

## Women and migration in Algeria

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### Abstract

In this paper, we present a part of our longitudinal sociological investigation which concerned the representations and attitudes of students towards international emigration. We will focus on migration in relation to gender by taking the case of female students' representations of going abroad to study. We also wish to report on the evolution of Algerian society through the migration phenomenon related to girls. Female migration is a new phenomenon that marks a recent Algerian context characterized by the higher education of girls and the evolution of Algerian mentalities, but not enough.

**Keywords:** Algeria, gender, migration, representations, students.

## Résumé

Dans ce document, nous présentons une partie de notre enquête sociologique longitudinale qui a concerné les représentations et les attitudes des étudiants vis-à-vis de l'émigration internationale. Nous allons axer notre propos sur les migrations en relation avec le genre en prenant le cas des représentations des étudiantes vis-à-vis du départ à l'étranger dans le cadre des études. Nous souhaitons aussi rendre compte de l'évolution de la société algérienne par l'intermédiaire du phénomène migratoire lié aux filles. La migration féminine est un phénomène nouveau qui marque un contexte algérien récent caractérisé par l'éducation supérieure des filles et l'évolution des mentalités algériennes, mais pas suffisamment.

**Mots clés :** Algérie, étudiantes, genre, migration, représentations.

## ملخص :

نقدم في هذه الورقة جزءاً من بحثنا الاجتماعي الطولي الذي يتعلق بتصورات الطلاب ومواقفهم تجاه الهجرة الدولية. وسوف نركز على الهجرة فيما يتعلق بالجنس من خلال تناول حالة تمثيل الطالبات للسفر إلى الخارج للدراسة. كما نرغب في تقديم تقرير عن تطور المجتمع

الجزائري من خلال ظاهرة الهجرة المتعلقة بالفتيات. تعتبر هجرة الإناث ظاهرة جديدة تطبع سياقاً جزائرياً حديثاً يتسم بالتعليم العالي للفتيات وتطور العقلية الجزائرية، لكنه ليس كافياً. الكلمات المفتاحية: الجزائر، النوع الاجتماعي، الهجرة، التمثيل، الطلاب.

### Introduction

The classic pattern, historically inscribed in the international post-colonial migratory fields that were set up in the second half of the 20th century, in particular towards Europe and the United States (Simon, 2008), is that of a migration of men, initiators of channels consolidated over time, with professional insertion in certain male sectors (construction, agricultural wage-earning, work in mines, etc.).): the husbands leave, temporarily for varying lengths of time, and the women remain in their place of origin (Geneviève Cortes, 2016, p. 4). What characterizes the Maghrebi migration, regardless of its form, is its male character (Victor Borgogno And Lise Andresen-Vollenweider). The migration is above all a migration of men. "Maghrebi society assimilates the fact of migration to mens. In doing so, women are excluded

from this field. With this foundation of Maghrebi immigration, we approach the sexual significance of the migratory fact, from which student migration does not escape" (Abdelkader Latreche, 2000). Algerian labor migration is widely studied in France, in particular by Abdelmalek Sayad. Historically, Algerian migration is male and a literary basis enshrines this specificity of Algerian migration, which is male and illiterate. A typology of this migration has been widely disseminated making the Algerian migrant a man, young, illiterate, single, poor and suffering from social and economic constraints in the country of departure and the host country. In addition, these male migrations accentuate the destitution of the woman left alone in the village to look after the household and reinforce her dependence, particularly economic dependence on the man. The 1980s marked a turning point, firstly as a result of the humanization of these proletarian Algerian migrants in France, in particular the family reunification scheme, which changed the migratory profile of Algerians to include women and children. Thus, studies on migration are increasingly interested in female migration. However, these studies consider the

