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Migration and its effects on a local
community in Algeria

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by

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To my parents and to my friend, N. T. Frayne

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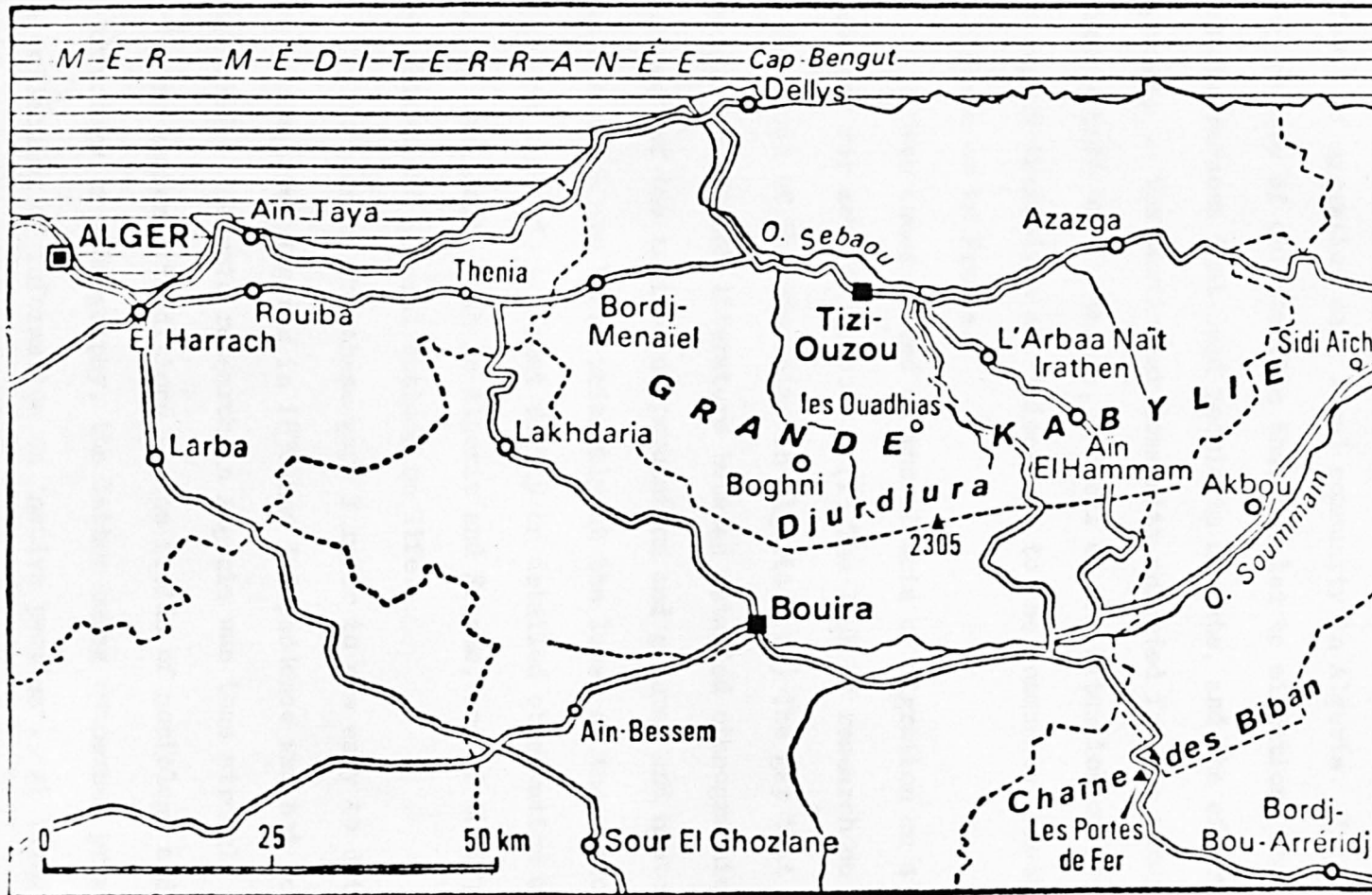
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A note on transliteration

I have tried to use as few berber words as possible, but without success: in most of the cases the spelling is that used locally rather than that quoted by French authors.



I THE PROVINCE OF KABYLIA

INTRODUCTION

I Statement of aims, scope and methods.

A. General. This thesis is concerned with the nature and effects of migration on a local community in Algeria. It examines the long process of colonisation that has led to migration, the specific economic reasons that lead people to migrate, and the effects of this migration on the particular community selected for the study. As an integral part of the thesis, I dwell on the situation of all people who regard themselves as 'belonging' to the community, whether living in Algeria or in France.

I have concentrated on the effects of migration on a local community for several reasons. (1) The lack of research on this topic at the level of the community in Algeria. (2) The gap that exists in Algerian and French literature between detailed ethnographies on the 'culture' of the indigenous population and general and historical analyses which are based primarily at the level of the nation as a whole and which do not rest firmly on detailed observation of the laws of immigrants both in Algeria and France, and of their problems, aspirations and general outlook on life.

The reasons for these gaps I refer to are easy to detect. France conquered Algeria in 1830 and Independence was not achieved until 1962. Academic research in Algeria was thus strongly influenced by French academic traditions in the fields of sociology and social anthropology or ethnography, the latter being concerned primarily as the collection of information on 'native peoples'. At first ethnography was written mainly by French army officers, administrators and missionaries. It was only later, as Seddon notes,

that it became a discipline in French academic centres:

'In France ethnography remained almost entirely in the hands of colonial administration and missionaries until the formation of a discipline of ethnography.... From the very beginning, there were tendencies within the Durkheim school towards a division between those who studied the institutions of western society and those who were more concerned with the institutions and representations of non-western societies.... The founding of the Institut d'Ethnologie of the University of Paris by Mauss, Levy Bruhl and Paul Rivet helped to formalise the division between 'sociology' on the one hand and 'Ethnology' on the other, a division which parallels that between sociology and social anthropology in Britain and which is maintained today.'¹

Since Independence the influence of this type of research has continued to be felt, despite the fact that the Algerian authorities tend to frown on anthropology and ethnography as 'colonialist subjects'. See for example, the type of work done at the C.R.A.P.E. in Algiers (Centre De Recherche Anthropologiques, Préhistoriques et Ethnographique).²

The other type of research that exists on migration is at the level of political economy of the country as a whole. Since

-
1. Seddon, D. ed. Relations of Production: Frank Cass and Company Limited London, 1978 pp.22-23. For a discussion of ethnographic works done last century in Algeria see the following:
 - (1) Degas, S.J. La Kabylie et le Peuple Kabyle Paris, Le Coffre Fils. 1877.
 - (2) Bibesco (Prince Nicolas) Les Kabyles du Djurdjura 1865.
 - (3) Devaux, C. Les Kebailes du Djerdjera Marseilles 1859.
 - (4) Leroy-Beaulieu, P. L'Algérie et la Tunisie Paris. Guillaumin and C^{ic} 1887, all these books are available in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris.
 2. Lizot, J. Metidja Un Village Algérien de L'Ouarsenis in Mémoires du CRAPE, SNED, Alger 1977.
Gast, M. Alimentation des Populations en Ahaggar, Etude Ethnographique C.R.A.P.E. 1968.
GAST, M. Naubois, L-J. Addas. Le Lait et les Produits Laitiers en Ahaggar C.R.A.P.E. 1970.
For a detailed review see the journal of C.R.A.P.E., Lybica.

Independence and even before, many Algerian writers and some French, have conducted research into the general causes of migration or into the situation of migrants in France.¹ But this is usually at a macro-level, inspired mainly by the neo-Marxist through. But these studies seldom refer to the effects of migration on the local community in Algeria. In fact I know of only one, namely the unpublished thesis of Bennoune, which is reviewed later in this chapter.

As my main interest in this thesis is in the effects of migration on the community, I have had to turn elsewhere for ideas and guidance. In particular, I have been influenced by the British Anthropological Studies that have dwelt on migration from rural to urban areas in Central and southern Africa. Despite their strength, however, these studies suffered from an almost complete failure to analyse migration as an integral aspect of colonial experience and of the capitalist penetration of Africa. Marxist critiques of the British anthropological studies dwell on this omission and in doing so elaborate a strikingly different interpretation of migration. I have in the end been influenced by both the 'colonial' writers and neo-Marxist thought as I explain at greater length in my review of the literature in Section II of this chapter.

The relevance of studies on Central and Southern Africa to Algerian work stems from the fact that Algeria underwent a kind of colonialism that was in many ways different from that in other French colonies. It was dominated by the settlement of white colons in the most fertile parts of the country, and this is very

1. For a discussion on studies on Algerian migration see the following. Zehraoui, A. Les Travailleurs Algériens en France, ed 1976, Paris, Maspero 1976, Granotier, B. Les Travailleurs Immigrés en France edition of 1976 Paris, Maspero. However this book includes all foreign workers who live in France. Belloula T. Les Algériens en France Editions Nationales Algériennes 1965, Michel, A. Les Travailleurs Algériens en France CNRS 1956.

similar to what happened in Southern Africa, Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Kenya.

The settlement of the European population inevitably deprived the Algerian peasant population of their best lands which went to a colon minority. Two 'sectors' in the economy were thus created (the 'colonial' sector and the 'indigenous sector'). I do not aim to study the 'dual economy' created by Colonialism, because I believe that the two sectors form one in so far as they could not work without each other. Thus the 'indigenous sector' provided the labour power, while the 'colonial sector' provided investments, technological know-how, and the like. I am well aware of the debate that exists between those who advocate and use some versions of a 'dual economy' thesis and those who reject it.¹ But I do not attempt to explore this debate, simply because it seems irrelevant to the way in which I have approached my study.

Colonialism and mass settlement of colons constitute the major 'cause' of migration, although some specific local factors have contributed to it, principally increasing population on poor land.

Migration started from a specific region of Algeria which is Kabylia where the village selected for this study is situated.

(B) The village of Taguemount Azouz.

Taguemount Azouz was the village chosen for this study and is situated in the administrative area of Beni Douala. It is the largest village in the area even larger than Beni Douala itself. In the last century, Taguemount Azouz was the first village in this administrative sector to have a French missionary school.

As an integral part of the study I shall describe the history of the village as told by its own inhabitants. One reason for this

1. See for example, Furnivall, J., Netherlands India: a study of plural economy, Cambridge University Press edition of 1967 (first published in 1931). Boeke, J.H., 'Economics and Economic policy of dual society as are exemplified by Indonesia' institute of Pacific Relations International Secretariat, New York, 1953. Griffin, K., Underdevelopment in Spanish America: an interpretation, Allen and Unwin, London, 1969.

is the lack of written history concerning the village. But a more important reason is that the 'history' which is passed on from generation to generation in a village is that which affects the people's own conceptions of their lives and their problems.

(C) Scope of the thesis.

The nature and the scope of the analysis may be briefly indicated by explaining the organisation of the thesis.

Chapter II: The Historical Background of Algerian Migration to France.

This chapter presents a historical review of the whole process of colonisation and migration to France. It shows the different stages of colonial policies concerning land and the settlement of colons. It shows the way that deprivation of land from the indigenous people led to the creation of a reserve army of labour. It also discusses the trends in migration to France.

Chapter III: Taguemount Azouz; a historical profile.

This chapter describes the village as it was in the nineteenth century, and as it is in the twentieth century, in terms of demography, in terms of the socio-political organisation in the past and in relation to its history as perceived by the inhabitants.

Chapter IV: Population, Ecology and Economy.

This chapter analyses the socio-economic conditions of life in the village of Taguemount Azouz. It is shown that there is an imbalance between the resources and the population. Thus the population cannot 'survive' without sending men away to work. This has resulted in a new division of labour in the village, where women do tasks that were formerly considered to be men's jobs. The abandonment of land is also analysed as in local agriculture and arboricultural production.

Chapter V: Migrants from Taguemount Azouz in France.

This chapter contains a description of the socio-economic conditions of life for migrants from Taguemount Azouz who live mostly in Paris but also in Marseilles. The nature of their links with the village is also discussed, as well as the kind of change affecting the present generation of migrants.

Chapter VI: The Social and Economic effects of migration on the Village.

This chapter examines the effects of migration on the village with special emphasis on the following: firstly the importance of remittances in the village and the province; secondly the use of these remittance; thirdly the different kinds of migrants and the positions they occupy upon their return to the village; fourthly the growth of demand for consumption goods; fifthly the changed significance of land which has become secondary to wages in the economy of the village; sixthly, the changes in household structure and organisations that have accompanied the development of new households as an integral part of the total change; seventhly, the integration of the village into the wider world, and lastly, the development of petty bourgeoisie and proletariat classes resulting from migration.

Chapter VII: Development plans for Kabylia and their impact on Taguemount Azouz.

This chapter presents the plan drawn up by the State for Kabylia. One of the aims of the general development plan is to check migration. In pursuance of these plans many factories have been established in the region but they have so far failed to reduce migration significantly, the reasons for this are examined in detail, as are their effects on the village of Taguemount Azouz. It has to

be emphasised that this chapter is not central to the analysis employed in the thesis, but is of interest for practical purposes.

Chapter VIII: Conclusion.

The conclusion focuses on two points: firstly, the study calls for modifications to earlier analyses on the effects of migration from Algeria; and, secondly, the contribution of local studies for an understanding of the effects of migration on Algerian life.

(D) Methods of study.

Fieldwork was carried out over two periods extending from August 1977 to July 1978. The first period from August 1977 to March 1978 was spent in the village of Taguemount Azouz with occasional visits to Algiers and Tizi-Ouzou where many villagers settled and where data was available. The second period from March 1978 to July of the same year, was spent in France, mainly in Paris but also in Marseilles.

I deliberately selected a local community other than my own because I considered I would see another village more accurately than my own. The study is therefore that of an insider in the sense that I am a Kabyle speaker and came from the same area, and that of an outsider because it is not my own home town.

Before beginning my fieldwork in Taguemount Azouz, I had drawn up a questionnaire relating mainly to land ownership and household composition. But when I arrived in Taguemount Azouz I soon realised that the questionnaire had many gaps and limitations. It did not cover some of the more important problems relating to the process and effects of migration, such as the remittances sent to the village from France, the number of people living in France, and the like. I also

found that interviews and discussions of an informal nature were much more helpful in allowing me to identify with the people and to see their problems on their own terms. The questionnaire I had prepared made me feel, and them as well, that I was an official visiting the village. I therefore changed my whole 'method' of work and adopted a different approach which consisted of discussions, open-ended interviews, the recording of detailed life stories, and collection of views and interpretations in the course of general participation to the village. This allowed me to be 'integrated' to the village, and it afforded me a much more adequate perspective than questionnaire work would possibly have done.

During my stay in the village I had discussions with two hundred and twenty people and made notes on a large number of them, and recorded sixty life stories, though not all of them were used. The discussions were carried out partly in the Kabyle language and partly in French. These two hundred and twenty people were mainly retired migrants, elderly women, peasants. Although the sample was not technically random, the internal consistency of the views I obtained, and the opportunity to 'match' information from interviews with different people in the village, leaves me in no doubt whatsoever that I gained a reliable and valid view of the village.

The materials I collected relate to the following: (1) size of plots; (2) production and the nature of agriculture; (3) the role of the women outside the house; (4) people's beliefs about the past and the province; (5) stories and legends about saints and the foundation of the village; (6) number of people from the household who work in France or in other parts of Algeria; (7) remittances and pensions and their use; (8) lengths of stay in France and conditions experienced there; (9) immediate reasons for going to France; (10) the

goods bought from France, (11) investments of money, (12) education of children, (13) their former situation in France, (14) the relation of migrants to the village.

In so far as young women were concerned, it was, in most cases practically impossible to approach them because of their parents. In most cases I did not try to approach them in case I would offend the people. But I did have some conversations with some who were in the boarding school (Lycée El Khamsa) situated in the capital of the province. Their response was very good. They wrote essays for me concerning their views of the village, and of the conditions of women in their village.

In addition to fieldwork with individuals, I recorded international and national money orders sent from France and other parts of Algeria to the villagers in the post office of Taguemount Azouz. For the land ownership, the records kept at Beni Douala town hall were consulted.

Before leaving the village to conduct fieldwork among migrants in France, I arranged to introduce myself to migrants, and to establish friendly relations with them, through their families in the village. I collected addresses of villagers in France from relatives and friends and I carried letters, messages, news and, in two cases, even gifts from their families. This gave me an immediate entry to immigrant circles in France.

During the course of my work in France, I had discussions with one hundred and six people, a majority of whom lives in Paris and the rest in Marseilles. I took notes on most of them. The questions were related to (1) the way they arrived in France, (2) the way they found a job, (3) their relations with kin or friends in France, (4) wages and expenses, (5) housing conditions, (6) wives and children, (7) relations with the village, (8) remittances, (9) how

often they go back to the village, (10) settlement in the village or in Algeria.

Library and archival research was at the time of my stay in Algeria carried in the Bibliothèque National d'Alger. I had few visits to the library of the C.R.A.P.E. for official statistics, I recorded them in the 'Wilaya of Tizi-Ouzou (prefecture in French). In France, it was carried out in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, in the library of La Maison Des Sciences De L'Homme.

As far as the knowledge of the village itself prior to the fieldwork. I knew at the University of Algiers few students (three) who were originally from the village, but the village in itself was unfamiliar to me, although it is situated about ten kilometres from the capital of the province where I was born and bred. These students, although 'untrained' helped me to be introduced to the people of the village who lived in Algiers and through that, I came to know more and more people.

II Background' studies from which the conceptual framework was derived.

(A) Algerian and French Literature on Labour Migration.

One of the main achievements of present day Algerian literature and of the specifically Post colonial French literature is an assessment of Algerian history as earlier interpreted by the colons who provided their own views of Algerian history and, in doing so, justified their occupation of the country. Since Independence in 1962, numbers of Algerian writers in particular have provided different interpretations of Algerian history.¹ I shall review the

1. For a discussion of this matter see Lucas, P. Vatin, J.J. L'Algérie des Anthropologues, Maspero, Paris, 1975 and Lacheraf, M., L'Algérie: Nation et Société, Maspero, Paris 1976.

following examples of some recent work:

(1) General Review.

(i) Sari, D.¹ views can be interpreted as those of a nationalist and progressionist whose main concern is to describe the whole process of colonisation, that has led to the dislocation of Algerian peasant society. He sees colonisation as the cause not only of migration from rural villages, but also of the pauperization of those left behind. Sari describes the main stages of colonisation and gives us large quantity of factual information. Hence his book is very valuable for a historical description of Algerian colonisation and is a major source for ^{my} historical chapter. However, he makes no attempt to compare Algeria to other colonies and the analysis is too simple to convey any notion of the economic, political and social dynamics of the overall colonial policy.

The book's underlying theme is that on the one hand, the colons were expropriating land, and on the other hand, Algerian peasants were becoming poorer and poorer. This approach provides us only a partial understanding of the more complex problem that developed. The book consists of four main parts. The first part is a description of the expropriation which started in 1830, immediately after the invasion of Algeria by the French, and ended in 1850. Sari describes the first expropriations of land for the specific purpose of providing property for new colons. He sees the expropriation of tribal lands as a direct consequence of French conquest in the fact of popular resistance. He dwells on the peasant revolts first led by Emir Abd el Kader in late 1830s as being essentially a struggle against French Policy. He argues that the colonial power

1. Sari, D. La Dépossession des Fellahs, SNED, Alger 1975.

acted as if the only way to stop people from revolting was to ruin them. He refers to the laws of 1844 and 1846, known as 'Les Ordonnances de 1844 et 1846', whose aim was to verify the title deeds of indigenous landowners, and notes that the real purpose of these laws was to expropriate more land. Those in charge of applying these laws asked indigenous peasants to prove that they were the true owners, the impossibility of showing such a document meant many peasants lost their land. Sari gives the example of 2,000 peasants who were expropriated from the very fertile region of Mitidja. This first expropriation is seen by Sari as causing the initial proletarianization of peasants; some peasants remained in the rural areas and were compelled to become wage labourers for farms of the new French colons, whilst others migrated to towns.

The second part of his book deals with the next phase of expropriation (1851-1870). He divides this phase into two periods: before and after the law known as Le Senatus Consult de 1863'. According to Sari, the first period was characterized by a sudden extension of colonial lands by both small and large European landowners, and by the policy of 'Cantonnement'. This was ^a French term used to refer to the legalization of accession to land for colonisation and based on the distinctions between Arsh land and Melk land, dubious in law, and only introduced by the French to pursue their aims. Tribal properties belonged to the peasants only by 'customary rights', hence it was permissible to regroup tribes on parts of their former territories.

The Senatus Consult of 1863 is correctly seen by Sari as a law which demarcated lands occupied by the tribes. Though the first article of the law states that 'the tribes of Algeria are considered as owners of territories on which they live,' these tribes in fact had

their lands fragmented, and reduced. This law created an administrative unit called Douar, which was superimposed without regard to the existing traditional society: fractions were split, and tribes intermingled.

During the second period, Sari argues another area of land was given to large French capitalist companies, namely the forests of Coq Oak (chenes-lieges). He mentions the four largest companies as the major benefactors.

Berthon le Coq et compagnie	14.850ha
Besson et compagnie	17,825ha
Levy et Falcon	11,245ha.

Sari stresses the role of forests in the economic life of people living in the Algerian mountains and dwells on the fact that these people were deprived of the use of these forests after they were taken over by the French capitalist companies. He sees this expropriation as one of the main factors underlying the Algerian peasants' revolt of 1871, a revolt centred in Kabylia and led by El Mokrani, the military crushing of which led to further expropriation and pauperisation.

Sari correctly sees the Warnier law of 1873 as being one of the most important in the history of Algeria. It introduced 'private property' in Algeria and abolished all rights founded in Muslim or Berber laws that were contrary to French law. This law is important because it is the juridicial transformation of Melk (private and family) lands, formerly protected by the traditional institution of indivision (the collective integral inheritance of property by all heirs) into 'individual' property. Thus 'liberated' land could be bought or confiscated through economic mechanisms. In addition every landowner was required to have a legal document

certifying his ownership. Though Sari's interpretation of the law is relevant, he fails to analyse the full effects of this law on the pre-capitalist society of Algeria. According to other scholars, such as Larbi Talha¹ the law radically changed the social relations that existed in the countryside and was a key factor in the establishment of capitalism in Algeria.

In the third part of his book Sari describes the creation of 'villages de Colonisation'. These villages were built for the colons in fertile territory. Hence the European population came to be concentrated on the coast line around Algiers, Oran and Annaba, and on the high plains of Setif, Constantine and Batna. The policy of the colonial administration was to settle as many colons as possible wherever possible thus further depriving native Algerians. The administration nationalised land for 'public use' and then gave it to the colons.

Sari also describes the application of the 'Forest code'. The reason originally given by the colonial administration for the promulgation of this code were that the indigenous people wasted the forests by cutting down trees in winter for fire wood and by taking animals to the forests for feeding. As a result, the forests were said to be suffering permanent damage so Colonial administration decided to 'protect' forests by giving some areas of them to French capitalist companies to develop the cork oak industry and by forbidding access to animals in other areas. Sari argues that the demarcation of forests was frequently resulting in major losses of land for small holders.

1. See Talha, L. 'Contribution à l'étude de l'émigration Algérienne' Les temps modernes, Oct 77.

In the final part of the book Sari notes that the general socio-economic consequences of Colonial policy were manifold. Colonisation led to a high degree of fragmentation of the land that remained in the hands of the indigenous population. It led to the creation of an agricultural proletariat as a direct consequence of the expropriation of land from Algerian peasants. Traditional agricultural production has never recovered from the colonial period as the peasantry were deprived of the fertile lands. Sari's conclusion is that migration has inevitably become an absolute necessity for large proportions of the peasants.

Sari's book is valuable in giving us a comprehensive picture of the different stages of colonial policies in Algeria, however, it fails to systematically analyze the overall picture and lapses into a broad generalisations and does not examine the variations to be found within Algeria. It is neither particularly helpful nor strictly accurate, to say that migration was a direct consequence of colonisation. Rather, the creation of agricultural wage labour during this colonial period should be regarded as the more immediate 'cause' of the initial migratory movement. Migration started from a specific region, namely Kabylia, but Sari does not mention this, still less does he explain why this is so. Instead, he generalises about the process of migration in Algeria, although he does apply a historical perspective. Finally, Sari fails to analyse colonial policies as an integral part of the even wider and more general process of French capitalist penetration in Africa. Hence it follows that he also fails to see colonialism in Algeria as part of the process of western capitalist expansion during a particular historical period. He discusses the application of French colonial policies and this is of course, useful, but the account is too broad

to allow him to make anything more than general statements about the consequences of Colonialism for the Algerian peasantry. We can now look at a different kind of analysis where there is less emphasis on historical description.

For Ath Messaoud, and Gillette,¹ the expropriation of land is very important however their analysis is conducted at another level and focuses on different topics from those dwelt upon by Sari. Gillette and Ath Messaoud, like Sari, see the history of Algerian migration as inextricably linked to the more general history of Algerian rural society. Gillette and Ath Messaoud start from the view that the major causes of pauperization were the various laws enacted by the colonial administration in relation to land. Quoting Bourdieu and Sayad,² they draw a distinction between the Colonial policies of 'la fonction evidente' et la 'function latente'. They claim 'la fonction evidente' established conditions for the development of a modern economy based on private enterprise and private property but at the same time, the 'function latente' favoured the expropriation of Algerian peasants for the benefit of the colons. Ath Messaoud and Gillette note that one of the most direct effects of colonial policies on the rural sector was to collapse (effondrement in French) the indigenous or 'traditional' economy. They argue that this was primarily because peasants lost a major part of their land, and because the peasant economy was weakened by the introduction of the merchant economy and money. The other major factor which Ath Messaoud and Gillette see as contributing to migration, was the growth

1. Ath Messaoud, M., Gillette, A. 'L'immigration Algérienne en France editions entente, Paris, 1976.

2. P. Bourdieu et A. Sayad; Le déracinement, la crise de l'agriculture traditionnelle en Algérie, Paris, Editions de minuit, 1964 p.16.

of the indigenous population. This growth, combined with the new development of a money economy, contributed to raising the momentum of migration from rural areas to French-owned farms, to the coastal towns, and to France.

In the second part of this book the authors describe the different historical stages of Algerian migration. In particular, they trace the developments occurring during the first World War, the second World War and the post-war period up to 1973 when the Algerian government stopped migration to France. Ath Messaoud and Gillette note that migration started from Kabylia. They consider, quite rightly, that to some extent it can be seen as the result of 'le Mythe Kabyle' 'created' by the colons in order to divide Arabs and Berbers. Another reason for this initial migration can be seen as a result of the development of schooling in the Kabyle area. However, the authors fail to analyse these factors in depth.

The term 'le Mythe Kabyle' is used by French writers opposed to the policy of Divide and Rule employed by certain colons who unsuccessfully attempted to 'assimilate' the Berber population with the European population. Many Ethnographs, usually Officers of the French Army, implicitly or explicitly supported this idea in their books. They claimed that Berbers were of European origin, and, therefore, should be integrated into the European community.¹ This policy was correctly criticised by mainly French authors, writing both before and after the war of Independence.² However, these critics often ignore the presence of the Berber community.

1. For a discussion of this matter see Baron Henri Aucapitaine, Les Kabyles et la colonisation de l'Algerie, published by Imprimerie Cerf Versailles, 1864. A copy of this book is available in the library of the University of Hull.

2. Tillion, G., Affrontements Culturels Dans l'Algerie Coloniale Maspero, 1973.

In the third part of the book, the authors analyse the social and economic situation of migrants in France. Their main aim is to show the numerical and socio-economic importance of the Algerian population in France, and the conditions under which these immigrants live. In fact, Algerians represent just under two per cent of the working population, and just under a quarter of the total population of foreign workers in France. The two authors consider that while Algerians share the same living conditions as other immigrants, they are the objects of more direct and flagrant discrimination. In general it can be said that for the authors, migration is not only the result of far-reaching changes that have affected Algerian society; it has also been important in shaping cultural change. By this the authors mean that the changing patterns of migration for example, initially, only single men migrated, later families followed, were followed by subsequent cultural changes in Algerian society. They view migration as a measure of the major upheaval of Algerian rural society resulting from the colonial presence. This process has been closely linked to the development of individualism and new attitudes towards work and social life.

Ath Messaoud and Gillette give some interesting suggestions about the factors that have contributed to the development of migration. They stress the importance of the introduction of a modern economy to the country, and although whilst not disagreeing with this, I would prefer to lay the stress on the integration of Algerians into the capitalist system. They also refer to the growth of population, the presence of this population on scarce land resources and the increasing involvement of Algerians in France as migrants. Yet the book lacks an overall analysis of the whole process of the integration of Algeria into capitalism and the discussion is conducted

in terms of very general concepts like 'money' and 'the modern economy'. The authors rightly point to the development of individualism, but fail to define exactly what they mean by this term. In my view, migration is a more complex phenomenon which merits study in its own right. Individualism may well be an aspect of migration but it cannot be divorced from the whole process of structural change in the economy of villages, which will be the central focus of this thesis. I shall adopt the view that individuals are part of a changing totality and that we cannot study their motives and patterns of behaviour independently from the whole.

Ath Messaoud and Gillette do, however, draw our attention to the fact that migration from Algeria to France began in Kabylia, and they attempt to explain in terms of the 'Kabyle Myth' and the development of schooling in the area. They also briefly mention the socio-economic and geographical conditions as contributory factors to this early migration. Their explanations are not fully satisfactory, but I shall in the course of this thesis suggest that a fuller understanding of the massive migration from Kabylia can only be adequately conceived in terms of a combination of factors including those proposed by the authors. Important factors, which they do not include in their analysis are the development of agricultural wage labour in the colonial sector of the economy, the proximity of Kabylia to areas of colon settlement and the introduction of private property in former tribal areas. They do refer to other factors like the scarcity of land, overpopulation, and the consequences of uprisings against the French army in 1871, but they do not give integrate these factors or relate them to the overall picture.

The studies by Sari and Ath Messaoud and Gillette are valuable for their description of some aspects of the historical process of

colonization that led directly or indirectly to migration, and the latter certainly add to our understanding by giving a working account of the socio-economic conditions experienced by migrants in France.

I now turn to a third study, by Trebous¹ which examines a quite different aspect of Algerian migration. Trebous focuses primarily on the economic conditions of Algerian workers in France and on the problems of reintegration faced by migrants returning from France. In its general conception, the book is a study of the relationship between Algeria and France as expressed by labour migration. The first section gives an analysis of the Algerian economy and, especially, of the economic development since independence and explains the subsequent need for skilled and highly skilled workers. It dwells on the shortage of skilled workers in the country's development programmes. The author describes the different kinds of industries, such as hydrocarbons, and chemicals, and discusses their demand for skilled workers. She considers that the training of migrants in France might well be the answer to this problem. So far the Algerian national development plans have not created any opportunities for the unskilled labour migrants. The authorities identify the current need as a return of skilled workers. This is not a new point of view, and has often been expressed by the Algerian government.

Trebous proceeds in the second section, to describe the economic situation experienced by labour migrants in France in such aspects as their jobs, skills and technical training. Trebous' survey is mainly based on the building and metal working industries, which employ more than two-thirds of all Algerian migrant workers. This section is both detailed and useful; it provides information that

1. Trebous, M., Migrations and development: case of Algeria, Paris, O.E.C.D. 1970.

enables an understanding of the economic situation faced by Algerian workers in France.

Her central interest and the most interesting part of the book is, however, that which deals with the attempts of migrants to reintegrate into the Algerian economy and society. This section has been of great value for my chapter on returning migrants. Trebous makes a number of points that merit discussion. Firstly, she considers that all Algerians have 'an undying attachment' to their country, whilst this may well be true and relevant, it surely should be seen in the light of the fact that Algerians are not allowed to stay in France on a permanent basis. Secondly, she stresses that 'those who have learnt a trade in Europe, or have simply been qualified for some time in a narrow speciality, think that sooner or later their experience will serve industry in their own country'. Whilst this may be the case in Trebous' sample, my fieldwork shows exactly the opposite, namely, that those who have been in Europe for many years usually plan to retire rather than work on their return. The few who thought on the lines suggested by Trebous were in fact born in France.

Trebous' third point is that the migrants' 'understanding of the development situation and the employment market at home' had 'considerably increased over recent years'. Hence she must be referring to the highly skilled or the few educated workers, as the average worker knows little about development plans formulated by the state, though the nature of the employment market is, of course, usually reported through friends or relatives.

Her fourth point is certainly in keeping with my own data; whether the worker wishes to return home now or later the really critical factor lies in holding employment. While agreeing with Trebous

I would like to qualify her generalisation. After a certain age, most migrants tend to envisage staying in France until retirement age, because with advanced age employment prospects at home become less likely and by staying in France, they become eligible for pensions which will be of great advantage on their return.

Trebous' fifth point, which again requires major qualification, is that for most migrants 'the desire to work in their own country takes precedence over the desire to go back to live in their place of origin'. Most people do not return to their places of origin, precisely because of the social positions and outlooks acquired in France and which would lead to a clash with the general perspectives held by their village people. Her final point is that contrary to commonly held opinion, most Algerians wishing to return to work are prepared to accept a lower wage than they were paid in Europe. In my view, this is a highly oversimplified answer to a complex situation and I will explain my position in a later chapter of this thesis (in Chapter VIII).

