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The Issue of Algerian Migration during the Colonial Period, 1830–1939 (A Study of the Causes and Routes)

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Abstract:
The issue of migration is one of the subjects that has attracted the attention of numerous historical studies. A review of historical studies indicates a marked shift in focus towards sociological research, representing a significant departure from the traditional emphasis on political and military aspects. This transition is facilitated by the integration of sociological methodologies, which provide a framework for comprehending social phenomena within societal contexts. In other words, there is now an urgent need for studies and research that prioritise social history.
From this perspective, the present research paper will address a very important issue concerning the history of Algeria during the period of French occupation, namely, the emigration of Algerians during the colonial era. This phenomenon had multiple motives and causes, some of which were religious, others scientific and intellectual, and still others political, social and economic.
Furthermore, the routes taken were also varied. The first route involved neighbouring countries, or what are known as the countries of the Maghreb. The second route of Algerian migration was towards the countries of the Arab Mashreq, while the third route was towards Europe, particularly France, during various historical periods.

Keywords: the phenomenon of migration; Algerian migration; the colonial period; migration routes; causes of migration.

Introduction:
A review of contemporary historical studies indicates a marked shift towards greater emphasis on sociological research, in contrast to the past, when the focus was primarily on political and military aspects. This change is driven by the adoption of sociological approaches that aid in understanding social phenomena within society. In other words, there is now an urgent need for studies and research that prioritise social history.
The subject of migration is one of the issues and topics that has attracted the attention of numerous historical studies. We note that many of these studies have been confined to the Arab countries and peoples who were subjected to colonialism in both the East and the West, although some studies have addressed this phenomenon as a universal human characteristic, encompassing the migrations of European, Asian and other peoples across the globe.
Migration is a social phenomenon that has existed since the dawn of human existence on Earth. This phenomenon has been observed across various periods of ancient, medieval and modern history, impacting diverse civilisations, peoples and tribes. The earliest recorded migrations include those of the people of Yemen, as well as the Greeks and the Phoenicians. Among the most significant migrations are also those of the prophets, such as the migration of Abraham, peace be upon him, to the Levant and Egypt, and the migration of the Prophet Muhammad, peace and blessings be upon him, from Mecca to Medina. However, the largest wave of migration began in the modern era and has continued to the present day. Indeed, some have come to refer to this era as the “Age of Migration”.
The motives and reasons for migration are varied, including religious, academic and intellectual motivations, as well as political, social and economic factors. These include religious persecution, visiting holy sites to perform the Hajj, improving social conditions, intellectual and cultural exchange with other peoples, and a sense of alienation within one's homeland. All of these factors encourage migration. However, one of the most significant causes of large-scale migration has been colonialism, to which peoples have been subjected since the nineteenth century. This is particularly evident in Algeria, where the country has experienced significant oppression, displacement and forced migration at the hands of the French occupation since 1830.

This study addresses a central issue linked to a fundamental problem that affected the Algerian people and their social structure during the colonial period, namely, the emigration of Algerians from their homeland. The key question to consider is: How can we explain the emigration of Algerians and the diversity of their migration routes during the colonial period? This question is considered against the backdrop of the French administration's reliance on methods and approaches that contributed to the displacement of Algerians.

The present study, entitled "The Issue of Algerian Migration during the Colonial Period (A Study of Causes and Routes)", was conducted with the following three key aspects in mind, which were considered essential to the research: defining the concept of emigration; identifying the underlying causes of Algerian emigration during the colonial period; and examining the routes taken by Algerians during this period, which were geographically divided into three main directions: the Arab Levant, the Maghreb and Europe, particularly France.

Before exploring the intricacies of this subject in more detail, it should be noted that this article does not claim to be a comprehensive study of the topic, but rather represents one instalment in this research. Firstly, I will define the concept of "migration".

Firstly: Approaches and concepts relating to the meaning of the term 'migration':

It is a well-established methodological practice to define the concepts addressed by the research, and we shall begin by defining the concept of migration, as this topic has attracted the attention of many researchers, particularly those interested in the social and historical fields. Consequently, there are numerous concepts applied to the phenomenon of migration, varying according to the research perspective, be it sociological or historical. It must be emphasised that the term 'migration' cannot be reduced to a single meaning; it varies according to historical context—that is, according to time and place.Consequently, we find that certain terms overlap with the concept of migration, such as: displacement, displacement, alienation, exile, displacement, and asylum; as well as another term, 'al-harga' (illegal migration), although there are, of course, differences in the connotations between these terms and the term 'migration' in terms of their objectives and factors.