woman as the base of the family, she is in charge of domestic responsibilities, so she migrates to join her husband already settled in France. It is a kind of necessary migration without any decision-making power or emancipation of the woman. Thus, as some sociologists have already pointed out: "Despite all the studies on women's international migration conducted over the decades, the most common theories have been slow to accept the usefulness - or even the existence - of the concept of gender (Boyd 1989, Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Castells 1996; Koser and Salt 1997; Gabaccia 1995; Castells and Miller 1998; Kofman 1999, Willis and Yeoh 2000; Anthias and Lazaridis 2000(Boyd 1989, Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Castells 1996; Koser and Salt, 1997; Gabaccia, 1995; Castells and Miller 1998; Kofman, 1999, Willis and Yeoh, 2000; Anthias and Lazaridis 2001; Mahler and Pessar 2001; Iredale 2001; Kofman 2000; Yeoh et al. 2001; Erel and Kofman 2003; see: Kofman Eléonore, 2004, p: 81). Indeed, classical theories of migration assumed that migration is triggered primarily by economic motives. Since economic activity was implicitly or explicitly attributed to men, women, under this assumption, did not

migrate. This bias, rooted in the norm of the sexual division of labor, contributed to the invisibility of women migrants (Oso Casas, 2005). It was not until the 1980s that the notion of the "feminization" of migration emerged in the scientific field. But, in line with the conception of women as passive subjects, migrant women were perceived as women who followed their husbands or fathers (Kofman, 1999), as people who suffered from migration (Dahinden Janine et al., 2007). Thus, for a long time, the sociology of migration either ignored migrant women or presented them through the sole figure of the inactive wife joining her husband in family migration (Morokvasic 2011, in: Christelle Avril, Marie Cartier, 2019, p: 137).

### **Education has propelled female migration**

In Algeria, particularly within the popular social classes, the girl is confined, she is supervised by the whole society, she is relegated to household and domestic tasks. This situation of the woman in Algeria is experienced in other developed countries in the past, according to Fize (1998): "in the XIXth century, the bourgeoisie sets up a social control of its youth by locking up

its girls and sending its boys to high school. While a certain amount of autonomy and deviance was tolerated for the latter, particularly in terms of sexual emancipation and the affirmation of virility, the good education and virginity of young girls, precious symbolic capital, had to be protected" (Trimaille Cyril, 2004, pp: 99-132). As for education, which in the past was the prerogative of the dominant classes, girls were also deprived of it, and it was not until the 1970s that schooling for girls was generalized in Algeria. Independently of any consideration of gender, deprivation of education has long been a means of subjugation of women. Education was then considered the sole right of an elite that found the means to perpetuate its dominant position, and it was primarily reserved for a certain social category of men (Vito Pecoraro, 2009). Nowadays, international studies are at the center of inequalities; it is the children of elites who possess the capital necessary for migration: material and immaterial capital such as migratory capital, mastery of foreign languages, social networks, etc., who emigrate for study purposes. The share of girls in these international studies is also minimal in Algeria for

cultural, religious and financial reasons. Indeed, parents do not invest in the emigration projects of girls because they are called to marry and change their name and family and the inheritance does not often give a share to women, especially in Kabyle traditions where the woman does not inherit anything from her family. In addition, in the working classes, girls are even more subject to religious values and the Muslim religion prohibits women from traveling without a guardian.

### **Cultural constraints related to the status of women in Algeria**

In underdeveloped countries, particularly in traditional Muslim societies, girls are subject to various constraints related to migration. First, religion does not allow women to travel without being accompanied by a man, and second, their legal, social, cultural and political status does not predispose them to migration. Thus, parents do not invest in their daughters' migratory projects, firstly because the daughter is destined to get married and therefore change her name and family. Secondly, the daughter is considered the center of the family's



honor that must be preserved and we know that the media and international organizations report dramatic stories about migrant women. To the point that public opinion has formed an image of these migrant women as women without ties, without morals, who sell themselves and accept jobs that are not very respectable. This image of migrant women as unattached women with no morals, who sell themselves and accept jobs that are not very respectable, such as housework in European families, as members of prostitution and trafficking networks, and this is even taken up in university reports and studies. This image that accompanies migrant women is exploited in particular in traditional societies to preserve the relationships of domination between the sexes and to supposedly protect girls from the risks they incur in their migratory journey. This means that only girls from wealthy families and those with families already settled abroad allow their daughters to study abroad.

