

Conjugal dynamics in immigration- studies of migrant couples of Algerian origin in Quebec-

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Abstract:

This Paper discusses conjugal dynamics facing difficulties encountered in the migration experience. In fact, several variables can be convening in explaining the balance or imbalance of the couple in relation to the integration process. In this regard, while the conditions of the host society affect the couple's immigration experience, pre-emigration conditions should not be neglected in the analysis. Therefore, it is a question to understand the couple, with or without children, in their migratory process, following their journey from the society of origin to the host Society.

Keywords: The migrant couple, emigration/immigration, host society, negotiation, separation.

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Introduction: The couple and the migration project

An emigration project is developed collectively within the couple, and more broadly within the family group, which for some is the real decision-maker in this matter (see, Sayad, (1999)). The couple's emigration project is therefore developed through negotiation, through real transactions, but it is also when hesitation is expressed and is satisfied with a false comfort that the woman imposes herself. From then on the initial decision seems to be taken by the woman. The indecisive man, consciously or unconsciously, fades away so that his wife, as a partner, can take over. Furthermore, to understand the place of woman in the couple's initial decision to leave, it is necessary to return to the society of origin.

The Algerian family is nourished by an imaginary patriarchal culture (Bourdieu (1963) Fanon, 1959/2013), but behind this patriarchal visibility lies a basic matriarchal structure. The woman represents the axis of the Algerian family around which all forces revolve; she holds unspoken control (see. Fanon (2013)). This justifies the importance of the spouse's support among all migrants as a couple in order to validate their decision to leave. In various forms, the spouse's decision, in most cases, seems to take precedence over that of the spouse. Thus, in most cases, the spouse is the one who pushes her spouse to leave. The opportunity to free themselves from social control and its tare, they do not hesitate to manipulate in order to try to convince their spouse to emigrate. The woman's desire to emigrate may, in some cases, reflect this desire to emancipate herself from the original social embrace in a society that is hardly conciliatory towards women.

In a society where the couple is condemned to suffer this social embrace, material difficulties have several causes, recognized or not. Some are perhaps more apparent than others in Algeria, such as the extended family and the narrowness of housing, the high cost of living and the shortages that accompany it, the lack of future prospects for children, etc. (Addi (1999)). Even independent couples are not spared the interference of the extended family (social control). Women are thus hard hit by the contradictions between their social status and the aspirations they have for themselves and their children in a world where they seek to consolidate their position and defend their interests with the resources at their disposal (Addi (1999), p. 116).

Emigration, therefore, will enable her not only to fulfil herself, but above all to free herself in part from (gendered) social roles in order to focus on her success and that of her children. The different configurations I encountered in my interviews, or through a key participant, confirm that the social constraints imposed on the couple

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weigh more heavily on the woman than on the man; the woman thus finds herself under more pressure than her partner. The pre-migration past is therefore crucial in understanding the couple dynamics that take shape after immigration. The community tacitly or explicitly imposes its hegemony over the new couple (Addi, (1999)), and for some, it hinders the couple's empowerment (see Yahiaoui (2010)). In the following paragraphs, we will discuss the couple's encounter with the new society and the new norms that are needed to challenge the established order in their relationship. Between order and disorder, a new conjugal dynamic is taking shape in an endless reshuffling.

I. The couple facing the host society

Intra-couple and intra-family relationships (Ciccheli-Pugeau and Cicchelli (1998) cited by Yahiaoui (2010)) vary according to the social background of origin and take different forms depending on whether the migrant family accepts or rejects its new social space. They also vary according to the way in which members redefine their relationships with each other (internal) and with the outside world (see Vatz-Laaroussi, (2009)).

"My wife told me ever since we came here, we found you. In Algeria, we didn't see each other. This immigrant situation has allowed me to see myself again, to revise myself, it's a way to take things in hand, to concentrate on my family life [...]." (Rafik, 55 years-old)

"Here, we're always face to face; it's not like at home, we run away from each other in silence. Here, everything has to be discussed, everything is shared, and then there are things that have to be taken out [...], others that were futile become important, you see, it's like everything is turned upside down and it takes time and face-to-face to work things out, not like at home, not like here, but to find the right balance [...]. We try to respond to every situation and its data. " (Yacine, 38 years-old)

"I have done everything for her...we married against my family, and here [in migration] I am discovering another person. " (Tayeb, 57 years-old)