Following on her findings on the attitudes and practices of returning migrants seeking reintegration in Algeria, Trebous describes the methods used by Algerian national companies to recruit skilled workers in France, and makes certain policy recommendations. She suggests that there should be a consultation between the two states about the Algerian need for skilled workers and the French need for manual workers, and she also suggests that migrants from Algeria should not be the illiterates but those with a little training who can later benefit Algeria and, additionally, can increase their skill whilst in France.

The part of Trebous' book that deals with the economic situation of labour migrants in France is particularly valuable and

detailed. In contrast, her views on the reintegration of migrants strikes me as rather simplistic and over generalised. She largely fails to analyse the implications of development plans that have resulted in the growth of highly capitalised industry in Algeria. An industry which does require much unskilled labour when the vast majority of Algerian migrant workers are unskilled. Trebous' main weakness in this section is that she does not go beyond the information given to her by national companies on the reintegration of workers. The reintegration of Algerian migrants is very complex. She attempts to deal with it on the basis of general statistics for the country as a whole and have severe limitations and this is one of the reasons why I plan to devote a chapter to the topic based on my data.

(ii) The studies reviewed so far are all concerned with migration problems at the national level. So far there have been very few examinations of local communities; such studies are less common in the French than in the British and American traditions of scholarship. Bennoune's¹ work, as its title suggests is, however, such a study. It was conducted in Elakbia, in the region of Constantine.

Bennoune's study attempts to answer the following question: 'What was the general impact of Colonialisation, migration, revolutionary war and independence on the socio-economic organisation of Elakbia. For Bennoune colonisation entailed the expropriation of basic raw materials, and land from the indigenous population and its redistribution to the settlers. The transfer of this basic factor of production was followed, on the one hand, by the rapid development and prosperity of the colonial sector, and on the other, by an increase

1. Bennoune, M., The impact of Colonialism and Migration on an Algerian community unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Michigan University, 1976.

of the Algerian population despite the subsequent deterioration of the peasant subsistence economy. Bennoune argues that the reproduction of a greater number of children was considered by the adult population as a potential economic asset for the future. These interrelated phenomena generated a tremendous demand for labour, both from the productive units of the peasant household and from the colonial sector.

He notes that the modern colonization of Algeria involved not only the expropriation of land from the indigenous peasantry, but also the forcible superimposition of the capitalist mode of production over the predominant pre-colonial socio-economic system. The colonial economic structure is characterised by Bennoune as having four functionally interrelated sectors; an extractive industrial sector; a plantation agricultural sector and a commercial sector, these three were mostly controlled by the European settlers with the fourth one, a petty commodity sector, involving peasants, artisans, and traders whose families also furnished a labour force for the other sectors. The first two sectors specialized in the production of vegetable, animal, and mineral resources that were exported to the 'metropolis' as raw materials. Once processed and transformed into manufactured products, a certain quantity were imported into Algeria by colonial businessmen who monopolized the wholesale ventures. This specific politico-economic structure articulated the dominant dependent relationship between France and Algeria. As a consequence of this process, peasants of El Akbia resorted to migration. So far, I agree with Bennoune's analysis of the process of colonisation which has contributed to my own historical analysis.

For Bennoune, the push factors that contributed to migration were represented by increasing landlessness, and poverty; devastation and war (the population of El Akbia lost 121 persons representing 7

per cent of the total population in 1959) and unemployment due to the industrial underdevelopment of Algeria. The pull factors being a combination of economic, demographic and social developments in France, specifically after the second World War.

Following the analysis of conditions leading to migration Bennoune describes the project of migration. For him, the project of migration to France necessitates that the peasant-turning-proletarian formulates his intentions in the light of his past experience - affecting his current economic situation and prospect of possible employment in the country of immigration. Having made a decision to leave, the migrant worker, depending on his marital status and family situation, still has to solve several problems. He must obtain at least one identification card, apply for a work permit or figure out an illegal way to reach his destination. If married and living in a nuclear family, he has to find someone he trusts to look after his wife and children or at least to shop for them. If he migrates through the Algerian board of Manpower he has to pass the medical examination of the French medical mission.

Once, the trans-Mediterranean migratory movement emanating from Elakbia to eastern France (where the migrants from this village are located) had been put into motion, every individual decision made by the peasant-proletarians to emigrate, in the final analysis was induced by the dynamics of social emulation. Nonetheless, each individual migrant makes his own plans in the light of his own particular social circumstances. Moreover, the subsequent migrant workers from Elakbia made their decisions to emigrate in full knowledge of the total absence of economic opportunities in Algeria, and in the light of certain fragmented and even distorted a priori knowledge regarding the labour market and social life in France,



reported by the early migrants.

After the analysis of the socio-economic situation of migrants from Elakbia in France, Bennoune analyses the consequences of migration on El Akbia. This part of his thesis is the most important in relation to my own.

The changes brought by migration and the War to the village are seen by Bennoune as culminating in the gradual extinction of traditional social organisation. He notes, that the kernel of the traditional social and economic organisation of the village was the extended family functioning as a productive unit, every family under the patriarchal authority of a senior kinsman. When the joint family increased in number without being able to correspondingly expand its landbase for cultivation, the economic situation of the joint family became so precarious causing a division of all property among the various marital dyads and their offsprings.

In the twentieth century demographic pressures led to the overuse of land which provoked soil depletion, and the war resulted in the complete eradication of both capital and the means of production. So the post war economic life of the village is generally geared to the outflow of cash from migrant workers both in France and Algeria.

As a consequence of the out migration, Bennoune notes that two striking features in kinship behaviour, gynocentricity and matric paternal bias, have emerged in a traditional male centered patriarchal patrilineal society. This pattern emerged because, in the absence of her husband, the wife turns to her own primary kinsmen for certain services rather than to his.

Bennoune's point is that migration is terminating the traditional social and economic relations based on mutual aid; today no-one renders any service without payment. Bennoune concludes that the problems are caused by the impact of colonialism, accentuated by

the political and military upheavals associated with the war of liberation, and finally aggravated to the extreme by migration to France. For Bennoune the integration of these rural communities into the capitalist market system appears to have generated change in social relations.

Bennoune's thesis is, to my knowledge, the only work on the effects of migration on local communities in Algeria. In general, I would concur that the integration of rural communities into the capitalist market has changed social relations. Bennoune's discussion of the integration of Algeria and, more specifically, Elakbia into the capitalist market has again been valuable for my historical analysis. However, I think that the effects of migration are far more complex than can be appreciated by focussing solely on inter-personal relations, and his analysis lacks any assessment of wider economic and social change. My main concern in this thesis will be to show the effects on the economic and social change generated by migration.

Another local study of a village is Lacoste's book¹ on the village of Iflissen, but this is essentially about the consequences of the War of Liberation and the lack of opportunities in the village, and not mainly on migration.

This study is of Inflissen which is a village on the coast in the Kabyle region. Lacoste's study deals primarily with socio-economic conditions in the village since the war of Independence during which many Kabyle villages were almost completely destroyed by the French army. She notes that the war of Independence and migration to France have both had far reaching effects on the population of the village. Whilst she estimates that one man out of three died, she still considers that migration was the major cause of the relative absence of men in 1971. In this village there were six hundred migrants out of 6,450 people, sending money home, and a further nine hundred people receiving pensions, from France.

1. Lacoste, C. D., Un Village Algérien, Structures et évolution récente, S.N.E.D., Alger, 1976.

Lacoste describes the economic situation of the village in some detail and groups people into the following categories: (1) those present in the village, (2) those absent working in France, (3) those absent, and working in Algeria, but fails to give the figures for these categories. She notes that economic activities in the village are now considerably more diversified than prior to Independence. Though some people still subsist on the land, few craftsmen remain, although many people are employed in trade and in industry. She points out that the role of women has changed. The absence of men has forced women to do jobs, that were previously done by men such as cutting wood, picking up olives and sowing. She then described problems faced by agriculture and the growth of the money economy.

Lacoste explains that the village economy was founded on family type units of production with little division of labour, other than between the sexes. The entire population was involved in agriculture, although many factors were contributing to the decreasing importance of agriculture. These factors included the lack of water supplies due to climatic irregularities, soil erosion and new needs due to the growth of the money economy; factors that all contributed to migration.

Lacoste, rightly, mentions the problem of soil erosion which is common to the whole area. However, it should be recognized that soil erosion existed before the French colonised the area and since migrations only started when the French occupied the region, it is difficult to know exactly what weight to attach to erosion as a cause of migration. It is certain that the relative poverty of the soil does limit the numbers of people who can be supported locally. Lacoste is also correct in returning to the 'growth of the money economy' as a factor in the changing social and economic situation, though it would be more relevant and meaningful to refer not simply to the growth of the money economy as such but to the pervasive process

of capitalist penetration. The origins of migration are far more complex than depicted by Lacoste. People started to move out to other parts of the country after the repression of 1871 (Chapter II). Migration gathered pace with the development of colonisation and agricultural wage labour and high growth of population. At first migration was mainly to the large farms owned by colons, but in due course out migration to Algerian cities became increasingly important.

Lacoste distinguishes between two categories of migrants working in Algeria, namely, the unqualified and illiterate workers and the skilled and literate workers. The former usually work in the cities in restaurants, bars and cafes, leaving their families in the village. The second category consists of office employees of commercial companies and the like, who tend to move their families to the cities.

In the third part of her book, Lacoste analyses the combined effects of migration and war on the village. In addition to the traditional extended family household, she identifies two new households. These two new forms of households brought about largely as a result of the war and migration, consist of firstly, the nuclear family household defined as one that has between two and ten persons, from a minimum of a couple without children to a maximum of a couple with ten children. Secondly, the grouping defined as a household that groups widowed women and their children and sometimes wives of migrants with their children. This is an extremely interesting development in the village of Iflissen which ^{has not} developed in the village of Taguemount Azouz. If a woman is a widow, she will either go back to her father's house if she is young, or stay in her house if she has grown up children. If she is a wife of a migrant, she will stay in her home, but will always be 'protected' by a male of her husband's family or of her own family. For Lacoste, the nuclear family household is the

result of wider changes and of weakening family ties caused by the war and migration.

The grouping has its origin in the actual economic and political conditions: the lack of local resources; the necessity for men to go out into the wage earning world, and the war of independence. Such factors have been powerful forces working towards this kind of household grouping. Lacoste sees advantages in this arrangement; a more economic unit of consumption; the care of old people, widows, and orphans, and frequently the unemployed. The nuclear family limits the conflicts of generation and divorces. What Lacoste calls the nuclear family household has mainly developed during the last twenty years and especially after the War of Independence, as a result of migration. These points are mentioned by Lacoste but she does not analyse them in any depth. She tends to take the phenomenon of migration for granted without explaining its origins in the French conquest and the penetration of Capitalism; which factors combined to displace peasants from their land and thereby creating a new social structure. The effects of migration are more complex and varied than simple change in household composition. Though this change pinpointed by Lacoste is important, it is part of more complex developments described in Chapter VI.

The works of Bennoune and to a certain extent of Lacoste are the major Algerian studies on the effects of migration on local communities. As local community studies in North Africa, and particularly in Algeria are quite exceptional. I now turn to studies conducted in Central Africa in the British Anthropological tradition. I consider these studies as directly relevant to my main interest, and I therefore propose to dwell on both their strengths and their weaknesses.

(b) British Anthropological studies of the Colonial Period and their critics.

(i) Literature from the Colonial period.

In his study of Tonga society in Central Africa, Van Velsen, (1960, 1961, 1965) sets out to show how villagers maintain the social and political structure of their 'home' society even while they are working away from their tribal areas as labour migrants. He argued that the Tonga men are part of 'two contrasted and distinguishable but not rigidly separated economic and social environments.'¹

On the one hand, the villages where they were born and where they will retire, and on the other, the urban centres where they work. He considers that the social and economic links which the Tonga men maintain with their villages while they are away render them 'migrants' who never become fully 'urbanized' (1960 p.237). Therefore, Van Velsen argues that when Tonga men retire to their villages they are easily and naturally re-integrated in the tribal social system which has continued to operate without them but to the functioning of which they have continued to contribute by sending money home and returning periodically. It has been characteristic of the Tonga, to leave their families in their rural homes while working on mines and in urban centres. The case of such families is delegated to kinsmen or affines whilst the men are away. Van Velsen regards the range of reciprocal contacts as the result of normal kinship relationships, and partly the result of the special circumstances of the considerable separation. In order to reserve the place of labour migrants in their home areas, kinsmen must in the first place ensure that there will always be enough land. But Van Velsen argues that a person's relationship to land and his claim for a garden are only one aspect of his membership of Tonga society. A man's standing and position in the social and political

1. Van Velsen, J. 'Migration as a positive factor in the continuity of Tonga tribal society in 'Change in Modern Africa' in Southall A. (ed) London: Oxford University Press. 1961. His article in Southall is a shorter version of 'Labour Migration as a Positive Factor in the Continuity of Tonga Tribal Society' Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. VIII, 1960.

structure of the village and in the wider Tonga society are closely connected to his rights over land, hence land access cannot be separated from relationships involving other rights and obligations in the community.

Van Velsen's central argument is that there are no obvious signs of social disorganization in Tonga society and that the Tonga as a tribe continue to remain distinct from other similar peoples surrounding them. Van Velsen claims that this is because of three main factors: Firstly, implicitly or explicitly, a basic assumption in the industrial economy of southern and central Africa is that the 'average' African is not a 'real' wage earner but merely a labour migrant who has his tribal society to fall back upon. Secondly, this all-pervasive assumption inevitably translates itself into the fact that the migrant Tonga have a vital interest in maintaining their positions in the community and in the economy of Tonga land. Thirdly, the government of the territory is based upon 'tribal integrity'. Consequently Van Velsen notes that the 'administration' of the district makes extensive use of Tonga tribal agencies. In practice it means that some village headmen¹ receive recognition from the administration. Such Administrative appointments are usually made upon the assumption that the appointees hold power in the Tonga political structure.

Van Velsen's more general conclusion is that the apparent failure of the majority of Africans to settle down as members of a fully urbanized labour force is too often ascribed to inherent personal 'failings' of Africans, instead of perceiving and accepting the peculiar ambivalence of the lives which so many labour migrants are compelled to live.

1. For a discussion of this matter see the same author, The politics of Kinship, Manchester University Press, 1964.

It is of interest to compare the kind of situation described by Van Velsen for the Tonga to that of the migrants from Taguemount Azouz. Up to the War of Independence, the migrants from Taguemount Azouz often returned to the village after being away for a period of up to 15 or 25 years. They returned home to retire on the land, and they usually did so with the help of a pension from their French company. A few perhaps chose to settle in the towns and cities of Algeria, but most returned to the village. After Independence, however, conditions changed a great deal and many stayed in the towns, giving a different situation to 'the circulation of migrants' described by Van Velsen.

Van Velsen, like other anthropologists such as Gluckman and Mitchell¹, is writing about two different worlds, the world of the Tonga tribe and the world where most Tonga men earn money. Though he claims that these worlds are not rigidly separated, this is not clearly shown in his article. He does not dwell on the origin of the system of labour migration, created by capitalism and colonialism and especially evident in countries like Rhodesia, South Africa and Algeria, which have a great deal in common. The frequently called 'traditional sector', a reserve for African labourers, is not separated from the colonial sector, it is vital to the colonial sector which depends on African labour. On the other hand, the individuals who work in the colonial sector contribute to longterm change through investing their savings in small shops or other trading establishments. This is typically the way in which a petty bourgeoisie class grows in the villages. There is, however, no reference to such developments in Van Velsen's book and one wonders whether the phenomenon exists

1. Mitchell, J. C., Social change and the Stability of African Marriage in Northern Rhodesia in the same book, Social Change in Modern Africa, ed. by Southall, A., Oxford University Press.

among the Tonga.

Watson's work¹ is based on the assumption that the African's incorporation into the world-wide economic and political system through the European presence in central Africa is only the latest of many changes over time. He claims that historically Africans have been in contact with outsiders for goods they would not produce locally. Yet, despite this, and despite the influence of missionaries, explorers, traders, and lastly, mining and industrial companies, the traditional kinship and political relationships of the tribe he studied have remained intact. He argues that whether the system of migrant labour will cause tribal society to collapse or allow it to survive, naturally depends on the interplay of a large number of factors, such as: the internal system of organization and the nature of the mechanisms for the resolution of conflicts arising within the tribe; the nature of outside influences on the tribal system of social organization; the mode of agriculture practiced; the degree of participation in the wider system of 'European' society and the nature of the political activities of the colonial power. He considers that the concept of detribalization used by many earlier research workers and also considered to be significant by government officials and other laymen is based on a major misunderstanding of social relations under colonial rule.² This concept implies that Africans are forced to choose between two systems of social relations and values, yet, Watson stresses a man can perfectly well participate in two different spheres of social relations keeping both distinct and separate. The dual nature of African interests in the overall economy and society,

1. Watson W. Tribal Cohesion in a Money Economy Manchester University Press for the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute 1958. The article was first published in 1960.

2. See Epstein, A.L. 'Urbanization and Social Change in Africa', Current Anthropology Vol.8. No.4 1966.

represented by 'tribal reserves' and the urban environment necessitates the adoption of different patterns of behaviour appropriate to each situation.¹ Watson argues that while these patterns inevitably affect each other and that while many cultural changes have clearly taken place under Colonialism tribal institutions and bonds still persist. Since tribal membership guarantees rights to the land, the migrant labourer is in effect secure from the vagaries of industrial employment with all the economic and social uncertainties that it entails.

Watson lays more stress than Van Velsen on the integration of Central Africans into what he calls the worldwide economy (Capitalism).² One cannot but agree that these factors affect social change in villages. However, his analysis, like that of many other similar scholars does not extend beyond the level of the two worlds, of 'the tribe' and the modern economy. Like Mitchell, he sees economic needs 'pushing' the African labourer into the 'modern sector'. His failure to see the 'two worlds' as making up one larger world is even more marked than in Van Velsen's work.³ He seems, as many scholars of the

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1. See Mayer, P. 'Migrancy and the study of African towns', *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 64, No.3, Part I. 1962. See also V.Pons Stanleyville, Oxford University Press 1969 p.15.
 2. See Watson, W. Tribal cohesion in a money economy: Manchester University Press 1958.
 3. The articles that have been reviewed in this section form part of a wider discussion of labour migration in central and southern Africa; which concerns the circular migration of Africans who are drawn to two kinds of worlds. The world of their tribe and the world where they can earn money. For a discussion of this literature see Elkan, W. (1959), 'the Persistence of Migrant labour', Bulletin of the International Labour Institute, Vol. VI.
-- (1960) Migrants And Proletarians Urban Labour in the Economics Development of Uganda, Oxford University Press for East African Institute of Social Research.
Mitchell, J. (1959) 'Labour Migration in Africa South of the Sahara: the causes of labour migration'. Bulletin of Inter-Labour African Institute, Vol. VI.
-- (1961), 'Wage labour and African Population Movements in Central Africa' in Barbour, K. and Prothero, R. (eds). Essays on African population, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961.
-- (1969), 'Structure, Plurality, Urbanization and Labour circulation in Southern Rhodesia', in J.A.Jackson (ed.) Migration: Sociological Studies, Cambridge University Press, 1969.

period have since been accused of doing; to take the colonial system for granted. He does not question its existence and therefore cannot ask any pertinent questions about the very nature of the industrial sector of the economy which he tends to see as a 'neutral' sector, in which the African labourer simply comes to participate to fulfil his needs and desires. Marxist writers like Magubane, O'Brien and Samir Amin have criticized such British Anthropological studies as we shall see below.

Perhaps, the major contributions of the British Anthropological studies in Africa has been methodological. The methods both of data analysis developed in this literature are far superior to those undertaken in the French tradition. Watson and Van Velsen are representatives of the British anthropological school, and the general conclusions of this school of thought are elaborated, in wider terms, by Gluckman.¹ Thus, Gluckman notes 'our main argument is that in the rural areas membership of a tribe involves participation in a working political system, and sharing of domestic life with kinsfolk; and that this continued participation is based on present economic and social demands and not merely on conservatism'.

The major weakness of such work has been its failure to apprehend the totality of the political economy created by European Imperialism, a fault pointed out recently by neo-Marxists criticizing studies of the colonial period.²

(ii) Criticizers of the British School

As a first example of criticism of studies dating from the Colonial period, we may take Magubane's and O'Brien's³ essay proposing

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1. Gluckman, M., 'Anthropological problems arising from the African industrial revolution', p.67, in Social Change in Modern Africa ed. by Southall Oxford University Institute, 1961.
 2. See Asad, T., ed., Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter (London, Ithaca Press, 1973).
 3. Magubane, B., and O'Brien, J. P., 'The Political Economy of Migrant Labour: a critic of conventional Wisdom or "a case study in the function of functionalism"', Critical Anthropology, Vol. II, No. 2, 1972.

a quite different methodological and analytical approach.

The central point made by Magubane and O'Brien is that it was in the interests of European Imperialism to on the one hand, extract primary commodities from Africa for the growth and maintenance of capitalist profits in Europe, while, on the other hand, it was equally beneficial to open new African markets for products manufactured in Europe. In order to achieve these aims, European Imperialism sought to create cheap local labour in the colonies and for this purpose African peasant life as it existed prior to Colonialism had to be undermined and adapted. Magubane and O'Brien review two basic types of analysis of African labour migration; the essentially anthropological and the essentially economic. They consider that both types employ the individual african as the unit of analysis rather than looking at the economy and society in which individuals exist. They see the life of the individual as having been abstracted from its total setting and analysed in terms of its psychological motivations, while the colonial situation is either taken for granted or ignored as a subject which does not call for analysis.

In their criticism of the British tradition, Magubane and O'Brien argue that these anthropologists, in particular, Schapero and Watson¹, Van Velsen and Mitchell¹, saw the Africans as people trapped between the needs of what they called the 'tribe' and the demands of a money economy; a dilemma they resolved by participating in the migratory labour system. At this stage it is apposite to note that the arguments developed by Magubane and O'Brien could to some extent, be applied to the Algerian studies of Lacoste and Ath

1. Mitchell, C.J. an outline to the sociological background to African labour, Salisbury, Ensign publishers, 1961; 'Factors motivating migration from rural areas' in present interrelations in central African Rural and urban life, Raymond J. Apthorpe (ed) Lusak, Rhodes-Livingston Institute, 1969.

Messaoud and Gillette, in so far as these authors constantly refer to the 'World of money' and the need for this money by Algerian peasants.

In their critic of the economic analysis, Magubane and O'Brien argue that for Borg,¹ Baldwin,² and Houghton,³ the migratory labour system of Africans serves to bridge the gap between 'primitive' and modern economic systems. These economists assume that labour migration arises through the efforts of Africans to adapt to their existence within a 'dual economy', and that it represents a 'harmony of interest' between the Colonial economy and traditional structures.

Magubane and O'Brien consider that studies of migrant labour can be criticised at four levels. Firstly, they disagree with the underlying assumptions, and feel these studies were used to support the colonial office by preempting the very future of the society under examination. They strongly criticise the implicit, yet central, assumption made by these scholars, that the development of Imperialism was 'natural', inevitable and in harmony with the traditional social structure of the subject peoples. Secondly, Magubane and O'Brien argue against the assumption which appears to be made by some of the writers they criticize, which was that the colonial situation was largely static, if not unchangeable. They consider that it is this assumption that has made it impossible for these mainly, functionalist scholars to rise above the level of the individual and his reactions to his situation.

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1. Berg, Elliot, J., 'Backward sloping labour supply functions in dual economies. The African Case'. Quarterly Journal of Economics 75: 469-492, 1961. Also 'The Economics of the Migrant labour System' in Urbanization and Migration in West Africa, Hilda Kruper (ed), U. of California Press, Berkeley, 1965, pp.160-181.
 2. Baldwin, Robert E., Economic Development and Export Trade: a study of Northern Rhodesia, 1920-1960, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1966.
 3. Houghton, H.D., The South African Economy, Capetown, University of Oxford Press, 1966.

Thirdly, Mugabane and O'Brien consider that in attempting to explain the migratory labour system as the collective result of the efforts of individual Africans to satisfy their needs, the writers of the colonial period deny the existence of that system as a coherent political and economic structure.

Finally, they draw the more general conclusion that migratory labour fulfils the needs of the implanted capitalist economic system; the explanation of such migration must therefore be sought in the requirements of that system and not in the psychology of the individual it exploits.

In my view, Magubane's and O'Brien's conclusion is not entirely satisfactory. I agree with their general analysis of the process of imperialism in Africa, but I disagree with their tendency to dismiss studies focusing on individuals. These individuals are part of the system and their lives develop within it. It is as important to analyse the reactions of people to the situation in which they find themselves as it is to explain the development of that situation.

In another part of their article, Magubane and O'Brien¹ analyse the process of 'free labour'. The prerequisite of wage labour is 'free labour' and the exchange of labour for money to reproduce money and to convert it into value for consumption. The authors argue that this necessitates the creation of a class of 'free' wage-earners separated from the land by expropriation and taxation as was commonly

1. Magubane and O'Brien's critique of British Anthropological studies are situated in a wider literature calling for a reevaluation of earlier studies and a new approach to labour migration. For a discussion see the following:

Arrighi, C. and Saul, S., (eds) Essays in the Political Economy of Africa, Monthly Review Press, 1973.

Gutkind, P. and Wallerstein, I. (eds) the Political Economy of Contemporary Africa, Sage Publications, London, 1976.

done in various parts of Africa and nowhere more so than in Algeria, Rhodesia and South Africa. It should be noted, as Magubane and O'Brien do, that the political advantages of migratory labour to the capitalist class are of over-riding importance. Migrant labour undermines the social and political structure of the indigenous population while keeping its outward form artificially produced.

Magubane's and O'Brien's article is extremely valuable in so far as it analyses the whole process of capitalist penetration and development in Africa as a straight extension of the western economy through the exploitation of vast hitherto untrapped resources. What the authors describe with particular regard to South Africa, is certainly applicable to the colonial process in Algeria. Magubane's and O'Brien's analysis gives a better balance to the existing literature for Southern and Central Africa and by implication for Algerian migration. While stressing this, I have strong reservations about these studies. It seems to me that we should recognise the assumptions made by the British Anthropologists who took the colonial situation for granted, but in seeing their limitations, we need not deny the value of their work in other respects. The analysis of the total colonial situation at a micro-level is extremely important, but equally valuable is the analysis of individuals at a micro-level. As put by Beattie in a Latin American study, 'men continually shape their social and economic world, but their social and economic world shapes them.'¹ This is why I would insist, contrary to Magubane and O'Brien, that our studies should, as far as possible, be conducted at both levels.² After having assessed their work in relation to other studies, I now turn to another Marxist analysis of labour migration.

1. Beattie, L.R., The View from the Barrio, the University of Michigan Press, 1978, p.4.

2. See El Wathig Kameir, 'New migrants in the building industry in Khartoum: a case of the concentration and circulation of labour', in Urbanization and Urban Life in Sudan, (ed.), V. Pons, forthcoming.

Samir Amin¹ provides us with another Marxist approach to the study of migration, which is based on West African data. Amin criticises the conventional methodological approach to the study of migration which he regards as based on the hypothesis that the factors of production (Natural resources, land, capital and labour) are given a priori and are geographically unequally distributed, not as the result of a strategy of development. He also criticises a premise on which conventional studies are based, namely, that individuals migrate because they are attracted by better remuneration. An important point here is Amin's observation that the societies of origin from which migrants are drawn are given far too little attention in the conventional literature. Usually the society of origin is conceived as a number of individuals who have the choice of either staying at home or leaving. It is certainly true that in the case of Algeria, the regions from which migrants are drawn have attracted very little study, and Amin's argument on this point is clearly relevant to my study.

More generally, Amin argues that the controversy is not between those who pretend to be 'empirical', and those who do not hesitate to engage in 'Abstract theories'. It is rather over the nature of significant facts: individual motivations (which are nothing but rationalizations of behaviour within the system) or the processes of the system (which cannot be discovered from the motivations).

Another point made by Amin which is of relevance to my work concerns the effects of migration on the structure of the communities of origin. Amin notes that the structural transformation of home villages consequent on migration has rarely been studied in a

1. Amin, S., (ed) 'Modern migrations in Western Africa' in Modern Migrations in Western Africa, Oxford University Press 1974 pp. 65-124.

systematic manner. He observes that through the lack of an appropriate methodology, most sociologists have been content to make random observations in this field, which appear to Amin as frequently contradictory; see a reinforcement of traditional structures, others observe changes, often in the direction of a capitalist type of development. Yet, Amin says, these observations are not necessarily contradictory and he suggests a reconciling hypothesis: Immigration impoverishes the region; it prevents the socio-economic structure from undergoing radical and progressive change; to defend themselves and to survive these societies react by reinforcing those aspects of their traditional structure which enables them to survive. At the same time, this impoverishment reinforces the push effect, reproducing the conditions of emigration. The first part of Amin's hypothesis bears a similarity to the views expressed by Watson and Van Velsen.

Another of Amin's points that is directly relevant to my work concerns the 'desire for change', which, it is often supposed, the migrants bring back as a result of widening their perspectives. The return of migrants as a source of basic change is far less important than some would think because of the frequent practical impossibilities of carrying out change. On the national scale, the allocations of resources is often such as to deprive returning migrants of the elementary framework required for achieving meaningful change. This point is particularly interesting in relation to the region encompassed by my study as I will show later in this thesis.

(See Chapter VII.)

III Conclusion

Studies of Algerian migration conducted in Algeria and France in the French tradition have been concerned with certain important problems, such as the causes of migration to France and the situation of migrants once in France. But very little work has been done on the topic which interests me, namely the effects of migration on the local communities from which the migrants are drawn. I have dwelt on the Algerian studies because they are obviously directly relevant to the analysis of this study and it will be seen that I refer to them from time to time - my reading of them does however reveal that they contain very little detailed work on the main topic which is of interest to me.

The studies of Bennoune and Lacoste do dwell specifically on changes in family and household structures and this is important, but my argument is that change as a result of migration is far more complex than suggested in these studies. Moreover, I contend that even changes in the families and household structure cannot be adequately studied without studying the full community context of family life.

The British studies which exemplify a valuable tradition of empirical research, and tradition which almost wholly is lacking in North Africa and particularly in Algeria. They also give a crucial perspective on the relations between village and urban life in the colonial conditions of South and Central Africa. A review of such work is therefore of major interest. In Southern and Central Africa an important similarity for the migrants is that their 'home areas' continued to constitute the only source of emotional and social security which they had, on a secure basis with political rights and privileges for relations which were denied to migrants. Their continued attachment to, and involvement in, their 'home areas' was therefore their main way of coping with life as a whole. It is idle

to discuss at length whether they 'chose' this; the overall policies depend on the 'dictator' then as the only option for many. But, of course, there were variations and some wider ideas have at times found themselves in a position to 'choose'.

My reference to a few selected examples of British studies in Southern Africa and Central Africa and of the critics to which they have been subjected clearly has a different purpose in essence I have only derived from them a general ~~po~~erspective and I make no attempt to compare the situation they describe with the Algerian situation.

Obviously however their conceptual relevance stems from the fact that the Algerian Colonial situation was in some important respect broadly similar to that in Southern Africa and Central Africa.

However, as Magubane and O'Brien show, these studies have weaknesses. Marxist criticism of British anthropology is extremely valuable to my work, as it helps me to analyse the whole process of French imperialism in Algeria. The work of Magubane, O'Brien and Amin also contributes to my own criticism of such scholars writing during the colonial period. In addition, such work also forms an analysis of a mass level valuation.

Chapter II: HISTORY OF ALGERIAN MIGRATION TO FRANCE

I Introduction

The primary aim of this chapter is to examine the origins and causes of Algerian labour migration to France. The origins can be traced back to the earliest years of colonisation. The "causes" are located in the very nature of colonialism and, in the specific case of Algeria, they have to be assessed within the overall social, economic, and political context of policies that were intended to create and to maintain for ever a colony of permanent French settlers.

The chapter has two parts: (1) one is a review of different stages in the development of colonial policies, and of the main laws passed by the French which radically changed the system of land tenure with the effect of depriving many peasants of their lands, and thus of their livelihood; (2) the other part is a study of the way in which these policies were carried out, with specific attention being paid to one of their main consequences, namely migration.

Most of the writers on the causes of Algerian migration (e.g. Ath Messaoud, Gillette,¹ and Sari,²) point out the importance of the penetration of French capitalism in Algeria and the nature of colonial policies which accompanied the penetration in understanding migration. In particular, they claim that the main factor underlying the changes in the Algerian countryside during the colonial period was the massive expropriation of land from 1830 to 1920. During this period, Algerian peasants lost about three million

1. See p. 16.

2. See p. 11.

hectares of land, including the most fertile parts of the whole country.

This general explanation of migration is, however, not fully satisfactory in regard to the Kabyle region. In fact, most of the lands expropriated were on the coast and around the mountains of Kabylia. Yet the bulk of the early migrants came from the mountains of Kabylia and had not themselves been deprived of any land. This important observation has been referred to in my review of the literature on migration from Algeria. Here I simply make the point that the study of colonial economic policies is clearly essential for any understanding of migration, but that the fact of land expropriation cannot in itself give us a full explanation. For a fuller and more adequate perspective on migration we need to examine closely changes which took place in the entire pattern of land holding in the country. One of the major causes of migration from the Kabyle region was the development of agricultural wage labour as a direct result not of any expropriation in the mountains but of the introduction of private land ownership through the famous (or infamous) "Loi Warnier". The introduction of private ownership in the sense known in capitalist countries meant that only small numbers benefitted directly from the land, while most peasants were simply compelled to sell their land and to look for work as wage-earners on farms owned by French colons in order to survive. It is the entire transformation of the agricultural system in the whole region that has to be understood, a region where land has in fact not been expropriated and where there were thus no land-owning colons.

