: Yeah, they were on the # ehh shelf above your desk. There were like three or four cell phones I think.
24. M: Yeah.
25. J: Do you all use them?
26. M: No.
27. J: Ah, okay. I thought, maybe you have like one for Lyca, one for [..
28. M: I don't have a Lyca sim.
29. J: Okay.
30. M: Yeah. Well, those phones are bad. And I'm like # thinking of what I'm gonna do with them.
31. J: ((laughs))
32. M: Still thinking.
33. J: Well, there's an initiative in, in in Holland. Maybe there's something similar in Belgium. It is called Ecophone and you can turn in your cell phones you do not want anymore and if they're still working you might even get like some money for them.
34. M: Okay?
35. J: And then they send them to Africa to people who cannot afford a phone, ehm # and yeah, they give it to them.
36. M: Okay! I will look into that.
37. J: Maybe that is something to consider.
38. M: I will look into that.
39. J: I think it is called ecophone or something.
40. M: Ecophone. I will just check. ((We ordered something to drink, I got a tea and the interviewee took my cookie))
41. J: Yeah, you can have my cookie. ((laughs))But, ehm # ehh, let me check. Oh yeah, how did you learn about these things that you are using now?
42. M: Okay. I would say eh # Low rate Voip, when I came here, I urgently wanted to make eh # like pass information back home that # for them to know that I ehm [..
43. J: ..] Safely arrived.
44. M: Okay. Yeah, I arrived safely, or maybe there were some things that maybe ehh at the time, I couldn't just get back from home. Maybe, some money I didn't maybe just # it was very difficult for me to open an account from Cameroon here. So, with time you're like 'Okay, I wanna pass information quickly', and then # # and then ehm, yeah # Cameroonians who were here were like 'Okay you can use this app. I am sure I learned it from someone, but I didn't know who..
45. J: No, I don't need to know names, but you learned it from another Cameroonian?
46. M: Yeah, it was that. Why, the Whatsapp and the other ones are # I mean the internet and all that. At times you just browse your phone to check on apps and you are like 'free calls and free messages'and I am like 'Okay let me try this one!' ((laughs)). You begin using that. That is just it.
47. J: Okay. Thank you! Ehm, so eh # which providers do you use if you call ehh # oh no you said you only use Voip, right? To call to Cameroon?
48. M: To call to Cameroon, yeah.
49. J: Okay. And eh # What would you advise other people to use? Like, for example if their connection is not good enough for Skype or # Voip is also an option, right? Let's say you # your father would live in the village or something?
50. M: Yeah, I'll use Voip to just get in touch directly with him on his # on his cell phone. Because I know him, the way he behaves, and he may have internet but you will not find him going on Facebook to # or Skype to # you know, chat and stuff like that. Maybe he is like tired after a whole day and yeah.
51. J: Yeah. So what then is the difference between Voip and Viber?

52. M: Ehm # the difference with them is ehm with Voip you # I think # I literally have to pay money to be able to make a communication to my dad. Ehm I think Voip works the same as Viber. I think it is the same thing. But, with em # if you have a Voip app on your phone, I can call you for free, you see? But, you will not find him downloading those things, and ehm # yeah, he wouldn't # he wouldn't be doing that, so I just have no choice but to call him.
53. J: So do you think you contact your family most? Or your friends? Or who?
54. M: Ehm, I will say I talk mostly to my friends and then my family when I think they are mostly available. Let's say in the evenings or during the weekends, and yeah.
55. J: Okay. Yeah, another question was 'where did you go to university'? But that doesn't apply to you because I know you went to university.
56. M: ((laughs))
57. J: Aaaand, ehm # but how did you communicate with your family for example when you were in university?
58. M: I used to call! Always with my mobile phone, yeah.
59. J: Ah okay. Just through MTN or Orange?
60. M: Yeah, I just used to call # # I'll call or pay, you know. And I enter a taxi. You know just enter a bus and go to Limbe. They're like 'Ey! You've come back home!' and I'm like 'Yeah, I'm back home' ((laughs)).
61. J: ((laughs)).
62. M: And that is it. Just like that.
63. J: Okay. Ehm, what forms of communication did you use when you were still living in Cameroon?
64. M: To communicate with?
65. J: Just any person.
66. M: Ehm # # I'll say mobile phone and then ehm # maybe # the internet? But not as much as I use my phone.
67. J: Okay.
68. M: Yeah. Maybe with the phone I could text, or just call, yeah.
69. J: And Facebook and everything, of course.
70. M: Well, Facebook was just to # # you post a picture, you go there and you check and # maybe if you have friends abroad okay, they didn't call. Maybe they wouldn't call, they will be like 'Hey mate, come at this time and let's chat online' and stuff like that, and then I sit at home with my Laptop, I put in the Camtel key, and I'm like waiting and checking and [..
71. J: ..] Oh you had a Camtel key?
72. M: Yeah, yeah I had a Camtel key, so just that.
73. J: Okay, well thank you! That were actually all my questions for today.
74. M: Okay!
75. J: So I'll just switch off the recording thingy now.
76. M: Okay.

