

Feminization of Illegal Emigration in Algerian Society

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Abstract:

This research aims in particular; to show its contributions to a better knowledge of this social phenomenon that sees a fringe of Algerian women join the "harrga" movement, to reach secretly the other bank of the Mediterranean. We wanted to highlight the category of young women who have become part of the phenomenon of illegal emigration. It is an important flow in this type of emigration that has become a reality imposed on Algerian society.

To this end, we decided to develop a sociological approach with the aim of restoring beyond the materials collected and presented, the meaning of the action of these candidates to the clandestine journey. They are linked to illegal or informal practices, individuals with strong stigmatization and situations marked by violence, danger and suffering. For this reason, the phenomenon of female illegal emigration known as the "Harragates", constitutes a sensitive area.

Keywords: illegal immigration, women, mobility, strategy, Home land.

تأنيث الهجرة غير الشرعية بالمجتمع الجزائري

الملخص:

يهدف هذا البحث بشكل خاص؛ لإظهار مساهمتنا في معرفة أفضل بهذه الظاهرة الاجتماعية التي ترى أن هناك فئة من النساء الجزائريات ينضممن إلى حراك "الحرقة" للوصول سرا إلى الضفة الأخرى للبحر الأبيض المتوسط. أردنا تسليط الضوء على فئة الشابات اللواتي أصبحن جزءا من هذه الظاهرة، وهي حقيقة مفروضة على المجتمع الجزائري نظرا لتدفقهن في هذا النوع من الهجرة.

وتحقيقا لهذه الغاية، قررنا وضع مقاربة سوسيولوجية بهدف استغلال المعلومات التي جمعناها من الميدان، أي بمعنى آخر الكشف عن ممارسات الحراقات في مغامرتهن، وهي مرتبطة بممارسات غير قانونية لأفراد يعانون من وصم شديد وحالات تتسم بالعنف والخطر والمعاناة. لهذا الغرض، تشكلت ظاهرة تأنيث الهجرة غير الشرعية المعروفة بمصطلح "الحراقات" بالظواهر الحساسة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الهجرة غير الشرعية، المرأة، الحراك، الإستراتيجيات، بلد الأصل.

Introduction:

The phenomenon of migration in Algerian society is characterized by a historical context. It has undergone many transformations and has been a source of continuous progress due to its regional and social progress. Its spread in most parts of the country has affected all groups of different types in sexual, cultural and even all social classes.

We wanted to highlight the category of young women who have become part of the phenomenon of illegal emigration. This is an important flow of this type of

emigration which has become a reality imposed on Algerian society.

This research aims, in particular, to show its contributions to a better knowledge of this social phenomenon which sees a fringe of Algerian women join the movement of the "harga" to reach secretly the other bank of the Mediterranean.

To this end, we have decided to develop a sociological approach in order to restore beyond the materials collected and presented, the sense of action of these candidates to the clandestine journey. This phenomenon is based on the following question:

Is illegal emigration as a form of social behavior a resistance to the difficult living conditions in which the actresses lived and a strategy for regaining an honorable status as an immigrant?

Based on a survey conducted in Alicante (Spain), Marseille (France) and some cities in western Algeria (The road between western Algeria and southeastern Spain), a dozen harragates are interviewed, in addition to the statistical data and observations collected on the spot. The approach is structured by the following hypothesis: in a context of social constraints and symbolic stigmatization in the country of origin, migrant women develop a complex strategy to regain their place in society and realize a life project.

The nature of the phenomenon of illegal emigration in Algerian society obliges us to study all its aspects which provide us with many information and help us to identify the underbelly of the phenomenon. Therefore we decided to use the appropriate comprehensive approach to its social phenomena.

In the field survey, we used tools adapted to this methodological choice, observation and understanding interview to understand social interactions, behaviors and representations of actresses in order to determine the framework of the female migration experience.