On the eve of the French conquest, Algerian lands were divided into melk lands (private property), arsh land (collective tribal property), beylic land (belonging to the Turkish state), and

habous land (religious trusts) belonging to Islamic orders.

Melk property is associated with the right to own. In this sense it was closer to the European conception of private property. However, there are important differences as specified by Lazreg:

'... although an heir to a melk is not prohibited from selling it, there are certain restrictions. For instance, he must secure the consent of all his co-inheritors; and if this condition is fulfilled, he would have to transcend the opprobrium that befalls any individual who sells the lands of his forefathers. Land for sale is first proposed to members of the tribe in order to preserve the integrity of its territory. Only if no tribesman can buy it is the land sold to outsiders.'

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Melk property was either interspread with Arsh land or was the predominant form of holding, depending on the geographical area (e.g. in the Mitidja Area, melks were the predominant form).

Arsh designates both the tribe and the land which tribesmen share according to their material capability to cultivate it:

'each member has his plot which he works with equipment and cattle that he owns. When the owner of a plot dies, his land is inherited by his male descendants only.'

2

If the deceased has no heirs, the land is returned to the community, which then redistributes it among its members.

Habous consists of a donation to a religious or charitable organisation. Habous property was more important in towns than in rural areas and usually consisted of buildings, suburban gardens, and nearby farms. Rural habous, on the other hand, were made up of lands in the custody of "noble families" who claimed to be able to trace their descent from the founder of Islam. Beylic land consisted of public domains that belonged to the state.

1. Lazreg, M., The Emergence of Classes in Algeria, unpublished PhD thesis, New York University, 1975, p.49.

2. Lazreg, M., op. cit., p.47.

Over a period of seventy years (1830-1900) these different categories of land ownership were gradually dismantled by the various French political regimes which developed Algerian colonial policy. The generally-stated aim was to develop a "modern economy", but the main net result in many regions was to deprive Algerians from land which were allocated to colons free of any charge. Thus Ath Messaoud and Gillette,¹ quoting Bourdieu and Sayad² claim that:

'si ces lois avaient ...
pour fonction patente d'établir les conditions
favorables au développement d'une économie moderne
fondée sur l'entreprise privée et la propriété
individuelle, l'intégration juridique (au système
français) étant tenue pour le préalable indispensable
à une transformation de l'économie', leur fonction
latente était 'de favoriser la dépossession des
Algériens en pourvoyant les colons de moyens
d'appropriation apparemment légaux'.

In parts of Kabylia, however, no land was expropriated because land is very infertile, but private property as known in Europe was nonetheless introduced for Algerians.

We shall see that between the early years of colonisation in the 1830s and the turn of the century there were various stages in the expropriation of land, and the second main part of this chapter is a study of the different stages of migration which followed. These stages are assessed in relation to the general expansion of capitalism from its metropolitan base, and thus in relation to the developing socio-economic conditions in Algeria during the colonial period. Attention is also drawn to the contradiction of some aspects of these historical processes in post-colonial Algeria.

1. Ath Messaoud, M. & Gillette, A., op. cit., p.13.

2. Bourdieu, P., and Sayad, A., op. cit., p.16.

II Economic policies of the colonial power

1) Land expropriation

The first expropriations in the early years of colonisation (in the 1830s) were limited to habous and beylic properties around Algiers and in the Mitidja (which is one of the most fertile regions of Algeria and which later became the symbol of the success of the colons on account of its high level of agricultural production). Two months after the occupation of Algiers, the colonial administration confiscated the habous properties which financed religious activities, especially schools and mosques. This move was recently described by Sari as 'c'est la première atteinte au patrimoine culturel et une première brèche ouverte dans l'ossature sociale'.¹ The confiscation of the habous properties was soon followed by the expropriation of beylic properties. These lands used to belong to Turks before the French colonised Algeria and were mainly situated around Algiers and Constantine. Whenever the French colonial army moved into an area, the beylic assets were immediately confiscated in order to provide land for the new colons.

Land that belonged to tribes was dealt with by the 'Ordonnances de 1844 et 1846'. The ostensible aim of these laws was to verify title deeds, but the real aim and effect were to expropriate tribal lands. The tribes never held title deeds, so when they failed to show them, the lands were immediately expropriated. The application of these laws enabled the French administration to immediately expropriate 2,000 families in the Mitidja.² In the eastern part of Algeria, 170,127 ha were expropriated, out of which 133,698 ha were situated

1. Sari, D., op. cit., p.9.

2. Isnard, H., Reorganisation de la propriété rurale en Algérie, Alger 1949.

near Constantine.¹

Under the Second Empire (1851-1870),² peasants lost 365,000 ha, out of which 249,000 ha were expropriated in the first ten years of the Second Empire. This period in the history of Algeria is commonly divided into two phases: the years before and after the law of 1863, Le Senatus Consult de 1863. In the first period, "centres de colonisation" were created in order to control the regions that had been occupied. These centres of colonisation, or European villages, were built in the most fertile areas of Algeria, i.e. in the regions of Annaba, Oran, Chelif, and Mitidja. These centres of colonisation were the nuclei of "French Algeria", a colony which the French government systematically used for the benefit of settlers who were encouraged to develop it on a mass scale.

The colons who settled in Algeria have been described as follows:

'... the product of a hundred years of social upheaval and defeat: the parasites of the July Monarchy armies, the beaten proletarians of 1848 and the unemployed of the "Ateliers Nationaux", political deportees of 1851, Alsations made homeless in 1871, French wine-growers ruined by "Phylloxera", the Italo-Slav flotsam thrown up by Italian Unification, the opening of the Suez Canal and the Balkan War, refugees from Spain and two World Wars. This human deposit, was in large measure not of French origin. One half of the immigrant population of 1848 was comprised of Spaniards, Italians and Maltese; in 1876, 3153,000 of the total 334,000 Europeans were aliens.'

The first period before the law of 1863 was also characterised by an extension of colonial land for capitalist companies. Under the Second Empire, the Regime of Napoleon Bonaparte, which was much influenced by the large capitalist companies, colonisation by small landowners was

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1. Nouschi, A., Enquête sur le niveau de vie des population rurale Constantinories de 1871 à 1919, Tunis 1960, p.84
 2. For a discussion of the history of France of that time see Marx, K., The Class Struggles in France (1848-1850), International Publishers, New York, 1969.
 3. Murray, R., and Wengray, T., New Left Review, Dec. 1963, "The Algerian Revolution", No. 22, p.16.

considered less important than larger-scale colonisation carried out by big companies. Thus, the Société Genevoise was given 2,000 ha in the region of Setif and the Société Generale Algerienne was given 100,000 ha mainly around Constantine. It was under the pressure of influential capitalists like Fremy (chairman of the Credit Foncier), and Talabot (chairman of Railways) that Napoleon Bonaparte approved the creation of the Société Generale Algerienne with the specific role of promoting the development of land. The 100,000 ha allocated to this company were nominally rented at 1 franc per ha for a period of fifty years. The nature of the second share under the Second Empire was largely determined by the law of 1863. This law recognised tribes as the owners of the lands on which they lived provided that private properties were clearly established by proper deeds. The law also had the net effect of diminishing the cultivable lands of particular groups. Ath Messaoud and Gillette note that 'ce texte permit aux Domaines de s'approprier de 1863 à 1900 plus d'un million d'hectares, détruisant ainsi les bases économiques sur les quelles reposaient les unites sociales traditionnelles, telles que la tribes'.¹ The same period is also associated with the policy of cantonnement, which I have referred to in Chapter I.

One result of expropriations under the 1863 law was the Algerian peasants' revolt of 1871 led by Sheikh El Mokrani. Ageron estimates that 'le tiers de la population algérienne, la majeure partie du Constantinois, la grande-Kabylie et quelques tribes de l'oranie furent impliqués dans cette insurrection ...'². Peasants who had lost their rights attacked French farmers and soldiers whenever they could. After a year of continuous conflict, the peasants were finally

1. Ath Messaoud and Gillette, A., op. cit., p.15.

2. Ageron, C. R., Politiques Coloniales au Maghreb, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1973, p.220.

defeated by the French army. The reaction of the colonial administration was extremely harsh. The Algerian population involved in the revolt were required to pay a "war fine" (amende de guerre) of 64,739,075 gold francs and 500,000 ha of land were confiscated. The "war fine", and the collective and individual deprivations suffered, had far reaching economic consequences. There was a sharp fall in the indigenous economy, many peasants had to sell their lands in order to pay the fine, and there was much speculation by colons on the land sold by peasants.

The other law which is seen as one of the most important steps in the history of the colonisation of Algeria is the "loi Warnier". This law abolished all rights founded on either Muslim or Berber law which were contrary to French law and introduced private property in Algeria. In addition, every owner was required to have a title deed as proof of his ownership. Murray and Wengraf note that 'the juridical transformation of melk lands, formerly protected by the traditional institutions of indivison (i.e. the collective integral inheritance of property by all heirs), into "individual" property (Loi Warnier of 1873); thus "liberated", the lands could be bought or confiscated through economic mechanisms - that is, through usury and extortion'.¹

From 1871 to 1900, 740 "villages of colonisation" were created in selected parts of the country. Colons did not seek to settle in the mountains for two main reasons: (1) because the land is not fertile in the mountains; and (2) because it was too insecure for them to live there. Thus European colonisation became concentrated on the coast, in Algiers, Oran, Annaba, the Valley of Mitidja, the high plains of Setif and Constantine, and in Batna to a less extent. Le "Code Forestier" of 17 July 1871 made the situation of small Algerian

1. Murray, R., and Wengraf, T., op. cit., p.24.

landowners and landless peasants critical. The reasons given by the colonial administration for the application of this code was that the indigenous people destroyed forests by cutting down trees for firewood, and by taking animals to the forests to be fed. Some forests were given to French companies for the clock oak industry. Other forests were protected by the administration. Pasturage was forbidden in some forests for five years. The delimitation of forests often resulted in important losses of land owned by small peasants.

Bennoune sums up this aspect of colonisation as follows:

'The colonial agents and their surveyors, armed with extraordinary powers, followed in the tracks of the colonial army. Using innumerable arbitrary measures - sequestration, confiscation, expropriation, cantonnement and the application of various property bills devised to establish "incommutable individual property" (thus transforming the soil into a commodity) - an increasing number of hectares were accumulated for the purposes of colonisation. The ceaseless transfer of land from the "indigenous" peasantry to the settlers was disguised under juridical trappings.'

Bennoune provides the following information on the number of hectares distributed to colons between the early years of colonisation and 1954 (the first year of the War of Independence).

Table I Distribution of Booty among Colons

<u>Years</u>	<u>Number of hectares under the control of the settlers</u>
1830 - 1850	115,000
1851 - 1870	765,000
1871 - 1880	1,245,000
1881 - 1890	1,635,000
1891 - 1900	1,912,000
1901 - 1920	2,581,000
1921 - 1940	3,445,000
1941 - 1954	3,028,000

Source: Bennoune, op. cit., p.212.

1. Bennoune, M., "The origins of Algerian proletariat", Dialectical Anthropology, No. 1, 1976, pp.211-2.

The table clearly reveals particular periods of heavy land expropriation. Immediately after the upheavals of 1871, expropriation was on a larger scale because it was being carried out partly in response to the peasants' revolt.

The net result of French policy in Algeria over the years was that two distinct economic sectors were created in the country. There was the colonial sector on the most fertile lands near the coast, and there was the indigenous sector on the poorer and less fertile lands in the mountains and on the high plains. We may now consider each of these in turn.

It is very unfortunate that most of Algerian writers tend either to ignore the colonial sector or to write about it only in the most general terms. I consider that the colonial sector should be closely analysed because this would help us to grasp more clearly the complex economic and social relations that exist today between Algeria and France, and it would also help us better to understand the development of migration for there can be no doubt that the colonial sector had a far-reaching influence on the volume and patterns of migration.

2) The Colonial Economic Sector

The colonial administration created an internal Algerian market with different parts of the country connected by a network of roads and railways. France introduced a policy of protectionism on the Algerian market in respect of products from other European countries. France promoted the export of wine and citrus fruit to the metropolis and the import into Algeria of French consumption goods. In 1954, Algeria was France's first client, and her third largest supplier.

Murray and Wengray summarise some of the most important developments in the colonial economic sector as follows:

'... For with increasing specialisation, concentration of holdings, and mechanization in agriculture, the rural component of the European population stabilized absolutely and declined relatively from the 1920s. More important, it changed in character. The early small peasant entrepreneurs, predominantly cereal cultivators ... were from the 1880s onwards eclipsed by the advance of viticulture. ... During the twentieth century, with the growing domination of capital and ensuing property rationalization, the settler "peasantry" was largely absorbed (although never completely replaced) by the new rentier and managerial agriculture... Parallel to this development of a capitalistic export-orientated type of rural economy, there was a dramatic movement to the towns both of unsuccessful small cultivators seeking work and enriched colons retiring from the inconveniences of rural existence. This transformation of the European population was spectacular. By 1954 over three-quarters of a million Europeans (81.5 per cent of the total European population) lived in urban communes.'

1

The colonial sector is further described by the same authors as having had:

'a top heavy, over-centralized administrative apparatus, spectacularly housed; a gross concentration of amenities and entertainments; a feeble development of industry, and, on the peripheries, the vast army of the native sub-proletariat. The tertiary sector was chronically inflated, employing no less than 57 per cent of the European workforce in 1954. Within the limits imposed by the customs union (definitively established in 1889), a parasitic and secondary industrialization did take place but as late as 1948 the percentage of total active population employed in industry, mines and transport was only 8.3 per cent.'

2

Although the European population was heterogeneous, consisting of big landowners, small landowners, merchants, employees, skilled or unskilled people, it had a simple ideology, and was fully united against

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1. Murray, R., and Wengraf, T., op. cit., pp.18-9.
 2. Murray, R., and Wengraf, T., p.19.

the threat of the Muslim native population. And, as was later shown, the petit pied noir of Algiers or Oran was only too willing to fight for the Algeria of the big landowners and against the native population that had been largely deprived of its land.

3) The Indigenous Economic Sector

While the colonial economic sector was prosperous, the wheat production in the indigenous economic sector declined sharply from a yearly average in 1891-1895 of 13 million quintal to 9.3 million between 1916 and 1920. The contribution of the indigenous sector to the total Algerian economy fell from 80% in 1890 to 44% in 1935.¹ Meanwhile the population of Algeria was growing very fast as Table II shows.

1880	1910	1920	1930	1955	1964
3.2	5.5	5.7	6.4	9.7	10.9

Source: Samir Amin, The Maghreb in the Modern World, Penguin books, 1970, p.33

The colonial policies had severe consequences in rural Algeria. Cattle production fell dramatically from 10.5 million in 1887 to 6.3 million in 1900, while the number of goats dropped from 5 million in 1887 to 3.5 million in 1900.² This was due mainly to a fall in production in indigenous agriculture and to restrictions placed by the colonial authorities on the use of forests, as explained earlier. As the European presence in Algeria altered the whole economic structure of the indigenous economy, it naturally resulted in pervasive change in the social structure.

1. Messaoud, A., and Gillette, A., op. cit., p.18.

2. Messaoud, A., and Gillette, A., op. cit., p.18.

Table III The Size of Land Holdings of French and Algerians in Rural Algeria in 1954

<u>Size of Estate</u> <u>(in hectares)</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>Algerian</u> <u>Landowners</u>	<u>Hectares</u> <u>held by</u> <u>Algerians</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>French</u> <u>Landowners</u>	<u>Hectares</u> <u>held by</u> <u>French</u>
less than 10	391,000	1,850,000	8,000	40,000
10 - 50	118,000	3,013,000	7,000	209,000
50 - 100	17,400	1,226,000	4,000	306,000
100 - 500	5,000	1,108,000	5,000	1,202,000
More than 500	600	414,700	900	963,000

Source: adapted from Bennoune, M., op. cit., p.212.

Table shows the difference that existed between the two communities in land holdings in 1954. More Algerians were living on less land, which was also less fertile, since they had been pushed by the colons to the less fertile areas. Not surprisingly, Turner notes:

'... the French colonate gained the lion's share of the best cultivated land in the plains and coastal regions, which had the effect of destroying the balance between cultivators and nomads and creating massive rural unemployment.' 1

The colonial conquest resulted in the development of a mass reserve of labour, especially among former peasants, who became available to work in the colonial agricultural sector, in urban centres, and in France.

4) The Proletarianization of Peasants

The proletarianization of peasants in Algeria was the long-term result of the colonial conquest and of the introduction into the country of a capitalist mode of production.

1. Turner, B. S., Marx and the End of Orientalism, Controversies in Sociology; George Allen and Unwin, 1978, p.22

'La conquête coloniale, mode d'expansion du capitalisme Français, a donc reproduit au sein de la formation précapitaliste algérienne le procès universel de la libération de la force de travail, élément essentiel du procès de l'accumulation primitive, c'est-à-dire, un procès aboutissant au divorce du producteur et de ses moyens de production.'

The development of a demand for an agricultural wage-earning labour force was a crucial stage in the proletarianization of peasants. In the 1870s, many Kabyles left the mountains to work on the farms and later in France. colons in the Mitidja. Julien summarises the situation in these terms:

'un grand nombre de petits propriétaires ont été transformés en salariés à bas salaires ... Aussi ne saurait-on s'étonner de l'exode des travailleurs, principalement Kabyles, vers la France.'

The first stage, consisted of migration from the mountains of Kabylia to "centres of colonisation". Kabyles were, however, later replaced on these farms by people from other regions of Algeria. This took place progressively as Kabyles tended to migrate to France and the colons were therefore compelled to seek labour from other sources.

II Migration to France

The origins of Algerian migration to France itself can be traced back to the period immediately after the peasants' revolt of 1871. At that period, however, the volume of migration was very

1. Talha, L., op. cit., p.470.

2. Julien, C. A., L'Afrique Du Nord En Marche, Julliard, Paris, 3rd edition, 1972, p.41.

limited. Those who went were mainly peddlars, keepers of herds for export, and the like. There was considerable political discontent among the colons about the migration of indigenous people to France as we shall see later. Mainly as the result of political pressure from the colons, the Code de l'Indigenat was adopted. It stipulated that a special permit should be obtained by Algerians wishing to leave the country. In addition to a permit, would-be emigrants were required to deposit a sum of money sufficient to pay for repatriation if need be. These laws were essentially aimed at checking migration. At the same time, some colons wanted to encourage migration because they claimed that the "high wages" which could be earned in France would be returned to Algeria in due course and would thus create a demand for consumer goods among the Algerian people, and that this would benefit colon traders dealing in goods from the metropolis. Those who advocated this policy did so on the grounds that the demand for consumer goods among local people was low owing to the relative absence of a developed money economy. Some argued, as noted by Ath Messaoud and Gillette, that:

'la pénétration des idées européennes dans le monde musulman, son émancipation religieuse, en seraient facilitées.'

1

On the other hand, the colons who were firmly opposed to this, argued that if any large-scale migration was allowed it would lead to a shortage of labour power in Algeria and thus inhibit the colonial economy. These colons were equally apprehensive that large-scale migration might eventually lead to the demand by Algerians of wages comparable to those paid to French workers and to other demands for equal rights on their return to Algeria. The conflict between the

1. Ath Messaoud, M., and Gillette, A., op. cit., pp.29-30.

big landowners who opposed migration and the traders and others who favoured it lasted a few years. In the final outcome, it was the voice of the industrial bourgeoisie in France which, through pressure on the state, led the government to encourage migration on a large scale.

A census taken by the Ministry of Labour in Paris in 1912 showed that there were between four and five thousand Algerian immigrants in France, mainly from the region of Kabylia. The census showed that there were approximately 2,000 in Marseilles, between 1,500 and 1,700 in Nord-Pas de Calais, and only a few hundred in Paris. These immigrants were mainly from Kabylia and, indeed, from the district of Larba Nath Iraten (to which the village of Taguemount Azouz was administratively attached at the time). Others were from the districts of Ain El Hammam and Draa El Mizan, also areas of Kabylia.

The seeming paradox that many authors attribute migration to land expropriation but that most migrants were from the mountains areas where land had not been taken, is not properly discussed in any Algerian studies. Some writers, like Ath Messaoud and Gillette, mention the fact that migration began from Kabylia, but they usually attribute this uncritically to the French policy of assimilation in regard to the Kabyles and also, in part, to the pre-existing shortage of land in the mountains. There is probably some truth in both these explanations, but we have to add, as stressed in Chapter I, that the development of wage labour on the farms of the colons on the coast was a powerful attraction for migrants, and that land expropriation outside Kabylia destroyed the former balance of exchange between cultivators in the plains and peasants in the mountains. This was a crucial factor in initially compelling or enducing people of the mountains to seek work on the farms of colons which are close to the mountains.

There is clear evidence that for many years the colons tried to assimilate the Kabyle people. They favoured education in Kabylia and migration from Kabylia to France, and many ethnographers wrote about the best ways of assimilating Kabyles, as seen below.

During the colonial period, however, the advocacy of a policy of assimilation was gradually abandoned and ceased to have any significance by the 1930s because it was not fulfilling the expectations of "Berberophiles" (the name given to those who advocated it). The writers who did advocate various ways of assimilation, often did so on the grounds that the Kabyles were supposedly of European origin and were commonly considered to be "superior" to the Arab. Thus, for example, writing in the 1890s, Baron Aucapitaine praised the colonisation of Arab parts of Algeria by Kabyle people and wrote of them in the following vein:

'... l'organisation politique et sociale de ce peuple, son habitude du travail, ses notions de liberté, lui ont donné une supériorité incontestable sur la race Arabe, en même temps que sa tiédeur religieuse le rapproche davantage de l'élément Européen dont il n'appréhende pas le contact. En outre, la condition de la femme berbère constitue à la maison Kabyle une moralité de beaucoup supérieure à celle de la tente Arabe, en développant et resserrant les liens de la famille. Les Kabyles sont les ennemis naturels de Arabes qui, à l'époque des invasions, les ont refoulés dans les montagnes. Cette antipathie subsiste encore assez pour qu'il n'y ait jamais lieu de redouter une tentative de coalition des deux races: de nos jours, elle se traduit par un mépris réciproque.' 1

The policy in favour of assimilation of Kabyles led to the easing of laws governing their movement, both within the country and to France. Thus peddlars were allowed to move freely.

In keeping with the spirit of "la politique

1. Baron Aucapitaine, op. cit., pp.24-5.

Berbère", schooling was made compulsory in Kabylia in 1885. In 1873, Jesuits opened schools in Djénaa es Saaridj in Ath Larba (a district of Benni Yenni). This last action did, however, evoke protest from the colons. In referring to this, Ath Messaoud and Gillette note that Gustave Lebon had in 1891 said 'l'Inde aux Indiens est aujourd'hui le mot d'ordre de tout indigène ayant reçu une éducation anglaise. Eduquons nos Arabes et le cri l'Algérie aux Arabes sera bientôt leur devise'.¹

Lebon's comment is to be seen in the context of conflict between those who wanted to assimilate indigenous people with the French and those who did not. (He himself did not draw a distinction between Arabs and Kabyles in using the term "Arab".) The "Politique Berbère" is certainly important in the understanding of migration, but it is not an adequate explanation of it.

Just as important, or more so, were the introduction of the private ownership of land which was formerly bound by customary rights, and the ecology of Kabylia. Soil erosion is very severe in the area, which was overpopulated with an estimated population of 150 people per square kilometre, even before the colonial period. In brief, it was the political economy of colonialism, combined with the ecology of the region, which constitutes the main explanation as to why migration started first from Kabylia.

Migration up to World War I was quite limited, but the war changed the whole situation. It was certainly one of the major "causes" of the first massive migrations to France. Algerians were called up to defend, and later to rebuild, what they were expected to think of as "our country".

1. Ath Messaoud and Gillette, A., op. cit., p.29.

The mobilisation of Frenchmen during World War I left factories with an inadequate labour force. The French government decided to call upon labour from Algeria. A total of 78,000 Algerians were recruited during the war. National service was also made compulsory for Algerians in Algeria, though some refused to serve in the French army and left Algeria illegally to settle in Syria. This country was seen as the symbol of resistance to France, because Emir Abdelkader had settled there with many of the companions who fought the French. The 78,000 people who were recruited fell under the jurisdiction of the Conseil d'Etat when in France, which meant that they could be tried before military courts if they refused to work. Parallel with this compulsory migration, there was a substantial increase in ordinary migration induced by the economic situation which developed in Algeria as a consequence of war in Europe. Bennoune, quoting Charles Robert Ageron, notes that by April 1917, 2.7 per cent of the adult male Algerian population had served in the French army.¹ After the Armistice, the Algerian troops were sent back home, though numbers of workers stayed on.

(a) Between World War I and World War II

Despite the fact that the Algerian troops were sent back, the demand for labour in the reconstruction of France after the war led the authorities to allow Algerian migration to develop. The number of departures from Algeria to France increased rapidly: there were 21,700 departures in 1920, 44,500 in 1922, and 58,000 in 1923². This huge outflow of native people raised protests from the colons who were, as always, frightened by this loss of cheap labour and by

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1. Bennoune, M., op. cit., p.221, referring to Ageron, C. A., Les Algériens Musulmans et la France, Vol. 1, Paris, PUF, 1968, p.1157.
 2. Ath Messaoud³ and Gillette⁴, op. cit., p.34.

the possible consequences of an eventual demand for higher wages by returning migrants. The objections of the colons were met by the Algerian colonial government when restrictions were placed on migration in 1924. Work permits from the French Home Office and identity cards were from then on required of intending migrants. The number of migrants in France decreased from 71,000 in 1924 to 25,000 in 1925. But in 1926 the Conseil d'etat annulled the 1924 restrictions on the grounds that they were an infringement of the "individual freedom" of native Algerians and that the Governor of Algeria had exceeded his powers in introducing them. New restrictions, more restrictive than those of 1924, were then introduced by the Governor. Those who wanted to migrate had to have an identity card, a medical certificate, proof of not having committed any criminal offence, and "caution money" of 150 francs as a guarantee of ability to pay for an eventual return to Algeria.

The economic depression of the early 1930s had rapid and marked effects on the Algerian population in France. The figures for all North Africans in France (including Algerians) show a drastic drop from 65,000 in 1932, to 56,000 in 1933, 50,000 in 1934, and 32,000 in 1936.¹ When the economic crisis passed, the restrictions that had been placed on migration were once again abolished in July 1936. Indeed, in addition to individual migrations, there was now a growth in organised recruitment from Algerian villages for companies in France. Thus the inter-war period, despite ups and downs, can in retrospect be seen as a period of development and consolidation of migration to France, and this has to be seen against the background of rapid population growth in Algeria. The country's population

1. Belloula, T., op. cit., p. 34.

increased from 4.9 million in 1921 to 6.3 million in 1936.¹

Migration in the inter-war period was largely of "single" men; families were virtually never involved. Most of the migrants were young, and they visited their home country more frequently than they now do. (They commonly went home several times in the same year.) They worked in France for a few years only, then went back.

(b) World War II

The employment office in Paris recruited several thousand Algerians to work under the direct control of the French army. These workers were employed in railways, factories, and on other works of national importance, but they were soon to be repatriated because of the defeat of the French army. The events of June 1940 temporarily stopped all ordinary migration to France, though the Vichy regime allowed the German army to recruit 16,000 workers, but the Allied landings in North Africa in 1942 yet again halted all migration. Nonetheless, it is known that in 1944 there were 19,000 Algerians employed by TODT, a German organisation engaged in building the Atlantic Wall.²

(c) From 1946 to Algerian Independence in 1962

After the war, migration started once more. France had to be rebuilt, but by this time the situation was different from that after the First World War as far as the status of Algerians was concerned. A law of 20 September 1947 stipulated that there was equality between all French citizens, and that all restrictions on Algeria were thereby abolished. For the first time native Algerians and colons were to be treated equally with no restrictions of any kind on migration. This immediately led to massive emigration from all regions of Algeria.

1. Ath Messaoud, M., and Gillette, A., op. cit., p.36.

2. Belloula, T., op. cit., p.37.

The number of Algerian departures for France trebled in eight years: from 66,000 in 1947 to 194,000 in 1955. This massive movement of population was mainly due to socio-economic problems in Algeria. Stephen Adler suggests that by then migration was not due so much to "pull factors" to France as to "push factors" from Algeria.¹ The population explosion now characteristic of Third World countries was, of course, one important factor in the new situation; the population of Algeria rose by 1.2 million between 1936 and 1948, and by 1.3 million between 1948 and 1954, from 6,300,000 to 7,460,000 to 8,745,000.²

After the Second World War migration developed a new aspect in that families were increasingly involved.

Thus,

in 1954 there were 6,000 Algerian families in France. Between May 1952 and August 1953, an average of a hundred families per month were leaving Algeria for France, and Table IV shows how family migration grew in importance between 1954 to 1961. This new kind of migration was not only from the traditional zones of emigration like Kabylia, but from Algeria as a whole, and it was in part a result of the War of Liberation, as migrants who feared reprisals or who wanted to escape violence in general naturally often wanted their wives and children to move with them.

Table IV Evolution of Family Emigration from Algeria to France
1954-1961

	(1) Net migration men	(2) Net migration Women & children	(3) Total (1+2)	Perceived family migration (2+3) %
1954	28,747	1,300	30,047	4.3
1957	18,133	3,700	21,833	16.9
1959	22,350	6,500	28,850	22.5
1961	6,455	5,300	11,755	45.1

Source: Adler, S., op. cit., p.66. Adler adapted this table from Augarde, J., "La migration Algerienne", Hommes et Migration, No. 116, 1970, p.15.

1. Adler, S., International Migration and Dependence, Teakfield, 1977, p.62.
2. Ath Messaoud and Gillette, A., op. cit., p.41.

(d) From Independence to 1974 and the Migration Agreements
between the Algerian and French Government.

Between Independence in 1962, and 1973 when the Algerian Government stopped labour migration to France, altogether the number of Algerians in France multiplied by 2.5. In 1962 there were 350,000 migrants, and in 1975 as many as 900,000. This last figure is, however, one over which there is considerable disagreement, and it may well have been even higher, as shown in Table V .

Table V Labour immigrants entering France since 1964

<u>Year</u>	<u>Algerians</u>	<u>Portugese</u>	<u>Italians</u>	<u>Spaniards</u>	<u>Morocans</u>	<u>Tunisians</u>
1964	510,000	157,394	680,857	585,210	77,347	46,749
1965	512,000	243,093	684,862	631,899	87,383	52,159
1966	515,000	270,972	678,037	688,834	102,193	62,903
1967	530,000	330,000	660,553	640,116	112,479	70,274
1968	562,000	307,284	632,080	616,129	119,521	73,261
1969	608,463	479,665	611,915	616,750	143,397	89,191
1970	697,316	667,069	592,737	601,095	170,835	96,281
1971	754,462	694,550	588,739	589,926	194,296	106,846
1972	798,690	742,646	573,817	571,723	218,146	119,546
1973	845,694	812,007	572,803	570,595	269,680	148,805

Source: Adapted from Granotier, C., op. cit., p.49.

In the early 1970s, Algeria provided the single largest national contingent of labour migrants to France, though other groups had outnumbered them in the 1960s. This is one result of the fact that French policy in relation to Algerian migrants had been relatively liberal. The growth of Algerian migration was certainly stimulated by this and the effects of the close integration of the two countries have continued to be felt.

Since 1962, however, Algerians have been regarded as "foreigners" and the legislation in force for all foreigners has applied to them.

This stipulates that anyone wanting to work in France must have a work permit, certified by the Ministry of Labour (Employment Office), a medical certificate, and certain other documents. Among these additional documents is a registration card which differs according to the status of the person. If the foreigner is a student, or a temporary or seasonal worker, or in other ways not permanently employed, the registration card must be renewed every year, as against every three years for "ordinary" foreigners. These cards are obtained from the préfecture of the region where the migrant lives, and are only issued on the presentation of a medical certificate and a permit to work. A few of the more privileged workers can get work permits for 10 years, but only after an initial period of three years in France, and only by persons who were under thirty-five years of age on first entering the country. The stay of foreigners who are married to French women or who have naturalized their children, is facilitated by the authorities.

The office national de l'immigration (ONI), which was established in 1945, is the only organisation allowed to recruit foreign workers to France. Recruits are checked by ONI in their countries of origin. In the case of Algerian workers, however, it is not ONI that deals with would-be migrants but an Algerian organisation, the office national de la main d'oeuvre (ONAMO), created at the end of 1962. The reason is that when ONI was created, Algerians were considered French, so ONI could not check would-be migrants. And after Independence, the special relations that existed between Algeria and France led to Algerian migrants being treated separately.

At the time of Independence, after the signing of the Evian agreements of March 1962, the status of Algerian workers in France changed gradually. The entry of Algerians to France has, since

Independence, repeatedly raised as an issue by the French whenever Algeria has wanted to nationalise French interests or has moved in any political direction that was unacceptable to the French. A year before Independence (in April 1961), General de Gaulle placed the future of Algerian migration in a broader context:

'If the Algerian population wish, definitively, to let themselves be led to a rupture with France, in such a way that we have no part to play in their fate, we would not create any opposition to this. Naturally we would forthwith cease to sink our resources, our men, our money, into an enterprise which would be from then on hopeless. We would invite those of our nationals who find themselves there, and would really be running too many risks, to leave the territories concerned. Conversely, we would send back home those Algerians living in France who would cease to be French.'

