

How njangui socio-cultural houses influence students' collaboration towards boosting Africanism

Introduction

I draw on the concept of locality to show the link between social mobility, specifically migration from Cameroon to Cape Town, and how Cameroonian linguistic, business, and cultural practices are transforming South Africa. The paper therefore heavily relies on Pennycook's notion of locality (Pennycook, 2010). The notion of multilingualism as social practice (Heller, 2007) echoes the notion 'language as a localized practice (Pennycook, 2010). Pennycook (2010) establishes the local to mean the way language is used locally where 'the local is always defined in relation to something else regional, national, global, universal, modern, and new from elsewhere'. Accordingly, culture is not to be separated from its speakers' histories, their cultures, places and their ideologies. This means, for culture to be understood, it must take in to consideration all those intricacies that are involved in its being.

The notions of practice and local, expressed in the above, have a connection with language. Thus, their unpredictability becomes incontestable. This is especially true when the notion of language as a local practice seems to invoke more than just the sociolinguistic truism of languages being associated with certain groups of people since this notion (language as a local practice) challenges the traditional worldview assumption that language is a pre-existing product that speakers use. As Pennycook declares, 'language is a product of social action, not a tool to be used' (Pennycook, 2010, p.8). What Pennycook means is that, language gets produced by practices, which are activities that are repeated, and tend to become a norm. The norm of course is not fixed since practices that create it, and give it substance are themselves continually changing. From this perspective, culture is also seen as unpredictable.

In view of Cameroonian students' culture in a globalised world with the new economy migration and rapid circulation of information, goods, and services, explored herein, the question of political and social concerns comes to the fore, and the appreciation of the notion locality piquant. Echu (2003) argues that ethnic terminologies, inter-linguistic borrowings, neologisms, and cultural practices, and concepts within Cameroon no longer coincide but constantly shape and reshape each other such that when mixed with official languages, they exhibit the indigenous Cameroonian culture on the national platform. This is tantamount to Abdelel Herrera's definition of identity in Mensah's (2014, pp. 282-283) definition of identity which is said to be complex 'phenomenon imbued with flux and characterised by content and contestation'.

Research (Hacksley, 2007) has shown that such language practices are also perceptible in Cape Town. Deumert et al. (2005) corroborate this, stating that urban speech in South Africa is often characterised by the growth of mixed urban codes such as Tsotsitaal (a combination of the grammar of a base language, which could be Afrikaans or Zulu, with a diverse, and often revolutionary vocabulary from different languages)

Motivation

This study took place at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and explores students' practices in a meeting at the Hector Petersen Residence (a postgraduate home for UWC students situated at Belhar in the Northern suburbs of Cape Town). Research which previously focused on integration among students at UWC shows patterns of socialisation related to race, colour, ethnicity, and language (Peck, 2008). Following from other studies carried out on a similar topic among students, including those at the UWC, similar results were visible. Some staff members showed their concerns and the need to stress the role of promoting integration in the context of the campus. Some students talked of an initiative that informs employers about the rights of immigrants. Others, suggested sports, cultural activities, information exchange, and the availability of more education opportunities for South African students that broadens their secondary schooling on issues that could promote integration and knowledge of other African countries for example (Mazzocchini, 2008). However, Mazzocchini (2008) indicates the inclusion of most of the activities mentioned herein, were not sufficient.

The njangu group examined in this paper is thus a socio-cultural group that responds to part of Mazzocchini's (2008) call for increased education on other African countries for South Africans by means of increasing cultural activities that play a crucial role in promoting integration though an informal perspective. According to Echu (2003), njangu is a socio-cultural institution and practice from concepts that originated from the Duala and Basaa languages of the littoral province in Cameroon. This concept depicts socio-cultural group meeting constructed around money contribution wherein members benefit in turns. Unlike previous studies, this paper does not classify the students involved in the njangu in relation to their country of origin, colour of their skin or languages that they speak. Interestingly, the students' activities in the njangu alleviate feelings of otherliness, financial burdens, and open doors for appreciation of other cultures and hence, promote integration within the university of the Western Cape (UWC). As a result, collaboration among immigrants and non-immigrant students is an outcome of njangu practices. Again, the article's theoretical contribution is twofold. On the one hand, it contributes to localising of the new diasporic space through the njangu practices. On the other hand, it questions the hegemonic believe that only the minority group is always prone to transformation. This reverse of typical orders of transformation is specified by showing how the majority cultural categorisation of people into groups such as race, language, culture, country (or place) of origin and whatever else is being transformed.

