Marriage at the Embassy: Securing the EurAfrican Border in Cameroon

Alpes, M.J.

published in
EurAfrican Borders and Migration Management: Political Cultures, Contested Spaces, and Ordinary Lives
2016

document version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Link to publication in VU Research Portal

citation for published version (APA)
Alpes, M. J. (2016). Marriage at the Embassy: Securing the EurAfrican Border in Cameroon. In A. Bellagamba, S. Dünnwald, & P. Gaibazzi (Eds.), *EurAfrican Borders and Migration Management: Political Cultures, Contested Spaces, and Ordinary Lives* (pp. 181-195). Palgrave.

Marriage at the Embassy:
Securing the EurAfrican Border in Cameroon

Maybritt Jill Alpes

In 2009, at the French Embassy in Yaoundé in Cameroon, two printouts of e-mails hung on the walls of the little cubicle in which the consulate officers worked. In one of the e-mails, an elderly and sick French man, who was married to a Cameroonian woman in France, wrote to the consulate to denounce the fraud in which his wife was involved.

> I only needed a wife, not a forger-ess. […] We only live off social benefits because she never wanted to work and is sending half of all benefits down to her mother. […] The children and I can only watch the disaster. Thank you for your understanding and for protecting and helping me. Thank you.[1]

The man added that because he was ill with Parkinson's disease, he was not in a position to be in charge of the paperwork himself. The message is clear: Cameroonian wives are selfish, lazy and greedy. While vulnerable French men want love and children, Cameroonian women are involved with 'fraud' or are 'fake' themselves.

When observing for a few weeks the work of the French consulate office in Yaoundé, I was struck by the tone used when talking about marriage migration. It was articulated as a security issue and, more strikingly, the security threat was located with Cameroonian spouses and women. When questioning consulate staff at the Embassy that the cases of these e-mail posters surely represented extreme situations, I was told that such narratives are much more common than I would think. The fact that these e-mails were pinned on the wall conveyed the inherent assumption within the regulatory dynamics of the state's governance of marriage migration. The strongest suspicions upheld against applicants referred to marriage, fraud and money. Consulate staff condemned Internet marriages and suspected women involved in these to be materialistic and selfish. The presence of even just a few of those e-mails within the office space of the consulate workers constituted justification for the rationale of consulate work – a regular reminder of the security issues at stake.

---

[1] Trying to feminize the acting of committing fraud, the man is here inventing a new word. With *faussiere*, he is referring to a person who commits fraud.

Through an analysis of how the French consulate in Cameroon deals with marriage related visa applications, this chapter seeks to contribute to our understanding of how border security plays out in state practices on the ground. In recent years, European nation states have increasingly sought to externalize immigration control and border security (Gammeltoft-Hansen, 2011). Discussions on the Euro-African border zone often localize borders in North African locations. Consequently, much attention is paid to undocumented crossings (Andersson, 2014; Stock, 2015). Most irregular migration, however, occurs through legal border crossings. Borders operate through capillary power dynamics (Walters 2006) and the effects of border regimes are thus tangible to populations with mobile ambitions far beyond the physical manifestation of border posts and border guards (Gaibazzi, 2014). Embassies and visa procedures have become ever more important sites for the securing of the Euro-African border (see Zampagni, this volume). Along with Francesca Zampagni (this volume), this chapter takes embassies as delocalized borders where visa procedures constitute practices and performances of bordering (Bigo and Guild, 2005; Salter, 2006). Through visa interviews and related regulatory procedures, consular staff both create and secure the border.

The chapter does not treat the implementation of visa policies as impartial procedures, but instead seeks to trace out the socio-cultural norms of relatedness and ethical expectations that are implicit in visa application procedures for marriage migration. With its focus on consulate officers' affective politics of security, the chapter takes the French consulate as a paradigmatic case study of security concerns that emerge in state dynamics of regulation vis-à-vis Cameroonian marriage migrants. With 'marriage visas,' I refer to visas for family reunions. After a discussion of how marriage migration is framed and represented by consulate staff, I will dive into the constructions of security at the French consulate.

The chapter asks what marriage visa interviews can tell us about the regulatory logics that underlie the state's construction of security and security threats. The interviews that this chapter analyses are of very limited importance for actual immigration decisions, but instead serve a symbolic function. They elicit confessions from applicants and reinstate the normativity of kinship and gender roles that the French state wishes to impose. The interviews and emails posted on the walls are thus to be understood as performing, rather than implementing, the border (spectacle).