### **The massification of higher education and female migration**

In the 1980s, many countries experienced a massification of their school system and the democratization of access to higher education. In developed countries this massification began in the 1960s, as is the case in France, "until the early 1950s, less than 5% of students in an age group had access to the baccalaureate. In 2017, this proportion is 79.6 percent. The increase in the proportion of baccalaureate holders in a generation is the result of a process of massification of the French school system, particularly from the 1960s onwards" (Barbara Mettetal, 2020). Moreover, the gradual introduction of the single collège in France in the early 1980s led to "the massification of the second cycle of secondary studies beyond the collège. This led to the proclamation in the spring of 1985 of the objective of bringing 80% of an age group to the level of the baccalaureate by the year 2000" (Florence Defresne and Jérôme Krop, 2016, p: 8).

In Algeria, the reform of national education came into being during the 1974/1977 four-year plan, after the first reform concerning higher education in 1971. The objectives of this reform were - the training of immediately operational

executives; - the diversification of training profiles to satisfy all sectors; - the training of a greater number of executives at the lowest possible cost; - the training of responsible executives committed to their people and the country. The main objective of the 1971 reform of higher education was the democratization of access to university (which is open to all social strata). As for the 2nd reform which concerns the national education, it was intended to be the passage from the classic school to the fundamental school. The order of 16 April 1976 provided for an organizational unit responsible for providing continuous education from the first to the ninth grade. The basic education unit was characterized by the principles of its organization, the unity of its content and its curriculum. It was compulsory and consisted of three stages of three years each. Schooling was only in Arabic, so only a short education was envisaged, at the end of which a very large number of pupils were rejected at the age of fifteen (Chetouani Lamria, 2001, p: 73). Many criticisms have been levelled at the school, particularly by the press; it has been treated with all kinds of evil. According to the table of figures given by Noura Benghabrit-Remouan (in: L'école

algérienne, transformations et effets sociaux, L'École en débat, p: 19) the cohort of children enrolled in primary school is 4,548,827; the number decreases significantly in secondary school: 821,059 and becomes insignificant in higher education: 287,430 (ministerial statistics: 1994-1995). In addition, a divide between Arabic speakers

Algeria has enshrined the right to free education in its constitution. It is stipulated in the Algerian constitution, notably in article 53, that "education is an inalienable right. It is, moreover, compulsory and free for all children of school age up to the age of 16". Thus, Algeria has succeeded in generalizing access to education in a limited time. The World Bank reports gross enrollment rates in primary education rising from 94% in the late 1980s to over 113% in 2010. Those of gross secondary education increase from 30% to 95% for the same years (Fatima Nekkal, 2017) In higher education too, the figures are continuous progression, "the number of students enrolled in undergraduate has literally exploded since the beginning of the century: it has been multiplied by three in fifteen years; a growth rate ten times higher than that of a

country like France (Jean-Baptiste Meyer, 2017). The author adds that Algeria today is facing a double challenge, demographic and economic: integrating the youth of its population into society, and preparing for post-oil activities, based on more qualified human resources. Higher education is a major pillar of the response to both aspects of this challenge the female share has increased from one third to more than 60% (Jean-Baptiste Meyer, 2017).

#### **The socio-cultural evolution and the mentalities do not always follow**

Also, in today's Algerian society, it is not only about numbers and quantification; it is also about cultural development and revolution in mentalities. François Perroux (1969, in: Houria Ould Moussa-Ouchalal, 2016, p: 23) defines development as follows: "Development is the combination of mental and social changes in a population that make it capable of growing, cumulatively and sustainably, its overall real product." This definition contains at least three key ideas: - Development is distinct from economic growth. Development is built on a set of socio-cultural transformations; - Socio-

