

The emigration of Algerian students is a lasting loss**Swarms benefit France****L'émigration des étudiants algériens est une perte durable.****Les essais profitent à la France.****BELHOCINE Hassina Houa**

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Abstract

As part of our sociological research on Algerian student migration, we conducted a field survey in Algiers. This contribution reports on some of these results. The unexpected results of our study reveal the extent of qualified Algerian migration to the countries of the North, taking with them the financial, material and immaterial wealth of Algeria, which does not offer them the right conditions to stay and flourish as elite.

Keywords: Algeria, migration, representations, attitudes, students, today.

Résumé

Dans le cadre de notre recherche sociologique sur la migration des étudiants algériens, nous avons mené une enquête de terrain à Alger auprès des étudiants des filières scientifiques et technologiques. Cette contribution rend compte de certains de ces résultats. Les résultats inattendus de notre étude révèlent l'ampleur de la migration algérienne qualifiée vers les pays du Nord, emportant avec eux les richesses financières, matérielles et immatérielles de l'Algérie, qui ne leur offre pas les conditions adéquates pour rester et s'épanouir en tant qu'élite.

Mots-clés : Algérie, migration, représentations, attitudes, étudiants, aujourd'hui.

Introduction

Higher education reflects the degree of growth and cohesion of societies and the level of satisfaction and well-being of individuals. In today's knowledge society, higher education is the basis for the formation of the human capital needed to master technologies, to grow the economy, to create wealth and to attract foreign investors. The developed countries of the North, whose populations are increasingly aging, they fill the shortage of students in certain courses and offer a recruitment pool for a young and qualified workforce in the context of an increasingly tertiarized labor market. International students also represent a financial manna for the host countries, because of the numerous expenses they have to face (consumption, housing, visa...) and the sometimes very high registration fees.

This study examined the issue of Algerian student migration today in relation to global and local, historical and contemporary social structures. It studied the representations in relation to the spontaneous Algerian international student emigration with South-North trajectory. It aimed at analyzing and understanding this phenomenon through the representations, discourses and attitudes of students in relation to this migratory phenomenon in its entirety. By approaching the whole migration process, namely : - the intentions of departure, - the preparation of the departure (apprehensions, strategies, dynamics) and - the questions related to the return and/or non-return to the country at the end of the studies (projections to the future). This study is thus devoted to the representations and discourses around the international Algerian student migration of today. It has adopted a systemic approach through an attempt at multiple triangulations: - methods (qualitative and quantitative) for a global sample of (930) or (917 students, 14 teachers and parents), - times (longitudinal study from 2017 to 2021) and - places (Algiers, Marseille and Paris). This study is based on the macro structural approach by trying to demonstrate the positive correlation between, on the one hand, the Algerian society (with its social, political and economic structures and its historical evolution) and, on the other hand, the migration phenomenon that affects students. Thus, our problematic is complex, for that a plural approach was imposed of itself. This required an imposing documentary research base of various types of resources. So, this global approach has allowed the accumulation of data that deliver a global and enlightening vision of the phenomenon under study. In addition, this study is distinguished by the effort to develop research materials specific to the fields and populations under study. In the end, the reality of this phenomenon

studied was not isolated, but rather intertwined and linked to a global problematic. Unexpected result is that the students' projects are parents' projects and life projects.

The Algerian migrations

Algeria, like many former colonized countries, has experienced a growing democratization of its higher education since the beginning of the 1980s. This is attributable to both the demographic explosion and the policy of free and compulsory schooling adapted by Algeria since its independence in 1962. According to the Algerian National Statistics Office (ONS, 2019) the Algerian population is 44.7 million inhabitants on January 1, 2021. According to the Algerian National Economic and Social Council (Cnes-Pnud, 2016): "by 2025, the volume of 0-14 year olds will experience a substantial increase of 2 million more, which is likely to preserve the youthful character of the Algerian population for many decades to come. Algeria is therefore a young society and the number of its students will continue to increase over the years and the number of graduates will continue to rise. This will generate an increase in the demands and specific needs of this young and demanding population. In the situation where these contingents of young graduates are not well taken care of and are not satisfied with their lives in their society and they do not see prospects for the future and foreseeable well-being in their own country, they will think about emigration or, if necessary, they will turn to perversion or revolution which will destabilize society.