Viewed from this perspective, border practices assume a specific EurAfrican character (see Introduction to this volume), in that they reproduce Euro-centric, hegemonic imaginations of subjective and affective propriety in specific African contexts. Consular officers, in contrast to colonial officials, may no longer frame their work as a civilizing mission, and are rather interested in protecting their nation from intrusion and contamination. Yet, a political culture seems to pervade their security concerns which projects Cameroonian affective norms as deviant and inferior.

The research is based on one and a half years of fieldwork with aspiring migrant women and their families in Cameroon between 2007 and 2013.[2] In particular, the chapter

---

[2] Because of my general focus on the departure projects of migrant women in the overarching research project, this chapter does not attempt to compare the place of marriage for men and women in Cameroon.

draws on two weeks of participant observation at the French consulate in Yaoundé, Cameroon. I had been able to access to the French consulate partly because of accidental chains of contacts and partly because trust was easily granted to a researcher who had graduated from the same school as most French diplomatic staff. During fieldwork, I observed eight marriage interviews. The interviews were held within the main administrative building of the Embassy and the officer in charge of marriage interviews was a 50 year old woman who belonged to the diplomatic corps of the embassy. Interviews for non-immigration visas, by contrast, are conducted mostly by locally employed French staff in a reception space at the entrance of the Embassy.

Marriage migration and the securitization of the border

In the last decade, politicians and policy makers have increasingly framed migration as an issue of security (Nyers, 2003, p. 1069; Spire, 2008, p. 16). Secure borders have thus emerged as an important policy issue. Through the externalization of migration control, border security increasingly implies preventing migrants from arriving to places of immigration. Consequently, security concerns are heavily reflected in visa processing.

In 2007, there were about 1.000 visa applications at the French consulate in Cameroon for family reunion – this figure also includes visas for children rejoining their parents in France. Of these 1.000 visa applications, 730 were granted. Most spouses in Cameroon that applied to join their partners abroad were women. While more than two thirds of all family reunion visas are granted, officers placed emphasis on the applications that according to them had be turned down. The focus of consular staff is not on the number of legitimate and accepted visas, but instead there is recurrent talk of 'fraud' and the accusations of marriages of convenience. What the images, posters and public statements at the French Embassy portrayed is de facto not in alignment with the everyday dynamics of actual functioning of the consulate service.

Nicholas de Genova (2002, pp. 436-39) suggests that state officials perform spectacles of border enforcement. Such 'border spectacles' render visible the illegality of migrants, but not the law that in fact produces it. The legal production of illegality thus becomes naturalized and no longer seems to require further exploration. Scholars have elaborated on the performative aspect of border security in an immigration context (de Genova, 2002; Cuttitta, 2014). Yet, states engage in 'border spectacles' already when dealing with people who seek rights to move to places of emigration. As a consequence, the securitization of border regimes – and thus not the marriage migration itself – merits critical investigation (Neal, 2009).

Didier Bigo characterizes the securitization of border regimes in terms of a 'governmentality of unease'. In his critique, the contemporary mode of regulation of migration has led to the development of profiling techniques and related technologies that help to determine who is to be surveyed, questioned, detained or removed from the territory of receiving nation states (Bigo 2002, p. 82). These technologies and techniques of governance in turn reinforce the framing of migration as a security issue.

A study of the very process of securitization can denaturalize contemporary common places on migration and security (de Haas, 2008) and open up new possibilities for framing

border security. In opposition to state-driven understandings of security, Des Gasper and Thanh-Dam Truong advocate for the human security framework as a helpful analytical framework through which to study migration. The human security framework supports human rights concerns, manages to go beyond the Westphalian framework that considers states as the main actors and categories of analysis, and finally also allows space for the importance of communities, families and identities in the constitution of security (Gasper and Truong, 2010, p. 14). This chapter takes security as a starting point of analysis, yet leaves open its supposed meaning and relationship to migration.

Where the threat to security is located depends heavily on the standpoint from which the analysis is conducted. From the perspective of Cameroonian women, the security threat is posed by a situation where more and more men in Cameroon are no longer in a position to live up to the expectations and responsibilities of marriage (Goheen, 1996). Unable to afford the costs of bridewealth, many men are obliged to stay single and women have to turn to other strategies to fulfill expectations of marriage as an avenue for a better and safer life. Being able to go abroad can replace a bridewealth payment (Johnson-Hanks, 2007). In this sense, marriage with both Cameroonians and foreigners abroad has become a new means to achieve old objectives, above all for Cameroonian women.

