A Love Marriage? The Case of Cameroonian Women in South-South Marriage Migration (1999-2007)

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his/her won and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

Marriage migration from the global South to the global North is on the political and academic agenda. Significantly, a Western notion of love is used to determine a real marriage from sham marriage thereby connecting intimacy with citizenship. Based on 20 semi-structured interviews I analyze how Cameroonian-born women (bushfallers' wives) who have become British citizens through marriage to Cameroonian-born British men (bushfaller massa) express and perform love. It examines some of the assumptions and contradictions in governmental regulation of marriage migration. I argue that despite the controversial immigration control on marriage (bodies) within the context of binational marriage migration (nation border crossing), marriage migration is neither an entirely migration matter nor an entirely marriage one. Female bushfalling marriage from Cameroon to the UK is born from male bushfalling of the 1990s and social norms bound by love, care, kinship, obligations and expectations which greatly influence women's marriage migration choices and experiences. Examining women's love in marriage migration can therefore deepen our understanding of women's citizenship through marriage which bound them more tightly to their traditional roles in the family with a subordinate status.

My thesis seeks to contribute to critical feminist discourse and the marriage migration discourse in general by adding a South-South understanding of love and its link to care, identity, belonging and citizenship in female marriage migration. It offers new insights into a field which has long been dominated by marriage migration between white men from the global South and women from the global North.

Abbreviations

CPDM: Cameroon People Democratic Movement; the ruling party since 1982

EU: European Union

ESOL: Educational Services Overseas Limited

GCIM: Global Commission on International Migration

HIPCI: Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative

ICTs: Information and Communication Technologies

IOM: International Organization for Migration

MOB: Mail Ordered Bride

MIPEX: Migrant Integration Policy Index

NHS: National Health Services

SDF: Social Democratic Fund: the main opposition party in Cameroon

T I W C I: Transparency International World Corruption Index

UN: United Nations

UKBA: United Kingdom Border Agency

Author’s Declaration

The work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Leeds. The work is original except where indicated by special reference in the text and no part of the thesis has been submitted for any other degree.

Contents

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

I came here (referring to Britain) through my husband after many years of being married to him. Business starting falling and life was becoming harder for us in Cameroon. He then decided to come here (referring to Britain) when he realised we could no longer survive with the little he had. We had to sell the family land and I added some money from my business for him to come here. His friends helped him and he came over and later brought me. I never thought I will one day come here, live here and become a citizen (referring to the UK). Today, I can help my relatives too though its hard work. (Sandra)

Despite the controversial immigration control on marriage (bodies) within the context of binational marriage migration (nation border crossing), marriage migration is neither an entirely migration matter nor an entirely marriage one. Rather, binational marriage is an old phenomenon that has not always led to migration (see Cole 2014, Baizan, Beauchemin, and Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2014) though in recent decades, marriage has been significant in the movement of marriage migrants from the Global South to the Global North. These marriages are romantic too. Yet, following an increase in marriage migration numbers and particularly, between migrants and non-migrants coupled (South-South) with contested marriage practices, such marriages have become issues of public concerned in the global North (Kringelbach, 2013). These marriages have raised suspicion, anxiety and fear among policy makers and governments in the Global North discussed alongside issues of love, residency and control of the borders (D'Aoust, 2010; Qureshi, 2011). As a result, they are largely contested, challenged and sometimes misunderstood. In doing so, a non-romanticised image of such marriages appear.

The two main recurrent themes in the immigration discourse on the motivation of cross border marriages are the themes of love and residency: whether marriage migrants from the Global South marry citizens of the Global North for love or for money in the Global North? This question has impacted on marriage related migration in several ways. For Example the technology of love (defined from a Northern perspective) is generally used by immigration authorities to police not just the national border but the sexual border of the

spouses involved (D'Aoust, 2010, see also Alpes, 2011; Kringelbach, 2013) with the need to show love and affective residence. Similarly, women marriage migrants are thought to lack agency and therefore passive rather than active in their decision to marry in the Global North. Instead, poverty is seen to be a main factor in their willingness to marry and care for their families (see Pennington, 2010; D'Aoust, 2010) rather than love or that these relationships are not strong enough to be called love. Hence, for the immigration authority, marriage is more or less an immigration route. It is only in relation to marriage involving a citizen of the Global South that the marriage becomes questionable (Kringelbach, 2013) and among migrants, more problematic since marriage central to how state regulate their population and constitute national belonging (Cole, 2014). Consequently, marriage migration has been constructed as a migration channel whereby risk management, rights, citizenship and love become embedded in legal and surveillance practices (D'Aoust, 2013). The entangled relationship between love, marriage and migration is clearly visible in South-South marriage migration. As Sandra reveals, there is love in South-South marriage migration to the North. Women are not just active negotiators of their romantic marriage but also independent initiators of their marriage migration through contributing to male migration. Also, as this study will show, South-South marriage migration to the North is not adequately explained by the North-South wealth and power inequalities which are based on the traditional assumption that powerless poor women from the global South use their sexual power to move through rich and powerful citizen men of the global North (see Del Rosario, 2005). This view has been influenced by traditional social institution policies governing marriage whereby marriage was thought to be between a breadwinner (male) and a carer (female) who live with their children (Finch, 2013). Hence, women marriage migrants are generally seen as the other in marriage migration policies with heterosexual norms that govern heterosexual marriage for women who move from the patriarchal South to the patriarchal North with the expectation to fulfil family and national roles. According to the immigration rule, marriage migration should not be mainly a migration route but an institution where love, sex and childbearing (Finch, 2013) take place after migration. Sandra, a bushfaller's wife describes a marriage-related migration that blurs the line between the binary contrast of love versus residency/money and the opposition between love and genealogy. Sandra's words illustrate the experience of a number of my informants as well as the marriage migration context within which my study of love from Cameroon to the UK is situated. Her words prompt the question: How can we better understand love in South-South marriage migration? This thesis thus seeks to

understand love and its emotional entanglement with care, identity, belonging and citizenship for Cameroonian female marriage migrants.

1.2 Research Questions and Conceptual Framework

Marriage migration, also known as bushfalling marriage for Cameroonians is a recent but significant phenomenon that needs to be investigated. To understand the above phenomena, my main research question is:

1. What does South-South marriage migration mean for love and emotional entanglement?

My conceptual framework for this research on South-South female marriage migration consists of love: romantic and compassionate love. How can we use love to understand not just how it shapes immigration policies of western governments but how it influences, shapes choices and decisions including experiences across the border. This is because South-South marriage migration does not only involve crossing the border from the poor Global South into the rich Global North but a romantic, transnational, ethnic, social engagement that influences how women think, feel and what women do and not just the normative value of marriage migration embedded in the political economy (see Plambech, 2008; Kim, 2013). Equally, marriage migration has been linked to care, identity, belonging and citizenship, which I address in this thesis. Hence, drawing on studies from emotional geography, gender studies, citizenship, ethnicity, anthropology, feminist migration studies; this study intends to move the marriage migration discussion by adding love in the understanding of South-South female marriage migration. I also look at women's contribution to male migration within the context of female marriage migration through particularly looking at the transnational emotional journey of 20 Cameroonian women who have become British citizens through marriage to Cameroonian-born British men. This research was achieved through an emotionally driven research conducted between 2010 and 2013 in Birmingham and Leicester to understand or reground meanings, feelings and experiences for these women allowing a thick description of love in South/South female marriage migration.

1.3 South-South Marriage Migration in the UK

Marriage migration is an old but common and modern phenomenon (see, for example, recent reviews of the field by Constable, 2009, see also Constable 2005; Sinke, 2005; Kringelbach, 2013). In the last few decades, the Global North has seen a dramatic rise in the number of binational marriages that do not just involve whites and non-whites but migrants and non-migrants from their countries of origin. This period has also seen a proliferation of studies on marriage migration (D'Aoust, 2010; Charsley et al 2012; Constable, 2003, 2005; Kringelbach, 2013; Lee, 2010; Liu-Farrer, 2010; Pennington, 2010; Rosario, 2005; Ryan, 2002; Simons, 2011; Tyldum and Tveit, 2008) revealing different types of cross border marriage arrangements ranging from mail-order brides (MOB) (D'Aoust 2013; Constable, 2003; Lindee, 2007), arranged marriages among people from cultures where arranged marriages remain common (Charsley, 2006, 2012; Epstein et al, 2013; Jane et al, 2005; Pamela, 2012; Schoenberg, 2012; Timmerman, 2007), polygamous in its various forms (Sciolino, 2005; Cole, 2014; Charsley and Liversage 2012, Kringelbach 2015; Hannaford and Foley, 2015) 'heartbreak' marriage to sham marriage (Home Office 2014) where a citizen of the global South is paid to get married to someone from the global South. Female marriage migration have been influenced by globalization, modernization (Cole, 2014), gender hierarchy of power, tradition (Plambech, 2008), advancement in information and communication technologies (Constable 2003, Johnson-Hanks, 200) including wars, economic crisis and the global fight against dictatorship which has led to more men moving from the Global South than ever before (see below for the case of Cameroon). This period has thus seen women entered into wide distance marriages more than ever before (Constable, 2005).

Similarly, though immigration restrictions on marriage migration are not new (Charsley, 2012), there have been stringent changes in marriage-related immigration policies by various Western governments (see Home Office 2014 for the case of the UK) on marriage migration following a rise in this category of migrants. This border control particularly affects marriages involving migrants and non-migrants. The UK immigration has a long history of intersectional discrimination of race and gender against female marriage migrants. Generally, in the Global South, in marriage, women are expected to move rather than men (Parilwala and Ubeori, 2005; Francis, 2005). It is therefore not surprising many women have moved to the Global North through marriage. Also, most of the studies relating to marriage migration have focused on women (D'Aoust, 2010; Charsley et al 2012; Constable, 2003, 2005; Kringelbach, 2013; Lee, 2010; Pennington, 2010; Rosario, 2005 Tyldum and Tveit, 2008) Piper and Roces, 2005). As a result, marriage migration has been referred to as a

feminized migration route (Lee, 2010; Ryan, 2002) though men also move through marriage (see Apitzsch, 2014; Wray 2006, Kringelbach, 2013).

In the UK, increase in South-South marriage-related migration and contradictory marriage practices led to questioning as early as the 1970s. One of the government practices that has generated so much controversy within the UK immigration is the virginity testing. This practice was carried out by immigration officers at Heathrow Airport and at British High Commissions in the late 1970s and targeted women from the Indian sub-continent (particularly Pakistani and Indian women) who attempted to enter the UK in the 1970s through marriage (Marmo and Smith, 2010; Qureshi, 2011; Wray, 2013). The aim was to determine if sex had occur prior to marriage migration, a human rights violation and discrimination (Marmo and Smith, 2010) defended by the UK government as part of border control investigation to determine the genuineness of such marriages while preventing bogus marriage migration. This postcolonial controls of racialized and gendered bodies was also influenced by colonial concerns with the female body as to whether or not, they were fit for purpose in the country of destination (Marmo and Smith, 2010). Though abolished in 1983, it remains controversial, as it continues to inform how immigration officers process potential marriage applications.

Next, was the Primary Purpose Rule which just like the virginity test, aimed at ensuring that the motive for marriage was love rather than for immigration purposes (Charsley 2012, Wray 2011). Though the primary purpose rule was also abolished in 1997, individuals marrying from outside their national boundary to UK citizens must prove that their marriage is not for migration purpose by responding positively to immigration questions that show that they know their spouse and have an intimate relationship. Following the abolition, the number of spouses granted settlement in the UK increased and rose from 30,190 in 1994 to 77,380 in 2009 though not in proportion to other types of migration categories (Charsley, 2012). While in 1995, spouse constituted 59% of settlement visas, this figure had fallen to 40% by 2009 (Charsley, 2012) and by 2015, it dropped significantly following the introduction of the £18,600 requirement to sponsor spouse from outside the EU for British and refugee into the UK[1]. This change signals an attempt to control not just immigration but the welfare of the state. As Williams (2012: 35) notes, 'state agencies seeking to control and limit migration have marriage migration in their sights'. This is

[1] See appendix A: adapted from Charsley (2012) relating to changes to migration legislation particularly marriage migration.

because in the UK, 53% of people entering on a family visa are more likely to settle (Home Office, 2011). Hence, marriage migration is considered a privilege route to citizenship (Kringelbach 2013). As a result, various governments have tightened the marriage rule thereby making 'it increasing difficult for these category of migrants to obtain residency rights, and eventual citizenship (Kringelbach, 2013, see Wray 2011 for the case of the UK). The increased legislation on marriage migration (D'Aoust, 2013, Kringelbach, 2013) in the global North also aim to prevent abuse and misuse of this migration route (see Kringelbach, 2013, Home Office, 2012 for the case of UK) since marriage remains one of the major key routes for non-EU citizens to acquire long-term legal status within the EU (Beck-Gernsheim 2011; Bledsoe and Sow 2011; Charsley 2012; Fernandez 2013; Rytter, 2012; Wagner, 2012). The UK have always sought to control marriage migration, so in a sense, this is not new. Instead, what characterises this contemporary period is the manner in which assumptions about the family continue to define who is allowed entry at the border (Anderson, 2013).

Information from studies on female marriage-related migration has been helpful over the years in reorientation the views of immigration authorities from an 'immigration route' view of marriage migration towards a more holistic understanding of the meaning of marriage migration for those who experience it (Plambech, 2008; Constable, 2003, 2004; Cole 2014). In this way, many marriage migration scholars have contributed to the construction of female marriage migrants as active rather than passive, thereby promoting recognition of the role of women in negotiating their marriage migration rather than just arranged marriages (Robinson, 2007; Uberoi, 1998, 2006; Tuxen, 2013) or mail-ordered brides (Constable 2003, 2004; Pennington, 2010). While an exploration of these studies in the past two decades has revealed the significance of marriage in women's migration and immigration settlement or regime for migrants and its relationship to the broader debate with respect to love and citizenship, this research has left at least one domain by the wayside. That is research into the romanticism of female marriage migration for those who practice it. In doing so, research has largely ignored the contribution of these women's love stories in understanding marriage migration. This study therefore aims to contribute to critical feminist migration discourse through an exploration of love in South-South female marriage migration

1.4 Why Study Bushfallers' Wives

Female bushfalling marriage from Cameroon is a recent yet complex phenomenon that started in the late 1990s when Cameroonian men who migrated earlier after obtaining their residency/citizenship returned to marry Cameroonian women or bring their Cameroonian wife they were married to abroad (see Fleischer 2011 for a discussion on bushfallers and Cameroonian women). Though there is no official statistic on the number of Cameroonian female marriage migrants, the majority of bushfallers go back home for wives, a phenomenon that is commonly referred to as female bushfalling marriage.

My interest in female bushfalling marriage from Cameroon began as far back as the late 1990s and stems in part from the community in which I was brought up. I grew up in Kumba, a city noted for transnational migration (bushfalling) and ethnic marriage migration (bushfalling marriage) with almost every household having a bushfaller friend or relative. Also, when I first visited the UK in 2005, I found there were many Anglophone Cameroonians in the UK when compared to other European countries I had visited. The majority of the migrant men of Cameroonian origin were married to Cameroonian women and often it was women who married and were able to obtain their stay through the men commonly referred to as bushfaller massa in Cameroon (see Appendix B). Unlike Cameroonians in other European countries, the Cameroonian community in the UK seemed well established and had created social, educational and cultural groups or associations in which members actively participate and benefit from group activities. Interestingly, where Cameroonians gathered most informal discussions centred on bushfalling marriage and particularly the motives of the women marrying bushfallers.

This enhanced my interest in the bushfalling marriage phenomenon. Yet, when I started my study, I could not find any research on bushfallers' wives abroad but a small body of literature on bushfallers discussed mostly in relation to remittances (Atekmangoh, 2011; Fleischer 2007, 2008, 2011; Ndonwie, 2012; Nyamnjoh, 2005; Pelican et al, 2008) probably because bushfallers' wives are women. Hence, seen as followers or stereotyped as economic migrants (just like bushfallers) who use marriage to move and therefore not worthy of research. While I felt frustrated when writing the introduction in 2010 with only one study on web-based marriages between Cameroonian young women and white Northern men (see Johnson-Hanks, 2007), a study was conducted by Maybritt Alpes (2011) on the process of migration from Cameroon. Alpes (2011) reveals that Cameroonian women use marriage to Western men from France and the US to migrate from Cameroon to the North rather than marrying for love. Though the second study to investigate marriage motivations and

procedure from Cameroon across the border, Alpes (2011) like Johnson-Hanks (2007) does not discuss the lived experiences of Cameroonian women who move through these Northern men. Even more worrying, is the lack of research interest in bushfallers' wives marriage migration. This lack of research only convinced me of the mere importance of my research at a time when it has become fashionable to marry a bushfaller.

1.5 Defining South-South Marriage Migration

In this study, South-South marriage migration is driven by a male from the Global South (Cameroon) who moves to the Global North (Britain) and after obtaining permanent residency or citizenship, decides to marry a woman from the former (see Fleischer, 2011[2]). This woman from the South is met locally in the host country or increasingly, it is suggested from the South. Marriage migration for Cameroonian people is called bushfalling marriage, a term which I mention throughout the thesis because at least one or both spouses live outside Cameroon at the time of marriage. As earlier studies have shown, many Cameroonian women have become involve in cross border marriage with citizens of the West (Alpes, 2011; Johnson-Hank, 2009; Fleischer, 2011; Yufeh, 2010). However an increasing number of these women marry bushfallers, a term widely used in Cameroon. A bushfaller refers to a successful migrant who "made it" and now leads a good life in the Global North or any place associated with prosperity and modernity (Pelican et al, 2009). However, in this study I focus on women who married bushfallers who had UK citizenship and not temporal or permanent residency and this process influence their migration and settlement in the UK. In Cameroon, this phenomenon is known as bushfalling marriage. Thus just as the name suggests, bushfalling marriage refers to migration which is achieved through marriage to a bushfaller.

1.7 Bushfallers' Wives: From Male Labour Bushfalling to Female Bushfalling Marriage

In Cameroon, the history of female bushfalling marriages can be traced to the bushfalling of men beginning in the mid-1990s. The bushfalling of thousands of

[2] Flesicher, 2011 for further discussion on bushfalling among Cameroonian men and their marriage to Cameroonian women after obtaining residency for German women

Cameroonian men was a direct result of events in the country beginning in the late 1980s. During this period, Cameroon witnessed a series of tragedies that saw a turning point in the economy and politics of the country. This led to the migration of thousands of Cameroonian men who were to return with 'foreign nationalities'. Though Cameroon used to be a stable country, starting at the end of the year 1989, Cameroon like most African countries was hit by the economic crisis (see Cole, 2014). During this same period, Cameroon moved from being a one-party state to becoming a multi-party state. In 1990, the country had its first multi-party election that saw the launching of the Social Democratic Fund (SDF), which remains the major opposition party in the country. This led to wide civil unrest in the country (Nkwi, 2006; see also Fleischer, 2011; Konings, 2011; Lambi, 2011). The 1992 presidential elections also saw post-election riots. As a result, the country became both economically and politically unstable. As if this economic and political instability was not enough, in 1994, the Cameroonian currency was devalued by 100 per cent and followed immediately by a 70 per cent reduction in civil service salaries (Nkwi, 2006; Sikod, 2001; Ndangam, 2008) following the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) that focused on reducing public expenditure through privatization and staff cuts imposed by international organizations and donors (Beauchemin and Bocquier, 2008; Sikod, 2001). Then came inflation. As remarked by Nkwi (2006: 9), 'salaries, which in any case were not paid regularly, dropped from 70 to 60 percent between 1990 and 1995. Retirement was enforced at 55 years of age or before, with pensions as problematic as salaries'. The outcome was a collapse of the Cameroonian economy. Cameroon's entry into the HIPCI did not change much as the majority of Cameroonians remain very poor (see Sikod, 2001). This was captured by a headline in *La Nouvelle Expression*, February 24-27, 1995, 'La Banque mondiale prévoit: encore un demi siècle de misère pour les Camerounaise' ('The World Bank Forecasts: Another Half-Century of Misery for Cameroonians') (Nkwi, 2006: 97). Cameroon has not only become a poor country but a corrupt one too. In 1998, Cameroon topped the TIWCI (Nkwi, 2006; Nyamnjoh, 1999) as the most corrupt country in the world with growing human rights abuses and political suppression. Since then, many Cameroonians remain affected by growing poverty (Johnson-Hanks, 2007), human rights abuses (Dicklitch, 2002) high unemployment, corruption, poverty, suppression of political participation, persistent economic decline, the Anglophone/Francophone problem, and retrenchment of public sector workers in response to structural adjustment measures. In this regard, poverty in Cameroon is not only economic but includes other dimensions such as social, political, moral and spiritual aspects (Sikod, 2011). These tragedies affected both formal and informal workers. Many formal sector workers now

rely on the informal sector to supplement family income (Beauchemin and Bocquier, 2008; see also Herbert et al 2008 for the case of Ghana, Binaisa (2013) for the case of Uganda on discussion on the 1990s migration to the UK) as well as resort to bushfalling or rely on bushfaller relatives just like informal workers.

This ongoing economic crisis in Cameroon has filled the country with aspiring migrants. Many Cameroonians caught the bushfalling flu when the first bushfallers sneezed leading to an increase in transnational migration to the global North in search of better quality of life (see Fleischer, 2008). For most, emigration was a necessary response to the economic decline rather than political. Hence, the late 1990s saw the emergence of bushfalling and bushfallers in Whiteman Kontri (the global North) as there was a dramatic rise in the number of Cameroonians travelling abroad with no intention of returning soon and without making it (obtaining wealth and most importantly legal residency) as the West is metaphorically seen as 'paradise or heaven' (Bochow, 2002 cited in Klute and Hahn, 2007: 211) on earth, a journey that was influenced by relatives and social groups but mostly sponsored by families (Alpes, 2011; Fleischer, 2007). For instance, Annett Fleischer (2007) in her working paper on family, obligations, and migration in Cameroon investigates the role of the family and kinship network on individual's decision to migrate from Cameroon. She shows how individual's decision to leave the country is not determined by the individual alone but by his family and kin network who motivate and contribute financially towards such journeys. This is based on trust with duties and responsibilities on both sides.

Families invest in the migration of relatives with the hope migrants would in turn support them when they enter the West (Fleischer, 2007). Parents and family members abroad also invest in the education of younger family members for a brighter future. Unfortunately, many graduates remain unemployed and the economy is souring (see Gubry et al 1996 cited in Beauchemin and Bocquier, 2008; Sikod, 2001). The high rate of unemployment and inadequate educational opportunities (Pelican et al 2008) only discouraged some parents and migrants from sending children to school, instead preferring they join them abroad (Fleisher, 2007) thereby leading to family bushfalling (see also Alpes, 2011). The decision to migrate is also influenced by the media (Fleischer, 2007) through which many Cameroonians have come to see images of the West and learn of the West as a place of riches, clean with hope for a better and longer life including human rights values for all. Many disgruntled Cameroonians had become willing to take a risk just to reach the West. For example, one Cameroonian migrant to Germany mentioned to a researcher, "Even if the

Europeans build the wall until the sky Africans will still find a way to enter" (Fleischer 2010:1). Similarly, a documentary in which a young Cameroonian man, Kingsley, traces his journey from Cameroon through the Sahara desert to Europe has become an internet sensation for Cameroonians abroad and watched by many in Cameroon. In this documentary, Kingsley, like the informants in Fleischer (2007) and Alpes (2011) notes that he left Cameroon in order to search for greener pasture in the West. As a result of inadequate income, Kingsley and his friends travelled by land through the Sahara desert, risking their lives and with friends dying along the journey. Against all odd, Kingsley managed to reach mainland Europe and obtained residency through asylum. Kingsley's journey from Cameroon to Europe only goes to show how frustrated some Cameroonians had become and the extent to which they could go just to enter the West.

According to IOM (2010a) 17 per cent of the Cameroonian population with a higher education emigrated in 2000. Official statistics show Cameroon immigrants are predominantly young males (between the ages of 25-35) and relatively well-educated (Fleisher, 2007). Therefore, in Cameroon, the 1990s was a decade of huge young male emigration marked by experiences of separation for many families including wives/girlfriends and communities that came with new status and riches for the young men and their families. Women watch husbands and boyfriends go and return only for a visit. Basically, my participants grew up in home place which has been built by migrants. In Cameroon, migration had become common from both the rural and urban areas as well as across the border into the West with almost every household having a relative or friend who is a bushfaller. Bushfalling had become a widely discussed topic (just like bushfalling marriage today) in Cameroon both in the public and private sphere (Pelican et al, 2008; Atekmangoh, 2011). Today, both men and women migrating from Cameroon have been nicknamed 'bushfallers' (see Fleischer 2007, 2008) but the first bushfallers were men. The term 'bushfaller' became famous and associated with higher status in the late 1990s as many Cameroonians residing abroad started going home (Cameroon) on vacation after obtaining residency and citizenship in their host countries (Atekmangoh, 2011). This period also saw the introduction of cell phones in Cameroon and much of Africa (Fonchingong 2010) as well as advancement in ICTs including the introduction of internet and cyber cafes in major cities which greatly facilitated marriage migration and communication within and across the nation's border. The lavish lifestyle displayed by bushfallers with foreign accents during this vacation period led to their admiration by many. However, it should be noted that most

bushfallers' lavishness contradicts the reality of their lifestyle in their host countries as this thesis will show (See also Atekmangoh, 2011; Alpes 2011). This generation of migrants were labelled the 'bushfallers' suggesting a hardworking, mobile, modern or trendy Cameroonian (often with a new citizenship) who have been to the Global North (see Flesicher, 2007, 2008, 2011; Alpes, 2011; Atekmangoh, 2011; Ndonwie, 2012). Bushfallers are more admired because of their accomplishments in Cameroon and the majority of them marry Cameroonian women. These women are named after their husbands as bushfallers' wives. (See Chapter 4) probably because male bushfalling influenced female bushfalling marriages among Cameroonians. This trend is popular among many migrant communities living in the North (Charsley, 2006, Epstein et al, 2013; Hannaford, 2016; Hirsch, 2003 Jane et al, 2005; Neveu-Kringelbach, 2013; Pamela, 2012; Timmerman, 2006; Schoenberg) From predominantly male bushfalling in the early 1990s, female bushfalling marriage has risen in the last two decades and can be said to be a 'mere outcome of an initial male-driven labour migration' (Kofman, 2004: 248). In the case of Cameroon, this mass movement of male labour migrants to the Global North (Cole, 2014) has expanded 'possibilities for individuals to contract marriages across borders' (Charsley 2012: 5) and new opportunities for marriage and family life (Constable, 2003, 2005; Rosario, 2005) in the Global North. Such migration trend changes are part of a larger transformation explored in this thesis, a richly detailed qualitative study of marriage related migration. This provides an opportunity to better understand love, care, identity, belonging and citizenship among Cameroonian women in the UK.

1.7 Structure of the Thesis

Focusing on Cameroonian female marriage migrants, this thesis covers a great deal of various interrelated love topics. This Chapter has situated the context and scope of the research as well as presents the objectives, research questions and contribution. After looking at the marriage migration context in the UK especially focusing on South-South marriage migration, I discuss the the socio-economic position of women in Cameroon. In it, I have contextualised bushfalling from Cameroon and how it led to bushfalling marriage from Cameroon to the UK. I argue that socio-economic and political changes in Cameroon beginning from the early 1990s which led to the migration of many young men have reinforced the importance of location in matchmaking and subsequent female marriage migration. The increased opportunities across the border and the huge labour migration by

young men during this period only helped enlarge the marriage destination and opportunities for women.

Chapter 2 reviews studies on love. It also introduces my theoretical framework for this study. Globalisation and transnational space have informed several studies on marriage migration though (Wray, 2011: 10-3; Walsh, 2009; Williams, 2010; Wray, 2011: 10-3) though discussions on marriage migration particularly a 'real' or genuine marriage between a citizen of the Global South and a citizen of the Global North usually involve a focus on love. Important contributions to the concept of love have been made by scholars from other disciplines rather than marriage migration. Consequently, love as a theoretical concept is still not as central to the current discourse on marriage migration as one might expect (Eggebø, 2013). I go beyond the neoclassical theory and adopt a feminist approach that looks at love: romantic and compassionate to provide a better understanding of female bushfalling marriage. The last two decades have seen a proliferation of studies on marriage migration. Leading scholars on marriage migration in particular (Constable' 2003 and 2004; Del Rosario, 2005) have done immense work in enhancing our knowledge on marriage migration. In their studies, they show that the majority of those who move from the South to the North through marriage are women. However, they focus exclusively on women from the South marrying white men while studies on South-South marriage migration tend to focus on marriages that are contested in the Global North (arranged and polygamous marriages). Thus, the theory of love has generally been absent in South-South marriage migration. I therefore call on the theory of love to frame my study while also showing there is love in South-South migration though it can sometimes not follow the western marriage practice. Equally, marriage migration does not only include romantic love but compassionate too. This chapter thus aims to define romantic and compassionate love as well as situates the theoretical framework for my study among bushfallers' wives.

Chapter 3 methodology provides an overview of my research methodology on bushfallers' wives in Britain. I trace my fieldwork design, interviews, data analysis, reflection and reflexivity, including the ethical dilemmas. Informed by black feminist thought, my research was designed with the hope to give voice to a voiceless group who are thought not to know love. Starting with a brief overview of feminist epistemology, I look at marginalisation of black women in the marriage migration discourse. This is followed by a discussion on sensitivity in my research and the dilemmas and contradictions of doing research on women, for women and with women in the access of a sensitive group with a sensitive topic. It also

describes how the study was conducted and how the access process might have influenced the research outcome, reflection and reflexivity. I also describe how the informants were selected while highlighting the complex and ethical challenges of researching a sensitive topic with a group who are racialized, stereotyped and victimized.

Chapter 4 aims to investigate whether bushfallers' wives marry for love or residency. This chapter also discusses the term 'bushfallers' wife and its symbolic meaning to migration. I bring in a South/South perspective on marriage migration to the Global North. I argue that becoming a bushfaller's wife is a complex process guided not only by economic considerations but social norms that include love. Women do not only get married to 'bushfaller massas' to cross the nation border from Cameroon to Britain but based on love as most relationships were initiated with no intention of crossing the border and in some cases, before the husband became a migrant. For those who fell in love with a bushfaller, I show how these women came to meet their husbands (bushfallers) and how bushfallers' lifestyle attracted them while bushfallers' character and behaviour determined whether the bushfaller could make a good husband or not. Their choice of a bushfaller was self-negotiated and involved courtship and dating before making an informed choice to marry. This partly influences women desire to marry across the border, into Britain. More significantly, in some instances, women initiated their bushfalling marriage by sponsoring men while others coincidentally met their husbands while studying in the UK thereby increasing their options of who to marry. Thus, for some of the women, marriage was more important than migration. This chapter reveals that women marrying from Cameroon to the UK are seeking both love and residency. Hence love and residency cannot be separated; rather they support and reinforce one another especially for women who stay in marriage after citizenship.

Chapter 5 explores love and care work in marriage migration. I look at women's paid/unpaid care work which includes marital intimacy, unpaid care work at home and paid care work outside the home including transnational care work and the relationship between them. Paid work provides women the opportunity to work outside the home; meet new people and make money in care work (important for their economic satisfaction and linked to their residency) and provide care from a distance to their families in Cameroon, a way of compensating for their absence. On the other hand, unpaid work which is what makes their marriage real (which is also love and care work portraying them as good wives and mothers), keeps them busy, tired and is time consuming remains a major challenge to economic opportunities outside the home. This chapter indicates marriage migration is linked to global

care chain as these women remain bound to traditional gender roles. These paid and unpaid work impacts on marital intimacy both positively and negatively yet enable women to extend care across the border.

In Chapter 6, I consider the role of emotions of marriage and the emotions of migration in women's construction of identity, sense of belonging and home. Although these women are Cameroonian-British and simultaneously use both places in defining their home and place of attachments they feel more Cameroonian than British. I term this the Cameroonian feeling in Britain and show how the women remain attached to Cameroon through marriage itself, maintaining communication with families in Cameroon and visiting as well as maintaining Cameroonian socio-cultural values in the UK. On the other hand, feeling British is mostly related with the place where they live and work but most importantly, have a new British family. This chapter reveals women's emotional relationship with places (Cameroon and Britain) remains attached to the emotions of marriage migration. In doing so, this chapter shows how women's sense of identity and notion of belonging are bound by affective relationship to places and through transnational practices that are linked to their marriage migration.

The next chapter 7 considers what it means to become a citizen through marriage for women who arrive and live in Britain as ethnic others. In the first section, I analyse the marriage migration route to citizenship specifically focusing on British nationality rule, integration and citizenship test. The next section explores women's experience of discrimination looking at racism, class, sex and how it affects their experience of living in their new country. Thirdly, I look at the centrality of citizenship through marriage migration in understanding gender, race, class, sexuality, mobility and citizenship; that is what British citizenship means for these women. I build on this to argue that women's citizenship remain attached to the family and can also influence return migration through knowledge and wealth gain with an open border for an ethnically similar couple. Thus, this chapter sheds light on how citizenship through marriage actually affects women and how it produces an economically privileged yet a socially, politically and emotionally ambiguous position for women.

The conclusion, Chapter 8 summarises the key findings from the research and the contribution it makes to the study of female marriage migration. Debates and findings from my study are drawn together in a discussion on how bushfalling marriage migration from

Cameroon to the UK might contribute to rethinking love, gender, race and class and its connection with care, identity, belonging and citizenship in the context of marriage migration. Key points are summarized as well as future research directions in relation to the theoretical debates on transnational marriage migration. The research shows that male bushfalling to a greater extent has influenced bushfalling marriages from Cameroon to the UK. The research challenges the premise that women marry across the border because they want to seek economic opportunities. Rather, while bushfalling marriages from Cameroon to the UK may be linked to economic opportunities, security and new citizenship, it does not exclude love. Such marriages are romantic too and are linked to care, identity, belonging and citizenship. These women negotiated not just their marriage migration but initiated male migration. However, while citizenship is important for women as it has improved their social location in Cameroon and partly in the UK, women remained tied to the marriage even after citizenship. This shows that Cameroonian women do not just marry for residency and economic opportunities in Britain but rather, for love that see them move from one patriarchal society to another to occupy a privilege yet ambiguous position.

CHAPTER 2

ROMANTIC AND COMPASSIONATE LOVE: FRAMING SOUTH-SOUTH FEMALE MARRIAGE MIGRATION

2.1 Introduction

The current scholarship on marriage migration is still theoretically under-developed (Kofman, 2004; Williams 2010; Kraler et al 2011; Eggebø, 2013). A theoretical interest in globalisation and transnational space has informed several studies on marriage migration (Wray, 2011: 10-3; Walsh, 2009; Williams, 2010; Wray, 2011: 10-3) though discussions on marriage migration particularly a 'real' or genuine marriage between a citizen of the Global South and a citizen of the Global North usually involve a focus on love. Important contributions to the concept of love have been made by scholars from other disciplines rather than marriage migration. Consequently, love as a theoretical concept is still not as central to the current discourse on marriage migration as one might expect (Eggebø, 2013) and geographical discourse in general (see Morrison, 2010). Morrison (2010: 61) argues that one

of the main reasons why geographers have paid less attention to love in their studies is because the body 'has long been constructed as the 'Other' in geography. Morrison (2010: 61) goes further to lament that while 'acknowledgement pages often contain written expressions of love – love for partners, children, friends and family – geographical texts contain little trace of bodies that love' (see also Longhurst, 2001). This is also the case of most traditional studies that focused on marriage or heterosexual intimacy in Africa in particular and the Third world in general (see Jankowiak and Fischer, 1992). Often, these studies, conducted by white scholars assumed non-Western 'others' don't know love or that they just don't feel or experience love based on the assumption that love is a western experience (see Jankowiak and Fischer, 1992; Linton, 1936; Stone, 1988). However, as recent studies including mine have shown, love has always been present in African courtship and marriage but neglected in academics and particularly anthropological studies (Cole, 2009) and as a concept in marriage migration studies. Love is a powerful emotional state that is as old as the existence of humankind (Hirsch and Wardlow, 2009; Lizot, 1985) and is universal (Jankowiak and Fischer, 1992). This neglect of love is problematic because it is in fact impossible to understand marriage migration without considering the role of love in shaping marriage and migratory decisions, experiences and the link between people and particular places. Secondly, in marriage migration, spouses are expected to prove their marriage is genuine to the immigration authority of the host country based on a western notion of love, defined by choice, individuality and courtship rules of dating without taking into consideration marriage arrangements in other cultures. For example, "the lack of courtship and the social and economic gap make cross-border marriage vulnerable" (Palriwala and Uberoi, 2010: 145) and subject to government surveillance. Through this 'mode of subjectification and governance practice, love connect intimacy and citizenship in an unexpected way' (D'Aoust, 2013: 259). This calls for the need to incorporate love as a theoretical framework in marriage migration. In this chapter therefore, I define my theoretical approach to the study of love in South-South female marriage migration from Cameroon to the UK. I frame my study using the concept of love. Berscheid and Walster are generally recognised as having developed the first socio psychological model of love (Fehr, 2001). In this model, they divide love into two: passionate and compassionate love. Romantic and compassionate love are significant for my study because they influence and shape not just women's marriage and migration but their transnational marriage roles and responsibilities, expectations as well as experiences. Love also influences their identity construction, sense of belonging and citizenship which determine relationships with both sending and receiving countries. Examining how these two

interlocking love concepts work in marriage migration can reveal some of the complexities, contradictions, opportunities and challenges of female marriage migration. In particular, this chapter shows how notions of love offer useful ways to understand the marital and migratory experiences of women who move through marriage where love gives them access to the border and citizenship to perform love and care work and conceptualizes identity, belonging and citizenship. Hence, I find these two love concepts significant for better framing and understanding of South-South female marriage migration.

Beginning with an exploration of love, the first section theorizes romantic love with a particular focus on romantic love in Africa. Next, I look at issues relating to romantic love in the regulation of marriage migration and marriage migration practices from outside the West that are contrary to the Western notion of romantic love and therefore seen as controversial . The second part of this chapter theorizes compassionate love and its role in intimate relationships. The diverse scholarship on love encompasses several of the issues and perspectives central to this thesis as well as other research on marriage migration. For instance, intimacy, migration, care, identity, belonging and citizenship. Consequently, I propose that the scholarship on love theory can contribute to further theoretical developments in the field of marriage migration. Moreover, studies of marriage migration are suited to the development of love theory. Overall, I show how these interdisciplinary and interlocking theories can be incorporated in understanding love in South-South female marriage migrants.

2.2 Love

Emotions have been studied in various disciplines in the humanities and social sciences in the last century and have been the source of most interesting arguments in the 500 years history of writing (Belli, 2010). In Particular, 'the emotion of love is commonly used in these writings' (Oatley, 2007: 27). Hence, love has received great scholarly attention above other emotions and has been investigated in its various aspects by various scholars in literature, theology, psychology, philosophy, sociology and recently in geography (Hay, 1991; 1992; Bell, 1992; 1994; Robinson, 1994). Fehr and Russel (1991) comment that love can be studied as a relationship, attitude, experience, emotion and so on. Similarly, the concept of love has different meanings across different types of relationships ranging from friends, children, family and romantic relationships (Graham, 2011). Hence, different models have

been developed by scholars that allow the differentiation between varying experiences of love. In an attempt to quantify love, they differentiate between love and like (Rubin, 1971), passionate and companionate love (Berscheid and Hatfield, 1978), passion, intimacy, and commitment (Sternberg, 1986), and a wide variety of love styles (Lee, 1973). In general, most writings on love have focused on romantic love (Aron and Paris, 1995; Berscheid 2010; Sailor, 2013; Dion and Dion, 1993; Acevedo and Aron 2001; Surra, Gray, Boettcher, Cottle, and West, 2006; Andreas Bartels and Semi Zeki, 2000) in romantic and intimate relationships. Compassionate love on the other hand has received less attention though it is also experienced by romantic partners and plays an important role in predicting relationship satisfaction and stability (Fehr, 2014). In recent years, scholars have attempted to explore compassionate love outside the realm of family and strangers by looking at compassionate love in romantic relationships like dating and marriage. This move from non-romantic to romantic context signals a shift in the understanding and the importance of compassionate love in romantic relationships and marital satisfaction.

2.3 Defining Romantic Love

Romantic love is commonly mentioned when discussing romantic and intimate relationships. Though the search for a social mate originated in Greece (Chapman, 2011), romantic love is generally associated with the Western world. For example, in this earlier quote from Linton (1936: 175) she insists "Our present American culture is practically the only one which has attempted to . . . make . . . (occasional violent, emotional attachments between persons of the opposite sex) . . . the basis for marriage", a view also hold by many individuals in the Western culture (Simpson et al., 1986). Lawrence Stone (1988:16) goes further to argue that if romantic love ever existed outside of Europe, it only arose among the non-Western nation states' elites who had the time to cultivate an aesthetic appreciation for subjective experiences'. Hence, romantic love has been popularized in the Western culture and is considered a necessary ingredient in marriage (Sailor 2013, see also Dion and Dion, 1993; Acevedo and Aron, 2001). It involves 'the process of couple dating, becoming engaged and marrying' (Bercheid, 1988; de Munck and Korotayer, 2007 cited in Sailor: 2013: 1). In

the romantic ideology is two of the belief that marriage should be based on love and true love last forever (Regan, 2012; Sailor, 2013) though divorce is one of the most widespread social phenomena of our time (Ambert, 2009). Romantic love also known as 'passionate love', 'erotic love', 'eros', 'being in love' (Berscheid, 2010) can be defined as 'the strong desire for a close romantic relationship with a particular individual' (Arthur and Meg, 1995: 1102; see also Surra, Gray, Boettcher, Cottle, and West, 2006). Andreas Bartels and Semi Zeki, (2000: 2829) go further to stress that romantic love is ''a complex sentiment involving erotic, cognitive, emotional and behavioural components''. On the other hand, Skolnick (1978: 104) argues that love is "a constructed experience built with feelings, ideas, and cultural symbols". In this regard, love is not just an inner feeling expressed and performed by two individuals but is an emotion with strong socio-cultural influences (Povinelli, 2013). Culture can be a major force constructing the conception of love and consequently shaping its subjective experiences. In particular, members of different cultures may hold diverse views of love, covering definitions, nature, meaning and ways to strive for subjective well-being. This socially constructed emotion indicates how couples must behave in marriage.

Several psychology models propose that romantic love has three separate features. For instance, Shaver and Hazan building (1988) on Bowlby's pioneering treatment of child-parent attachment suggested that romantic love consist of attachment, care giving and sex. Most researchers argue that love and romantic obsession (Acevedo, 2008; Graham 2011) likewise romantic love and sex are two independent constructs (Munck and Korotayev, 1999). On the other hand, Regan et al (1998) insist that love and sex are inextricably linked. Sex is one of the central features of a romantic relationship. Love is differently related to relationship satisfaction and relationship length (Acevedo, 2008). It has been argued by researchers that established couples are less likely to possess companionate and romantic love than newly wedded while others suggest that passionate love decrease over time (Acker and Davis, 1992; Tucker and Aron, 1993). It has also been well documented that the frequency of sexual intercourse decline over time (Call, Sprecher, and Schwartz, 1995) and sexual excitement fades over time (Stemberg, 1986).In simple terms, love is the transition from not being in love to being in love (Aron et al, 1989 cited in Aron and Paris, 1995: 1102) with feelings used 'as indicators of the presence or absence of love' (Lyons, 1985: 186) and behaviours such as shared activities and disclosing intimacies (Swensen, 1972). Hence, love and relationship satisfaction are strongly correlated. Love is an essential component of a successful relationship (Simpson, Campbell and Berscheid, 1986) life satisfaction, relationship stability,

and psychological and general health (Dietch, 1978; Fehr, 2001; Kim and Hatfield, 2004 cited in Graham 2011: 749) and strengthen or weaken within extended social network that comprise friends and family members (Sinclaire et al, 2015; Sprecher et al. 2002, 2006; Wright and Sinclair 2012).