cultural mutations are presented as a prerequisite to any development (in: Bakouche S, 2009, p: 43). To the cultural revolution, it is also necessary a revolution in the insertion of the graduates and the improvement of the social, economic and political status of the woman. The colossal investment in higher education takes on the appearance of a policy not to train the human capital needed by the economy but as a political response to social expectations of a more rewarding status, even if this status does not correspond to the requirements of the labor market and only leads to the wall of endemic unemployment (Khaoua N, 2008, in: Houria Ould Moussa-Ouchalal, 2016, p: 120). It turns out that higher education in Algeria, in its quest to achieve its objectives of democratization, Arabization, Algerianization and scientificity, has been limited to retain only their quantitative dimension which offers, certainly the advantage of displaying balance sheet figures praised, but obscures the reality of the quality of training and the requirements formulated by both the economic sector and the education system itself for its reproduction and scientific research (Bakouche S, (2006).

### **Our field investigation**

**Treatment of our hypothesis :** Girls are at a disadvantage compared to boys in terms of student migration due to considerations related to a traditional Muslim society which is Algeria.

### **Treatment of our research results in relation to gender**

#### **The male/female theme.**

We point out at the beginning of this chapter that our study did not reveal any significant differences between the representations and attitudes of girls and boys. These students have homogeneous representations and almost identical attitudes. We explain this by the fact that they are young and they share the same fact, that they are the best baccalaureate holders in the scientific and technological fields. This means that in the Algerian context, these students are the cream of the Algerian youth. Thus, as we have said before, these students are entirely devoted to their studies and their professional future. Considerations related to gender or leisure do not matter to them, in the present that of studies and success to be able to

leave the places that do not inspire confidence in terms of self-realization in accordance with their potential that augurs well.

### Results of our research

Distribution by gender

Year	Girls	Boys	Total
2020	88	108	196
2019	97	109	206
2018	98	102	200
2017	94	116	210
Total	377	435	812

Thus, out of 812 students, 435 are boys, or 53.57%, and 377 girls or 46.43%.

### Summary by year

The 2020 survey: A sample of 196 students. : Boys : 108 and Girls : 88

2019 Survey: A sample of 206 students: Boys: 109 and Girls: 97

2018 Survey: A sample of 200 students: Males: 102 and Females: 98



The 2017 survey: A sample of 210 students: Boys: 116 and  
Girls: 94

Overall sample: 812 students: Total boys: 435 + Total girls:  
377

Thus, it turned out that our sample is representative according  
to gender 53.57°/° of boys and 46.43°/° of girls.

### **Favorable attitudes towards emigration**

#### **1-Year 2020**

Girls: 84 = favorable, only 2 against and 2 no response.

Boys: 102 = favorable, only 1 against and 5 no response.

#### **2-The 2019 survey**

We have processed 206 usable questionnaires. Out of the 206  
there are 109 boys and 97 girls.

The girls: 67 = favorable, 7 against and 25 without answer.

The boys: 73 = favorable, 8 only against and 29 without  
answer.

Regarding the choice of country, 19 girls mentioned France as  
the country where they wanted to emigrate and 25 boys also  
mentioned France. 9 boys mentioned Canada and 8 girls also

mentioned Canada. 4 boys and 3 girls mentioned the USA. However, the retention rate is very high for this year 2019, that is to say 62 boys and 43 girls did not give their opinion concerning the choice of the country.

### 3-The 2018 survey

For our survey conducted in November 2018 the statistics are as follows:

Gender distribution: Boys: 102 + Girls: 98

#### Attitudes of students towards emigration

Boys: 96 boys are for emigration and 06 are against.

Girls: 96 girls are for emigration and only 02 are against.

3 students did not give their opinion

Total: 192 of the girls and boys are for emigration and only 08 are against.

### 4-The 2017 survey

The survey conducted in November 2017 gives the following statistics: 210 respondents.

### **The distribution by gender**

Boys: 116 and Girls: 94 = Total: 210

### **Attitude towards emigration**

186 students are in favor of emigration; 13 are against and 11 students did not give their opinion.