1. Migration in linguistic terms:

Linguistically, 'migration' is not limited to a single meaning but encompasses several meanings. The word 'migration' is derived from the verb 'hajar', meaning to depart from a place; we say 'he left the place' [i]. In "Lisan al-'Arab", 'migration' is defined as moving from one land to another [ii] . It also signifies separation and severance, which is the opposite of connection. It was understood amongst the Arabs that the origin of 'hijrah' lay in the departure of the Bedouins from the desert towards the city[iii]

2. The conceptual definition:

Migration in Islamic jurisprudence: This is expressed as 'specificl migration', such as the migration of the Prophet – peace be upon him – from Mecca to Medina, that is, the move from the 'Dar al-Kufr' (Mecca) to the 'Dar al-Islam' (Medina). There is another definition in Islamic jurisprudence, which is hijrah in terms of the 'dar' (abode): this refers to migration from the 'dar al-kufr' to the 'dar al-Islam', or leaving a place of severe tribulation for one of lesser tribulation, or from a place of innovation to one of the Sunnah, or from a place of lesser security to one of greater security.[iv]

In the social sciences, migration relates to individuals and population groups, and refers to the movement of people from one place or country to another[v]

Junar defines migration as: 'Leaving one's country and settling in another, whether from birth or after a long period, with the intention of permanent residence, and often with the aim of improving one's employment situation[vi]

The word 'migration' also has its roots in Latin, derived from the word **'migrar',** which means 'to come to a place' or 'to enter a place', as well as 'to change one's original place of residence'.[vii]

In addition to this**,** we have the term **'muhajir',** which was defined at the International Conference in Rome in 1924 as**:** 'any foreigner who arrives in a country in search of work and with the intention of permanent residence… This is in contrast to a worker who arrives in a country to work there on a temporary basis[viii]

As for the term **'destination country':** by this we mean the areas of attraction and settlement for migrants; in other words, the homelands and countries to which migrants migrate with the aim of seeking safety and improving their social conditions.

There is mass migration and, at times, individual migration; individual migration did not cease during the colonial period. Some Algerians left Algeria as migrants with the consent of the French government and holding French passports, whilst others left on the pretext of performing the Hajj or engaging in trade, and subsequently settled there.[ix]

Migration is also usually divided into **internal migration,** which takes place within the home country from the countryside to the city, **and external migration,** i.e. outside the home country, namely Algeria; Algeria experienced both of these movements during the French colonial period.

With regard to internal migration experienced by Algeria during the colonial period, this is divided into two categories: voluntary migration, which is related to geographical conditions such as areas deemed inhospitable; and the second type of internal migration, which is forced migration—an inevitable movement brought about by security pressures and socio-economic policies.[x]

Finally, we can provide **a comprehensive definition** of the term 'migration' as an ancient social and historical phenomenon involving the movement of individuals and groups from one region to another or from one country to

another, with the aim of improving social conditions or fleeing political persecution, devastating wars or natural disasters; it varies in terms of its objectives and contributing factors.

Secondly: The phenomenon of migration in Algerian society:

In truth, the phenomenon of migration did not originate in the colonial period, but dates back to earlier times; it is a phenomenon sanctioned by religion and common in Islamic societies, in accordance with the words of the Almighty: "**And whoever emigrates for the cause of Allah will find on the earth many alternative locations and abundances; and whoever leaves his home as an emigrant to Allah and His Messenger, and then death overtakes him, his reward has already become incumbent upon Allah , and Allah is ever Forgiving and Merciful"**[xi] **And He, the Exalted, said: ' 'It is He who made the earth tame for you, so walk among its slopes and eat of His provision; and to Him is the Resurrection'**[xii] The migration of the Muslims to Abyssinia is considered the first example of migration[xiii] , without forgetting the migration to Medina[xiv] , which is a significant migration in Islamic history.

Migration is precise in its aim, specific in its purpose, and has an impact on all spheres of human life; indeed, it shapes history and brings about renewal[xv] . Given the variety of motives and factors behind migration—including religious, academic, commercial and political factors—Algerian society was familiar with this phenomenon, as mentioned earlier, even before the French occupation, This was the case during the Ottoman period, and it increased significantly towards the end of that period, following the deterioration of the political and economic situation due to the emergence of a power struggle and a decline in state revenue caused by the decline in the activity of the Algerian navy. This had repercussions on the domestic situation, leading to the emergence of the phenomenon of migration.