The feminization of illegal emigration:

All the statistics show that men have taken the part, socially and culturally in the phenomenon of illegal emigration and this is distinguished through their pride and self-love to succeed in this endeavor and the emergence of resistance (physical and intellectual) and the multiplicity of strategies.

They consider themselves the pioneers of this phenomenon in Algerian society, they say "El harraga", "Harrague" and plural they say "Harragas". Boukhoubza N. confirmed the invisibility of women with regard to the more recent migratory flows and finding themselves in an irregular situation on French territory, the terminology used to describe non-Maghreb immigrants is sexual: We speak of "Clandestins", never of "Clandestines", as if those who cross borders without a residence permit were only men (Boukhoubza, 2005: 230).

What is striking today is the intrusion of young women as a distinct category within the dynamic of the phenomenon of illegal emigration, which shows a strong and courageous side in this adventure to overcome these difficulties in order to reach Europe.

In this regard, a study carried out by the newspaper Liberty on illegal emigration shows that women are indeed part of the landscape of the Harragas Even if they were not "touched" by the survey. The survey was conducted between November 3 and 14, 2008, across 5 wilayas in central, 5 in

eastern and 4 in western Canada. 14 questions were asked by 15 female investigators to 1,364 male respondents between the ages of 15 and 34. The questionnaire was written in Arabic and French and was structured in two parts: socio-demographic identification of the youth surveyed and the issues themselves, (Djazia, 2008).

The press has reported this on several occasions in recent years, with several women among those arrested on boats. For example, among the 103 young Harragas arrested, there was a 20-year-old girl. On 11 November 2008, it was revealed, and still in Annaba, that a 35-year-old woman and her 5-year-old son and two girls aged 18 and 30 were part of a group of Harragas arrested by the Coast Guard elements. These statistics are an important indicator in the presence of this phenomenon and its evolution, particularly for women.

The emergence of illegal women remains unknown in Algerian society as border police stations deliberately persist in not providing accurate and real figures on this phenomenon despite their confrontations with this sensitive problem that affects the community.

These women are not considered as actresses in the migration phenomenon despite the stoppage of attempted female illegal emigration to the sea.

The place of women in Algerian society:

The woman remains cloistered, locked up, preserved by the traditional Algerian family because her status is determined by her relationship with the man (father, brother, husband) and the degree of her control over her, at the same time, the measure of her submission to him. In this regard, it is given nicknames, namely: the obedient daughter, the good wife, the conservative mother, all these titles give women

prestige and a positive image in her community. Otherwise, they will be marginalized and isolated and their image will change negatively by giving them the following nicknames: Bayra (the old girl) and Hadjala (divorced), Tayra (rebel). Moreover all of this produces misinterpretations through informal social discourse.

In this regard, the definition of "bad woman" in many cultures is based on approaches and stigmas between various marginalized and socially punished women's groups. In particular, lesbians and prostitutes, divorcees, sometimes singles, and in some cases widows, as well as feminists, and sometimes all women considered independent, rebellious, too rich, too educated, too mobile (Falquet & Alarassace, 2006 : 2).

Despite the trend towards an evolutionary change for women in the field of girls' schooling and the arrival in the world of work and politics, all this is neutralized by the process that reintegrates women into the symbolic logic of patriarchal society.

Typology of illegals:

The socio-demographic profile:

Their age groups are between 22 and 38 years old and their school levels differ between primary and university. They live in urban areas in their home countries. They had to work before they emigrated.

They informed us of their difficulties in integrating and bypassing the rules, traditions and customs, in relation to their status as divorced women, single mothers, widows and single people, unlike men.

We found in our study that the variation in the status of illegals was at first glance a pure chance but after looking more closely, we notice that the status of illegals, divorcee, old girl and single mother is similar with the new social dynamics of the evolution of the typology of Algerian families.

An example is Mexican immigrant women who emigrate to the United States and have several social status. They may be the girl, the teenager, the young and even old, widowed, engaged, divorced, separated, abandoned and abandoned by their husbands (Guillermo, 2005:7).

