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Algerian Immigrants in London (United Kingdom) and Valencia (Spain). Towards a New Migration and Labour Model?



Subject Number: 09152265

Director of studies: Prof. Steve Jolyons

Supervisor: Anita McKay

DPhil

Kouider DJILALI BELOUFA

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Algerian Immigrants in London (United Kingdom) and Valencia (Spain). Towards a New Migration and Labour Model?

PhD Thesis in Social Policy Programme

Author: Kouider DJILALI BELOUFA

Student Number: 09052268

Director of studies: Prof. Steve Jeferrys

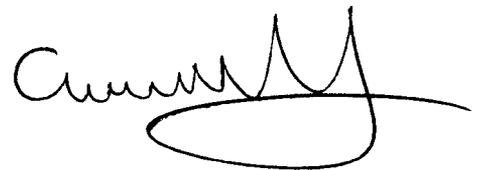
Supervisors: Prof. Sonia McKay

Prof. Allan Williams

June 2013

I hereby declare that no material contained in the thesis has been used in any other submission for an academic award; this research complies with UK legislation governing research (including that relating to health and safety, human tissues and data protection); I am submitting my PhD thesis with the approval of my supervisory team.

Signature:

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a series of loops and a long horizontal stroke at the bottom.

To my mother for her unconditional support;
To the memory of my father;
To my sisters and brothers;
To all the people I have learnt from, and with, in a way or another.

Preface

Having been recipient of a fees-only Vice Chancellor's PhD scholarship at London Metropolitan University, my happiness and enthusiasm to commence the present research project were immeasurable. The challenge was, of the first order, to realise an international research in two European countries that are entirely different from each other, which is not a simple matter. One had to combine research and survival activities in a completely new context. At some moments, there were doubts about the continuity of the research, when one had to tackle serious problems such as financial support, access to the fieldwork and trust building, among others. Reaching this stage of work would be unattainable without the support of the supervisors and the help of some people from pro-immigrant organisations, as well as ordinary people, to whom this researcher is fully indebted.

This researcher is an Algerian migrant who has lived fifteen years in Spain, and is, thus, a fluent speaker of Spanish, in addition to the languages used by Algerians. It was challenging to decide to learn a new system by living in a new country, both as an international student and part-time migrant worker. This modest experience contributed to an awareness of the situation of Algerian migrants in Spain and other parts including France, Switzerland and the UK. Algerians in the UK and Spain seemed obliged to justify why they are where they are. People in the West know more about Algerians from the media and the press. Little research has been done about the Algerian community in the new contexts of migration such as Spain and the UK, except some pieces of research as will be detailed later. And what about research carried out by Algerians in the UK and Spain? As far as this researcher knows, this research is pioneering in its focus on Algerians in the UK and Spain from an insider's perspective, i.e. carried out by a co-ethnic researcher.

This researcher is fully grateful to the Professors Sonia McKay, Allan Williams and Steve Jefferys for their support and valuable guidance during these three years of PhD studies. Any errors of omission, over-simplification or

misinterpretation are only and solely the responsibility of the author. One should be very thankful to the staff of the Working Lives Research Institute who gave adequate support at both levels: professional in relation to the research and scholarship and social, as for their advice about life in London.

Many other people from pro-immigrant organisations, some public bodies and professional associations provided precious help, to whom, one should be very thankful. This researcher is also fully indebted to the Algerian migrants who took part in this research in both countries.

This researcher is enormously thankful to his family in Algeria and friends in Spain and the United Kingdom for their encouragement and moral support.

Kouider DJILALI BELOUFA

Valencia, June 2013

Abstract

During the last two decades, one of the most important changes in the geography of Algerian migration has been its gradual spread to some “new” contexts, that can be located differently in a spectrum of various characteristics, such as geographical location, historical-cultural links, existence of networks, and profiles of Algerian migrants, among others.

In this qualitative research, two purposefully-selected samples of Algerian male and female migrants in London and Valencia were interviewed, as well as some key informants from several organisations, in addition to participant observation in different migrant settings. This led to the comparison of two context-related cases of migration in order to respond mainly four questions, viz, the reasons for Algerian migration to the UK and Spain as relatively different and new host countries, patterns of insertion as well as mobility within the local labour markets, the differences between the UK and Spain in terms of providing opportunities for social mobility versus entrapment, and the role of changing networks in influencing Algerian migration to the UK and Spain.

While this research corroborates the inadequacy of a “grand theory” of migration, it confirms the suitability of a “multi-level theory” (Castles and Miller, 2003) that combines human agency and structural factors. The in-depth interviews in use favoured a downright consideration of the system “émigré-immigré” (Sayad, 1997), as well as the active role of migrants in shaping their lives before, during and after migration. There was a wide diversity of motives for migration and various patterns of insertion and mobility within the labour market, as well as outcomes for migrant workers. The networks of relatives, friends and institutions, as well as smugglers, were crucial in either the initiation of migration or the accommodation of migrants into the receiving areas. A gender-related approach was adopted as to bring to light the differences and similarities in migration between Algerian females and males, and to enhance the growing role of the former in Algerian migration.

Note on Transcription and Terminology

To preserve the authenticity, clarity and simplicity, the author has decided to use the original spelling of the names and places in Arabic, Spanish and Valencian languages. In the former case, the common French spelling of Arabic names and places in use in Algeria was kept. For the latter, the names of places in Valencian are used too. The quotes were translated from dialectical Arabic, Standard Modern Arabic (MSA) (when applicable), French and Spanish. In the first case, the author has juggled between strict translation, transmission of the (cultural) contexts, what the interviewees wanted to say and its adaptation to the formal language, as well as to the academic standards. A combination of letters and numbers was used to refer to the participants in order to preserve their anonymity, and facilitate the analysis.

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Glossary of Acronyms

At the first mention, both the full name and acronyms are cited and, later, if cited again, only acronyms will be used for space limitation.

AAB	Arab Advice Bureau (UK)
ABC	Algerian British Connection (UK)
ACPR	Asociación de Profesionales y Comerciantes de Russafa (Spain)
ACT-UK	Algerian Community Trust in the UK - Amana
ALB	Algerian League in Britain
AR	Algerian Relief (UK)
AVR	Asociación de Vecinos de Russafa (Spain)
CA	Casa Argelia (Spain)
CAI	Centro de Apoyo a la Inmigración (Spain)
CCIV	Centro Cultural Islámico en Valencia (Spain)
CC.OO.	Comisiones Obreras (Spain)
CEAR	Comisión Española de Ayuda al Refugiado (Spain)
CeiMigra	Centro de formación, investigación para la integración e inserción laboral de inmigrantes (Spain)
CETI	Centro de Estancia Temporal de Inmigrantes (Spain)
CNES	Conseil National Économique et Social (Algeria)
Colectivo Ioé	Colectivo Ioé intervención sociológica (Spain)
C-V	Cáritas-Valencia (Spain)
DGSN	Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale (Algeria)
EC	European Commission
El.STAT.	Hellenic Statistical Authority (Greece)
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council (UK)
EU	European Union
FJMH-I	Fundación José María Haro-Intra (Spain)
FOREM	Fondation nationale pour la promotion de la recherche scientifique dans le domaine de la santé (Algeria)
ICAR	Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees in the UK
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estatística (Portugal)
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estatística (Spain)
INSEE	Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques (France)
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
Istat	Istituto Nazionale di Statistica (Italy)
IVAM	Instituto Valenciano de Arte Moderno (Spain)
Ivie	Instituto valenciano de investigaciones económicas (Spain)
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MICC	Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (Québec, Canada)
MRC	Migrants Resource Centre (UK)
MRN	Migrants' Right Network (UK)

MWH	Muslim Welfare House (UK)
NAA	North African Arts W10 (UK)
NCP	National Contact Point of the European Migration Network in Spain
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ONS	Office National des Statistiques (Algeria)
ONS	Office for National Statistics (UK)
SERVEF	Servicio Valenciano de Empleo (Spain)
UNO	United Nations Organisation
UPN	Universidad Pública de Navarra (Spain)
UV	Universitat de València (Spain)
VA	Valencia Acoge (Spain)

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Migration is “a complicated, challenging, and diverse phenomenon involving changing statuses and multiple geographical trajectories” (Samers, 2010, p. 8). Algerian post-colonial migration has brought to the forefront new processes, which emanate from several changes, including the enlargement of the migratory space, feminization of flows and mobility of families at the onset, mobility of (highly) skilled individuals, and irregular migration of the *harraga*¹ (Hammouda, 2005; Khelfaoui, 2006; Labdeloui, 1996 and 2010; Musette *et al.*, 2006). These changes have surmounted some “traditional” explanations such as historical, cultural and linguistic links, geographical proximity, role of networks and chain migration, and “flexibility” of migration regulations.

Sayad (1997) considers migration as a full process when the conditions at both places, of origin and destination, as well as the characteristics of the migrants, are to be taken into consideration. Thus, a comprehensive understanding of the system “émigré-immigré” is crucial at two levels: theory and practice. In this line of thought, the analysis of migrant trajectories, which include their experiences at origin, during migration and in the settlement areas, provides useful insights about the current changes in the Algerian migration system.

1.2. Background of the Study

Algerian migration has almost always meant their migration to France. However, this conception of a homogeneous migration system has become obsolete as Algerians, nowadays, migrate to a wide diversity of countries across the globe. Algerian migration has seen its space enlarged to include the UK, Spain, Canada and the USA, among others; Algerian women are gradually playing a major role in this diversification, such as with their presence among highly skilled migrants in Québec (Canada); the migration of highly skilled Algerians has grown at an alarming rate, and it seems to be increasing with time turning to different destinations; and irregular migration through the mobility of the *harraga* is seemingly increasing. All these phenomena push towards

¹ It is a form of irregular migration. It is explained with more details in section 4.2.3.4.

rethinking the migration system, opening the horizons for the study of more contexts of Algerian migration.

Algerians migrate to the UK and Spain as relatively new contexts of migration. Large groups of them are located in London and Valencia. These places reflect different aspects: different geographical distances from Algeria, and different languages, histories, cultural traditions and migration policies. This explains the attractiveness of studying them, to relate these differences and disentangle the reasons for the new destinations of Algerians in southern and northern Europe. Here, the reader finds the originality of this research: studying Algerian migration in two new, different contexts located at two different points of the spectrum, by a co-ethnic researcher (Chapter Three: 3.2).

1.3. Aims and Objectives

The present research aims to study Algerian migration to London (UK) and Valencia (Spain), through the analysis of the experiences of two groups of Algerian women and men in both cities. To do so, this researcher wanted to address the following main questions:

1. What are the reasons for Algerian emigration to the UK and Spain as relatively different and new host countries?
2. What patterns of insertion as well as mobility into the local labour market of each country characterise Algerian immigrant workers?
3. What are the differences between the UK and Spanish labour markets in terms of providing opportunities for social mobility versus entrapment for Algerian workers?
4. How do changing networks influence Algerian migration to the UK and Spain?

This research, as for its subject and scope of study, aims to provide original research on the Algerian community abroad, which relates to two different, and relatively, new contexts of emigration, each with its own characteristics ranging from geographical location to language and culture, migration policies, labour market and modes of incorporation of immigrants. Also through its comparative

analysis, it will contribute to and extend the conceptualization of the labour market integration of new groups of migrants in two different European contexts.

1.4. Structure of the Thesis

The thesis has been divided into six chapters: Introduction, Literature Review, Methodology, Case Study, Findings and Discussion, and Conclusions. Bibliography and Annexes close the thesis.

The Literature Review represents the study and analysis of a selected literature that this researcher has divided into three parts. The theories that deal with migration per se. These include push-pull, neo-classical theory including human capital theory, new economics approach, world system theory, global cities hypothesis and network theory. These theories deal with the motives of migration from a diversity of perspectives: “atomistic theories” that focus on the importance of individual (family and community) agency and decisions and “structural theories” which reflect the importance of “structural constraints”. The second part includes the theories that deal with insertion as well as mobility within the labour market. These include the following theories: dual labour market and labour market segmentation, ethno-stratification of the labour market, formation of ethnic enclaves and small entrepreneurship, and the existence (absence) of upward mobility (stepping-stone or entrapment). The last section on theories includes transnationalism, return and circular migration that the author considers as necessary to complete the full migratory cycle.

Without being comprehensive, the author introduces gender in migration and Algerian female Migration, as this study researches two groups of migrants including women and men. Thus, the similarities and differences of their experiences are important, as to provide a full picture of Algerian migration. The author advocates a mixed approach that combines different theories, as while a “grand theory” does not exist, to count on a single theory would be misleading in a changing migration system. A “multi-level approach” that combines different-level theories and a model that relates individual agency to structural constraints: global cities and ethnic enclaves- networks and transnationalism.

Methodology explains the methods used in this research, but starts with a presentation of research methods in migration study, its usefulness and its combination; then, it clarifies the why of researching Algerian migrants in London and Valencia, as well as of researching one's own community, i.e. being an ethnic researcher studying his co-ethnics, it is positive or negative? And how to reconcile both positions: being a postgraduate researcher and migrant. In the third section, the author clarifies the comparative method as a tool of international research; additionally, the researcher establishes the differences between cross-national comparison and transnational study that relies on their unit of analysis, reference or measurement. The section sets out the desk-based research, including the literature review, policy documents, newspapers and media reporting, and secondary quantitative analysis. These tools are important in social research and represent the base for work on theory.

In the qualitative methods discussion, the researcher refers to key informants and migrants. For the former, he explains their importance, the ways of accessing them, the sampling and types of organisations that have been contacted in London and Valencia. The method used was the semi-structured interview. With regard to the latter, the researcher explains the importance of accessing the fieldwork and building trust with migrants before interviewing them; in this case, using in-depth interviews. Sampling and characteristics of the sample in both locations are detailed. The researcher explains the third tool, i.e. participant observation, its scope and use in qualitative research in the migratory context. The analysis of qualitative data was manual as well as by the use of a qualitative software package. Categories in use are explained as related to the main research questions. Some ethical issues concerning the research methodology, such as the access and contact with migrants as a vulnerable group, sampling and treatment of personal and identifying data, research tools, management and storage of data and the safety are clarified. The researcher provides some proposals to resolve concerns related to the ethics of research with migrants.

The Case Study, in it the researcher gives an introduction to Algeria as a country whose migration system has been related to France since its occupation in 1830. The researcher shows some important milestones of Algerian migration. Later, in two case studies related to London and Valencia, the author offers a brief

history of contemporary migration to both cities, comment about migration to both countries and, later, to the mentioned cities. Some findings from the interviews with some key organisations in both cities are integrated too.

In Findings and Discussion, the former are divided into two parts: one deals with London and the other with Valencia. In each part, the author introduces and analyses the responses of migrants in relation to the categories in use, which gives, as a result, information about the motives of migration, migratory routes, legal status, socialisation in the host country, work experience, communication with the family, sending remittances and migrant networks. The comparison is made by genders in each location and, later, between the two locations.

In Conclusions, the author reminds the reader of the aims and objectives of the research; discusses the main contributions of the current research which relate to the diversification in the patterns of Algerian migration in both locations, the importance of “mixed, cross-national” social bonds as a facilitator of integration into the labour market, and the pragmatic use of “fragmented” networks to initiate migration or get access to valuable resources in the host areas; and sets out what might be the lines for future research in relation to the current object of study. Bibliography includes all source materials that are referred to in the text, while in Annexes, there are some tables and figures from Chapter Five.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This research aims to study Algerian migrants² in two European cities, London and Valencia, in order to understand, explain and compare the patterns (motives, modes and routes) of emigration to these, relatively, new³ host countries, as well as their insertion (and mobility) within the local labour markets, as a major indicator of the process of incorporation⁴. The research aims to contribute to debates about the formation of new patterns of international mobility between these countries.

To achieve these objectives, the thesis aims to address the following four main questions: 1) what are the reasons for Algerian emigration to the UK and Spain as relatively different and new host countries?; 2) what patterns of insertion as well as mobility into the local labour market of each country characterise Algerian immigrant workers?; 3) what are the differences between the UK and Spanish labour markets in terms of providing opportunities for social mobility versus entrapment for Algerian workers? and 4) how do changing networks influence Algerian migration to the UK and Spain? All these questions will be treated, in relation to the two countries as relatively different from one another, and constituting new host areas for Algerians.

Having set out the research questions, this researcher will now undertake a theoretical and research literature review, through which he looks for and analyses relevant literature to the object of study (Wallace and Wray, 2006). The review implies an overview and interpretation of the selected literature (Aveyard, 2010),

² While there are two approaches, “realist” emphasizing the existence of a real difference between refugees and labour migrants and “nominalist” focusing on empirical similarities of both categories (Koser, 1997), in this research no distinction will be made between asylum seekers, refugees and economic migrants, as even if they have not “identical imperatives”, nonetheless, they share enough “similarities of experience”, such as their place in the labour market of the host countries (McKay, 2009). On the other hand, there is no agreement on the “empirical clarity” of several oppositions that impregnate the discourse on refugees: “refugee/economic migrant, public/private, civilian/non-civilian, home/diaspora and present/past” (Indra, 1999a, p. xiv).

³ “New” in reference to the recent presence of Algerian migrants in these countries, and not to refer to the history of immigration in both places, long in the first case (UK) and relatively recent in the second.

⁴ Although this researcher believes that the economic integration is just a domain of the integration process, however, labour market integration has a dynamic and complex relationship with other forms of economic integration, as well as it is crucial in migration.

related to migration and labour market, which helps in gathering useful elements in order to answer the formulated questions.

Theory refers to a group of concepts that define or explain some phenomena, and find relevance in being useful (Silverman, 2010). There is no a single theory or approach able to explain migration in a comprehensive way. Thus, the importance of “integrative” or “mixed approaches” (Portes and DeWind⁵, 2004; Samers, 2010) to deal with the research of human mobility as a “post-disciplinary” field (Sheller and Urry, 2006). In this line of thought, Constant and Massey (2003) warn of an “over-reliance” on single theories to explain international migration. On the other hand, as Portes (1997b) pointed out, there is not a grand and overall, encompassing theory of migration. This researcher draws on the combination of both, “atomistic theories” that focus on the importance of individual (family and community) agency and decisions, and “structural theories” which reflect the importance of “structural constraints” (Massey *et al.*, 1993). Taken alone, the deterministic theories (from push-pull factors to structuralist ones) cannot provide a comprehensive explanation of human mobility.

The theoretical background sustaining the review is divided into three groups of theories: those related to the phenomenon of migration per se, those linked to the insertion as well as the mobility within the labour market of the host countries, and those dealing with the formation of networks. Samers (2010, p. 52-3) divides the theories related to migration into three groups: 1) according to the phase of migration, there are theories that explain the “creation or the initial phase of a particular migration”, and those explaining “subsequent phases” or the “continuation” of the migration; 2) “determinist theories” which attempt to predict the migration “behaviour and patterns”, and “integrative theories” which put “together different theoretical and conceptual propositions” and; 3) it encompasses a double perspective: “explanatory” and/or “critical” of traditional migration theories.

⁵ As Portes and DeWind (2004, p. 829) noted, there is no “a grand theory of migration encompassing all its aspects”, and the task of looking for such a theory is misleading for the researcher. These authors, also, praised the importance of a “national and interdisciplinary perspective” as a step before establishing “meaningful comparisons.”

“Migrant” encompasses both “emigrant” and “immigrant”. The last two terms refer to the migrant if seen from the standpoint of the country of origin and/or the host country respectively. It is not easy to find a consensus around the definition of migrant, where different criteria might be used such as foreign birth, foreign citizenship, movement into a new country to stay temporarily or to settle down for the long-term or, being subject to immigration control (Anderson and Blinder, 2012). Immigrant can be any “person who has come to a different country in order to live there permanently”, while “migrant” emphasises temporary residence (Cambridge University Press, 2003). Emigrant is seen to be any “one who removes from his own land to settle (permanently) in another” (Oxford University Press, 2012). Thus, the definitional differences between these concepts are important and relate to different perspectives in use, i.e. the country of origin or the host country, as well as to the use of diverse criteria to decide who counts as a migrant, immigrant or emigrant.

For the IOM (2004, p. 40), migrant refers to “all cases where the decision to migrate is taken freely by the individual concerned for reasons of ‘personal convenience’ and without intervention of an external compelling factor.”⁶ It includes “persons, and family members, moving to another country or region to better their material or social conditions and improve the prospect for themselves or their family.” On the other hand, immigration reflects the “process by which non-nationals move into a country for the purpose of settlement” (IOM, 2004, p. 31), while emigration is defined as:

“the act of departing or exiting from one State with a view to settle in another. International human rights norms provide that all persons should be free to leave any country, including their own, and that only in very limited circumstances may States impose restrictions on the individual’s right to leave its territory.” (IOM, 2004, p. 21)

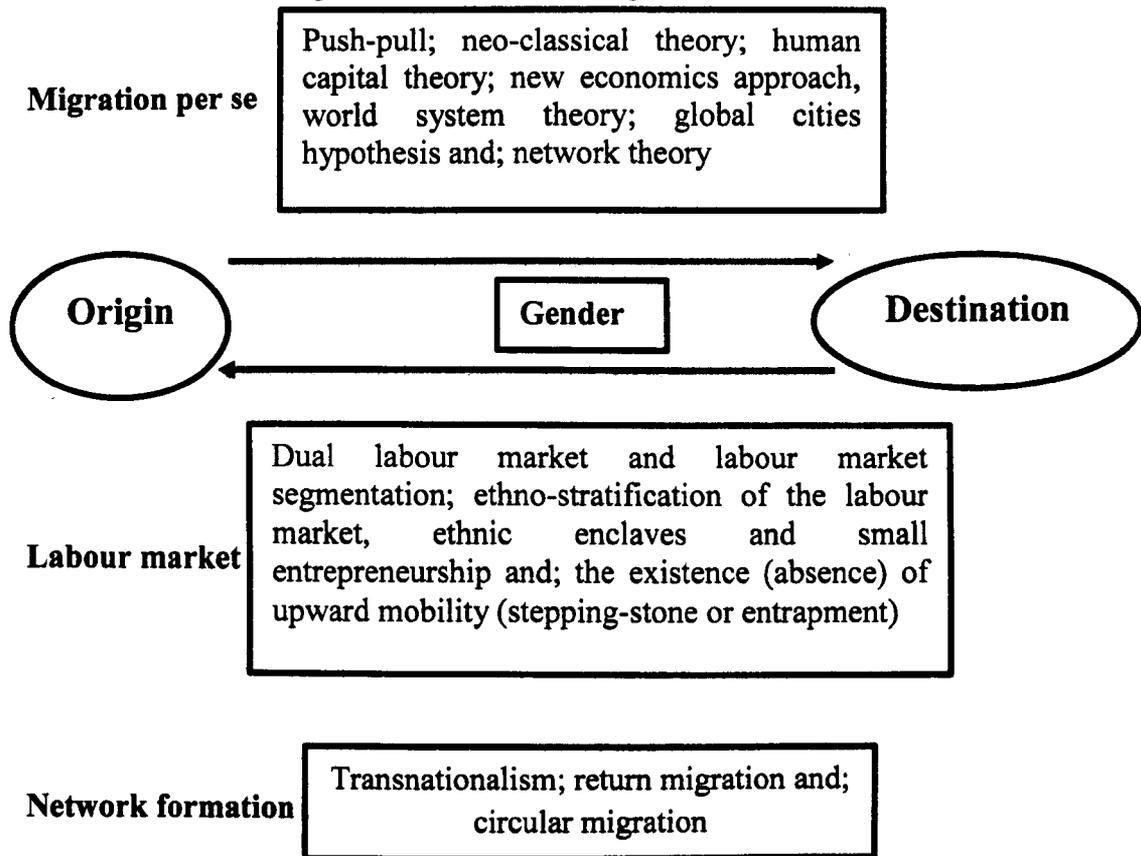
In this research, the words “migrant” and “immigrant” are used when more emphasis is made on the perspective of the host country, and “emigrant” when the standpoint of the country of origin is being privileged.

As mentioned above, the major theories explaining the phenomenon of migration per se, those emphasizing the insertion and mobility of migrants within

⁶ It is controversial and difficult to decide whether poverty and its levels allow free choice of movement for migrants.

the labour market, and those dealing with the formation of networks will be reviewed. After assessing the identified theories, the theoretical outcomes of the review will be related to the research questions.

Figure 2.1: Theories of migration reviewed



Source: own elaboration.

2.2. Theories of Migration: Critical Review

2.2.1. Migration per se

The first research question, concerning the reasons for Algerian emigration to the UK and Spain, can be theoretically sustained on different theories that deal with and explain the motives of migration. From among these theories, the following will be reviewed: push-pull theory, neo-classical theory including human capital theory, new economics approaches, world system theory, global cities hypothesis and networks theory.

2.2.1.1. Ravenstein and his Laws of Migration

Ravenstein (1885 and 1889) in his *The Laws of Migration* exposed the first known theory explaining migration, i.e. the push-pull theory. “Push factors”

represent different types of difficulties in the sending areas, such as economic, social and political, while “pull factors” include comparative advantages in the receiving areas (Portes and Böröcz, 1989). Ravenstein (1885, pp. 187-8) limited his analysis to the UK and described the different factors of departure and arrival of migrants as follows:

"The improved roads, the facilities offered under the railway system, the wonderful development of the mercantile marine, the habit of travelling about, and the increasing knowledge of workmen, have all tended to facilitate the flow of people from spots where they are not wanted to fields where their labour is in demand. The establishment of a manufacture or the opening of a new mine rallies men to it, not only from the vicinity, but from remote parts of the kingdom. The great towns afford such extraordinary facilities for the division and for the combination of labour, for the exercise of all the arts, and for the practice of all the professions, that they are every year drawing people within their limits."

To the above mentioned factors, which drove migrants to leave their places of origin⁷, he added the existence of “educational facilities”, the “salubrity of the climate” and the “cheapness of living” (1885, p. 168). He pinpointed the existence of forced migration in the cases of convicts, soldiers or sailors⁸. Concerning the motives of migration, he considered the search of a “more remunerative or attractive” work as a main cause of these movements. This analysis is consistent with the empirical evidence if taking into account the context in which Ravenstein made these statements, viz, the UK at the end of the nineteenth century.

Related to the types of migrants, he cited local migrants who move from a “part of the town or parish”, in which they were born, to another part of the same town or parish (1885, p. 181), short-journey migrants, migrants by stages, long-journey migrants and temporary migrants. He considered that people from urban areas migrated more than the natives of the countryside, particularly women who used to move more often than men within the kingdom of their birth, while the latter used to migrate to other kingdoms or abroad⁹.

The most important contribution of Ravenstein is his Laws of Migration, which were based on the fact that the “deficiency of hands in one part of the

⁷ Ravenstein (1885) speaks of internal migration in the UK.

⁸ To put it in exact terms, in this case, Ravenstein (1885, p. 168) considers that “migration is compulsory”.

⁹ By kingdoms, he meant England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland.

country is supplied from other parts where population is redundant” (1885, p. 198), and are summarized as follows:

- Short-distance migrations take place throughout the country in the direction of the “great centres of commerce and industry”. The bulk of migrants ought to travel short distances only. Migrations, as gradual movements, tend to increase. Hence, this approach represents a “stage or step-migration model” (1885, p. 198-9).
- Females are mainly short-journey migrants.
- There is a gradual process of “absorption” of migrants between urban and rural areas until a fall in the attractiveness of the faster growing cities.
- The opposite of absorption is dispersion (*cf.* page 20).
- For each current of migration, there is a compensatory but weak “counter current”.
- Long-journey migrants prefer the “great centres of commerce or industry.”
- Urban population is less inclined to migration than rural population.

Ravenstein used census data from the UK (1885) and major countries of Europe and North America (1889) to conclude his Laws of Migration, which constituted a pioneer analysis, despite the difficulties of obtaining (accurate) statistical data at the time¹⁰, in addition to the problem of the comparability of data among different nations. His set of push-pull factors is not comprehensive and fails to explain the diversification of migration nowadays. He stated that the primary cause for migration was better external economic opportunities, which it was difficult to ascertain empirically, as people lacked accurate information about the potential places of destination. Migrants nowadays move for a variety of reasons, which goes beyond a primary economic motive.

On the other hand, some poor countries do not send migrants, while some regions experience more intensive movements than others within the same sending area (Portes and Böröcz, 1989). Some demographic changes are taking place when female migrants started to migrate on their own and/or with the whole family at the onset. Ravenstein spoke of a “step-migration model” which probably could provide some insights into the mobility between different locations. Wilson

¹⁰ One avoids assessing the suitability of the usage of some words, such as *element* and *national character*, among others, as it was a different historical context.

(1993, p. 104) considers the advantage of push-pull theory when it allows an understanding of the way in which “large systemic changes and interpretations”, as signalled by the theorists of the world-system approaches, are perceived and translated into individual decisions to migrate.

Ravenstein (1889) broadened his scope to include some principal countries of continental Europe and North America. He identified “dispersion” when there is a natural growth that goes beyond the official growth and; “absorption” in the opposite case. The geographical location was important, as with the existence of “facilities of access” and of “centres of attraction”, it would shorten the journey of migrants and, then, enhance their movements (1889, p. 259). But, what about direct migration to distant countries? Ravenstein (1889, p. 286) expanded the list of reasons of migration which included: 1) “over-population” in the place of origin 2) “existence of undeveloped resources” which attract “remunerative labour” 3) “bad or oppressive laws” 4) “heavy taxation” 5) “an unattractive climate” 6) “uncongenial social surroundings” 7) “compulsion (slave trade, transportation)” and 8) the “desire inherent in most men to better” themselves materially.

He considered the influence of the climatic conditions in the place of destination on the success of migration, when he forecast the failure of north European migration to North Africa, if compared with the relative success of the south Europeans in the same region, mainly to Algeria. He may have underestimated the importance of technological development, and of human agency and adaptability across places and times. This theory embraces an “economic determinism” (Samers, 2010, p. 56), which ignores that migration may be driven by the combination of some forces that are based on the “dynamics of capitalist expansion”, such as the need for low-wage supplies of labour and the penetration of some Western traits into the sending regions, including investments in production, the standards of consumption and popular culture (Portes, 1997a, p. 4-5). In the same line of classic theories, it did not give a sufficiently broad account of the importance of “international migration in economic development of Europe” (Massey, 1988, p. 385). Thus, a cumulative theory seems to be imperative to overcome the gaps, left by this theory.

2.2.1.2. Neo-Classical Theories

The neo-classical theories approach migration from the perspective of the “economic rationality” as a “determinant” of the behaviour of migrants (Massey *et al.*, 1993; Samers, 2010). The differentials in wages and employment conditions between the places of origin and destination, and the migration costs, constitute the focus of these theories (Massey *et al.*, 1993). The individuals take the decision of migrating in order to “maximize utility”, viz, their “well-being” (Borjas, 1989), and they do so, based on the “calculation” of costs-benefits of migration (Massey *et al.*, 1993). It includes two levels: macro and micro.

At the macro-level, migration is the consequence of the different labour market conditions between countries, and tends to continue until equalizing the wages between sending and receiving areas (Massey *et al.*, 1993; Samers, 2010). The precursors of this theory considered rural-to-urban migration as shaped by the differential between the demand for labour in urban areas and the supply of labour in rural areas, and, thus, migration continues until reaching the “equilibrium of wages” between both zones (Lewis, 1954; Ranis and Frei, 1961; Sjaastad, 1962). Lewis (1954, p. 16) considered that the “mass immigration of unskilled labour”, besides probably increasing the “output per head”, was able to maintain the “wages in all countries near the subsistence level of the poorest countries.” Notwithstanding, it is not clear that labour migrations tend to equalize the wages between poor and less developed, sending countries and developed countries of destination, and when it is the case, what numbers of migrants will be sufficient to balance these disparities (Sjaastad, 1962). This author transferred the economic question from the “effectiveness of migration as an equilibrator” of the differentials in earnings to deal with migration as “an investment increasing the productivity of human resources” (1962, p. 83).

At an empirical level, Mahroum (2001a) mentioned the case of Asian immigrant- engineers in the USA who had the highest pay rates among all engineers in that country, including native-born engineers, and particularly the Japanese engineers who earned the highest pay amongst all of them. This finding does not help the “assumption that immigrant professionals push local wages down” (2001a, p. 173). Even in the case of a possible equilibrium of wages between both places, migration shows itself to be an ongoing process. Sassen

(2001) reported the ongoing flows of migration to the USA in the late 1970s and early 1980s, paradoxically, when the rates of unemployment in that country were growing, while the countries of origin of the migrants knew high employment rates. Thus, policies trying to influence migration through regulating the labour markets cannot deter the movements of migrant workers from developing and poor areas. Migration is selective and an increasing labour supply does not lead necessarily to declining wages. According to Massey (1988), in the long run, if receiving areas succeed in promoting gradually economic development in sending regions in the way that it equalizes the standards of living between both regions, then, “massive” migration will be deterred until stopping completely¹¹.

At a micro-level, the neo-classical approach considers migrants as rational individuals who decide to maximize incomes and work opportunities (Massey *et al.* 1993; Samers, 2010). It assumes that migrants manage or possess perfect pieces of information (Samers, 2010), in order to make a decision. Thus, they calculate the “expected net return”, which can be positive and, hence, encourages their migration or negative and, thus, deters potential migrants. (Massey *et al.*, 1993, p. 435) formulated the following equation of the expected net return:

$$ER(0) = \int_0^n [p_1(t)p_2(t)y_d(t) - p_3(t)y_0(t)] e^{-rt} dt - C(0)$$

Where:

- $ER(0)$ is the “expected net return” to migration that is “calculated just before departure at time 0”.
- t : time.
- $p_1(t)$ is the “probability of avoiding deportation from the area of destination. (1.0 for legal migrants and <1.0 for undocumented migrants)”.
- $p_2(t)$ is the “probability of employment at the destination”.
- $y_d(t)$ represents the “earnings if employed at the place of destination”.
- $p_3(t)$ is the “probability of employment in the community of origin”.
- $y_0(t)$ represents the “earnings if employed in the community of origin”.
- r is a “discount factor”.

¹¹ Using this reasoning, Massey went until suggesting that the best way of deterring Mexican migration to the USA is to promote, in the short run, a generous system of quotas for legal entry (1988, p. 385).

- $C(0)$ refers to the “sum total of the costs of movement (including psychological costs)”.

According to the above formula, one can get the following situations:

- 1) If $ER(0) > 0$, then people migrate.
- 2) If $ER(0) < 0$, then people stay at home.
- 3) If $ER(0) = 0$, then people decide whether to stay or to move.

This calculation, based on some assumptions or “idealized” conditions, can be useful, as it may shed light on some key aspects of migration decision-making. It is more realistic than the macro theory, as it does not assume the existence of full employment (Massey *et al.*, 1993). Borjas (2000, p. 4), a proponent of “immigration-market model”, considers that migration decisions constitute an exercise of comparison of the “present value of lifetime earnings in the alternative opportunities”. He elaborated the “net gain” equation, which estimates that migrant workers will move if they think that they could recuperate their “human capital investment”, and that migration is likely to be from low-income to high-income regions.

For Borjas (1989), the selection of migrants can be positive when immigrants have above average abilities and receive above average earnings in both the source and host countries, or negative when the earners of below average incomes in the sending countries perform poorly in the host country's labour market and, thus, receive below average incomes; additionally, migrants can be selected according to some “unobserved characteristics”, depending on the levels of income inequality in source and destination areas. This approach considers that migration increases in parallel with the income differential between the countries of origin and destination, and when it is cheaper to move.

It is contentious to think of the individual as a “rational interest maximizer under market forces”, while ignoring the role of “supramarket institutions” (Burawoy, 1976, pp. 1051), and to address the issue of migration in “technical terms”, i.e. in terms of costs and benefits (Sayad, 1999a). A lot of factors intervene in the decision to migrate, which goes beyond economic rationality and

utility maximization. Those determinants of migration include the “differential characteristics” of sending and receiving countries encouraging migration; characteristics of the individuals and families (e.g. age, gender, schooling, marital status, birth and aging of children, job skills, earning, health, retirement, life cycle, family ties, among others); “general labour market conditions” and “employment composition”; conditions of “land and housing markets”; “state and local taxes”; institutional factors such as legal barriers to settlement and “recruitment mechanisms”; escaping from war; lack of freedom and “climatological” conditions (Greenwood, 1985, p. 527; Poot *et al.*, 2008). In other words, people can move in response to non-pecuniary or non-monetary objectives.

The labour market is far from being single and homogeneous (Hodson and Kaufman, 1982). People also migrate within, and to, the lowest income states (Faist, 2008; IOM, 2010), which refutes the principle of economic rationality as a determinant of migrant behaviour¹². These “static” models, which predict the increase of movement in parallel with the growth of wage differentials between countries, are put in doubt by the empirical evidence, as pointed out by Dustmann (2003)¹³ in the case of south-north internal migration in the USA. It is not always that migrants move accomplishing the “relative income hypothesis” of the economists of migration (Wegge, 1998). According to the above mentioned equation, governments could deter immigrants by the application of policies that influence expected earnings in sending and/or receiving countries (Massey *et al.*, 1993).

These theories neglect the importance of the past contacts between the areas of origin and the receiving contexts, as well as the political and economic aspects within the former (Portes and Böröcz, 1989). They also fail to explain migration to some former colonial countries when migrants did not take into account the comparative advantage of other destinations. They fail to take into consideration the role of the states in initiating, shaping, constraining and controlling migration

¹² For example, the African migrants move to other African countries, including Southern Africa, the Maghreb and West Africa, which are the major receivers of labour migrants (IOM, 2010). According to Faist (2008), 40% of transnational migrants move between developing countries, two-thirds of refugees live in developing countries, and more than a third reside in the least-developed countries.

¹³ Dustmann (2003) showed that an increase in economic disparity between countries may lead to a decrease in the optimal migration duration if migration is regulated.

(Castles and Miller, 2003; Hollifield, 2000¹⁴; Samers, 2010). As Massey (1988, p. 385) pointed out, the classic economic models of development and migration failed to give an accurate picture of the transformation of the social, economic and demographic landscape of Europe. Neo-classical approaches incorporate an important postulate of human capital theory when they assert a positive correlation between the individual's human capital and the earnings in the labour market of the host country. Thus, they have to face the critiques that the human capital theory receives.

2.2.1.3. Human Capital Theory

Human capital theory is a version of neo-classical theory, which views migration as a means and a function that is related to investment in human capital, or even a risky investment in human capital (Borjas, 1989 and 2000; Chiswick, 1978; De Jong and Gardner, 1981; Massey *et al.*, 1993; Samers, 2010; Sjaastad, 1962). Although the theory of human capital has its earlier pioneers in Ted Schultz, Jacob Mincer, Milton Friedman and others, nevertheless, it was Becker (1993) who formulated and formalized the “microeconomic foundations” of the theory. He studied the relationship between earnings and human capital which he formulated in “human capital- earnings functions”.

Human capital is different from physical or financial capital in the way that the former (ranging from knowledge, skills or health to values) cannot be separated from the persons, while it is possible to move the latter from its owners (Becker, 1993, p. 16). Opposing “credentialism”¹⁵, this theory assumes that people can increase not only their incomes and productivity by investing in education and training, but also their cultural and non-monetary incentives. It focuses on the wage differentials which are assumed to determine the migration decision (Borjas, 2000). Having considered migration as an investment in human capital, Sjaastad (1962, pp. 92-3) privileged the importance of human capital over the migration process, and considered high income potentials as the main causes of migration of

¹⁴ Hollifield (2000, pp. 137-185) reproached to the “basic economic models” (those relating international migration to the existence of economic imbalances in the international economy and forecast its continuity until the process of “factor-price equalization” is complete), and its “sociological counterparts”, their ignorance of the “political and legal realities of the Westphalian system”, which he described as based on the principles of “sovereignty and non-interference”.

¹⁵ “Credentialism” considers the degrees (and education) as “vehicles” of information about abilities, persistence and other characteristics of people, and not as factors which enhance the productivity (1993, p. 19).

human capital. It entails that migration increases in parallel with its returns, and inversely with its costs (Borjas, 1989). Thus, propensity to migrate goes up with the educational level¹⁶, and the process of migration itself contributes to the changes in the distribution of human capital across the globe (Mukkala, 2008). As Sassen (2001, p. 34) pointed out, there is gradually a salient increase in the movement of professional workers in a global and cross-border labour market. For Duncan (2008), highly skilled migrants constitute the majority of “legal” migrants.

The labour market outcomes are supposed to be the result of the skills, education, abilities and rational choices of individuals. In other words, the “prior human capital endowments”, as well as the present investments in human capital in the receiving areas, condition the attainments in labour markets (Mendoza, 2000, p. 611). This has become in vogue in the studies related to the “human capital accumulation” and migrant’s educational attainment in the present “economy of knowledge” (Poot *et al.*, 2008). For instance, Greenwood (1985) considered the contribution of the “infusion” of the human capital of migrants in the growth of employment in the south of the USA. A little earlier, Chiswick (1978)¹⁷ concluded that the earnings of foreign-born men in the USA tended to equal those of native-born men after ten to fifteen years, as they acquired high ability, labour market experience, and they were highly motivated and invested in human capital. He also (2000, p. 72) views a more intense “favourable selectivity” for migrants towards labour market success if they possess higher levels of ability.

The flows of human capital in an area, i.e. its “spatial spillovers” in the “economy of knowledge” of today, are thought to increase productivity, “economic vibrancy” and “entrepreneurial spirit” (Waldorf, 2008, p. 111); additionally, it improves the efficiency of the labour market and betters the “flows of information”, “innovations” and “research and development”, which are crucial

¹⁶ Mahroum (2001a and 2001b) went further as to state that immigration, particularly of highly skilled people, is gradually becoming “inseparable” from the policies of economic development and technology in the nation states.

¹⁷ Chiswick (1988, cited in Chang, 2000, p. 213) offers a solution to those who assume that unskilled migrants cut down the wages of unskilled native workers, which is raising taxes on workers with higher incomes and reducing taxes on native workers with lowest incomes. Chang (2000) argues that this will leave the whole native workers “better off” than without immigration. He considers immigration barriers, like trade barriers, protectionist, and suggests, instead, the application of redistributive policies (e.g. tax policies and transfer programmes).

for “growth” and “competitiveness” (Jauhiainen, 2008, p. 97; Mukkala, 2008, p. 131). Urban areas are the main beneficiaries of human capital migration in what Muhlenkamp and Waldorf (2008, p. 151) call “pockets of brain power”.

The directions of the movements of the brain drain, brain gain or brain circulation¹⁸ are diverse such as north-north, north-south, south-north, and south-south, and its motives include material incentives (e.g. benefits and remuneration), non-monetary gain (e.g. health care services, child support, prestige and intercultural experience) and institutional factors (e.g. migration laws). Mahroum (2001a and 2001b) has summarized well the factors and policies influencing the mobility of highly skilled people who are made of senior managers and executives, engineers and technicians, scientists, entrepreneurs and students (table 2.1).

It seems that the task of Becker (1993), in using the analysis of investments in human capital to understand and interpret a large and varied class of behaviour, is too ambitious. This analysis is based on the postulates of the modern economics and considers the investments as “rational responses to a calculus of expected costs and benefits” (1993, p. 17) and, hence, should face some of the critiques pointed at the neo-classical approaches. At an empirical level, Kogan (2005), in her study of the unemployment dynamics among male migrants in Germany, found that the disadvantages of immigrants in the labour market are less related to the lack of human capital (educational attainments and work experience) than to the characteristics of jobs held by migrants, such as their occupation, industry, size of the enterprise they work in, tenure in their current employment on the one side, and the existence of discrimination through the “immigrant penalties” on the other side. Wilson (1993) signalled that not all the “most able” are in position to invest in human capital in the host country; migrants still have to face the problem of transferring skills and education credentials across the borders; there are other mechanisms which influence the remuneration of workers rather than their human

¹⁸ These terms refer to different perspectives in relation to human capital mobility: brain drain for the countries of origin who spend huge resources to train them; brain gain for the host countries which take profit of human capital without having had to spend any penny in its training; brain circulation when one supposes the existence of circular mobility of human capital between origin and host countries.

capital, such as the unionization of workers to support claims for higher wages and minimum-wage legislation.

Table 2.1: Classification of the highly skilled mobility, types of influencing factors and policies

Group	Type of push and pull factors	Type of policies
Managers and Executives	Benefits and remuneration	Business-oriented
Engineers and Technicians	Economic factors (supply and demand mechanisms) The state of the national economy	Immigration legislation Income tax
Academics and Scientists	Bottom-up developments in science Nature & conditions of work Institutional prestige	Inter-institutional and intergovernmental policies
Entrepreneurs Governmental	(Visa, taxation, protection, etc.) policies Financial facilities Bureaucratic Efficiency	Governmental and regional policies Immigration legislation
Students	Recognition of a global workplace Accessibility problems at home Inter-cultural experience	Recognition of a global workplace Accessibility problems at home Inter-cultural experience Intergovernmental and inter-institutional policies Immigration legislation

Source: Mahroum (2001a, p. 180).

Samers (2010, p. 126-8) signalled four problems of this theory, viz, 1) it oversimplifies the experiences of migrants and their characteristics, 2) it assumes the existence of “homogeneity” among them, 3) it does not deal with “socio-professional downgrading”, and 4) it focuses rather on the “socio-economic mobility” of migrants than in their working conditions. On the other hand, phenomena like exclusion and social disadvantages remain out of the scope of the individualistic human capital models, which presumably assume that only one’s education, work experience, and other resources determine one’s place in the labour market (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006).

2.2.1.4. New Economics Approach

Unlike neo-classical theory, the new economics approach emphasises the role of families and households as “collective economic agents” in the decision of

migration, which is to be taken not only in order to maximize expected incomes, but also to minimize risks and tackle possible failures in a variety of markets (Massey, 1987; Massey *et al.*, 1993; Wood, 1981). In other words, there is a major shift from “individual independence” to “mutual interdependence” (Stark, 1984; Stark and Bloom, 1985), in which the cooperation between the family members is the better way for each to gain the highest return from migration decision-making. Although when the wage differential is not a necessary condition for international migration, families send one or several members abroad to address the risk, through diversifying the allocation of its resources (Massey *et al.*, 1993; Samers, 2010). The migrants move to overcome the effect of “relative deprivation” (Stark and Bloom, 1985), which is due to the uneven distribution of income in their communities or reference groups (Arango, 2000). This, in turn, favours a “strong self-perpetuating tendency” of (international) migration (Massey, 1988).

From the perspective of risk-aversion, Massey *et al.* (1993) identified four markets where the minimization of risk may occur: crop insurance markets, futures market, unemployment insurance and capital markets. On the other hand, in addition to the policies influencing the labour market, governments can influence the size and direction of migration by following policies that shape the above mentioned different markets and the distribution of incomes among the households (Massey *et al.*, 1993).

By considering households as collective economic agents and ignoring that they are “socio-culturally informed, dynamic, gendered structures”, this approach assumes the taken-for-granted, gender status and role characterisations of women and men within households in the sending areas, and obviates power relationships within them, particularly at decision-taking process (Indra, 1999, p. 15; Pessar, 1999). Arango (2000) reproached this theory for its lack of “theoretical autonomy”, as it may be considered as a simple refinement of the micro theory of the neo-classical approach on the one side, and its “limited applicability” on the other side. Moreover, the risk may include “life-threatening situations”, and migration does not necessarily entail a family-decision taken in an organised social context, as it is supposed to be. The focus on the “economism of migration”, as signalled by Halfacree (2004, p. 242), has been “problematized” by the “cultural perspective”, that emanates from the “biographical approach”.

2.2.1.5. World-System Theory

World-system analysis originated in the early 1970s, and is one of the structuralist approaches¹⁹, which have its foundations in the Marxist, neo-Marxist and historical-sociological interpretation of capitalism (Brettell, 2000; Castles and Miller, 2003; Samers, 2010; Wallerstein, 1979 and 2004). Since the 1970s-1980s, these approaches have studied labour migrations from the “periphery” to “core” areas by focusing on the problems of “political-economic inequality”, “development of underdevelopment” through “international capitalism”, “trade inequality” linked through a “history of class inequality”, “colonialism”, “imperialism”, and “racism and xenophobia” (Brettell, 2000; Burawoy, 1976; Robinson, 2001; Samers, 2010).

This theory defines “system” as a “social creation” that possesses a “history” (Wallerstein, 2004). The defining characteristic of the social system is the existence of a division of labour. A world-system is a “unit” which refers to a single division of labour but multiple cultural systems, whose analysis is based on the relationship between the “core” and the “periphery”. There are two varieties of world-system²⁰: a world-system with a common political system (i.e. “world-empires” with a “redistributive” economy) and; a world-system without a common political system (i.e. “world-economies” with a capitalist-market economy where the “widening gap” between periphery and core areas is not an anomaly, but a necessary mechanism for the world-economy to operate) (Wallerstein, 1979 and 2004). He considered capitalism as a system where the “surplus value” of the “proletarians” is taken by the “bourgeois”, but, in the case of the world system with “proletarians” living in another state, there is another mechanism in use, he argued, which emanates from manipulating the control of flows beyond the boundaries of the state; for Wallerstein, capitalism from its inception has always been related to the “world-economy”, and not to the “nation-states”. The same author sees capitalism and world-economy as “obverse sides of

¹⁹ The remaining are the theories of dependency, articulation, globalization, global cities hypothesis, neo-liberalism, and migration–development nexus (Samers, 2010). World-system theory is close to the theory of dependency. The latter came out of structuralist theories of Latin American studies, as a refutation to “developmentalist or modernization theories” and “monetarist policy views” (Wallerstein, 1979).

²⁰ In fact, Wallerstein spoke of three types of historical systems (mini-systems, world-empires and world-economies) which he related, respectively, to the three forms of economic organisations, earlier developed by Karl Polanyi, viz, reciprocity, redistribution and market exchanges (Wallerstein, 2004).

the same coin”, where the former can only exist within the framework of the latter.

Wallerstein (1979) spoke of the existence of a single world system (capitalist world-economy) which contains different zones according to the position that different countries occupy within the hierarchy of the world-economy (Robinson, 2001): core, semi-periphery and periphery which, in turn, are related through an international division of labour. Core zones are characterised by high profit, high technology, high wages and diversified production, while the periphery represents the other side of the spectrum. The semi-periphery includes groups of countries which fall in between in the spectrum, and, hence, are well situated to take advantage at downturns, due to the “difference between their internal politics and their social structures” (1979, p. 97).

Although when the economy represents an important aspect of this theory, it does not relate international migration to wage differentials or employment conditions (Massey *et al.*, 1993), but, to the structure of the capitalist world-economy and its dynamics (Wallerstein, 1997). People migrate from the periphery to semi-periphery and core areas (also from semi-periphery to core areas) as a result of the penetration of the capitalist modes of production and the consequent changes in social and economic relations in the countries of the periphery (Wallerstein, 1979). Thus, migration is the result of the “disruptions” and “dislocations” (Massey *et al.*, 1993), associated with economic globalization and capitalist development. The uneven distribution of factors of production, i.e. land, labour and capital, shapes the patterns of migration (Wilson, 1993) which, in turn, follows the movement of capital and goods, but, in the opposite direction (Massey *et al.*, 1993).

Portes and DeWind (2004, p. 831) relate the “inexhaustible supply of potential migrants” to the economic distance between the global North and the South which, in turn, is enhanced by the process of globalization and the spread of new ways of consumption, seen as inaccessible for peoples from the South. At an empirical level, Burawoy (1976, p. 1057) privileged the consideration of migrant labour in South Africa, then under British colonial rule, not for its cheapness, but, rather to then “historically concrete circumstances of the articulation of different

modes of production and the corresponding superstructures”²¹. Besides exploitation, migrant workers function as a “regulator of capitalist crises” (Burawoy, 1976, p. 1065), i.e. easy to contract as well as to lay off, depending on the situation of the economic cycle. The communities of origin of migrant workers were charged of the “cost of reproduction” (mainly the “renewal”) of the labour force (Burawoy, 1976). On the other hand, Wallerstein (1979, p. 200) related the “further development” of the world-economy in the twentieth century to the “partial muting of the class conflict of the core countries by the absorption of skilled industrial workers into privileged sectors”, as well as to the “increasing recruitment of sub-proletarian sectors from distinctive ethno-cultural groups”.

The economic exchange does not require the existence of a “common political structure” or a same culture. For Wallerstein, to change the world-system, development must, in the long run, impact on “world-wide class consciousness” of the “proletariat”, and it is not enough with changing the “social composition” and “world-economic function of national production”. Unlike the developmentalists, being those Liberals or Marxists, Wallenstein does not consider the social structures as formed by stages²² as “synchronic portraits”. In return, he advocated the study of the social transformations over long historical time, or as he said, based on Braudel, of *longue durée*. His perspective differs from the developmentalist approach in its “mode of thought” (dialectical when the former is mechanical), and its “prognosis for action” when the former focuses on the relations of the periphery with the “hegemonic powers”. He also rejected the “misleading” concept of the dual economy.

As Wilson (1993, p. 104) pointed out, world-system analysis can be of great utility in understanding “diachronic global labour transfers” from regions characterised by “distorted development”, as well as the role of migrant labour in

²¹ For Burawoy (1976), the dependence on the capitalist economy was enhanced and deepened by the intervention of the colonial administration in the subsistence economies through the separation of two processes, related to the reproduction of migrant labour: maintenance and renewal. In the African cases, as he stated, there was the state which, by the application of taxes, expropriation of land, conscription or the application of discriminatory subsidies favouring the European farmers, obliged the indigenous population to look for wage labour and, hence, integrate into the labour force.

²² The greatest exponent of the stages of economic development is Rostow (1960) who presented five categories which reflect different “economic dimensions” that all the societies should pass through, viz, the traditional society, the preconditions for take-off, the take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of high mass-consumption.

developed regions. Despite being a defender of not using distinct “boxes of analysis” (Wallerstein, 1979 and 2004), it seems as if the author had chosen to carry the burden of excessive categorization of countries into ideal types²³ in relation to the position they occupy in the world-economy system. One may find in the same country the characteristics of more than one area. He underestimated the role of the nation-state within the world-system framework (Hollifield, 2000).

This analysis has been critiqued by the “positivists”, viz, the lack of hard, quantitative data and the inaccuracy of generalization from more contextualized cases; the “state-autonomists”, and the “cultural scholars”, reproach to Wallerstein the “overemphasised” economic base of the analysis over the scarcely studied role of the state, and of culture, respectively and; the “orthodox-Marxist” for underestimating the “determining centrality” of the modes of production (Wallerstein, 2004). As a macro approach, it has been criticized for ignoring the importance of individual agency or, at least, for considering individuals as passive agents, manipulated by the world-capitalist system (Brettell, 2000). It also fails to explain the movements from core and semi-periphery areas to periphery area, such as the economic mobility to the South in a time of economic downturn and sharp unemployment in the North.

2.2.1.6. Global Cities Hypothesis

We live in an era of global and worldwide mobility (Castles and Miller, 2003). A fact witnessed by the social geography of big cities around the world. Migration can be explained, partly, by its rootedness in the different types of relations that link the sending and receiving areas, e.g. economic, political, historical and military. The modern city can be characterised by the “unexpectedness of onrushing impressions” in “each crossing of the street”, and when “the tempo and multiplicity of economic, occupational and social life” contrast deeply with the life in small and rural towns (Sheller and Urry, 2004, p. 215). As Poot *et al.* (2008) pointed out, international migration is highly selective in the space as the metropolitan areas represent the major attraction of newcomers, especially for highly educated people for several reasons, such as job (e.g. abundance of

²³ As Brettell (2000) pointed out, typologies may lead to a “static” and “homogenous” portrait of the whole process. On the other hand, it may not capture the flexibility and changes over time of the contextual conditions.

managerial and professional work), learning opportunities (e.g. international students and trainees), high wages and family utility (Jauhiainen, 2008; Waldorf, 2008). Not only for migrants, but also for the whole world population as about half of this live in cities, and it is expected to reach sixty per cent by 2030 (Clark, 1996; Poot *et al.*, 2008). Frey (1995, p. 734) considers the metropolitan area a “more meaningful unit” to study the migration dynamics as it represents a “labour market area” of both international and internal migrants.

Being close to the labour market segmentation theory and in the line of “neo-Marxist/globalization” approaches, global cities hypothesis, a structuralist approach, emphasises the role of global economy in the development of large, economically dynamic and diverse cities (Samers, 2010, p. 74). Sassen (2001) relates the development of the “global cities”²⁴ to labour migration from developing areas, and considers the global city as a “key site for the incorporation” of migrant workers in activities, related to “strategic sectors” (2001, p. 322). Thus, the relation between migrant workers and big cities development is bi-directional and mutually fed.

Following the growth of capital mobility and the changes in the “geographic organisation of production”, as well as in the “network of financial markets”, there has been an increase in the need for a “highly differentiated labour supply” of skilled and unskilled workers in the global cities; the former work in the main sectors of the economy (e.g. management, consultancies and finance, among others), while the latter, when they mainly occupy “low-wage enclaves” and constitute “key trends in international labour migrations”, respond to the demand generated by the former, such as in restaurants, homes and offices (Sassen, 2001, pp. 24-32). Also as a result of the economic restructuring which takes place in the global cities, being these “immigrant gateways”, a “downsizing of traditional blue-collar jobs” occurs (Frey, 1996, p. 754). This segmentation of the labour market has created a certain polarization between a new highly paid class of professionals and a large stratum of workers in casual and informal economy, i.e. it fosters a dual economy within the metropolitan area (Frey, 1995).

²⁴ According to Sassen (2001), global cities emerged during the 1970s to become the centres of multinational corporate headquarters and related “producer services”, generating employment for, both, highly and low skilled migrants and no migrants (Sassen, 2001).

Gidley and Jayaweera (2010, p. 4-32) pointed to the existence of a “polarity”²⁵ in inner London, which is reflected by diverse features including close proximity of two categories of migrants, viz, the “most wealthy, often from wealthier regions of the world” and the “poorest, often from poorer global regions”. On the other hand, the fragmentation of the market has made immigrants seek out “mass consumer services” of lower quality, as they cannot afford luxury goods, while the professional class has become a client of “non-mass consumer services”, inhabits places which underwent gentrification and hires the services of companies, which subcontract labour-intensive activities that employ mainly migrant workers (Sassen, 2001).

Sassen (2001, p. 261) established different types of relationship between households, according to different patterns of class, origin and types of work, which enhance the segmentation of the labour force: high income households often pay for housework when low-income migrant households do paid industrial homework, as well as unpaid housework and, finally, there are middle-class suburban and urban households who can afford to pay for housework when they have their paid work.

Table 2.2: Relationship between households according the different patterns of class, origin and type of work

Class/origin	Type of work
High income households	Paid rather than unpaid housework
Low-income migrant households	Paid industrial homework and unpaid housework
Middle-class suburban and urban households	Paid housework and paid work

Source: own elaboration, based on Sassen (2001).

The social geography²⁶ of global cities finds its key elements in the “high-income gentrification”, emergence of “sub-economy” in cutting-edge sectors such

²⁵ Fukuyama (1993, p. 31) went further to signal that in the case of the UK, “little progress has been made over the past generation in breaking down the stifling social rigidities” of the class system. Castles and Miller (2003) consider that British racism of today is stiffer than “a century ago”.

²⁶ Frey (1995, p. 734) speaks of what he calls a “greater demographic balkanisation”, i.e. a “spatial segmentation of the population by race-ethnicity and socio-economic status across metropolitan areas”. E.g. at an internal level, as a result of “job and housing competition”, new migrants may push out low-skilled native-born internal migrants (1995, p. 742).

as IT, and the spread of “poor and socially disadvantaged areas” (Sassen, 2001, p. 285). The latter are not only places where migrant workers lower the “costs of production” and secure the flexibility of labour, but, also it is there where they develop a sort of “neighbourhood sub-economy” in structurally strategic places, through entrepreneurship and “less desirable informal jobs” (pp. 295-300). Sassen also pleaded for considering migrant workers not only as a reservoir of “low-wage labour”, but, also as an important factor in populating some urban areas, and, thus, minimizing the proportion of abandoned housing and closed stores (2001, pp. 321).

Global cities hypothesis falls into the trap of dualism of the labour market as it ignores a wide range of work opportunities in the big cities, as well as other social and cultural situations (Samers, 2010). According to Hollifield (2000), globalization arguments and conventional, neoclassical (push-pull) theories, assume that the first cause of migration is as a result of the existence of dualities in the international economy. On the other hand, as Peck and Tickell (2002, p. 389) pointed out, we cannot neglect the importance of the interaction between the application of “technocratic economic management” and “invasive social policies” as main ingredients of the neoliberal agenda, with the latter including “a deeply interventionist” approach concerning social issues like “crime, immigration, policing, welfare reform, urban order and surveillance, and community regeneration”, and its role in the configuration of the metropolitan space, mainly in the USA and the UK. These authors demonstrated the focus of policymakers on “reproducing regimes of precarious work and mobilizing the poor for low-wage employment” in a race to ensure a constant “job readiness” (2002, p. 392). This hypothesis assumes the weakening of the “sovereignty and regulatory power” of the nation-state and the salience of transnationalism (Hollifield, 2000).

Samers (2002, p. 397-9) elaborated several critiques to Sassen’s global cities hypothesis which included the following. It seems that global cities were first chosen and, then, some of its characteristics or processes were assessed; it relates the process of globalization to the growth of labour migration which, in turn, drives the growth of global cities; it considers the increase in informal employment in advanced economies, mainly in global cities, and that migrants are

dominant in these activities; it assumes the increase of sweatshops in global cities which has to be proven empirically; it shifts from considering the “demand-side” perspective of labour in cities, as a result of the change in jobs among skilled workers, to the “supply-side” stance as a result of the growth of the migrant workers, which shapes the dual structure of the labour markets; it mainly focuses on external explanation, particularly the globalization, avoiding internal processes such as the way in which migrants structure the labour markets of global cities. On the other hand, Samers (2002) offers a “reformulation” of the global cities hypothesis by proposing a shift from viewing the global cities as “transnational loci of inequality” to “places of new networks” as a form of “democratic participation” in, both, sending and receiving countries. Moreover, he wonders about the possibilities of a “network paradigm” for global cities which may consider cities as the place for a “transnational political mobilization from below” (Samers, 2002, p. 397-9).

Robinson (2002, p. 534) noted the need for “restructuring the terrain” in which the theory should encompass the experiences of a wide range of cities, in addition to Western cities, and the necessity of going beyond an “imperialist approach”, which is embedded in the “economism” that only takes into consideration a small set of economic activities, located in a small part of the so-called global cities. According to the same author, a limited range of cities is included as most of the cities fail to be “assigned a place in relation to *a priori* analytical hierarchies” which, in turn, condemned them to “structural irrelevance”, .i.e. to be “off the map” (2002, p. 535, original emphasis). This categorization, as argued by Robinson (2002, p. 547), relates the fate of all cities to “small concentrated areas of transnational management and coordination activity within them”; additionally, he argued for a shift from “world, global, mega-, Asian, African, former Socialist, European, third-world etc. cities” approaches to a “cosmopolitan project of understanding ordinary cities” (2002, p. 549). Brettell (2000) suggested the study of ethnic cities, gendered cities and global cities. It would be better to adopt a “place-specific analysis” (Hou and Bourne, 2004, p. 8) as we would be able to reach meaningful explanations and interpretations of the interactions between migrant and native-born workers in the labour market.

2.2.1.7. Networks and Chain Migration

The concept of network was first introduced in British social anthropology by the scholars of sociability, such as Elizabeth Bott (1971) where she used it to analyse the relationship between the segregation of marital roles and the density of social networks of husbands and spouses. Despite being an important component in explaining the perpetuation and channelization of international migration (Massey, 1988; Massey *et al.*, 1993; Portes and DeWind, 2004), networks play a certain role in its initiation from the sending areas by helping migrants to answer, mainly, two questions: where to go in order to look for job; and who is able to move as a labour migrant (Wilson, 1993).

Networks may reflect the inclination of migration to become independent from its originally economic causes (Massey, 1988; Brettell, 2000). Migration is a “network-driven process” where the ties of kin, friendship and shared community of origin, are very useful in leading recent arrivals to already settled migrant groups (Massey, 1988; Massey *et al.*, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 2006). Networks are an important component of the migration system²⁷, understood as “two or more places linked by flows and counterflows of people” (Fawcett, 1989, p.671) and a form of social capital²⁸ (Massey *et al.*, 1993), mediate between structural forces and the individual agency of migrants (Massey *et al.*, 1993), and provide channels for the migration process itself (Vertovec, 2000).