Thus the threat made by Giscard D'Estaing's^{government in} 1978 to send Algerians back to Algeria is not new,

The Evian agreements of 1962 stipulated the free move of people between both countries. The first clause of the agreement relating specifically to migration stated categorically that except for those convicted for a criminal offence, all Algerians holding identity cards were to be free to move between the two countries at will. The second clause stipulated that Algerian workers in France should have the same rights as French workers with the single exception of political rights.

The turmoil at this time, caused by the OAS, led to increasing insecurity among the colon population, many of whom had been directly involved with the OAS and who now decided to return to France in view of what they saw as a deteriorating military and political situation. The main colon exodus took place in mid-1962. In 1963 there were 262,000 migrant departures, but the number was to rise rapidly as we have already seen. There is no doubt that the migrants of this period

1. Adler, A., op. cit., p.74.

included substantial numbers of people who had actually worked for, or helped, the French during the War of Independence, and who were thus in effect political refugees. Whatever their reasons for leaving, however, the volume of departures was considered unacceptable by the French authorities who now asked for new negotiations on migration. At the same time, the new Algerian authorities who had asked for the outflow to be controlled because they wanted to stop the 'anarchic system which existed up to that point and bringing the outflow under control'.¹

New agreements were therefore signed on 10 April 1964 introducing the principle of quotas. The volume of departures to France was now to be determined by France, and the French authorities were to inform the Algerian authorities about their labour needs every three months. At the same time a French medical mission was set up in Algiers for the purpose of checking the health of would-be migrants. In addition, the agreements of 1964 stipulated that family migration would only be allowed when it could be shown that decent accommodation was available for a man's wife and children. In the event, however, the quota system did not work as intended. Between 1 July 1964 and 31 December 1968 there were more departures than expected (i.e. 90,000 departures and the annual average was 20,000). Since the 1964 agreement proved inadequate, it became impossible to plan migration on a quarterly basis. The quota system gave rise to what the French authorities called "false tourists" (people going to France as tourists and then trying to settle down). It also gave rise to clandestine job hunting. Another agreement had to be found. As Adler notes, both the French and Algerian authorities 'wanted the 1964 agreement scrapped and saw its vagueness as a continuing source of friction. Both also agreed that the ONAMO contingent must be ended'.²

1. Adler, A., op. cit., p.76.

2. Adler, A., op. cit., p.8.

The French authorities now wanted to apply residence permits to Algerians as for other foreigners. They claimed that this policy would facilitate drawing a distinction between those who had privileges in France and those who were in France on a temporary basis. But the Algerian authorities refused to have Algerians treated on the same basis as other foreigners and wanted larger quotas to be allowed in to France.

In the end, a new agreement was signed on 27 December 1968, which allowed the number of Algerian workers to enter France to be raised from 12,000 per annum, as specified in the agreement of 1964, to 35,000.

This agreement was to last for a period of three years, and four categories of migrants were instituted: 1) those who were in France before 1 January 1966 would be given a residence permit valid until 1979;¹ 2) those who had migrated between 1966 and 1968 would be given residence permits valid for a period of five years on proving their identities; 3) from 1969, within the limits of the yearly quotas, each migrant would, before leaving for France, have to obtain a card from ONAMO which would have to be validated by the French medical mission, and each would have to find a job within nine months of his arrival or be expelled, while those who did find permanent jobs would be given residence permits valid for five years; 4) all other Algerians, including tourists, would have to produce a valid passport on entry.

The agreement also specified that family members who wanted to settle in France should be limited to wives and children under the age of 18.

1. This category of migrant is now facing the problem of new permits. The French Government has decided to renew it for one more year until negotiations resume between both authorities about the future of this category.

At the end of the three years, new agreements had to be made. This was duly done in December 1971, the quota now being reduced from the 35,000 allowed in the 1968 agreement to 25,000. This reduction is to be understood within the context of economic relations between the two countries. Because Algeria wanted to nationalize French oil companies and other commercial assets, the French retaliated by reducing the number of migrants which they would allow to enter France annually. (Nationalisation occurred in 1971.) The Algerians insisted that the agreements should cover the provision of job-training in order to benefit the country in the long run when the migrants returned.

On 19 September 1973, a few months before the expiration of the 1971 agreement and just before the time scheduled for a new agreement, Algeria decided to ban all labour migration to France. The immediate cause of this was a series of revenge murders of Algerians that occurred in the south of France during the summer of 1973, following the killing of a Marseille bus driver by an Algerian who was mentally disturbed. Shortly before this, hundreds of migrants had held a demonstration against racism outside the town hall in Grasse, and there had also been a massive demonstration in Marseilles. Such events are evidence of the tense racial situation which was the underlying reason for the political decision taken by Algerians at the time.

Later, on 5 July 1974, the French Government temporarily suspended all migration to France. But in December of the same year, the French Government decided to allow entry of wives and children of existing migrants, while still prohibiting the entry of "single" men.

In 1954 the number of Algerian families living in France had been 6,000, with 15,000 children between them; by 1972 there were 74,599 families with 224,642 children.¹ Table VI shows the number of families entering France from 1973 to 1976.

Table VI Algerian Families entering France

	<u>Families entering</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Average no. of children per family</u>
1973	2,239	3,244	1.45
1974	2,317	3,403	1.47
1975	1,744	2,500	1.47
1976	2,590	3,290	1.27

Source: Adapted from Masne, H. le, op. cit., p.13, No. 237, September/
October 1977.

Most of these families were made up of young adults and are typical of the new generation of migrants, marrying either in Algeria before leaving or in the Algerian immigrant community in France. The high incidence of young married people has altered the volume of the Algerian community in France. In addition, the community is increasingly threatened by growing racism. The economic crisis of the recent years and the increase in unemployment has tended to strengthen public opinion in favour of the repatriation of Algerians, and this is reflected in the public-stated views of members of Gidcard d'Estaing's political party.

The occupational composition of Algerian workers in France in 1972 is shown in Table VII.

1. Masne, H. le, "Ils sont la", in Economie et Humanisme, No. 237, September/October, 1977, p.8.

Table VII Algerian Labour Force in France, 1972.

	<u>Men</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>%</u>
Unskilled workers	241,823	52.9	1,475	20.0
Skilled workers	144,117	31.5	1,624	22.0
Workers with French qualifications	41,589	9.1	389	5.3
Others	29,649	6.5	3,882	52.7
	-----	-----	-----	-----
Total	457,178	100.0	7,370	100.0

Source: Adapted from Ath Messaoud, M., and Gillette, A., op. cit., p.99.

A closer analysis of the present-day Algerian immigrant community in France is given in Chapter V .

IV Conclusion

A hundred and thirty-two years of colonisation created close relations between Algeria and France. One of the major ties has been the migration that developed partly as a consequence of the specific kind of colonialism established in Algeria, and of the deep socio-economic problems which it created, and partly as a result of the need for labour power in France. A colon minority controlled the economy of Algeria, while the mass of peasants, with a high rate of birth, could not survive on the infertile lands left to them. For a full appreciation of the history of this migration, it is necessary to see it in the broad context of European imperialism in the nineteenth century and of the two World Wars of the twentieth century.

The first Algerians to migrate to France were Kabyles who live in the region where I carried out my fieldwork. The "Berber policy"

which the French customs wanted to apply to them failed dismally and in the end they fought the French army just as strongly as did the Arabs.

Nearly a million Algerians are living in France, and the Kabyles represent twenty-two per cent of them. But they and the other Algerians are only there on a temporary basis, even though most of them tend to stay until they retire. As we have seen, the agreements concluded have all stipulated that Algerians must return to their country on retirement, and it has been estimated that only 4 per cent do not do so.

In Chapter V, we shall see that most migrants in France, with the partial exception of the younger ones, maintain strong ties with their communities of origin.

However, before returning to a detailed account of a number of Kabyle migrants in France, I devote Chapter III to a discussion of the village from which these migrants originate.

Chapter III: TAGUEMOUNT AZOUZ - A PROFILE.

I Introduction.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe Taguemount Azouz in the nineteenth century and to point to the main changes which have taken place during the twentieth century. The chapter will dwell on three major points:

(1) The demographic structure of the village in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For the nineteenth century, French ethnographers provide the only existing written sources. As we shall see, the village was among the largest in the province of Kabylia. Despite the problems of sources more recent Algerian statistics show that the village remains among the largest. In order to understand the demography of the village, and to supplement the paucity of source material I will dwell on the architecture and size of the village.

(2) The second major point under discussion is the social and political organization of the village before, during and after French colonisation. This will help us to grasp the profound changes that occurred in Taguemount Azouz as a result of the french presence.

(3) The third major focus of this chapter is on the inhabitants' perceptions and interpretations of these changes and their history. Taguemount Azouz does not have a written history. Nonetheless the inhabitants have their own well-developed versions of their past. I recorded many legends, beliefs and stories about the families who are thought to have first founded the village and about subsequent arrivals. Needless to say, hardly any dates are given for arrivals or events as history for the people of this village is timeless. In relating these accounts the histories of individuals

were important - various legends about saints are recorded in this chapter; these saints are supposed to be ancestors of some of the families and are held to have contributed in one way or another to the life of the village as it is known and expressed by the present inhabitants.

Such saints, called Mrabtin are described by Hart in his writing on Morocco, as those who

'....acquire their saintliness through the performance of miracles or merely good works....' ¹

From one point of view the history of the village consists of a collection of beliefs in saints, legends about them, and the evil eye. It is not my intention to demonstrate the difference between these beliefs and Islam, but it is important to note that legends, beliefs and the 'evil eye' have been mixed by the local people with Islamic religion. Some local saints are, for example, believed to have played an important role in Islam.

Hence this chapter is intended to help us to grasp the historical 'reality' of the village of Taguemount Azouz for its people and to provide a background against which to view changes analysed in the thesis.

II Population, The Physical Aspect of the Village, and Housing.

(1) Census of Population: In the nineteenth century the village of Taguemount Azouz certainly had a large population and is considered by French ethnographers to have been the fifth largest village in the province of Kabylia. A census of the province by Hanoteau and Letourneux published in 1893 showed that the largest

1. Hart, D.M. The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology Number 55 The University of Arizona Press 1976 p.187.

villages were: Djemaa-es-Saridj with 2,253 inhabitants; Ait-Lahsen with 1,680 inhabitants, Ir'il Bouammas with 1,344 inhabitants; Tizi-Ouzou (which is today the capital of the province) with 1,367 inhabitants and Taguemount Azouz with 1,304 inhabitants.¹

According to a local legend, reported by Genevois the existence of such a large number of people in the village is explained in the following way:

'Au dire d'une légende, Taguemount-Azouz devait à une spéciale bénédiction de Sidi Ali Bou-Nab son abondante prolifération. Ce saint personnage, venant de Taourirt-Moussa Ou-Ameur, où les hommes l'avaient fort mal reçu, se présenta à Taguemount-Azouz. Il y trouva la population en pleine immolation de timechret. (this will be explained later). On lui fit bon accueil, on l'inscrivit parmi les participants et on lui donna sa part, un seul morceau comme à tous les autres, le lendemain matin, bien restauré, il s'adressa aux gens avant de les quitter, 'Vous m'avez bien reçu. Je voudrais vous accorder en récompense une bénédiction durable. Que choisissez-vous? Avoir de nombreux enfants dans vos foyers? Ou bien avoir beaucoup de viande dans vos timechret?' Ils choisirent 'la bénédiction dans les hommes'. Elle leur fut accordée.'²

The census of 1966, organised by the Algerian authorities, provides the only really reliable data since that published by Hanoteau and Letourneux. This census shows that Taguemount Azouz had a population of 2,080 inhabitants,³ excluding those resident in France or in other parts of Algeria. Hence, the village was in 1966 still the largest in the administrative sector of the Beni Douala area. Taguemount Azouz and twenty-five other villages and hamlets in the area form part of the administrative sector of Beni Douala.

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1. Hanoteau, A., and Letourneux, A., La Kabylie Etles Coutumes Kabyles, Challamel, A., Paris Vol. 1, pp. 305, 306, 316, 318, 334.
 2. Genevois, H., 'Un Village Kabyle, Taguemount Azouz', Fichier D'études Berberes, No. 114, Fort National Tizi-Ouzou, 1972 (11), pp.3-4.
 3. Town Hall of Beni Douala.

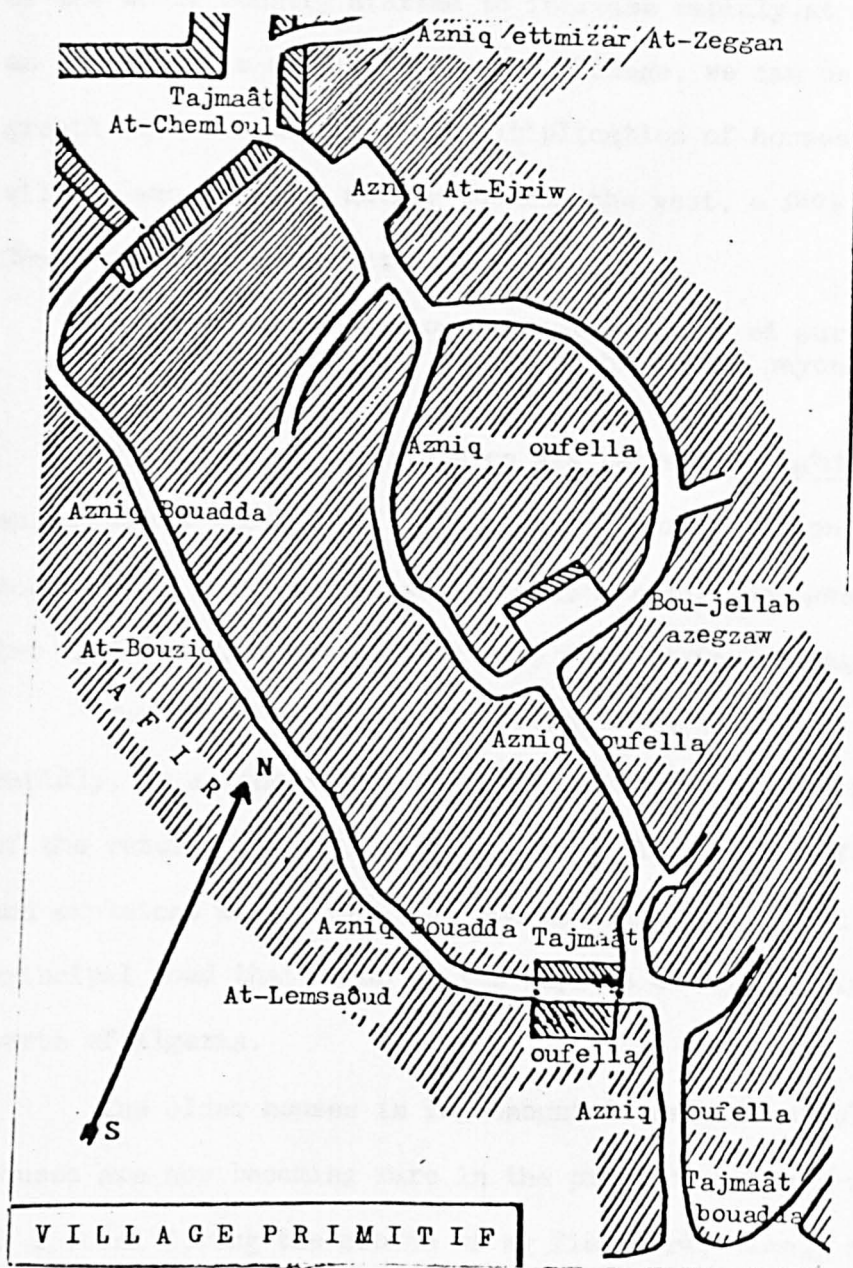
(For more details on population see Chapter IV). In the case of Taguemount Azouz, it seems probable that the population doubled in the nineteenth century and doubled again in the last twenty years following the pattern of the whole country. However as little reliable information exists for the period between 1863 and 1966, we can only analyse the population boom by examining the growth of Taguemount Azouz during the last fifty to eighty years.

(2) The physical aspect of the village and Housing.

In its early form, and as shown in the map below, the oldest part of the village was situated around the mosque of Bou-Jellab Azegzaw (Berber word meaning 'the man with the green dress'). According to a legend, his godliness was so great that he was allowed to accomplish his pilgrimage in Mecca in one night. As Taguemount Azouz villagers were so astonished to see him the next day wearing the green dress of pilgrims, he was named 'the man with green dress'. On his death the villagers built a mosque at the place where he was buried.

The map of the oldest part of Taguemount Azouz, shows names given to the roads, paths or parts of the village, which are in some cases strikingly related to the way in which the inhabitants perceive their own history. In the north west of the old part of the village, we see the name Ath Chemloul which is applied to all people who live in that area and who claim to have a common ancestor called Chemloul. In the south east we see the name of Ath Bouzid. The people who live in that area also claim that Bouzid was their ancestor. The same applies to the family Ath Messaoud in the south west. There are two concentric streets or paths in the old part of the village; one called Aznik Bouadda a Berber word meaning the street below and the other Aznik oufella, meaning the high street.

MAP II Taguemount Azouz in its early form.



Source: Genevois, H., 'Taguemount Azouz, un village Kabyle', Fichier d'études berbères, Fort National, Tizi-Ouzou 1972 (11), p.32.

Towards the end of last century, and certainly from the beginning of this century, the village of Taguemount Azouz started to expand very rapidly. It is interesting to notice that the population of the whole country started to increase rapidly at this time. But, as no census is available for the village, we can only assume rapid growth from the significant multiplication of houses. The village was extended mainly towards the west, a fact explained by Genevois H. in these terms:

'Sur le versant ouest, moins abrupt et surtout plus longuement exposé en hiver aux rayons du soleil'.¹

The other major extension was between Tajma'at Bouadda shown on Map II and the hill of Larbi. Houses were built on both sides of the road. This road was called AthAzouz's road, the name of one of the two families that are held to have founded the village.

Nowadays, the number of houses being built is increasing very rapidly, as a consequence of earnings gained through migration and of the return of migrants themselves. This is more fully discussed and explained in Chapter VI. Houses are mainly built along the principal road that leads to the capital of the province and to other parts of Algeria.

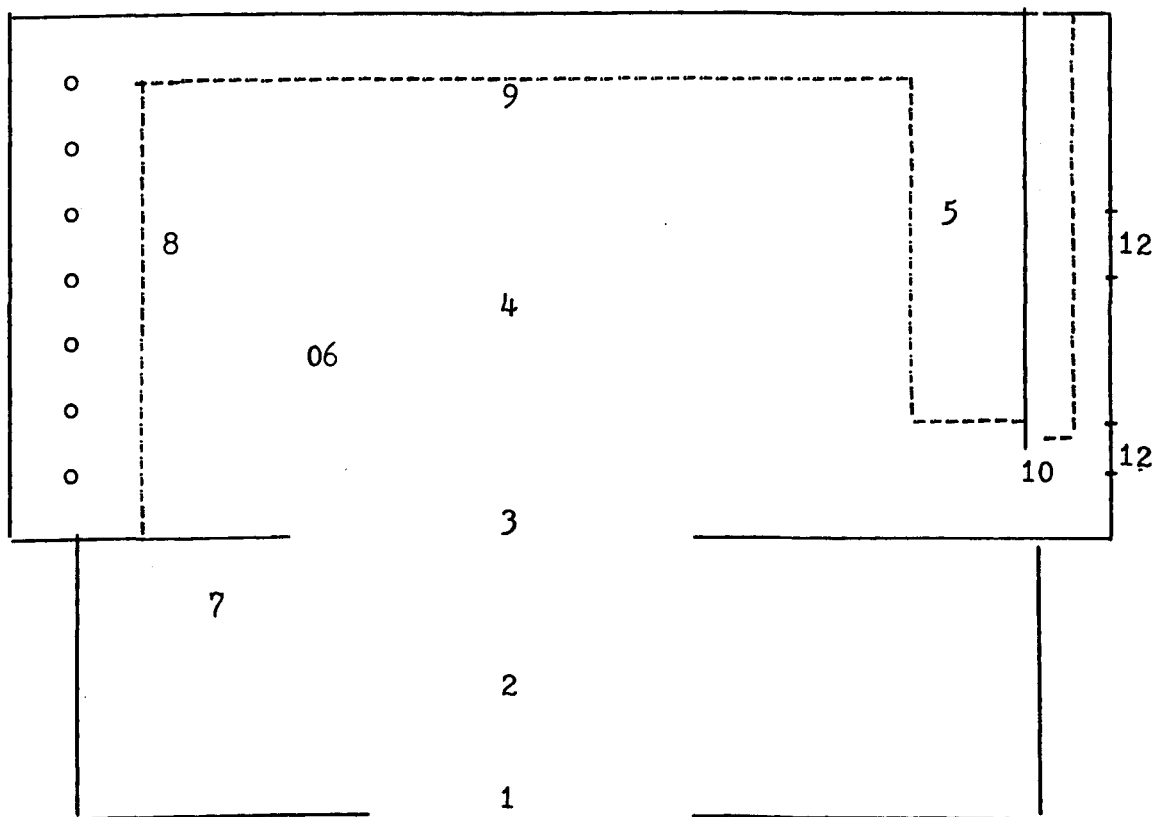
The older houses in Taguemount Azouz were simple in plan. These houses are now becoming rare in the province but a few still exist as I found during the course of my fieldwork. Among other French ethnographers, Deveaux has described what is called an ordinary Kabyle or berber House. His description refers to the last century, but the few remaining houses of this style in the village bear a striking similarity. Usually these houses consisted of two main

1. Genevois H. op.cit., p.6.

sections, one for people and the other for animals such as goats and sheep. The diagram given below may be taken as depicting a fairly standard house, although there were variations from one village to another. In some houses the area for animals was included in the main part of the house usually intended for people. I saw some houses of this kind in Taguemount Azouz. (See picture no. 1)

The houses, often called Tazegga (berber word for house), are built of stone and mortar and are tiled.

Diagram I: Ordinary plan of Kabyle House.



Reproduced from Deveaux Ch. Les Kebailes Du Djurdjura. Publisher Challamel, A, Paris 1859, p.111.

The numbers in Diagram 1 are used by Deveaux to refer to different parts of the house.

Thus: No.1 indicates the entrance to the first section of the house,
No.2 an area for sheep and goats, though not many houses have the first part,
No.3 indicates the entrance to the main part of the house,
No.4 shows where the people actually live, eat and sleep,
No.5 indicates a bed,
No. 6 a fire to warm the house,
No.7 a window and
No. 8 an elevation on top of which people store jars, called Kouffis, which are used for storing food supplies,
No.9 represents stakes arranged in the wall for fixing weaving looms, although few houses have these looms,
No.10 indicates the entrance to another part of the establishment usually a stable with No.11,
No.12 representing windows.

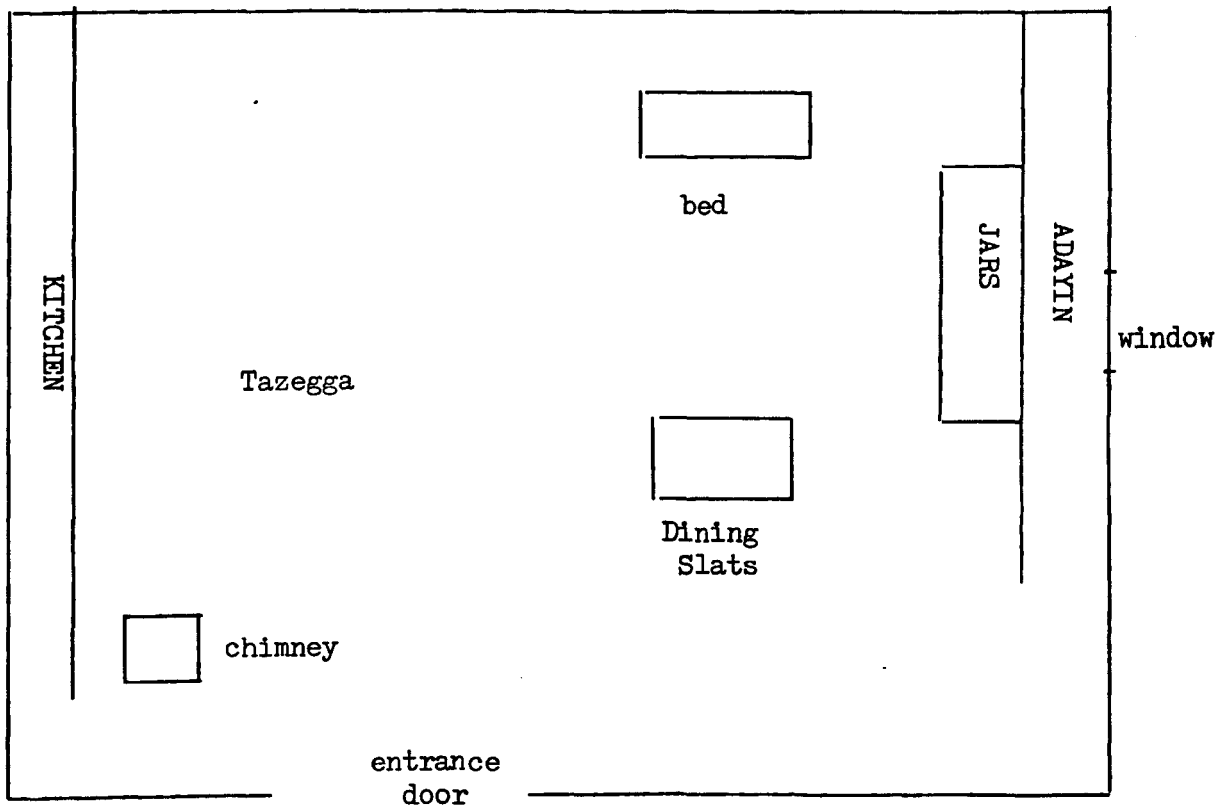
This style of house was prevalent during the nineteenth century and until the 1950s, but more recently the French type of house has been built extensively. Before considering these houses, we need to refer to yet another kind of traditional house. Some peasants and the very poorest members of the village lived in what is known in arabic as a Gourbis, a hut raised on stakes linked with wires and covered with rush or thatch. The 'modern' type of French house is similar to those found in France and is shown in the picture of the village.

In the course of my fieldwork, I came across some houses similar to those described by Deveaux (see p.82), that are divided into two parts Tazegga and Adayin (the place reserved for animals). A

comparison between the diagram below shows the main differences between this type of house as it stands today and as described by Devaux

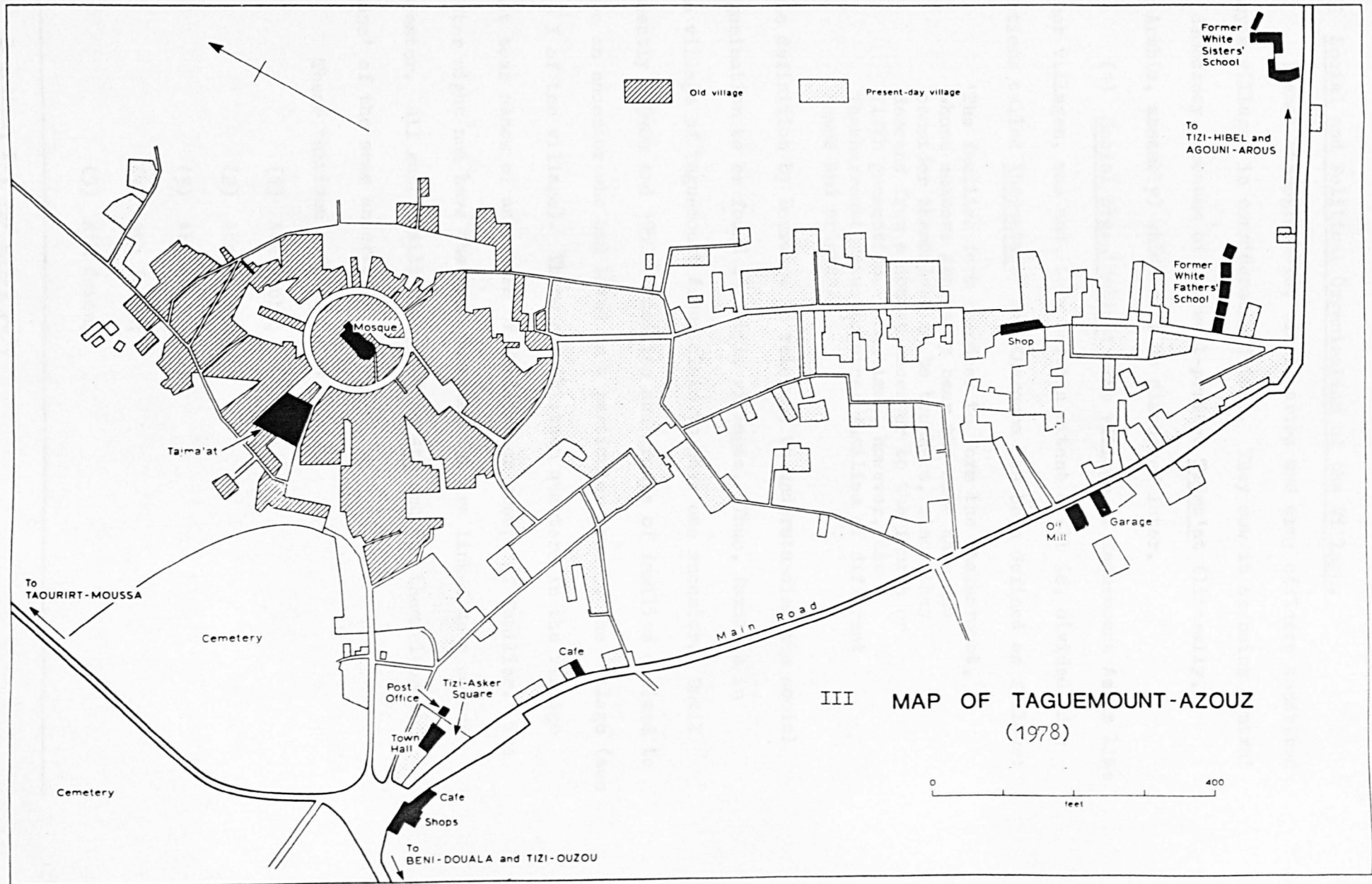
Diagram 2

Present day type of 'traditional' house in
Taguemount Azouz.



As can be seen, the architecture of the houses is similar to that shown in diagram 1 but today's houses have kitchens, and contain for example, utensils, chairs and tables.

The growth of the village with the vast increase in the numbers of houses built can be seen by reference to Map III and shows links to the discussion in Chapter V on the relation between land, population and migration.



III MAP OF TAGUEMOUNT-AZOUZ
(1978)

III Social and Political Organisation of the Village.

French ethnographers, missionaries and army officers described Kabyle villages in considerable detail. They saw it as being central to democracy, because of the well-praised Tajma'at (literally, in Arabic, assembly) which will be discussed later.

(1) Social organisation: The village of Taguemount Azouz like other villages, was and, to a certain extent still is, divided into sections called Kharoubas. The Kharouba has been defined as follows:

'The families form together to form the Thakharroubt, whose members generally bear the same name and consider themselves to be brothers, since they descend from a common ancestor to the fourth or fifth generation. Sometimes, however, the Thakharroubt joins together families of different names and origins.'

This definition by Bourdieu is relevant to understanding the social organisation to be found in Kabyle villages. Thus, families in the village of Taguemount Azouz claim to have one ancestor. Until recently (1940s and 1950s) families and groups of families claimed to have an ancestor who had lived in a particular area of the village (see Map I of the village). There are thirteen quarters in the village that bear names of ancestors of families or groups of families. The latter might not have the same surname, but are linked to a common ancestor. All such families are called Ath and see themselves as 'sons' of the same ancestor.

These thirteen quarters are:

- (1) Ath Bacha;
- (2) Ath Moussa;
- (3) Ath Ali Ounser;
- (4) Ath Issad;
- (5) Ath Jriou;

- (6) Ath Oukerrou;
- (7) Ath Ali Ouali
- (8) Ath Slinane;
- (9) Ath Messaoud;
- (10) Ath Ouernish;
- (11) Ath Brahin;
- (12) Ath Si Ali;
- (13) Ath Issad.

Adhrum, the other principle of division in the village consisted of various numbers of Kharouba joining together. Adhrum as a social unit is no longer important. There were four idherman (plural for Adhrum) in Taguemount Azouz, (1) Ath Chamloul, (2) Ath Oukerou, (3) Ath Abdelkoui, (4) Ath Mamar.

(2) The family organisation: The family organisation in the village, as in surrounding areas, is patriarchal. Family heads are 'always' the supreme rulers of the family and a married son continues to acknowledge the authority of his father even after establishing his own family. Upon the death of the father, the eldest son takes over his role. In cases where there is no adult son, the nearest male relative will take the role of father. The family is also patrilineal and patrilocal. Although, nowadays, some married women live with their own families who house their husband as well, this is due to lack of accommodation in the husband's family house, or because of tensions and problems between the two families. Polygamy exists in the village, but is now rare (I recorded four cases only). The main reason for this decline is economic, few men can afford to support more than one wife. In the four cases of polygyny that I knew, the husband had taken another wife because his first wife was sterile and he did not wish to divorce her.

Although the main principle of organisation is patriarchal, a

close look at families or rather at the position of certain women in the house, like mothers in law, and mothers with grown up children, a complex picture is shown. In many houses in the village there are tensions between the mother in law and the daughter in law and these problems tend to settle gradually as the daughter-in-law strengthens her position in the house. This change is affected by several factors, the first being the birth of a child. If the first-born is a boy then the daughter-in-law's position is strengthened, while the birth of a girl may well reduce her status. This is of course a broad generalisation and the birth of a daughter does not invariably damage the marriage though in some cases it does lead to divorce. However, my argument is that a woman with a baby boy feels in a stronger position than a woman with a daughter. Another stage when marked changes occur is when a woman's children are grown up, for it becomes more difficult for her in-laws, her husband or more particularly, her mother-in-law to reject her. At this stage, if the mother-in-law is still alive and living in her son's house, she finds it necessary not to antagonise her daughter-in-law who is well 'established' in the house.