It is in the rediscovery of the other that spouses begin to redefine themselves in the immigration context. The migratory experience becomes an exploration of oneself with one's partner, especially since the paradoxes of origins potentially threaten the couple and the family. But it is also in this atmosphere of threat that the family becomes a refuge to repair the mistakes made in the past in the society of origin (see Yahiaoui, 2010). It is in confrontation that individuality and the collective are built (Camelleri, 2004). It is mainly within the family and their couple that some of my participants experienced their first confrontations in the host society. It is

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especially in these confrontations that the spouse seeks recognition of the other. The couple becomes a meeting place for opposition forces, the site of a vehement confrontation of values here and there, which gives rise to daily tensions (Legault, Bourque and Roy, 2009). The couple engages in the destruction and reconstruction of their intra-marital relationships on a daily basis. The couple rediscovers themselves in new experiences. They relearn to know themselves differently in order to manage themselves. Considering the contradictions before migration (in Algeria), but also those after migration (in Quebec) is important to understand the state of disorder in which the couples I interviewed find themselves. It is in negotiation that the couple can find compromises to give meaning and respond to each situation and its specificities. But the evaluation of the tears between here and there makes it possible to reduce the hiatus that can grow within the couple. It should be noted that the new constraints of the host society can facilitate or hinder the couple's social integration, particularly with respect to the new social roles assigned to them.

1-The never-ending negotiation

If the husband has obtained work that meets his qualifications, the wife is reassured, which creates a healthy climate for future negotiations:

"The fact that he found a job reassured us; I was afraid of that [...], then it started slowly [...]. We met at university, we already had a past together in Algeria. Between couples, we often talk, that's how it works [...], we give each other advice, we also seek advice from those around us, that helps a lot [...], learning from the experiences of others, we had the example of [...], we had lots of examples. We didn't want to fall into that trap, especially in the beginning it wasn't easy [...]. Domestic work, everything is shared. We do everything together, we share custody of our daughter [...]; then we try to manage our daily lives. "(Nadia 38 years-old).

The torque reasonably adjusts to the requirements of the new company. More often than not, the first concern to be negotiated within the couple is work (see Chicha, 2012). In the case of this couple, the fact that the husband got a job in the first moments of settlement makes the situation more relaxed. The spouse is at ease in the relationship. Working on a daily basis reveals their desire to find a balance between the outside and the inside of their couple. Negotiations are ongoing. Both parties try to find compromises to avoid complications. The new redistribution of marital roles directly affects domestic tasks: responsibilities are equal in the aforementioned couple. Between work, school, childcare, cleaning and shopping, no party is prejudiced, since domestic work is shared equally.

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Besides some of my female participants are engaged in a meticulous programming of daily life in their couple or family; schedules are respected to the second. Some of my male participants, willingly though, take on their role within their couple, so that from now on everything is shared with the spouse. Such a balanced marital relationship promotes a healthy intra-family environment to help the couple in their daily relationships with the outside world. The conditions of the host society make the traditional gender role model unsustainable. Egalitarian values then become more than necessary for the couple to survive. Both spouses are called upon to support each other: to be present at the other's request and to respond to their needs in order to earn their emotional esteem (see. Chicha, 2012). These egalitarian relationships upset, if not make impossible, the original social hierarchy. The man, less prepared for this equality, is the one most exposed to contradictions and, as a result, his couple can necessarily be affected by them, and separation for some becomes inevitable.

2-The couple under the threat of emptiness:

Waiting to get a job, and under the threat of a vacuum, the couple cobble together solutions that risk breaking the deal. The strategies adopted are conditioned both by the health of the couple and the reality of the host society. Giving priority to one spouse over the other to begin training may not be in keeping with the original model, which would advocate priority requalification of the man, regardless of the reality of the job market, which may favour the spouse's skills. Indeed, I have identified two cases - and it is not surprising to find similar cases among other migrant couples (Chicha (2009)) - where the woman's profile is potentially more favourable on the labour market than that of her spouse. For this reason, and to obtain more information, I used my key informants, who reported to me several cases, more or less similar, where the couple is subject to such tensions.

"You go out in the dark and you come back in the dark, I also worked on weekends. That's working under the table...; then with my wife it's always bickering, it never ends, she couldn't stand her situation, and then there are the children... A dead end. There is no turning back, and it is even more difficult to continue in this way. You feel that your relationship is threatened. It was difficult [...]. We have less tension; she got a year's training for next September; it's true that her degree is more interesting than mine in terms of opportunities [...]. "(Nouri, 52 years-old)

In the above example, the spouse's deskilling work offers no individual recognition to the spouse and creates a distance with his or her spouse. For her, the disappointments overlap and the disregard becomes heavier, in this infinite wait

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during which one spends one's energy for a result that, in the end, proves to be not very rewarding. In short, the consequences of disqualification are a source of frustration and tension in the couple, which becomes a place where different contradictory forces meet and where constraints are not easily loosened (Yahiaoui, 2010).