### **Students' countries of choice**

63 students said they would migrate to France, including 32 girls and 31 boys.

The second country of choice for students is Canada, 28 students, including 18 boys and 10 girls.

The third country of choice was the USA, with 17 students (10 boys and 7 girls).

### **Summary of the results of the longitudinal study in Algiers and discussion**

An important figure: 812 students participated with completed and usable questionnaires from 2017 to 2020, so we have

reached saturation and these statistics are the backdrop of our study and its foundation.

For the responses to the open-ended questions, we will return to this with a chapter including the categorization of these responses.

### **The 2020 survey: Boys: 108 + Girls: 88**

#### **Distribution by father's work**

parents' occupation	Boys	Girls	Total
Senior managers	28	19	47
Commercial activities	12	8	20
Teachers and educators	21	11	32
Workers and simple employees	13	16	29
retired	24	23	47
Not working	2	2	4

dead	3	2	5
No answers	5	7	12
Total	108	88	196

The 2019 survey: Boys: 109 + Girls: 97

The 2018 survey: Boys: 102 + Girls: 98

The 2017 survey: Boys: 116 + Girls: 94

Total= boys: 435 + Total girls: 377

The distribution between girls and boys

In terms of the distribution between girls and boys, we have noticed that the proportions are almost even each year. There is no big difference between the number of boys and girls. In Algeria, girls do better than boys at the baccalaureate.

### **Girls' discourses in relation to migration in our study**

We will take some excerpts from the students' speeches to show that the representations and attitudes of the girls are correlated by the parents' professions, but particularly the mother's. The students whose mothers have a job that requires university studies are the ones who have more favorable attitudes towards

emigration within the framework of their studies and they are the ones who declare that they prepare the steps for emigration. Thus, the results of our study show the following correlations:

- 1-The level and the work of the parents are positively correlated with emigration in the context of studies in general.
- 2-The level of education and the mother's profession is decisive in the girls' study abroad.

We cannot take all the speeches in order not to weigh down this thesis.

### **Unfavorable attitudes**

#### **Reasons related to culture and traditions**

Loubna from the city of Médéa with a retired father and a mother who is a housewife: "I would like to study abroad, but you know, I am a girl and my parents will never let me.

Lydia from the city of Tizi-Ouzou: father accountant and mother housewife: "studying in Canada or in France for me is only a dream, in our village with all the traditions it is not possible if I were a boy I would do it without hesitation".

Manel from the wilaya of Djelfa, whose father is an engineer and whose mother is a civil servant: "Emigrating is the only way for a girl to imagine a better future abroad, even if there is discrimination, the difference in lifestyle, etc., with time you can succeed. Here in Algeria, women are condemned to live in misery".

### **Lack of means**

Maya from the city of Khemis-Miliana: father a nurse and mother a housewife: "If I had the means I would leave right away, but now it is simply impossible. Who knows in the future?"

Imane from the city of Boumerdes, whose father is a technician and whose mother is a housewife: "Going abroad to study is simply impossible for me, I need the means to do so".

Sonia from the city of Bourdj-Bouararidj, whose father is a production manager in a company and whose mother is a housewife: "going abroad, I don't even think about it because I know that it is not possible for me".

Ilhème from the city of Algiers, whose father is a civil servant in a health establishment and whose mother is a housewife: "I want to finish my studies here and obtain a diploma that will allow me to work to help my family, I don't think at all about going abroad".

Anais from Bejaia, whose father is a civil servant and whose mother is a housewife: "Algeria is a third world country, plus corruption, injustice, economic and social problems, they are right to think of going abroad. In a developed country they will be considered as international students and they will live in peace in a country of rights. Too bad I don't have the means, my parents are thinking of providing for our daily needs".

### **Favorable attitudes**

Eliza from the city of Tizi-Ouzou, whose father is a merchant and whose mother is a computer scientist: "Yes, I chose to study in a higher education institution with the aim of being able to study in France afterwards. My parents helped me



to make this choice and they always encourage me to succeed and to go to France to do a specialty and to look for a job there". Melinda from the city of Bejaia, whose father is the director of a state institution and whose mother is a teacher in a high school: "Yes, my parents are taking steps for me to enroll in a university in France, I think they have friends in Grenoble and I will leave next fall, inchallah".