J = Interviewer

C = Interviewee

[[xxx]] = unidentifiable segment

= short pause

[...] = overlap in turns

((..)) = non-verbal signals

1. J: Ok, I am recording now.
2. C: All right.
3. J: I think we might have to ... speak up a little because of the stupid loud music.
4. C: yep, yep ((clears throat)).
5. J: So, as I said, this is just a little informal interview to get to know you a little bit better, the languages you use and everything.
6. C: yeah.
7. J: Ehm, So you are ok with me recording it, right? Just for.. [...]
8. C: ...]That is perfect, that is perfect.
9. J: ((Laughs)) Ok. Thank you! So, what do you do in your daily life?
10. C: Do in my daily life? Like.. [...]
11. J: ..]Yeah, I.. I, you already told me what you do, but just for the.. [...]
12. C: ..] Ok for the.. Ok. I get up in the morning, get a shower, go to work [...]
13. J: ..] No I mean, for your work and [...]
14. C: Aah, for my work!
15. J: Yeah
16. I do data analysis for # for clinical trials. For the EU. So the # ehh Ok, we.. we, let me say in four years time [...]
17. J: Hmm hmm ((Nods head))
18. C: ..] We will have data from breast cancer patients. For cohorts all over Europe. Then I'll do the data analysis. For the mean time, I am just working in cohorts that are available.
19. J: Sorry, you work where?
20. C: On cohorts. Like, ehm # how do I call it, a group of patients, data that has been collected before.
21. J: Ah! Yeah yeah.
22. C: Yes so, that is what I do daily. Yeah, yeah.
23. J: Cool! That is your PhD, right?
24. C: That is my PhD, yeah.
25. J: Super! So, and that is why you live in Gent? [...]
26. C: ..] Yes.
27. J: You just told me upon arrival that you live right across the station # but, is it # do you live in a student house? Or # how do you live?
28. C: I live in an apartment.
29. J: By yourself?
30. C: No, it is a studio. [[xxx]]

31. J: Ah, ok. So you live by yourself? Ok.
32. C: Yes.
33. J: And do you have contact with your neighbours?
34. C: Not at all. No. ((Laughs)).
35. J: ((laughs)) So just with the other Cameroonians?
36. C: Yes.
37. J: Ok. Cool. Haha, at this rate, the questions are going pretty quick.
38. C: yes ((laughs)).
39. J: So, how do you spend your free time?
40. C: Ehh # #
41. J: Playing soccer? ((laughs))
42. C: Well, I only play soccer on Saturdays. Yes, but after work, I watch movies and series. And ehh # yeah, that is it.
43. J: Ok, so # when you play football, is it also with Cameroonians? Or with Belgians or [..
44. C: ..] With with Cameroonians and some Ghanians.
45. J: And some?
46. C: Ghanians.
47. J: Aaah, ok. And then you communicate in # Pidgin? Or in English? With the Ghanians.
48. C: Ok # We communicate in English, we do not understand the kind of Pidgin we speak. [..
49. J: ..] Because it is different?
50. C: yes, but within Cameroonians it is all Pidgin.
51. J: Ok, good. Ehm # so what do you think is the main difference between your life here and your life in Cameroon?
52. C: Eehhh # aahhm # The main difference, I think my life here is kind of sad.
53. J: oohh! What do you mean?
54. C: It is, it is! It is kind of # I feel lonely. I only see people in the weekends. And if I talk to friends it is on the phone. But in Cameroon, it is just # I # it is very informal. We just drop by a friend's house and, yeah.
55. J: So, after work # you do not go # go for a drink or # dinner with coworkers or something?
56. C: No. No. My colleagues are kind of not really friends, but some colleagues are friends. It does not happen that often that you # we go to drink something. So, after work, it is going home.
57. J: And watch movies.
58. C: And watch movies, yes.
59. J: So, you are like a movie expert now ((laughs))
60. C: Kind of! ((laughs)).
61. J: Ehm # yeah well, that already kind of answers the next question # because that is how does it feel to live here # in Ghent?
62. C: # yeah. It kind of answers it, yeah. How does it feel to live here in Ghent. But, I must say, it is not all that bad news. It is # I get money. I am way richer than in Cameroon, and that makes me happy. So, I am indeed happy ((laughs)).
63. J: ((laughs)).
64. C: I can help family back at home, I can solve real problems. So it is, better than being in Cameroon, in the Belgian [[xxx]].