"A very close friend is in a very critical situation, he is at the end of his training, his wife has left him, she couldn't take it anymore, she went back to Algeria with her daughter [...]. She is in computer science, but she stayed at home [...]. They agreed that the husband should continue his studies. Once finished, she could go back to school [...]. But the wait was too much for her, and time went by...he didn't understand anything, poor guy, she packed up and went home without notice just to tell him I can't take it anymore. It's over for her. "(Mustafa, 39 years-old)

In this testimony, the spouse occupied by his formation leaves his wife, who gradually disengages from the couple. The spouse feels useless in the waiting and vacuity. Domestic roles are thus distributed inequitably. The couple becomes a place of dissent. And when living together becomes unbearable, separation becomes the only escape or the only way out (Thalineau, 2004). Thus, the decision to break up in order to resume one's life is explained by what has been taken away from it. It is in this desire to regain the amputated part of her life and give it meaning that we must understand the fact that some spouses have abandoned their husbands without notice in order to regain control of their lives. This decision must be seen not only as a "recovery" of consideration and self-confidence, but also as a "recovery" of meaning in the face of the emptiness felt.

In general, the weight of religious traditions is more demanding and overwhelming for women than for men. It is useful to recall that religion is often instrumentalized, to the benefit of men, in the regulation of gender links and relations within the couple ((Addi (1999); Guérid (2007); Boukhebz (2002)). Thus, when he is unable to justify his decisions to his family, the father, or the husband, most often resorts to religious arguments as an unavoidable instrument to legitimise his power (Addi (1999)). The religious referent is thus used as an instrument of social control exercised mainly, but not exclusively, over women. Thus, for some of my participants, marital conflicts are often discussed and resolved within the framework of religion.

Conjugal life places at the heart of the concerns of spouses the question of roles and the sharing of decision-making power within the couple (Chicha, (2012)). In the context of Western migration, it is above all the power of the man that risks being undermined, while the values of inequality, a priori, risk threatening the equilibrium

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of the couple. To be conservative and to lead one's life according to traditional models is by no means an easy task in the West. The accommodations required hard work on the part of both partners, because contradictions can end in the break-up of the couple, as we will see in the issue of divorce in immigration.

The social role of the religious referent, which it is important to re-emphasise, is in particular to guarantee, or rather to promise, the unity of the future family (Addi 1999). This religious social dimension serves to counter any inclination towards individuation, acting as a reminder of the importance of the group. Among conservatives, however, the social function of the religious can serve the subordination of women to men, in accordance with the traditional patriarchal model (Addi, 1999). However, in immigration, adjustments, to varying degrees, may be adopted to lead to changes in domestic roles. This orientation is found among some of my participants, who seem to adhere to egalitarian values, particularly in the sharing of domestic roles and tasks, in order to contribute to regulation based on mutual compromise. Their couple strives to eliminate any contradiction that may hinder their marital relationship on a daily basis.

3-Marital resignation

The resignation of the spouse from their role can be the cause of the fragmentation of the couple. Second-hand accounts reveal such findings. Although this resignation concerns both partners, the cases reported by my key informants concern the spouse, as in the following comments:

"I have a friend who has been training for two years without a job, he works under the table in a bakery, while his wife has found a job [in her field]. This created tension in their relationship, he couldn't accept it when they started studying together. So, he had raised the problem of their child's education; his wife came to me to talk to me about it [...]. The husband couldn't accept the situation, and then there were their two children; he refused to keep them. It was very tense between them; he was about to divorce. I know the couple very well; I had to intervene to try to calm them down. It was a very difficult phase, but it's now back to normal; they're in Toronto, both of them are working. "(Adel 44 years-old)

At first, it may be difficult for a man to accept that his spouse is superior to him, particularly at the professional level, since in the country of origin the man is considered only by his work as the main provider for the family. Secondly, the man may be jealous of his wife because she has obtained work that meets his qualifications, whereas he has not been able to do so. The wife, for her part, has a job that she holds dear and, since her work is demanding (like any other job), she is

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no longer subject to a duty to organize everything for her husband. It is a deskilling job where the spouse's absence from work seems to be a source of conflict and tension within the couple (Thalineau, 2004, p. 84; Kaufmann, 1995). The spouse sees himself or herself abandoned, but above all dispossessed of a power that emanates from his or her status as husband and/or father. They feel betrayed by the person closest to them, because they refuse to reverse roles and take care of their child and domestic tasks. A feeling of disregard acts unfavourably on this husband, who only existed for his wife through her work (Thalineau, 2004).