We see here how Cameroonian women's security concerns end up, through attempts at marriage migration, at the French consulate, where other security concerns apply. Most commonly, border security refers to the security of the national welfare state (Spire, 2008, p. 52) and its citizens that need to be protected from criminals, terrorists and other intruders (for an example Graham, 2000, pp. 186-87). This reflects a statist way of understanding the security and migration nexus. Yet, when we change perspective and analyze border regimes form the perspective of bi-national couples, we see how the increasing policing of intimacy actually intensifies distinctions between the very citizens whose security it supposedly protects (Neveu-Kringelbach, 2013). Border regimes produce 'good' and 'failed' citizens (Anderson, 2013). The overt focus on state notions of security through the prism of the nation overshadows actual effects of border regimes. When discussing the securitization of borders, it is thus important to render explicit whose security issues are at stake, from what threat security needs to be protected and for what ends security ought to be achieved (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy, 2007, pp. 13- 21).

In sum, in relation to marriage visa interviews at the French Embassy in Yaoundé, consular staff and visa applicants both ask themselves a set of security related questions. Consulate staff rationalize their work through a narrative of wanting to ensure the safety of their own citizens, as well as the body of the nation. Regulatory dynamics are driven by fears and accusations that visa applicants might be committing fraud – often with respect to the welfare state for their selfish personal purposes. At the same time, Internet-mediated marriages, marriages with foreigners and marriages with Cameroonians abroad are ways for Cameroonian women to achieve security through social and geographical mobility. As the Cameroonian state does not provide the welfare provisions that Cameroonians aspire towards, families have to function as security nets for its respective members. The consequence of the structural adjustment programs initiated by the IMF in the lat 1980s and early 1990s still endure and families thus often try to secure welfare through cross-border strategies. Due to

the devaluation of the CFA in 1994, the real value of salaries - when they were indeed paid out - was reduced by two thirds. Education became still less of a guarantee for social status. Geographical mobility in Cameroon has thus become synonymous with social mobility and human security for the entire family.

Marriage interviews: securing borders through suspicions of fraud

Within the general literature on human trafficking, the phenomenon of 'mail order brides' is often referred to as a specific subtype or form of 'human trafficking' (Constable, 2003). This imaginary of marriage migration in the Cameroonian context very much contrasts with the narrative of mail-order brides in Asia where women are the defenseless victims of brutal American or European men. In Yaoundé, the eager search by consulate officers for fraud within marriage migration aims to protect vulnerable French men from Cameroonian women who are only interested in money. In the Cameroon context, French men are the victims of (Internet-mediated) marriages and Cameroonian women are said to lure French men with their beauty into disastrous marriages.

These representations have emerged in a period where marriage migration and family reunification are one of the few remaining legal avenues for transcontinental migration to France (Cole, 2014). Since March 2007, all women seeking to migrate as the spouses of French citizens need to pass an interview at the Embassy of their country of origin. As a matter of principle, consulate staff is obliged to issue immigration visas to the spouses of its citizens. Even if staff suspects fraud, they can mostly only delay the visa application procedure, refuse to recognize the marriage as valid or not issue a certificate that is necessary for couples that still intend to marry in Cameroon. Marriage visa interviews serve to verify the legality of birth certificates and marriage certificates, as well as the intentions of the foreign spouse.

Not all women who come for their appointment at the Embassy are aware that they are to pass an interview. The interviews are designed to check for lies and inconsistencies within and between the narrative, the documents and the data that are already stored on the applicants within the computer system from prior visa application processes. During the interview, the officers would test all data for internal coherency, as well as compare information from the interview with computer data that might have been entered upon a prior visa application of the aspiring Cameroonian spouse.

In what follows, I concentrate on the case of one woman in particular. I had never met Claire before the interview, nor did I see her again afterwards. All that I know of her case stems from the moment of the interview itself. The focus of the analysis will be on the communication dynamics between officer and visa applicant, rather than on the marriage and migration trajectory of Claire herself.