Their statutes lead them to decide to emigrate illegally in order to build their life plans and their admissions in the flow of illegal immigration (Mozère, 2004:4).

On the other hand, and with regard to the residence of illegal immigrants, they all reside in urban areas and also where the networks of illegal emigration "smugglers" are located (Mabrouk, 2009:104).

They also have a characteristic of coastal areas, which helps the illegal immigrants to be close to the places of departure (near the beaches). This makes it easier to carry out their projects and succeed in reaching Europe.

Illegal migration being employed or even handicrafts, does not necessarily represent the poorest or those in rural areas only, but illegal emigration affects the current categories of eligible classes as well as those belonging to the middle class which excludes interpretation by the usual economic factors in emigration of women and refers to individual factors (Morokvasic, 1984: 56). In this context, in the work of Arab C. indicates that the majority of cases, women before going to work through immigration, were previously working

in their country of origin (Arab, 2010 :185), and continues Escoffier C. that women were employed in different sectors of the country of origin (hairdresser, market saleswoman, trader) and in free fields at low income in the face of the demands of the needs of individuals and their families (Escoffier, 2006:101).

Illegals admit not to work, but that does not mean no income from informal work as we've observed. Like Amina, who still lived in the family home and did not need to work.

The migrant in general is no longer the naive girl. The illiterate coming out of his hometown. It reveals that more than 60% of women who have reached Europe since the 1990s are urban dwellers and have studied by more than 80% (8% at university level, 17% at secondary level) (Guillemaut, 2008 :94).

The social origin of illegal immigrants:

We have noticed that the social origin to which the illegals belong is characterized by the family conflict where we find that families are strict and their mode of socialization is dominated by traditions. Even in social circles, male domination by the father and the brother is evident, as they carry out their plans for illegal emigration in total secrecy. This cover-up shows the strong image of escape due to the social control suffered by actresses in their families and communities.

The illegals also recognize that they do not escape the social order that always refuses the status of the divorced and the old girl, and certainly not the single mother, that we find through our study the feeling of being different from others pushes her to look elsewhere, in another place different from her environment, which will help her to realize her happiness.

And thanks to the economic autonomy of the illegal immigrants and their ability to gather funds to leave, it proves that they belong to the middle and perhaps higher class in some cases.

The social origin of illegal immigrants facilitates access to travel and emigration. Not only financial means, But also they must also know how to use the networks and obtain some of the documents needed to emigrate. And as Martiniello M. and Rea A., identifies Him: "Know how" allows developing the protection and anticipation of personal situations. So whatever the country, the possibility of traveling and mobility is an acquired by one or more actors registered in social capital (Martiniello & Rea, 2014:1086).

We want to go beyond this vision, that the culture of emigration that is characterized in society and the value that the community gives to migrants, as a positive value that grants pride and allows to increase the social capital of the individual and his family. Regardless of whether the migration is legal or illegal, the most important thing is to obtain the residence documents of the receiving country only. For Algerian society, especially some of the coastal areas, which are historically known as areas of departure for emigration, until we find at least one member of each family residing abroad. So socialization plays a major role in building social capital for migrants.

Pre-migration status of women interviewed:

The project of illegal emigration began in Wahiba (a case studied). After her separation from her husband, the family rejected this situation in the name of fault and rumors. She endured a legal battle and a long administrative struggle that lasted two years, as well as her husband's use of multiple tricks to deflect the situation in her favor. She must have

asked him "khol'â". El Khol'â is defined by the Family Code, Article 54: the wife's use of the khol'â procedure consists in paying an amount which cannot exceed the value of the dowry of parity to separate from her spouse. This request was new, even for Algerian society since the woman obtains indirectly her freedom.

Wahiba single daughter, lived in a wealthy family, the father is an officer in the army (retired) and the mother teacher. Despite the emergence of her capricious nature and her reaction with us, she describes her strict upbringing and the constraints imposed by her father on her mother and on her. Those left traces of hardness and injustice. However after the betrayal of her husband (after ten (10) years of conjugal relationship), this betrayal was a profound shock in her life that changed her course.