Social capital has three functions: “as a source of social control”, “as a source of family support”, and “as a source of benefits through extra-familial networks” (Portes, 1998, p. 9). In its third function, social capital and networks are important

²⁷ According to Castles and Miller (2003), migration systems theory includes a diversity of disciplines and encompasses all the aspects of the migrant experience. It comprises an exchange of migrants between two or more countries. This theory implies an examination of both places: origin and destination and its linkages. These include the relations between states, its comparisons, cultural connections and family and social networks. It suggests that migration occurs because there are links between sending and receiving areas which are based on colonial past, political links, commerce and investment and cultural relations.

²⁸ Portes (1998, p.3) considers the social capital as “not a natural given and must be constructed through investment strategies oriented to the institutionalization of group relations, usable a reliable source of other benefits”. On the other hand, Faist (2008, p. 38-39) considered the social capital in two directions: 1) “social ties can be resources available to persons” and 2) “social capital constitutes resources, such as reciprocity and solidarity, which are available to groups and thus enable cooperation”. According to Castles and Miller (2003), social capital refers to the social networks that are at the base of the organisation of the processes of migration, as well as community foundation, while cultural capital refers to the community knowledge of its situation and the ways of managing it.

for ethnic entrepreneurship through, for instance, the creation of small businesses (Light, 1994). But, social capital may have negative consequences such as the exclusion of outsiders (i.e. formation of closed communities), excessive demands on the group members, limitations on individual freedom, and “downward levelling norms” (Portes, 1998, p. 15). There are two main sources of social capital for immigrants, viz, “bounded solidarity”, i.e. when migrants use their accumulated “elective affinity” to choose their business partners, employers and customers, and “enforceable trust” which implies a repeated participation in business that provides access to economic resources and makes business transactions flexible (Portes, 1997b; Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993).

Social networks can be compound of “strong ties” or “weak ties”, with the former involving a combination of the “amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding) and the reciprocal services” within the group (Granovetter, 1973, p. 1361). Werbner (1999, pp. 27-8), in her study of transnational networks of Pakistanis in the UK, provided a good explanation and comparison of strong and weak ties, which are still applicable to Algerian migrants. She wrote:

“According to Granovetter (1973), strong ties are those embedded in dense social networks while weak ties are those bridging different social networks. Strong ties are powerful in the dual sense that they are both multiplex and interconnected through a multiplicity of pathways. Their weakness is in their restricted ‘reach.’ The strength of weak ties lies, by contrast, in their power to span different groups, settings, and classes. Such are the ties of friendship which the migration process produces: new friendships based on work or neighbourly relationships, as well as on political alliances and religious affiliation... Yet friendship ties differ critically from kin ties since they constitute crucial ‘bridging’ ties. As such, they facilitate communication between different kin groups and across different social strata. Kinship ties, being by their very nature ‘strong’, doom migrants, if sustained in isolation, to remain fixed within the social limits set by their origins and circumstances... prior to their migration... By contrast, new friendships and acquaintances forged by migrants locally extend their horizons and mediate processes of mobility and social transformation. They facilitate not only job searches and entrepreneurial ventures, but also the expansion of the family and the setting of novel lifestyles.”

For Putnam (1993, p. 2), social capital refers to “features of social organisation, such as networks, norms, and trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit”, and it “enhances the benefits of investment in physical and human capital.” In other words, where one lives and whom he knows contribute in defining his personality and determining his fate (Putnam, 1993). The same author (2000, p. 22-3) spoke of “bonding social capital” which is exclusive and emerge within bounded groups to “reinforce exclusive identities

and homogeneous groups”, while “bridging social capital” is inclusive and occurs across groups. Ties may put together people who are similar in important characteristics (e.g. ethnicity, age, gender and social class, among others) offering “bonding capital” or those who are unlike one another giving place to “bridging capital” (Raghuram *et al.*, 2010). This dichotomy has been criticized by Durlauf (2002) for not being natural, as a same source of social capital can lead to both kinds of bonds, such as national identity.

Putnam (2000, p. 22-3) values the importance of bridging networks in “getting ahead”, favouring “broader identities” and reciprocity at a larger scope. These facilitate access to “external assets” and the diffusion of information, while bonding networks favour “getting by” a certain type of reciprocity and solidarity mobilisation. Weak ties, as pointed out by Granovetter (1973), are necessary when looking for jobs because it bridges distant people who belong to different circles, and, thus, are more valuable than strong ties, which bond relatives and close friends who usually move within the same circles. Burt (1992, cited in, Portes, 1998, p. 6) considers the relative absence of ties, which he called “structural holes”, as a facilitator of individual mobility, and not the density of the networks. While bonding social capital may have “external social effects”, both types of social capital may have strong “positive social effects” (2000, p. 23). Pessar (1999) criticizes the lack of problematizing the existence of social solidarity among co-ethnics where exploitation of the latter, and of women, in ethnic businesses has been documented.

Migrants are supposed to rely on their established social networks which hold two main characteristics, viz, its “simultaneous” density and “extension over long physical distances”, and its increased solidarity because of a “generalized uncertainty” (Portes, 1997a, p. 8), which is due to hypothetical risks, emanating from emigration. More than a simple calculation according to the economic rationality, migration can be seen as a social phenomenon which perpetuates itself²⁹ through social networks, and the differences observed into the tendency to migrate between the individuals seem to be in relation with their different levels

²⁹ Massey *et al.* (1993) speak of a “critical threshold” from which migration becomes “self-perpetuating” because, as they note, every act of migration forms the “social structure” which is vital to perpetuate it. For Castles and Miller (2003), when migration starts it becomes “self-sustaining” social process.

of involvement with the migration networks. Past experiences of the individuals (or their kin and friends) are important in maintaining the flows, as well as in favouring migration towards certain destinations than others.

Networks may favour the survival of the new migrants and provide them with the financial safety nets, including the decrease of costs and risks of movement and increase of expected net returns, and access to employment, as well as to cultural and political information³⁰ (Massey *et al.*, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 2006; Vertovec, 2002; Wegge, 1998). The access to employment, which is mediated by the migrant networks that are based on “personal ties”, may lead to a limited number of ethnic niches and its possible outcomes, such as professional downgrading and deskilling, while if migrants make use of networks that are based on “organisational ties”, these may lead them to an adequate match between their levels of skills and jobs (Gidley and Jayaweera, 2010). While network-mediated migration can be “uni-local”, “multi-locality” represents another pattern of migration when migrants build multiple migration networks within, and to, different locations; moreover, networks may be “interfamilial”, i.e. based on close kin or “serial” when distant kin or friends are helped in their migration (Wilson, 1993).

Chain migration is an early form of transnationalism (Vertovec, 2002), and has been defined as the movement through which would-be migrants, with the help of their “primary social relationships” with earlier migrants, “learn of opportunities”, are supplied with transportation, initial housing and work (MacDonald and MacDonald, 1964). It fits better in the sense of “information hypothesis” as used by the historians of migration than in the “relative wage hypothesis” as emphasised by the economists of migration (Wegge, 1998). Channelization refers to when earlier arrivals create continuing links to homeland towns and, thus,

³⁰ Wegge (1998) explains, in a detailed way, the help that previous migrants could provide to recent arrivals, such as information on the opportunities available in the host countries, sending remittances for boat fares, providing room and board, showing them around, teaching them language skills and finding jobs, among others. Vertovec (2002) notes the importance of social networks for migrants in finding jobs and accommodation, circulating goods and services, getting psychological support and continuous social and economic information, guidance into or through specific places and occupations including occupational mobility, information about procedures (technical as well as legal), financial support, administrative assistance, physical attendance and emotional solidarity.

favours particular concentrations of particular groups of migrants in particular areas (Clark, 2003).

MacDonald (1992, p. 35) deconstructed the chain migration of Italians to the USA and Australia into the following stages: “serial migration of lone males; delayed family migration and; male migration through “padroni” from the same home town”. Later, he added non-chain migration which he defined as “impersonally recruited contract emigration” (1992, p. 35). The difference between chain and non-chain migration was in the need of cash assets for migrants to achieve their objectives (Wegge, 1998). MacDonald (1992, p. 36) considers the legal and administrative framework as a determinant of the prevalence of chain migration and shrinking of non-chain migration to both countries; additionally, chain migration was reinforced by the attitude that encompassed the “moral priority of the family and associated behaviour”, and its extreme expression which meant the ban of the emigration of lone women, unless they used the channel of chain migration.

Vecchio (2006)³¹ opposed this view as she considered Italian women’s migration as not inevitably related to male migration and playing an important role in social change at the time, as they contributed economically to their households as workers or self-employed. In the former case, “welfare capitalism” helped in maintaining the mores of the time while in the latter, Italian women could run their small businesses from their houses or separately, such as taking in lodgers or running grocery shops. Vecchio (2006) also noted that not all Italian immigrant women were uneducated and they could achieve emancipation and upward mobility. On the other hand, as the Italian community earlier in the USA and Australia faced certain levels of economic and social isolation and discrimination, this reinforced their intra-community dependency and solidarity, as well as the basis for the growing migration chains.

Migration chains may increase the numbers of migrants and favour the mobility of different groups (Wegge, 1998). This diversification also depends on

³¹ McKay, S. (2007) *Merchants, Midwives, and Laboring Women: Italian Migrants in Urban America*, by Vecchio, D. C. Reviewed in: *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research*, 13: 315, August 7.

the previous history of migration and the formation of a “culture of migration” (Brettell, 2000; Massey *et al.*, 1993; Stalker, 2000) among the population in the sending areas, which, in turn, may enhance their aspiration for spatial and social mobility, that they cannot reach in their own countries, including changing their tastes and motivations through a process of “circular cumulative causation” (Greenwood, 1985; Massey, 1988; Massey *et al.*, 1993; Piore, 1979). This may create “migration-dependent communities” (Brettell, 2000) who are more propitious to other (further) migrations (Massey *et al.*, 1993; Piore, 1979).

Ní Laoire (2000, p. 239-40) criticizes the appropriateness of the “culture of migration” as an explanation of migration in the context of the Irish rural immigration for several reasons: it considers migration as being “normal”, i.e. an essential trait of particular groups and ignores the problematisation of the role of culture; it conceals the “differences and inequalities” in the cultural construction of migration which is reflected through different discourses, such as the “traditionalist ‘migration-as-exile’ discourse” and the “‘migration-as-opportunity’ discourse”. She pleaded for going beyond this limited way of considering the “role of culture in constructing migration norms”, and suggested the recognition of migration not as a “simple event”, but for its “multi-layered, biographical and complex nature” (2000, p. 239-241).

A network approach to migration shows that economic rationality (e.g. expected net returns, wage differentials and employment rates, among others) cannot explain the maintenance and growth of flows when the conditions are not favourable. According to Wegge (1998), migration chains may help in resolving some problems of the neo-classical economic model of the international labour market, viz, flows of information between foreign labour markets and potential migrants, flows of financial aids or services to the potential emigrants, and legal and administrative framework of the sending and receiving countries. While this theory combines the importance of individual agency and structural forces in the human mobility, it transcends the constraints of the space and territories, as well as the regulation of the access of migrants to the host countries.

2.2.1.8. Conclusion

How do the reviewed theories relate to Algerian migration? Algerians migrate to the UK and Spain for various reasons. As stated earlier, there is no a “grand theory” of migration that can explain all the movements abroad (Portes and DeWind, 2004). The motives respond to monetary and non-monetary incentives. They can be “pulled” by some factors in the receiving areas, and “pushed” by others in the sending region towards different destinations, and not only to great centres of commerce and services as Ravenstein forecast, e.g. to Czech Republic (Hyánková, 2005) and Serbia (UNHCR, 2012), instead of more prosperous regions, which goes against economic rationality. The latter also fails to explain massive movements and settlement in France while ignoring the comparative advantage of other migratory destinations, for example, why did a majority of Algerians migrate to France and not to West Germany despite the relatively high wages and better working conditions in the latter?

Algerian migration, in its colonial period, may be consistent with the arguments of the world-system theory, related to a forced penetration of the capitalist modes of production and its social relations in a radically different society and its consequences on social, economic, cultural and political arenas of the native population, as well as the compulsory transfer of population towards the metropolitan France. But, beyond that, individual agency, cultural factors and the role of both states, i.e. France and, later, Algeria, may be considered also as important factors for mobility abroad. On the other hand, it seems to ignore the movements in the opposite direction when some migrants and European nationals go to the sending areas to take advantage of work opportunities in a context of economic downturn and high unemployment within the Western economies, particularly in the southern region, e.g. skilled and unskilled Spanish labour mobility to Algeria as a result of big infrastructure projects in the country.

Algerians may look for better learning opportunities and, thus, improve their human, social and cultural capital; this in turn can better their lives in the host areas, as well as in the countries of origin. Labdelaoui (2010) spoke of five categories: people with skills in technical and scientific areas (e.g. medical doctors, computer engineers and experts in technology), university professors and researchers, students graduated abroad and those who go abroad to pursue

postgraduate studies, artists, writers and people from the area of culture, and entrepreneurs and funds holders. Algerian highly skilled immigrants may have to tackle several problems concerning their insertion into the labour market of the host countries, such as the recognition of their educational qualifications, deskilling and socio-professional downgrading (Khelfaoui, 2007) when, for example, some work as cab drivers in Québec (Canada) or when medical doctors are employed as paramedical staff in French hospitals, the “immigrant wage penalty” (Samers, 2010, p. 128) when ethnic origin or being migrant, for example, conditions important features of the employment such as salaries and working conditions, and discrimination when looking for jobs (Latrèche, 2006), including institutional barriers³².

They may make use of their networks in Europe to reach new and established destinations. The diversification of their networks in Europe may constitute a crucial explanation of the enlargement of their migratory space; additionally, the already established networks may form a basis for further mobility to other “non-natural” areas of settlement. At an empirical level, this process can be seen in the emigration of Algerians from the north-west region to southern Spain in a remarkable style. Ravenstein spoke of a “step-migration model” which probably could provide insights into the mobility of Algerians within Europe. But what about direct migration to distant countries as it is the case of Algerians moving directly to the UK? In the following table, the reviewed theories are summarized.

Table 2.3: Comparative summary of push-pull, neoclassical, new economics, world-system, global cities and network theories

Theory	Analytical perspective	Synthesis
Ravesntein’s Laws (Push-pull approaches)	Individuals and groups	Migration is based on push and pull factors
Neo-Classical (macro)	Country International	Migration is a consequence of different labour market conditions between countries
New Economics of Migration	Families and households International	From “individual independence” to “mutual interdependence” Families and households as “collective economic agents”

³² Castles and Miller (2003) used “institutional or structural racism” to refer to the situation where there is a dominant group whose power is based on some structures such as laws, policies and administrative practices, which hamper the access of migrants and minorities to important resources such as employment, while “informal racism” occurs when there are attitudes, described as racist and behaviours that discriminate in the benefit of the dominant group.

Continuation of table 2.3.

Theory	Analytical perspective	Synthesis
World-System Theory	Capitalism International migration	Penetration of capitalism in the southern regions, its changes and effects on migration
Global cities Hypothesis	Global economy Global cities International migration	Global economy affects the development of large, dynamic and diverse cities
Network theory	Networks of individuals and groups International migration	Migration occurs because of the existence of networks that constitute safety nets

Source: own elaboration.

2.2.2. Insertion and Mobility within the Local Labour Markets

The questions concerning the patterns that characterise the insertion and mobility of Algerians within the labour markets of the receiving countries, as well as those concerning the differences between the UK and Spanish labour markets in terms of providing opportunities for social mobility versus entrapment, will be sustained on the following theories: dual labour market and labour market segmentation, ethno-stratification of the labour market, ethnic enclaves and small entrepreneurship, and the existence (absence) of upward mobility (stepping-stone or entrapment). Understanding the relationship between employment and migration seems to be central to the discussions related to the causes and consequences of migration (Greenwood, 1985). On the other hand, the centrality of the migrants' participation in the economy in general, and the labour market in particular, for their integration in the host countries has been emphasised by the EU Common Basic Principle 3 (EU, 2005). By no means, is this a plea for subjecting migration to the economy and labour market situation, but, is a recognition of the importance of employment and labour market outcomes for migrants.

Although one could not relate migration to strictly economic motives and/or monetary incentives, however, the opportunities of employment (both as employee or self-employed) and life betterment, at different degrees, are important for migrants. Both atomistic and structural theories have taken into consideration the importance of the economic factors, at both micro and macro

levels, in the decision of migration. Deterministic theories from push-pull approaches to structuralist ones have seen the importance of the individual, family, household and community as individual and collective economic agents for the former, and the penetration of capitalist modes of production into the sending areas as propellant of migration towards the centres of commerce and trade where migrants could access new forms of consumption and aspire to social mobility through labour market, for the latter. Network theory has shown that migration can be dissociated from the decision and/or wish to find work in the receiving areas, as migrant networks may constitute safety nets and provide first support to new arrivals. Human capital theory may see its postulates questioned when migrants, with human capital that was built in the receiving areas, can still being trapped at job positions located at the bottom of the labour market hierarchy or discriminated against, and when ethnic entrepreneurship becomes the only exit from unemployment or unskilled jobs for some groups of migrants.

2.2.2.1. Dual Labour Market and Labour Market Segmentation

Among the theories dealing with the incorporation³³ and mobility of migrants within the labour markets of host countries are the dual labour market and labour market segmentation approaches (Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Piore, 1979). The notions of dual or segmented labour markets were developed separately from the theory of the dual economy (Wilson and Portes, 1980). The dual approach takes roots in the topics that emerged around “social policy issues of the 1960s” (Hodson and Kaufman, 1982, p. 728). According to these authors, the key components of the dual model are a dual economy³⁴, a dual labour market, some outcomes emanating from the participation of workers in the labour market, and a social division of labour (1982, p. 728). For Castles and Miller (2003, p. 24), dual labour market theory is an attempt to “introduce a wider range of factors into economic research” that proved the “importance of institutional factors, race and gender in bringing about labour market segmentation.” From the point of view of

³³ In a broad sense, as Brettell (2000) pointed out, incorporation requires a “transition” from being an outsider to an insider status, while full incorporation is only possible when the larger society “imagine” migrants as members of their community.

³⁴ According to Wallerstein (1979, p. 119), ideas such as “dual economy” (in fact, this author rejects the consideration made by the “dual economy theory” concerning the existence of some areas included and others excluded from the “world-economy”, while, on the contrary, he defends the existence of the inclusion of all areas in the world-economy) and “economic development” emerged in the post-Second World War era, “within a framework of US world hegemony”. As he argued, they do not represent mere “analytical tools”, but, also “political programmes”.

this perspective, dual labour markets represent a shift from a differentiated set of “modes of organisation of capital” to “modes of organisation of labour.”

Piore (1979, p.3) describes the migration process with the following four characteristics: 1) migration is seen as a response to the attraction of the industrialized areas, 2) migrants seem to perform jobs that native workers reject, 3) migrants are temporary workers at the onset of their migration project, but, later, many of them become permanent workers, and 4) migrants are mostly unskilled, unschooled or illiterate and coming from the rural areas. Moreover, he reduced the perception of migration to two factors, viz, a response to labour shortages in the host countries, and to the way of filling job positions located at the bottom of the social hierarchy, and in the secondary sector of a dual labour market. For Piore (1979), the latter has a small impact on the native workers because migrants take (or are forced to take) jobs that the former refuse to accept; a position criticized by Borjas (1989) for being a theoretical “conjecture”.

The dual labour market hypothesis sustains the division of the labour market into primary and secondary sectors, while it assumes that migrant jobs are located in the latter. Each sector possesses different characteristics and entails different outcomes for workers. The primary sector, which is capital-intensive with highly paid and skilled jobs, is seen as the favourite niche for native workers, offering them stable jobs with better conditions, greater opportunities of promotion (career-oriented jobs), high levels of training as these jobs require more knowledge and experience, and where dismissing employees can be expensive or difficult to undertake, as workers may be highly unionized or highly professionalized. Here, workers can be seen as capital. On the other hand, the secondary sector is labour-intensive, offering unstable and low-paid, unskilled jobs of less prestige and inferior social status, where workers are easier to dismiss. Here, working conditions are hard and unpleasant and the options of mobility or career are scarce, and the general conditions of work make it unattractive for native workers (Hodson and Kaufman, 1982; Massey *et al.* 1993; Piore 1979; Samers, 2010; Wilson and Portes, 1980). The division between sectors is emphasised by the existence of barriers hindering the mobility between them, and it is thought to be originated in the difference among sectors in their ability to “maximize profits through the structuring of their labour processes” (Hodson and

Kaufman, 1982, p. 729). Additionally, occupational mobility was seen as more predominant within the sectors than between them (Wilson and Portes, 1980).

The dual labour market theory focuses on the structural labour demand of developed economies, where the pull factors for migration in the receiving areas are stronger than the push factors of the sending areas. On the other hand, the demand for migrant labour may result from the combination of “economic dualism” (and ethnic enclaves as will be explained in this review), shortages in domestic labour supply, and the absence of “motivational problems” (Peixoto, 2007) that would emanate from the “low” social status of the secondary sector occupations.

The supporters of the last argument think that the citizens of developed countries face motivational problems, which operate so as to prevent them from occupying low status jobs, given their low wages and weak possibilities of upward mobility, while foreign workers lack such motivational problems, as they only view these jobs as a way of accumulating earnings. But, this argument is unsustainable when the empirical evidence shows that, as in the case of second generations³⁵ or the highly skilled of the first generation, migrants may host high aspirations of upward occupational and social mobility which compare favourably with those of native-born workers. One may find workers from ethnic, cultural and national minorities in the core sector jobs or, at least, in employments which represent some characteristics of the core sectors (Hodson and Kaufman, 1982).

There is an alternative view which focuses on the vulnerability of migrants. This lessens their power of negotiation as they lack resources and, hence, makes them ready to get employed in the secondary labour market, as well as it would be easier (and desirable) for employers to employ them as such. In this line of thought, the analysis by Kwong (1996, cited in, Brettell, 2000, p. 116), when he considered the ethnic solidarity among the members of the Chinese community in New York to be “manufactured” and promoted by the economic elite (employers) to achieve better access and control over co-ethnic employees, i.e. employers tell

³⁵ While the first generation includes adult men and women who migrate to a host country for different reasons, the second generation includes children born in the host country to, at least, one foreign-born parent or those who come to a host country before the age of twelve (Portes and Zhou, 1993). Kasinitz *et al.* (2008) and Zhou *et al.* (2008) refer to the latter by 1.5 generation. This concept is problematic if one considers that most of the so-called second generation migrants have never migrated themselves.

employees, including a lot of undocumented migrants, that the “larger society is hostile and racist” as to maintain them exploited in their jobs, i.e. there is class exploitation run by co-ethnics controlling the means of production.

Despite opposing the assumption of the existence of a single homogeneous labour market, it does not represent a consistent theoretical model, but rather a “descriptive device” (Hodson and Kaufman, 1982). It assumes the division of the labour market into two main sectors with clear-cut characteristics and outcomes, ignoring the remaining jobs that are available in the labour market; for instance, middleman minorities³⁶ and ethnic enclaves (Wilson and Portes, 1980), the professional segment in the German labour market (Kogan, 2005), or the existence of countless “cells” within the structures of the labour market in the USA (Samers, 2010), among others. Separating workers into capital and non-capital or labour-intensive employment is too simple, as one can find a blending of the characteristics of both sectors in the same jobs. Migrant workers can work in the primary sector of their host countries as well as in the ethnic entrepreneurship in ethnic enclaves (Light, 1994). This theory fails to give an account of native workers without access to primary sector jobs or to labour market, and those who have been trapped in a sort of an under-class without prospects for mobility.

For Halfacree (2004, p. 244), the dual approach, theoretically, hinders a “relational or contextual understanding of migration” and favours a “compositional approach”. He described the “compositional slippage” by its tendency to oversimplify the relations among categories, and its “prioritization of one side of the dualism at the expense of the other”, i.e. economic side over non-economic components of culture (2004, p. 244). This theory focuses exclusively on the labour demand and the segmentation of the labour market in the developed countries, ignoring other factors such as the pull factors of sending areas and the role of the state and space in migration (Hollifield, 2000; Samers, 2010).

³⁶ For Heisler (2000, p. 82), the ethnic enclave economy differs from middleman minorities and ethnic entrepreneurship in its diversification, as it includes all types of businesses, trade and industrial production. Moreover, these various modes of incorporation of immigrants (i.e. ethnic entrepreneurship, ethnic enclaves and ethnic niches) reflect the big diversity, structural differentiation and flexibility of the migration context (2000, p. 83).

2.2.2.2. Ethno-Stratification of the Labour Market, Ethnic Enclaves and Small Entrepreneurship

Researchers have observed the stratification of the labour market according to the axes of ethnicity, origin or nationality in the host countries, particularly in large cities. The ethnification of the labour force strengthens the “ethnic division of labour” (Martínez Veiga, 1997), while it makes available the supply of workers for those jobs which are badly paid, least attractive and abandoned by huge sectors of the autochthonous workers (Martínez Veiga, 1997; Piore, 1979; Portes and Börörcz, 1989; Solé and Parilla, 2003). Additionally, this type of allocation of workers according to their ethnicity seems to be contrary to upward occupational mobility that is based on meritocratic criteria such as knowledge, capacities, skills and experience which, as a consequence of, migrant workers are kept out of the process of accession to the “main” labour market sectors and jobs. As upward occupational mobility halts because of non-objective criteria such as ethnic origin, thus, glass ceiling occurs and limits wage increases for migrant workers.

The disadvantages that migrants may face when looking for work may emanate from the labour market itself, their lack of resources (Light, 1994) or discrimination³⁷ (Latrèche, 2006; Solé and Parilla, 2003; Solé *et al.*, 1998). These may cause and perpetuate phenomena such as “immigrant penalties” (Kogan, 2005) which includes “immigrant wage penalties” (Samers, 2010), deskilling, downward mobility and “socio-professional downgrading” (Brettell, 2000; Khelifaoui, 2007; Samers, 2010). Earlier, Burawoy (1976) spoke of “institutional racism”, by which migrant workers were segregated in housing, education and welfare. At an empirical level, “Algerians” and “Mexicans” have become to mean migrants in France and the USA respectively (House, 2006; MacMaster, 1997; Portes and Börörcz, 1989), which is hypothesised as related to their low-status and the badly-paid, menial works they perform which, in turn, perpetuates their relatively lower earnings and hampers their chances of upward mobility, although when they may possess the same (or higher) human capital than native workers.

³⁷ Bauder (2008, p. 132) pointed out the constant vulnerability and exploitation of migrant workers throughout the era of industrial capitalism. He considered that the “vilification of immigrants, their cultural exclusion, and the denial of social and economic rights have been associated with the flexibilisation of their labour”. According to Castles and Miller (2003), the marginalisation of some groups takes place because of their phenotypical difference, recent arrival, cultural distance and socio-economic position.

Here, as Heisler (2000) pointed out, the context of reception shapes the fate of migrant workers.

The literature on ethnic economy deals with the economic independence of migrants and ethnic minorities in general (Light, 1994). Ethnic economy is a compound of the ethnic self-employed and employers, their unpaid family workers and their co-ethnic employees (Light and Gold, 2000). This economy can be controlled or owned by migrants. In addition to the primary and secondary markets (Piore, 1979), ethnic enclaves and middleman minorities constitute other modes of incorporation of migrants into the labour markets of the host countries (Wilson and Portes, 1980)³⁸. By modes of incorporation, it refers to a combination of three factors, viz, the policies of the receiving countries, the “values and prejudices” of the host societies and the “characteristics of the co-ethnic community” (Portes and Zhou, 1993, p. 83).

Ethnic enclaves are areas of concentration of migrant businesses which emerge because of three conditions, viz, the presence of a number of migrants with considerable business expertise acquired in their home countries, access to the resources of capital, and access to labour (Portes, 1998; Portes and Rumbaut, 2006). The concentration of migrants in some areas, i.e. their clustering, has positive outcomes such as the maintenance of a “valued life-style”, “regulation of the pace of acculturation”, greater social control over the youth, and access to community networks for both moral and economic support (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006)³⁹

In some cases, ethnic enclaves may constitute the only available way for migrants to access the local labour market and/or to achieve an upward mobility, when they have to overcome some disadvantages emanating from their lack of resources or for being “highly racially and culturally marked” (Light, 1994; Portes and Rumbaut, 2006). Here, the case of the Moroccan community in Andalusia (Spain) is notable when according to Dietz (2004), it is, itself, based on “ethnic

³⁸ These authors disapproved the lack of attention given to the migrant labour and migrant economic activity by the dual labour market literature, as when they consider immigrant enterprises as just an additional segment of the peripheral economy.

³⁹ Portes and DeWind (2004) signalled the “non-economic consequences” of immigrant enclaves, related to the second generation which include promoting “selective acculturation” which, in turn, favours a “high self-esteem” and a “strong achievement orientation”.

segregation” and “transnational networking”. Self-employment may represent the long-term most desirable solution to the “economic disadvantage” and “cultural marginality” (Light, 1994).

Migrants can use their knowledge of language and cultural practices, as well as their cultural affinities, to get a “privileged access to markets and sources of labour” (Wilson and Portes, 1980, p. 315), i.e. the “enclave effects” as signalled by Borjas (1986). Dustmann *et al.* (2003, p. 41) pointed out the “advantages over majorities” that migrants may have in self-employment sectors, particularly when “customers discriminate against majorities” (2003, p. 41). But, are the ethnic enclaves inevitable? Brettell (2000) lists various factors which may favour or hinder the formation of ethnic enclaves, viz, immigration policy, laws about small business proprietorship, the structure of the cities⁴⁰, relative weight of ethnic versus class resources within an immigrant community, and whether immigrants have to tackle big obstacles to achieve a full participation in the society and its mainstream social and economic institutions.

Migrants may also constitute “ethnic niches”, characterised by their over presence in certain employments which, in turn, can be enhanced by their “privileged access to new job openings” while limiting the access of outsiders (Portes, 1998, p. 13). Heisler (2000) reminds us of the difficulty of creating ethnic enclave economies and that the success of this task would depend on the size of the ethnic group, the group’s level of entrepreneurial skills, capital resources, and the availability of less skilled co-ethnics. The economy of ethnic enclaves has been differentiated from the ethnic ownership economy by its geographical concentration around high-density residential cores (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006).

Logan *et al.* (2002) and Benton-Short *et al.* (2005) differentiate immigrant enclaves, ethnic communities and minority ghettos by whether people are free or not to move out or to come into. For these authors, the immigrant enclave model is associated with groups of labor immigrants, while the ethnic community model

⁴⁰ Brettell (1981) compared the Portuguese migrants in two cities: Paris (France) and Toronto (Canada). She looked for the differences in the formation of an ethnic community in both places. In addition to the migration policies, geographical proximity and the structures of the cities (social geography), the differences in the ideological-political foundations of the nation-state between both countries could anticipate the outcomes of the study, i.e. relative facility of its formation in the case of Toronto and its difficulty in the first case.

is related to groups of entrepreneurs and professional immigrants. Economic achievement or being part of the mainstream workforce does not necessarily imply living away from the community, as will be shown in the next chapter.

The tendency of migrants towards starting up businesses depends upon factors such as the traditions in the homeland related to entrepreneurship, the social networks they are part of in the host country, and the opportunities available for individuals (Waldinger *et al.*, 1990). The model of ethnic business development (Waldinger *et al.*, 1990, p. 21) is based on two vectors: “opportunity structures” and the “characteristics of the ethnic groups”. The former includes the “market conditions” and the “routes” of accessing to business, while the latter comprises the circumstance before migration, the “reaction” of the group to the host society and the mobilisation of resources. To face exclusion from the mainstream labour market, migrants with suitable resources can start up new businesses. These start to operate in an ethnic market offering “ethnic consumer products” and, later, spreading to a non-ethnic or “open market”. The latter requires niches located out of the economies of scale or where entry costs are low and there is no use of mass production (distribution) techniques.

Access to ownership of businesses depends on the availability of vacancies and on the regulations or government policies concerning migration. For the latter, it is calling the observation this researcher has made in Valencia where there has been a kind of “ecological succession” (Aldrich and Reiss, 1976, cited in Waldinger *et al.*, 1990, p. 29) where an increasing number of Chinese migrants are taking over several native businesses, mainly restaurants, cafés and clothing shops, not because the native owners could not find replacements in the next generation, but the economic downturn and the plummeting of the demand. Government policies are crucial as they decide the ways of getting into the country, and whether, or not, it is easy to start a new business.

The group characteristics include three “predisposing factors”: “blocked mobility”, “selective migration” and “aspiration levels”, while resource mobilisation comprises “close ties to co-ethnics”, “ethnic social networks” and “government policies” (Waldinger *et al.*, 1990, p. 32). The intersection of economic, psychological and social factors plays an important role in the

emergence of migrants as small business owners. Migrants face impediments to access the labour market such as the knowledge of language, skills, age and discrimination; to get out from isolation and gain autonomy and independence or to aspire to economic mobility, not to social status, migrants seek out business opportunities. Ethnic networks can provide migrants with information (e.g. about permits, regulations, business locations, management and suppliers) and capital (e.g. informal credits) needed to start up new businesses; on the other hand, economic support to migrants and ethnic minorities from the government is important (Waldinger *et al.*, 1990, p. 36).

The conditions that determine self-employment include the characteristics before migration, the circumstances of migration and the characteristics of post-migration. The problems ethnic groups face to start up and operate their businesses include the acquisition of the information necessary to found and maintain the business, getting capital to start and expand the business, training and skills, efficient recruitment and management for the business, as well as the relations with clients and suppliers, and survival to competition and attacks (Waldinger *et al.*, 1990, p. 46). According to these authors, ethnic businesses can tackle the high competition within their niches by self-exploiting, expanding the business, using ethnic trading organisation or establishing alliances with other families. The authors considers what they call “ethnic succession” as a form of social mobility for older groups, as they move out leaving new vacancies for new migrant entrepreneurs (Waldinger *et al.*, 1990, p. 48).

Portes and Börörcz (1989) established a typology of modes of incorporation of migrants into the host countries, which consisted of the combination of two dimensions: class of origin and context of reception. Though not being comprehensive, this scheme is useful when informing about the outcomes of the incorporation of migrant workers into the labour market of the host countries.

Table 2.4: A typology of modes of incorporation of contemporary immigrants to the advanced countries

Context of Reception	Class of Origin		
	Manual Labour	Professional-Technical	Entrepreneurial
Handicapped	Secondary Labour Market Incorporation	Ghetto Service Providers	Middleman Minorities
Neutral	Mixed Labour Market Participation	Primary Market Incorporation	Mainstream Small Business
Advantaged	Upward Mobility to Small Entrepreneurship	Upward Mobility to Positions of Professional and Civic Leadership	Enclave Economies

Source: Portes and Börörcz (1989, p. 620).

Depending on what these authors considered as the class of origin (i.e. migrants doing manual labour, professional-technical jobs or entrepreneurs) and the context of reception (e.g. handicapped, neutral or advantaged for migrant aspirations of upward occupational mobility), there are six modes of incorporation of migrant workers into the host countries. Despite their levels of skills, knowledge or resources, manual labourers may move upwardly opening small businesses in an advantaged context while migrant entrepreneurs may find themselves cornered as middleman minorities in a handicapped environment.

Middleman minorities are migrant entrepreneurs who occupy an intermediate position between marginalised groups in high risk areas and the dominant society, through which they play an economic role of mediator between “producer and consumer, employer and employee, owner and renter, elite and masses” (Bonacich, 1973, p. 583). According to Ben Khalifa (2012), Maghrebi entrepreneurs in the region of Paris play this role, i.e. mediators between the masses and their hostility to North African migrants (e.g. the latter face difficulties to integrate into the mainstream labour market) and the ruling elite. Middleman minorities represent the “economic directives from above” and carry “upward profits”, gained as a result of exploiting their co-ethnics (Wilson and Portes, 1980, p. 315). Light (1994, p. 650) considers the middleman minority theory as a “scapegoat theory”, which clarifies the “commonalities” underlying cases of “hatred”, when middlemen suffered from the anger and violent actions of the economically frustrated masses. Nevertheless, their role as commerce and

trade facilitators can be of special interest in migrant entrepreneurship (Bonacich, 1973; Light, 1994; Portes and Börörcz, 1989).

2.2.2.3. Existence (Absence) of Upward Mobility (Stepping-Stone or Entrapment)

International migration represents a mode of responding to “employability issues” such as getting work, learning from the local context to improve one’s employability and achieving a sort of social prestige; whether migrant workers access the formal or informal labour markets is shaped by the interplay of migration and “employment regulations” (Williams, 2009, p. 23-4). Employability has been defined as the “ability to bring a particular kind of knowledge to a task, and being able to collaborate effectively with others to achieve a common task” (Williams, 2009, p. 23).

Different theoretical approaches to migration show that migrants display different modes of incorporation and mobility within the labour market. Classic theories of assimilation, besides assuming the existence of a “unified economy”, argue that immigrants start at the bottom of labour market and, then, climb in a gradual way to high status occupations, which is what human capital theories postulate; dual labour market theories, which divide the market into primary and secondary sectors, assign migrant workers to the latter as they “mainly” perform jobs in “peripheral firms” and; some other approaches, which use “multivariate analyses” and incorporate the “ethnic economy enclave”, constitute an alternative to the former theories (Wilson and Portes, 1980, p. 295).

Classical approaches state that labour migrants tend to concentrate in the secondary labour market and perform peripheral employment of low prestige, low income, with certain levels of dissatisfaction, absence of return to past human capital investments and entrapment in the peripheral economy (Hodson and Kaufman, 1982; Massey *et al.* 1993; Piore 1979; Samers, 2010; Wilson and Portes, 1980). Wilson and Portes (1980, p. 301-2) argued that some migrant entrepreneurs do not find that upward mobility channels may be blocked and may succeed due to the “advantages for enclave enterprises which those in the open competitive sector do not find”, i.e. they will be able to “reproduce” some features of “monopolistic control” that are crucial for success in mainstream economy. In

other words, they will be able of creating their own “capitalism”, which helps them in bypassing discrimination and the “threat of vanishing mobility ladders.” (Portes and Zhou, 1993, p. 87)

Social mobility refers to the “movement up and down a system of hierarchically ordered economic and social positions”, which coincides with the class system and can be intra-generational or inter-generational (Abercrombie *et al.*, 2003, p. 131). As shown earlier, the class of origin and the nature of the context of reception shape the modes of incorporation, as well as the mobility of migrant workers within the labour market (Portes and Böröcz, 1989). Unfavourable contexts create obstacles to the incorporation to labour market outside their own community for skilled migrant workers (e.g. Germany with its system of Gastarbeiter or guest workers), but also an advantaged context could favour the upward mobility of unskilled migrants through small entrepreneurship. Migrant professionals can integrate into the primary labour market and reach positions of professional and civic leadership in “neutral” and “advantaged” contexts of reception respectively.

Segmented assimilation is a theory which attempts to clarify the reasons for the differences in patterns of adaptation among migrants and their children, and how this could shape their future (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou *et al.*, 2008). In the same line, the different outcomes in mobility among the second generation have been explained by several key factors, such as human and economic capital of parents, family structure and modes of incorporation (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou *et al.*, 2008). Some factors that “neutralize advantages or overcome disadvantages” in relation to social mobility are legal status, pre-migration “middle-class cultural capital” and “family educational expectations” (Zhou *et al.*, 2008, p. 57). Portes and Zhou (1993, p. 76) spoke of the “race” between the advancement of the first generation of migrants, i.e. their “social and economic progress”, and the “material conditions” and “prospects” of the second generation in the USA, which had changed because of the shifts in physical visibility (‘whiteness’ of first European migrants and thus relative easiness of entry into American mainstream at the time) and upward mobility within working-class jobs. The latter has forced the second generation to bridge the gap between “entry-level jobs” and “professional positions” in one generation (p. 87). Zhou *et al.*

(2008) advocated a “subject-centered approach” that values the centrality of the lived experience of the second generation and their standards of mobility, and not the socio-economic status or the values of the traditional American middle-class.

While comparing the performance of first and second-generation immigrants in France, Germany and the UK in terms of education, earnings and employment, Algan *et al.* (2010, p. F24-5) found that the second-generation immigrant men from the Maghreb, Africa and Turkey in France had “larger employment gaps” than their first-generation counterparts; while compared to men, first-generation immigrant women showed “larger employment gaps”; additionally, the gap in employment for second-generation women from the Maghreb, Africa and Turkey remained significant. For Germany, second-generation immigrant men had a significant employment gap with native Germans; moreover, all second-generation immigrant women perform better than their first-generation counterparts. In the UK, first-generation men were less likely to get employed than native counterparts particularly Pakistani, African and Bangladeshi men. They found an improvement from the first to the second generation, except for Caribbean men. The second-generation women reduced their employment gap with native counterparts by around fifty percent, while the situation of second-generation Caribbean men worsened.

Flexibility is an important characteristic of the labour market in capitalist economies, which favours “non-optimal labour market” entry, such as fixed-term contracts and “under-qualified” work positions, while it is a double-edged tool with positive (e.g. a remedy for unemployment), as well as negative (e.g. “temporary insecurity” and “career instability”) effects (Scherer, 2004, p. 370). OECD (1998) pointed out some benefits and disadvantages of temporary jobs for European youth which include, in the first case, opportunities for transition to permanent and better jobs and better perspectives than when being unemployed, and the uncertain transition to permanent jobs if they are not to be bounced towards unemployment in the second case. Temporary work could be related to secondary sector jobs whose characteristics have been discussed earlier (Korpi and Levin, 2001).

Different hypotheses are drawn to explain the outcomes of “non-optimal” labour market entry such as “entry port hypothesis”, “stepping-stone hypothesis” and “entrapment hypothesis” (Booth *et al.*, 2002; Contini *et al.*, 2000; De Cuyper *et al.*, 2009; Korpi and Levin, 2001; Scherer, 2001 and 2004; Tunny and Mangan, 2004). Entry port hypothesis considers first jobs as transitional steps in the career ladder and denies possible negative impacts on the future career mobility; stepping-stone hypothesis goes further to add relative advantages (e.g. increasing “work engagement” and “affective organisational commitment”) for upward career mobility brought by the non-optimal labour entry which, in turns, offers better perspectives of rapid promotion; entrapment hypothesis goes in the opposite direction as it considers the “long-lasting” negative consequences for career mobility (e.g. temporary jobs may have unfavourable psychological outcomes) as workers may find themselves trapped in unattractive jobs with “negative” features.

Ascription and institutional and structural barriers may shape the fate of migrants in the labour market. Entrapment happens in the “triple labour market (primary, secondary and ethnic enclaves)”, and mobility can be “blocked” when there are social and occupational obstacles that migrants face in the primary labour market (Williams, 2009). The crucial question about whether “bad”⁴¹ jobs constitute “stepping stones” or an “entrapment” is strongly related to the “structure of positions in the socio-economic system of stratification” and the “process of allocation of individuals within the structure” (Korpi and Levin, 2001, p. 128-9), i.e. to the “structure of labour market” and the “mobility restrictions” as imposed by the labour market (Scherer, 2004, p, 374). On the other hand, to maintain their employment, migrants need to focus on their “employability” which requires a range of “social skills” and “competences”, such as “self-confidence, networking skills, learning and adaptability competences and self-reliance” (Williams 2009, p. 31).

⁴¹ Under this adjective, this researcher includes all kinds of time-bound jobs and secondary sector jobs as discussed earlier.

Countries differ in their mobility structures (Scherer, 2001 and 2004). The British labour market is thought to be the most flexible⁴² in Europe with “greatest permeability”, where education and skills do not restrict the career ladders of workers, and where there are fewer barriers for mobility due to its lower segmentation if compared with other European countries (Brynin, 2002; Contini *et al.*, 2000; Scherer 2001 and 2004). To sum up, a low-entry job would have less negative impacts on the upward occupational mobility (Scherer, 2001). At an empirical level, Brynin (2000) reports the increase of the rate of over-qualification from 29% in 1986 to 40% in early 1990s while for the first jobs, 36% of all men and 41% of all women were overqualified. On the other hand, the Spanish labour market has been characterised by its levels of segmentation, rigidity and regulation⁴³, where the primary sector is supposed to be strongly protected by entry criteria such as education and qualifications, and mobility between sectors seems difficult due to the existence of institutional and structural barriers. At an empirical level, Solé *et al.* (1998) point to the case of female migrants from the Philippines who initially trained as teachers or nurses in their country of origin; however, since the 1970s they have spent all their working time as domestic servants in Spanish houses.

2.2.2.4. Conclusion

The Algerian community is relatively small in both locations and lacks capital and labour resources, in addition to, a significant number of people with expertise in business. Thus, talking about ethnic enclaves, *sensu stricto*, sounds premature. However, this researcher includes ethnic enclaves, as formed by some migrant groups, which might be helpful, in order to describe and explain the insertion and mobility of some Algerians within “some niches” of the labour market of the host countries. Dual labour market and labour market segmentation alone cannot give an accurate account of the labour market outcomes of Algerians in both locations, but if combined with the approach of ethnic enclaves and the postulates of stepping-stones versus entrapment hypothesis, they may give a better approach to

⁴² For instance, Brynin (2002) mentions that from 1975 to 1993 the proportion of British workers in full-time, permanent work fell from 56% to 36%. He also describes a “structural tendency” towards over-qualification which has a negative impact on employment.

⁴³ Within the current economic downturn and sharp unemployment (over 27%), the government has started a fierce process of economic reforms, including massive privatisations, radical reforms in the labour market such as more flexibilisation of labour, easy dismissals, less allowances for workers, among other structural reforms which require time to impact on labour market.

some categories of workers such as highly (skilled) workers and small entrepreneurs.

2.2.3. Network Formation: Transnationalism, Return and Circular Migration

This researcher discusses the theoretical framework that sustains possible answers to the fourth question of the current research, i.e. how do changing networks influence Algerian migration to the UK and Spain? To do so, the review will include the theory of transnationalism, return and circular migration which, in addition to network theory (reviewed earlier), may constitute an adequate theoretical basis for the diversification of Algerian migration to include the UK and Spain, as well as the movements between both countries or from other European countries to the UK and Spain. Here, return and circular migration complete the full migration cycle and enhance the continuation of networks and transnational activities.

2.2.3.1. Transnationalism

Transnationalism refers to “multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states” (Vertovec, 1999, p.2). For Heisler (2000, p. 84), this approach, in addition to the theories of globalization and citizenship, considers migration as “self-perpetuating, transforming, systemic, and increasingly driven by global factors.” On the other hand, Brettell (2000, p. 104) signalled that transnationalism constitutes a “new form of theorizing about the articulation between sending and receiving societies” and a critique of “bipolar models” of migration. Transnationalism has been used to describe all movements back and forth across borders by which migrants sustain a double presence in different cultures and societies and, hence, take the advantage of different economic and political opportunities (Portes and DeWind, 2004; Stalker, 2000).

Related to “migrancy”, transnationalism studies the movements and processes across space and time (Harney and Baldassar, 2007, p. 190), by which migrants form and maintain “multi-stranded social relations” that connects their societies of origin and settlement (Portes, 1997a, p. 4). “Trans-migrant” refers to an individual “whose existence is shaped” by the “participation in transnational communities based on migration” (Castles and Miller, 2003, p. 30). Glick Schiller (1999, p. 95)

reminds us that transnationalism is new as an “analytical paradigm”, but, not as a “form of human settlement”. By “transnational social spaces”, Faist (2008, p. 23) refers to the “combinations of social and symbolic ties and their contents, positions in networks and organisations, and networks of organisations” which go beyond the borders of at least two national states.

Despite the distance between countries and regions, the new technologies of information, communication and transportation have made easier, to a certain extent, the transfer and mobility of information (and other services), goods and people around the globe, yet with differences related to the availability as well as the possibility of accessing resources and the constraints of institutional factors such as migration policies and regulations. The unit of analysis in transnationalism tends to be the local communities of origin and destination, combined with their diasporic networks (Samers, 2010). The existence of transnational⁴⁴ networks is a crucial factor in enhancing the development of “transnational communities” (Kearney, 1991; Portes, 1997b), which find its basis in kinship and friendship networks (Wilson, 1993) and its activities across the borders.

Transnationalism requires three conditions, viz, a considerable presence of migrants and their counterparts in the areas of origin, transnational activities should be stable and resilient over time, and there is no other concept to refer to these activities (Portes, 1997b; Portes *et al.*, 1999). The label of transnationalism cannot be applied to all types of migrant activities, but to those which are highly intensive, multiple, simultaneous, cumulative and expanding in number and quality, and which require continuous and sustained contacts between two nations (Portes, 1997a; Portes *et al.*, 1999; Vertovec, 1999). Transnational activities encompass diverse sectors such as economic, political and socio-cultural areas with the sine qua non condition of involvement on a regular basis (Portes, 1997a). Werbner (1999, p. 26) describes transnationalism by the “traffic in objects–persons–places–sentiments” that constitutes “one of the most significant bridges of distance spanning global diasporic communities and transnational families.” In

⁴⁴ Faist (2008, p. 38) prefers “transstate” to “transnational” as the former “indicates that the point of departure is not relations and spaces in between nations but in between states and across states”, while the use of the latter reflects that “the distinction between nation and state is not empirically central”.

the same time, these activities can be exercised by three different agents: official and “powerful institutional actors”, more basic and local organisations formed by and for immigrants, and immigrants themselves as individuals (Portes, 1999, p. 221).

Some states integrate emigration into their national development strategies as do, for instance, Morocco⁴⁵ (Baldwin-Edwards, 2006) and Thailand or the Philippines which put into place “policies and programmes for placing their nationals in employment abroad” (Abella, 2007, p. 163). In this case, the ties of the sending governments with their “transnational communities” (Portes, 1997a; Portes *et al.*, 1999; Levitt, 1998; Vertovec, 1999) or “diasporas” (in a broader sense than the “victim tradition” (Cohen, 1996)) constitute an important economic resource, as well as a source of internal stability. To maintain and improve those ties, governments started to accept dual citizenship for migrants (Faist, 2008) which constitutes a new form of political incorporation (Portes and DeWind, 2004) capable of making easier the management of different loyalties (Cohen, 1996).

Transnationalism has been interpreted in different ways such as the formation and importance of ethnic diasporas and networks; types of identification of migrants (e.g. dual or multiple); importance of migrant capital and remittances for their sending countries; political engagement through public participation and political organisation of migrants in sending and receiving areas and; the production or reconstruction of their place in the receiving countries (Vertovec, 1999); cultural production and diffusion and social remittances⁴⁶ (Levitt, 1998);

⁴⁵ As Faist (2008, p. 28) stated, this country shifted from the “repression and the surveillance of migrants in countries such as France from the 1960s to the 1980s” to “courting the diaspora”. On the other hand, it gives an accurate example of subjecting development aid to emigration control, as imposed by the EU. In the case of Algeria, although when recently there has been more openness of the official authorities towards Algerian migrants and their problems (for example, the creation of the new Secretariat of State in Charge of “Algerian Community Abroad”; this seemingly assumes that Algerians abroad are an integral part of the national community), nonetheless, there is not a development strategy that integrates Algerian migrants into national development programmes.

⁴⁶ According to Levitt (1998, p. 927), social remittances are “ideas, behaviours, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving to sending country communities” and include “normative structures” (ideas, values, and beliefs), “systems of practice” (actions shaped by normative structures), and “social capital” (besides the values and norms on which this is based). After being reformulated in receiving countries through some mechanisms, they are sent back to the communities of origin where they play a certain role in transforming the social and political life of the sending country.

“spatial approach” which combines two interests, viz, multiple territorialities, scales and places and the “relative territorial fixity” (Samers, 2010, p. 117); and the levels of institutionalization (e.g. low and high) and types of activities (Portes *et al.*, 1999). Moreover, in addition to the strictly theoretical analysis, transnationalism has to encompass a more empirical approach which may include the study of cross-national movements, communication, networks, remittances and information (Vertovec, 1999).

2.2.3.2. Return Migration

If, for the pioneer generations of migrants, the ‘myth of return’ made possible a socio-economically motivated migration (Bolognani, 2007), return migration is an objective fact and an important aspect of migration which, according to Dustmann (2003) and Dustmann and Weiss (2007), constitutes a form of temporary migrations that are frequent and represent the rule rather than the exception⁴⁷. It is a complex, socio-economic and selective process (Constant and Massey, 2003⁴⁸; Rodríguez and Egea, 2006), which requires time and is related to different factors concerning the migrant himself and the countries of destination and origin (Cassarino, 2007). Some migrants return to their countries of origin voluntarily while others are compelled to do, and the difference between them is in the availability of “opportunities for socio-professional reintegration” for the returnees (Cassarino, 2007, p. 1).

Dustmann and Weiss (2007, p. 238) only included the first form of return migration, i.e. migrants going back home by their “own choice, often after a significant period abroad”. The “optimal” duration of migration before returning is difficult to estimate as it is related to different factors, e.g. in the German case as cited by Constant and Massey (2003), migrants might stay longer depending on the number of years since they have migrated, their education, language abilities, property ownership, having children and “feeling good” about the host country;

⁴⁷ Dustmann and Weiss (2007) brought data for the UK case showing the importance of return migration among males (40%) and females (55%) who left the UK after five years of residence.

⁴⁸ According to these authors, this selectivity can be positive or negative, and it depends on different factors such as human capital, prior migrant experience and access to social networks, among others. Moreover, the degree and nature of selectivity vary among groups of migrants.

on the other hand, the duration of the residence may decrease with sending remittances, unemployment and having children in the country of origin⁴⁹.

Return migration encompasses almost all categories of movers, i.e. labour migrants, migrant-students, highly skilled migrants, entrepreneur-returnees, refugees and asylum seekers, as well as undocumented migrants and sojourners (Brettell, 2000; Cassarino, 2007). Return migration is a strong “blend of motives” (Brettell, 2000). Different authors have tried to explain these movements back home through different arguments such as relative deprivation and risk spreading, location-specific preferences, credit market rationing as to overcome capital constraints, existence of a high purchasing power of the host country currency in the migrant’s home economy and higher returns to human capital⁵⁰ accumulated in the host country when used in homeland economy, and a higher rate of return on self-employment activities in the home country⁵¹ (Dustmann, 2003; Dustmann and Kirchkamp, 2000).

Brettell (2000) considers the strong family ties as a major incentive for return when compared with economic motives. Migrants may be encouraged to return by their host societies offering them monetary packages, e.g. in the case of economic downturn. The experiences of racism and discrimination may favour the return to homeland. Atalik and Beely (1993) argued that push factors such as unemployment and xenophobia in Europe and pull factors such as the worries about keeping cultural links, produce one foot in the host country type of returnee. Tannenbaum (2007) pointed out different reasons for return migration, or “re-migration” as he called it, such as being an objective after the migrants achieve their own goals; an outcome of frustration after failing to realise their objectives; a

⁴⁹ Constant and Massey (2003, p. 32) found that “return migrants were not very selected with respect to human capital characteristics or socio-economic achievements, but were highly associated to various social and economic attachments to Germany and countries of origin”. These can be social, political or psychological. Jensen and Pedersen (2007) found that labour market integration, having children in the host country and the nationality (i.e. being citizen or married to a citizen of the host country) influence return migration.

⁵⁰ For instance, Irish men who graduated abroad earned 10% more than those who graduated in the country. Those who migrated initially for labour earned 15% more than local workers; this is a “wage premium” upon returning home. In the case of women, no difference was found (Barret and O’Connell, 2001).

⁵¹ Cassarino (2007) correlates the possibility of the returnees’ investments in their homeland with the perception they get about the post-return conditions, level of liberalisation of the economy, openness of the domestic market to private investments, institutional reforms and a business-friendly legal environment.

decision made after short stay or after many years; some migrants return back home out of free will; and refugees return⁵². On the other hand, migrants may return home to satisfy their desire of getting access to the “social field”, i.e. a “network of family and friends or a network or community where one is known” (Ní Laoire, 2007, p. 336). Moreover, Cavasco (1993) found that the objectives of migrants after return include to take care of parents and in-laws, join their families, look after properties, rest after hard years and gain social prestige.

However, as Tannenbaum (2007) pointed out, the relation between acculturation in the host country and re-adaptation in the country of origin is not a clear-cut and easy issue as the adjustment can be positive, distressing or difficult. Migrant returnees may engage in looking for opportunities to interact with their societies of origin (“additive identity shift”); they can use their original cultural identity which they have retained (“affirmative identity shift”); or they can use an alternative reference group (“intercultural identity” or “subtractive shift”) (Tannenbaum, 2007, p. 149-150).

The economic theories of migration, mainly the neo-classical theory and the new economics approaches, represent opposite interpretations of return migration. While the former considers return migration as a failure and focuses on permanent migration (i.e. unemployment should predict their return to home), the latter views it as a success and emphasises temporary migration (i.e. migrants would stay longer to achieve their objectives) (Constant and Massey, 2003). It seems that human capital theory cannot explain that migrant returnees do not stay in the host countries and move to less developed countries with poorer economic and financial conditions (Jensen and Pedersen, 2007).

Dustmann and Weiss (2007) offer some useful insights on the relationship between human capital theorization and return migration. They elaborated a framework which considers “heterogeneity” among migrants, as well as “human capital accumulation through learning by doing”, and found two kinds of “transferability” of human capital: “partial transferability” is when “work

⁵² Cassarino (2007) differentiates voluntary return from the chosen return as the latter does not imply the assistance of a public body.

experience in any country has a larger impact on the accumulation of local than foreign human capital” and “super transferability” in the opposite case (2007, p. 251-253). This model aims to study the decisions of migration and “remigration” and the “selection into and out of the immigration country.”

From the perspective of the host country, the authors assumed that migrant workers get their wages increased along with the time spent and accumulation of skills. According to the same authors, if there is partial transferability, then, it will be better for would-be migrants to move “as early in the life cycle as possible”, and migration will tend to be permanent; on the contrary, if there is super transferability, then, migration will tend to happen “as early in the life cycle as possible”, and return migration will occur after a limited period of time. In the second case, migrant skills acquired in the host country are expected to be more productive in the country of origin and, thus, returnees get higher earnings back home.

The countries of origin can take advantage of using the experience that emigrants acquired, i.e. they can transform the brain-drain into brain-“regain”. The countries can get their rural areas repopulated as part of a “wide set of social and economic restructuring processes” (Ní Laoire, 2007, p. 333). However, migrants may experience problems of adjustment as a result of the transition between different environments with various social, cultural and experiential characteristics.

Return migration implies a complex set of motivations and a “wide variety of returnees’ reintegration and resource mobilisation patterns”, which are shaped by the experiences of migrants in the host countries and the “post-return social, economic, institutional and political conditions” (Cassarino, 2007, p. 10). Migration and return constitute two different points in a “sequence” of time (Rodríguez and Egea, 2006, p. 1390). Remittances, self-financing, family support, acquaintances and social networks in host and origin countries are to be taken into consideration in any comprehensive study of return migration (Cassarino, 2007).

2.2.3.3. Circular Migration

Circular migration, also called “commuter, swallow, or revolving door-migration” (Duany, 2002, p. 355), is a concept which originated from the late 1960s and 1970s, and refers to frequent or regular repeated movements between the sending and receiving areas for seasonal work, survival and as a life-cycle process, while its benefits are thought to be shared among origin and host countries and migrants and their families (Constant and Zimmermann, 2012; Newland, 2009; Vadean and Piracha, 2009). While there is no consensus on its definition, Newland (2009) considers the existence of four dimensions at the base of this concept, i.e. spatial, temporal, iterative and developmental. The EC (2010, p. 1) considers circular migration as being all “temporary or more long-term and usually recurring legal movements between two countries”; additionally, movement encompasses mobility from the countries of origin or residence to a receiving country and later return, and time-bound mobility to the countries of origin.

While Duany (2002) considers circular migration to be an increasing characteristic of international mobility, Newland (2009) argued that circulation can be the rule rather than the exception in international migration. Vadean and Piracha (2009, p. 17) found that circular migrants were mostly males with basic studies originating from less developed, rural areas and having a “positive temporary migration experience in the past.” On the other hand, McLoughlin *et al.* (2011, p. 48-9) consider circular migration of the highly skilled to be “straightforward”, i.e. mobility is related to an existing opportunity, employers are specific and known, barriers to entry are low, and they would move again if a new opportunity emerges. In this case, brain circulation of highly-skilled people can replace brain drain through “temporary return visits or through ‘virtual return’ over telecommunication systems” (Vertovec, 2007, p. 3). Ruben *et al.* (2009, p. 908) identified some key factors which enhance the insertion of returnees: “individual and family characteristics, position in the migration cycle, and the role of pre- and post-return assistance.”

Circular migration can be “spontaneous” or “managed”, with the latter referring to “migration within the bounds of a bilateral agreement or a specific programme that states the conditions for length of stay, issuance of permits,

return, etc.” (EC, 2010, p. 8) There is “outward circularity” when third country settlers in the EU return to their homelands, and “inward circularity” when third country nationals come to the EU in a temporary and repeated mode (Newland, 2009).

While circular migration cannot be good or bad on its own, its benefits are related to, but not only dependent on, whether or not it is a choice (Newland, 2009). At an empirical level, Duany (2002, p. 355) considers that circulation of Puerto Ricans between their country and the USA does not imply “major losses in human capital”, but “an occupational, educational, and linguistic asset.”

The benefits of circular migration may represent a “triple-win” situation as it could benefit the countries of origin, host areas and migrants. It implies supplying labour to the host areas as well as reducing irregular migration; transferring knowledge (know-how) and technology to the areas of origin, as well as remittances and, thus, reducing poverty and increasing opportunities for investment, while migrants could take advantage of differences in employment dynamics and wage/cost of living, i.e. “place premium” (Castles, 2006; EC, 2010; Newland, 2009; Vadean and Piracha, 2009; Vertovec, 2007b). It also increases “migration-specific capital” (Vertovec, 2007b), as through increased mobility migrants learn about migration (e.g. place and mode of getting jobs and housing) and expand their networks and experience. The negative impacts of circular migration can affect human capital when migrants cannot acquire experience and skills which allow upward occupational mobility, due to their “lack of attachment” to local labour markets, interruptions of schooling, job training and in family life and, low participation in the politics of the sending areas (Duany, 2002, pp. 360-1).

Circular migration can be enhanced through policies which favour “long-term multi-entry visas for returning migrants”, “priority for obtaining new residence permits for further temporary employment under a simplified procedure”, and the “creation of an EU database of third country nationals who left the EU at the expiration of their temporary residence or work permit” (Vertovec, 2007b, p. 4). While government policies can deter the circulation of migrants such as in the case of bilateral agreements (e.g. the USA-Mexico Bracero programme (1942-

1964) and Germany-Turkey bilateral agreements on Gastarbeiters), other policies such as providing flexible (dual) citizenship or permanent residency allow movements back and forth between the origin and host countries (Castles, 2006; Newland, 2009). Paradoxically, Hagan *et al.* (2008) found that deportation policy may enhance circular migration.

2.2.3.4. Conclusion

The theories reviewed in the third part deal with network formation and its consolidation through transnationalism, return and circular migration. While transnational activities consolidate migrant networks and can be channelled by circularity, return migration can provide migrants with resources for a “new” stage in their lives and benefit their countries of origin while contributing to their networks too. At an empirical level, returnees to the Maghreb declared as principal motives for their return: enjoying retirement in their homeland, the desire to set up businesses and homesickness (Cassarino, 2007; Musette, 2007a).

Unlike the circular movements of Algerian workers to France during the colonial period (Chapter Four), Ladelaoui (2008) reports the absence of circular migration in the official discourse in Algeria although there had been some incomplete, bilateral agreements, such as between Algeria and Libya (United Arab Emirates) on the temporary labour migration of Algerian engineers and medical doctors. According to the same author, since the official halt of organised labour migration to France in 1974, the task of the official institutions has been merely to provide information. Kerdoun (2008b) explains the absence of circular migration by policies which failed to match the supply and demand of labour between both sides of the Mediterranean, and the need to improve life conditions that could favour voluntary and successful return. On the other hand, the market forces, the changing costs of migration and migration policies also shape circularity (Williams, 2013). According to Hammouda (2007), Algerian circular migration has existed in a non-negligible mode, but in different forms.