Once Claire was seated, the consulate officers asked question after question and noted down all of Claire's answers into the computer file. 'When and how did you meet?' 'Where?' 'Did he write to you first or you?' 'How did it go?' 'When did you start talking on the phone?' 'Was the website geared towards French men or could a Cameroonian man also have responded to your add?'. From the answers that Claire gave throughout the interview, I

gathered that Claire had put her profile on a dating website (called www.chichou.com) with the explicit purpose of getting married. After two months of online correspondence, Claire started to talk over the phone with her fiancé. Two years later, they decided to get married. Claire is in her 30s. Her fiancé is in his 40s and already has one child from a former marriage. The couple had not yet met in person.

'Are you sure it's the man of your life?' 'Who talked first about marriage?' 'If it does not work out, will you come back to Cameroon? What will you do if it does not work out?' After a short pause, Claire delivered the answer that the officer in front of her was expecting: 'I will go back home.' The officer nodded contently, wrote down the answers and continued to check further details. 'What is your future husband's address?… Telephone number? ...Job? …Salary?' Claire laughed in a shy manner. The officer said that it is normal to know the salary of your future husband. Claire thus overcame her inhibition and told us that it was one- thousand nine-hundred and six Euros and thirty-three cents. The officer gave me a side-look. She later explained that the woman in question 'ha[d] prepared well for her interview.'

The encounters between the consulate officer and the Cameroonian women were fundamentally pre-structured and predetermined through the interview questions and its inherent assumptions. Yet, the only point where Claire's marriage and migration project was at risk was when the officer asked her about her prior travel projects. She had never travelled before in her life. 'Have you ever asked for a visa before?' asked the officer. The first reply of the woman was to deny this. The officer looked at her computer screen and asked again. 'No? Are you sure? This is a crucial question.' After a little bit more insistence on the part of the officer, the woman changed her response. She 'admitted' to having asked for a visa with the French Consulate in 2002. At that time, she tried to go for training with an NGO, but the visa had been denied. 'We are here to arrange this marriage. Be honest with me and I will be honest with you,' the officer explained and continued to compare the new information with data on the computer from prior visa applications. The officer was checking for 'lies'. There was no 'lie' in that file and thus this prior application did not block Claire in her current procedure.

The question catalogue continued. After having gone through Claire's employment history and the couple's marriage plans, future life prospects were examined. 'What will you do with your child in Cameroon?' 'If you want to have children in France, where will you keep them?' 'Have you already spoken with the mother of your future husband on the phone?' During a prior marriage interview with a French male citizen resident in Cameroon, the officer had excused herself for having to ask certain questions. In this prior case, the couple was living together and the woman was expecting a child. The French husband was present during the interview. Upon seeing the stomach of the woman, the officer had exclaimed: 'That says it all!' Childbirth automatically validated the supposed love that motivated and founded the marital union.

At the end of the interview with Claire, the officer printed out the interview material and asked for a signature. As Claire got up, she asked her first question. The consulate officer did not immediately understand Claire's question, but it eventually emerged that her fiancé would soon be coming to Cameroon. Claire had scheduled this appointment in the hope of

being able to get married when he visited her. The consulate officer was taken by surprise. 'You did not tell me everything!' she exclaimed in an annoyed tone.

Thirty minutes of intense questioning had not allowed for space for Claire to express and explain herself. The time had been structured by the consulate officer's questions and she had not anticipated the fiancé of this woman to be so committed to the marriage to have already booked a flight. While the officer was visibly beginning to look at the matter in a much more positive light, she explained that there is little she can do to speed up the legalization processes of the documents of the Cameroonian fiancé. Yet she had a warmer and friendlier voice. A first layer of suspicion had been eliminated.

Implicit assumptions on love set the tone of marriage interviews in consulates. While the marriage interview tested love by gathering information on the past and future plans of the couple and their level of familiarity with each other, it is de facto relatively rare that the data is actually used for visa decisions. During the marriage interviews, consulate staff routinely gather a lot of data on rather intimate details of the couple's relationship that would only be of use in the highly unlikely scenario that a *certificat de capacité de marriage* would actually be denied. The extended efforts put into recording large amounts of rather intimate information ought to be seen as part of the production of a spectacle. The interview is a technology designed not to simply yield information, but to produce confessions and moral compliance.