«I'm divorced and no one in the family wants his daughter to be 'Hadjala', that's what they call me»

The social status of Wahiba "divorcee" caused a violent reaction from her family because she used "khol'â". So she is responsible for the destruction of her family in the eyes of others. Even the eyes of those around them have changed! As she puts it:

«I am at the disposal of all men, an easy prey»

Women who emigrate alone were often in difficult situations in their countries of origin. And this distinguishes them from men in matters of illegal emigration and for different reasons (Arab, 2010:190). Female migration is the only solution to their problems. And we think there's a category of women who are susceptible to emigration, divorced or widowed and also single mothers.

With respect to the second case study, Houaria's experience is different given her profession, which gives her a special status in the society in which she lives, and which has affected her chance of marrying at the right age.

«The neighborhood calls me El bayra and every time the family asks me questions, why aren't you married? All these questions tire me, as if it were my fault! »

Houaria represents the single old girl because her age is an obstacle to marriage. She saw it as a "curse".

By escaping this status, she and many other women are forced to make sacrifices to get married as the project of illegal emigration. Illegal immigration allows women to freely choose their future husbands in the new society without restrictions and the need to escape forced marriages. Even the divorcee takes the opportunity to leave in order to get away from her family and the worries she has encountered.

Amina is a girl like most Algerian girls. They grew up in an environment where marriage is a goal to be achieved from a young age, and the boy of those dreams haunts his mind every moment. After failing high school, her time became freer. His conditions helped to create a relationship with a young man because every girl his age had a lover. And through this relationship that the marriage project begins. They were husband and wife. He was supporting all material needs. They were in direct contact every moment by telephone.

«I call him my husband and he my wife. He promised me that when he made a lot of money we would get married, he was caring better than my family. It was normal for me to go with him, because he loved me. But when I found out I was pregnant, everything changed»

The society rejects the single mother out of fear that others will do the same thing, because it opts for the imprisonment of the mother and the expulsion of children in some cases. They also manage to kill the girl and her companion (honor killing). When the girl discovers the "fault" she runs away to avoid the scandal because of the loss of her virginity and pregnancy out of wedlock. This is the most damaging scandal for the family, as it provokes many rumors in the community and sometimes verbal and physical violence and ultimately social rejection. This shame can affect the whole family, young and old, and especially the little ones (Moutassem Mimouni, 2001:27).

Writer Hafdane L.H reveals the actresses' speeches and their feelings of suffering towards their life which has no value or meaning. They struggle to regain the social status of the bride and the respected mother, as a complete woman (Hafdane, 2003:173).

It has been found that there is a link between the phenomenon of illegal emigration and unexpected social situations such as the separation of spouses, pregnancy out of wedlock, the progressive age of the single woman.

All this implies the inclusion of women (divorced, old girl and single mothers). They are motivated to leave the condition of subordination and gender oppression in the country of origin (Morokvasic, 1984:56) and to resort to burning the "El Harga" borders in the absence of solutions concerning their situations. The cases studied choose to be clandestine through the phenomenon of emigration because they believe that the only way to escape the consequences of their current lives is less harmful than the consequences of illegal emigration.

Life in hiding or life in migration:

The tension experienced by the potential migrant, torn between a traditional and social model and the desire to enter a new way of life, liberating away from female stigmatization. The punishment of actresses through stigmatization creates the rupture between her family and her community before and after her illegal emigration. Faced with this rupture, the illegals opt for a strategy to rehabilitate this link by referring to financial aid and to recover a status of married woman with the aim of a possible return to the countries of origin.

Financial assistance and rehabilitation of the family bond:

Charef M. has studied the social image of material aid that the immigrant carries and the bond that binds him with his society of origin. He discovered that this connection is deep and delicate. But he wondered how to judge this immigrant, despite his distance from his group, and believed that by sending regular financial aid, money became a norm to measure this social bond (Charef, 2009:1600).