One of the first significant researchers on the psychology of love was Robert Sternberg. Beginning in the early 1980s, he conducted his first research on love focusing on the structure of love in his work titled: a psychometric type of theory of love (Sternberg, Grajek 1984). However, the elements of love described in this book did not systematize them or explain why one would love some individuals but not others. To this regard, he published his next significant work on the triangular theory of love in which he divided love into three components: passion, intimacy and commitment (Stemberg 1986). According to Stemberg, passion is what initially attracts partners to one another; intimacy generates the interdependency that binds partners together emotionally and behaviourally while commitment keeps partners together over time (Fletcher el al, 2015: 21, see also Sailor, 2013). Nevertheless, Hatfield and Walster (1978) conclude that companionate love, intimacy, and commitment grow over time. Generally romantic love is thought to include all 3 components. However, Stemberg's most significant contribution in the psychology of love only started in the 1990 when he defined love as a story based on the view that individuals tend to fall in love with those whose stories are complimentary to theirs (Stemberg 1995, 1998). While love has always been studied, it was not until Rubin (1971) published his article titled "The Measurement of Romantic Love" that he ignited scholarly interest in the scientific study of love. Rubin (1971) defined romantic love as being comprised of three components: (1) affiliative and dependent need (attachment), or the desire to be close to someone; (2) predisposition to help (caring), or love manifested by helping behaviour and putting another's needs before one's own; and (3) exclusiveness and absorption (intimacy), or feelings of possessiveness and union with one's partner. His study was significant as he actually indicated that love could not only be observed but measured. Rosenblatt (1967) developed a cross-cultural scale for measuring the significance of romantic love. Using the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF), he constructed an 11-point scale based on 11 criteria that were extracted from the HRAF categories Basis of Marriage (OCM No. 581) and Sexuality (OCM No. 831). The 11 criteria are (a) idealization of potential spouse, (b) ethnographer states romantic love is important, (c) marriages are not arranged, (d) evidence that faith and loyalty to a spouse is common and volitional, (e) high incidence of elopement in societies where arranged marriage is the norm, (f) spouses spent time together and give each other "nonobligated" gifts, (g) belief in predestination or a "soul mate," (h) evidence of

suicide over unrequited love, (i) clear evidence that people gain happiness and fulfillment from marriage, (j) noncompelled mourning at the death of a spouse, and (k) jealousy that reflects "strong attachment" (Rosenblatt, 1967, p. 475 cited in Munck and Korotayev 1999: 267). Rosenblatt (1967) study was however limited to societies in which ethnographic material was available. As noted above, romantic love has mostly been studied as a uniquely Western phenomenon or experience (Jankowiak and Fischer, 1992; Linton, 1936; Stone, 1988) until recently. In the past, romantic love was ignored among non-Western people by ethnographers while those who did if at all, disagreed about the significance of romantic love in marriage in non-western cultures. Despite the widespread belief that romantic love is unique to Euro-American culture (Jankowiak and Fischer 1992) and falling in love seems to be a desired experience in Western culture (Swidler, 1980), not everyone falls in love even in the so-called romantic culture. Others fall in and out of love before and after marriage though passionate entanglement is usually celebrated in its literature, films, mythology (Jankowiak and Fischer, 2007) while some fall in love when faced with severe negative sanction. The work of Jankowiak and Fischer (1992) spurred an anthropological interest in the study of love with their cross-cultural study on love widely cited in anthropological and cross-study of love. Their study seeks to investigate whether romantic love was a widespread phenomenon or an emotion limited to the West alone. They found that romantic love was a near-cultural universal emotion that was found even in societies that prohibit love or was thought not to believe in love as an important ingredient in marriage. In this regard, romantic love is not an unknown experience (Jankowiak and Fischer, 1992; Lizot, 1985) outside the West though the experience of romantic love varies from culture to culture based on the culture's social organization and ideological orientation. Noting that there is no folklore on romantic love in Africa, Jankowiak and Fischer (2007) suggest that the lack of anthropological evidence on romantic love or the assumption that romantic love was not present outside the West in the past was the consequence of ethnographic oversight rather than the absence of love. They go further to reveal that in many African cultures, passionate affection is expressed in non-verbal idioms seldom studied by earlier generation of ethnographers. Hence, they suggest that romantic love was a near universal cultural construct but was seldom studied among non-western cultures, reason why it remained unknown in the anthropology literature.

2.4 Romantic Love in Africa

Except in the field of literature and psychology, only in recent decades have anthropologists focus more engagement in 20th century Africa paying more attention to kinship, courtship and marriage but not the theorization of love. Even the possible best known volume on marriage and sex in Africa (see Isaac Schapen's 1940 titled married life in an African Tribe) fails to include love. Love has been a neglected topic in research on Africa though there is a great deal of African work on other emotions like jealousy and anger (Douglas, 1970; Haris 1978, Lambek and Solway, 2001; Durham, 2002 cited in Cole, 2009: 2). Historians and anthropologists largely ignored love in Africa as an area of research (Cole, 2009). Cole (2009: 2) asks: 'Why is there so little scholarship on love in Africa? Though there is a 'burgeoning body of work on love in other places'. The history of the West relationship to Africa has been partly blamed for the misconception that there was no love in Africa. During the Atlantic slave trade era, European representation of African men and women's 'barbarity' portrayed them as libidinous and licentious (Morgan, 2004). Similarly, slave owners in the United States depicted black slaves as hypersexual with no emotional depth (Cole, 2009; Slatton, 2015) but bestial reproduction capacity, important for slavery and human breeding that provided the needed free labour of the white economy (Slatton, 2015). Constructing African women as emasculating matriarch (Slatton, 2015) in an exploitative colonial system as promiscuous but hard working women, allowed whites to present blacks as inferior being who were 'strong, sturdy and subhuman born to labour for others but 'undesirable relationship partners'; a western construction of black women as animalistic and biologically inferior (Slatton, 2015). Even missionaries who rejected the notion of Black inferiority, bride wealth exchange and polygyny still portrayed African women as slave-like and the lack of deep sentiment within African courtship and marriage (Beecham 1841; Curtin 1964). Through portraying lust as omnipresent while love was shown as absent in Africa, blacks were situated as morally and spiritually inadequate. This European perspective established a 'set of racialized polemics that would inform subsequent discussions and representations of black intimacy (Omolade, 1983; Mama, 1996; Hanchard, 2000; Ratele, 2004 cited in Cole 2009: 8). It is this Eurocentrism of early historians' discussion of love which likely discouraged African historians from embracing the topic of love in Africa (Cole, 2009). Also, during this period, writing about ordinary domestic scenes, love between Africans (unless a death is involved) (Wainaina, 2005 cited in Cole 2009: 1) in a heterosexual relationship likewise same sex corporeal intimacy (Kahn-Fogel, 2013) was seen as a taboo subject. This therefore does not mean that love was absent in Africa or among Africans. In this regard, Cole (2009) explores love as an analytical problem. Cole (2009) challenges social

and scientific and historical scholarship that tend to reduce African intimacy among Africans to sex and also problematize the reduction of intimacy to sex anywhere. She goes further to argue that in order to understand sex or intimacy, we need to first understand the ideology of emotional attachment. What is it that attaches people emotionally in a sexual relationship across the border? Could this be romantic love or migration? A question that I have addressed in Chapter 4. Cole's (2009) study is important because 'outside love' remains an analytical problem particularly with regards to marriage migration where 'love is never assumed, rather it must be proven D'Aoust 2012: 20). Yet in the words of Helen Fisher,… ''Romantic love. Obsessive love. Passionate love. Infatuation. Call it what you will, men and women of every culture have been 'bewitched, bothered, and bewildered' by this irresistible power. Being in love is universal to humanity; it is part of human nature''. (Helen Fisher, Why We Love: 2004).

However, during the second half of the 20th century, love became a subject for research in Africa. Love has become a topic of discussion for not just Africans but ethnographers. In recent years, 'discussions of sexual intimacy, trust, personal feelings, seem to be everywhere (Cole, 2009: 1). Cole for instance in her study on love in Africa, examines how men and women have imagined and negotiated love, the sentiment of attachment and affiliation that binds individuals to one another in predominantly heterosexual relationships in colonial and post-colonial Africa. While love in heterosexual intimate relationship is widely recognized and practiced, same sex intimacy remains forbidden and punishable in most parts of Africa if not all. The interest in the study of love in Africa coincided with the emergence of modernization in Africa. During the 1950s to 70s in Africa, anthropologists sought out to understand whether urbanization and rapid social changes in African societies from a communal-kinship-based ethos to an individualist one (Cooper and Packard, 1997 cited in Cole, 2009) had contributed to love among Africans in a sexual and romantic relationship. According to them, 'love was seen as a new kind of emotion particularly in relation to marriage as girls express their desire to 'learn about love' (Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain 1968 cited in Cole, 2009: 11) even though they were already in intimate relationships with men. It was also observed that marriage was based on cattle exchange rather than affect (Cole, 2009). Such accounts suggest that cultural ideologies reinforced marriage, kinship and exchange in marriage rather than love. Hence, they concluded that African women were caught between older patterns of African kinship and marriage and those that emerge with modernity. However, another study published the same year, contradicts the above conclusion. Guy Bernard (1968 cited in Cole, 2009) in his study on marriage among Kinshasa school teachers

observe many cases in which love or what is commonly referred to as love at first sight (coup de foudre) played a crucial role in who married whom. This particular study is significant as it shows that there is love in Africa and particularly emphasises the role of passionate love as an important factor in marriage in Africa and not just the West. Also, individual choice served as a basis for spouse selection and eventual marriage. Therefore, despite this earlier belief that there was no love in Africa, affective ties have always been present but different from the West (Cole 2009). Not only was love misunderstood but misrepresented because it did not follow the western notion of romantic love.

2.5 Cameroonian Marriage Practice

Tradition continues to influence, shape and remains a significant aspect of marriage in most of the Third World. In Cameroon, a couple is traditionally expected to marry in front of the bride and groom's family before registering their 'modern' civil or church wedding. It is a process that involves the future groom and his family meeting the bride's family to 'ask for her hand in marriage'. If the bride family welcomes the groom, they will fix a date for the groom and his family to pay the bride price followed by a feast or celebration. Once the bride price is paid, the bride and groom are declared married before both families and sometimes may never do a modern marriage though traditional marriage offers little protection to women. All the women in my study told me their husbands paid their bride price before they were married by the register in the UK or the mayor in Cameroon:

Since my parents are of late, the traditional wedding was done in the village where my husband paid the bride price. I was traditionally married in front of my grandparents, aunties, uncles and my immediate family. After the traditional wedding, we then returned to Limbe where we spent a week before our court wedding (Rita).

The traditional wedding was done by his family but he was not present. His cousin had to represent him. Actually, before the wedding itself, the family came to knock the door (ask for her hand in marriage) *and my family told them what was needed from them and a date was chosen for the traditional wedding. My family accepted the bride price and we had a small party at my aunt's place, attended by friends and relatives. He then came home that December and we had our court and church wedding. If I did not love my husband I would be long gone. No, I can't marry a man I don't love. I was glad I found my Mr right at that early*

stage. I was only 23 when I got married. I still had time to think about marriage without being worried about my age (Germaine).

Just like love, family approval is important in marriage among Cameroonian women. Irrespective of the presence or absence of a groom, in Cameroon, bride price payment is a prerequisite for a valid marriage under customary law. Thus, family approval of the union and bride price payment must take place (see Oguli, 2004) thereby uniting the two families and not just the couple. This is more important to the family and the bride and applies to romantic love couples through the exchange of money and goods to solemnise marriage before she can marry legally and migrate as a wife (see Robinson, 2007). In this regard, it can be argued that marriage migration can sometimes be a family collective decision and not just as individual one (Huong et al, 2010) as family refusal of bride price payment can sometimes lead to the marriage not contracted and where the bride does decide to register her romantic wedding, traditionally, she remains unmarried unless bride price is paid to her family. Bride price, sometimes referred to as bride wealth is a form of marriage payment in which the bride's group receives a payment of goods, money, or livestock to compensate for the loss of a woman's labour and the children she bears. It is a common traditional practice in many African societies for families to arrange marriage payments and varies in form and sizes (Ngutor, Yandev and Arumun, 2013) depending on the man's position in society, his family background, the woman's age, educational level and status (Oguli, 2004) including the bride's complexion in some cases. For example, among the Bamilekes of Cameroon, the woman's complexion is taken into consideration when determining the bride price. Also, bushfaller groom tend to pay more bride wealth than local men. This was also observed by Timmerman (2007) in her study with Turkish marriage migrants in Belgium notes. Timmerman (2007) notes that the bridewealth paid by migrant men was more than the local rate and families were happy to give their daughters to men they barely knew for a week since they knew she was to travel to Belgium with the inlaws. Though bride price is associated with buying a wife and has been linked to domestic abuse (Hague and Thiara, 2009; Matembe, 2004; Ngutor, Yandev and Arumun, 2013), it is not a payment for a woman. However, through this payment, there is a negotiation of wealth and rights before a couple's romantic marriage can be recognized and approved by both families in Cameroon. This therefore does not mean that love is absent in such marriages but rather these marriages followed a romantic rule of courtship, dating and were self-chosen as well as negotiated by the couple rather than their families.

Romantic love has no border. It is a universal phenomenon that transcends time and culture. Yet, a gendered and racialised stereotypes continue to inform immigration policy and administration in ways that create subtle or more overt forms of discrimination (Eggebø, 2013: 35) since it is assumed those coming from outside ‘’don’t know, and can’t define, the essence of a love’’ (Morrison 2010: 38) in marriage. Using the example of Austria, D’Aoust (2010) notes that information obtained from an organization called Peregrina indicate that female marriage migrants married to Austrian men, particularly of African origin, have to wait up to a year and a half to get their permission in an attempt to establish residency. This point to the discrimination against black women who are assumed to be in marriage but disinterested in love. Nevertheless, all the women I interviewed talked about falling in love with the man they married, a stance of discourse I frequently heard. For them, romantic love was a driving force in their relationship and the foundation of their marriage. Talking about their marriage, some of the women told me

‘All I ever wanted was a man that could show me some love and respect. A man that could make me happy, you get what I mean…I love my man’ (Vera).

*My husband used to rent opposite our house. He watched me grow… We were like friends and will chat all the time. We grew to teenagers and later fell in love. We dated for 4 years before he left Cameroon for the UK. Before he left Cameroon, we had a daughter and I had moved in to live with him… We were poor and had nothing but love to share. I love him (*Rita*).*

Ernestine also told me about how she met and fell in love with her husband. She like the other women, mentioned the word love several times

His holiday (referring to her husband) visit to Limbe (city where she used to live) was to change our lives forever and here we are. I was a hairdresser coming from work that evening when he approached me and told me he liked me and would like to become a friend…That evening, we chatted for a while and he accompanied me near my house but did not come in. When we became close friends, he started visiting me, sometimes picking me after work to go have a drink before going home…Then we started our relationship. I could not go to her sister’s house as we were young and could not expose our relationship but friends knew about us. We always met at mine without her sister knowing. Our relationship became serious and he no longer spent his holidays in Bamenda with his parents. Instead, he chose to spend his holidays in Limbe and will only go to Bamenda for a few days. Love be don carry ei

head go. (He was deeply in love) (She laughs). Gradually, her sister and her husband came to know about our relationship when he introduced me to them after a year into our relationship. When you meet a man who sweeps you off your feet, then know you've found true love. Love is very important in a relationship because when there is no love, I think the relationship will not be a happy one.

Love is an independent emotion that should happen prior to marriage. Recent research on intimacy and marriage across different cultures has shown that love is an important emotion in marriage (see Cole, 2009; Jankowiak and Fischer, 2007). Some scholars have argued that the significance of romantic love as a basis for marriage will only happen in societies where individuals are allowed to give or not give love freely (Munck and Korotayev, 1999). This is also linked to the degree to which non-marital sex/adultery is prohibited or disapproved for females in a given society ((Munck and Korotayev, 1999), suggesting that sexual equality is an important element of romantic love. Societies in which sexual equalities exist do rate love as higher when compared to societies in which inequalities do exist. In Cameroon, marriage is a must for a girl, if she is to be fully respected and for her to fit into her normal status once she reaches puberty (UNECA, 1988). In the past, in Cameroon, like most parts of Africa, premarital sex was a taboo subject and therefore could not be practiced in open by adolescence. Today, a growing majority of men and women enter marriage with premarital experience in romantic and sexual relationships. With later age at marriage, mass media and advancement in ICTS coupled with increased rural to urban migration as well as international migration, these premarital relationships have become common though the community does not encourage it given the rise in HIV/AIDS and other STDs among Cameroonians. Grover (2009) defines love marriages as self-chosen unions preceded by premarital relationships though traditionally premarital sex is discouraged. All the women I interviewed had a premarital romantic relationship with their husbands. The majority of the women described a kind of romantic marriage that was self-chosen, had a period of courtship involving sex and culminating into marriage. Underlying Eurocentric view is the assumption that modernisation and individualism are directly connected to romantic love (Jankowiak and Fischer, 2007). As Smith (2004) has argued premarital experience in sexual and romantic relationships are considered markers of being modern and a kind of preparation for marriage. However, it should be noted that the likelihood that it would end in marriage also depends on the nature of the relationship as well as the age and life course position. Thus, not all premarital sexual and romantic relationships would eventually lead to marriage. However, for these women

their romance led to marriage. In the romantic conception of love, 'love works against the social, love happens despite social constraints' (D'Aoust, 2010:19). This is the case of Rita who moved to the UK after her husband returned to Cameroon and married her. While the couple faced hardship in Cameroon prior to her husband's migration to the UK, most importantly they loved each other. It is this mutual love that led to their union. Women frequently used the word love rather than migration in describing their intimate relationship with their husband prior to marriage. Their words reveal that Cameroonian women do not only experience and perform love but do express it verbally.

2.6 Immigration Policy Rule on Love

Romantic love is socially constructed and culturally specific (Johnson 2005; Hirsch and Wardlow, 2009). Romantic love has evolved to a near universal concept though it is still not universally considered a necessary ingredient in marriage. Hence, while love marriage has always occurred in almost every culture, in most of the Third world, it is not a dominant method of selecting a spouse (see Gupta, 1976 for the case of India). Yet according to the marriage migration entry and settlement rule of Western governments, love is the 'One and only valid foundation of the Western marriage' (D'Aoust, 2010: 24) and should be the basis for marriage in cross border marriage from the South to the West rather than migration (D'Aoust, 2010) with the presence of passionate affection that is mutual and enacted in courtship (Piper, 1985). While romantic love is not specific to Western Europe or North America yet Europeans have developed a sense of identity around romantic love, viewing love as purely European and a white liberal subject. In doing so, those coming from outside must prove that their marriage is a love one. Thus, a marriage related to migration should be based on a strong and enduring relationship that is built upon long term association (Hatfield, 1988; Liebowitz 1983 cited in Jankowiak and Fischer, 2007: 150) by a free individualistic self (Feier, 2007) as a loveless marriage is an obstacle to the larger liberal democratization process and a clash between outside values versus democratic values. Elizabeth Povinelli (2006) reminds us that despite the seemingly away distance between intimate events from the political and economic spheres of production 'no less than liberalism, the intimate event…is used to secure power in the contemporary world' (181-182). More than a relationship that exist between a husband and a wife, immigration investigations for spousal visas aim not just to identify potential forced marriages but marriages for convenience (see D'Aoust 2010)

because love is thought to be absent in such marriages. In this regards, love becomes a 'techne' (D'Aoust 2010) used to establish the genuineness of a marriage for the purpose of migration. Hence, love is never assumed and must be proven by the parties particularly the party who depends on the visa to migrate. It should be noted however, that the government is not interested in the role love or affection plays in a marriage involving two British or Western citizens. In this regards, a love marriage is not simply a relationship between two people but 'a semiotic operation that creates a subject, produces multiple linkages between that subject, its economy, and government, and governs the operation of these linkages' (Povinelli, 2006: 192).

An individual motivation in marriage migration was migration when romantic love was thought to be absent and referred to as marriage of convenience or sham marriage because it 'serves the sole purpose of obtaining a residence permit' Guličová – Grethe and Nähr (2004: 7) This is commonly referred to in immigration policies as 'grey marriage' term coined in 2006 (D'Aoust 2010) and in the UK, sham marriage (these are marriage in which both spouses collude to fake true love so that one can bring the other abroad) Recently, there is a responsibility to the register office to announce suspicious cases of sham marriages across the EU (see Guličová – Grethe and Nähr, 2004). On the other hand, a love marriage also known as real marriage describes a marriage pattern in which two individuals fall inlove and decide to get marry. Romantic love is a dominant determinant of a real marriage (Hirsch and Wardlow, 2009) in the regulation of marriage migration (Eggebø, 2013). Nevertheless, this Euro-American understanding of companionate or passionate marriage which involves…'Emotion, courtship, intimacy, companionship, sexuality, and fidelity' (Hirsch and Wardlow, 2009: 5) does not apply the same to everyplace or relationship and often highly depends on the context and culture. Some scholars have even argued that the significance of romantic love as a basis for marriage will only happen in societies where individuals are allowed to give or not give love freely. Culture is known to have a great impact on people's definition of love, their romantic love, marital ideals and whether they marry for and have an arranged love marriage and how far they go in their marriage (Hatfield, Mo and Rapson,in press). The social effect networks also influence love. Social disapproval has led to the termination of romantic relationship while some have shown to strengthen instead (Felmlee 2001). Love is said to have helped us understand the essence of human beings (Belli, 2010). It is not just a simple sentence expressed through language with statements like 'I love you' but an emotions expressed through the whole body which involve an interpretation of signs, gestures and looks. Hence,

love is a complete performance according to Judith Butler (1993) and an ever changing process that cannot be separated from the socio-cultural context within which we find ourselves. For example, Neeting (2010) points out in the case of India, love marriage in contemporary India, ‘’often represents lust, disrespect of parents and danger to society’’ (Netting, 2010: 709 cited in Tuxen 2013) and greater likelihood that love will contravene the social restrictions enforced by arranged marriage processes, such as marrying within your caste or religion (Corwin, 1977; Chowdhry, 2007; Velayutham and Wise, 2008 cited in Tuxen 2013) and therefore seen as a 'weak' basis for marriage in Indian culture 'because its presence may overshadow suitable qualities in spouses' (Gupta, 1976: 77 cited in Tuzen 2013). These Arranged marriages are frequent than forced marriage with a long tradition and pre-marital relationships are taboo (see Guličová – Grethe and Nähr, 2004).

2.7 Marriage Migration Practices

Over the years, scholars have attempted to understand marriage practices from outside the EU that has been linked to migration (see Charsley, 2006; Timmerman, 2007; Piper, 2003; Constable, 2003, Suzuki, 2007). These include forced and arranged marriages, catalogue marriages and marriages of convenience (Guličová – Grethe and Nähr; 2004). The mail-order brides and sham marriage phenomena have received increase attention by immigration policy makers (Lu, 2005; see D’Aoust, 2010 for the case of Germany and the United States of America) and scholars (Piper 2003; Constable 2003; Suzuki 2007). The category of ‘mail order brides’ (MOB) in particular has dominated both academic and popular discourses on international marriage’ (Minjeong 2008: 18). So too has discussions on forced marriages (Guličová – Grethe and Nähr, 2004). These discourses have impacted on women and marriage migration in several ways. The phenomenon of MOB (Del Rosario Virginia O., 1994; Glodava and Onizuka, 1994; Robinson, 2006), a Market metaphor for mail-ordered brides who can be purchased by citizenship men and also referred to as ‘a market for Asian women on the internet’ Guličová – Grethe and Nähr (2004: 7) has been linked to sex tourism and sex trafficking (Barry, 1995) as well as labour migration especially domestic work (Chang, 2002). Firstly, not only is the term ‘mail order brides’ controversial but depicts women as victims who are sold to western men by marriage brokers. According to feminist, Kim (2010) MOB portrays women as a commodity for sale, seeing women as submissive, exotic and sensual objects (Halualani 11995 cited in kim, 2010: 5) because these marriages

have been arranged through commercial brokers (Constable 2003, Piper 2008). In reality, what is sold is women's contact information to Western men, rather than women to enable them contact these women who are interested in marriage to foreign men. Instead, these women are portrayed as victims not only in their marriage but women who lack the agency in their marriage decision making process and whether they marry by choice of force based in their social and economic position in their countries of origin given that they move to a hypergamous society (Constable 2004) though this movement does not necessarily lead to an improvement in the position of the women or the men to whom they get married might not be rich. These women are therefore thought to be trafficked from the South to the North for the Western market where citizenship men are looking for women with traditional values which they feel the West have lost while the women are accused for marrying for love rather than residency though it is difficult to distinguish both form of marriages as the Western normative framework that is used to define these marriages do not apply in other parts of the world (Beck-Gernsheim 2011). In this regard, if it is not poverty and the lack of love, it is this decision making process that is problematic and makes marriage linked to migration questionable as women go into dependence by marrying and often suffer from domestic abuse Guličová – Grethe and Nähr (2004). In this regards, this category does not 'clearly-define common set of migration experiences' (D'Aoust 20: 8) especially when studied from the view of abused women. Using the case of internet-mediated marriage migration, Nicole Constable argues that the representation of the "mail-order bride" is "flawed and misleading because it defines women solely as victims and ...neglects the local voices and the insider's perspectives long called for by ethnographers and feminists" (2003:29). As long as women are not lured into transnational human trafficking through marriage, Constable is right. On the other hand, this electronic romance allows women to negotiate intimacy at an individual level across borders. Robinson (2007) has recently drawn attention to the voluntariness of such marriages. The growth in electronic romance or love and sexual tourism have led to the commercialisation of love and women use the web or brokers in the process of negotiating their marriage across their national border (Johnson-Hanks 2007, Simons 2001, Constable 2003, Robinson 2007). Also, performing love (Constable 2003, 2005) have facilitated cross border marriages. A new kind of relationship has emerged between technology and emotions particularly on the subject of intimacy. Following the mass popularity of ICTs and many people becoming involved in distant relationships more than ever before, we have seen the emergence of new narratives in the social sciences with concepts of love like techno-

disembodiment and affective machines (Belli 2010: 262). This accounts for the over researched on MOB with implications on race and gender.

While not restricted to migrants of Muslim origin, forced/arranged marriage is generally linked to them though it is a common practice among people who mainly come from cultures with traditional family-networks: Guličová – Grethe and Nähr (2004) and usually arranged between men and women with the same ethnic background Guličová – Grethe and Nähr (2004). In recent years, there have been increased government and nongovernmental organization concerns over forced marriages in the UK, mostly resulting from the high media coverage given to victims of such practices. This has led to a controversial debate about the terminology 'forced marriage'. While the government sees it as a form of human trafficking and marriage that is forced rather than self-chosen by the spouses given these young women cannot decide freely Guličová – Grethe and Nähr (2004), others for example, relatives of the spouses, see it as marriage that is arranged rather than forced because the relatives arrange the marriage but the couple have the final say. For them therefore, this type of marriage is normal based on the tradition in their country of origin though it stands in contradiction to the UK values of liberty and democracy as well as immigration control. Yet, for relatives, it is a kind of protection marriage as it legally secures the status of the bride or groom in his/her new country (see D'Aoust, 2010). While most of the women appeared to be in marriages that were self-chosen and negotiated at the individual level, some of the women met their husbands through family members and friends. After the initial introduction, they fell in love and chose to get married. Vivian whose marriage was 'arranged' by her mother-in-law told me how she met her husband. She said:

I loved the man I married the very first day we met. It was at a friend's wedding party in December 2001 and I was introduced to him by his mum who is my mum's friend. Her mum called me to come and greet his son who had just arrived from the UK. I greeted him and sat with them on their table for a while before returning to where I was sitting. I later went there (referring to her husband's family house) with my mum to give food to his son. We spent a nice evening at their place and he bought us drinks. After this, we met on several occasions during which he made known his intentions. Actually, his mum was behind it (laughs). We started seeing each other before he returned to the UK. I was very happy when my husband proposed. Like every woman, I was happy to get married. It is the dream of every woman to be called a wife. He returned to Cameroon a year later to marry me and said he wanted me

to join him in the UK. My husband brought me here because he loved me and I accepted to marry him because I loved him too (Vivian).

This was also the case of Linda. Though her friend didn't arrange her marriage, she introduced her to her future husband thereby facilitating their romantic encounter.

'*I was introduced to him by a friend. They came to my school to look for me. She told me he loved me but I laughed. We gradually got to know each other. I was happy to know a man from my tribe who loved me and wanted to marry me. We got married after two years and have been happy thereafter'* (Linda)

In Cameroon, it is not uncommon for family members and friends to arrange potential suitors for their relatives or friends. While they introduce potential spouses to one another, the spouses have the choice as to whether to fall in love or not. However, this initial introduction is significant in marriage because the individual who recommends a girl for a wife must be someone who knows her and her family. This individual is also certain that she will make a good wife or that that the husband is a responsible man who can look after his wife as well as make her happy. Though Donner (2002) has argued that a love marriage is one agreed upon by the couple concerned who may then seek the consent of their parents after a period of courtship and not one introduced by their parents as a perspective candidate, spousal recommendation increases the likelihood of the couple falling in love and getting married particularly in distant or cross border marriages as a love marriage does not depend on the period or mode of courtship (Donner; 2002) Similarly, Kishwar (1999) challenges the notion of a family-arranged marriage as 'backward' and a love marriage as 'progressive' while citing several examples of unsuccessful love marriages and pointing out that emotional attachment between the couple was often ephemeral in these unions and that marital stability is achievable in arranged marriages. Even in romantic encounters in the West, individuals are introduced to potential spouse and they make the final decision whether to fall in love or not. In this regards, forced marriage can be distinguished from arranged marriage. While forced marriage refers to a 'marriage in which one or both spouses do not (or, in the case of a vulnerable adult, cannot) consent to the marriage and duress (physical, financial, psychological, sexual and emotional pressure) is involved (D'Aoust: 11). On the other hand, in the case of arrange marriage, the family rather than the spouses take the lead to arrange the match but the couples decide whether to marry or not (Kazimirski et al 2009). This is the view adopted by the British government but remains contested. Arranged marriage may

appear as forced marriage because of the degree of freedom women have in making their own decisions in certain communities (see Cileli 2002 for the case of Turkish female migrants in Germany). Also, a woman may severe family ties by being in a love marriage (Grover, 2009). This has culminated in a law that makes forced marriage a criminal offence that could lead to a sentence ranging from…to… according to section…of UK criminal code and can include visa withdrawal and deportation of the non-citizen. Therefore, it is not surprising studies on love in marriage migration have generally be studied in the context of mail ordered brides or forced/arranged marriages particularly from the South Asian region where it is assumed the majority of mail order brides and 'forced marriage' practices do occur (Piper 2003; Constable 2003; Suzuki 2007) though the question of love is a general problem faced by women from the South who are involved in cross border marriage. Some scholars have even suggested that forced marriage is a product of immigration (Phillips and Dustin, 2004: 543) and marriage for convenience is linked to poverty in the third world (Tyldum and Uberoi, 2010) and women's decision making power (see Tyldum and Uberoi, 2010).

Western government including the UK border agency highlight citizenship benefit as a hidden agenda of marriage migration which lead to marriage and visa fraud based on capitalist economies view of marriage as an end to migration rather than a means to an end (Fan and Li, 2001); a reason for policing marriage migration. This also concerns the importance of love between a citizen and a non-citizen. A loveless marriage is seen as problematic because of its disenchanting effects on marriage and citizenship. The affective health of both marriage and citizenship depends on migrants being attracted to them not for the sake of convenience but rather for the sake of love, devotion and virtue (D'Aoust 2010:19) that should be prior to marriage and not one of its ideological effects (Honig, 2001) A loveless marriage is therefore a threat to marriage and citizenship and therefore seen as problematic marriage migrants. In this regards, love becomes a government technique used to control and regulate migration since the 'hope for a better life' have been linked to these marriages. The technology of love is central to the governmentality of marriage migration not just as a mode of subjectification but governance practice which connect intimacy with citizenship (D'Aoust, 2013). This love is significant in stirring and disciplining specific migration flow. Family migration policies are shaped in fundamental ways by conceptions of what marriage, men and women's role, parenting including how family ought to be (Wray 2011) in the West; a romantic love that depend on the 'normalization of heterosexual norms and affective ideals (Cole 2009: 5). Romantic love determines what men and women do in an

intimate relationship or how courtship, love and marriage are discussed and practiced (Machamer, 2015). These rules undermine and reinforce social inequalities (Eggebo, 2013). While romantic love in this immigration regulation aims to promote women's autonomy through choice and a liberal ideology of love, at the same time, it creates and reinforces a situation of dependency for female marriage migrants (see Eggebø 2013 for the case of marriage migration policies in Norway) and male dominance over women's body in marriage migration. Secondly, this regulation of marriage of convenience is found on contradictory norms of intimacy and family life that is the idea of romantic love versus the realist notion of love thereby making it hard to establish a real marriage from one of convenience (see Chapter 4).

2.8 Compassionate Love

Unlike romantic love, it is only recently that researchers have begun to show interest in compassionate love ((Fehr, Sprecher, and Underwood, 2009, Sprecher and Fehr 2010, Sprecher and Fehr, 2005, Sprecher and Regan, 1998) in romantic relationships. Like romantic love, compassionate love has been defined from different perspectives. While some of these theories and definitions are general and apply across targets or contexts, some theorists have come up with definitions that are specific to romantic relationship (see Fehr et al, 2014). The three prominent concepts of compassionate love are those articulated by Underwood, Berscheid, Neff and Karney (Fehr et al, 2014). Underwood (2002, 2009) led the scientific investigation on compassionate love. She defines compassionate love as the ''attitudes and actions related to giving of self for the good of the other'' (Underwood, 2009: 4). Her definition of compassionate love is wide and refers to a variety of target including known and unknown others. According to her, for an experience to be quantified as compassionate love the following characteristics must be present though in varying degree: free choice, (the giver extends this kind of love out of his or her own volition), an accurate understanding of the other's needs and feelings, valuing the other at a fundamental level, openness and receptivity to the other, and a ''response of the heart'' (emotional engagement with the other) (cited in Fehr, 2014: 577). She goes further to specify the antecedents, motivational factors and consequences of compassionate love. These antecedents include contextual variables which include socio-cultural and situational as well as individual variables. Following Underwood (2002, 2009), other social scientists have come up with similar definitions of compassionate

love. For instance, Hatfield and Rapson (1993: 9) defines romantic love as ‘‘state of intense longing for union with another’’ and compassionate love as ‘‘the affection and tenderness we feel for those with whom our lives are deeply entwined’’ (p.5) with an attitude geared towards ‘‘containing feelings, cognitions, and behaviours that are focused on caring, concern, tenderness, and an orientation toward supporting, helping, and understanding the other’’ (Sprecher and Fehr, 2005: 630). Compassionate love is generally seen as a less intense emotional experience (Sprecher and Regan, 1998). Subsequently, Sprecher and Fehr (2005: 630) propose that compassionate love is an attitude toward the other(s), either close others or strangers or all of humanity; containing feelings, cognitions, and behaviours that are focused on caring, concern, tenderness, and an orientation toward supporting, helping, and understanding the other(s), particularly when the other(s) is (are) perceived to be suffering or in need. In the context of romantic relationship, Berscheid (2006) defines compassionate love as ‘‘concern for another’s welfare and taking actions to promote it, regardless of whether those actions are perceived to result in future benefits to the self’’ (Berscheid, 2006, p. 176). She also notes that compassionate love may develop early in a relationship, but fluctuates with changes in partner and life occurrences (Fehrr et al, 2014) with behaviours such as shared enjoyable activities. Compassionate love is experienced when the motivation of the individual expressing it is focused on the good of the other party contrary to that which focus on the self-gain of the individual. Hence, it involves extending beneficence to others. For example, ‘‘do anything for the other,’’ ‘‘put other ahead of self,’’ and ‘‘make sacrifices for the other.’’ (Fehr et al, 2014: 580), a view agreed by most experts. The women I interviewed were not only in romantic marriages but their love for their husband was expressed in compassionate terms too. A compassionate love in their romantic relationship and cultural perceptions of women in Cameroon meant women are expected to care both physically and emotionally. This kind of love is based on the foundation of trust, honesty, caring, respect and commitment. Some of the women told me:

Love is the feeling that a couple have for one another. Though some people see erotic as more important in their relationship or marriage, for me , love is that special feeling that a couple should have for one another and always be there for one another and not just saying I love you. (Carine)

A loving person should be caring and understanding and help one another in time of need. This is the person you can count on; you can lean on when you’re falling. This is how love is

*supposed to be. For me, action speaks louder than words when it comes to love. All the 'I love you' does not matter if you cannot respect and help one another (*Louise*).*

According to these women, both romantic and compassionate love are significant in marriage. Nicola Mai and Russell King (2009) in their study on love, sexuality and migration, link love and compassionate marriage to modernity and upward mobility. They show how love and sexuality can be affective motivators for mobility. For Louise who had a relationship with her husband before he moved to the UK, while stressing mutual love as important, felt in a romantic relationship, being there for one another especially in time of need was more important. In her case, she was not only in love but put the interest of her husband infront of hers by helping to sponsor his migration to the UK (see chapter 4). Analysis on migration has shown that it is not gender-neutral but a process that reflects gendered family relationships (Boyd, 1989). Thus, migration is not only an interpersonal but interactional activity that must be understood by looking at the relationships between the migrants themselves. Drawing on Underwood (2002), Sprecher and Fehr (2005) designed multiple-item scale that can be used to measure compassionate love for a variety of targets that include not just family and friends, strangers but romantic partners and the entire humanity although scores are highest when the target is a romantic partner (Fehr and Sprecher, 2013). Fehr et al (2014) in their study of compassion love in romantic relationships found that a person who loved his partner compassionately was not only low in attachment avoidance but has a sacrificial, altruistic love style and/or a passionate/romantic love style. In other words, promoting the partner's wellbeing. Compassionate love depends on the quality of the relationship and being in a happy relationship enhances feelings of compassionate love. And attachment plays a role in compassionate love by activating the care giving system (Sprecher and Fehr 2010) which will be discussed in Chapter 5 (Love and Care Work chapter). While self-chosen, for these women, romantic love intertwines with an idea of care, sacrifice, duty and improving one's family (Santos 2009: 413).

Though similar to agape love, compassionate love is different in that it is a broader concept that includes empathy, tenderness, caring, and concern for another (Fehr et al 2014: 587). It is also associated with the provision of support, caregiving, responsiveness, and self-sacrifice. While women score high on the family compassionate love scale, gender differences do not exist in dating and marital relationships. Also, those who are high in compassionate love report use a compassionate dissolution strategy when relationship ends. Thus, it is not limited to romantic relationship but to all other contexts as well. While

compassionate love shares features with other loves, it is unique in the sense that it helps alleviate the suffering of the other while promoting their growth. It is also applicable to many types of relationship (Fehr, 2010; Fehr and Sprecher, 2009a; Sprecher and Fehr, 2005). Hence, compassionate love is theoretical concept is important in marriage migration as I do not only look at women's relationship with their husband in marriage but provide a better understanding of their transnational care relationship with their family and locals.

Passionate and compassionate love relate to how love is entangled with societal constraints. The great anthropologist, Elizabeth Povinelli's (2006) work is an exemplary of these approaches). In her book titled the Empire of Love (2006), she discusses the role of the intimate pair as the basis of the nation and shows how an individual can be the author of their love and intimacy. According to her, when individuals are in love, their love though self-chosen and seen to be free, says two things simultaneously: on the one hand, the subject is said to be uniquely and unequivocally autological while at the same time, genealogical. The autological subject (the recursive ideology of the subject of freedom, the subject that chooses her life), and the genealogical society (the supra-individual agency threatening to condition our choice) (DiFruscia, 2010: 92). Hence, while in love, the autological subject might express herself more profoundly while genealogical constraints on the other hand will express itself more purely thereby organizing, disorganizing, and distributing power and difference across liberal forms of intimacies, the market and politics. This concrete distinction of the autological subject and the genealogical society is the foundation of liberal power rather than just the sexual division. And how power operates at the level of the individual, how it creates the individual while at the same time threats, Love as a theoretical framework becomes significant not just for the marriage migrant who needs to prove love in marriage to be able to migrate and settle but key notions about love and marriage become a tool used by immigration officers to establish 'truth at the border' (Friedan 2007) that is if the marriage is real or sham; determine right to settlement and eventual citizenship.

2.9 Conclusion

While love is an over researched subject across various disciplines, it remains a neglected theoretical framework in marriage migration. Yet, marriage migration discourse commonly involves a question on love and defined from a Western perspective. This is because marriage

migration usually involves a non-Western citizen who is thought not to be interested in love but rather migration. This is influenced by the fact that love has been studied mostly in Western societies while the relationship between love and intimacy in marriage among non-Western others has received less attention though research has shown that love shapes intimacy and decision in marriage choices and motivation in non-western societies too. An exploration of love studies reveal that love is not just a Western emotion but a universal phenomenon that has been neglected by earlier studies and linked to slave trade and colonialism. This chapter therefore provides love as the theoretical underpinning from which to think about female marriage migration. It brings together 2 important theories of love in marriage migration: romantic and compassionate love. Over the years, romantic love has been used as a technique to govern marriage migration and non-western citizens are expected to prove love because they are seen as disinterested in love. Compassionate love on the other hand, applies to all targets and contexts particularly in romantic relationships. I chose these two categories because of its strength of interest when it comes to human relationships, particularly in the context of marriage migration where love is used to establish not just the purpose of migration but relates to female marriage migrants' living experiences and citizenship outcome for women. In this regard, romantic and compassionate love is a useful lens to examine or explore love in female marriage migration and its links to residency, care, identity, belonging and citizenship for women involved in South-South marriage to the North. These two concepts are therefore useful in our understanding of love in South-South marriage migration thereby illuminating that which has been overlooked in female marriage migration. Before I go on to discuss the love experiences of the 20 women who participated in this research, I discuss the methodological process taken to conduct this research.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCHING BUSHFALLERS' WIVES IN BRITAIN: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

3.1 Introduction

One of the principles of my work is to allow people to speak for themselves…and in return to communicate to them, in our conversations as well as in my writings, that it is their words I seek and not material for the generation of something that ultimately transcends their words and hence their lives (Cottle, 1978, p.xii).

It is widely recognised that feminist research aims to give voice to the voiceless, as the above quote from Cottle (1978) shows, by enabling women to tell their own stories. I agree with feminist researchers (Oakley, 1981; Harding, 1987; Mies, 1994; Nast et al, 1994 cited in Hörschelmann and Stenning, 2008) that our methodology is central to the knowledge we produce. In an attempt to promote a better mutual understanding when women interview women, the success of a research is based on a number of factors. These include the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee, the power balance, and the researcher's standpoint of reflection and reflexivity at the analysis stage. However, the promotion of rapport and equality can lead to other challenges like over-exploiting the interviewees (Finch, 1984) and power inequality (Glucksmann, 1994) since the researcher has the final rights as to how the data collected is interpreted and processed. With this in mind, I started my field work in October 2010 (lasted for 3 years) with the intention to critically engage with the lived experiences of female marriage migrants and place women at the centre of analysis to study and understand love in female marriage migration from Cameroon to the UK. The black feminist epistemology inspired my research from framing the research topic to data collection and analysis. I chose to conduct a research which gives priority to the 'standpoint of women's rather than men's lives' (Anderson, 2005:188) as I was conducting a research 'that is for women' (Harding, 1986: 218) and from women's lived experiences (Narayan, 1997; Hook, 2000) as minority because traditional marriage migration studies only provide a partial picture of the reality of marriage migration for women. Drawing on taped interviews of 20 female marriage migrants from Cameroon, I used a

qualitative method to provide a contextualized lived experience of bushfallers' wives in two of Britain's cities: Leicester and Birmingham. In order to fully understand the marriage migration experiences of these women, I designed my fieldwork to chart the course of my informants' lives from the time they met their husband, marriage, migration to Britain, experiences of living in the UK, how they construct their identity, sense of belonging, citizenship including plans for the future. Despite my careful planning, my research did not go as smooth because I had difficulties at almost every stages of my fieldwork. Due to the sensitivity of my research, I had difficulties accessing my informants and at first, women did not speak out. I also had difficulties in negotiating the power balance between me, the researcher and the researched as well as maintaining my position as an outsider since I was taken as an insider, a Cameroonian woman yet excluded as an unmarried woman. Despite these challenges, in an attempt to add further representations on the lives of female marriage migrants, I have recorded what I had heard though the thesis' interpretation remains my account of women's love experiences of marriage migration. Their influence on my understanding of Cameroonian women as well as myself cannot be denied. In this chapter therefore, I will trace my fieldwork design, interviews, data analysis, reflection and reflexivity, including the ethical dilemmas. Starting with a brief overview of feminist epistemology, I look at marginalisation of black women in the marriage migration discourse. This is followed by a discussion on sensitivity in my research and the dilemmas and contradictions of doing research on women, for women and with women in the access of a sensitive group with a sensitive topic. The rest of the chapter describes how the study was framed, conducted and how the access process might have affected the research outcomes, reflection and reflexivity. Finally, I look at ethical considerations and limitations of the study are also discussed.

3.2 Choosing Research Methods

3.2.1Research Design

Anna de Fine (2007) in her work on language centred qualitative perspectives in migration research remarks that migration studies are mostly descriptive and mainly relies on quantitative techniques such as demographic and statistical approaches based on survey data, or on secondary data (Census). This quantitative method of data collection has been criticized by feminists who call for a qualitative method. From an epistemological point of view, qualitative method is thought to be subjective and values personal meanings thereby giving

voice to the most oppressed groups in society (Metso and Le Feuvre, 2006). I therefore chose a qualitative research method for my study. This is because qualitative method seeks to uncover meanings, focuses on individual lives as well as promotes the understanding of the experiences of those being researched (Metso and Le Feuvre, 2006; Oakley, 2000). However, the main reason for this choice was its relation to the purpose of my study; my research questions, objectives as well as the kind of data I wanted from the field. This method was hence deemed appropriate because it has the ability to reveal the 'subjective experiences and meanings of those being researched' (Maynard, 1994:.11; see also Metso and Le Feuvre, 2006; Oakley, 2000). The data I wanted to collect has mainly to do with information about 'processes, meanings, mechanisms and structures of inclusion and exclusion and the best possible way for achieving this is the application of a set of different, interrelated and complementary qualitative methods' (Hay, 2000; Limb and Dwyer, 2001; Robson, 2002 cited Iosifides 2003: 437). 'Qualitative approaches typically aim to elicit meaning and understanding from situations and actions through interpretation and explanation of behaviour. It is accepted that everyone creates his or her own reality, and all knowledge is considered contextual, which means that the informants responded according to their interpretation and understanding of specific situations. Hence, this research cultivated an interdisciplinary approach which does not impose my own arbitrary and simplistic categories on complex reality' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983; Thomas 1993; Mackenzie 1994; Baker 1997 cited in Juntunen, 2002: 44) but encouraged interviewees to talk about their lived emotional journey of marriage migration to citizenship and daily life experiences in the UK.