Problematic

Today more than ever, migration is a major challenge for individuals and societies and raises various questions at the local, national, regional, virtual and global levels. Indeed, migration affects the different dimensions of the development of countries: political, economic, social, human and cultural. They also affect the fate and future of individuals and orient their aspirations, behaviors and representations. However, when we speak of "migration" as opposed to "mobilities", we are referring to the movement of populations from poor countries located generally in the South to developed countries located in the North. They are also generated by this same "world-system", where people move to rich countries because of the attraction of the development achieved by these northern countries and the attractive lifestyle and prosperous life of the European countries. It is also about post-colonial migrations, in the 1970s these migrations were considered as a kind of help to the countries which are going to build themselves after a long period of colonization,

and at the same time in the logic of cultural radiation of the former colonizing countries. But, today, these migrations from the South to the North, with neoliberal globalization, are incriminated, monitored and restricted, they are a kind of "disease of the century" that everyone talks about and almost all the states of the developed countries make policies of restriction and prevention. Moreover, as a result of the globalization of higher education, which has led to the enhancement and increase of student mobility, especially since the 1990s, many selection mechanisms have been put in place at all levels in order to sift and take the most desired and wealthy and not especially the most deserving. Thus, the best and the rich will be concentrated in the North.

Neoliberal globalization, which has been reinforced in particular since the 1990s, has brought about profound changes in societies and we are witnessing an explosion of migrations and migration patterns on a global scale. This process of globalization tends to homogenize social and cultural lifestyles and to promote the consumer society. Moreover, this European model of modernization promotes individualism and self-determination. This individualism is based on false values, such as competitiveness, profitability, pragmatism and utilitarianism of social relations and leads us to the destruction of social ties. Moreover, globalization is spreading by creating inequalities and imbalances between and in interior of countries and generating new global stratifications and networks of interconnections beyond nation-states. With the exponential development of science and technology, the world has reached a phase of development, but the relations between civil societies are closer and the inequalities more unbearable. Bairoch Paul (1971 pp: 497-514) has already noted that: "the global gross domestic product of the Western developed countries is six times greater than that of the underdeveloped countries", and this trend is increasing. He notes that: "this difference in power relations is further aggravated by the changes in the economic structures of production brought about by past colonization". Bairoch Paul explains: "the magnitude of the gap between the levels of development cancels out and will cancel out to a large extent, or perhaps even totally, the increased margin acquired by political independence. For his part, Raul Prebisch, former Secretary General of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, believes that: "The arrangement of international links between advanced countries (central countries) and backward countries (peripheral countries) inevitably leads to an increase in inequalities between the former and the latter" (Gaston Leduc, 1964, pp. 95-106). Like a vicious circle, countries economically dependent on developed countries

will lose their elites, especially those who are downgraded or marginalized. Those who may consider emigrating to places where it is good to live and where there are conditions to take advantage of and participate in the progress that our era offers, they will do so again and again. Bertrand Badie (2009, pp: 23-31), inspired by Durkheim, explains that social phenomena are born of other social facts that are external to individuals, writing that: "The social mechanics alone are formidable: if, for example, Europe represents 32% of the world's GDP and only 6% of the world's population, it obviously becomes an attractive pole for migration.

Approach

Historically, migrations accompany their societies and undergo mutations specific to the spatial and temporal contexts in which they are formed and evolve. Therefore, studying and analyzing migration is a way to analyze and understand society in its different dimensions. Thus, we believe that migration is influenced by global and local, historical and current structural causes that are intertwined and sustained. Indeed, the study of Algerian migration is influenced by historical and current parameters. These migrations, which are often described as postcolonial, have historical roots that characterize and support them. Also, the major transformations in progress have repercussions on the local and global contexts and generate, as a result, specific migrations.