After a woman ceases to menstruate her position becomes stronger as she is no longer seen as a sex object and her influence and authority in the family reaches a peak. She virtually replaces the mother-in-law and the cycle begins all over again as she, in turn, is likely to have daughters-in-law.

Girls in Taguemount Azouz, as elsewhere in the country, tend to think that marriage will largely remove them from their father's authority, but normally their position is unaltered and they are under the authority of their husbands and mother-in-law. It is thus only when they themselves acquire the role of mother-in-law, or are no longer

capable of bearing children themselves that they are regarded and respected as 'ordinary' human beings. However gradual changes are occurring; some women are now refusing to live with their in-laws and most girls are receiving some, if limited, education. Education can contribute to change in the family relationships as most mothers-in-law are illiterate, and the new-found literacy or partial literacy of younger women inevitably affects their degree of influence, as will be discussed in Chapter IV.

In Taguemount Azouz, there is a strict sexual discrimination with regard to the places which women and men can frequent. The fountains of the village are recognised as a place for women during the time when they collect water and do the washing.¹ On the other hand, men normally gather in the Tajma'at or in cafes. Whether a woman may visit places on her own depends largely on her age, when she reaches the menopause, or acquires the position of mother-in-law, she is much freer to mix with men.

The family and the village are the most easily discernible units of social life. A village, called Thadart n in Berber, is a unit that formerly functioned through institutions like Tajma'at

(3) Household Ownership:

In Taguemount Azouz nine out of every ten families own the houses in which they live. This is not to suggest that every nuclear family has sole possession of a house; in many homes we find the head of family, his wife and their married children. Houses are usually

1. For a discussion of this matter see Badri Belghis Yousif Conjugal relations in Omdurman, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Hull, 1978.

under the name of the head of household; when he dies, the house automatically passes to his male children or occasionally to his female children. This happens if he has no male children, if they have migrated, or if the women are divorced and have returned to their father's home. But, usually, relatives will take responsibility for these women. If a whole family unit decides to settle down in an urban centre or in France, a member of the extended family will automatically look after, or settle in the home. The migrant family will always return back to the house if they are on holiday or for any other reasons. Bourdieu's description of the Kabyle people can be applied to Taguemount Azouz:

'the families own the houses and cultivated lands and are represented by their chiefs, who have power to act for the corporate body. In actual fact the law of joint possession prevails among the Kabyles (the essential foundation for both the economic and moral balance of the group), so that each member (household and even individual) has a share which grants him tenure but not right of ownership.'¹

The major characteristics described by Bourdieu, still prevail, although as we shall see in Chapter VI, there have been fundamental changes with the development of nuclear families; each family lives in its own households. However, as previously outlined, if male children exist, the inheritance of the home will pass automatically to them.

(4) Political organisation:

The political organisation of Kabyle villages around the Tajma'at was very powerful prior to the French conquest but gradually the colonial power became dominant weakening the power of the assembly. Today in independent Algeria,

1. Bourdieu, P. op.cit. p.5.

the Tajma'at still exists but has little power. When powerful, the assembly was normally convened once a week and was presided over by the Amin. There was only one Amin in the village. In principle anyone could be Amin, although in practice he always came from an influential family. The Amin usually presented the matters of the week before the assembly and all men (not women) allowed to speak freely and give opinions in the matter under discussion. All men had to attend the meeting, and those failing to do so were fined unless they could provide a good excuse. A Tamen (Berber word meaning 'the man who represents him Kharouba') had to notify the Amin of any absentees.

The Tajma'at dealt with local taxes; with problems concerning local customs and public charity; with matters of wars or peace with other villages. , and with judicial cases concerning both civil and cases. Matters that did not involve questions of public order were dealt with outside the jamaa and were adjudicated by neutral people. For example, if a man had a problem with another, a third man who is not involved with the problem would attempt to provide a solution. When an important issue was debated by the jamaa, decisions had to be unanimous.

Heads of families, as the oldest members of the Tajma'at had a very strong influence on its deliberations. Gallissot has noted that family heads in Kabyle village, were very powerful because....

'The land was divided into plots exploited by families appropriated land became the means of existence and widespread land disputes between and within families began. Kabyle customs were moulded by this appetite for land. Control over the family share is exercised by the family head (whence the role of uncles in the events of the parents' death) and family heads came together to control the village. This is the well known jama'a, the vaunted Kabyle democracy.¹

1. Gallissot R. 'Precolonial Algeria', Economy and Society Vol. 4 No. 4, 1975, p.421.

Gallissot's interpretation is interesting, for the Kabyle Tajma'at was in fact controlled by heads of family and the oldest residents. This interpretation runs counter to that of some French ethnographers, like Aucapitaine, who saw the Tajmatas being real 'democracy' without analysing the role of family heads played in its functioning or their economic interests. On the mountains of Kabylia land was, and is, scarce and hence appropriation of land gave power to the family heads.

Kanoun laws are the customary laws of the different villages in the province and were enacted by the assembly. According to Wysner,

'Kabyle law is founded upon two sources: the Koran, which rules supreme upon all matters touching the faith and religious hygiene of the people, but does not regulate civil law except in cases where custom does not intervene. The second source is the Ada... a customary law transmitted from generation to generation by oral tradition.'¹

However Kanouns were not the same for all villages. A particular village assembly could change the customary law in response to a specific local situation and such a change would not affect other villages. Generally, Kanouns covered nearly all aspects of social life in Kabyle. A series of fines existed in order to make people respect the laws.

Hanoteau and Letourneux, collected the laws that existed in various Kabyle villages and their work is considered one of the most authoritative, if not the best, study of these Kanouns. It is not possible to cite all Kanouns, but a few will help to explain the social and political organisation of the different Kabyle villages in general and Taguemount Azouz in particular. As regards civil rights,

1. Wysner, G. N., The Kabyle People, privately printed, 1945, pp. 101-102.

the two ethnographers noted that:

'Tous les Kabyles, sans distinction, jouissent, dans leur village, des mêmes droits civils. Un étranger, quelle que soit son origine, peut entrer dans le village et y acquérir les privilèges du citoyen avec le consentement de la djemaa; mais il doit payer, comme condition d'admission, un droit, qui varie de 5 a 10 douros, suivant l'usage particulier du village, et qui peut s'élever à 25 douros, s'il a quitté son pays sous le coup d'un bannissement infligé pour crime. '1

Concerning this last point, the two authors meant that if a man who had committed a crime in his village of origin, and was therefore banned, he would have to make a higher 'payment' to settle in another village.

As regards succession and inheritance, the authors write as follows:

'Les successions s'ouvrent par la mort naturelle ou par l'absence.....Les femmes.....n'héritent pas des mâles.... La coutume distingue parmi les héritiers les catégories suivantes...(1) Héritiers.... universels, qui comprennent toute la descendance mâle directe et tous les collatéraux descendant par les mâles de la branche paternelle. (2) Ascendants par les mâles du côté paternel, père, grand-père, aieul, bisaieul;....'2

The point concerning women is extremely important in history of Kabylia. Most of the villages decided in a general assembly of the Tajmaat in 1793 to ban women from inheritance of land. This was, of course, against the Islamic laws concerning women's inheritance but the assemblies argued that given the shortage of land, Islamic law could not be applied. Instead men who inherited had to give shelter to females of their families, to allow them to live off incomes of the

1. Hanoteau, A., Letourneux, A. op.cit., p.139. Vol.II.

2. Hanoteau, A., Letourneux, A., op.cit. pp.284-286, 287. Vol.II.

succession if not yet married or when repudiated or divorced from their husbands. What was in the eyes of heads of families or for the Tajma'at an economic reason for changing the laws of inheritance, became in the eyes of French ethnographers and colonialists a reason to believe that Kabyles did not adhere strictly to Islam. This breaking of Islamic law was regarded as further proof that Kabyle people could be assimilated to French people. Nowadays, women have their share in accordance with Islamic regulations.

The Kanouns were gradually abandoned as French authorities put restrictions on them and as the French legal codes became central since the independence of Algeria, the role of the assembly has not been revived and hence remains minimal. Although it still exists it has no real judicial or legal power, but is confined to organising religious feasts, cleaning roads and opening new paths. It is interesting to note that during the period of my fieldwork in Taguemount Azouz the members of the Tajmaat were all either notables or family heads who were well respected in the village. Twelve people represented their own Kharoubas in the Tajmaat as I said earlier, there are thirteen Kharoubas in the village, but one of the twelve people was asked to represent the thirteenth Kharouba because no man of that quarter wanted to stand as representative claiming they were busy, had no time, were working abroad or in Algerian cities.

The twelve members of the assembly had various jobs. Two were working in the capital of the province, one of them in a bank, the other in an office of agriculture; a third was an agricultural technician in the village of Beni Douala; the fourth was a trader in the capital of the province; the fifth worked as a clerk in a health centre in the capital

of the province. The seven other members of the assembly were all migrants, returned from France and were now retired. The age of these members of the assembly varied between forty-five and sixty-five years.

The appreciable number of returned migrants in the assembly can be explained by the absence of so many men of working age. This absence renders the role of those who have returned very important as they are always present in the village. Each of the twelve members of the assembly is responsible for his Kharouba in the assembly's deliberations.

As the Tajma'at has no judicial or legal power the role of the representatives is limited to feasts like Timechret to resolve conflicts between families over land, although increasingly land problems are resolved in courts. If a man threatens to repudiate his wife, the assembly might, if asked, try to mediate between the couple.

As regards clan organisation, there were two soff or clans in Taguemount Azouz and old people say that at one time in history there were fences between the two clans and that the only 'free' path for members of both was the high street that led to the mosque. The Amin who led the assembly was very often chosen from the most powerful soff. Wysner describes the situation as follows:

'In former times the strength of the cof was often increased by allying itself with a similar party in some other village. This did not necessarily stop with one alliance but was extended to political groups in many villages thus forming a powerful party. In the village the interest of the cof binds its members very closely together. These interests even came before the welfare of the family. As a matter of fact, the loyalty of the Kabyle to his cof is to his self interest. When the day comes that it is to his advantage to belong to the opposite party, he will abandon the one he is

in and join the other.... consequently, the membership of these groups changes frequently.¹

Wysner's ideas about soff are largely borrowed from Hanoteau and Letourneux, she often quotes them and like them, she thinks of soff in terms of a 'party' rather than a 'clan' It is true that Hanoteau and Letourneux specify that the term 'party' is not applicable to a soff in its 'European' sense. In their introduction to the second volume, they specify that a 'party' in its 'European' sense means a gathering of individuals around a political idea, whereas in Kabylia it was of mutual assistance in order to defend and attack in the interests of all in the village. Wysner does not draw a clear distinction between a 'party' and a 'clan' and hence tends to see a soff as a political party.

As explained earlier, the village of Taguemount Azouz was divided into the 'high street' and the 'street below', and each of these divisions corresponded to a clan or soff. In their book, Hanoteau and Letourneux report an interesting legend in an attempt to explain the difference that existed between clans in all Kabyle villages, as in Taguemount Azouz. The authors say that

'A une époque que personne ne précise, mais qu'on s'accorde à dire antérieure aux événements dans lesquels le célèbre Sid Aneur El-K-Adhi a joué un rôle, c'est à dire au XVI^e siècle, vivaient chez les Ait Fraoucen, deux frères, nommés: l'un, Boukhet'ouch....; l'autre, Ourkhou,... A la suite de discussions dont les motifs sont restés inconnus ils se brouillèrent et se séparèrent. Boukhet'ouch resta à Djemaa es-sah'ridj, et Ourkhou se retira chez les Maïen. Bientôt la guerre éclata entre eux, et les tribus, épousant leur querelle, formèrent, à cette occasion, les deux grandes ligues qui continuèrent, à cette occasion,.... Les partisans d'ourkhou formèrent le çof oufella, et ceux de Boukhet'ouch, le çof Bouadda.'

1. Wysner, G.M., op.cit. p.99.

2. Hanoteau, A., Letourneux, A. op.cit., Vol. 2, pp.17-18.

Hanoteau and Letourneux doubt the value of oral history in the province, saying that it is not reliable. The authors, however, note that in this legend one sees only a myth or a confusing reminiscence of the history of Algeria. This version is still recounted as a legend.

Wars between villages or between soffs were a part of the local life. However the arrival of the French, the occupation of the province in 1857, followed by French political and legal authority, and later by large-scale migration led to the rapid decline of the soff, though those in Taguemount Azouz were only officially abolished in 1946 by the local mayor. The Kabyle peasant, who migrated to France, and stayed there for many years, was less and less involved in local conflicts or local problems, and was living in a world that is far beyond local life in the village, and this naturally undermined local institutions in addition to direct French administrative policy.

To sum up, the political organisation of the village of Taguemount Azouz prior to French intervention in the province was based on Akham, Kharouba, the Tjama'at and the soff. These were the main elements in the social and political life of the peasants. Heads of families controlled the bodies that governed the village and they were in control of the economic base consisted of land worked by families. The heads of families being the supreme rulers in these spheres, were holders of the power in the assembly. French intervention and the changes that have occurred both before and after independence, led to the rapid decline of these institutions. Although the Kharouba remains, it does not have the power it enjoyed in the past.

The people and families of Taguemount Azouz nonetheless have

strong links with the past. As we have already seen, the topography of the village is closely related to various families and Kharoubas. Very importantly, people perceive their history in terms of the roles played by their ancestors in the formation of the village.

IV The Way People Perceive History in Taguemount Azouz.

Nearly all people of Taguemount Azouz transmit stories from generation to generation; legends about the history of the village and about the families that contributed to this history. What follows is a collection of these beliefs and legends.

(A) Legends and Stories about Families.

The date of foundation of the village of Taguemount Azouz is not known and probably will never be. The legends about the village may be 'true', but it is impossible to advance factual historical evidence as to which family founded the village. However, it is accepted that two families played central roles and the importance of their influence is embodied in the actual name of the village.

The families called Ath Oukerrou and Ath A.zouz successively gave their names to the village. Old people in the village often say that a member of the Oukerrou family, returning from Mecca, fell from a camel with the result that he developed a hump. When he settled locally with his family, he gave his name to the village which then became known as Taguemount bou Arour: In Berber this means 'The hill of the man with a hump.' The Ath-Oukerrou family originally came, it is said, from a village called Tizi-Hibel which is situated five hundred metres from Taguemount Azouz. The place, in the village, where they settled is known as 'the oak of the summit' which then became 'Tiggits Oukerrou' 'The place of the Oukerrou family. The ancestral influence of the Ath Ou Kerrou

is still strong, even today, ploughing in the village cannot be done unless somebody from the Ath Ali family starts it, and the reason given to me for this, is that Oukerrou is the ancestor of this family. In this connection, it shall be stressed that although many families claim that their ancestors played an important role in history of the village, none of them enjoys the communal authority to start the ploughing.

Ath Azouz is probably the other most important family, and one of the first to come to the village. Its members claim that they came from the west of Algeria. Genevois in his article on history of Taguemount Azouz suggests they came from (bogghar) in the west of Algeria.¹ When they first arrived in the province, they settled in a village called Isikhen Oumeddour not far from the capital of the province Tizi Ouzou. From there, they moved to Taguemount Azouz and to the village of Tizi Hibel which, as previously explained is situated five hundred meters from Taguemount Azouz.

The legend, as claimed by the family and the people of the village, says that Chemloul (ancestor of Ath Azouz) sent a member of his family to Taguemount Azouz from Tizi-Hibel. Family heads in the latter village criticised him for doing so, as they saw this as detrimental to the strength of the family. Chemloul is said to have told them that the family needed to send a strong and courageous man to settle around the village of Tizi-Hibel (in this case to Taguemount Azouz) in order to protect them against enemies.

At some stage, the name of the village changed, although no-one claims to know when the change from Taguemount U-bu-Rar, to

1. Genevois, H. op.cit. p.36.

Taguemount Azouz occurred. The last word is the name of the Ath Azouz family, the meaning is 'the Hill of the Azouz'. One of the Azouz ancestors is thought to have been the direct cause of the arrival of yet another family. According to one legend a saint known as Djedi Mohand ou Sadoun 'or Vagrant' called in another saint called Moudad, a blacksmith, to run the shop he owned in Yemma-El Khir (a place in Taguemount Azouz bearing his daughter's name). But this man was thrown out by the saint's daughter, and replaced by a man called Ali Ou-Nseur who came from a village of Oudhias. In this manner the family of Ali Ou-Nseur explain their settlement in the village of Taguemount Azouz.

The saint or Mrabti, called Djedi Mohand ousadoun, is said to be known around many villages in the province where he had a number of houses. He is said to have come from Sagua Hamra later to become the Spanish Sahara. It is interesting to note that most of Mrabtin claim to originate from that part of the world. After arriving in Taguemount Azouz, he bought a plot of land that belonged to the family Ath Naamar, settled down, and had three sons and a daughter. The sons were called Heddouche, Ali and Ousadoun (named after his father) the daughter was called Nelkhir, and, as mentioned above, was known in the village as Yemma el Khir. Some people in the village believe that Yemma El Khir was his wife rather than his daughter. His sons Ali and Ousadou are said to be the ancestors of two families, or at least two families lay claim to their ancestry. The family known as Ath Si Ali claims Ali as ancestor and the family Ath Saadoun claims Ousadou as an ancestor.

The people of Taguemount Azouz in explaining the history of each of the families have a well known legend about this saint and his family. The legend says that some hunters were hunting around his

house, at one stage they wanted to get into the courtyard of the saint's house (at this stage of the legend one must say that it is difficult for a stranger, even today, to enter the house of a Mrabtin, because of the females of Mrabtin are not supposed to be seen by strangers). His sons tried to convince them to get out of the courtyard, failing to do so they threatened the hunters with guns. When the saint Djedi Mohand ou Saddoun heard what happened, although admiring his sons for the way they dealt with the strangers, he was saddened by their use of guns, so he decided to ban his sons from having the title of Mrabtin; though he promised to protect them and their offspring through eternity if they were in the right.

There are five other Mrabtin or saints who are held to be ancestors of families in Taguemount Azouz. These saints are called Ath bou Yahia; Amar Ath Tabeb; Djedi Wedjriur and Ath Tabeb and Sidi Hadj ou zeggane. However, little is known about the first two saints. At Taleb was a saint from the nearby village of Taourirt Ath Moussa. He moved to Taguemount Azouz after a conflict with people from Taourirt Ath Moussa. This legend is controversial because, although often told by people who claim he was their ancestor it is denied by those people from the village of Taourirt Ath Moussa.

He is supposed to have walked from the village of Taourirt Moussa to Mecca, staying there for a long time, whilst his mother worked his plots. As the time went by, men from Taourirt Moussa tried to convince her that her son would never come back as they wanted to share his plots between themselves. She cried and begged for her son to come back, he heard her cries from Mecca, and suddenly appeared cursing the people of that village. It is important to note that the village of Taourirt Ath Moussa was divided into three

parts. The saint promised the Naana (mostly Mrabtin) would lose their rights meaning they would lose their Mrabtin titles. As for the second, he promised the Imtene would disappear from the village (which they did according to the legend). And that the Amzan would never be rich. This story, as I said before, is told by people who claim their ancestor was taleb.

As for the other saint Ath Wedjriur, his family lived near Taguemount Azouz in the village of Ath bou Yahia (village known for a large number of Mrabtin even today). The saint and his family were badly treated by the people of the village, who even threatened to kill him and his family. As they were about to carry out this threat the saint requested and received help from the people of Taguemount Azouz, hence the village put this Mrabtin under its protection.

Sidiel Hady ou Zegane was the ancestor of a family called Ath Zegane. The legend says, that he came from the west. This is in keeping with the Mrabtin claiming that they came from the west. Genevois writes about this saint in these terms:

'Il arriva à Taguemount Azouz et s'y installa....
On raconte qu'il y fit surgir les eaux du puits de la mosquée. Cette eau s'écoulait dans le village et causait beaucoup de tort à tous les habitants, mais personne n'y pouvait rien. Une année, il y eut une chute de neige qui boucha (toutes) les portes. Un jour, sa mère, fatiguée d'être enfermée, sortit pour prendre l'air, (Pour voir Dieu, pensait-elle, et que Dieu me voie). Elle regarda du côté de Taourirt Moussa ou-Ameur; il y faisait un temps superbe: il n'y restait plus trace de neige: on aurait dit qu'il n'eût pas neigé: tout brillait dans le soleil. Elle s'exclama: Grande est votre puissance, Seigneur: si je pouvais habiter là-bas! Son fils l'entendit: il sortit et lui demanda: Qu'as-tu, mère? elle lui dit. Regarde ce soleil (là-bas) et regarde cette neige ici: heureux ceux ^{qui} habitent là-bas: j'en suis jalouse.... Prenant son bâton, il le lança de toutes ses forces: il atteignit Taourirt Moussa ou-Ameur et tomba à Tamezguida. Il dit à sa mère: - Voilà, mère: je le jure et t'en prends à témoin, là où est tombé mon bâton, c'est là que nous habiterons. Ce jour même, il

alla, s'installer...., emmenant les siens avec lui. S'adressant aux habitants de Taguemount Azouz, il leur dit: je pars, mais c'est vous qui beneficiez de ma baraka.... Vous allez me jurer que vous ferez chaque année ma corvée de bois. Mes terres, je les abandonne au village.... Ils dirent:.... comment ferons nous ce transport? - N'ayez crainte, dit-il, je ferai de vos corps du fer et des bûches, de la fêrûle (légère). Depuis ce jour-là, la coutume s'instaura: avant la grande fête, les gens sortent de nuit dans les champs; partout où il y a un gros frêne ou un gros chêne, ils le coupent... le lendemain de la fête...., on emporte les bûches.... à Taourirt Moussa ou-Ameur, tout cela à dos d'homme. Au Mouloud (birth of the prophet), les gens de Taguemount Azouz viennent en pèlerinage en ce lieu et assurent eux-mêmes cuisine et service. On continua à agir ainsi d'année en année jusqu'au jour où les gens de Taourirt Moussa ou Ameur se mirent à dire: les gens de Taguemount Azouz sont nos baudets. Ils abandonnèrent alors la coutume. 1

In general, then, one can say that all history is perceived in Taguemount Azouz in terms of parts played by Mrabtîn, leading families and the legendary events concerning Mrabtîn. The topography of the village serving to remind people of their Mrabtîn history because each section of the village bears the name of a saint or a founder of a Kharouba.

The naming of fountains and springs in and around the village also helps to keep history alive in the minds of the people. These fountains bear names of saints or names of ancestors of Kharoubas. Thus, there are nine springs and fountains called (1) Ighil Ouquerrou (ouquerrou as we have already seen founded the Kharouba ouquerrou and families that live in that area claim, he is the ancestor) (2) Thaout Ath Taleb (name of the ancestor of the family Taleb already mentioned), (3) the source called Jeddi Mhand ou Saddoun (already mentioned) (4) Yemma El Khir (fountain of the woman saint already mentioned. The lesser known springs are

1. Genevois, H. op.cit. pp. 22-24, 26.

Amar bouzrou, Taorrabtizibouar, Elbir, Amadar'n errbedh, Taourirt boughi.

(B) Ceremonies and feasts. People from Taguemount Azouz still celebrate feasts for the saints of the village. The four main ones celebrated are (1) Taourirt boughi, whose tomb is situated in the south east of the village, the feast is celebrated ten days before the muslim religious feast known as Achoura, (2) Yemman El Khir daughter or wife of the saint Djeddi ou Sadoun, her tomb is situated two kilometres away from the village in the south west and the annual feast is celebrated on the fourth of May, (3) Oudjriou situated at the main entrance of the village is celebrated on the fifth of July each year, (4) Boujellab Azegzaur's feast is celebrated when the Tajma'at of the village decides it. On his tomb people of Taguemount Azouz have built a Mosque.

To finance these feasts, people of the village give money to the Tajma'at, according to their incomes and to the number of persons in their respective houses. People who claim a particular saint as an ancestor prepare couscous (a traditional north African meal) with the help of other families, and normally buy two oxen with money contributed to the assembly. The meat and couscous are then distributed to all families in the villages or the meal is distributed to all those who attend the ceremony. These feasts have to have a Mrabtin present in order to bless the ceremony. People from the village of Taguemount Azouz who live in the capital of Algeria or in another part of the country are expected to attend these feasts and failing that to send a representative or, at least, a money donation. Usually, those who live in Algiers or Tizi-Ouzou, actually attend, whereas migrants working in France are represented by their families who donate money on their behalf.

One of the most interesting ceremonies is the Ti mechret¹, a feast that takes place in September just before the ploughing. Each Kharouba has a representative in the assembly whose role it is to collect money for the ceremony; again contributions are based on the income, size and the circumstances of the family (for example, families experiencing financial difficulties do not have to contribute).

With the collected money the assembly buys oxen that are slaughtered on the day of the feast, by members of the Kharouba. The meat is then shared between the Kharouba families. Each Kharouba has its own ceremony in its own part of the village. A Mrabtin is present to preach fraternity between people of Taguemount Azouz, prays for good harvests and so on. Then the representative of each Kharouba reads out names of heads of families or representatives of families who come up in turn to receive their share. Most villagers who live in cities of Algeria attend this ceremony, especially those who have their own means of transport. Anyone who cannot afford to get to the village will be represented by a relative or a friend or even an acquaintance. Women are not allowed to attend the ceremony, although widows or women who are old and without relatives will be given a share which is taken to them by relatives.

A few days after this feast, a member of a family claiming Oukerrou as an ancestor will start the ploughing. The people of Taguemount Azouz believe that the harvest would be poor if ploughing is started by any other family. On the ploughing day, the members of the Ath Ali family distribute home-made bread and figs, particularly to the poor.

This ceremony, as well as others pertaining to particular saints, are, in their very nature, the explanation of history of the

1. I witnessed this ceremony on the 21st of September 1977.

village of Taguemount Azouz. People perceive their history in relation to legends and beliefs. However, any understanding of this belief system would not be complete without a description of the important belief in 'keepers', a belief that is found in all Kabyle villages, not just Taguemount Azouz.

(B) Keepers and Sorcery in the village.

Genevois defines 'keepers' of the villages as follows:

'Cette appellation de gardiens s'applique à des catégories d'êtres fort divers ayant un rôle commun: assurer la garde des individus et groupements, villages ou familles, à eux confiés.'¹

'Keepers' are seen as representatives of God on earth, can be ancestors of families, the saints described earlier, or common people who are personified in trees, stones, fountains, and the like. Their role is to protect the village against evil; for example, to safeguard children from the 'evil eye'.

Many of the older generation, still respect and are frightened of the 'Keepers'. When walking by a place where a 'keeper' is supposed to be buried or to frequent they salute him even though he is, of course, invisible. A good example of this is a stone situated near the village. If anyone had a skin disease, they touched the stone which personifies a 'keeper' and were supposed to be cured. It is significant that the stone is only known among the older inhabitants. Many houses are supposed to have a protective 'keeper'. Commonly, women will evoke the 'keeper' when in need of help. Some 'keepers' are supposed to cure disease, for example, the fountain known as Amdnun Sahah, where women used to take children for cures.

However, largely due to increased migration and education the faith on such beliefs as 'keepers' is now declining. Although they

1. Genevois H. op.cit. p.59.

are evoked, particularly by women, to solve such problems as divorces and 'evil eye' on children. I suggest this is important among women and especially older women due to their social position vis-a-vis men and the wider society; lack of education amongst these women is also a major factor. Younger women tend to be less attracted to these beliefs because they are more educated and frequently live outside the village.

These beliefs in 'keepers' and sorcery are however still prevalent in Taguemount Azouz especially among older women, although men do participate. In this connection, it is necessary to distinguish between witchcraft and sorcery. Hart quoting Leach defines sorcery as

'The conscious performance of a technically possible act which has imaginary consequence of bringing evil upon a victim. Sorcery is thus a craft of evil magic, it can be learnt by anyone.¹ Witchcraft is a quality which is innate to the witch, and all manifestations of witchcraft are intrinsically supernatural. Thus the pricking of wax images of an intended victim is a natural capacity which European witches inherit from their mothers.'

It is sorcery rather than witchcraft which is encountered in Taguemount Azouz, although like other such practices it is slowly disappearing. Sorcery can be used for many purposes from engendering affection to hurting or harming someone.

During the course of my fieldwork I recorded several examples of sorcery. Usually performed by the old women of the village in an attempt to assist relatives or friends or customers who had problems. These women tended to receive payment for these services, of which three examples follow:

1. Hart, D.N. op.cit. p. 149, quoted from Leach, E.R. 'Magic and Sorcery' in Gould, J. and Kolb, W.L., eds, Dictionary of the Social sciences, London: Tavistock Publications 1964, p.685.

Example I: If a wife thinks her husband is not faithful, or if she wants him to hate his parents, she gets in touch with a woman who specialises in this kind of sorcery, and who takes the heart of the most recently dead donkey, cooks it, and gives it to the husband saying 'I make you eat a donkey's heart, so that you will forget your mother and father and only look at your wife'.

Example II: If a woman is jealous of a man's wife and wishes to be divorced, she will wait until the wife has had a baby. She takes some of the blood, mixing it with meat and presenting the result to the husband, says 'I make you eat the blood of your wife's lying in; you will not sleep in her bed until you die'. The divorce is supposed to follow soon after this.

Example III: If a wife is hated by her husband but yet wants to keep him, she takes an egg, gets an item of underwear that belongs to her husband, cuts it into seven pieces, covers the egg with the pieces, puts the covered egg in a sewer for seven days, and finally buries it in the forest. Then the husband should once again develop amicable feelings towards his wife.

The above are examples of the sorcery performed by old women and are facts of the general belief system of the people. From one point of view the history of the village consists of a collection of beliefs in saints, evil spirits and 'evil eyes'. This raises the problem of the reactions of a sociologist or anthropologist to such a beliefs system. Luke's comments on this are relevant:

'When I came across a set of beliefs which appear prima facie irrational, what should be my attitude towards them? Should I adopt a critical attitude, taking it as a fact about the beliefs that they are irrational, and seek to explain how they come to be held, how they manage to survive unprofaned by national criticism, what their consequences are, etc? or should I treat such

beliefs charitably; should I begin from the assumption that what appears to me to be irrational may be interpreted as rational when fully understood in its context? More briefly, the problem comes down to whether or not there are alternative standards of rationality.'¹

The question raised by Lukes touches on the approaches that developed by Western scholars over a century about beliefs, religion, and more generally, culture. In this context, many writers have drawn a distinction between what is rational and irrational and many seem to have lacked any understanding of beliefs amongst 'primitive peoples' because they have so often referred to their 'own' beliefs when trying to understand or explain those of others. Thus Levy-Bruhl, as quoted by Evans-Pritchard writes:

'The attitude of the mind of the primitive is very different, the nature of the milieu in which he lives presents itself to him in quite a different way. Objects and beings are all involved in a network of mystical participations and exclusions. It is these which constitute its texture and order. It is then these which immediately impose themselves on his attention and which alone retain it. If a phenomenon interests him if he is not content to perceive it, so to speak, passively and without reaction, he will think at once, as by a sort of mental reflex, of an occult and visible power of which the phenomenon is a manifestation.'²

Levy Bruhl's term for non-European beliefs is 'prelogical' hence implying that they do not possess the 'logic' of European beliefs and that they seem incomprehensible to Europeans. If we were to follow this argument, it would mean that what is non-European is not logical.

Such approaches to 'primitive' beliefs can only be understood in the context of the wider European intervention is what is now referred to as the 'third world'. Many writers saw their own beliefs, which they believed to be rational, as an appropriate

1. Lukes, S. 'Some problems about rationality' in Rationality, (ed.), Wilson, B. R., Blackwell, Oxford, 1970.

2. Evans-Pritchard, E.E. Theories of Primitive Religion, Oxford University Press, edition of 1975 pp.80-81 quoted from Levy-Bruhl, L. La Mentalite Primitive 14th edition, pp.17-18.

standard of explanation. Thus, beliefs that were not congruous with their own appeared irrational to them. I take the view that the problem is not one of rationality or irrationality, because what appears irrational to some group may appear rational to others and vice versa. Moreover, whether a belief system is 'rational' or not, does not affect the importance I attach to it. What interests me is the part played by that system in influencing the way in which people see their problems and deal with them: Terms like Levy-Bruhl's are not helpful because they come from a particular context of the economic and political system of beliefs. Because this was the system spread throughout the world until colonialism and capitalism, it was viewed as a standard on people who did not subscribe to it.

V Conclusion: In the first part of this chapter I looked at the demography of Taguemount Azouz from the nineteenth century onwards. However, the lack of statistical evidence posed problems. The discussion of the expansion of Housing was necessary to supplement scanty and unreliable information and to demonstrate the population increase. The physical structure of the village is strongly connected to its history as the streets bear names of people who are its legendary founders. In these legends there are no dates and history is timeless. Prior to French intervention the traditional political institutions played a crucial role in all aspects of village life. The incorporation, not only of Taguemount Azouz, but of other villages and indeed of Algeria and North Africa into the French Capitalist system has drastically reduced the role of those organisations although some aspects of them like the Jamaa, still persist in a rather insignificant way.