3.3 Feminist Epistemology

Historically, knowledge production particularly in the field of science has been dominated by White Western men who often used a quantitative and experimental method that is associated with a positivist stance on social reality (Metso and Le Feuvre, 2006). This method of research design or data analysis tended to exploit, oppress and render women invisible in the traditional social sciences whether as producers of knowledge or object of study (Collins, 2000; Oakley, 1988, Metso and Le Feuve, 2006). This invisibility raised questions on the method and the purpose of social science itself and what Nicole-Claude Mathieu terms ''androcentric bias'' in research design or data analysis (Mathieu, 1992)

since women's lived experiences challenged this dominant ideology. The feminist movement was hence born from the assertion that 'all women were oppressed' (Hook, 2000: 5) with the aim of changing the subjugated knowledge on women's lived experiences, empower women as well as promote social change (Gottfried, 1996; Anderson, 2005). Feminist epistemology is therefore a radical challenge on the traditional epistemology (Harding, 1986; Collins, 2000; Gottfried, 1996) and privileges the experiences of women (see Gatrell, 2006; Osgood, 2010). As stated by Sandra Harding (1987), once we 'undertake to use women's experience as a resource to generate scientific problems, hypotheses, and evidence to design research for women, and to place the researcher in the same critical plane as the research subject, traditional epistemological assumptions can no longer be made' (p. 181). By listening to women, 'we transform the construction of knowledge' (Easton, 1996: 4) based on the lived experiences of those being studied rather than the researcher. Hence, knowledge production should not be hierarchical and contribute to knowledge production that is not biased. Feminism's most compelling epistemological insight lies in the connection it has made between knowledge and power (Lennon and Whitford, 1994). However, while feminist epistemology is distinct from other modes of knowledge production, feminists themselves disagree on what this means or involves (Maynard and Purvis, 1994; Mauthner and Doucet, 2006).

Writing from a race and class privileged position, white feminists discourse dominated much of the feminist debate in the 1960s (see Hook, 2000; Lorde, 1992; Sylvester, 2001) based on the view that women as a collective group were oppressed because of their gender. For example, Elizabeth Anderson (1995) in the introduction of her article titled 'Feminist Epistemology: An Interpretation and a Defence' remarks 'feminist epistemology is about the ways gender influences what we take to be knowledge (see also Gottfried, 1996). As a result of this class and race privilege of white feminists, theories and analysis had focus more on gender than any other differences. The lesser attention paid to class and race during this earlier period does not mean that they didn't exist or was not significant but rather it was less important to women who never lived it (Collins, 2005). This feminist perspective of women's lived experiences was also biased because of the ways women are positioned in terms of class, race and other differences. Hence, while there seems to have been some consensus on how feminist knowledge production or claim should be conducted/analysed, the question still persist as to whether all women experience oppression the same. This question influenced the black feminist thought in the 1980s.

The power debate saw a new dimension with the emergence of feminists writing on gender, class, race and sexuality. Black feminism was a response that emerged largely from the intersection of oppression faced by black women and women of colour. Feminist stand point epistemology challenges the differential power that different power groups have to define knowledge, arguing that marginalised groups hold a particular claim to knowledge (Harding, 1986; Collins, 1990) and 'represent the world from a particular socially situated perspective, which represents epistemic privilege or authority' (Doucet and Mauthner 2006:37). Collins (1990) goes further to argue that gender and other forms of discrimination need to be considered simultaneously (see Metso and La Feuve, 2006). To ensure that some women standpoint are not heard at the expense of others (Maynard, 1994 cited in Gatrell, 2006), black feminists like Patricia Hill Collins (1990) and other feminists from underrepresented ethnic groups strongly criticized the bias that exist in white feminist work (Metso and Feuvre, 2006). They insisted that though gender was important, women of colour experienced discrimination differently as a result of the multiple oppression of race, class, sexuality and gender. Hence, women are not a single group but differentiated along the lines of class, gender and other social relations (Crowley and Himmelweit, 1992; Collins, 2005). Third world feminism grew out of the concern to make the voices of women of colour heard within the global feminist movement (Hill, 2005). They challenged the assumption that one method of feminist research can be used to understand the experiences of all women ''fragmented identities' and the problem of 'neglecting alternative traditions such as those of women of color' (Olesen, 1994: 163 cited in Gatell, 2006: 240-241). Black feminists have made a unique and valuable contribution in the conceptualization of intersectionality as a result of their marginal position. Today, feminists in general have incorporated an intersectionality framework in understanding how women can experience oppression differently. In marriage migration, these differences in the social location of women are significant in the understanding of love yet remain overlooked in the context of South-South female marriage migration. Race, class, gender, sexuality and nationality continue to impact on women from the global South who marry men from the global South and have to operate in the global North within the context of marriage migration that is traditionally governed by the rule of partrilocality (Parilwala and Uberoi, 2005; Francis, 2005). How can we therefore best study love while taking into consideration race, gender, sexuality, class and other differences in the context of female marriage migration from the South to the North? Earlier feminist migration work have identified and documented the ways that gender inequalities can shape people's experiences of migration (see Piper, 2005; UN, 2005). Later works have

shown that while gender is significant, we need to look at how race, sexuality, nationality work in marriage migration to empower yet oppress women in marriage migration (see Constable, 2003, 2004). There is the need therefore to develop research methodologies that allow us to tap into those areas that have been neglected in marriage migration research, like love, while enabling us to get in-depth information from such marginalised groups. In fact, adding race and ethnicity to gender in the understanding of marriage migration was not enough. Rather, I focus on the individual characteristics to understand the lived experiences of these women and analysed it in the light of the larger social context. With this in mind, I set out to frame my research influenced by a black feminist thought 'with the hope that other women's voices should be heard' (Hook, 2000:10) in the marriage migration discourse since the voices of women involved in South-South marriage migration to the North was generally invisible in the marriage migration literature.

3.4 Black Female Marginalisation in Marriage Migration

While marriage migration studies have gained prominence in the last two decades, these studies have largely ignored the voices of black women particularly with regards to the topic of love. These women are either studied as part of a general study on immigration surveillance of love in marriage (se Kringelbach, 2013) or portrayed as women who use marriage through mostly white men to migrate with little or no consideration of love (see Alpes, 2011). These women are seen as not capable of loving based on a Western notion of love. In addition, the centrality of blackness and "absolute inferiority" of Africans ... conditions the way other groups are thought about in relationship to "whites" (see Wekker, 2004) love. As a result, while feminist migration scholars identify and document the ways that gender, race and class inequalities shape people's experiences of migration, research has marginalised the experiences of black women married to black men though they experience marriage migration and discrimination differently from other group of women marriage migrants. As black women from the global South, these women may have more in common with other female marriage migrants yet remain divided by their nationality, class and race. Moreover, their sexuality impacts on the way they are defined in terms of love and residency, how they define their identity, experiences of racism, sense of belonging and citizenship which are significant in the discourse on marriage migration. This 'Otherness', exclusion, racism, ethnocentrism point to the different and unequal relation to knowledge' (Glucksmann

1994: 150). My focus on female marriage migrants from Cameroon to Britain is a refusal to bow to the dominant focus on marriages involving White Western citizens and non-white citizens and what are considered to be the significant factors influencing marriage migration. For example, economic opportunities and cultural difference (Young 2003) with little or no attention to how love work in these marriages. It is therefore a research not just on women, but for women and with women (Doucet and Mauther 2006: 40; see also DeVault 1990, 1996; Smith, 1987, 1989, 1999; Stanley and Wise, 1993) with the hope to bring to the lime light the voices of black women involved in marriage migration. Most significantly, their love story, traditionally thought not to exist or seen as a taboo subject will be better understood.

3.5 Sensitive Research: Love

In conducting research on love in female marriage migration, it is important to look at sensitivity in such a research. Claire Renzetti and Raymond Lee (1993: ix) in their book titled 'Researching Sensitive Topics define a sensitive research topic as research that is 'intimate, discreditable or incriminating'. They discuss sensitivity not just in terms of the implications of the research but rather the 'specific technical and methodological issues that are inherent in sensitive research' (Lee, 1993: 3). This is because sensitivity in research does not only affect the research but impact on both the researcher and those being researched. It is therefore important to define sensitivity in my research from both the perspective of the researcher and the researched. Lee (1993) discusses some of the threats and difficulties that may be faced by both researchers and informants and inform us that we should rather learn how to manage sensitive issues in research instead of avoiding them. His book was influential in how I approached and handled sensitivity in my research.

My research was a highly sensitive research at many levels. First, I did not only seek to explore a phenomenon that is controversial and politically sensitive (Lian, 2015; Hanlon and Vicino, 2014; Lister, 2009) but a widely discussed topic of research that has been stereotyped as a migration route (Alpes, 2011; Kringelbach, 2013) with immigration implications for these female marriage migrants. Secondly, the questions which I raised during interviews touched on every aspect of emotions since these women had to talk about that which is personal to them; such as love, marriage, migration, intimacy, child birth, experiences of racism, identity, belonging and citizenship. Also, the interview context

(conducting interview on sensitive issues in participants home) was sensitive. In describing one's self, people do remember, summarise and integrate their past experiences (Barrett et al, 1998). Such sensitive experiences are difficult to talk about and recalling such information can be emotional for women. This was reflected in the responses of some of my informants during interviews which indicated that they were not happy with the societal views on female marriage migrants from the South to the North. For example, when interviewing women about their opinions on cross-border marriages, I felt uncomfortable at some point because some of my respondents were clearly emotional and would respond as if they were throwing back the question at me. For example, when I asked the following question: Some people think Cameroonian women are marrying bushfallers because they want to get a visa and come here. What do you think about this? one of my informants, Vivian after talking lengthily in an angry tone about acquiring citizenship status through marriage then asked 'why were women accused of taking papers from bushfallers and leaving them, what about the men who took papers from women and left them?'. I smiled though because as it is commonly said in Cameroon, 'Cameroonians answer a question by asking a question', meaning the women's attitude of asking a question during their responses was part of their answer to the question and not actually asking me a question and expecting me to answer. However, her critique of Cameroonian masculinity in marriage migration discourse kept me thinking of conducting a future study with men to get their views on bushfalling marriage. Kathleen Cowles (1988) in her research with a group of adult surviving relatives of murder victims suggest that interviewees may respond both positively and negatively to the request to discuss life-events and experiences. This was the case of another woman, Vera who told me that she was very much interested in the research because people think '*there is life here and no life in Cameroon'* and that the interviews only reminded her of the stress she went through during her early days as she had abandoned her good job in Cameroon to come and join her husband in the UK. For her, the movement had only led to an unexpected shift in her role and position as she was completely disqualified in her new job in the UK. These women's stories were in many ways sensitive and data analysis was emotional too and touched on sensitive themes. Thus, emotion was part of the research process. As a result of the sensitive nature of the research topic, during our initial interviews, the women did not speak much. They seem to hold back a lot of information that was only obtained during the later interviews.

3.6 Interviews over time

As noted above, female marriage migration is a complex and sensitive phenomenon and therefore requires a research method that is flexible to study love over time and space. In general, there is no one set of methods or techniques that can be said to be distinctly feminist. Feminists have long advocated for researchers to "use any and every means available" (Stanley 1990: 12) when conducting research. Similarly, Nelson and Seager (2005) have argued that the tools for data collection should be adapted to suit the requirements of the research including research questions (see also Huberman and Miles, 2002). Data for this study was generated through repeated interviews over time between 2010 and 2013. Coming from a community where women are to be seen and not to be heard, time was required to establish trust and rapport with my informants and get them talking. Initially, I intended to interview my informants twice. Although the women had agreed to recorded interviews and me making notes, they did not speak much about their marriage and lived experiences during the first two interviews conducted between October 2010 and October 2011 (see Appendix D). Instead, during our initial interviews, the women brought up other interesting issues that I decided were worth investigating further. This prompted changes to how interview were conducted. I had to make it flexible by adding a long phase with new questions that had emerged during the first two interviews following advice from Huberman and Miles (2002: 16) who suggest that 'If a new data collection opportunity arises or if a new line of thinking emerges during the research, it makes sense to take advantage by altering data collection, if such an alteration is likely to better ground the theory or to provide new theoretical insights'. I then decided to do another interview between July and September 2013 (see Appendix E). I re-contacted my informants via phone and email who agreed to be interviewed again. I then fixed interview dates that were convenient for them.

During the final interviews, they spoke out more than they did in 2010-2011; significantly allowing my study to expand. This may be due to the fact that these women had known me for a long time and after the first interviews, I gave them a copy of the transcript. Also, they had not been 'investigated' or encountered any problems or gossips originating from my earlier interviews with them. In addition, confidentiality had been maintained throughout. At this stage, those who might have doubted the research purpose would have been convinced it was for study purpose only and may be beneficial for them as it does provide a better understanding of female bushfalling marriages from Cameroon. Moreover,

by 2013, all the women had become British citizens and might have feel more secured and safe to speak out without risk to their residency as female marriage migrants in the UK as well as their marriage. These women now talked about their personal lives and most importantly, relationship with husband prior to marriage and or migration, experiences from time of arrival up to after obtaining citizenship in Britain. This could only be possible through long repeated interviews that enabled me to capture a life view of marriage migration. This opportunity saw the emergence of major new emotional themes during analysis that were only talked about during the last phase of the interviews. These include motivation for marriage, women's role in marriage migration, experiences of marriage, work and racism and its impact on their identity, belonging and citizenship as marriage migrants. In reality, marriage migration is an emotional journey that span across not only geographical boundaries but sexual, gender and racialised boundary and time is an important factor in the understanding of the discourse of marriage migration as this thesis will show. Similarly, women's experiences, love, relationships and residency status change over time. Therefore time was needed to study the women whom time is often used to establish their marriage.

As social scientists have long reminded us, one key element in social science research is time (see George and Jones, 2000; Bidart 2012, Mendez 2010). Doing a long and repeated interview was significant for my study. People do not only change over time but time impacts on social processes and the meanings people ascribe to events, people and places. Yet, most studies on the phenomenon of female marriage migration have focused on a single point in time to understand the changing meaning of marriage migration for women involved in the emotional journey. This is probably due to limited understanding of how time can be used to understand the phenomenon. Also, long research is expensive, time consuming and requires a lot of resources (see Campbell et al, 2011; Ortiz and Ballon, 2007) and demands repeated, sustained contact, which raises safety and ethical issues regarding confidentiality (Campbell et al 2011). With this in mind, caution was taken to protect the women as discussed below in the ethical section. Though this method of data collection was slow and costly, it enabled me to follow the women and provided me a space to explore and analyze women's love from a small group of marriage migrants rather than a large sample. Time allowed me to observe the shift in the status of these women. All had become British citizens when I conducted the last interviews. I also noticed changes in family life and job. For example, 4 of the women had moved houses since earlier interviews linked to women's employment in highly paid jobs. They were now living in better houses compared to the houses where I first conducted interviews in 2010. I therefore believe that the depth of data

gained far outweighs these difficulties. In this way, I was able to gather useful in-depth and unique information (Bergman and Magnusson, 1990) on love particularly in relation to women's citizenship journey through marriage over time rather than because of time.

3.7 Choice of Location and Timeframe

Though Cameroonians have been migrating since the 1960s, Anglophone Cameroonians were the pioneers of the 1990 bushfalling and the majority of them have come to settle in the UK with their families. Though some bushfallers settled in London, Coventry, Leeds and Manchester, the majority of Anglophone Cameroonians have settled in Leicester and Birmingham. These are multicultural cities with a huge Anglophone Cameroonian population outside London. These cities have a relatively cheaper cost of living. In addition, Cameroonians have a good support networks in these two cities. Leicester in particular is host to an influx of Cameroonian bushfallers who first arrived in the mid 1990s. Since then, many have followed suit. As a result, most Cameroonian events in the UK are organized in Leicester because of the huge Anglophone Cameroonian presence in this city and neighbouring cities like Coventry and Birmingham.

The study focuses on 20 Cameroonian women who arrived and settled in the UK between 1999 and 2007 through marriage to Cameroonian born British men. I chose this period because the late 1990s was the time when bushfalling marriages started in Cameroon and by the mid 2000s; it was at its peak and continues to rise. While the bushfalling migration of the mid 1990s was predominantly male, the late 1990s, particularly beginning the early 2000s was the time when bushfalling marriages were on the rise. Many of these women in Cameroonian ethnic marriage have settled in Leicester and Birmingham with their families.

3.7.1 Pilot Study

To test the recruitment strategy, interview process and questions on how the women became bushfallers' wives and their experiences of marriage migration from Cameroon to Britain, I carried out a pilot study in Leeds that lasted for about 4 weeks with 6 women. I did

the pilot study in Leeds because initially, I included Leeds in the sample. I decided to drop Leeds during the interview stage because Leeds is more of a French Cameroonian city while I was interested in the wives of Anglophone Cameroonians. During this pilot study, one of the women I interviewed kept laughing throughout and yet appeared worried why I chose to research on such a topic. She warned such a topic was not 'good' as it could hurt on women who were undocumented and that she hoped the information was not for the Home Office. The pilot experience was important as it led to changes in my interview questions. For instance, some of the study's questions were sensitive. With this in mind, I readjusted the questions to make them not threatening especially regarding sensitive matters. For example, questions like why did you marry a bushfaller was changed to 'some people think Cameroonian women marry bushfallers to get a visa and came here. What is your view on this?' Also, to avoid any immigration consequences on the women, I decided to research only on documented migrants and not undocumented migrants as this had immigration implications and a duty on the researcher to report.

3.7.2 Sampling

To be selected for the study, the woman had to be Cameroonian prior to marriage and resident in the UK for at least 4 years as a marriage migrant to a Cameroonian-born British man who arrived after 1990. I used a purposive sampling method with emphasis on marital status, immigration category, marriage partner's nationality at the time of marriage and or migration, the woman's nationality and location at the time of marriage and or migration to Britain. The interview guide for this study had four sections: (1) general information about the migrant, household demographic and socio-economic characteristics, (2) information about migrant courtship, marriage(s) and visa process and the impact of cross-border marriages (3) information on the role of their family in marriage migration (4) information on working and living conditions, identity, belonging, citizenship and future plans.

3.7.3 Sample Characteristics

The aim of the research meant that I needed a cross-section of informants who were typical of women involved in bushfalling marriages (though the stereotype from Cameroon points more to university graduates and 'loose' girls). Appendix C shows the characteristics

of the interview sample: age, length of residency in the UK, location before marriage-related migration, occupation in the UK and occupation in Cameroon, city of residency and number of children. The chart provides detailed background information of the women who were involved in the study. Pseudonyms have been used to protect the identity of the informants and also the reason why the name of the company where some of the women were contacted is not mentioned. Although the women involved in the study are originally from Cameroon just like their husbands, 11 were already British at the start of the study. The remaining 9 only obtained their citizenship while the study was ongoing. By the time I conducted the final stage of the interviews, all 20 women were British nationals. They were still married except for 1 (Germaine) who had just separated from her husband in late 2012. The age range for female marriage migrant was 28-43. The interviewees arrived in Britain between 1999 and 2007 and had lived in Britain for at least 6years by the time I conducted the last interviews. Their length of stay in Britain indicates that they arrived in Britain during the period when bushfalling marriages started in Cameroon. Their age at the time of arrival also reflect the general marriage migrant age of women who migrate as marriage migrants as their husbands have to obtain citizenship before giving their wives can become citizens through them. In a total of 20 women who were involved in the study. 10 women were recruited from Leicester and another 10 from Birmingham. 15 of the women arrived from Cameroon while 5 met their husbands while already in the UK for study purpose. Therefore, none of them might have lived undocumented in the UK though this is difficult to establish. Also, while some arrived as mothers or pregnant, the majority only became mothers while in Britain. At the time of the interviews these women had shifted from one job to another but the majority were working in the health or social care sector though most of them were educated to higher education level and the majority of them have further their studies in the UK. Also, all the women were born in Cameroon and travelled to the UK when they were at least 21 years. These women had lived in the UK long enough to have sufficient experience or story to tell. With regard to their ages, the majority of the women were old enough to be able to remember and narrate the 1990s bushfalling experience from their various cities in Cameroon.

3.7.4 Gatekeepers

Though the pilot study was successful and changes were made especially with regards to the choice of words, accessing my informants proved very challenging. When I first started, I underestimated I could face obstacles accessing my informants since I'm Cameroonian, a

woman and was researching on Cameroonian women. Also, I had visited Leicester and Birmingham in 2005, 2007, 2009 and early 2010 and knew some women in these two cities who were married to Cameroonian-born British husbands. Attempt to include these women in my study proved unsuccessful as these women I knew accepted to be interviewed but when I tried later to arranged an interview date, they either declined or claimed to be too busy to be interviewed. In one instance, one woman asked for the interview questions to have a look before deciding if she would take part in the interviews. I decided to send but a copy of the information sheet regarding the study. Despite sending this, she did not reply to the interview arrangements. She might have felt intimidated to sit face to face with me to talk about such a sensitive topic with someone who knew her and her husband as well as came from the same city like her in Cameroon. When I tried again to contact her regarding the interview, she asked me to forward a questionnaire to her so she could fill and send back. I told her I wanted to do a face to face interview with her and not just a questionnaire to which she declined. Also, she promised to introduce me to other women who had come to settle in the UK through marriage to their husbands but she changed her mind probably because these were women I might know. Also, I contacted another woman I know via the internet, precisely on facebook to arrange for a meeting so we could discuss about my research and arrange an interview date. At first, she appeared very interested. She sent me her phone number and address but said she was busy with studies and that we could only meet after her exams. A meeting date was arranged but a day before our meeting, I tried to contact her via phone to confirm our appointment but she did not pick up her phone. I also sent emails and facebook messages to no avail though I could see she was very active on facebook during this period. These two attempts to access my informants were unsuccessful as these women might have seen me as an insider who already knew a lot about them and might only further expose them if they were to participate in such a research. At this point, I knew it would be difficult to interview women I knew as they might have felt I was poking my nose into their personal lives. This was further compounded by the fact that I was single, educated and from a middle-class background and researching on a topic that has come to be seen as the gate way to the West (Alpes, 2011). In this sense, they might have felt I was working for the Home Office in an attempt to expose those in 'sham marriage' (see Wray, 2013). With lessons learnt at this initial stage, I then decided it was time to contact a gatekeeper who knew these women and one that the women trusted and where the women might feel free to talk to me as an outsider who would later become an insider in some ways. I chose to access these women via a company. This company was owned by a Cameroonian and employed mostly migrants and

particularly, Cameroonian migrants. I had visited the company in 2007 and 2009 and knew some of the staff who worked there.

To access my informants, I relied on this Cameroonian company because the majority of Cameroonians who settled in Leicester worked there when they first arrived in Leicester. This company was involved in picking and packing of goods. Through this company, many Cameroonians were able to gain work experience in the UK, earn their first UK wages as well as obtain references to look for work elsewhere. Importantly, through this company, most Cameroonians got to meet and know each other and they helped one another in their settlement process in Leicester while making new friends. The administrative assistant, Dora (Pseudonym) who was in charge of recruitment was very helpful. I explained to her the objectives and purpose of the research and why I felt I could gain access to my informants via their company. She allowed me to stay in her office with her. I spent two weeks there volunteering with paper work in the office and chatting with the employees during break. During this period, I came in contact with some of the women who were doing part-time work there and working full time elsewhere. Dora introduced me to some of the women who worked at the company but all did not fit in my sample criteria as some were on refugee status in the UK or married to Cameroonian men who were temporal residents or from other EU countries.

3.7.5 Securing Access

Just like other researchers, I found that negotiating access was not going to be a day's job. At the company where some of the women worked, we always chatted during breaks and even shared meals at some occasions. After I had gained access to each of my informants, I introduced myself to her and my university (Leeds University) where I was studying and why I was undertaking the study. I then gave a brief summary of the research and how the interview was to be conducted. This was discussed alongside issues of confidentiality, recording of interviews, making notes, how the information gathered from the interviews would be used and that at the end of the interviews, they'll get a copy of the transcription to confirm that it is what they said. These women showed interest and I then arranged an interview date that was convenient for them. Following our discussions, I handed them the information sheet and consent form (see Appendix F) so they could go through during their

spare time. It should be noted that interviews could not be conducted immediately because these women were met at work and could only talk to them during their 1 hour break. Though this process is time consuming, it gave the informants time to think, reflect and to make an informed decision if they wanted to participate in the study or not. This period enabled us to start building rapport and trust (Phoenix 1995) which I find helpful though some researchers have disagreed with creating rapport in research because they feel the researcher might 'lose distance and objectivity; over-identify with the individual and group and forgo the academic role' (Fontana and Frey, 1994: 367).

Eventually, I was able to identify and select 3 women who fit in my sample criteria and later introduced myself to the other women. Only 3 of the women with whom I became close agreed to participate in the study. I knew relying on the Cameroonian company alone would mean I would not get a cross section of the Cameroonian population because work at the company to a larger extent was mostly unskilled. To reduce bias, I used different sources to recruit my informants. Being familiar with migrants and their 'fear' of the immigration discussion and authority, I knew recruiting via a company where Cameroonian women worked; they would feel comfortable and safe to speak. But I wanted a cross-section of the Cameroonian population in these two cities. Hence other women who took part in this study were contacted through snowballing (Kvale 1996) via the 3 women I met at the company. These women introduced me to other women they knew had arrived as female marriage migrants. Snowballing contact was initiated by Lilian. I went with Lilian to one of the ladies' house by name Mary. She lived in the same neighbourhood as Lilian where I met her and introduced myself. Vera was met at an ex-student party where I was introduced to her by Mary. Through Vera, I came to know many of the women who were married to Cameroonian British men in both Leicester and Birmingham. This is how I was able to recruit the rest of the 17 informants. Vera was very much interested in the topic and was familiar with both cities. She had friends in Birmingham too since she used to live there before moving to Leicester. She was willing to help identify other informants. She introduced me to most of the women that I interviewed in Birmingham. However, they did not want to introduce me to the other women without their consent. They spoke to the other women who agreed for their contact details to be given to me. I was patient and had to wait to be introduced to them. A total of 10 women were interviewed in each city making a total of 20 informants in my study. My sampling strategy allowed the sample to expand through snowballing (Kvale 1996). Though snowballing calls into question the representativeness of the sample, it enabled me to include people I would not otherwise have had access to. Whereas it might not be easier to

get a ‘representative’ sample, I looked for maximum variations consistent with my desire to find a complex web of relational experiences in selecting my informants. After the women agreed to take part in the study, we then had to negotiate the interview location. Interviews were conducted mostly at the homes of my informants.

3.8 Data Collection: Interviews

Interview is a commonly employed qualitative method of research. As noted by Crouch and Mcknzie (2006) qualitative method ‘commonly denotes data collection techniques based on various types of conversations between researchers and respondents’ with the one to one interview arguably the primary form. Following an increased feminist interest in qualitative research methods (Flick, 2000; Hooks, 1981), there has been a rise in interview-based studies in social science. The primary aim of in-depth interviewing is to ‘‘generate data which give an authentic insight into people’s experiences’’ (Silverman, 1993: 91). Interviews are the best method of gathering information from marginalised and stigmatised group (Hooks, 1981). In-depth interviews were conducted with female migrants as I find it useful for a researcher ‘who has little hope of gaining a large and representative sample’ (Plummer, 1983: 86-87). The questions asked in each interview reflect the gap in the literature on female marriage migration from the South to the North. There appeared to be less attention on female love in marriage migration in particular though an increasing number of black women have migrated in the last 2 decades through marriage to black men who are now citizens of the West. With this in mind, I was interested in understanding:

- Male bushfalling from Cameroon and the extent to which it might have influenced bushfalling marriages.
- Why are women involved in bushfalling marriages?
- The meaning of marriage migration to love and its link to care.
- Understanding how love works in marriage migration and experiences of differences in diaspora space particularly experiences of racism, sense of belonging, identity construction and citizenship

These predetermined questions were used to prompt discussions when the need arise (Dunn 2005; Longhurst 2003). I used a guided interview method (Kvale, 1996) that gave the respondents enough time to speak about their feelings and experiences. This semi-structured

format of interviewing was deployed with the aim to bring out what themes and ideas were significant to the participants. I used face-to-face interviews 'to obtain descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect' (Kvale, 1996: 6). I asked open-ended questions that connect to the research focus with 'emphasis on capturing responses and mutual talk' (Mallozzi, 2008: 1048) while allowing interviewee to narrate their stories in their own terms (Bott, 2010). I also set the stage for listening and speaking within an interview relationship that is sensitive to power and domination (Gustafson 2005 cited in Bischofberger and Vischer, 2009) through restricting my control of the process and allowing for a more reciprocal relationship in the interview (Bowes and Domokos, 1996 cited in Bischofberger and Vischer, 2009: 25). Interviews were therefore conducted 'within the context of a trusting and committed relationship; otherwise, many women will not share their real needs or trust' (Goodman et al, 2008: 854).

Cameroonians are chatty in nature though not necessarily during interviews. I always started with a general conversation on life abroad to make the atmosphere relaxed before beginning with the interview; and also to ensure the women did not feel intimidated or threatened thereby allowing them to talk freely and in their own words. I however, asked a specific question when I felt it was needed to seek clarification or when I thought more information was needed. I interrupted them to clarify and elicit a wealth of information. Since all the women agreed for the interviews to be recorded, a recorder was used during interviews. Also, prior to commencing fieldwork, I was advised by my supervisors to carry a notebook with me which became my fieldwork diary. During our interviews, I took notes on the time, date, location, body language and conversation between me and the informant. The interviews were tape-recorded using a digital voice recorder with each participant's permission and transcribed by myself. At the end of each interview, participants were asked to complete a participation form asking key information details such as date of birth, place of birth, ethnicity, occupation, whether they have children, date of participation etc.

Interview locations are important especially when conducting intimate research and as argued by feminists, place is crucial to the construction of knowledge (Longhurst 1996; McDowell 1998; Valentine 1997b). 19 of the women chose to be interviewed at home but for 1 who was interviewed at the university campus during her first interview. She chose to be interviewed at her university because she was preparing for exams and could only be interviewed in between her studying period when she was on break instead of home where her husband and children might have interrupted the interview. The other women chose to be

interviewed at home since they felt comfortable talking at home and knowing no one else was going to listen to their stories. Also, the women did not want to talk at a public place and this meant they did not have to bring the children with them. In addition, they draw on material objects in their home which give them meanings and memories on domestic sphere. As noted by Hall (2004) in his own research, being invited as a 'stranger' and 'outsider' into an interviewee's home is an important signifier of the interviewee's acceptance though the interviewees were sometimes interrupted. Interviews were not straight forward as planned. Though interview dates were arranged, I did not manage to conduct some interviews on the same date in some cases. Interviews were interrupted by phone calls from employment agents the women worked for. This meant sometimes, informants had to leave the house immediately or get ready to go to work. When this happened, interviews were stopped immediately and postponed. Interviews were cut short as the women were rushing to go and work for money instead of doing interviews that were unpaid. Three interviews were rescheduled due to work related reasons. In another case, she had visitors and I had to join in the conversation like a visitor and no longer an interviewer while another informant was actually rushing the interview due to personal commitment and we had to reschedule. Sometimes, children also interrupted our interviews but were resumed immediately the mother attended to the child. In one occasion, the lady had just returned from a party that morning and was looking tired but still wanted me to interview her. When we started the interview, I realised she was rushing and having to go in and out of the kitchen because she was cooking lunch for her family (including me) before going to pick up her children from a friend's place. She also said she had told the husband I was coming to conduct an interview and her husband had to leave the house in order not to disturb us. She then said I could leave a questionnaire for her to fill later and send to me. I declined and instead asked her if we could do the interview at a later date, to which she agreed. Time and gender identity was therefore a major problem to conducting interviews since these women had little control over their time (Sprague 2005) and had to carry out their duties as mothers, wives and workers. We managed to meet at a later date and continue from where we stopped.

Conducting research in participants home did not only provide a comfortable research environment but one that 'prompt conversation and further insight into perception and experiences' (Brown, 2011: 230). The home also provided an insight into the women's identity. Conducting interviews at home enabled me to enter the lives of the participants (Hämäläinen and Rautio, 2013) and I found it a useful place to study women's personal lives

and relationship as it is a familiar place for these women. Moreover, visiting home gave me an insight into their daily lives that could not be possible if the interviews were conducted elsewhere and the women could get ready for work in case there was a call from their agents to cover a shift. After each interview, notes were recorded in my field work diary including incident, thoughts and reflections and comments. Though these observations were important, due to the aim of my research and time constraints, I've decided to focus only on issues relating to my research objective. All the interviews were recorded and it was clear that women repeated information on bushfallers, bushfalling marriages, love and care work, experiences of racism, construction of identity, sense of belonging and citizenship. Saturation was used to stop collecting data at this point. From this broad investigation, specific themes on love and care work, experiences of racism, identity construction, sense of belonging and citizenship emerged.

3.9 Data Analysis

Miles and Huberman (1994: 10) note that 'the strengths of qualitative data rest very centrally on the competence with which their analysis is carried out'. With this in mind, I carefully selected my method of data analysis before gathering evidence from the field via a semi-structured technique. Kerlinger (1973) defines content analysis as "a method of studying and analyzing communications in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner to determine the relative emphasis or frequency of various areas of content coverage or to measure target variables" (p. 525). Content analysis is suitable for a wide range of available materials including interviews. I look to content analysis (Kerlinger (1973) as a straight forward way of extracting themes and patterns. As noted by As Dickson-Swift et al (2007), transcribing powerful stories can be an emotional experience for researchers (p.337). All 60 interviews were transcribed immediately after the interview and doing this review was another hard aspect of my data gathering process. A three part data analysis strategy was employed in the content analysis. The first part involved transferring the original speech word verbatim including repetition and pauses from the tape to paper. To do this, I had to listen to the tapes over and over thereby reliving the memories. It involved a careful examination of all the phrases and sentences in order to identify the type of information that they conveyed. I listened and paused repeatedly in order to be able to type exactly what they said. I tried to transcribe every word that was said during the interview. Where I had translated from Pidgin

English to English, some editing was needed for the purpose of clarity when for example; the women used a word that was not formal. For example, the phrase 'yes oh' was edited as 'Oh yes', 'show-show' as 'show-off'. I however decided to maintain some of the terms just as they had been used during interviews. For example, terms like bushfalling and bushfaller. As noted earlier, these are widely used terms in Anglophone Cameroon to mean travel abroad or someone who travels abroad but if I were to do a direct translation, it would mean going to the bush. Moreover, 'Bushfalling', 'bushfallers', 'bushfaller massa' and 'bushfaller wife' will make more sense to Cameroonians than the word migration, migrants or marriage migration. Hence, these words would appear often in the thesis. The second past involved identifying general patterns and recurring processes. For example, after the initial coding stage, the transcripts were re-read to select specific patterns from the themes that emerged addressing different issues relating to love. These included romantic encounters, migration, care, identity. Thirdly, each sub-theme was separated and coded to detail the types of collective and individual strategies. For example, the theme of care was separated into paid, unpaid and transnational care. The language was analysed as discourse demonstrating phenomena, shared meanings and experiences (Burman and Parker, 1993). Code frames were applied after reading through the transcript and this saw the emergence of several themes. This orginal speech was therefore separated into themes (love, residency, care, racism, identity, belonging, citizenship).

3.10: Myself as a Researcher: Reflecting on my Own Experience of the Research Process

Qualitative methodology informed by feminism is founded upon the principles of equality, reciprocity, collaboration, partiality, non-hierarchal practices and commitment to action and social justice.' (Morrison 2010: 69). Feminist methodology encourages a research relationship that is aware of power relations and also encourages researchers to listen to women and understand their lives (Oakley, 1981) from their own point of view and experience. It also means reflecting on our role as a researcher and how it may affect the research process and the research data (Harding, 1992). The matching of participants and researchers is complex. It is well acknowledged that the effect of the participant-researcher interaction and the power and trust relationship between researcher and participant affect the production of data. For example, Hall and Callery (2001: 258) stressed the need to pay attention to the social processes that influence the generation of data and thus the social

construction of knowledge. An important key feature of feminist research is the power of reflexivity (DeVault 1996, Naples 2003). Finding out about people through interviewing is' best achieved when the relationship of interviewer and interviewee is non-hierarchical and when the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her own personal identity in the relationship (Morrisons, 2010: 41). The researcher has to be reflexive and transparent (Doucet and Mauthner 1998,2000, 2003). As a reflexive feminist researcher, I strive to locate myself within the research. Doing so will allow the reader and the research participants to know my standpoint with regards to the research. Harding (1987: 7:9) comments that the researcher should not appear as 'an invisible, anonymous, voice of authority, but as a real, historical individual with concrete, specific desires and interests'. Bischofberger and Vischer, 2009: 26) also call for a reflexive researcher who is sensitive to the experiences of racism and stigmatization of the participants. Furthermore, feminist standpoint theory holds that all knowledge reflects the social position of the knower (Collins 1990) and that group location in complex power relations produces shared challenges for individuals in those groups (see also Hörschelmann and Stenning, 2008; Holmes, 2010) though Snell et al (1989 cited in Barrett et al 1998) have argued that women are more willing to discuss emotion with other women. As such, I deem it necessary to put some information about my identity as a researcher and standpoint in the context of this research. I'm a 36years old black woman from Cameroon. I was born and raised in Cameroon by a middle-income family. I'm fortunate to be born in a bilingual country by bilingual parents. My dad is French speaking while my mum is English speaking. While I attended English schools, I was brought up in a bilingual home where French rather than English was often spoken. I'm the eldest of seven children and I have had the privilege to travel around the world for studies, training and tourism. I share the same national origin, sexuality (heterosexual), gender and had experienced motherhood as my informants. When I shared details of my biography with my informants, I became less 'other' to them (Mason and Boutilier, 1996; Bott, 2010) and elicited trust around issues of motherhood, 'race' and racism with regards to marriage migration. However, my standpoint may differ from those of my informants in terms of citizenship, religion, class and education (see also Mallozzi, 2008; Goodman et al, 2009; Bott, 2010) and I acknowledge that the position from which I write may be impacted upon by my middle class and educated background. These differences between me and the participants could result in our shared ethnicity and national background becoming invisible to my participants. Though qualitative research is open, empathetic and egalitarian (Risman 1993: 20), I join Mallozzi (2008) in admitting my research privilege in relation to participants as research relationships between

women are no exception (Reinharz and Chase, 2003; Reissmanm 1987 cited in Mallozzi, 2008) in terms of researcher privilege (Glucksmann, 1994). My complex set of identities might shape both participants' responses to me and my analysis. Hence, in order to encourage reflexivity on my role as a researcher, I kept a diary throughout the research process as it allowed valuable space for making sense of my interactions with the interviewee and the relationships that will be created between my data and literature. I was aware that my position as a feminist researcher, Cameroonian woman, middle-class, single and educated placed me at a different standpoint from the majority of the women. At one point, I was part of them and sometimes, I was seen as an outsider or similar to them in many ways.

3.11 The Research Relationship: Relationality

According to Yvonna Lincoln (1995 cited in Hall and Callery 2001: 266) 'relational power extends the notion of community as arbiter of quality from academic communities to larger social communities and bridges the gap between research and ethics'. Relationality recognizes connectedness between the researcher and the participant and between knowledge elites and the communities in which we live (Hall and Callery 2001). For example, Goodman et al (2009: 853) and Holmes (2010) reiterate that the relational approach is especially useful for marginalized populations who are dealing with multiple difficulties and have had limited success accessing mainstream services. To ensure shared relational power with the participants, I engaged them in what emerges from the analysis, what will be presented, and how the findings will be used.

A relational approach also entails attention and intervention by the researcher where participants express difficulties in relation to the research as well as provide them with information about resources that are available to address their concerns. Some scholars have criticized the relativism and indeterminacy of this approach but others maintain that the presence of multiple realities and social constructions cannot be eliminated from the analysis (Yanow 1995 cited in Sidney 2002: 255). Reciprocity was ensured by providing participants with information where the need arises; for example, one of the women who was interested in returning to university was not quite sure of where to start. I helped her to apply for admission via UCAS and to select courses based on what she was more passionate about. I also helped another informant to help search for professional jobs online as she did not know websites where she could look for jobs relating to her academic background. This reciprocity

is particularly important for work with marginalized populations, given the societal structures that continuously disempowered them (Goodman et al 2008: 854). I found it useful as I wanted to build a collaborative and reciprocal relationship with the participants and present myself as a learner rather than primarily as an academic (Fontana and Frey 2000 cited in Bischofberger and Vischer 2009: 26). Similarly, feminist researchers remind us of the need to respect the feelings of the interviewees (Oakley, 1981; see Blakely, 2007) and how in-depth interview might affect the researcher where the researcher closely identifies with the experiences of people being researched thereby sharing their emotional distress (Hubbard et al, 2001). Though still single, during the final interviews, I had become a mother and could relate with the women better when they talk about issues of child care and how it affects their time and career, something I previously did not feel. Now, I understood better the difficulties to live with kids abroad without child care support from external kin. In my case, I had to take my daughter to Cameroon to be looked after my by family because I had no one to care for her while I was studying. In addition, I shared some of their experiences, particularly when the women talked about isolation and loneliness during their early days or the lack of social life though they were married. I understood clearly what they meant. Having live abroad for almost a decade, I have experienced what it means to live far away from relatives and I admitted to them it was not easy to live across the nations' border far away from relatives. While I was happy with the richness of the data gathered at the final stage of interviews, I however felt sad to know that I had the privilege like some of the women in my study to come here for studies through my parents while some could only come through their husbands, meaning without marriage, they might never have been able to cross the border from Cameroon to the UK talk least of becoming British citizens. I began to reflect on their marriage migration stories, a marriage journey into citizenship that had never bothered me in the past. This is just one of the ways through which we were connected and moments when emotions were shared during this long research. It also points to the power dynamics and relations through which emotions connected me to my principal participants.

3.12 Ethical Considerations: Anonymity, Confidentiality and Bilingual research

Ethics is built on care (Collins 2000). This care empowers women to be present and active in research. Hence, the principles and values that underpin this research aimed at empowering women to express their experiences and make their voices heard in the marriage

migration discourse. According to Bott (2010: 160) disclosures can be problematic for researchers and research participants alike. They carry potential risks to integrity, safety and privacy for both the researcher and the researched. It is among the many duties of the researcher to take responsibility for how they are handled, not only in the field but during writing-up. Hence ethical considerations are an extremely important issue in social science research as the intentions and actions of the researcher can directly impact on those who are being studied and thus, there is always the scope to negatively affect the informants, at a variety of levels, unless great care and caution is exercised. As such I ensured that all ethical considerations were fulfilled at every step of the research process.

As noted above, the research was designed and executed on the premise that marriage migration is a sensitive topic and one that could pose a risk to the women involved in the interviews as certain issues had to be reported to the police (particularly relating to undocumented migrants) as well as posing the researcher at risk from the women interviewed if her research was to harm any of the women. Also, their marriages were considered private, thus recruiting them was a sensitive task as they could be at risk of harm, scandal and ridicule (Corti, 2000) and a cause for gossip if confidentiality was breached. It should be noted that the women in my study did not need to worry about incriminating problems because they were all legally resident in the UK but for the stigmatization and 'intrusive threat', which deals with areas that are 'private, stressful or sacred' (Lee, 1993:4). For example motivation for marriage across the border, and family life. Being fully aware of the need to protect research participants as well as the credibility of the data to be collected, measures were put in place to reduce the risks of harm by ensuring confidentiality and anonymity as discussed above. For us to operate without fear of harm, scandal or ridicule, I had to build a special relationship for us to be able to operate based on trust. I recognize the rights of research participants as well as the needs for the production of high quality data. The production of quality data must include respect for the rights of the people being researched while at the same time, maintaining profession integrity (Corti, Day and Backhouse, 2000). Prior to commencing fieldwork, I applied for ethical clearance and I received ethical approval from the University of Leeds in September 2010. I explained fully and meaningfully to my informants what the research was all about, why the study was being carried out (for educational qualification and publication) and how the information would be disseminated (for further discussion on the ethics of care in research see also Bott, 2010; Corti, Day and Backhouse, 2000; Collins, 2010; Hörschelmann and Stenning, 2008; Palmer, 2010) using a

language that they could better understand. The research was described to informants as exploring the lived experiences of female marriage migrants from Cameroon who have come to settle in the UK through marriage to Cameroonian-born British men. I informed each informant that they have the right to refuse to participate. Where they agreed to participate, that they were free to withdraw at any stage of the study and that they had the right not to respond to any question they did not want to. I also explained to them how confidentiality would be maintained at an individual level. This was done through anonymizing all their details and replacing them with pseudonyms so as to guarantee promises made to research participants, avoid risk of harm and maintain trust (Hedgecoe, 2008). During the writing stage, I proof-read each transcript to ensure that identifying details that could point to a particular research participant were not evident (Corti, Day and Backhouse, 2000). I also informed them that research would not be restricted to a dissertation as findings may be used for journal publications/book. Since I intend to use the data for publication, I also sought their consent for 4years storage of and access to the data (Corti, Day and Backhouse, 2000) in an archive. The women agreed for their data to be stored and used for future publication as long as confidentiality was maintained. Each informant who accepted to participate in my study signed the consent form following recommendation from Jaggar (2008: 460) after reading the information sheet and I explained using words clearly understood to those I felt may not fully understand from reading the sheet alone. I also reminded them of their right to renegotiate consent (Corti, Day and Backhouse, 2000). Despite this caution taken, I however, acknowledge the difficulty in 'hiding' participants as they might be identified through their experience that I produce though I use pseudonyms. Also, some of the women had helped me to locate others, meaning they might be able to identify some participants who took part in the study.