According to Musette (2007b, p. 5), there was an increase from 150,000 to more than 400,000 Algerians circulating between Algeria and France in the period 1962-1972; additionally, there were 2,600 Algerian returnees per year in the decade 1990-2000, including all types of returnees as estimated by Algerian

researchers (Kerdoun, 2008b, p. 6). While there has been spontaneous return, forced return as a consequence of expulsion was also important. The latter takes place within the framework of re-admission agreements, extradition and bilateral accords such as the legal conventions signed by Algeria (Kerdoun, 2008b). There are a variety of profiles in Algerian circular migration according to the levels of qualification or educational backgrounds, viz, the highly educated are significantly more circular than less-qualified Algerians (Hammouda, 2007). It is also sustained on different dynamics which include the mobility of skilled people, structural or forced mobility, mobility at a time of private and professional instability (e.g. being single or working in informal sectors) and the mobility of young people holding dual citizenship (Hammouda, 2007). Another form of circularity concerns second generation children or teens sent “back home” to learn and live the culture of origin, as well as to avoid distancing themselves from “their roots”; they may move with their parents or alone to live with their extended families; the return to the countries of emigration of their parents usually coincides with marriage for girls and reaching the baccalauréat for young men (Hammouda, 2008b, p. 4). In the following table, there is a summary of the reviewed theories.

Table 2.5: Comparative summary of dual labour market; ethno-stratification of the labour market, ethnic enclaves and small entrepreneurship; existence (absence) of upward mobility; transnationalism; return and circular migration theories

Theory	Analytical perspective	Synthesis
Dual labour market and labour market segmentation	Individual and groups International migration	Demand for labour in developed countries attracts migrants
ethno-stratification of the labour market, ethnic enclaves and small entrepreneurship	Individual and groups International migration	Polarization in the labour market and stratification of migrant labour Formation of ethnic economy, ethnic enclaves and ethnic niches that service and employ migrants and others A form of social mobility or a defensive strategy against discrimination and racism?
existence (absence) of upward mobility (stepping-stone or entrapment)	Individual and groups International migration	Is social mobility for migrants based on meritocratic or ascriptive criteria?

Continuation of table 2.5

Theory	Analytical perspective	Synthesis
Transnationalism	International networks Transnational activities Groups of migrants and households	Maintenance of multiple links and interactions among people and institutions across the borders of nation-states
Return migration	Individual and groups International migration	Its motives are different and its forms include voluntary, chosen and forced return
Circular migration	Individual and groups International migration International networks Transnational activities	Repeated mobility Triple-win strategy Types of circularity

Source: own elaboration.

2.3. Gender and Algerian Female Migration

Gender refers to “societally and culturally constructed notions of women and men, and how these notions structure human societies, including their histories, ideologies, economies, politics and religions”; it is a “cultural artefact” which goes beyond “sexual characteristics” to include “key relational dimensions” that are time and place-bound (Indra, 1999, p. 2-6). Gender in migration in anthropological research has dealt with the role and experiences of migrant women, and migration-related changes in family and kinship patterns within a frame that is related to the “domestic/public model, the opposition between production and reproduction, or issues of power and authority” (Brettell, 2000, p. 109-11).

Gendered migration looks at the place of women in the migration process which includes their incorporation in the labour market, as well as the changes in gender relations between homeland and host country. While migration theory dealing with agency and/or structure has been noted for its “gender blindness”, the early attempts to reconcile both approaches continued to ignore the role of gender (Pessar, 1999; Wright, 1995, p. 772). Despite both women and men are being active in the “complex dynamic of obligation and prestige”, which enhances transnational mobility and activities, they are rewarded differently according to the “gender categories and dynamics” of their society of origin (Glick Schiller, 1999, p. 109).

How people respond to migration is gendered. Thus, it is important to study the modes as well as the causes of differences among women and men in relation to migration experiences (Pessar, 1999). The same author (1999, p. 64) advocates the study of the outcomes of migration which takes into consideration some key factors such as “migrants’ age, education, employment history (prior and subsequent to migration), race, ethnicity, sexual preference, social class, legal status, as well as family structures and gender ideologies (prior to and subsequent to emigration)”. To take a “gender relational approach” implies going beyond an “add women and stir” strategy (Indra, 1999, p.6- 21), and requires a real knowledge of the empirical situation.

Jolly and Reeves (2005, p. 1) highlight the importance of “gender roles, relations and inequalities” in deciding “who migrates and why, how the decision is made, the impacts on migrants themselves, on sending areas and on receiving areas.” Block (2006) calls our attention to the importance of the English language as a means of “liberation” when female migrants develop “new femininities” by thinking and feeling independently, while Wright (1995) summarized the stigmas from which some female migrants suffer at home that push them to migrate. Yuval-Davis *et al.* (2005, p. 518) advocate a broader consideration of “gender prosecution” in the cases of asylum seekers, which may include “domestic violence, rape, refusal to comply with oppressive regulations in patriarchal societies and sexuality”.

While Pessar (1999) earlier criticized the hegemony of the study of male migrants and neglect of women, Algerian women in migration research are either “forgotten” or included with men without distinction; additionally, studying the migration of the former is “difficult” while “necessary” for at least two reasons: lack of data and of knowledge about female migration which impede a full knowledge of Algerian migration as a whole (Labdelaoui, 2011). The same author reports that potential Algerian female migrants construct their migratory project based on a critical stand towards the situation of women in Algeria, the place of migration in the Algerian collective imagination and the strategy of mobility in use, such as marriage or studies; additionally, the insertion of Algerian women into the circuits of international mobility takes a variety of forms such as the international mobility of researchers through participation in the academic

programmes, volunteering in Euro-Mediterranean networks and the mobility of “businesswomen” operating in the informal economy (Labdelaoui, 2011). According to Pessar (1999, p. 65), the consolidation of the role of immigrant women takes place in three areas: the labour market, institutions of public and private assistance and the immigrant or ethnic community.

The individual migration of Algerian women is gradually shifting from being a taboo, as in the past, to gaining acceptability among popular circles, including in small, traditional milieus. As will be shown in Chapter Four, the migration of Algerian women is not fully dependent on family reunification, but includes family migration at the onset, as well as migration projects started and fully led by women. There are more highly educated Algerian women in France, Spain and Italy than men (Labdelaoui, 2011). In this research, both Algerian women and men are active participants who contributed by sharing their contextualized, migratory experiences. While it was difficult to get directly comparable groups of men and women in two different locations, in addition to the problem of access to women as discussed in Chapter Three, this researcher attempted to obtain an equal representation of genders in both samples. The comparison, as made in Chapter Five, attempts to study the differences between genders in relation to the main research questions and categories.

2.4. Theories of Migration and Algerian Migration: Assessment and Relationships

2.4.1. A Mixed Approach

There is no a single or “grand theory” (Portes and DeWind, 2004) to approach the study of migration. Hence, the importance of “integrative” or “mixed” approaches (Portes, 1997b; Portes and DeWind, 2004; Samers, 2010) and the danger of an “over-reliance” on single theories (Constant and Massey, 2003). The combination of “atomistic theories” which focus on the importance of individual (family and community) agency and decisions and “structural theories” that reflect the importance of “structural constraints” seems to be the most appropriate way of theorising migration (Massey *et al.*, 1993)⁵³. The “structuration model”, which emphasises the complex interaction of agency and structure, seems better

⁵³ Block (2006, p. 12) speaks of a shift, from a “water-pump” metaphor to a “turbulence” metaphor, to understand the flow of human migration.

placed as an explanatory factor (Wright, 1995)⁵⁴. Castles and Miller (2003) speak of the “multi-level migration systems” theory which combines three levels: macro, micro and meso (table 2.6).

Table 2.6: The “multi-level migration systems” theory

Level	Definition (components)
Micro	It includes “personal relationships, family and household patterns, friendship and community ties, and mutual help in economic and social matters.”* It also refers to “individual values and expectancies: improving and securing survival, wealth, status, comfort, stimulation, autonomy, affiliation and morality”***.
Meso	“Certain individuals, groups or institutions” that mediate “between migrants and political or economic institutions”*. It includes “social ties” (family, occupational, etc.), “symbolic ties” (“ethnic, national, political or religious group”), “transactional ties” (“reciprocity, solidarity, access to resources”) and networks. These involve information, “cultural capital” (educational, know-how, ability to migrate) and “social capital” (safety net, family and organised assistance).*
Macro	“Large-scale institutional factors” which include “political economy of the world market, interstate relationships, and the laws, structures and practices established by the states of sending and receiving countries to control migration settlement.”*

Source: own elaboration, based on *Castles and Miller (2003, p. 27-8) and **Block (2006, pp. 13).

For this study, global cities hypothesis seems useful in the case of London while, in the case of Valencia, the city does not satisfy the criteria of the theorists of world cities, although, as demonstrated above, the theory has been criticized by scholars. For Sassen (1994), global cities are strategic places within the global economy because they concentrate important functions, such as the command of world economy, and where “high-level producer service firms” are located; moreover, their economy and social structures are highly internationalized. Cities are seen to be the “functional nodes” of the world economy, and the milieu where a wide diversity of peoples reside, act upon one another and change the urban space (Sassen, 2001).

Migration represents a strong example of what Benton-Short *et al.* (2005, p. 957) call ‘globalization from below’; this would require the integration of migration into “our understanding of global city dynamics.” (2005, p. 945) In

⁵⁴ According to Wright (1995, p. 771), structuration is a “concept employed by Anthony Giddens to express the mutual dependency, rather than opposition, of human agency and social structure”. It is a “post-structuralist” theory which considers that while the activities of individuals are facilitated and constrained by the social structures, these are reproduced and changed by the former (Block, 2006)

addition to the economic functions of cities, Block (2006, p. 43) added the importance of cities as “sources of new culture” that are ““fairly durable”, as a “site of migration” and to be seen as different by most citizens of the same country. As shown in the reasons of choosing the current research and its two locations (Chapter Three), Algerian migrants concentrate in both cities in the chosen countries. In this line of thought, Price and Benton-Short (2008) note that most migrants live in cities in Europe because it is in the cities where important factors are “concentrated”, such as employment, housing, schools, support and religious services, free-time facilities and social networks. For these authors, migrants select urban destinations because it is easier to reunify the family, find job and educational opportunities, settle among co-ethnics and participate in settlement programmes.

The global cities hypothesis offers an analysis of the incorporation of migrant workers into a segmented labour market of a dual economy, mainly in the sectors which offer services to middle class professionals. But, while one should not ignore that some (highly) skilled migrants have been able to make their own paths into primary sector jobs such as in financial services and university teaching, this theory contributes to the analysis of the social and spatial distribution of migrants in the city. This has taken diverse forms such as being clustered or dispersed, living in the inner city or the suburbs, segmented into particular labour markets as skilled or unskilled workers, and being temporary workers or permanent settlers, among others (Price and Benton-Short, 2008).

Because of its excessive dualism, this theory has to be completed by the analysis of the contribution of ethnic enclaves, which helps in explaining more aspects that relate to the insertion of migrants into the labour market, as well as their geographical and spatial distribution in the city and, hence, their possibilities of occupational and social mobility. Here, the enclaves refer to places where people from different migrant backgrounds are concentrated, mainly North Africans and Arab-Muslims. On the other hand, the study of ethnic enclaves, when combined with global cities hypothesis, allows the analysis of the arguments of the culturalists versus the assimilationists, concerning the upward mobility of migrants in the city.

Cities attract migrants probably for economic and socio-cultural reasons, i.e. opportunities of finding jobs and meeting (living among) co-ethnics. The existence of useful and instrumental networks for migrants and probable links between different urban areas in Europe can be at the basis of the explanation of the expansion of the migratory space of Algerians to “non-natural” places of destination, as well as their liaisons with the “natural” destination and the country of origin.

2.4.2. Assessment and Relationships with research questions

After introducing, discussing and assessing various theories about migration, particularly those related to migration per se, incorporation and mobility within the labour market and, finally, those related to the formation of networks through transnationalism, return and circularity, the researcher will now focus on the relationships between the key research questions, the discussed theories and Algerian migration to the UK and Spain, which are useful for the purposes of this research.

1) What are the Reasons for Algerian Emigration to the UK and Spain?

Algerians migrate to the UK and Spain for different reasons, which include monetary and non-monetary motives. Relying on a single theory (Portes and DeWind, 2004), or focusing only on individual agency or structural forces (Samers, 2010), fails to provide an accurate picture of Algerian migration, although it may clarify some important motives. Pull factors in the receiving areas and push factors in the sending regions (Ravenstein, 1885 and 1889), differentials in wages and working conditions (Massey *et al.*, 1993), household decisions to maximize profits and minimize risks (Massey, 1987; Massey *et al.*, 1993; Wood, 1981), investments in human capital and its benefits (Borjas, 1989 and 2000; Chiswick, 1978; De Jong and Gardner, 1981; Massey *et al.*, 1993; Samers, 2010; Sjaastad, 1962), structural characteristics of the world-system (Wallerstein, 1979 and 2004) and its consequences, effects of globalization in the so-called “global cities” (Sassen, 1994 and 2001) and, the formation of networks and the related transnational activities (Massey, 1988; Massey *et al.*, 1993; Portes and DeWind, 2004; Wilson, 1993), all focus on different causes for human mobility and fail to give an holistic explanation of migration. In this sense, Algerian migration is no exception.

The economic theories, which are based on economically motivated rational choice, utility maximization and costs-benefits calculation, being these undertaken by individuals, households or communities, fail to give a comprehensive explanation of the diversification of Algerian migration. As Castles and Miller (2003, p. 21) pointed out, the intentions of migrants at the beginning of their journeys can poorly predict their current “behaviour”, which is thought to be influenced by “historical experiences” and “family and community dynamics.” Additionally, there are mixed motivations for migration which makes difficult their strict differentiation. The availability of better economic opportunities abroad is not easy to assess, in an accurate way, before starting the journey, as people lack accurate (perfect) information about the potential places of destination.

Migrants nowadays move for a range of reasons and it would be risky to assume unequivocally an economic motive. For example, some Algerians migrated to the Czech Republic (Hyánková, 2005) and others applied for asylum in Serbia and Montenegro (UNHCR, 2012), instead of going to more prosperous regions (Ravenstein called them “centres of commerce and services”), which goes against economic rationality. On the other hand, it seems that the poorest Algerians do not emigrate, and that some regions have sent more migrants while others do not seem to be (too) involved with emigration. Some demographic changes are taking place in Algerian migration in a way that confirms the assumption of the feminization of the flows, such as in the case of migration to Canada, with women representing more than half of Algerian emigrants, due to the emigration of the whole family at the beginning of the migratory process or the migration of women alone (Hammouda, 2005; Kerdoun, 2008).

As signalled earlier, networks seem to play an important role in the initiation and perpetuation of migration from the sending areas, by helping migrants to decide where to go to look for work and who is able to move (Wilson, 1993). On the other hand, networks provide a range of advantages to migrants as shown earlier (Massey *et al.*, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 2006; Vertovec, 2002; Wegge, 1998). This means that networks prevail over economic rationality, as people can migrate to places where they may not find work, however, they survive. But, now the question is: do Algerians possess networks that enable them to emigrate to the

UK and Spain while sustaining the flows along time? If we take into account the recent history of Algerian migration to the UK and Spain, one should doubt their consolidated existence and strength. However, a qualitative exploration of the answers of the research participants could lead us to favour one answer or another. On the other hand, can we affirm the existence of transnational activities which guarantee the ongoing character of the movements between these countries?

2) What Patterns of Insertion as well as Mobility into the Local Labour Market of each Country Characterise Algerian Migrant Workers?

3) What are the Differences between the UK and Spanish Labour Markets in terms of providing Opportunities for Social Mobility versus Entrapment for Algerian Workers?

Algerian migrants may look for better learning opportunities and, thus, improve their human, social and cultural capital; this, in turn, can better their lives in the host areas as well as in the countries of origin if they decide to maintain transnational activities or return home. As stated earlier, networks constitute safety nets and help to find work in some niches of the labour market. The outcomes of the process of incorporation and mobility within the labour markets are shaped by the labour market structure and its characteristics, institutional or structural barriers, one's capital (human, financial, cultural and social) as well as the availability of different kinds of networks one can build in the areas of destination (Mendoza, 2000; Scherer, 2001 and 2004).

The small size of the community in both places, the inexistence of a sufficient number of migrants with business expertise and the limited access to capital and labour resources hamper the formation of ethnic enclaves where there is a concentration of migrant businesses. However, if one includes migrant areas such as that formed by North Africans in Valencia which one thinks it can be helpful to describe and explain the insertion of some Algerians in "some niches" of the labour market. As Morosanu (2010, p. 6) noted, some migrant groups form mixed, cross-national networks in a sense that they "often work in jobs where other migrants are concentrated, or come into contact with customers, clients or superiors of different backgrounds". The polarization of the labour market as postulated by the dual labour market theory fails to give an accurate account of labour market outcomes of some Algerians who have opened a path for

occupational mobility through small entrepreneurship in migrant areas. In addition to the postulates of stepping-stones versus entrapment hypothesis, they may give a better account of the experiences of Algerian migrant workers. Although when a deep exploration is required, an overview of the labour market outcomes could suggest an overall vision of Algerian workers as mainly concentrated in what Piore (1979) described as secondary sector jobs whose features have been explained earlier.

It appears that human capital postulates seem to work better in the case of London, where supposedly a relatively significant number of Algerians hold white-collar jobs, which may signal fewer barriers to occupational mobility, including when the entry to labour market was not optimal. On the opposite side, while one ignores the current structural reforms which need time to impact on the Spanish labour market, in common with other southern European labour markets, this has been considered to be characterised by its rigidity and strong barriers that migrant workers face to access primary sector jobs, as described earlier by Piore (1979). In such a context, one can expect entrapment in low-skilled jobs, without the perspective of career, to prevail and, that upward mobility can be conceivable within small entrepreneurship in areas where migrants live or go to carry their activities.

The barriers that hamper the insertion of (highly) skilled Algerian migrants into the labour markets of the UK and Spain include the recognition of their degrees and qualifications, deskilling and socio-professional downgrading, the “immigrant wage penalty” when ethnic origin, or being migrant, conditions important features of employment, such as salaries and work conditions, and discrimination when looking for job, such as the institutional barriers to access public jobs or to achieve upward occupational mobility, including glass ceiling because of migrant condition or gender (Khelfaoui, 2007; Labdelaoui, 2010; Latrèche, 2006).

Cities may attract Algerian migrants because of the availability of economic opportunities as well as for socio-cultural reasons, i.e. finding jobs and living among co-ethnics. While a global cities hypothesis (Sassen, 2001) focuses on the polarisation of labour market outcomes for migrants in the cities, nevertheless,

some migrants have been able to occupy white-collar positions. On the other hand, small entrepreneurship (Light, 1994) can be seen as an escape valve from institutional barriers and discrimination, and while it may not secure an upward mobility, nonetheless, it constitutes a mode of insertion into the local labour market and, thus, a sort of emancipation from isolation and marginality.

4) How do Changing Networks Influence Algerian Migration to the UK and Spain?

Networks enable migrants to overcome economic, social and political barriers and, hence, their study is of crucial importance to understand mobility and settlement in diverse geographical and social spaces. Network approach transcends the economic rationality of classical theories of migration as it explains the start, maintenance and growth of flows where socio-economic and political conditions are not favourable (Massey *et al.*, 1993).

The diversification of the networks of Algerians in Europe can be seen as playing a crucial role in the expansion of their migratory space and vice versa. But, in the same time, the already established networks may form a basis for further migration to new areas of settlement. As argued earlier, Ravenstein spoke of a “step-migration model” which probably could explain the mobility of Algerians within Europe. The complexity of their migration routes may reinforce this view. The analysis of social networks provides information about the daily life, expectations and decisions of migrants at a personal level; it disentangles the socio-cultural determinants of the context in which migrants move, as well as their social and geographical mobility and, thus, their process of incorporation into their host countries. But, could we talk about networks which are able to explain the movement of Algerians to the UK and Spain?

The existence of a continuing geography of migration to the UK and Spain would favour a good functioning of network theory. According to Collyer (2002), when there are harsh migration policies, migrants could go elsewhere, join family network as undocumented or employ smugglers. The existence of networks encourages migrants to start the journey and bypass economic, social and migration policy-related impediments. Networks do not include only relatives, but also friends and, sometimes, acquaintances. While it is instructive, however, a

comparison with the already consolidated networks of Algerians in France would be misleading, as it may conceal the importance of small and fragmented networks in the diversification of Algerian migration. Networks are not only important at the beginning of the journey and its planning, but, also during the journey and for people moving on their own and then joining their co-ethnics in the host cities.

Transnationalism, as the manifestation par excellence of international migration, can be at the heart of the strengthening of mobility between the UK and Algeria, Spain and Algeria and, the UK/Spain and France. In the case of the Comunidad Valenciana, an ordinary visit to Algérie Ferries at the port of Alicante reveals the importance of the movements of Algerians coming from Spain and elsewhere in Europe heading to Algeria, laden with various types of products, gifts, information and money, among others. These sustain a multiple presence in different countries and, hence, take the advantage of different economic, cultural and social opportunities. Transnational communities require the existence of transnational networks, which find its basis in kinship and friendship networks, as well as in its activities across the borders. On the other hand, communication with one's family back home, sending remittances or moving across different destinations, as when looking for job (e.g. an unknown number of Algerians has left Spain for other European countries, mainly France, to look for job or being close to receive support from their networks of relatives and friends) among other transnational activities, consolidate transnational networks and enhance more emigration from Algeria.

It is difficult to assess the mobility of return as migration to both countries is relatively recent. However, some migrants with established residency in the UK and Spain, including naturalised migrants, may return themselves or send their families back home to live for some years. This would lower the costs of maintenance and help in learning and keeping the language and cultural codes of the country of origin. Between the head of the family in the UK (Spain) and the rest of the family in Algeria, a transnational activity develops through (daily or frequent) communication, remittances, sending and carrying goods and gifts, the start-up of businesses back home and the temporary return for direct supervision and other reasons. When children get older, they can return to the UK (Spain) to further their education or look for work experience in their countries of birth or of

the second (other) citizenship. This would reinforce transnational presence and activities between two or more destinations.

The best approach to research the questions should combine a sound theoretical basis with data collection and analysis, which enables the researcher to clarify the types of relationship between practice, i.e. Algerian migration to the UK and Spain, and theory, i.e. the types of relationships between migration theory, this research questions and findings.

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1. Introduction: Methodologies in Researching Migration

Methodology represents “a body of methods, rules, and postulates employed by a discipline; a particular procedure or set of procedures” (Merriam-Webster, 2013). It represents a general orientation as well as an attitude in front of the object of study and its treatment, which is, in turn, sustained in theoretical assumptions and concrete forms of explanation (Silverman, 2010). By methodology, Silverman (2010) refers to a general way of approaching the study of the research topic, which is seen as relevant because of its usefulness. Researchers cannot assume the existence of a single methodology that enables them to collect strong and convincing data in an ethical way (Markova, 2009). The current research is a multi-sited study which aims to draw comparisons between cases (Bastia, 2011; Bryman and Burgess, 1994a; Hume and Mulcock, 2005). It is qualitative and comparative between two international contexts, i.e. the researcher adopts an international methodology while avoiding the “methodological nationalist frame” (Amelina, 2010; Samers, 2010). But to start, what are the main reasons of this choice?

As Barbour (2009) pointed out, over the past fifteen years qualitative research has been accepted as an approach within a wide variety of disciplines and, as a “craft skill”, it can be located between “esoteric theorizing” and “mechanistic application of method”. Bryman and Burgess (1994a) note what they consider as a shift towards qualitative methodology in British sociology, and refer to qualitative research by its dynamism as a process which integrates problems, theories and methods. For Weiss (2006), qualitative research is more propitious to cases that can be in conflict with prior theory than quantitative research. While qualitative research is interested in commonalities and explores in depth different aspects of a small number of cases, comparative research explores diversity and studies an average number of cases in a comprehensive way (Ragin, 1994). While quantitative data can give an overall mapping of general patterns, qualitative components deal with the situations and perspectives of the research participants (Bryman and Burgess, 1994b).

In this research, the design, data collection and analysis were carried out by the same researcher, which made dealing with data of two different contexts less problematic. Moreover, despite being developed in two different locations, the study deals with a single community although it does not assume its homogeneity. Here, community means only a type of a recognisable identity that can be seen as collective, and not a community that is unified and structured around clear-cut cultural features and holds a common life project and concrete aspirations and perspectives for the future in the host country and back home. The study was seen as less problematic as this researcher, himself, is familiar with Spanish context, had learnt about the UK context in an intensive manner by living there and form part of the first-generation Algerian migrants. These aspects facilitate keeping the same criteria for both locations, as well as the transfer of the practical learning from a context to another.

Problems, such as translation from (and into) different languages as spoken by Algerians in both places, were minimized by the researcher's experience in this area. Misunderstandings that would result from cultural interpretations as related to language use were also minimized. The same methods were used in both places. This made comparison easier although not unproblematic. The risk of extrapolating Spanish experience to the UK context was minimized by this researcher's efforts to learn how to navigate the new context and by systematic application of the research design. Issues relating to the appropriateness and the implications of researching one's own community will be discussed later.

Okely (1994, pp. 25-6) considered the ability of anthropological research to go beyond "ethnocentric universalisms" by focusing not on "numerical majorities", but, rather on single observations and individual cases in order to disentangle the group context and make it intelligible. As Babbie (2001) pointed out, social research can be driven for the purposes of exploration, description or explanation. As well, it can be descriptive, analytical, prescriptive or evaluative (Block, 2006). For Ragin (1994), there are seven major goals of social research: identifying general patterns and relationships, testing and refining theories, making predictions, interpreting culturally or historically significant phenomena, exploring diversity, giving voice and advancing new theories.

For this research, the formulated questions entail a qualitative approach rather than a quantitative perspective, although the latter would have been a suitable approach if, for example, the researcher had to identify the general patterns of Algerian migration to these new destinations. The focus was on “how and why” and not on “how many”, as well as on personal narratives in a deep way without embracing an “emotionalist model” (Silverman, 2010). This focus has been privileged for being practical, as official quantitative data on Algerians are less available in the case of London. A limited use of quantitative data has been made when assessing the suitability of London and Valencia to study Algerian migrants, and at trying to sample and establish the numbers of individuals in each location. A quantitative approach would have been more feasible if one could rely on an accurate approximation to the numbers of Algerian migrants, i.e. having had a sampling frame, and then effectuating a random sampling which is a probability sampling when the researcher knows the likelihood of any member of the population being included. On the other hand, probability sampling is expensive and inefficient for the research questions and objectives as stated above. Thus, it becomes more appropriate to use other techniques.

The usefulness of the combination of research methods has been reported by several authors (e.g. LeCompte and Schensul, 1999; Trochim, 2006). There is a widespread agreement about the importance of “cross-fertilization” between different research methods (Gunter, 2000). The use of different research techniques as well as various sources of data, i.e. triangulation⁵⁵ (Ragin, 1994) or “methodological triangulation” (Silverman, 2010), is important as it makes possible contrasting the findings. As in the current case, the comparison between data at an international level sets the pace for a deep exploration of the situation of the Algerian community in two different locations, and allows contrasting the outcomes of their incorporation into both contexts.

Concerning the methods of research, semi-structured interviews with key-informants, in-depth interviews with migrants and participant observation in

⁵⁵ For example: when comparing access to naturalisation, this researcher used quantitative data from official statistics in both locations about naturalised Algerians and drew graphics that show the differences, and got the comments and feelings of people about the issue of naturalisation (e.g. views about the conditions, time required for being able to apply, whether there was un(favourable) treatment of Algerians if compared to other nationals, etc.)

several places in both locations, where there was a presence of migrants, are the main qualitative techniques used in the fieldwork, while bibliographical research, consultation of policy documents, newspapers and media reporting, and secondary analysis of quantitative data constituted the main methods for the desk-based research. Before detailing these tools, it would be useful to explain the reasons for choosing Algerian migrants in London and Valencia, as well as the advantages and disadvantages of researching one's own community from two perspectives: the literature as well as this researcher experience.

3.2. The Why of Researching Algerian Migrants in London and Valencia?

Researching One's Own Community: Advantages versus Disadvantages

The focus on the Algerian community in the UK and Spain responds to a personal choice, which was motivated by diverse reasons: the researcher is an Algerian national who shares with the research participants a particular migration trajectory, either in Valencia or in London. Although with differences, Algerians, as *other* North Africans, are visible due to their appearance, accent, religious customs and Muslim names. At some moments of the fieldwork, the distance between this researcher and some participants was more intellectual than cultural and/or material. In the words of Narayan (1993, p. 674), the researcher shares an "unspoken emotional understanding" with the participants.

The feeling of being identified with some participants was enhanced by the first work experiences in the secondary sector jobs as explained earlier. Bertaux (2005, p. 28) spoke of the "capital of biographical experience" when the lived experience favours some people more than others in succeeding in certain activities. To avoid a subjective approach to this research, it was decided not to research or use the individual testimony of any of the researcher's acquaintances. In accordance with this line of thought, McCracken (1988) signalled that respondents should be "perfect strangers" and "few in number". This researcher tried to put aside his personal perceptions and previous ideas and avoid influencing the interviewees or the methods of obtaining and analysing data, i.e. one tries to preserve professional and institutional neutrality as far as possible. Obviously, like Algerian immigrants in Valencia and London, this researcher does

possess his own experience and subjective position⁵⁶. However, there was an exercise of exploring the *other* side of the spectrum in the ideas and experiences of Algerian migrants in London and Valencia. The author does not reject his subjective position as Algerian migrant and migrant (co-ethnic) researcher which he considered, like others, useful and deserving to be included in the analysis.

The modest experience would suggest that the knowledge of the community (its languages and socio-cultural codes) may constitute an advantage when trying to get access to the field as well as in starting data collection⁵⁷. Being a “halfy”, i.e. a co-ethnic researcher, and “linguistic insider”⁵⁸ can be seen as assets; however, it does not free the researcher from (cultural) translation into the language of the context of the host country (English and Spanish), the “Anglo cultural context” and “academic idiom” (Colic-Peisker, 2005). People may feel comfortable when speaking in their mother tongue or first language and dealing with co-ethnics or fellow citizens. But, they may also consider the researcher as an outsider, threat or hostile for diverse reasons, such as the perceived social status and hierarchical position, and the internal situation of the country of origin; as well, they may have suspicions and/or doubts concerning the nature of the research and its consequences, among others.

To paraphrase Oikonomidou (2009, p. 2), herself a migrant researcher, there is a “double bind of identification and differentiation” between migrant researcher and the migrant community under study. Bailey (1994) notes the effects of the race and ethnicity of the interviewer on items with a racial content, as well as the fact that interviewees may produce biased responses in favour of the interviewer’s

⁵⁶ As Brah (2005, p. 11) notes, the “experience does not reflect a pre-given ‘reality’ but is the discursive effect of processes that construct what we call reality”.

⁵⁷ One recognises the difficulties of moving between different languages as language is more than a means of expressing concepts, i.e. “part of the conceptual system, reflecting institutions, thought processes, values and ideology, and implying that the approach to a topic and interpretations of it will differ according to the language of expression” (Hantrais, 1995, p. 4). Temple and Koterba (2009) spoke of the translation of life and the self, rather than just of words, for migrants learning a new language. Schröder (2009, pp. 4-5) pointed out the fact that “various cultural perspectives can hardly be translated smoothly among one another; at best, they can be “harmonized” with one another”, and argued that intra and inter-cultural communications require “communicative frameworks” within which communicative adjustments can be possible in order to re-address the communication, even when it seems to have broken down. As Temple and Koterba (2009, p. 12) pointed out, there are not “straightforward ties between languages and meanings” and, hence, one may have to use more explanations and re-arrangement of sentences, among other tools, when translating words, concepts and ideas.

⁵⁸ Narayan (1993, p. 671) criticizes the dichotomies native/non-native, outsider/insider, observer/observed and advocated the consideration of “shifting identifications amid a field of interpenetrating communities and power relation.”

“race”. The same author also highlighted the importance of the rapport between interviewer and respondent as it minimizes interview bias. This rapport can be favoured by the existence of similarities between interviewer and interviewees and the lack of social distance.

In this research, the combination of various factors such as the origin and ethnicity, age, gender, social status and clothing, among others, may favour or hamper the formation of a good rapport with the interviewees. For these reasons, the limited experience of the researcher suggested that the research should begin by a gradual immersion into the local groups of Algerians, to lay the groundwork for the building of rapport and relationship of trust through, for example, the participation in some activities of the community. This cleared possible suspicions and/or doubts about the research and its objectives. In order to diversify the characteristics of the members of the sample and avoid researching acquaintances, a *rapprochement* to “new members” of the Algerian community was imperative and considered as a pre-requisite of the beginning of data collection.

As Oikonomidou (2009, p. 1) pointed out, “interactions in extra-research spaces provide fertile ground for identification through flexible forms of belonging, which in turn endorse intercultural understanding”. However, as she noted, “nothing is decisive” and the novice researcher, i.e. international cross-cultural researcher, can be seen juggling “continually between the roles of a pirate and a fellow traveler”. In order to reconsider the object of study from the standpoint of a “skilled, external observer”, Hantrais (1995) gave some important and useful tips to a comparative researcher, such as adopting a different cultural perspective, learning of how to understand the thought processes of another culture and to see it from the perspective of the native people.

Taking a different perspective, Andrie (2010) emphasises that exercising “professional neutrality” and “doing rapport” are crucial for the development of the qualitative research, particularly when interviewing participants. However, this does not remove the very idea of migration as a likely field for “activist research” where activism does not imply the inexistence of academic contribution (Hale, 2006; Speed, 2006). As Speed (2006, p. 66) pointed out, in this kind of research, problems and tensions are not avoided or resolved, but brought “to the fore, making them a productive part of the process”. Following this line of

thought, discussions in the Algerian café on the continuous police raids and stop and search and on the appropriate ways of dealing with it, and the debate on the internal situation of the homeland and the contribution of the Algerian diaspora towards peaceful change are two examples of engagement with some issues that, to a certain extent, have become important for the community. Those cases did not represent a contribution towards resolving the problems of the community, but, moments when they were brought to the fore making them part of the experience of Algerian migrants in the city, and possible factors to strengthen collaboration and solidarity among community members.

Insiderness, which can be enhanced by being migrant and sharing common characteristics such as ethnic origin and language(s), does not imply the inappropriateness of autochthonous researchers for studying foreign migrants nor does it represent an automatic gateway to success for the migrant researcher. As Markova (2009) pointed out, being a co-ethnic migrant researcher can facilitate access to the community particularly, as in her case, through an active implication with the associations of own community, but also the researcher can be considered as an outsider and, hence, the need of preparing the access to the fieldwork and building rapport remain primary and crucial for the research. The researcher can be trapped in researching his/her own community and, hence, kept out of studying others or can be pushed towards proving his/her pre-defined hypothesis, ideas or judgments. This may isolate him/her from “reality” as well as from other segments and traditions of research. This research may constitute an adequate place for the call of Villenas (1996, p. 711) to “ethnographers from marginalized cultures” to “recognize their position as border crossers and realize that they are their own voices of activism”, in addition to, recognising and putting into practice the “re-examination of one’s identity and place within the research context of privilege and power”.

The focus on London and Valencia was determined by the following factors. Firstly, the patterns of Algerian emigration have changed, gradually, towards new phenomena including the enlargement of the migratory space to new contexts, the feminization of the flows and family migration at the onset, the migration of (highly) skilled people and the immigration of the *harraga* or irregular migration (Boubakri, 2007; Fargues, 2004; Hammouda, 2005; Kerdoun, 2008b; Khelfaoui, 2006; Labdeloui, 1996 and 2010; Sabour, 1995). On the other hand, from the

standpoint of the receiving countries, patterns of migration have also changed, such as Spain becoming a receiving country (Castles and Miller, 2003), and the nature, motivation, regions of origin or demographic characteristics of immigrants have also changed.

Secondly, the number of Algerian migrants in each location, including its metropolitan areas, is relatively high and represents the biggest concentration of Algerians in the UK and Spain. The single largest locations for the Algerian community is the Comunidad Valenciana⁵⁹ (16,290 out of 59,623: 30.54%; padrón census⁶⁰: January 2011) and the metropolitan area of London (30,000; 50-60% in Greater London; IOM, 2007)⁶¹. Here, there is a main difference between the UK and Spain in relation to the counting of migrants. While in the case of Spain undocumented⁶² migrants are included as they are encouraged to register at the municipalities because of the need to calculate the budget of public services (e.g. compulsory education, basic health care services and housing, among others) to be received from the central government, in the case of the UK the figures concerning Algerian migrants are the estimates of third parties, including the IOM. The socio-economic and cultural importance of London and Valencia in their respective countries, in addition to the high concentration of Algerian migrants in both areas, may increase and/or improve their opportunities of insertion into the local labour market, whether formally and/or informally. Thirdly, as explained earlier, this research, both for its subject and scope of study

⁵⁹ The region of Valencia which includes three provinces: Valencia, Castellón and Alicante.

⁶⁰ Padrón means register of inhabitants in Spanish. Nagel (2001, p. 381) refers to the census in the UK as a “social text, and the categories contained within it are the products of collective struggles over the status, rights and identities of particular groups.” Portes and Zhou (1993, p. 87) reports the same problem of classification of Latin Americans in American census as phenotypically “Hispanics can be of any race.”

⁶¹ Greater London Authority (GLA) calculations, based on 2001 census, estimated Algerians to number 6,408 in Greater London, out of 10,102 in England and Wales, i.e. 63.4%. As for the time gap and the existence of other larger estimations and the key informants this researcher interviewed, the current figure should be bigger. Algerian British Connection (ABC) and the Algerian Community Trust in the UK – Amana (ACT-UK) informed this researcher that 35,000 (40,000 respectively) Algerians were registered at the embassy in London by 2010, i.e. regular residents, and that 60,000-65,000 (respectively) were estimated to be irregular. There are also those who are not registered. According to ACT-UK, there were 120,000 Algerians as estimated by the community organisations in the UK in 2011.

⁶² Not all undocumented migrants register at the municipalities of their residence for different reasons: fear of being arrested; lack of information; difficulty of proving the date of arrival and showing an ID document; some municipalities first rejected to register undocumented migrants, but, later, were forced to comply with the law and; change of country, among others. Unfortunately, recently, the new Conservative government removed the right to full health care for undocumented migrants who are only entitled to basic health care which includes cases of emergency and medical care for pregnant women and children.

and ethnic author, aims at providing an original study on the Algerian community in London and Spain that is carried out by an insider researcher.

3.3. Comparative Research Methods

Method consists of a specific research technique such as interviewing and/or focus groups, which should fit with the models, theories, hypotheses and methodologies in use (Silverman, 2010). Exploring and comprehending social diversity, as well as interpreting culturally and historically significant phenomena, are two major goals of social research (Hantrais, 1995; Ragin, 1994). Here, the focus is not on establishing general patterns, but rather on understanding and appreciating socio-diversity. With a long tradition, comparative research is of crucial importance in cross-cultural studies to “identify, analyse and explain similarities and differences across societies” (Hantrais, 1995, p. 1). While being useful although highly-demanding, cross-national⁶³ comparative research requires a “more interpretative, culture-bound approach”, which means “linguistic and cultural factors, together with differences in research traditions and administrative structures”, are to be taken into consideration (Hantrais, 1995, p. 3). In this line of thought, changing one culture for another is not enough if the researcher wants to understand and interpret, in an accurate way, the cultural processes under study. This, in turn, requires a “sort of translation”, a “kind of naïve everyday intercultural understanding” and an “explicit reconstruction” (Schröder, 2009, p.8).

For this research, the comparison between different cultural, political and geographical contexts, i.e. across two nation-states, could be completed by a transnational analysis, which takes into consideration “transnational social relations” that reflect “relatively dense and durable configurations of transnational social practices, symbols and artefacts” (Amelina, 2010, p. 10). The latter, if carried out, allows the exploration of the likely formation of networks of Algerian migrants within Europe, as well as from Algeria to their destinations in Europe and their transnational activities. While being “international” requires crossing a “major political frontier”, “transnational” focuses on the move to another

⁶³ For Hantrais (1995, p. 2), a study can be seen as cross-national and comparative when “individuals or teams set out to examine particular issues or phenomena in two or more countries with the express intention of comparing their manifestations in different socio-cultural settings (institutions, customs, traditions, value systems, lifestyles, language, thought patterns), using the same research instruments either to carry out secondary analysis of national data or to conduct new empirical work”.

“national culture.” (Duany, 2002, p. 346) The following table shows the complementarity between cross-national and transnational perspectives; although while they may differ in their units of reference, however, they share some units of analysis and measurement (Amelina, 2006). The current study is cross-national which could be completed by a transnational approach in the future if the necessary resources are available. The unit of reference is the nation-state and national society of both places. On the other hand, the experiences of migrant individuals and households and texts and practices (being formal and/or informal) in both places were compared and served as units of measurement.

Table 3.1: Cross-national and transnational approaches

	Cross-national comparison	Transnational studies
Units of reference	Nation-states, national societies, boundary fixed containers	Border crossing, plurilocal, societal spaces
Units of analysis	Social classes, values, institutions, identity	Biographies, families, organisations, institutions, identity
Units of measurement	Individuals, households, rituals, texts, practices	Individuals, households, rituals, flows of goods

Source: adapted from Amelina (2006, p. 10).

Comparative research can be located between the generality of quantitative research and the subtleties of qualitative research (Ragin, 1994). While qualitative methods are useful in studying commonalities and quantitative methods for the study of the relationships among variables, comparative methods are more propitious for the study of diversity (Ragin, 1994). The knowledge as well as the systematic exploration of diversity within a particular set of cases is an important goal (Ragin, 1994). For this research purposes, Algerians migrate and live in London and Valencia. These are two cases of international migration which may share some patterns of similarities and show some differences across contexts. It would be better to go beyond the assumption of “uniformity” on Algerian migration when there is diversity among destinations. In other words, it may be necessary to go beyond the simple identification of Algerian migration with the well-known “natural” destination, and examine other contexts such as London and Valencia because these locations may reveal new insights of Algerian migration to Europe. Also by focusing on the differences among cases, comparative research

contributes to the interpretation across time of the changing patterns of migration, such as its diversification across time and space as it is our case.

Comparative methods entail three stages, viz, 1) the selection of time- and space-bound cases to be compared; in this research, Algerian migrants in London and Valencia during 2011-2012; the axes of differentiation include age, gender, legal status and sectors of work, among others; 2) the analysis framework in use emanates from the literature on international migrations as shown earlier; 3) the analysis of diversity patterns when studying the causes of mobility and the modes of incorporation and mobility in the labour market. This researcher adopted a “safari” approach (Hantrais, 1995) which means a single researcher who studies the same issue in two different contexts. On the other hand, the use of knowledge coming from different disciplines (e.g. migration studies, anthropology and economics, among others) results in the inclusion of different factors at the “possible lowest levels of disaggregation.” (Hantrais, 1995, p. 3) While the groupings can be seen as comparable internationally, the focus was on the wider as well as singular characteristics of the samples. Although while the comparative method has limitations, however, it makes possible the exploration of different contexts and the deepening of the experience and knowledge of the issue under study on the one hand, and the identification of the gaps in knowledge and, hence, possible directions of future research, including new perspectives, on the other hand (Hantrais, 1995).

3.4. Desk-Based Research: Literature Review, Policy Documents, Newspapers and Media Reporting and Secondary Quantitative Analysis

After concreting the research questions, it was imperative to set a theoretical framework by means of a theoretical and research literature review. The aim was to look for and analyse relevant literature (Wallace and Wray, 2006) to the topic under study. As Silverman (2010) pointed out, theories are necessary to address social research issues including the quite basic ones. In this sense, theory constitutes a “framework for critically understanding phenomena and a basis for considering how what it is known might be organised”, as well as it shares with methodology the feature of being more or less useful, but not true or false (Silverman, 2010, p. 110).

The literature review included the following stages: identifying well-defined literature review questions which emanated from the research core questions and the object of study; developing a searching strategy in order to locate different sources for literature; assessing the identified literature as it is impossible to read everything, even if it is related to the issue under study and; combining the literature and reiterating the purpose of the review. The research started by reviewing three kinds of theories: first, those explaining the motives of human mobility across the national borders: push-pull theory, neo-classical theory including human capital theory, new economics approach, world system theory, global cities hypothesis and networks theory; then, the researcher reviewed some theories drawing back to the questions concerning the patterns that characterise the insertion and mobility of migrant workers within the labour markets of the receiving countries, as well as those concerning the differences between labour markets in terms of providing opportunities for social mobility versus entrapment, i.e. dual labour market and labour market segmentation, ethno-stratification of the labour market, ethnic enclaves and small entrepreneurship, and the existence (absence) of upward mobility (stepping-stone or entrapment); finally, the author reviewed the theory of transnationalism, return and circular migration which, in addition to network theory, may constitute an adequate theoretical basis for the diversification of migrant networks. After that, there came the selection of a theoretical framework that included networks and transnationalism in one hand and global cities and ethnic enclaves' approaches in the other, as they could address the research questions. In Chapter Two, a relationship was established between the four main research questions and what it was argued were the most capable theories to sustain them.

The UK and Spain, while both are located in Europe, represent several differences in aspects such as geographical location relative to Algeria, language(s), national currency and political organisation, among others. For the purposes of this study, the regulation of migration (policies and laws) is different. The United Kingdom is not part of Schengen area and its regulation of migration, including the entrance of nationals from third countries, can be described as very tight and hard to comply with. It maintains borders with the countries of the continental Europe, signatories of Schengen agreement. A reading of the law regulating access and the rights of the citizens of third countries in the UK and

Spain, i.e. immigration law (rules) of UK and the Spanish Ley de Extranjería, helped in understanding the barriers and obstacles that Algerian migrants had to tackle in their migration. As well, a thorough reading of the requirements for Algerian visa applicants to the UK and Spain showed the difficulties applicants had to overcome to get entry clearance for these destinations. Policy papers from mainly regional and global organisations (e.g. IOM and OECD) and centres of research on migration in both countries (e.g. ICAR, CeiMigra and Colectivo Ioé, among others) gave up-to-date data and policy analyses on migration to London (UK) and Valencia (Spain), even when the focus and data on Algerians are either almost inexistent or symbolic if compared with other communities.

Newspapers and media reporting are sources of information that constitute “popular publications” and it was used with caution. Beyond the appropriateness of its use in academic research, they provide information about discourses relating to attitudes toward migration, and the perception of ‘migration-related problems’ within the country at the time. And while they cannot be used as a source of reliable statistics and/or academic research, however, they are useful in countries which do not have a (consolidated) tradition in gathering (statistical) data or regular surveys, as well as in the case of absence of official institutions with adequate means to do that, or where information is hidden or used to serve a (hidden) agenda such as social control and disciplinary purposes.

According to Fife (2005, p. 59), newspapers and similar sources are useful to “(1) assess the contemporary saliency of historical trends and their relevance for on-site research; (2) examine the extent to which local social and cultural patterns associated with specific topics exist in other parts of the country outside of the actual research location; and (3) allow the researcher to gauge the relative public importance of specific issues associated with a topic (such as education’s supposed linkages to wage employment or crime rates).”

In this study, local newspapers in Algeria offer a picture of what is seen as “newsworthy” in relation to emigration and the concerns people carry about it. For instance, a small survey that gathers the feelings, perceptions and intentions of people about emigration in a region that is affected by emigration provides information for researchers about the calibre of the phenomenon in the region and

the perspectives for the future, although it cannot equal a survey carried out under scientific parameters. Media reporting also provides qualitative information about past events that could be useful for research. In the current research, the reporting of police raids in London and Valencia, for example, was used as a complementary source of the general picture of what happened at the time, i.e. the material and symbolic context of the raids, although when at every moment this researcher kept in mind that media reporting is not a reflection, but, a representation of what supposedly happened.

Consultation and secondary analysis of quantitative data concerning Algerians in London (UK) and Valencia (Spain) was useful for various reasons. First, secondary analysis involves analysing data collected at the origin and analysed for other purposes (Dale *et al.*, 2009). Here, the researcher was not aiming at any kind of representativeness; however, one recognises the importance of quantitative data for the mapping, structure and disclosure of the presence of migrant population, as well as the migratory status and duration of settlement when data were available. These elements were of relatively easy access in the case of Spain through the padrón census (and statistics of the Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración) where, regardless of legal status, public authorities at both national and local levels maintain regular statistics on the foreign population, according to various axes such as age, gender, country of birth, nationality and region of settlement. For the UK, estimations from the IOM and the ICAR, as well as data from academic books and papers were used.

Unlike the Spanish padrón census that registers all residents in the locality, whether nationals or foreigners, documented or undocumented, and released every year in January, the UK census is held every ten years, does not provide a full coverage and is based on final estimations in order to cover the entire population; self-completion forms are used and the reliability and precision are seen to be very good in relation to sample surveys; it includes 56 questions with 14 about the household and 42 about each member of the household; its key questions includes the country of birth, nationality, year of arrival, intended time of stay in the UK, ethnicity, age, gender, marital status, qualifications, language, religion and occupation (INE, 2010; ONS, 2011; Spencer, 2005). According to Spencer (2005)

there were 6,408 Algerians in Greater London, of whom 29% were female, and 10,102 in England and Wales (63.4% were in London). These figures may have underestimated largely the number of Algerians because of the state of “undocumentedness” of many of them and/or the lack of stable housing which complicates the counting. It seems that some small groups and communities are either underestimated or seldom referred to in the census documents as released by the ONS.

3.5. Qualitative Methods in Use for the Research

3.5.1. Key Informants

As Whyte (1984) pointed out, social exploration at the beginning of the study and flexibility are important because they allow researchers to capture data in relation to concerns that may become more relevant. However, this should not mean that researchers go into the fieldwork with a “blank mind”. Interviewing, from case studies to ethnography, is the “mainstay” of the qualitative method (Boeree, 1998; Fetterman, 1989), and requires a two-way exchange (Barbour, 2009) between interviewer and interviewee. For ethnographers, it is the most important data gathering technique when doing the fieldwork (Fetterman, 1989). By interviewing the researcher explains and puts into a larger context what he/she observes and experiences, i.e. as Silverman (2010) pointed out, when social meanings and perceptions are important, then, interviewing is the correct choice. On developing a qualitative research interview, Andrie (2010) considers the interview as a form of data collection, through which the interviewees are encouraged to speak in their own words and categories and narrate their experiences in a frank, explicit and lengthy fashion without censure or fear.

Although interviews may have disadvantages such as cost, time demand, bias related to both interviewer and interviewee, less anonymity and difficulty of access to interviewees, however, they can be characterised by their flexibility, high response rate, observation of non-verbal behaviour by interviewer and interviewee, control over the environment and question order and spontaneity (Bailey, 1994). In this study, twenty-three semi-structured interviews with key informants were carried out. Fetterman (1989) considers the semi-structured interview as a way of verbally approaching a questionnaire when having explicit research goals. Barbour (2009) notes that this type of interviews gives flexibility

to the order of questions following the priorities of the interviewees. It also reduces the possibility that respondents would shape their answers to conform to the researcher's conception of Algerian migration in each place. As Nagel (2001, p. 390) pointed out, semi-structured interviews are seen to be useful when they untangle diverse and "paradoxical ways in which individuals manage multiple social categories." The goal was to gather data from the insider's perspective, i.e. the view of the key informants which, in turn, would enable the researcher to address the research questions (Fetterman, 1989). Open-ended questions rather than close-ended, or fixed alternatives, were used, but at the same time, the researcher avoided letting the interviews to follow a completely unstructured path (Bailey, 1994). Questions can be descriptive, evaluative or non-specific (Whyte, 2004). A complete interviewing process should include the following stages: thematising, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analysing, verifying and reporting (Babbie, 2001).

Key informants are professionals or lay informants who can provide a source of introduction, detailed historical data, knowledge about problems and conflicts and a wealth of information about the nuances in relation to the issues under study (Fetterman, 1989; Gunter, 2000; Temple *et al.*, 2006). They should be able to provide an account of events that are seen as accurate, reasonable and insightful (Whyte, 1984). To get access to the key informants, this researcher used different directories as well as professional contacts from colleagues and their recommendations. When selecting key informants, this researcher took into consideration the characteristics that were more likely to contribute to this research, i.e. contacts, experiences and services offered to migrants and refugees and, when possible, to Algerians. Relying too heavily upon any single informant was avoided.

As Babbie (2001) rightly pointed out, the interviewer needs to be a good listener, but not a completely passive receiver, more interested in the contribution of the respondent than interesting, which could be counterproductive and he/she should let the interviewee to fill in the silence. As Babbie (2001) mentioned, with a small number of main topics the interviewer can maintain easily the flow of the discussion from one topic to another as well as by being, what he called, the "socially acceptable incompetent". The interviews were recorded with the consent

of the interviewees. This assisted the analysis by enabling the researcher to focus on other issues such as understanding how interaction was organised during the sessions and the wealth of information got through non-verbal communication. The interviews with key informants were of 45 minutes to 1h30 minutes each session and covered the following areas:

- An introductory part which included the position and duties in the organisation as well as its aims and objectives (previously this researcher introduced himself, the research objectives and the use of its outcomes);
- A general perspective on migration to London (Valencia);
- Types of services given to migrants with special focus on Algerians, how migrants access the organisations and, record of contacts and experiences with Algerians;
- Differences, if any, between the services given to regular migrants and those given to undocumented ones;
- Focus on labour market issues (e.g. courses, job offers, sectors of jobs, access of Algerian migrants to employment, importance of networks, among others);
- Access of Algerian migrants to public services; their associations or organisations;
- Image of Algerian migrants (e.g. host society, media) and relations with the host society from the standpoint of the key informants;
- Contacts with associations of (or helping) Algerians in London (Valencia).

This researcher used online search as well as professional contacts from colleagues, some recommendations and snowballing to access key informants. The researcher did not face major problems such as gatekeepers blocking the access, mistrust among informants or reticence to being interviewed. The main issues were to find the most relevant key informants for research purposes, encourage them to be interviewed and schedule interview appointments. In London, it took much longer to arrange meetings and appointments for interviews because of the tight schedules of informants, the size of the city and the dispersal of the locations of the participants; one could expect the “big city” mentality to

prevail with its speed, rashness and sense of always being busy. In Valencia, it took amazingly shorter to schedule interviews and arrange meetings with the key informants, however, there was only one organisation founded by and serves Algerian migrants. On one hand, it was relatively easy to access key informants, schedule interviews and get them talking about the main issues of the research. However, in some cases there was an ambivalence that combined a kind of reticence to talk about issues, seen as politically engaging in relation to the internal politics of Algeria, and an unconscious immersion into every kind of issues. In some cases in London, mistrust was noted at beginning, but was dissipated during the interviews as the key informants assumed the academic nature of the research and the importance of getting the views of people from different social and ideological backgrounds.

This researcher carried out eleven semi-structured interviews with key informants from pro-immigrant organisations as well as some Algerian organisations in Greater London (figure 3.1.). These included three females and eight males, aged between their 30s and 50s. Five were exclusively working with Algerians, two with all Arab and Muslim migrants as well as in some occasions with other third country migrants and five with all migrants in London. Two organisations were religious while the remaining did not consider religion as central in their foundation and/or activities.

The organisations included the Arab Advice Bureau (AAB), a charity in Finsbury Park area that provides Arab and North African migrants with support regarding immigration advice, welfare and referrals; the Muslim Welfare House (MWH), a charity in Finsbury Park area that supports and offers a wide variety of activities (e.g. social, cultural, learning and advice) to Muslims from all over the world; the Algerian Community Trust in the UK Amana (ACT-UK) located in the Finsbury Park area, although it had not the charity status at the time, but, it supports Algerians in London in a non-profit basis; the Migrants Resource Centre (MRC), a community centre that works with migrants and refugees by giving advice, running courses and social activities; the Migrants' Right Network (MRN), a charity and national NGO that works, campaigns and supports migrants; Algerian Relief (AR), a network of Algerians that provides support for the community members in the UK and abroad; the Algerian League in Britain

(ALB), a charity that aims to bring the Algerian community together around social and religious activities; the Algerian British Connection (ABC), a charity that aims to connect and integrate Algerians into the mainstream British society through a range of educational, social and cultural activities; and North African Arts W10 (NAA) which gives advice, information and guidance for artists, specifically North Africans and Africans in general; it also gives social support and guidance to Algerians with less resources in London.

In Valencia this researcher interviewed twelve key informants from the following organisations: the immigration department of the Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO.), the major trade union in Spain with a strong department supporting migrant workers; Comisión Española de Ayuda al Refugiado (CEAR), a national pro-refugee organisation; Cáritas-Valencia (C-V), a Catholic organisation which provides support to migrants and its Fundación José María Haro-Intra (FJMH-I) which runs special programmes to support migrants by offering them courses, vocational training and work placements; Centro de Apoyo a la Inmigración (CAI) is a state-owned public centre giving support to migrants which covers a wide variety of services such as legal advice, cultural mediation and guidance for employment; Casa Argelia (CA) is a small Algerian organisation focusing on cultural activities and the rapprochement between Algerians and Spaniards; Valencia Acoge (VA) is part of a national networks of centres that give direct support to migrants and fight against discrimination; the Centro Cultural Islámico en Valencia (CCIV) is a religious, cultural institution and NGO that aims to support Muslims (and others) in Valencia and establish bridges between Muslims and mainstream society and; the Asociación de Comerciantes y Profesionales de Russafa (ACPR) and the Asociación de Vecinos de Russafa (AVR) which are two organisations based in a neighbourhood which has been for long time perceived as a magnet for North African migrants in Valencia (figure 3.2.).

Unlike London, there is only one organisation that is founded by and supports Algerian migrants in Valencia. The previous Asociación de Argelinos en España and the Kabylean association Tafat had been dissolved for several reasons, such as the lack of a tradition of participation and involvement with civil society and community organisations among Algerians in Valencia, lack of cultural-intellectual interests, funding constraints and lack of time, with migrants actively

involved in managing survival issues such as getting work and getting and maintaining a legal status in Spain.

Relevant for this study are AR, NAT, ABC, and ACT-UK Amana because they were involved in supporting Algerians in London despite the problems of funding, lack of solidarity and trust among community members and the existence of hidden agendas among some community members and organisations. These secular organisations are very small where few people (one to five) with extensive experience in London, comprehensive understanding of the British system and capacity for gathering information and resources and leading people, support Algerians in London and back home. In the case of Valencia, CA was relevant in relation to support given to Algerian migrants. In the next chapter, the activities and contribution of these organisations will be examined.

3.5.2. Migrant Interviews

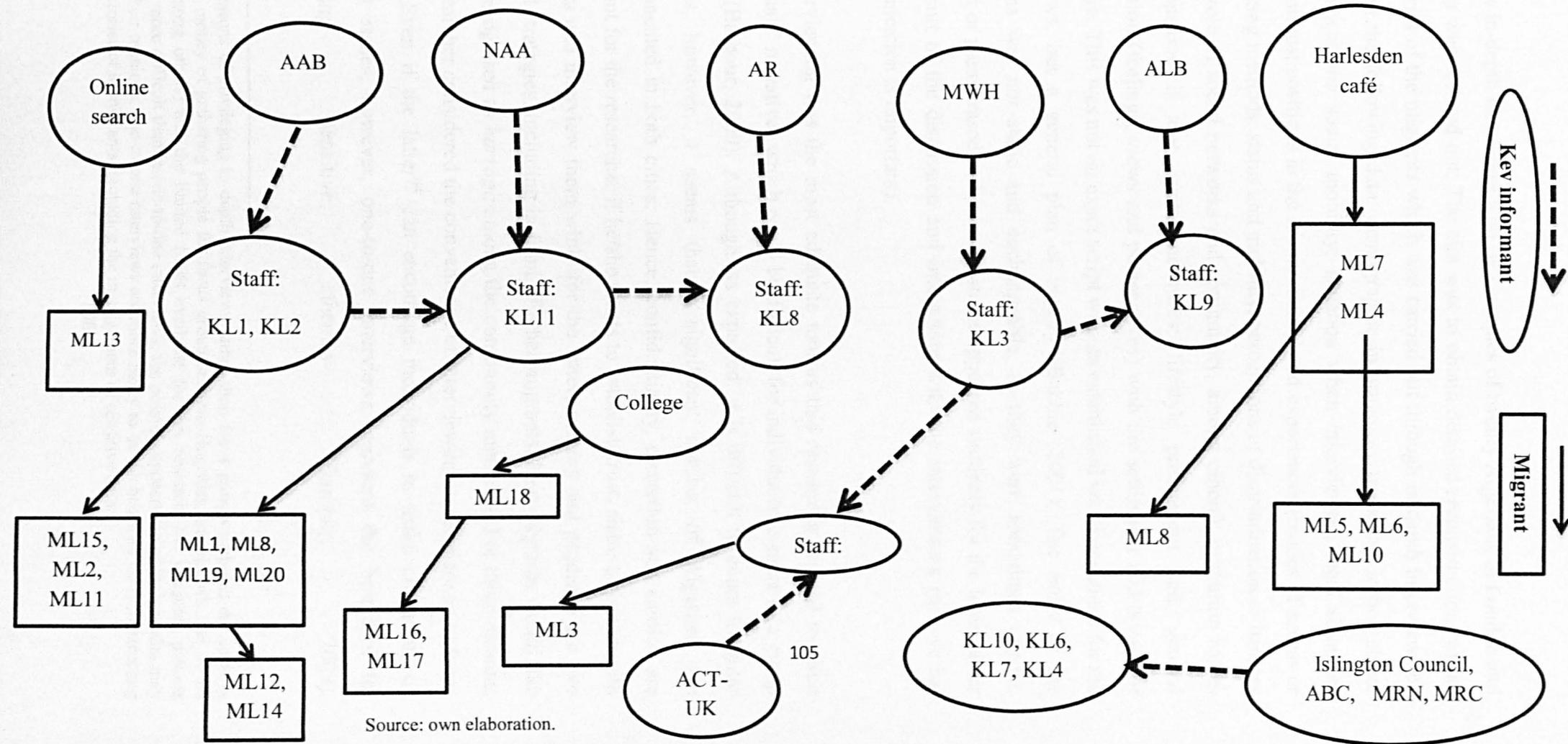
Sayad (1997) advocated a new way of studying the migratory process by analysing the whole system “émigré-immigré”, which means taking into account the relation between the “system of dispositions of the emigrant” and the set of mechanisms which may influence him/her:

“Rather than the focus on explaining the situation of emigrants (immigrants actually), entirely and only, by the history of their stay in France, it is the relationship between the system of dispositions of the emigrants and the set of all mechanisms which they are subjected to as a result of emigration, which are to be clarified”. Sayad (1997, pp. 2-3) (own translation)

Following on from Stora (1992, p. 18), the study should not avoid the “trajectory of the attitudes” of the emigrants and their “political choice” in relation to their own country, i.e. understanding the history, structure and contradictions of the sending society is crucial to understanding the situation of migrants in the host countries (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2000; MacMaster, 1997). In other words, only by a comprehensive reconstruction of the trajectories of emigrants (individuals, households and groups) we will be able to understand the current outcomes of the migratory process:

“Only fully reconstructed trajectories of emigrants can deliver the complete system of determinations which, having acted before emigration and continue to do so in a modified form during immigration, have led the emigrant to the current situation”. Sayad (1997, p. 3) (own translation)

Figure 3.1: Network sample in London

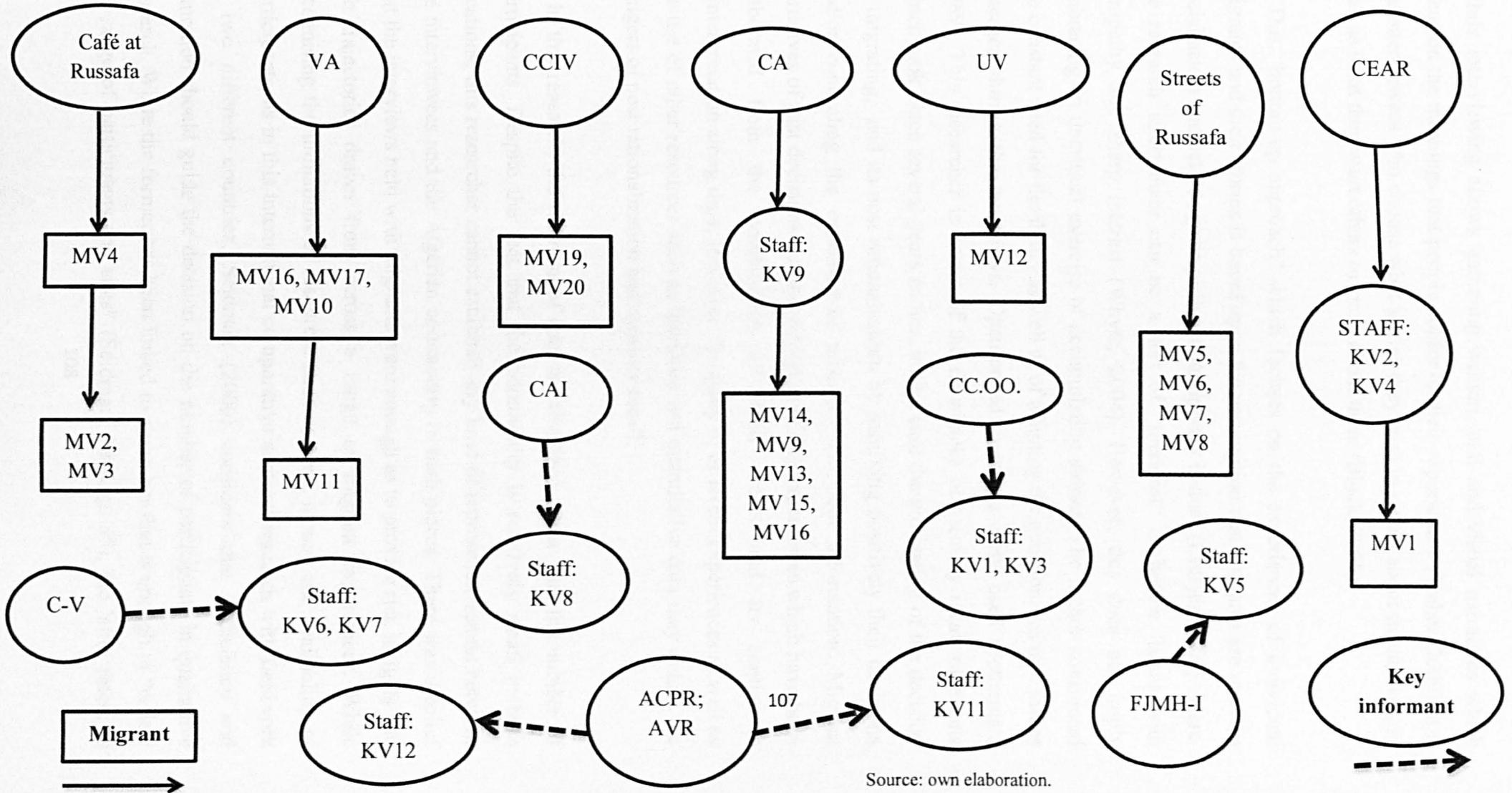


Forty in-depth interviews with two samples of twenty Algerians in London and Valencia were carried out. The aim was to obtain detailed reconstructions of the trajectories of the migrants which was carried out through in-depth interviews by gathering the following data: demographic information; trajectory in homeland; geographical and social mobility; situation when interviewed; legal situation; qualifications; positions in the labour market and experiences (modes of access or job-seeking methods, status and mobility, perceptions of discrimination or barriers if any, role of social networks and community, among others); migration routes and transition if any; social networks; lifestyle preferences and; general satisfaction (feelings, views and perspectives) with the settlement and hopes for the future. This was not an exact script with an established set of questions for the interviews, but a general plan of inquiry (Babbie, 2001). The order of the questions was not static and unchangeable, as they were sometimes altered, changed or paraphrased and new questions appeared suddenly for the interviewer as a result of the discussion and interaction with the interviewees (non-verbal communication is important).