Thus, men and women find themselves under the same conditions to face the labour market, which is most often hostile to them (Vatz-Laaroussi, 1993). In this equality of opportunity offered by the labour market, which may even favour women over men, a more egalitarian redistribution of roles within the home is necessary (Vatz-Laaroussi, Lessard, Montejo and Vanna, 1996). The wife is obliged to leave some tasks to her husband. The wife's work outside the home imposes a redistribution of domestic roles, where the man's role within the family unit is likely to change. It is not uncommon for the husband to refuse to submit to the new redistribution of domestic roles (Chicha, 2012; Chicha & Charest, 2008), in a context where the wife is trying to reconcile work and family. Such a situation considerably affects the self-esteem (Kaufmann, 1995) of both men and women. The spouse depreciates himself or herself in relation to his or her spouse, and their relationship is no longer the same; the climate between the two becomes very tense. Between "this is not the woman I knew" and "this is not the man I knew", guilt is exchanged on each other. But it is also in the sharing of domestic roles that the couple is under the threat of fragmentation. The desire to exercise power leads the husband to want to impose his male authority on his wife, thus (re)putting himself in a dominant position. In this form of resignation, the spouse relies on the entourage to legitimize his authority and make the spouse feel guilty for having deserted her role as mother.

The spouse, who may be uncomfortable with this new situation in the home, unconsciously feeds conflict by weakening the marital relationship (Kaufmann, 1995). According to other testimonies, when the man cannot get a job, it is the woman alone who faces the hostility of the job market. One of my participants opted to set up a family daycare centre because, according to her, this type of business offers more autonomy and less pressure, Also, they are always solicited by immigrant families to place their children there (Vatz-Laaroussi, 2012). With this option, the wife replaces her husband as the main provider.

"I can't understand X; he's given up, his wife is in charge, she's opened a family daycare, it brings in money. He's always in Jean-Talon sipping his coffee in endless

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domino games, you call that a man. It's his wife who brings in the money, he's at her mercy. "(Nouri, 52 years-old)

"There are a lot of problems within the Algerian community here in Montreal. They don't talk, they keep it all to themselves. Like this woman who is going through big problems. And keeps everything in secret [...]. She has asked the Centre for help, I have asked for witnesses, and she tells me that no one knows about her situation except a woman. And she hasn't informed anyone. The DYP took her 16-year-old daughter away from her for bad company; she lives in Montreal North. She is drowning in big problems and she has 5 children and is divorced. Her husband left her in 2009; before that, they had their own house in Drummondville, then they lived well with her husband and children. All of a sudden they sold the house and her husband went back to Algeria. Some Algerians here are experiencing terrible family dramas. "(Mohamed 63 years old)

In such cases, some spouses disengage from their family responsibilities, as illustrated by Member 12 above. In a spouse's withdrawal from his or her role, his or her wife not only assumes all domestic roles, but is also the primary provider for the family. In this reversal, the husband abandons himself and sinks into idleness. Self-esteem ends in disregard, and any desire to find credit in the eyes of his spouse is shattered (Goffman, 1975). When he can no longer find a job that meets his qualifications, and when age becomes a handicap in the labour market, the will to start over again disappears. When the spouse is powerless to reverse his or her new situation, daily life is frozen in an impossible future. But his disengagement precipitates him to the bottom of the ladder in his family as well. The image is also reversed when the spouse is no longer able to bear the situation, as this second-hand account attests:

"[The] couple got along very well, and then it's the separation. It's because of the guy who neglected his wife.... He prepared his doctorate at Concordia, his wife worked everywhere, but only in small jobs: Dollarama, etc., not to mention domestic chores, and their 3-year-old daughter. At a certain point, she was fed up. She packed up and moved with her daughter to Algeria. The guy didn't realize until after she left: "After what?" (Mohamed 63 years-old)

In this new conjugal framework (Kaufmann, 1995) imposed by the conditions of the host society, the couple struggles to maintain their immigration project. Any strategy is adopted by sacrificing one partner for the success of the other. When the spouse is drowned in her professional commitment which can result in marital disengagement, in this interminable wait, the spouse is abandoned by her husband (Chicha, 2012). Between hard work to provide for her family and domestic chores, the

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spouse is under intense pressure. Moreover, the lack of recognition from her spouse can be a source of problems.