I played the dual role of a researcher and translator since I'm fluent in both of the languages (English, French and English Creole) I used during field work. Hence, I did not need a third party to translate or interpret. The theme of translation and interpretation has gained attention in research literature following the increasing body of research undertaken by investigators and institutions in Anglophone countries with non–English-speaking subjects at home and abroad (Shklarov, 2007: 529). For example, Bogusia Temple and Alys Young (2004) note that much of research on minority ethnic communities in Britain has been written without any reference to language issues. They note that research findings are presented as if interviewee were fluent English speakers or as if the language researchers used is irrelevant.

I was fully aware of the ethical implications of combining the roles of an interpreter and translator in my study.

Though the majority of the women had a very good command of the English language, a few did not feel confident to express themselves in English. Hence, I did conduct 3 of the interviews in English Creole for better understanding and communication. Though English and French are the two official languages spoken in Cameroon, English Creole is widely spoken in the English speaking regions of Cameroon including some French regions. Also English and English Creole skills could be considered an advantage for the migrants, because 'bilingual abilities allow them to participate in activities in qualitative research studies wherein they can express and communicate a topic from their perspective' (Bischofberger and Vischer 2009: 25). Svetlana Shklarov (2007: 532) stresses the potentially salutary ethical significance if a bilingual researcher acts as both translator and interpreter as this might meaningfully enrich the in-depth perception of the context area and contribute tremendously to the ethical sensitivity and the quality of research. Shklarov (2007: 532) further reminds us that 'from the ethical and procedural point of view, the accuracy of conceptual understanding is basic for all processes ranging from obtaining informed consent to an ethically adequate process of communicating research results to the participants and to academic audiences. Discrepancies in meanings are inevitable and challenging, and the bilingual researcher might have a unique and invaluable capacity for accommodating these differences in research'. Shklarov (2007: 535) however cautions against the diversity of perceptions and limitation of personal knowledge. She suggests the mutuality of the process remains the key by 'openly negotiating meanings with the participants and academic audiences, as a way of sharing power, can help prevent misunderstandings. David Palmer (2010: 46) also comments that 'immediate translation between interviewer and respondent may also allow for the translator to double-check on the meaning or phrasing of questions or concepts and allow for the repetition or rephrasing of questions if necessary. This is inevitably a lengthy process, but time invested in this way can produce the most accurate and interesting results and is therefore beneficial to the integrity of the research study'. Also, Shklarov (2007: 529) notes that translation can be a significant factor in cross-language research and can make an overarching impact on research outcomes and ethical adequacy. I'm a bilingual researcher thus assuming a double role, functioning as an interpreter and translator. All the writing was done in English.

2.13 Limitations

The contribution of the women could go forward to inform society and policy changes as their experiences do not only point to marriage migration from Cameroon alone but migration as a whole since there is a call for research to be policy relevant and beneficial to those being researched (Schneider, 2002 in also Hörschelmann and Stenning, 2008). Hence, my ability to conduct research on Cameroonian female marriage migrants in the UK has highlighted issues of love in marriage migration and not just the economic opportunities many assume.

Just like other researchers, there were limitations to my study. Though no inferences can be made on the basis of data collected through interpretive method, it opens up new knowledge that can be further developed by other researchers in the future. My research contributes to the discussion on love in South-South female marriage migration to the North. Though the women in my study are not many enough to be a representative sample of female marriage migrants from Cameroon to Britain, they however remain part of the women involved in female marriage migration. Therefore, experiences described here may reflect the experiences of other female marriage migrants in Britain and elsewhere who have come from the South to settle and obtain citizenship through marriage to a Northern man. My findings make an original contribution by revealing the link between women's love, care, identity construction, sense of belonging and citizenship in South-South marriage migration to the North as the existing knowledge about on-going marriage migration from Cameroon is very limited.

3.11 Conclusion

Feminist migration researchers need to investigate neglected areas of research on female marriage migrants. One of these neglected areas is the topic of love. Being aware of the limitations of traditional research methodology, to investigate love among bushfallers' wives in the UK, my research methodology was informed by black feminist epistemology. The data for this study was gathered using repeated interviews over a three year period with 20 women in Leicester and Birmingham. Through using a feminist research method, I have shown the benefits and challenges of conducting research on a sensitive topic with women **a**nd stress the importance of repeated interviews when researching on marriage migration from the South to the North. These repeated open ended interviews can produce richer narratives from women that contain relevant information with regard to the South-South love marriage migration

decision making and outcomes. Repeated contacts and involvement by the researcher enhance validity and reliability (Dreher, 1994). Despite being a woman and from Cameroon, I was sometimes an insider yet outsider. In addition, researching a topic that was not only controversial but sensitive with women who are often prejudiced and stigmatized calls for rapport and trust in the research and maintaining duty of care. Confidentiality was maintained throughout and names have been changed. Data was analyzed using content and discourse analysis. These data give voice to the women in their role as actors of marriage migrants rather than subjects. As such, the hidden voice of women from the Cameroon; how they do not only experience but contribute to their marriage migration is given a central stage in this thesis. Yet, significantly, discussions on bushfalling marriage often focus on individuals who move through marriage and how they relate to love and residency. In this regard, the next chapter investigates how bushfallers' wives relate to love and residency in marriage migration.

CHAPTER 4

CAMEROONIAN BUSHFALLERS' WIVES IN BRITAIN: FOR LOVE OR RESIDENCY?

4.1 Introduction

Although marriage migration is a long tradition (D'Aoust, 2010; Constable, 2003; Plambech, 2008; Sinke, 1999), the last two decades have witnessed a large number of women from the less-developed global 'South move to the more industrialized 'North' through marriage to white western men (Constable, 2003; Eggebo, 2013; Memon, 2005; Plambech, 2008; Robinson, 2007; Rosario, 2005; Tyldum and Tveit, 2008). Similarly, this period has witnessed a rise in South-South marriage related migration from the Global South to the Global North mainly between migrant males and women from the same country of origin (Charsley, 2005, 2006; Timmerman 2007). Therefore, it is not surprising a majority of marriage migrants are women (Constable, 2003) and originally from the South though they only make up a fraction of the 60 million female migrants (Plambech, 2008). This rise in cross-border marriages has led to an upsurge in academic writings by migration scholars and feminists on marriage migration discourse focusing specifically on the variety of motivations, processes and outcomes (Robinson, 2006; Constable, 2003, 2004, Tyldum and Tveit, 2008; Muhleisen et al' 2012; Eggebø, 2013, Simon 2001) for women marrying across national borders from the South to the North. Some of these studies have revealed negative experiences for women marrying strangers in distant places where they have no network (see Tyldum and Tveit, 2008). Also, these women are sometimes portrayed as oppressed in marriage and victims of the economic hardship in their country of origin who are forced to marry citizen men as a gateway to the West even when they do not feel for the men emotionally. For example, their marriage are sometimes judged as a family collective decision and not just as individual one (Huong et al 2010, see also Charsley for the case of Pakistani second generation migrants in the UK) raising suspicion of foreign brides. The western immigration authorities in recent years have tightened the borders for these categories of migrants informed by the stereotype that female marriage migrants are mail-ordered, trafficked or victims of poverty who lack agency (see Constable, 2003, Tyldum and

Tveit, 2012) in their decision to marry across the nation's border to the West with residency rather than love as the principal motive for such international marriages (Kringelbach, 2013). Though the discourse on marriage migration addresses a range of themes (victimization/stereotyped, agency/passive, love/residency, poverty/riches), two of the recurring themes addressed in the discourse is the issue of love and residency in marriage migration for women in the South who migrate to the North through marriage (see Tyldum and Tveit, 2008; Eggebø, 2013; Constable, 2003, 2004; Robinson, 2007; Rosario, 2005; Plambech, 2008; Palriwala and Uberoi, 2005). This discourse points to how these women relate to love (genuine attraction, one that is self-chosen and with the intention to live as a couple and implicitly meaning form a family; known as real or genuine marriage based on a modern and western definition of love even when it does not apply to other societies) and residency (to get a visa, live in the host country and enjoy the social, economic and welfare benefits including access to citizenship but disinterested in love) commonly referred to as 'marriage of convenience' or 'pro forma marriage' (Eggebø, 2013) and in the UK immigration rule, 'bogus marriage'. Therefore, in this chapter, I bring together feminist and queer migration approaches as well as immigration policies approaches to marriage related migration in an attempt to contribute to the topic of love in geography and broaden the discourse on love and residency by adding a South-South perspective which is significant especially at a time when a growing majority of migrants are returning to their countries of origin for spouses (see Charsley 2005, 2006; Timmerman, 2007; D'Aoust, 2010; Kringelbach, 2013).

The dominant literature on marriage migration suggests that female marriage migrants seek white Western men (Tyldum and Tveit, 2008; Eggebø, 2013; Constable, 2003, 2004; Robinson, 2007; Del Rosario, 2005; Plambech, 2008). On the contrary, as noted in the introduction, Cameroonian women came to Britain and became British through 'citizenship men' from their country of origin. In this regard, I start the chapter by looking at the bushfalling phenomenon and how it influenced the movement of Cameroonian women to Britain through marriage. I also discuss women's role in bushfalling marriage and how they negotiate and stay in marriage after citizenship to determine if they marry for love or residency. This is followed by a discussion on prejudice and stigmatization in an attempt to show that residency stigma is not a stigma that marks female marriage migrants when they leave their marital home after crossing their nation's border or obtaining residency/citizenship. Rather even marriage migrants who stay married after citizenship

remain stereotyped because of what I call the residency stigma which might impact on women's ability to leave an unhappy bushfalling marriage. But first, let us look at the discourse on love/residency in more detail.

4.2 Discourses on Love and Residency

The discourse on love and residency raises a complex question that a number of studies have attempted to address- a question that has been explored mostly from the perspectives of South East Asian and Eastern European women marrying white men in America and Western Europe (Plambech, 2008; see also Tyldum and Tveit, 2008; Robinson, 2007; Rosario, 2005; Constable, 2003, 2004; Muhleisen et al 2012; Eggebo, 2013). These are mostly women who are either seeking white western men on the web or have left an abusive marriage (Tyldum and Tveit 2008). As a result, Tyldum and Tveit (2013) argue that success in marrying a man from the North is rarely shown as a romantic dream come true in western media, academic writing or popular culture. Instead, they are presented as desperate and poor women than as successful or romantic due to the potential benefits from marriage migration (Tyldum and Tveit, 2013). The immigration authorities of Western countries pay particular attention to the issue of love and residency when assessing spousal visa applications involving a citizen of theirs and a spouse from the South. In the immigration rule, patriarchal gender norms and sexuality are used to determine a real marriage from a marriage of convenience. This discourse is gendered and racialised (Constable, 2003; Muhleisen and Rothing, 2009). With regards to female marriage migrants, their global position as citizens of the 'south', meaning they come from a country that is poor as opposed to their western husbands who are citizens of a rich country where economic opportunities can be guaranteed make their marriage migration questionable as a result of power and wealth gender inequality and remain key sites where conflict around the changing nature of labour, control and citizenship are taking place (Andrijasevic, 2009). This implies exclusion for those who may not comply with the immigration rules of the host country-one which is implicitly justified by the immigration authorities since women move as marriage migrants; for family reasons with their role as dependants thereby producing geographies of exclusion, an approach that has been challenged by feminist and queer migration researchers (Andrijasevic, 2009). However, one related issue with which marriage migration researchers disagree on is what constitutes

real marriage or what can be a genuine cross-border marriage (D'Aoust, 2010; Chia-Wen Lu, 2005; Eggebo, 2013; Pariwala and Uberoi, 2005; Tyldum and Tveit, 2008).

Despite the extensive work on female marriage migration from the South to the North, the question of love or residency appears to be least addressed in studies involving women who marry men of their ethnic origin who are now citizens of the West and live in the West (for an exception, see Charsley, 2006; and Timmerman, 2007 yet they focus but on risk and forced marriage among migrants of Muslim religious background to investigate love and residency in marriage among migrant population). This might be because these marriages appear less-suspicious as it is a marriage between two individuals of non-western origin yet they remain questionable by the immigration authorities (Kringelbach 2013) and people from the same community or country of origin in the host country and in their country of origin. This discourse is significant in relation to bushfallers' wives who have come from the South with a Cameroonian nationality to live and become British citizens through bushfaller massas who are British citizens. While I challenge this Western and traditional ways of defining bushfallers' wives' choices, mobility and citizenship rights based on gender norms and sexuality, this chapter will show love and residency go together in marriage migration. It is not only residency that bushfallers' wives want. Rather, for these women, their access to residency only reinforces their intimate relationship with their massas in the UK. Yet, bushfallers' wives even when in marriage are stigmatized not just in Cameroon but my Cameroonians in the diaspora even before they cross the Cameroonian border into Britain probably because of the potential gains from marrying a 'citizenship bushfaller'. While I'm not trying to further stigmatize them, I show how women are actively involved in initiating male bushfalling and negotiating their marriage migration yet their social and economic position place them in a subordinate position where bushfalling marriage becomes a status symbol for them which oppose the 1960s universal feminist view that marriage was oppressive for women (Lorde, 1992), a view that continues to be applied to Third world women marrying internationally (Constable, 2003; Plambech 2008). Following the rule of patrivilocality in marriage (see Palriwala and Uberoi 2005, Francis 1995) in Cameroon, bushfallers' wives are the ones who move from Cameroon to Britain rather than their massas returning to Cameroon. This from another perspective was liberating for these women as bushfalling marriage offers bushfallers' wives economic opportunities through employment and citizenship status in Britain, an opportunity many of the women never had in Cameroon and only became possible through bushfalling marriage.

4.3 The Male Bushfalling Phenomenon

As noted in the introduction, Cameroonian bushfalling started in the mid 1990s (Alpes, 2001; Atekmangoh, 2011; Fleischer, 2007, 2008, 2011; Pelican et al, 2008; Ndonwie, 2012). During this period, many young Cameroonian men migrated to the West following the economic crisis that hit Cameroon (Alpes, 2001; Atekmangoh, 2011; Fleischer, 2007, 2008, 2011; Pelican et al, 2008; Ndonwie, 2012), leaving many young men unable to marry early (Johnson-Hanks, 2007). The movement of young men from Cameroon to the West reduced the sex ratio in local marriage for women who make up 52% of the Cameroonian population (see Nana-Fabu 2007, Sikod 2008, Ngangriyap 2007, Ngome 2005). This led to a fall in marriage rates for women while men enhancing their position as the traditional breadwinner of the family through bushfalling As a result, Cameroonian women are now looking across the Cameroonian border for husbands particularly in the West (Alpes 2011, Johnson-Hanks 2007). While these bushfallers might have moved from Cameroon to the West for economic-related reasons (see Fleischer 2007, 2008, 2011), their movement has led to marriage-related migration for women as bushfallers' wives.

4.3.1 Bushfaller's Money and Admiration: A Taste of Bush in Cameroon

The excitement of bushfalling of predominantly male from Cameroon to the West in the mid-1990s only began to be felt in the late 1990s when bushfallers started remitting both in cash and in kind to their families and relations in Cameroon (Atekmangoh, 2011; Fleischer 2007, 2008, 2011; Ndonwie, 2012). However, it was particularly felt when they started returning home for visits especially during the Christmas season. Bushfallers were admired not just for their risk and bravery in crossing the Western borders and obtaining residency (that enabled them to be able to live and work in the host country and visit Cameroon) but their accomplishments in their local communities in Cameroon with lots of success stories (importing cars and containers filled with foreign goods and built houses) (see Alpes, 2011). Bushfallers who always '*dressed to impress'* with '*foreign accents'* particularly when in Cameroon greatly influenced the local population as many young boys dreamt to be like them.

For girls, being in a relationship with a bushfaller was and remains popular and some girls did ashawo or prostitute (Fossungu, 2014) with Bushfallers for money while hoping for bush too. It had become a source of pride for a woman to be in a relationship with a bushfaller. As one of my participants, Sarah puts it:

'The late 1990s and early 2000s was a mad period. Bushfalling was the order of the day and most of the girls were really excited to have a bushfaller as it was a pride to be in a relationship with a bushfaller.'

Women were proud to be identified as the bushfaller's 'chosen one', an identity and position that increased their chances of receiving not just foreign goods and money but the likelihood of travelling abroad. It has become common for girls to be in a relationship with a bushfaller. Ernestine who got married to her boyfriend after he became a bushfaller remarks about girls and bushfallers in Cameroon:

There were all types of bushfallers, some with fake accent, curly hair, and big cars. These boys used to show off. Since the majority of them came home with cars, they will be showing off, playing loud music when driving. Some even had bodyguards. When a bushfaller was around in our city, everyone knew just from the way the bushfaller will behave or spend money and many girls and boys will want to be his friend and even girlfriend. Friends will sleep or snatch their friend's and neighbour's bushfaller boyfriend. Girls will fall for bushfallers because they've got cash. It used to be self-pride to have a bushfaller boyfriend not to talk of a bushfaller husband as life abroad was possible if the bushfaller loved you.

Germaine who met and got married to a bushfaller in Cameroon before moving to the UK told me how bushfallers were seen in the city where she grew up in Cameroon noting:

*'Bushfallers bushfallers bushfallers!!! (*She laughs*) these guys used to be the talk of our town especially in December when they came home for the Christmas break. These guys too used to show off. Imagine someone coming from Europe with the type of accent you will only see on TV. Myself just like many felt these guys were good and would admire them just like many. They dressed nicely, will spend money in night clubs and drinking spots* (Germaine).

Bushfallers brought the West closer to Cameroon and Cameroonians, a vision that was only possible for the educated few in the past. Bushfallers were popular and identifiable from their physical appearance including outfit, accent and the type of cars they rode in. Bushfallers' visits and new lifestyle led to the perception that Bushfallers were 'rich with residency status

in bush'. Emphasising the word '*bushfallers'*, Germaine reveals a new generation of Cameroonian men who had come to be the '*talk*' of their city being seen as wealthy, modern and had the privilege of living in 'bush' and enjoy the riches, something that many like her could only see on TV. Hence, bushfallers' lifestyle when visiting Cameroon gave women the impression that bush was a land of riches where romance could meet economic opportunities 'on a global stage' (Constable; 2003). This is some regards influenced relationships between the locals and bushfallers and the girls in particular who were interested in intimate relationships that could lead to a life abroad through marriage with a bushfaller massa as it had become a '*pride'*. For this reason, girls were actively involved in courtship with bushfallers. This reveals a kind of dating among Cameroonians that have come to move women from Cameroon to the West. These cartographies of desire were informed by the meeting of culture, tradition and modernity (Pflugfelder, 1999). Sarah, Ernestine and Germaine talk about their experience of growing up in an extensive bushfalling city and how the first bushfallers influenced the bushfalling of other young Cameroonians. Consequently, the locals, particularly young males were motivated to come abroad so they could be like the first bushfallers (see Fleischer 2007, 2008, 2011). In particular, bushfallers' intimate relationships with girls led to bushfalling marriages among Cameroonians. Bushfallers' wives made it no secret that they admired bushfallers. These bushfallers were admired by the locals and it became a position of pride to be in a relationship with a bushfaller. Bushfallers were accorded a higher status than local men because of their 'prince charming' look during their visits and being in an intimate relationship with a bushfaller had become synonymous to a journey abroad as the girlfriend of a bushfaller or significantly through marriage to the bushfaller. In the general literature on marriage migration, women marrying across their nation's border have been accused of marrying strangers, men they know little of as a result of the growth in web-based marriages that has made 'electronic love' possible for women and men in distant places (see Tyldum and Tveit, 2008; Pennington, 2010). Though electronic love has risen in Cameroon since the mid 1990s between Cameroonian women and 'foreign men' (Alpes, 2011, Johnson-Hanks 2007, Yufeh 2008), in the case of bushfallers' wives, women did not search electronically for 'citizenship men' (Del Rosario 2005). Rather, women appear to negotiate their intimate relationship face to face with men. These relationships are self-chosen and involve a period of courtship that enables the couples to get to know each other better before marriage migration. This however does not mean that women did not admire bushfallers because of love only. Rather, there were also economic motivations. For example, Rachel talked about the advantages of being in a relationship with

a bushfaller particularly in economic terms. This was in response to my invitation for her to explain what she thinks about bushfalling marriages. Rachel explains:

A bushfaller could give a girl 10,000frs (approximately £10) the very first time he sets his eyes on a girl he admires for taxi fare to come meet him later (for a distance that could cost 200frs CFA approximately 20p (my note)). A homeboy won't do that. Home boy will give you 2000frs (approximately £2) and he must be a business guy or a rich man's son to do that but even the son of the poorest man who has become a bushfaller will spend money on girls. Bushfallers knew how to spend cash; they will take their girlfriends to the best spots in town, nice hotels, and clubs. I mean you really spend a nice time with them. Boys home will tell a girl I love you but no money. When you're young, you have a guy you love for who he is but with age, a woman starts thinking of settling down and no woman will want to settle with a man who cannot provide food on the family table or support your family. With a bushfaller, the future is bright. You know you'll come here and he'll help look after you and your family. You're also able to work and earn your own money no matter how hard it is to find a good job.

While love knows no border, Citizenship men have been accused of using their 'citizenship' to get women from poorer countries (Rosario, 2005) while these women are suspected of marrying not just because of love but economic considerations. Rachel's opening and concluding comments point to the role of love, money and citizenship in bushfalling marriages. With bushfallers' residency/New citizenship status and the availability of economic opportunities in the West which had become less available in Cameroon, bushfallers gave the impression that there were economic opportunities in bush and many hoped for a better life for themselves and their families through bushfalling since many households had become trapped in poverty as a result of the economic decline in the 1990s (see Alpes, 2011; Atekmangoh, 2011; Nkwi, 2006; Fleischer 2007, 2008, 2011; Ndonwie, 2012; Pelican et al, 2008). These bushfallers convinced women they could offer them not just love but affluence, security, as well as residency (Robinson 2007). Bushfallers' ability and willingness to spend huge sum of money on girls they admired immediately they met the girls, even before any intimate encounter suggested bushfallers had money and by dishing out money without sex, it made bushfallers appear as loving and caring men yet a way of introducing themselves to the women that there was more to come in the future if they had a relationship (see Tyldum and Tveit, 2008) which challenge the caring ability of local boys who may love but cannot provide enough for their women. Hence, bushfallers who appear

generous took fun and spending spree with women to another level when they visited home, thereby making them popular in town and better 'husband material' with the possibility of a better life abroad not just for the women but their families in exchange for fun or intimacy with the women. In this regard, it can be suggested that these men tend to control women's sexuality with their newly acquired wealth and residency status. If the bushfaller had most importantly, citizenship in the host country it means he could marry and bring a wife thereby giving her the opportunity to live and work in bush too. In Rachel's case, she wanted a husband who could not only love but provide, implying a bushfaller would be a good choice for a husband. Rachel's view was echoed by most of the women. This is similar to Louisa Schen's (2005) study on marriage migration from China to the US in which she shows how Huong men from the US who visit their communities in China are highly sought after for marriage by local women with the hope of winning them for marriage though women entering into short term relationship, formal mistress or second wives with just the luck few ending up as wives to these men or move to the US.

Bushfallers were not only admired by single women but married women too. Sandra who was already married traditionally but with no legal document to her husband when bushfalling started talks of her admiration for bushfallers when she was still in Cameroon. She comments:

There were many bushfallers in our neighbourhood and we used to admire them especially the lucky girls who got married to them and travelled abroad because life improved for them. I know girls who were excited about bushfallers who came home and hoped to leave Cameroon for a better life abroad. I met my husband a long time ago. We were married and living together when he moved here. I was already married to my husband before bushfalling started and I never for once thought I would have a bushfaller massa though I admired them when they came home. Bushfaller families used to own cars, did big shopping and built new houses. This could only be possible because bushfallers came abroad because some of these guys were people who never went to school or did not have a good job home but coming here made them popular guys in town and will spend money like it meant nothing to them… I was happy when my husband moved to Britain. I was left behind to struggle with the kids for years… I knew if he's fine, we'll all be fine.

The improvement in the socio-economic status of earlier bushfallers, bushfallers' wives and their families were evident. Life had improved for girls who travelled abroad through

bushfaller likewise their families. Though women like Sandra did not dream of coming to the UK through a bushfaller, she admired them just like the majority of the population. The fact that life had improved for girls who married bushfallers was a positive push factors for other women to follow the same intimate route to migration Thus, Sandra, like many women felt being in a relationship with a bushfaller might lead to marriage and a better life abroad. However, as Sandra notes in her case, she was already married before the mid-1990s bushfalling started yet she too just like all the women in my study admired bushfallers for their spending spree, improvement in their family living standard, their look and accomplishments. Given the pride of being in a relationship with a bushfaller, their success stories and her admiration of bushfallers, she was happy to stay and wait for her husband who became a bushfaller as she knew if her husband succeeded in obtaining residency, she and her kids would be able to join him in the UK. However, it was not just the ability of her husband to travel abroad that made her stay and wait. Instead, being already married, she might have felt confident her husband would return for her, a migration decision making that was based on her family's expectation of staying in Cameroon, a country that was economically declining versus moving to the West where there was hope of a better life (see Fischer et al 1997). Thus, unlike other marriage migration studies that suggest that mostly single women or women with children who had less chances of marrying locally seek western men (Constable, 2003, 2004; Johnson-Hanks, 2007; Tyldum and Tveit, 2012; Rosario, 2005; Robinson, 2007), bushfallers were not just admired by single women but married women who were still resident in Cameroon with their husbands. While Sandra's admiration of bushfallers because of their economic success may not have led to her seeking a relationship with a bushfaller, yet like many of the women, bushfallers' success gave her hope and expectations (see Atekmangoh 2012, Flesicher 2007, 2008, 2011, Ndonwie 2012, Nyamnjoh 2009, Ngwa and Ngwa 2007, Pelican et al 2008), as she was happy when her husband became a bushfaller and started sending her money when she was still in Cameroon. Women from the South are generally accused of marrying men from the North because of their money and residency status (Rosario 2005) because these women are often women from poorer background. A common theme generated in interviews on bushfalling marriage expectation with women was the influence of bushfallers' success particularly seen in their spending spree when they visited Cameroon. The economic and social disparities between the West and Cameroon have to a larger extent influenced intimacy, seen in the admiration of British bushfallers' success. The success of these bushfallers could be seen in the improvement in their families' living standard. Many bushfallers' families now live the

modern middle class life while many businesses and buildings have been named after different Western countries and cities (see Alpes 2011) as well as assets relating to bushfallers (for instance, bushfaller house, bushfaller car, bushfaller mum, bushfaller hotel, bushfaller club).

While both single and married women might have admired bushfallers, some bushfalling marriages were initiated through dating following the Western notion of love and prior to the bushfalling of the bushfaller massas. Therefore, bushfallers did not only attract women with their wealth and status when they visited Cameroon. Instead some women were already in a relationship with young men before they became bushfallers (see Fleischer 2007). These bushfallers while in bush showed they care more by sending foreign goods and money to their girlfriends in Cameroon from Britain even when there was no sex during this period of absence. This was the case of Miranda. After a long and intimate courtship that ended up with marriage migration for Miranda, she was proud to tell me she was among the first few in their city in Cameroon to have a mobile phone. She was sent a mobile phone by her bushfaller massa:

I was amongst the first few to own a mobile phone in our city (she laughs). He (referring to husband) used to visit home and will bring me nice gifts and always sent money. He used to send me money and asked me to give some to my parents. When visiting home, he'll bring gifts for everyone in my family. They all liked him and I was so much in love with him and still do. I married my husband because we loved each other. We have a lot in common. We're from the same village. He came here for studies but my parents could not afford to send me abroad. We continued to communicate and he always send me money and came home every December. His family knew me very well and they liked me and I would spend my days and even nights at their house (she laughs). Coming to Britain could only be possible through him because my parents are not wealthy.

Though Miranda was already in a relationship before her massa became a bushfaller, she like most of the women who had relationships prior to bushfalling of their massa judged men's commitment to the relationship based on their ability to remit. These men sent goods and money not just to the women but their families, an indication the man was a kind, caring and serious man; one that could love and provide not just for his wife but his wife's family (see Tyldum and Tveit, 2008). Both families appear to know each other before marriage, which was a reason why the women should have trust and remain faithful. Bushfalling marriage

migration has been facilitated by advances in information and communication technology and the aviation industry which is associated with globalization (Simons 2001). As observed by Bruijn et al (2009), the emergence of cell phones and the internet in the late 1990s in Cameroon reinforced old relationships by linking people who are far away as the internet and cell phones facilitated communication between the women and their bushfallers while her husband's visits like in the case of the majority of the women enabled short period of intimacy to take place. A number of studies on 'electronic love' have highlighted the role of the internet in initiating and contracting marriages across the border as both women from the South and citizenship men use the internet to search for residency/love (Alpes 2011, Jonhson-Hanks 2007, Rosario 2005, Robinson 2007, and Constable 2003). Conversely, the emergence and improvement in ICTs only facilitated communication and reinforced intimacy that had been initiated through physical or face-to-face contact. These women who were in a relationship with bushfallers dreamt of crossing the Cameroonian border to the West. Miranda (like most of my informants) dream of crossing the border from Cameroon into Britain was only achieved through marriage to a bushfaller massa. In this regards, it can be argued that instead of residency, love was the foundation of some of these bushfalling marriages. Thus, while bushfallers had moved for economic reasons, women moved through marriage as wives to these men. This complex link between economic migration and spousal migration can be seen in Susanne Sinke's (2005) research on labour and marriage migration which found that migrant men who move for labour reasons often went back to their country of origin for wives. Similar practices can be found in bushfalling marriage from Cameroon to the UK.

Many discourses on marriage migration from Cameroon suggest that Cameroonian women search for western men with the intention of marrying and crossing the border to the West rather than love (Alpes 2011, Johnson-Hanks 2007). In this regard, marriage becomes a migration strategy for women (see Alpes 2011) who seek to improve their economic position and that of their families. This view is problematic and does not reflect the majority of women marrying Western men. Rather than searching, the majority of bushfallers' wives know and have intimate relationships with bushfallers before the bushfallers' migration to the West and becoming a Westerner as discussed above. Secondly, even women who meet men who are already bushfallers in Cameroon or Britain, women spend time with them and get to know them, maintain communication across the border before making informed decision to marry bushfallers. Therefore, for most bushfallers' wives, they do not just marry strangers but

get to know the men before marriage. Therefore, these women actively negotiate their marriage rather than being forced into marriage (see Charlsey 2006, Timmerman 2007) for economic reasons. However, their description of the first bushfallers who return home points to the fact that the effect of bushfaller admiration and spending spree should not be dismissed too easily. Rather, it gave women the hope that bush was a land of plenty as well as a place of intimacy with some women even willing to contribute towards such journey when their men were financially inadequate.

4.4 Wife Sponsors

Marriage migration is generally referred to as a feminised migration route. There are two main reasons for this: More Western men rather than Western women sponsor their migrant spouse (see Constable, 2003). Also, in the past, most men rather than women from the Third moved first and later sponsored the migration/settlement of their wives (see Fleischer, 2011). Seemingly, in Cameroon, the first bushfallers were men and continue to outnumber women (Atekmangoh, 2011, Alpes, 2012, Ndonwie, 2012). However, while more men move, it is a journey that has been facilitated by women who chose to stay behind and instead sponsor the migration of some of these men. These are mostly men who have an intimate sexual relationship with these women. Some of the women told me how they played a crucial financial role in the migration of their bushfallers husbands even before their marriage. Louise was one of them. She had a child with her husband, then fiance before he moved to the UK and told me about their relationship before her husband became a bushfaller and significantly, her financial contribution towards their journey. This was also similar to Ernestine's love story:

We had an intimate relationship. I lived with him for three years at his parents' house before he came here (UK). He was not even working but we were happy and there for each other. I was working. We depended on my salary for years and I contributed towards his journey. I was pregnant for him when he left Cameroon. I hope to marry and join him one day. I was confident he would come for me because he had asked for my hand in marriage and he also took very good care of me and our child when he came here and had his papers. (Louise)

adds *'even'* suggesting a man who is traditionally expected to work outside the home and provide instead depended on her not just for his well-being but journey to the UK

People could not understand why a university student will leave all the university girls to be in a serious relationship with me, who have not been to the university but I was working. I gave him money when he was a student. After his graduation from the university, he was not working and I was the one supporting him financially and also contributed money towards his journey here (referring to the UK) though his family did too (Ernestine).

While the majority of bushfallers' wives were lucky to meet and marry an independent bushfaller already living abroad or a man who was able to finance his journey and later theirs, some were not. They however took an initiative to sponsor their boyfriend/fiancé; a strategy that saw them arrive as wives in the UK. Louise did not only have an intimate relationship with her husband and a child prior to his migration but contributed to her husband's journey to the UK. Louise might have felt confident in sponsoring her fiancé since she was cohabiting with him and together, they had a child that her bushfaller would marry her and bring her to Britain. Some other researchers have echoed this pattern. Using data from the National Survey of Families and Households, Manning and Smock (1995) in their study on race and the transition to marriage among cohabiters found that having children in common increases the chance of marrying a cohabiting partner. Unlike Louise, Ernestine had a boyfriend who became a bushfaller. She did not only contribute to his education in Cameroon but his bushfalling too. Interestingly, Ernestine's under-privileged educational background had no effect on her marriage decision. Instead her short cut to economic opportunities in Cameroon at an early age means she was self-sufficient though illiterate and able to support her husband to become a bushfaller. She made up for her lack of status in Cameroon through sponsoring her bushfaller massa who will later marry and bring her to Britain. These women gave their stay-a-home husbands the opportunity to fulfil their male role as breadwinner of the family through a life in the UK. In Cameroon, a man is considered to be the family head and breadwinner (See Nana Fabu 2006, Ngangriyap 2007, Sikod 2005, Ngome 2005), commonly referred to as massa (a Pidgin word for master used during British colonial rule in Cameroon. A word that is not only oppressive but deeply rooted in patriarchy and colonial rule when women were made second class citizens) even when the wife earns more than the man. Thus, a man who is supported by the wife financially is seen as a weak man who is controlled by

the wife and may be nicknamed ‘woman wrapper’. On the other hand, a woman who earns more than the husband and does not give the man his ‘rightful place as the family head’ is seen as a ‘bad wife’. Thus, in Cameroon, the man’s role is linked to being the head of the family and the one who provides and a woman to household responsibilities (see Nana-Fabu 2006 (see chapter 6). Louise and Ernestine who were working stood a better chance of migrating. Instead, they chose to stay behind and allow their fiancée/boyfriend to come to Britain, even contributing financially, a strategy that enabled their husbands to come and obtain their stay and bring them as wives. From another perspective, these women enabled their husbands to be financially independent and be the breadwinner even as they too became bushfaller’s wives. Their story is significant as it reveals women’s role in not just the negotiation of their marriage migration but how women based on compassion and romance initiate male migration in marriage migration. The actions of both women made their husbands ‘bushfallers’. In doing so, their massas were able to support them now financially though not sexually while they were still in Cameroon. Most significantly, their action made them bushfallers’ wives, a marriage that came with migration and economic opportunities. This is the invisible story generally missing in the marriage migration literature. Rosario (2005) suggests that citizenship benefits are an important part of the relationship between women from poor countries and men from rich countries. She seems to assume that marriage between citizens of the global South and citizens from the North is based on citizenship and economic benefits. This may be partly because the nationality of an immigrant and the reason for coming are crucial for any job application (see Fleischer, 2008; Bledsoe, 2008) and men were thought to play the most important role. While this may be true for some marriage migrant women, it does not reflect the story of all women as there are others who have contributed to not just their marriage migration but the border crossing of their husbands from the South to the North. Significantly, in the case of these women, there was interdependence and exchange between the men and women who independently initiated their marriage migration through the men though they only arrived as dependants of their husbands. Their marriages therefore cannot be reduced to mere ‘commodity exchange’ from the South to the North where women are thought to marry because they want to migrate (see Rosario, 2005) as giving men the opportunity to migrate has led to female marriage migration.

4.5 Educational Opportunities

In the Third world, lack of educational opportunities has been linked to poverty. In the case of Cameroon, while the majority of the population remain poor, higher educational level keep rising (IOM, 2010) and in recent years, a growing number of Cameroonians have travelled abroad for further studies (See Fleischer, 2007). Increased educational opportunities across the borders have encouraged Cameroonians to migrate for educational purpose (see Fleischer 2007) leading to career opportunities and at the same time marriage alternatives that could not have been available if they stayed in Cameroon, particularly for women. The movement of Cameroonian women to the UK for educational purpose is linked to the English language and the wide availabilities of educational scholarship opportunities in Britain as well as the ability and willingness of families to sponsor girls. As shown in several studies on migration from Cameroon, the family greatly influence an individual's decision to migrate through sponsorship (Pelican et al 2008, Atemakoh 2011, Ndonwi 2012, Alpes 2011, Njamnjoh 2005). For example, Fleischer (2011) in her study on bushfalling from Cameroon to Germany found that bushfallers' decision to leave Cameroon for Germany was to a larger extent a family decision and that the family often paid towards such journey. Also, she notes that the need to support the family was another reason in the decision to send an individual abroad who would later bring other relatives abroad, sponsor those in Cameroon and remit occasionally at a time when living standards in Cameroon are falling. Many household have to depend on bushfallers' abroad for survival in a country where youth unemployment rate continue to rise. As a result, many families especially those with middle-class background encourage and sponsor their children abroad after they complete higher education in Cameroon (Fleischer 2008). Hence, some Cameroonian women have come to Britain for studies and sponsored by their families but ended up as marriage migrants. This was the case of five of my informants who had arrived in Britain to study with a temporal student visa. Prisca who is from a middle-income family was one of them and explained to me how she met her bushfaller:

I came here (referring to Britain) to further my studies and my parents sponsored me. I didn't have to work as some of my friends did. I met my husband in 2004 while studying here. We met at a party. Later, my friend came with him to my university to visit me. That is how we got to know each other. As a student, I could not enjoy some of the privileges I enjoyed and still do after I met and got married to my husband. We are also from the same tribe and we have been married for 9 years.

While some Cameroonian families sponsor their children bushfalling for greener pasture, others send their children to universities abroad not just to search for better lives in bush but for education that would enhance their skills and career prospect in the global market. Prisca had come to Britain to study when she met her husband who was from her tribe and got to know each other. According to her, being married to a British national meant she could live and work without restrictions and become a citizen (see IMR 2012) with privileges that were not available to international students. Unlike Prisca, Sarah knew her husband in Cameroon. They were childhood classmates and though her family sponsored her educational trip to the UK, her husband helped her with the admission process and she stayed at his house when she first arrived. Sarah talks about how her journey to Britain for education brought her closer to a childhood friend and subsequently led to marriage:

If someone wants to come here, the person can look for admission or come like others did with a tourist visa but speaking from experience, it's better to leave Cameroon with a long term visa and one that can enable you to work when you get here. When I was still in Cameroon, he (referring to husband) used to tell me about life in Britain that is was not as easy as people think. I thought he was just being stingy (laughs). When I came here, we were still friends but close. I stayed at his place for some time before moving to mine. We later fell in love and within a year, he proposed. We did not take long to marry. We've known each other from childhood and knew both families very well but we never had any sexual relationship. It only started here and he wanted us to marry.

Immigration category greatly impact on an individual arrival and living experience in a foreign country (Flesicher, 2007). Sarah talks about the challenges of a short term visa, meaning it might have affected her ability to find work while she was on a student visa. Coming to Britain for education brought her and her husband closer where they initiated an intimate relationship that was to lead to marriage. When Sarah met her husband in Cameroon during one of his visits and they started communicating, though they had no intimate relationship at this stage, she felt her husband was '*stingy'* when her husband always told her that life in Britain was hard. This might be because during this period, her husband being a friend and not a boyfriend was not showing affection and care through sending her money unlike the other women who received money and goods from their British bushfallers' when they were in Cameroon. Women who met their husband in Britain might not have knocked on the Western Union doors in Cameroon to receive money sent by their bushfallers but were in Britain where they could choose among the many bushfallers resident in Britain. In this way,

it can be said that the quest for knowledge and the family influenced their decision to get married across the borders. Most significantly, by sending their children to Britain, the family increased their chances of meeting bushfallers in their new country -'nearness to raw materials, as economists and some geographers would say regarding the localisation of industries' (Fossungu, 2013: 16) and more time for getting to know a bushfaller and the reality of bushfallers' life in Britain. Unlike women who met bushfallers in Cameroon, the women who met their husbands in Britain were in a better bargaining position as they got to know the men better through spending more time with them as well as directly evaluate them thereby making an informed choice. The role of the family here challenges the belief that women's transnational marriage is a collective decision and to a certain extent the argument that they get married to support their families financially (Kringelbach 2013, Tyldum and Tveit 2008). Instead as it is shown here, the role of the family in sponsoring female migration for education does not only empower women but facilitates encounters between women and bushfallers in Britain. Their decision to marry is not motivated because they want to cross the border into Britain and support their family yet, being already in Britain, they need to regularise their stay from being a student with a temporary visa with work restrictions to being a wife with a marriage visa that comes with the right to live and work and become a citizen might have influenced their marriage choice. These women had a higher education and came from families that are not poor as is often assumed in the case of female marriage migrants (see Tyldum and Tveit, 2008). Their families could afford to send them to Britain for study which in some way was a big investment for the women and their families. Meeting bushfallers and getting married meant they stood a better chance of improving their lives and that of their families through obtaining residency and access to a good job. In this regard, they had become 'come no go' (Orock, 2005 cited in Ejobowah, 2015) Migration for study therefore becomes a migration route that leads to marriage, making a family and becoming a UK citizen. Therefore, while marriage can lead to migration, instead, for these women, their independent migration for studies gave them marriage choice and they became wives (Ong, 1991) who were to settle permanently. Hence, women do not always marry to move. Rather, women can sometimes move for different reasons but coincidentally, end up as marriage migrants in the West (see Kelley, 2013) because marriage remains one of the major key events in life (Bledsoe and Cohen, 1993).

Come no go is generally used to refer to the people of the North West region of Cameroon who moved to the coast during the colonial period to work in the plantations in the SW

region and settled there permanently. In recent years, attempts by the South westerners to relocate them have failed earning them the name ‘come no go’.

4.6 Madame

A characteristic of the Cameroonian family system is the high role that marriage plays (Fleischer, 2007). While some feminists and queer scholars see marriage as problematic for women (see Lorde, 1992; Plambech, 2008), in Cameroon, marriage is an important status for women. There is always pressure on women to get married at a young age (UNECA 1988) and many women want to be called ‘Madame’ in this male dominant society. However, this does not mean that all women want to marry. Some have postponed this indefinitely (Ziparo 2014) while others do not wish to marry at all () with premarital births becoming more common (Calvès, 1999). Lilian Atanga (2010) in her book on gender, discourse and power in the Cameroonian parliament notes that ‘madame’ is a French word which is generally used in Cameroon to give women respect as it highlights that the woman referred to is somebody’s wife. Hence, it is common in Cameroon to hear a married woman being referred to as madame rather than her real name, a sign of respect linked to their gender identity as a wife as this conjugal union secures the socio-economic status of both men and women (Ziparo, 2014). This means that an older, successful but unmarried woman is less likely to be respected as she is seen to be stubborn for choosing modernity over tradition. Also, men become scared of such women because they are thought not to be good with the house duties, the reason why they are single. By distinguishing married women from single women by the use of the word madame, a woman identity is bound to that of a man if she is to be respected within her family and in her community. Carine who was already pregnant for her husband before their wedding and movement to Britain tells me about her life before she met her husband:

I had a good life when I met my husband. I lived in my own house. I own a car. I had a good job. All, I needed was a respectable husband, one I could trust for life to be complete and not really a bushfaller or a wealthy man. Well, I had a boyfriend but he was young, my age mate and I don’t think he was thinking about settling down in the nearest future. My time was passing. You feel bad when all your friends and age mates are getting married and you’re

still single and your boyfriend is saying nothing like that. He (referring to husband) made me feel complete. No matter how rich or successful a woman is, it is always good to be married because people won't respect you as a single woman.

Marriage itself is very important for women in many cultures. In Cameroon, women rely on marriage to enhance their status in society rather than individual achievement as women's respectability has long been dependent on marriage (UNECA, 1988, Atanga, 2010). It is not surprising being an independent successful woman was not enough for Carine, as she felt unhappy being single and further compounded by a culture where women are expected to be married at an early age (UNECA, 1988). Yet, many women accuse the local men of not being ready to settle as well as infidelity and are now searching for love across the national border (Johnson-Hanks, 2007). While she found love in a 'serious' man from the West (See Johnson-Hanks, 2007), a bushfaller, rather than marrying for migration reasons, marriage itself was very important for her as she felt incomplete without a husband. Like Carine, Vera who also had a good job in Cameroon comments about her marriage decision to a bushfaller:

Before coming to the UK to meet my husband, I had a good job and was earning enough money that I did not need a man to support me or my family financially. I did not need his money (husband) but was finding love, which I believe I found in him when we met, You know when you're a woman who lives a comfortable life, it's hard to tell which man is coming for love or money but when you meet a guy who treats you good and has got enough money for himself that he doesn't need yours, then you know you've found true love. The pressure of being single from family and the need of a loving and caring home were more on my mind when I met and married my husband than papers.