Perhaps the group most affected by this migration was that of scholars and religious figures,to various regions of the Islamic world, particularly to the Far Maghreb and the countries of the Arab Mashreq. The reasons and motivations that drove these scholars to leave were manifold, including the decline of scholarly activity, not to mention the religious motivation and its role in stimulating the migration movement through visits to the holy sites to perform the pilgrimage (Hajj),Whilst some of them preferred to return to their homelands once they had completed the rites of the Hajj, there were scholars who settled in the Hijaz and its vicinity, near the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him. Among such figures were 'Ali ibn Wali ibn Hamza al-Jaza'iri, one of the greatest mathematicians, and the scholar Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Buni[xvi]

There was another motive that compelled scholars and religious figures to migrate in order to escape persecution and murder. This occurred during the Constantine uprising, when the people of Constantine renounced their allegiance to the Ottomans; they authorised Muhammad Abd al-Karim al-Laqoun and Ibn al-Musbah al-Mardasi to mediate between the people and the Turks, after their mission failed, they fled to the Kabyle region for fear of the consequences of this failure. The Pasha's forces managed to arrest them, and they were not released until the political unrest had ended. Similarly, the Mufti Muhammad al-Sharif al-Husni, Chief of the Ashraf of Constantine, had problems with the Janissaries and fled to Tunisia.and there are many examples of exile and forced emigration.[xvii]

Thirdly: Reasons for the emigration of Algerians during the colonial period:

The motives and reasons for the emigration of Algerians during the colonial period were manifold; they can be categorised into political, military, social, economic and religious causes, which we highlight in the following points:

1. Political and military reasons:

Colonial rule and arbitrary laws against Algerians: where colonial policy played a major role in creating conditions conducive to the emigration of Algerians through arbitrary laws and decrees against Algerians, such as the issuance of the Crémieux Decree on 24 October 1870, under which Jews were granted political and social rights as citizens on a par with other French people, whilst the rights of Algerians were neglected[xviii] ,as well as the issuance of decrees controlling the judiciary on 28 October 1870[xix] and the 'Law on the Indigenous Population' of 28 June 1881, which consisted of a series of punitive measures bearing no relation to the law and directed against the indigenous Algerian population[xx] . We may also add the law on compulsory conscription, pursuant to the decree of 3 February 1912, which was one of the most significant factors that Algerians to emigrate to France under duress and compulsion, such as supplementary conscription[xxi]

Within the framework of the law compulsory military service, the Tunisian researcher Al-Majri referred to the views expressed by Charles Robert Ageron in his book "A History of Contemporary Algeria" (Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine), in which he states: "'Emigration has long since become, in the final analysis, a political weapon for a people who have lost all legitimate means of making their voices heard; for this reason, the compulsory conscription law, which was likely to be enacted, drove 140 young Algerians from the district of Tlemcen to emigrate in the years 1907–1908,and the phenomenon of emigration then intensified in the years 1910–1911..."[xxii]

Among the reasons was also the French administration's view of Algerians as mere residents who did not enjoy the rights of citizenship; they were denied the right to participate in municipal and parliamentary elections and were completely excluded from political life under the 1889 Act, which allowed foreigners to vote. This led to an increase in the number of Europeans in Algeria, thereby enabling the colonists to control the fate of the Algerians[xxiii]

2. Economic and social causes:

The Warney Act of 26 July 1873, which paved the way for settlement and the activities of European capital, abolished Islamic property law and replaced it with French law, leading to the confiscation of land.[xxiv]

Furthermore, the period of the two World Wars was one of the main causes of the widespread phenomenon of emigration abroad, particularly to France, because the conditions of war, the deterioration in the living standards of Algerians and their loss of control over their land – contrasted with the growing incomes of the colonists – had a negative impact on Algerian society, leaving emigration as the only viable option.[xxv]

On the other hand, France actively sought to forcibly displace Algerians in order to meet the needs of its factories and ports; they were treated as a source of cheap labour, subject to racial discrimination in wages and public services.[xxvi]