Interviewing was the most adequate tool as this researcher wanted to elicit individuals' narratives which could be difficult for individuals to share in a group setting (Barbour, 2009). Although, as expected, it is difficult to count irregular migrants, however, it seems that a significant number of Algerians are undocumented in both cities. Hence, confidentiality, discretion and caution are important for the researcher if he/she wants to establish trust, share activities with migrants and interview them while for the latter, secrecy and prudence are two survival strategies, including in front of other migrants. Few migrants would like to get recognised as *harraga* among the community members. For these reasons, this researcher considered the convenience of interviewing in comparison to focus group. Even if the latter⁶⁴ can encourage individuals to make comments on difficult issues, however, one-to-one interviews represent the best tool for discussing sensitive themes (Barbour, 2009).

⁶⁴ The reasons of privileging in-depth interviews rather than focus groups included the costs in time and money of gathering people for focus group sessions (logistics, travel costs and of the place, among others) and the limited funds available for this research; the sampling process becomes more difficult than in one-to-one interviews; the possible appearance of leaders who may impose their opinions; one-to-one interviews are more likely to be the best tool for reconstructing life trajectories of immigrants, including the management of sensitive data.

Figure 3.2: Network sample in Valencia



While interviewing allows gathering written, oral and visual narratives which focus on the meanings that people confer to their experiences (Trahar, 2009), it is the interviewees who choose what stories they wish to reveal about themselves, as well as what they want others to know about them (Block, 2006).

This “bottom-up approach” which focuses on the experiences of individual migrants and their stories is based upon the assumption that migrants are relevant social actors and active agents of the contemporary history (Collyer, 2002). Here, the research interviewer can be a sort of “therapist” as he/she listens with sympathy and sharp interest (Whyte, 2004). However, this does not imply embracing an uncritical exercise of accumulating stories. The author considered the constant need for flexibility as well as of adapting the questions, as new issues emerged during the interviews. Open-ended questions were used (Fetterman, 1989). This researcher is aware of the drawbacks of memory recall of events which took place several years earlier, in this case the motivation of the decision of migrating, and its post rationalization by justifying positively their decisions and/or concealing the existence of mistakes and poor information. Migrant narratives of past decisions are understood as telling experiences which have been elaborated from the combination of lived events and its continuous reinterpretation along time. However, the study of different experiences as well as the use of other resources such as literature and quantitative data may reduce the dangers of post rationalization and memory recall.

In this research, the richness of data is prioritized rather than the number of participants. Despite the fact that the community is relatively small in both locations, this researcher cannot establish any kind of representativeness between the interviewees and the Algerian community in both places. There was a belief that the interviews held with migrants were enough as to provide rich insights into life trajectories drawn from across a range of migrant experiences. While recognising the limitations of resources such as time, money and availability of participants, as in this international comparative doctoral research with fieldwork in two different countries, Seidman (2006) considers that sufficiency and saturation should guide the decision on the number of participants in qualitative research. While the former has been linked to a number that is enough to “reflect the range of participants and sites” (Seidman, 2006, p. 55), the latter refers to

“data adequacy” (Morse, 1995, p. 147) and a moment when no new data can be obtained or can shed more lights on the properties of the study categories (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Seidman, 2006), i.e. the researcher “feels assured about their meaning and importance” (Bryman and Burgess, 1994, p. 4).

Decision on the size of the sample is not simple and straightforward (May, 2011). While it is difficult to set the number of participants, interviewing 20-30 individuals may lead to saturation (Curry *et al.*, 2009). Different authors gave some guidelines for sample sizes as follows:

Table 3.2: Guidelines for sample sizes

Discipline (focus)	Number of participants
Ethnography	36 (Bernard, 2000, cited in *)
Qualitative research	>= 15 (Bertaux, 1981, cited in **, **)
Grounded theory	20-30 (Creswell, 1998, cited in **, **)
Ethnography / grounded theory / ethnoscience	30-50 (Morse, 1994, cited in **, **)
Phenomenological studies	>= 6 (Morse, 1994, cited in **, **) 5-25 Creswell (1998, cited in **, **)
Qualitative ethology	100-200 (Morse, 1994, cited in *)
Homogeneous sample	6-8 (Kuzel, 1992, cited in *)
Maximum variation	12-20 (Kuzel, 1992, cited in *)

Source: own elaboration, based on *Guest *et al.* (2006, p. 61) and **Mason (2010, p. 3); >= greater than or equals.

Different factors may influence the size of qualitative samples such as the study objectives, heterogeneous populations, amount of selection criteria, need of “nesting’ of criteria”, requirement of intensive study, “multiple samples within one study”, kinds of methods used in data collection, financial resources, expertise in the topic and use of various methods within one study (Guest *et al.*, 2006; Mason, 2010, p. 2). According to Morse (1994, p. 149), the principles that should guide saturation in qualitative research are the use of a “cohesive sample” or theoretical sampling which enables obtaining a “faster saturation”; “saturated data are rich, full, and complete”, and “the more complete the saturation, the easier it is to develop a comprehensive theoretical model.”

In this research, data collection was ceased when no more significantly new issues or stories were emerging to contribute to the development of useful and meaningful themes and interpretations, i.e. to a comprehensive picture and understanding of Algerian migrants in both locations. As Morse (1994, p. 148)

highlights, ‘know it all’ rather than “hear things over and over” is the determinant of saturation point. While purposeful sampling required caution at selecting the individuals, the existence of some common criteria among participants such as the origin, languages and cultures, condition of migrancy, the “cultural competency” of the researcher, the richness of the data obtained and the delimited field of inquiry made saturation faster (Guest *et al.*, 2006). On the other hand, (small) informal discussion, observation, participant observation and observation-interaction contributed to enrich as well as to confirm that the researcher got the meaningful themes and categories and the relationships among them.

The interviewees were identified through snowball sampling. In this method, researchers ask interviewees to name possible candidates to get interviewed and, hence, the respondent’s own networks are important. In the first stage, respondents having the requisite characteristics are identified and interviewed; then, they are asked to identify others to be included in the sample (Bailey, 1994). As part of non-probability sampling techniques, this tool is used mainly for exploratory purposes and is based on the process of accumulation (Babbie, 2001; Bailey, 1994). It facilitates access to hard-to-reach populations (Guest *et al.*, 2006; Barbour, 2009). For example, García Escudero (1999), in her study of North African migrants in Alicante (Moroccans and Algerians), considered these groups as hard-to-reach because, as she noted, they represented new settlements and showed high rates of precariousness and irregularity.

On the other hand, Amado (2006) considers the fact that “ascriptive categories”, such as gender, can form barriers for researchers trying to get “rich data”, as partially found in this research. It is most appropriate when, for example, anthropologists study small populations because people need to know a majority of the population in order to name appropriate candidates (Russell Bernard, 2002). As Nagel (2001, p. 390) who studied British Arab activists in London signalled, non-random sampling techniques allow “in-depth investigation of the personal networks, social circles, and relationships through which processes of community formation take place.” There was no pretension to represent Algerian migrants, but to capture in depth a range of experiences among different migrants in both locations (Alexander *et al.*, 2007). Moreover, in this research, the aim was not to

explore individuals' immigration status and the majority of interviewees were documented migrants.

To avoid bias in sampling, this researcher used “multiple-entry points” (Ozanne and Anderson, 2010, p. 126), i.e. different sources and referrals, in order to include diverse segments of migrants with a wide variety of characteristics and life trajectories. The entry points included pro-immigrant organisations, Algerian community organisations, community leaders, a college student, university researchers, migrant workers and business owners and internet resources (websites, blogs and social networks). As Weiss (2006) pointed out, the inclusion of people with different characteristics and diverse experiences ensures the external validity of qualitative research instead of the number of participants as is the case in quantitative research. For these reasons, this researcher interviewed Algerian men and women of different ages (young and older adults), socio-economic backgrounds (unskilled, semi and skilled) and legal statuses (undocumented, documented and naturalised) in both cities. The samples included Algerians who were born, brought up, and educated in Algeria, whose ages at the time of the interview was between 18 and 65 years old and were working or looking for job in London (Valencia).

Through a multi-linguistic and multi-sited research (Hale, 2006; Marcus, 1995; Temple and Koterba, 2009) the researcher explored the trajectories of migrants in their homeland, places of transit and locations of settlement. On the one hand, language ability may affect the capacity of people to present themselves as well as the way in which they are represented in research and, on the other hand, the use of a single language in this type of research may be described as “colonial” and “unethical” (Temple, 2005). Here, the most important task was to establish, in a successful way, rapport with the interviewees which required an “understanding and manipulation of the socio-cultural norms to adjust action accordingly without being offensive” (Shah, 2004, p. 561). As Temple (2005, pp. 1-2) pointed out, representation is a permanent issue for the research and there is “no single 'correct' way for researchers to represent people who speak different languages”; thus, “choices about how to do this have epistemological and ethical implications.”

Relevant for this study is the familiarity of the researcher with the Spanish context of the research while he was a recent arrival to London, and had to learn everything from the onset, mainly practical issues that were related to the day-to-day management of life. Although this researcher has not used his Spanish network to locate and identify participants, it was easier to access to migrants, build trust and engage with the research fieldwork in a shorter time than was for London. Locating focal points for Algerian migrants, getting access to them and building trust were the first activities in London fieldwork. Being an Algerian migrant helped immensely in starting the interaction with migrants from a wide range of profiles. However, introducing oneself as doing research on the Algerian community in London was uncomfortable, if not suspicious for some migrants and tended to halt (the fluidity of) the interaction with them. One should expect that in such a large city people tend not to be talkative or to tell their own stories to strangers. Thus, the need of building trust which required time, patience, efforts and going beyond disappointment. It provided a context for learning and the experience of getting to and negotiating fieldwork access.

Involvement with migrants in social settings such as the conversations at the Algerian cafés, watching card games, attending the Algerian music festival, the celebration of the national day and the Revolution day and the discussions at Speaker's Corners in Hyde Park, among others, helped in breaking the ice and prepared the ground for the involvement of migrants with this researcher. The help of some community leaders was crucial in the research settings, as they facilitated the contact with migrants and brought trust and confidence into the interactions. In Valencia where this researcher was more familiar with the area, although this shortened the time needed to access to migrants and the duration of the fieldwork, it entailed the risk of getting less diversification of migrant profiles. In the case of females, familiarity with the context was of less importance as other factors, as explained below, shaped the participation and the profiles of the participants.

3.6. London

The fieldwork period was of ten months due to the following issues: difficulties in getting participants willing to get interviewed for different reasons, such as the lack of time as they were busy; mistrust in the research purpose and

the researcher and the hypothetical relations they may have thought the “Algerian” researcher could have with the Algerian authorities; lack of motivation and the feeling of being uncomfortable when telling their own life stories to a stranger; some were more open to speaking to the researcher as a migrant fellow citizen than as a researcher; some gave their approval to participate at the beginning to withdraw later; some gave the researcher an appointment and, later, did not attend the interview session; some migrants did not understand the usefulness of the current research which they hardly could relate to their notion of research as they only thought of pure sciences as the field, par excellence, for research; and last but not least, the lack of research about Algerian migration in London that has been conducted by Algerian researchers.

The collaboration of some Algerian migrants and community leaders was crucial in facilitating access to migrants in some areas of London, such as Harlesden (an area in the borough of Brent in the north-west of London) and Hyde Park (one of the Royal Parks in central London, famous for its Speakers' Corner where some Algerians gather every Sunday to meet their fellow citizens and discuss different issues). The IOM (2007) reports that the Algerian community gathers around the following areas and places: Finsbury Park, Leyton, Walthamstow, Edgware, Fulham, Finsbury Park Mosque, Regents Park Mosque and Parsons Green Mosque. The Change Institute (2009), based on twelve interviews and two focus groups with Algerians, found that single men lived in Brixton, families in Walthamstow and a mix of both in Kilburn, Cricklewood, the Edgware Road, Wood Green and Lewisham; other places of concentration include Blackstock Road (Finsbury Park), Hoe Street (Walthamstow) and Finsbury Park. These only represent the perceptions of some community members and their estimations of the areas of concentration of Algerians. It seems that the Algerian community is dispersed across the urban area, with no clear-cut points of concentration.

Migrants were different in their attitudes towards this research in the sense that age, gender, social class, level of education, legal status and time availability, among other factors, couldn't predict the participation (or not) of the individuals. For instance, while some UK university graduates or employees did not agree to participate, some undocumented migrants with basic studies were very quick in

showing their willingness to participate and help in this research. On the other hand, from an ethnic standpoint, being an insider or outsider does not guarantee in advance any outcome, as sharing several characteristics with the interviewees could be a good starting point, but it did not represent an automatic gateway to success for the ethnic researcher. Here, it seemed imperative to build trust through active participation and involvement in shared activities with would-be candidates for the interviews. It seems that acquiring experience through the practice of contacting, sharing activities and conversations, observing and asking people whether they agreed to be interviewed, constitute a rite de passage for every qualitative researcher.

At the first contact with migrants, this researcher explained the aims and objectives as well as the usefulness of the research in order to enable the participants to give an informed consent of participation, and avoid any further misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the research tasks. Migrants were given the Participant Information Sheet to read, which was clarified with more explanations and answers to any doubts around it, and the Interviewee Consent Form to be read and signed if they finally decided to participate. Asked to sign the Consent Form, some participants felt a kind of suspicion as if it would have legal consequences, and this was more likely to happen with (undocumented) migrants who had concerns about “getting papers” and those with basic studies. This was overcome with a good explanation of the content of the documents, as well as by the support of some previously interviewed participants.

The focal points of the fieldwork included the Algerian café in Harlesden in the borough of Brent in the north-west of London, Blackstock Road and its area (Finsbury Park) and Speakers’ Corner in the Hyde Park area. The researcher visited the café on a regular basis during data collection for at least twice a week, mainly on Friday, Saturday and Sunday when significant numbers of migrants were present and on weekdays on two occasions. This researcher attended and participated in the discussions of some groups of Algerians in the Hyde Park area on Sunday afternoons during all the fieldwork period. Participants were interviewed in different venues such as cafés, pubs, their houses, gardens and a university campus. Further access to interviewees was achieved through attending events such as the celebration of the Algerian national day and an Algerian music

festival, among others. These informal settings were more promising for getting in touch with migrants from different profiles.

3.6.1. Females

The sample included nine female interviewees in their 20s to 50s. They had been living in London for between eight and twenty-five years. Their regions of origin in Algeria were: Algiers (3), Constantine (1), Annaba (1), Jijel (1), M'sila (1), Tissemsilt (1) and Oran (1). Five were married and four were single. The women whose families were originally from Annaba, Jijel and M'sila had actually been living in Algiers in a process that could be described as internal mobility. They were studying at college or university level, doing semi-qualified or qualified jobs or staying at home at the time. The level of studies, or finished grades, ranged from high school to PhD level: first stage of secondary school (1), college diploma (2), university degree (1), Masters (3), PhDs (2). They could speak at least two of the following languages at different levels of fluency: Kabylia, dialectal or Standard Modern Arabic, French and/or English. Their occupational areas included teaching (university and high school), research, banking, caring for children and studying.

The researcher first accessed female migrants through a community leader who put him in touch with the first participant who, in turn, recommended him to other contacts of her own (snowballing method). Online research (internet browsers and blogs) was used to access an interviewee⁶⁵. This researcher used his workplace in the college to access an Algerian student who, in turn, put him in touch with two other female participants.

The interviews were conducted on a face-to-face basis (7), by phone (2), or by Skype (1) or a combination of the first and second modes (1). The use of the phone was mainly for two motives: security as one Algerian interviewee handles a blog and required not being identified publicly, while in the other case, it was more convenient taking into account the limited time the interviewee had. The use of a videoconference through Skype was for convenience and only as a virtual

⁶⁵ General websites are seen as a means to get access to a "mixed, cross-national network" and as "non-ethnically-biased recruitment route" (Morosanu, 2010, p. 7)

form of the ordinary face-to-face interview. The researcher interacted with the participants before interviewing them.

It was hard to get access to female migrants willing to participate in the research, particularly to women staying at home, those without studies, undocumented or retired. This limited the diversity of profiles within the sample. Some reasons are shared by men and women such as being busy, lack of trust in relation to the consequences of the research, consideration of the research as to be only in pure sciences and thus social research on Algerians to be “useless”, and lack of incentives to participate. In addition, some barriers were cultural and religious. Culture as a strong marker in regulating how Algerian females could get in touch with male strangers and/or what to tell him about her life story; the feeling of being uncomfortable when telling a male stranger her own migration story; this could increase when the interviewer is a fellow citizen⁶⁶. Fortunately, this was not the case with all the female migrants this researcher asked to participate, such as female participants who were studying or working in the mainstream institutions. However, this differed according to the apparent degree of emancipation of the interviewee. These were the main difficulties this researcher face in accessing some groups of Algerian migrants such as females and undocumented people.

While the focus was on including different profiles that reflect a wide variety of Algerians, as generalization would require random sampling and an accurate list of the whole population which it would have been impossible to achieve under the objectives and means of this study, the profiles of the female interviewees in the sample could be described as unrepresentative because most of the cohort was (highly) educated and/or doing semi- or qualified jobs.

⁶⁶ This researcher had this experience when volunteering for *Mujeres Progresistas* (Madrid) by offering support in Spanish language to some Moroccan women in a small location in Toledo (a province, forty miles away from Madrid in the south). In the first session around ten attendees participated while in the second only one attended the classroom session. While the other colleague, a Belgian male, got more or less the same attendance as in the first session all the time. This may reflect some specific considerations that underlie the contact female-male among Muslims for mainly married wives from conservative backgrounds in small areas. In this case, one should be aware of not confusing the types of clothing with conservatism, as everywhere in the Muslim world, there has been a kind of overlapping and/or shift of some practices from its religious origin to the area of culture and vice versa.

3.6.2. Males

The sample of male interviewees consisted of eleven individuals in their 30s to 50s. They had been living in London for between seven and twenty-five years. Their regions of origin in Algeria were: Algiers (6), Boumerdès (2), Tizi Ouzou (2) and Oran (1). Only in one case, the family of the interviewee moved within Algeria from Tizi Ouzou to Algiers. Seven were married and five were single. They had lived in north, north-west, west, south, south-east and east of London. Concerning their level of studies, the distribution was as follows: UK-based university engineering (1), UK-based university PhD (1), UK-based university Masters (1), UK-based college diplomas (1) and vocational training (2), Algeria-based university engineering (2) and Algeria-based high school studies (3). Their occupational areas included computing, banking, air conditioning, bus and minicab driving, retail stores, restaurants, higher education and artistic production. They could speak at least two of the following languages at different levels of fluency: Kabylia language, dialectical and/or MSA, French, English and a bit of Italian and Portuguese⁶⁷.

The access to male migrants was through a community leader who introduced this researcher to some Algerians in North London, as well as via an adviser at AAB. The author met and got acquainted with different groups of migrants, mainly in the Harlesden and Hyde Park areas. Snowballing methods were used to gain access to more interviewees. The focal points were an Algerian popular café in Harlesden area, Hyde Park Speaker's Corners and Blackstock Road in the Finsbury Park area. The interviews were conducted on a face-to-face basis (8) and by phone (3). The use of the phone was mainly due to the time limitations of the interviewee. Before interviewing the participants, the researcher interacted with them in different social settings such as (Algerian) cafés, parks, the mosque and in the premises of some organisations.

⁶⁷ There were two speakers of Italian and Portuguese to a certain level. The former had lived two years working in Italy and is married to an Italian although he met her in London (his migratory route will be discussed in the following chapter), while the latter is married to a Portuguese woman whom he met in London and speaks a bit of this language. MSA is Modern Standard Arabic, the academic language, and Darija is the colloquial Arabic.

3.7. Valencia

The research fieldwork was carried out in three main areas: 1) Russafa, a district located at the city centre of Valencia, near to the railways station and known as the area of North Africans, mainly Algerians and Moroccans, 2) Els Orriols, a district in the north of Valencia that has become the place par excellence of immigration from non-EU countries, and 3) Benimaclet, located at the west side of Els Orriols, is a district in the north-east part of Valencia. These are some of the major concentration points for Algerians within the urban area of Valencia, according to data from the Oficina Estadística of the Ayuntamiento de Valencia (2012)⁶⁸. The study was carried out in these areas as they included the places where Algerians gather, such as cafés, halal shops, mosques and pro-immigrant organisations. Due to financial constraints and time limitation, the study was limited to the above mentioned areas.

The focal points of the research were the Algerian café in Calle Denia⁶⁹, the halal shops at Calle Cuba and the places where some events concerning Algerians took place, such as a conference held about the decolonization of Algeria at the venue of the Association Jarit or the celebration of Algeria's independence day at the Instituto Valenciano de Arte Moderno (IVAM). This researcher observed and participated in several discussions with groups of Algerians at two coffee shops in Benimaclet. The district of Els Orriols which has become known for its mosaic of migrants from different third countries shelters the pro-immigrant organisation VA as well as an Algerian kebab shop and the mosque of the CCIV. At these places, this researcher interviewed four females and two males.

The fieldwork period was of six months with the following main characteristics. This researcher found a striking difference related to the relative ease in getting Algerian males willing to be interviewed if compared with the case of London. People were relatively more open to discuss their own migration trajectories and the problems they were facing in the social, economic and political arenas; it was enough to get accepted and introduced by the oldest and

⁶⁸ Ayuntamiento means city council in Spanish. According to data from the Oficina Estadística of the Ayuntamiento de Valencia (2012), 17.7% of the residents in Rascanya (district that includes Els Orriols) were Algerians while 8.3% of the residents in Benimaclet were Algerians. In others such as Quatre Carreres and Poblats Maritims, Algerian migrants represented 10.4% and 8.3% respectively.

⁶⁹ Calle means street in Spanish.

known migrants, i.e. the senior settlers and business owners; it did not seem that suspicion and trust building were big issues for them. It does not seem that the correlation between civic engagement and social trust on the one hand and educational levels on the other (Putnam, 2005) or the low socio-economic status of the community which favours a sort of competition for scarce resources among Algerians and, thus, undermines solidarity among them, even boosts hostility in France (Collyer, 2003) could explain these differences. Portes and Landolt (2000, p. 546) signalled the “difficulties of building trust in areas with a recent past of armed conflict” and the absence of a “history of collective action, or any form of group identity” upon which trustful networks can be built. Thus, could it be a consequence of coming from different regions in Algeria⁷⁰ rather than Algiers and its surrounding area? Or was it because of the function of London, a strategic place where the homeland government attempts to exercise control over the activities of its nationals including dissidents and, thus, spread suspicion and mistrust among Algerians?

Several male interviewees came from the west of Algeria while the majority of London-based participants came from the zone of Algiers. The nature of Algerian emigration to the UK during the 1990s, with thousands of refugees as a consequence of the “black decade”, may have reduced trust levels and increased the fear of any research being conducted on them by an Algerian. Valencia-based interviewees did not show mistrust or suspicion in the research purposes and willingly shared their experiences with this researcher; although while they were generally less educated, if compared with London-based participants, they believed in the importance and usefulness of research on Algerians which could give voice to their situation in Spain and abroad.

Access to female interviewees was harder at the beginning and during the fieldwork for different reasons: the small size of the networks of Algerians and, thus, it required bigger efforts to locate possible female interviewees; culture as a

⁷⁰ If we compare the male cohorts in the two cities, we see that only one participant comes from the north-west of Algeria (Oran) while the other ten come from the central north in the case of London; in Valencia, six males were from the region of Oran. By no means, one suggests a causal relationship, but a possible difference due to different “characters” of people within Algeria as it could be everywhere. Among the Algerians, people from the region of Oran, and generally the north-west of Algeria, are known for being extrovert, very sociable and open among Algerians themselves.

strong marker in regulating how Algerian females could get in touch with male strangers (these also include Algerians) and/or what to tell him about her life story; the feeling of being uncomfortable when telling a male stranger her own migration story; paradoxically, this could increase when the interviewer is a fellow citizen. Fortunately, this was not the case with all the female migrants the researcher asked to participate in the study. It seems that cultural and family values and socialisation into Spanish society were more accurate in predicting the participation than socio-economic background or educational level. For instance, an Algerian cultural mediator from a well-known organisation who is supposed to work to improve and shed light on the situation of Algerians in Spain refused to participate while a female with basic studies and wearing the hijab⁷¹, who supposedly should be conservative and cautious in interacting with males including Algerians, was very helpful in the research.

The researcher found the collaboration of several Algerian migrants and the owners of a café and kebab shop very useful in facilitating access to migrants in the areas of Russafa and Els Orriols. The owner of a café, middle-aged with huge experience in Spain and extended networks of people, was very helpful as an introducer to other members of the community. Here, it was relatively easy to move among migrants in the café area and participate in their conversations at tables, watch their card games and interact with them in the surrounding areas. On the other hand, the collaboration with VA and CCIV shortened the time required for building trust and confidence with migrant interviewees.

While one assumes that is not strictly comparable, however, the comparison of the experiences of two Algerian migrants who lived in both cities could be helpful. One of them used to attend a group chat at a café in Benimaclet. Having been married to a Portuguese woman who is currently living and working in London, he has been to London as a tourist on several occasions. Obviously, we are not talking about a migratory experience in a strict sense, however, this was interesting when cross-checked with the experience of another respondent from London sample who lived for two years in Spain.

⁷¹ In Islamic tradition, it refers to the way of dressing which covers everything of the women's body except the face and hands.

At the first contact with migrants, this researcher explained the main aim and objectives as well as the usefulness of the research, in order to enable them to give well-informed consent of participation and avoid any further misunderstanding or misinterpretation during the interviews and/or the participant observation. Before interviewing the participants in pro-immigrant organisation such as VA, this researcher made clear that the participation did not condition access to the services provided to migrants.

3.7.1. Females

Nine Algerian females were interviewed. They were in their 20s to 50s. They came mainly from two regions in Algeria: the capital city Algiers (5) and its neighbouring Tipaza (1), in the west from Ain Témouchent (1) and Oran (2). Six were married and five had from one to three children and three were single. Their educational level varied from four interviewees who had primary and/or secondary school studies in Algeria to a doctorate from a Spanish university. The former had several unskilled jobs such as cook assistant, operator in fruit warehouse or in cleaning, however, three were looking for jobs. Five had semi- or qualified jobs, including teaching assistant at a university, information officer at a museum, researcher at a university and cultural mediator, an auxiliary at a clinic and a translator. They could speak at least two of the following languages at different levels of fluency: Kabyle language, dialectal and/or MSA, French and Spanish.

The profiles of the female interviewees in the sample were balanced with five females holding higher degrees and four with basic studies; the former had qualified jobs while the latter did unskilled works. Seven females were interviewed face-to-face while two others agreed to answer an Arabic version of a questionnaire including the research questions (a summarized version with the important research questions in Arabic, including the consent form). This was, to a certain extent, a way to circumvent the difficulty of accessing more female interviewees and, thus, balancing the samples of migrants at both locations. The decision on this was taken after a lot of attempts to get more females willing to get interviewed directly, and when it became evident that it was not possible to further extend the duration of data collection for fear of falling behind with the deadlines.

3.7.2. Males

The male interviewees generally showed their willingness to be interviewed and had less doubts about the research purposes if compared with male interviewees in London. It seems that the good welcome and the trust shown by the oldest members and business owners in the area helped in getting accepted as a researcher within the community. However, there was a strained situation when an Algerian young man in an Algerian café tried to influence the decision on participation of other community members. The researcher had to intervene to bring things to a manageable situation and explained the voluntary nature of the participation. One can say that being trusted had not been a big issue, as people generally were open to help in the research and when, possible, brought other participants too.

Eleven males in their 30s to 59 years old were interviewed. They came mainly from the provinces of Oran (6) in the west of Algeria, Algiers (4) and Boumerdès (1). Seven were married, five had from one to five children and four were single. They have lived and worked in different areas of Valencia, including Russafa, Avenida del Cid, Els Orriols, Benimaclet, Torrente, Alginet and Manises, for between two and thirty-six years. Their educational levels varied from having only six years of schooling (Algerian primary school) to having done vocational training in Algeria and/or Spain or having obtained a degree or a doctorate from an Algerian university or abroad. They could speak at least two of the following languages at different levels of fluency: Kabyle language, dialectical or Standard Modern Arabic, French and Spanish.

Related to their occupational status, they were self-employed (owners of shops such as a café or kebab shop), professionals (linguist and biologist), skilled manual workers (aluminum fitter and cook) and job seekers receiving unemployment allowances or sick pay while being sometimes active in informal sector. For some, there was a combination of “legality” and “illegality” in the economic activities they maintained in order to survive, in addition to a combination of work in formal and informal labour markets. The most important thing was to earn a living and avoid remaining penniless. Those businesses were ethnic in the sense that the majority of clients were Algerians or Arabs and Muslims, with few autochthonous clients in the case of the café or the kebab shop.

3.8. Participant observation

Participant observation involves engaging with (and observing) what people do while maintaining a professional distance that makes possible appropriate observation and data collection; for anthropologists, it requires living within a community for a period of time to learn its language and observe its patterns of behaviour (Fetterman, 1989). In addition to interviewing and recording, observation constitutes a tool of “co-present immersion”, through which the researcher becomes co-present where various forms of movement happen (Sheller and Urry, 2006). Researchers do not observe only verbal and non-verbal interactions between people, but, also, the material environment and how things are arranged in the space; on the other hand, observation is not only about observing, but, also, hearing, smelling, touching and feeling (Fife, 2005). Observers should combine intellectual work and emotional feelings in their practice of participant observation to understand the “unwritten” rules that govern the interactions and lives of the participants (Fife, 2005). While observers can never be objective and/or judgement-free, they should be aware of their biases and avoid to get too influenced by their subjectivities (Ely *et al.*, 1991).

In addition to semi-structured and in-depth interviews, participant observation (and fieldwork note-taking) constitutes a rich source of data on migrants. Interviewing and participant-observation are related and inter-twined and support each other; when the former is generally based on empirical and theoretical issues and the use of deduction, the latter depends on the election of a research site and relies on induction (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002). It is impossible to detach interviewing from looking, interacting and paying attention to non-verbal communication (Ely *et al.*, 1991). Whyte (1984) linked interviewing and observing in the way that the latter leads the observer to some important questions that he wants to ask the interviewees about, and interviewing helps the researcher in interpreting the meaning of what he/she previously observed; additionally, participant observation facilitates learning that cannot be repeated through any other tool (e.g. non-verbal communication and actions), may enable new discoveries, helps researchers to draw an accurate picture of individual and group dynamics and places individuals in their context.

The choice of a site to carry out participant observation emanates from the research questions, and the focus on more specific questions comes to the forefront in parallel with the fieldwork progress; the sites are chosen because of its relevance for the research interest (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002). These authors (2000, p. 207) consider that the problems of access differ according to the following factors: the “type of setting (formal or informal), the degree of control exercised by the participants, the politics of the group, the cultural and historical context, and the perceived social distance between the participants and the researcher.” For this research, Algerian cafés, the mosques, halal shops, gardens where Algerians gather, some organisations and socio-cultural and academic events were the places and times of observations. Short observations were made at official institutions such as the consulate in Alicante and pro-immigrant organisations where some Algerians were present. The researcher did not face problems of access to these settings. However, to get people talking about the research questions required building trust gradually, patience and perseverance, and getting people to know the reasons of the researcher presence.

The researcher entering the fieldwork can move from being a non-participating observer to a non-observing participant, as well as he/she can be an observer-interacting (Amado, 2006; Whyte, 1984). Researchers vary from being full participants to mute observers, although when the bulk of researchers can be located in between (Ely *et al.*, 1991). They can be “active participants” if they hold their main job in the research setting, “privileged observers” if people in the research setting know and trust them and provide an easy access, or “limited observers” if their main activity is to do research in the context in their own, including observing, asking questions and building trust, among others. (Ely *et al.*, 1991). Participant observation also provides a way to build trust and avoid uncomfortable situations. In addition to ethical concerns, the researcher cannot play a covert role as people will soon or later discover him; additionally, people do not appreciate being interviewed and/or observed without the purposes being previously explained to them (Whyte, 1984).

In the fieldwork at both cities, this researcher was not only a participant observer in various moments as shown earlier, but also an “observer-interactant” (Amado, 2006), which implied interacting with the participants instead of

participating in a direct way in their activities, such as when the author sat with a group of Algerians while they were playing card games. The observation the researcher undertook in this study can be described as a “step system of observation” (Fife, 2005) held in two directions, i.e. the researcher observed a small context such as a small group conversing in an Algerian café and, then, moved to a larger context such as the Algerian music festival or the celebration of the Algerian national day; the movement in the opposite direction also occurred.

Participant observation has been used to complement the insights the researcher had on migrants. There are unwritten rules that govern human behaviour and individual and group interactions and dynamics, which can only be disentangled through observation techniques, including participant observation. The behaviour and survival strategies of (irregular) migrants can be better described if observed as practices along with their outcomes during the interactions between migrants. The existence of a mixture of formal-informal and legal-“illegal” activities within the labour market experiences, as discussed in Chapter Five, can be better described by observation, as it seems obvious that people do not tend to comment these issues to others for its consequences. The observation of the interactions at micro-level can also reflect the outcomes of national-level policies and give insights on social processes in work (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002). In this case, the effects of migration policies, laws and regulations on Algerians in the UK and Spain, particularly on irregular migrants and those with fewer resources, can be observed through “trivial” interaction in everyday life. Observation also provides insights on the (innovative) solutions migrants use to cope with the constraints of the (new) context and how they take advantage of the “opportunities” in labour market, (affordable) housing, on how to “make papers”⁷² and other issues. To paraphrase Geertz (1990), the migration context is a cultural place where migrants build a “system of meanings and worldviews”, which can be disentangled through qualitative research techniques, particularly observation.

⁷² A typical Algerian expression which refers to regularizing the legal situation in the country of immigration.

3.9. Analysis of Qualitative Data

Being systematic is a key to effective qualitative research and doing the fieldwork implies dealing with some “housekeeping issues” (Barbour, 2009). This researcher used note-taking, recording, codification and transcription. Note-taking as well as the fieldwork diary are important when transcribing and identifying different speakers. As written records of work during the research, they represent the stability and/or the changes in ideas, thoughts, processes, strategies, tools and methods. Transcription is a demanding exercise which requires patience, precision and a sense of art, among other skills. In this case, it required a major effort of (cultural) translation from different languages (and cultural contexts) into English. The fieldwork notes helped in refining the interpretation of the interviews.

Manual and computerized (Nvivo 8, QSR International Pty Ltd., 1999-2009) analyses were used. The latter is a Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software (“CAQDAS”) (Seale, 2010) which enables the categorization and codification of different segments of the material. The coding frame is subject to change along with the successive codifications of the transcripts. This analysis aims to obtain patterns among data which facilitates the theoretical understanding (Babbie, 2001). It supports different types of data, allows comparative analysis and draws diagrams which represent in a visual fashion the relationship between categories as used in codification, and thus improve the development of the theory through the analysis (Seale, 2010). However, it is a mere analytical tool and, thus, it is the researcher who is responsible of the type of analysis he/she applies, i.e. codes, categories, concepts and relationships between them.

This researcher divided the interviews with migrants into different sections, which responded to different questions and categories of the research. Several sections are meant to respond to different research questions as expressed earlier; additionally, the chosen categories were as follows:

- Motives of migration (study, work, security, political, family reunification, peace and freedom and cultural restrictions, among others).
- Routes and experiences of migration (own, family and others; regular-irregular; direct-indirect; transit, among others).
- Legal status in the host country (regular-irregular; temporary-permanent; refugee; citizenship).

- Socialisation in the host country (circles of socialisation: fellow citizens, foreigners, mix, others).
- Experiences within the labour market (formal-informal labour; skilled-semi-skilled-unskilled; employed-unemployed; multiple-employment; self-employed; sectors, among others).
- Differences between Algeria, France and the UK (Spain) in relation to migrants' experiences (cultural, social, political, economic consequences on Algerian migrants, others).
- Communication with the family (frequency, means, verbal, travels, others).
- Remittances (frequency, financial, goods, gifts, others).
- Networks within Europe (relatives, friends, acquaintances; contacts; intentions of mobility, among others).

3.10. Ethical Issues Concerning the Research Methodology: Access and Contact with Migrants, Sampling and Treatment of Personal and Identifying Data, Research Tools, Management and Storage of Data and the Safety

This research was conducted following London Metropolitan University Research Ethics Policy and Procedures and the British Sociological Association and Refugee Studies Centre ethical guidelines. To get access to migrants, key informants and the migrants themselves were the main entry points. Gatekeepers were not paid⁷³ or informed about the content of the interviews and where they would take place. While taking into account the vulnerability of (irregular) migrants as well as the sensitivity of their legal status, it was imperative to take into consideration the following issues.

First of all, the participation in the research was voluntary as no one was forced to participate, and participants could terminate their involvement in the research at any time (the consent form as an empirical evidence of their free will). This is a descriptive study by which one cannot generalize the findings to the entire

⁷³ As well, migrants were not paid. This researcher avoided this practice because it goes against the proper nature of learning by doing for novice researchers, which requires getting access to people and interviewing them after building trust and confidence. On the other hand, even if paying interviewees were to be recommended this researcher would not have got financial means to satisfy it. In the same line of thought, Whyte (2004) expressed the same principle.

population of Algerian migrants. Thus, this researcher only intended to interview a small number of migrants. Secondly, the study offered no risks to participants. No information that would embarrass migrants or endanger their lives, stay in the country, jobs and so forth had been revealed. Thirdly, the anonymity of the interviewees was preserved by using alias and by avoiding keeping any record of personal data that could make their identification easy and possible, as well as the localization of their abodes. This researcher did nothing that would allow the identification of the interviewees as keeping the confidentiality of the participants is unquestionable. A combination of letters and numbers was used for each interviewee and any identifying information was removed from the interviews' records and transcriptions.

At the beginning of the contact with the interviewees, this researcher introduced himself, his affiliation and the nature as well as the mode in which he would manage the material and outcomes of the research, mainly in relation to aspects concerning the identification of migrants by the public administration and law enforcement agencies. Under no circumstances were migrant data revealed to third parties. The place and time to hold interviews were kept secret, except from the academic supervisors who were informed in case of emergency during the fieldwork.

Two versions of the Consent Form and the Participant Information Sheet were used: one for key informants and another for migrants. In addition to the copies in English and Spanish, a translation into Arabic and French had been made available if required by the interviewees. Before interviewing and if required, this researcher translated verbally the content of both documents into the Darija, a colloquial Arabic in Algeria, in order to enable the interviewees to give an informed consent.

Notes from the fieldwork (e.g. interviews, observations, thoughts, perceptions and feelings) were first taken in handwritten, hard copies, but later transformed into an electronic format while the former were destroyed as the research progressed. Acronyms, initials and codes (a combination of letters and numbers) were used in the writing to avoid any possible identification of personal data that might make it easy to recognise the participants. A word processor and a

CAQDAS were used for electronic storage, filing and retrieval of the collected data. Access to data was controlled by three passwords: the laptop and other electronic devices (memory stick and external, hard disk), the files containing research data and the software in use.

Concerning personal safety, the place and time of interviews were kept secret except from the supervisors who were informed if necessary during the fieldwork. When possible, the interviews were conducted in public places with the necessary consideration of the preservation of the privacy of the interviewees and their safety. A separate mobile phone was used for research purposes. Moreover, some measures of caution and safety were used during the fieldwork.

Chapter Four: Case Study Context

4.1. Introduction

Although being “universal”, migration has always been thought of within “local units”, i.e. the nation-state (Sayad, 1999b, p. 5). Algerian migration has usually been conceptualized in the context of their migration to France since the French occupation (1830-1962) and, later, after the independence. To understand Algerian migration, one should contextualize the case and, therefore, knowing the context of origin is important. This was included in the system “émigré-immigré” of Sayad (1979). In this introduction to Algeria, this researcher presents the country as well as some milestones of Algerian migration, in order to enable an understanding of the current changes in the migration system of Algerians. London and Valencia as receiving points are also approached from the perspective of contemporary migration as well as of an Algerian migration. This researcher also introduces five Algerian pro-immigrant organisations whose contribution to the community can be considered as valuable amidst the constraints of funding, mistrust, disengagement and hidden agendas among the community.

4.2. Algeria

4.2.1. Introduction

Algeria is a North African country which had been a French colony⁷⁴, precisely a French département⁷⁵, from 1830 to 1962 when it gained its independence from the colonial power. With 37.8 million inhabitants (the average life expectancy was 75.7 years in 2008) and occupying 2,381,741 km² of land (with a high concentration in Mediterranean coast), it is the largest country on the Mediterranean Sea (Office National des Statistiques, 2013; Présidence de la République, 2013). Arabic (MSA and Darija), Berber (with its variants) and French are spoken and/or used at different levels of official and social lives. Almost all its population is from Arab-Berber and Muslim origins⁷⁶.

⁷⁴ Algeria had been under several rules such as of Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Arabs and French. Thus, its history is as difficult as complex (Stora, 1992). It does not constitute a “true cultural unit” (Bourdieu, 1958, cited in, Robbins, 1991, p. 14) as it may sound from an outsider’s perspective.

⁷⁵ This became effective with the declaration of the 4th of November 1848 (MacMaster, 1997). On the other side, Morocco and Tunisia were only French protectorates, not départements.

⁷⁶ The Christian minority is of 150,000 residents (MAEC, 2012). Moreover, the country is witnessing a major shift from a traditional sender of emigrants to a country of transit and

Traditionally, the history of Algerian migration has been of their migration to France⁷⁷. Sayad (1999a) dated its opening era to the period of the first five or six decades from French colonization, including the days following the big insurrection of 1871 which represent the beginning of the emigration of Algerian workers to French factories for paid industrial work. Boubakri (2007) and MacMaster (1997) dated back the presence of Algerian workers (legally, internal migrants), mainly Kabylia⁷⁸, in metropolitan France to 1905 where they were employed in the industries of Marseilles in the south and the construction of the underground of Paris in the north, among others. As House (2006, p. 1) noted, this migration of colonized Arab-Berbers “from Algeria to mainland France was the earliest and the most extensive of all colonial migrations to Western Europe before the 1960s”. Algerian migration to France took the form of gradually increased flows, firstly for economic reasons and, later, due to family reunification (Kerdoun, 2008b).

Algerian migration to France has been the subject of a very rich literature, while there is relatively less writing and research on Algerian migration elsewhere in Europe, Arab countries, North America and Australia⁷⁹. A few important exceptions to this could be found in Collyer (2002; 2003; 2004a; 2004b, 2005a, 2005b, 2006), IOM (2007) and Vincent-Jones (2009) for the UK and Sempere Souvannavong (2000, 2004), Mata Romeu (2006) and González Escudero (1999) for Spain; however, the latter worked on North African migration to Spain including Algerians and Moroccans.

destination of labour migrants, and, hence, the presence of a diverse foreign population, e.g. Sub-Saharan and Chinese workers in building industry and Moroccan manual workers, among others. See, for example, (Labdelaoui, 2005a; Bensaâd, 2008).

⁷⁷ House (2006, p. 5) had summarized it well when he wrote: “The history of Algerian migration to France reflects the complexity, intensity and longevity of the Franco-Algerian colonial encounter.” Sayad (1999a) described the Algerian emigration to France as a cause and consequence of a main breach: that of all the frames which guarantee the cohesion of Algerian society. As he said, this first breach is a direct product of colonization (1999, p. 135). Brah (2005, p. 21) considered the migration of workers from “the ex-colonies to the metropolis during the 1950s” as a “direct result of the history of colonialism and imperialism of the previous centuries.”

⁷⁸ Kabylia is a region in the north of Algeria which includes several wilayas (regions or départements): Tizi Ouzou, Bejaïa, Bouira and small parts of the wilayas of Bordj Bou Arreridj, Jijel, Boumerdès and Sétif.

⁷⁹ Between 7.7 million and over 8 million migrants originating from North African countries are currently believed to live abroad, including 4.6 or 4.7 million in Europe (60%) and 2.4 million in Arab oil countries (30.8%) (Boubakri, 2007; de Haas, 2007)

Collyer (2002 and 2003) studied the diversification in Algerian migration system when Algerians started to move to the UK. As he argued, the reasons for this change were to be found within the Algerian context at the time, i.e. civil war and its social and economic consequences. While migration to France became difficult, he found that the relationships between settled and new Algerian migrants were strained. Algerians had moved to Britain partly because the British government was not so closely linked with the Algerian authorities and that Algerians considered Britain as a tolerant place⁸⁰. Collyer (2004b) argued that cultural relationships and family on the one hand and the role played by smugglers on the other were not important in the case of Algerian asylum seekers in Britain.

Collyer (2005a) considered that undocumented Algerian migrants used social networks in a different way to overcome restrictions on migration, and that the latter hinder the use of the social capital inherited through social networks. By a historical comparison between the legislative responses in the UK to two waves of refugees within a century (i.e. Jews with the anarchist movements as a backdrop and Algerians with the Islamist movements at the basis of the public concern), Collyer (2005b) found no base for securitizing migration, i.e. it is useless to respond to security issues directly through the migration system because it is discriminatory, and only a separation between the criminal justice system and migration would resolve the concerns about the latter. Collyer (2006) shed light on political activism by Algerian migrants in France and its relationship with civil society in Algeria.

Vincent-Jones (2009) studies how Algerians in Sheffield define their identities, the categories they use to express belonging and which identities they feel are more important to them. She also discusses whether Algerians form a community or a diaspora. While some differences can easily be identified in relation to London-based Algerians such as the size and diversity of profiles as well as the socio-cultural capital of the individuals, she concluded that Algerians did not form a “cohesive community”, but “loose diasporic networks”, used current social contacts and networks and settled close to their fellow citizens (p. 13).

⁸⁰ Collyer (2004a) is a guide that focuses on the Algerian refugees and asylum seekers in the UK, published by the ICAR.

In terms of historical movements and facts, Algerian emigration has its milestones. This researcher will point out the stages of Algerian migration to France including the Trente Glorieuses (1945-1975), as well as some phenomena concerning its diversification from several perspectives such as destination, gender and group, human capital, and the increase of irregular migration. The way in which Algerian policymakers deal with emigration has also changed. This researcher will also address the differences between Algerian emigration of today and that of the past.

4.2.2. Historical Review of Algerian Migration

For Sayad (1997, p. 3), a scholar of Algerian migration to France and supporter of a new way of studying the migratory process by analysing the whole system “émigré-immigré”, every trajectory includes two systems of variables: 1) of origin which includes social characteristics, dispositions and aptitudes of the emigrant before coming to France and 2) in destination which differentiates immigrants from each other. This in turn implies that the migratory process should be considered as a “total social fact” (Mauss, 1968)⁸¹, and that the conditions at both places, of origin and destination, as well as the characteristics of the immigrants and the outcomes of the process are to be taken into consideration to achieve a best approach to migration. In this line of thought, studying the full migration cycle from temporary mobility to return migration and circularity, for example, offers a full picture of the process.

4.2.2.1. During the Colonial Period and Two First Decades after Independence

During a major part of the colonial period (1830-1944)⁸², the French administration restricted the access of autochthonous Algerians (*les indigènes* as they were called) to metropolitan France as they considered them *unassimilable* and, hence, the only way for them to become French citizens was to renounce their

⁸¹ A “total social fact” implies at least three elements: 1) integration of several aspects such as familiar, technical, economic, legal and religious 2) consideration of the individual experience and history as a total human being and 3) taking into account the physical, physiological, psychological and sociological aspects of human behaviours (Lévi-Strauss, 1968, pp. 22-3).

⁸² From an administrative standpoint, during this period Algeria was a French département. Then, the mobility to the metropolitan France should be seen, theoretically, as an internal migration, despite the institutional barriers. Algeria gained its independence in 1962.

personal status as Muslims⁸³ (Stora, 1992). Many legal provisions were adopted to achieve this objective, such as the Senatus-Consulte of the 14th of July 1865 (even, if in theory, it recognised indigenous Muslims as French citizens, but ruled by the Koranic law⁸⁴), the Décret Crémieux of 24th of October 1870 (denying the full French citizenship to Muslims if they did not renounce their Muslim status, while giving Algerian Jews full French citizenship), the Code de l'indigénat⁸⁵ (a special regime of 1874 to rule Muslims) and the permis de voyage to allow some Algerians under certain circumstances to move to metropolitan France (MacMaster, 1997; Noiriél, 2008; Stora, 1992). 1904-1905 were the years of the first waves of labour migrants to France, with the liberalization of controls. By the beginning of the First World War, 13,000 workers had moved to France. The law of 15th of July 1914 established the freedom to migrate to France. Tens of thousands of industrial workers (118,000) and soldiers (173,000), thus, left for metropolitan France⁸⁶.

Between the First and Second World Wars (1918-1939), there was massive recruitment of workers in metallurgy and mining industries, which peaked at over 100,000 workers in 1930. However, there were oscillations of departures and returns between Algeria and metropolitan France, as the result of several restraints imposed on Algerian mobility between 1924 and 1939.

After the Second World War, the Ordonnance (order) of 7th of March 1944 restored in theory equality of rights and duties between Muslims and native French in relation to some civil and military jobs, but not political rights such as voting. Algerians who were residing in metropolitan France had two choices: abandon their status as immigrant and acquire French citizenship (at least, at a theoretical level, as de facto they were still treated as subjects of the colonial power) or remain loyal to the Algerian cause, i.e. independence from France, and keep their status as Muslims.

⁸³ The word "Muslim" was used by the French administration to refer to, then, native Algerians. Thus, there were French and French Muslims. It is striking that even now in French debate, it is still used when referring to French of North African origin.

⁸⁴ Islamic law in reference to the Koran, the holy book of Islam.

⁸⁵ Very few Algerians were allowed to travel outside their own village unless they got a permis de voyage and they paid a deposit to cover any costs of repatriation, except soldiers and caïds (peasant élites who represented the French interests in the colonised Algeria).

⁸⁶ As shown in figure 4.1 (p. 140), the historical data on the different waves of Algerian emigration to France (1904-1973), displayed in this section, come mainly from Stora (1992), MacMaster (1997) and Noiriél (2008).

Between 1942 and 1945 there was a total block on mobility and a freeze on remittance payments, with its harsh effects on migrants and their families. The decade of 1944 to 1955 witnessed the role played by Algerian workers in the reconstruction of France after the Second World War when they replaced South European workers. It was a period of high growth in departures, such as 250,000 departures registered in 1950.

From 1955 to 1962, Algerian workers replaced French soldiers and represented valuable hands in the process of the modernization of French industry. 26,000 women and children were brought to metropolitan France in 1956 as a result of family reunification. In 1962, the year of independence, 350,000 departures to France were registered. . By 1973, the year of the ban on Algerian emigration to France, there were some 800,000 Algerians living in metropolitan France, constituting the largest minority group in the country. The timeline (figure 4.1) summarizes the different waves of Algerian emigration to France from 1904 to 1973.

4.2.2.2. The Stages of Algerian Migration: Beyond The *Trois Âges* of Sayad

Sayad (1997) established his well-known⁸⁷ *trois âges* (three-period) classification of Algerian emigration to France, with the first two stages corresponding to different phases in the evolution of Algerian peasant society (“*émigration sur ordre*” -emigration by order- and “*perte de contrôle*”- losing control) and the third stage corresponding to the settlement of an Algerian “*colonie*” (colony) in France.

The first age, which lasted from the beginning of emigration until just after the Second World War, reflected the history of the struggle for survival of a peasant society whose unique aim was “to perpetuate itself as such” (1997, p. 61). Peasant families sent one or more members to France for a limited period of time with a specific objective, i.e. for seasonal work. They would leave Algeria at the end of autumn or the beginning of winter, i.e. at the end or low level of rural activities, and return in summer, i.e. when rural and social activities increased. They worked in different sectors such as agriculture, construction and industrial manufacturing.

⁸⁷ At least in French-speaking migration studies.

These emigrants lived as Algerian peasants in metropolitan France through reconstructing their traditional way of life and avoided the urban patterns of consumption. They avoided getting absorbed into the way of life of the native population and attempted to save as much money as they could to be spent back home. Most of them were from Kabylia.

The second age was of the emigration of a mass of “proletarian” peasants aspiring to improve their life conditions. Here, what took place was a process of “*dépaysannisation*” by which the peasants started to lose some of their characteristics, as a consequence of economic and cultural transformations (1997, p. 63). These were mainly due to the full-time paid industrial labour, economic and social individualism, urbanization and consumption. In this period, the nature of emigration changed; it was not a means to achieve some objectives but an aim itself. It represented emancipation from the constraints of the group left behind at homeland.

The third age, according to Sayad, which started at the eve of the independence from France, represents the settlement of a relatively autonomous Algerian community in France. This is the stage of the “professionalization” of emigration through at least three phenomena: 1) increasing numbers of emigrants coming from all regions of Algeria, rural and urban areas, young and old people, families and children, and so forth, 2) the creation of a permanent migratory structure, i.e. an Algerian migration system that led migrants from Algeria to France, which was reinforced with the arrival of the second generation and 3) the diversification of the causes of emigration, e.g. people did not emigrate for economic reasons only, but also for cultural motives such as training and for adventure.

Although Algerian migration to France has been always tightly linked to the relationships between the two countries (colonial status, various agreements on the control of the mobility between Algeria and France⁸⁸, among others) and despite the suspension of labour migration between the two countries in 1973 (Algeria) and 1974 (France) (Fargues, 2004; Sayad, 1999a), emigration has never

⁸⁸ Stora (1992, pp. 75-8) gives the chronology of the different agreements and decisions on the control of the mobility of migrants between Algeria and France from 1962 to 1980 (date, centre of the decision and nature of the decision).

stopped⁸⁹. Poulain (1994) has comprehensively summarized continuing emigration to Northern countries despite the multiplication of restrictive and hostile migration policies, as well as the adaptation of migrants themselves to the constraints of the moment when he wrote:

“It has merely changed its nature by adapting, every time, to specific circumstances as well as to internal development, exclusively in the host countries. Fairly constant, the set is essentially marked, at both departure and arrival points, by economic factors”. (Poulain, 1994, p. 6) (own translation)

On the contrary, the restrictions imposed on the movements of Algerian and North African immigrants have done less to reduce entries than to hinder “two-way travel” (Fargues, 2004, p. 1357). And in doing so, it only confirmed that, in France, immigrant still means Maghrebi, particularly Algerian (Begag and Chaouite, 1990).

In addition to the three ages as elaborated by Sayad, this researcher would add a new stage starting from the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s which, although it does not represent systematic characterisations such as concrete waves and general patterns, it has been marked by the following developments:

- 1) The consolidation of the Algerian migration system to France through diverse forms, such as family reunification as well as non-family mobility forms.
- 2) The mobility of asylum seekers and refugees as a consequence of the “black decade”.
- 3) The enlargement of the migratory space. For instance, this thesis studies Algerian emigration to the UK and Spain.
- 4) The feminization of flows and mobility of families at the beginning of the migratory process. For instance, Algerian females nowadays migrate alone, although on a lesser scale.

⁸⁹ In 1974 started the arrival of Algerian spouses to accompany their husbands; a fact, among many others, which favoured the adoption of the bill Barre-Bonnet-Stoléro whose aim was to send Algerian migrants back home, through not renewing their residence permits, and giving an incentive for permanent return. At the beginning, the French administration encouraged voluntary return with material incentives (e.g. bonuses and houses in Algeria) and, later, with the exercise of administrative and judicial pressures (Benguigui, 1997). The failure of these policies led to its cancellation as the majority of the beneficiaries were Portuguese and Spanish migrants and not the targeted migrant population, viz, the Algerians. On the other hand, for different governments of the independent Algeria (Ben Bella, 1962-1965; Houari Boumediène, 1965-1978), the persistence of large numbers of Algerians in France symbolised a neo-colonial situation, and after the bomb attack against the Algerian consulate in Marseilles, perpetrated by a club called Charles Martel in December 1973, which caused four dead and twelve seriously injured, the Algerian government stopped the emigration to France (Noiriel, 2008).

- 5) The mobility of (highly) skilled people. For example, highly skilled migration to Québec (Canada).
- 6) Irregular migration, particularly of the *harraga* to the southern European coasts, irregular entry and visa overstays.
- 7) Diversification of migrant profiles which includes people from different backgrounds and regions.
- 8) Gradual change in the official way of dealing with the Algerian diaspora. For instance, the recently established Secrétariat d'État within the Ministry of External Affairs whose main aim is to "preserve" the interests of the "national community abroad". Thus, Algerian emigrants form part of the "national community" living abroad.

It does not mean that the four phenomena (3, 4, 5, 6) have not existed before, but its scale has become remarkable recently. Kerdoun (2008b) observes the increase in Algerian flows towards Europe, North America and oil-rich Gulf Arab countries since the 1990s, which reflects three kinds of changes in the Algerian scene: generational, socio-economic and political. Additionally, he noted the beginning of brain drain where intellectuals, journalists, writers and executives started to flee the country; women formed a significant part; these migrants are thought to maintain links with Algeria and some are circular for professional reasons. According to Collyer (2002), Algerian emigration in the 1990s resembles Sayad's third stage regarding the social importance of emigration and the indifference of the government, while it differs by the lack of support and solidarity from the already settled community in France.

Although not being the theme of the current thesis, a new phenomenon is taking place in Algeria, which is its gradual transition from a country of emigration to a country of immigration while still being a country of emigration. While this started to take shape from the second half of the past decade, there has always been immigration to Algeria since the start of French occupation in 1830 (figure 4.2).

This included people from France, Southern Europe, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Sub-Saharan countries, China and India during different periods of time, although with larger scale than the current time. But, what are the main

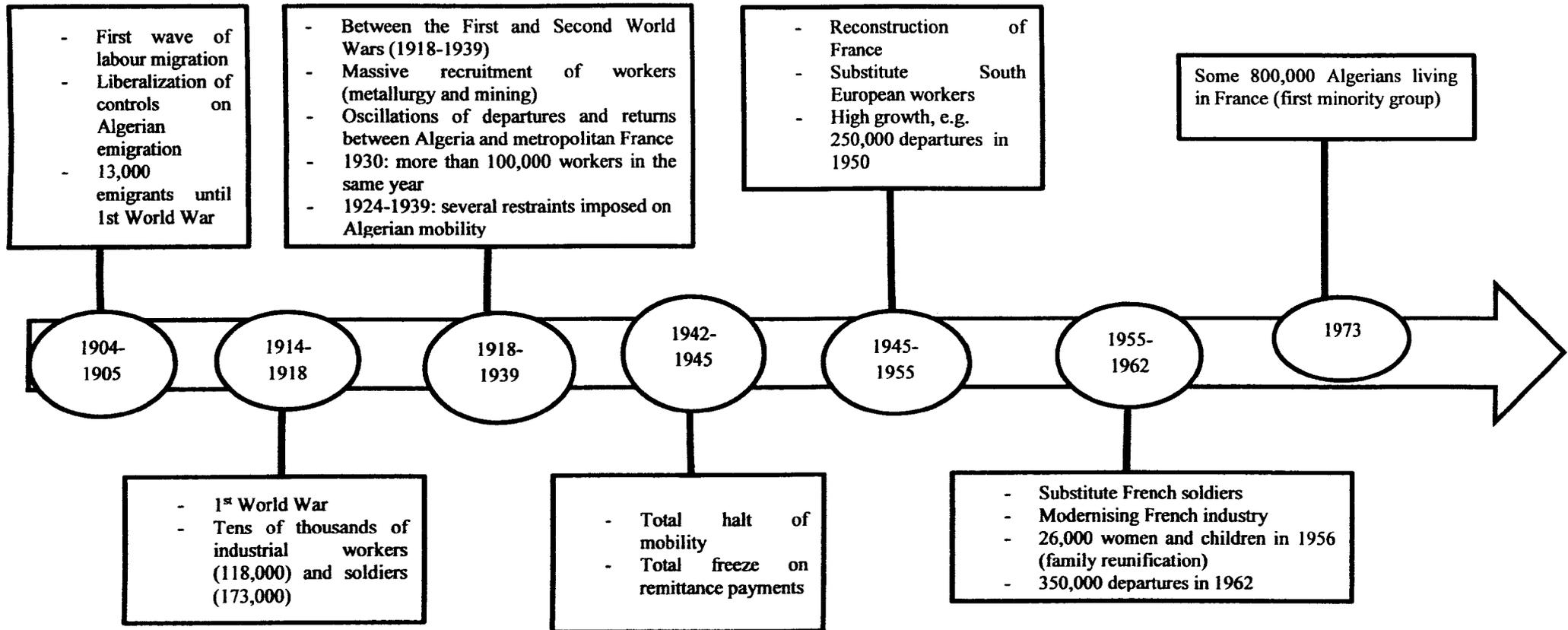
destinations of migration from and to Algeria? In figure 4.2, this researcher presents a chronological summary of different phases of Algerian emigration and immigration from 1830 to the current time, as to show the diversification of the mobility from and to Algeria.

4.2.3. New Phenomena in Algerian Migration

According to King (2002, p. 90), the “new forms of migration” generate from “new motivations at both macro- and micro-level”, “new space-time flexibilities”, “various new globalization forces” and “new international divisions of labour, and changing views of consumption and self-realisation.” These factors can be found at the base of the diversification of the forms of Algerian migration. People have diverse and new motives to emigrate which can be located at individual-family level, as well as at national scale, e.g. decision of emigration can be an individual response to economic distress, a household strategy or embedded in a “culture of migration” (Brettell, 2000; Massey *et al.*, 1993; Stalker, 2000) that has spread along the country. Demands of different forms of labour in different host areas can also attract people. Others may only seek adventure, self-satisfaction and broadening their horizons.