Even when women are financially independent, they need to be married to the right man is significant for them. While marriage was important for Vera just like the other women, for her marrying her husband was not just a means of financial security and subsequent migration but rather was about seeking mutual love and respect. Her husband's status as a bushfaller living abroad and the likelihood of financial independence made him a good choice according to her as she probably might have been worried a man might want to marry her because of her money rather than based on love. Finding a bushfaller gave her the assurance that the bushfaller like her was searching for love and not an opportunist. For these women, the pressure to be a wife and be called madame in a society where women are expected to be married (Johnson-Hanks, 2007; UNECA, 1988) contributed to Carine and

Vera's decision to marry a bushfaller rather than marrying for the purpose of migration. Therefore, marriage itself was more important for some of the women in making their decision to marry. A good husband for these women was not one who could provide financially or provide an escape route to the West (see Robinson, 2007; Rosario 2005) but one who wanted a genuine relationship that could lead to marriage. In this regards, while some who end up as marriage migrants would readily admire or appreciate a successful husband who is a bushfaller, marriage can be based on love and not a mere social contract based on financial gains and citizenship. These marriages have a social meaning (see Plambech, 2008). South to North marriage may not only be the result of global capitalism but derive from the local history and global politics as these marriages that come with border crossing and citizenship while opening access to economic opportunities enable women to fulfil their conception of proper womanhood and legitimate marriage. As this section has shown, bushfallers' wives were not just interested in men who were caring but who would marry them. Hence marriage decisions are not only shaped by the expectations of a better life in the West (Pessar and Mahler, 2001, see also Del Rosario, 2005; Constable, 2003; Sinke, 2005; Gausher, 2013; Tyldum and Tveit, 2012). Rather, some women married because of the significance of marriage in their society and particularly for the women who seek to enhance their status in a society that respect married women and mothers but not independent unmarried women which contradicts with Western feminists who see marriage and the making of babies as problematic, yet it is these aspects that make their marriages real and not 'bogus' (Charsley 2006) in the immigration regulation.

4.7 Making Babies.

In Cameroon, like most traditional societies, women in marriage are expected to give birth. Therefore, a woman without a child is subjected to shame (UNECA, 1988), her husband may marry another wife/wives or lead to divorce. Thus, women marry to have children. Bushfallers' wives were not just wives but mothers. All bushfallers' wives had children in their marriage. Some had children with their husbands before they got married while others arrived in the UK as pregnant women or became pregnant immediately they arrived. For them, making babies in their marriage was an important indicator they were actually in marriage. Making babies can only be possible when sexual intercourse has taken

place between the couple. Miranda felt being together with her husband was an important aspect of her marriage. She comments:

He married me and we should be together. It is his right to bring his wife where he lives. People may think we come here or get married to men who live here because we want to get a visa and to come here. I know those who marry because they want to come to Europe or have papers always divorce immediately they get their papers. They don't stay in marriage but as you can see, we've been married for 7years and we've got 3 kids. Why would I be making babies with a man I do not intend to live with forever? If I wanted papers, I would have a baby not 3. A woman with 3 kids should be fortunate to find a new husband that would love her and except her with her children.

Marriage migration has raised questions regarding issues of right to private and family life (see Home Office 2011, Charsley, 2012). At the level of the state, marriage operates within the gender, race and class differences. Women migrate through marriage, a kind of migration regime that tend to encourage what Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck (2011: 352) have called the 'housewife marriage'. Couples seek to justify their marriage based on co-residency which is an immigration requirement for spousal visas. Women who move and obtain citizenship justify their marriages as genuine based on this co-residency and children in their marriage. Having lived in Britain and becoming British citizens themselves, all the women knew and enjoy the benefits of being married to a British bushfaller and the possibilities of divorce without being subject to immigration control (but for stigma which is discussed later). Miranda like many of the women felt she deserves a right to family life. She talks about her marriage in terms of her reproductive role of child bearing as opposed to a woman in a sham marriage who would not want to have children as having children reduces a woman's chances of getting married to another man in Cameroon as argued by (Calves, 1999) thereby impacting on their ability to leave their marriage coupled with residency stigma. If couple are expected to perform sexual acts for their marriage to be valid, the birth of children in such marriage mean marital intimacy is taking place thereby making their marriage appear real. These marriages have been criticised by feminists as it is far more than just a union that legitimates sexual intercourse and aims at procreation (see O'Donovan, 1993) yet this is what determines whose marriage pass as real or one for convenience with immigration bureaucratic procedures becoming more complex Kringelbach, 2013). This marriage which is the foundation of the family with its patriarchal marital relations only encourage the subordination of women (O'Donovan, 1993) since the duties are determined according to the

sexes of the couple. For example child care and housework is largely performed by women (to be discussed in the chapter on emotion work). Immigration policies that are based on normative arrangements through the nuclear family, marriage and biological reproduction privilege and enforce the heterosexual family with the man as the family head (see also Gaucher, 2013). In this regard, the border becomes a site of control of women's bodies as women's sexuality is regulated by placing them within the space of heterosexual domesticity in the immigration policies that regulate admission, stay and access to citizenship (Andrijasevic, 2009) usually to the advantage of men and women's disadvantage (Lister 2004). Irrespective of this immigration control on marriage migration to establish real marriage from fake marriage, it remains a challenge to distinguish love and residency in marriage migration choice.

4.8 Getting Married and Staying Married: Speaking after Citizenship

The condemnation, stigmatization and suspicion of cross-border marriages is based on the assumption that women who marry for economic reasons across the borders rather than love are more likely to leave the marital home when they arrive in the host country and particularly immediately after they obtain their citizenship in what has been referred to as marriage for convenience (see Home Office 2011; Charsley, 2012). If this is true, I would expect women who got married to bushfallers for economic reasons to leave the marital home after obtaining their British citizenship. Contrary to these expectations, all except for one of all my informants were still married to their bushfallers through whom they too had become British citizens. However, this does not mean that bushfallers' wives never divorce. Through secondary accounts, I heard of women who married bushfallers and left them when they arrived in Britain or immediately they obtained their citizenship. The majority of the women saw their marriages as happy and successful and not just a means to come to Britain and obtain residency. Marriage migration studies have sometimes concentrated on why women come to the West through marriage (Constable, 2003; Del Rosario, 2005; Robinson, 2007, Johnson-Hanks, 2007) and not necessarily looking at whether they stay in such marriages and why. Sharing a home as a couple for the women was an indication they were actually in marriage when faced with the question why women marry bushfallers. They all talk about the importance of sharing a home and having papers in marriage as it makes the marriage stronger with less-immigration dilemma.

In order to restrict unwanted and what are seen as opportunistic migrants, western governments continue to devise legal definitions and administrative procedures to determine whether a marriage is genuine or not (Bledsoe, 2006). In the UK, under the primary purpose rule spouses were expected to prove that the main motive of their marriage was not for the purpose of entering into Britain (Charsley, 2006) rather than for the purpose of marriage. Though this rule was abolished in 1997, in the UK, where a marriage is suspected, the spouse requiring a visa or residency might be denied the right to family life unless he/she can prove that he/she is actually in a real marriage and not a 'bogus marriages' as it is commonly referred to in the White Paper on immigration (Charsley, 2006). This definition of love in marriage migration from the Global South to the Global North is based on the cultural values of the host society defined by romantic love and individual choice as determinants of true love (Constable, 2003; Robinson, 2007) irrespective of other cultures and their own marriage arrangements (see Charsley, 2006; Timmerman, 2007). According to the UK marriage migration rule which was in place when most of these women arrived, if a woman chose to quit her marital home before the 3years rule (which was the rule that was in force at the time when these women arrived in the UK and had to stay as visa dependants), she would automatically lose her rights to live and work in the host country (see IMR, 2012). Recently, the Home Office has put an 18,000 per annum salary cap on British citizens who want to marry from outside the British national border thereby restricting love to the rich against the 'family life for the poor'. Though this new cap does not impact on my informants, Vera talks of how she could only obtain her citizenship through her husband, the man who had brought her to the UK. She comments:

It was all possible through my husband as he was the one who had to support my application for it to go through. You know the Home Office want to see if we're living together and my husband must submit his documents too for mine to be successful. I'm happy I'm now British and do not have to go through that procedure again. It was a long road but it's over now and we don't even think about the citizenship these days.

The fact that women had to rely on their husbands to get a visa to come to Britain and stay dependent during their early years meant they could not leave the marital home as they would lose their rights to residency. The women told me how their husband supported their entry visa application as well as the extension of their stay in Britain until they became permanent residents. In this sense, the British immigration law constitutes the marriage and control starts at the Cameroonian border before the women cross into Britain (see Home Office, 2011,

2012) Vera like all the women depended on her husband to be granted permanent residency before they could apply for citizenship independently. This has a number of implications for the women: married women's status is defined in terms of their reproductive role which ensures that they have to perform their sexual role or face sanction through exclusion. In this way, the discourse on marriage migration aim at ensuring not just the government but the husband can control women's sexuality and citizenship. For instance, if the husband refused to support the renewal of or extension of their visas, these women could face deportation. Getting married is an act that is freely performed by the parties involved but yet it is bound to legal regulations (O'Donovan 1993) particularly, when the marriage is seen as a means for migration (see Alpes, 2011). Katherine O'Donovan (1993) in her analysis of marriage states that the law of the host country does regulate entry into the marriage, the ceremony, consummation and validity of the marriage. In her analysis, she highlights how a legal marriage becomes the subject of scrutiny, one whose term are not negotiated by the parties involved but prescribed by the law governing marriage migration in the host country and roles are ascribed according to gender and not the wishes of the partners involved but it is also sui generis (O'Donovan 1993: 75). Though not explicitly stated, the effect of this law is not only to limit who gets in as a spouse but also to control sexuality and how marital intimacy takes place between couples. According to the UK immigration rule governing marriage migration, the spouses must share a home, implicitly meaning they should share a room, a bed and have sex (see also Muhleison et al 2012 in the case of Norway) and start a family. The law requires that for a marriage to be valid, the couple must consummate the marriage: at least one sexual act of penetration of the vagina by the penis must occur (O'Donovan 1993: 77) and is assumed to continue following the consummation of the marriage (see Danielsen and Mulheisen, 2009). Sex is the highest form of intimacy. In this regard, I argue that women marry not just for residency but love as they continue to play their love role in marriage after citizenship.

3.9 Conclusion

Cameroon women have come to settle and obtain UK citizenship through marriage to Cameroonian bushfallers who are significantly British. This type of marriage that leads to migration generally raises the question of love and residency in the marriage migration discourse. Bushfalling marriages were a consequence of male bushfalling in the early 1990s

that led to the admiration of bushfallers by women for their economic success and residency abroad though the majority of the relationships were initiated prior to male bushfalling. In this chapter, I've shown how love and residency works in bushfalling marriage migration. The chapter reveals that while marriage to a UK resident can lead to migration, female bushfalling marriages do not exclude love. Rather migration reinforces love as the women describe their bushfalling marriage in relation to both love and residency seen in initiating relationships before bushfaller massa migration, wives sponsoring bushfallers, migration for education that coincidentally leads to marriage and most importantly, the significance of marriage for women and the making of babies. According to bushfallers' wives, their bushfaller massas loved them and vice versa, reason why they married them and enabled them to obtain residency through them. Crossing the border and obtaining citizenship only reinforced their love as it comes with assurances of 'a better life' with a man who truly loves and cares. These women's individual choice of marriage can be seen as empowering as they individually negotiated their marriages and migration not only based on love but with expectations of a better life in the UK seen in their observations and admiration of bushfallers who visited Cameroon and also their husband's support in both cash and in kind before the women came to Britain. By already being in a relationship with a bushfaller and contributing to the journey of their bushfallers, some women derived a strategy that allows them and their husbands to enjoy the privileges of citizenship. This chapter raises the complex position of women in marriage migration and their role in the decision to marry across their national border. It also raises assumptions about relatedness like the significance of co-residency in marriage migration for love and care work. Building on how women relate to love and residency, in Chapter 5 (see also Chapter 6), I will explore women's care work in marriage migration which also supports the view that they are in real marriage.

CHAPTER 5

LOVE AND CARE WORK IN FEMALE MARRIAGE MIGRATION

5.1: Introducing Love and Care

Love and care are two ambiguous concepts in marriage. Earlier feminists in the 1960s and 1970s remarked that love and care are disempowering to women particularly in relation to compulsory heterosexual marriages (see Beauvoir, 1979; Firestone, 1979). But in recent years, some feminists have argued that love and care within the context of marriage-related migration are empowering for women who move from the global South to the global North (see Plambech, 2008). Nevertheless, within the context of marriage migration, immigration authorities insist that love (that involves care work) rather than migration should be the motive for marriage as it is thought to be a liberal value. Though love is a Western and modern concept that define modern day marriage and is seen as liberating, egalitarian and romantic, some feminists see the concepts as normative (Smart, 1989) and therefore oppressive and degrading to women (Firestone, 1979) as a result of the unequal power relationship between men and women (Beauvoir, 1979). Though love is deeply rooted in patriarchy, it is not oppressive. Rather it is the social context within which love is defined, the distinction that divides men and women with women occupying the private sphere as opposed to men who occupy the public. Love and care has its origin in the intersection of Marxism and feminism where men work outside the home while women look after the private sphere. The gendered division of labour in marriage is that which oppress women in marriage as women end up in a dependent position with children to care for rather than men which is the result of intimacy in marriage. Also, it is women who are likely to do the house work for the family. Therefore, being in a marriage relationship is a caring relationship. This care work is embedded with a meaning that is hidden in the normative framework because it is considered to be feminine. Nevertheless, it has an affective relation. In this sense, caring is unpaid work done for others with affection though sometimes it can be paid too. Women do paid care work outside the home as well as transnational to their families in Cameroon. It is this care work that makes the world go round and not necessarily money. In this sense, caring involves both love and labour (Finch and Groves, 1983) and points to need, affect and action. The concept of care born from maternal feminism only became prominent in the 1980s

(Ricks, 1992). Up till this period, women's contribution to care was largely unrecognized. Despite these feminist efforts, women are still positioned differently and women from the Third world remain marginalized by race, class and gender in the work they do (see Rodriguez 2008) in marriage migration from the South to the North. While feminist disagree on love and care, both concepts work in Cameroonian female marriage migration to the UK not just to enable women earn money but strengthen intimacy in marriage and affection across the border with its roots from patriarchy.

Marriage is a labour contract (Delphy and Leonard 1992) in which women do mostly emotional work. French feminist, Christine Delphy and Diana Leonard (1992: 19) in their analysis of marriage in contemporary society define emotional work as work which establishes relations of solidarity, which maintains bonds of affection, which provides moral support, friendship and love, which gives people a sense of belonging, of ontological strength, of empowerment, and thereby makes them feel good. The emotional work women do in marriage migration is bound by love, tradition, obligations, care, expectations and kinship rather than just money. Though this work varies from one society to another, it is mostly women who undertake it as the cost of caring for ourselves, our children and other dependants are largely paid for by women both inside and outside the money economy (Folbre 1994). For example, studies have shown that migrant women work as domestic workers in private households in the EU (Anderson and Shutes, 2014; Anderson, 2001; Rodriguez, 2010) in addition to work they do in their various homes. Women are most often responsible for the reproduction of the private sphere for example, household chores and caring for family members. Richardson (2000) also notes that 'women are expected to service men emotionally and sexually in almost every society' (p. 2). With regards to marriage migration, women are more likely than men to perform love and care as a result of their gendered identity. Marriage migration studies have remarked on the increasingly popularity of marriage migration between women from the South and men from the North. While there are huge statistics in almost all these studies on the number of women moving through marriage, these figures on female marriage migration do not tell us about the type of work women do in marriage migration. There is little investigation of the triple care conundrum in marriage migration though marriage migration is care and love work. This chapter therefore aims to explore love and care work in marriage migration while hoping to shed light and that other researchers will become interested in this neglected area of marriage migration research. To further the discussion in Chapter 4, I also build on this chapter to argue that women marry

for love and not just economic opportunities. First, I look at paid/unpaid care and intimate care work in the UK and transnational care and love from a distance and the relationship between them. This chapter indicates that both paid and unpaid work impacts on marital intimacy both positively and negatively yet it is this paid/unpaid work in the UK that enables them to extend care across the border. Therefore, marriage migration is not just about economic opportunities but doing emotional work that is love and care work yet this work is full of challenges and contradictions for the women involved in marriage migration.

5.2 Doing Unpaid Intimate Care Work

All the women I interviewed were doing unpaid work for the family. Yet, when I asked my informants if they work, they all responded in relation to work they do outside their homes. This was work that was paid. None of them mentioned unpaid work. As Caroline Moser and Caren Levy (1986) have remarked, people often refer to paid work as work but rarely unpaid work because it is seen as women's work (Deguili 2007, Thompson and Walker 1989), probably a reason why the women did not see it as work since in Cameroon, women are brought up to do housework. During the colonial era in Cameroon, women were relegated to the domestic sphere while men worked in the public sphere (Goheen, 1994). During this period, women's private work was unpaid and therefore not considered as work though their work largely fuelled the global capitalist economy. Even in modern times, work continues to be divided according to gender especially within the family and sometimes in the public (sees Ngangriyap, 2007). Therefore, it is women rather than men who do unpaid domestic work. This gendered division of labour has not changed even in the context of marriage migration as roles and responsibilities are assigned according to gender. Some of the women told me:

*My husband does not do house work. Even when we used to live in Cameroon, I always did the shopping, cooking and housework. He sometimes helps here with shopping if he's not working and I'm working but I'm the one who does the cooking for the house. He supports with the money. I'm the one who is responsible for buying food for the house while he pays the rents and all the bills. (*Rita)

If my husband appears dirty or unkempt in public, people will laugh at me but if he's always looking good, I'll get the praise and it makes our union stronger daily. A man's role is to bring money to the house and when he's not able to do this, a woman can support him. This

is how I see a good woman and not a woman who tells the husband to do the job she is supposed to do and this man is coming from work. (Sandra)

He's a very busy man. He only provides money for kitchen shopping but does not want to do the cooking. I'm happy to cook for my family and I'm happy he enjoys the meals I prepare for us. (Gillian)

Susan Weinger and John Akuri (2007) in their study on Cameroonian women and health matters remark that Cameroonian women have too much work to do daily. These roles often involve making babies, cooking, cleaning, child rearing and farming even when they do paid work (Weinger and Akuri 2007; see also Ngome, 2003; Ngangriyap, 2007). As I listened to women, it became clear that the women do housework while men provided the income. Patriarchy in Cameroon goes beyond the societal and impacts on what men and women do within the household. Men and women are taught their roles at home and in society at an early stage (Weinger and Akuri 2007, Ngangriyap 2007, Sikod 2005). During the socialization process, women are brought up to be mothers and to look after the family while men are taught to be the breadwinner and head of the family with decision making powers though this is not often the case when men grow up. For women, wives continue to see housework as their work and the presence of a husband in the house mean more work for married women (Shelton and Daphne 1993). Blinded by love, these women do not see them as exploitative or oppressive (Westwood 1984). The gendered division of labour among couples put women in a vulnerable position. They do housework with little or no expectation of a husband to share housework as his role is defined more in terms of being the head of the family, a breadwinner who is supposed to provide financially and not doing work that was considered woman's work, a view shared by the majority of the women. Yet, according to Rita, her husband's financial contributed was seen as help rather than an obligation. She felt cooking for her family was her role while justifying her husband provided the family income. Her insistence on '*help'* meant she was happy her husband was helping because it is not a man's job to do housework following the Cameroonian culture and tradition that often impose domestic chores on women. For Gillian, her husband was a '*busy'* man with no time to do house work. Yet, for these women, they were happy to do the cooking especially when they know their husbands enjoyed their meals. Also, the positive remark of having a husband who looks clean gave her a sense of joy and happiness as a good wife. As a result of this, she enjoys doing the housework. They excused their husbands as busy and helpful men. According to the norms and values held by these women, women do unpaid work because of

love and care that blinds them to performing this heavy workload yet satisfied and happy to do them (Westhood, 1984). Women's willingness to care for others at their own expense was contradictory yet empowering for them as the women felt they had a duty of care and love to their husbands. The recognition of their job by their husband gave them a feeling of love and satisfaction in their marriage though his gendered division of labour only meant more work load for women. These women do not consider their health care needs as their human right and only consider it when it impacts on the welfare of others (Susuan and Akuri, 2007). Moving from Cameroon to Britain had not change opinions on women's work from Cameroon despite the increased work load.

I have to do all the work even when I come back from work. I'm tired too but I've got no choice, I'm a woman. My husband will sometimes say our mum did all these jobs and went to the farm but never complain; we've come here and want to copy the white man's culture. He even reminded me that in Cameroon, a woman will give birth while the husband is in a beer parlour celebrating the birth of a child but here the husband will follow the wife to antenatal session and childbirth to do what? (Ernestine)

Studies have shown that women are overrepresented in unpaid work doing longer working hours all their lives (Weinger 2003, Anunobi 2003, Baye and Fambon 2009; Moser and Levy 1986). This work is essentially linked to domestic work (Hochschild, 2001) through emotional investment in caring for the house, the children (Rodriguez, 2010: 103) and their husbands. Even when women move from the patriarchal South, Cameroon to Britain which is thought to be liberating, women are still reminded by men of their traditional roles as wives and caretaker of the family. In the case of Ernestine, despite combining paid and unpaid work, she felt she was tied to her gender identity as a woman and wife to do housework even when tired. This different social roles assigned to men and women lead to different display rule of emotion as women are positioned in relation to their duties and responsibilities (Gray 1997 cited in Temple 1999), a role they play in transnational marriage without complaining yet complaining (Brody and Hall; 1993 and Shields, 1991 cited in Barrett et al 1998). Ernestine's husband justified housework as a woman's work by differentiating the different contexts ideas on support in Cameroon and the UK referring to the Cameroonian context where women mainly shoulder the reproductive responsibilities (UNECA, 1988; Ngangriyap, 2003, Ngome, 2001) as what she is supposed to follow rather than the British way of life. This reminder from her husband of her traditional role as a woman from Cameroon calls for

submission and reinforces the subordination of women even in Britain. Some women shared a similar view with the husbands.

Actually women should remain women and give men their rightful place here. You don't come here and want to do everything like the white people. I never saw my dad cooking or doing the laundry. Why will I want my husband to do it today simply because I live in a country where men and women share housework? In the house where I grew up, women did cleaning and cooking while the boys could mop the floor or join us fetching fire wood. The boys were given the hard task that needed strength but we used to join them. Cooking and cleaning of dishes was for women only and I've been doing this since the age of 8. That is what made me the woman I'm today and able to look after my family and manage my time accordingly not to go late to work. I always do the housework as I do not really expect him to be doing this. He's the head of the house and deserves his title. (Sandra)

I do the cooking of course. How will you feel if people know your husband is cooking for you? Never, no matter how tired I'm, I still do the cooking or find something they can manage with while I cook later. I enjoy cooking and keeping my house clean and do not have to rely on my husband or expect him to do the housework. I always do it so he doesn't have anything to do. He used to cook for himself when I was not here but I'm here today and it is my duty to provide him with good meals daily and keep my house clean. (Miranda)

In general, women accepted it was the duty of the wife to look after the family and most especially cook and keep the house clean but not the husband. In Cameroon, the girl child is brought up to be a good wife who loves and cares for other family members but not herself (UNECA, 1988). In this sense, it can be argued that women were doing this work was not just because the women wanted to. Rather, being born and brought up in a society where women are taught to do housework and look after men from an early age (UNECA 1988, Ngangriyap 2007, see also Rodriguez 2010) made them felt obliged. Thus, the challenge to men helping women with household chores was not just the husband's refusal but women's willingness to perform love and care work for their families. Sandra maintained that women should do traditional women's jobs while men should not. Coming to Britain had not changed these women's opinion on dividing house work. It is still seen as a taboo for a man to do housework by the majority of the women and one that might lead to marital instability or breakdown. As a result, even when she recognises that men and women sometimes share housework in Britain, she insists on maintaining tradition from Cameroon. She sees nothing

wrong with doing all housework because women are traditionally expected to work for the family in Cameroon. Hence, they considered these duties as natural and an important aspect of their daily marriage lives that they were willing to shoulder without disrespecting their husbands.

However, women's decision not to share housework was sometimes influenced by others rather than the women nor their husbands. The decision of friends and family members to challenge women's decision to allow men do housework meant women had to do the unpaid work as the quotes below show:

My husband is a very hard working man and does not complain about doing housework. He likes when the house is tidy. Instead, our friends are the ones who always shout when they find him doing house work. (Mireille)

I always cook no matter how busy or tired I'm. My husband used to cook but my sister met him cooking one day and was furious about it. Since then, I begged him to stop as my sister was saying it's disrespectful for him to be cooking while I'm watching TV with the kids. She even reminded me he used to be my teacher. He was not bothered though but I pleaded he stopped. He still assists me with grocery shopping. He drives us to the shop but I do the shopping while he stays with the kids. She was saying it could even lead to a breakdown of my marriage if my in-laws or my mum should know my husband is cooking for me, it will be a shame on our mum. He didn't say a word. He later told me he is not bothered helping me in the kitchen but I didn't want him to do it again. He's not really bother doing housework but people have made me to tell him to stop and I have to do all the housework except I'm tied up and he decided to help but not when anyone is around. (Rachel)

Unlike in Cameroon, women have little or no domestic support from others in the UK. A woman who let the husband do housework instead of her was judged as lazy and therefore seen as a bad and disrespectful wife. Thus, women were left with little or no domestic support from their husbands as it is seen as a challenge to the husband's manhood. In Cameroon, a good woman should be able to look after herself, her husband, children and home (UNECA 1988) through caring for others, attention and communication (Rodriguez 2010). This work produces gender identity and is an area of gender performativity (Butler 1990, see also Rodriguez 2010). Though some husbands were willing to assist with housework, other

women saw it as disrespectful and disagree instead of appreciating or encouraging them to do more. For example, Rachel's sister saw it as disrespectful for her to relax while her husband did what was seen as her job. Also, while her husband and former teacher saw it as normal, her sister felt it was shameful because she was not doing her job and their mum might be blamed but not their dad while insisting it could lead to marital problems. As a result, she stopped her husband from helping for fear of destroying her marital home. Following this advice from her sister, she can only allow her husband to help in hiding for fear of being mocked. These negative remarks from friends and family members meant men could not help women even when they were willing to do so. Some studies on marriage migration have argued that migration might lead to the renegotiating or changing gender roles for women (see Palriwala and Uberoi, 2005; Robinson, 2007). Contrary to these studies, bushfalling marriage does not actually change gender roles in public for these women but only reinforces traditional gender roles with increased work load for women in the family. Therefore though there were changes sometimes in gender roles, these changes were hidden and could not be made public. For example, Rachel's husband could only help when there was no visitor around for fear of negative comments while Rachel strives to protect her marriage. This is because among Cameroonians, it is not uncommon for couples to separate when the wife is stubborn or fails to obey the husband. For instance, Germaine who had just separated from her husband spoke of marital instability when a woman attempts to challenge the husband's authority.

I always did the cooking and housework so he can rest after work. I wanted my husband to stay with the children after coming from work in the evening. It is sometimes the cause of break up among Cameroonian couples. When a woman starts telling the man to help too, he sees it as a challenge that you want your husband to do what you the woman is supposed to do, that was the beginning of trouble in my marriage. (Germaine)

In an attempt to earn personal income while protecting her marriage, Germaine chose to do all the housework so her husband could stay with the children in the evening while she does paid work. However, her marriage was not stable following her decision to find paid work. This was probably because her husband wanted her to look after the children for free rather than work for money that will make her independent. In this regard, unpaid work became a challenge not just to her ability to find paid work but affected her marriage because she was seen not to be a 'good' wife but one who wanted freedom to make money rather than depend on a man. Germaine's challenge of the traditional values of a good wife only led to a

breakdown of her marriage. Weinger and Akuri (2007) note in her study with Cameroonian women that Cameroonian women 'do whatever else their husbands want them to so that they can maintain their marriages' (Weinger 2007:1). This implies that women sometimes do what they are told by their husband or society to do not because they want and like to. Rather, the importance of marriage for women in Cameroonian society (Atanga 2010, UNECA 1988, Johnson-Hanks 2008) and the fear of divorce especially given the residency stigma attached to bushfalling marriage mean women have limited power to decide about what and when to disagree with their husbands. Hence this cultural patriarchal ideology which is also embedded in the immigration rule keeps women over busy to keep their marital home happy. For Germaine who chose to be an independent working wife rather than be a dependent housewife, her marriage became unstable and ended up in separation because she did not want to do all her 'jobs' as a woman, mother and wife.

Hence, unpaid housework was considered a feminine role while men were expected to support women financially. These women saw their marriage and migration to the UK more for the purpose of supporting their husband with care and household work (Delphy and Leonard 1992). This work done at home is intimate care work. In this regard, bushfallers' wives consider unpaid work as the feminine work of care and love and affirm that women should do it rather than their husbands. Hence, women continue to do unpaid housework in the UK blinded by patriarchal norms. Despite the health consequences of being overworked, women saw it as a way of maintaining their marriage and command respect from their husband including marital satisfaction. Women saw themselves more in terms of the roles they played for not just their husbands but others (see below). One would expect that migration might enable women to break down this socialization that leads to the gender division of labour (Sikod, 2007). On the contrary, women continue to maintain tradition gender role, like reproductive labour, a role that aim at providing emotional support and maintenance (Sikod 2007: 62). Though women did not see it as work largely because it is unpaid, the women however recognise the importance of the work they do for their families and most importantly in their marriages. For them, it was a woman's job but not worthy to be called a job, another reason why they looked for paid work outside the home that would bring in money to support their families. Unlike other citizenship men who seek women with traditional values and may not allow them to work (see Plambech 2008), bushfallers' wives also do paid cares work outside the home.

5.3 Doing Paid Emotional Care Work

Feminized skills are required to do emotion work (Delphy and Leonard 1992, Hochschild, 2001; Rodriguez, 2010) and women are taught these skills at an early age during socialization: personal care, ability to be attentive, communicative, sensitive as well as able to express and work with emotions (Rodriguez 2010:102). In the UK, increased in life expectancy coupled with longer working age and an increasing number of women doing paid work has meant individuals have less time to care for relatives thereby needing others (care and support staff) to provide support and care. It is estimated that migrant workers constitute about 16 per cent of the adult social care workforce (including social care and social workers) in England (Experian 2007). Studies on employment pattern and care work in the UK show that an increasing number of migrant women work in the care sector (Christensen and Guldvik, 2013; Martin et al, 2012; McGregor, 2007; McIlwaine et al, 2006; Rubin et al 2008). Despite the recession and credit crunch that is affecting several households, the care sector continues to expand with many people particularly women employed in this sector (León 2013). Castles and Miller (1993) has referred to this as the feminization of labour in migration as women continue to do paid work outside the home in job categories generally derived from traditional gender roles (see Rodriguez 2010). For example, care work, support work, nursing, healthcare, kitchen assistant, social worker as well as cleaning serve reproductive functions. The huge demand for health and social care workers has led to the majority of women studying health and social care as it appears to be a sector where one is certain of employment (Martin et al 2012). It is also a stable sector as workers are retained unlike other occupations where there is a high chance of changing employers, relocating and redundancy. The majority of my informants were employed within the adult social care sector. However, due to their low educational level, these women were mostly employed as care assistants and support workers who support/care for vulnerable individuals with learning/physical or age related disabilities. They told me about the nature of their jobs: women contributed towards the running of their families

I work hard to get the money I earn at the end of the month. Working as a carer is good but hard work with low pay. I have to do part time work with an agency particularly when we're having an upcoming event or project in Cameroon or we want to get some new items for the house. Then, I know I've got to do extra hours so we can solve the matter easily. (Sandra)

My wage is not enough. Care is a risky job yet the wage you get paid is so low that you need to do extra shifts to be able to make a living. I've got a permanent job in addition to two agencies I've registered with. My wages from my permanent job is not enough to support my family and we've got 4 kids. (Christina)

Research on employment and care giving have focused on women and evidence show that women are more likely than men to be care-givers and provide intensive support for other family members as well as outside the home in the form of paid work (Leon 2013). Cameroonian migrant women have come to take up care work in the UK as an extension of their care responsibilities from childhood (see Ngangriyap, 2003; Ngome, 2001; UNECA, 1988). The paid care job is an emotional job that involves caring for individuals like the elderly and those with learning difficulties through promoting their health and well-being, improving their quality of life while expressing appropriate emotions during interactions with them. For carers, this can be very emotional as women leave their homes to provide care to others by expressing and working with emotions in an emotionally, tedious, physically demanding and sometimes dirty nature (Duffy, 2011) of the work. McGregor (2007) refers to these carers as British Bottom Cleaners (BBC) as the role also involves assisting service users with personal care. In this sense, care work was tedious for these women. Despite the meaningful contribution of these women to the independence of others, they are low paid with unsocial working hours, short working notice from employers, and exhaustion allowed little spare time to spend with family and friends (Cangiano et al, 2009; McGregor, 2007). In addition, women have to work long hours and overtime in order to secure and increase family income. As a result of these challenges and experiences of discrimination, some of the women decided to improve their position by enhancing their career opportunities. Women told me experiences of racism and discrimination at work in addition to time constraint pushed them to advance their career in the health sector where they had gained meaningful work experiences. From doing care work, some women had returned to university where they obtained degrees mostly in the health and social work sector that enabled them to earn good salaries. Carine who started as a care assistant decided the best career path for her was to become a nurse and told me life had become better for her and her family:

Ermmm… I must say life has been good for me here. I'm fortunate I came to this country with a good qualification and a science one for that matter. I have a good job and I'm earning good money. I'm a nurse and was trained here. I don't need to work hard like I used

to do as a care assistant. There was discrimination at work. We were often told to do all the hard work because we are black. (Carine)

Through obtaining an advanced degree in Nursing, Carine qualified as a nurse, with better pay and less hard work than the job of a care assistant. By doing so, she was able to increase her income with more time to relax. By working outside the home, women contributed money to their home in addition to the unpaid work they already do towards the welfare of their households here and in Cameroon while enhancing their own position in marriage. The women were happy to work as some told me:

A man will respect his wife if she earns money too and not having to stay at home. If a woman stays at home and does not work, the man cannot respect her, especially here that there are opportunities for the woman to work. How do you argue or challenge a man who looks after you and your children? But if you work too, you'll be able to talk to your husband about things that you think are important in your relationship and your family.

Women's ability to work outside the home is liberating for women as it enables them to earn an income (Ngangriyap, 2007; Sikod, 2005). In Cameroon, a woman who brings in money in her home is a strong woman (see Ngome, 2003). Yet the immigration rule challenges this by considering women's paid work as a migration motive (see Eggebo 2013). However, as studies have shown, earning an independent income does not just enable women to earn money and support relatives (discussed below) but they are also able to make decisions regarding their home and most importantly how their income is spent (see Ngome 2003, Ngangriyap 2007, Sikod 2005) though evidence suggest that this is not always the case in Cameroonian marriages (Endeley, 2005). Similarly, women who do paid work are respected by their husbands because they also bring in money to their homes. In this sense, when women earn income, they empower themselves and enhance their bargaining power within the family. Njolle Ngome (2003) in her study on gender-division of labour and decision making in Cameroon found that women who contributed to the welfare of their household were more likely to partake in decision making than women who do not. Also, women who contributed financially obtained more respect from their husbands (see also Ngangriyap 2007) while those who did not suffer from insults and unhappiness in their homes. Therefore, these women did not just do paid care work outside the home for self-interest. Rather, the money was used in caring for their families including the husband. As noted earlier, in Cameroon the gender division of labour dictates that men are the family head and should provide the family income. On the contrary, studies have shown that it is women

who sometimes still shoulder the financial burden in Cameroon (Ngome 2003, Sikod 2005, Ngangriyap 2007). Women told me how the money they earned from care work enabled them to support not just their husbands but sometimes her in-laws financially.

He is my husband and it is my place to support him when he is down. We can't be happy all the time. He might need money or support from me today. Tomorrow might be my turn. It's just a family thing of supporting one another. I feel happy to know I'm there to support him whenever he needs me as he is always there for me too. He is studying. Someone who is studying cannot make good money. Besides, you know bushfallers used to be more interested in regulating their stay to pursuing a career. We feel now is the time for him to go to school and I know it would definitely payoff. I've to support him while he studies since he can't contribute much. Ermmmm…I'm always supporting my husband and inlaws because in marriage two becomes one. I want my house to be good. (Vera)

My husband is on and off work and I have to work to support him when he's not working. Care is the only secured job for us but my husband won't do it and sometimes have to spend months without a job as he keeps applying for office jobs but nothing good. (Christina)

In marriage migration, women shoulder the responsibility to care for their families when the husband is unable to do so. Vera stresses the importance of love and care work in marriage migration. As she puts it, in marriage couples are expected to support each other but women may support both financially and emotionally. She like most of the women supported her husband not just emotionally through advice and encouragement but supported her husband through education by looking after the family and running the home in addition to supporting her in-laws too with the money she earned. As Delphy and Leonard (1992:118) have commented, when the husband is out of work or does not have secure employment that can bring in enough money, it becomes the responsibility of the wife to be in employment in order to provide or augment the family income. In a previous study I conducted on Cameroonian women in Baba 1, I found that women had to do triple work to provide income for their families when the husband was unable to do so (Ngangriyap, 2007). Accordingly, Vera's husband could not combine full time work and studies. It therefore became her responsibility to assist him knowing his career advancement would benefit the family. In doing so, these women were able to provide for the family and maintain marital stability.

This however, meant more work for women as they put the interest of the family first while overworking themselves.

Distant also impacted on the women who have no support. Women told me how life in the UK was challenging for them following their decision to combine unpaid work with paid work to support families in Britain and Cameroon. Research suggests that married women may feel isolated and helpless being in a distant country away from natal kin and friends (see Palriwala and Uberoi 2005). The absence of relations means women have to shoulder all the emotional and household work. The above quote from Ernestine justifies the busy schedule of migrant women with little or no support as she struggles to combine her roles. Her social life had become affected as she felt she was overworking herself 'look *after kids, family and tidy up'*. However, she regrets the absence of relations who could help her with the housework. While coming to the UK might have enabled women to do paid work, it has also distant them from relatives who could help with housework. In this regard, their sexual and reproductive roles of intimacy become a challenge to women doing paid work for example, pregnancy and childcare which is a making of their marriage. According to women, they could not work at some point because they were either pregnant or had young children and continues to be a problem for many of the women. Linda who had worked as a care assistant when I first met her in 2007 was now unemployed and heavily pregnant told me when I met her in summer 2013:

I want to work but I'm pregnant. It is not good to do care work during this stage of pregnancy. You know men, they only think about making babies. How do I work with all these babies? I have to take this elder one to the nursery and pushing the push chair and pregnant too. My mother-in-law will have to come over to support me this time. I really need help. (Linda)

Carine also told me how she spent years at home when she first arrived:

After I had the baby, I spent the next 4 years at home as I had another baby immediately after baby number 1. My husband was the one working and supporting us while I ran the house with the money that he gave me and saved my benefit. I did the cooking, housework and shopping with the kids. I was the one always looking after the babies unless he was home that I'm able to sit and relax. (Carine)

It is sometimes hard for me to manage house work and work but what can I do. My husband is not able to stay with the children because he's travelled or away for work, I have to cancel work and stay with the kids as I don't like leaving my children with different people. (Vivian)

Weinger and Akuri (2007: 54) remark that in Cameroonian culture, marriage is for the purpose of bearing and rearing children rather than establishing intimate partnership. All women are expected to bear children in marriage. Failure to have children sometimes leads to insult from not just the husband and inlaws but outsiders. These childless marriages often end in divorce or the husband having children with another woman or women or the husband marrying a second wife. Yet, women who give birth are not only expected to give birth but look after the children, a sexual and reproductive work (Delphy and Leonard 1992) often shouldered by women only. Women's subordinated position in marriage migration coupled with the taboo of childlessness (Weinger and Akuri 2007) means women want to start a family following their marriage. While children make their marriage real according to the heterosexual norms that govern the immigration law on marriage migration, it becomes an obstacle to doing paid work outside the home. Ngome (2003) notes that socio-economic and cultural constraints that impact on women's ability to generate income indirectly affecting their decision making powers (see also Sikod 2007, Ngangriyap 2007). These studies while highlighting gender issues in Cameroon show that women do what they as ascribed by their culture and expected to do. Linda like several of the women expected her mother-in-law to come and support her when she gives birth. This shows a transnational care chain where women do not just support families back in Cameroon but women too (mothers and mother-in-laws) sometimes come to Britain to support them with babysitting when they give birth according to several of the women. Heidi Verhoef (2005) notes that in Cameroon a child has many 'mothers' and family members contribute to the upbringing of children. Thus it is still women who have to come from Cameroon to support their daughters in the UK with childcare responsibilities. Despite this external help, these women clearly show that they struggle to manage paid and unpaid work. In the absence of external support, living in a distant country means lack of support from (Palriwala and Uberoi 2005). Women are left with no option but to shoulder the entire unpaid work load while losing from paid work. As noted by Scott and Dex (2009), women do more work than men. Women give priority to family commitments and will give up any activity particularly when it gets in the way of the family (Scott and Dex, 2009). Vivian has to cancel her work in order to look after the

children especially when her husband was also working or away. This shows that women are more likely to forgo their own work for the family. Women's experience fit in with other research that shows that it often women who have to arrange childcare rather than men (Ryan 2008). Women with children have to make difficult choices, juggling the need for extra shifts with the need to spend time with children (McGregor, 2007). Vivian however justifies her decision to absent work by noting that she does not like to leave the children with others. Though children who were a result of their marriage sometimes infringe on women's ability to do paid work which is mostly emotional, women derive utility from doing care work that includes earning an independent income and self-esteem that enables them to support their family, become involve in decision making and most importantly have an independent source of income as well as 'emotional returns' (Spieß and Schneider, 2003) for ensuring the well-being of families despite the distance. The contribution women make in the care sector in the UK enabled them to care for their relatives across the border.

5.4: Transnational Care Work

As noted in the introduction, Cameroonian migrants have become the main providers for their families through remittances (see Fleischer, 2007; Huong et al, 2010; Nyamnjoh, 2005; Pelican et al, 2008; Ndonwi, 2012). The World Bank estimates that the amount of remittances from Cameroonian migrants stood at USD 103 million in 2005 that is 2.5 per cent of official development aid (IOM 2010). Though a large majority of Cameroonian families depend on bushfallers' remittances, this does not however mean that female marriage migrants moved to the UK to make money for their families only. Instead, women's transnational marriages have enlarged the gap between women and their families meaning these women cannot care for their family and have to reciprocate for their absences. Their presence in the UK through marriage to their husbands enable them to work and support their families just like other migrants as there is expectation of reciprocity from children when they grow up particularly female children. For these women, this can only be possible through transnational care obligations (Nagel and Staeheli 2000, see Ryan 2008, Plambech 2008). In Cameroon, women are traditionally responsible for looking after their family members and relatives even in marriage. This mean that women are not just expected to look after their husband and children but continue to look after their own family as well as their in-laws

across the border. Thus, a good woman is one who is able to maintain her home and her family. All the women told me they care for their families in Cameroon by remitting. Anna was one of them and told me how she felt she needed to reciprocate for not being in Cameroon to spend time with her sick mum. She notes:

I support my family from here. I send them money even when they don't need money. They don't have to ask for money from me. My parents have a fixed amount I send to them every month because these people have done a lot to me. How can I repay them if not by sending them money? I'm not in Cameroon. Even when my mum is sick, I'm so far that I feel like crying right now. I still miss them. If I were in Cameroon, I could visit them often or monthly. But from here, it's hard and may be impossible as the tickets are expensive too. I prefer to send them the money to get whatever they want or need from home. I also send them goods when someone is sending a container home. (Anna)

Similarly, Vera like Anna mentioned that she sent her family money. She told me:

I'm not in Cameroon to look after my immediate family, something which I feel guilty of. The only way I can show my love for them is through sending money to them. I'm here because of marriage and I'm able to support my family from here because I earn more and cannot see them often. I send money to both families but often to my in-laws. My husband was not earning enough as he was only working part-time while studying; I had to support his family, they're my in-laws. (Vera)

Using a gender perspective, Atekmangoh (2011) in her study on family obligations and remittance flow amongst Cameroonian "bushfallers" in Sweden remarks that women remit more than men (see also Huong et al, 2010; Martin 2004). Coming from a traditional society where women are expected to look after other family members even when married, Anna spoke emotionally about the distance that marriage has created for her and her family. Anna remits constantly to her family in Cameroon not because her family needed the money nor do they ask for but as a way of showing love and care which is bound up with tradition, obligation, and kinship. She recognises the role her parents played in her life and laments over her inability to look after them because she lives far from them. For her, she felt the only way she could pay them back was to provide them with money. She blames her inability to support family on the distance between Britain and Cameroon including expensive air travel, something Vera feels guilty about. Instead of remitting to her family, Vera in her case, remitted frequently but to her in-laws. She justifies her decision to remit to her in-laws

because she had become part of the family. In Cameroon, when a man marries a woman, the woman becomes part of his family and vice versa. In this way, she sees her in-laws like her family, a reason for her to remit to them.