Professor Yahya Bouaziz, speaking on the main reasons that led Algerians to leave their homeland for France, stated: "...This migrant class accounts for half the urban population and lives at a very low standard; most of its members are unemployed and only take on temporary jobs such as shoe-shining, porterage, house cleaning, newspaper selling, manual labour, construction, agriculture and public works,Traders, small-scale vendors and craftsmen make up around 30 per cent of this group in the suburbs of cities inhabited by Europeans; none of them works for more than two to three months a year for 200 old francs, so that the maximum annual income per family does not exceed 20,000 francs"[xxvii]

3. Religious and cultural reasons:

The religious and cultural reasons are limited to the decline in the educational level of Algerians during the colonial period compared with the period prior to the occupation, in addition to the demolition of schools and institutions—such as mosques and zawiyas—and their conversion into churches, military barracks or ammunition depots[xxviii]

Another religious reason is based on the fatwa issued by scholars regarding the necessity of migrating from the 'Dar al-Harb' (the Abode of War) to the 'Dar al-Islam' (the Abode of Islam). In this context, the occupation of Algeria sparked a debate over whether emigration was obligatory or whether it was permissible to remain under Christian rule. When Emir Abdelkader al-Jaza'iri was asked about the issue of emigration, he replied that he approved of the emigration of Algerians, and that no Muslim was permitted to refrain from emigrating, nor was he permitted to remain in the land of unbelief, except for those over whom circumstances had prevailed, such as prisoners of war,but whoever is capable and chooses to remain under the rule of the unbelievers is himself an unbeliever[xxix]

It appears that Emir Abdalkedir's view on the issue of Algerian emigration was a reaction to the fatwa issued in the early 1940s by Léon Roches, a scholar from Kairouan, which permitted residence under Christian rule provided that one's religion was preserved[xxx] .

4. Other interpretations of the phenomenon of emigration

In a study on the emigration of Algerians, the researcher Muhammad Ghalm presented various interpretations of this sociological phenomenon, drawing on a number of French reports, including those by Mr 'Luciani' from 1898–1899. He considered what he termed at times 'Ottoman propaganda' and at other times 'foreign incitement' to be the main cause of Algerian emigration to the Levant.[xxxi]

The researcher adds another report by 'Mr Sabatier' (SABATIER), a member of the General Council of the Oran Province, on emigration from **Tlemcen** in which he concluded that the majority of families who emigrated belonged to the 'Kouloughli community'. Sabatier does not deny that emigration also affected other sections of the population living in the city or its suburbs. There is another report by Varnier from 1910, in which Varnier states: "The emigration of the local population is attributable, in every respect, to the economic crisis[xxxii] ."

In truth, none of these explanations truly captures the real causes of Algerian emigration; the reality is that the French occupation and its policies are the true cause of this emigration – policies which denied the Algerian people the right to live in dignity and to establish their own nation-state.

Fourth: Migration Routes:

There is considerable disagreement amongst researchers regarding the date of Algerian emigration, but many trace it back to the start of the French invasion of Algeria. It took place in various directions, at different times, and for a variety of reasons depending on the circumstances of the period, This came after the Algerians realised the impossibility of expelling the occupying French forces, who had stripped them of their lands and wealth and subjected them to their control; consequently, they resolved to emigrate and leave the country.[xxxiii]

1- The first route was to neighbouring countries (Morocco and Tunisia):

The neighbouring countries of Morocco and Tunisia were the primary destinations for Algerians, owing to their geographical proximity and the ties between the peoples of the region,Algerians emigrated to many cities in the Far West of Morocco, such as Fez and Marrakesh, setting out from the cities of Algiers, Mascara and Tlemcen in 1832[xxxiv] . The fall of Constantine in 1837 also led to the emigration of its inhabitants, who headed for Tunisia.Furthermore, the failure of resistance movements was a major cause of most migrations, such as the failure of the Emir's resistance in 1847, that of Boubaghla in 1854, and that of El Mokrani in 1871; following the latter's defeat, large-scale migrations took place from Oran, Constantine and the Kabylie region, continuing until 1875.

The pace of migration to Tunisia increased after 1874, as a result of colonial policy and the favourable conditions offered to Algerians by the Tunisian authorities at the time, who granted them agricultural plots and exempted them from taxes. The number of Algerians in Tunisia in 1874 was estimated at 100,000.[xxxv]

2-The second route: the countries of the Arab Mashreq:

Following the wave of migration to neighbouring countries such as Tunisia and the Far West of Morocco, the countries of the Arab Mashreq became the second destination for Algerians during the nineteenth century.Religious factors played

a major role in the migration of Algerians to Syria, Egypt, the Hejaz and Palestine, as the sheikhs of the zawiyas and Sufi orders urged Algerians to emigrate, leave the country and head for authentic Islamic countries.