Algerian mobility has adopted a wide variety of forms since its beginning which include, among others, circular migration, family reunification, political asylum, irregular entrance, transit migration, transformation of student stay to permanent settlement, and regular entrance followed by overstay (Fargues, 2004; Hammouda, 2005; Kerdoun, 2008b). On the other hand, the ways of migrating as well as the categories and profiles of emigrants have been changing constantly (Boubakri, 2007).

Figure 4.1: Timeline of the major waves of Algerian emigration to France (1904-1973)*



While describing North African migration, Fargues (2005) speaks of a change from the migration of unskilled and semi-skilled workers from rural areas to more educated, urban, including males and by now more female migrants. In this section, this researcher will be discussing four major phenomena which reflect this diversification.

4.2.3.1. Enlargement of the Migratory Space

Migration implies “movement and process rather than stability and fixity across both space and time” (Harney and Baldassar, 2007, p. 192). This condition of “migrancy” (Harney and Baldassar, 2007) is manifested through the enlargement of the migratory space of Algerian emigrants, which reflects a set of internal changes taking place at various levels: generational, socio-economic and political (Kerdoun, 2008b). Even if France still represents the major host country of Algerians, since the 1990s there has been an accentuation of a remarkable shift, though not a stop, from colonial (post-colonial) migration, where North Africans used to migrate mainly, though not only, to metropolitan France and other Northern European countries (Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands) to replace South European immigrants, to new destinations in the south of Europe (Safir, 1996), such as Spain⁹⁰, Italy (de Haas and Plug, 2006), and even Portugal (Peixoto, 2002), and to North America including Canada and the USA (Khelifaoui, 2006). Algerians, nowadays, emigrate to different destinations such as the UK, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands, the USA, Québec⁹¹ (Canada) and the Arab Gulf countries (Kerdoun 2008b; Labdeloui, 2006).

This diversification has been accentuated when, for instance, there is a Kabylean immigration to the Czech Republic (Hyánková, 2005), or when 102 Algerians filed for Asylum in Serbia and 227 did the same in Montenegro in June 2012 (UNHCR, 2012). Table 4.1 shows the numbers of Algerian migrants in some countries from Europe and North America. All data are taken from national statistics institutions and the IOM in the case of the UK. Thus, there are differences in the years of availability of the statistical data, as well as in the legal

⁹⁰ Spain is the home for a large number of Moroccans, but this situation is thought to be, mainly, a result of the acceleration of the process of regularization in the country since 1997.

⁹¹ In the case of Québec, the French-speaking region of Canada, Algerian-born migrants constituted 7.9%, just behind the first country of birth of the first immigrant community in Québec, i.e. France (8.4%) (MICC, 2008).

status of migrants (legal resident or undocumented). For instance, in the case of Spain, the figures are from the padrón census which includes all Algerians registered in any Spanish municipality regardless their legal status.

Table 4.1: Numbers of Algerian emigrants in some countries from Europe and North America

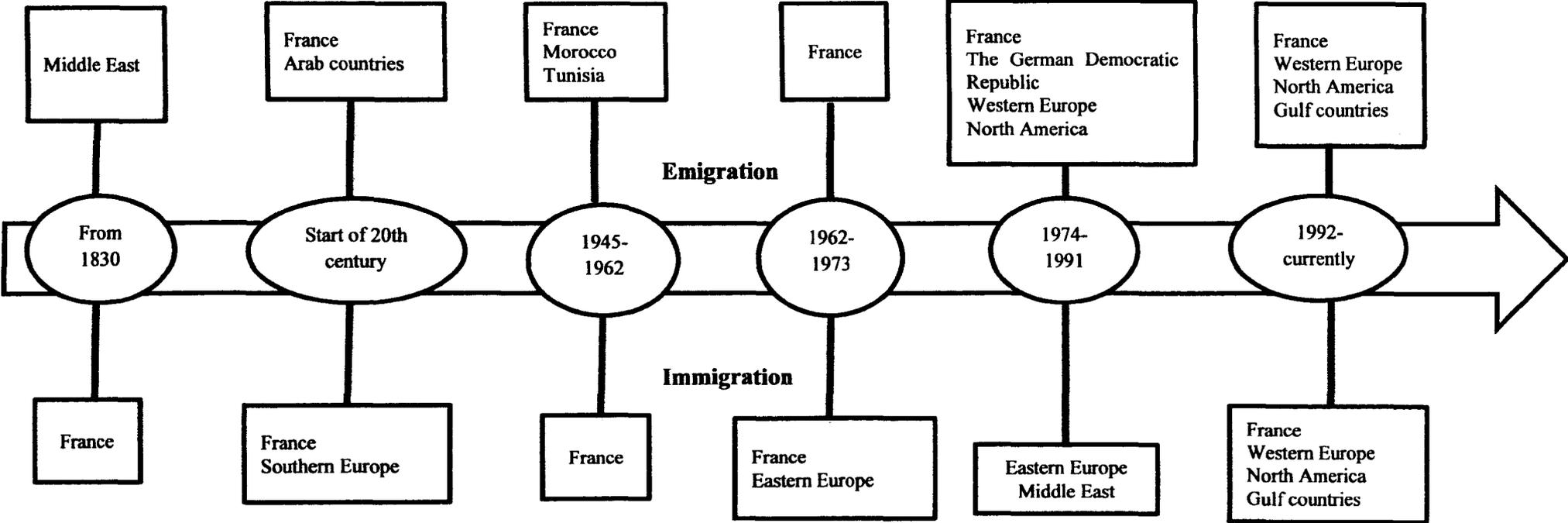
Country	Number of Algerian residents	Total population	% on total population
France	722,000 ¹	64,628,151	1.06
Spain	60,920 ²	46,745,807	0.12
Canada	32,225 ³	31,612,897	0.10
UK	30,000 ⁴	60,985,700	0.05
Italy	24,387 ⁵	59,619,290	0.04
USA	8,752 ⁶	281,421,906	0.003
Portugal	NF ⁷	10,627, 250	
Greece	NF ⁸	11,237,068	

Source: 1: INSEE (2009); 2: INE (2011); 3: Statistics Canada (2006); 4: IOM (2007) and ONS (2007); 5: Instituto Nazionale di Statistica (2008); 6: US census (2000) 7: Not Found (INE, 2010); 8: Not Found (El.STAT., 2010).

According to these data, Spain and the UK have the largest numbers behind France. The acceleration and diversification of Algerian flows to new destinations in Europe and North America have been explained through various factors. In the latter case, Khelfaoui (2006) mentions those related to the quality of homeland government, economic crisis, insecurity or the illusion that migration produces in the collective imagination⁹². In the former case, geographical proximity, climate, the relative similarity between shadow economies in South and North Mediterranean countries (Poulain, 1994), sectorial demand of workers and skilled professionals, social and political destabilization and economic conditions in Algeria (Hammouda, 2005), demographic pressures and the attractiveness of Mediterranean Europe due to its democratization and insertion in the European economy (Fargues, 2004) are meant to be among the main factors enhancing the movements of Algerian to southern Europe.

⁹² Khelfaoui speaks mainly of highly skilled Algerian migrants to Canada and the USA. Nowadays, in the collective imagination of the educated young Algerian migrants or would-be migrants, France is not a final destination, but a transit country and a bridge to other developed countries in Northern Europe and North America (Hammouda, 2005) or, at least, one does not find the idealization of France as in the first stages of Algerian migration. As for this researcher's personal experience and communications with Algerians of different profiles, this feeling seems quite extended, especially among (highly) educated Algerians.

Figure 4.2: Timeline of the phases of Algerian migration during the 19th-20th centuries

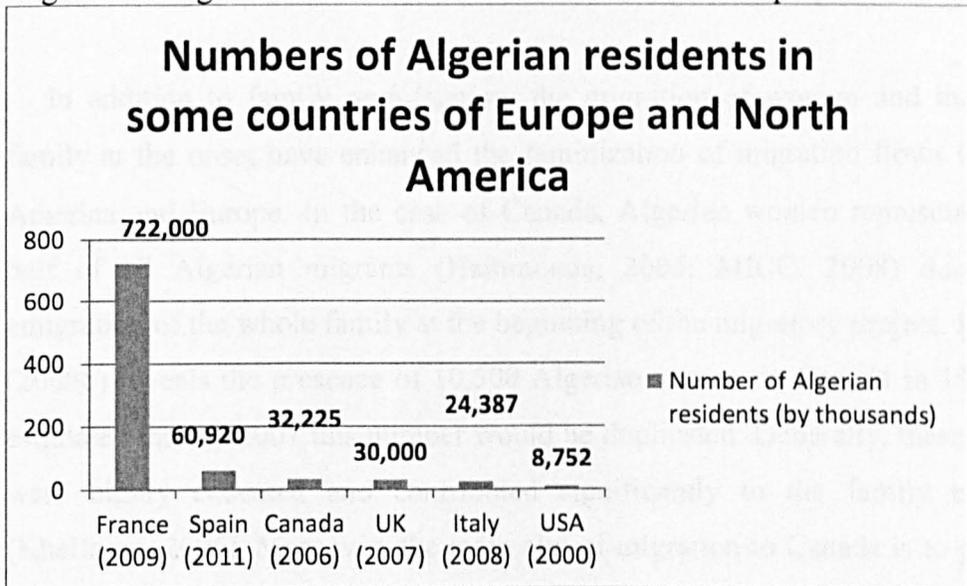


Source: own elaboration, based mainly on Hammouda (2005). For the last period, Muestte *et al.* (2006) and Bensâad (2008) were also used.

On the other hand, as stated by Latrèche (2002, cited, in Benhafaiedh, 2006, p. 2), there is a “certain evolutionary character of international mobility” of North African students when they chose other destinations than France, mainly to English-speaking countries, as due to the “demotion of French” as a language of studies and the “multiplication of American educational and training establishments in the Maghreb.”

In the figure below we can observe the growing importance of Algerian migration to some new destinations, e.g. Spain, Canada, the UK and Italy, although the numbers are much lower than in France.

Figure 4.3: Algerian residents in some countries from Europe and North America



Source: own elaboration, based on different sources as indicated in table 4.1.

4.2.3.2. Feminization of Flows and Mobility of Families

The first waves of Algerian migrants to France consisted mainly of young men of working age. Frequently, as mentioned by McMaster (1997), before leaving the homeland, “arranged marriages” were initiated so as to strengthen the “moral and symbolic links” of migrants to the community of origin (and thus preserve their material support to family and community back home), or in the case of married men, they left their spouses behind so as to avoid the “danger” of settling abroad in a permanent way. This partly explained the low ratio of Algerian women in metropolitan France during the first decades of the twentieth century when they

constituted only 2%, far lower if compared to Italians (42%), Poles (39%) and Portuguese (14%) (MacMaster, 1997).

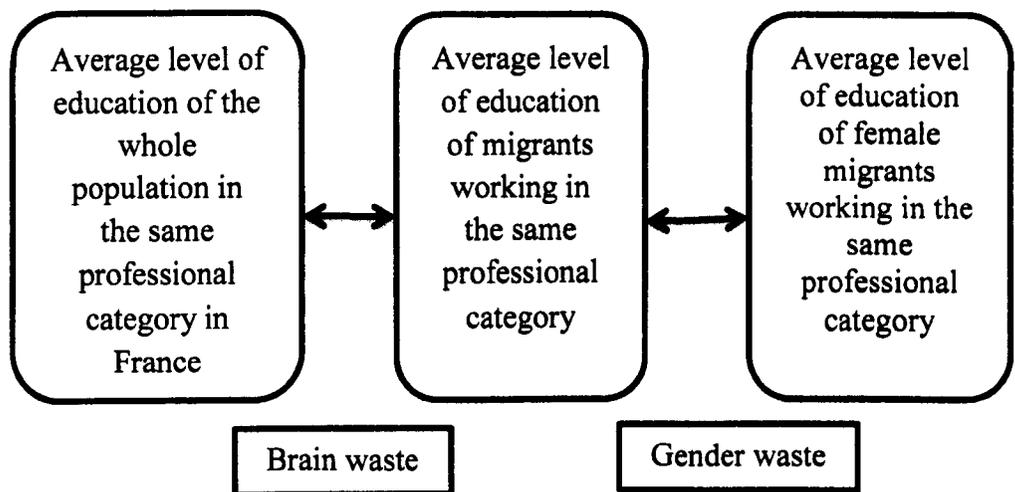
Even if family reunification, supposedly the first precursor of the migration of Algerian women to France, had already been observed by the end of 1930s and has increased at a remarkable rate since 1952 (Sayad, 1999a), the mobility of single women and of whole families at the onset is relatively recent. The settlement of an Algerian “colony” in France was possible due to the reunification of a large number of families, which established the basis of social, economic and moral support to the newcomers (Sayad, 1999a). Hence, the “complementarity” between labour migration and migration of settlement, with the latter consisting mainly of family migration (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2000; Sayad, 1999a).

In addition to family reunification, the migration of women and the whole family at the onset have enhanced the feminization of migration flows to North America and Europe. In the case of Canada, Algerian women represent almost half of all Algerian migrants (Hammouda, 2005; MICC, 2008) due to the emigration of the whole family at the beginning of the migratory project. Kerdoun (2008b) reveals the presence of 10,500 Algerian women in Canada in 1995, and estimated that by 2007 this number would be duplicated. Generally, these women were highly educated and contributed significantly to the family economy (Khelfaoui, 2006). Moreover, the main aim of migration to Canada is to populate the vast territory of the country and to rejuvenate its population; thus, the importance of woman and family migrations (Khelfaoui, 2006). The rate of feminization of Algerian migration to Spain and UK were respectively 28.3% and 28.2% in 2002, while for France it was 47.9% (2003), with the data for Belgium (44,9%), Canada (41,4%) and the USA (36,8%) in 2000 (Boukllia-Hassane, 2011).

For Labdelaoui (2011, p. 4), the emigration of women as initiators of their mobility is “a result of a double evolution”, linked to the improvement of the situation of women in Algeria, which was based on domestic labour and gendered organisation of the society, to a situation where women have become social actors, and the shift in the role of women from being the companions of men in their emigration to actors of their own migration. On the other hand, the emigration motives of Algerian women were related to economic reasons, mainly

the large gap in income between men and women, migration policies with family reunification as a mechanism of the feminization of flows, and discrimination including the burden of cultural norms (Boukolia-Hassane, 2011). According to the same author, the rate of unemployment of Algerian women is lower in Algeria than in the host countries while the gender gap is higher (Boukolia-Hassane, 2011). Thus, in addition to the brain waste for Algeria, skilled female migrants suffer from a gender gap in the host countries.

Figure 4.4: Brain waste and gender waste of Algerian female migrants in France



Source: own elaboration, based on Boukolia-Hassane (2011).

To show this, Boukolia-Hassane (2011) calculates the level of mismatching among Algerian workers of both genders and French workers within the same professional categories. Mismatching, according to Boukolia-Hassane (2011), refers to the difference between the qualification of a person (number of years of formal education) and the average qualification of the whole workers in his/her professional category in the host country. He found that the level of mismatching was higher for Algerians, especially for women, if compared to all workers which he described as professional downgrading. For the latter, the “frequency of losing competency in the labour market was 33.7%” while for Algerian male workers it was 22.2%; 15.3% for native workers and 14.6% for other migrant workers, of both genders.

While there is a lack of research on the immigration of Algerian women, some qualitative aspects can be developed, such as the initiation of the migratory

process by women, the diversification of socio-economic background of female migrants, as well as the forms of departures including the irregular migration on *pateras* (Labdelaoui, 2011).

4.2.3.3. Mobility of Skilled People

The emblematic image of the Algerian as a “travailleur immigré” had emerged in a situation of “historic wrench”, disregarded human rights and escalating discrimination (Bernard, 2002). But also it was in the 1970s when the student migration started to grow at a remarkable rate (Labdelaoui, 1996), followed by a significant increase of highly-skilled migration to the US and Canada after 1990 (Fargues, 2005). It is thought that more than 100,000 Algerian settlers in Europe and North America are working in sectors such as research and medicine (Aflou, 2007). Mebroukine (2010) gives the figure of 130,000 Algerians with a degree (four years of university studies) who fled the country between 1980 and 2005. According to the Change Institute (2009), there were 544 Algerian students in higher education in the UK paying international student fees by 2005, while INE (2012) counted 291 students in Spain.

Although Algerian migration to Canada and the USA is relatively recent, it consists mainly of highly skilled people. These include former undergraduate and graduate students, mainly in the hydrocarbon sector who did not return after completing their studies (Khelfaoui, 2006), highly skilled people participating in the Canadian points-based system, and less skilled individuals who participated in the US green card lottery⁹³. In the first case, the Algerian collective imagination associates Canada with several qualities, such as the beauty of the landscape, freedom, economic dream and social mobility that is based on merits; it is the land of immigration par excellence; a land of an allegedly easy integration, especially in the French-speaking region of Québec. But the diversification of mobility has also brought highly skilled Algerians to other new places, such as Scandinavian countries (Sabour, 1997). Labdelaoui (2010) spoke of five categories: people with skills in technical and scientific areas (medical doctors, computer engineers and experts in technology); university professors and researchers; students who

⁹³ France still represents the first destination of highly skilled Algerians. Moreover, in this case, migration to France, Canada and the USA is an individual agency, while the migration oriented to the Arab Gulf countries (and to work in international organisations) is organised collectively (Musette *et al.*, 2006).

graduated abroad and also those who go abroad to pursue postgraduate studies; artists, writers and people from the area of culture; and entrepreneurs and funds holders.

The quantification of this brain drain is controversial as the data provided by different Algerian institutions (e.g. Algerian consulates, CNES and FOREM) vary between 15,200 and 100,000 highly skilled who fled the country, mainly between the 1990s and now (Labdelaoui, 2010). Algeria seems to be the most affected North African country by the non-return of its highly skilled migrants, especially during the period of political instability (Musette *et al.*, 2006). Labdelaoui (2011) considers the major factors that favour the emigration of highly skilled Algerians which include the social and economic changes, the painful events, the deterioration of life and working conditions and the security in Algeria during the 1990s. From his perspective, Mebroukine (2010) refers to two phenomena related to the emigration of highly skilled Algerians: the deterioration of the socio-cultural situation of the intellectual elite, whose indicators are unemployment, a situation of unease and an increase in speculative commercial activities; the acceleration of the process of brain drain as a result of the Arabisation⁹⁴ of teaching, bureaucracy in the management of research, and the absence of the rule of law.

Algerian highly skilled immigrants have to tackle several problems concerning their insertion into the labour market abroad, such as the recognition of their degrees and qualifications, deskilling and socio-professional downgrading (Khelfaoui, 2007), the “immigrant wage penalty” (Samers, 2010) and discrimination when looking for job (Latrèche, 2006). On the other hand, the problem of transforming the brain drain into a drain gain in the country of origin still represents a major challenge for the Algerian government to compensate for the loss of its (highly) skilled nationals. It seems that the Algerian ruling elite has started to understand that human capital is crucial for economic development when it has shifted its discourse on highly skilled Algerian migrants from the return and re-insertion to mobilisation and participation from abroad (Labdelaoui, 2010).

⁹⁴ In reference to the government policy of replacing French by Arabic in education and public administration.

4.2.3.4. Emigration of the *Harraga*

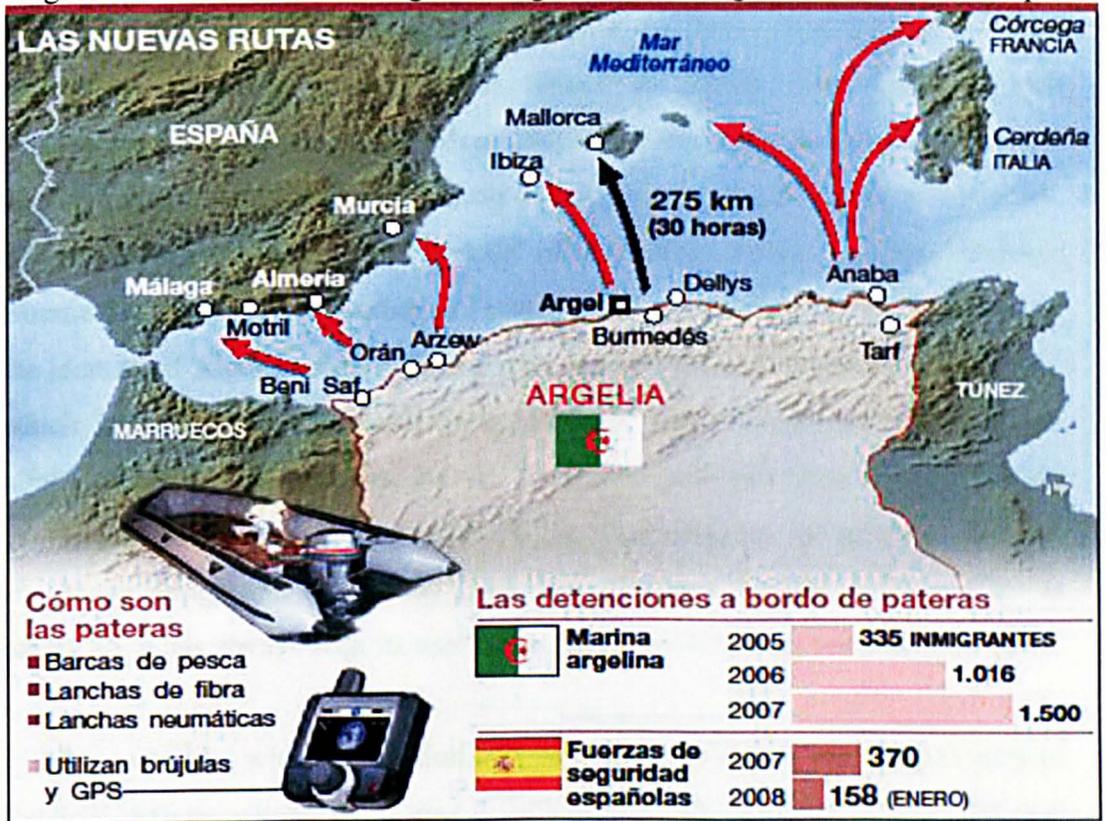
Firstly, the word *harraga* (its singular form is *harrag*) from the Algerian Darija means burners, and refers to people who “burn” the legal stages of immigration and leave the country in an irregular way, or, also to those who overstay their visas in the host countries. It implies a sense of “clandestinity” and “irregularity”. The phenomenon of *harraga* is recent for its new scale among Algerian migration to southern Europe (mainly to Spain and Italy), and goes back to the end of 2005 (CARIM, 2010). Secondly, the *harraga* use the *pateras* or small boats made of wood or other materials to cross the Mediterranean Sea for Spain and/or Italy. The routes in use, all Central Mediterranean, may be diverse such as Oran-Almería, Algiers-Ibiza or Annaba-Sardinia (figure 4.5).

This phenomenon has been growing gradually, especially in the summer when the sea conditions are optimal for crossing. At an empirical level, the number of arrested migrants in the north-west coast of Algeria (Oran) increased from 141 in 2001 (Hammouda, 2005) to 1,500 in 2008 (Real Instituto Elcano, 2008). Two pieces of research done by the Algerian police and the Gendarmerie Nationale (cited in, Labdelaoui, 2009, p. 4) revealed the following: 1) 91.28% of the *harraga* were aged under 35; 89.74% were single; 50% had completed the middle school⁹⁵; 15.87% had completed primary studies; 6.35% had university degrees; 78.57% were jobless; 73.81% had been influenced to migrate by friends; and 69.84% were conscious of the risk they undertook; 2) 38% had their visa application rejected and 62% did not make any application. Concerning the motives of the migrants, research by the Ministère de la Solidarité Nationale stated that they had a feeling of being excluded from important aspects, such as work, distribution of national wealth and the management of public issues, idleness and unemployment, poverty, low standards of living, discomfort, desire of improving their situation, and the need of changing people around and the way of life (Labdelaoui, 2009, p. 7).

⁹⁵ Although it has known several reforms, however, the education system in Algeria, mainly, includes: preparatory school (under 5-6), primary school (6-12), middle school (13-15), secondary school (16-18) and higher education. Education is compulsory until 16 and free in all levels.

Despite the harshness of the sanctions⁹⁶ if they fail to reach Europe, get arrested and returned back to Algeria, this phenomenon seems to increase constantly. At the same time, while no qualitative distinction is made between those educated or not, young or older adults, and women or men⁹⁷, however, young, jobless and less educated men are thought to represent the majority of the *harraga* or those aspiring to be. We can understand better the extent of the phenomenon when we learn that there is an organisation called the Association des Parents des *harraga* in Algeria.

Figure 4.5: New routes of irregular emigration from Algeria to Southern Europe



Source: Real Instituto Elcano, Madrid, Spain. Translations: *las nuevas rutas* (the new routes), *Cómo son las pateras* (How the *pateras* are made), *barcas de pesca* (fishing boats), *lanchas de fibra* (fiber boats), *lanchas neumáticas* (dinghies), *Utilizan brújulas y GPS* (they use compasses and GPS), *las detenciones a bordo de pateras* (detentions on board of a *patera*), *Marina argelina* (Algerian navy), *Fuerzas de Seguridad españolas* (Spanish security forces), *Enero* (January).

In addition to the above mentioned causes of this type of irregular migration, the tightening of migration policies could have paradoxically encouraged it. This

⁹⁶ The sanctions mainly included interrogation by the police and imprisonment. In some cases, the detention of the parents was documented (Algeria-Watch, 2010).

⁹⁷ From an anthropological perspective, this constitutes a sharp break of the traditional role of woman in the society, as representing the family honour and, therefore, letting her go alone in a small boat with unknown men to unknown places is (was) unthinkable and implies social consequences on the family at home.

includes the serious difficulties in obtaining entry clearance to EU countries; strict control of the borders and the Mediterranean Sea; re-admission treaties between Algeria and various European countries; and the ease of losing legal status in the receiving countries, among others. On the other hand, it seems that even an effective international cooperation aimed at reaching a successful migration *management* remains ineffective and counterproductive if it is meant to tackle this phenomenon, because the causes are structural and require holistic solutions.

4.2.4. The Algerian Government's New Way of Dealing with Emigration

Firstly, unlike Morocco or Tunisia, the Algerian government had for a long time an ambiguous relationship with emigration. There was the necessity of reconciling economic and political objectives which, sometimes, seemed contradictory⁹⁸: reducing the demographic pressures and high rates of unemployment and, hence, its socio-political consequences within the country; and preserving the “dignity and honour” of its citizens abroad, as when President Boumediène stopped emigration to France in 1973. With the aim of “preserving” the identity of Algerian nationals in France, the government created the Amicales, which from independence until the mid-1970s, acted as official offices of the affairs of expatriates (Fargues, 2004). These also had been seen as a mechanism of control of Algerians in France. While the Algerian government did not encourage emigration or include it as part of national development policy as others do, it has always seen its usefulness through a kind of a *laissez-faire* policy.

More recently, with the creation of a Secrétariat d'État within the Ministry of External Affairs whose main aim is to preserve the interests of the “national community abroad”⁹⁹, the Conseil Consultatif de la Communauté Nationale à l'Étranger¹⁰⁰ and the celebration of the first Summer University dedicated to the Algerian community abroad (22-28 July 2009), a major shift has been taking place in government policy towards Algerians abroad. In this context, the Secretary of State in charge of the “national community abroad” considered the “unification of the national community abroad”, in order to “reinforce its

⁹⁸ This is the very case of the relationships with France around migration.

⁹⁹ This new concept “national community abroad” represents the beginning of a new era in the official dealing with the Algerian migration. Supposedly, no distinctions are to be made between Algerians in and out of homeland as they form a “national community”.

¹⁰⁰ Décret présidentiel n° 09-297 of 9 September 2009.

participation in the process of national development”, as one of the major objectives of his office (MAE, 2011). He added that in the current context of economic crisis, the government is ready to intervene to help in resolving the problems that the “national community abroad” may have to face. On the other hand, the current Algerian president has implemented a new practice, namely meeting representatives of the Algerian diaspora during his visits abroad (Kerdoun, 2008b).

The most important measures listed by the authorities in order to achieve the above mentioned goals included relaxing consular proceedings, strengthening relations with the homeland through the opening of Algerian schools and rest-homes abroad, and mobilising the political participation of the diaspora through electing their representatives in the *Assemblée Populaire Nationale* (Algerian parliament) as well as by voting in presidential elections (Labdelaoui, 2005a).

This strategic shift in the official view of emigration can be seen as the result of several developments. A change of direction towards taking into account the neglected, long-run importance of emigration in the development of the country of origin when other countries such as Morocco (Baldwin-Edwards, 2006) and the Philippines (Abella, 2007, p. 163) have integrated emigration into their national development strategy, with the latter putting into place “policies and programs for placing their nationals in employment abroad”. Secondly, the changing nature of emigration itself, which has been transformed from short and middle-term, temporary stay into permanent settlements and the coming of second generations, strengthening the formation and consolidation of a national minority group as in France. The importance of the economic, scientific and cultural contributions of the diaspora to the country of origin via sending remittances, investing in homeland and enhancing academic and knowledge transfers. The influence of the expatriates on the external image of the country, as well as on the ruling elites, through lobbying in influencing countries (e.g. Algerians in France); this could also constitute serious threats to internal stability, especially with highly skilled emigrants and their organisations. Last but not least, emigrants have always been crucial in the agendas of the remaining North African governments, especially Morocco and Tunisia; for example, the North African diasporas in France have

always constituted a breeding ground for political struggles and an indicator of power balances in the Maghreb.

4.2.5. What Differentiates Algerian Emigration in the Early 21st Century from the Past?

What pushed Algerians to emigrate to France during the period between 1830 and 1962? The answer might be found in the combination of push factors resulting from the destruction of the traditional economy and society by the colonial power through a massive forced takeover of lands, displacement of the population, the squeezing out of traditional crafts and the impoverishment of peasants hardly hit by hunger and illnesses (MacMaster, 1997) and pull factors such as the growing demand for unskilled and “very” low-paid labour in metropolitan France, the possibility of earning a wage and bringing money into the household and the community and the apparent greater freedom for the *indigènes* in metropolitan France than in the occupied Algeria, among others.

This emigration was perpetuated by the historical and socio-economic conditions of Algerians under French occupation, and the unique and remaining way for Algerians to improve their living conditions was to emigrate to metropolitan France through facing all types of institutional barriers and structural discrimination. Emigrants sent remittances to sustain the economy of their families and the rural activities as a main support for peasants. This, in turn, created a new *reservoir* of emigrants from the remaining men in the villages, as social differences between households increased. This is what Sayad (2000) explained by the mechanism of *el ghorba*¹⁰¹ as a reproducer of emigration, i.e. when immigrants went back home, the villagers saw them well-dressed, holding big suitcases and handling money, which fed a vicious circle and constituted a precursor of new departures to metropolitan France.

Over the last three decades, the colonial structures had disappeared and the structural causes have changed. Algerians still emigrate to France, but they go elsewhere as well. The reasons are diverse and related to the context of origin and destinations. The formation of the new Algerian state and the problem of identity at both regional and national levels, the continuous deterioration of the socio-

¹⁰¹ It means exile, strangeness, rareness, or being an outsider in Arabic (Corriente and Ferrando, 2005, p. 832).

economic situation and life standards despite huge financial capabilities, social unrests and fragile political stability as the negative impacts of the “black decade” still have effect, the lack of freedom and respect of human rights, and the inexistence of good governance, among others, have fed a reservoir of migrants as a unique solution for different social groups, regardless their age, gender, educational background, class and ideology. But the pull factors are also important, such as the illusion of emigration and its shaping of the Algerian collective imagination, especially towards certain destinations; availability of jobs in the shadow economies of southern European countries and its geographical proximity; respect for human rights and individual freedoms and the perceived possibility of fulfilling one’s expectations of full and decent life.

As shown earlier, with constantly growing migratory space, more females and highly skilled migrating, and the increase of irregular migration particularly among jobless urban youth, migration has become intrinsically ingrained in the local cultures, although in different degrees.

4.2.6. Conclusion

Migration implies changes of statuses and a multiplicity of trajectories in the space (Samers, 2010) and Algerian migration is no exception. We are gradually moving into an era of post-France Algerian migration. Algerian migration has known several developments such as the enlargement of the migratory space, the feminization of flows and mobility of families at the onset, mobility of (highly) skilled people, and the emigration of the *harraga*, among others. There has been a diversification of profiles and social and geographical backgrounds. The changes have shown that factors such as cultural affinity, i.e. the existence of alleged shared norms and values (Alexander *et al.*, 2007), which is difficult to prove in the case of Algeria and the UK (Spain), geographical proximity (UK, Canada and the USA are far away from Algeria), social networks (its rudimentary and fragmentary nature in the UK and Spain) or “permissive” migration laws (inexistent in “Fortress Europe”) (Collyer, 2003) fail to explain its diversification.

As shown by Sayad (1997), migration should be analysed as a full process where both émigré and immigré are crucial. A comprehensive study of the system “émigré-immigré” (Sayad, 1999a) is important at two levels: theory and practice.

In the latter, it seems that Algerian policymakers are starting to take into account the role of the “national community abroad” in homeland development (not only at economic level but also in political, social, scientific and cultural levels) which means that the Algerian emigrant is no longer that absent physically, socially and politically who feels *el ghorba* (Sayad, 2000) as that “illegitimate child” (Sayad, 1979). In the former, the study of the migration of any human group should encompass a consideration of the full migratory cycle starting from the context of origin to include transit or transnational space, the settlement and incorporation into the host society and return or circularity if appropriate.

4.3. London

4.3.1. A short contemporary history of migration to London¹⁰²:

During the 1950s and 1960s, the UK recruited workers from its former colonies to fill jobs in public services and “less competitive industries”. It was relatively easy to get citizenship rights. There were 115,000 migrants from the Caribbean and Guyana by 1958 (Block, 2006). This period also witnessed the rise of violence against black people in the UK that set the context for the riots of 1958 in Notting Hill (London) and Nottingham (Block, 2006). They increased from 28,000 to 209,000 between 1951 and 1961 (Block, 2006). The 1962 Immigration Act brought an end to large-scale migration from the former colonies. In the 1960s, there were waves of South Asian refugees from Uganda and Kenya and Pakistani workers in manufacturing industries. Since the mid-1970s, the flows had been moderate, stable and equally distributed. In the 1980s, there was a focus on restricting primary migration and strengthening integration among settlers through, for example, facilitating family reunification. Later, mobility became more heterogeneous: asylum seekers, highly skilled and economic migration.

Cities have become poles of attraction for migrants as they provide economic opportunities, an urban way of life, closeness to the entry points and the existence of previously settled migrants (Gordon *et al.*, 2007, p. 13). In the case of London,

¹⁰² This review is based, mainly, on Gordon *et al.* (2007). Thus, when it is not stated, the data and information come from the former. Also, Block (2006) was used and, to a lesser extent, Castles and Miller (2003).

its “hyper-diversity” has been patent in a net population growth, with a large population of migrants coming from non-English speaking areas.

4.3.2. Migrants in London

London is a “multicultural global city” (Eade, 2006), which has been characterised by the “super-diversity” of its migrant population (Vertovec, 2007a), and its “multilingual”, “multi-ethnic” and “multicultural” character (Block, 2006). Its status as a global city has been justified by the concentration of the functions of command and control in an economy that has become more integrated and run from the City (Sassen, 2001). Friedman (1986, p. 73) considers the main importance of world cities to be linked to the following factors: “corporate headquarters”, “international finance”, “global transport and communications”, “high level business services”, “ideological penetration and control” and the “centres for the production and dissemination of information, news, entertainment and other cultural artifacts”. People from more than 197 nationalities and speakers of more than 200 languages live in London (Ager and Strang, 2004). It is a city “with immigrants and minorities”, which is in “ethnic shock”, whose ethnic minorities are among the oldest migrant groups in Western Europe; its current scale has been described as “recent and dramatic”, and its movements as of a replacement population (Peach, 1999, p. 319-22).

According to Sassen (2001), the development of the global cities has been linked to labour migration from developing countries; moreover, the global city represents a “key site for the incorporation” of migrant workers in activities linked to “strategic sectors” (2001, p. 322). The growth of capital mobility and the geographical changes in the organisation of production and networks of financial markets have accentuated the polarization of the labour market; this requires the labour of skilled workers who are employed in the main sectors of the economy (e.g. management, consultancies and finance among others), as well as unskilled workers who occupy “low-wage enclaves” and constitute “key trends in international labour migrations” (Sassen, 2001). The latter respond to the demand generated by the former, such as in restaurants, homes and offices, among others. This should not lead to a consideration of migrant workers exclusively as providers of “low-wage labour”, but, also as an important factor in the “occupation” and regeneration of abandoned urban areas through settlement and

small entrepreneurship (Sassen, 2001, pp. 24-32). Thus, the relationships between migrant workers and big cities development are bi-directional and mutually fed.

Table 4.2: Main migrant groups to London and its main traits

Primary migration			
Group	Peak period	Traits	
Caribbean	1955-1964	Gender-balanced	Its cycle was completed between 1948 and 1974
Indians and Pakistanis	1965-1974	Young male-led, with women and children following later	is continuing flow from the Asian sub-continent.
Bangladeshis	1980-1984		

Source: own elaboration, based on Peach (1999).

The resident population of the UK was 63.4 million in 2011, i.e. an increase of 7% (3.7 million) since 2001. Migration was responsible for 55% (2.1 million) of this increase. Its foreign-born population has increased from 7% (1991) to 13% (2011). There were 7.5 million people born abroad (2011) while in 2001 there were 4.6 million and 3.6 million in 1991 (ONS, 2013). The top ten countries of birth for foreign-born population include India (694,000), Poland (579,000) and Pakistan (482,000). While the Polish-born population increased ninefold between 2001 and 2011, Irish migrant population declined.

According to Gordon *et al.* (2007, p. 15), migrants in London are from different profiles such as “cultural elites”, “refugees and would be revolutionaries”, “upwardly mobile people seeking an introduction to the world of affairs”, and those who look for work. Migrants tend to be better qualified than their counterparts in the country of origin, as well as than Londoners; however, they tend to start from the lowest job positions to reach similar positions as the natives along with the time of residence (ONS, 2003).

4.3.3. Algerians in London

The presence of Algerians in the UK became noted when they began to apply for asylum in the 1990s. By 2007 Algerians were in second position as applicants for asylum in the UK (Gordon *et al.*, 2007). Most Algerians have arrived between the mid-1990s and the mid-2000s (IOM, 2007). This population was male-led and seen as acceptably qualified, although it had suffered from high rates of

'undocumentedness'. Some studies found that the focal points of Algerians in London include places such as Finsbury Park, Leyton, Walthamstow, Edgware and Fulham; single men used to live in Brixton, families in Walthamstow and mix of both in Kilburn, Cricklewood, Edgware Road, Wood Green and Lewisham (Change Institute, 2009; IOM, 2007).

Thirty-seven per cent of Londoners were born in foreign country (ONS, 2013). The 1991 census counted 3,453 Algerian-born residents in the UK while the 2001 census found 10,672 including 70.5% males and 44.4% females aged 30-39 (Collyer, 2004a; IOM, 2007). IOM (2007) estimated Algerians to number between 25,000 and 30,000 in the UK, with 50-60% living in Greater London and the remaining in places such as Glasgow, Sheffield, Birmingham, Manchester, Bournemouth and Leicester. According to Change Institute (2009), 69% of the Algerian migrant population live in London. ABC told this researcher that officially there were about 35,000 Algerians registered at the consulate in London in 2010, and that undocumented Algerians were approximately 60-65,000 individuals. While the former includes only documented residents, it may not include all of them. For the ACT-UK, there were 40,000 Algerians in the UK according to the consulate and 120,000 according to the community organisations in 2011.

The estimations of Algerians by the census can be inaccurate as the census is based on estimations realised from samples. This can easily ignore irregular migrants and those without fixed abodes. This also includes the problem of being the "other other" in the census that Arabs (and thus Algerians) face when placed in the racial categories of the census (Nagel, 2001). Gordon *et al.* (2007, p. 15) reported what John Salt asserted: 'The reality is ...we don't really have a satisfactory measurement of the number of people who are coming to live in the UK'.

While 65% of Algerians were economically active, only 55% were in work (Change Institute, 2009). Although some Algerian migrants had relative success in establishing a range of businesses such as cafés, restaurants, bakeries, grocery stores and internet shops, however, there is little sense of community that is unified, supportive and having a voice that is heard by the mainstream institutions

(Change Institute, 2010). The polarization of the community, with two groups of people detached from each other, has been commented on by the participants in the focus groups of the Change Institute (2009).

4.3.4. Algerian Organisations in London: Some Cases

The relevance of the following organisations for this research is linked to their involvement in supporting Algerians despite a lack of funding, solidarity and trust among the community members and the existence of hidden agendas, among others. They are very small where a few London-based experienced people (one to five) with a good understanding of the British system, capacity for gathering information and resources and leadership support Algerians in London and back home. However, as found in this research, it seems that there was a lack of communication, coordination and sharing of knowledge between some of them, which reduced their potential effectiveness in intervening in the community.

4.3.4.1. AR

A small organisation founded in 2008 when a fundraising campaign was underway to pay a USA-based urgent medical treatment for an Algerian boy suffering from spina bifida condition. Algerians across the globe participated by donating money, mainly in the USA, Canada and the UK. Its interventions are based on specific individual cases within the community. While without premises and with funding constraints, it aims at bringing Algerians to a new cultural and associative life, promoting Algerian music and culture, and giving guidance, advice and referrals to adequate authorities. As well, it aims at improving the conditions and image of Algerian migrants in London (UK) and Algeria.

AR intervenes in places where Algerians gather. The Algerian café is the cornerstone of “mutual aid” among Algerians, particularly newcomers. If someone is looking for a job, information or for some people, he asks the café owner or anyone who may refer him to another and so forth. In the case of the repatriation of corpses to Algeria, they put some boxes in specific places for Algerians, and other contributors, to put money in or appoint someone to collect and keep the money until its use. They may also send money to the dead person’s family.

4.3.4.2. NAA

Founded in 2007 with the aim of linking Parisian-ghetto young Algerians, North Africans and Africans who engage into hip-hop or rap music and related arts, such as graffiti or clothing design and fashion, NAA started its activities in the Portobello area which attracts artists from all over the world. It basically gives advice, information and guidance for all artists coming to the area, specifically, North Africans and Africans in general. It also aims at keeping Algerian identity and developing the community, mainly within the young generation as a link to mainstream society. Its involvement with Algerians is via AR while, previously, some actions were taken under the extinct Brent Algerian Community Association.

The founder, a trained community leader, information officer and welfare rights adviser, explained the reasons of the ephemeral nature of many Algerian organisations in London. These include the lack of trust, confidence and information, bad management, the ignorance of how third sector organisations and social enterprises work, the foundation and management of organisations by and for families, and the existence of a kind of free riding when people join an organisation to learn how things work and then leave it to build a new one using part of the network and resources of the former. However, he confirmed that there had always been a “great energy and willingness to support” Algerians.

In addition to the above mentioned services, it gives support during Ramadan such as with free iftar (i.e. the meal when Muslims break their fast), and attempts to involve some businesses with helping needy Algerians, particularly during the cold weather with tea, blankets and shelter for short periods of time. Related to Algeria, the founder runs a social network to support Algerians at home through charity and socio-cultural activities from within the country. He also campaigns to raise awareness about the risks of crossing the Mediterranean in *pateras* among the Algerian youth.

4.3.4.3. ABC

Launched in 1999 to satisfy some needs at a time when many Algerians came to London as refugees, ABC works with Voluntary Action Camden. The main objective is to promote the Algerian culture and arts (language, music and

traditional crafts) and help Algerians to integrate into the new context (e.g. “business function” is business advice for starting up new businesses). The founder believes that being active in mainstream organisations helps in gaining experience in the third sector.

According to ABC, new community organisations at the onset used to receive help from already established organisations. Later, they become involved in fundraising or get help from their countries of origin. In the case of Algerians, they are “too poor” to contribute, except for a few businessmen approached by ABC. The latter considers that the “unawareness of mutual aid work, unawareness of the [British] system, people don’t work, and even those who work receive low salaries and, thus, they can’t help” as major causes of the lack of financial and social support among Algerians.

4.3.4.4. ACT-UK

Founded in 2011 as a community organisation in the Finsbury Park area, ACT-UK supports Algerians in the UK despite its lack of funding, and uses one of its founders’ house as an office for surgery (medical, legal and family issues) and support. While it is aware of the existence of 24 Algerian organisations as this researcher was told, it asserts that no one truly helps Algerians and all aim at achieving their self-interest. Algerian authorities promised them new promises, but at the time of interview they were still waiting while recognising the detachment of the former from the concerns of Algerians, such as in cases of repatriation or the Algerian detainees in the UK. Membership is open to any Algerian, although those with “useful” crafts and dense networks are especially welcomed to provide more support to the community members. There is a consultation board, shoura, made up of members in London, Leeds, Manchester and Durham. For ACT-UK, success should be in gathering Algerians from different tendencies and work preferably with those who tend not to accept each other.

4.4. VALENCIA

4.4.1. A short contemporary history of migration to Valencia¹⁰³:

Between the 1920s and 1930s, the region of Valencia knew deep social and economic transformations, although not political as the local culture and mentality had been shaped by the civil war (1936-1939) and Franco's regime. Traditional ways of urban life were eroded as modernity found its path in the city. The post-war period witnessed the arrival of internal migrants from the hinterland or other regions in Spain, in search of work opportunities and quality of life. Instead of a natural growth, these flows were responsible for the growth of the city which represented 30.7% of the total growth of the region.

Table 4.3: Residents of Valencia (1900-1930)

Year	Number of residents
1900	213,550
1910	233,348
1920	251,258
1930	320,195

Source: own elaboration, based on Universitat de València (2009b).

In the 1920s, agricultural exports and the expansion of manufacturing industry and services contributed to the social and economic changes by diversifying the profiles of the active population. There was a shift from the image of an agricultural and provincial area to that of a city with a growing tertiary sector. The growth of the services sector allowed a gradual, class and gender diversification in the working force. In 1933, there were 503 workers' associations with 73,064 affiliated members and 243 trade associations with 14,773 members.

The 1950s represent a transition period between the disasters of the economic independence and self-sufficiency and the economic growth of the 1960s, with its social, cultural and political changes. Between 1960 and 1975, Valencia's economy grew faster than that of Spain as a whole, and 400,000 migrants came to the region between 1960 and 1973. The population increased: 505,000 (1960), 654,000 (1970) and 745,000 (1975); and more than 50% of its inhabitants were migrants. There was an overcrowding in housing and a lack of infrastructure. However, the movements of neighbourhoods, workers and students flourished.

¹⁰³ This review is based on Universitat de València (2009a and 2009b), which review the history, geography and the arts in Valencia.

Table 4.4: Regions of origin of migrants in Valencia in 1975

Region of origin	Number	Percentage	% total population
Metropolitan area	31,996	8.9	4.5
Rest of the Valencian region	105,196	29.1	14.7
Rest of Spain	213,992	59.2	30
Abroad	10,043	2.8	1.4
Total	361,197	100	50.6

Source: own elaboration, based on Universitat de València (2009b).

From 1977 to 1982, democratic transition took place as well as political decentralization. The metropolitan area at the time hosted more than half a million of residents and fifty-seven municipalities. From the 1990s onwards, there has been the consolidation of Valencia as a metropolitan area in Spain which includes nineteen districts and eighty-seven suburbs.

4.4.2. Migrants in Spain and the region of Valencia

Spain has known a dramatic shift from a net sender of migrants, and a transit country to other Western or Central European countries until the mid-1980s (Mendoza, 2004), to a net receiver of migrants from different geographical origins¹⁰⁴. This has accentuated remarkably during the last two decades. Foreigners registered at the padrón census have increased from 0.52% to 13.87% as percentages of the total population, i.e. from 198,042 (1981) to 5,751,487 (2011) (table and figure below). In terms of international migrant stock, it is the eighth country in the world, with 6,378,000 migrants according to the World Migration Report (UNO, 2009). According to Arango (2013), the foreign-born population increased from under 1.5 million (4%) to over 6.5 million (14%) between 2000 and 2009; almost 500,000 new migrants each year, and slightly more than 500,000 have been naturalised. On the other hand, Arango (2013) considers that if we take into account the high numbers of irregular migrants, the figure would have reached one million in 2004 while official estimations were around 300,000-390,000 in 2009.

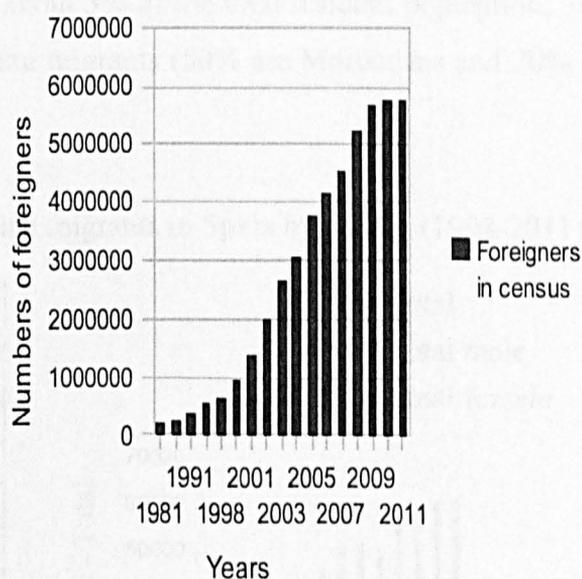
¹⁰⁴ According to Torres Pérez (2011), in 1950s and 1960s Spain knew massive internal migrations of labour to Madrid, Catalonia, Basque Country and Valencia region, where migrants occupied the housing provided by Franco's administration in what had been called "núcleos del desarrollismo franquista". There was a halt of internal mobility because of the economic crisis and recession of 1973. Later, two types of migratory flows became remarkable: retired people from Northern Europe from the mid- 1970s, and Maghrebi men as well as migrants from Latin America and Asia, although less than the former.

The foreign-born population in Spain comes from different and geographically dispersed regions. For example, in 2008, the largest groups were Romanians (728,967: 13.9%), Moroccans (644,688: 12.3%), Ecuadorans (420,110: 8%), British (351,919: 6.7%), Colombians (280,705: 5.4%), Germans (3.5%) and Italians (3.0%). However, with current economic crisis, it is the first time that the migratory balance has become negative, with 50,090 people who left the country in 2011. The estimations of the INE indicate a negative migratory balance until 2020. Yet, there are differences between provinces such as in Alicante, Las Palmas and Tenerife where the migratory balance was positive, while in Madrid and Barcelona it was negative.

Table 4.5 and Figure 4.6: Foreign population in Spain (1981-2011)

Year	Foreigners in census	Total (%)
1981	198,042	0.52
1986	241,971	0.63
1991	360,655	0.91
1996	542,314	1.37
1998	637,085	1.60
2000	923,879	2.28
2001	1,370,657	3.33
2002	1,977,946	4.73
2003	2,664,168	6.24
2004	3,034,326	7.02
2005	3,730,610	8.46
2006	4,144,166	9.27
2007	4,519,554	9.99
2008	5,220,600	11.3
2009	5,648,671	13.74
2010	5,747,734	13.92
2011	5,751,487	13.87

Foreign population in Spain (1981-2011)



Source: own elaboration, based on data from the INE (1981-2011).

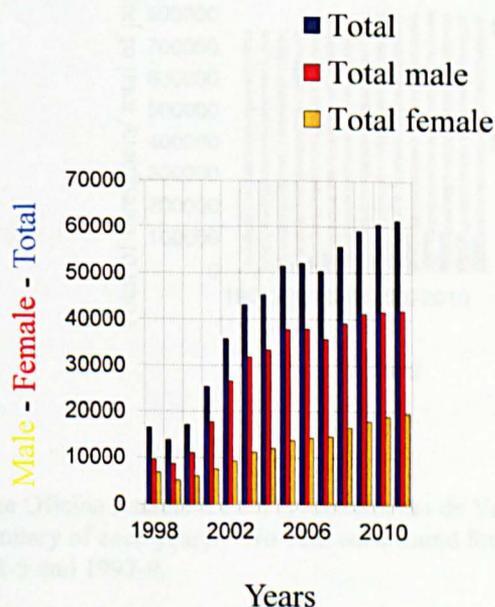
Algerians started to migrate to Spain at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of 1990s. First, they were mainly employed in seasonal jobs (1980s); then, during the “black decade”, migrants from intellectual and middle class backgrounds, as well as some with a median level of education, started to migrate to Spain. Later, from the 2000s onwards, Algerian migrants started to take on an economic profile, with the beginning of network building and settlement through family reunification, which enhance the generalization of migration among different

sectors of the Algerian society. According to Zapata de la Vega (1996), the presence of Algerians in Spain was first noted with the process of regularization of migrants in 1991 where 3,113 Algerians obtained legal status. He described the first waves of Algerians as being mainly of educated, young, urban males from areas such as Algiers and Oran who worked mainly in agriculture, and whose motives of migration were economic, social and political. For the INE (2009), migration to Spain was motivated by quality of life (40%), search for employment (39%), family reunification (32.1%), lack of employment at origin (22.3%), cost of living (14.3%) and the climate (11.4%), among others.

Algerians in Spain increased from 16,456 (1998) to 61,509 (2011), while the growth was from 5,147 to 18,786 in the Comunidad Valenciana. According to the Ministerio de Empleo y Seguridad Social (2010), there were 55,378 Algerians holding a certificate of registration or residence permit by the 31st of December 2010. Muslim migrants represent about 3% of the total resident population; 30% of Muslims are Spanish and 70% are migrants (50% are Moroccans and 20% are other nationals) (UCIDE, 2013).

Table 4.6 and Figure 4.7: Algerian migrants in Spain by gender (1998-2011)

Year	Total	Total male	Total female
1998	16,456	9,591	6,865
1999	13,846	8,638	5,207
2000	17,201	11,096	6,105
2001	25,260	17,746	7,515
2002	35,863	26,585	9,278
2003	43,003	31,836	11,167
2004	45,290	33,289	12,001
2005	51,529	37,826	13,703
2006	52,159	37,954	14,205
2007	50,383	35,844	14,539
2008	55,726	39,161	16,565
2009	59,111	41,230	17,881
2010	60,534	41,567	18,967
2011	61,509	41,884	19,625



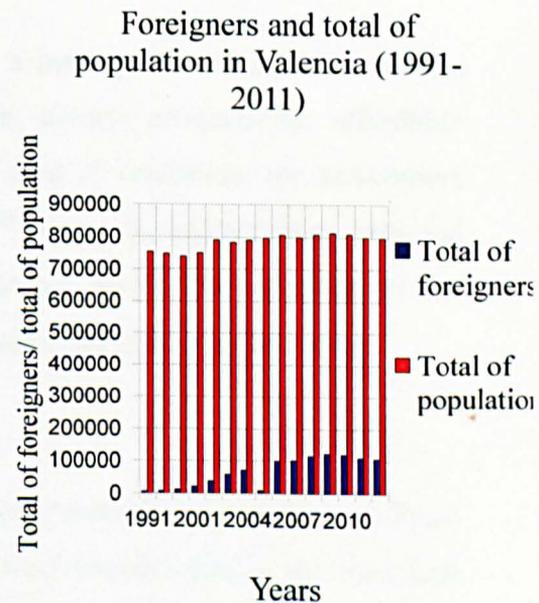
Source: own elaboration, based on data from INE (2012).

By the first of January 2012, there were 108,449 foreigners living in Valencia, out of a total population of 799,188, i.e. 13.6%. However, 31,512 were nationals

of the EU-27, which means that 76,937 were subject to immigration controls, i.e. 9.62% of total foreigners. Moreover, the percentage of foreign population in Valencia (13.9%) exceeds slightly the national average (13.87%). The foreign residents in the province of Valencia do not spread over its whole territory, but concentrate in some well-known spots. For example, according to the census of 2007, six regions comprised two thirds of the total foreign population: El Baix Segura (19.2%), Valencia (13.6%), La Marina Alta (10.9%), La Marina Baixa (8%), L'Alacantí (7.5%) and La Plana Alta (6.2%). In the city of Valencia, foreigners are concentrated in the areas of La Safor (18.2%), the Canal de Navarrés (14.3%) and Valencia Centre (12.5%) (Ivie, 2010). The first four large nationalities were Romanians (12,667), Bolivians (11,257), Ecuadorans (10,164) and Colombians (7,657), according to the last padrón census (table below).

Table 4.7 and Figure 4.8: Total of foreigners and total of population in the city of Valencia (1991-2012)*

Year	Total of foreigners	Total of population	%
1991	5,363	752,909	0.7
1996	6,821	746,683	0.9
2000	11,251	739,297	1.5
2001	22,863	750,476	3.0
2002	39,563	790,754	5.2
2003	58,805	782,846	7.5
2004	71,746	790,754	9.1
2005	82,760	797,291	10.4
2006	99,820	807,396	12.4
2007	102,166	800,666	12.8
2008	116,453	810,064	14.4
2009	123,348	815,440	15.1
2010	120,273	810,444	14.8
2011	111,415	800,469	13.9
2012	108,449	799,188	13.6



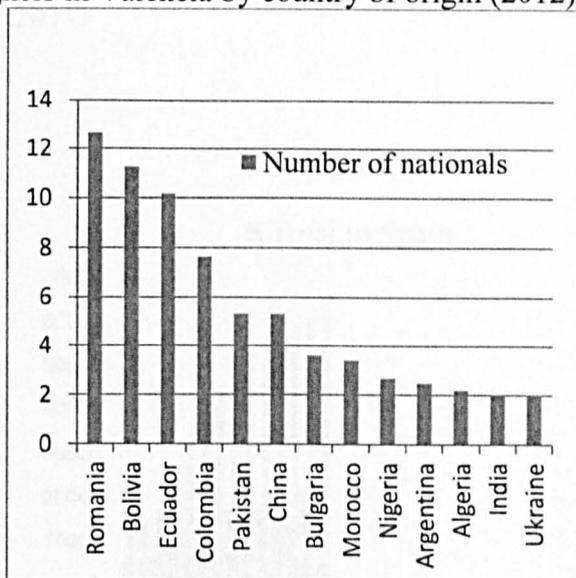
Source: own elaboration, based on data from the Oficina Estadística del Ayuntamiento de Valencia (data of the padrón census count from the 1st of January of each year). * No data were found for the years 1992-5 and 1997-9.

Going from the largest to the smallest migrant groups, there are the nationals of Romania, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Pakistan, China, Bulgaria, Morocco, Nigeria, Argentina, Algeria, India, Ukraine and Senegal (table and figure below). While EU citizens represent the bulk of foreign citizens in the whole

Comunidad Valenciana, non-EU countries citizens are the major foreign residents of the city of Valencia.

Table 4.8 and Figure 4.9: Number of foreigners in Valencia by country of origin (2012)

Country	Number of nationals
Romania	12,667
Bolivia	11,257
Ecuador	10,164
Colombia	7,657
Pakistan	5,325
China	5,312
Bulgaria	3,598
Morocco	3,424
Nigeria	2,688
Argentina	2,507
Algeria	2,200
India	2,037
Ukraine	2,003
Senegal	1,749



Source: own elaboration, based on data from INE (2012).

Before the current economic crisis and as a metropolitan area, Valencia has been characterised by its economic dynamism, diverse productivity, affordable housing and popular residential areas, and as area of settlement for newcomers (Torres Pérez, 2011). Migrants are dispersed¹⁰⁵ across the metropolitan area and their settlements depend on their socio-economic levels, the situation of the housing market and the existence of mistrust and/or prejudices against them.

4.4.3. Algerians in the region of Valencia

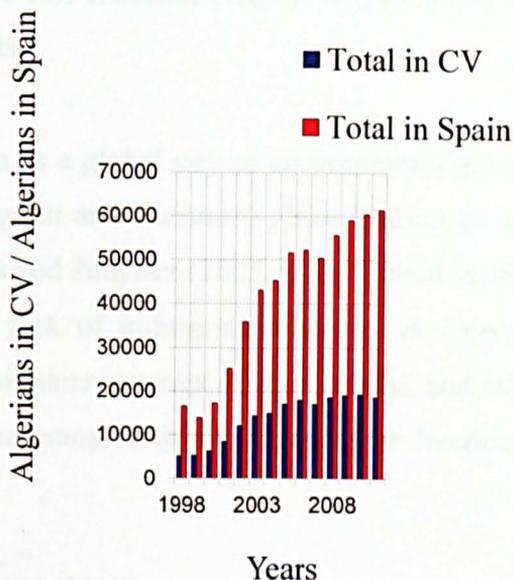
Zapata de la Vega (1996) showed that the major presence of Algerians in Spain was in the Comunidad Valenciana, where they were concentrated in the coast area that was abundant with agriculture-related jobs. They were mainly young men working in the agriculture, industry and construction, trade and domestic work sectors. González Escudero (1999) considers the temporary character of the migration of Algerians to Spain until 1991, which was composed mainly of seasonal workers in the agriculture in the east coast; additionally, there were merchants, exporters, students and political refugees at that time. The number of

¹⁰⁵ This also was confirmed by the president of CA at the interview.

Algerians increased almost tenfold in Spain from 1996 to 2009 (Fundación CeiMigra, 2010).

Table 4.9 and Figure 4.10: Algerians in the Comunidad Valenciana (CV) and Spain (1998-2011)

Years	Total in CV	Total in Spain
1998	5,147	16,456
1999	5,262	13,846
2000	6,258	17,201
2001	8,466	25,260
2002	12,134	35,863
2003	14,376	43,003
2004	14,970	45,290
2005	17,078	51,529
2006	18,046	52,159
2007	17,040	50,383
2008	18,654	55,726
2009	19,284	59,111
2010	19,440	60,534
2011	18,786	61,509

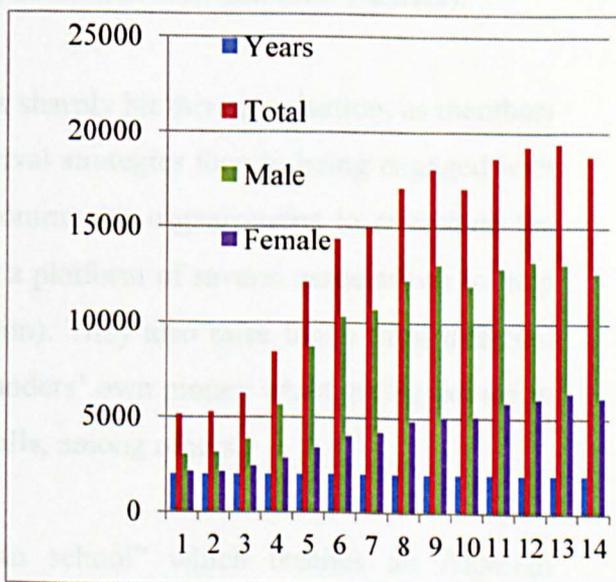


Source: own elaboration, based on data from INE (2012).

The share of females has been increasing until stabilizing at the midpoint of the numbers of males, as shown in the following table and graphic.

Table 4.10 and Figure 4.11: Algerian males and females in the CV (1998-2011)

Years	Total	Males	Females
1998	5,147	3,017	2,130
1999	5,262	3,132	2,130
2000	6,258	3,857	2,401
2001	8,466	5,639	2,827
2002	12,134	8,744	3,390
2003	14,376	10,327	4,049
2004	14,970	10,699	4,271
2005	17,078	12,233	4,845
2006	18,046	13,028	5,018
2007	17,040	11,962	5,078
2008	18,654	12,855	5,799
2009	19,284	13,220	6,064
2010	19,440	13,077	6,363
2011	18,786	12,640	6,146



Source: own elaboration, based on data from INE (2012).

By 2012, Algerian migrants were living mainly in the following districts of the urban area: Rascanya (17.7%), Poblat Maritims (10.4%), Quatre Carreres (8.3%) and Benimaclet (8.3%). These data are to be considered with caution, as being registered in a house in a certain district does not mean necessarily living in the same, as migrants used to be mobile and the housing market is not static but volatile. The city of Valencia is divided into nineteen districts and each has from two to eight barrios, i.e. neighbourhoods.