Durkheim's theory on social and cultural integration through the educational system seems relevant to us in order to address the issue of Algerian student migration today, but it is not sufficient and decisive. Indeed, educational policies and those of higher education in particular can have a decisive impact on the migration phenomenon depending on whether they fulfill their functions of cohesion and social integration or fail (Dubet F, Dru-Bellat M and Veretout A, 2010). However, education systems are interwoven with other social structures and form only a part of the overall society and therefore their role depends on the overall structures and policies. Therefore, education and higher education cannot play any role, if the global society and its evolution do not have an overall coherence that ensures the general symphony of the country. Indeed, as François Dubet and his collaborators (2010, p. 215) so aptly noted, "beyond the fact that everyone has confidence in school education and that knowledge is superior to ignorance and that knowledge is necessary for economic growth (...). But this confidence goes beyond that when we are tempted to believe that school is capable of transforming societies, of making them better, fairer and more united. For her part, Marie Duru-Bellat (2012) thinks that: "expectations are enormous for education. It is expected to be a key lever for economic development and social

cohesion (...). The effects of education, largely dependent on a whole social and economic functioning, are not, therefore, always in line with expectations". Thus, the weight of structures is essential, social cohesion comes from the overall context of the country and the higher education and education systems are only a reflection of the global society. We consider that the Algerian context, with its different structures, has an impact on the phenomenon of emigration and that the lack of social cohesion in general may have a causal relationship with emigration and its corollary, the return of migrants to their country. Depending on whether society is cohesive and ensures the "well-being" of these populations or not, it influences the migration phenomenon and also impacts the return or non-return of its migrants. The Council of Europe (2004) defines social cohesion as: "the capacity of a society to ensure the well-being of all its members, to minimize disparities and to avoid polarization. Thus, we can say with Durkheim (1893) that social cohesion is based on a need for social justice. In Algeria, during the colonial period, cohesion was assured by the feeling of a common destiny. Thus, horizontal integration was very strong until the 1970s, supported by vertical integration ensured by the state in a context of availability of resources. However, from the 1980s onwards, with the economic recession and the various successive crises that Algeria has experienced, social cohesion has been undermined. The economic, social, cultural and political structures do not constitute a dense and durable network that can gather the population around a common destiny. The general social environment no longer inspires confidence and solidarity, Algerians no longer believe in a better future.

Thus, the originality of our problematic lies in the relation of cause and effect between the Algerian society with its historical and current evolving structures and its migrations in general and students in particular. This causality will continue as long as the same structures generate the same effects. Indeed the same factors generate the same results, this reproduction will continue while being transformed according to the contextual evolutions but by keeping the same basic elements.

Hypothesis

The migration and intentions to migrate of Algerian students can be explained by a combination of "push" and "pull" factors, as in all migrations. However, the repulsive factors are the most preponderant in the case of Algerian students. These push factors are linked to the degradation of the "social bond" that has been eroding Algerian society for several decades. The social structures, including the education and higher education systems, no longer play their role of cohesion and social integration.

As a result, it is the students from the middle classes who take the decision to emigrate. Indeed, these are the students who possess the different capitals (financial means, mastery of the French language, social networks, mastery of computer means...) allowing them to migrate. Moreover, these are the students who have aspirations to occupy higher positions and who, being downgraded, are unable to do so in the social context of diploma inflation.

In addition, the migration projects of these students who have migratory capital are supported and even initiated by their families (parents and siblings). Faced with the structural social cohesion failures at the macro level, families create their own family cohesion at the micro level and sometimes over-invest in migration projects.

We hypothesize that economic globalization, the European internationalization of higher education, and the subsequent institutionalization and promotion of student mobility create inequalities in access to quality education, well-paid work, and the hope of becoming an internationally competent world citizen. Moreover, these inequalities reinforce the already existing gap between the countries of the North and the South and impose ethnic and cultural barriers. Moreover, the countries of the South are experiencing perpetual multidimensional crises and do not offer prosperous living conditions or future prospects to their youth. The students, generally connected, young and educated, want to escape from the confinement and want to access the cosmopolitan space and a humanistic education.

We consider that the study of Algerian migrations is to be inserted in the general context of the society and the sociological analysis of the current Algerian society is to be seized in the history and in particular in the study of the colonial period. All the elements that constitute the Algerian society of today have been assembled and accumulated during the long colonial period and have given particular aspects of post-independent Algeria.