65. J: yeah, yeah. Yeah. But personally, what would you prefer? You think you are going back to Cameroon after your PhD?
66. C: If I get a job there. So, when I am going to go depends on where I get to work.
67. J: yeah, yeah. I see. So you still communicate with people back home, right?
68. C: yes, a lot.
69. J: On a daily basis?
70. C: weekly basis, I should say.
71. J: And, what kind of channels do you use? Like, Facebook? Or Skype?
72. C: I use Skype a lot. And Facebook not at all. Skype, and I use Voip. Do you know about Voip?
73. J: Yeah, I heard about it # But I am not quite sure what it is.
74. C: It is calling with the internet. So # it is a little cheaper than using the service providers like Base and # do you have Base in Holland?
75. J: No. No, we have KPN. But I think it is similar. It is ehh [..
76. C: ..] Yeah, it is using the local service providers [..
77. J: ..] Yeah, because I see that now, now I have Base on my phone instead of KPN. But then, what is the difference between Voip and Skype?
78. C: Voip you # Ok, Skype # you can Skype someone's computer and you if you want to call a cell phone with Skype you need to pay extra money, but calling a computer is free. So, in calling a phone # Voip only calls phones.
79. J: Aah, ok! From the computer?
80. C: Yes, from the computer, and you have to pay. It is kind of similar with when you call cell phones.
81. J: I see, aah. And you said you do that # like # on a weekly basis?
82. C: On a weekly basis, yes.
83. J: And then, Voip and Skype are the only channels you use?
84. C: Yes, those are the only channels # only channels.
85. J: ok. And then you contact like # family # friends?
86. C: No mostly family.
87. J: And then you speak in Pidgin?
88. C: We speak in Pidgin, yes. And sometimes the dialect.
89. J: Where in Cameroon where you from again? What dialect is that?
90. C: From Bamenda.
91. J: Oh yes, of course. You have told me. So the dialect is Bansa?
92. C: No. it is Meta. Mbengwi, do you know Mbengwi?
93. J: No.
94. C: It is Meta # Ok # the clan is Meta.
95. J: ok.
96. C: Yes, you might not have heard about it.
97. J: No. So is it a small clan?
98. C: Yes. It is big. It is really huge. Yeah.
99. J: Ok, good. # I heard about the Bansa, the Bamileke #
100. C: The Bamileke # yeah. Meta is kind of like that big too.
101. J: Ok. Hmm I did not hear about it. Interesting. ((Laughs)).
102. J: So ehm # I was also wondering # How did you meet the other Cameroonians here?

103. C: Ok, good question. Because, most of them I did not know them in Cameroon. So, when we get here, we get parties to meet fellow Cameroonians. So [..
104. J: ..] Organized by the school?
105. C: No, organized by other Cameroonians that have been here.
106. J: But then, how did they know you were here? Like, how did you get the invite?
107. C: Ah ok! Then, you get it informally from a friend that informs a friend, and they knew that new # because # for me when I got like my room that I rented for the first year # I contacted a friend from Cameroon.
108. J: You knew him before you came here?
109. C: Yes, I did not know him personally, but I knew someone who knew him. So, I contacted him to come pick me up from the airport. And that is # so all the information that I got came from him. Yes, yeah.
110. J: So, that is # would these things also be the reason you think that there is like a really strong eh Cameroonian community here? Of Cameroonians?
111. C: I think [..
112. J: ..] You all help each other?
113. C: Yes. Yes, we all help each other. And sometimes they step on your toes too.
114. J: ((laughs)) What do you mean?
115. C: You know, when we are all here, we want to do jobs too, because you have to send money back home. Very important! And you have to survive. Because you are not on a scholarship. Ok, right now I have a scholarship, but I have also worked like that before.
116. J: Aha, like Martial.
117. C: Like Martial, yes. But then, you got to go to the interims. You know the interims?
118. J: No ((shakes head)).
119. C: Offices that stand between you and the job provider, like companies. And you get jobs there and you go # but your friends will always go there and go # he is sick # he cannot work. Just to get [..
120. J: ..] Oh really?
121. C: Yeah, so sometimes # it is really really really [..
122. J: ..] and then they are still your friends?
123. C: There is nothing you can do.
124. J: ((laughs)) I would be really angry with my friends!
125. C: Yeah, so it is a kind of a jungle. People want to survive. But you know, when you want to survive, you do anything to survive. They are not really bad people.
126. J: Ok, I understand now. So # do you think that # the community of Cameroonians here # do you try to mimic home? # Or is it like # just # a couple of Cameroonians living in Ghent?
127. C: It kind of mimics home. But I think the relationship is a little bit stronger then back at home, because we are few, and there is the need to talk to people. Back at home, when I do not know you, I do not know you. And then there is nothing.
128. J: Yes, I understand. And then, do you think # If I get too personal, please # just tell me.
129. C: No no no no no, just do [..
130. J: ..] But what kind of things do you discuss then? Like # what # do you compare Ghent to Cameroon? Or just things you experienced?