Although while Valencia is not seen as a global city or an immigrant gateway city, it could serve as a critical entry point and transitory place leading to more attractive areas. As signalled by Waters and Jiménez (2005, p. 117, cited in, Price and Benton-Short, 2008, p. 25), “the lack of immigration history in emerging gateways means that the “place of immigrants in terms of class, racial, and ethnic hierarchies is less crystallized and immigrants may thus have more freedom to define their positions”.

4.4.4. An Algerian Organisation in Valencia: CA

While being currently the only organisation of Algerians in Valencia, CA was launched in 2004 by a group of Algerian intellectuals. The president of this NGO is a founding-member of an association of migrant women in Valencia where she represented Algerian women. CA aims at representing Algerians and raising the awareness of native people of Algerian culture through a variety of activities such as cultural events (e.g. Kabyle dances, traditional suits and local pastries).

While the current economic crisis has sharply hit this organisation, as members have become more concerned with survival strategies than in being engaged with the organisation, it works with other community organisations to overcome the lack of funding. This includes founding a platform of several associations to help each other (e.g. the forum of immigration). They also raise funds from different sources, in addition to the use of the founders' own money when giving advice to Algerians, e.g. to pay photocopies and calls, among others.

In 2008-9 CA started an “Algerian school” which teaches an Algerian curriculum on Saturdays in a venue leased by an NGO in downtown Valencia.

Despite having had less students since then, CA values the “success” of the project when it inserted the discussion around opening new Algerian schools across Europe into the official agenda in Algeria. It maintains contacts with some associations in France, Italy and Canada.

Chapter Five: Findings and Discussion

5.1. Introduction

In the following sections, the research findings will be presented and analysed by gender and location. Comparisons will be first drawn between genders in each city and, later, between both places. The profiles of the interviewees (key informants and migrants) are shown in table 5.1 (annexe 1) and table 5.8 (annexe 4) and referred to along the chapter.

5.2. London

5.2.1. Analysis by Gender: Female Interviewees

In Chapter Three, the characteristics of the female participants were detailed. In the following sections, the research findings will be discussed in relation to the categories while the research questions will be discussed exclusively at the end.

5.2.1.1. Motives of Migration

The interviewees came to the UK for different reasons: for studies, i.e. to study English language, to prepare college diplomas, university degrees, MAs and PhDs, and work later; to study, better their own life and seek personal satisfaction; in family reunification processes as a result of marrying an English citizen or joining their Algerian husbands already living in London; for cultural reasons as when ML14 noted that “Algeria had become a big jail with an open sky” in reference to cultural restrictions imposed on divorced women, as well as to those related to the “black decade” of the 1990s in Algeria; for better economic perspectives, i.e. to find better job opportunities and improve their quality of life; and for security reasons as asylum seekers because of the threats to their lives.

There were three cases of family reunification with the husband, which are related to different types of migration: economic migration (ML14, assistant teacher, declared her wish to improve her economic situation by joining her husband); for security reasons (ML20, researcher, came to the UK as an asylum seeker because of the lack of safety and the threats); cultural constraints, i.e. for being a feminist and secular activist in the “wrong place and time” as in the cases of ML20 and ML14, although when the latter did not come as a result of family

reunification; and mainly for family purposes (ML19, nanny, was reunified with her English husband after their marriage in Algiers).

ML12, divorced, described the harsh situation of this social group in Algeria and its causes, chiefly the persistence of cultural traditions. She spoke of “divorced women being obliged to go back home to live with their parents, and under the guardianship of their families, as if they were minor children”. She came to the UK because she had an insatiable wish of getting “peace of mind” in a context where “life is very difficult” for women like her. As Wright (1995) noted, a family status crisis entails diverse situations that are locally constructed, and includes cultural constraints that make life tougher for women and, thus, push them to emigrate. ML20 came to London to escape the threats on her safety, and that of her family in a context, which she described as, “unfavourable to freedom of expression” and tough, as a direct result of the armed conflict between the government and armed groups. Additionally, these are two cases of asylum seekers among the female interviewees. Collyer (2002) showed that the main reason for Algerian emigration over the decade of the 1990s was the civil war, and the importance of an asylum route where he linked the rise and fall in the numbers of asylum applications to local events in Algeria.

Seeking freedom, directly or not, was found in almost all the cases under study, as when ML15, NGO adviser, described her feeling when she came to the UK from France, “I felt like a bird coming out of the cage”. In the same line of thought, the student interviewees declared the search of this state of mind, i.e. feeling and being free and safe when “you go in the streets even by nights”, availability of work opportunities and free choice while these are, sometimes, limited for women wearing the hijab, as important factors in their mobility to London.

5.2.1.2. Routes and Experience of Migration: Own, Family and Others

The movements of the female interviewees could be divided into two main categories: internal versus external if we refer to their mobility within Algeria or abroad respectively; and the identity of the movers, i.e. the own mobility, family mobility including family reunification, and the mobility of other family members and relatives (figure 5.1 - annexe 3- shows the areas of origin of the participants).

The first refers to the movement of the migrant as a sole traveler; the second encompasses the mobility of the nuclear family or some of its members and includes family reunification; and the third refers to the mobility of members from the extended family and migrant relatives (table 5.2).

Table 5.2: Disclosure of the types of mobility for female interviewees in London

Movement	Own mobility	Family mobility including family reunification	Mobility of other family members and relatives
Internal	ML12	ML18, ML16, ML20	
External	ML12, ML13, ML15, ML16, ML17, ML18	ML12, ML14, ML15, ML19, ML20	ML12, ML13, ML14, ML15, ML16, ML19, ML20

Source: own elaboration.

Two candidates (ML12, lecturer, and ML14) already had the experience of several movements, at different times, to the UK for the reasons of study and tourism. Concerning internal mobility, ML12 moved from east to central north for work; ML18, a college student, moved with her family from south to central north, and ML20 did the same from east to west and central north with her family. Related to mobility abroad, six participants moved on their own for study and work reasons, while other three came to the UK with and/or to join their husbands and families, and seven females had family members and relatives with experiences of migration to other countries such as France, Canada, Spain, Belgium, Saudi Arabia and Qatar.

Concerning movement within the UK, three interviewees had experienced living and moving between different places within England (ML13, a bank agent, who lived first out of London) and the UK (two cases of internal mobility between Wales and England). On the other hand, ML13 had lived for some time out of the UK to learn new things and visit new places abroad.

Seven of the interviewees spoke of the experience of migration in their immediate families or among their relatives: father, brothers and sisters, cousins and aunties. Almost all the interviewees had friends who had previously migrated or had been in touch with people who had the experience of living abroad. ML13 expressed this situation by stating “my older sister opened the door by migrating

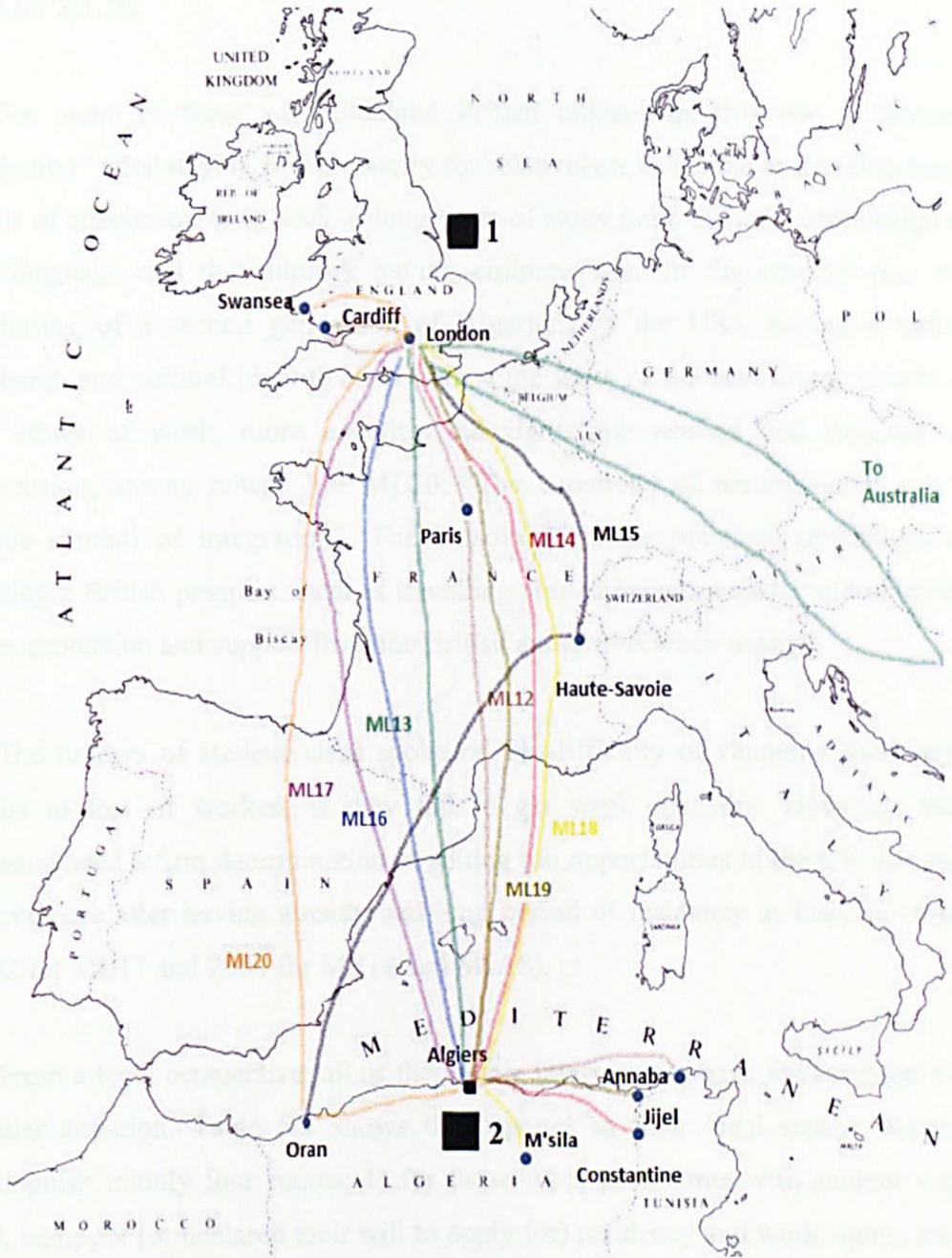
first". Thus, it was easier for her to get her family accepting her decision to leave for the UK. ML20 faced the initial reticence of her mother to let her leave for Québec (Canada). However, with the worsening internal situation in Algeria, she had to flee the country for the UK and join her husband in London.

Four of the interviewees or their families (parents and/or grandparents) were firstly internal movers, i.e. they moved mainly from different regions within Algeria to the capital city. Two had their own fathers as migrants in France; two were internal then external movers. For example: ML12 moved east-central north where she lived twelve years; then moved to France and the UK. Additionally, she has two brothers in the UK and one sister in Canada.

ML15 moved first to France in the 1980s in family reunification process and, later, migrated to the UK on her own. ML20 moved internally with her family and, later, joined her husband in London. The father of ML19 was a circular migrant worker between Algeria and France; earlier, her family moved internally from east to central north. ML16 has relatives in France, Spain, Saudi Arabia and Qatar. ML18 was from a family who moved from south to central north, and later she came on her own to study and work in London.

All these cases show the embeddedness of different types of movements within the nuclear and extended families. One could think that the existence of previous mobility cases and experiences within the family, and among relatives, may have encouraged other members to take the decision of moving internally and externally. The emergence of what could be called a "culture of migration" (Brettell, 2000; Massey *et al.*, 1993; Stalker, 2000) among Algerians, while being an important factor in the theory of "cumulative causation" (Greenwood, 1985; Massey, 1988; Massey *et al.*, 1993) of migration, i.e. first migratory movements alter the context of origin in the sense that more movements will be encouraged, could also reflect the acquisition and development of a growing concept of social and geographical mobility, or a wish of it, among would-be immigrants from Algeria, which is an aspiration that cannot be achieved at homeland.

Figure 5.2: Map showing migration routes of female interviewees in London



Source: Own elaboration, based on a map from hydrogen.co.uk. Each colour represents an interviewee.

5.2.1.3. Legal Status in the Host Country

The sample includes four Algerian-born British citizens, one Algerian-born French citizen, three student visa holders and one participant with indefinite leave to remain in the UK. Some spoke of the hard times they had at the beginning when “you cannot travel because you are waiting for your passport” as ML13

noted, or “when you are waiting for the outcome of your asylum application”, as was for ML20.

For some of those who obtained British citizenship, this was a “natural aspiration” after staying in the country for relatively a long time and having some kinds of attachment to it, such as long years of study (and, thus, the knowledge of the language and the culture), having children born in the country (i.e. the beginning of a second generation of Algerians in the UK), having a native husband, and cultural identification with some traits of the host country such as the ethics of work, more equality and rights for women and freedom of expression, among others. For ML20, “The ceremony of naturalisation was a whole symbol of integration”. They also valued the practical advantages of holding a British passport, such as travelling abroad becomes easier and enjoying more protection and support from the British authorities when needed.

The holders of student visas spoke of the difficulty of changing their legal status to that of workers if they fail to get work sponsors. However, they demonstrated a firm determination in getting job opportunities in the UK and stay to live here after having already had long period of residency in London (since 2002 for ML17 and 2004 for ML16 and ML18).

From a legal perspective, all of the female interviewees have always been in a regular situation. Table 5.3 shows the changes in their legal status. We can distinguish mainly four routes: 1) for those who, first, came with student visas and, later, got (or declared their will to apply for) residency and work rights; then, they got (may apply for) British citizenship; 2) those coming with tourist visas, applied for asylum and got refugee status; then, they obtained (applied for and still waiting for) British citizenship; 3) those who came through family reunification and, later, got British citizenship and 4) EU citizen, in this case an Algerian-born French.

Table 5.3: Changes in the legal status of female interviewees in London

Interviewee	Status at entry	Intermediate status	Current status
ML12	Student visa. Tourist visa.	Asylum seeker.	Refugee status.
ML13	Student visa.	Residency and work rights.	British citizenship.
ML14	Family reunification.	Residency and work rights.	British citizenship.
ML15	Algerian-born French citizen.		
ML16*	Student visa.	Determination to get work sponsor and change legal status.	Stay for studies.
ML17*	Student visa.	Determination to get work sponsor and change legal status.	Stay for studies.
ML18*	Student visa.	Determination to get work sponsor and change legal status.	Stay for studies.
ML19	Family reunification.	Residency and work rights.	British citizenship.
ML20	Tourist visa.	Asylum seeker. Refugee status.	British citizenship.

Source: own elaboration. *Even when they still hold student visas, however, they have been living in the UK for long periods of time: 9-11 years.

5.2.1.4. Socialisation in the Host Country

Related to their circles of socialisation, the interviewees could be divided into three main groups: 1) those having more Algerian friends than non-Algerians; 2) those having balanced numbers of Algerian and non-Algerian friends and 3) those who have more British friends than Algerians. The participants represent different trajectories and their socialisation, with Algerians or not, depends on their main activities, cultural values, interests and expectations from living in London. The present research does not aim at assessing the “integration” of the interviewees into mainstream society, but, to hypothesise whether having friends from different groups could be related to (high) levels of achievement within the host society.

Within the current sample, which includes mostly highly or semi-qualified female participants, it seems that the type of occupation, which is related to education (training) in the UK, and the cultural values that the individuals believed in or put into practice influence having friends from Algerian, Arab

and/or Muslim and European backgrounds. Those working in the academia or banking appeared to have more European (international) and British friends than Algerians. This could facilitate their access to resources outside the community. But, it does not indicate a failure for those not having access to them. In this study, all the interviewees appeared to observe some basic rules related to the main restrictions for Muslim people, such as regarding the ban on alcoholic drinks and the observance of Ramadan, which can influence their modes of socialisation, although it does not necessarily lead to isolation.

ML13 did not feel any need of Algerian friends during her first years in the UK. Later, she started to look for Algerians to “be like at home”. Her circles of Algerian friends include people “with a similar mind”, i.e. “people who have studied and achieved something in some way in the UK”, as she clarified. She attempts to “maintain” her “roots” and “keep” her “friends in Algeria as before”. She recognises that she is a Muslim, but this should stay private. ML12 and ML20 expressed no need for too many Algerian friends on the basis that they would reproduce the “Algerian mentality”. They move within circles of British people, mainly with people sharing their values of feminism, secularism and internationalism.

For ML15, the socialisation of Algerian families abroad has changed as they start to accept non-Muslim partners for their daughters. She mainly referred to the situation in France. But, she still thinks that the new educated UK-born generation of Algerians will be different, and this should push the image of the community forward. She has few friends despite having got a big circle of acquaintances. Outside of work, she is acquainted with few Algerians.

The female students of the sample considered the university, the talks and events, and the streets as the places where they usually meet people and start their socialisation. They also use online-based resources to get access to friends. They consider the UK streets as safer for women.

ML12 and ML20 considered the difference between their former places in Wales and London in the sense that there are more opportunities of socialisation in the latter. They enjoyed being in public spaces, going to talks, attending shows

in Arab clubs and tasting the food of North Africa in London. ML14 is more acquainted with international friends than with Algerians, as in her area of residence she is unlikely to find Algerians. She thinks that politics divide Algerians rather than uniting them. Thus, the difficulty of building a strong community that can lobby official institutions and improve the situation of Algerians in the UK. She has attempted to found a cultural association which would act as an umbrella for all Algerians, and where there would be a ban on political debates.

ML19 represents a different way of socialisation which is based on her husband's networks when they go "to do a barbecue with friends", and her own family when they "go to the park with children" or visit her brother's family in London.

5.2.1.5. Experiences within the Labour Market

The interviewees shared the view that access to, and mobility within the labour market in the UK, is based mainly on the merits, i.e. "If you study and work hard, you get what you want". Some interviewees considered networking as very important, and that being recommended by well-positioned referees enhances the chances of getting jobs.

For half the sample, discrimination exists but it is more subtle. For ML15, it simply does not exist because she always compares it with her own experience of racism and discrimination as a young Algerian migrant in France in the 1980s. As she argued, in France she was an "Arab" while in the UK she is a "citizen". She sees her experiences in France as immensely related to anti-Arab and anti-Algerian discrimination, while in the UK one could "complain" if he/she wants, and could go much further than in France. For ML13, who was studying and doing white collar jobs that paid ten pounds an hour at the time (1990s), discrimination is when one looks for job with Middle East companies and banks because they reject Algerian cultural traits as being too Europeanized. As she clarified, they considered her as "without cultural and religious aspects of their country and society [of the Middle East]."

Most of the interviewees valued the importance of the networks in getting jobs in the UK, i.e. the extended group of acquaintances, friends, relatives, colleagues and employers from different ages, nationalities or backgrounds who could give information about work and/or recommend them to work positions in offer. While this is also important in Algeria, in their views, the difference with the UK is that competences, qualifications and experience are important in assessing the candidacy of people for jobs. But, this could make it harder for qualified candidates without networks to get jobs. The interviewees used their networks, internet, former colleagues and recruitment agencies in their search for work. The participants who have worked in the UK have done both semi-qualified and qualified jobs. However, for example, ML12 stated that “it’s hard to get a job in academia here, but you should keep struggling”, and added that despite the fact that she has got “short contracts only”, nonetheless, she keeps “trying as long as” she is “alive because one day” she “will get it”.

Most of the interviewees praised the advantages they found within the UK system. ML15 appreciated the “good appraisals” in the UK, as well as the “equality of opportunities” and that “you can seek justice if you want to.” ML20 changed her carrier from electronics to social sciences, and valued the efficiency of the human resources recruitment in the UK. However, for ML18, a girl wearing a headscarf, “If you have a phone interview, it’s ok. But, when they see that you wear a headscarf, it’s not that ok!”. In the same line of thought, as with ML16 and ML17, she considers the UK as more tolerant and open than other places in Europe for women wearing the hijab if they want to live, study and work.

The story of ML14 shows that even when you are a white-collar worker you may face awkward situations, such as when she was teaching at her school at the time of a widely publicised trial of an Algerian pilot over terror charges, a student said to her “You came here to destroy my country”. ML20 considered the appropriateness of the fact that within the harsh economic crisis, “keep jobs for local people” has become the insignia since 2010.

ML19 is a qualified nanny who has worked for eighteen years on a part-time permanent basis at the nursery of an Arab school. She got the job through her husband. She described the work context as very respectful, with no incidents of

discrimination, and where she could practice her knowledge of the Arabic language and the Islamic religion freely.

While taking into consideration the relatively higher levels of education of female participants in London, their narratives favour the prevalence of the view of a meritocratic labour market that highly values objective criteria, such as educational backgrounds, skills and experiences. But, networking and good referrals are also seen as important when looking and competing for jobs. Discrimination has been commented on as existing in a subtle way, in smaller scope than elsewhere in Europe, or even practiced by some employers who are thought to share the same cultural and religious background, as stated above. Wearing the hijab is seen as an obstacle to the chances of getting work, although it could be in an indirect way, such as when an Algerian female wearing the Islamic scarf had been given an appointment for job interview by phone, but when she attended the interview she perceived the changes in the attitudes of the interviewer and that things were not the same as they had been earlier. According to McDowell *et al.* (2009), there is an ongoing, new hierarchy of inequality within migrant labour in Greater London, which is based on legal status, the right to work, ethnicity and skin colour, as well as a hierarchy of desirability that distinguishes migrant workers across racialized assumptions.

Networks, internet, former colleagues, relatives, friends and recruitment agencies are seen as crucial to access the labour market. It seems that “weak ties” (Granovetter, 1973) were more important than strong ones in accessing the types of job the participants have been doing or aspire to do. As stated earlier, upward mobility has been associated to hard work, perseverance and patience. Moreover, having done less skilled jobs at the beginning of work experience is thought not to condition the upward occupational mobility in the UK labour market, as the interviewees valued the “openness” of the British system and the availability of labour opportunities for all. Here, the interviewees believe that social mobility will prevail over entrapment in labour market if migrant workers persevere, study, work hard and try to be active citizens. However, having achieved relatively high positions in labour market may not imply the absence of abuse from native population in some cases as explained above.

5.2.1.6. Differences between Algeria, France and the UK in relation to migrants' experiences

This section does not aim to assess these countries, but to enable migrant interviewees to compare the three contexts in relation to what they consider the most appropriate to their interests as migrants. While France has been considered as a “natural” context for Algerian migration, the UK is relatively new and less explored by Algerians. Interviewees used to rely on their experiences or what they had heard, read or felt as a result of the former.

Two opposite views have been expressed here: ML14 was the only interviewee who saw France as “better than the UK in that the community is huge, their members have good jobs and, thus, they could help each other while in the UK the community is small and its members occupy the lowest-ranked positions”; the remaining respondents preferred the UK as being a “neutral” and “less or non-discriminatory” context for Algerians.

For ML12, who said “What I learnt here in five years, I hadn’t learnt in twenty years in Algeria”, in the UK they have “work ethical standards and respect for cleaners”. She had a negative and hostile experience as a PhD student in France, with the “harsh discrimination against Algerians”. She described the laboratory where she was based at as “exclusively reserved for Algerians”, and where the supervisor, a white French man, used an Algerian PhD candidate to clean the laboratory when he was given money to get proper cleaning services paid.

ML15 narrated her experience before moving to France with her family. She “was happier in Algeria than in France because the community had solidarity and the spirit of sharing”, and she only “realised the difference of colour in France” when she “was called Negro or black and *sale arabe* [dirty Arab]”. ML15 and her sister were “scared to go to play with French children”. But, in the UK, she got a job when she could hardly speak English and despite that she initially wanted to improve her English and go back home to work in a small company. Concerning the existence and practice of equal opportunity, ML15 described it as “true in the UK”. She added, “Here, I am not constantly insulted in the streets, stopped and searched and when I go to the police to seek justice I find it.”

The experience of ML15 (and other interviewees as well) can be seen as different from what is considered to be the experience of many people of Arab/Muslim origin in the UK. How can we interpret this? First of all, many interviewees had the experience of being in other countries for several reasons: to live, for transit, study, tourism or visits; they also have friends who had the experience of living abroad or they may have read and heard about other contexts. When they compare their experiences in the UK with their Algerian or French time they find the UK experience to be more favourable. For instance, ML15, a dark-skinned girl with North African features in France in the 1980s, or ML12 who while studying in France saw that her laboratory received only Algerians and that one student colleague cleaned the place for free when, clearly, it was not her job; additionally, the experiences of the girls with hijab who see life in other places in Europe as more difficult than in London. These negative experiences elsewhere, the position they hold in the UK which can be seen as relatively privileged, and may be that when they suffered from discrimination this was subtle which lessened the harm. This will be seen further with the stories of other interviewees.

For ML20, “To get a job in the UK as in Algeria, you need a network of people. But, in the UK they look for the competence”. She recognised the existence of (hidden) discrimination which is due to the current crisis. “If there are two competent people, a British and a foreigner, they would take the British, of course”, she added. On the other hand, she described France as a country with “more discriminatory” practices, where highly qualified people from Algerian origin face a kind of glass ceiling at work, and some of them try to move to the UK where they could get employed according to their qualifications.

It seems that social class position as reflected in the cultural, material and social capital, the comparison between the perceived situations of Algerian migrants in France and the UK, the contacts (or the stories about) with French-born Algerian workers in London, own (direct) experiences with discrimination and racism in France and what the media reflect on Algerians in France have shaped the thoughts of some interviewees regarding the “openness” of the British system where upward occupational and social mobility is perceived as achievable in medium and long term.

Concerning the media, “in the UK, they are less harsh on Algerians than in France”, declared ML16. She considers London as a great place for studies and good job opportunities which are open to other cultures, and as a system that is meritocratic. In London, she could wear the headscarf in public places, which she describes as “appearing in” her “identity” and could look for jobs. She recognised the difficulties of getting a job, but she considered it easier than in other European countries. As she said, “I’ve been to France, Spain, I felt homesick. Here, they consider variety as a bonus.”

It seems that for the female interviewees, the UK is more tolerant and open to diversity and, thus, to Algerians than France. Freedom of religious practice and cultural traditions in the public sphere, existence of laws against discrimination and for equal opportunities for all, visibility of diversity in a lot of spheres in London, among other factors, could have made this feeling more common among the interviewees.

5.2.1.7. Communication with the Family, Remittances and Networks within Europe

All the interviewees maintain regular contacts with their family members and relatives in Algeria and, in less frequent way, with some friends back home. They use different tools such as the telephone and internet (emails, videoconference and social networks). The youngest seem to be more attached to modern tools of communication. Participants use the telephone to communicate with their parents in Algeria, particularly when parents are not familiar with other means. The interviewees keep more fluid communication with their parents than with their brothers and sisters back home and over the world. In all cases, the attachment to parents back home is high even when, in a case, an interviewee declared her wish to be buried in the UK, which is not very common for the first generation Algerian migrants. The interviewees have got relatives in Algeria, the UK, France, Belgium, Spain, Canada, Saudi Arabia and Qatar.

Concerning sending remittances, six interviewees, excluding the students, send remittances to their families and relatives, in addition to clothes and other goods, to help them overcome the hardships of daily life in Algeria. ML13 used to send money to poor relatives in Algeria.

It seems that the networks the interviewees have abroad are not active in the sense to be of use if they decide to migrate to other places. They are formed mainly by their family members, relatives and less by friends. They use them mainly for touristic reasons. However, for ML13, ML20 and ML14 there was the possibility of seeking new opportunities in the Middle East, mainly in Qatar. But, this would be through direct company recruitment or human resources recruitment agencies. This reinforces the importance of “weak ties” (Granovetter, 1973) for highly skilled people than ethnic networks.

5.2.1.8. Conclusion

Related to the first research question, female participants in London moved to the UK for different reasons: studies followed by work; study, to better their lives and seek personal satisfaction and realise their dreams; family reunification; for cultural reasons; better economic perspectives; and for security reasons. Although when referring to a major motive of migration, the reasons are not isolated but combined with each other in different ways. The socio-economic background of the interviewees, as assessed by their relatively high human capital, leads to the consideration of the importance of non-economic motives. Searching for freedom, escaping cultural restrictions, looking for safety when walking in the streets at night and the possibility of exercising free choice are among the non-economic factors that pushed the participants to leave for the UK. These reflect the diversification of motives among Algerian female migrants beyond “tied migration” (Raghuram, 2004), or migration of women with emotional attachments through family reunification, as Algerian women are also the initiators of the migratory process as shown earlier.

Concerning insertion and mobility within the labour market, the interviewees used their networks, the internet, former colleagues, and recruitment agencies in their search for work and have done semi- and skilled jobs mainly. They valued a meritocratic labour market where objective criteria, such as educational backgrounds, skills and experience generally prevail over subjective characteristics, such as ethnic origin and nationality. Upward occupational and social mobility is seen as achievable in the UK if one works hard, is patient and perseveres. They considered networking as very important and good referrals as enhancing the chances of getting employed. They described the existence of

subtle discrimination in the case of women wearing the hijab, and in another case when the employer was a Middle Easterner. In certain cases, even skilled workers can face situations of abuse. On the other hand, “entry port” or “stepping-stone” arguments prevail over “entrapment” (Booth *et al.*, 2002; Contini *et al.*, 2000; De Cuyper *et al.*, 2009; Korpi and Levin, 2001; Scherer, 2004; Tunny and Mangan, 2004) in the same labour market positions, which seems to be expected from people holding or in the process of acquiring higher human capital in the UK, and harboring higher aspirations vis-à-vis job positions and upward occupational mobility.

In relation to the use of networks to initiate migration, four interviewees made use of them to different degrees: two came to London after marrying two residents in London from Algerian and English origins, one asylum seeker joined her husband already in London, and another had studied and, thus, had previously lived in the UK. The remaining participants built their networks while living in the country. Their networks are formed mainly by their family members, relatives, friends and colleagues. They also include people who share, to a certain extent, the same values and ways of life. They used them for various reasons such as socialisation, getting information about work and other issues, and participating in collective activities in civil organisations, among others. It seems that the view of Granovetter (1973) that confirms the importance of “weak ties” to achieve integration into the mainstream labour market prevails in this case, as the networks of these migrants included people from different origins, but with similar socio-economic backgrounds. In this case, one cannot draw a clear-cut conclusion in relation to the importance of networks to initiate and maintain migration to the UK.

5.2.2. Analysis by Gender: Male Interviewees

The findings will be related to different research categories while, at the end of the section, the four main research questions will be discussed analytically.

5.2.2.1. Motives of Migration

Despite, the presence of some main reasons, nonetheless, there was a combination of different factors which pushed the interviewees to leave Algeria. The interviewees came to London (UK) for several reasons: through family

reunification; to follow postgraduate studies and later get work and integrate into the host society; to work and study; as a result of frustration and disappointment with promotion at work, in addition to having brothers already settled in London, holding an EU passport and in search of better economic perspectives; for economic motives such as to get work and better life opportunities; and to study, work and “know” the world. The motives were diverse and often combine various elements, which reflects the complexity of migration decision-making process, as well as its embeddedness among people from different socio-economic backgrounds and regions within Algeria. In the following lines, the motives and its contexts will be explained briefly.

ML1, industrial engineer, came to the UK twice: first in 1988 when no visa was required. But, he returned in a process of family reunification to join his wife in London. This was a unique case in the samples in which the male interviewee was brought by his wife to the host country. However, ML1 had previous experience of moving to France in 1976 as a student. This was the motive of ML10, lecturer, when he landed in London with a full scholarship from the Algerian government twelve years ago. Additionally, he had two other objectives: getting a job and integrating into the host society, which he defined by paying taxes and becoming active in the society.

ML2, café owner, first move to France in 1991 to study. Then, he returned to Algeria because he “could not make it in France”. Later, he went to Italy where he spent two months and, then, to Dublin where he was caught and returned to Italy. With fake French documents, he could come into the UK. His aim was to get work and further his studies.

Frustration and disappointment with the promotion at work pushed ML3, technician, to leave for London. He had spent eleven years at the same company when the latter decided to fund his engineering studies. However, he remained at the same position at work. Algeria was living its “black decade” and the situation was getting worse every day. His father migrated to Tunisia and married an Italian migrant. Thus, it was easier for him, and his family, to move with Italian passports. Moreover, he had two brothers already living in London. This

combination of factors, in addition to the wish of improving his life standards, pushed ML3 to come to London.

Following the 1988 events, ML4, bus driver, decided to leave Algeria and look for new horizons in Europe. At that time, the UK did not require a visa for Algerians. After a short transit through France, he came to the UK where he finally settled in London, which he preferred because it is a “big city with a lot of jobs and sectors of work”, as well as for being a multicultural and cosmopolitan area with “a lot of opportunities.”

For ML5, officially jobless but active in the informal economy, his migration was clearly economically motivated. In a family of eight boys, three girls and two parents, the small jobs he did in different sectors such as construction, restaurants and street vending were not enough to guarantee a decent life for him, nor to help his family. He spent one month in France working as florist’s assistant before moving to Germany and landing in the UK with a fake French ID. ML6, from a family of eleven children, decided to move to Europe because in Algeria it was “a wild life”, by which he meant a total lack of perspectives. After spending two years in Italy, he came to London in search of a better life.

ML7, designer architect in Algeria and clerk at a bank, from a family of seven brothers and six sisters, left the country after trying several jobs, and his mobility was, first, economically motivated and, secondly, for security reasons. Like many other young Algerians without the prospect of securing a job, or improving their lives, he tried several times to get a visa for Europe. ML11, shopkeeper, first came to London to study English. His motives combined studying with getting better economic perspectives and knowing the world beyond Algeria.

5.2.2.2. Routes and Experience of Migration: Own, Family and Others

The mobility of the male interviewees is divided into nine categories which result from the intersection of two axes: 1) internal versus external versus temporary family separation, i.e. if we refer to movements within the country of origin, migration abroad or the separation from the nuclear family by sending some members to the country of origin for some time, and 2) identity of the movers as explained earlier. “Temporary family separation” has been introduced

in two cases of this research in reference to when the Algerian father sends back home his wife and children for a time-limited stay. According to the interviewees, this could last until the children decide to come to look for work and/or further their studies in the UK or other parts in Europe. In the current research, parents and children are British or holders of EU passports. This is not a case of return migration as children and mothers were born in Europe and have lived there since then (table 5.4).

Table 5.4: Disclosure of the types of mobility for male interviewees in London

Movement	Own mobility	Family mobility including family reunification	Mobility of family members and relatives
Internal		ML3, ML4	
External	ML1, ML2, ML4, ML5, ML6, ML7, ML8, ML9, ML10, ML11	ML1, LM2, ML3, ML10, ML11	ML1, ML3, ML4, ML7, ML8, ML9, ML10, ML11
Temporary family separation		ML4, ML6	

Source: own elaboration.

Only one candidate, ML1, had the previous experience of visiting the UK. Concerning internal movements, only ML3 and ML4 moved from east to central north with their families in search of better economic perspectives in Algiers. Then they moved abroad: in the first case to the UK while in the second to France and, finally, to the UK.

Concerning mobility abroad, ten participants moved to the UK on their own. In two cases, there was a process of family reunification. ML3 migrated with his wife from Algeria as they were (are) holders of Italian citizenship. Almost all the migrants have family members (father, mother, sisters, brothers and daughter) and relatives (uncles, aunties and cousins) with experience of migration to other countries such as France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, Canada and Tunisia.

The new phenomenon, in this case, is the temporary separation of the family, i.e. the spouse with the children leave for Algeria to live and stay in a private house while the husband (the father) stays in London working and sending remittances to the family. The fathers often visit their families, twice a year in the case of ML4 and every three or four months in the case of ML6, minicab driver. In both cases, the wives were of European origin, to be precise Portuguese and Italian who previously converted to Islam. The reasons for this type of mobility, which goes “in the opposite direction”, are mainly cultural and economic. ML4 expressed his worries about the education of his children in a Western culture where “children are free [to take important decisions] at the age of 16; they could use swearwords when talking to their parents; and they could tell them to get lost” if they do not agree with them. In addition to cultural concerns, ML6 wanted to get his family ready and settled in Algeria because he has always planned to go back as soon as he could start up a new business in his hometown. Moreover, the members of both families hold European citizenships and, thus, they could return whenever they want, mainly in the case of children if they want to further their studies and work in the UK or elsewhere. Hammouda (2008b, p. 4) spoke of an almost similar movement as the parent strategy to cope with the “cultural distancing” of the second generation French-born Algerians.

Concerning movement within the UK, five candidates have the experience of living and working in different places in England such as Oxford, Manchester and Kent. Some had been able to move only within the UK as being undocumented made it difficult for them to go abroad for whatever reason.

Almost all the interviewees spoke of the experiences of migration within their families (father, mother, sisters, brothers and daughter) and relatives (uncles, aunts and cousins) to different countries such as France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, Canada and Tunisia. Additionally, almost all of them have had friends who had previously migrated or had been in touch with people who had the experience of living abroad for some time.

Before moving to the UK, ML1 had lived in France as a student while being a contract employee of a big company in Algeria. The case of ML3 deserves a special attention. He was born to an Algerian father, railway worker, and an

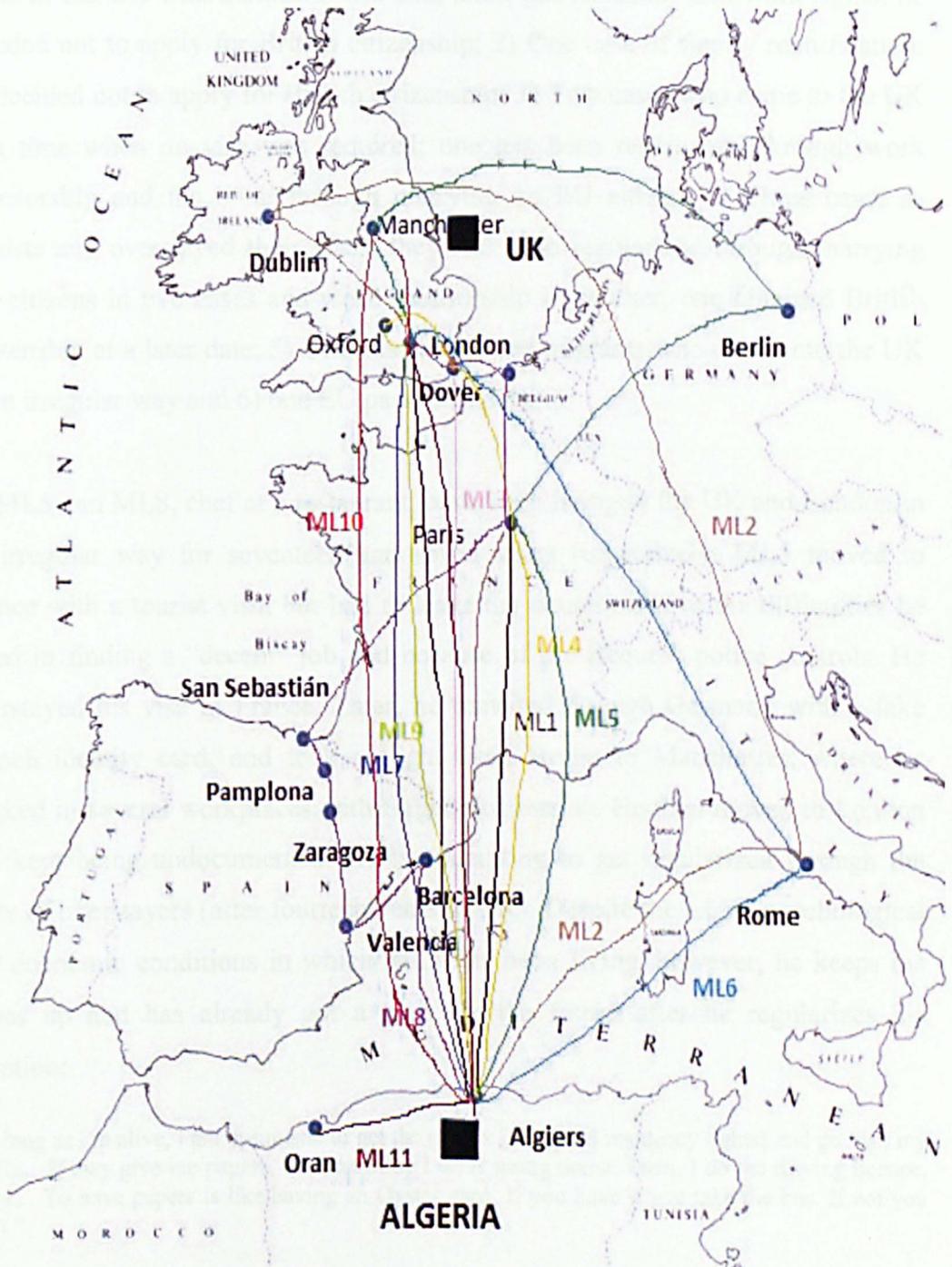
Italian mother, both migrants in Tunisia in the 1940s. In the 1950s they moved to Algeria and had a family. The eldest son is still living in Tunisia while three daughters and four sons live in London. But, why did he not settle in Italy? As ML3 explained, he got Italian citizenship because his mother was Italian. This was very useful for him as it made the move from Algeria easier than if he had to apply for visa. He speaks very little of Italian and had little or no attachment to the country. He then decided to come to London because two of his brothers were already living there. They hosted and helped him at the beginning of his move to the UK. ML3 has three children, all born in London. One of his daughters is currently living in Qatar. It is a case of a family, built and sustained on international mobility.

ML4 moved with his family from east to central north in Algeria in a process of internal, family mobility. His wife is a Portuguese migrant in London. His family is currently living in Algeria. He has a brother who is living in London too. Similarly, ML7 has a brother who migrated three years earlier to Paris. For ML8 who spent two years in Spain (one year in Valencia and another in different cities across the country such as Zaragoza, Barcelona, Pamplona, San Sebastian and Benidorm) and transited through France, Germany and Belgium to finally come to the UK (all in an irregular way, by boat and road), migration is a common denominator within his family and relatives who live across the globe. His motto for all these adventures is “We, the Algerians, when you get something in your mind to do, you will do it and nobody could stop you.” These cases also show that Algerian migrants to the UK transit through other countries than France (only three cases here) such as Germany, Italy, Ireland and Belgium.

All these cases show the embeddedness of different types of mobility within the nuclear and extended family. One could think that the existence of previous migration cases within the family and relatives may encourage other members to take the decision of moving internally and externally. On the other hand, this sort of “culture of migration” (Brettell, 2000; Massey *et al.*, 1993; Stalker, 2000) in the sense of its spread and relative generalization among relatives and friends has shown that it could be learnt and established through its practice. Although less decisive than family members and relatives, the groups of peers and friends seem

to exercise, to a lesser extent, some kind of influence on the decision of migration, as found in the narratives of the interviewees.

Figure 5.3: Map showing migration and mobility routes for male interviewees in London



Source: Own elaboration, based on a map from hydrogen.co.uk. Each colour represents an interviewee.

5.2.2.3. Legal Status in the Host Country

The sample includes four Algerian-born British citizens, one Algerian-born Italian citizen, four holders of an indefinite leave to remain which grants residency and work rights and two undocumented migrants. We can distinguish four routes which reflect different changes in the legal status: 1) One student who came to the UK with a student visa and, later, got residency and work rights; he decided not to apply for British citizenship; 2) One case of family reunification; he decided not to apply for British citizenship; 3) Two cases who came to the UK at a time when no visa was required; one has been regularized through work sponsorship and the other through marrying an EU citizen; 4) Three came as tourists and overstayed their visas; they had been regularized through marrying EU citizens in two cases and work sponsorship in another; one obtained British citizenship at a later date; 5) Two undocumented migrants who came into the UK in an irregular way and 6) one EU passport holder.

ML5 and ML8, chef at a restaurant, have been living in the UK and London in an irregular way for seventeen and seven years respectively. ML5 moved to France with a tourist visa, but had to leave the country due to the difficulties he faced in finding a “decent” job and because of the frequent police controls. He overstayed his visa in France. Later, he transited through Germany with a fake French identity card, and took a flight from Berlin to Manchester, where he worked in several workplaces with forged documents. He then moved to London and kept being undocumented. He is attempting to get regularized through the route of overstayers (after fourteen years in UK). Despite the harsh, psychological and economic conditions in which ML5 has been living, however, he keeps his hopes up and has already got a plan for the future after he regularizes his situation:

“As long as I'm alive, I am optimistic to get the papers [work and residency rights] and go visit my family...If they give me papers, the first thing I do is going home. Then, I do the driving licence, study... To have papers is like having an Oyster card. If you have it you take the bus. If not you can't.”

ML8 lived two years in Spain and transited through France, Germany and Belgium before he came to the UK seven years ago. He has done all this route by boat (Algeria-Spain and Belgium-UK) and road (Spain-France-Germany-Belgium). He has spent all this time being undocumented migrant. He used fake

documents to get jobs in the UK. He started from kitchen porter's position to reach the position of manager in four years before they found out that he was using forged documents and dismissed him. For ML8, "Having papers in Spain is useless" because he met "people with residency and work rights in Spain, but they were living in the streets", as he told this researcher. For him, "The Spanish system is more racist than the British one."

While Clark (2003) considers undocumented migration as a "by-product" of the tight controls on regular migration, Bloch *et al.* (2009) speak of a "geography of undocumentedness", which is developed by undocumented migrants in places where they carry out their social lives. Engbersen (1999) discusses the strategies that undocumented migrants may use to stay in the host country, which include the mobilisation of social capital, marrying a national of the host country, manipulation of personal identity and behaving in a certain way in the public space. The use of false documents or borrowing genuine ones to overcome the difficulties of getting an entry visa, to cross the borders, to use as identity documents and to access the labour market can be seen as survival strategies for some migrants in a context of increased controls of almost all the spheres of public life.

Four interviewees hold an indefinite leave to remain in the UK, including two individuals (ML1 and ML10) who decided not to apply for British citizenship because they are "proud of being Algerian", and that it is enough with permanent resident status in the UK.

ML2, ML4, ML6 and ML11 obtained British citizenship after relatively a long residency in the UK. While ML11 got regularized through work, the other three were regularized through marrying EU citizens. ML4 described his eight years "without papers" as

"with stress. Irregular status means a jail. You couldn't go home and visit your parents and relatives. When you get papers, you enter into the system, you get rights. Otherwise, jobs were available with and without papers."

Collyer (2002) and Joffé (2007) noted that the "ease" of finding work and the lack of identity controls were among the reasons of Algerian migration to the UK.

Table 5.5: Changes in the legal status of male interviewees in London

Interviewee	Status at entry	Intermediate status	Current status
ML1	Tourist visa: left after three days. Family reunification.	Residency and work rights.	Indefinite leave to remain.
ML2	Transit through France. Entry with fake documents.	Regularization through marrying an EU citizen. Work and residency rights.	British citizenship.
ML3	Algerian-born Italian citizen.		
ML4	Tourist visa (France). No visa was required for the UK.	Undocumented in the UK: 1989-1997. Regularization through marrying an EU citizen. Work and residency rights.	British citizenship.
ML5	Tourist visa (France): overstayer. Irregular stay in Germany. Entry to the UK with fake French documents.	Undocumented for seventeen years.	Attempt to regularize through the route of overstayer (fourteen years).
ML6	Tourist visa (Italy): overstayer.	Undocumented in the UK: 1995-1998. Regularization through marrying an EU citizen.	British citizenship.
ML7	Tourist visa (UK).	Undocumented in the UK for 10 years. Worked with fake documents.	Regularization: Work and residency rights.
ML8	He has lived in Spain (2 years), France (transit), Belgium (3 months), Germany (transit) and UK (7 years); undocumented in all; crossed hidden in boats (Algeria to Spain and Belgium to UK); worked with fake documents in UK; still undocumented.		
ML9	Tourist visa (UK) Undocumented in the UK. Worked with fake documents.	Regularization through marrying an EU citizen. Residency and work rights.	Applied for French citizenship.
ML10	Student visa (UK).	Residency and work rights.	Indefinite leave to remain.
ML11	No visa required for the UK (1989).	Regularization through work sponsorship: residency and work rights.	British citizenship.

Source: own elaboration.

Most of the migrants, except two, showed their willingness to acquire British citizenship mainly for practical reasons. These include, among others, to secure their residency and work rights in the UK and access different services within the country, to travel “freely” over the globe if compared to holding only the Algerian passport, to exercise circular migration if they want to move back to Algeria (or send their families) to spend some time there before returning to London, or going to work and live abroad for some period of time. As will be shown later in the section of comparison between London and Valencia, since 2001 more than 1,000 Algerians acquire British citizenship per year, except in 2008 where only 955 were naturalised.

There was no clear identification with the “local culture”, except for some objective features such as work ethics, respect for human rights, equal opportunities policy and less discrimination against Algerians if compared to other European countries, according to the interviewees. They were proud of being Algerians to different degrees. For ML1 and ML10, applying for British citizenship is a symbolic refusal of Algerian origin and culture.

5.2.2.4. Socialisation in the Host Country

Related to their circles of socialisation, the interviewees could be divided into two groups: 1) those having more Algerian friends than non-Algerians and 2) those having balanced numbers of Algerian and non-Algerian friends. The respondents represent different trajectories and their socialisation, whether or not with Algerians, depends on their main activities, interests and expectations from living in London (the UK).

ML1, a regular attendee of Hyde Park on weekends, has a mixed group of friends, with some Algerians among them. He attends Algerian cafés for drink and chat in the weekends, and Speakers’ Corner in Hyde Park, as he explained,

“Before, I met a lot of Pakistanis. Now, you could meet a lot of Algerians. I have four Algerian neighbours. We used to meet in the Aïd¹⁰⁶. Well, there are four Algerian cafés in the north-west of London: Harlesden, Cricklewood, Finsbury Park and Walthamstow... Every Sunday, people come to Speakers’ Corner to discuss about different issues. Also, to show their distress and confusion. One should be cautious when talking [in reference to the hot debates between opponents and

¹⁰⁶ Feast of the celebration of the end of Ramadan (Aïd-El-Fitr) and the feast of sacrifice (Aïd-El-Adha).

supporters of different Arab regimes and the alleged activities of different state-owned secret agencies to watch and control them]. It is a centuries-old practice. Probably around 300 years”.

ML10 is an example of having two spheres of friendship: at work he has a large network of international colleagues and friends, and in his neighbourhood, mainly close to an Algerian café where he goes, like other research participants, to taste Algerian food and chat with other Algerians. Domestic sport events also attract him as they are “to be watched with Algerians”.

The remaining male interviewees have more Algerian friends than people from other nationalities. Those who are married spend the weekdays at work and the week-ends with their families while those who are single spend more time at an Algerian café or Hyde Park after work and at weekends.

They meet people at work, in the coffee shop, at the mosque, at their friends’ homes or at events and festivals. Only three interviewees (ML2, ML3 and ML11) were active in pro-Algerian migrant organisations or neighbourhood and community issues. The others either do not believe in the usefulness of a few, unknown Algerian organisations or lack time and the means of collaborating with them. For ML10, these organisations are “founded by the agents of the [Algerian] consulate” and, thus, their aim is to achieve the government’s agenda in the UK.

ML5 considered that the language and financial constraints push Algerians to stay with their fellow citizens, at least, at the beginning of their migration, as he explained:

“If you don’t know the language, you go to live with your community. I came to London and I went where Algerians gathered. An Algerian who came from Scotland and lived in London hosted me for two weeks... In coffee shops, at work, here, people live in communities. In the World Cup time, there was a party in the street.”

5.2.2.5. Experiences within the Labour Market

For the interviewees, to find work in London is relatively easier if compared to other places within the UK or Europe, regardless of legal status¹⁰⁷. The well-settled among the interviewees confirmed this state of affairs, as ML1 stated,

“It was easy to find a job. In fifteen days I found a job in the hotel industry. There wasn’t discrimination against Algerians. After that, I started to study computing. It was free to study. I started to do qualified jobs from 1992-1993. I’ve lived in the north and west of London in working-class areas”.

For ML1, who had fixed-term work contracts in small private companies, not all the companies fully respect the work contracts and work is never guaranteed. He found jobs through the advertisements in the newspapers, job centres, or by word of mouth.

In the same line of thought, ML4 told this researcher that he got a job in a restaurant within three days of his entry to the UK (1989). He looked for job by doing the door-to-door searches as he said, “You try one, two, three, and so forth until they hire you.” He considers the work conditions and environment in the UK as good.

ML2 has worked in the hotel industry for eight-ten years. Then, he started up his own business, a café. According to him, starting up a business requires three conditions: to have “your head on your shoulders”; to have a niche (and market opportunity) and to negotiate with banks; it is also important to do some market research at the beginning. He has not experienced discrimination. As he explained, “If you work hard, you will find [the way of upward mobility]”.

ML3 is a typical case of status downgrading, i.e. from civil engineer and manager in a big company to a dishwasher in fast food chain. However, he was proud of having helped other Algerians, including undocumented workers by

¹⁰⁷ While being in Helsinki (Finland), the author was told an old story of doubtful origin and veracity circulating among Algerian migrants. It was about an irregular Algerian migrant who used to work in a butcher’s in London under harsh conditions and long working hours. One day when he was returning home by bus, he felt tired and slept. The bag he carried started to drip of blood and other liquids of the meat he took for home. He did not even notice that as he was sleeping. The bus passengers and the driver thought he was hurt, then they called the medical emergencies, and the police came too. After checking that there was nothing, they realised that he had no “papers” and was expelled from the UK. This “story” relates the irregular status (i.e. undocumentedness), work under inhumane conditions and extreme precariousness of (some) Algerian migrant workers in London.

giving them work or referrals. His Algerian engineering degree has not been recognised in the UK. He has done some vocational training in the field of air conditioning and refrigerating where he is currently working. He recognised the difficulty of getting a “decent” job in the UK if one does not have the appropriate qualifications and work experience, in addition to the availability of the networks of people able to help the job seekers.

ML5 had small jobs such as in fishmonger's and fruits' companies where he used fake documents. When out of work, he lived with the money he could save, and got help from his flat mates. He used his personal network which includes Algerians, Moroccans and British friends, job centres or Gumtree (a UK-based network of online classifieds and community websites) to find job.

ML6 has done different jobs such as in restaurants, tailoring, as a driver or street vendor, among others. He is currently a minicab driver working for a London-based transportation company. He finds work through his networks of Algerians and others. For him, there is no discrimination here. As he added, “Everything is open for everybody if he has the right qualifications and papers of here”.

ML7 has explained the usefulness of networking in getting job, mainly for those without documents as follows:

“Networking is important here. You know that man and he calls another one. You come and start to look for job. He says ‘I send you a guy with *m'darrah* [fake documents in Darija]’.”

He provided a good summary of his experience when looking for job, as well as his changes of workplaces in London which deserves to be reported here:

“I found a work at the job centre, but I couldn't speak English. I got out of the job centre and I ran into my best friend and neighbour, R., the cousin of O. He came with me to translate. They gave me a paper and I went to look for the place of the interview. It was a huge building. I talked to the manager. I started as a kitchen porter and became a deputy manager. I worked for three years and six months there. I got an issue with the manager and I left the workplace. As soon as I got experience, I worked in an Australian pub. I worked for big companies. The first job was due to the job centre. The second, I got it thank to a manager in my first job who sent me to apply for job in another company which was about to open. I got problems and I was in prison. They wanted to deport me. I had to sign at the Home Office-Immigration- for four and a half years after leaving the jail. After that, I gave up. I started to use new names and I found job in a pub under a Portuguese manager. He sent me to see a friend of him, a manager in a bank. I worked there three and a half years with fake documents.”

For ML8, who did “a very hard work [which] breaks the back” for only two weeks in Spain despite being there for two years, finding job in London was the result of his own search only. When he was asked if he got any help to find work, he replied:

“You, yourself. Nobody helps you. I didn’t go to anybody place. I took all the routes alone. I never called people. Nobody waited for me. I could have gone to my relatives’. You understand me. But, I didn’t like. I liked to do it by my own. I wanted to get my own experience. And we are now in England with our own people.”

On the contrary, he found job within two weeks in London which contrasts with his previous experience in Valencia. As he said,

“It was easy. It was an emergency work. After three months, I started as kitchen porter, I washed dishes. Later, I became a manager. I worked with some fellow citizens. After six months, they increased my salary. I worked there for four years. As a manager, I handle orders, bring new workers...”

But he was dismissed when the management found out his “genuine” legal status, and that he was working with fake documents. He is currently doing small jobs within the informal economy to survive.

ML9 described the situation when he first came to London as very difficult for ignorance of language and being undocumented. Like ML7 and ML8, he worked with fake documents, although he kept his own name. For him, work is a means of communication with different people, to learn a new language and to “know how the civilization, here, is.”

ML11 combined study and work and, finally, started up his own business, a grocery shop, in continuity with the spirit of entrepreneurship of his father and grandfather. He summarized well his work experience:

“Here I worked in computing at X and Y. I thought of starting up an IT company, but you should have money for it. But I don’t like to apply for loans at the banks because as Muslim and due to my education I can’t pay interests for banks. My father said to me “if you go abroad and start up businesses or you start any kind of work, never bring illicit things to home [things considered *haram* for Muslims. For example: money got working in a bar serving alcohol, dealing with stolen things or with bribery, among others]; otherwise you are not my son...I worked step by step to gather some capital to start a phone/internet shop. I also repaired computers and resolved the IT problems people might get. Later, I opened a shop selling consumable goods without loans. At my time, there was not discrimination or just a little; but, now it is apparent. You should work the double of what natives do.”¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ There were more longer quotes from male interviewees than female participants as most of the former explained in a detailed way several issues. Thus, the researcher decided to insert a selection

As shown earlier, almost all the interviewees agreed that it was easy to get jobs in London regardless of their legal status. They saw changes of jobs and time-limited work contracts as structural features of the local labour market where no work is guaranteed. The forms of looking for jobs varied from advertisements in the newspapers, at job centres, internet resources, by word of mouth information, use of CVs and the door-to-door search. They recognised the importance of networking and the referrals from experienced people.

The male sample of London represents the insertion into the labour market from below as well as from up. The latter has been the case of ML10 while the former was the case of the remaining interviewees. While two participants confirmed the existence of discrimination that has become apparent lately, the others saw the UK system including its labour market as non-discriminating against Algerians. This could be explained by the experience of getting employed in different jobs at the bottom of the labour market all the time, which enhances the idea of the ease of getting employed; the lack of motivational problems that link educational levels with work positions, thus, migrants value earning money no matter the fairness of the wages and/or the matching between qualifications and tasks achieved; the comparison between the perceived situations of Algerian workers in France and in the UK while the former is seen as disadvantaged as will be commented on later; the comparison with the situation of the labour market in Algeria with its huge unemployment, thus any job in the UK would be seen as better than nothing; and the real situation of never get discriminated against as in the case of ML10 who started to lecture before ending his doctorate.

For the participants, mobility within the labour market has been tightly related to working hard, having a recognised qualification and experience in the host country and not in Algeria. The case of ML8 who started as a kitchen porter to become manager in four years while he worked with fake documents is revealing of a sort of mobility that is related to work experience and perseverance. The case of ML2 represents an inclination towards small entrepreneurship among some Algerian migrants as a form of emancipation, autonomy and aspiration to upward

of their comments. May be they were less worry about female-male interactions and more comfortable as the interviews progressed. However, one may endanger the analysis by speculating as some female participants were more talkative, but, here, also is an issue of selection of quotes that truly express the thought of the participants.

mobility. From a kitchen porter working with fake documents, i.e. an irregular migrant worker, to a British owner of small business. ML11 is another case of small entrepreneurship that combines the spirit of independence by gathering his own money to open businesses and the strict observance of religious principles, such as not accepting loans with interest or selling banned items including alcohol. Although it can be described as a “downward adjustment” (Colic-Peisker, 2009) (he has a UK-based engineering degree and a masters in computing), he has preferred to be self-employed in the internet sector, selling consumable goods and repairing computers and accessories.

ML3 represents a typical case of downgrading as explained earlier. This brings to the forefront the tough problem of the recognition of Algerian qualifications in the UK. He did some vocational training in air conditioning and refrigerating and took another job in a new company. However, he considered the harshness of getting a “decent” job if one does not have the adequate UK-based qualifications, work experience and network. Although changing jobs was not uncommon among the participants, however, they could move up in the labour hierarchy, such as from a kitchen porter to manager (even with forged documents) and from pastry work to small entrepreneurship.

5.2.2.6. Differences between Algeria, France and the UK in relation to migrants’ experiences

While only a few had actual personal experience of living in France and others based their views on the media, stories told by friends and perceptions, all of them shared the fact that the UK context is more advantageous for Algerians than France or any other place in Europe. Despite the fact that the interviewees, at different levels, hold considerable knowledge of French language and its context, however, they view the UK as the place, par excellence, for the freedom at large, i.e. less police control or its absence, freedom of religious and cultural practices, less control from the homeland government than in France and less or no discrimination at work. For ML10, “It’s a typical English system. There are advantages for all. It’s a fair system. More advantages than drawbacks.”

ML10 first got his application for a student visa for France denied while he complied with all visa requirements, and this allegedly was a result of the political

situation at that time, mainly the relationship between the Algerian and French governments and the internal situation of country. All the participants who transited through France explained the difficult situation they had to cope with. This applies to the difficulties at job search, police controls in the streets, social and economic constraints that Algerians from working-class immigrant background in France were facing, and the lack of prospects for the future.

For ML11, “English mentality is better than the French one. The French rule with forced assimilation. If we compare French colonies and British colonies, the English give you the choice. You keep your language.” He considered the comparison between France and the UK as depending on the “Algerian and his way of seeing things.” In the same line, he considered that the media in the UK “give the information and the viewer makes his own choice”, i.e. “They respect you and let you express yourself”, while in France they “do not respect the mind of the viewer”, i.e. they give the information, with the party that you should side with, or with the good and the wrong already cleared out.

For ML2, who has a mix of friends even when he has a coffee shop in an “Arab area”, “in Paris, friends are either French or French-born Algerians”, but in London, he suggested the situation to be different as it is a multicultural metropolis.

ML8 made a concise question that shows what he thought, ‘Why do Algerians still go and love to go to France after what happened in the past and what is happening now?’ For him, London and the UK are the better places to be, to live and work: no discrimination, less tiring jobs for migrants, you could move freely and social mobility is possible.

5.2.2.7. Communication with the Family, Remittances and Networks within Europe

The interviewees maintain regular contacts with their family members and relatives in Algeria and, in fewer cases, with some friends back home. They use different tools such as the telephone and internet-based resources (e.g. emails, videoconference and social networks). The use of the former takes place when internet is not available or cannot be used by oldest parents and relatives.

However, the use of internet seems to be generalized for its cheapness and availability in their urban areas of origin. ML4 told this researcher that he used not to communicate with Algeria when he was younger and single, but now as he has his own family living there, he communicates with them on a daily basis. All declared their wish to retire to Algeria at the end of their working lives while, except undocumented participants, they go to Algeria almost every year for holidays.

Concerning sending remittances, the single members of the sample used to send remittances to their families and relatives, as well as clothes and other goods. But, with the shortage of work some had stopped sending remittances such as ML5 and ML8. Those with families in London spend almost all their incomes to cover the needs of their households in the UK, and fund some vital investments in Algeria such as building a house and, sometimes, to help their parents and relatives. As ML3 declared, "Before, I sent money because I was building a house in Algeria. I also sent remittances to help the parents of my wife." Those who sent their families to live in Algeria regularly send remittances and goods to them. Additionally, they save money to start up businesses back home when they retire.

Some interviewees participate in charity work to help Algerians as do ML3 through ACT-UK and ML8 through NAA and AR. The solidarity among Algerians is boosted in emergency cases, such as when there is repatriation of dead Algerians or contributions to pay for the medicine or treatment of sick Algerians with limited resources.

Half the interviewees found support within the networks of their relatives while others, either looked for places where they could find Algerians or got some contacts of Algerians, but without the guarantee of receiving support. They were full of the spirit of adventure, taking risks to achieve their migratory enterprise. Another kind of networking, as commented on by ML8, was that of irregular migrants who transited through places such as Germany, Belgium, Spain and Italy. While this can be seen as fragmentary and time-limited, they form new networks or expand the networks they already had during their transit through different countries and places. Some do family visits to their relatives in Europe and strengthen the links they had, as well as they build new ones as does ML9.

Additionally, the interviewees have relatives (and friends) in the UK and abroad such as in France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, Canada, Tunisia and Qatar.

5.2.2.8. Conclusion

Related to the first main research question, i.e. the reasons of migration, these were diverse and often combine various elements which reflects the complexity of the process of decision making in migration (Massey *et al.*, 1993). The interviewees came to London in a family reunification process; to follow postgraduate studies and later get work; to work and study; as a result of frustration and disappointment with promotion at work; for economic motives such as to find work and better life opportunities; to stay in a safer place; and to get to “know” the world.