The Levant, particularly Syria, experienced the largest wave of Algerian migrants. Their migration to the Levant can be divided into four waves, the first of which began in 1847 and lasted until 1914[xxxvi] . This wave was characterised by the migration of Emir Abdalkader's followers to Syria and his subsequent reunion with them following his release after 1852, and his settling in Syria in 1856. This wave was also marked by the migration of Ahmad ibn Salim, the successor to Emir Abdalkader, as well as the Sheikh of the Rahmaniyya Order, Muhammad al-Mahdi al-Siklawi. The second wave followed the defeat of al-Muqrani and al-Haddad in 1871, and the third wave, encouraged by the colonial regime with the aim of confiscating Algerian lands and granting them to settlers. As for the fourth wave, this took place between 1900 and 1914, as a result of the blockade imposed on the Algerians by the Governor-General, Junar.[xxxvii]

Egypt also attracted many Algerians from 1870 onwards, with numerous students and scholars travelling there to seek knowledge and a livelihood, as well as because Egypt lay on the pilgrimage route and was home to Al-Azhar Mosque[xxxviii]

In the context of Algerian migration to the Levant, and Syria in particular, the researcher Ammar Hilal highlighted a significant migration known as the 'Tlemcen migration' in 1911.This migration was documented by a French newspaper, which estimated that the number of people who migrated from Tlemcen to Syria exceeded 1,200. However, the researcher believes that these figures do not reflect the true scale of the migration of those who left Tlemcen for Syria to escape the injustice and persecution inflicted upon Algerians by the French occupation.[xxxix]

Whilst western Algeria witnessed a major wave of Algerian emigration, eastern Algeria also experienced significant emigration to Syria, as illustrated by this table.

Table 1 shows the number of Algerian migrants and returnees from Syria in the eastern regions of Algeria between 1910 and 1913

Place of emigration	Number of emigrants	Number of emigrants who returned home
Constantine District		
-Al-Kharoub	**2**	**1**
El Aich	**1**	**2**
Ain M'lila	**18**	**18**
Wadi al-Othmaniya	**1**	**1**
Faj Amzala	**2**	**1**
Sadrata	**3**	**2**
Tebessa	**18**	**6**
Oum El Bouaghi	**9**	**9**
Ain al-Bayda	**9**	**-**
Skikda District		
- El-Qal	**1**	**1**
- Amjaz al-Dashish (Robertville)	**2**	**2**
Bejaia District		
Karkour	**22**	**19**
Bejaia	**5**	**-**
Akbou	**5**	**4**
Jijel	**1**	**1**
Batna District		
Biskra	**44**	**44**
Béika	**13**	**6**
Belzema	**2**	**2**
Khenchela	**6**	**3**
Setif District		
Setif	**24**	**16**
Maadid	**13**	**2**
Aïn Tagrout	**244**	**144**
Bourj Bouaririj	**2**	**2**
Zaban	**44**	**16**
M'sila	**27**	**24**
El Alma (2) – Mixed municipality	**4**	**3**
El-Alama (1) – Mixed municipality	**13**	**13**
Weirha	**25**	**5**
Total	**576**	**350[xl]**

Source: Ammar Hilal, Algerian Migration to the Levant, pp. 111–112

Based on the statistics cited by the researcher Ammar Hilal concerning the migration of Algerians to Syria from various regions in eastern Algeria, we observe that eastern Algeria also witnessed significant migration to the Levant, just as was the case in western Algeria with the Tlemcen migration of 1911 CE. The explanation for this lies in the arbitrary French colonial policy in many regions of eastern Algeria. These policies were applied across all Algerian regions and territories, alongside the arbitrary laws enacted by the colonial administration, such as the 1881 Indigenous Population Act, the 1912 Compulsory Conscription Act, and other laws that were unjust towards the Algerian people.

Furthermore, we have observed from the table that, in some regions, the number of migrants returning from Syria is roughly equal to the number of migrants to Syria; this is due to the harsh living conditions in Syria amidst the weakness experienced by the Ottoman Empire, as well as the desire of Algerian families to return to their properties in Algeria for fear of their confiscation by the French colonial government.