131. C: Let me see, what is # ehm # what do we discuss. Just really random things.
132. J: Ok. Like # when I was in Cameroon, there was another Dutch girl. I did not know her before, but she and I got to meet each other also through a common friend.
133. C: Yeah?
134. J: And ehm # we loved hanging out, you know. Just to discuss things we found were strange in Cameroon compared to home and then [..
135. C: ..] Aah yeah! I think we do something like that, yeah. Yeah, we compare things # we make jokes # like this is not home, you know? Yeah.
136. J: So you miss it # Cameroon?
137. C: Yeah I miss Cameroon a lot!
138. J: What do you miss the most?
139. C: Well, I miss food, the food is something. And then I miss the time, because in Cameroon I had a lot of time. But in Belgium no time. And I miss company of family and friends. Because friends are never substituted. You have some friends that cannot be substituted, so I miss that.
140. J: Of course, yeah. So, you know # last week, when Serge had his wife coming over # do you also have a wife back home?
141. C: No. ((laughs)) why are you asking me that? Is that part of your interview?
142. J: ((laughs)) Hahaha, well we are all through the questions I had prepared, so I am thinking of questions, and I can imagine it must be very hard if there is a wife back home #to communicate. And with my research question, it would have been very interesting to how you keep in touch.
143. C: Yeah, yeah.
144. J: Ehm, so the friends you have here, are they all Cameroonians? Or # like # your coworkers # your friends #
145. C: Eh, yeah. I have some of my coworkers that are my friends too # they are Belgian. I also have friends from Ghana.
146. J: Of course, the football players.
147. C: The football players, yes. # some of them. And then from Nigeria. Okay, I have a really good friend from Nigeria # yes.
148. J: And you meet them through church?
149. C: No, when I am used to # not in church # but at school. I used to work in the school restaurant. So # we met every evening. So it was really [..
150. J: ..] Cool. Uhuhh.
151. C: Yeah.
152. J: And you go to church here, right?
153. C: Yeah I go to church.
154. J: Is it also just Cameroonians?
155. C: Well, I go to a South-African church. It is # yes but # most Cameroonians go to the Cameroonian church.
156. J: Okay, so there is a Cameroonian church here?
157. C: Yes, there is. Yeah.
158. J: Ok.
159. C: Yes, but [[xxx]] I go to a South African church, yeah.

160. J: But why then to you go to a South-African church? I mean # again # if it is too personal, please stop me.
161. C: No, it is ok.
162. J: Why do you go to the South-African church if there is a Cameroonian church?
163. C: Yeah, because # that kind of Christian # at a certain point in time # I begin to wonder if God exists, you know?
164. J: Ah, yes, I know.
165. C: And I want things to change # Are you a Christian?
166. J: Officially, yes.
167. C: Officially? Ehh #
168. J: I don't practice # I don't go to church on Sundays. But I was baptized, and I did my communion, and the second communion. And # I go to church like # when someone dies or gets married. But I do not believe that # to be a good Christian you have to be in Church. Like # in Cameroon# the first church benches # are usually just taken by the rich people.
169. C: Yeah, yes.
170. J: Well, I once had a teacher # and she said # ehm # going to church on Sundays does not make you any more Christian than standing in a garage makes you a car ((laughs)).
171. C: ((Laughs)). Than standing in a garage makes you a car?
172. J: Yeah. ((Laughs)).
173. C: Oh, that is true.
174. J: So just # eh # be a good person. It is fine.
175. C: Ok.
176. J: I try that, you know. I try to be a good person. And I think there is good things and bad things in almost every religion.
177. C: yeah, I think people are kind of ehh # misinterpreting lots of things from the holy books.
178. J: Yes. From all holy books.
179. C: yes.
180. J: But this is interesting # because # usually, the Cameroonians I meet are quite # quite religious.
181. C: Quite religious.
182. J: Yes.
183. C: Yes. I # well # I must say # sometimes I want things to be objective you know? I want to see things the way # if there is a Cameroonian church # but these are the things I was hearing since I was born # and now that I am much more decisive for myself # I kind of want something original, you know? I do not want people to recite things. So this guy # from South Africa # I think he says well # the kind of things I want to hear. So [..
184. J: ..] Okay. Yes # in Cameroon # on Saturdays # the pastor would just come to our house and tell me to be there tomorrow morning. ((laughs))
185. C: ((laughs)) he was very seriously. And did you go to church?
186. J: I went like four or five times # I think. And then I did not go for a couple of times # and then the pastor would come back and [..
187. C: ..] insist that you have to be there.
188. J: yes, yes. ((laughs))
189. C: ((laughs)).

190. C: Things like that will change, I think with time # more and more Cameroonians will really ask the same questions I am asking. You know? Why do you do these things? I am still Christian, yes. But I think when you start asking questions, does God really exist? Then you # you are getting there.
191. J: ((laughs)). I don't know if he exists. We will see.
192. C: Okay, okay. At this point in time I still strongly believe he exists, yes ((laughs)).
193. J: I do not know. But just in case, we will be good persons ((laughs))
194. C: But that is it, you know? We are not being good for God, we are being good for ourselves. That is the point.
195. J: For ourselves, yes. And the people around us.
196. C: Hmm uhuhh.
197. J: yes.
198. C: ok.

From this point, the actual interview is more or less over, and we engage in a normal conversation until the next participant shows, although the voice recorder is still running.