4-Renouncing work in consent

Often, when it is the migrant woman who is called upon to give up the outside to take care of the inside, the education of the children seems to be the main reason:

"I worked until the birth of my first child [...]; after my motherhood I went back to work, my sister took care of my child, at the time she did nothing [...]. Daycare is not an easy thing, and I couldn't put my children in a Quebec daycare centre, so I had to give up my job, especially I want my children to speak Kabyle [...]. Language transmits our history and our meanings, our Kabyle stories. I want to tell them in Kabyle and not in French. And then there are the Kabyle customs, etc. For me it's part of our identity and our origins. " (Farida, 44 years-old)

For my participant, the choice to stop work was made by mutual agreement with her spouse. With the birth of their first child, she decided to stop work and devote herself to the education of her child. Two years later, a second child arrived. The transmission of the original model for children (the language and culture of origin) requires consent in the couple (Chicha, 2012). This task seems to fall more on the mother than on the father. However, although the father works outside the home, he is not excluded from the project of transmitting the model of origin. Indeed, in some cases, the education and socialization of children according to the original model is not the sole responsibility of the spouse. I met with two other participating couples who adhere to this strategy. Such a willingness requires mutually agreed sacrifices so that the couple can reach a compromise between the requirements of the host society and those of the society of origin. Thus, for the spouse, giving up work, either temporarily or permanently, is the fruit of a compromise between the two partners (Chicha, 2012). With a single salary at the end of the month, the couple manages the expenses carefully and the expenses are reasoned. The spouse who does not work relieves the couple of the expenses and time required for travel between work, home and school. For participant, being an immigrant mother also means continually being with her child to instill in him or her original "language and religion" model. However, in this reproduction, the couple also negotiates accommodations with the reception model.

II.Working and tensioning the torque

While work is a source of stability for the household, it can also be the source of problems and tensions in the couple.

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"They were working under the table, a couple of jobs. Pale faces and dark circles around their eyes. It's scary [...]. After which he was granted citizenship, he returned to Algeria, his wife refused, and his children returned home with him. Here are the consequences. "(Nouri, 52 years-old)

Several participants tell the same story. The couple neglect each other, and the hectic pace of work offers no time to work out the broken things behind the scenes of immigration.

"You get here, you have to manage, you have to work first and work is no guarantee, and all the frustration of not working at your job, and doing a job that doesn't live up to your qualifications. There is no one to confide in, and we have to manage the rest, after the children, the daycare, things that we are not used to doing at home.... But here we have to do them and the minutes are counted: here I have to be up at 6:00 in the morning until 7:00 or 8:00 in the evening, working all day, we just work. So it's a rhythm that overwhelms us, and it gets on our nerves, and that's when people are on edge, it starts the quarrels, problems of arguments. "(Malek, 53 years-old)

The pace of work and life imposed by the host society considerably feeds tensions within the couple (Thalineau (2004); Kaufmann (1995)). New data are added along the way, hence the interest for the couple in updating or reviewing their strategy. Working in the informal sector, holding a general job or accumulating several jobs at the same time are all part of a frenetic rhythm. Such a pace cannot be sustained for long. But it is in this race against time that the couple loses its balance. Locked in by their projects, either here or there, the couple neglects themselves in their determination to achieve the unattainable. Badly battered by an infernal rhythm, the couple is under threat of gradually crumbling. Moreover, the question of the separation between the family and professional spheres is very difficult. Most often, for some of my participants, the professional sphere surreptitiously encroaches on the family sphere (Kaufmann (1995)). This is not without consequences for the health of the couple. The resulting multiplicity of everyday roles does not help to solve everyday problems. The accumulation of these problems in a fast-paced everyday life makes family life more difficult and makes the atmosphere very tense.

"It's been seven years, it's over for me, I can't take it anymore, I don't want to work anymore, a lot of tension at work and at home with my husband. I was stressed all the time...I quit...I resigned...I rested, I rested, I had time to get my house in order, and then I opened a family daycare centre. It's better than before, less tension.... We're managing our daily lives better. "(Malek, 53 years-old)

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The frenetic pace imposed by the host society, especially in relation to the very hard conditions at work, can become a real source of tension in the couple (Kaufmann 1995). After a certain period of time in the labour market, the participant mentioned above prefers a less stressful environment, even to the point of leaving her job. According to her, starting a family daycare centre had the advantage of offering her a more or less tolerable work environment. This reorientation was detected in four of my female participants.