Constant accusations of fraud further serve to legitimize certain versions of marriage and to delegitimize others. During the entire interview, Claire was under suspicion for being Cameroonian and having a vested interest and loyalties with her own family of origin. Emphasis on prior and parallel loyalties on the part of the Cameroonian female spouse is deemed as selfish. Yet, in the case of a marital failure or breakup, she was also expected to return 'home' to Cameroon. During the interview, Claire thus needed to convince the officer in front of her both that she is and that she is not attached to her family of origin in Cameroon.

Marriage visa interviews: policing the borders through love and family norms

Legal frameworks express and impose gendered norms (Brown, 2007) and specific family conceptions (van Walsum, 2011). Love here can serve both as a challenge to sovereignty, as well as a project of immobility (d'Aoust, 2014). In the case of marriage migration from Cameroon, the notion of disinterested love is partly constructed through accusations of fraud from which French male citizens and state welfare must be protected. As the supposed ideal type of disinterested love is never made explicit by state officials, all marriages to white spouses become directly associated with fraud. This becomes evident in some of the email posters that are visible in the consulate. In the midst of his divorce, for example, a French husband wrote in an email posted on the walls of the consulate:

> My life has been destroyed by these women without any faith or scruples that only wish to enter
> France for reasons of nationality to then send back the money of their white husband to
> Yaoundé. […] I have been the victim of extortions from the staircase of the airplane right

through to my return. I've paid my worthless marriage certificate with two bottles of Whisky and 50,000 CFA' (roughly 80 Euros).[3]

Based on one particular case, all Cameroonian women in this e-mail poster were portrayed as self-interested and manipulative and thus implicitly contrasted to supposedly love-driven and vulnerable French citizens. All that Cameroonian women were said to want is citizenship, driving licences, benefits from the French state and the capacity to bring over family members.

> A well-organized network in France (with its centre in Paris) informs your beautiful Cameroonian ladies about any possible welfare benefits. Without scruple or love, they know more about social benefits than the French. One goal only: to send as much money as possible to Africa.[4]

In this email, responsibilities and obligations towards families of origin were dressed up as greed.[5] Appalled by such interest-driven behaviour, the French man who was in the midst of his divorce discredits his former wife of any form of love and emotion and concludes his mail:

> The 'white sweetheart' is but a commodity – just as the conceived and nationalized children of course. They don't stop at anything. Beware that a wife who is not found suitable in Cameroon is immediately and without explanation sent back and divorced; thus imagine how information on French social protection is received!?! In France it's a divorce without end. They don't mind to have sex during three or five years pretending to be in love!!![6]

Since the love of his wife was fake, the statement of this former husband implies that the marriage had never been truly consumed. Only sex with true love intentions validates a marriage. He labelled his marriage as a *marriage blanc*, i.e. a marriage that is not consumed and thus not authententic. He called his marriage invalid because the supposed ideal type of totally disinterested love did not drive it. In this light, the types of social regulations applicable within the legal system in France to cases of divorce seem exaggerated and unnecessary to the author of the e-mail. The French husband called for a greater convergence between the authority of husband and that of the state.

In the context of the French consulate, love is also the narrative that renders invisible the interests of the French state. Only those women are allowed into the body of French

---

[3] 'Ma vie est détruite pour ces femmes sans foi ni loi qui ne souhaitent que rentrer en France pour la nationalité et envoyer tout l'argent de leur 'blanc' à Yaoundé. J'ai été racketté de l'escalier de l'avion jusqu'au retour. J'ai payé mes actes de mariage 'bidon' contre deux bouteilles de Whisky et 50.000 Francs CFA.'

[4] 'Un réseau fort bien organisé en France, (le noyau dur à Paris) renseigne vos belles Camerounaises sur toutes les prestations disponibles. Sans scrupule et sans amour, elles en savent plus que les français en terme d'allocations. Un seul but: envoyer le plus d'argent possible en Afrique.'

[5] Interestingly, the commodification process is supposed to operate exactly opposite to the discourse of mail order brides.

[6] 'Le 'chéri blanc' n'est qu'une marchandise, tout comme les enfants conçus et nationalisés bien sûr. Elles ne reculent devant rien. Sachez qu'une femme qui ne convient pas, au Cameroun, est répudiée sur le champ sans explication, alors imaginez l'information sur la protection sociale française!?! En France c'est un divorce interminable. Et elles s'en fichent de coucher pendant trois ou cinque ans en faisant semblant d'être amoureuse!!!'

citizens who convincingly disavow prior loyalties to their family of origin and thus promise to become good and safe citizens by submitting - in the name of love - their own sense of initiative and autonomy to their new husband in France.