During the 20th Century the people of Taguemount Azouz have experienced much change as a result of the introduction of a Colonial economy, which has over time led to migration, urbanisation, and the like. Yet the inhabitants still perceive this history in a 'traditional' manner. Despite far-reaching change, there is still a common feeling of 'belonging' that is expressed and articulated in the community through the kind of beliefs which contribute to people's perception of themselves as individuals and families and as members of a wider grouping with a common identity.

This profile of Taguemount Azouz is crucial for an understanding of basic economic change in the village and also provides the necessary background for a more detailed discussion of the structural changes wrought by migration that will be focussed on in the ensuing chapters.

Chapter IV: POPULATION, ECOLOGY AND ECONOMY

I Introduction

This chapter sets out to analyse socio-economic conditions in the village of Taguemont Azouz, and focuses on the following points: (1) the imbalance created between "overpopulation" and production in the village; (2) the tendency, over the years, for men to abandon agriculture and arboriculture to find jobs in the urban centres of Algeria and France (until 1973 when the Government of Algeria stopped migration to France); (3) in the absence of men, women, retired migrants and elderly men took over their work in the village; (4) increasing land erosion has also led to abandonment of the land, not only in Taguemont Azouz, but throughout the region; (5) local production cannot support the population so food has to be imported on a large scale.

The analysis of the economy of the village will contribute to an understanding of migration patterns. Land is scarce and output low, but is the real problem one of overpopulation? In other words, is there an imbalance between population and land production? If so, does "overpopulation" explain migration? It is not part of the aim in this chapter to debate theories of population, but I simply query whether the concept of "overpopulation" can usefully be applied to the village of Taguemont Azouz in any attempt to understand the causes of migration. Some writers on the Algerian economy emphasise the high density of population on the Kabylia mountains. Thus Ammour, Leucate and Moulin state that:

'En Kabylie, la densité dépasse 100 habitants au km², et dans le département de Tizi-Ouzou elle approche les 200 personnes par km².'

1

1. Ammour, K., Leucate, C., and Moulin, J. J., La Voie Algérienne les Contradictions d'un Développement National, Paris, Maspero, 1974, p.93.

Some other writers, like Gallissot,¹ writing about pre-colonial Algeria also mention the high density of population in this area. Even before French intervention, the area had a high population density, however migration only started after the introduction of the colonial system, particularly the agricultural wage sector. This leads us to question the relevance of a theory of overpopulation as posed by Malthus and others:

'Many people believe that it is a law of nature that all populations, at all times and places (unless deliberately checked) tend to go on expanding until they reach the "limits of subsistence" after which, they are kept in check by "vice and misery" ... Population, Malthus claimed, tended to increase in geometrical progression. The growth of the productivity of agriculture, on the other hand, he stated, could only be in arithmetical progression.'²

Over the years Malthus' view has been attacked by many writers, both Marxist and non-Marxist. However, as already stated, my aim here is to question the validity of an explanation that relies on overpopulation to explain migration rather than to discuss broader theories of population.

In this chapter I suggest that migration is due to a combination of factors. One of the most important is land because of both ecological and social reasons. But the "land problem" is, of course, closely related to the general issue of the interaction of the village into the wider society and to the national and international capitalist labour market.

The chapter is divided into three main parts: (1) a brief description of the population, climatic conditions, and ecological conditions of the region, this last point being particularly important

1. Gallissot, R., op. cit., p.419.
2. Clark, C., Population growth and land use, (2nd edition), Macmillan, London, 1977, p.59, referring to Malthus, T. R., An Essay on Population, 1799, edition of 1926, Macmillan, London.

to understand the local problems that relate to agriculture and soil erosion; (2) an analysis of agricultural and arboricultural production, of the property system, and of the way in which inheritance practices affect the distribution of land in the village; (3) the changes resultant from the migration of men and their replacement by women in the fields. Hence the roles for women are changing, a process that is entranced by education. Finally, I will show the extent to which migration is necessary for the maintenance of the local economy.

II Population, Climatic Conditions and the Ecology of the Area.

(A) Population

As outlined in Chapter III, Taguemount Azouz is the largest village in the administrative area of Beni Douala, and Hanoteau and Letourneux considered it to be among the largest in Kabylia. In 1974, the village had a population of 2,852, rising to 3,458 by 1976.¹ In 1976 the next largest villages in Beni Douala were Tadertoufella and Ath Bouyahyia with 2,010 and 2,832 inhabitants respectively.

According to the census of 1976, there were 829,790 inhabitants in the province;² 25,851 of these lived abroad as migrants, mainly in France, whilst 29,434 lived in villages under the administration of Beni Douala.

The national birthrate is high; 330,000 people being added to the population every year. Hence, it is not surprising that the birthrates for the province are high; in the Daira of Tizi ouzou the

1. Source: Town Hall of Beni Douala.

2. Source: " " " " "

birthrate is 50 per 1,000 per annum, giving a rate of population increase of 31 per 1,000 per annum, whilst in the Daira of Larba Nath Iraten and in Beni Douala the birthrate is 40 per 1,000 per annum and the rate of increase 30 per 1,000 per annum.

(B) Climate of the Area

The region has two main types of climate, the coastal climate and the mountain climate. Although this is an oversimplification, as there is much diversity between areas, it is useful for the present purpose.

On the coastline the climate is of the Mediteranean type; summers are very hot and dry, winters are humid and quite cold. Temperatures average around 25 degrees in summer and 14 degrees in winter. Temperature changes with altitude, thus on the mountains, very hot summers with the sirocco wind (wind from the desert) can follow very cold winters with temperatures below zero for days or weeks. Showers can be heavy, but with clear periods in between. In winter, there are snow falls on the mountains.

Rainfall varies from area to area and from year to year, although this province gets more rain than many other parts of Algeria. However, in general there is a higher rainfall on the mountains than on the coast. The general pattern is for rain to fall from October or November to March or April, hence the rest of the year, May to September, is dry.

The vegetation of the region consists mainly of brush, heath,

oak and cork. The nature of the vegetation is dependent on the type of soil. Heavy showers cause erosion which is a widespread and well-known problem for the peasants who inhabit the mountains.

On the plains soil is usually brown, quite deep and composed of some clay with little bits of sand, whereas soil in the mountains is thin, with clay, a little sand and many rocks, hence adding to the agricultural problems in the mountains.

(C) Soil Erosion

There are two types of erosion in the province. Firstly, linear erosion due to oueds (Arabic word meaning rivers), whose sources are in the Djurdjura mountains. The water flowing down these rivers continually washes away some soil. Secondly, there is erosion due to rainfall, which as I have already noted, is more serious. The soil in the mountains is thin, and slopes are often very abrupt, so when rain falls and when showers are heavy, land is washed away. In some areas with little vegetation heavy rains cause landslides. Thus Ammour states that 'l'erosion est un probleme dramatique pour l'Algerie qui perd 150,000 ha de terres par an'.¹

Erosion is worst at the beginning of autumn, when plants are dry, leaving the ground unprotected. When the heavy and sudden autumn showers occur they carry soil away creating wide and deep gullies. Plains and valleys situated near the mountains also suffer from this erosion because rocks and soil are constantly washed down from the mountains. At the national level, the War of Liberation aggravated erosion as French planes dropped bombs on the mountains, often destroying vegetation.

1. Ammour, K., Leucate, C., and Moulin, J. J., op. cit., p.66.

III The Ownership of Land.

There are five hundred and seven landowners in the village of Taguemount Azouz. These are not really farms but plots, most of them between 1 and 2 hectares, as shown in Table VIII.

Table VIII

Size of Plots

<u>Size</u>	<u>Number of Landowners</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
6+hectares	2	0.4
5+ "	1	0.2
4+ "	11	2.2
3+ "	5	1.0
2+ "	19	3.7
1+ "	106	20.9
Less than 1 hectare	363	71.6
	—	—
Total	507	100.0

1 hectare = 2.41 acres.

Only one of the three largest properties is owned by a peasant, if defined as a person who has always worked his land and does not have another source of income. This particular man only worked outside the village once and that was in the French army during the Second World War. Only half of his property is cultivated, as all his children have migrated to town. He has six olive trees and about ten fig trees. On one plot he cultivates carrots, potatoes, lettuce, tomatoes, radishes, onions and turnips for his own consumption and for sale on the roadside. On the other hand, his olive trees bring in a yearly income equivalent to approximately £300. His children contribute to his maintenance by sending him money and in return receive a share of the olive oil he produces.

This case shows that even when a property is "large", in the village's terms, it does not produce on a scale comparable to that found on farms in the plains. In the mountains tractors cannot be used, as the land is sloping and, in the specific case of this peasant, some parts of his property are rocky.

The owner of the plot of five hectares had been a worker in a French factory for two years. Prior to working in the factory, he was a peddler selling carpets in France. He returned from France mainly because his father was too old and sick to work the land. He has two adult male and five female children. One of the sons is a clerk in Algiers, the other a bank employee in the capital of the province. One daughter attends secondary school and the others are either at home or are married. He works the land with his wife and is occasionally helped by two men who are members of his wife's family. After appropriate shares have been given to his children, he sells his olive oil at the Beni Douala market or to bypassers. This brings him an income of approximately £350 a year. In addition to twenty olive trees, he has some fig trees. The land was inherited from his father.

The third "large" property is not divided into plots but forms a single unit. The property, as in the case of many others, is registered under the name of the head of the household. It is situated in the valley, about 10 kms from the village. The head of the family, his wife, and two of his children and their wives, work the land together. It produces roughly the same products as the other two farms. A large part of the property was inherited, although some was bought from a peasant who wanted cash to migrate to France (see Chapter V on migrants to France and the way they get the money to go there). After the family has had a share, the produce is

sold on the local market.

Plots are the basis of family units, as described by some writers like Gallissot. However, the two other "large" properties do not conform to this pattern. The vast majority of smaller plots belong to households and are often worked by members of these households, although landless peasants or retired migrants do offer their wage labour to these households. Small landowners, who own a hectare or less, and some larger owners often co-work for those who are short of labour or too old to work their own land.

This situation is in many ways comparable to that described by Dube in an Indian village:

'Those who have no land, as well as those who have very little land, are left with the alternative of either working as whole-time agricultural labourers or of cultivating land taken on lease.'

1

Dube's description of this village can be applied to Taguemount Azouz, although there are some differences. While landless peasants, or those owning small plots, do work for those who have land, the lease system is not important. Also, because many heads of families work abroad or in Algerian urban centres, their plots tend to be worked by female members of the household or male relatives who receive a share of the produce.

(1) Hired labour

It is mainly the landless peasants and those who own small plots who sell their labour. The first category of peasants hire themselves for various activities such as ploughing in September,

1. Dube, S. C., Indian Village, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955, p.74.

working the olive trees around December and January, and working on the gardens or plots of those who are absent from the village. These peasants are usually hired on a daily basis; most receive £1 a day, working from early in the morning to sunset. They are often employed to do jobs that cannot be done by women. They also work in neighbouring villages if the work is available. Another common paid activity is that of caring for animals, such as oxen, goats, donkeys, and cows. Such employment is becoming more varied, as is explained in Chapter VI .

The second category of hired labour is composed of small landowners who have less than a hectare, or only a hectare or two. They usually work their own land first and then hire themselves to households to perform the same kind of duties done by the landless. Wages earned in this way help to make ends meet. The system of hired labour as such, is not significant because basically the plots are not large enough to create significant labour opportunities.

We have to bear in mind two other factors which are of some importance in explaining the relative insignificance of hired labour: (1) plots are based on family or household units. The production is primarily for consumption, although it would be misleading to talk in terms of self-subsistence in agriculture or arboriculture as some produce is sold. (2) The other important point to take into account is the role played by women in the production of olive oil and agricultural foods. This limits the demand for agricultural hired labour, hence landless peasants and others have to turn to alternatives like house building (see Chapter VI).

(2) Fragmentation of land

Fragmentation of land into small plots is extremely common, as is shown in Table IX . Properties are often fragmented into plots

which are situated in different places. Thus, one landowner may have two hectares, one of which is situated in the eastern part of the village, the other plot five kms away in the northern part. The number of plots per property varies. As we saw earlier, there are five hundred and seven properties in the village; only fifty-six are not fragmented, leaving four hundred and one properties that are split into plots, as shown below.

Table IX 1 Fragmented Properties
(401 out of 507)

<u>Fragmented properties according to the number of plots</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
2 plots	84	20.9
3 "	77	19.2
4 "	69	17.2
5 "	52	13.0
6 "	46	11.5
7 "	35	8.7
8 "	22	5.5
9 "	13	3.2
10 "	2	0.5
11 "	1	0.3
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	401	100.0

There are several reasons for fragmentation which need to be discussed.

Inheritance: with migration, the pattern of inheritance has certainly contributed to fragmentation. Usually the head of the family divides the land between his male and female children according to the Quranic law, which is as follows:

'God instructs you concerning your children: the son has a share equivalent to that of two daughters. If the women (left behind) are more than two, then two-thirds of what he leaves belongs to them, but if there is only one, then she has half. His parents

shall each receive a sixth of what he may leave, if he had a son. If he had no son, and both his parents inherit from him, then his mother receives a third. If he has brothers (and sisters) his mother will have a sixth, once the will of or any outstanding debt has been settled....' ¹

As the average number of children per family is between six to seven, if all inherit, the land is much divided. So children get less land and when they themselves have children, the land is again divided, eventually splitting plots into very small units.

Some peasants sold their land to finance journeys to, and settlement in, France; however, it is difficult to know exactly how many people did this as the villagers are reluctant to give such information because land symbolises "community" for them. So sales and purchases of land are done secretly in order not to shame those who sell. Hence there seems to be a tacit understanding between the seller and the buyer. The seller always maintains the hope of repossessing the land when he is again financially able. This point has been noted by writers looking at other parts of the world. Thus, for example, Dube wrote:

'The agriculturalists have considerable sentiment for their land and cattle. If adversity compels them to sell some of their fields or cattle, the day when this is done becomes a day of semi-mourning for the household.... Land is indeed the most precious and coveted possession of the village people.' ²

In many ways, the situation described by Dube corresponds to that in Taguemount Azouz. It is, however, difficult to gauge the

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1. Ballantine, I. T., Khurshid A., and Ahan Mawazir, M., The Qu'ran: the Islamic Foundation, 1979/1399, p.224, "laws of inheritance".
 2. Dube, S. C., op. cit., pp.75-6.

precise reaction of people, due to the secrecy surrounding land transactions. As already mentioned, there is a social expectation for members of the village to own land. If they do not, they lose their sense of belonging to the village. This is illustrated by the case of a man who originated from Taguemount Azouz and who now lives in the capital of the province. He had a tiny plot of land (0.10 ha) and a large family to support (nine children and a wife), so he worked land belonging to other villagers. Eventually he sold his land to a member of his Kharouba and with the cash he settled in the capital of the province where he supports his family by taking various manual jobs. He hardly ever goes to the village, sensing that he "does not belong there any more", and his children do not know the village.

Problems and conflicts between parents and children or between families also effects the fragmentation of land. In some families there are disputes between brothers about limits of plots which lead them to lengthy proceedings in the courts of justice. There are other cases in which parents do not give land to their children. In 1977, a head of a household refused to give land to the eldest son of his first marriage. The father saw the son's claim as invalid as the son had left his house and returned with his mother to her family's house, after the divorce.

(3) Produce of the Land

The analysis of the village's land produce must be seen within the framework of the province as a whole.

Roughly, agriculture in the province is divided between mountain agriculture, or rather arboriculture, and agriculture on the

plains, The mountain agriculture is found in 89.7% of the total area of the province, and 41.4% of the total cultivated surface. Agriculture on the plains in areas such as Bordj Menaiel Draa Benkhedda is very productive. However, this area covers only 10.3% of the total surface of the province.

Olive trees predominate on the mountains, covering 54.6% of the total cultivated surface.¹ the figures below give an idea of the importance of olive trees, and therefore of arboriculture, in the province for 1966-75.

Table X Number of Olive Trees in the Province

Coastal line (both north and south)	320,000
Northern part	236,000
Mountain mass	1,460,000
North part	350,000
Interior Valley	600,000
Southern part	200,000
High Kabyle massif	160,000
Mountains of S.West	270,000
Southern zone of Djurdjura	600,000

Source: services de l'Agriculture: wilaya de Tizi-ouzou.

The average annual production of olives is around 400,000 quintal. However, there is much regional variation in production. Over the last few years, the production of olive oil has decreased, as many trees are dying. This is of economic significance as the income from olive oil is important and supports many mountain landowners.

Cereals take up 26.6% of the total cultivated surface (around 69 quintal per hectare), although some villages produce hardly any

1. Town hall Tizi-ouzou and Agricultural Services, Wilaya de Tizi-ouzou.

cereals at all. Market gardening takes up about 14.4% of the total surface area but is mainly for home consumption as is found in Taguemount Azouz.

The number of animals, such as goats, oxen and donkeys kept in the mountains varies and it is difficult to give even approximate figures. However, Taguemount Azouz would probably reflect the situation in other mountain villages. Usually a donkey is kept in addition to a goat that provides the milk for the household. The number of animals kept varies from household to household. These animals are important in the local economy, in addition to being part of "the way of life". Sheep, for example, provide the skin that is used for wool and carpets. Some households buy young sheep, feed them, and get them ready for sale in time for the Muslim Aid el Adha, when they can be sold at very advantageous prices; a lamb bought for about £20 when it is a few weeks old can fetch about £100 at this feast. Oxen are important for feasts and ceremonies (see Chapter III), and are also used for ploughing, although they can only be used in flat areas.

Although the plains are smaller in terms of size, they produce more than the mountain areas. They were previously in the hands of colons and a few indigenous landowners. In contrast to the plots in the mountains, which produce on a small scale, on the plains farm production is both on a larger scale and more diverse, as shown in Table XI .

Table XI Farm Production on the Plains

<u>Production</u>	<u>Percentage of land per product</u>
Marketing	42.00
Cereals	20.00
Fodder	17.00
Vines	8.00
Arboriculture	7.25
Industrial	3.75
Dried vegetables	2.00
	<hr/>
Total	100.00

Source: Direction de l'Agriculture: wilaya de Tizi-ouzou.

There are significant differences between the mountain and plain economies. On the mountains the economy is often based on household production which consists of olive oil, figs, and market gardening, which is often sold on the roadside by household members. Often households rely on resources brought in by migrants. Whereas on the plains, and particularly on the former colons farms, production is on a large scale, and farms are "self-managed". These farms were nationalised by the State just after Independence.

The tools used in the mountains are different from those used on the plains, ox ploughs are used when peasants can afford them, and when the property is both flat and of sufficient size. Even then, however, the fragmentation of land poses additional problems. The spade, hoe, sickle, axe and hatchet are commonly used all over the province. On the former colons farms, use is made of State tractors and combine harvesters, with modern techniques of irrigation and lorries for transport.

Production in Taguemount Azouz resembles that in the surrounding villages. Carrots, potatoes, lettuce, tomatoes, green peppers, green

onions, dry onions, radishes, broad beans, turnips, and kidney beans, are the most common products grown by the peasants or their wives in small plots or in gardens surrounding their houses. Often these products are grown for consumption within the family, but there are families or peasants who sell their products at the Wednesday market in Beni Douala.

The main products in Taguemount Azouz are olives, figs and, to a lesser extent, cherries. Olive oil is very important for the nutrition of people in the village. There are three oil mills in the village, which each employ four workers. The owner who transforms the olives into olive oil, is not paid in cash but takes a share of one-third of the oil. This third is sold by him to those who do not produce olives or in the markets of Beni Douala or Tizi-ouzou. Hence, the oilmill owner makes a substantial profit, especially in the last few years when reduced production has resulted in price rises.

It is interesting to note that while two out of the three oilmill owners said that the oilmills have always belonged to their "families" (meaning that the property was inherited), the third one bought his after working in France for many years. At the time of my fieldwork, he was fifty-nine years old. He had migrated to France in his early twenties, as "all men of Taguemount Azouz did", to improve their economic situation. He had worked as a peddler for a year and was then employed in a factory for eight years. With his accrued capital he opened a small restaurant for local Algerians in Paris, which he later sold before returning to the village. He bought the mill from a member of his Kharouba, who was old and whose sons had migrated.

Market gardening, together with the production of olive oil and figs, form the basis of Taguemount Azouz's agriculture. Gardening is usually for self-consumption, although as with olive oil, some households sell their surplus produce.

IV Agrarian Calendar

The agricultural year is divided into four seasons: autumn, or lakhrif; winter, or shatwa; spring, or thafsuth; summer, or anebdou¹

Ploughing starts in late September or early October, after the rains have come. Ploughing is always done after the ceremony of Thamechrat, described in Chapter III. The land is ploughed wherever it is physically possible - limitations being the nature of the soil and the mountainous terrain. We have already noted that cereals are not a major agricultural activity in this area. Weeding is done at the end of the year. In winter, or shatwa (January and February), people grow onions, potatoes, peas, chick peas, and garlic. In spring (March and April), tomatoes, peppers, and kidney beans are planted. In June, July and August the wheat, maize and barley are harvested. (This mainly concerns other villages in the area that are situated in less hilly places than Taguemount Azouz.)

Economic activities are centred on the land, but in Taguemount Azouz, the majority of men migrate in search of work, so the agricultural activities are undertaken by other groups in the village. The role of both women and retired migrants is central to the local economy. Women play, and apparently always played, an important role in household activities as well as on the land.

V Women and the Local Economy

Writers like Gordon and Minces have written about the position of women in Algeria in terms of their inferior status in the society.

1. For a full discussion of the agrarian calendar see Genevois, H., "Le Calendrier Agraire et sa composition" in Le Fichier d'Etudes Berbères, No. 125, Fort National, Tizi-ouzou, 1975.

Minces states that:

'in traditional society a woman had an inferior status from birth to death. Her arrival was not like that of a boy, the occasion of unmixed rejoicing. All her upbringing led her to be the timid and docile servant of the male, whatever his age, who was brought up to be a despot by all the women of the house. A girl passed from submission to her father or her elder brother to that of her husband and her mother in law without ever becoming an independent being. 1

Similarly, Gordon states:

'among the least Arab-enculturated Berbers, the Kabyles, "Berber law", traditional pre-Islamic customs encoded in kanoun(s) continued to be the rule even during the period of French occupation. Paradoxically, as far as women are concerned, among the Kabyles - considered by the French to be more assimilable to western values than the Arabs - the position of the women is inferior to that of the women in the traditional Arab pattern.' 2

It is quite clear that women's position is inferior, but I suggest that the reality is more complex than is often acknowledged. Whatever their status, the women of Taguemount Azouz play an important role in the local economy due to the involvement of men in the capitalist labour market.

We can better understand the role of women in the village's economy by comparing it with examples from other parts of the world. For example, Connell, Dasgupta, Laishley, Lipton and Drakakes, citing McGee, comment that in rural villages in Hong Kong 'migration of men to the city has resulted in women doing the agricultural work and children doing domestic work'.³ The situation for women in Taguemount

1. Minces, J., 'Women in Algeria', in Women in the Muslim World, Back, L., and Keddie, N., (eds.), Harvard University Press, 1978.
2. Gordon, C. G., Women of Algeria: an essay on change, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1968, p.15.
3. Connell, J., Dasgupta, B., Laishley, R., Lipton, M., Migration from Village Studies: the Evidence from Village Studies, OUP, 1978, p.148: they refer to McGee, T. G., and Drakakis-Smith, D. W., 'Sweet and sour source', Geographical Magazine, 45(11), 1973, pp.781-5.

Azouz, although not for children, is similar.

The Kabyle women and in particular women from Taguemount Azouz, do many jobs. Gordon indicates that:

'The only women who are not considered as virtual property are saints, Marabouts, magicians, and sorceresses. But in contrast to Arab women, and in spite of their inferiority, the Kabyle woman is free to go out unveiled and consort with other women at the only centre of her social life, the fountain. (At such times men must stay clear of her path).'

1

These statements describe women in pre-colonial Algeria, and also during the early years of French colonisation. There has, however, been a considerable change since then though this is uneven. Many women are no longer so strictly segregated, but some are. Thus, for example, the Mrabtin are still extremely strict in enforcing earlier standards on their wives, who are not allowed to see any stranger, or even to go to the fountain with other women.

It must be stressed that the women do not socialise only in their homes or at the fountain; they have many more social spheres of entertainment than those portrayed by Gordon. The women in fact live in a complex world of their own making as, for example, at work in the fields, common consultations over their family problems, and the like. In other words women escape men's "authority" by creating their own environment. This is not to say that two separate worlds exist, as interaction between females and males occurs daily, but both do have their own worlds or reference groups.

(1) The "traditional" position of women.

Women in Taguemount Azouz fetch water from the fountains, and usually have a women's gathering at the fountain which men are forbidden to join. It is an occasion for the exchange of news and

gossip; sometimes ideas about marriages are discussed. It also provides an opportunity for younger women to be seen by eventual mothers-in-law who are considering future wives for their sons. The tradition of women congregating at the fountain is gradually disappearing as running water is being introduced into the houses.

Picking olives and collecting firewood are usually done by women. It is common to see retired men in cafes, and children in the streets whilst women are doing their jobs. The women thus engaged are usually middle-aged, old, or the young married ones. During the day, one can often see women coming back from the forest carrying large amounts of wood on their backs for use in the chimney in winter or for baking bread at home.

The day for most women of the village begins at sunrise. They start by milking goats, or for a very few, the cows. They then get the breakfast ready for the other members of the household. After the early household work is done, women go to the fields to collect olives, or wood, or to work the garden. At lunchtime most women have a lunch in the fields, consisting of dried figs, whey, and home-made bread. They return from the fields at about three o'clock to perform household duties such as cleaning, preparing supper, and the lunchtime meal for the next day. A few women are engaged in crafts like weaving and making baskets to be sold at the market, which they do in the evening.

This daily timetable varies from household to household, but forms a general pattern. Although it is impossible to say which jobs are "traditional" it is certain that fetching water from the fountain has always been regarded as women's work.

Other aspects of women's lives are linked to the capitalist labour market. Migration has meant that it is a common sight to see

women waiting at post offices for pensions arriving from French companies who have employed their husbands. The absence of their menfolk also means that women do jobs like collecting official papers such as birth and death certificates from the town hall.

In the course of my fieldwork, I recorded some life stories of women who belong to different strata in the village. I give a few cases below.

Case I: an eighty-three-year-old woman lives in a house built by her husband who worked in a French factory for thirty-five years (Puteaux/Seine). He finally returned in 1955 with a pension of 1,100 dinars, or around £120, per quarter, but died in 1963. His widow gets roughly half of the pension (i.e. 450 dinars, or £50, * per quarter). She still lives in her house, but her married daughter, whose husband works in Algiers, refused to live with her mother-in-law and moved in with her mother. The widow has two daughters living in Algiers, two sons in France, another in the suburb of Algiers, and one son living in the village, but working in the capital of the province. The widow, the daughter and one of her grandchildren work her plot, which consists of market gardening and olive trees, producing two hundred litres of olive oil a year. An average of thirty to fifty litres of oil are used for household consumption. The rest is shared with the other children. If there is a surplus, she sells it to neighbours who do not have oil. In the garden she grows onions, carrots, and broad beans. A goat supplies the household with milk. She buys a sheep four months before Aid el kabir (Muslim celebration in which people have to sacrifice a sheep). She collects firewood with her daughter and sometimes with the help of her son who lives nearby. The olives are harvested by the widow, her daughter and daughter-in-law.

* £1 = 7.99 da. Source: El Moudjahid (Algerian national daily newspaper) Monday, 22 May, 1978.

Her basic expenses are the purchase of coffee, sugar, clothes, french bread, and semolina for the dish

couscous. Whenever her children or grandchildren visit they usually assist her in her work, largely because she is old.

This case is interesting because it gives us some understanding of the socio-economic situation of widows in the village. Migration has been an important factor in the life of this woman, although she has never been outside the region. She receives a French pension which provides security in case of a failure in the olive crop. At another level this case shows the importance of women to the economic system of the village. It also shows exceptions to the general rule of patrilocality in such societies. In the case of this widow, as her daughter is living with her mother rather than her husband's family, when the husband returns to the village he stays with her as he also disagrees with his mother.

Case II: is more complicated and shows us the kind of relations that exist between women in a household. An elderly married couple (in their seventies and sixties respectively) have three sons and four daughters; a married son with three children lives with them. The second son lives with his family in Algiers and the third in Marseilles, although his wife lives in the village with his parents. Three daughters are married, two of them live in the village and one in the village of Beni douala. The fourth daughter is divorced and lives with her parents. So this household consists of the following women: the mother, her divorced daughter, and two daughters-in-law. All the younger women do the housework, but the divorced daughter does less as she is favoured by her mother. The mother does most of the cooking, because she does not like the way the daughters-in-law cook. All the women work on the fifty-acre plot, where they grow figs, cherries,

and some olives, with a small area reserved for gardening. Here they grow onions, lettuce, tomatoes and broad beans. They also have a goat and six chickens. The old couple look after the trees, while the younger women do the gardening. The head of the household has a pension from France, where he worked until 1965. During his absence, his wife, as well as doing the housekeeping, cared for the garden and the trees, but on his return he took a share of the work. The couple receive occasional money from their children, and regular money from their son in France for the support of his wife and children. In terms of contact with the outside world, the mother first of all is the dominant woman in the household because her status within the community has reached its peak; she is both a mother-in-law and has passed the menopause. Therefore she can often visit other houses, or spend time with other women of her age at the fountain or in the fields. Her daughters-in-law are more restricted because they are young and capable of childbirth. Their social contacts are limited to gatherings at the fountain, working on the plot, and visiting the homes of other women. In addition, they are always accompanied by either a child or the mother-in-law.

This case is in keeping with the discussion in Chapter on the statist role of the mother-in-law. It is interesting to compare the position of women in the village to that revealed by the Moroc an researches of Maher, who states that:

'Women are often in a position to need help in the performance of their domestic tasks. This is true not only under special circumstances such as pregnancy, illness and childbirth, and in preparations for feasts at life crises but for the completion of routine domestic tasks, ... links of co-operation between women are to a large degree independent of, or are not necessarily mirrored by, those formed by their male kin or affines.'

1

1. Maher, V., Women and Property in Morocco: their changing relation to the process of social stratification in the Middle Atlas, CUP, 1974, p.

To a large extent Maher's comment would apply to Taguemount Azouz in regard to women's co-operation, and is in line with my criticisms of Gordon's and Mince's assessments which fail to appreciate the complexity of the relationships between women precisely because they designate them as "inferior". Due to the absence of men and to their specific status, women have created their own world.

Case III is interesting because it illustrates a more recent tendency that has been developing over the past twenty years. The head of this household is forty-nine years old and is married to a woman of thirty-five. They have six children, all of them in schools. He travels daily to his job as a bankclerk in the capital of the province. At the weekends he helps his wife to work their 0.5 ha plot. On the whole, her activities are the same as those of the other women in the village. She milks the two goats, gives breakfast to her children and husband and departs to work the land. She grows vegetables needed by the household like onions, carrots, and broad beans, and collects olives from the four olive trees. As the house now has running water, she has no need to fetch water from the fountain. Running water was first introduced in 1971, but it has not been introduced into many of the old houses. In the afternoon, she returns to the house to clean and to cook. Her husband, who works with her during the holidays and at weekends, does the jobs she is unable to do like repairs to the house and cutting down trees. And, whenever his wife is pregnant, takes over the agriculture.

On the whole these three cases reflect the position of the majority of households in the village, with the woman playing an extremely important economic role in maintaining the land production.

This role is in response to the historical incorporation of the village into the capitalist economy (see Chapter II).

Generally, women have replaced men on the land, and therefore substitute for agricultural hired labour when the men are absent. But, as we shall see in Chapter VI, agriculture and arboriculture are not as important as remittances sent from abroad.

Out of the five hundred and seven registered land properties existing in Taguemount Azouz, ninety-four are registered under women's names, meaning that these women are landowners. Eleven of them are widows: their husbands either died naturally or, in two cases, during the War of Liberation. Many of the other women inherited their land or had their names registered as landowners by the men to prevent nationalisation by the State.

Co-operation between women is strong when it concerns helping aged widows. Widows are helped by kin of their deceased husbands, or their own kin, or by their neighbours, with the gardening and olive trees, and if they are very old or sick, with the housekeeping.

Some elderly women in the village are involved in local "industry" making raffia baskets for carrying grains, figs and olives, and weaving burnous, a traditional man's dress made of wool. I recorded six making burnous and sixteen women making baskets. The number of women involved in making burnous is small because there are few sheep in the village as they are expensive. But the burnous industry is more developed in other villages.

The way in which Wygner describes the processing of wool still applies for some households, although her description dates

back to 1945. She states that:

'The wool is taken first to the fountain where it is washed. This process consists in washing the wool in cold water using yellow soap, beating it upon stones and tramping it with the feet. The clean wool is carded with an aquerdach which is made of fine wire brushes on a wooden back and with wooden handles. The wool is combed between these until it is well carded. The spinning is done with a distaff, which is a forked stick held under the arm. The wool is fastened near a fork and pulled along the prong. A piece of wood shaped like a top with a hook in the flat end is used as the thazemarth (spindle). A piece of the wool is fastened to the hook. The spindle is twirled rapidly either against the leg of the woman if she sits, or between her hands if she is standing, then dropped quickly ... the thread is spun coarse or fine according to the purpose for which it is to be employed ... If the yarn is for a burnous it is left the natural color... the loom is set up in a corner of the hut and usually several of the women assist in the assembling and threading of it. It consists of two upright pieces of wood which are fastened to the upright pieces with wooden legs. The iron bar, to which the warp is fastened can be turned when necessary to roll up the weaving. This allows for the weaver always to be seated at her work. The top bar may be raised or lowered according to the need. The tops of the warp are fastened to this. A horizontal bar, usually reed, intersects the warp and two similar ones are used to keep the warp tight and to separate its thread....'¹

Due to the introduction of running water and detergents, however, women now seldom wash wool at the fountain.