At other times, when the husband has a permanent job, the wife chooses to remain without work, although sometimes the husband may prefer that his wife also work, as in the case of my participants: "I would have liked her to work, to help me a little, but she chose to stay with the children". Other spouses suggested that their partners take a step back, as in participant 16: "She was under stress all the time, she cried every night. Well, I told her to quit; so far we're doing quite well.

1-Separation of immigrant couples

Among the undeniable (and undesirable) effects of the host society on the couple's health, divorce is not the least (Tahon(2000)). But the host society alone does not explain all the problems of the immigrant couple. The couple is never free of their past, since problems of origin can cause complications in the couple. Moreover, the problem of divorce in Algeria (society of origin) is becoming increasingly acute; the increase in divorces reported by the ONS tells us about the constant resurgence of marital dissociation (Abassi (2005), p4). Divorce can be understood as the consequence of conflicts between old and new roles and statuses, situations in which separation is the only solution (Addi (1999)). According to Abassi (2005), p7), in Algeria, the traditional factors, those relating to family role conflicts, are the most significant in divorce. The instability of the Algerian couple informs us about the threat of divorce that weighs on immigrant couples. The latter are called upon to remedy their contradictions and recover real stability, otherwise the future of the second generation will be jeopardised (Tahon (2000)). But the functioning of one couple is in no way the same as another (Kaufmann (1995)) and the conjugal dynamics in immigration are never completely identical.

In these daily confrontations in the new society (Kaufmann (1995)), many conflicts can affect newly arrived couples. However, as mentioned, finding separated couples who want to talk about their separation is almost impossible. To overcome this methodological pitfall, I used the testimonies of my key participants as a source of information. In this regard, the testimonies of volunteers from the Algerian Cultural

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Centre are of great value. They are often called upon to mediate for a couple in crisis, to try to prevent them from separating. If separation is inevitable, psychological, social and/or even financial help is available to alleviate their suffering. The testimonies that follow tell of a reality that is often hidden.

"The couples, who arrive here, have a bit of a way behind them. They arrive elderly, in their forties and over; there was a certain organization chart in the family. Once in immigration, more often than not, the organization chart changes, already a man at 45-50 years old it is difficult for him to find a job, the man is unemployed or else he is offered anything, and he doesn't accept it. The Algerian woman as usual suffers the harm; she can work anything, and then she will slowly regain her status. This means that in the couple, the man doesn't work and the woman works, and that starts the problems. All in all, it's a stress of changing context [...]. You leave a country where a lot of things are forbidden by pressure and social control to arrive in a country where everything is allowed by the law and by society, and that it is forbidden to forbid. There are men who spend evenings at the bar and gambling with his wife's money and vice versa. It is the discrepancy between the two societies that is the source of the problems. But those who arrived from France were smooth, we got relaxed even with regard to communication [...], it goes rather better with those who come from Europe than with those who come from Algeria and after a month he finds a job. Those who come from Algeria are not to blame, they already have this inferiority complex, they solicit me through employment and they behave as if he is the one who is going to hire me and I have already said: listen! "(Mohamed, 63 years old)

"Women who have lovers, married with children, I know, not one or two or three, but many. Because, it doesn't go in the couple anymore; and then the man knocks on the right and she knocks on the left. In the end, the couples who get divorced are the most intelligent. And most of the couples who stay together are supposed to stay together for the eyes of others, so that people don't talk about it; so that our parents don't talk about it too, otherwise they live with it like a ball and chain, they live with it; and divorce is full of them. "(Lounes, 63 years old)

The conditions of the host society offer a completely different sociological panorama from those applicable to the society of origin (Sayad (1999)). Couples who insist on perpetuating the traditional model are the most vulnerable to fragmentation (Tahon (2000)). Several factors contribute to this. The age factor may partly explain the separation. Indeed, couples who arrive at a more or less advanced age may convey a patriarchal culture of origin that does not adapt to the new society. The use of

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egalitarian values and the redistribution of domestic roles are not necessarily accepted by the spouse (Vatz-Laaroussi (2009)). The difficulties of the first moments, linked above all to the labour market, are a source of frustration. Displaced from his professional past, which defined him in his couple (Thaleneau (2004)), it is in the exercise of his male authority that men impose themselves at home. On the other hand, the spouse, who no longer feels obliged to submit to her husband's authority, revokes his power and confronts him with the new reality of the couple (Legault & Fronteau(2009)). Indeed, in some cases that I have encountered, women reject any reproduction of the patriarchal model that would inflict on them a status of dominance over their husbands. The husband may conceive of his wife's emancipation as a revenge on him and on the original model, especially when she downgrades it in her relationship. This emancipation may even become the source of her immigration woes (Legault & Fronteau (2009)), as we will see in the next section.