Laws reflected gender values of given states and societies in the past, too. After 1961, for example, Cameroonians that wanted to travel were required by the newly independent government to apply for exit visas. The decree n 62-DF-23 of 17 January 1962 instituted the federal passport and introduced other forms of regulation for the emigration of Cameroonians from the territory of the Federal Republic of Cameroon. So as to obtain an exit visa, Cameroonians leaving the country needed for example to pay 50,000 CFA to the Cameroon Treasury. This money was to 'guarantee' the 'repatriation' of the person asking for the exit visa. To obtain a passport it was required to be in possession of a birth certificate, a certification of nationality and a tax certificate. Married women who applied for these exit visas furthermore required the written authorization of their husbands and a copy of their marriage certificate (Tb (1954) 4 Buea).[7]

In the context of contemporary marriage migration, it becomes important to critically analyze which particular set of family norms is assumed and promoted by both consulate officers and family members of aspiring migrant women. Marriage can never be the union of two individuals only, regardless of the cultural and geographical context. Consular officers' need to securitize French citizenship leaves out of the picture that marriages among Cameroonians also have to struggle through important issues of conflicting loyalties between families of origin and families of procreation. It is also within these struggles over multiple understandings of family norms and womanhood that diverging, as well as converging, security agendas express themselves.

Conclusion

At the French consulate, e-mail posters located the threats to citizenship boundaries with the selfishness and fake intentions of Cameroonian women. French consular officers identified with the core message of these e-mails and considered them as justifications for their work. Their regulatory dynamics are driven by fears and accusations that visa applicants and their family members might be committing fraud for their own egoistic purposes. Through these accusations, state authorities locate the security threat with visa applicants and aspiring spouses.

Following de Genova's argument on the legal production of illegality, this chapter has explored the bureaucratic production of fraud and selfishness. In other words, rather than taking at face value the location of the security problem with the visa applicants, I have analyzed the very process that constructs these visa applicants as fraudulent and selfish. What has emerged from this analysis is that regulatory dynamics at the French consulate office reveal normative assumptions on legitimate marital unions and family loyalties. It is by

---

[7] Those travellers with official orders of mission, administrative agents or people in possession of a return ticket were exempted from this regulation.

seeking to impose these that consular officers construct visa applicants in general and aspiring female spouses in particular as supposedly 'fraudulent' and 'selfish'.

The notions of national well-being and citizenship that are supposed to be secured through the border practices analyzed in this chapter are not gender neutral. The fraudulent and selfish subject in the case of marriage migration from Cameroon is female. The security rhetoric at embassies furthermore relies on cultural notions of relatedness (such as conjugal love and conduct, economic exchange and kinship obligations) that can both diverge and converge with the notions held by women and the regulatory logics of Cameroonian families. In this sense, the chapter is situated not simply 'at the border' but also at the frontier between different understandings of relatedness, gender, security and welfare.

Consular officers seek to secure the EurAfrican border by amongst others framing the loyalties of Cameroonian spouses lying with their families of origin as egoistic and greedy. Yet what is marked in French e-mail posters as acts of selfishness constitutes the primary duty of a daughter towards her family of origin in Cameroon. To understand security dynamics in marriage migration, the role and place of money in courtship and marriage practices, and that of travel documents in trajectories of marriage migration, needs to be considered also from the perspective of young Cameroonian women. As I argued, these multiple perspectives of security issues at stake in marriage migration are not independent from each other. The regulatory requirements of states can come to reconstitute kinship systems (Piot, 2010, pp. 79-83), just as kinship norms evolve and push the boundaries of border regimes (Spijkerboer, 2013). The EurAfrican border is thus not only the site of multiple notions of security, but also of their respective transformation.

References

Abiri, E., 2000. Migration and security from a North-South perspective: Sweden and Malawi In: D. T. Graham and N. K. Poku, eds. 2000. *Migration, globalisation and human security.* London: Routledge, pp. 70-91.

Anderson, B., 2013. *Us and Them: The Dangerous Politics of Immigration Control.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Andersson, R., 2014. *Illegality, Inc, Clandestine Migration and the Business of Bordering Europe.* Oakland: University of California Press.