199. J: So what do you think # in daily life # is the main difference # between here and there? Except the time thing. What do you mean the time thing? You feel rushed here?
200. C: I feel very rushed. I feel like it is just thirteen hours a day, not 24. ((laughs)) yeah.
201. J: ((laughs)).
202. C: I think # I think # here # you have to work and work and work # and relaxation is ok in the weekends. During the week everything is too choked up. Yeah.
203. J: I agree with you. ((laughs)). Yes, really. Especially now, with work # and thesis # and school.
204. C: So, you combine thesis and # and [..
205. J: ..] Yeah. I work two days a week. At the European Center of Nature Conservation #
206. C: Yes # Aah, the website you have sent to me?
207. J: No no no. This is like # my paid job. And the website I sent is like my own project. It does not pay me # The money I gather is sent to Cameroon.
208. C: You gather the money and send to Cameroon?
209. J: Yes.
210. C: To who?
211. J: Ehm # to ahm [..
212. C: ..] If I get too personal [..
213. J:..] No no no it is fine # it's fine, it's fine. It is to the NGO I did my internship at. Ehh # I lived with the ehh # not the director but like ehh # the head manager and his family. I send the money to them # and then they buy it # they buy tree seedlings from it. And then with the children or youngsters # they give educational workshops to explain what the importance is of sustainability and the rain forest and community forests # and then they plant it # all together.
214. C: Okay, and yeah # do you trust the people you send money too?
215. J: Yes.
216. C: Okay, and you have # like # some kind of a draft of everything they did with the money?
217. J: Yes.

218. C: Okay.
219. J: Yes, I have to ehh # hand in like a yearly # annual ehh report # to the people # the funding organization you know # who give me funding.
220. C: Okay.
221. J: Yes. That is also why I want to go back in February. Just to see it with my own eyes. Even though I trust them, you know. I want to see it # if it really [..
222. C: ..] yeah, yeah, that is the thing.
223. J: But they send me pictures and everything. So I am quite sure it is # it is used what it is supposed to be used for. ((laughs)).
224. C: Yeah. Because, in Cameroon # I know there is a lot of dirty stuff that happens around there. That is why I keep asking. It doesn't mean everybody is bad # but there are a lot of bad people.
225. J: No # I like # I trust them completely.
226. C: Okay. That is perfect.
227. J: But that must also be a difference I think # for you # corruption
228. C: Yeah, it is too much. And you know, here # in Belgium you know, if someone says yes # it is yes. Okay? But in Cameroon, you don't take yes for yes. A yes could be a no ((laughs)).
229. J: ((laughs)) Was that difficult for you? To adapt to # that difference?
230. C: Here in Belgium # well particularly the language. It is ehh # okay # when the ehh # when they start speaking the language I feel left out. But trusting the people it went really easily.
231. J: Because yes is yes?
232. C: Yeah, because yes is yes.
233. J: So did you have like # some real cultural differences or misunderstandings when you first came here? Or maybe even now?
234. C: Yeah, I had # with the way people don't greet people in the morning. Not because they are angry at you # they just say hello and hi really fast # and in Cameroon, what we do is hellooo, how did you sleep? And you talk about lots of things. So it took me some time to understand that they are not angry at you, they are just doing what they have been doing. Yeah.
235. J: Yeah. You know what my biggest cultural difference and misunderstanding was? ((laughs)) It is really bad ((laughs)). When I came to Cameroon # like # they did not like me smoking in the house, which I could understand, so I always used to walk up to the road.
236. C: Yes..
237. J: I smoked at the road. And then later, I learned that only prostitutes smoke at the road. ((laughs)).
238. C: Really? Yeah that is kind of true. And # seeing girls that smoke too is really kind of difficult in Cameroon. It is weird.
239. J: ((laughs)) Yeah. Some people thought I was a prostitute.
240. C: And they stop by with their cars and [...
241. ..] No, no fortunately for me, no. There was a guy # he walks up to me # and he started explaining # what was the problem. I thought oh my god! This was almost towards the end of my stay # and so I had been doing that for almost six months and then I found out it was not normal. ((laughs)) But nobody told me!