2-The couple between management and interference

It seems that the management of the couple is strongly influenced by the host society, which does not have the same support as in the home society. The way in which the couple is originally managed is no longer valid, and the couple is obliged to rework it to maintain the balance.

"Back home, I lived with my mother in-law.... Too much pressure with the mother-in-law. She interfered with my married life. Then my husband didn't defend me; it was his mother. And then there's this feeling that you're being watched by everyone. There's no room for error [...]. In short, my marriage was managed by everyone. And I didn't have any say in the matter [...]. It's different here, it's true that at first it was difficult, but then my husband no longer felt the pressure of his family. I think we live here as a couple. Maybe not for everyone, but Canada saved my couple and my family. "(Nabila, 42 years-old)

In Algeria, marriage, as a social system, is more than ever the instrument of the group; it aims to preserve and strengthen collective values and is in no way devoted to the search for individual happiness ((Addi (1999); boutefnouchet (1982); Camilleri (1973), p 13; Bourdieu(1963); Fanon (1959/2013)). Everyone feels concerned about the couple: the father-in-law, the mother-in-law, the sisters, the sisters-in-law, etc. (Addi (1999)). It is also the extended family that intervenes in the education of the children. This interference ensures the stability of the couple without their knowledge, even in moments of tension, when the latter can potentially break up (Boutefnouchet(1984)).

In immigration, the couple is left to their own devices. One of my participants emphasizes her refusal to reproduce the servitude to the larger group she experienced

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in her country of origin in order to enjoy the freedom acquired in immigration (Vatz-Laaroussi et al. (1996). In general, however, the couple struggles to self-manage in a migratory context (Kaufmann (1995)). The social entourage in immigration proposes artificial external relationships that provide few support structures, unlike in the country of origin. In this isolation, the couple rediscovers themselves in immigration to solve their everyday problems.

In more fragile couples, as reported by my key informant 5, spouses become embroiled in conflict. Some spouses may then sink into chronic unemployment, gambling and alcoholism, among other things. Desertion of the domestic space by the spouse makes his or her rare presence at home often tense. The domestic space becomes for him or her only a dormitory that he or she frequents sporadically, without a precise schedule. In this abandonment, the woman may be a victim of his doubts, which give way to suspicions of bad company, which may lead to the break-up of the couple.

3-Young couple put to the Test:

Young immigrant couples are perhaps most at risk of fragmentation. The report states that "newly married couples on arrival, both women and men, open their eyes to new realities, where there is no longer any room for prohibitions. So at the frequent end, they end up getting divorced. It's still a free country, everything is beautiful, they fall under the spell of this new life and its temptations" (Malek, 53 years-old).

"It was my daughter who sponsored me [...], things were going well in her relationship, they arrived young [...] Everything was going well, then I didn't understand anything, she got divorced [...], she said her husband was suffocating her [...]. I don't understand anything, I think my daughter has become westernized."
 "(Fatima, 71 years-old)

Young couples at the beginning of their migratory journey, and whose marital past is very recent, are vulnerable in the face of a society that is different from the society of origin, and where the boundaries of the forbidden are not the same. The opportunities offered to them by the acquisition of new individual freedoms are not without consequences. On the one hand, some young women prefer to make an unconditional break with the traditional model in order to take control of their lives on their own terms. The presence of a child will not prevent them from beginning their emancipation in the Western way, or even from starting a new life. On the other hand, the young immigrant, faced with all the freedoms and temptations offered by the host society (e.g., libertine, alcohol, gambling, night outings, etc.) will not deprive themselves either, even if they are married. Attending casinos and gambling

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heralds complications, especially the debts that accumulate. In the presence of children, the young groom does not hesitate to claim the right to access children's allowances paid directly into the mother's account, who is supposed to manage this budget item. Infidelity, among other things, is responsible for many cases of divorce among young couples in the community of Algerian origin. In the illegitimacy of the act, through the mistress and/or the lover, the rejection of the traditional model is expressed. Thus, the young couple, tempted by these freedoms, may find themselves overwhelmed by temptation and end up separating.

4-The emancipated submissive woman

The host society may offer more favourable opportunities to the woman than to the man, or else it is the woman who is more willing to integrate into this new society.