Bigo, D., 2002. Security and immigration: toward a critique of the governmentality of unease. *Alternatives* 27, pp. 63- 92.

Bigo, D. and Guild, E., 2005. Policing at a Distance: Schengen visa policies. In: D. Bigo and E. Guild,eds., *Controlling frontiers: free movement into and within Europe.* Aldershot: Ashgate. pp. 233-63.

Brown, W., 2007. Finding the man in the state. In: A. Sharma and A. Gupta, eds. *The anthropology of state: A reader*. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 187-210.

Constable, N., 2003. *Romance on a global stage: Pen pals, virtual ethnography, and 'mail order' marriages.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cuttitta, P., 2014. Borderizing' the Island Setting and Narratives of the Lampedusa 'Border Play', *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 13(2), pp. 196-219.

Cole, J., 2014. Working Mis/Understandings: The Tangled Relationship between Kinship, Franco-Malagasy Binational Marriages, and the French State. *Cultural Anthropology* 29 (3), pp. 527–551.

D'Aoust, A.-M., 2014. Love as Projects of (Im)mobility: Love, Sovereignty and Governmentality in Marriage Migration Management Practices, *Global Society* 28 (3), pp. 317- 335.

de Genova, N., 2002. Migrant 'illegality' and deportability in everyday life. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31, pp. 419-437.

de Haas, H., 2008. The Myth of invasion: The inconvenient realities of African migration to Europe. *Third World Quarterly* 29 (7), pp. 1305-22.

Doomernik, J., 2004. Migration and security: The wrong end of the stick? In: C. van den Anker, ed. *The political economy of new slavery*. Bassingstoke: Palgrave, pp. 37-52.

Gaibazzi, P., (2014). Visa problem: certification, kinship, and the production of 'ineligibility' in the Gambia, *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute* 20 (1), pp. 38-55.

Gammeltoft, H., (2011), "The Externalisation of European Migration Control and the reach of International Refugee Law", *European Journal of Migration and Law* 24: 273-298.

Gasper, D. and Thanh-Dam, T., 2010. *Movements of the 'we': International and transnational migration and the capabilities approach*. Working Paper 495, The Hague: International Institute of Social Studies.

Goheen, M., 1996. *Men own the field, women own the crops: Gender and power in the Cameroon Grassfield*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Graham, D. T., 2000. The people paradox: Human movements and human security in a globalising world. In: D. T. Graham and N. K. Poku, eds. *Migration, globalisation and human security*. London: Routledge, pp. 188-216.

Johnson-Hanks, J., 2007. Women on the market: Marriage, consumption and the Internet in urban Cameroon. *American Ethnologist* 34 (4), pp. 642-58.

Neveu-Kringelbach, H., 2013. 'Mixed Marriages', Citizenship and the policing of intimacy in contemporary France. *IMI Working Papers* 77.

Nyers, P., 2003. Abject cosmopolitanism: The politics of protection in the anti-deportation movement. *Third World Quarterly* 24 (6), pp. 1069-93.

Piot, C., 2010. *Nostalgia for the future: West Africa after the cold war*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Salter, M. B., 2006. The Global Visa Regime and the Political Technologies of the International Self: Borders, Bodies, Biopolitics. *Alternatives* 31 (2), pp. 167-89.

Spire, A., 2007. L'asile au guichet. La depolitisation du droit des etrangers par le travail bureaucratique. *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, 169, pp. 4- 21.

Spire, A., 2008. *Accueillir ou reconduire: Enquete sur les guichets de l'immigration*. Paris: Editions Raisons d'Agir.

Spijkerboer, T., 2013. *Fleeing homophobia: Sexual orientation, gender identity and asylum*. London: Routledge.

Stock, I., 2015. Transnational social fields in forced immobility: relations of young Sub-Saharan African migrants in Morocco with their families and friends. *Identities,* DOI: 10.1080/1070289X.2015.1024123

Tadjbakhsh, S. and Chenoy, A.M., 2007. *Human security: Concepts and implications.* Oxford/New York: Taylor & Francis/Routledge.

Van Walsum, S., 2011. Sex and the regulation of belonging. Dutch family migration policies in the context of changing family norms. In: A. Kraler, E. Kofman, M. Kohli and C. Schmoll, eds. *Gender, generations and the family in international migration.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Walters, W., 2006. Border/Control. *European Journal of Social Theory* 9 (2), pp. 187-203.