242. C: Yeah, yeah.
243. J: Why # but # why # I still don't understand # why they did not tell me # like the people I lived with and my friends.
244. C: Did they know that you were standing besides the road and smoke?
245. J: Yes. Yeah.
246. C: Hmm. But I will not # that will not be the first thing. It depends up on eh the kind of thing # ways you were standing. If you were standing near the road in a city [..
247. J: ..] In Limbe.
248. C: In Limbe?
249. J: Hmm uhuhh.
250. C: What? Yeah, it feels like that.
251. J: ((laughs)) Oh well. I know better now. I will not do it next time.
252. C: Yeah. ((laughs))
253. J: So how much longer are you planning on staying?
254. C: How much longer?
255. J: Yeah, how much longer does your research last?
256. C: Ehm # I think three more years. Three more years # because # but the PhD gets finished in two years. But then # the data arrives after the PhD is finished. And I have to analyze it. If it will # So I think three years.
257. J: Oh cool. So, lots of time to meet up.
258. C: Yes, yes, yes. Lots of time.
259. J: Even though my thesis will be finished then hopefully.
260. C: When when when? When is the thesis going to be finished?
261. J: In January is my graduation.
262. C: Ah, ok!
263. J: Yep. If it is successful, I will send you an invitation ((laughs))
264. C: Allright! To come eat? Drink? ((laughs))
265. J: Yes! ((laughs))
266. C: Celebrate with you, I understand.
267. J: Yes, for the graduation. My family # my friends [..
268. C: ..] Is it still recording?
269. J: Yes. But it is fine. As long as it is fine with you.
270. C: Okay, perfect, perfect. Then # what about you # like # Your family # boyfriend #
271. J: Yes, my family # they live in the east of Holland. Near Enschede. I don't know if you # Fc Twente, you know FC Twente?
272. C: No, I don't know anything about Holland.
273. J: Ah, it is a soccer team.
274. C: Ok.
275. J: But wait, let me see. I'll draw it ((draws a very simplified map of the Netherlands and points out Enschede)). I was born somewhere around here. This is where my parents live.
276. C: yeah, yeah.
277. J: And then now # I live here with my boyfriend.
278. C: Yeah, okay. And # you are married? I see a ring ((points at my ring))

279. J: No, no see # this ring # if I can get it off # See if you look at the inside, it says ehm, PRJM 2006. P is for Paul, my father. R is for Riet, my mother. J is me # Jelke, and M is Merlin, my sister. And ehh # 2006 is when I left the house # and ehh # so my mom made the ring for all four family members to remember the day our family # broke up. You know what I mean?
280. C: Yes, ok. It is kind of sad.
281. J: Well, in Cameroon I used it as a wedding ring.
282. C: Ah ok! Because you had lots of people coming to you
283. J: Well, you know # especially like the lower educated # the really poor people # the man # take me to whiteman country.
284. C: ((laughs)) okay!
285. J: And then I said No I am married! But then they said they do not care and that they could be my second husband. ((laughs))
286. C: ((laughs)) Yeah, it is strange people. Okay.
287. J: So yeah, I used it as a wedding ring but it did not help # it did not help a lot.
288. C: Yeah, okay. It must have been strange.
289. J: Yeah, it was strange. Even the teacher of my host sister. He was a priest. She was in boarding school and we went to visit her school. By the end of the day he asked me to take him to whiteman country to marry. ((laughs)).
290. C: But that is the point! That is the point! That is when you begin to doubt if religion really exists # if that a priest # wants to get a white girl # wow. ((laughs))
291. J: Yeah. I think it was in Tiko.
292. C: The priest said you are beautiful ((laughs))
293. J: ((laughs))
294. C: Did you tell that your daddy? That your Cameroon daddy?
295. J: Yes I did ((laughs)) Like # usually # in a taxi # I didn't know it was not rude not to give my number when people asked. Over here you give the number and then just never call. Or at least that is how I'd feel # if you talk for a little bit #
296. C: Hmm hmm.
297. J: It feels rude.
298. C: Really?
299. J: yes. I used to give the number, but never answer when you call. You know what I mean?
300. C: of course, yes. Yes.
301. J: So # when those men started calling # my host father would pick up the phone and ask in a really deep voice: what do you want?! # And then they never called again.
302. C: Yes, yes ((laughs)).
303. J: So did you have any strange things like that here?
304. C: Like # ehh getting numbers from girls? Or girls getting my number. ((laughs)) Girls don't get numbers from boys. Do they?
305. J: No?
306. C: No.
307. J: I think they can.
308. C: Well, they can, yeah. But I did not get any. ((laughs))
309. J: Aaahww. So do you want a girlfriend to be from here? Or from Cameroon? Or is it too personal?

310. C: ((laughs)) No # no. But, anyway, maybe it is personal, but it is cool. Love does not have boundaries.
311. J: That is true, it is true.
312. C: So, not even the color. I don't mind color. Nice people are nice people. It only takes time to understand that, that people are the same.
313. J: Well, I had a Cameroonian boyfriend.
314. C: You have a Cameroonian boyfriend?
315. J: No, not now but back then.
316. C: And did you have your boyfriend then?
317. J: No, after.
318. C: Oh, you came back and then met him.
319. J: Yeah, I came back in the summer of 2011 and met him in the summer of 2012.
320. C: Okay.
321. J: But, so let's get back to languages ((laughs)) what languages do you speak?
322. C: ((laughs)) Ok. I speak a little bit French. Klein bietje Dutch # very small. And, English is what I communicate with and I think I speak it really good [..
323. J: ..] I think so too.
324. C: All right, thank you.
325. J: But you are Anglophone, right?
326. C: Anglophone, yes, yes. And then Pidgin, that's my mother tongue.
327. J: So you really see Pidgin as your mother tongue?
328. C: Yes, I really see # that's my mother tongue. But if you aks lots of Anglophones # Cameroonians # they say my mother tongue is English. But I really don't think so. Because, sometimes, I really need to think a little bit to speak English, but with Pidgin # I mean # that's what my mama talks to me, you know. She speaks in Pidgin.
329. J: Yeah, I think # even though # I think # Pidgin was invented like # as a lingua franca # right?
330. C: Right, yes.
331. J: So would you say that # you are like # a second or third generation speaker then?
Or #
332. C: That is something I've not really heard. Because # ((laughs)) there is two kinds of Pidgin in Cameroon.
333. J: No, no I mean # What I was talking about was # when Pidgin came into existence # like # do you know? Because it is like a combination of all the ehh # all the languages of the people # the European people [..
334. C: ..] No no no. I really think that Pidgin is strictly English.
335. J: So you think it is a variant of English?
336. C: Yes # because # even French I don't find # except that ok that # some young Cameroonians now # the Francophones try to #to mix a little bit of French in the Pidgin and # but that is not what we speak.
337. J: So if # are there different Pidgins then in Cameroon? The Pidgin they speak in Yaounde is it different from the Pidgin they speak in Bamenda?
338. C: No, but the accent could vary a little bit. But it is the same. And sometimes when [[xxx]] in Pidgin it is too broad. So you cannot really # #