Methodology

The methodology we adopted is linked to the nature of our research project, which falls within the framework of field investigations. Indeed, as our research deals with a problem of a complex nature, we thought of trying to triangulate and adopt a mixed methodological approach. It is part of a comprehensive approach that favors in-depth knowledge of a phenomenon, the explanation of life experiences and concrete paths and allows for rich data. To study and better understand a complex phenomenon such as student migration, several approaches have been used, including

triangulation. Thus, a multi-site approach and a triangulation of method, populations, and time, allowed us to accumulate data for a better understanding of the phenomenon of Algerian student migration which is constantly increasing. Our research material is made up of a questionnaire for the quantitative study, an interview guide for the qualitative study and an open guide for parent interviews.

For our longitudinal survey with student, we voluntarily chose to administer the questionnaire at the beginning of each academic year, because the students are freshly enrolled and are generally more inclined to fill out and answer our questionnaire spontaneously. These are students in the preparatory classes of the national schools of higher education located in Algiers. The passing was done consecutively from October 2017, October 2018, October 2019 and December 2020. In 2019 we have chosen to complete the quantitative and longitudinal study carried out by questionnaires in Algiers, by the qualitative method using the open interview. Indeed, we found that the respondents to the questionnaires, who are first and second year students in science and technology, have almost similar representations and attitudes. For this reason, we decided to extend our population to other students from different fields and with other levels of study. This was done in order to finely analyze the discourses and representations of Algerian students in the Algiers region. So we interviewed 55 students of different specialties during the hirak demonstrations in Algiers.

Student migration theory

We cannot approach the migration phenomenon in Algeria without referring to Abdelmalek Sayad who said that "immigration is a total social fact" (A. Sayad, 1992, p. 15). He advocates considering migratory facts in their totality and in a system of complex relations. Total social facts "involve in some cases the whole of society and its institutions and in other cases only a very large number of institutions, especially when these exchanges and contracts concern individuals" (Mauss, 1982, p. 274, quoted by Monique de Saint Martin). Abdelmalek Sayad, pp: 53-62). Sayad said that: "The internal reflection of the society of emigration, the care to take charge of the intellectual work on emigration-which consists roughly in the analysis of the "endogenous" causes of emigration and the effects in return, "exogenous" effects of this same emigration" (A. Sayad, 1992, p: 16).

It is large-scale socio-historical factors that provoke migratory flows, not individual micro-decisions or particular companies (I. Wallerstein, 1974; M. Castells, 1989 and Catherine Borrel

(ed.), 1999). The proof is that until today, the Algerian people rise up and take to the streets to demand independence and the departure of the corrupt system, we need only analyze the "Hirak" or popular uprising with its slogans set in motion in early 2019. As everything is connected, we suggest that the interpretation of the Algerian student migrations of today, is also to be explained first of all by flaws at the structural level by the anomie and the lack of social cohesion at the macro-sociological level of the country of departure, Algeria, which struggles to find its way and to structure itself in an authentic and sustainable way.

The problematic related to migration has been considerably developed since the 1960s and a multitude of approaches have followed one another over time. One of the very first explanatory approaches to migration in the 1950s and 1960s focused on individual decision-making. According to this current, migration is the result of individual decisions and the focus is on the characteristics of the individual. For the proponents of this approach, migration is economic and results from the rational decision of the "homo economicus" who tends to maximize his income by emigrating to an area where there is a greater supply of jobs and higher wages. Colonial ties also determine migratory trajectories. Moreover, the effect of spatial proximity is undoubtedly the second determinant of these same migrations. On average, students tend to favor close destinations over distant ones. Thus the Algerian migrations go towards France. We know that migration moves the individual or human group from a more or less closed space to an open space.

Today, individuals are asked to be the shapers, the actors of their destiny (Foucault, 2008), to be responsible for their lives and their social protection. This condition would aim to transform subjects into entrepreneurs of their "human capital", which would imply that they submit to self-construction processes focused on individualization. Stark and Bloom (1985) introduce the notion of "family strategy" which emphasizes the mutual interdependence between the migrant and his family. We then speak of kinship capital and migratory social capital. Networks are mediating factors between "macro" structural factors and "micro" actors. In this respect, the family plays a central role.