Equally, in Cameroon, in the absence of parents, the eldest sibling is expected to look after the younger ones. Ernestine who lost her parents when she was young had become not just a wife and mother to her children in Britain but a mum to her siblings in Cameroon. She told me how she continues to care for them from Britain. She comments:

My siblings are in Cameroon. I'm like a mum to them following the death of my parents. So, I always make sure they're OK financially and health wise. I have to provide all their needs from here. My kid sister is a tailor. She too is now supporting them but the bulk amount of money is sent from here. They are like my kids, how can I forget them when I know my parents are no longer alive. Even when I was in Cameroon, I was the one supporting them though I could not take good care of them like I do today. I can say I run two homes because they keep me updated with whatever is going on in the house I rented for them. Also, I know what they're eating daily as they do a weekly menu and their bills including rents plus pocket allowances are managed from here. I may not be there in Cameroon but I'm aware of every bit going on with them. I'm their mum and dad. If there's any problem or complain, it is directed to me and I try my best to resolve it on the phone. It's like I live in two places at the same time but my body is here while my head is in Cameroon solving problem and managing my house here. I think of Cameroon every day and I have to check on my siblings to make sure they are alright. That is the only way I can help them grow and have a meaningful life too since our parents are no more and as the first child, it's my responsibility to support them. (Ernestine)

With younger relatives in Cameroon without any parent to guide and provide for them, Ernestine has come to shoulder the transnational care responsibilities. She is not just responsible for their emotional well-being (providing money for rents, food and healthcare) but these roles involve her emotions: communicating and advising across the borders, being attentive to their needs and sensitive in her different roles. By doing so, Ernestine had become a wife and mother in Britain but a parent in Cameroon through her transnational care and love work for her siblings. She notes that it is her role to look after her siblings especially because their parents were of late and though she had always looked after them from Cameroon, she was able to do more from Britain. While she might care for them more from Britain, it only involves more emotional work for her as she lives in two places at once.

Caring from a distance has become a way of showing affection to relatives who are far away. The wife/mother's traditional role in migration has been criticized because it leads to a 'care drain' in the countries of origin (Hochschild 2000; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003) when women move. While marriage migration can actually create care deficit to family, at the same time, these women who move can reduce the care gap by providing for their relations. In this regards, though women have moved to Britain, a distant country, they may not be physically present to help family members but money earned in Britain from care work enables them to support their families. In doing so, love and care work in marriage migration provides women with the opportunity to work and earn money that in turn enables them to support relatives.
Thus, despite the absence of bushfallers' wives, these women continue to maintain emotional link with family through communication and remittances. They remit as a way of supporting their families emotionally as the message of care, concern and solidarity (Weigner, 2003) accompanies the money and goods that they send (see also Plambech, 2008; Yeoh et al, 2013). Hence women remit to replace the lost care they are supposed to provide to their families. While many of the women worked in the care sector, they are not able to care for their own relatives in Cameroon. The availability of large kin-networks means women can send money to other relatives to care for family members who might not be able to look after themselves. In this regards, women continue their family caretaking role in the UK. This finding is corroborated by research on women and work in Cameroon (Weinger and Akuri, 2007; Ngome, 2003; Ngangriyap, 2007; Sikod, 2007) who generally do care for others more than they care about themselves (Weinger and Akuri, 2007; Ngangriyap, 2007). These women were not only good wives and mothers but good workers and family providers. While women's paid care work and unpaid transnational care work are significant, both also impacts on women and their marriage.

5.5: Love and Care Work Effect on Marital Intimacy and Social Life of Women

Love and care work go together in marriage (Wilmer et al, 2003; Schober, 2011). Through marriage (based on love according to the women and the heteronormative rule that governs the immigration law), bushfallers' wives have come to settle in Britain and able to do not just paid work but unpaid work at home and across the border. However, combining unpaid, paid and transnational care work impacted on women negatively. Women said their

triple care conundrum affected marital intimacy and social life in Britain as they spend longer working hours to satisfy their families. These women told me:

The children are always with us meaning we cannot enjoy or stay longer at a party. Child care is an issue for us. I struggle with this daily. I can't step out of the house unless I take them with me and each time I take them out, I cannot enjoy or feel free because the children are constantly screaming or seeking for attention. It's hard work, living with your 2 kids without help from anyone in your house. My husband too is a busy man, so I've got to look after the kids all the time. (Vivian)

*'There's no time for yourself once you start having children in this country. Whatever you do or think, you have to put the children first with little support from anyone. These days, I don't go out. I stay home to rest after work and look after the kids. (*Germaine)

The immigration rule govern marriage migration expect couples to be in an intimate relationship, implicitly meaning sex should take place. Children in marriage are the result of sex. While these children may be evidence of sexual intercourse taking place and that women are in real marriage, children and child care appear to be the responsibilities of these women but not their husbands. Children impacts on the women's ability to enjoy their social lives. This finding is similar to that of Pia Schober (2011) who in her study on the effects of paid and unpaid work on British couple when they become parents found that when couples become parents, the impact tends to be greater on women than men as it meant a reduction of personal leisure time but a huge increase in domestic work (see also Jon, 1977; Widmer et al, 2003). With children, making a family for these women only increased their workload with less time for pleasure.

Another issue that women raised was marital intimacy. According to some of the women, their work affected marital intimacy. One important component in marriage is intimacy among couples. Intimacy is not just about sex, but spending time and talking as a couple (see Sanders 2002). In the case of bushfallers' wives, marital intimacy appeared to be impacted by women's paid and unpaid work, especially for women who often worked at night and had to do unpaid work during the day. Rita was one of them. She comments:

We really spent good times together when we were in Cameroon or he was visiting me in Cameroon but not now with the kids. Here (referring to the UK), life has always been about

work and we barely find time to sit and talk like a couple with the kids or have an intimate time the two of us. It's either the children are disturbing or one person is rushing to go to work and need to sleep to be relax at work. (Rita)

Similarly, Christina told me:

If I could find a good job that I could do say 9-5pm, I would be very happy. I would like to spend the nights at home. It's really affecting my relationship with my husband, especially our marriage. We don't get to spend time as a couple. I spend all week nights working and weekends too are sometimes busy. I don't often get to spend time with my kids too in the lounge as it's either I'm struggling to sleep before going to work or I'm cooking or doing one activity or the other but not sitting and chatting or playing with them except on weekends. They sometimes tell me mummy you look tired but what can I say? There is no time here for relaxation especially when you want to achieve a certain goal

As Widmer et al (2003) and others have pointed out, women's triple role can affect marital intimacy. While children and work are the results of marriage, on the other hand, children and work affected intimacy and time spent together as a couple. Rita like some of the women blamed the absence of intimacy in their marriage on work and children. For Christina, she was worried her night work was affecting her relationship with her husband; this might mean she was not able to spend the night with her husband on the marital bed but at work except when she's off work. Besides, these women also describe how their work or shift pattern affected not just time spent with their husbands and children but the quality of their marriage. However, though women enjoyed doing paid work, they tried to give their marriage, children and family priority.

Marriage was seen as hard work with less time together as a couple than was the case before marriage thereby affecting their marital quality. These role strains can lead not just to personal and occupational consequences but marital intimacy for women who are often tired leading to 'crossover' (Widmer et al, 2003). As Strong, DeVault and Cohen (2010) in their book on marriage and family experience have addressed, this gender division of labour can affect marital power, marital satisfaction, sexual intimacy and marital stability which carries a risk of divorce (see also Widmer et al, 2003). However, in the case of bushfallers' wives, the workload while strengthening their union without affecting their love for their husbands impact on their well-being and their marriage itself. By spending much time on doing paid and unpaid work to support not just their family in the UK but in Cameroon, women were

overworking themselves. Also, women spent little time with their husband as a couple. Besides, while the work outside the home, they do it for the benefit of their marriage. Through their contribution in emotional paid work, women appear to put the marriage and their family needs in front of theirs. While overburden can be a form of abuse and exploitation, women saw it as their work and as a wife, a sign of the love for their husband and maintaining marital stability. Conversely, this triple role can have negative consequences on how the women feel about their marital intimacy and affect their time and body. The women's accounts are reminiscent of Widmer et al's (2003) description of their study on labour force participation and conjugal love that women's work burden does not affect their partner because they consider their work as normal and somehow accept them (Widmer 2003). In this regard, love and money appear to interact with sexuality and citizenship to produce a subordinated position for women who are already subordinated by their gender, class and race as there are social expectations of what these women should do out of love, kinship and obligations. These intersecting oppressive factors impact not just on paid work but marital intimacy. For these women, it is seen as normal though oppressive and makes them happy wives and income earners as living in Britain give women an opportunity to improve their economic and social position in the future. In this respect, while love has enabled women to settle and find work, their work becomes an economic contribution that makes their relationship intimate, a relationship that is usually blamed on the lack of economic opportunities (see Tyldum and Tveit 2008, Mahler and Pessar, 2001). By moving through marriage and doing love and care work, women do not only find economic opportunities in Britain but contribute financially in their marriage rather than financial dependants thereby strengthening their marriage while at the same time, contributing to the global economy in both Cameroon and the UK. Yet receiving countries have not considered the gender implications of care in their immigration policies and programmes but love which position women in an unequal relationship with men.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have analysed women's love and care work in marriage migration. I moved from the economic meaning to look at the social meaning of women's money. I have shown how women were not just involved in emotional work at home that include sex and child bearing but child rearing in addition to other unpaid house work. Women combined

unpaid work with paid work outside the home mostly in the adult care and social sector. Through this work, women show they love and care for their families in the UK and enhance their decision making power while extending care across the border to Cameroon to their relatives. However, women's combination of these roles affected their well-being and marital intimacy. Yet women were satisfied to combine all roles to ensure marital stability and to compensate for their absence from Cameroon as they were not able to look after their relatives following marriage migration. Yet some women did not just do all unpaid in addition to paid work because they enjoyed doing them. Rather, they saw themselves as having little decision to opt from doing these traditional sex role stereotypes (Yogev, and Brett, 1985; Deguili, 2007). Also, even when women agreed to doing care work and saw it as a woman's job, the women's explanations show that the patriarchal ideology that dictates what men and women do in Cameroon (Sikod, 2007) continue to influence their role even in the UK. This chapter also reveals that while work and love support each other, the work impacts on marital intimacy and social life as it affects the time women spend with husbands as a couple as well as friends. While it seems love might not be affected by the gender division of labour (Widmer et al, 2003) it is this that makes their marriage real and strengthen marital intimacy as women contribute towards the running of their homes and earning an independent income empower women. Also, through providing transnational emotional care to families in Cameroon, it only reinforces the Cameroonian feeling for women who have left Cameroon to come and settle in Britain and become British citizens. In this regard, the next chapter looks at the Cameroonian feeling among bushfallers' wives in Britain and their emotional relationship to Cameroon and Britain.

CHAPTER 6

THE CAMEROONIAN FEELING IN BRITAIN: IDENTITY AND BELONGING AND HOME AMONG CAMEROONIAN FEMALE MARRIAGE MIGRANTS IN BRITAIN

6.1 Introduction

The last two decades have witnessed a proliferation of studies on emotional attachment to places (Aranda, 2003; Christou, 2011; Jung, 2012; Liu, 2013; Twigger-Rose and Uzzell, 1996; Waite and Cook, 2011). Interestingly, this work coincided with the academic and government interest in transnational marriage migration (Constable, 2003, Constable 2004; Del Rosario, 2005; Alpes, 2011; Johnson-Hanks, 2007). Like marriage migration, emotional attachment to places is not new likewise their studies (see Sinke, 2005 and DeBree et al., 2010). Despite the huge volume of studies on marriage migration and emotional relationship to places, the studies have largely been independent from one another. For decades, migration scholars have used concepts such as sense of place, place dependency, places of attachment (see Manzo, 2003) and place identity (Proshansky et al, 1983 and 1987) to explore emotional relationship to places. These emotional relationships to places are linked to home, identity and belonging. Since migrants are often assumed to be less-integrated or acculturated in the host country as a result of their attachment to their country of origins, studies on translocality have focused on that which attaches migrants to their home country to explain belonging rather than on the migration and settlement category as well as the role expectations and obligations (good wives and mothers of future generations) in understanding how migrants construct and negotiate their identity and sense of belonging. In the case of cross-border marriages (see Constable, 2003), more studies appear to focus on wealth and power differences between the global North and the global South to explain identity, home and belonging with economic exchange for their labour/residency as the main motive for women attachment to the host country. Consequently, a clear and theoretical driven account of the relationship between marriage migration and emotional attachment to places remains largely unexplored especially among female marriage migrants who are married to men of the host country who are not only emotionally but ethnically similar. In addition, marriage migration and translocality are not only emotionally linked but glue one another as the entry,

roles and expectations in marriage migration strongly influence migrants, particularly female marriage migrants attachment to places as well as how they construct their sense of identity, belonging and the place they call home. This chapter therefore seeks to fill this gap by focusing on a particular advantageous (marriage migration used to appear to be the quickest and easiest way to obtain long stay and become a citizen) yet too emotional and transnational migration group (loaded with emotional care work), female marriage migrants to understand how marriage migration influences women's sense of home, identity and belonging and not just economics and politics (Kelly 2013) embedded in the North/South divide. The chapter aims to explore the role of emotions in female marriage migrants' construction of home, identity and belonging in marriage migration and contributes to a better understanding of spatial discourse in today's globalized world. This chapter therefore focuses on the emotional experiences of marriage migration which unlike other migration route and experiences look at the emotional dimension of women married to men from the same ethnic background and how their emotional roles in both the host country and home country influence belonging and identity. I find Brah's notion of 'diaspora space' helpful for my purpose to investigate such feelings, emotions and experiences as the identity of an individual is determined by a wide range of socio-politcal milieu. While Brah's (1996: 204) in her analysis talks about the psychic borders aspect of identity, she does not investigate them in her analysis. I start the chapter by looking at the concepts of emotions, identity, home and belonging in transnational marriage migration. Secondly, I analyse how women construct their sense of belonging and identity as marriage migrants. In particular, I look at the role of marriage migration and emotions in belonging and attachment to places. The last section concludes the chapter. This chapter reveals that marriage migration is not just about the movement and settlement of bodies from an old home to a new one with emotions linking them. Rather, as the chapter shows, marriage migration involves the formation of new families with translocal emotional work and the negotiation of new forms of identities, sense of belonging and home which remains linked to women's gender, class and race.

6.2 Emotions, Home, Identity and Belonging

The study of emotions can be dated as far back as the early 20th century. Beginning in the 1980s, emotions have attracted increased attention among scholars interested in understanding identity, belonging and home amongst migrants (De Bree et al, 2010).

Research on transnational migration focus on the physical and geographical mobility of migrants and their transitional engagement. Most of this research has focused on residential place and particularly length of residency in comparison with other places particularly the country of origin of migrants (Christou, 2011; Liu, 2013; Manzo, 2003; Temple, 1999) to address affective relationship to places. This is based on the assumption that place is a source of rootedness, comfort and belonging. For example, using the case of Chinese migrants to New Zealand, Liangni Liu (2014) in her study on a search for a place to call home stresses the importance of home in the construction of migrants' identity and sense of belonging. She further notes that migrant women's relationship with home is shaped by the transnational social space which they develop and link their old home to the new home. Conversely, Lynne Manzo (2003) has criticised the over focus on place identity stating that they are not only broadly defined but that they exact connection between the concepts remain unclear. To push the discussion further, Manzo (2003) moves beyond place to look at negative feelings and experiences in place. In doing so, she shows how affective relationships to places include a broad range of physical setting and how emotions are formed. Temple (1999) on the other hand looks at the psychic space to understand feeling among people who choose to live a lifestyle considered outside their ethnicity and notes that diaspora and emotions can also breaks the tie between place and ethnicity (Temple 1999, see Aranda 2003). Furthermore, Christou Ansatasia (2011) adds a gender dimension in the understanding of place attachment by looking at the gendered experiences of diasporic groups. Using first and second generation Greek men and women in Denmark, she traces the connection and rupture between emotional responses to a place call home and the negotiation of 'belongingness' in migrants' lives. She explores their experiences of migration, gender, home and belonging. Christou (2011) notes that belonging is a concept of 'emotional paradox' used in describing how migrants negotiate their being and becoming in the diaspora with nostalgia for a homeland. These studies reveal that emotional attachments to places are an ever changing and dynamic phenomenon that are both conscious and unconscious and exist within a broader socio-political milieu (Manzo 2003:48). These studies have largely focused on gender, immigrant youths, first and second generation migrants with the exception of Kelly (Kelley 2013) and Jung (2012) who focus on female marriage migrants. Carol Kelly (2013), in her work on emotion and belonging among female marriage migrants remarks that several studies on the movement of bodies from a poor geographical location to a richer location and women's attachment to places has been discussed largely in terms of the economic disparities rather than looking at the different factors that intersect to make women marriage migrants and how marriage migration itself

influences their attachment. Kelly (2013) in her study with four immigrant women who live their countries of origin for a temporal reason but become permanent migrants through marriage remarks that the effects of immigration on immigrants are not short lived as migrants go through a continuous process of adjustment and learning not just about their new country but themselves. She further argues that these women's lifelong movement affect their sense of belonging and identity. An important aspect to be taken note of is how marriage migration and emotions relate to one another and impact on belonging. Studies on marriage migration have shown the link between women's work and emotions (Kelley 2013). This transnational marriage migration-focused research emphasizes that migrant women's identities are negotiable, becoming and multiple rather than given, fixed and homogenous (see Jung, 2012: 195). However, both studies focus on women who are married to men from the host country but not their country of birth to establish the link between emotions and marriage migration and how both influence identity, belonging and home.

Home has become an important theme in migration studies (Ahmed et al, 2003; Blunt, 2005). According to the traditional settler migration model, the term 'home' commonly refers to migrants' country of origin (Philipp and Ho, 2010) but as Wiles (2008) notes, home is an ambiguous concept. It is ambivalent and fluid, with no exact meaning. The definition of a home may shift across various registers (Ahmed, 1999). Sara Ahmed defines a home as where one usually lives, where one's family lives or one's native country. She adds that one may have multiple homes and that home is where there is familiarity, comfort and security and may determine how people feel or might not feel. This view is also echoed in Avtar Brah's (1996) work on diasporic space where she rethinks the difference between home as where one lives and home as where one comes from in relations to how it affects individuals. Therefore home is not only the place of dwelling (Liu, 2003) but also a place of belonging, intimacy, security, relationship and selfhood (Gorman-Murray and Dowling, 2007). Home may evoke memories among migrants and an emotional link to where they are originally from leading to feelings of nostalgia while for some, it remains a 'mythic place' of desire in the diasporic imagination (Brah 1996: 192). Though home may be a site of protection, comfort, joy of positivity, Liu (2014) reminds us of the negativity and alienation resulting from home. Following such academic recognition of the transnational involvement of migrants and their links with their home country, recent work have included emotions in understanding migrants attachment to places as well as their construction of identity and sense of belonging. Home thus becomes an on-going and changing process where people

attach different meanings to it through interaction between self, others and places (Gorman-Murray 2007).

According to Peter Hopkins (2009) identities may change in different contexts, localities and situations. It has been shown by Katherine Woodward (1997) that migration produces plural identities in a process which is characterized by inequality. Women have multiple identities in both the public and private spheres. For example, at home, she may be a mother, wife, sister etc while outside the home, she is a cleaner, support worker, nurse, migrant, black etc. Individual and collective identities are established through representation, identifications and politics (See also Hall, 1990). Vertovec (1997: 20) remarks that diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference. For women, in an attempt to create their identity, they take into account their class, gender, ethnicity, roles, expectations and obligations, what Keith and Pile calls identity politics (1993) which connects the meaning people attach to place to power and ideology.

Belonging is a concept of emotional paradox (Christou 2013). It is an emotionally constructed concept that is experienced emotionally (Waite and Cook 2011). Christou (2013: 249) in her study on embodiment, belonging and displacement in diasporic spaces of home and return defines belonging as a process of identification and contestation generated by migrants' struggles to understand their sense of self through place-based emotional attachments. As Kringelbach (2013) has also argued, the question of belonging for families who are here and there is not an obstacle to integration and acculturation. Rather than address issues of relations to their homeland, this chapter also looks at the simultaneous relationship of origin and country of marriage for women who have come to live, settle and become citizens. Gender like identity is is performatively produced (Butler 1990) and is closely linked to belonging (Bell 1999) and bodily practices. Through marriage, women have arrived, establish a family and become citizens of the host country thereby leading to the formation of a transnational family. Women who migrate and settle as marriage migrants may feel rooted yet uprooted as they move from their home country to settle and become citizens of the host country. While women who arrive as marriage migrants may feel increasingly isolated and out of place when they first arrive and more attached to their home country, their experiences in the host country and the type of work they do and are expected to do in the host country not just by the immigration authority but family from the country of origin may change the meaning women attach to their identity, home and place (see Kelley 2013 and Jung 2012).

6.3 Negotiating Simultaneous Home, Identity and Belonging in Marriage Migration

In most of the third world and in particular, Cameroon, the country where my informants and their husbands come from, marriage is governed by the rule of virilocality. There, it is women rather than men who often move in marriage (see Parilwa and Uberoi, 2005; Watts, 1983). Even in cross border marriages, these women are still the ones to move but must be permitted by the immigration authority of the host country that controls the geographical and sexual border (O'Donovan, 1993). Moving from one country to another can be a dislocating experience (Pnina 2005). Though migration involves the movement of bodies from one location to another, for female marriage migrants, it is not just the movement of bodies from one geographical location to another but includes the movement from an old residential home to a new home, from one family to another family and old citizenship to a new citizenship, with new kinship and citizenship roles, obligations and expectations (see O' Donovan, 1993). As, studies have shown, in today's globalised world, migrants have an ongoing emotional attachment to not just their country of origin but the host country as well as different meanings to home (Ahmed, 1999; Ahmed, 2004; Liu, 2014; Christou, 2011). Equally, the institution of marriage is not only about the relations between men and women but is tied to larger economic and social structures (Fan and Li, 2001). It is therefore not surprising women define their identity in relation to their movement as marriage migrants. For example, the women construct their identities and sense of belonging as follows:

I see myself as a Cameroonian woman who is married to a Cameroonian man with kids. I'm a mother and a wife and I also do care work here. Well this is how I see myself. I'm British too. So, I'm a Cameroonian British but I do not think about it often as I think more about my life here and that of my family and not really my British nationality. I feel more Cameroonian and when there is a Cameroonian party or an event I cook or assist with the decoration. What I think more about here is my work and how to support my family, making sure that everyone is happy in the house. (Rachel)

I'm now a woman, mother and wife here. In Cameroon, I was only a daughter living with my parents as a teenager. When one grows old, one's got to move from the family home and start her own family. When I got married, I moved from our family home to my husband's family home. I later join him here and since then, my life is here because of my family. Though British, I'm still much attached to Cameroon as my family, friends and in-laws live there. You know my husband is from Cameroon too. So it is our place of origin, (Irene)

As has been argued by several migration scholars, migrants' sense of identity and belonging sometimes are parallel and influence their sense of attachment to places Christou, 2011; Liu, 2013; Manzo, 2003; Temple, 1999). The significance of women moving, arriving and settling as marriage migrants cannot be ignored. Women who become citizens through marriage tend to define their identity not only based on place or that which attached them to a particular place but more specifically in relation to their status of entry and settlement in the host country. When I asked these women how they saw themselves as women who were brought to the UK by their husbands, though varied, the responses of all the women were linked to their status as marriage migrants. Women's sense of belonging was mainly transnational (Brah, 1996) filled with transnational emotions (Liu, 2014). Though several studies have shown that migrants are transnational being, for female marriage migrants, the emotional work and families in both the UK and Cameroon can make them more transnational. In the case of Rachel like all the women, she identified herself based on her country of birth where she had moved from. She also talked about her ethnic identity by referring to her marriage to a man who was importantly, Cameroonian yet British like her including her gender and occupational identity. In doing so, she reveals her fluid identity that was not just linked to one place but in her case like that of most of the women, an identity that span across the physical, social, political, sexual and economic borders. Though she identifies with Britain and Cameroon, this should not be taken to mean she felt the same for both locations. For her, while she proudly identified with both societies, being British was something that was only on the paper and her thinking and sense of attachment was more in terms of her daily activities closely tied to her family. While she felt more Cameroonian than British through her activities with the Cameroonian diaspora in the UK, working in the UK for her meant she belong not just to Cameroon but the UK that enables her to be economically independent. Also, being a mother and wives like all the women increase feeling of rootedness in the UK. The family she had formed in the UK and being able to work through her marriage enhanced her sense of belonging in the UK while feeling Cameroonian

only when she took part in Cameroonian diasporic parties. Women have also come to develop a conscious, contested and political view of their relationship with Cameroon.

Places evoke memories and have emotional significance (Temple, 1999) and the emotional reasons people have for wanting to belong to a particular diaspora (Temple, 1999). Furthermore, time, people and places do change in marriage migration. Irene changes from a girl to a woman, wife and mother who had moved from her parents' house before moving to the UK where she now lives with her husband. As has been observed in other studies of immigrant women with children, mothers tend to stay where their children particularly younger children lives (De Bree et al, 2010). For Irene, though she lived in the UK and felt she belong where her children were, her family and in-laws in Cameroon remain the reason why she still felt attached to Cameroon, a view mentioned by several of my informants. Women's gender identity and social positioning as mothers and wives were how women's definition of identity and belonging were more related to the family relations than space or national boundaries. For these women therefore, while they identified as British Cameroonians, they belong in the UK, where the family was as this marriage relationship enhances women's sense of belonging in the UK. Though women identified with Cameroon and Britain, it was different from how they felt their sense of belonging in relation to work and home.

While I asked women about how they saw themselves, the women instead brought up the issue of work and home. Home is a very important concept in migration particularly marriage migration as women live their home to make a new home in their new locality. It is therefore not surprising women expressed their sense of identity, home and belonging in the UK based on particularly their status as marriage migrant and place of work as seen in the following excerpts from some of the women:

I'm a wife, mother and from Cameroon. I'm British too and a nurse. I work for the NHS since 2008. People here will see me as black woman. In Cameroon I guess they'll call me a bushfaller's wife because I live here with my husband. They may also say I've got money since they think everyone living here is rich because if you ask people in Cameroon, they'll tell you all bushfallers are rich. Someone like me who've been here for so long and with houses in Cameroon would be seen as a very rich woman. The people home see all people living abroad as wealthy. So, I'm sure they'll see me as a wealthy woman (Anna)

I'm a Cameroonian though I've got a British passport. Since moving to this country, I can say me and my family are enjoying life. If we were still in Cameroon, we will still be struggling and not able to give our children the kind of life and opportunities they have here as British and also the support to my family in Cameroon. Me and my husband also have a good house now in Cameroon though we do not live there but when we go home, we're happy and proud to have a place like that. (Sandra)

I'm a registered nurse, a wife and a mother from Cameroon who is now British. Well, in Cameroon people will see me as a bushfaller's wife and a mum because I always go around with my kids when I'm in Cameroon. (Miranda)

Women's sense of belonging was also linked to their place of work. Working in the UK, a place synonymous to riches enabled Sandra and her husband who were once financially insufficient like other women to improve their economic position. Women and their husbands now owned properties in Cameroon thereby maintaining continuity with Cameroon and gave them another reason to think about Cameroon. Women thought to be rich supported their families in Cameroon. These women negotiated and maintained family relations across the border (Skrbiš 2008) through remitting, caring, and kinship obligation. Women's ability to working in the UK enabled them to remit to their families and strengthen their sense of belonging in the UK as the women were able to support there from here. As noted by several studies on Cameroonian migration to the West, Cameroon has become increasingly transnationalized as a result of the large amount of remittances from the West (Ndonwie 2012, Nyamnjoh 2009, Fleischer 2007 and 2008). According to Atekmangoh (2011) the huge remittances to Cameroon is from women rather than men (see Watt, 1983). All the women mentioned that they were involved in transnational activities from Britain to Cameroon. Coming to the UK had increased the geographical distance between women and their families but not the traditional distance as living in the UK had enabled these women to support their families more than they would do if they were in Cameroon. To compensate for their absences, women remitted often. In doing so, women were not only sending money but shared a sense of closeness and attachment though far away that increases their connectedness and belonging there yet here. These women remitted with a strong feeling to stay close to the family despite being far away and in so doing, these women 's social positioning become translocational (Anthias 2006: 27) as suggested by Gallo 2005 and Uberoi 199 that 'migrant women may simultaneously desire to settle into the ways of being of their host societies, valuing their escape from the powers and authorities of the domestic

domain and social life left behind; yet, along with their male compatriots, they may also yearn for those kin and friends, and take pride in fulfilling their obligations to them'. (Cited in Palriwala and Uberoi 2005: xx). While remittances are important source of income for many families of migrants in the developing world (Martin 2004), they link migrants' attachment to places and the meaning that are inscribed to these places. In this sense, not only their geographical identity but social, gender, occupational and ethnic identity in their discussion of remittances strengthen transnational network and money increased their sense of connectedness in the UK and continuity with a place that has been disconnected. While studies assume transnational link reduces sense of attachment or integration to the host country while strengthening links with the country of origin, for these women, it instead increased their sense of belonging as being here gives them the opportunity to care for people they are attached to who live in a place they identify with and attach with through these people even when they do no longer feel physically attached to the place. While maintaining and strengthening this link across the borders, Cameroon had become an imaginary home for women while Britain has become a new home and importantly, a place of work and residency with people they had affection for.

These women's emotional experiences of marriage migration are also narratives of gendered identification. Often, women who move through marriage have been seen as using marriage to move to the West; by contrast, marriage which enables women to move and start a family arguably becomes another reason why women feel they belong to the UK more through diluting their ethnic otherness (Jung 2012) bringing up children who belong to different countries (Jung 2012). For these women, home existed materially through particular places and imaginatively through the concept of belonging (Liu 2014) a social and geographical location that changed their identity, belong and home; denying the rich/poor assumptions embedded in the marriage migration discourse (Jung 2012)

Cameroon is home for me though here is like home too. Since I left Cameroon, I feel like a stranger when I go home but that is where I came from and where I spent the best part of my life. It is true life was hard for us there because I came from a normal family and my parents lived in a rural area. I only moved to the city to live with my aunt who was like a second mum for me. She looked after me and my brother like her own children but ever since she died, Cameroon has never been the same for me. She was the reason I used to go home often. My mum too died a few years after she died. Since then, I don't see any reason why I should visit Cameroon unless my husband wants us to go but left for me, Cameroon is like a new place

for me and I feel like a total stranger there because the people who meant a lot for me are no longer there and I don't really enjoy the place like I used to do in the past. Well, I've stayed here for so long that when I go home, everything looks so different. Even the people sometimes look different but what can I say? It is still home but a strange one for me. So, I feel more attached to England as I have a home and family here and I know my surrounding really well. (Lilian)

I feel more Cameroonian than British. One thing for sure is that the difference between Cameroon and Britain are clear. Life in Cameroon and life here can never be the same. There is life in Cameroon, there you feel home. I mean when you go to Cameroon, you feel so different. Here it's all about money; I don't feel at home here except when I'm in this house. Out there does not feel like home. In Cameroon, I never felt like a stranger anywhere. Cameroon is a country I hold dear. In Cameroon, life is so sweet though we do not have the luxury we have here. Neighbours were friendly and would share with everyone. There's dust and mud in Kumba but when you go there, you don't want to come back. You feel so fine that you forget the tarred road in England. Cameroon is home and will always be for me no matter how long I stay here. I may be here but I long to be in Cameroon.

Marriage has not only enabled women to obtain citizenship status and live and work but an advantage of moving across geographical borders (see Liu, 2014). Several studies on migration and nostalgia have noted that migrants often visit their home country. During such visits, migrants meet their relatives, touch and feel them. Visits enable allow migrants to see and feel the place where they once belong, a familiar place and people with which they did not just share the same ethnicity but also shared a similar citizenship and affection. In addition to visit, women also maintain relationship through cyberspace and telephones. As noted by Njamnjoh (2011), almost every household in Cameroon now have a mobile phone. Through these means, women maintain social contact with Cameroon but can never be like the physical contact.-a way of maintaining strong transnational ties and sense of belonging. Women referred to themselves as Cameroonian/ British. Being Cameroonian/British is not just a physical and social aspect of their identity but an emotional statement (Temple 1999) For all the women, they identified with Cameroon as their Place of birth, their sense of home changed when talking about Cameroon. Home is an on-going process and individuals continue to add meaning to it mediated through interaction between self, others and places (Gorman Murray and Dowling 2007. Home is a multi-scalar concept that can sometimes be stretched to transnational belonging (Blunt 2007). Though for some of the women, the

meaning of home had changed, this does not mean that they did not feel Cameroonian. Instead, they felt Cameroonian through their everyday transnational practices in the UK (see transnational practices below) but not the place they once felt they belong to. As has been observed in several transnational migration studies on migration and home, migrants do not have a particular home. Rather, the movement from one location to another lead to the movement from an old home to a new home, a process during which migrants rethink and redefine their sense and meaning home. For women, home is not only a spatial locality; their geographical or residential home where women once lived or currently lived or hope to live but includes an imaginary home. In the case of bushfallers' wives, they simultaneously identified Cameroon and Britain as home. Ahmed (199) also notes that it is possible not to feel at home in one's native country. For Lilian, though she identifies Cameroon and a particular place in Cameroon as home, she felt she did no longer belong there as she felt out place when she last visited and that which attached her more to Cameroon, her aunt who was like her mother to her had passed away. Her passing away changed how Lilian saw her relationship with Cameroon, leading to alienation and a sense of lost, a place she only visited now when her husband wanted the family to do so. Also, Sandra combined her feeling of identity, belonging and home when discussing her relationship to both the UK and Cameroon. Despite identifying herself as Cameroonian, she yet felt more attached to Britain. Some of these women who have lived in the UK for years and experience the British way of life felt out of place when they returned to Cameroon for a visit; seeing those who have never been abroad as 'others'.

Unlike Lilian, Vera distinguished her sense of identity and attachment to places by comparing between places. For Vera, there was something special about Cameroon that she did not feel in the UK. According to her, despite the poverty in Cameroon, there was familiarity, a lot in Cameroon that she identifies with for a lady who was once powerful in her circle of friends and family in Cameroon while in the UK, what was more important for her was her family in her house, people who look like her and she felt for them and not necessarily the country that gave her citizenship though she acknowledge its importance for mobility. Women also talked about the advantages of having a British citizenship, an identity many of the women were proud of. However, being British and feeling British parallel one another. For some of these women, while they all identified as British, it was an identity that gave them several advantages but not necessarily feeling British. Hence some of the women discussed their new status more in terms of mobility and social/economic security.

I'm today a British citizen and it is good because my family and I can always move. We can come for holidays or return whenever we want here or settle in another country if we don't feel like being here. (Vera)

I'm happy to be British as it gives me the opportunity to move around the globe freely. I enjoy certain privileges. I'm able to move within Europe and the US freely since becoming a citizen. Also, I can easily move and settle in another European country. I'm eligible to vote, I have a say in local politics here, can apply for council house, income support and other benefits just like the locals. (Linda)

Yeah, (Long pause) the picture was taken at the council on the day I was granted British citizenship. I'm British but my Cameroon identity is more important to me. That is where I was born and where I was brought up. There is that Cameroonian feeling in me that no one can take away and my husband too is Cameroonian. Basically, there is nothing British about us except when I'm at work or hanging out with colleagues. The Cameroonian flag represent my country. I'm Cameroonian and that is where I belong. I miss Cameroon, the people are good. I was born Cameroonian and my parents live in Cameroon. I'm British as well as my household but that does not take away the Cameroonian in me. I belong to different Cameroonian associations, a church, ex-student and tribal group with monthly and quarterly meetings. (Prisca)

Clearly, migratory route and family impact on their feelings as expressed by the women. Though the majority expressed feeling of happiness of being and living in the UK with a British citizenship, there was an unclear acceptance of it as home. For Linda like the majority of the women, she appreciated England as the home that gave her economic security and in particular being able to get benefit in case of unemployment. Though Prica like the other women who arrived as students did not move in order to marry but study, marriage to a Cameroonian born British man changed their temporal immigration status as an international student from Cameroon to a permanent resident culminating in them becoming permanently resident and citizens (see also Kelley 2010) For example, Prisca who studied in the UK had her citizenship ceremony certificate in her lounge and both British and Cameroonian flags with which she proudly identified and recalled the day of British citizenship ceremony. Talking about her citizenship, yet like the majority of the women, she too felt more Cameroonian and like Vera discussed her new status mostly in relations to easy mobility, an advantage that came with their marriage migration. While becoming British gave them the

advantage of going elsewhere and returning any time they want, it also became a strategy for them to be and belong where they want to move or settle with their family. In this regard, marriage migration opens up possibilities for further and easy access to several borders for women whose physical boarding from the global South to the North were initially restricted and monitored by the West. Also, women's ability to vote and partake in local politics enhances their sense of belonging. By referring to them as British-Cameroonians, women expressed their identity to Cameroon through what Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996: 205) call place identifications. As Liu (2013) have argue, through women's identification with place, place itself becomes a social and place identity (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996). As noted by Vertovec (1999: 4 or 5), for these women, it meant being British and Cameroonian. Britain had become a home away from home for these women. For these women, they have come to live in the UK through marriage and have gained a sense of their identity, belonging and home through their marriage and not just a sense of place or place attachment and place identification. Marriage migration changes the social context in which they define their home from the focus on a particular place.

6.4 Transnational Women: Visiting Home

In marriage migration, women leave their familiar and existing home (house, city, country) to travel to another location (husbands' house, country new space) which they are less familiar. This movement does not only involved departure from the old home but departure from familiar people and places as well as experiences that are filled with mixed emotions. Though women now live and work in the UK, they have relations in Cameroon with whom they continue to maintain contact. Through contacting Cameroon, women are here, there and in-between. Globalisation and advancement in information and communication technologies have led to the movement of people, goods and services across the borders (see Nyamnjoh 2009, Vertovec 2007). Those who are on the move attempt to connect with the place where they came from. Female marriage migrants who marry men from their country of origin are mainly transnational. They maintain contact with their home country through communication, caring for relatives across the border but most importantly through visiting. For bushfaller'' wives, maintaining a transnational link with Cameroon was regular and for some, daily especially for those with children in Cameroon. This communication was either through visit and in recent times, facilitated by advancement in information and communication

technologies. However, the women mentioned they frequently visited Cameroon. Visiting the home country enables face to face contact between women and their families and the place which was once familiar. Some of the women told me how they felt about going to the place where they were born and raised.

The best moment in my life is when I am with my family and friends. Ever since we got married, we go home every December but the last time was in 2011 because the children are not happy to go there and I can't leave them here to go to Cameroon. We chose the December because its winter here and a very busy and exciting period back at home. You get to spend time with love ones and relax while relatives help look after the kids. It's also a period of reflection, as you look back at the place you once lived and today you feel like a stranger when you go back there. For real, we can't compare life here and over there but there remains that attachment when you arrive home, you know and can feel this is home. (Sarah)

Our first son is still in Cameroon. He attends a boarding school as it is too expensive to sponsor him here. Also, we wanted him to grow the Cameroonian way and to know his Cameroon family. I go home often to make sure he's alright since my mum passed away. (Anna)

Sometimes women wanted to be and long for their country of origin. Though women like Sarah could not visit Cameroon often because the children did not like the place where their parents came from, these women maintained there remains a special connection to their country of birth. It is not surprising since these women were first generation women who had come to settle in Britain without any established network except friends and a few relations with whom they maintained contact (see Christou, 2013). Unlike these women, the children might not have felt any connection to Cameroon. This is not surprising given that these children were born and live in the UK which can be referred to as second generation of Cameroonian British. Unlike Sarah who had children in the UK which was an obstacle to her travelling to Cameroon often, Anna on the other hand maintained a close link with Cameron because of her son. In doing so, these women remain translocal.

6.5 Translocal Practices: Food and Language

For some women, though they did not openly talk about their feeling, their identity and attachment to Cameroon was expressed more through language and food. Both Language and food are important identity markers (see Rick and Swan 2012 and Hage 1997, Chan 2010) especially for migrants who leave their country to become permanent residents and citizens in a new country. Women were not just British nationals through marriage to British men but were emotionally and ethnically similar to their husbands and shared a similar language and food. These similarities were important for women and enhance their connectedness to the place where not just them but their husband came from. Using the example of food, women told me how they felt connected to Cameroon.

I miss the food from home. Each time I visit home or my mum and dad are visiting, I always make sure they bring us plenty of food stuffs that last months. We also get some from the local international food shops. In the past, we had to bring everything from home as it was too expensive or not available in the shops. Today, a lot has changed. These days, I don't bother much as I buy here except for light weight and very expensive spices or one that is hard to find in the international shops that I order from home. I only prepare local food for the children. I prepare mostly Cameroonian dishes as my husband does not like fatty food but the kids prefer English food. I sometimes prepare local meals for them but something different for us. (Prisca)

My children and I were born in Cameroon. They know Cameroon very well and talk about Cameroon often as they also have friends there. We like Cameroonian food and most often I cook Cameroonian dishes for my family though the children have fallen in love with the local food here. (Sandra)

I like home as there I eat proper traditionally cooked food and not the type we eat here where you mix different spices just to get a different flavour. In Cameroon, you don't need these spices to cook yet the food taste so yummy. When I go home, I always bring different types of spices with me. I prepare more of African food at home because my husband likes African food. The children also like African food. Over the years, I've come to like English food as this is what I eat often at work. I also prepare English meals at home but with a Cameroon twist by adding additional Cameroonian spices to make the food spicy as we love spicy food. (Louise)

Manzo Lynne (2003) in his revisioning of emotional relationship to places calls for a move beyond the house and haven in an attempt to provide for a more nuanced understanding of peoples' attachment to places. He argues that peoples' attachment to places is not just linked to physical settings but emotions. These emotions can be expressed not just through a residential setting but language, food and objects. Through embodied movement, women recall and reconnect with places that through the very movement are remembered (Christou 2011: 250). Through food, women connected to Cameroon. Also, for Louise, migration did not just lead to bodily movement and change of place but changes in daily activities. Migration caused a disruption for women who were familiar with the Cameroonian way of life and in particular, Cameroonian food. In addition, women were able to identify themselves through the use of their local languages. Cameroon is a country in miniature with over 250 ethnic languages. Language enables individuals to communicate in a particular way. Women encouraged members of their households particularly the children to speak their local dialect.

I'm attached to the place we came from and one that can never be forgotten even by our children because we always tell them stories about Cameroon and they understand my local dialect now. (Rita)

My husband is from my tribe and we speak the local dialect in the house. Even the kids are able to speak the dialect in addition to English they learn at school. (Lilian)

To maintain their Cameroonian root and instil in their children a sense of identity, women spoke to their local language to children. Through speaking a similar language, these women and members of their household who were not just British but also ethnically similar continue to maintain a particular culture and identity in the UK through collectively sharing food and language. This strategy enabled women to make and have a taste and speak a language that that they left behind in Cameroon. This particular language was not just specific to them but reminded them of their roots that had been uprooted from Cameroon and rooted in the UK through female marriage migration. Cultural ideas are also expressed through emotions (Bruner 1996). In a culture that emphasizes family and kinship, marriage migration and continuous maintenance of transnational family life, marriage migration is emotionally experienced with a feeling and longing for a home that is near yet far away as a result of distance. Through storytelling to her children about the place where she and the husband came from, Rita connects her children with Cameroon through storytelling that brings back memory and nostalgia of a past homeland through remembering, reliving and narrating

stories of the place where she was born and brought up. She did not only move physical but carried an image of the place she once called home and now connected to through people. The meaning and significance of nostalgia are multiple (Pickering and Keightley 2006). For these women their nostalgia led to the creation of a Cameroonian feeling in the UK. Marriage migration thus enabled a Cameroonian feeling to be established in the UK and does not just impact on how women identify themselves but also influence on other members of their household who were now not just here but in-between though physically resident in the UK.

Women also identified themselves with the use of traditional outfits and artefacts from Cameroon. These are also important identity markers as they link people with places places and time. For some of these women, they were proud to be traditional in modern Britain. They told me:

I always buy one each time I visit home because it's part of my identity. Those artefacts are actually, it's from our village. My parents and my husband are from the same village, so it's a kind of way of connecting with my place of origin and reminds me of where I come from. Most of my Cameroonian friends know where I come from just seeing the artefacts. (Mireille)

I like to dress like an African woman. The weather here does not allow that but I'll only wear trousers when going to work or it is too cold. Else, I prefer my kabba and wrapper. (Sandra)

Women dressed and created a house that quickly identified their place of origin. Mireille who also talked about cooking Cameroonian meals for her family had lots of artefacts that are uniquely identifiable and belong to a particular clan in Cameroon. She was proud to talk about them and strongly identified with them. According to Mireille, she wanted a house that looks like her family home in Cameroon. As a result, she created a house that resembles the house where she grew up in Cameroon. In doing so, she was able to reinforce a Cameroonian feeling in her home. These images gave women a sense of familiarity and identity. She identified herself and her family as British yet still wanting that Cameroonian feeling she was familiar with in Cameroon in an unfamiliar Britain, which she arrived with when she came as a student. This was a unique object that identify with where she comes from and something different from what she sees daily in the UK. The artefact held a special meaning for her, her natal village in Cameroon where she and her husband hail from while reinforcing their emotional attachment to their village with a sense of identity and a reminder of the place

where they both come from and left in Cameroon. Images of Cameroon remain strong even after migration and years of residency in the UK. The women have created a sense of home away from home. Women did not just furnish their homes with objects from Cameroon but bought and prepared and consumed largely Cameroonian food as well wore traditional Cameroonian outfits. Though this Cameroonian feeling remained strong, this does not mean that women did not feel British too. Their family, daily activities and work in Britain, family and the economic and social security that marriage gave them were also crucial aspects of these women's sense of home and belonging and impacted on how they constructed their identity. With a changing understanding of home with images, feelings and values from not just Cameroon but Britain, their current country of residence (Philipp and Ho, 2010). Women were however, highly nostalgic towards Cameroon. However, their nostalgia should not be mistaken for a return. Instead they replicate the feeling in the UK. While women identified with both Cameroon and the UK their presence in the UK reinforced in them their local sense of belonging as they engage more with members of the host country yet they felt more Cameroonian than British.