339. J: So # when you # go to like an organization # an eh # eh like a government organization # do you like eh # can you fill out forms in Pidgin? Or is it [.. English or French
340. C: No, no..]. No it is only in English or French. And in school if they catch you speak in Pidgin you go down for it. It is very very unofficial. Yeah.
341. J: But the overall image of Pidgin, is it positive or negative? You think?
342. C: Negative. I think it is negative. Because [..
343. J: Why..]?
344. C: Because when you speak too much Pidgin you can't speak English and you will speak in Pidgin. I mean in formal occasions you have to speak English # yeah.

We discussed a little more about Pidgin, the interviewee asked me to say something in Pidgin etc. Shortly after, two of his friends (one of which was my next interviewee) walked in and they started conversing in Pidgin.

J = Interviewer

C = Interviewee

[[xxx]] = unidentifiable segment

= short pause

[...] = overlap in turns

((..)) = non-verbal signals

1. J: Okay, so just in case we have two devices recording now.
2. C: Okay ((laughs)).
3. J: I still think we have to speak up a little, because last time it was really difficult with the transcription. I had to listen and rewind, listen again and rewind again and [..
4. C: ..] Ah okay. So # now # how is it going to be easier?
5. J: I hope this phone is better than this one.
6. C: Okay. All right. Then it is good, yeah.
7. J: Yeah, so last time we talked about languages and everything, so I think today it is good to discuss the instruments you use ehh # to maintain contact with Cameroon.
8. C: Hmm hmm, yeah.
9. J: So, could you tell me what you use?
10. C: Okay. Most frequently is Voip. ((Looks at me as if he awaits confirmation to his answer))
11. J: Yeah
12. C: And Skype. Yes that. Voip and Skype. And sometimes Lyca mobile. It is # You know Lyca?
13. J: Hmm hmm ((nods)).
14. C: Those are the three.
15. J: Ehh?
16. C: Those are the three, and Voip is on the computer. Lyca is on the phone # most of the time.
17. J: So why do you use those things?
18. C: Because they are cheap, yeah.
19. J: And Skype, is the connection good enough for Skype? I remember Sainge telling me that his connection # or the connection of his father in Bamenda was not good enough for Skype.
20. C: Yeah I think Skype # yeah ((sighs)) it is for those in the city, because my sisters and brother # the connection there is better. But for my mom I use Voip, because she doesn't need to # to use the internet I think.
21. J: Does she have internet at home?
22. C: No, no. So I use Voip and I call her cell phone directly.
23. J: Directly with the Lyca thingy?
24. C: So, it is with Voip that you can call # You use your computer and call a cell phone.
25. J: Yeah.
26. C: But with Skype, we cannot do that.
27. J: Hmm hmm.
28. C: With Lyca mobile you can use your phone to call phones too.
29. J: Oh yeah, yeah.
30. C: So with Voip is ehh the best.
31. J: Okay. Ehh # ehh and do you also use for example Facebook to stay in touch with friends back home?
32. C: Yeah, Facebook, yes.
33. J: Yeah?
34. C: Hmm hmm.
35. J: So, any other things?
36. C: Facebook, yes # and # Ah! Yahoo Messenger. You know it?
37. J: What is that?