Fahima from the city of Bejaia, whose father is an education inspector and whose mother is a teacher in a CEM: "My father knows someone who works at the French embassy and he will help him with the registration and visa application procedures. I know that I will go to France, but I don't know yet".

Malak from the city of Algiers, whose father and mother are university teachers: "my parents often go to France, they promised me to register to study in France, I think that they will register me in Paris".

Maissa from the city of Mila, whose father is an entrepreneur and whose mother is unemployed: "Here in Algeria there are no opportunities, we all know that we are

studying to become unemployed or to work for a miserable salary. Abroad, on the other hand, there is hope of working and with a much higher salary than here, as their minimum salary is already the highest salary here. My father asks me to succeed and he will help me to go to a developed country to study”.

### **Girls and their relationship with their parents correlate with their relationship with their studies**

In Algeria, girls have a more positive perception of the value of studies than boys. Indeed, for girls, studies remain the only way to live their youth outside the parental or marital home. Also, as Alia Khadidja (2005) has already written: "For the majority of women in Algeria, the university remains the consecrated place of their success within society. They are thus numerous to reach there and to push far in the formation. They will do better, they will exceed the number of men. This relationship to studies is correlated with the relationship to parents, in fact the motivation linked to studies is influenced by the context, the social values and the social relations. A review of the literature on the influence of social relationships,

particularly parents, in relation to motivation or success in post-secondary education has identified various mechanisms: discussion, advice, transmission of values or aspirations, models, material, financial or emotional support (Brunson et al., 2002; Charbonneau, 2004; Cournoyer, 2008; Milani, 2006; Molgat, 2007; Roy, 2004; Marie-France Noël, et al., 2017). The influence of the family, in particular the influence of parents in the career development of their children, is recognized, in a more or less affirmed way, by the various theoretical models of guidance psychology (Bordin, 1990; Gottfredson, 1981, 1996; Holland, 1959, 1973; Krumboltz, 1996; Lent, Brown & Hackett, 1996; Lofquist & Dawis, 1969; Roe, 1957; Roe & Lunneborg, 1990; Super, 1957, 1980, 1990; Vondracek, 1990; Vondracek & Fouad, 1994) (Helena Rebelo Pinto and Maria da Conceição Soares, 2004, p: 10).

The literature on parental influence also testifies to the importance attributed to parental education and socioeconomic status, "parental education or socioeconomic status can have varying influences on perceived value: in general, high parental education is associated with high valuation of education, but

low education does not act uniformly" (Marie-France Noël, et al., 2017, p: 66).

### **The global social, political and economic environment in correlation with girls' emigration**

Parents, who are primarily individuals, are part of a global environment (Urie Bronfenbrenner, 1979 The ecology of human development, in: Absil G., Vandoorne C., Demarteau M., 2012). Indeed, according to this theory: "The ecology of human development involves the scientific study of the progressive and mutual accommodation between a growing human being and the changes in the properties of the environments in which the person lives; since this process is influenced by the relationships between these environments and the contexts that encompass them" (Absil G., Vandoorne C., Demarteau M., 2012, p: 4). Thus, the Algerian society which is a macro-system that encompasses a political, economic, moral, religious...etc. macro-system, the parents and their children live there according to these multiple influences.