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the link between the emotions of female marriage migration in women's construction of sense of identity, belonging and home. While these concepts are commonly discussed in relations to places of emotional attachment, attachment to places are not just influenced by places of birth or work but the very nature or category of arrival and settlement in the host country. This chapter reveals that in marriage migration, identity construction and belonging is not just a matter of emotional attachment or construction as the emotions involved in marriage migration itself greatly influence the way women negotiate their sense of identity, belonging and home. While female marriage migrants like other migrants generally identify their country of origin, it is their place of birth and their host country as where they live and work, they need to maintain transnational ties (remitting and visiting), their ethnicity of their husbands, gender, various transnational practices (language, food, artefact, attire) children and their experiences in the host country influence the meaning they attach to place. Women who arrive as marriage migrants are generally transnational as their emotions, desire, intimate attachment shape their mobility and belonging to places as these women emphasised an emotional journey in their relationship, marriage migration,

border crossing and experiences in the UK. Their marriage was linked with cultural norms that require women to move in the context of marriage. For female marriage migrants, their identity as marriage migrants to men from their country of origin, the emotional work they are expected to do as women and their experiences in the host country are important aspects of how they express their feelings of belonging. For these women, the Cameroonian feeling was felt through maintaining strong ties to their country of origin; Cameroon is evident either through visit or regular communication which has been facilitated by advancement in information and communication technology. Women also remit to Cameroon. In addition, the women cook Cameroonian dishes and speak local Cameroonian languages. In doing so, women who identified themselves as British- Cameroonian had rooted a Cameroonian feeling in Britain where they live as British citizens.

CHAPTER 7

EMOTIONAL CITIZENSHIP: BECOMING A BRITISH CITIZEN THROUGH MARRIAGE

7.1 Introduction

Membership in a modern society is marked by citizenship and citizens possess a wide range of political, civic and social rights (Castles and Davidson, 2000; Marshall, 1992; Nash, 2009) within a territorially bounded political community. Traditional citizenship theory aims to explore the notion of citizenship for citizens within the institution of national citizenship (Stoker et al, 2011; Nash, 2009), their access to benefit and other selected rights (Mazzolari, 2009) including responsibilities, entitlement, obligations and loyalties. In recent years, it has come under scrutiny for focusing more on 'rights talk and its emancipatory rhetoric with little attention to the context, meanings and practices that make citizenship possible for some and a farfetched dream for others' (Englund, 2000, 2004b, 2006; Moore, 2005 cited in Nyamnjoh, 2007: 79). Also criticized, is the relationship between citizenship and nation at a time when access to citizenship has been liberalized and is increasingly becoming universalized while weakening social rights and a rise of minority rights (Joppke, 2007). Scholars of migration and citizenship have argued against this traditional form of citizenship whereby citizenship was defined within particular national citizenship because this traditional form of citizenship

has been challenged by globalization (Nash, 2009; Gans, 2005). This is because earlier discussion of citizenship theory focused on the insider but not the outsider and ignored gender; ethnicity as well as sexuality in the analysis of citizenship (see Eggebo, 2013; Plummer, 2011; Richardson, 1998). In fact, scholars have argued against this traditional citizenship with new meanings of citizenship that encompasses gendered citizenship, 'bodily citizenship', 'reproductive citizenship', 'sexual citizenship', 'intimate citizenship' 'affective citizenship' (Johnson, 2010; Lister, 2003; Plummer, 2001; Richardson, 1998; Richardson and Turner, 2001; Turner, 2008 cited in Eggebo, 2013: 41) and multicultural citizenship (Castle and Davidson, 2005) since citizenship does not only include status and rights but identity (see Joppkem 2007; Nash, 2009). The cohesion of communities of citizens within a geographically bounded space has been undermined by globalization (Gans, 2005: 5; see also Castle and Davison, 2005) following the arrival of large migrant population who move, settle and become citizens in another country 'which was previously assumed to be made up of citizens with a relatively homogenous racial and cultural background' (Nash, 2009: 1068). Citizenship for these new migrants does not only challenge long held conceptions of citizenship. Instead it makes the relationship between people and the state even more complex (Gans, 2005) and questions the exclusionary basis of national political economy (Nash, 2009).

One crucial aspect of globalization is the relationship between marriage migration and citizenship. Globalisation has greatly influenced marriage migration and new citizenship for female marriage migrants. Yet, citizenship is not a very central theoretical concept in current studies on marriage migration (Eggebo, 2013) despite the fact that marriage migration is about fulfilling citizenship rights and not just a migration means (Gray, 2011). In the context of female marriage migration from the South to the North, the concern about economic disparities and western citizenship benefit is seen to be the driving force behind female marriage migration to the West (Lu, 2008). As a result, discussions on women's citizenship appear to focus more on the vulnerability and stigmatization of these women from the Third world who are assumed to marry western men (Pennington, 2010) because of western citizenship and with the hope of becoming citizens too (see Chapter 4) with ever stricter and tighter admission and permission to stay requirements by host country governments (Eggebo, 2013; Kringelbach, 2013; Shachar and Hirschl, 2013). These South/North marriage migration studies often investigate the challenging bureaucratic procedure female marriage migrants go through which includes the policing of their sexuality and family life in order to become

permanent residents/ citizens of a western country even when they are in a genuine marriage (see Bredbenner, 2008; Constable, 2003; Kofman, 1999; Kringelbach, 2013; Eggebo, 2013; Piper and Roces, 2003; Timmerman, 2006) but not the relationship between citizenship, gender, marriage, migration, the family and membership into their new western community particularly for women who are married to men who are ethnically similar to them. The question of how women feel and might think about their citizenship and what it means for these women to become citizens of the West through marriage is seldom addressed. This chapter therefore aims to investigate citizenship's meaning for female marriage migrants discussed alongside issues of agency, racism/discrimination and return migration in the context of ethnic marriage migration for women who are racialised in the immigration policy as gendered migrants and ethnic others (Kim, 2014) who get married to insiders. However, in the case of these women, their husbands are insiders yet outsiders just like the women. The Chapter also aims to contribute to the literature on marriage migration, globalization, ethnicity, sexuality, gender, the family, citizenship and membership in nationhood, an otherwise neglected area in marriage migration studies. Here, I draw upon works on marriage migration, ethnicity and citizenship to highlight the link between gender, marriage, citizenship, family and ethnicity and some of the ways in which ethnic transnational marriage migration can empower/disempower women with a new citizenship status discussed alongside policies and rules that govern the acquisition of citizenship for new migrants who arrive and settle through marriage. The second section explores the impact of racism and discrimination on women's feeling of their new citizenship status as experiences of racism do not only affect an individual but impact on his/her identity construction and sense of belonging thereby affecting how the individual relates to her citizenship in her new country by focusing particularly on the experiences of racism in the community and at work as it is here that migrants are more likely to meet 'others'. In addition, though much appear to be written on experiences of racism, each individual experience is unique and only a few studies have focused on female marriage migrants with the experiences of Philippino women receiving more attention than any other group of women (Cheng 2004, Hochschild 2003). Thirdly, I explore the relationship between ethnic marriage migration, mobility and return migration thereby highlighting the intersectionality between social status, immigration status and migration outcomes as it produces 'plural identities…contested identities, in a process which is characterized by inequalities' (Woodward, 1997: 161). In the final section, I look at women's challenges of living in the UK as marriage migrants after citizenship and how the

government can understand better this category of migrants who move and settle through marriage.

7.2 Bushfalling Marriage and British Citizenship

Historically, women are denied full citizenship (Eggebo, 2013; Jill, 2000) as women were considered second-class citizens to men (Jill, 2000). That is the full civic, political and social rights and responsibilities that come with membership in a community (Boyd and Grieco, 2003; see also Ruth Lister, 1990 and 1995 for a fuller discussion on women and citizenship). In the past, by focusing on the public sphere but not the private in the traditional discussion on citizenship, citizenship particularly for women was ignored as it was seen to be a private matter. In modern times, even when women are included in citizenship discussions, women from outside the territorial boundary remain as outsiders. Entry, residence and work permit and entitlements granted to migrants often differ by gender (Piper and Grieco, 2003) and can play a crucial role in determining the position of women in the host country and impacts on women's adaptation to their new environment (IOM cited on GCIM website and last accessed on the 21st of July 2010 at 12:45pm). The growing number of transnational female marriage migration from the South to the North has led to an increased focus on marriage migration and particularly the tightening of citizenship through family route/ rights. The increase cross border marriages from the South to the North has led to immigration suspicion of foreign brides as they are accused of marrying and moving because of citizenship rather than love. As such, host country governments in an attempt to determine genuine marriages from sham marriages have enacted rules to justify policing of such marriages as it is seen as a privilege and easier route to citizenship (Kringelbach, 2013; Palriwa and Uberoi, 2005; Kofman, 2007). For women who move through marriage, the state indirectly emphasise on their role as tied to the family. Hence, 'gender issues tied to migration, such as marriage and state policies are better understood as interlinked processes instead as discrete'(Silvey, 2004: 495). The family migration category may impact on women's resettlement differently as they are not only visa but 'husband dependant' during their early years of settlement. Immigration laws and regulations in the country of destination influence the ability of men and women to migrate by implicitly assuming a 'dependent' status for women and an 'independent' one for men. In doing so, women are placed in a family role as opposed to the market role for men (Boyd and Grieco, 2003; Raj and

Silverman, 2002). These may affect women's ability to obtain those citizenship rights and entitlements in their own right. Adhering to immigration restrictions means these 'visa dependent women' cannot report abuse or quit the marital home for fear of deportation by their husband/his network and the immigration authorities (Palriwala and Uberoi, 2005). Since these women's legal residence is linked to the marriage laws and regulations of the country of destination and a relationship with a citizen or principal migrant, if this relationship changes, the women may face deportation or loss of rights (see GCIM, 2010; MIPEX, 2008). For example, in case of marital breakdown, a spouse is supposed to return to the country of origin since their status remains insecure until they are granted the right to remain indefinitely or full citizenship. Long and tedious citizenship journeys mean only a limited number may complete the journey to a full citizenship.

7.3 Marriage Migration, Integration and British Citizenship Rules

Hélène Kringelbach (2013) in her study on Mixed Marriage, Citizenship and the Policing of Intimacy in Contemporary France notes that the arrival and settlement of women through marriage to men who are ethnically similar to them has led to communautarisme (Kringelbach 2013), a tendency perceived as geared towards creating a new community of migrants for people who are ethnically similar in the host country. Kringelbach (2013) further remarks that marriage between countries of settlement and countries of residency is not incompatible with integration, in the sense of everyday connectedness with local life and a shared understanding of key cultural practices (Constable, 2005; Rytter, 2013 cited in Kringelbach, 2013: 8). Similarly, Nyamnjoh (2007) using the case of South Africa and Botswana remarks that the narrow focus on 'race' and geography by immigration services, the state, the media and the general public have been overly critical of black immigration. Nyamnjoh (2007: 74) also asserts that migrants may be seen as not belonging even when they have lived most of their lives in their host countries and may feel vulnerable to the growing popularity of the extreme right and of anti-immigration and racial or ethnic purity polices as well as the policies of various states. Though both studies focus on migration elsewhere, these studies are significant as these immigration policies apply to the settlement of Third country nationals within the EU in general. People coming from outside the EU are generally considered not capable of belonging and are denied citizenship unless they undergo a process of cultural assimilation. Citizenship test in Britain is a highly politicized process (De Bree,

Davids and De Haas, 2010: 490) and impact on immigration policies and citizenship arrangements and marks the boundary between those who belong and those who do not belong to a certain group (Yuval-Davis et al. 2006).

Today's Britain is a multicultural society. In the past, British policies were 'based on the importance of minority groups and recognition of multiculturalism as a social and political feature of British society' (Bertossi, 2007). The overall goal of multicultural policies has been 'the promotion of tolerance and the respect for collective diversity. Though multiculturalism has led to the recognition of various ethnic groups, it is seen by many as threatening the common values of British society (Herbert et al, 2006). This alleged failure of multiculturalism (Kymlicka, 2012) has led to the promotion of citizenship tests and the life in the UK handbook by the government. The increasing call for integration, social cohesion and intercultural contact by government and policy makers assume cultural barriers are the main reason for less integration rather than 'racism', inequality, poverty and other factors. In contrast, integration challenges reflect migrants' experiences and challenges encountered by them. Young (2003) notes that the 'segregation' policies of the 1950s never helped the integration of new citizens and only led to racial and ethnic tensions in communities which had settled for two or more generations as a result of lack of sense of common values or shared civic identity. Just like multiculturalism, theories about how to understand and conceptualise integration policies were mainly developed in the 1950s and 1960s.

Integration policies are social policies linked to the welfare states of western European societies and based on 'the ethnocentric and insiderist perspective of the host society' (Carlota, 1981: 14-16 cited in Carlota, 2003: 402). Integration is 'individualized, contested and contextual and with little prospect for a unifying definition. Voicu (2009: 71) defines immigration as the act of entering a country, other than one's native country, with the intention of living there permanently while integration is the action or process of integrating, bringing into equal membership of a society groups or persons without regard to 'race' or religion, the ending of racial segregation. Also, policy documents and analyses frequently structure thinking about integration around employment and education (Korac, 2001 cited in Ager and Strang, 2002). This can enable migrants to feel welcome into their 'new' country. Integration may mean an end to racial segregation and the process of becoming an acceptable member of a community or it may just be a utopia. It continues to be controversial and hotly debated by various UK governments, indigenes and migrants (Castle et al, 2001 cited in Ager and Strang, 2002). As a result, Robinson (1998: 118 cited in Ager and Strang Alison, 2002:

167), suggests that integration is a chaotic concept used by many but understood differently by most.

When migrants first arrive, they face a series of barriers to integration including lack of practical knowledge about living in the UK; their rights and responsibilities; lack of language or employment skills; difficulties accessing ESOL; lack of opportunity to meet local people and some hostility and ignorance (Viocu 2009: 81). Raghuram (2007) comments that it is assumed integration will improve the experience of new migrants, yet many factors influencing the experiences of new migrants may not be addressed by integration policies as they may not address or even recognize the complex web of difficulties within which such integration challenges are embedded. These include Immigration category, gender, level of education, employment opportunities and family background. In the UK, the six policy areas which shape a migrant's journey to full citizenship and therefore integration include labour market access, family reunion, long-term residence, political participation, access to nationality and anti-discrimination. According to the Nordic Labour journal website and Our Shared Future, the UK government documents, integration in working life comprises factors like levels of employment/unemployment and working population. Also, the applicability of foreign qualifications, the transferability of skills and the fluency in host country language are considered to be key factors affecting immigrants' economic achievement (Chiswick 1978; Dustmann 1994; Borjas 1985, 1995, 1999; Shields and Price 2002; Dustmann and Fabbri 2003 cited in Muttarak, 2007). While indicators for social inclusion include income and risk of poverty, perception of own health and the number of migrants who are home owners. Indicators for "active citizens" is the number of immigrants who have secured citizenship, the number of people who have permanent or long-term permits to stay and the number of immigrants among elected representatives.

The 20th century saw a series of changes in the UK immigration and citizenship (see Mantu, 2015 for fuller discussion on UK modern national law and citizenship changes in the 20th century; see also Appendix 1). However, since the beginning of the 21st century, there has been a growing governmental discourse about membership and identity in the UK. The UK citizenship has been amended several times in an attempt to get rid of those who do comply with or are deemed undesirable citizens (Mantu, 2015). For example, in 2014, a new law was passed which allows for loss of citizenship on the grounds of fraud in relationship to the acquisition of citizenship or behaviour deemed unacceptable by the state. Mantu (2015) goes further to argue that the conceptualisation of the state power over who can be granted

and remain a citizen makes naturalisation risky as this rule means the 'state engage in a series of legal practice that shape the personal scope of national citizenship with an inclusionary/exclusionary citizenship. For women, the rule changes the relationship between women and the government; for these outsiders who marry outsiders, their membership is called into question and by excluding them from membership of the imagined community, their entitlement to family migration rights is decreased (Bonjour and Block, 2015). Female marriage migrants, they have to conform to certain ideals about marriage else they can be deprived of citizenship. Anyone legally resident in the UK with a foreign citizenship can apply for settlement or a UK citizenship. Applying for a citizenship is a reflection of legal requirement and personal choice. This process is referred to as naturalisation. Most EU countries impose 12 different requirements to citizenship (see Janoski, 2010 for these requirements). British citizenship requirement encompasses many from the list (Sawyer, 2009). To qualify for citizenship, a minimum of 5-10 years residency is required for migrants in other immigration categories. In the case of marriage migrants married to a British citizen, it is 3 years. In addition to this residency requirement, foreign citizens who want to naturalise must meet other requirements. This include the ability to communicate in English, Welsh or Scottish Gaelic; be of 'good character' and have knowledge of life in the UK, that is must pass the life in the UK test (Sawyer, 2009). This rule also applies to those who seek to settle permanently to ensure cultural integration. Language provides an identity and can be learnt or taught. In the UK, recent integration policies have focused on migrants demonstrating English language ability and knowledge of life in the UK before they are granted citizenship. This is done through completing an ESOL course or taking the 'life in the UK' test. Despite the recent slashing of ESOL, the UK government expects migrants to be English language proficient before applying for settlement or citizenship. The Home Office (2002a cited in Young, 2003) also stress that lack of English is a major cause of social exclusion and slows down integration. Yet, the very process of working towards integration is hard for migrants. For example, Blackledge (2009) comments English language testing for immigrants in the UK is associated with learning but fails to acknowledge that insisting on testing is a different matter from providing high quality accessible classes. Blackledge (2009) also criticizes the English language discourse that makes no explicit references to the linguistic resources with which immigrants arrive in the UK, 'instead treating them as homogeneous and problematic, and often deleting them from the debate' (Blackledge 2009: 66). However, acquiring language skills as well as knowledge of the host society is not only for the interest of the migrant but that of the society as a whole (Human Rights Watch 2008). In addition, the

current life in the UK publication for Citizens is important for migrants' settlement and integration. This publication contains a wide range of information around every day needs, employment, law and signposting for sources of further help and information (Viocu 2009: 85). However, the challenges from this new citizenship rules cannot be denied.

This complex and expensive citizenship application process (Sawyer, 2009) has made citizenship acquisition more difficult (Mantu, 2015) for new migrants from poor, less educated and non-English speaking background as failure in one area leads to denial of British citizenship. However, their introduced in 2004 did not change the increasing number of application for naturalisation. Naturalisation continues to be high among migrants from poor and unstable countries and among those who speak the destination country language as well as former colony (Blinder, 2016) until 2013 (Ryan, 2008). According to Scott Blinder (2016) naturalisation or citizenship through marriage almost doubled in the 2000s from 27, 400 in 2000 to 52,600 in 2009. It however decreased to 24, 4000 in 2015 (Blinder, 2016). Thus, since 2000, marriage-related grant fell from 33% to 20% and while the majority of the new citizens are Asians, among Africans, new British citizen migrants come from Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Ghana and South Africa (Blinder, 2016). This trend in naturalisation does not only reflect trend in migration but changes in government policy and administrative practices (Mantu, 2015).

7.4 Bushfaller's Wives and British Citizenship

Bushfallers' wives have come to obtain their new British citizenship through their marriage to their bushfaller British husbands. After years of residency as marriage migrants in the UK, British citizenship therefore can be said to be the final stage of the migration ladder for female marriage migrants as they acquire a legal and secure status (Mantu, 2015). It is at this point that migrants are granted full membership and fully welcome into their new community with rights and welfare benefits with expectations of loyalty and obedience (Nash, 2009). In this sense, their citizenship remains a privilege and legal status for loyal citizens who conform to the UK rule on marriage; a marriage that must be based on love rather than migration. As argued in Chapter 4, women do not only move for citizenship but love as seen in the love and care work women do in marriage migration (Chapter 5). Most significantly, these women are still in their marriage despite acquiring British citizenship which gives them

an independent status from their husband and no policing by the immigration authority (UKBA, 2010). Equally, new citizenship brings great benefits for these women. They are able to live and work in the UK without any restrictions as well as enjoy the rights and privileges enjoyed by all British citizens, a privilege and opportunities that are not readily available in their home country. Yet, in talking about their new status as British citizens, women linked it to their marriage since it is through their husbands that they became citizens and also started a family in the UK:

I see myself as a lucky woman who was brought here by her husband because only a bushfaller who truly loves you will stay abroad this long and remember you to be his wife. While I'm grateful and thank the Almighty, people here will see me as another Cameroonian woman who lives here, or a black woman for those who do not know me personally. I'm an immigrant but now a British citizen who came from Cameroon and had her citizenship through her husband. (Louise)

*I feel fortunate as not everyone that arrives here become British. As a black British, I'm very happy because I feel I'm now part of this community. I feel free in the UK and get what I want from the authority or the people around me. It's such a multicultural society and people get along so well. My husband and kids are here. This is where we live for now. (*Linda*)*

In the last two decades, while intensive work has been done on marriage migration, an increasing number of scholars have remarked that less attention has been paid on the relationship between marriage, gender, migration, nationality and citizenship (see IOM, 2010; Kim, 2013; Eggebo, 2013). How gender may impact on citizenship status is not yet fully incorporated in the analysis of citizenship especially in marriage migration. Gender is significant in the understanding of not just who migrate but how they migrate and the processes and outcomes of marriage migration (Piper and Roces, 205). In addition to gender race, nationality and class affect women in migration. According to my informants, marriage enabled them to change their social, economic and political position through changing their citizenship status from Cameroonian to British just like their husbands. In discussing their citizenship, women relate it to luck and their husband suggesting it is a complex migration route rather than an easy immigration route (Kringelbach, 2013). For them therefore, their identity as wives and becoming a citizen through marriage remained a strong identity symbol for them which indirectly translate to the benefit of these women and their relations in Cameroon through remittances (Atekmangoh, 2011; Ndonwie, 2012). In this regards, gender,

sexuality, citizenship and the nation state play a crucial role especially in marriage migration that is before migration, during visa dependency years and even after citizenship in women's understanding of their citizenship.

In the marriage migration literature, women who move through marriage from the South to the North have been seen to be in a vulnerable position, stigmatized and even questioned whether they move through marriage by choice or force given their socio-economic position in their various countries of origin (Tyldum and Tveit, 2008; Pennington, 2010). For some of the bushfallers' wives, they saw their marriage to their husband as a marriage choice that came with the opportunity to cross the national border from Cameroon into the UK and become citizens with full equal rights and privileges. In this regard, one can argue that their bushfalling marriage is empowering as women have become British citizens and are now able to live and work in a place that could only be possible through marriage. In addition, in Cameroon, marriage migration is a status symbol for women and their families (UNECA, 1988). Therefore women living in the West are respected and accorded a high status not just because they live in the West but because they are able to work outside the home (an activity that enable them to earn income which are less available in Cameroon and some of the women never worked in Cameroon) and make enormous contribution both in the UK and across the border. However, the overwhelming focus on the link between work and marriage as a motive for marriage migration to get citizenship has meant lesser attention on the relationship between citizenship, the family and membership into a community (see Kim, 2013). While these women's roles as workers is emancipatory, they remain subjected to patriarchal control as wives and mothers through which they had been granted British citizens. Given the context of their marriage, women tend to negotiate their citizenship within the family. Louise like the other women consciously identified herself based on her marriage, an identity that remains very important for these women. This identity when combined with citizenship enhanced their status and position and women were proud to tell me they were now British. Sandra's words are filled with feelings of hope where there was once despair. Through her marriage, she and her children have become British citizens and with the hope of a new life from a life in Cameroon where there was often not enough for her household. Becoming British for these women is not just about citizenship and rights but a citizenship privilege that comes with marriage rather than just a marriage for citizenship as Del Rosario (2005) and Alpes (2011) have suggested in their investigations on marriage migration. Yet, while women have become British citizens, it does not exclude discrimination.

7.5 Impact of Racism and Discrimination on Citizenship

Migrants' experience of differences is combined with emotions following their encounters with others in a different culture. According to Philippe Lorenzo (1989 cited in Bertossi, 2008) while the main integration problem in France is nationality, in Britain the problem is 'race'. 'Race' is a social construction which is linked to nationality. Both 'race' and nationality are relevant to the situation in the UK and France but this plays out differently. While in the UK, 'race' is important in determining migrant's integration we need to consider all the other factors that affect immigrants in the UK. Though the UK has moved to being a multicultural society (Vetovec, 2007), individuals who are ethnically different still talk about experiences of racism. Over the last two decades, studies on new migrants have identified racism as a major challenge experienced by the majority of migrants. Thus, while governments and agencies continue to seek new ways of 'better' integrating migrants in their new societies and ensuring equality with several antiracism campaigns, racism remains very present in the UK. Racism occurs at different levels and takes different forms (Martins et al, 2012; McGregor, 2007; Cangiano et al, 2009). In seeking to investigate their experiences of racism, I was not surprised women talked more about racism outside their marital home than anywhere else as racism is often embedded in public places (McGinnity and O'Connell, 2008) particularly at place of work since it is there that bodies meet other bodies. Some of these new citizenship women told me about their experiences of racism as a result of their differences to others:

Hmmmm my skin colour is so significant. I'm sure when people see me; the first thing that comes to mind is the skin and the fact that I'm a black woman. I'm a black African woman and that is how I think people see me on the street. Here one feels like a stranger even after 9years. I'm fed up with people asking questions like: from which country are you? When are you going back home? Do you like it here? I mean it's funny, I am British. When they continue to ask me about my country and home, it only reminds me of my origin and the fact that my home is not here but in Cameroon. (Sarah)

Experiences of racism have been observed in almost all studies with migrants and minorities who are ethnically different (Cederbergk 2014; Erel, 2007; Herbert et alm 2008 Ighodaro 2002, Lassetter and Callister 2009, McGinnity and O'Connely 2008, .Kofman et al, 2009; Martins et al, 2012; Rhaguram, Henry and Bornat, 2010; Santos et, 1973; Sveinsson,

2007; Vasta, 193) and reside either temporally or permanently in a country that is not originally theirs and recently black migrants (McGregor, 2007; Sveinsson, 2007; McGinnity and O'Connely, 2008). So too have studies conducted with Cameroonians migrants (see Nyamnjoh, 2007; Sveinsson, 2007). According to Harman (2010: 177) individuals may feel or describe their experiences of racism based on perceived ''racial'' and cultural differences' thereby fixing those who experience racism within particular political and geographical contexts (Back 1996: 27). An individual who experiences and describes an act or event as racism or xenophobia often depend on how the individual relates it to his/her ethnicity in contrast to the other thereby producing feelings of racial discrimination or xenophobia since racism has always been described more in terms of racial differences rather than any other differences. Migrants' experiences in their country of resident influences how they construct their identities and may be increase or diminish their sense of belonging to the locality (Wise 2010). While Sandra identified herself as British, being British and having a British passport did not make her feel British. Not feeling British for her was linked to her experiences of discrimination and coupled with the reminder of being an outsider. Therefore, her ethnicity was crucial in her citizenship identification. For her, though a British, she felt excluded when questions on ethnicity and home were raised. Racism and discrimination impact on migrants' identities, feeling of belonging and new citizenship in the host country. In marriage migration, women from Third World are racialized and discriminated against even before they cross their nation's border into their new host country as they are considered as outsiders (see Eggebo, 2013; Kim, 2013). While living in the host country and even after citizenship, women still continue to experience racism and discrimination which they attribute to the mere fact that they are different in terms of skin colour and ethnicity (see Nash, 2009). These experiences of racism are complex (Hancock 2010) and often intersect with other political, social, cultural, geographical, economical or emotional factors to produce feelings of racism. Mary was identified racism as xenophobic told me:

Racism for me is hatred. I know we've come here to live and work in another country. I understand people are not happy because many people are coming into the country but we are citizens too and should be treated just like any other citizen. I used to have problems with my neighbours. They did not want my family there and wrote on my car that I should go to where I come from until I moved out of the area to here where there are many foreigners. This was only after I made several complaints to the police and council and then the council moved us. (Mary)

Women experienced racism in their local neighbourhood. While their race was obvious, women were quick to identify themselves as strangers and black with conceptions of themselves as citizens who differ from the dominant population in the society to which they move (Gans, 2005: 7). For some of the women like Mary and Sandra, this colour was problematic as it distinguished them from others not only ethnically but in terms of belonging and whether they felt welcome or not in their locality or home. Home is an important theme that emerges in human movement and as Ahmed (2004:6) remarks, home is not something that we leave behind'. any form of displacement from the 'home place can lead to a shift of mood because bodies no longer feel connected to a familiar geography which grounded their identity and gives them meaning'(Yusuf, 2008: 149). The lack of conviviality and racism in everyday life can trigger "the search for a new place to call home" as it "means having to relocate oneself, to leave home and reconfigure it elsewhere" (Brown, 2000: 50). Hanif Kureishi's (cited in Maxey, 2006) description of a home is distinct and yet interconnected: house and homeland or one's domestic environment and one's sense of national belonging. Questions regarding their place of origin only reminded women they were strangers in their new country and that their material home was not in Britain but in Cameroon though they had made a home in the UK. Mary in talking about her experience of racial abuse, Mary distinguished between herself and the white neighbours thereby seeing the dominant white in her old neighbourhood who did not identify with her as others who did not welcome those who did not look like them. For her, therefore, there was a problem with conviviality as she did not only see herself as a stranger but felt unwelcomed in her neighbourhood. In this regards, her citizenship did not mean belonging (Bonjour and Block, 2015). After several police investigations, she moved from her neighbourhood to a new area where she felt welcome with people she identified with. In her discussion on 'Narrative of Migration and Estrangement', Ahmed (1999) joins Chambers (1996) in suggesting that the feeling of not being at home in a given place does not lead to the refusal of a desire of a home but instead leads to the creation of a new community of strangers with others who share the experience of living overseas. She further comments that individuals living in a foreign land share a common characteristic-the lack of a home rather than sharing a home. (See also Blunt and Dowling 2006). For Mary, rather than feeling homeless or as a stranger in this neighbourhood, her movement to a community made up of mostly migrants made her feel at home as she lived in a community with people she identified with as strangers too in Britain meaning she and her family was not 'alone' in their neighbourhood. This suggests that even when legal rights are extended to migrants who are racial and ethnic minorities, they have not been able

to claim the social membership in their local community uon which claiming such rights are contigent (Basok, 2004). As remarked by Nyamnjoh (2007: 74), 'forging new relationships of understanding between citizens and subjects that are suggestive of new, more flexible, negotiated, cosmopolitan and popular forms of citizenship with the emphasis of inclusion, conviviality and the celebration of difference' would enable migrants to feel at home. Though efforts are being made towards this direction in the UK, there are other important factors that we need to consider as Yuval-Davis and Kofman (2005) sum in the following words

'It is important to relate the notion of belonging to the differential positionings from which belongings are imagined and narrated, in terms of gender, class, stage in the life cycle etc, even in relation to the same community and to the same boundaries and borders. The contested and shifting nature of these boundaries and borders may reflect not only dynamic power relations between individuals, collectivities and institutions but also subjective and situational processes' (521).

Studies on discrimination and racism have also noted that migrants often face work place discrimination (McGinnity and O'Connell, 2008). Racial discrimination has been clearly observed in the British labour market (see Shields and Wheatley-Price 2002, Byrne 2006). For example, Kofman et al (2009) in their study on the implications of being a migrant in Britain note that migrants arriving in the UK are more likely to experience racism in the work place and community than British nationals from either black or other minority groups. Several of these studies have alleged racial discrimination within the NHS (Shona 2005, Shields and Wheatley-Price 2002) which remains the largest employer of migrants in the UK (see Shields and Wheatley-Price 2002). In the UK, a significant number of people employed in the social care sector are migrants (Cangiano et al 2009). Among the migrant care workers, women make up the majority. The majority of the bushfallers' wives worked for the NHS either as nurses or carers. According to these women, they experienced racism at work. Women talked about racism in relation to work and language barrier.

7.5.1 You are Foreign

Language barrier has been identified as a major challenge for migrants who arrive in a country that does not speak the same language like their country of origin (McGinnity and O'Connell 2008). Though the majority of bushfallers' wives were Anglophones and were

raised in the English speaking region of Cameroon, some were not fluent in the English language and their accent according to them was problematic as it differentiated them as newly arrived as opposed to other migrants who were second generations, either born or raised in the UK. Therefore, not being able to speak the dominant language was identified as a racial problem by some of the women. Like with any other profession, individuals must be able to communicate effectively to enable better understanding between staff and service users. However in the case of women who were doing care jobs, some of them told me how their failure to speak and sound like the white became a racial problem at work.

When I first arrived, I had to struggle to understand them because of their accent but they won't try to listen to understand me. They expect or want me to speak like them instead of trying to understand me the way I sound or for who I'm. There was this particular resident that did not like us. She gets really angry when she speaks and staff do not understand her. She hates repeating to staff. If it's a white staff, she will repeat angrily but for us black staff; she always repeated including insults like I'm paying you…why are you here if you cannot speak English. Go back to your country and learn proper English. Here we speak English and not what you are saying. When I ask her to repeat, she will instead ring and report me to another member of staff or the management. (Sandra)

She always tells me she doesn't understand when I speak. I don't know if it is because I'm black or because she doesn't like me. I don't understand her too but I've never told her that. Why do they want me to speak like them? I'm not white and may never sound like them even if I spent the rest of my life here because I'm not from here. I speak again and again for them to understand what I say but if I tell them that I do not understand what they say, they laugh and often do not repeat or will repeat in a funny voice. (Linda)

Social markers like skin colour continue to play a vital role in individual's expression of their views or opinions on racism and how they feel about it. General attitude involving confrontation or argument between migrants and white often are seen as racially sensitive with persistent feeling of differences. This racism and discrimination against these women was further compounded by language barriers and cultural influences where women were not able to communicate in the official language fluently and therefore more likely to take up on jobs that do not require more communication. Taking on a job that requires communication especially care work means increase likelihood of racial challenges for the women. As remarked by Martin et al (2012), working in the care sector is culturally sensitive and an

emotional role that involves working with not just the elderly but individuals who might also be affected by learning difficulties and other mentally challenges. Also, English is a racial identity and anyone who is not English is therefore seen to be different (Byrne, 2006). Failure to speak and understand English which is a national identity marker becomes a source of oppression and mockery for these women whose accent remain a challenge to communicating with others. These experiences of racism were linked to language skills and time spent in the UK (see also Martin et al 2012) yet for these women, their cultural origin for example, their accent and skin colour was more significant to them when talking about their experiences in the sense of everyday connectedness with local life and a shared understanding of key cultural practices (Constable, 2005; Rytter, 2013 cited in Kringelbach, 2013). These findings are similar to McGregor's finding in his study with Zimbabwean care workers in which he remarks that their foreign accent and communication ability was a major obstacle and affected their experiences when they started working with others in the UK. While women who were less-educated felt they were racially victimized at work because of their low educational qualification and foreign accent, for women who were educated, their foreign qualification was a major challenge to finding work that match their academic qualification and work experiences. The absence of work in the last few years has become a negative push factor for women's feeling of belonging in Britain and how women relate to their citizenship. Even those with formal citizenship may not fully belong where they experience discrimination base on class, gender, 'race', ethnicity etc and other challenges. Feeling British was something they rarely talked about as they continue to see themselves as outsiders even when they have become insiders as a result of their experiences of racism and discrimination which according to the women was linked to their ethnicity rather than any other difference as British women. Migrants have friends and close ties in the country where they were brought up and travelling to a new country can only lead to a feeling of being different with limited welcome as people move to a strange land, a land where they themselves are 'strangers'. These differences in conception impact on the way migrants see themselves and their relationship to others. This is not to say that all women experience racial challenges. Instead, there are still many ways through which we can understand women's emotions when they live far away from natal kin and support as this negative valuation of the present over the past only lead to individuals to identify with the past and not the future as people, places become even more apparent through absence (Case, 1996: 1 cited in Chaitin et al, 2009) and individual experiences. (Nostalgia) These women who have become British citizens described how their experiences of discrimination and racism influenced how they

felt about their relationship with the UK. While these show that citizenship offers no protection against racism and discrimination (see Ighodaro, 2001), women felt as British, they should be on the same scale as the dominant population and have equal rights and privileges. In this regard, it can be argued that though these women had moved to a hypergamy society (Constable, 2004) and become citizens, the fact that they are now in the UK with new citizenship status did not necessarily lead to a hypergamous position for these women though life had improved for them compared to where they came from. This in some ways show that becoming a citizen of the West with full and equal rights does not mean women originally from outside the national boundary will enjoy all the rights as their position as women, mothers and blacks continue to impact on their daily life experiences even after citizenship. Some of the women struggle with housing, language, employment on top of issues associated with poverty itself (Goodman 2009: 855) as marriage migration does not always guarantee upward mobility. These experiences of discrimination and particularly racism have only meant exclusion for women who arrive as outsiders and have to learn to live as outsiders in a society that is multicultural as they look for a return.

7.6 Citizenship in Ethnic Marriage Migration/ Return Migration

According to Nyamnjoh (2007) globalization has meant greater dislocation, mobility, cosmopolitanism, integration and interdependence of a type that challenges conventional notions of belonging and citizenship (see also Yual-Davis and Kofman, 2005). This blurring of boundaries engendered by globalization have implications for the nation state and for the individual citizen (Gans, 2005: 7, see also Held and McGrew, 2007; Stoker et al, 2011; Nyers, 2004; Kluver and Weber, 2003). The arrival of migrants and their wives have disrupted the traditional understanding of citizenship, as people of different ethnicity move and settle and become citizens in the host country and form a family or community of people who are ethnically different while they continue to maintain a strong transnational link (Chung and Kim, 2001) with people across the border in their country of origin. According to the Office of National Statistics 98% of people marry someone of their own ethnicity (The Social Issues Research Centre, 2007). In Africa, including Cameroon, choice is not dependent on 'ideology, but by other considerations— particularly ethnic ones' (Awasom, 2000: 111). Many Cameroonian migrant men return to their ethnicity when choosing a wife (Fleischer, 2007; See also Sánchez-Domínguez, et al 2011; Sinke, 2005). Diasporic communities often will

prefer brides from their home country, assuming these brides will be more docile or trusting and will assure the reproduction of community identity in a foreign land with a common lingua franca, culture (see Muttarak, 2007) and family values. It has also been shown in other studies on cross border marriages that white Western men search for Third World women because of the family value of these women (Constable, 2003; Robinson, 2007) though in reality, this is not often the case as studies have also shown that Third world marriage migrant women prefer to work rather than enjoy the traditional housewife role offered to them by their white western husbands (see Constable, 2003; Plambech, 2008).

Women who move through marriage have been racialized in the discourse of marriage migration as different even before they cross their national border into their new country. In the case of female marriage migrants, the increase focus on marriage motivation aim not just to protect the husband who is one of theirs but implicitly focus on securing the borders from those (women) who look different from contaminating 'them' and becoming one of them while failing to be like the majority. In doing so, migrant become others even before they arrived and become citizens of the host country. This is based on the assumption that women who migrate through marriage are less likely to feel attached to the host country except in terms of economic opportunities. Though the vast majority of female marriage migrants are often distinguished as ethnically different to their spouses, in the case of bushfallers' wives, the racialization can be said to be a result of citizenship differences rather than ethnicity since these women are married to men who are ethnically similar to them. The Western government sees ethnic marriages as problematic (Kringelbach, 2013) because they only lead to the creation of what Anderson (2010 cited in Kringelbach, 2013) calls 'community of value' as opposed to the culture of the host nation. The ethnicity of bushfallers' wives as well as the ethnicity of their entire household may impact on women's citizenship and facilitate return migration even when they do integrate. Citizenship rights meant freedom of mobility and a range of choices for women thereby giving them more option to decide where to live and work as some of the women told me:

We were planning to return home immediately I finish my studies. My husband and I no longer wanted to stay here. It's difficult to find a good job these days and we thought going back home will be better. There are many multinational companies in Cameroon and other African countries where one can get a good job but after securing a job, we decided to stay. I'm a charity worker. I also do voluntary work and we may one day return. (Miranda).

This is the problem with being British as a Cameroonian. What is wrong with being British/Cameroonian that our government will not accept? I'm Cameroonian. Cameroon is my home. Our family home is in Cameroon, where I was born and brought up. No one can change that though I'm also British I want to return to Cameroon one day. (Rita)

Following the arrival and settlement of large migrant population, it has become questionable whether these migrants will one day return to their home country or settle as immigrants in their host countries (Horgen, 2012). Migrants who become citizens of the host country often talk of a return at some point in time though not everyone returns or even feel for the place where they came from. However, for women who move through marriage to men who are also migrants there remain an expectation of a return one day. After women became citizens, they talk of the flexibility of their new status in terms of movement or further mobility. Their new citizenship gives them access to an open border, a border that was once closed for them. For Miranda, her family decision on settlement and return depends on where there are economic opportunities. The rise of multinational companies and the creation of jobs opportunities in the Third world and other developing economies have meant migrants are looking for economic opportunities in their home countries. As a result, many migrants are now talking of return home because of the availability of jobs with employers preferring to recruit those with super western qualification to local ones at a time when good paid jobs remain scarce in the West for them. As a result, women see their citizenship as a status that gives their family an open opportunity to make a choice of where to settle and where there are job opportunities as their citizenship and UK credentials enhance their position in the global market. Yet, for others, their citizenship was a problem to their old citizenship. Rita all the women who were aware of the Cameroonian government refusal to grant Cameroonians in the diaspora dual citizenship saw it as problematic to their Cameroonian identity. In becoming British, women had let go their Cameroonian citizenship and could only talk about a British citizenship status but no longer Cameroonian to a place she still identified with referring to the government as 'our' but all now require a Cameroonian visa to travel to Cameroon. Women's new citizenship was also mentioned alongside return migration to Cameroon but one that remained tied to the family

I've told my husband we should move since we are now citizens but we also think about the children. We want them to grow here in their country and they will have a better life if they study here instead of moving with us back to Cameroon or another country as I think it will

seriously affect them in the future. They are young but we will one day return to Cameroon when they are big enough to live independently. (Vera)

. I live here but will return at some point. First of all, I'm thinking about Cameroon. That is my country and the place I wish to return to but my family is here and I don't want to bring up the kids in Cameroon. I cannot return unless my husband wants us to return when we retire but definitely not now. (Rita)

Sarah Ahmed (2004) in her discussion on the relationship between movement and attachment notes that what moves us may also attaches us or connect us to a particular place or other, 'such that we cannot stay removed from this other' (2004: 27). This is the case of female marriage migrants who are attached to their husband and children. The lives of bushfallers; brides are patterned and shaped by their position as married women and ongoing relations with Cameroon, their country of origin. Also, the presence of children in the home country has a bearing on these women's identity and belonging in the home country as well as their transnational activities. All participants have children in the UK, which had a great influence on their extent of embeddedness in the UK. Being a female marriage migrant from Cameroon and married to a Cameroonian man lead to the women being here and there at once. It also impact on how they experience marriage migration as well as future movement (Blunt, 2005) as decisions have to be made in the best interest of the family. Unlike other migrants, these women are the mothers of future immigrants or better still, they are immigrants yet they are followers of their husbands and the movement would depend largely on their husbands through whom they had come to settle in the UK, the place in which their everyday life evolves and may facilitate their return if they wish to so do (De Bree et al 2010).

Even when women talked of return, it was not immediate. It however remains questionable if they would all return one day. While Rita like all the women recognises her Cameroonians roots and how strong rooted they were, her British citizenship including her family impacted on their decision to return as women and their husbands including children were no longer Cameroonians but British through marriage. While women have a personal desire to return, they cannot make an independent decision. Their agency and ability to negotiate their return do not depend on them only but their husband and children and for these women; it was the husband who had the final say. In doing so, women put the family particularly her children first in any mobility decision. These findings are similar to De Haas et al (2010) study on return migration of Moroccans in the Netherland and how they negotiate

their belonging. They observed that women who moved through marriage did not have the personal will to choose when to return but had to follow their husband back to Morocco in order to protect their marriage. There remains an emotional attachment to their country of origin especially at a time when everyone appears to live simultaneously and for migrants in ethnic marriages, they continue to live traditionally (Plummer, 2011). In this regard, becoming a citizen for women remained bound to tradition enforced by the immigration category through which they had changed citizenship (Brendbenner, 2008). On the other hand, by maintaining transnational ties, women saw their citizenship and transnational engagement as a preparation for a return as illustrated by the quotes from these women:

We own buildings and businesses in Cameroon. We should be comfortable home when we return. We don't have to work hard all our lives here to live as we have planned our future. We have built a family home in Cameroon though no one lives there except when we go home to visit…that is our retirement home. (Sandra)

The house here is ours but we also have a house in Cameroon. It is good to have a house back at home. It is like our holiday home where we stay each time when we go home instead of staying in a hotel or going to live with our families. So we visit them but always stay at ours. That is our home because we are hoping to return one day to Cameroon and not remain here with no one to care for us. You see what I mean. Life here is good but not when we are old. (Prisca)

Globalisation that has led to large movement from the North to the South has contributed to the fast growth of the African economy and one that remains greatly supported by migrants themselves from the West through remittances and establishment of business in their communities of origin as well as better lives with new modern houses not just for themselves but their families. Migrants maintain transnational relations, emotional attachment and social network through frequent visits and building homes in the home country. In doing so, migrants establish a firm transnational root thereby facilitating return migration. These migrant women yearn for a return, a dream that kept them going in the host country. Through these projects in Cameroon, Sandra and Prisca build their aspirations of a return, a return that may enable them live the bushfaller standard with a readily available source of income and a 'bush' home in Cameroon. The transnational practice of constructing house was a way of preparing for return if not now, maintain social and economic relations with Cameroon and increase social status in Cameroon. Return migration is a new phase in which belonging to a

place and community has to be renegotiated (De Bree al 2010: 490). However, like most migrants, these women are uncertain about what the future would bring but the majority talked and hope for a return.