A case of family reunification among male participants was documented. Frustration and disappointment at work pushed a highly skilled employee to leave Algeria, although, this predisposition for leaving was strengthened by having brothers already living in London and holding an EU passport. The lack of work opportunities and its precariousness, in addition to the size of the family, pushed some participants to move abroad. In this case, only three male migrants had the UK as their first destination while the remainder transited through different countries such as France, Germany, Belgium and Ireland.

Concerning the patterns of insertion and mobility within the local labour market, the interviewees can be located at both ends of the labour market hierarchy, i.e. unskilled and skilled job positions. A common view among the interviewees was the perception of the relative ease to get work in London, including for undocumented migrants; a finding which was also commented by Collyer (2002) and Joffé (2007). In this case, some worked with forged documents for relatively long periods and even got promoted as shown earlier. Changes of jobs and the prevalence of time-limited work contracts are seen as structural in the local labour market where no work is guaranteed, as was also commented on by Scherer (2004). The participants used various forms in their job search such as advertisements in the newspapers, at job centres, internet resources,

by word of mouth, and door-to-door search. In other words, they used both informal and formal methods of job search (McKay, 2009).

The participants consider working hard, studying and acquiring skills and experience in the UK as essential to climb the labour hierarchy. Networking and referrals were also crucial for job seekers. While some considered discrimination as becoming apparent lately in parallel with the increase of the number of migrants and the diversification of the origins and nationalities, others considered the UK system including its labour market as non-discriminating against Algerians. As shown above, this could be explained by several factors of economic, psychological, social and cultural nature.

Small scale entrepreneurship is seen as an expression of emancipation, autonomy and “independence” (Hassell *et al.*, 1998, cited in Albercrombie *et al.*, 2003) from the mainstream labour market, as well as the concretion of an aspiration to upward, occupational and social mobility. While one business owner believed that it realistically required an adequate selection of the sector, good access to loans and doing market research about the business as the pillars for any Algerian wanting to start up a new business in London, another thought that self-employment should be based on one’s principles which, in his case, included not accepting bank loans with interest or selling goods that are considered *haram* for Muslims such as alcohol. For these migrants, self-employment culminates a long trajectory of being employed in various sectors.

While the second case of self-employment can be seen as a “downward adjustment” (Colic-Peisker, 2009) as explained earlier, the case of ML3 is a typical example of downgrading which may imply deskilling, motivational problems and precariousness if compared with his pre-migration conditions (Brettell, 2000; Khelfaoui, 2007; Samers, 2010). Although when ML3 retrained and took another job in a new company, he has not resolved status downgrading completely. However, he improved his job position and work conditions. Although it requires further research, it seems that the use of fake documents among some irregular Algerian migrants is not uncommon. They use them to come into the country from other European countries; as identity cards; when they apply for employment and even some pay taxes with forged identity cards; and

when they overstay their visas. As stated earlier, Engbersen (1999) referred to this as the manipulation of personal identity, to which he added, the mobilisation of social capital, marrying a national of the host country, and behaving in a certain way in the public space.

Concerning the networks of the interviewees in the UK, they recognise its importance for getting jobs in London, but at the same time they valued positively social mobility within the UK context, which is supposedly based on merits. Only three participants could have counted on their networks in the UK before or upon arrival while the remaining had to build their networks following arrival. The former included the network of the spouse of the reunified husband, the networks of two brothers already settled in London in the case of ML3, and the sister and relatives of ML8 already settled in London, although he did not count on their support.

While some interviewees found useful help within the networks of their relatives and friends, others either looked for places where they could find Algerians or got some contacts, but without the guarantee of receiving support. Some form new networks or expand the networks they have been building along their passage through different countries, although they can be described as ephemeral. Other migrants strengthen their networks through marriage with EU citizens including those of Algerian origin and, later, by family visits and stays with their relatives in Europe. This consolidates their presence in different countries, mainly the UK and France.

At this stage, we can think about an ongoing process of network building among Algerians in the UK since the end of the 1990s, although while it is still in its consolidation. Unfamiliarity with the context in relation to its different language and system, the absence of historical links and the geographical distance, the political polarization of the community, and the then-transmission of the image of a place for radical Islamists in the Algerian media, among others, could have impeded the spread of trust and solidarity among the community members, and thus hampered the networks building.

5.2.3. Comparison between Genders in London

5.2.3.1. Introduction

Comparison requires awareness of its limitations, which include that only some aspects of the samples can be compared. While getting identical samples improves immensely the task of comparison, this can seldom be the case in qualitative research. Thus, this researcher is aware of the limitations of the comparability of the samples. Getting comparable demographic data, socio-economic backgrounds, routes of migration and outcomes in the labour market, among others, is difficult to achieve in the research practice. In the lines below, similarities and differences among samples will be explained (table 5.6, annexe 2).

Access to participants and their willingness to get interviewed can be described as difficult to obtain in the case of males and very difficult in the case of females. Earlier, this researcher discussed the possible causes of this state of affairs. There were nine females and eleven males interviewees, whose ages varied from 20s to 55. While men were mainly from the region of Algiers and its neighbouring area, only three women came from Algiers while the others were from different regions in Algeria. Although there are no differences in the general levels of education between females and males, however, the former have mainly done their higher education in the UK and this could explain, later, the different outcomes in the labour market, as well as the socio-economic backgrounds and aspirations in relation to upward mobility.

While all except one female participant came directly from Algeria, only three males did so, which shows the diversification of the routes of the latter, who transited through different countries such as Spain, France, Belgium and Germany. This may also reflect the clear-cut objectives of the mobility of female participants, and their socio-economic backgrounds, if one takes into account the difficulty in getting visas for the UK for Algerians. The experiences of migration were common among the family and relatives of the participants, and all had friends with migratory experience. The countries of reception included France, the UK, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Canada, the USA, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Tunisia.

They have lived in the UK and London for between seven and twenty-five years. While all females held regular status in the UK and moved from Algeria to the UK in a regular way, three male participants migrated to the UK with forged documents, or in an irregular way, and two male participants were undocumented at the time of the interview. In both samples, five participants were British citizens, which may indicate the relative ease of naturalisation in the UK if compared with Spain.

Female participants were mainly skilled workers, and their work sectors included banking, teaching, higher education and NGOs, while for male participants unskilled jobs were significant, and the sectors of employment were more diversified to include computing, banking, air conditioning, driving, retail store, restaurants, teaching and higher education, and self-employment that includes small entrepreneurship such as coffee shop and grocery store. All the men were employed at the time of the interview. In addition, two had more than one job and other two owned businesses, which was not the case for female participants. This confirms the relatively higher socio-economic backgrounds of the latter (human and financial capital), their aspiration for exclusively white-collar employment and, thus, their social power of negotiation in the host society.

5.2.3.2. Female and Male Participants in London and Research Questions and Categories

What are the similarities/differences in the motivations for migration of women and men? Are there other differences by age/class? There was not too great a difference between the groups of women and men in their stated motives of emigration. There was always a combination of motives for all of them. In the following table this researcher states the motives, as declared by the interviewees, which may sum up more than the total number of interviewees.

Table 5.7: Motives for migration for males and females in London

Motives	Female	Males
Studies	4	3
Refugees (cultural; safety)	2	1
Family reunification	2	1

Continuation of table 5.7

Motives	Female	Males
Study and work	1	3
Freedom	8	
Work		4
Work and security		1

Source: own elaboration.

While taking into account that this study is mainly qualitative and the sample is small and results from a purposeful sampling, however, it confirms the relative primacy of economic motives for men while, for females, freedom along with studying and getting better work opportunities were most important. These may reflect the differences in the socio-economic background of origin, which is slightly higher for female participants. There was an “atypical” family reunification among the sample at a relatively very advanced time of Algerian emigration to London. On the other hand, it may also reflect the fact that migration tends to become less selective over time as the costs and risks fall because of network formation (although not as strong as to consolidate a new migratory system) and the ingrained “culture of migration” (Brettell, 2000; Massey *et al.*, 1993; Stalker, 2000). Hence, candidates for migration from much more modest backgrounds may migrate in different ways.

While moving abroad for cultural reasons such as in the case of being a divorced woman in Algeria, or for safety as an immediately direct reason for leaving, were found in the case of female participants, these were secondary in the case of men and slightly different. For male participants, security was secondary and frustration at work, due to the lack of promotion, was noted and can be related to cultural practices in the companies in Algeria. Freedom has also been seen as a cumulative motive for movement to the UK by eight female participants, which reflects a previous desire of emancipation and independence from socio-cultural restraints. Six females moved abroad on their own while three had their husbands waiting for them in the UK. This relatively high rate of independence may reflect a change that is taking place among Algerians in relation to the situation of women within the society of origin, although the slightly higher socio-economic background could partly explain this outcome.

Are there differences in relation to mobility and its routes? While four female respondents were internal movers, only two males moved within Algeria. If we observe carefully the maps showing the areas of origin (figures 5.1 and 5.4. in annexe 3) of the research participants in Algeria, we realise that female participants came from dispersed regions, i.e. different points in Algeria, while males are more concentrated around the capital and its neighbouring area. A thorough comparison of the maps showing migration and mobility routes for female and male interviewees in London reflects the complexity of the routes of the latter and their transit through different countries such as Spain, Italy, France, Ireland, Germany and Belgium. The former showed more stability, as seven female interviewees straightforwardly left Algeria for the UK.

Seven females had family members and relatives with experience of migration; two whose fathers emigrated first and one moved from another European country in a second migration. Three females and five males moved within the UK. This could reflect the slightly more economically motivated migration of the latter, while the former spent most of the time in London. They all have relatives and/or friends living in Europe, the Arab world or in North America. This seems to confirm the existence of a sort of “culture of migration” when the “knowledge of foreign locations and jobs becomes widely diffused, and values, sentiments, and behaviours characteristic of the core society spread widely within the sending region”, which may favour the creation of a “stronger concept of social mobility” and enhance more willingness for further migrations (Massey *et al.*, 1993, p. 452-3).

Is there any difference between genders in relation to legal status? There were differences between genders in London in relation to their legal status. Female interviewees have held a legal status all the time, while there were two irregular males and three males who had used forged documents or entered in an irregular way by boat. The following changes, when it occurred, were to improve their legal status and facilitate their incorporation into the society. The use of fake documents seems to be more common among males who failed to get a genuine entry clearance to the UK, overstayed their visas or were not entitled to work in the UK. On the other side, some have succeeded in living as undocumented for between eight and seventeen years, which may corroborate the perception of the

lack of control in London, more common in the minds of Algerian migrants (Collyer, 2002; Joffé, 2007).

It seems that the rate of naturalisation is relatively high among both genders. In this case, four participants from each gender were British citizens and one from each gender was an EU citizen, exactly French and Italian. This may corroborate the relative ease of getting naturalised in the UK, although one should recognise that the requirements have lately become more demanding. Another difference is the route to naturalisation which included three marriages with EU citizens and the residency route in the case of men, while in the case of women there was a diversification that included a marriage with a British citizen, residency and refugee routes.

With regard to experiences of the labour market and downgrading in particular, are there any observable differences by gender? Does the UK labour market favour upward mobility or entrapment? Participants used different means in their search for work which include advertisements in the newspapers, job centres, online resources, word of mouth information and door-to-door workplace searches. The London group includes a diversity of labour profiles, with people positioning at different locations in a large spectrum of jobs: unskilled to highly skilled. Female interviewees, as a group, were clearly holding more qualified jobs than males. While four males were unskilled labourers, no female held an unskilled position or was multi-employed. Their socio-economic backgrounds at home were higher on average. They have not experienced downgrading or niching in immigrant jobs such as males have done. However, no female respondent was self-employed or a business owner.

Some male interviewees have experienced downgrading in the labour market, working in migrant niches under precarious conditions (e.g. long hours of work, low wages and instability and lack of safety, among others); some are multiple-job holders while others change work frequently. Some have resorted to self-employment because it allows autonomy, independence and some degrees of upward social mobility. As Khosravi (1999, p. 497) found in the case of Iranians in Sweden, when unemployment is high among migrants, it may push them towards studying or starting businesses. On her side, Colic-Peisker (2009)

considers ethnic businesses in the case of highly educated migrants and refugees in Australia as representing a “downward adjustment” in the labour market, which can be the case of a highly educated male interviewee in London.

Most female migrants of the sample who are at work can be seen as achievers of a “structural incorporation”, which happens when migrants succeed in integrating into the mainstream socio-economic life, while some males have followed a “relational incorporation” which occurs when migrants are embedded into ethnic networks (Portes, 1981).

Although the outcomes in the labour market are different between females and males, however, most of them consider the labour market to be meritocratic and values UK-based educational qualifications, skills and experience. Moreover, networking and good referrals remain also important. Upward mobility was seen as being related to hard work, qualifications, perseverance and patience. As shown earlier, some male interviewees represent a sort of occupational upward mobility, including that achieved with the use of forged documents. While some participants could not see discrimination as a component of the UK system, some reported the existence of a subtle discrimination, and one participant considered discrimination as becoming apparent in parallel with the diversification and increase of the number of migrants in a context where “you should work the double of what natives do.”

With regard to their circles of socialisation, are there any observable differences by gender, age or class? The circles of socialisation of male participants included more Algerians than non-Algerians (nine cases), and only two had balanced numbers of Algerian and foreign friends, while five female participants had more British friends than Algerians, and only two had more Algerian friends than non-Algerians. This can be partly explained by the insertion into the mainstream labour market of white-collar workers, which makes it more likely that they would have native and international colleagues and friends. The respondents represent different trajectories and their socialisation, with Algerians or not, depends on their main activities, interests and expectations from living in London (and the UK).

The male participants who are married are involved with work, and at weekends they spend time with their families, while those who are single spend more time at an Algerian café, MWH, at the place of their friends, at entertainment events or in parks after work and at weekends. Three male interviewees were active in pro-Algerian migrant associations or neighbourhood and community organisations. Female participants showed interests in diverse activities such as attending conferences, public talks and engagement with pro-immigrant and charity organisations, in addition to social activities. This has been enhanced by the consideration as it being “safer for a woman to stay here and to go to the streets by night than in Algeria” (ML16). The lack of engagement with Algerian organisations in London can be explained by the fact that some participants do not believe in the usefulness of a few, unknown Algerian organisations in London, they lack time and the means to collaborate with them or they do not trust in the nature of their activities, agenda and its impacts on Algerians in London.

With regard to differences between Algeria, France and the UK, except one female, all the participants see the UK context as beneficial for Algerians if compared to France. They praised the cultural and religious freedom, availability of work and less discriminatory labour market, fewer controls and identity checks, lack of a colonial past that relates Algeria to the UK, freedom as opposed to imposed assimilation and media “neutrality” in the UK. While they recognise the importance of networking, they believe that upward occupational and social mobility in the UK is based on merits and not ascription and, thus, is more likely to happen for Algerians. The female who expressed her preference for France considered that the Algerian community is bigger and more established, it has more resources, with more fellow citizens ingrained at different levels of French society. This could help the members of the community in their search for work, information and other useful resources. This was not the case with male participants who considered Britain as a better place for Algerians if compared with France, although they recognised the success of some Algerian migrants in the latter. Most of them had some “French” experience by living, transiting, marrying a French national or having migrant friends in France. For some participants, this “image” has been related to the problems Algerian migrants face when they look for work, at police controls in the streets, due to social and

economic difficulties in which the Algerians from working-class migrant background in France were (are) living and the lack of prospects for the future. As a full picture, they prefer the “openness” and diversity of London.

With regard to remittances, six females, other than the students, send remittances to their families and relatives, as well as other goods. However, this is provided as an additional help, reflecting their slightly privileged socio-economic backgrounds among the interviewees. Single males used to send money, clothes and other goods to their families and relatives to help them overcome the hardships of daily life in Algeria, although the current crisis has halted the fluidity of the support. Married males spend money mainly on their direct families in London or Algeria, for building a house back home and may also save money to start up a business in Algeria when they retire. They sometimes help their parents and brothers or sisters. These results can be expected as the socio-economic situation, marital status and the location of the own family, the relations with the family and relatives back home, the strength of the attachments to the host country and future aspirations of the migrant seem to be the determinants of sending remittances to Algeria.

On the other hand, some interviewees participate in charity work to help Algerians in London through some organisations such as ACT-UK, NAA and AR. The solidarity among Algerians increases in special cases, such as when they have to repatriate the corpse of a fellow citizen to Algeria or when they have to contribute to pay for the medicine or the treatment of sick Algerians without resources.

How do changing networks influence Algerian migration to the UK? First, while one cannot talk about a proper migratory path to the UK, however, there is an ongoing process of network building. As stated earlier, the particularities of the UK context as to its language, administrative system, absence of historical past and/or links with Algeria, geographical distance and harsh migration policy require time for learning, adaptation and consolidation of migration and its networks; on the other hand, the polarization of the community, the remaining consequences of the “black decade” that undermined trust, confidence and solidarity among community members, and the generally low socio-economic

status of Algerian migrants in the UK obstruct the formation of a community and, thus, networks among Algerians.

While some interviewees found useful support within the networks of their relatives and friends, such as in the cases of family reunification or with close relatives already living in London, others either looked for places where they could find Algerians or got some contacts, but without the guarantee of receiving support. Transition through different countries may expand the networks, but these may also become ephemeral and fragmentary. Some migrants strengthen their networks through marriage with EU citizens and mobility for work.

5.3. Valencia

The profiles of the participants have been detailed in Chapter Three. A full view of the key informant and migrant profiles and the areas of origin of migrants are given in table 5.8 and figure 5.4 (annexes 4 and 3) respectively. In the following sections, the findings will be discussed in relation to research categories and conclusions are drawn at the end of the section.

5.3.1. Analysis by Gender: Female Participants

In the following sections, the answers of the interviewees will be discussed in relation to the different research categories, while at the end of the section the research question will be analysed in relation to the findings.

5.3.1.1. Motives of Migration

The interviewees moved to Valencia for different motives: medical reasons, postgraduate studies, security reasons, family conflicts, and family reunification.

MV12, lecturer, helped by her brother, moved to Valencia to obtain healthcare not available in Algeria. Later, she stayed as a migrant worker and postgraduate student. MV13, information officer, moved to Valencia to follow postgraduate studies. However, she then stayed as a migrant worker, although she had a stable socio-economic situation in Algeria. MV14, cultural mediator, fled Algeria for security reasons and the threat on her family safety. MV15, auxiliary at a clinic, left Algeria with her family because the situation was “unstable with no safety in the streets”. MV16, translator, left Algeria in the 1990s when several waves of

intellectuals, writers and journalists fled the country for security reasons. MV17 and MV18, cook assistant and cleaner respectively, left Algeria because of domestic violence in the first case and family conflicts with her in-laws in the second case.

MV 19 and MV20, both active job seekers, moved to Spain in a process of family reunification, to join their husbands already living in the city. They also aspired to improve their lives economically and psychologically. The latter meant living in peace for MV19 who, as she said, initially lived peacefully in Algeria, but later things started to change. MV20 had a good economic situation at the beginning, and moved in search of good future for her children through education and good life standards.

Despite the presence of main reasons, nonetheless, there was a combination of different factors which pushed them to leave the country. Additionally, in the host country there have been some changes or a broadening of the initial motives, such as when an initial stay for healthcare, escaping family conflicts or domestic violence, became economic migration and a stay for studies. As shown earlier, here, too, there is a diversification in the motives of migration for women. These could be medical, academic, cultural, safety and family reunification.

5.3.1.2. Routes and Experience of Migration: Own, Family and Others

The movements of the female interviewees could be divided into two main categories: 1) internal versus external and, 2) the identity of the movers (table 5.9).

Table 5.9: Disclosure of the types of mobility for female interviewees in Valencia

Movement	Own mobility	Family mobility including family reunification	Mobility of family members and relatives
Internal	MV12		
External	MV12, MV13, MV16	MV14, MV15, MV16, MV17, MV18, MV19, MV20	MV12, MV13, MV15, MV14, MV15, MV16, MV17, MV18, MV19

Source: own elaboration.

Only MV12 had the experience of moving south-north within the capital area of Algeria for work before, later, she moved to Valencia. While only three females moved on their own from Algeria, six moved with their families or to join their husbands. All except one have migrant relatives and friends in Spain and abroad. MV13 moved from the north-west of Algeria to Valencia via Alicante to follow postgraduate studies. She has three uncles and an aunt in France, but nobody else from her nuclear family has migrated. As she asserted, "In every family one or two have left for a destination abroad." The parents of MV14 were migrants in France where she has several relatives, in addition to a brother in Spain. She came via Algiers to Madrid where she stayed for a short period of time before moving with her family to Valencia.

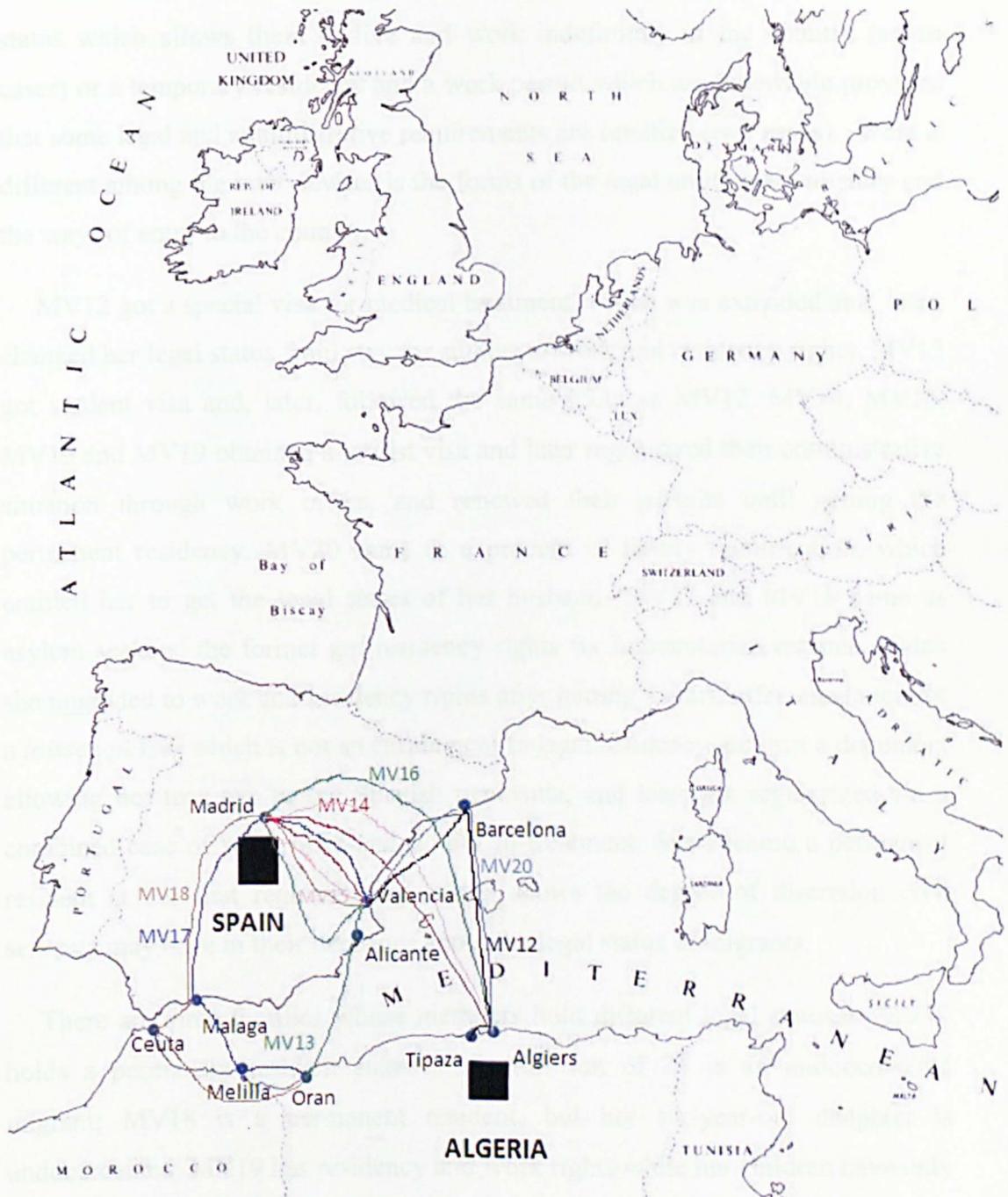
MV16 left Algiers for Spain for security reasons. She had previously lived in the country as graduate student in the 1980s. She has relatives in France and the USA. For the same reasons, a lot of her friends left Algeria for Canada, but, due to the distance, her relations with them have been cut.

MV17, who moved from north-west Algeria to Ceuta, a Spanish enclave in Northern Morocco, first lived in Malaga and finally settled in Valencia. In Ceuta, there is a Centro de Estancia Temporal de Inmigrantes (CETI) who shelters migrants and asylum seekers. She has a brother in Germany. MV18 came to Spain through the same process, but through a different route: north-west Algeria-Melilla-Malaga. She first stayed at the CETI of Melilla (figure 5.5). Then, she moved to Madrid and, later, settled in Valencia. One brother of her resides in Valencia, while two sisters live in Germany and Belgium. MV19 and MV20 came from Algiers to Valencia via Barcelona, through a family reunification process. MV19 has some nephews in Spain and Italy, while MV20 is a pioneer migrant in her family.

Female interviewees came to Spain directly from Algeria, except in two cases where they transited irregularly through Morocco to reach two Spanish enclaves in the north of Morocco (Melilla and Ceuta). The use of *gatáa*, i.e. smugglers, was crucial to reach these enclaves as was also the case in Khosravi (2007). These were the only exceptions of the migratory route of female participants that can be described as less complex, direct and regular from Algeria to Spain. The

following map shows these routes that start from different regions in Algeria (centre-north and north-west), and transit by Morocco and some Spanish cities to reach Valencia: the place of settlement.

Figure 5.5: Map showing migration and mobility routes for female interviewees in Valencia



Source: Own elaboration, based on a map from hydrogen.co.uk. Each colour represents an interviewee.

5.3.1.3. Legal Status in the Host Country

The research participants represent diverse combinations of statuses, including within the same family and household. The cases show the fluidity of the passage from a legal situation to another when the legislation is diverse and the discretion of civil servants becomes larger.

All the interviewees hold a legal status in Spain, being it a permanent residence status which allows them to live and work indefinitely in the country (seven cases) or a temporary residency and a work permit which are renewable provided that some legal and administrative requirements are satisfied (two cases). What is different among the interviewees is the forms of the legal entitlement to entry and the ways of entry to the country.

MV12 got a special visa for medical treatment, which was extended and, later, changed her legal status from stay for studies to work and residency rights. MV13 got student visa and, later, followed the same route as MV12. MV14, MV15, MV16 and MV19 obtained a tourist visa and later regularized their administrative situation through work offers, and renewed their permits until getting the permanent residency. MV20 came in a process of family reunification, which entitled her to get the legal status of her husband. MV17 and MV18 came as asylum seekers: the former got residency rights for humanitarian reasons, which she upgraded to work and residency rights after getting a work offer; the latter got a *laissez-passer* which is not an entitlement to legal residency, but just a document allowing her to move to the Spanish peninsula, and later got regularized via a combined case of work offer and family ill-treatment. She became a permanent resident at her first regularization which shows the degree of discretion civil servants may have in their decisions about the legal status of migrants.

There are three families whose members hold different legal statuses: MV17 holds a permanent resident status while her son of 24 is an undocumented migrant; MV18 is a permanent resident, but her six-year-old daughter is undocumented; MV19 has residency and work rights while her children have only the right to stay as students.

Table 5.10: Changes in the legal status of female interviewees in Valencia

Interviewee	Status at entry	Intermediate status	Current status
MV12	Special visa for medical treatment.	Residency and work permit.	Permanent resident status.
MV13	Student visa. Stay for studies.	Residency and work permit.	Permanent resident status.
MV14	Tourist visa.	Regularization through work sponsorship. Residency and work permit.	Permanent resident status.
MV15	Tourist visa.	Regularization through work sponsorship. Residency and work permit.	Permanent resident status.
MV16	Tourist visa.	Regularization through work sponsorship. Residency and work permit.	Permanent resident status.
MV17	Entry to Spain via Ceuta. Application for asylum. Residency right for humanitarian reasons.	Work and residency permit via work sponsorship.	Permanent resident status. Two minor children are documented while the older is not.
MV18	Entry to Spain via Melilla. A <i>Laissez-passer</i> from Melilla which permits to move to Spanish Peninsula.	Regularization through a combined case of work sponsorship and family ill-treatment.	Permanent resident status. Child of 6 is undocumented.
MV19	Tourist visa.	Regularization through work sponsorship: residency and work rights.	Work and residency permit. Children have stay for studies.
MV20	Family reunification.	Work and residency permit as husband.	Work and residency permit.

Source: own elaboration.

The explanation which MV17 gave about her attempt to legalize the situation of her daughter deserves to be quoted:

“In order to regularize my daughter, I should get a work contract and six pay slips which I couldn’t get as my employer did not fulfill his payment to the social insurance administration. My daughter is a *sans papiers* for now. For the first contract I paid €5,000. A volunteer at VA helped me by making a work contract for me as a domestic helper, while I paid myself the social insurance

contribution which was €150 per month in my case. It usually costs €176 per month in ordinary cases. I spent one year as undocumented migrant.”

A sort of reticence from applying for Spanish citizenship has been observed among the participants, such as when MV12, MV13 and MV18 pinpointed that they did not want to apply for Spanish citizenship and, thus, renounce Algerian citizenship.

5.3.1.4. Socialisation in the Host Country

The interviewees represent different profiles. Their socialisation in the host country varies according to their marital status, socio-economic position and socio-cultural values. Those who are highly educated access mainstream society through their workplaces and networks of friends. They have friends from different origins including a lot of Spaniards. They attend talks, social events and socialise with friends. Those who are religious limit their socialisation to female friends, mainly from Arab-Muslim backgrounds and attend the activities of the CCIV on Saturdays. Others combine religious activities and activism with mainstream organisations.

One highly educated participant founded a cultural organisation for the Kabyle in Valencia. But, she could not continue the work as “people were difficult to handle for their low level of education” and “they were not open to Algerians from other regions.” Another participant is active in a small organisation for Algerians and advocate an education which combines both cultures, while she recognises that the Algerian community is fragmented and shows less solidarity than the Moroccans. For her, Spaniards are open and integrate those migrants who want to form part of the mainstream society.

One respondent has only a few Algerian friends. Spaniards believe she is not Algerian, according to her. She distances herself from Algerians and believes that the prospects for the community are bad because of their “low” levels of education. Another respondent believes that language is a major barrier for socialisation and that Algerians should learn it to “succeed” in their interactions with mainstream society.

While all the interviewees recognised the difficulties that women with the hijab face in their interactions with the mainstream society, such as when looking for work, in the streets and when socialising, among others, one respondent gives a practical example which shows that one can be a woman with the Islamic veil and work in upper-middle class houses as a cleaner, being an activist marching against new migration rules and having friends from all origins.

5.3.1.5. Experiences within the Labour Market

Participants were employed in skilled (5) and unskilled jobs (2), while the other two were unemployed. Their occupational areas included: teaching, cultural mediation, translation, healthcare, culture, hotel industry and cleaning. They looked for jobs by different means, such as at the SERVEF (state-owned employment agency), NGOs offering employment placement, online searches, newspapers, door-to-door search and word of mouth information.

The interviewees have different experiences within the labour market of the host country. The most common observation is that religion¹⁰⁹ in its visible facet, i.e. wearing the hijab, has been identified as a strong barrier in front of the few possibilities of getting employed, regardless of whether one complies with the objective criteria such as entitlement to work, educational qualifications and skills, among others.

The cases show the barrier that constitutes wearing the hijab for Algerian females if they want to get employed in Spain. It seems that the visibility of women with the hijab accentuates the refusal of job offers. This has been enhanced through an apparently significant discretion that employers enjoy. One could think of a remarkable lack of monitoring by public agencies of some practices at the labour markets, which discriminate against people with certain features. As shown in the cases, those who got work had to change their ways of clothing, totally or partially, at least, at workplace.

¹⁰⁹ One should nuance this statement as there has been an overlap between cultural (not in an anthropological sense) and religious practices in Algeria and the Arab-Muslim world. That is to say, wearing the hijab does not necessarily mean that one is religious or conservative. Likewise, if a woman clothes in Western style does not mean necessarily that she does not watch religious bans, for example. Moreover, one can be Muslim by name, different degrees of religious practice, sociologically, among others.

Working without contracts has been reported. It also shows the precariousness of Algerian migrants who combine work and study. In this case, low-paid hard work (e.g. distributing leaflets and propaganda brochures), precariousness and poverty (e.g. how to live with € 2.5 per day?) during studies, exploitation after graduation (e.g. low salaries for migrants), and the obligation of removing partially or totally the hijab if she wants to work have been documented in the stories of the participants.

Stability at work has been seen in a case as a “downward adjustment” (Colic-Peisker, 2009), when highly educated migrants do not look for (better) jobs according to their qualifications. Non-recognition of qualifications is also a big barrier for Algerians in Spain, as well as “downgrading”, especially when some professionals and intellectuals fled Algeria during the 1990s, leaving a stable socio-economic situation.

5.3.1.6. Differences between Algeria, France and Spain in relation to migrants' experiences

While only a few interviewees have the experience of living in both countries, they generally see the situation of Algerians in France as financially better than in Spain. However there are some nuances as explained below.

MV13 sees few differences between Spain and France for Algerians, except the cultural affinity found in the language. However, the perception is that Algerians are financially better off in France than in Spain. For MV14, with the current high unemployment, Spaniards are happy to get work in Algeria. This could mean a shift in the state of affairs, when Algeria starts to receive migrant workers from EU15 countries, a mobility that occurred several centuries ago, as well as in the 20th century. For MV15, migration in Spain is too recent if compared with France, and the country is not properly prepared to receive a lot of foreigners. In addition to that, she pointed to the language as an obstacle, and the access to training and further education as difficult or almost impossible for Algerians in Spain. These issues make the Spanish context less attractive and more disadvantageous than France for Algerians.

MV16 considered France as a country with an old trajectory of receiving migrants while Spain is relatively new. The economic crisis is a push factor; “several services oriented to migration have been cut”, she added. In France there are a lot of social aids, according to her. She also believed that the downgrading, which Algerian professionals have undergone in Spain as a result of not getting their qualifications recognised and the ignorance of the language, has prompted a sharp change in the hierarchy within the families, when the wives succeeded in getting work instead of their husbands. She believed that while schooling and healthcare are better in Spain and France than in Algeria, migrants are better treated in France.

The observation of MV17 is striking as she reported her direct perception of the socio-economic difference between Algerian migrants in France and Northern Europe and those living in Spain at the port:

“I see Algerians at the port of Alicante and I could feel that they are living better in France and other parts of Europe than here in Spain.”

For MV20, Algeria is the best place for Muslims, but France is better than Spain in relation to the rights of women and children.

It seems that the socio-economic situation of the interviewees in a context of harsh multiple strains resulting from the economic crisis, the conditions of migrants from North Africa (with, mainly, its cultural implications) and gender make them seeing the situation of Algerians better elsewhere in Europe, while they lack objective data to assess properly the diversity of contexts and outcomes for Algerians throughout Europe.

5.3.1.7. Communication with the Family, Remittances and Networks within Europe

The female interviewees maintain regular contact with their nuclear and extended families, mainly by telephone and internet. Only one interviewee sends money to help her mother. Three send and carry gifts when they go to Algeria during the holidays, but they do not send money. Another two receive gifts and money from their relatives in other locations in Europe. All have relatives and friends across Europe and North America except one interviewee. These locations

include France, Italy, Belgium, Germany, the UK, Canada and the USA. They built their networks at their places of studies, workplaces, at the CCIV and some NGOs and through their husbands. For the highly skilled, “weak ties” (Granovetter, 1973) were privileged while for the most religious the networks were mainly formed of Arab and Muslim fellow citizens.

5.3.1.8. Conclusion

Concerning the first main research questions, the interviewees moved to join their husbands already settled in Valencia, to further the study and work later, for medical treatment and later work and study, for security reasons and safety, and to escape domestic violence and family conflicts. The interviewees come from different socio-economic backgrounds and hold different aspirations from their migration. Those who are highly educated moved to Valencia for other reasons than family reunification or to escape domestic violence (family conflicts), which include medical care, studies and safety. Those who moved to join their husbands or to escape domestic violence (family conflict) occupied lower socio-economic positions in the host country.

The motives are always diverse and combined; thus, their complexity (Massey *et al.*, 1993). Although when the economic motive was not a direct reason for moving abroad, however, the interviewees had aspirations for better opportunities and life quality. Seeking safety, as well as escaping domestic violence and family conflicts, imply a sort of seeking freedom and emancipation from political, physical and social constraints (Wright, 1995). While three females were the initiators of the migration process, the remaining moved with their husbands or to join them.

Related to the insertion and mobility within the labour market, the interviewees used their networks, internet, SERVEF, NGOs, word-of-mouth information and door-to-door search to look for work. They have done skilled and unskilled jobs. No one was a business owner. Those who were professionals in Algeria had to start from below, as they ignored the “new” language and their qualifications were not recognised, except for one interviewee who graduated in Spain in the 1980s. This implied downgrading and deskilling as shown earlier (Brettell, 2000; Khelifaoui, 2007; Samers, 2010). While religious visibility in the form of wearing

the hijab could be merely a cultural and/or instrumental practice, however, it has been seen as to hamper the chances of getting employed, regardless meritocratic criteria. In one case getting employed meant they had to change their ways of clothing. In a case, studying and working showed to mean a precarious life and poverty.

As for their experiences, they saw upward mobility as hard-to-achieve, if not impossible for some migrant workers, although when they thought that it should exist. This confirms the findings by Colectivo Ioé (2010), Ribas-Mateos (2004) and Torres Pérez (2011). The alleged low educational level of the community has been partly at the basis of this outcome in the labour market, in addition to the “weak” networks in the sense that the community has not a power to negotiate access to useful resources in the host society. Working hard has been praised, but there is still doubt about the “flexibility” of the Spanish system to allow Algerian workers to climb the occupational ladder, as may happen in other places. In this case, it is difficult to assess whether the jobs held represent a “stepping-stone” or “entrapment” (Scherer, 2004). While three interviewees held jobs that matched their educational levels, two did not and the remaining did unskilled work or were looking for job opportunities in the lower side of the labour market.

How do changing networks influence Algerian migration to Spain? Four interviewees used their networks, including those of their husbands to migrate to Spain: one was brought to Valencia for medical care by a brother, one graduated previously in Spain and two were reunified by their husbands. The remaining members had to build their networks after migration. However, they could count on the networks at the place of study, work, CCIV and NGOs. Their networks comprise family members, relatives, friends and colleagues. Places such as work, university, NGOs, and mosque provide opportunities for networking beyond the close social circles. Networks were useful for getting information about the country, jobs, socialisation and participation in collective activities. It seems that “strong” and “weak ties” (Granovetter, 1973) were both useful for the interviewees, who are located at different points of the labour market (bottom-up). In this case, to get work the interviewees are more likely to have counted on “weak ties” or those outside the ethnic (migrant) groups, while for socialisation it seems that “strong ties” with people from ethnic and migrant groups and Arab-

Muslim countries were instrumental for unskilled and active unemployed interviewees.

5.3.2. Analysis by Gender: Male Participants

In the following sections, this researcher will discuss the main research data from Valencia-based male participants in relation to different research categories, and later analyse the answers of the four main research questions.

5.3.2.1. Motives of Migration

The interviewees migrated to Valencia for a wide variety of reasons: political motives, economic motives, cultural reasons, lack of freedom, climate, lack of space, entertainment and fun, better life and work opportunities.

For MV1, linguist, the main reason is his political dissidence and its consequences on him and his family. MV6, owner of a small pizzeria, while he did not come from an intellectual background, however, he moved to Valencia because of political motives, as voicing his ideas caused him troubles. While he denied having come to Spain for economic reasons, he suggested that he might have been influenced by the “fashionable idea of migration”. MV8, jobless although active in the informal economy, moved to Spain because of the “mentality of people”, as they were “bad-mannered”. However, there were also economic reasons and the similarity of the climate.

The lack of space at home, where families of nine, twelve and seven members lived in three and two-bedroom flats respectively, was one of the motives for the migration of MV2 (cook), MV4 (café owner) and MV10 (jobless and active in informal economy). Hammouda (2008a) found that the conditions of housing represented a variable in migration decisions; due to the lack of space and its high costs in metropolitan areas, young and adult people face great difficulties in accessing housing and thus marriage. This leads to conflicts with parents and siblings, thus migration becomes a safety valve. However, they also had further motives such as the similarity of the climate (MV4 and MV2), being a *bled ezzahou*, i.e. a country for entertainment and fun (MV2), and in search for better life and work opportunities (MV4). It seems that the consideration of the availability of more fun and entertainment in Spain as a motive for migration

could be taken as “trivial” and “non-serious”; however, some young males had made mention of it, which may reflect a subtle desire of circumventing cultural restrictions within Algeria.

For MV5, the “class difference” and the “mentality of people” pushed him to leave Algeria. MV9, biologist, sold everything he possessed and left for Spain because of a moral despair of any improvement of the current situation of the country. MV11, owner of a kebab shop, left Algeria because of the lack of freedom, persistence of corruption everywhere, lack of prospects for change, and also in search of economic opportunities.

These cases show that while there were immediate motives for migration, the combination of them is more common among migrants. Political (dissidence; ideology and views; abuse of power), cultural (“mentality of people”; the “fashionable idea” of migrating; search of a “country of entertainment and fun”; lack of freedom), socio-economic (search of work and better life; lack of space at home; crowded houses and areas; class differences; “affordability” of visa), geographical (physical closeness; similar climate), and moral (endemic corruption; lack of prospects for change) motivations were cited to explain mobility to Spain.

5.3.2.2. Routes and Experience of Migration: Own, Family and Relatives

All the male interviewees had either a previous experience of moving across Europe or some relatives who had done that. In their accounts, they recalled interesting details as the dates and places of their travels, and how people treated Algerians at the time. Some of their stories of traveling across Europe, mainly to the south, were linked to a time when an Algerian professional earned 90% of the salary of a French professional holding the same position.

MV1 studied in France and used to travel to Europe in a time when no visa was required and the national currency was highly valued. He first moved to Spain in 1976. MV2 visited Alicante as a tourist in 1987 at the age of 23, to return later as a migrant in 1990. He also “tried with” Switzerland and Germany in 1988 without visas. He has two brothers in Valencia, an uncle in France, some cousins in Germany and an uncle in the USA. MV3 has a brother in the USA and three

others in London. MV4 remembers exactly the dates and places of his travels across Europe, which combined tourism, “business” and to explore the possibilities of migrating. He employs one brother in his café while another lives in Amsterdam. MV5 stopped over in Spain in 1986. He has a brother in Valencia, a cousin and a nephew in the UK, and two cousins in Canada and the USA.

MV6 went to Paris before moving to Spain. Later, he spent three years in Germany before he returned to Spain to regain his Spanish “papers”. The brother of MV7 helped him in getting a work visa for Spain. MV8 spent two years in Paris from 1975 to 1977 before he moved to Spain. MV10 had been to France, Italy and Germany, but he finally settled in Spain. He has four brothers in London, Italy and Spain.

Table 5.11: Disclosure of the types of mobility for male interviewees in Valencia

Movement	Own mobility	Family mobility including family reunification	Mobility of family members and relatives
Internal	MV2		
External	MV2, MV3, MV4, MV5, MV6, MV7, MV8, MV10, MV11	MV1, MV5, MV9, MV11	MV2, MV3, MV4, MV5, MV6, MV7, MV9, MV10, MV11

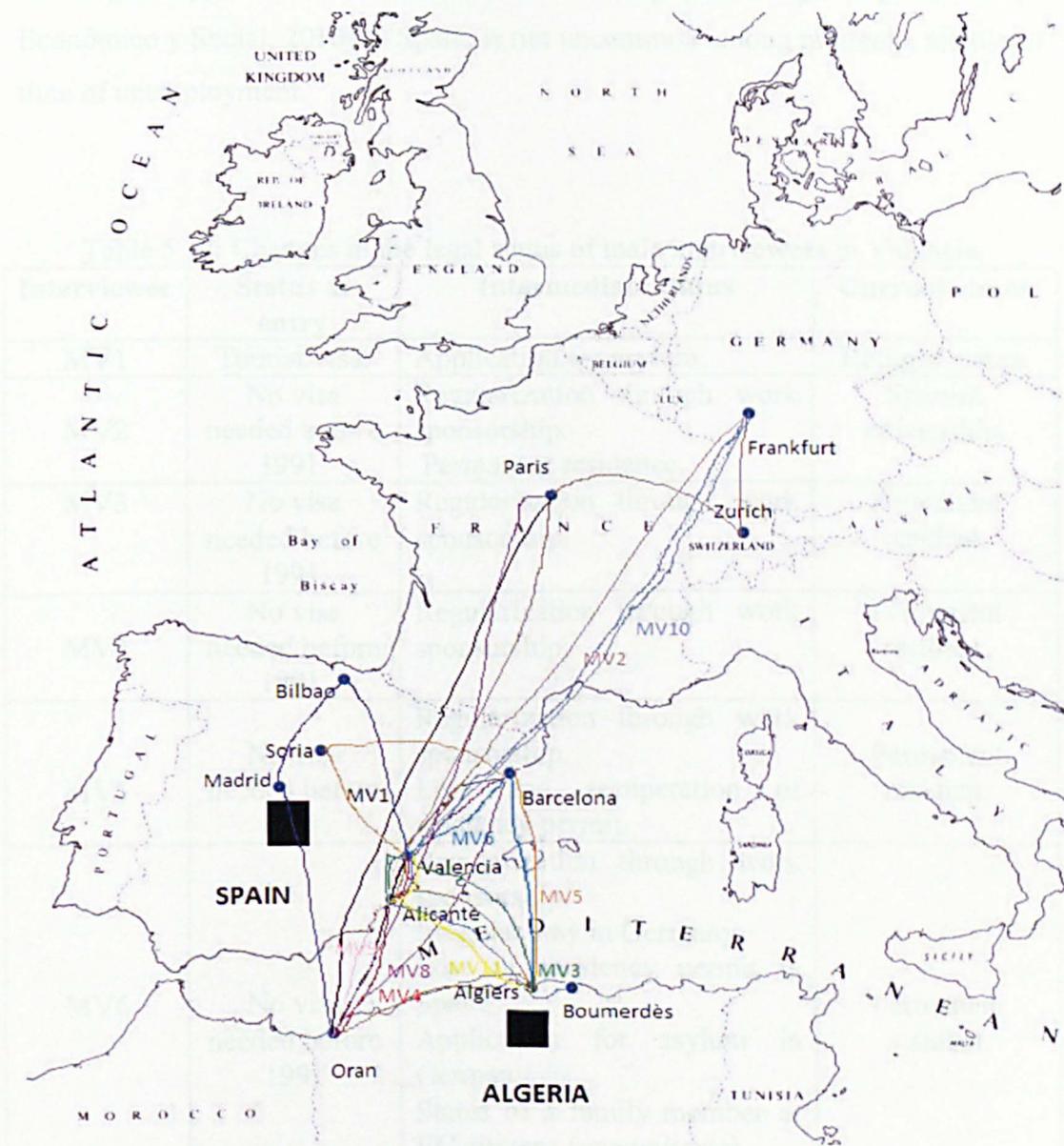
Source: own elaboration.

Only MV2 moved north-west to Algiers for work. MV2 and MV6 are married, but their families live in Algeria. MV1 and MV9 moved to Spain with their families, while MV5 and MV11 reunified their families.

Figure 5.6 shows the complexity of migration routes of male participants in Valencia. Six of them moved to different European countries, either as tourists or “attempting their chances” as would-be migrants in places such as France, Switzerland, Germany, Italy and even Spain earlier. Additionally, they all have family relatives and friends all across Europe and in North America. The routes show the importance of Oran and Alicante in the trajectories of Algerian migrants to Spain, which is partly understandable if we take into account the existence of

the Algérie Ferries in Alicante, as well as the unique airline that currently links the region of Valencia and Oran in Algeria.

Figure 5.6: Map showing migration and mobility routes for male interviewees in Valencia



Source: Own elaboration, based on a map from hydrogen.co.uk. Each colour represents an interviewee.

5.3.2.3. Legal Status in the Host Country

From a legal standpoint, male interviewees hold a variety of statuses: 1) a political refugee who came into the country with a tourist visa, 2) an asylum seeker who came as a tourist, 3) a Spanish citizen after having lived in Valencia for 23 years, 4) six permanent residents with different routes: regularization via

work sponsorship and marriage with a EU national, and 5) two undocumented migrants.

The latter represents two cases of migrants who failed to renew their documents for different reasons: legal and administrative. This kind of returning to irregularity, which has been called “unexpected irregularity” (Consejo Económico y Social, 2010) in Spain, is not uncommon among migrants, mainly in time of unemployment.

Table 5.12: Changes in the legal status of male interviewees in Valencia

Interviewee	Status at entry	Intermediate status	Current status
MV1	Tourist visa.	Application for asylum.	Refugee status.
MV2	No visa needed before 1991.	Regularization through work sponsorship. Permanent residence.	Spanish citizenship.
MV3	No visa needed before 1991.	Regularization through work sponsorship.	Permanent resident.
MV4	No visa needed before 1991.	Regularization through work sponsorship.	Permanent resident.
MV5	No visa needed before 1991.	Regularization through work sponsorship. Loss and recuperation of residency permit.	Permanent resident.
MV6	No visa needed before 1991	Regularization through work sponsorship. Irregular stay in Germany. Loss of residency permit in Spain. Application for asylum in Germany. Status of a family member of EU citizens (<i>comunitario</i>). Regain work and residency permit.	Permanent resident.
MV7	Work visa.	Work and residency permits.	Undocumented.
MV8	No visa needed before 1991.	Failed to apply for the work and residency rights. Could not show the Algerian passport to apply for residency.	Undocumented.

Continuation of table 5.12

Interviewee	Status at entry	Intermediate status	Current status
MV9.	Tourist visa.	Application for asylum.	Waiting for the outcome.
MV10	Tourist visa.	Regularization through work sponsorship.	Permanent resident.
MV11	Tourist visa	Regularization through work sponsorship.	Permanent resident.

Source: own elaboration.

Six moved to Spain when no visa was required, three had tourist visas, and one got a special visa as he was sponsored by a local employer. For five of those who came to Spain without visa, it was sufficient with showing the Algerian passport and a simple request form (or later, a work offer) to apply for the first residency and work permit.

Only one interviewee has Spanish citizenship after a long-term residency in the country. It seems that few Algerians apply for naturalisation (table and figure in the comparison section). This could be explained by different factors. Algerians have to renounce their nationality of origin if they wish to get naturalised in Spain, as there is no dual-nationality agreement between the two countries; however, after naturalisation in Spain, while they are still considered Algerians for the Algerian authorities, they are only Spanish for Spanish authorities, which may constitute an inconvenient while travelling to Algeria; the requirement of ten years of continuous legal residency, in addition to the time needed for gathering documents, getting the different appointments and waiting for the final decision, which requires at least three years if all the stages have been done properly, may discourage Algerians from applying; and the pride of being Algerian is another explanation some interviewees gave.

5.3.2.4. Socialisation in the Host Country

All the interviewees have more Algerian friends than Spaniards, except MV1 who, due to the nature of his activities, has been in contact with more Spaniards and other Europeans than Algerians. MV3 has a more “westernized” way of life and friends from Algeria and Spain. MV4 spends most of his time at work (“Algerian” café) and, thus, with Algerians. For MV6, he has learnt by doing as he came to Spain without any previous knowledge of the country or its language.

He “listened to what people told” him and looked for Algerians in the cities where he went. He socialises mainly with Algerians in the area of Russafa, when they meet for a coffee, chat and to play card game. MV7 shares a flat with Algerians. The landlady, a neighbour in his native city, lets him pay the rent late in the case of financial constraints.

MV8, an undocumented migrant after thirty-six years of residency in Spain, described his particular way of behaving in the city to avoid police control:

“The police don’t use to stop and search me because I use to go alone, well-clothed and I avoid some places, mainly with conflicts. Even once they stopped me, then they let me go after they saw I didn’t have problems. The police stop you if you go with two or three people [he means with men with North African physical traits]. I know when and where to go to avoid police controls. I don’t go to the train station at certain hours.”

He described the habit of standing out of the Algerian café on the sidewalk and when the police come to say to people not to do that, but to stay inside. The same recommendation which the AAB in collaboration with the Metropolitan police tried to advance, in one of its campaigns, to Algerians in the Blackstock Road area in London.

MV9 was the only interviewee who regularly attends the activities of CA. The lack of interest shown in this organisation can be explained by different factors. Firstly, the lack of interest in community organisations as a general feature in Algeria. This could partly reflect the disenchantment with politics and the management of public affairs in the polity. The lack of trust in the efficiency and usefulness of these organisations, as felt and voiced through rumors about the misappropriation of public funds, and services that are only given to satisfy own interests and/or the Algerian-state agenda. The alleged relations they maintain with the Algerian authorities. It was not uncommon the claim that Algerian migrants have not seen any “useful outcome for them”. As in London, Algerian community organisations have been small and ephemeral, and suffered from the lack of funding, trust and limited connections within the community. Other explanations could deal with the general educational levels and socio-economic conditions of the community, which impede their contribution with money or time to these organisations.

5.3.2.5. Experiences within the Labour Market

The interviewees held different jobs which can be divided into five main categories: professionals (linguist and biologist), skilled manual workers (aluminum fitter and cook), self-employed (café, kebab shop, pizzeria), and jobless people working in the informal economy, including some irregular activities and/or receiving very poor unemployment benefits or sick pay. Thus, they work in different sectors at various levels of occupational hierarchy. The two highly skilled tried to reconstruct their professional careers after leaving Algeria, and apparently they are achieving well in both cases if we take into account the structural, institutional and symbolic characteristics of the local context, and their relatively short presence in Spain, four and two years respectively. They used their recently constructed networks through workplaces, organisations and internet. Their human capital and financial resources were useful in shortening the process of getting employed, and constructing new circles of socialisation in a short time. They had their qualifications recognised, have not suffered downgrading or deskilling, and their aspirations seem realistic and achievable.

The owners of small businesses come from two main trajectories: one from a stable employment as a skilled labourer at a well-known company for ten years, while the other two did different unskilled jobs in different places within and outside Spain. Starting up a new business, whether it is small and gets the bulk of its clients from the same ethnic group or from outside the group of North Africans, can be seen as a good shift towards economic emancipation in an adverse context for getting jobs or starting up a business, in addition to discrimination and hostility towards North Africans.

Some interviewees move between formal and informal work. The latter could include some “illegal” activities. For instance, the owner of a café which is a legal and formal business is allowed to sell coffee to his clients, but, he could, while he is not formally entitled to do, sell other goods such as tobacco, brought in from other countries at lower rates. This combination of formal and informal activities can be joined by an “illegal” activity, when some clients come with goods of dubious origin to sell within the café. Some argue that people do this because they need to survive, while others consider that for some migrants this has become a way of life.

As a skilled manual worker, one interviewee seems have had a stable career since he has moved to Spain, working as a cook all the time except during two years when he owned a halal shop. The remaining interviewees have unstable careers, combining employment in different sectors (agriculture, construction, hotel industry and security) and geographical mobility across Spain. Additionally, it included periods of unemployment and informal activities such as selling and buying different types of goods.

All but two interviewees reported the discrimination they faced when they looked for jobs, housing, at police 'stop and search' or in social contexts. It seems that physical visibility and the "bad reputation", in addition to the current economic crisis have accentuated the negative perception of the community. Two of the business owners chose this path for independence and autonomy, and to circumvent discrimination and secure jobs in a harsh context. It is striking that one of the research participants has his own typology of racism which includes: "intelligent racism is when they respect human beings", i.e. it is a hidden form; "brutish racism is when they think we take their resources; they are openly racists"; and "biological racism, for example: they [Spaniards] accept an English bar with problems, for example: people outside fighting, shouting..., and they don't call the police, while if they are Algerian, they call the police as soon as possible."

5.3.2.6. Differences between Algeria, France and Spain in relation to migrants' experiences

Almost all the interviewees hold negative perceptions and unambiguous feelings about the situation of Algerians in Spain if compared with other countries, but in different degrees. They could have had better experiences in other places. For them, generally the situation of Algerians in Northern Europe and North America is better than in Spain. However, there is no agreement about which countries these could be. For the highly qualified, there are other horizons, but they cannot work freely in Europe for the moment.

For MV1, France is the country of his postgraduate studies, business travel and touristic visits, in addition to his cultural activities. For MV9, who has a brother living in France, there is no comparison as the community is small, with less

resources and grim prospects in Spain. MV3 felt that Spaniards were racist at work and when he tried to rent a house. He has two brothers in London and thinks they live better than him, as they are already British nationals and, thus, “enjoy a lot of rights”.

For MV5, Algerian migrants in France enjoy a lot of rights such as the pensions they get. He mistrusted Spanish administration as do other Algerian clients at the café. For MV8, Spaniards have changed nowadays, and if there is more racism it is because there are a lot of foreigners in Spain. What he most likes is the peace of mind and the freedom of public and personal life. For MV11, Europe is not easy to live in; one should make his own path through hard work and intelligence. As he said, “one shouldn’t waste time here.”

It was not uncommon among the participants the view that there was institutional discrimination and racism against Algerians in Valencia. Different migrants in different interviews confirmed what they considered to be the “benevolent” character of the Basques who “help” and “do not discriminate against Algerians”. If one compares the social services, allowances and benefits in the Basque Country and the Valencia region, it becomes evident the existence of sharp differences in the entitlement by law for migrants, as well as in the amounts of the help which really exist. But, this could not explain the above mentioned perception.

Although with some exceptions, however, their experiences in Valencia have been marked by precarious, low-paid jobs and isolation from the mainstream society, regardless if Algerians in Valencia are rather dispersed than concentrated in the urban area. The police raids and strong crackdowns of some years ago still in the memory of people, and have shaped the perceptions of the native population. This, in turn, may have enhanced certain individual and institutional behaviours.

There were two opposite views about whether it is suitable to educate children in Algeria until they acquire practical knowledge of the local culture and language, and later bring them back to Spain (MV5), or let them go to Spanish schools where education is better than in Algeria (MV6). It seems that they share

a sort of disconformity with some types of values: the former privileges the maintenance of the Algerian culture and language, and fears the “contamination by strange values and morals”, which could challenge the core foundations of family relationships as established in the Algerian society, while the latter considers the “low quality of Algerian schooling as problematic for the future of his daughter.” Above all the opinions expressed by the interviewees, it seems that they all agree on the fact that they left Algeria to better their own and families’ lives, no matter the European country they live in.

5.3.2.7. Communication with the Family, Remittances and Networks within Europe

All the interviewees maintain fluid and frequent communication with their families (own family and parents) and relatives, except one who, due to his unstable socio-economic and judicial situation, maintains distanced relationship with his family. They use mainly the telephone and sometimes the post. Nine participants go almost every year to Algeria while the remaining two cannot move because they are undocumented. Some send remittances to their relatives back home, as well as some goods and gifts to support them while others, due to the shortage of work, could barely send remittances or call at the same previous frequency. The professionals are from middle-class background, whose families do not require support. The remaining interviewees help their families according to their socio-economic situation.

They have relatives and friends in Spain, France, Germany, the UK, the Netherlands, Italy, Canada and the USA. They find it useful to have a network of relatives and friends across Europe, because it could help them if they decide to move to other countries to overcome unemployment and precariousness in Spain, as some have done by moving to France in search of jobs, supported by their France-based networks. It is almost a constant refrain that Algerian newcomers with fewer resources would rather look for places where they could find fellow citizens, or get some contacts with other Algerians, although without the guarantee of finding help. Russafa is one of them. Almost all but two came full of the spirit of adventure and took risks to achieve their migratory enterprise, while they lacked resources at the beginning, and had to build their networks in place.

5.3.2.8. Conclusion

Concerning the motives of migration, the research participants have combinations of motives, although when one could signal an immediate reason for leaving Algeria. As found earlier, this shows the complexity of the migration process (Massey *et al.*, 1993). Political, cultural, socio-economic, geographical and moral are the reasons that pushed the interviewees to leave Algeria. Two individuals from high socio-economic and educational backgrounds had political motives while the remaining had different motives that included political motives in one case, but combined with other types of reason such as the lack of space at home, search of work and entertainment and fun, and seeking freedom.

Related to the insertion and mobility within the labour market, the interviewees used their networks, workplaces, the internet, SERVEF, NGOs, word-of-mouth information and door-to-door searches when looking for work. They have done skilled and unskilled jobs while two were unemployed, although active in the informal economy, and three were self-employed. There were no cases of downgrading, as the interviewees had job positions almost according to their levels of education, although with some nuances. The case of MV1 and MV9 is of note as they had their qualifications recognised, while the only impediment was for the latter who was waiting to resolve his legal status. The unskilled participants showed a “big” flexibility in the sense that they changed sectors of work, jobs and moved geographically to a greater extent than the skilled participants, as was also commented on by Torres Pérez (2011). Discrimination has been signaled as structural, institutionalized and affecting more North Africans in the urban area. For several interviewees, the Basque Country region would be better for Algerians than Valencia.

Small entrepreneurship in the form of coffee shops, halal shops or small pizzerias were considered a way of emancipation, independence and defence strategy to achieve, at least, two objectives: facing discrimination and racism and keep oneself employed at a time of huge unemployment. However, those who started up businesses were well-established migrants. One can consider small entrepreneurship as a path for upward occupational mobility as those who held unskilled jobs were all time entrapped at the lower end of the labour market.

How do changing networks influence Algerian migration to Spain? Amazingly and as might be expected, only one migrant used his network, in this case his brother's, to move to Valencia. He was a recent migrant who had been sponsored by his brother's employer while the others, established settlers, move without visas at the time, or it was relatively easier to get tourist visas for Algerians, due to the value of the national currency, and people were not too keen on migration to Spain, among other possible reasons. They used "strong" and "weak ties" (Granovetter, 1973) and were located at different points of the labour market (bottom-up). However, the community is relatively small and does not have the resources to build strong networks, which could contribute to better labour market outcomes and continuing migration geography from Algeria.

5.3.3. Comparison between Genders in Valencia

5.3.3.1. Introduction

While being useful, comparison has its limitations as the samples cannot be compared in every aspect. Some comparative features of the sample are shown, such as duration of stay in Spain, legal status, mobility, educational levels and sectors of work (table 5.13 in annexes).

Access to migrant participants and their willingness to get interviewed can be described as easy in the case of males and difficult in the case of females. Earlier, the author discussed the possible causes of this state of affairs. There were nine females and eleven males interviewed, whose ages varied from their 20s to 59. They were mainly from the regions of Algiers and Oran. Females as a group were better educated than males. However, there is no huge difference in the types of job positions they hold if we consider the male workers occupying skilled manual positions and those having done vocational training, while slightly more than half of females had a tertiary qualification. No male experienced downgrading if one matches educational qualifications with job positions in the sample.

All participants came directly from Algeria to Spain. However, males moved further after coming to Spain in two forms: within Spain (8) which was related to geographical mobility for work, and abroad (6) for tourist reasons, as well as for "attempting their chances" within other EU countries. There is a diversification in the legal status of males while all females are residents. No male was brought to

Spain as a result of family reunification with a spouse already settled in the country.

5.3.3.2. Female and Male Participants in Valencia and Research Categories

What are the similarities/differences in the motivations for migration of women and men? Are there other differences by age/class? There is a variety of motives for migration among male and female interviewees. While females migrated for medical reasons, studies, security reasons and safety, domestic violence and family reunification, male interviewees fled Algeria for economic reasons, political purposes and safety, cultural reasons, lack of space at home and freedom in a general sense. It seems that while female migrants had a first and clear-cut objective, males combined different motives, except those who migrated for political reasons and for safety.

Those who claimed asylum were professional from the upper middle class while the remaining were working-class individuals, whose migrations were economically motivated. There was no case of family reunification among males while there were two among female participants. Some men expressed their desire for freedom from a society characterised by endemic corruption, burgeoning class differences and lack of space at home. While not being principal motives, however, the similarity of climate has been signaled along with the opportunities for entertainment and fun. As expressed earlier, this may reflect the desire of freedom from a society with cultural constraints acting as a means of control of the individual behaviours. Those with intellectual interests have expressed the gaps and constraints, emanating from a “mentality” considered as “backward”, and hampering the advancement of the country.