"In the beginning, I was luckier than my ex-husband in terms of work, because I got a job and he didn't, even though we had the same degree. He didn't accept my job very well.... It was often tense between work and home.... ...and then I think things changed." (Amina, 51 years-old)

Outside female employment puts the wife in the obligation of simultaneously assuming several roles: those relating to the upkeep of the home, the education of the children and those relating to her job (Chicha & Charest, 2008). This role overload can have negative repercussions on the marital relationship. For if the wife copes with it by trying, as far as she can, to meet all the demands placed on her, it is not always the same for her husband (Chicha & Charest (2008)). Thus, the neglect of domestic tasks by the wife gradually gives rise to conflicts that can lead to divorce. In such cases, the male power of the official head of the family is undermined, giving the husband the traditional role of domestic provider (Thalineau (2004)). The traditional role of housewife, on the other hand, gives the wife a complementary role and recognizes her status as a maintained woman. She is dependent on her husband, who is the undisputed and indisputable master (Schwartz, 1990, p. 38, cited in Thalineau (2004)).

However, the work of women in the context of migration calls into question this distribution of roles and status by establishing a new organization that gives the wife significant power and gives her independence from her husband. In immigration, women are offered new opportunities that call into question the distribution of domestic roles that regulated their social daily life at the outset (Vatz-Laaroussi (1992)). The presence of women from different backgrounds in community

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organizations or in the workplace, in particular, opens her eyes to her rights and obligations, while offering her the prospect of a new way of living and behaving, as well as the possibility of gaining access to a new lifestyle specific to the host society. However, it is important to avoid generalising, taking into consideration certain variables that may influence the level of traditionalism of couples. In particular, couples of urban origin or from privileged socio-cultural backgrounds tend to adhere to more egalitarian values compared to couples of rural origin or from more modest socio-cultural backgrounds. However, it is still difficult to generalize about the chances that these variables have an impact on the risk of divorce, since several other variables may contribute to it (Labelle (1990), p74).

In short, divorce in immigration is often the result of marital conflicts generated by conflicts related to the original family roles (Vatz-Laaroussi (2009); Rachédi (2008)). The migrant couple, as a social microcosm, is in fact undergoing the impact of a radical change, even a sociological shift due to the new context of the host society (Kérisit (2000)). The couple, in their new autonomy, is forced to shed their old lifestyle and adopt new models (Kaufmann(1995)). However, spouses involved in this process are constantly confronted with misunderstandings, misunderstandings and conflicts, most often due to clashes and tensions between two cultural models. Some of them are unable to distance themselves from their past and the old values it conveys, or to renounce the advantages of a new way of life offered to them by the host society. In fact, they burn themselves out in conflicts that may end in divorce. In conclusion, the dynamics of conjugal and intra-family relationships in the situations described above seem to lead to a redefinition of the respective positions of both spouses, as partners and as fathers and mothers (Vatz-Laaroussi (2009); Rachédi (2008)).

- Conclusion :

The difficulties encountered to integrate the host society threatens the balance of the family, first and foremost the marital dynamic. In this respect, if the conditions of the host society affect the couple's path in immigration, the pre-emigration conditions are not to be neglected in the analysis. Among the pre-migration variables contributing to the disruption of conjugal dynamics in immigration, we should mention first and foremost the migrant's rural and/or urban origins, which seem to have a varying influence on the way the family lives the integration process. However, it is through these complications that spouses will develop strategies to integrate and chart their course in the new society. The dynamics of conjugal and intra-familial relationships in immigration lead to a redefinition of the respective

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positions of both spouses, as partners and as fathers and mothers. There is a wide range of possible actions to restore balance. Questioning domestic roles, the weakening of the power of the spouse or father (Hermendez(2007)), who has to give up his male hegemony, domination acquired thanks to the original model (Addi (1999); Kauffman (1995)), are as many possible coping strategies revealed by the data analysis. It is in this vehement confrontation of values that the couple rebuilds itself. The partners assume multiple roles, in the reconversion of old normative models. A tinkering with identity begins and never stops.

The migrant family oscillates between the past and the present, between the socialization of origin and the socialization of reception. In its migration project, the migrant family seeks to grant three moments of migration: the past projected into the future, the present, with all its nostalgia, and a future in which hopes of family success are inscribed. These three moments lead to a kaleidoscope of identities that have to be reappropriated according to one's position in the couple and in the family. For this reason, the issue of immigrant children remains subtle, and it is important to examine the data carefully to understand the issues of intra-family relationships.

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