While living in the UK enabled them to access employment opportunities and enjoy better quality of life as citizens of the host country, women and their family hope for a return when they are old. This is probably because they do not want to retire in care homes but rather return to Cameroon where relatives can look after them as their children might be too busy to care for them in the future. In some ways, marriage migration has disrupted the family care pattern that is expected of children when they grow up. Women might have felt their children will grow up in the West with British way of life thereby impacting on their ability to look after them when they grow old. Hence, women look to a return to Cameroon when they grow old. In this regard, I argue that these women who move through men from their countries of origin may actually be a way of migrants returning to their home countries after citizenship. There is a likelihood of migrants who marry endogamously to return at some point though this does not necessarily lead to a reduction in the number of future immigrants who come to settle in the UK as a result of these women or South-South marriage and may only lead to a new generation of migrants. For these women who move from Cameroon and become British citizens, their citizenship is in some ways, the family citizenship. This therefore points to the fact that women's citizenship through marriage does not necessarily give them full autonomy as they remained tied to the family to which they had been able to become citizens. Women's negotiate their citizenship and membership in their community more in relation to the family rather than themselves. These findings suggest that the racial, class and gendered dimensions of women's citizenship are disempowering as these women are excluded from citizenship except they marry with deep-seated patriarchal values towards such marriages (see Kim, 2013). Consequently, even after citizenship, women who are often accused of marrying Western men because of citizenship remain subordinated by patriarchal values that govern their admission into their new country and the acquisition of citizenship. While these women who stay in marriage after citizenship may be said to be in genuine marriages and have empowered themselves through moving from the South and becoming citizens of the North through marriage, for these women, their family remained very important and whatever they do, think or feel about their new citizenship remained linked to their marriage rather than an independent choice away from the family.

7.9 What Else is Needed?

Though bushfallers' wives had become British citizens and one would normally expect them to enjoy full right and membership in their new community which span the UK borders to other EU countries with flexible mobility across the European borders, women still said they encountered family challenges including lack of opportunities that affect their positions and pattern of living as women who had moved and settled through marriage to men who are ethnically similar to them. For these women, who appear to live a traditional life in the UK and continue to maintain close ties with their country of origin, I asked bushfallers' wives what they wanted changing in Britain. Though a general question, the majority of the women talked about work though they were all working except for one respondent who had stopped working because she was pregnant and had just lost her job before becoming pregnant. A major problem for bushfallers' wives in Britain was the type of job they do which they felt was because of their race rather than lack of skills. Hence, though citizenship improved the position of women, they continue to face difficulties as a result of their global position as black, women, marriage migrants and mothers of future generations who must make a choice between their families and themselves. While women were happy to work and earn money, they were not happy with the type of job they do as they saw their jobs to be far below their academic qualifications. The types of job women do impact on their health and well-being as well as their personal income, time and marital intimacy. Young (2003) suggests that shifting individuals from unemployment to the lowest level of employment with long hours, low pay, intense job insecurity is not an experience of inclusion in the 'rank of the contented majority' but a reclassification in the ranks of exclusion.

Another challenge women said they encountered was from their family itself. Women who had moved through marriage and form a family felt it impacted on them and their income activities. Women felt children in particular were obstacles to their economic activities as they had minimal support especially on weekends. This lack of child care affected their ability to improve their economic position. However, for the women, their family remain their major priority and women tend to blame themselves rather than others for their vulnerable position within the family.

Women might have arrived with huge ambitions and hoping for a better jobs. On the contrary, face with family responsibilities, women could not meet with their professional ambitions

and rather chose to forgo their personal goals while protecting the family thereby remaining in lower economic position though a British. Clifford (2004 cited in Maxey, 2006) comments that 'life for women is diasporatic situations can be doubly painful- struggling with the material and spiritual insecurities...with the demands of family and work, and with the claims of old and new partriachs...women in diaspora remain attached to, and empowered by, a 'home' culture and a tradition' as the homeland remains a source of cultural and emotional identity for women. In most of the Third world in general and in Cameroon in particular, despite efforts to promote women's position in society, women still occupy a subordinate position to men. Fertility level is high among Cameroonians (Baye and Fambon, 2009). Child care and upbringing is considered a woman job because it is unpaid (Kabeer, 2003). As a result, faced with younger children, women like Gillian and many of my informants had to forgo their own dream and ambitions while putting that of their families first. In that way, women who had come to live in Britain and become British too through marriage continued to play their duties of good wives and mothers as is generally expected in Cameroon (UNECA, 1988; Ngangriyap, 2007). By putting others first, women remained in a subordinated position in Britain, a country that they expected was to enhance their position in society. Through becoming British, these women have managed to keep their marriage and continue to work for their family interest and not just theirs.

7.10 Conclusion

The meaning of women's citizenship through marriage migration and its relationship to gender, race, class, sexuality the nation has received less attention. As a result, many questions concerning these women and the meaning of their citizenship to them remain unanswered. I attempt to answer these questions by looking at the perspectives of female marriage migrants on their new citizenship and how ethnic marriage migration from the South to the North and experiences of racism and discrimination can impact on citizenship as well as how ethnic marriage migration can actually contribute to return migration. The fact that women talked of return migration at some point in time but remain bound to the family, meant they could only move if the entire family was moving and not an individual choice. Bushfallers' wives have become British through marriage to their husbands. These women who are still in marriages defined their citizenship as a status symbol that has enabled them to live and work in the UK and able to care for their families in Cameroon. Women's agency in

negotiating their marriage across the border has empowered them to work and earn an independent income. However women did not married for the purpose of citizenship only as the majority are still in their marriage. Also, the women talked about the citizenship more in relationship to their marriage and husband through whom they were able to acquire their new status and wealth. While their marriage has empowered them in the sense of living and working in the West, these women despite becoming citizens still depend on their marriage for identity symbol. The institution of marriage may be used as a strategy by women to empower themselves through obtaining citizenship but women's commitment to both their marital and natal homes may affect their relationship with their new country of citizenship. Also, women's experiences of racism and discrimination in Britain also influenced the way women talked about their citizenship as they felt excluded rather than included. This is some ways in addition to the benefits of their new citizenship influence the decision to return to where they once came from. In a sense, this can be disempowering for women who remain attached to traditional gender roles even in the West and citizenship maintains marriage as a position of dominance and superiority of men over women

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

My focus on love in South-South female marriage migrants from Cameroon to Britain is a refusal to bow to the dominant focus on South-North marriage migration and what are considered to be the significant factors influencing marriage migration, for example, hope for a better life abroad (see also Del Rosario 2005). The over focus of immigration authorities on residency that comes with economic opportunities including common stereotypes of foreign brides or mail-ordered brides or assumptions about the links between poverty, women's migration, opportunism as well as the lack of agency has led to the regulation of marriage migration by various Western governments (D'Aoust, 2010; Kringelbach, 2013, Eggebø, 2013; Wray, 2011) in which women are thought as dependant in family migration policies (Boyd, 1989; Van Walsum, 2008) has meant little or no attention to the social meaning of such marriages and in particular love in influencing female marriage migration. With this in mind, I set out to explore love in female marriage migration from Cameroon to the UK through interviews with women from Cameroon who are married to Cameroonian-born British men and resident in Britain. In this thesis, I question many of the assumptions and generalizations about female marriage migrants from the South who chose to marry men from the West. Using an interdisciplinary approach drawn from feminism, marriage migration, geography, immigration, sociology, psychology and anthropology, this study contributes to critical feminist discourse on marriage migration, by focusing on South-South female marriage migration to understand love discussed alongside issues of residency and its link to care, identity construction, sense of belonging and citizenship and what this South-South phenomenon means for understanding female marriage migration. This study has shown that while marriage to bushfallers enable women to move from Cameroon and become UK citizens, these marriages are not void of love nor were they solely for the purpose of migration. In this regard, I argue that bushfalling marriage from Cameroon is neither an entire marriage matter nor an entire migration matter.

My study on Bushfallers' wives was initially inspired by my experiences of living in a city in Cameroon that has been built my Cameroonian migrants in addition to living among Cameroonian migrants in different European countries. When I arrived in the UK during the autumn of 2009, I spent a week in Leicester before moving to Leeds to start my PhD programme. This was the first time that I got to live in a city with a huge Cameroonian

population that lived in close proximity. Where Cameroonians gathered, their discussions often focus on bushfalling and in particular debates on bushfalling marriages with love and residency a frequently discussed theme. As usual, while I was in Leicester, that weekend I witnessed another debate at a house we visited. Like Cameroonians in other European countries I had visited (especially in Germany and Holland, two countries that I frequently visited during my masters programme in Norway between 2005 and 2007) these Cameroonians (mostly men with a few women) argued that Cameroonian men seeking for wives were helping Cameroonian women to migrate by marrying them. It was also alleged that the majority of these women who were marrying bushfallers were marrying for the purpose of coming to the UK and obtaining residency rather than love. The women too argued they were in love marriages while narrating their love stories including work that they do for their families. For some of these men however, money and citizenship status was what women were more interested in when deciding to marry a bushfaller and even the work that they did was not enough to convince some of the men that women were married women just like other married women. Baffled by the way these men expressed their opinions on bushfalling marriages though married to Cameroonian women (the majority of whom had come from Cameroon) and how women justified their position during the argument, I became more interested in understanding the bushfalling marriage phenomenon from the views of the women themselves as this bushfalling marriage was in fact the result of the bushfalling of these predominantly young men in the early 1990s (see Fleischer, 2007, 2008, 2011; Ndonwi, 2012; Atekmangoh, 2011) who now appeared to be suspecting the motive of Cameroonian women who marry citizenship bushfallers. I spent that evening thinking and reflecting on their views of bushfalling marriages. It struck me and it was at this point that I decided to focus on bushfalling marriage. When I started reading works on marriage migration, there was only one study from Cameroon (see Johnson-Hanks, 2007) on female marriage migration. Yet, this study only focused on young girls' reasons for searching for white men online but not marriage per se as none of the informant was married though they were in a relationship with these white men they had never met face to face. By 2012, a few other studies emerged on Cameroonian experiences of migration. The majority of these studies on Cameroonian migration had focused on the experiences of bushfallers discussed mostly in terms of work and remittances from the West to Cameroon (Fleischer 2007, 2008, 2011; Atekmangoh, 2011; Ndonwi, 2012; Njamnjoh, 2009; Ngwa and Ngwa, 2007). In doing do, poverty was revealed as one of the main reason behind Cameroonian migration (Nyamnjoh, 2005; Ngwa and Ngwa, 2007; Atekmangoh, 2011; Ndonwie, 2012) and marriage migration (Johnson-Hanks, 2007;

Alpes, 2011). Therefore, there was still no study on female bushfalling marriages though a huge number of women had arrived and settled through marriage to bushfalling men. There seems to be little research interest in the marriage migration journey of these women since the assumed male-dependent movement and family work was what women were expected to do in marriage. This traditional reflection of male as the 'normal migrant' (Schwenken and Eberhardt, 2008) while women were treated more as migrants' wives than female migrants (Brettell and Simon, 1986) meant bushfallers' wives were not worthy of research.

Outside Cameroon, family migration was once n neglected area of research (Kofman, 2004). However, there has been a growing academic and government interest in marriage migration following a rise in marriages that cross the border of nation-states (Constable, 2003; 2004; Palriwala and Uberoi, 2005; Plambech, 2008; Tyldum and Uberoi, 2008). This had led to a proliferation of studies on marriage migration and in particular female marriage migration (). However, most of these studies focused on MOB, an internet-mediated marriage between white men and women from the South (); and arranged marriages () between two individually who are linked to the South but one of who is a citizen of the North with arguments on the significance of love in such marriages because they do not follow the western notion of romantic love. Even when they do, women are thought to lack the agency in the decision making process because they are poor in addition to the unequal power relationship between men and women in such cultures (see Bielby and Bielby, 1992; Kanaiaupuni, 2000; Jacobsen and Levin, 2000; Nivalainen, 2004). Hence, a study that focuses exclusively on love in South-South marriage migration to the North was still to emerge though love was a frequently raised question in the marriage migration discourse. This is because love has always been a neglected area of research among people from outside the West. The history of the West relationship to Africa greatly contributed to this misconception. However, as recent studies have shown, love was not absent but rather neglected because it did not always follow the western notion of love (see Cole, 2009).

Hence, to frame my study on love in female bushfalling marriage from Cameroon to the UK, I used the concept of love: romantic and compassion love. As I have argued in this thesis, I find the theory of love significant for my study because love is a commonly debated topic in the discourse of marriage migration. In particular, romantic love, defined from a western perspective is used to establish a genuine marriage migration in the West without taking into consideration marriage practices from outside the West. Even more worrying, is the fact that non-Western citizens only have to prove their marriage is real as they are thought

to come from communities where love is not a significant factor in marriage. In addition, their social position in their home country makes them vulnerable and victims of marriage migration as wives rather than women. Also, compassionate love which is mostly study outside non-romantic relationships until recently had contributed in a better understanding of women's love. These two concepts of love provide a better understanding of love in female bushfalling marriage migration from Cameroon to the UK.

At the end of the year 1989, the Cameroonian president, Paul Biya in his end of year speech told the Cameroonian people about the economic crisis that had hit the country. The economic crisis was immediately followed by a series of tragedies ranging from inflation, political crisis to the devaluation of the CFA francs that greatly affected the Cameroonian economy (see Fleischer, 2007, 2008, 2011; Atekmangoh, 2011, Ndonwi, 2012; Pelican et al., 2008; Tchoungui et al., 1996). The country did not only become poor but highly indebted, very corrupt and with a high rate of human rights abuses (Nyamnjoh, 2005). Left with little or no choice of making ends meet in Cameroon, many households started looking for alternative means to supplement household income. For the majority of the families, bushfalling became the only option. Though a few women moved independently, the majority of the early bushfallers were men and moved to central Europe, particularly to the UK, France, Germany, countries with colonial links. These were mostly the young men who had become unemployed despite their higher educational level (see Fleischer, 2007, 2008, 2011; Atekmangoh, 2011, Ndonwi, 2012; Pelican et al., 2008). The majority of the English Speaking has come to settle in the UK. The choice of UK has been influenced by the UK colonial link with Cameroon (Molem and Gemandze, 2007; Sveinsson, 2007). Also the UK generous welfare system, the availability of jobs and ease in obtaining leave to remain in the early 1990s are thought to have contributed to the huge arrival of migrants from not just Cameroon (Sveinsson, 2007), outside the EU but within the EU. Hence, many English speaking Cameroonian and in recent years Francophone Cameroonians have come to settle and become British citizens.

In general, migrants return to their home countries for wives (see Sinke, 2005, Timmerman, 2006). Cameroonian men who became British citizens went back to Cameroon for wives. These women moved and or settled in the UK. Marriage migration (bushfalling marriage) from Cameroon to the UK has been steadily increasing since the early 2000s. Today, these women have become British citizens through marriage-related migration through these men. In this regard, I have argued that female bushfalling marriage among Cameroonians is the direct result of the huge bushfalling of predominantly young men from

Cameroon to the UK which started in the early 1990s. The economic crisis led to a fall in marriage rates in Cameroon (Johnson-Hanks, 2007) and particularly marriage to a man who was not only loving but financially able to provide for his family. Male migration from Cameroon and globalization have increased opportunities for cross border marriages (Cote, Kerisit, and Cote, 2001; Ghosh, 2009; Merali, 2009; Raj and Silverman, 2002; Rossiter, 2005) for these women. This is because male migration did not only reduce the sex ratio of spouses as young men move to more desirable locations causing a shortage of groom for local women (see freeman 2004) but in the long run, an option in marital choices for Cameroonian women across the nation border.

To get a deeper and understanding of their love journey to becoming a British citizen through bushfalling marriage, I chose to focus on women in Leicester and Birmingham; two cities with a huge Anglophone Cameroonian population outside London. To be chosen for the study, the woman had to be Cameroonian at the time of marriage and or migration and married to a British Cameroonian-born man who arrived any time after the 1990 since it was during this era that bushfalling started from Cameroon. Also, the woman must have lived in the UK for at least 4 years. In general the women were different in terms of their ages, years of residency, occupation and experiences. When I started my fieldwork interviews in 2010, women kept their voices low. This can be attributed to the fact marriage migration is an emotional and sensitive topic and the work women do in addition to their experiences of living as marriage migrants were largely emotional too. Also, given the suspicion attached to bushfalling marriages, women might have felt worried about talking about that which is personal to them and sensitive despite assurance from the researcher that the research was for educational purpose (including book publication) and that the information obtained from them as well as their personal details was to remain confidential. Therefore, the research was a highly sensitive one. With this in mind, I chose to do 3 interviews in order to let their voices be heard and to augment the data. With all the women being citizens by 2013 when I conducted the final interviews, women who had never spoken about their emotional journey to anyone spoke this time loudly. I became a medium through which women voiced their emotional stories. Though initially, I was only a researcher, I left the field reflecting on my own personal journey as a migrant student who was similar to them yet different as I was a single Cameroonian mother unlike the women who were married and British. I cannot deny the fact that their stories affected my thinking of marrying a bushfaller but I knew professionally, I must distant myself and analyse the data without any biased on the women

while maintaining a distant between friendships and leaving the field as a professional rather than as a friend. I was also cautious of the consent letter and interview tapes in order to protect the sensitive information from the women.

This study challenges the assumption of women who move through marriage as disinterested in love and dependent on men. The early push and pull model of migration also assumed it was natural for women to join their husbands and that women do not play a role in the migration decision (Tseng, 2006; Schwenken and Eberhardt, 2008). Because of the nature of women's relationship to men, previous work on women and marriage related migration has tended to see women as passive, subordinate, victims and followers (Bielby and Bielby, 1992; Kanaiaupuni, 2000; Jacobsen and Levin, 2000; Nivalainen, 2004) likewise the regulation of marriage and family migration in which women were seen as dependant in family migration policies (Boyd, 1989; Van Walsum, 2008). However, as I have shown in this thesis, Cameroonian women did not just marry or move through men but were sponsors of their husbands' migration. Women sponsored the migration journey of their boyfriends who will later become their bushfaller massas. After supporting the migration of men financially, these women only get to move later and depended on these men for residency and access to the economic opportunities in Britain. In doing so, women were to become bushfallers' wives while enabling their husband to migrate, obtain citizenship and earn an independent income. This point to agency as opposed to the assumption that people living in poverty are passive, powerless and lacking in initiative (Lister, 2004) these women initiated, negotiated and facilitated their love marriage migration. In addition, many women were already in relationships with men who would later become their husbands before the men migrated. And when they met a bushfaller, women took time to make an informed choice through introduction, courtship, dating, exchange and interdependency before marriage, which follows a western definition of love. In addition, for some of the women, marriage was more important than migration for women who are brought up to be married at a young age (Atanga, 2010; Johnson-Hanks, 2008; UNECA, 1988) while those who were already in Britain, coincidentally ended as marriage migrants. Interestingly, these women stay in marriage after citizenship. I build on this to argue that there is love in female marriage migration. Marriage itself is a status symbol for women. However, this does not mean that women were not interested in migration too. Rather women describe their love stories in economic terms. Their marriages give them the opportunity to move across their nation border, enjoy economic opportunities and become British citizens. Hence, as I have argued in

Chapter 4, love and residency go together in marriage migration since it is a marriage ultimately came with migration to Britain. Therefore both cannot be separated (see Constable, 2003; Palriwala and Uberoi, 2005; Plambech, 2008; Tyldum and Uberoi, 2008).

Women arrived and settled under the category of family migration (Boyd, 1989) in Britain to do love and care work with 'no economic values' (see Fan and Li, 2001) for their families and paid care work in their new community. While some women arrived with children, others arrived already pregnant or became pregnant immediately following their arrival in the UK. Hence, women arrived in the UK within a family role as migrants' wives (Brettell and Simon, 1986). Though these women arrive as wives, they also become workers and identify themselves with multiple positions and roles (see also Piper and Roces, 2003). They were also mothers, carers and sometimes breadwinners for their UK family. These women are caught in a triple care conundrum: doing care work at home, outside the home (Kabeer, 2003) and transnational to their families in Cameroon. Within the home, they women are mainly responsible for all the unpaid emotional work in marriage. Women did not just perform sexual work and childbirth which makes their marriages appear real (Eggebø, 2013; Wray, 2011) but perform other domestic related tasks like cooking, cleaning and caring for the children (). As argued by researchers, gender is perhaps the most important factor in shaping migrants' experiences (Piper, 2005; Dannecker, 2005) within the context of heterosexual marriage. Marriage is a social contract in which men and women are assigned different roles within the family (Thompson and Walker 1989). In Cameroon, women are traditionally expected to care for the family (Ngangriyap, 2007, Ngome, 2003; Sikod, 2005; UNECA, 1988). Yet women usually do not have a say in decisions that affect not just their lives but relations with men (Sikod, 2005). Hence, while women acknowledged that they were overburdened with the duty to care, they did not see the house work as work because it was unpaid (Moser and Levy, 1986; see Kabeer, 2003). Rather, they consider them as a woman's duty to look after the family, a view that is reinforced by blinded patriarchal norms of love and care obligations. Most of the differences and expectations are as a result of the role, behaviours, and relationships that society assigns to and expects from women and men in both country of origin and related to the country of destination immigration policies. This traditional way of thinking about men and women in Cameroon has not changed. The power traditional patriarchal practices had on the expectations of the women in the migration process was obvious. As UNECA (1988) found in an interviews conducted among colleagues

with various ages and ethnic groups in Cameroon, total and unconditional obedience to the husband was considered the most important characteristics.

Outside the home, women's paid work was largely an extension of their traditional domestic role (Metso and La Feuvre, 2006). The majority of the women worked in the care sector, a highly feminized and low paid sector (McGregor, 2007) and an emotional role that involve expressing and working with emotions. Though some of the women found the work to be challenging in several regards, they were happy to care for others. Yet, for some of the women, the type of work they did was tedious especially for women who used to work in offices in Cameroon. However, for those who had never earned an independent income, they were happy to provide care for money. Women's ability to earn money enabled them to participate in decision-making in the household (Ngome 2003) and contribution to household welfare especially when the husband was unable to contribute financially. While women provided care in the UK in the form of paid and unpaid work, these women were physically unable to care for their families and relations in Cameroon as a result of the distance created by their marriages. Their absence does not stop them from extending care across the border (). Women are able to care for their relatives from the UK through sending money and goods which for them is a gesture of love and care and a way to reciprocate for their absences. Hence, women do not just migrate for economic opportunities, to work and help their families. Rather, their marriage-related migration offers them the opportunity to earn an income through care work. In this way, they too are able to provide love and care for their families the UK and transnational care to their relations in Cameroon bound by love, care, obligation, custom, tradition and expectation to compensate for the kinship obligations they were expected to do as women. The care gap created by marriage also meant women had little or no childcare support and help with domestic chores from families and friends who need a visa to come to the UK. Hence, women had to shoulder the love and care responsibilities as they seek to make earns meet. In this regard, unpaid family work becomes a challenge to women's opportunities to do paid work. Despite these obstacles, women seek new ways to overcome them as they do paid work, thereby overburdening themselves. This increased workload for women however affected marital intimacy as couple tend to spend less time together and less social activities. In this regard, I argue that marriage migration has not drastically changed gender roles for women. It is women who do mainly the love and care work in their marriages though care work outside the work empowers them and strengthen their bargaining position when it involves decision making power within the family. Yet the work women do outside the home is what sometimes make marriage related to migration

appear not real while the subordinating work women do at home is what makes the marriage real in a society where women suffer from not just gender, but class and racism.

While women had become British, their ethnicity and marriage choice distinguished them from the vast majority of the population. Ethnicity is important in people's lives as it identifies them with their place of origin and people from this particular place (). Ethnicity is also linked to home and belonging (Bank 1996).which can be a threat to national integration because of the close link with the home country. The emotions of marriage migration greatly influence the way these women negotiate their identity and sense of belonging and remain largely tied to their marriage. Women identified themselves as wives, mothers, blacks, Cameroonian and British. While women identify with both Cameroon and the UK, they seek to (be)long by creating a Cameroonian feeling in Britain through transcultural practices like food, clothes, cultural artefacts, language and maintaining communication across borders, visiting home and remitting. Women continue to bring in food and spices from Cameroon, a familiar taste that is to stay with them forever thereby enabling them to maintain continuity and connection with a place that had been disconnected.

Finally, the last chapter looks at citizenship and its meaning for women who are suspected of marrying across their nation border into the West for citizenship. Women who move through marriage are seen as outsiders who get marry to insiders for the purpose of obtaining a visa, finding work and most significantly obtain citizenship. This is because marriage migration is thought to be the easiest route to obtaining citizenship (Alpes, 2011; Kringelback, 2013) despite the hard emotional work involved in such marriages. As a result, these women are racialised and excluded even before they enter the host country in the immigration policies (). Despite this emotional journey, women who arrive as Cameroonian have come to settle as British through being good wives and mothers in marriage. Yet, this new citizenship does not exclude experiences of differences. Though British, women experience racism, sexism and discrimination in their daily lives in addition to gender challenges at home. Although women who experience racism and discrimination particularly in relation to work and neighbourhood conviviality said it negatively affected their feeling of belonging in the UK and how they identified themselves, the study reveals that the emotional journey of marriage migration is not just short lived but one that will be felt by generations. These women who do mostly feminize paid work outside the home experience racism and discrimination in addition to sexism not from men only but rather from women too. Since women identified themselves as different from the dominant majority of the UK, for them,

racism was sometimes not limited to confrontation, abuse, harassment or attitude but sometimes, women's fear of the white 'other'. Also, women note that they experienced racism from people who were not only ethnically different but black women they hoped to search for sisterhood. In general, women suffer because of their subordinated position at place of work as well as cultural differences ranging from accent that affected communication and dequalification. Rather than remain passive victims of racism, women took upon to resist racism by enhancing their skills in the UK through returning to school in an attempt to improve their socio-economic location.

Women describe their citizenship based on their marriage and in particular, linking it to their husbands and children. Like other migrants in ethnic marriages, women's plan for the future remain tied to the family; a role they arrive, settle and continue to perform after citizenship in the UK. Yet, these women continue to enhance transnational ties, a way of preparing for their return to their home country, Cameroon. 'Although transnationalism of migrants is not a new phenomenon, male migration and female migration through men, and its aftermath have highlighted its role in enhancing transnal engagement of migrants. (Dinga-Nyoh, 2005: 10); see also Sinke 2005). However, this return depended on the husband having the final say. In this regard, I argue that women's citizenship remain tied to the family though they had acquired an autonomous status that appear to give them equal rights and privileges like other citizens.The women's explanations show that the patriarchal ideology that dictates what men and women do in Cameroon continue to influence their role even in the UK. Even when women talk about their citizenship in relation to mobility and hope of a return, they chose to stay in the UK for family reasons. These women continue to put their family interest first while they dream of a comfortable return where families can care for them, probably another reason why they care for relatives from the UK. As some researchers have argued, male-induced migration places women in a subordinate position due to patriarchal gender norms in family relations (Bonney and Love, 1991; Halfacree, 1995; Markham, 1987). In this regard, I suggest that obtaining citizenship through marriage can be empowering for women when they move from traditional male authority when they become Western citizens with new roles and rights and responsibilities for decisions affecting the social and economic well-being of their households (United Nations, 2005) and yet disempowering especially when women continue to be followers of their husbands rather than independent citizens and still generally occupy a subordinated position in their new country.

In the UK, research and policy making regarding marriage-related migration has focused predominantly on the South Asian population as they make up the largest groups of such migrants (Home Office, 2011). Following discussions with the women, this thesis challenges the western immigration understanding that marriage migration is an immigration route. Rather, marriage itself is significant for these women (see Johnson-Hanks, 2007) and even when women migrate through marriage, they do not just marry to obtain a visa and become a citizen of the UK. Rather, women's citizen is a result of their marriage. Therefore, how can we understand Third world women's citizenship acquired through marriage to a British man who is also an 'ethnic other' (Narayan, 1997)? In this thesis, the varied and dynamic picture that emerges challenges the conventional understanding of marriage related migration from the South to North. Hence, the thesis seeks to contribute to critical feminist discourse through bringing to the limelight the topic of love in female South-South marriage migration. It also exposes the limitations in existing research, thereby highlighting the love role of women in marriage migration and its links to care identity, belonging and citizenship. This therefore calls for policy to take into consideration, issues of gender, class, race, sexuality in the understanding of citizen and encourage policies that are inclusive of female marriage migrants by taking their views into consideration rather than exclusive outsiders tied to their gender roles. By incorporating their views in migration and citizenship discussions, we can provide a better support and empower women involved in the phenomenon of South-South marriage migration. As remarked by the European Commission's report to the Vichy conference comments that 'migrants face a higher risk of poverty than the rest of the population and specific obstacles in accessing housing, health care and financial services (Human Rights Watch, 2010). This situation is further compounded by discrimination. The marked economic differences between women and men, blacks (and/or Asians) and whites in general and among citizens (see Nyamnjoh 2007) is a push factor and affect the integration of new migrants with different experiences. All these are important in determining the positionalities of these migrant women. (See also Vertovec 2006; IOM website; GCIM, 2010). This calls for social inclusion that tackles the alienation of immigrant communities, racism of the indigenous population by providing education and jobs necessary as these are hampering their full participation in society (Human Rights Watch, 2010). This can be achieved through overcoming economic and geographical isolation across the UK and policies that ensure fair policing and political integration (Young, 2003: 460) of female marriage migrants.

8.2 Future Research

While this thesis focuses on the experiences of women, I acknowledge the importance of bringing men to provide a gender understanding on bushfalling marriages. Hence, while this study contributes to the studies on marriage migration, feminist can further investigate South-South marriage migration to the North from the perspective of both men and women involved in such marriages. Also, the ideas expressed in this thesis do not reflect the general bushfalling population but the opinion of the women I interviewed.

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Appendix A: Overview of changes to relevant legislation

1980

- Conservative Government introduces 'Primary Purpose Rule' (requirement to prove that reason for entering was to marry).

1992

- Surinder Singh case in European Court of Justice: rights of family members to accompany EEA nationals moving within EEA.

1997

- June: New Labour Government abolishes Primary Purpose Rule.

2000

- Third country nationals (non-EEA) can stay in UK on basis of marriage to UK/EEA national or permanent resident (provisos of Immigration Rules and Immigration Regulations 2000).

2001

- January: Section 24 reports (from section 24 of Immigration and Asylum Act 1999) introduced (legal duty on Registrars to report suspicious marriages)

2002

- ‘Secure Borders, Safe Haven’ White paper proposes following changes:
  - restricting 'switching’, from temporary visas (student/visitor) to marriage.
  - raising probationary period before settlement granted to those entering as spousesfrom one to two years.

2003

- April: Nationalities, Immigration and Asylum Act (encompassing changes suggested in ’Secure Borders, Safe Haven’) comes into effect.
- April: Age at which a person may act as sponsor for a marriage visa raised from 16 to 18.

2004

- December: Age at which a person may enter the UK as spouse raised from 16 to 18.

2005

- February: Introduction of Certificates of Approval (CoA) requirement for any marriage involving non-EEA nationals subject to immigration control and UK citizens. The measure was intended to prevent marriages of convenience for immigration purposes, but does not apply to those marrying in an Anglican church in England and Wales.

2006

- April: The Immigration (EEA) Regulations 2006 transpose the UK’s obligations under European Community law (via the Free Movement Directive 2004/38 EC) into domestic legislation. New rights of residence were created including the ability of EEA nationals and their family members to acquire permanent residence under European law for the first time.
- April: Qualification period for grants of settlement to those in employment related categories rose from four to five years.
- High Court judgement that CoA scheme was disproportionate and unlawfully interfered with Article 12 of the ECHR.
- Surinder Singh European Court of Justice ruling (on family members of EEA nationals) incorporated into Immigration Regulations

2007

- April: Adults aged over 18 but under 65 who apply for settlement need to provide evidence that they have passed either the Life in the UK test or an English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) course.
- July: CoA guidance changed (following Court of Appeal judgment in Baiai in May 2007), allowed applicants without valid leave to enter or remain to apply for a CoA.
- December: Launch of two new consultations: 'Marriage to partners from overseas' and 'Marriage-visas: pre-entry English requirement for spouses'.

2008

- July: House of Lords ruling that CoA incompatible with ECHR.
- July: European Court of Justice case of Metock prevented Member States from requiring third country family members of EEA nationals to be legally resident in an EEA country in order to gain residence rights under the Free Movement Directive.
- July: The initial length of time for which a spouse, civil partner, unmarried or same-sex partner of a person present and settled in the UK is admitted to the UK was increased to a period not exceeding 27 months.
- November: Age at which person can enter the country as a spouse raised from 18 to 21 [both partners have to be 21].

2008-9

- Points-based immigration system phased in.

2009

- March– Code of practice on dealing with forced marriage cases issued.
- April: suspension of fee for CoA to comply with House of Lords ruling.
- July: CoA fee repayment scheme begins.

2010

- March: New restrictions on students and their dependants working. Dependants only allowed to work if the main applicant is pursuing study at degree level or above. Students on courses less than six months long are not allowed to bring in dependants.
- June: Changes to English language requirements announced – all spousal type partners seeking to enter or remain in the UK joining UK Citizens or Settled Persons required to meet basic English language requirement.
- November: CoA fee repayment scheme ends.

- November: new spouse language requirement begins.

2011

- May: CoA scheme abolished.
- June: Supreme Court hearing takes place on challenge to marriage visa age of 21 in case of Quila/Bibi. High court rule refusal to grant visas to the respondent spouses under rule 277 of the Immigration Rules SSHD breached Article 8 ECHR –
- June: Launch of a public consultation on the reforms of the work route leading to settlement. One of the proposals is to introduce an English language requirement for adult dependants of Tier 2 migrants applying to switch into a route to settlement

2012

- July: Introduction of £18,600 financial requirement for British and those with refugee status who want to sponsor a spouse from outside the EU.

2013

- Court concludes £18,600 for UK spouse immigration is not unlawful tough it interfered with Article 8 of the Human Rights Act and it is for the Home Secretary to decide if changes can be made to the rule.

Appendix B: Glossary of Key Cameroonian Terms

- Bush/Whiteman kontri: Abroad/the West (predominantly Europe and North America).
- Bushfalling/Fall bush: Migration from Cameroon to the West. Today, a lot has changed and individuals are migrating from Cameroon to neighbouring African countries including Asia and the Middle East. Hence, bush refers to any country considered to be better off than Cameroon by the individual migrant.
- Bushfaller: Refers predominantly to men who live in the West or abroad.
- Bushfaller massa: A man married to a Cameroonian woman and resident abroad
- Bushfaller wife: A woman who is married to a man who lives abroad
- Bushfalling Marriage: Marriage migration
- Oyibo: White borrowed from popular Nigerian Igbo movies

Names (Pseudonyms)	Age	Occupation in Britain	Occupation in Cameroon	Years or residency	Year of Migration	Age at Migration	Educational Background		Number of children	City	Location before marriage migration
Sandra	42	Care assistant	Petty trader	10	2003	32	Primary		4	Leicester	Cameroon
Vera	41	Student nurse	Lawyer	9	2001	32	B.A		2	Leicester	Cameroon
Rita	30	Student Social Care	Unemployed	8	2005	23	B.S		1 and expecting	Leicester	Cameroon
Ernestine	36	Hairdresser	Hairdresser	11	2002	25	PRIMARY		2	Leicester	Cameroon
Germaine	28	Support worker	Unemployed	6	2007	22	COLLEGE		3	Birmingham	Cameroon
Vivian	34	Nurse	Unemployed	10	2003	24	B.A		2	Birmingham	Cameroon
Gillian	33	Shop retail assistant	Unemployed	6	2007	27	B.A		2	Birmingham	Cameroon
Carine	38	Nurse		8	2005	30	B.A		2	Birmingham	Cameroon

Mireille	36	Business woman	Journalist	11	2002	24	M.S		3	Leicester	UK
Miranda	38	Nurse	Teacher	8	2005	30	B.A		3	Birmingham	Cameroon
Louise	43	Support worker	Secretary	11	2002	32	COLLEGE		3	Birmingham	Cameroon
Prisca	33	Career advisor	Student	11	2002	21	M.S		2	Leicester	UK
Sarah	29	Charity worker	Student	8	2005	21	M.S		3	Birmingham	UK
Rachel	36	Nurse	Student	14	1999	22	B.A		2	Leicester	Cameroon
Christina	29	Support worker	Student	6	2007	23	B.A		2	Birmingham	Cameroon
Anna	39	Nurse	Student	13	2000	26	B.A		2	Birmingham	Cameroon
Irene	35	Social worker	research assistant	7	2006	28	M.S		4	Leicester	UK
Mary	34	Student Nurse	Student	10	2003	24	B.S		1	Leicester	UK
Lilian	31	Cleaner	Unemployed	8	2005	23	COLLEGE		1	Leicester	Cameroon
Linda	35	Unemployed	Unemployed	6	2007	29	B.A		2	Birmingham	Cameroon

Appendix C: Some Biographical Profile of Bushfallers' Wives

The mean age of the women was 33 with a range of 28 to 43. Obtained through adding all their ages and dividing by 20 that is the

Appendix D: Interview Guide 1

A. Locating the Person

1. How would you describe yourself?
2. How many members have you got in your household?
3. How does this affect you?
4. How have you changed since you got married?

B. The marriage process

5. Can you tell me how you came to meet your husband?
6. Can you describe the marriage and visa process? When and where did you marry? How was the feeling?
7. When did you arrive in the UK?
8. What do you think about life in the UK?
9. How did things changed for you when you joined your husband in the UK?

C. Life in the UK

10. How did being a marriage migrant in a distance country affect your day-to-day life?
11. Are you studying? If yes, what?
12. Do you do paid work? If yes, in which sector?
13. How long have you been in this sector and do you enjoy it?
14. Do you have relatives in the UK?
15. Do you feel better in the UK?
16. What do you think about your experiences outside the home? E.g work, on the bus, people you meet etc
17. Are the people you know here different to the people you knew in Cameroon?
18. Can you tell me how you see yourself as a woman from Cameroon living in the UK with your husband?

19. How is it living in your neighbourhood, workplace and life in general in the UK?
20. What is your view on UK immigration system?
21. Do you feel free in the UK? If yes, how? If no, why?
22. Do you belong to any social group? If yes, how do you feel being a member?
23. Do you receive support from the government or any agency with regards to living in the UK?
24. When do you expect to be granted citizenship?
25. What problems do you encounter in the UK?
26. Who makes decisions within your household?

D. Connections to Cameroon

27. Do you remember your last days in Cameroon? How was life?
28. Do you miss Cameroon?
29. Do you maintain contact with your family? If yes, how often?
30. Do family members from Cameroon visit you? If yes, how often?
31. How often do you visit Cameroon?
32. Can you describe where you were brought up in Cameroon?
33. How can you describe your family in Cameroon?
34. Do you intend to return to Cameroon or move to another country? If yes, why. If no, why?
35. How do you feel talking about your daily experiences now?
36. What are some of your achievements and challenges?

Appendix E: Interview Guide 2

Bushfallers's Wives and Bushfalling Marriages

1) Some people have criticized distant marriages across borders that women use marriage as a means to travel/stay abroad. What is your view on this?

2) Could you say something more about your relationship with your husband before marriage? and what was your thought when your husband made his intentions known to you that he wants to marry you?

3) What was your understanding of bushfallers before you came to the UK? Have this changed? If yes, why?

4) What is your impression about bushfallers' marriages and Cameroonian women? How does this relate to you?

5) What does love mean to you?

6) How do you feel about being the wife of a bushfaller?

7) How do you see yourself and how do you think other people see you? Can you be specific?

8) Can you tell me about your wedding and visa application procedure? What happened in the wedding or visa application? Can you give a more detailed description about what happened?

9) I'm interested in your experience of living in the UK as the wife of a bushfaller, for example, your experience of settling down in the early days following marriage and arrival in the UK, what did you actually do when you first arrived? How did you manage your everyday activities during the early days? Could you tell me about that?

10) Tell me about how much you were able to do (for yourself, work, leisure, important or group activities). Are there things that you could not do?

11) Do you share household with any one?

12) How do you manage the family income? How do decisions get made? Do you have further examples of these?

13) Do you work? What type of work do you do? Have your work changed over time? Why? Do you send money to Cameroon and who in particular do you send money to and why?

14) Do you experience racism?

15) In your experience of marriage migration, what are the things that have been important to you? that have helped you/that have not helped?

16) As a citizen of Cameroon married to a British man, you automatically qualify for British citizenship after a number of years if you're still married to your husband. Are you now a British national? If yes, what is your feeling about being British?

17) As you know, Cameroon does not accept dual citizenship. You have to give up your Cameroonian nationality when you become British. What is your thought about this and how do you identify yourself?

18) Do you feel more British or Cameroonian? How do you relate to both culture and society? Can you be specific?

19) Can you compare Cameroon and Britain?

20) Is there anything that I haven't asked about that you think is important, that you would like to talk about?

Appendix F: Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form

Information Sheet

Title of Study

Bushfallers' Wives in Whiteman Kontri: Female Bushfalling Marriage and Transnational Emotions from Cameroon to the UK (1999-2007).

Aim of the Research

The aim of this study is to investigate the lived emotional experiences of women in South-South marriage migration.

Invitation

You are being invited to consider taking part in the research study 'Bushfallers' Wives in Whiteman Kontri: Female Bushfalling Marriage and Transnational Emotions from Cameroon to the UK (1999-2007)'. This project is being undertaken by Marbell Ngangriyap, a PhD student at Leeds University.

Before you decide whether or not you wish to take part, it is important for you to understand why this research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read this information carefully and discuss it with friends and relatives if you wish. Contact me if there is anything that is unclear or if you would like more information.

Why have I been chosen?

This study focuses on Cameroonian women who arrived in the UK as female marriage migrants or got married while already residing in the UK to a Cameroonian-born British, man between 1999 and 2007. 20 female marriage migrants from Cameroon are involved in the study.

What will happen if I take part?

If you do decide to take part you will be asked to sign two consent forms, one is for you to keep and the other is for my records. You are free to withdraw from this study at any stage. I

Interview will last for 1 hour 30 minutes. You also have the right to answer or refuse to answer a particular question. Appointments will be fixed in advance by telephone and / or email and interviews will be conducted in a convenient location, which will be mutually agreed.

If I take part, what do I have to do?

You will be asked open-ended questions that relate to the study. I intend to record migration history from time of marriage, visa application to the time of interview. This will offer an in-depth understanding of immigration, citizenship and women's daily life experiences over the past few years. After the interview, you will be required to sign the participation form.

What are the benefits (if any) of taking part?

The Study will bring to the limelight female marriage migrants' experiences in a transnational space and experts can draw from the finding of the study to better understand and support migrant women.

What if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should speak to me. You can contact me on tel: 07910762776 or email: marbs06@yahoo.com

If you remain unhappy about the research and/or wish to raise a complaint about any aspect of the way that you have been approached or treated during the course of the study please write to Jennifer Blaikie who is the University's contact for complaints regarding research at the following address:-

Research Ethics Administrator
Operations, Governance and Reporting
Research Support
University of Leeds
3 Cavendish Road
Leeds LS2 9JT
Tel: 0113 343 4873
Fax: 0113 343 4058
Email: j.m.blaikie@adm.leeds.ac.uk

How will information about me be used?

The study is being carried out for educational purpose. However, the results would not be restricted to a dissertation as findings may be used for journal publications/book.

Who will have access to information about me?

Information about you will be stored securely during writing. Steps will be taken to change your personal details, to make sure you cannot be identified.

Upon completion of the study, the information will be available at Leeds university library and the British library, accessible to students and the wider public. Confidentiality will be maintained and this will be done through changing all your personal details.

Contact for further information

Dr. Shirley Tate

Social Science Building

University of Leeds

LS2 9JT

Tel: +44 (0) 113 343 3770

Email: S.A.Tate@leeds.ac.uk

Dr. Shona Hunter

Social Science Building

University of Leeds

LS2 9JT

Tel: 0113 343 4422

Email: S.D.J.Hunter@leeds.ac.uk

Participant Consent Form for Interview

Title of Study: Bushfallers' Wives in Whiteman Kontri: Female Bushfalling Marriage and Transnational Emotions from Cameroon to the UK (1999-2007).

Name of the Researcher: Marbell Ngangriyap, University of Leeds

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated February 2011 explaining what the study is about and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.□
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I'm free to withdraw at any time without giving any reasons. In addition, should I not wish to answer any questions, I'm free to decline.□
3. Subject to below, I understand that my name will not be revealed to others but my words may be used in reports, books and communication with the media.□
4. I agree that the researcher may under exceptional circumstances where there is legal obligation to do so, disclose my identity and report my relevant words to the authorities if I refer to certain unlawful activities e.g. terrorism, child protection issues such as sex with minors, serious and immediate harm to children and vulnerable adults, money laundry, certain road traffic violations .□
5. I agree that the researcher may disclose my identity and report my relevant words to the authorities if they fear there is an immediate danger to myself or others.□
6. I do / I do not to give a record interview. If you do agree, please see 7 below.
7. I do / I do not to have my recorded interview deposited in an archive accessible to researchers and the public (where my identity may be revealed.
8. I do / I do not my words can be deposited in an archive accessible to researchers and the public (where my identity may be revealed)
9. I agree to take part in the research on the above condition.□

Name of participant Signature Date

Name of researcher taking consent

Marbell Ngangriyap, University of Leeds, marbs06@yahoo.com. 07910762776

If you would like to talk to a support group about issues raised in this interview please contact Jennifer on 0113 343 4873 who can offer free and confidential advice and support.