In the course of my fieldwork, I recorded two cases out of the six makers of burnous. Case I: This middle-aged woman has eight children and her husband works in a small city of the province (Draa ben Khedda). The household consists of two couples; two brothers, their wives and children. The two brothers (the other one is a mason in the village) buy young sheep from the market of Beni-douala. They

1. Wysner, G. M., op. cit., pp.124-5.

then raise the sheep for their wool, which is processed by the women. Because of their involvement in domestic housekeeping and outside work, they usually do this work in the evening and it takes an average of ten to fifteen weeks to make a burnous which is sold by the men for an average of £50 to £60.

Case II. An old women and her divorced daughter own a loom which was bought "many years ago" by her husband, a retired migrant, who died seven years ago. She still receives half of his pension and the two women supplement this income by produce from their plot and by selling burnous. They make an average of two burnous a year, which are sold at the price mentioned above. The daughter is also paid to knit jumpers for neighbours.

As for baskets, the sixteen households that are involved in basket-making mainly live in the forest. They sell their baskets to the shop for £1 to £2, which then sells them for £3 to £4 each. Some baskets are also sold by these families on the roadside.

Traditionally these had been jobs done by women but over the last two decades there has been some change involving some women in other occupations which are non-agricultural or arboricultural. The development of alternative occupations must be understood within the context of the total transformation of the society as a consequence of the historical developments during the last hundred and fifty years. Thus, the introduction of wage labour by the colonial sector, and the demand for wage earners in France, have forced women to occupy new positions in the village economy. In addition, since independence, and with the development of education, women have started to move to other occupations.

(2) Education and Change

Algerian Independence has brought far-reaching developments in educational activities in this region. Since this development the number of girls receiving education has increased greatly. As we have already seen in Chapter , at first people were reluctant to send their boys to French schools. However, it is only since Independence that most families have begun to send their girls to school. It is still true that many parents only educate girls up to a certain age, fifteen or sixteen, after which they wish them to marry. Nonetheless, the number of girls who go on to higher education is significant.

Until 1975, there were two primary schools in Taguemount Azouz, one belonged to the Algerian State, and the other to the White Fathers. This second school was private and had been established on 29 October 1880. Boys went to both these schools, whereas girls could only go to the White Sisters school in Tizi-hibel, situated five hundred metres away from the village. If successful, and allowed by parents, girls could then go on to a boarding school, Chalets, in Azazga (a small town in the province), and could move on to a boarding school in Algiers to finish their secondary schooling. Finally, they could go to university, although few reached this point. For boys, it was a similar system, but different boarding schools, one in Beni Yenni, and one in El Harrach (a suburb of Algiers): they could also go to the secondary school in the capital of the province, Tizi-ouzou. Schooling for boys was linked with the financial circumstances of their parents, and with their own capability. This educational process prevailed for many years, both before and after Independence. The number of girls who went right through this process was inevitably limited until the building of more secondary schools in the capital

of the province. Many parents now send their daughters to the boarding school in that town.

After nationalisation of private and religious schools by the State in 1975, the White Fathers school became a primary school with 244 boys and 225 girls in attendance. If we look at the recent statistics¹ concerning the education of girls, it can be seen that most girls are attending school although the boy/girl ratio is still in favour of the boys. Thus, from 1965 to 1966 there were 95 girls out of 314 pupils; from 1970 to 1971 there were 125 girls out of a total of 306 pupils; and from 1976 to 1977 there were 190 girls out of 312 pupils. These figures concern only one primary school in Taguemount Azouz and do not take into account children from the village who attend schools in other villages or in the capital of the province. Often families prefer to send children to the capital where they can stay with kin.

Education of girls has now become accepted by the heads of families in the village, but I must stress that few girls finish their studies at university. The most "popular" jobs amongst girls in the village are teaching and nursing. It is only amongst the wealthier families of the village that we find a large proportion of girls involved at university level, although amongst other stratas of the community more girls are reaching university. On the whole, teaching in either primary or secondary schools, and nursing in hospitals in the province, are the employment sectors most highly prized by parents.

I recorded the usual answers from both mothers and fathers regarding the education of their daughters: 'my daughters must receive

1. Source: Académie de Tizi-ouzou.

an education because their lives depend on it. If educated, they will be free'.

This first statement needs some clarification. By 'their lives depend on it', they mean that education leads to secure jobs, and that if their daughter was to divorce she could support herself.

One mother state that 'her daughters are pushed hard into education in order to help financially their father who needs it because he has been working hard in order to bring them up'.

A widowed woman with eleven children, the eldest a son who works in Algiers and a daughter who nurses in the capital stated that her other four daughters 'must get education' and that she would stop them only 'if we cannot afford it any more because my son and my daughter are the only bread winners, but my daughter has to get married this summer and I will only have one breadwinner'.

Another woman compared her own situation with that of one of her daughters and said 'I would like my daughters to go as far as possible in their education because we, the mothers, did not have any. With education they will be able to help their husbands and look well after their children'.

During the course of my fieldwork I asked girls from the village who attend the boarding school in the capital to write essays on the conditions for women in their village. These girls were aged between fifteen and eightten years and their ideas reflect the situation and paradoxes existing in Taguemount Azouz. Thus a girl, whose father is a shopkeeper, described the life of her mother and grandmother who have to both the housekeeping and the outside work, and then commented:

'nowadays the condition of women has changed in my village. Most girls go to school. Some even go to university and can have the job they want. The only problem is that we are still forced to marry the man our family want.'

Another girl whose father is a migrant in France wrote that:

'Most girls I know are in schools or secondary schools, but education has brought some problems because girls do not respect traditions and values of the village. They behave like girls in towns and cities.'

A third girl said that her situation was an improvement on that experienced by her mother and grandmother because:

'As they told me in the old days, when a girl was born it was a sad happening because parents wanted a boy. A woman giving birth to a boy was praised, but if she gave birth to a girl, it was like bringing shame to the house. But my parents are still strict with me. They allow me to go to school but when I am at home, I have to do the housekeeping in order to be good at it so that the husband they will choose for me will be happy with it.'

A fourth girl stated that:

'Education is the only way for me to escape from the village and find a job in the capital of the province. I want to be a teacher, and this job will provide me with freedom from my family and from the people in the village who are always talking about others and criticising them.'

These cases are interesting because they help us to understand the change that has occurred within one generation of women. All these girls think that their situation is better than that of their mothers, and although views about the position of women in the village differ, they all think that their social position is changing through education.

The economic prospects for the new generation are wider than ever before. Thus, ten women teach in the village schools, and two are nurses in the health centre of Taguemount Azouz. Other women leave the village for jobs in the province as nurses, teachers and clerks.

These changes on the village level reflect the situation at the national level. Thus Minces, discussing education in Algeria, states that:

'For some years a special effort has been made to spread education. In 1971-2 close to 60 per cent of children were going to school (with great regional disparities). Girls, however, attended less than boys, although the Algerian ratio was more nearly equal than the Middle East average.' 1

Increased educational provision has, for women, led to a widening sphere of employment opportunities. Women who have received an education tend to leave the land, as men have done in the past although for different reasons (see Chapter VI). Although some men return to the land as we shall see in Chapter VI, for women the situation is quite different: once educated, they abandon the land. This can be seen as making a clear division between two groups of women; the educated and the uneducated, the first abandon the land and the second remain involved with the land.

and the plans for the region
National plans, as we shall see in Chapter VII, have developed schooling in the province very rapidly, and more and more girls will be educated. Hence, the outlook in the foreseeable future is of a departure from the land, at least on the mountains where agriculture or arboriculture are not as important as remittances from migrants (see Chapter VI). As we have already seen, agriculture is already difficult on the mountains due to ecological problems, and if we add the fact that the almost hired labour of women will leave the land, then agriculture as an economic activity will become insignificant.

There is another factor that contributes to this, and that is the migration of women through marriage. This is a consequence of the

1. Minces, J., "Women in Algeria" in Women in the Muslim World, ed. Beck, L., Keddie, N., Harvard University Press, 1978, pp.169-170.

migration of men. Although Taguemount Azouz has had traditional exchanges with neighbouring villages like Tizi-hibel and Beni-douala in terms of marriages, women rarely married further afield, but recently marriages have been registered in towns of Algeria or France.

With regard to women and migration, Connell, Dasgupta, Laishley and Lipton state that:

'This is perhaps the most general (or at least the most constant) cause of migration from villages ... These moves have rarely been analysed; even village monographs that provide reliable estimates of marriage migration are scarce.'

1

Marriage outside Taguemount Azouz must be understood against the background of the incorporation of the village into the political economy of the country, and hence France. In the course of my field-work, I was able to record data for the last ten years concerning marriages inside and outside the village. The Table given below shows an increase over the years of marriages outside the village.

Table XII Marriages Inside and Outside the Village

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total number of marriages</u>	<u>Marriages outside the village</u>
1968	31	Clichy (F) Tizi-hibel (F) Paris (M) Taourirt-moussa (M) Tizi-hibel (F)
1969	25	Paris (M) Taourirt-moussa (F) Tizi-ouzou (M) Tizi-hibel (M) Tizi-hibel (F) Algiers (M) Tizi-hibel (F)

1. Connell, J., Dasgupta, B., Laishley, R., and Lipton, M., op. cit., p.49.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total number of marriages</u>	<u>Marriages outside the village</u>
1970	25	Tadert oufella (F) Taourirt-moussa (M) Tizi-hibel (M) Tizi-hibel (F) Paris (M) Algiers (M)
1971	26	Tizi-hibel (M) Tighzert (F) Taourirt-moussa (F) Tizi-hibel (F) Tizi-hibel (M) Ikhlifene (M) Algiers (F) Ighil bouzrou (M) Paris (M)
1972	22	Algiers (F) Paris (M) Setif (M) Tizi-hibel (F) Tighzert (M) Lyon (M)
1973	23	Taourirt-moussa (F) Taourirt-moussa (F) Tizi-hibel (F) Tizi-hibel (M) Ighil mimouw (M) Paris (M) Marseille (F)
1974	26	Larbaa nath iraten (M) Tizi-hibel (F) Taourirt-moussa (F) Azeffouw (F) Icherdioune (M) Tizi-hibel (F) Tizi-ouzou (M) Paris (F)
1975	33	Algiers (M) Lyon (F) Taourirt-moussa (M) Tadert-oufella (F) Icherdioune (F) Tizi-hibel (M) Larba nath iraten (F) Tizi-ouzou (F) Algiers (M) Icherdioune (M) Paris (F) Taourirt-moussa (M)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total number of marriages</u>	<u>Marriages outside the village</u>
1976	32	Algiers (M) Algiers (F) Tizi-ouzou (F) Tizi-hibel (M) Tizi-hibel (M) Taourirt-moussa (F) Paris (F) Lyon (M) Setif (M) Oran (F) Tighzert (F)
1977	34	Tizi-ouzou (F) Tizi-hibel (F) Tizi-hibel (F) Tizi-hibel (M) Argenteuil (F) Ighil mimoun (M) Tiaret (F) Ain el hammam (M) Ouadhias (F) Tizi-hibel (M) Taourirt-moussa (F) Tizi-hibel (F)

Source: Town hall, Beni douala.

This table shows the number of marriages celebrated annually in Taguemount Azouz and the number of women who move to the residences of their husbands. It gives the origin of the wife of the men of Taguemount Azouz. This table shows both an increase of outside marriages over the years, especially in the 1970s, and a diversity of places in Algeria and France to which the women have moved.

Marriages are very often held during the summer when people return to the village on holiday, so the registration of marriage often takes place in the village despite the fact that one or both the partners do not live locally. Inter-village marriages involve a two-way flow - an exchange of females in both directions - but where marriages involve a partner from outside the village, this person is usually a migrant who returns to marry in Taguemount Azouz.

Although more marriages between men born outside the region to women from the village have shown an increase. Thus in 1977 a woman from the village married to a man from Tiaret (a town in western Algeria), having met at Algiers University. There are other examples such as the man from Taguemount Azouz who married a woman from Oran. This case was recorded because of the intense difficulties that it caused between this man and his family which eventually led him to sever relations with his family. They had opposed the marriage as they wanted him to marry a girl from Taguemount Azouz, so did not attend the wedding, which took place in Algiers where he was resident. The marriages of migrants are usually arranged (see Chapter V).

It is difficult to conclude whether or not there is a loss of women when they marry outside the village, because some men from the village also marry outside, therefore creating some balance. Whatever the case, the migration of women through marriage must also be seen in terms of the whole integration of the village into the wider world.

(3) Other activities in the village

At the time of my fieldwork, there were three shops in the village, two cafes and one bakery. About fifteen years ago, there were eleven shops, three cafes and three bakeries.

One of the cafes is situated near the entrance to the village and is owned by a man who was born in 1917. He was called up by the French army during the Second World War and was severely wounded. He received a war pension and he built two rooms on his plot. These two rooms were later made into one that became the cafe. Parts of his cafe were blown up by the French army during the Alerian War as a retaliation against him and his family for having helped "the terrorists". After the war he rebuilt it, and it is still there.

The other cafe, situated five hundred metres away on the main road of the village, is owned by a man who was a migrant for eight years in France, and five years in Algiers. He bought the business from an old man from the same Kharouba who was no longer able to run it.

These cafes are the centres of social life for retired migrants, as for all the men in the village. They tend to be full at week-ends and at the time of ceremonies that are held in the village (see Chapter III). But no women ever enter them.

As for the shops, one is owned by a man who inherited it from his father. It is situated on the main road. The owner spent three years in France but returned to the village because he did not like life there, and because his father wanted him back to help him run the shop.

The second shop is owned by a former migrant who had been in France for twelve years and came back to the village in the mid-1960s. He bought it from an elderly shopowner of the same Kharouba. The third shopkeeper is the youngest of all. He is thirty-one and inherited his shop from his father.

The bakery is owned by a retired migrant who bought it with capital he accumulated in France. It is very small and he does not make enough bread for the village. (Most people buy their bread from Beni-douala.)

Some 90 per cent of the products sold in the local shops come from outside. The ten per cent of items that are locally produced are figs, carrots, turnips, and herbs that shopowners either grow themselves or have brought to them by women and men from the village. The women who do shopping are usually 50 years old or more. Few young women are to be seen in the shops.

The ways in which one elderly woman, a retired worker, and a landowner organize their household spending are given to illustrate the style of life of the people in the village, and the kind of struggle which they have in order to maintain even a very modest standard of living.

Case I. This elderly woman, who lives in her own house built by her husband, owns 0.25 ha of land. Her husband died in 1959. He had worked in France for twenty-five years before retiring in 1954. He had a pension of 1,106 DA per quarter up to his death. Since her husband's death, she receives a pension equivalent to a half of that given to her husband. She has four married daughters, all of them living in towns in Algeria; and three sons, one working in a factory in France, one as a postman in the capital of the province, and the third in the post office of Beni Douala. The latter is the only one who lives in the village. His house is about eight hundred metres away from his mother's. She and her daughter-in-law work the land, and the son helps them at week-ends and when on holiday. Out of per pension, which is about 500 DA, she buys sugar, coffee henne, soap, detergents, salt, lentils, and candles (there is no electricity in her house). She grows some of her own vegetables - onions, turnips, carrots - and buys the rest from the shops. She normally buys a sheep to rear for the ceremony of Aid el Adha, but her son usually contributes to this expense. He also contributes to her general expenses by giving her 100 DA "whenever he can". The son who is a postman in Tizi-ouzou sees her once or twice a year only and, on each occasion, gives her about 50 DA and gifts of one or two kilograms of meat and some bread. The son who lives in France

usually brings her material for her clothes, which her daughter-in-law makes into dresses for her, but he hardly ever sends her money. She receives her pension every three months but could not exist on it without help from her sons. Her daughters also help her. Whenever in the village, they give her 50 DA to 150 DA. She usually only eats meat once or twice a month when she has been given it by her children.

Case II. This retired migrant came back to the village in the early 1970s. He worked in France all his life in a factory. He has a quarterly pension of 1,800 DA. He owns 0.5 ha of land, and he has his own house where he lives with his wife. Two of his sons live with him; one is a journalier (i.e. a daily or an occasional worker), the other is a mason in the village.

This retired migrant works the land with his wife and is sometimes helped by the son who is an occasional worker. The money that he gets as a pension serves to buy items like soap, detergents, lentils, tins of sardines, tins of tomatoes, cigarettes, fruit, and meat (once a week). He buys a quintal of semolina per quarter. The money sent from France helps to buy materials needed for repairs in the house as well. He buys cement and bricks and his son does the work for him. As in the first case, he receives gifts from his other sons who work for semolina firms in Algiers. They give him sums of 50 DA, or 100 DA, or 250 DA, or over 500 DA, but irregularly.

Case III. Mr A's case is different from the above two because he receives no pension. He has been working his land for the last eight years, since his return from France where he worked for six years. He owns 1 ha of land. His property was inherited from his parents. This peasant is helped by his wife and his eldest son, who

is twenty-one years old. He has three other children. He and his wife are in charge of the olives and the vegetables. His son is a journalier who works on building sites or doing odd jobs for others on their land. In good years the family sells part of the olive oil they produce, making a profit of 2,000 DA to 3,000 DA a year. In bad years, they make much less. They also sell garden produce to local shops or in the market of Beni-douala. When Mr A. is not working his land, he hires himself on the building sites.

On the whole, it is difficult to quote an exact sum spent on goods because it is difficult to verify and it varies from week to week, and from month to month. In addition, the financial help sent by their children working outside the village comes irregularly, and this makes it even more difficult to assess their expenses accurately. The interesting fact about these budgets is that none of the cases quoted live on the income from their land alone, and all have other sources of income usually linked in various ways to migration. In other words, this extra income helps some sections of the population to compensate for what they cannot obtain from their own land.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have described socio-economic conditions in Taguemount Azouz. Many factors lead to the departure of men to seek jobs abroad and in Algeria. These factors can be summarized as being ecological and socio-economic. The soil erosion that occurs in the region, which is very hilly, is serious, and the fragmentation of land over generations of inheritance had led to less and less land per household. The vast majority of households own less than one

hectare. The enrolment of the village's economy into the wider capitalist world is deep. Without this the village could not exist, for local production is far from sufficient to meet the needs of villagers.

I have dwelt on the role of women in the local economy. Since men have departed, women have taken a major role in such local production as there is. As we have seen the "traditional" woman was involved both in domestic labour and in outside work in the fields. The woman can be seen as hired labour for a male population that no longer works on the land as they spend most of their lives working in France or in Algerian cities. There are also some landless peasants, or very small landowners, who hire out their labour to others when they have finished working on their own land.

There has been a change in the nature of the involvement of certain sections of the female population of the village. This is partly due to the widespread education of girls over the last twenty years. They now have new opportunities and some are involved in teaching, nursing, and other similar work. This section of the female population is no longer involved in arboriculture or agriculture. But many are still largely subordinate to men.

Local production is based on olive oil and figs, and gardening. This production is on a household basis, but it is not possible to view the economy as one of self-subsistence, because there is a market for all household production. Local production is not sufficient for the village and most goods consumed, including agricultural products, come from outside.

Pensions and remittances from France are an essential part of household income. Eighty per cent of households have at least one

member working abroad or in the cities of Algeria. The migrant population sends money back to the village and, in effect, keeps it going. Migration from this region started many decades ago; the purpose of chapters that follow is to analyse the conditions of the immigrants from Taguemount Azouz in France, and the affect that the migrants have on their return to the village.

Chapter V: MIGRANTS FROM TAGUEMOUNT AZOUZ IN FRANCE

I Introduction

The aims of this chapter are twofold: firstly to describe the socio-economic conditions and way of life of migrants from Taguemount Azouz who live in France; secondly, to examine the nature of their continuing relations with the village and the problems of readjustment to the village and the country which are ultimately experienced by those who return.

Labour migration from Taguemount Azouz to France is similar in some ways to ~~the~~ the migration from the whole of Algeria that has developed over the last seventy years. In the early years of migration following World War I most of those who left Algeria were "single" men on their own, either bachelors or married men who had left their wives at home. Later, especially during the Algerian war of liberation (1954-1962) and after independence, the patterns of migration changed appreciably and numbers of men took their wives and children with them until both the French and Algerian authorities placed restrictions on this kind of movement.

The major changes in the patterns of migration to France were discussed more fully in Chapter II. Here, I am simply drawing attention to the growing incidence of 'family migration' in recent decades to facilitate the description and analysis of the pattern of life of both 'single' migrants and 'family migrants' in France. Most heads of families still usually travel to France on their own in the first instance, but a good number arrange for their wives and children to follow them if and when their economic and other circumstances render this possible. It is difficult to separate

individual migration from family and group migration because, even when a migrant lives on his own, he may share certain aspects of his life with a nearby family or with other migrants from Tageumountazouz or from other villages or towns or regions of Algeria. All migrants in France are in constant touch with their fellow migrants and, they are constantly under communal or group pressure from each other (e.g. to visit sick people in hospital from the same villages or to help to find accommodation or jobs for new migrants).

Some commentators on the life of Algerian migrants in France have suggested that the customs and culture which influence their social relations there are much the same as in their communities of origin. For example, Zehraoui has written as follows:

'Dans la société Algérienne, la place et l'importance du groupe par rapport à l'individu sont telles que le Projet le plus individualiste revêt un caractère collectif. C'est pourquoi, dès que la terre ne suffisait plus à nourrir tous les membres d'une famille, l'homme auquel revenait la charge en vertu de ses fonctions de responsable de subvenir aux besoins de tous prenait la décision d'émigrer pour pallier cette situation dictée par les circonstances..... Ainsi l'émigration Algérienne en France garde-t-elle un caractère nettement familial même quand elle est simplement composée d'hommes seuls.'¹

It is doubtful whether Zehraoui's attribution of the so-called 'familial' character of the migrants' group life in France to their home customs and culture is valid. There seem to be many other good reasons why migrants in France live a close-knit life or why they often depend on each other for help and support. Zehraoui's statement about the 'caractere nettement familial' of migrant life does, however, seem to be correct in respect of many 'single' migrants in France, even if he does not sufficiently take into account the

1. Zehraoui, A. op.cit. p.32.

changes taking place among the new generation of migrants which I shall discuss.

In the first part of this chapter I describe how people from Taguemourt Azouz have settled in France and I discuss the networks through which they are linked to the village. These networks are constantly utilized by people in the village who are about to migrate and by migrants in France who are job-hunting or seeking accommodation or needing any other form of other practical help.

In the second part I describe the way in which people from Taguemount Azouz live in France. I describe their occupational patterns and wages, their housing conditions and family situations, the education of their children, their problems of integration in French society and the nature of their relations with French people.

In the third part I describe the relations maintained by migrants with family and friends in Taguemount Azouz. In the last part I describe how migrants see their future adjustment to village life or to resettlement in other parts of Algeria, as Algerian settlement in France is not permanent and the vast majority of migrants must return to Algeria when they retire. Some in fact return before retirement age if they have saved sufficient for investment or if they find a suitable job in Algeria.

The nature of the social networks, the decision making processes that lead to migration and the behaviour of individual migrants, can in the final analysis only be explained in the much broader context of the integration of Algeria into the world capitalist economy through the period of French colonialism. But a micro analysis of individuals and families must be an important part of any total explanation of the general phenomena under study.

The data given in this chapter were gathered in the course of discussions with eighteen families and forty six 'single' migrants all of whom live in either Paris or Marseilles. The total number of 'single' migrants I 'interviewed' in Paris was thirty three and in Marseilles thirteen. There were twelve families in Paris and six in Marseilles. The total number of children covered by the study was one hundred and eight as shown in Table XIII.

Table XIII The Age and Sex Distribution of the Migrants from Taguemount Azouz Studied in France.

Age in years	MALES		FEMALES		TOTAL	
	No	Per cent	No	Percent	No	Percent
61-66	7	5.9	3	4.0	10	5.2
55-60	20	16.9	4	5.3	24	12.4
49-54	22	18.6	6	7.9	28	14.4
43-48	10	8.5	3	4.0	13	6.7
37-42	3	2.5	2	2.6	5	2.6
31-36	2	1.7	8	10.5	10	5.2
25-30	9	7.7	4	5.3	13	6.7
19-24	9	7.6	10	13.2	19	9.8
13-18	26	22.0	21	27.6	47	24.2
6-12	6	5.1	9	11.8	15	7.7
Under six	4	3.4	6	7.9	10	5.2
Total	118	100.0	76	100.0	194	100.0

= (Eighteen couples, forty four 'single' migrants, and one hundred and eight children)

II Settlement of families and 'single' migrants in France.

Before describing the settlement of migrants from Taguemount Azouz in France, I give a brief summary of the various laws that regulate migration between Algeria and France. These are more fully described in chapter II on the history of Algerian migration.

There have been four agreements between the French and Algerian governments concerning migration.

1) The Evian Agreements¹ of 1962 stipulated free movement between the two countries, but the massive influx of Algerians into France soon led the French government to ask for the numbers to be limited. The agreement of 10th April 1964, thus introduces the notion of a 'limited number of labour migrants'. The yearly average number of migrants allowed was limited to 12,000. The entry of families into France was conditional on their having access to decent accommodation, but there was no fully effective control even though ONAMO was set up in 1962. This organization was required to control departures from Algeria to France and to conduct medical checks on migrants. In practice, this was done by a French medical mission in Algeria. (See Appendix A for its role in Algeria).

The Agreement of 27th December 1968, limited the number of migrants allowed into France to 35,000 a year for a period of three years, but those who were to enter France after 1969 would need a card from ONAMO validated by the French medical mission in Algeria. The future migrants were to be allowed to stay in France for nine months. If they failed to get a job during that period, they were

1. The Evian agreements are the accords signed in March 1962 between the Government of General de Gaulle and representatives of the Provisional Government of Algeria. These accords set out the nature of relations between France and Algeria.

immediately expelled. Those who found jobs were given registration cards for a period of five years. The Agreement of December, 1971, limited the number of labour migrants entering France to 25,000 a year. This fall in the number of those allowed to migrate was interpreted by the mass media and writers on migration as retaliation by the French government for the nationalisation of oil by the Algerian authorities.¹

Many of the migrants from Taguemount Azouz went to France before Independence and thus even before any of the above regulations were introduced. But, as is shown in Table XIV, which gives the year of arrival of people from Taguemount Azouz in France twenty-three migrated between 1961 and 1965, three between 1966-1970, and two between 1971 and 1975. As for families, six arrived between 1951-1955, five arrived in France between 1961 and 1965 and seven between 1971 and 1975. Out of twenty-three 'single' migrants who went to France between 1962 and 1973, only seven held an ONAMO card. As for families, each of the seven which went to France between 1962 and 1973 was able to show proof of the availability of suitable accommodation in France.

1. Ath Messaboud, M. and Gillette, A., op.cit. p.46. .

Table XIV: Dates of Arrival in France of Migrants from Taguemount Azouz.

Period	Migrants	Per cent
1945-1950	11	17.2
1951-1955	19	29.7
1956-1960	6	9.4
1961-1965	23	35.9
1966-1970	3	4.7
1971-1975	2	3.1
Total	64	100.0

(Both 'single' migrants and heads of families are represented in this table.)

a) Arranging for migration and initial accommodation:

When a man from Taguemount Azouz decides to migrate his first step is usually to approach relatives of those who are already in France in order to get exact details as to where he can contact them. In most cases, he will then establish contact by writing to ask for an assurance of help when he eventually gets there, especially in regard to accommodation and also to work. The initial approach in the village is usually made within the Kharouba.

Most of those who migrated early (ie. in the 1940s and 1950s) approached people from their own Kharouba, only extending their

enquiries to other Kharoubas if not successful in their own. Another way of starting plans for migration is to approach a migrant back from France on holiday in the village. Kinsmen, members of the same Kharouba, and fellow villagers tend to be approached in that order. If all else fails, a person may on rare occasions approach kin or friends or acquaintances from nearby villages.

The use of the words 'friend' and 'acquaintance' call for explanation. In the village everybody knows everybody else, but the intensity of relations of friendship depends on various factors such as the distance between houses, the problems that may exist between families, and personal histories. In a general way, however, most people say 'they are members of one family because they belong to the same village'. So the term 'acquaintance' here means people from the same village who know each other but who do not have any special relationship.

After the first enquiries about going to France, and if the person cannot afford to buy a ticket or to maintain himself in France until he finds a job, he asks for a loan from a relative or friend in the village. The loan enables him to pay his fare and any essential expenses on the way until he is able to contact people from the village in France. On arrival he may well ask for another loan until he finally finds a job. The help provided to future migrants ranges from financial assistance to the giving of advice and names of contacts in France. Another method occasionally used to raise the initial money necessary is secretly to sell land owned in the village to other members of the Kharouba. This is, however, only done as a last resort, and with the minimum of publicity. Nearly everybody in the village owns at least one plot of land, and it is this which gives the people of Taguemount Azouz a sense of belonging to their village.

Thus, if it is known that someone has sold his land, he may be regarded as having severed his tie with the village. In fact, it is extremely difficult to find out who has sold land in order to migrate. People tend to refuse to give precise information even to comment on the subject. In some cases it only becomes generally known once the individual concerned has come back from France and re-bought his land. In one particular case, an old man had been compelled to sell his plot because he could not make ends meet and because his son in France did not help him financially, but when the son eventually returned he and his father bought back the land which had only been sold to a relative from the same Kharouba. In such cases there is usually an understanding that the land will be sold back so that 'sale' really amounts to a loan.

Intending migrants normally try to secure jobs in France even before leaving the village by asking someone working in France to promise to employ them or, more often, to look for a job for them.

Once in France, accommodation is commonly provided by people from the village until the new migrant finds a job and starts looking for his own accommodation. The migrant often stays with kinsmen or, failing that, with other people from the village. He will of course pay for his keep as soon as he starts to earn.

On the whole everyone asks for some sort of help, either in the village or in France. The kind of help given to forty six 'single' migrants and eighteen heads of families is shown in Table XV. Non-financial help refers to help future migrants were given by these already in France such as accommodation or co-operation in looking after him left behind in the village. This latter kind of help is usually provided by a male relative who helps to protect and look after women and children left behind.

Table XV.

Main Sources of Help in the Village and in France
Classified according to Whether this was Primarily
Financial or Non-financial.

Main Source	Help in Algeria		Help in France	
	Financial	Non-financial	Financial	Non-financial
Kin in Village	19 (29.7%)	17 (26.6%)	11 (17.2%)	18 (28.1%)
Non Kin in Village	10 (15.6%)	12 (18.6%)	6 (9.4%)	15 (23.4%)
Non Kin in other village	2 (3.1%)	4 (6.3%)	4 (6.3%)	10 (15.6%)
Total	31 (48.4%)	33 (51.5%)	24 (32.9%)	43 (67.1%)
	64 99.9%		64 (100.0%)	

The table shows that the number of migrants who ask for financial help from kin in the village is quite high (19); it falls in relation to non-kin in the village but is still appreciable (10), whereas the number seeking financial help from non-kin in other villages is very small (2). As regards non-financial help in Algeria, the number who ask kin and non-kin is quite high (17 and 12 respectively). Kinsmen are the main source of financial help. The table shows that people who want to migrate ask more for financial than any other kind of help. Once in France migrants ask for financial help in order to support themselves until they find a job. They usually ask for a loan and try to refund it, as soon as possible in order not to accumulate debts. As can be seen from the table, there is a tendency for financial help to drop in France. Living costs are high in France, so that help other than finance is usually given. The non-financial help asked for is usually accommodation, administrative help (ie. explaining the bureaucratic system in France), or in finding jobs.

The table shows that in France, migrants mainly ask their kin for both financial and non financial help. This is quite understandable for people who find themselves in a strange country.

In general, the table shows that migrants from Taguemount Azouz, most of whom left Algeria many years ago, turned for help first to their own people (ie. members of their Kharouba), than to non-kin from the village, and lastly to people from other villages. While waiting to find a job in France, migrants depend largely on people from the village living in France. This period is one of the most crucial for them. They arrive in a strange country and are obliged to stay with their kin and friends. Far from being isolated, the

migrants interact with, and share in the family life of, kinsmen, friends or fellow-villagers.

On the arrival at either Marseillesharbour or Paris Orly airport, most migrants already have the address of 'their own people'. As is shown in Table XVI, while waiting to land jobs in France, most migrants stay with kin or non-kin from the village, with a higher proportion staying with non-kin. But at this stage migrants will turn for help to anyone with whom they may claim any affinity; whether they be kin, non-kin, friends from the village, or simply people from the same province. They will normally encounter people of some kind of affinity with them in cafes and bars where migrants from the same province as themselves tend to congregate until they do track down their 'own people' (ie. migrants from Taguemount Azouz). In general there is a marked degree of goodwill shown to any new migrants.

The seventeen 'single' migrants, as well as the six heads of families, who stayed with kinsmen on first arrival reported that these had all been either brothers or cousins, except for two cases of sons who stayed with fathers. In three cases when kinsmen could not accommodate them because their own flat was too small, or because the land had refused to allow them to accommodate to do so accommodation was arranged through kinsmen with friends. Seven reported that their initial period in France had been very difficult because of the newness of the situation and especially on account of accommodation and work problems. Two who had stayed with non-kin friends were very ill at ease and moved out as soon as they found accommodation; the housing conditions of their friends were poor and they were financially embarrassed. Two who stayed with acquaintances from the village said they had moved out as soon as possible because they did not want to impose on their acquaintances and because their relations with them

Table XVI

INITIAL ACCOMMODATION IN FRANCE WHILE

WAITING FOR A JOB.