Are there differences in relation to mobility and its routes? In both groups, one female and one male had experienced mobility within Algeria before leaving for Spain. All of the men had moved to, at least, two European countries, with five of them having lived for some time in another European country before moving permanently to Spain. Females were less mobile in this sense, as they came directly to live and stay in Spain. Except for one female, all the participants had relatives and friends in other countries. Eight males were geographically mobile within Spain in order to look for work while no female did. Thus, uncertainty

characterised the routes of males from the beginning. For some males, Spain was available without a visa, Algerian currency was relatively valued and, thus, it was less risky to move to Spain and other destinations in Europe.

Is there any difference between genders in relation to the legal status? Surprisingly, all the males entered the country in a regular way, either with a tourist visa or without it, as it was not required at the time, while two females came in an irregular way through Ceuta and Melilla. However, they moved with their families. Males showed a diversification of legal statuses which included refugee, asylum seeker, permanent resident, citizen and undocumented because of the loss of legal entitlement, not an irregular migration. Those who claimed asylum were male professionals from upper-middle-class backgrounds. There was no case of family reunification among males while there were two cases among female participants. While females were all resident, however, they represent different forms of legal entitlement to entry and the ways of entry to the country. Two females were heads of families whose members held different statuses. The rate of naturalisation is too low, as only one man got Spanish citizenship after he has lived 23 years in the country. Thus, those who are long-term settlers did not get Spanish citizenship and had not applied for it.

With regard to experiences of the labour market and downgrading in particular, are there any observable differences by gender? Does the labour market favour upward mobility or entrapment? The experiences of the labour market for the majority of males were marked by what they described as discrimination and racism, ingrained in the society, at both institutional and public levels. The professionals used “weak ties”, as their networks mainly comprised local and/or European people, while low-skilled members used mainly “strong ties” of co-ethnics and other Arab and Muslim living in the area (Granovetter, 1973). They combine formal and informal methods (McKay, 2009) of job search, such as networking, SERVEF, door-to-door searches, specialist newspapers, and more recently through the use of IT means, such as online-based job browsers.

Women wearing the hijab have experienced huge difficulties in the labour market. These may emanate from a cultural interpretation of the veil as an indicator of an impossible integration into work and other facets of mainstream

life. This means that this cultural practice is seen as obstacle for integration, a barrier for communication, and a reflection of a “strange” mode of doing things, which is thought not to have place within the local culture (work and socialisation).

The combination of activities within formal and informal economy, as well as between legal and “illegal” activities, can be seen among some male workers. Flexibility included frequent changes of jobs and work sectors, geographical mobility and disadvantaged conditions of employment. Downgrading was commented on in the case of some females, but not for males. In this case, it was accepted for instrumental reasons, such as earning a living and renewing work and residence permits. Some males bypass the barriers for integration and mobility within the labour market by starting up businesses. These are mainly small and serve mainly a migrant clientele and only a few Spanish nationals. In the same line, no female from the sample is a business owner while three males were. Although when small entrepreneurship can be seen as a way to overcome unemployment and discrimination, however, it does not represent a “downward adjustment” (Colic-Peisker, 2009) in this case, but, autonomy and “independence” (Hassell *et al.*, 1998, cited in Albercrombie *et al.*, 2003).

With regard to their circles of socialisation, are there any observable differences by gender, age or class? Socialisation in the host country varies according to the socio-economic position, marital status and cultural values. Those who are highly educated access mainstream society, mainly, through their work and study places, and networks of colleagues and friends. They are used to having friends of different origins including a lot of Spaniards. They used to attend talks, social events and socialise with friends. Among females, those who are religious limit their socialisation to female friends, mainly from Arab-Muslim backgrounds and attend the activities of the CCIV on Saturdays. Others combine religious activities and mainstream life. Unskilled male workers attend regularly the Algerian café, where they meet fellow citizens, exchange information, consume Algerian food and drinks, and play cards games. They mainly move among networks of Algerians and Arab-Muslim males. Only one female and one male were involved with an Algerian organisation in Valencia.

With regard to differences between Algeria, France and Spain in relation to migrants' experiences, the perception that France and Northern Europe are places where Algerians are better off prevails among the participants. Some voiced the existence of discrimination and racism in Valencia (Spain). As stated earlier, the experiences of some workers in the labour market, women with hijab, identity checks in migrant and other areas, and the scarce social assistance (or its lack), especially in a time of sharp unemployment, exacerbate the feeling of discrimination among migrant participants. On the other hand, it is interesting when a female interviewee used as a proxy to the differences between Algerians in Spain and Northern Europe, the port of Alicante where Algerian migrants gather to take the Algérie Ferries during summer. She felt they lived better than Algerians in Spain.

With regard to sending remittances, this is a sharp differentiator between the females and males of the Spanish sample. While female participants do not send money except one interviewee, male migrants, except the two professionals and a young jobless man, send both money and goods to their families. It seems that, in this case, there is a relationship between the socio-economic status of migrants in the host country and that of their families back home, whose interaction conditions the sending, or not, of remittances and gifts. Those whose families in Algeria are from middle class background do not send money, but bring small gifts when they go to Algeria for holidays. Those from modest backgrounds help their families when they can afford it. The exception is one male whose relationship with his family back home seemed irregular and distanced.

5.4. Comparison between London and Valencia

Although as Peach (1999, p. 320) signaled, "Cross-national comparisons are always attractive for conversational purposes, but rarely satisfactory in academic terms. It is simply too difficult to control for the variables", however, there is a need for comparative analysis (King, 2002). There is a difference in the availability of quantitative data about Algerian migrants in both locations. In this case, the researcher has less quantitative data for London than Valencia, as in the latter we know almost the exact numbers of the "small" communities in almost every region, while in the former one can only use estimations, which come from generalizations that are based on samples (INE, 2010; ONS, 2011; Spencer,

2005). In addition, not all data are comparable and, thus, one should be cautious when comparing. As Friedman (1986, p. 69) noted, cities differ in their ways of integrating into the global economy, “historical past”, “national policies” and “cultural influences”. London is the first city of the UK while Valencia is only Spain’s third city. However, at the same time, the largest Algerian communities abroad, out of France, are in Spain and the UK respectively; and the largest single Algerian communities in the UK and Spain are in Greater London and the Comunidad Valenciana respectively.

Comparing requires getting the terms defined and the differences identified (Ribas-Mateos, 2004). In this case, these are two different national settings, with different political traditions, demographic situations and economic needs (Schnapper, 1992), among other factors. The usefulness of cross-national research has been related to three objectives: to examine the applicability of theoretical propositions in a different national context; to create “typologies of interaction” across different national contexts: and to generate broader “concepts and propositions” (Ribas-Mateos, 2004, p. 1048). It is important to study the differences by gender and the influence of the culture of origin (OECD, 2007).

Both samples in London and Valencia have included Algerian migrants with different profiles. This means different, objective and subjective characteristics. They differ in age, gender, socio-economic backgrounds, motives of migration, legal status, occupations, socialisation, thoughts about the current situation of Algerians abroad, and the prospects for the future, among others. Table 5.14 (annexe 6) compares the main research data between London and Valencia.

There was a huge diversity of motives for migration which erodes any single theory of migration, as showed earlier. However, the diversity of reasons can be shaped by the combined effect of the internal situation of the country, socio-economic backgrounds, interests of the migrants, and the migration policies in play in the UK and Spain.

Related to the mobility, data on Algerian students show that there were 544 Algerian students in higher education in the UK by 2005 (Change Institute, 2009) and 291 in Spain (INE, 2012). Thus, the possibility of getting Algerians moving

for studies to the UK, mainly London, should be higher than in Valencia (Spain). It seems that fewer Algerians apply for asylum in Spain. Data from the UNHCR (2012) show that there were almost always higher number of asylum applicants in the UK than in Spain. As shown earlier, this research is descriptive and the sampling was purposeful. Thus, there was no aim at representativeness. However, the findings of this research reflect the general tendencies as shown by the quantitative data.

Three male participants reported the lack of space (reduced number of rooms for the whole family) as a motive for migration while no interviewee mentioned this in London. This could reflect the relatively higher socio-economic status of London migrants, which confirms the view among migration scholars that it is not the very poor who migrate, particularly taking into account the distance and cost of living in London. In this case, moving to London would require a higher financial capability and sorting out more obstacles in pre-entry and entry. Almost no women considered looking for job as a first motive in either location, which confirms three things: they came for other reasons such as to study, for safety or to join their husbands; they were from middle socio-economic background in Algeria, and they also came for cultural reasons. Few migrants had clear-cut first objectives, as it was always a combination of objectives or a first objective that sets the path for others.

All the females in both places came legally to London and Valencia, except in two cases where they passed through the Centro de Estancia Temporal de Inmigrantes (CETI) in Ceuta and Melilla. All the males came to Valencia legally and did not experience work with fake documents, while in the case of London four came in an irregular way and six used fake documents for work at some time. One aspect that is striking is the difference in the rate of naturalisation between both groups. In fact, it seems that Algerian residents in UK are more open to acquiring British citizenship than Algerian residents in Spain, as the following table shows clearly.

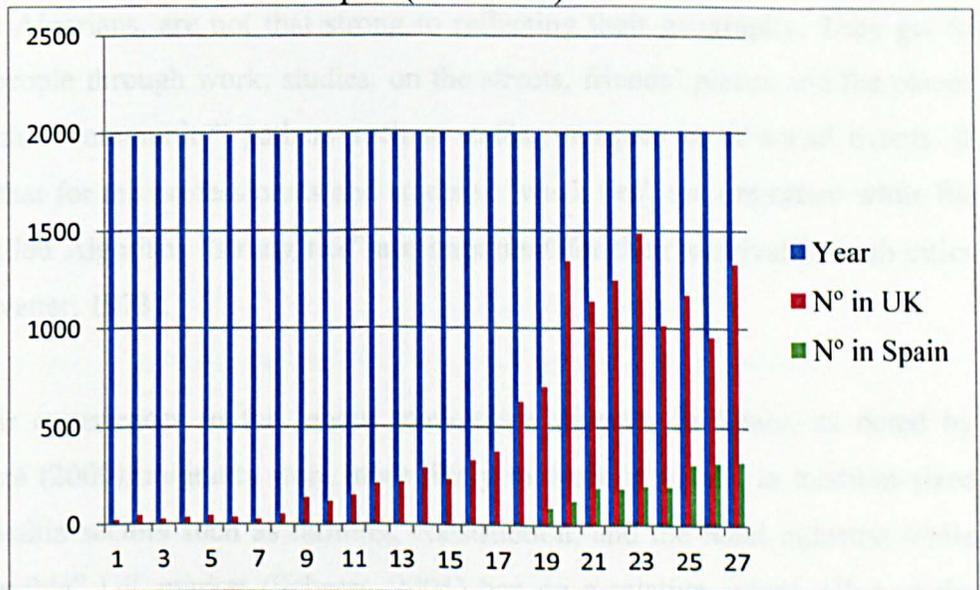
Table 5.15: Legal statuses for migrants in London and Valencia

Location Legal status Gender	London		Valencia	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
British (Spanish) citizenship	4	4		1
EU citizen	1	1		
Student	3			
ILR (UK) – Permanent resident (Spain)	1	4	7	6
Refugee				1
Asylum applicant				1
Temporary stay			2	
Undocumented		2		2

Source: own elaboration. ILR: Indefinite Leave to Remain.

This could reflect the difficult path for naturalisation in Spain, which was discussed earlier. Some reasons are the length of the required legal residency, which is ten years in a legal and continuous style, the lack of a dual-citizenship agreement between Spain and Algeria, and the obligation of renouncing Algerian citizenship, which deter migrants from applying for citizenship. Males and females in London show the same tendency to get naturalised for both instrumental and cultural reasons.

Figure 5.7: Numbers of citizenships granted to Algerians in the UK and Spain (1983-2009)



Source: own elaboration, based on data from the Home Office and INE (2012).

It seems that female participants in the UK were slightly more mobile within Algeria (3) than their male counterparts, who were more mobile within the UK (5); additionally, the former came from different regions in Algeria, i.e. dispersed, while the latter came from regions that are concentrated around Algiers and its area. For Algerian residents in Spain, one female and one male moved within Algeria before leaving for Spain. With the exception of one female in Valencia, all the remaining members had some family members, relatives and/or friends abroad, which supports partly the hypothesis of a “culture of migration” (Brettell, 2000; Massey *et al.*, 1993; Stalker, 2000). The latter seems ingrained within the imagination and cultural practices of a significant proportion of Algerians. The comparison of both samples shows that men are consistently mobile until they finally settle within an area, which is often related to getting work or finding a partner and/or receiving help from others. In other words, migrants may move where work is available; not to countries and places; this was also reported by González Escudero (1999). Migration implies a “complex sequence of movements” (Skeldon, 2012, p. 46). In this case, the mobility of males shows itself to be more complex in both locations, while female counterparts were slightly more mobile in the case of London.

While the opportunities of socialisation in London are huge and those of meeting people from immense pool of countries is a fact, it is still valid that Algerians in Valencia are spatially dispersed and their networks, while they include Algerians, are not that strong to reflecting their geography. They get to know people through work, studies, on the streets, friends’ places and the places where the “community” gathers such as cafés, mosques or at social events. It seems that for the professionals and students “weak ties” are important while for low-skilled Algerians “strong ties” are important for their survival in both cities (Granovetter, 1973).

Their experiences in the labour market are diverse. In Spain, as noted by Mendoza (2000), migrants were more likely to work in small- to medium-sized firms within sectors such as farming, construction, and the hotel industry, while the “flexible” UK market (Scherer, 2004) has, to a relative extent, allowed the incorporation of a number of (highly) qualified Algerians into white-collar jobs. Almost all the females in London valued the “meritocratic” character of the labour

market in the UK where, in their views, it was only objective criteria that were assessed to hire workers. However, some of them do not deny the existence of a subtle discrimination against women with the hijab, which is the same for Valencia when wearing the Islamic scarf deters any prospect of getting a job. Could we conclude that London privileges a “human capital approach”, while Valencia enhances the “segmentation of labour market”? This would require a quantitative approach that is able to test different hypotheses. Williams (2009) considers structural and institutional characteristics of the countries, such as their political economic differences, welfare regimes and migration policies as shaping the outcomes of migrants in the labour market.

It seems that in the labour market Algerian migrants are making pathways so as to bypass institutional constraints in a context of sharp recession. It seems that women with the hijab in London may be facing fewer constraints in the labour market if compared to their counterparts in Valencia. Three women interviewed in London wearing the hijab expressed the advantages of London for them. They could wear it and go about their lives without being disturbed by cultural and social constraints. However at the labour market level, while they saw less constraint, one of them, nevertheless, noted a “preference” given to other women, as visibility seems to be important for the employers. In the case of London-based participants, “downgrading” and “deskilling” have been documented in several cases. In the Spanish case, Torres Pérez (2011) documented the existence of over-qualification among North Africans in Spain. In the case of Valencia, “downgrading” was documented for skilled female participants, including those who studied in Spain, at the beginning of their integration into the labour market, while long-time-unskilled settlers follow the path of small entrepreneurship to overcome unemployment and discrimination, and enhance their autonomy.

There was almost a consensus among London-based respondents about the preference for London if compared to France, and a clear inclination from the Valencia-based respondents for the alleged advantages of other northern European countries, such as France, because of the knowledge of the language and system, standards of living, the existence of a bigger community and welfare coverage, among others, although when they preferred Valencia for its geographical proximity to Algeria, similar climate and the closeness of cultural mood. One may

think that the socio-economic conditions of the community in Spain as a whole, and the information migrants get about the social system in France and the alleged advantages for migrants, may have influenced this positive view of France, while in the case of the UK-based participants, France may have been seen from a more political lens such as religious restrictions, discrimination at work and the perceived situation of Algerian migrants.

Six females in London send money while just one female in Valencia does. On the contrary, all Valencia-based males but one send remittances, while in London the single males with resources are more likely to send remittances than married ones. This reflects that the females interviewed in London were better off, economically active and more independent, while, to a certain extent, this was not the case for the females in Valencia. In the case of males, one may think that migrants in Spain have more attachments to their families back home and, thus, feel the moral obligation of helping them financially. It seems that the combination of socio-economic condition of the migrant in the host country, the socio-economic background of his family back home, having a family in the host country or back home, and the types of relationship (interaction) migrants maintains with their families are in the basis of sending or not remittances and gifts.

Related to the use of networks in migration, four females and three males in each location made use of them to different degrees: in London, the husband and his network for two reunified females and an asylum seeker, another female had her network as a former undergraduate student, a male was reunified by his wife already a settled worker in London and two others had a brother and a sister respectively; in Valencia, the husband and his network for two reunified females, a brother for another, one female had previously lived in Spain as undergraduate student, and one got full scholarship and, thus, got help and accessed institutional networks, and three males had brothers already settled in Valencia while the remaining, old settlers moved on their own.

Thus, there was a diversification of the types of networks used: family (husband, wife and siblings), friends for those who had visited (studied or lived) before in the country and institutional (e.g. higher education institution). In all

cases, these networks seem to be “fragmentary” and its reach is limited in terms of establishing dense links among the community in the host country. While, with some exceptions, educated people counted more on “weak ties” or “structural holes”, unskilled people found support based on their close kinships and seek support in place, i.e. they use their “strong ties”, mainly in areas where Algerian migrants gather (Burt, 1992, cited in, Portes, 1998; Granovetter, 1973). All but one interviewee had relatives and friends across Europe, in North America and some Middle Eastern countries. It was more common for migrants to build their networks in place such as at their places of studies, workplace, at venues of socialisation being these ethnic or mainstream, mosques and NGOs, among others.

In this final section, similarities and differences between the sample in London and Valencia were discussed. Migrant interviewees varied in age, gender, socio-economic backgrounds, motives of migration, legal status, sectors of work and job positions, socialisation, interests and perspectives for the future. Motives of migration were diverse and reflected the importance of the internal context of Algeria and the socio-economic backgrounds and interests of the migrants, while they were shaped by structural factors, such as migration policies in the UK and Spain. Surprisingly, the findings of this research reflect the general tendencies as shown by quantitative data in relation to Algerian student and refugee mobility and naturalisation in the UK and Spain. While London-based females came from regions that are geographically dispersed, their male counterparts came mainly from the capital and its neighbouring area; in Valencia both genders came from geographically dispersed areas of origin. The external routes of males and their movements within the host countries were diverse and abundant, while with few exceptions female routes were restricted to the mobility to the host country, i.e. almost all females came directly to the host country.

Within the limitations of the samples, the use of fake documents was only found in London-based participants. While all females came into the UK regularly, two females in Valencia used irregular entries. Naturalisation was higher in London than in Valencia, where the loss of legal status was not uncommon and was related to legal and administrative causes. Concerning the labour market, while London-based respondents considered a “meritocratic”

tendency for labour market outcomes (e.g. incorporation and mobility), Valencia-based participants referred to discrimination as a common feature within the labour market. Females with the hijab reported a more difficult insertion in Valencia than in London. Some males in both samples started up new businesses to seek independence and autonomy, to circumvent discrimination and racism, to get employed, and to climb the occupational ladder. All but one London-based respondents agreed on the preference for the former as a place of opportunities, tolerance, and as a neutral context, while Valencia-based participants considered a preference for northern European countries for their alleged advantages for Algerian migrants. Migration seems ingrained in the close circles of the participants, and their networks are made of relatives, friends, as well as they are institutional.

Chapter Six: Conclusions

6.1. Reminder of Aims and Objectives

The aim of this research was to study Algerian migrants in two European cities, London and Valencia. The objectives were to understand, explain and compare the motives of emigration to these new migratory contexts, the insertion and mobility within the local labour markets, and the formation of new patterns of international migration to (within) Europe. The main research questions were:

- What are the reasons for Algerian emigration to Spain and UK as relatively different and new host countries?
- What patterns of insertion as well as mobility into the local labour market of each country characterise Algerian immigrant workers?
- What are the differences between the Spanish and the UK labour markets in terms of providing opportunities for social mobility versus entrapment for Algerian workers?
- How do changing networks influence Algerian migration to the UK and Spain?

This qualitative and comparative study was also aimed at providing original research on the Algerian community abroad, through linking two new contexts which, while they share a recent presence of Algerians and the fact of being non-natural destinations for the former, however, they vary in aspects such as geographical location, language, migration policies, labour market (outcomes) and modes of incorporation of migrants. The comparison was also aimed at contributing and extending the conceptualization of the insertion into the labour market of Algerian migrants in two different and new European contexts.

6.2. Discussion of What this Research Shows and Contributes to in Relation to its Objectives

6.2.1. Introduction

This research contributes to the studies of the new geographies of Algerian migration, precisely to two different locations in northern and southern Europe, which expand the Algerian migration system to two areas, apparently without prior links to Algeria, such as colonial past, cultural ties, political influence or trade, among others. Thus, it overcomes the limitation of basing the study on a single context as in the empirical cases testing concrete theories in migration. Through the study of two proportionally balanced samples of Algerian women and men in London and Valencia, this researcher attempted to compare the motives of migration, the insertion and mobility within the labour market, the differences between the UK and Spanish labour markets in terms of providing opportunities for social mobility versus entrapment for Algerian workers, and how the changing networks influence Algerian migration to the UK and Spain.

In this cross-national research, a “safari” approach (Hantrais, 1995) has been adopted, by which this researcher held the same study in two, different national contexts. The aim was to explore similarities and differences around previously established research questions, and later elaborated categories and concepts. Instead of generalization, the emphasis was on a detailed understanding of the migratory process of a group of migrants in different national contexts. A context-related approach has been adopted, and migrants have been active participants, telling their stories and (re)-interpreting their narratives in real research settings.

Comparing the same categories in two different contexts helped in establishing subtleties and nuances around those concepts, which are usually used to generalize the experiences of particular groups or communities. In this case, even migrants from the same group showed different experiences, and their interpretations were varied and enriching. In this research, also new connections among different types of data were established, as to improve the relevance and viability of the findings, such as when some qualitative findings and official quantitative data (e.g. naturalisation and mobility of Algerian students and refugees) were matched.

A gendered approach was adopted as to analyse the differences and similarities among Algerian women and men in relation to their migratory enterprise, particularly the causes and routes of migration, their experiences in the labour market, and their participation in the networks of Algerian migration. The results revealed interesting data, which used to be concealed by cultural perceptions and generalizations around certain groups of migrants. The research also contributes to the consideration of Algerian women as initiators and active actors in migration.

In the following sections, this researcher details three major contributions of the thesis to the theoretical development, which, in the same time, provide new empirical information about this research interests: diversity of migration patterns, importance of the formation of “mix, cross-national” (Morosanu, 2010) networks in the labour market, and the formation of fragmented networks.

6.2.2. Diversity of Migration Patterns

As shown earlier, the focus on London (UK) and Valencia (Spain) responds to the diversification and changes in the patterns of Algerian migration, which include, among others, the enlargement of the migratory space to include new contexts as it is the case here, the “increasing” feminization of the flows and family migration at the onset, the “alarming” migration of (highly) skilled people, and the “risky” immigration of the *harraga* or irregular migration (Boubakri, 2007; Fargues, 2004; Hammouda, 2005; Kerdoun, 2008b; Khelfaoui, 2006; Labdeloui, 1996 and 2010; Sabour, 1995). Moreover, the patterns of immigration have also changed in the host areas, such as when Spain becomes a receiving country (Castles and Miller, 2003), and the nature, motivations, regions of origin or demographic characteristics of migrants have also changed.

At an empirical level, in the current case of study the single largest locations for Algerian migrants, out of France, are the Comunidad Valenciana (Spain) and Greater London (UK) respectively. While London is a “global city” (Sassen, 2001) and Valencia could be considered as an “emerging gateway” (Price and Benton-Short, 2008) or, at least, a critical entry point and transitory place leading to more attractive areas, however, their socio-economic and cultural importance in their respective countries, in addition to the relatively high concentrations of

Algerians in both areas, may enhance the opportunities of insertion into the local labour markets and, thus, of settlement. Hence, the importance of its study.

Algerian mobility has adopted a variety of forms since its beginning, including, among others, economically-motivated migration, family reunification, political asylum, transit and circular migration, transformation of student stay to permanent settlement, regular entrance followed by overstay and irregular migration (Fargues, 2004; Hammouda, 2005; Kerdoun, 2008b). On the other hand, the modes of migrating and the categories and profiles of emigrants have been changing constantly (Boubakri, 2007).

In this research, Algerian migrants represent different profiles according to the axes of age, gender, class (i.e. cultural, social, financial and human capital), motives, modes and routes of migration, legal status, incorporation and mobility within the labour market, socialisation in the host country, interests and future prospects (e.g. return, further movements and circularity, among others). There was a wide diversity of motives, which questions any single theory of migration, i.e. there is no a “grand theory” (Portes and DeWind, 2004) to explain these movements as a whole. Although there were always immediate motives for mobility, however, there were combinations of them, both at the place of origin and destination, i.e. the first motives can be reformulated, changed or extended. Thus, comes the difficulty of their strict differentiation. The internal context is important in the sense that it shapes the (first) motives of migrants, while the first intentions seldom reflect the migratory enterprise in the host areas (Castles and Miller, 2003). The motives of migration are also gendered, as while men and women may share the motives of migration, they may also differ in its prioritization; additionally, they may have different motives too.

The mobility of the research participants has been shaped by different motives, as the samples included people who moved to London and Valencia in different decades: in the first case (1980s: five; 1990s: six; 2000s: nine), while in the second (1970s: one; 1980s: three; 1990s: five; 2000s: eleven). Thus, different events and contexts were in play in Algeria and may have shaped differently various geographies of migration. The contextualization of the cases is crucial to understand individual migration, as the agency of the individual takes places

within a context that possesses structures and may shape the mobility abroad. On the other hand, the relevance of this diversity in migration patterns can be found in its reflection of, at least, three types of changes in Algerian society: generational, socio-economic and political (Kerdoun, 2008b).

As shown earlier, few researches have been done on the migration of Algerian women. The difficulties include the lack of data and of knowledge, which impede a comprehensive study of Algerian migration as a whole (Labdelaoui, 2011). Algerian women as initiators of their own mobility are increasingly gaining acceptability including among small, traditional milieus. For instance, the rate of feminization of Algerian migration to Spain and UK were, respectively, 28.3% and 28.2% in 2002, while for France it was 47.9% (2003) (Boukha-Hassane, 2011). This mobility has been gradually dissociated from family reunification to include family migration at the onset, as well as migration projects initiated and fully led by women, such as student mobility (e.g. there are more highly educated Algerian women in France, Spain and Italy than men (Labdelaoui, 2011)), mobility for cultural reasons (e.g. to escape cultural restrictions such as the status of divorced women, domestic violence and family conflicts; i.e. a “family status crisis” (Wright, 1995)) and asylum seekers. These forms of mobility of Algerian women require more research, as well as the diversification of their profiles and modes of migration, including irregular migration, as found in this research.

6.2.3. Labour Markets

Firstly, while economic integration is crucial in advancing the incorporation of migrants into the host societies, the incorporation into the labour market is an indicator of the former (EU, 2005; Greenwood, 1985). Secondly, as found in this research, the outcomes of the processes of incorporation and mobility within the labour markets are influenced by several factors, such as the structure of the labour market and its characteristics, institutional or structural barriers, one’s capital (e.g. human, financial, cultural and social), and the availability of different types of networks one can build in the areas of destination. Thirdly, the diversification of migrant profiles, as well as the differences between London (UK) and Valencia (Spain), implies distinct modes of incorporation and mobility within the labour market. Thus, theories based on simple assumptions to get linear outcomes fail to explain this diversity of outcomes. Fourthly, only the

combination of different postulates emanating from diverse theories, as shown earlier, could explain the diversity of outcomes for Algerian workers in both locations.

Algerians in London and Valencia integrate into the labour market through a series of job positions, within a hierarchy that includes unskilled, semi- and skilled positions and self-employment, but also, through activities within the informal economy, which in turn reflect the characteristics of the labour market, work sectors, modes of access, regulation and outcomes for the workers. They used formal and informal methods of job search (McKay, 2009) such as networks (relatives, friends, former colleagues), internet resources, recruitment agencies, NGOs, newspapers, job centres (SERVEF in Spain), word of mouth and door-to-door searches. While London-based participants assumed the relative ease of getting work regardless of legal status, however, they shared with Valencia-based respondents the frequent job changes and time-limited work contracts, as structural characteristics of labour, mainly for unskilled workers.

In both places there were highly skilled Algerians, although more significantly in London. Those skilled workers were graduates from UK, French or Algerian universities, although when in the latter case the qualification was officially locally-recognised to able them getting employed. There was a strong belief among London-based participants that the labour market is “meritocratic” and values objective criteria such as education, skills and experiences. But, networking and good referrals are also important. However, “downgrading” (Brettell, 2000; Samers, 2010) was documented in the case of those highly educated with only Algerian qualifications, and those intellectuals who suddenly left Algeria for Spain in the 1990s. The experience of combining postgraduate studies, work precariousness and poverty was also documented in a case in Valencia.

Some non-objective characteristics hampered getting employed such as wearing the hijab, which was reported by all the female participants in Valencia, and used to explain partly “subtle” discrimination in London. In the same line of thought, there are the “institutional barriers” to access public jobs, “glass ceilings” for migrant workers and those based on gender (Solé and Parella, 2003). Working

under precarious conditions was also reported, such as without contract or under harsh conditions, including low pay and long working hours. The combination of activities in the formal and informal sectors, including some “illegal” activities, was also found under low qualifications, sharp unemployment, and institutional and structural discrimination.

For the interviewees, small entrepreneurship constituted a mode of incorporation into the labour market that favours autonomy, “independence” and stability, and helps in circumventing unemployment and discrimination, although it may imply a “downward adjustment” in the case of educated migrants (Colic-Peisker, 2009; Hassell *et al.*, 1998, cited in Albercrombie *et al.*, 2003). It also constituted a path to upward mobility in the case of the oldest, unskilled Algerian settlers in Valencia.

As explained earlier, segmented assimilation theory attempted to clarify the reasons for the differences in patterns of adaptation among migrants and their children, and how this could shape their future (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou *et al.*, 2008). Moreover, the different outcomes in mobility among the second generation have been explained by several key factors, including human and economic capital of parents, family structure and modes of incorporation (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou *et al.*, 2008). Portes and Rumbaut (2006, p. 64) consider the positive outcomes of the concentration of migrants in some areas which include the maintenance of a “valued life-style, regulation of the pace of acculturation, greater social control over the youth, and access to community networks for both moral and economic support”. It also enables a “selective acculturation”, which, in turn, favours a “high self-esteem” and a “strong achievement orientation”, while promoting economic integration (Portes and DeWind, 2004, p. 836; Xie and Greeman, 2005).

According to Xie and Greeman (2005), segmented assimilation theory considers the benefits of an economic integration in disadvantaged contexts, where acculturation is “limited”. These authors attempted to “reformulate” this theory on the basis that the latter is based on the interaction between “macro-level conditions” and “individual-level assimilation behaviours or experiences” (Xie

and Greeman, 2005, p. 28). Thus, migrants may rely on ethnic communities to acquire social capital.

As for this case of study and as noted earlier, the community is small in both places and lacks a sufficient number of migrants with business expertise, has limited access to capital and labour resources, and thus it is unlikely to form ethnic enclaves (Portes, 1998; Portes and Rumbaut, 2006), where there is a concentration of migrant businesses. However, if one considers migrant areas such as that formed by North Africans in Valencia, which could be helpful to describe and explain the insertion of some Algerians in some “niches” of the labour market.

In this line of thought, an interesting finding in the latter has been the tendency of Algerian migrants in areas, such as Russafa, to form and use what Morosanu (2010, p. 6) calls “mixed, cross-national networks” in a sense that “migrants often work in jobs where other migrants are concentrated, or come into contact with customers, clients or superiors of different backgrounds” (Morosanu, 2010, p. 6). Thus, Algerian migrants in Valencia run businesses and/or work in agriculture and construction industry alongside with Moroccans, Syrians and Senegalese business owners and labourers. For instance, an Algerian butcher employs a Moroccan assistant who is charge of the business, while a Syrian shopkeeper employs an Algerian shop assistant; Algerian, Moroccan and Senegalese bazaar owners may exchange information about products and services, and share places in street markets.

Upward mobility has been related to working hard, having an appropriate qualification and experience in the host country, networks and good referrals. “Weak ties” have been important for skilled workers, while “strong ties” were for unskilled workers (Granovetter, 1973). For the latter, as found by Amado (2006), the creation of “crews of peers” for job search purposes and work in agriculture mainly, was commented by the participants. As stated earlier, small entrepreneurship reflects the aspiration for upward mobility in an economically and societally adverse context. Changing jobs was not uncommon among the participants. Some could climb upwardly in positions located at the bottom of the

labour market, including with fake documents or through self-employment, which in cases was combined with activities in the informal sector.

6.2.4. Networks

Firstly, migration has been defined as “network-driven process”, where migrants use networks that are based on ties of kin, friendship and groups of co-ethnics, to move where there are already established migrant groups (Massey, 1988; Massey *et al.*, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 2006). Secondly, networks transcend both economically motivated theories and structural approaches of human mobility. Thus, the existence of networks enhances mobility despite economic, social and policy-related barriers (e.g. see Chapter Two: 2.4.1). Thirdly, as shown earlier, the Algerian migration system has expanded to include new geographies, such as the UK and Spain (i.e. the present case of study). Fifthly, as found in this research, while they can be described as “fragmented” and “small”, however, the networks of Algerians in the UK and Spain are important in channeling and supporting newcomers to both locations. As is the case here, networks are not only important at the beginning of the journey and its planning, but, also during the journey, and for people moving on their own and, then, joining their co-ethnics in the host areas.

If we go back to the early formulated questions: do Algerians possess networks that enable them to emigrate to the UK and Spain while sustaining the flows along time? Can we affirm the existence of transnational activities which guarantee the ongoing character of the movements between these countries?, one could affirm that while the recent history of Algerian migration to the UK and Spain casts doubt over a consolidated existence, and strength, of networks, however, if sustained in time, a continuing geography of migration to the UK and Spain would favour a good functioning of network theory. As shown earlier, while it is instructive, however, a comparison with the already consolidated networks of Algerians in France would be misleading, as it may conceal the importance of “small” and “fragmented” networks in the diversification of Algerian migration, as it is the case here.

The networks of the participants are based on, and sustained through, family members and relatives, and friends and acquaintances, while some are

institutional. While some migrants used their networks to move to London (three husbands, a spouse, a sister, a brother, a friend, institutional) and Valencia (two husbands, two brothers, a friend, institutional), others found support when they reached the host countries (e.g. relatives, co-ethnics, friends and institutional support) or have built their networks (colleagues, co-ethnics, friends) in place. While only a male was helped by his brother to come into Spain (only five came with a visa while six did not need it), the remaining males moved on their own; in the case of London, eight migrants were helped in initiating their migration by relatives, friends and institutions. Others form new networks or extend theirs while transiting through various countries. But, these may also become “ephemeral” and “fragmented”. Some migrants strengthen their networks through marriage with EU citizens and mobility for work, within as well as out of the host areas, as found in London and Valencia.

As stated earlier, it seems that the networks are “fragmented” and “small”, and that while the community in London is relatively more resourceful, it lacks trust and solidarity among its members, which hampers the construction of dense networks, that enables gathering important resources to be used by its members. The opposite case is Valencia, where while the community does not suffer from such high levels of mistrust among its members, but, has too few resources, which hinders intra-community support. This state of affairs in both locations can be explained by structural causes in the host areas, as well as some context of origin-related factors, such as the low socio-economic status of the community as a whole, the perceived high level of irregularity among Algerian migrants, which undermines confidence and trust among them, the association between migration and security issues (Collyer, 2005), which puts Algerian migrants at the front line of the interventions of the law enforcement agencies, the effects of the “black decade” which, apparently, still impact on the relationships among Algerians, mainly in London, and the difficulty of creating a tendency towards civic engagement and formation and participation in community-based organisations, when this was slightly practiced in the area of origin. In both cases, time is required to channel more migration from the country of origin, and consolidate a “community” that is familiar with the local context, while becoming more resourceful, which is important in providing support to newcomers.

It is assumed that the tightening of migration policy favours the use of alternatives, such as different host areas, undocumentedness while using family networks or use of smugglers (Collyer, 2002). In this case of study, the use of *gataâs* (i.e. smugglers in Algerian Darija) was found in two cases of families, who came via two Morocco-based Spanish enclaves (Melilla and Ceuta), which have apparently become consolidated routes for the “irregular” flows, coming from the (north-west of) Algeria and heading to the Spanish peninsula. In London six cases of the use of fake documents were documented, both for entry and getting employed. It seems that this practice will continue as it provides migrants with a mode to circumvent the harsh migration policy, including extreme difficulties in getting entry clearance and getting employed in mainstream labour market, despite participants confirming the relative ease of finding job in London. The other alternative is to join their networks and stay undocumented if adequate support is provided, which is problematic and compromising for migrant communities without resources, or where there is a lack of solidarity and trust among their members, which is the case here.

6.3. Discussion of Future Avenues of Research that Could Extend this Work

In this research, sampling was purposeful. Multiple-entry points were used, in addition to snowballing, to access migrants. Samples were drawn in different countries. Thus, the differences related to the contexts. It would be possible to improve the comparability of data through a thorough application of strict criteria of selection in both places, which would require time, money and perseverance. On the other hand, after several requests, this researcher could not get the collaboration of the Algerian consulates in London and the Comunidad Valenciana, which could have improved the study, by giving a full picture of the Algerian migration to the UK and Spain. It was not possible to extend the research to Algeria for time limitation and financial restrictions.

In this study, only the immigration of a group of Algerian women and men had been researched, and it would be better to extend the research to include other perspectives such as:

- A longitudinal perspective, i.e. to study the same samples after x years as to check the outcomes in different categories.

- An approach which studies the full migration cycle, i.e. in addition to immigration, it should include the pre-migration at homeland, transition and later return or circularity, which could have given a full and comprehensive picture of the migration process of these groups of migrants.
- A transnational study that deals with transnational social relations. In this case, it could encompass a double transition: from the area of origin to the host countries and between the (two) host countries. The focus can deal with the relations migrants establish in the transnational spaces.

It would be interesting to study, through applied research methods, the difficulties of building an Algerian community, i.e. why of those levels of mistrust and lack of solidarity and confidence, as observed in this case, while the general conditions of the community in the host country could lead to different outcomes, such as an “extreme reciprocal solidarity” (MacDonald, 1992, p. 38) within the community, or strong loyalty to homeland and participation in “transnational activities to build its state” (Glick Schiller, 1999, p. 104).

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Online Resources

- Algeria-Watch, Information on the Human Rights Situation in Algeria. URL: <http://www-algeria-watch.org>
- American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 4th Edition. URL: <http://www.thefreedictionary.com>
- Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary. URL: <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/immigrant?q=immigrant>
- Canada Statistics. URL: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca>
- CARIM - Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration. URL: <http://www.carim.org>
- El Watan, Algerian independent newspaper. URL: <http://www.elwatan.com/>
- Hellenic Statistical Authority (El.STAT.). URL: <http://www.statistics.gr>
- Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE), Portugal. URL: <http://www.ine.pt>
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE), Spain. URL: <http://www.ine.es>
- Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques (France). URL: <http://www.insee.fr>
- Istituto Nazionale di Statistica, Italy. URL: <http://www.istat.it/>
- International Organisation for Migrations (IOM). URL: <http://www.iom.int/>
- Liberté, Algerian independent newspaper. URL: <http://www.liberte-algerie.com/>
- Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Algeria. URL: http://193.194.78.233/ma_fr/
- Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Spain. URL: <http://www.maec.es>
- Office for National Statistics (ONS), UK. URL: <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/default.asp>
- Office National des Statistiques (ONS), Algeria. URL: <http://www.ons.dz>
- Oficina Estadística del Ayuntamiento de Valencia, Spain, URL: <http://www.valencia.es/estadistica>
- Oxford English Dictionary. URL: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/61169?redirectedFrom=emigrant#eid>
- Oxford University Press (OUP), URL: <http://www.oup.com>

- Persée: Portail de revues en sciences humaines et sociales. URL: <http://www.persee.fr>
- Présidence de la République, Algeria. URL: <http://www.el-mouradia.dz>
- Real Instituto Elcano, Spain, URL: <http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org>
- Statistics Canada. URL: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca>
- Transnational Communities Programme. University of Oxford: <http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk>
- UK Census. URL : www.census.gov.uk
- Université du Québec à Chicoutimi, Canada. URL: <http://classiques.uqac.ca>
- US Census Bureau, USA. URL: <http://www.census.gov>

Annexes

Annexe 1

Table 5.1: Profiles of the key informant and migrant participants in London

City		N°	Interviewee	Organisation-position-gender-age	Type of interview	
L O N D O N	K E Y I N F O R M A N T	1	KL1	AAB, adviser, f, middle-aged	W, R	
		2	KL2	AAB, manager, m, middle-aged	W	
		3	KL3	MWH, legal adviser, m, middle-aged	W	
		4	KL4	MRC, manager, f, middle-aged	W	
		5	KL5	ACT-UK, secretary, m, middle-aged	R	
		6	KL6	MRN, director, m, middle-aged	W	
		7	KL7	MRN, manager, male, middle-aged	W	
		8	KL8	AR, ma, middle-aged	R	
		9	KL9	ALB, manager, m, middle-aged	W	
		10	KL10	ABC, manager, f, middle-aged	R	
		11	KL11	NAA, Manager, m, middle-aged	R	
			N°	Interviewee	Profile: age-gender-work	Type of interview
		M I G R A N T S	1	ML1	55, m, engineer, private teaching	W
			2	ML2	40s, m, coffee shop	P
			3	ML3	50s, m, air conditioning	W
			4	ML4	48, m, Bus driver	W
			5	ML5	40s, m, informal economy	W
			6	ML6	44, m, minicab driver	W, R, P
			7	ML7	30s, m, clerk at a bank	R
			8	ML8	30s, m, chef at a restaurant	R
	9		ML9	30s, m, customer services	R	
	10		ML10	30s, m, lecturer	W, P	
	11	ML11	40s, m, grocery shop	P		
	12	ML12	middle-aged, f, lecturer	R		
	13	ML13	30s, f, bank agent	R, P		
	14	ML14	middle-aged, f, assistant teacher	R, W, P		
	15	ML15	50s, f, adviser in NGO	R		
	16	ML16	26, f, postgraduate	W		
	17	ML17	33, f, postgraduate	W		
	18	ML18	30s, f, college student	W		
	19	ML19	45, f, nanny	W		
	20	ML20	40s, f, researcher	W, S		

Source: own elaboration. W: written; R: recorded; P: phone; S: Skype; KL: key informant London; ML: Migrant London; f: female; m: male. The use of letters and numbers is only to facilitate the analysis and preserve the anonymity of the interviewees.

Annexe 2

Table 5.6: Comparison of some research data between female and male participants in London

Criterion	Females	Males
Access to migrant and willingness to get interviewed	Very difficult	Difficult
Number of interviewees	9	11
Age	20s – 50s	30s – 55
Regions of origin in Algeria	Only 3 from Algiers while the others are dispersed within the country	Mainly Algiers and its neighbouring area
Mobility	Internal: 4 External: all Within the UK: 3	Internal: 2 External: all Within the UK: 5
Work	Skilled: 5 Active unemployed: 1 Studies: 3	Skilled: 5 Unskilled: 4 Self-employed: 2
Sectors of work*	Banking: 1 Teaching: 1 Higher education: 2 NGO: 1 Studies: 4	Computing: 1 Banking: 1 Air conditioning: 1 Bus and minicab driving: 2 Retail stores: 1 Grocery shop: 1 Coffee shop: 1 Restaurants: 1 Teaching: 1 Higher education: 1 Multiple employment: 2
Educational level**	Secondary: 1 Tertiary: 7 Vocational training: 1	Secondary: 4 Tertiary: 6 Vocational training: 2
Duration of residence (UK)	8-25	7 – 25
Legal status	Refugee: 1 Studies visa: 3 Citizen (UK- EU): 5	Resident: 4 Studies visa: 0 Citizen (UK-EU): 5 Irregular: 2
UK as migratory***	First destination: 7 Second – final destination: 2	First destination: 3 Second – final destination: 8

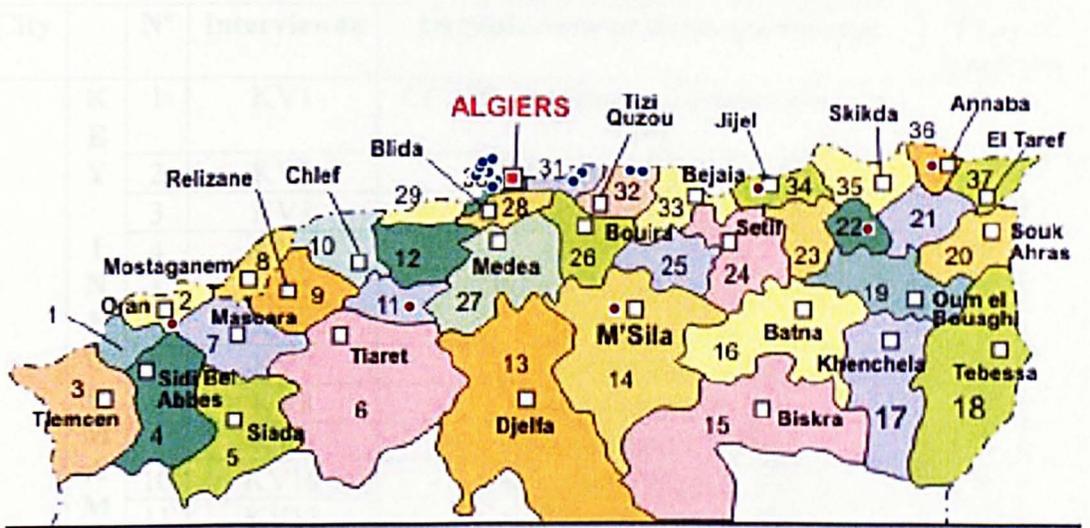
Continuation of table 5.6

Criterion	Females	Males
Experience of migration	Family and relatives: 7 All: have friends who had previously migrated or had been in touch with people who had the experience of living abroad. Countries (cities): Paris and London, UK, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, others across Europe, Canada, USA, Saudi Arabia and Dubai.	Family and relatives: all All: have friends who had previously migrated or had been in touch with people who had the experience of living abroad. Countries (cities): France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Germany, Netherlands, Canada and Tunisia.

Source: own elaboration. *The sum may exceed the number of interviewees as some participants may have several employments; ** Educational levels include qualifications obtained in Algeria and the UK; *** It refers to whether they came directly from Algeria or transited via different countries.

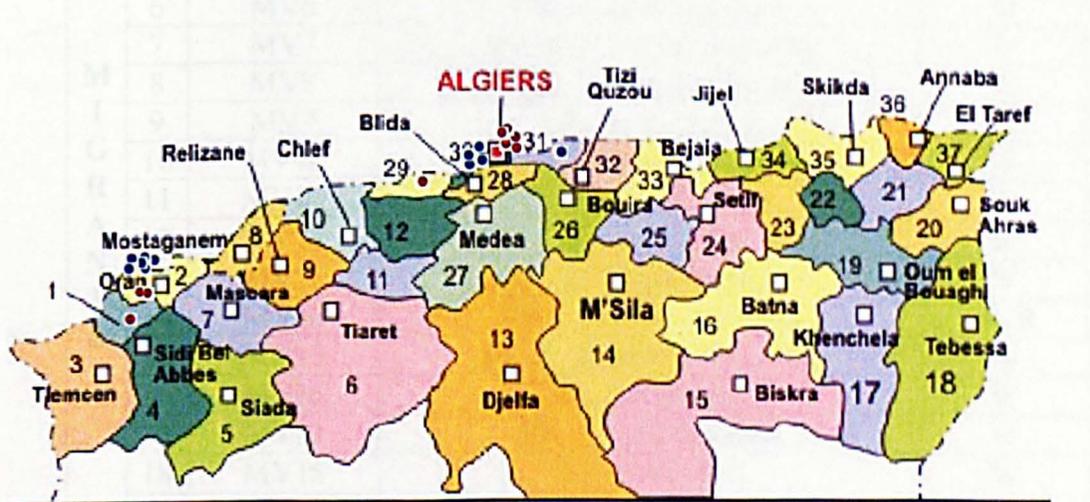
Annexe 3

Figure 5.1: Political map of Algeria showing the areas of origin of the research participants in London



Source: own elaboration, based on a map from mapsofworld.com; ● male; ● female

Figure 5.4: Political map of Algeria showing the areas of origin of the research participants in Valencia



Source: own elaboration, based on a map from mapsofworld.com; ● male; ● female

Annexe 4

Table 5.8: Profiles of the key informant and migrant participants in Valencia

City		N°	Interviewee	Organisation-position-gender-age	Type of interview	
V A L E N C I A	K E Y I N F O R M A T	1	KV1	CC.OO., secretary of immigration , m, 50s	W, R	
		2	KV2	CEAR, coordinator, m, 30s	W, R	
		3	KV3	CC.OO., manager, f, 50s	W, R	
		4	KV4	CEAR, m, f, 30s	W, R	
		5	KV5	FJMH-I, coordinator, f, 30s	W, R	
		6	KV6	C-V, m, f, 40s	W, R	
		7	KV7	C-V, manager, f, 40s	W, R	
		8	KV8	CAI, manager, m, 40s	W, R	
		9	KV9	CA, president, f, 50s	W, R	
		10	KV10	VA, coordinator, f, 40s	W, R	
		11	KV11	ACPR, director, m, 50s	W,R	
		12	KV12	AVR, president, m, 50s	W,R	
		M I G R A N T S	N°	Interviewee	Profile: age-gender-work	Type of interview
	1		MV1	50s, m, linguist	W, R	
	2		MV2	40s, m, cook	W	
	3		MV3	50s, m, Aluminum fitter	W	
	4		MV4	44, m, coffee shop	W	
	5		MV5	48s, m, sick pay	W	
	6		MV6	40s, m, small pizzeria	W	
	7		MV7	30s, m, informal economy	W	
8	MV8		59, m, informal economy	W		
9	MV9		40s, m, biologist	W		
10	MV10		48, m, unemployment benefits	W		
11	MV11		53, m, Kebab shop	W		
12	MV12		40s, f, lecturer	W		
13	MV13		53, f, information officer	W		
14	MV14		50s, f, cultural mediator	W, R		
15	MV15		50s, f, auxiliary at a clinic	W		
16	MV16		50s, f, translator	W		
17	MV17		50s, f, cook assistant	W		
18	MV18	30s, f, cleaner,	W			
19	MV19	40s, f, job seeker	W, S			
20	MV20	20s, f, job seeker	W, S			

Source: own elaboration. W: written; R: recorded; S: surveyed; KV: key informant Valencia; MV: migrant Valencia, m: male; f: female. The use of letters and numbers is only to facilitate the analysis and preserve the anonymity of the interviewees.

Annexe 5

Table 5.13: Comparison of research data between females and males in Valencia

Criterion	Females	Males
Access to migrant	Difficult	Easy
Number of interviewees	9	11
Age	20s – 50s	30s – 59
Regions of origin in Algeria	Algiers: 5 Tipaza: 1 Oran: 2 A.T.: 1 Less dispersed than men	Oran: 6 Algiers: 4 Boumerdès: 1
Mobility	Internal: 1 External: all Within Spain: 0	Internal: 1 External: all Within Spain: 8
Work	Skilled: 5 Unskilled: 2 Active unemployed: 2	Skilled: 3 Skilled manual worker: 2 Unskilled: 3 Self-employed: 3 Active unemployed: 2
Sectors of work*	Higher education: 1 Information (culture): 1 Translation: 1 Health: 1 Cleaning: 2 Cook: 1 Active unemployed: 2	Journalism: 1 Biologist: 1 Aluminum fitter: 1 Coffee Shop: 1 Cook: 1 Small pizzeria: 1 Kebab shop: 1 informal economy: 3 Sick pay: 1 Informal economy: 2
Education level**	Primary: 1 Middle school: 3 Tertiary: 5	Primary: 3 Tertiary: 2 Middle: 2 Vocational training: 3 Secondary: 1
Duration of residence (Spain)	5-15	2-36
Legal status	Resident: 9	Refugee: 1 Resident: 6 Asylum seeker: 1 Citizen: 1 Irregular: 2
Spain as migratory**	First destination: all	First destination: all but they moved between different countries to finally settle in Spain

Continuation of table 5.13

Criterion	Females	Males
Experience of migration	Family and relatives: 8 8: have friends who had migrated or had been in touch with people who had the experience of living abroad Countries: Spain, UK, France, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, Canada, USA, Morocco.	Family and relatives: all All: have friends who had migrated or had been in touch with people who had the experience of living abroad. Countries: Spain, France, Switzerland, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, UK, Canada, USA,

Source: own elaboration. *The sum may exceed the number of interviewees as some participants may have several employments or are active in informal economy too; ** Educational levels include qualifications obtained in Algeria and the UK; *** It refers to whether they came directly from Algeria or transited via different countries.

Annexe 6

Table 5.14: Comparison of research data between London and Valencia (females and males)

Criterion	London		Valencia	
	Females	Males	Females	Males
Access to migrant and willingness to get interviewed	Very difficult	Difficult	Very difficult	Easy
Number of interviewees	9	11	9	11
Age	20s – 50s	30s – 55	20s – 50s	30s - 59
Regions of origin in Algeria	Algiers: 3 M'sila : 1 Jijel: 1 Tissemsilt : 1 Constantine: 1 Oran : 1 Annaba : 1	Algiers: 6 Tizi Ouzou: 2 Oran: 1 Boumerdès: 2	Algiers: 5 Tipaza: 1 Oran: 2 A.T.: 1	Oran: 6 Algiers: 4 Boumerdès: 1
Mobility	Internal: 3 External: all Within the UK: 3	Internal: 2 External: all Within the UK: 5	Internal: 1 External: all Within Spain: 0	Internal: 1 External: all Within Spain: 8
Work	Skilled: 5 Active unemployed: 1 Studies: 3	Skilled: 5 Unskilled: 4 Self-employed: 2	Skilled: 5 Unskilled: 2 Active unemployed: 2	Skilled: 3 Skilled manual worker: 2 Unskilled: 3 Self-employed: 3 Active unemployed: 2

Continuation of table 5.14

Criterion	London		Valencia	
	Females	Males	Females	Males
Sectors of work*	Banking: 1 Teaching: 1 Higher education: 2 NGO: 1 Studies: 4	Computing: 1 Banking: 1 Air conditioning: 1 Bus and minicab driving: 2 Retail stores: 1 Grocery shop: 1 Coffee shop: 1 Restaurants: 1 Teaching: 1 Higher education: 1 Multiple employment: 2	Higher education: 2 Musuem: 1 Translation: 1 Health: 1 Cleaning: 1 Cook assistant: 1 Active unemployed: 2	Journalism: 1 Biologist: 1 Aluminum fitter: 1 Coffee Shop: 1 Cook: 1 Small pizzeria: 1 Kebab shop: 1 informal economy: 3 Sick pay: 1 Informal economy: 2
Educational level**	Secondary: 1 Tertiary: 7 Vocational training: 1	Secondary: 4 Tertiary: 6 Vocational training: 2	Primary: 1 Middle school: 3 Tertiary: 5	Primary: 3 Middle: 2 Secondary: 1 Tertiary: 2 Vocational training: 3
Duration of residence (UK)	8-25	7-25	5-15	2-36

Continuation of table 5.14

Criterion	London		Valencia	
	Females	Males	Females	Males
Legal status	Refugee: 1 Studies visa: 3 Citizen (UK- EU): 5	Resident: 4 Studies visa: 0 Citizen (UK-EU): 5 Irregular: 2	Resident: 9	Refugee: 1 Asylum seeker: 1 Resident: 6 Citizen (Spain-EU): 1 Irregular: 2
UK (Spain) as migratory***	First destination: 7 Second – final destination: 2	First destination: 3 Second – final destination: 8	First destination: all Second – final destination: 0	First destination: all Second – final destination: 0
Experience of migration	Family and relatives: 7 All: have friends who had previously migrated or had been in touch with people who had the experience of living abroad. Countries (cities): Paris and London, UK, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, others across Europe, Canada, USA, Saudi Arabia and Dubai.	Family and relatives: all All: have friends who had previously migrated or had been in touch with people who had the experience of living abroad. Countries (cities): France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Germany, Netherlands, Canada and Tunisia.	Family and relatives: 8 All: 8 friends who had previously migrated or had been in touch with people who had the experience of living abroad. Countries (cities): Spain, UK, France, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, Canada, USA, Morocco.	Family and relatives: all All: have friends who had migrated or had been in touch with people who had the experience of living abroad. Countries (cities): Spain, France, UK, Germany, Switzerland, Canada, USA,

Source: own elaboration. *The sum may exceed the number of interviewees as some participants may have several employments or are active in informal economy too; ** Educational levels include qualifications obtained in Algeria and the UK; *** It refers to whether they came directly from Algeria or transited via different countries.

Annexe 7

Interviewee Consent Form

Research Project: Algerian Migrants in London (UK) and Valencia (Spain).
Towards a New Migration and Labour Model?

Name of Interviewer:

Activity:

Contact Details of Interviewer:

Name of Interviewee:

[Please, provide an alias (initials) if you wish]

Job Title:

Organisation:

The current research aims to study Algerian emigrants in two European countries, particularly in two European cities -London and Valencia-, in order to understand, explain and compare the patterns (causes, motives and modes) of emigration to these relatively new host countries, as well as their insertion (and mobility) into the local labour markets as a major indicator of the process of incorporation. The research will aim to contribute to debates about the formation of new patterns of international mobility between these countries. The key research questions are: 1) what are the reasons for Algerian emigration to Spain and UK as relatively different and new host countries? 2) what patterns of insertion as well as mobility into the local labour market of each country characterise Algerian immigrant workers? 3) what are the differences between the Spanish and the UK labour markets in terms of providing opportunities for social mobility versus entrapment for Algerian workers? and 4) how do changing networks influence Algerian migration to the UK and Spain?

This project, as for its subject and scope of study, aims to provide original research on the Algerian community abroad which relates to two different and relatively new contexts of emigration, each with its own characteristics ranging from geographical location to language, migration policies, labour market and modes of incorporation of immigrants. Also through its comparative analysis, it will contribute to and extend the conceptualization of the labour market integration of new groups of migrants in two different European contexts.

Do you consent to... (Please tick)

YES NO

The recording of the interview?

Direct quotes from the interview being used in the project but not attributed to you?

(Others; write in).....

Signatures

Interviewee:

[Please, use another name, alias or initials if you wish]

Interviewer:

Date of Interview: ____ / ____ / ____

Under no circumstances, your personal data will be revealed. They are to be used only and strictly for the research purposes.

Please complete and Sign TWO copies of this form. One copy will be retained by the interviewee and one will be given to you for future reference.

Annexe 8

Participant Information Sheet

I am Kouider DJILALI BELOUFA, PhD candidate at the Working Lives Research Institute (WLRI) of London Metropolitan University. I am currently conducting fieldwork interviews for my research “**Algerian immigrants in London (UK) and Valencia (Spain). Towards a new migration and labour model?**”, with..... [add in here the categories being interviewed].

You are being invited to take part in this research project. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

The aim of this research is to study Algerian emigrants in two European cities - London and Valencia-, in order to understand, explain and compare the modes and patterns of emigration to these countries, as well as their insertion and mobility into the local labour markets. By this project, I try to provide an original research on the Algerian community abroad, which relates to two different and relatively new contexts of emigration, each with its own characteristics, ranging from geographical location to language, migration policies, labour market and modes of incorporation of immigrants. On the other hand, I want to contribute to the studies concerning the formation of new ways of international mobility between UK and Spain.

All information which is collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. Under no circumstances, your personal data will be revealed. They are to be used only and strictly for the research purposes. Please read and keep a copy of this document for future reference.

Kouider DJILALI BELOUFA
Working Lives Research Institute
London Metropolitan University

Annexe 9

Interview with migrants (only a template with all types of possible questions)

1. Personal details: [Just you will answer the questions you would like to answer and you preserve your privacy and confidentiality at every moment. Nobody will read this. This is to be used only and strictly for research reasons.]

Name (initials).....Gender.....

Age (signal an interval of age if you want)

Living in UK since
.....

At the age of.....

Coming from... ..

(Country and region of residence immediately before coming to UK)

Resident in the city of London (UK) since

At the age of.....

Coming from

Village, town, city

Location and area of residence in the city of London (UK):
.....

Marital status.....

Children.....

Primary residential unit in the place of residence in London (UK):

- Couple with/without children
- Parents and brothers (sisters)
- Other relatives
- Shared (house) flat: with other migrants, with British (foreigners), with migrants and British

- Lodging
- Other situations

Level of studies.....

Legal status: (if you live with your family, please indicate as well the legal status of other members)

- Citizen
since.....
- Regular situation
since.....
- Irregular situation
since.....
- Asylum seeker
since.....
- Refugee
since.....
-

Work and means of living:

- Work: employee; self-employed; with/without contract; sector of activity; incomes (estimations).
- Unemployed: with/without unemployment benefits; means of living.
- Housewife: means of living in the familiar unit.
- Student: means of living.
- Others

Knowledge of language:

- MSA and dialectical Arabic
- Tamazight (Kabylian, chaoui, mzabi)
- French
- English
- Spanish (Valencian)
- Others

2. Life trajectory in the country of origin:

The family

- Geographical mobility.....
- Studies, knowledge, employment.....

- Family relations and the education of children.....

- Studies, work and spare time:
.....
.....

- Family life:
.....
.....

- Friendship and relationship:
.....
.....

3. Social and geographical mobility:

- Within the country of origin: (dates, destinations, individual migration, migration of the group, network of support, housing and means of living)
.....
.....

- Heading abroad: (dates, destinations, individual migration, migration of the group, network of support, housing and means of living)
.....
.....

Motives for emigration:

.....
.....

Emigration to UK

- Date of entrance and age.....

- Port of entrance (means of transportation and crossing of borders, ¿visa?)
.....
.....

- Country of destination or not.....

- Motives for choosing this destination or for staying here when the first country of destination is different
.....
.....

- Previous information about the country of immigration and the channels of accession to it
.....
.....
- Contacts in UK (geographical distribution, degree of kinship o friendship):
.....
.....

Movements within London and UK

- Itinerary:
.....
.....
- Reasons for choosing this itinerary and not another:
.....
.....
- Travelling alone or with people.....
- Means of living, housing, social relationship during the process:
.....
.....
- Information about routes and work. Channels used:
.....
.....

Settlement in the city (last place in UK)

- Date and age of arrival.....
- ¿Arrived alone or accompanied? By whom?:
.....
.....
- Motives (family, friends, work, etc.):
.....
.....
- Residential and work mobility in London and UK:
.....
.....
- Resources of sociability during the process
.....
.....

- Language (Knowledge of local languages):

.....
.....

- Interpersonal relations (family life, friends, spare time, etc.):

.....
.....

- Impacts of regular and irregular status on personal relations:

.....
.....

4. Situation during the interview

- Means of living

.....
.....

- Status

.....
.....

- Location and area of residence

.....

- Housing and first residential unit (with whom he/she is living?, characteristics of the house, etc.)

.....
.....

- Personal relations:

o Family in the city

.....
.....

o Family in the country of origin, in UK (locations), in the remaining countries of the EU, other countries:

.....
.....

o Frequency of communication with family and means employed: movements of family members, of neighbours and fellow citizens (information, message, etc.) , usage of post services and phones, internet, etc.

.....
.....

- Do you send remittances to your country of origin?
.....
.....
- Changes in the family as a result of the movements?
.....
.....
- Neighbourhood
.....
.....
- Work relations
.....
.....
- Friendship
.....
.....

- Origin, jobs, social status of friends:
.....
.....

- Relations with institutions and associations:

- Formal associations. Participation in associations, types of associations, degree of participation. Relations with associations: which?
.....
.....

- Use of public services: doctors, social workers, educational and cultural services, communications and public transportations (buses, trains, etc.)
.....
.....

- Relations with public administration. *Papers* and administrative procedures
.....
.....

- Preferences in the consumption of media products:
.....
.....

- Socialisation and learning:
.....
.....

- Prospects, opinions and thoughts on (migrants, migration, host and area of origin, etc.)

.....
.....