The role of the family

The costs of emigration are considerable; families invest in their children's emigration projects. The role of parents and siblings, the family nucleus as the first integrating social unit in the decision to

emigrate of the Algerian student is essential. Moreover, the latter mobilizes its networks to facilitate, limit the risks and reduce the costs related to migratory projects. Indeed, according to the results of our survey, it is the parents who first think about emigration and influence their children to prepare for departure. These projects are planned very early, sometimes even before the birth of the child. Many couples in Algeria, as they approach childbirth, travel to France so that their child can have the right to French nationality. Many other strategies are adopted by parents and even without the child's knowledge. These strategies are diverse, such as enrolling their children in private schools, paying for foreign language courses, saving for expenses related to their children's migration project, etc. In turn, the children incorporate the ideas and projects of their parents and thus develop bypass strategies to overcome the failures of integration and social cohesion of the institutions of the nation state. Indeed, the migratory projects of Algerian students aim at escaping the deficiencies of cohesion and integration of the Algerian society. We can say that the emigration of Algerian students today, far from being spontaneous individual projects of students, they are well thought out projects of parents and siblings. Moreover, far from being study projects, they are life projects. It is the nuclear family that is behind the children's migratory projects, the latter are appreciated by the parents as long-term family projects.

Frustrations create challenges

Academic and social ambitions are not consistent with the structures of the available positions, so frustrations are alleviated by studying abroad. Indeed, in Algeria since independence in 1962, social mobility was achieved through education until the 1990s. University degrees had a positive representation among the Algerian population and expectations towards the higher education system to build up socially did not end, especially on the side of parents. The latter, who had acquired their social status through studies, still maintain the same school strategies for their children. Nevertheless, in the current context, this ascent through studies is made difficult by the devaluation of diplomas caused by the inflation of graduates. Therefore, studying abroad in developed countries will make the difference. Moreover, career prospects are greater once you have a foreign diploma, since you can either work in your own country, or stay in the country where you studied, or go to a third country and work for a multinational company.

Social injustice, unemployment

The students who participated in our survey almost unanimously mentioned problems related to social injustice, lack of consideration and marginalization. For example, many students referred to unemployment among graduates and to piston during recruitments, they said: "in Algeria, it is those you know that count and not what you know". Others said that "living with injustice and marginalization in a foreign country is bearable, but in one's own country it is intolerable".

And many responses allude to the lack of an environment conducive to the development of science and technology in Algeria.

Many have raised the problem of unemployment..." The Algerian student when he finishes his studies, he is faced with unemployment that lasts for several years which will force him thereafter to do any work in the informal as a salesman, worker in a bakery ...".

"Here we study for years to obtain a lasting unemployment title".

"Several factors push Algerian students to leave the country, such as the economic situation which degrades life in Algeria. In addition, the assurance of receiving a quality education in a developed country and especially very good conditions of study, such as security, hygiene, transportation ... etc. which does not exist here in Algeria" . ..

In Algeria, the opposite is true, the children of the ruling elites, who are in the minority, have privileges in all areas and nothing is forbidden to them. The children of the people, who are in the majority, are marginalized and have the right to almost nothing. Everything happens as if the natural resources of the country are the private property of the team in power.

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Some excerpts from the students' speeches

-....."The boat Algeria is invented at the same time as its shipwreck"...

- ... "tell me where my future is, I will tell you my plans! there is nothing here and we can no longer consider anything, and therefore, we must look elsewhere, it is legitimate I think..."...

- ... "our country is collapsing, it is already in pieces, impossible to rebuild it"...

-..."Students emigrate with a lot of suffering, they leave their parents and friends, they endure difficulties alone, they have all the unimaginable problems alone in a foreign country. But they tell themselves that it is a necessary passage, if they stay here, they will achieve nothing, they will stagnate forever. On the other hand, in a developed foreign country, their efforts will be rewarded directly or indirectly"...

Others think and say that Algeria pushes them to leave and that it does not want educated young people. Some wrote on the questionnaire: "The mother loves her children, but Algeria is an exception, it does not love them".