Contextualising the study

With the establishment of a constitutional democracy after the collapse of apartheid regime in 1994, thousands of people fleeing ethnic and civil wars, intellectual persecution, and economic recession have sought safety and better means of livelihood and opportunities in the Republic of South Africa. The removal of trade embargos once placed on South Africa by many countries in the continent and other parts of the world presumably uplifted her economically. Following from this, (Maja and Nakanyane, (2008) believe this state of events placed South Africa in the middle class economy, thereby positioning her as a country of destination accommodating immigrants from far and wide both within the African continent and worldwide.

Accordingly, Mazzocchini (2008) reports that there are refugees and asylum seekers mainly from Zimbabwe, Somali, Uganda, Rwanda, Congo DRC and Congo Brazzaville. Mazzocchini claims this group of immigrants mostly prefer to study at the University of Cape Town, the University of Stellenbosch and the University of the Western Cape, all in South Africa. Nevertheless, this paper explores njangu houses of Cameroonian immigrant students within the University of the Western Cape (UWC). These students reside in one of the

university's postgraduate residences, Hector Petersen Residence, (HPR) often referred to as Belhar Res. These students have been selected, because of their ability to translocate specific socio-cultural practices from Cameroon to Cape Town; and also because they are able to live convivially with South Africans and other Africans of diverse ethnic groups, backgrounds and races.

This paper examines one cultural activity njangu, which the Cameroonian university immigrant students brought along with them to the South African university contexts. It explores how this socio-cultural practice tends to impact their collaborations with other immigrants, including some staff members, and the local South African students within HPR in UWC and other surrounding universities.

Most Cameroonian students at HPR are either engaged in the hawking trade or own small business stalls to alleviate their financial hardships. This exposes them to other traders, languages, and people from various ethnic backgrounds while undertaking their daily activities, as traders. The assumption that socio-cultural activities among members suggest forced segregation and fixity in cultural norms and practices is rather a fallacy, because what njangu members do is, team up with others to contribute a reasonable amount for the persons benefiting at the end of every month. Hence, instead of the rich competing with the poor, the njangu members simply help each other participate actively. Moreover, Cameroonian immigrant university students must take a paid job in order to pay their tuition and accommodation fees while they study at UWC. This reverses the findings of Mazzocchini that the primary reason for which immigrant students do not pursue tertiary education is lack of finance. The HPR njangu members have ceased to see each other as 'different', for instance, as Nigerian, Cameroonian, Ugandan, Zimbabwean, Sudanese, South African, etc., thus concurring with Banda's (2010) claim that students who find themselves in a multi-ethnic environment, practice cultural diversity within an integrated multilingual society.

Given the demands of the academic environment within which they live, this paper sought to answer the question about how immigrant students from Cameroon cope with their academic workload, pay their fees, effectively manage their businesses, and satisfy their families either within South Africa or abroad.

Thus, the article employed an empirical inquiry whereby data was collected through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation and emails from a group of 15 purposively sampled students. This form of sampling suits this qualitative paper and is directly related to its aims, thus, offering room for generalisation (Given 2008). This work explores how njangu has been transformed and is transforming in the South African context and among the UWC students. Contrary to the Cameroon standards where it mostly starts in the mornings or afternoons of every traditional market day/Sunday, the students start njangu late in the evening at 6pm and on the last Sunday of every month. It would also be of interest to note other variations in their practice, contrary to what happens in Cameroon. Before then, I first elaborate on the Cameroonian immigrant students' multilingual patterns.

Understanding the multilingualism in the context of Cameroon

According to Echu (2003), Cameroon has been described as a linguistic paradise and a place where the African confusion of tongues is most felt. For this reason, some language scholars and political observers have feared that the multilingual situation in the country could be a potential source of conflict, and a factor that might cause political degeneration (Chumbow 1996). However, the view of multilingualism as a social practice (Heller 2007), makes language a source of linguistic and cultural enrichment. Echu succinctly puts it thus:

that the lexical appropriation of Cameroonian indigenous language by English and French constitutes a source of lexico-semantic and cultural enrichment [...] and thus

permits them to express more vividly certain realities [...]. In so doing, English [...] gain[s] in vitality and thus become the expression of our national culture and identity. Such a linguistic situation should naturally favour cultural integration and national unity [...] (2003:1).