## Discussion

Thus this global sample gives us a distribution between boys and girls, almost constant for each academic year. We notice a slight difference; always boys are more numerous than girls for the four years of our survey. However, we notice that girls are present in force in the fields invested in the past by boys. Also, this proportionality reflects the demographic rhythm in Algeria; the ONS (11/05/2020) notes that: "The resident population in Algeria was 43.424 million people on July 1, 2019 and the number of live births had reached 1.034 million. The distribution of these live births by sex gives 104 boys for every 100 girls." In the distribution of our respondents by sex and this for all years of our survey, we have always noticed a slight increase of boys compared to girls; this is natural because boys are already overrepresented in the overall population of Algeria. These results are also consistent with the statistics on the school population which is constantly increasing, the bulletin of statistics of the ONS indicates that: "At the end of the school year 2018-2019, the total number of students enrolled is estimated at 9,211,640 students all cycles

combined, or 287,410 students more than in 2017-2018 with a rate of feminization of 49% which varies by cycle. As for secondary education, the number of students in the 2018-2019 school year is more than one million two hundred (1,222,673), of which 55% are girls and 45% boys.

In higher education, the presence of women is also increasing; Khadidja Allia (2005) tells us that: "their presence is massive in the technological fields, especially in Graduation and Post Graduation. In the process engineering field, they constitute a rate of more than 75% at the end of the cycle and more than 57% in the first year of the master's degree. From the point of view of management, the data show a rate of 29.69% of female teachers with however a rate of 44.03% (2001-2002) for the University of Algiers. In general, the feminization of the university has already taken a decisive step. In some scientific and technological fields (Biology, Chemistry, Process Engineering), the rate of female students and teachers is far higher than 50%.

## Conclusion

The interpretation refers the performance of girls to the cultural structuring of gender relations as historically shaped by male domination: if they are more successful, it is because they are more willing to submit to the prescriptions of school authority. Similarly, the emigration of female students is not within the reach of the majority of good students due to various social, cultural and religious considerations. Moreover, parents do not invest in girls' studies because girls are destined to change their names and families. Indeed, the girl is called to marry and what follows as a change of name and belonging do not encourage parents to pay for studies abroad for girls.

We conclude by saying that the Algerian woman was involved in the great history of liberation of Algeria, today, it is up to her to take up the challenge of asserting herself in order to build a new fair and egalitarian society. Indeed, if the domination of the man prevents the woman from asserting herself, it is also and especially the domination of the woman against the woman which makes that the status of this one does

not change, the woman is initially crushed by the woman. The Algerian woman lives a misery at all levels, as Pierre Bourdieu would say the misery is not necessarily or not only a "misery of condition", linked to the insufficiency of resources and the material poverty. It is rather a question here of revealing a more modern form of misery, a "misery of position", in which the legitimate aspirations of any individual to happiness and personal fulfillment, clash unceasingly with constraints and laws which escape him: this hidden violence. Pierre Bourdieu adds that: "To bring to consciousness the mechanisms that make life painful, even unbearable, is not to neutralize them; to bring to light the contradictions, is not to resolve them (...) what the social world has done, the social world can, armed with this knowledge, undo it" (free translation).

At the end of our investigation which concerns student migration, we can say that the right to mobility is not equal for all, and that there are cleavages at different levels. First of all the n inequalities is cleavage between the nationals of the rich countries of the North and those of the poor countries of the



South. "A new divide, central to the era of globalization, opposes those who have the right to move, the rich, from safe countries, and those who are under house arrest, the poor, who have the misfortune to be born in Third World countries that are not very democratic, and which carry a "migration risk" and security. A world divided into two new blocks, countries whose nationals are subject to visas and those who circulate freely with their simple passport within the Union or to it (Didier Bigo and Elspeth Guild, (2003) in: Wihtol de Wenden Catherine. Didier Bigo and Elspeth Guild, 2005, p. 446). Then, of the divisions between the social classes, we know that the dominant classes are the most internationalized, they have material and immaterial goods in different big cities throughout the world. The various middle classes are the most inclined to migrate, especially in terms of academic migration, which broadens the field of possibilities and offers aspirations for international social mobility. With regard to girls and emigration, we can say with Terrail Jean-Pierre (1992, p. 54) that: "The promotion of girls at school has not abolished the gendered discrimination of fields and professions, which

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confines them to women's jobs and reserves the dominant  
socio-professional positions for boys (free translation).

Let's hope that this contribution finds an echo!

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