Also, money is transformed as a crucial element to embody a power in the immigrant and to prove his success in his group of belonging.

Immigrants show their success by celebrating luxurious holidays and distributing gifts when they return and it has become compulsory. On the other hand, immigrants are rejected if they do not practice the traditions associated with migration.

In the case of Wahiba, she has to bring gifts back to her children during her various visits, summer holidays or religious holidays to fill the void she left as a result of her migration.

«When I talk to my children on the phone, they ask me to bring them toys. That's why I have to save money by

*losing my vital needs like eating it if I can't go home
without gifts»*

In the same context, Arab C. shows the reversal of the situation in relation to the family conflict on the project of illegal emigration, which immediately turns into a strong bond just after the return of emigration (sending gifts and money), which contributes to improving the living conditions of the family members left in Morocco (Arab, 2010 :194-195).

Houaria tries to save money to send to his family in the country of origin after consuming a small amount of money for various expenses.

«At first I had problems with my family because of my secret departure, which caused rumors about me in the big family and around. But as soon as I started sending money, things changed. Now, I get regular updates. Money changes people so much that my father doesn't ask after me but he asks how much I send money»

Houaria's financial assistance to her family changed her status. Now the entourage is asking for news and they want to invite her to their home and they are proud of her. Even the father thinks to take advantage of it for a small commercial project (store for general food).

The important thing for the family is the amount of money they receive regularly and not the regularization of illegal immigrants (obtaining residence in the host country). These women sometimes find themselves in a paradoxical situation where they are criticized for their mobility, while being told to take advantage of it and redistribute the gains (Carnet, 2011: 551).

She tries as much as possible to reassure her family by telling a different version of the one she actually lives for fear of forcing her to return to the country of origin. The most surprising thing is that the family has changed its priority, the project of the marriage of their daughter Houaria because the

most important is to get a good financial situation in the country of reception and origin.

We conclude that illegal immigrants find themselves in two positions, before and after their migration. At first, it travels illegally - burning borders - and at the same time violates sociocultural norms. So the change in the traditional system of his society that stands out for their migration, which in itself is a new phenomenon.

Families prefer to strengthen the relationship between the immigrant and his or her community of origin by marrying him or her to one of the members to whom he or she belongs. And in turn becomes the "bodyguard" to monitor him and ensure the continuity of sending financial aid to his family in the country of origin and also keep him on the right path (Charef, 2009:1605). As a result, it was found that some of the illegals used marriage as another strategy to renew the bond with his family.

Recovering illegal immigrants from a new status through the institution of marriage:

Migration is for many migrants, both men and women, for its added value to marriage, as well as for the latter a means of "symbolic rehabilitation" (Qacha, 2010:222). These links between marriage and migration can become problematic for migrants who are the most socially stigmatized. This is in comparison to the standards of marriage in the country of origin, which are different from the strategies and opportunities presented by illegal immigrants. Indeed, we doubt the intentions of illegals regarding marriage (true or false) because it is only used to obtain a positive image and a status as an honorable woman in her country of origin and to establish the family bond. This is often due to the break-up that led to the illegal emigration of actresses.

Wahiba in her case used the symbolic 'rehabilitation' system because she got engaged to an employee in a boat and the party took place at her family home in Blida. She told me that all the costs of this marriage project were to be borne by her for the fact that she was married.

«Even the ring, I bought it. If Dad knew it, he would be angry with me and insult me. While this famous suitor only wanted to get his papers regularized thanks to me»

We see that in Wahiba's case, marriage is a strategy to recover her position in the family and especially in relation to her father, to change her negative view on her.

But this attempt did not succeed and the proof of this failure, is the various calls of Wahiba after a time of our return to Oran. Her insistence on speaking with her mother and bringing a positive image of her, trying to take back by all means that bond with her family, in order to recover these children and her right to raise them.