Echu in the above quote reveals the influence of Cameroonian indigenous languages on the official languages of Cameroon stating their important relationship with the language contact situation in Cameroon. This situation, he argues, has extended to influence the linguistic structure of English and French (the official languages) at various levels namely, lexical, morphological, and syntactic among others. The effect of lexical borrowing from Cameroonian indigenous languages is here reflected on the English language in the already complex multilingual context of Cape Town.

Revitalising the local culture and promoting social cohesion

In the era of globalisation when cultures and languages come in contact, they are bound to shape, reshape or remodel each other. The immigrant population within tertiary institutions according to Mazzocchini is by far small when compared to the overall number of students within UWC for instance. Yet, like in Germany and other countries (Mensah, 2014), is negative representation and detest of immigrants is not uncommon in South Africa. In South Africa, immigrants are often detested by some local students for having 'stolen their positions or jobs' (Lukamba, 2012) at the institutions. This attitude towards immigrants when added to the financial hardship mentioned earlier, coupled with the recent xenophobic attacks which again flooded the media early 2015, their condition becomes overwhelming. For example, (Daily Marverick, January 26 2015) and (SA Migration International, February 2, 2015) expounded that: "[d]espite the escalation of violence over the past six years causing numerous deaths, the government has denied that there is Xenophobia in South Africa", and "[...] unrest and looting of foreign-owned shops began in Soweto..." respectively. This leaves one wondering how the immigrants and local South Africans manage to cope in the same institutions and residences thus, making the possibility of integration farfetched.

Added to the above scenario is the language and cultural barriers outside and within classroom contexts. While all njangu members of the HPR residence speak English, their English is often ridiculed because of their accents. Moreover, these students bring with them diverse socio-cultural practices that include their style of dressing, choice of local cuisine, and so on. Above all, immigrant students in the HPR sometimes use French and indigenous language terms even when they speak English. This becomes very common in cases where they refer to gastronomy, socio-cultural institutions, traditional titles, and concepts.

When commenting on the notion of borrowing, Mitchel Arrivé (in Echu 2003) believes lexical borrowing remains one primary source of linguistic enrichment. To Arrivé, borrowing consists of the primary source for enrichment of lexical elements in a language. Such lexical borrowing becomes imperative in cases where translation provides no suitable equivalent for the linguistic and cultural reality of a donor language in a target language. Borrowing linguistic elements from another language usually plays a meta-linguistic function, filling a vacuum in language B where, the cultural reality or idea expressed in language A is non-existent in that language. As such, Echu (2003, 5) proceeds to define borrowing as a 'deliberate, systematic, and collective process, attested not only in bilingual and multilingual communities, but even in monolingual communities'.

In Cameroon, the official languages (English and French) extensively borrow from indigenous languages. This paper is limited to exploring the social impact of a borrowed concept, njangu in the Diaspora and, specifically, among a group of students in HPR postgraduate home, at UWC in South Africa. Kumaravadivelu (2008) defines cultural

globalisation as the way in which people, cultures, ideas and artefacts grow in unprecedented ways with technology in a way that makes possible the idea of a global culture. He goes on to talk about localisers (that is cultural heterogeneity) as another concept which suggests that local cultural identity be revitalised, because of the perceived threats from processes of globalisation. In the same vein, Appadurai (2002) and Pennycook (2010) propound that the localisers reject the supposed cultural dominance of the West over the rest of the world and instead suggest that the local tends to influence the global. Unlike purporting the influence of a majority culture over the minority (Abu-Lughod 2005), the impact of localisers is here seen not only in its ability to translocate the Cameroonian socio-cultural concept and practice – njangui to the Cape Diaspora but also to transform and transliterate the monologic framework often embedded in the Western patterns of individualism. From this perspective, the Cameroonian collectivist lifestyle depicted by the njangui socio-cultural practices is embraced by the UWC students and also proceeds to extend to other neighbourhood in a formerly segregated South Africa (Nyamnjoh and Rowlands 2013).