Algeria has 42.2 million inhabitants as of January 1, 2018, of which 45% of the overall population is under 25 years old and over 70% under 35 years old. The country has a significant rate of emigration. In 2000, Algeria was the 15th country in the world that provided the most migrants, estimated at more than 2 million individuals, a proportion of 6.8% in relation to the country's population (Gilles Pison, 2009, p: 57).

Jean-Baptiste Meyer, 2019) wrote that: "In a country where 53% of the population is under 30 years old, (...). A large and growing share of the youth is enrolled in higher education. In just six years, the rate has risen from 31% to 43%, catching up with and then rapidly surpassing the world average (from 32% to 37%), while neighboring North African countries are barely approaching it today". In Algeria, students have a hard time with their studies and their situation in general, and they see no prospects on the horizon. This pitiful situation of the youth is manifested by a stance towards a country that does not allow the opening of the "waiting horizons" of (Koselleck, 1990; Hervé Mazurel, 2013) neither on the professional nor on the personal level (Constance de Gourcy, 2013). Today we speak in terms of capabilities to designate localities that offer opportunities.

In addition, student mobility in internationalized higher education is encouraged and institutionalized. As a result, they are valued, with many respondents noting the desire for enrichment, self-determination and personal fulfillment. Even though student migration from the South to the North does not have the same advantages as North-North mobility and is often limited and constrained, students and their parents do their utmost to obtain the international diploma that opens up horizons. Indeed, many sacrifices and many obstacles are faced by migrants from the South to the North, however, it is worth the effort.

Changing logics

In the years following independence in 1962, Algerian student migrations were engaged in institutional and political Algerian-French logics of benevolence. Generally, the Algerian students who left to study in France at that time were the children of the new ruling class and of wealthy families. Thus, they are valued and their treatment in the host country France responded to the logic of aid to the development of independent Algeria and also to that of French cultural influence. The reception of these heir students also responded to the unstated logic of strengthening France's position on the international scene and maintaining political influence in the former colonies (Simon, 2000; Stéphanie Garneau, 2007). However, a turning point occurred in the late 1970s as a result of new policies in both partner countries aimed at limiting Algerian-French migration. Then, in the eighties, Algeria, like many developing countries, experienced a massification and democratization of its educational system, driven by the demographic explosion and the policy of compulsory education for all Algerian children. This democratization has led to an exponential increase in the demand for higher education, without the Algerian higher education system being able to meet this demand in terms of quality and diversification. In parallel to the Algerian system of higher education, the world has experienced a decisive turning point making higher education the engine of development in the globalized knowledge society. Moreover, the Algerian society which has evolved since thirty years of independence has produced a new middle social class, which makes the families who possess the various migratory capitals bet on the training of their children to be inserted in the economic and cultural globalization. On the other hand, many students, faced with the frustration experienced in relation to the limitations of institutionalized inter-university exchange programs, take the revenge of organizing their own emigrations. Thus, Algeria has seen the birth of a new form of individual student

migration called "free mover". According to some, the latter are the primary reason for emigration to Algeria today. Nevertheless, these new configurations of student migration, which coincide with the change in the global context and in particular the internationalization of higher education and the institutionalization of European student migration, generate a divide between community students and foreign students from poor countries of the South. The former are welcomed in logic of exchange and reciprocity and the latter are suspected of all the evils: false students, fraudsters, low-level students, too many students, soiling the image of European countries, etc. Thus, policies to control migratory flows, selective immigration and restrictions on the reception of non-EU students have followed one another and some have even predicted the end of the foreign student (Serge Slama).