2- The third route to France:

Emigration to France initially took the form of individual migrations under duress and coercion—that is, forced emigration—such as the forced displacement of Hamdan Khoja due to his anti-colonial activities, who arrived in Paris in 1833; Ahmed Bouderba was also exiled to Paris because of his political activities[xli] . It then took the form of informal groupsparticularly from the Kabylie region. This was confirmed by the head of the Kabylie Financial Delegation, Aït Madi, when, in 1899, he highlighted the importance of the services provided by Algerians to the French economy and called for the organisation of Algerian migration, particularly from the Kabylie region to the French provinces; however, the French authorities were not enthusiastic about the idea. Where many Algerians chose to settle in France – as noted in numerous French writings – including cattle traders and market vendors [xlii]

Others migrated to France in search of better social conditions, enlisting in the military, which was voluntary at the time. Around 7,000 Algerian Muslims had joined the French army since the Second Empire, and Algerians also took part in the Crimean War; by 1870, their numbers had risen to around 13,273 soldiers[xliii]

Given the circumstances between the two world wars, France sought to encourage Algerians to work in French factories in order to meet its industrial labour needs. For example, the number of Algerian workers in France in 1912 stood at around 5,000,rising to 92,000 in 1923[xliv] . However, it is worth noting that these figures were not stable, due to Algerians returning to their homeland as a result of circumstances such as the global economic crisis of the 1930s, as well as decisions to restrict immigration,consequently, emigration rates to France declined until the Second World War[xlv] , as illustrated in this table.

Table 2 shows the migration of Algerians to France from 1914 to 1939

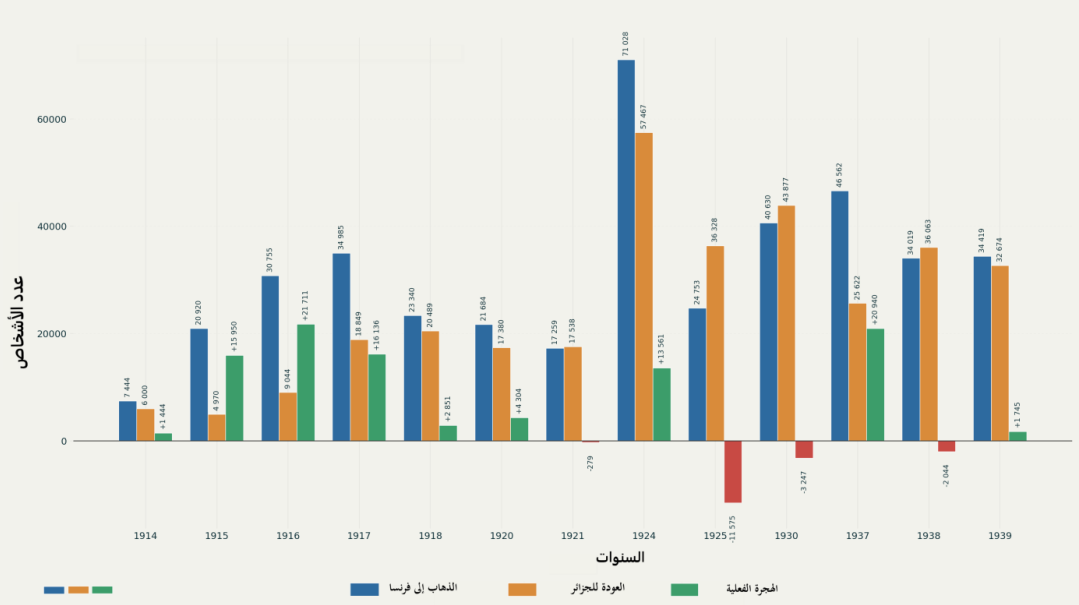
Year	Departure for France	Return to Algeria	Actual emigration
1914	**7,444**	**6,000**	**+1,444**
1915	**20,920**	**4,970**	**+15,950**
1916	**30,755**	**9,044**	**+21,711**
1917	**34,985**	**18,849**	**+16,136**
1918	**23,340**	**20,489**	**+2,851**
1920	**21,684**	**17,380**	**+4304**
1921	**17,259**	**17,538**	**- 279**
1924	**71,028**	**57,467**	**13,561+**
1925	**24,753**	**36,328**	**11,575–**
1930	**40,630**	**43,877**	**-3,247**
1937	**46,562**	**25,622**	**+20,940**
1938	**34,019**	**36,063**	**-2,044**
1939	**34,419**	**32,674**	**+2,225**

Source: Abdelhamid Zouzo, 'Emigration and its Role in the Algerian National Movement between the Two World Wars (1919–1939)', p. 23.