Given that the issues addressed in postcolonial and post-apartheid migration literature are quite diverse, this paper relates directly to the social cohesion while reflecting issues inclusion or exclusion with focus on language use (cf. Hall in Ncube 2014) among Cameroonian immigrants at the University of the Western Cape. Their membership selection procedure, duration of a njangui season, method of contribution and activities involved are explored further on.

How Cameroonians retain the use of language in the Diaspora

This section shows how Cameroonians use the extended linguistic repertoires and cultural practices to perform various (trans)local and (trans)national identity options in the Cape Diaspora. The performativity they display below shows that languages are not static. That is, social actors in Cape Town refuse to remain in their nineteenth-century apartheid or colonial boxes in the process of socialising after migration from Cameroon to Cape Town. This means that the translocal activities are fluid in multilingual contexts, because of the constant changes, fluctuations, and fragmentation of places, spaces, artefacts, identities and rapid mobility, what Peter (2006) has called the state of translocality. Such fluctuations and fluidity in culture, language, communication and identity patterns is reflected in the way the students begin their meetings by checking on each other's wellbeing. Germaine and Valerie of Cameroon exemplify this.

Turn Speaker Dialogue

- 1 Germaine: Mami, na wa for you. You nova di come for meeting again na watti/Mom (a way of fondly referring to a friend) you are something else. Why have you not been coming to the meeting again?/
- 2 Valerie Cherie na works ya. Ye di take all ma time [...]/? /Dear, it is due to much work. It takes up all my time .../.
- 3 Germaine: So how for work now /So how is work?
- 4 Valerie: Mami leave'am so, we go chat/Mom, that is another story, we will talk/

What is visible in the above extract is that the students can all speak English since they study in an English university but prefer to use Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE), mixed codes or any language of their choice to maintain solidarity and what Onwumechili has called 'competent communication' (Onwumechili 2014, 152) among themselves.

The students start meeting by checking on each other's wellbeing and activities of the month. This type of practice reverberates the African socio-cultural lifestyle of collectivism. Moreover, one sees how some of the students fondly refer to others as 'mom' although they maybe of the same age group.

One other instance of socio-cultural relations is seen in the way the HPR students begin their meetings. They check on one another's wellbeing, daily activities and whereabouts. This is in line with Oketch and Banda (2008, 11), who argue that language and socio-economic structure in Africa have not crystallised into a neat package as it is often portrayed in literature. Ideally, the meeting will be said to have begun when minutes are being read if one goes by western prescriptions.

Another thing shown in the above extract is that Cameroonians have translocated their linguistic practice from Cameroon to the HPR residence. They mix Cameroon Pidgin English and French as seen in turn 2 above where, Valerie says: 'cherie na work', using the French term 'cherie' instead of the English term darling. The linguistic diversity shown substantiates the argument that utterances are never expressed uniquely. This embodies the concept of language as localised social practice since these students tend to draw from their socio-cultural and historic background when communicating. This is similar to the articulation of some researchers (cf. Higgins 2009; Pennycook 2010) who believe that every word has its own social history imbued with social localized meaning.

Transformation of the njangu

The Cameroonian students in South Africa have also brought along their sociolinguistic and sociocultural practices as defined by their past experiences and shaped in their new locality. Not only that, they remodelled and stylised njangu Practices in the HPR. While in Cameroon the savings segment constitutes a voluntary activity of the njangu, and the njangu, a compulsory 'segment', the students of the HPR have reconstituted these practices to suite their daily activities and financial abilities. This reconstitution of the njangu unit constitutes an important complication to the meaning and proceedings of the njangu and the name and origin of the njangu beyond the scope of this present work. Njangu members who are between the ages of 25 to 45 and mostly from Cameroon, Nigeria, and Uganda are allowed to belong to either the njangu segment only, or both the njangu and the saving segments. This means that the njangu which is the name of the socio-cultural gathering has itself been transformed as a segment while still maintaining its formal name. Savings is that segment of the njangu where members contribute money and hand to the treasurer every last Sunday of the month starting from February till November. On the last day of the meeting, all the money saved by members is brought back and redistributed to the members following the records of the financial secretary, the treasurer and those individual members concerned. During the course of the year, the monies saved can be loaned out to members who request such services, while generating income through interests for the entire njangu. For this reason, those members like Katherine of Kenya who only take part in the savings often claims:

Turn Speaker Dialogue

1 Katherine: I am not a full member [...] because I do not participate in all the activities

The njangu 'segment' is a traditional socio-cultural concept while the ngumba is a kind of secret society that allows membership to have specific persons from an ethnic group with distinct interests. However, in the HPR, the ngumba house has been modified and repurposed into a somewhat njangu group. This means that the njangu and the ngumba houses have morphed into a type of social meeting. At the njangu traditionally, people meet to discuss, eat, drink, solve problems, and contribute (an equal amount) of money for one person to take home until all members have had their turn to cook food, bring drinks, and benefit from the money jointly contributed. The amount to be contributed by those who participate only in the

savings segment is not compulsory. That is, each individual chooses what they think is affordable. For instance, one may choose to save only R100 every month for the duration of the whole njangui season. Katherine however claims not to be a full member because she is not part of the njangui and so, does not have to cater for the meeting.

Another transformation is the subdivision or grouping of the njangui members to meet the compulsory amount that needs to be contributed for every beneficiary per njangui session. Related to this, some njangui members claim that they belong to “blocks”, or “portions”. Each block could consist of four or two members depending on their financial strength. Each block or individual taking part in the njangui segment has as duty to contribute R.1000.00 on the day of the njangui. This means that if a block is made up of two members, they contribute R.500.00 each. At the end of the meeting, the money is counted and given to the person (persons) benefiting on that day. Anna of Nigeria has this to say in relation to the blocks:

Turn Speaker Dialogue

1 Anna: In my Block, we have to contribute R 250 because it must be at least R1000.00 so that the person who is picking goes home with R100000.00 [approximately 10000\$].

It is obvious that the njangui has not only been translocated to Cape Town but has also been reconstituted and remodelled to fit into the high-tech age of the glocalised postmodern world and busy schedule of the students. The njangui now seems to be a mixture of the global and the local where the internet is used for interaction by members as shown from one example of an email sent to Patrick, a Ugandan.

Turn Speaker Dialogue

Email: Brothers and sisters,
Accept sincere greetings from the entire Njangi 2011 family. This mail serves to inform us all of the venue and time for our next Njangi meeting slated for the 3rd of July 2011. Our Njangi will hold at the HPR, and it will begin at 6:00pm prompt. We all look forward to our warm fellowship.

Kind regards, [...]

The glocalised nature of the njangui is embraced by the students who wait with enthusiasm to fellowship. This is perceived in the above email which was not meant for Patrick alone. In addition, the njangui serves as a marker of integration and unity where members consider fellow members as a family. Bertrand of Ghana further demonstrates the unifying and intergrading role of the njangui below.

Turn Speaker Dialogue

1 Interviewer: How many members are there altogether?
2 Bertrand I don't know. [...]
3 Interviewer: Where is the treasurer from
4 Bertrand: [smiles] I don't know but he is from West Africa

Social cohesion and unanimity of HPR njangui members is another interesting aspect of integration. Clearly, Bertrand like most members of the njangui no longer cares about identifying one's country of origin. The HPR students who are from various parts of Africa and from various South African province have transcended all ethnic, linguistic, cultural, economic, historic and even national barriers and have chosen to see one another simply as a

friend, or fellow meeting members. Bertrand does not know from which country the treasurer comes in spite of previous claim that he was his friend.

Further elaborating on the issue of unity amidst diversity, during one of her follow-up interview sessions, Katherine also reveals that there are many who like herself are not regular in the meetings. For this reason, the absentees rely on others for their monthly dues. The trust and African oneness among njanguï members is enough indication to their zeal towards boosting Africanism. To capture this Katherine says that there is a lecturer at the UWC and students from other universities like Stellenbosch who always send their contributions through others. These members who only come occasionally to the meeting, have no doubts that their monthly dues such as contributions towards their njanguï, contributions towards helping the next to host in catering, and/or contributions towards their savings are up to date.

Demonstrating Ubuntu

Ample trust is demonstrated following Katherine's comment on how the money is stored. The response exhibits high level consistency and selfless 'enabling of each other'. The response is:

Turn Speaker Dialogue

1 Katherine: Me [...] don't really know all those things, I just take my money and I don't know where it goes. Maybe you can ask the chair lady.

Katherine's referral to the chair person is again another aspect of cordial relationship and 'human kindness', what Tutu (1999) has labelled 'Ubuntu' or the dependency of individuals one another.