38. C: It's # It is a # It's a messenger like ehh # ehh MSN, but it is from Yahoo.
39. J: Okay.
40. C: Yes.
41. J: Okay. And how did you learn of the existence of those things?
42. C: Skype, I already knew Skype in Cameroon. Voip from some friends here. Lyca is just some mobile telephone network here, so, yeah.
43. J: Okay. So, ehm # when you use your cell phone, is it just Lyca or do you have different cell phones for different occasions?
44. C: Lyca is # Yes, I have Vikings for Belgian numbers.
45. J: What? Vikings?
46. C: Vikings, yes.
47. J: How do I spell that?
48. C: Like Vikings with V-I [..
49. J: ..] Ah, the men with the red beard and [..
50. C: ..] Yes, yes it is like those guys. ((laughs))
51. J: Ehm, so, # ehm When you first arrived did someone advice you on the best and ways to # the cheapest ways to keep in touch?
52. C: Yes, yes. I had a friend who did that, and he told me to use Voip. I # I # you know, you ask 'how do you communicate back home' and he tells you to use this, that, and that.
53. J: Okay. Well, the interview is going to be pretty short today, which is a good thing considering you were late. ((looks at interviewee quasi upset, then laughs))
54. C: Yes, I am really sorry it happened. ((laughs)) I already said that.
55. J: So what would you # Let's say someone is coming from Cameroon now, what would you advice him to use? The same things you are using? Or different things? Or does it depend on where they live in Cameroon?
56. C: Okay, I already picked two people from Cameroon this morning, and I advised them to use Voip.
57. J: Really?
58. C: Yes. Yeah, because one already wanted to start calling, so I said it is # you can use Voip, yeah.
59. J: And they had just arrived?
60. C: They had just arrived, I picked them up.
61. J: Oh, this morning?
62. C: This morning.
63. J: Oh, so no soccer this morning?
64. C: No, I picked them up at 8.30. We went to the field with their bags and everything, but they were not playing because they were tired.
65. J: Oh they had a night flight?
66. C: Yes. From 2 a.m.
67. J: From Douala?
68. C: Yes, at 2 p.m. yesterday. So they flew for like, a whole day, yeah.
69. J: I found a ticket to Douala for February, it was 635 euros. Two way ticket.
70. C: It's cheap ehh?
71. J: Yeah.
72. C: It is really cheap I think. Mine was 700 euros.
73. J: Mine in 2011 was a thousand, I think. Two-way.
74. C: Two-way?
75. J: Yeah.
76. C: That is a lot.
77. J: So, ehm, when you were living in Cameroon, what were you doing and you # you went to university?
78. C: Yes, in Cameroon I did my Bachelor and my Master.

79. J: Where was that at? Which university?
80. C: University of Buea. Yes. And, then I started working at a software company, and the payment was terrible. ((laughs)).
81. J: ((laughs))
82. C: Then, I had to teach for some time, really all these things at the same time, yeah.
83. J: Teach? Like # you were a professor? Or what?
84. C: Yes, yes.
85. J: Huh? Are you a professor?
86. C: Yes. I taught for two years.
87. J: But as # ehm # you carry the title of Professor?
88. C: No, no, no, not professor, but the word # I don't know. I was just a teacher.
89. J: Hmm hmm.
90. C: Yes, in secondary schools.
91. J: Ah, okay! Cool!
92. C: Hmm hmm.
93. J: So when you were living in Buea, what did you use there to contact your family in Bamenda?
94. C: MTN. And eh # and Orange, because those are the only two # yeah.
95. J: Okay. Ehm # yeah. I had a question # like # was that close to your family? But I know Bamenda and Buea are not close, so I shouldn't [..
96. C: ..] Yeah, yeah.
97. J: So I actually just had one last # thingy. Which communication platforms do you use overall? Like # not just to communicate back home, but just overall, here in Ghent.
98. C: In Ghent. Ehh yeah, ehm # let me see. Lyca mobile, because it's free ehh? You can call [..
99. J: ..] Other Lyca numbers.
100. C: Yeah. So you see most of us having two phones, even though I have one now. One is for Lyca, and the other one is for # Base, but I'm Vikings because I need to use the GPS in my car, yeah.
101. J: So the phone you are calling to Cameroon with, the Lyca one, is that also a smart phone? Or is that just # like a phone on the side?
102. C: No, it's not a smart phone. It is just a small phone. [[xxx]]
103. J: Aahh, like the old Nokia.
104. C: Sorry?
105. J: Like the old Nokia, back in the day.
106. C: Yeah, yeah, yeah, yah.
107. J: Okay, well then that was actually it, unless you have something to add?
108. C: ((laughs))
109. J: ((laughs))
110. C: How can I add something? Okay?
111. J: I don't know, maybe there was something you wanted to say.
112. C: Ah, well it was really short. How many people have you interviewed today?
113. J: Today you were the first, and Martial is coming at four.

At this point the actual interview was over, and a friend who drove me to Ghent joined at our table for a chat while I was waiting for the next respondent. 'P' stands for Paul, the third interlocutor in the conversation.

114. C: Okay. Okay. He is not # he was not at the pitch to play football.
115. J: I don't know, maybe he was with his girlfriend.
116. C: I saw someone sleeping there ((points at table in the front of the restaurant)), and I said 'Max?' but the guy kept sleeping.
117. J: Oh no! It was not Martial, because I # I saw it too, he was sitting there when I walked in, yeah.

118. C: Yeah, yeah! So how long is the drive from Tilburg?
119. P: About one hour and a half.
120. C: Oh that is not far!
121. P: No.
122. C: Then I should visit.
123. J: Yes, you should. I told you you can # you should.
124. C: Yeah. Okay.

The conversation goes on about finding parking spots in big cities and other non-relevant things until the next respondent entered the café.