From an initial reading of the table, we have noted a number of observations regarding the three variables, whether relating to Algerian migrants who went to France or those returning from it, as well as the actual figure for migration. We observed an increase in the number of migrants to France during the period from 1914 to 1819, which coincided with the First World War and France's need for labour and conscripts. Meanwhile, between the two wars, the number of migrants to France declined, until the first signs of the Second World War emerged, when Algerian migration saw a significant increase in 1937 in terms of the actual value of migration, estimated at **20,940,**000 Algerian migrants, following a sharp decline in 1925 to 11,575,000 Algerian migrants.

To provide a clearer picture, we have converted the data from this table into a graph, available at Figure 1 shows bar charts illustrating Algerian emigration to France from 1914 to 1939. In drawing these bar charts, we have relied on a set of data and figures taken from the book by the researcher Abdelhamid Zouzo "Emigration and its Role in the Algerian National Movement between the Two World Wars" , in which he discusses the number of emigrants to France and those returning from it, as well as the net emigration figures (both positive and negative). We have created this bar chart based on the data provided by the researcher in his book.

Figure 1: Bar charts showing the emigration of Algerians to France, those returning from France, and net migration from 1914 to 1939



Source: Abdelhamid Zouzo, 'Migration and its Role in the Algerian National Movement', p. 23.

From a preliminary reading of the graph, we observe that the increase in the number of emigrants to France in certain years and the decrease in this number in other years is primarily based on the circumstances and events experienced by both Algeria and France. The numbers rose in 1915, 1916 and 1917, coinciding with the First World War. This can be explained by France's policy of conscripting Algerians and its need for Algerian labour, whilst the number of migrants declined after the First World War due to restrictions on Algerian migration imposed by the French government,not to mention the economic depression that affected all countries worldwide in 1929, which had a significant impact on the future of Algerian workers who had emigrated to France through the mass redundancy of workers, forcing many of them to return to Algeria.

In this historical context, France issued a series of decrees on immigration to redouble its efforts in the development of the war industry; the French government issued a decree on 18 June 1913, followed by a supplementary decree on 15 July 1914, in which it announced the adoption of certain measures to facilitate the emigration of Algerian workers to France.[xlvi]

In 1936, the political and social situation in France changed when the Popular Front government came to power and expressed its desire to improve the situation of Algerian migrants, Indeed, on 17 July 1936, it took a positive decision, issuing instructions to repeal the decree of 4 August 1926, which had imposed restrictions on the entry of Algerian workers into France, and instructing officials to facilitate the movement of Algerians to France.[xlvii]

After the Second World War, the flow of Algerian migrants to France increased; this was due to France's need for Algerian workers to rebuild and reconstruct what had been destroyed by the Second World War.

Conclusion

Based on all of the above, we can summarise the conclusions as follows :

- There is no single definition of the term ‘migration’; it varies according to historical context and the perspectives from which it is examined – whether sociological or historical – as well as the variety of motives and objectives.
- The phenomenon of Algerian emigration was the result of the practice of colonial administration based on injustice, murder and oppression.
- The migration movement reflected the character of the Algerian individual, which refused to submit to the tyrannical occupier who employed every means of extermination against the Algerian people.
- Initially, and up until the First World War, the migration flow was directed towards the countries of the Arab Levant and neighbouring countries such as the Far Maghreb and Tunisia; it subsequently shifted towards France, encouraged by the latter due to prevailing circumstances (France’s domestic situation and the international context).
- The reasons for emigration are manifold; each individual has their own motives and each group has its own, but the factor uniting the emigration of Algerians, both as individuals and as groups, is the French colonial policy imposed upon the Algerian people.
- The fluctuations in the levels of Algerian emigration were governed, on the one hand, by French laws and, on the other, by France’s interests in displacing Algerians and employing them in its factories and ports, driven by its need for a cheap labour force.

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[ii] Ibn Manzur, Lisan al-‘Arab, Dar Sadir, Beirut, 1997, vol. 5, p. 251.

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