Following from the above excerpt it can be said that the njanguï at HPR functioned both as a cultural space and as a bank. One can even argue that the HPR students' njanguï group is oriented not only towards Africanism but also towards socio-economic wellbeing of one another. Members readily support each other whenever need arises. Moments of need and (inter)dependence may arise in time of sickness and other unforeseen hazards like death. Festive moments such as graduations and end of year celebrations are also common among njanguï members.

One more instance of solidarity mentioned earlier is support to a member who is to host the njanguï. Other members readily contribute the sum of twenty-five rand (R. 25.00) which is given to the next host in order to reduce the financial burden. This is done during the penultimate njanguï session before the beneficiary's catering. It is noteworthy that a member(s) who hosts is usually the one who also benefits from the njanguï contributions of that month.

Also interesting is the fact that the students do not know what happens to the money they have saved. In the traditional njanguï as it is the case with other Cameroonian njanguï groups in Cape Town (Mai 2011), njanguï savings are given out as the loans to needy members who bring the money they had loaned back to the meeting with interest and/or pay fines in case of delay. Instead, the students' njanguï in HPR levies no fines and students can save their money at any time they are ready. Katherine who has been in the njanguï three years, saves any sum whenever she has some money, and what she saves ranges from R300.00 to R1000.00. Although she has no prior knowledge on how the money she contributes is kept or used, she continues contributing each year and is sure to get back all her savings at the end of the year. The treasurer on his part is not worried of any armed robbery because he is confident that 'We are all friends and trust one another.'

Patrick like the all other interviewees claims some South Africans have shown interest in their njanguï activities in the residence and some of them (South Africans) who are not yet members, sometimes join in the njanguï to share the food, drinks, and to just talk.

Interaction in the South African context with diverse ethnic groups

One other noticeable aspect is that the HPR njangui welcomes even those who have not registered as members.

Turn Speaker Dialogue

1 Patrick There are many South Africans who are interested and they join us during the njangui

Patrick is saying that there are also some non-njangui members who are South African students. This group, he now believes, is beginning to take interest in their activities and, can come join them to share the food and drink or socialise at the end of all contributions of the day to eat drink and chat. He further claims that the food always eaten in the njangui houses is mostly West African. What this means is that the socio-cultural strength among UWC njangui members creates a sense of conviviality which serve as a pulling factor for all other students irrespective of their background, race, colour or whatever else.

This kind of strength allows any student the socio-cultural sanction to discipline misbehaviour since the students are conscious of “the essence of being human” (Tutu 1999). Ultimately, the students know they cannot be human in isolation. This in the words of Leymah Gbowee, a Liberian peace activist, can be represented as “I am what I am because of who we all are.” These factors have made peace to reign in their njangui houses and it is this tranquillity that has attracted people from other African countries including; Congo, Nigeria, Ghana and South Africa during their meetings which sometimes extends to room sharing with those members who may not wish to return to their homes after a meeting session.

Implication

What has happened among njangui members in HPR is that they have translocated and fused their Cameroonian lifestyle into Cape Town and among some students at UWC and elsewhere. Other students join them for various reasons and may choose to prioritise some activities over others. The sharing of food, drinks, ideas and problems with one another and, the ability to save only when it is convenient emphasizes ubuntu among HPR students. Ultimately, this shows that the reasons for belonging to the meeting are socio-cultural rather than economic. The meetings also serve as a unifying factor where people meet to relive and stylize their Cameroonian lifestyle. That is, the njangui members seek to have meetings where they can help one another to improve their socio-economic status. That savings are sometimes given to the treasurer alone, and at any time, shows some kind of mutual trust and emphasises the socio-cultural strength that has attracted students from other countries including South Africans. The attractiveness of the HPR njangui could be because the Cameroonian society in Cape Town is mostly based on socio-cultural strength rather than socio-economic power relations. Therefore, in the multilingual and multicultural njangui group, the concepts of language and culture are shown as not easy to be quantified since students from all over Africa jointly claim the njangui as theirs without knowing the place of origin of fellow members or even the origin of the njangui. This suggests that movement away from a monolithic approach of naming languages cultures and People for example English, Cameroon Pidgin English, Zimbabwean culture, South African culture etc. to a practice-driven perspective on sociolinguistic and sociocultural resources, could contribute to a more inclusive and diverse assessment of the migration and cultural dynamics in Africa and beyond.

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