Maintenance of the historical destination

Our research confirms our initial hypotheses; it confirms that Algerian students generally migrate to France because of historical, cultural, geographical and family network factors. These individual migrations are generally framed by the close members of the conjugal family who mobilize their social and relational capital even while entering into implicit relationships of calculations and bargaining. In addition to the emotional suffering that the uprooting of the departure causes to the families, these student migrations cause financial and other costs of various kinds, generally supported by the close family, i.e. father, mother and brothers. Sometimes, and this is frequent, the financing is the business of the student himself who manages to collect the money needed for his trip, generally by doing odd jobs, and then the two parents and sometimes the brothers and sisters intervene. Thus, free migration is a small family affair and there is no sense of community in Algeria, but strict individualism reigns. Moreover, during our discussions with students or parents, we noticed a certain distrust in relation to the environment in general. This distrust is expressed in the following words: "I haven't told anyone about my project", "No one will know where I am, you know people have become mean, they can cause you problems", "I don't tell anyone"...etc. Our study confirmed from the participants in our survey indicated that students who emigrate for study purposes do so because they do not feel well in their country of origin and do not see any prospects or improvements for the years to come. Therefore, their emigrations are considered as projects of search for a better life in correlation to this confirmed hypothesis, the students do not foresee a lasting return to Algeria. At least, this definitive return of reinsertion is subject to the condition that Algeria becomes better and provides all the new conditions that will substitute

those that caused this migratory phenomenon. Thus, we believe that all our hypotheses have been validated.

Discussion

The results of this survey show favorable positions towards leaving abroad and positive stereotypes towards students who have already left. For their part, the students registered in France, despite the various constraints and their difficult paths, they do not regret their decision to leave and they do not intend to return to their country permanently. In their imagination, they have invested themselves totally (socially, psychologically, morally, financially, tactically) to realize their migration and/or life "project", without the help of governments, therefore, they are not accountable to anyone, they are world citizens. Thus, our research demonstrates the difficulties that Algerian students experience in the host country and also in the country of origin.

In this article, we cannot bring all the discourses and perceptions of our respondents, nevertheless we note that we realized throughout the speeches and perceptions of our respondents that this thesis work, as Brunelle Doval (1993, p: 189) characterized Pierre Bourdieu's book (*Misère du monde*): "becomes a dense, dense and tragic exploration of a daily life that is not so much miserable as blocked. One has the impression of a confinement of destinies in the weft of blurred lives assumed with more or less happiness or greatness by the ones and the others.

Conclusion

The end of this thesis, we can say that the shortcomings of the reductive approaches that are generally generalized to all contexts, just for the sake of fashion or laziness, do not concern all contexts. Indeed, each context produces its own migrations. Moreover, nowadays migration logics and dynamics are complex and in order to better understand them, it is necessary to follow a complex approach in order to grasp the ins and outs of the migration phenomenon and to grasp all the information that allows us to understand why the action of leaving was undertaken and why the decision to emigrate was taken.

With the advancement of globalization and in front of the inflation of diplomas, Algerian students armed with a level of education that allows them to access what is happening in the world, have found alternatives of hope, that is: "to become international or local to international". Algerian students are not on the sidelines of this internationalization; they aspire to distinguish themselves and bypass pre-established hierarchies at the local level. This is how parents take the reins to save

their children; they manage as they can to prevent their offspring from falling into social plagues or dying slowly.

The emigration of Algerian students is linked to the emigration of Algerians in general and that studies are a springboard to achieve this emigration. It is therefore an advantage that these students take advantage of to emigrate, unlike other young Algerians who take the uncertain path of clandestinity. We have also noted from our fieldwork that the migration projects of young students are also and often parental projects and projects of social mobility and often life projects. At the end of this chapter, we will say that migration in general and student migration in particular is a characteristic of today's global societies, instead of looking only at the negative side of the phenomenon, it is important to work on its positive side. It is necessary that the partners of the countries of departure and arrival work together to put a stop to the waste of human capital and to think about organizing these migratory flows, to control them and then accompany them and humanize them. Also, it is important to think about the integration of migration into global development by assessing its implications and then integrating them into a strategy of cohesion and reduction of social inequalities. Human capital is the driving force behind the dynamics of development, inclusion and the reactivation of the social ladder. It is also the main determinant of the country's capacity to create wealth and accelerate its convergence towards the standards of advanced nations.

The apprehensions and the policies of restriction in France and the bad life in Algeria leave the young Algerians stuck between the hammer and the anvil. This study leads us to an observation that Algerian students are caught in the double trap of "the end of the foreign student" (Serge Slama, 1999) and that in Algeria of "the end of work" (J. Rifkin, 1996) and are confronted with the double social and spatial blockage, they aspire to the day when they will be free to circulate in the world and to live happily in their country.

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