«Tell Mom I changed and I helped you with your studies. I have welcomed you, I am wise, my life is quiet and I do nothing wrong»

After losing the trust of his family because of his crossing and in total secrecy leaving these children alone at his parents' home. Indigenous people consider some of the migrants as "whores". These are usually women who have migrated alone outside the family reunion. Who are thus extracting themselves, to some extent, from the control of their families (Qacha, 2010:550). This stigmatizes Wahiba and pushes her to change her family's opinion about her by any means so much that she manipulates fake marriages.

Marriage is one of the most important life projects planned by families upon the completion of their daughters' studies, thus exposing them to the pressures that lead them to continue following the path of the old by practicing the customs and

traditions established. Despite the change experienced by women in Algerian society in the field of education, work and economic autonomy, social representations, the culture of marriage and these rituals have not yet changed.

Houaria represents the old girl to escape this status. Many women like them are forced to accept many things to get married and participate in the project of illegal emigration. So one of the causes of illegal emigration becomes the possibility of choosing a husband suitable for her. This idea is reinforced by the social space in which it resides. A statement from a client confirms this to Houaria in the hair salon. She suggests:

«Why don't you go abroad and get married? There are many old men who live alone and who are looking for a woman to accompany them. You can easily have your papers and live well»

Illegal emigration allows women to freely choose their future husband in the new society (host country), without restrictions. While the others, a loophole of the institution of marriage and even the divorced take the opportunity to get away from the control of their families.

The idea is that women, through migration, can freely choose a spouse either in the host country or in the country of origin because they have more opportunities. But if they had remained in their own countries, the choice would be up to the dominant man (in his choice of wife).

Marriage is a protection for women for fear of falling into celibacy and negative portrayals of social space, all of which affect the conditions faced by women in marriage (Carnet, 2011: 162).

Faced with this important value of the immigrant and the obtaining of the spouse, which is her chance to leave for Europe. Other values known in Algerian society and which have a religious context, such as morality and money, descent and beauty. All this does not matter in relation to obtaining

residence in a European country. For example, undocumented Senegalese men marry quickly, even before they have been regularized. Some had married by telephone, with the consent of the parents and through the imam. If such marriages are possible, it is because the mere fact of having already reached Europe constitutes the guarantee of a favorable future at least in the imagination of those who "remain" (Carnet, 2011: 163).

We think that we can go further, like giving up the virginity of an immigrant and turning a blind eye to her status as divorced, widowed and even without advanced age, much older with children. Similarly, older migrants, widowed, single or divorced, may benefit from the advantage of their regularized status as a migrant to meet their physical and emotional needs in order to be able to marry, and even marry younger men.

In the same context, Majdoubi F. studied the phenomenon of "Miss-Visa", which offers men the possibility of mobility through the marriage of an immigrant (Majdoubi, 2005: 14). What binds men and women, in this context, is played around the object of the exchange more than in their supposed cultural proximity.

The obsession to succeed in emigration through marriage, leads families to abandon the important conditions of traditions in society and on the other hand legitimizes its actions by the imperative interest and benefit of this marriage to a migrant on the individual and her family. Marriage is seen as an important strategy that actresses achieve through illegal emigration. Others also use marriage with migrants to reach Europe.

Conclusion:

Finally, the reason for illegal emigration for studying cases is the contradiction between personal hope and the opportunities they can acquire under real conditions. Illegals believe that they have the right to migrate illegally to a new

society (host country) that has been stripped of the omnipresent social control and stigma (divorced, old daughter, single mother...).

In this context, illegal emigration for women constitutes a project of life whose goal is a material and social promotion, symbolic, thus a construction of oneself by the rehabilitation of the status of emigrant with his papers is that will enhance his social position in the country of origin and acquire him a new lifestyle.

The phenomenon of illegal emigration of Algerian women is the index of social evolution known by the society, which transforms relations within the structure of the Algerian family and becomes a new actor of a greater vector of change in Algerian society and in transnational migration.

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