	No	Per cent
With Kin	23	35.9
Non Kin from Village	35	54.6
OTHERS	6	9.4
a) Algerians (4)		
b) French (2)		
Total	64	99.9

were not close enough to allow them to impose themselves for a long period. Seven of those staying with acquaintances did not have any kinsmen in France. Three did have relations in France but did not stay with them because of prior strained relations with them. The final category of those who 'with others' refers to those who were accommodated by people from the province or who stayed in hotels owned by French people.

b) Finding Work.

Once in Paris or Marseille in the case of migrants from Taguemount Azouz (and in France generally for many others) the newcomers soon start job hunting. This was especially urgent for those who came in the late 1960s when the law had been changed and was stipulated that migrants had to find jobs within nine months, failing which they were to be expelled. Some were compelled to take any job that came up in order to allow them to legalise their stay in France. They then began to look for better jobs.

In the majority of cases, the migrants from Taguemount Azouz reported having tried two, three, four or more jobs before settling down to one with sufficient pay and acceptable conditions. As in the case of accommodation, migrants rely on their 'own people', or at least on people from their province for help in finding employment. This was especially true of migrants in the sample who had first come to France in the 1950s and 1960s. For the more recent generation of migrants, things have been rather different, as we shall see later.

The migrants who used 'normal' procedures for getting jobs (ie. the same as those used by French workers) formed a minority. The figures are given in Table XVII. Those already in France usually

explain the normal procedures to the newcomers, but few find work in this way. Most of them accepted jobs offered to them casually by or through people from the province or from the village. In most cases these are manual jobs in bars, cafes, restaurants and hotels.

While migrants rely heavily on help from kin, village friends and fellow villagers to find work, the number using the normal procedures would appear to be increasing slightly.

Table XVII.

Ways of finding Jobs in Paris and Marseilles.

Ways in which work was found	Number	Percentage
Normal procedures	17	26.6
Unofficial, of which	47	73.4
a) help from kin	8	
b) help from village friends	21	
c) help from other fellow villagers	11	
d) help from other Algerians	7	
Total	64	100.0

In the 1950s and 1960s migrants from Taguemount Azouz, or from any other part of the province, usually went direct to places where kin or fellow villagers were because, as it was put to me, 'it is easier to find jobs or anything else when we are among our people'. By the 1970s, however, this was changing to some extent.

Taking all the migrants interviewed, eight were people who found work through help from kin, twenty-one through village friends, eleven from other fellow-villagers and seven from other Algerians. The reliance on friends and fellow villagers reflects the cohesion of the migrant community beyond the bounds of kinship. While there are few migrants who have been in France long enough to have any strong influence in finding jobs for their fellow villagers, the small number of relatively wealthy men from Taguemount Azouz do play an important role in helping new arrivals from their village and, to a lesser extent, from other villagers of the province. They are regarded by fellow migrants as people who 'have succeeded'. Mr.B. is one of them. He owns a large 3 star hotel in a middle class area, a hotel for migrants in a working class area, and a textile business in Algeria. He employs French people in his 3 star hotel which gives him considerable prestige in the eyes of the migrant community, but his help to new migrants from Taguemount Azouz and their relatives often takes the form of helping to sort out problems with the French administration and with other organizations. Migrants consider that he has an obligation towards them because of his village origins and he accepts this.

I could not ascertain the exact number of people that Mr.B. has helped over the past 20 years, but it is certainly appreciable. In the hotel for migrants which he owns, one of his kinsmen is in charge of the cash and general management. His capacity to find jobs for migrants stems from his wide contacts with others from the province who are in similar positions. Of the sixty four migrants in my sample, nine found work through Mr.B.'s help, seven of them found work in bars, cafes, or restaurants and two in factories in or near

Paris. In return for this help migrants render services to Mr.B. in the short or the long run. In the long run, they may on their return to the village on holiday give presents to Mr.B.'s kin or give practical help to any of them who be in need of it. (eg. cultivate land for those not capable of doing so). In France they will normally let him know if they hear of a job going for someone else and this increases his own influence and standing. Or they may render other minor services to him as the opportunity arises.

Migrants who actually live in Mr.B's hotel are in a situation that is well known to many North Africans in France. Bedrooms are let for 24 hours per day; two or three men sleep in the same room for eight hours, and their places are then immediately taken by two or three others for a similar time. None of the migrants from Taguemount Azouz in my sample were living in Mr.B.'s hotel, and the majority of his other 'residents' came from other parts of the same province. None of the nine complained of their condition at the time of my fieldwork. On the contrary, they considered themselves fortunate as the accommodation is cheap, their payments covered sleeping arrangements and also allowed them to cook in their rooms. The prices charged by Mr.B. were much the same as those of other 'Marchands de sommeil' or 'sleep merchants', as they are commonly called.

The situation over the last ten years has in many ways deteriorated for migrants and thus correspondingly improved for 'marchands de sommeil' like Mr.B., who are also 'trading migrants' in various ways. There are strict restrictions on the export of foreign currency from Algeria to France. Anyone leaving Algeria is only allowed to export 340DA, roughly forty pounds. As a result, a black market in currency has developed and men like Mr.B. are drawing

substantial benefits from this. People from Taguemount Azouz who visit France, or who want to go anywhere abroad, usually get in touch with kinsmen of migrants in Algeria to whom they give Algerian currency in return for a letter addressed to their 'contacts' in France who then give the new arrivals the corresponding sum in French currency. At the time of my fieldwork the 'contacts' were making approximately 150% profit on such exchanges. The activities of 'trading migrants' in France are commonly reported in Algerian newspapers, but the government has not found any effective way of restricting their activities. In the post office of Taguemount Azouz where I recorded the sums of money sent by migrants to their relatives and by French companies to returned migrants, there were very few international orders sent by migrants, the vast majority being from companies for returned migrants. This is discussed very fully in Chapter 6.

II Socio-economic conditions:

People from Taguemount Azouz have been migrating to France for many decades as have people from other parts of the province. These migrants have created a 'micro-Algerian society' in France or, to be more precise, they have created a series of 'micro-villages' in France. Over recent years, however, the 'micro villages' have tended to merge into a 'micro province' society. This is changing slowly as young migrants, and children of migrants, tend to mix with all Algerians of whatever areas of origin, but the association of those from particular localities is still clearly discernible.

a) Place of residence.

Most of the migrants from Taguemount Azouz who live in Paris have concentrated in working class areas. As we have seen, they tend to go where their 'own people' live. The main concentrations are found in arrondissements 17, 18 and 19. Very few live in the suburbs and those that do are usually men who have brought their families to France with them. As shown in Table XVIII, most of the 'single' men live in Paris are in working class areas where many there are also many migrants from other North African countries. (It is in one of these areas that Mr.B.'s hotel is situated).

Arrondissements 17, 18 and 19 are ^{among} the main working class and immigrant areas of the city, while arrondissements 12, 13, 14 and 15 are on the whole lower middle class areas. There were only two families and one single migrant in a truly middle class area, namely arrondissement 15. In Marseilles, there is an immigrant area where most North Africans and Black Africans live. The number of 'single' immigrants there was quite large (8). It is in this area that most of the hotels for immigrants are situated. The number of those who are residing in town was small, only one family and three 'single' migrants, all

Table XVIII: Places of residence in Paris and Marseilles.

<u>Paris</u>			
District (Arrondissements)	Families	'single' migrants	Total
12	2	1	3
13	1	5	6
14	1	2	3
15	2	1	3
17	1	8	9
18	2	9	11
19	1	7	8
suburbs	2	2	4
Total	12	33	45
 <u>Marseilles</u>			
Immigrant area	3	8	11
Town	1	3	4
Suburbs	2	2	4
Total	6	13	19
Total			64

living in flats. The two families living in the suburbs were those of 'merchant' migrants and the two 'single' migrants were working for one of them.

b) Size of family.

Both in Paris and Marseilles the average number of children per migrant family was 6. As shown in Table XIX, those with the largest number of children are naturally the middle aged. Six of the families have between six and eleven children each, and the age of fathers in their families ranges between forty and forty nine. When we look at the families of fathers aged between twenty and twenty nine, the number of children is also appreciable. Two have between three or four children, and two have one or two. These families are likely to increase as there is no indication of a fall in the number of children. Algerian migrants in general, and those from Taguemount Azouz are no exception, larger families are seen as a form of security for the future. If the migrant has not had a 'decent life' himself, meaning that he has suffered poverty and deprivation, the assumption is that his children will look after him when he is old.¹ At the same time, the French Government pays 'allocations familiales' (family allowances) in respect of each child under the age of eighteen. Thus, the more children a migrant has, the more money he gets from the state. A similar policy is applied in Algeria. But it is also of interest to note that wealthy migrants in France tend to have as many children as the poor, for them it is a symbol of wealth and they also believe that these children will, when adult, add to the wealth of the family (eg. Mr.B. has eleven

1. For a full discussion of this kind of attitude, see Mohammed Ed-Awad Galal Al-Din 'A socio economic explanation of high fertility levels in Greater Khartoum in Pons, V.(ed) Urbanization and Urban Life in Sudan (forthcoming).

Table XIX: Size of Family by Age of Father.

Age of Father						Total families
	0	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-11	
20-29	1	2	2			5
30-39			1	3		4
40-49				4	2	6
50-59				1	1	2
60-69				1		1
Total	1	2	3	9	3	18

children; one of them is a doctor, two are engineers, one is a university undergraduate and the others are still at school).

c) Occupations in France.

Both in Paris and Marseilles, the number of unskilled or semi-skilled workers among the 64 migrants from Taguemount Azouz is high (See Table XX). The jobs classified as unskilled or semi-skilled include street sweepers, barmen, restaurant employees, watchmen in factories, lorry drivers, cooks, assembly line workers, and building site labourers. Those listed as skilled workers are jobs referred to in French as 'ouvriers specialises' and 'ouvriers qualifies'. Such jobs are usually held by men who have achieved qualifications while employed in manufacturing establishments like car and chemical factories or in the building industry.

Seven of the 'single' immigrants from Taguemount Azouz are employed in the building industry and others in cafes, bars, and restaurants; few are employed in manufacturing industry. But there is a difference, as the table shows, between 'single' men and those with families. It is usually only those who earn relatively good wages who can bring their wives and children to France. This is particularly so because the French only allow men to bring their families if suitable accommodation is available for them, and this is very expensive. Those who are not owners brought their families either during the war of independence in order to escape the violence, or just after the war, when laws that regulate family migration did not exist. The majority of 'single' men are unskilled or semi-skilled. Only three of the 'single' migrants own a business and two of them said they would never allow their families to come to France because 'they do not want their children to be like French

Table XX.

Occupations of Immigrants in Paris
and Marseilles.

	<u>Heads of households</u>	<u>Single men</u>
Kind of Job	1	10
Unskilled	2	17
Semi skilled	3	9
Skilled	0	0

Business owners of which:		
Hotel owners	4	1
Shop owners	2	2
Restaurant owners	6	0

Others		
Unemployed	0	4
Others	0	3

Total	18	46
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children or their women to act like French women'.

The four people classified as unemployed were without jobs at the time of the fieldwork either because they had just been sacked or were still seeking work. The three classified as others' either had unspecified jobs or were casual workers. It is not uncommon for such men to work intermittently while also buying goods difficult to find in Algeria with a view to taking them back for sale and then again returning to France.

d) Wages.

The wages earned by migrants are shown in Table IX. We have seen that the proportion of migrants employed in cafes, bars and restaurants is appreciable and their wages are low (between 1300 NF and 1400 NF) regardless of whether they work for French employers or for migrants from Taguemount Azouz or their home province. The migrants who earn the highest wages are those employed in industry, mainly motor manufacturing and the chemical and building industries. Table XXI excludes those who own a business in France since it is extremely difficult to establish accurately the profits they make. The table also excludes those who were unemployed or who had unspecified jobs. The wages of those who work in bars, cafes, and restaurants were certainly lower than the general run of wages earned by Frenchmen doing similar jobs. Those working in skilled or semi skilled jobs in French industry usually had fairly good wages, though even here the payments were sometimes lower than the corresponding wages of French workers.

e) Housing conditions.

We have already seen that the majority of migrants from Taguemount Azouz in Paris are residentially concentrated in

Table XXI.

Wages for 'Single' Migrants in Paris
and Marseilles, 1977/78.

Wages per month	
1300NF - 1500NF	13
1600NF - 1800NF	9
1900NF - 2100 NF	10
2200NF - 2400NF	4
+ 2400NF	3
<hr/>	
Total	39
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Out of 46 workers, 39 are taken into account, the other seven were either unemployed or job hunting at the time of fieldwork, see Table XX.

arrondissements 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18 and 19. The immigrants who live in the suburbs of Paris are mainly concentrated in Courbevoie, there are a few in Seine Saint Denis, Nanterre (where many other Algerians live) and in Colombes.

Since the 1950s, the French government has established two organizations to deal with housing for immigrants. The first, called Fas (Fonds d'action sociale), was established in December, 1958; the second, called Sonacotra was established in 1957. Sonacotra is a company that builds houses for immigrants and their families. At the beginning this company built hotels for immigrants as well,¹ but it later specialized in building flats for single immigrants and what are known as HLM buildings.² Though the authorities have made attempts to eradicate bidonvilles over the years, the situation has not changed for most migrants. Despite promises to rehouse immigrants, bidonvilles still exist on a large scale. The other organization (F.A.S.) set out to build flats for 'single' migrants, H.L.M. accommodation, and transit houses for immigrants with their families. Between its establishment in 1958 and up to December 1969, F.A.S. has only built 10,400 flats (logements) of which 60% were of the H.L.M. type and between 15% and 30% were transit houses for families.³

The authorities decided that the total number of migrants in H.L.M. accommodation should not be more than 15%, so as to avoid the creation of ghettos. Algerian families have two ways of finding

1. Zehraoui, A. op.cit. p.109.

2. H.L.M.= Habitation à Loyer Modéré.

3. Zehraoui, A. op.cit. p.109.

a flat or HLM accommodation. The first is the official procedures, as for French workers, because they are legally deemed to have the same rights, and the second is to ask for temporary accommodation in transit homes. In the latter case, they then have to wait for permanent accommodation, whether they find it for themselves or obtain it from the authorities.

Very few migrants from Taguemount Azouz have been successful in using the first procedure. Often they do not even try, saying that 'the French authorities give houses in preference to French people, so why should we bother asking'. Only two of the migrants I met had attempted to use the second procedure and each was eventually given accommodation in this way. According to statistics of the French home office cited by Zehraoui, 42.8 per cent of 46,827 persons in the bidonvilles around Paris in June, 1966, were North Africans, and most of them were Algerians.¹

The living conditions of Taguemount Azouz migrants in hotels owned by people from the same village as themselves are very similar to those in the bidonvilles. It would be difficult to choose between a hotel where three or four people may be living in a single room and bidonville accommodation in Nanterres.

The accommodation of 'single' migrants in Paris and Marseilles is shown in Table XXI. As many as 21 out of 46 lived in hotels owned either by people from the same village or by other Algerians. The number housed by French 'merchants of sleep' is also high; namely 15 out of 46. The last figure in the table for people in flats or rooms refers to those who live either in bidonvilles or in flats owned by the state.

1. Zehraoui, A. op.cit. p.112.

Table XXII.

The Accommodation of Single Migrants in
Paris and Marseilles.

In Hotels owned by people from Taguemount Azouz	In Hotels owned by other Algerians	In Hotels owned by French	In flats or rooms	Total
14	7	15	10	46

Table XXIII.

Housing for Families in Paris and
Marseilles.

Rented flat	Own flat	Own house	Rented house	Total
14	2	1	4	18

The housing position of migrants with their families is shown in Table XXIII. Eleven out of 18 lived in rented flats owned by the state. The two owning flats are traders who have been in France for a long time. The only one to own a house is Mr. B. Four had rented houses, which is very expensive in Marseilles as well as Paris.

f) Level of literacy.

Illiteracy is widespread among the immigrants from Taguemount Azouz who came to France in the 1930s, 1940s and early 1950s. This is so despite the fact that the province of Kabylia was, for political reasons referred to in Chapter II, relatively privileged in education as compared to all other parts of Algeria. Taguemount Azouz had its first school in 1884, in contrast to some other areas of Algeria where there were no schooling facilities as late as the 1950s. Also, many people from Taguemount Azouz, as from other regions, at first refused to accept education from the French. One of the reasons for this was that the teachers were White Fathers. These priests were seen as being charged with the role of combatting Islam. Schooling was linked to Christianity and was often resisted on these grounds. Education was, however, slowly established, especially as it became clear that it was commonly necessary in order to obtain jobs in French companies. Any formal education in Arabic was strongly opposed by the French authorities who did everything possible to prevent people like Algerians from learning Arabic. They did, however, allow Koranic education in Zaouias, but this was of no value in relation to the job market. Moreover, even when schooling for boys was gradually accepted throughout the province, schooling for girls remained quite exceptional. But there still was strong discrimination in schools,

with the French authorities seldom allowing indigenous boys to go beyond the certificat d'etudes primaires (a primary school certificate). In general, the french colonial economy did not need highly educated personnel, but only unskilled or semi-skilled labour with a very limited degree of literacy.

The extent of literacy among migrants is shown in Table XXIV. Those who are literate in Arabic are few, and they are illiterate in French. The small number literate in Arabic is a direct result of the difference between the policy adopted by the French in Algeria, where Arabic was actively discouraged, and that practised in Morocco and Tunisia where it was tolerated. The table also shows that about one third of the migrants were completely illiterate. These are the people who suffer most in France when dealing with the administration and in all their relations with French people. Even those who are shown as being able to read and write French have only a very basic knowledge of the language. Most having been to school for more than three to five years and in some cases for only one or two. Those who have passed their certificat d'etudes are a minority (9.4 per cent). The six who did have their certificat d'etudes were among the most qualified workers holding skilled jobs. Only three had attended a secondary school. Two of them stayed in secondary school for three years, then left it. One of them failed his B. E. P. C.¹ (roughly equivalent to 'O' levels) then left school.

In general there is not much difference between those who have not been to school at all and those who have attended a primary school for one, two, or three years. Their practical ability to speak French is usually much the same and they mix French and Kalyle words in a way which makes them virtually incomprehensible to many French people.

1. Brevét d'Enseignement du Premier Cycle.

Table XXIV.

Extent of Literacy Among the Migrants from
Taguemount Azouz in Paris and Marseilles.

	No	Per cent
Illiterate (including three literate only in Arabic)	23	35.9
Literate of whom:	41	
a) can read and write	32	50.0
b) have a <u>certificat d'etudes</u>	6	9.4
c) attended a secondary school	3	4.7
d) higher education	0	0.0
Total	64	100.0

Illiteracy among women is nearly total, there being only one in my sample who had been to primary school. Another had learnt to read and write a little French outside school, but none could read or write Arabic.

The reasons for illiteracy among women stems directly from French colonial policies in Algeria. Men had to work to live and were registered for work by the French. They had, therefore, to have some basic education for participation in the wage labour economy. But the men themselves refused to allow their women to go through the same process because it would have meant the destruction of the Muslim family. They linked the education of women to the way of life of European women which, in their eyes, was a threat to the whole society. And French policy was largely indifferent to this problem as long as men provided sufficient labour.

In France today, the situation is different, all immigrants, whether 'single' or with their families, consider education for their children to be important. Education is seen as a means to better working opportunities and therefore to a better life. The general tendency among all heads of families is to press their children into Higher education as hard as they can. This is in effect the only channel to employment in Algeria itself, and thus to a return to their country. The attitudes of heads of families towards education for their daughters has completely changed. All want them to have equal opportunities to those for their sons. This is much the same in Algeria, but is most marked in the urban centres. This change was particularly rapid after the war of independence and was probably due in part at least to the role played by Algerian women in the war of liberation. This was very important, especially in the towns.

Some families deliberately delay a final departure from France until their children have finished their university education. One of the most interesting cases is that of Mr.C. who has ten children and who has been in France since 1952. He is a skilled worker in a car factory and lives in a decent flat in Saint Remy (a suburb of Paris). His eldest daughter is studying psychiatry in a hospital in Paris. The others are either studying for university degrees or are well advanced in secondary schools. Mr. C. has already bought a house in the city of Tizi-Ouzou in Algeria, but he explained that for the sake of his children he would wait until they had finished their education before leaving France.

When children fail to get to university, their parents try to find places for them in technical colleges to obtain technical or other qualifications. These attitudes to education are common among all Algerian immigrants, and the 'single' migrants entertain similar aspirations for their children in Algeria. While they themselves are in France, they usually delegate authority over their children to a close kinsman. In the absence of a close male relative, they may place them under the care and supervision of an older kinswoman. Either way, one of their main concerns is that their children should be made to work hard at school in order to gain access to higher education.

As illiteracy is widespread among adults it is common to find them putting pressure on children and young people to read without even knowing what the books are. But they visit the childrens' teachers to get reports on the progress being made. This constant pre-occupation about children's education is because it is the best, and often the only way to ensure better opportunities than their fathers had.

The particular occupations parents aspire to on behalf of their children are of course varied. Often they want their daughters to teach in primary schools, or even in secondary schools. Aspirations for their sons are usually higher, such as engineering, medicine or other professional careers.

Frequently, however, there is a marked difference between what migrants aspire to on behalf of their children and what the children actually achieve. There are several reasons for this, and the aspirations are often unrealistic in view of lack of understanding and suitable encouragement and advice and of the difficulties which the children face in studying under very difficult home conditions. Their social environment is quite different from that of most French children, even among the working classes there are for example, cases where four or five children share the same bedroom in conditions that make it almost impossible for them to do their homework. At the same time, there are language difficulties. Before going to school, most children speak only Kabyle at home because their parents want them to learn their mother tongue to 'keep their ties with their home country'. They are thus inevitably handicapped in their early years at school. After a few years at school the problem changes, and many speak only French, but their whole educational process has been retarded. In most of the houses I visited, children spoke to their mothers in French, with the latter answering in Kabyle. Most of the children understand Kabyle well, but their own use of the language suffers as they mix with French-speaking school friends and because the environment outside the home is totally French. It is usually only as they grow up that they become more keenly aware of the differences between them and the French children with whom they mix at school and that they then often

revert to using their own language whenever possible.

Table XXV shows that the number of children in primary schools is low (14), which is explained by the fact that they are mainly from the families of fairly long standing in France. The number of children shown in secondary school is much higher (58 representing 54.7 percent of the total). This category includes those who are in Lycees techniques, where they try to get a baccalaureat to allow the entry to do engineering and other professional training. Those who fail go to technical schools to get qualifications in a skilled or semi skilled job. The category 'out of school' covers those who at the time of my fieldwork had dropped out of the educational system. The percentage in secondary schools is high and it is evident that educational achievements of the children is extending though it is generally lower than that of French children.¹

Many migrants complain about the attitudes of school teachers to their children. They say that the teachers pay less attention to them than to French children, that they are made to sit at the back of the classroom and the like. Such views are so consistently expressed that there can be little doubt that some teachers do practice discrimination. The children themselves often report racist comments made by teachers as well as by French children. It is in this way that many come to face the reality of the differences that divide them from French children. Many become extremely bitter, especially in the later years of secondary schooling and at a university.

1. For a detailed discussion of problems of Algerian youth in France, see Chakër, A. La Jeunesse Algérienne en France, S.N.E.D., Alger, 1977.

Table XXV.

Children in the French Educational System
in Paris and Marseilles.

<u>Educational Institutions</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Primary schools	6 to 12 years	14	13.2
Secondary schools	13 to 18	58	54.7
Universities	19 and over	18	17.0
Not in education	16 and over	16	15.1

Total		106	100.0
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g) Race Relations.

Relations between the whole Algerian community and the French are complex, and this is equally so in the case of migrants from Taguemont Azouz. Not all immigrants express feelings of resentment or complain of racism. During the course of my fieldwork, I was struck by the fact that some rarely talk about the problem, if ever. This is especially true of those who have done well for themselves like Mr.B. His reactions to the French are quite different from those of poor migrants, and far from hostile. He expressed the view that if immigrants had good manners, and that if they spoke French fluently and properly, they would have no problems. He also volunteered the view that 'as many Algerians rape French women, steal and create difficulties, it is natural that the French react violently towards them.' In fact Mr.B.'s comments on racism, and his tone of discussion in regard to such problems are much the same as those of some openly racist French newspapers such as Minute and Le Meridional.¹ (See Appendix B)

Most of the migrants I studied have social relations with French people at work only. Very few had French friends, and there were only four cases of migrants having the kind of friendship that involves going out for a drink together, or mutual invitations to meals. Most migrants tend to 'explain' the racism or discrimination they encounter in terms such as the following:-

- 'We were at war with them; that is why they do not like us.'
- 'We have a different religion.'

1. Minute is an extreme right wing newspaper that very often attacks Algerian migrants in France. For a fuller discussion of French attitude towards Algerian migrants, see Bennoune, M. 'The Maghribin Migrant Workers in France,' Race and Class, Vol.XVII, No.1, 1975.

- 'It is not their fault, but that of the pieds noir, they are the people who do not like us.'
- 'We are in their country, that is understandable'.
- 'We do not like them either'.
- 'We have no relations with them, because Christians are not as clean as Muslims.'

The general tendency in day-to-day life is for French and Algerians to ignore each other socially. Very few were like Mr.B. in claiming to have no problems with the French or to actually have French friends. Strained relations are to a large extent associated with social classes. Those who experience the most overt discrimination are the workers. The wealthier migrants are seldom subjected to the same treatment. While school children of migrants appear to mix more spontaneously with the French than adults and so do not suffer from any language barrier, they nonetheless often feel excluded as the following statements show:

- 'I do not feel I belong to this society' (Age 15)
- 'The French are too violent towards us' (Age 17)
- 'We should fight back' (Age 20)
- 'Racism is a necessity for the French bourgeoisie to maintain itself' (Age 21).

Again, however, some had different views as shown by the following statements:-

- 'Those I know are not racist' (Age 18)
- 'The French are nice once you know them' (Age 20).

Older children and young adults - in secondary schools, universities, technical colleges, and at work - are often extremely hostile as in the case of the 21 year old who said: 'We should fight back.' Such young people often feel extremely bitter over their parents'

relatively passive acceptance of the conditions under which they live. The few who linked racism to capitalism are all university students or involved in political organisations fighting racism.

The attitudes of younger people towards Algeria are also different to those of their parents in that they do not see the country as their 'home'. This partly is due to their upbringing in France, and partly also due to the language situation. Arabic is now the official language in Algeria, even if French is still the dominant one. It is increasingly necessary to speak Arabic if seeking work in Algeria. The majority of the children of migrants from Taguemount Azouz cannot do so, and many do not speak the language at all. The few who do (twenty out of one hundred and six) are children who take Arabic lessons given by the Amicale des Algeriens en Europe, an organization run by the Algerian government. Its main aims are to defend rights of Algerian immigrants in France and more widely in Europe, and to spread Arabic among them. Their language-teaching activities are very limited, primarily because there is a shortage of teachers who are needed in Algeria itself for the very same purpose. Fifty eight children out of the one hundred and six in my sample spoke Berber, having learnt it at home, sometimes under considerable pressure from their parents. Forty eight out of the one hundred and six could not speak either Berber or Arabic, but only French.

The attitude of children towards their own country, or to be more precise, towards their parents' country, is at times very controversial for this reason. But there are other closely related views: (1) Most parents try to convince their children that they should one day return to Algeria, but the picture of the country which they portray is rather false - a romantic picture of a

"wonder country"; (2) Most children have been brought up in a European city environment yet, when they go to Algeria on holiday, they are usually exposed only to the countryside where they are confronted with many problems of cultural adaptation, (3) Most daughters of migrants feel extremely oppressed in Algeria, even if only on holiday; they have to stay indoors, to wear certain kinds of clothes, to live with women without any contact with men, and so on. In addition, the daughters of migrants in France often resent accusations in Taguemount Azouz that "they are 'easy' girls who behave like European women." To some extent, this applies to boys as well, but it is much more serious a problem for girls.

h) Leisure activities of immigrants in France.

Leisure patterns differ markedly according to whether migrants are 'single' or living with their families. 'Single' men and heads of families meet whenever there is any special social occasion, such as deaths, marriages, and circumcisions. All immigrants in the same city are expected to gather on such occasions in order to maintain 'solidarity between the members of the group.' Those who can afford it will even travel long distances (e.g. Paris to Marseilles) for such occasions. In addition, heads of families and 'single' men may meet after working hours or during the weekend in the bars and cafes which are recognised centres for people from the same province.

But it is mostly the single men who meet in bars and cafes. Some go there precisely because it is the main way of meeting others from the same villages or friends from anywhere else in the province. The bars and the cafes play a central role in the leisure time of 'single' migrants. At weekends they often play music from the province until late at night. Most of them drink alcohol, despite the fact that they are usually apprehensive about reports that they

are 'wasting their money on alcohol' instead of sending it to their families in Taguemount Azouz. 'Single' immigrants commonly find their way to districts where brothels are located, and many spend substantial sums of money on prostitutes.¹

A few migrants live with French women in fairly stable unions. Three 'single' men were living with French women on a permanent basis though they were married in their village. Some of the older generation of migrants had married French women, but had later returned to their wives in Algeria leaving their French wives in France.

Migrant children, especially boys, tend to spend their leisure time like French boys. They take out girls if they can afford to do so, they join clubs, playing sport, and so on. But many families still place restrictions on their daughters who are to some extent expected to keep up Algerian traditions. The thought of seeing their daughters going out with French boys is a nightmare to many parents. They also disapprove of their sons associating with French girls but the censure here is less strong. Such attitudes partly explain why most migrant families go on holiday to Taguemount Azouz and like to take their children with them. And they keep the idea of an eventual permanent return home before them in order to 'escape the dangers of European Society'.

1. For a discussion of the sexual problems of immigrants, see Benjelloun, T., La plus haute des solitudes, Paris 1977.

III The nature of continuing relations with the village.

The general socio-economic conditions of migrants in France and the conditions of their kinsmen in the village combine towards the maintenance of strong bonds between them. The migrants in France feel a social obligation to people in the village. As most people usually migrate to France in order to earn money for their families and because they cannot find jobs in Algeria, it is not surprising that there should be a continuing interaction with their homes. Regular visits home are possible because the two countries are reasonably close to each other and because the government of Algeria has made travel back and forth cheap as a matter of policy. Either air and sea tickets can be bought quite readily by bona fide migrants. Every year, during the summer, the roads of Kabylia are crowded with thousands of cars registered in France and belonging to migrants who are on holidays. In July, August, and September, the population of Taguemount Azouz increases markedly as migrants return. In the village it is common for local people to refer to those who come back as the 'Parisians', irrespective of where they may live in France. One commonly hears the phrase, the 'Parisians are back'.

Table XXVI gives the number of times immigrant families and 'single' migrants visit the village. Well over a half return at least once a year. Members of a family usually visit home together, especially those who have grown up daughters and sons whom they hope to marry within the community. Some of the migrants who do not return every year cannot afford to do so. For example, one man who visits the village every two years only has ten children and could not afford to take his whole family with him more often. A few families deliberately space out their visits to allow them to save more in France with a view to taking back more presents to the village when

Table XX.

Frequency of visits of Immigrants Families and
'Single' Migrants to Taguemount Azouz.

<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Number of 'single' migrants</u>	<u>Number of families</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Twice a year or more	8	3	11	17.2
Once a year	22	10	32	50.0
Once every two years	5	3	8	12.5
Once every three years	4	1	5	7.8
Once every four years	5	1	6	9.4
Once every five years and less often	2	0	2	3.1
Total	46	18	64	100.0

they do visit. This also applies to those who visit once every three or four years. The two men shown in the Table as only visiting 'every five years or less' no longer have relatives in the village and simply visit friends. Nevertheless they know they will have to retire in Algeria and therefore keep up even tenuous links.

The tendency for some 'single' migrants to visit the village two or three times a year has largely developed since restrictions were imposed by the Algerian State on the importation of certain luxury foods. These people spend a few months in France saving and buying foods that are difficult to find in Algeria, such as spare parts for cars and clothes. They then take them home for sale in the province at a handsome profit. Some take their cars back to the province and work illegally as temporary taxi drivers. I encountered one case of a 'single' migrant who had not been back home for twelve years. He was living with a French woman and simply did not want to go back, although he has a wife and children in the village. He does, however, send money to them.

It is important for migrants to take presents home to prove that they 'do well' in France and to show that they are 'successful'. Not being able to return with proof of 'success' is one of the reasons for some not returning as frequently as they might. In order to be seen to be successful, nearly all migrants bring clothes to wives, children and to all other relatives. If they cannot afford that, they will bring cheaper items. Some bring jewellery to their wives, and friends and relatives often ask them to bring car spares and medicines that are not available in Algeria. But the villagers mainly assess 'success' according to whether a man can bring back a car, and on whether he has started, or can start, to build a house.

It was difficult to establish the exact amount of money sent

by immigrants to their kin in Algeria. For this reason, first, because of black market operations in French currency and, second, because of variations in the incidence of feasts, burials, and other special occasions when considerable sums of money are sent home. I did, however, manage to collect information on savings from nineteen 'single' migrants. This is shown in Table XXVII. Such 'single' migrants save as much of their earnings as they can for this is the main purpose of their stay in France. Most of them live very cheaply on a diet consisting mainly of couscous which they cook themselves. Nine out of these nineteen reported eating meat once a month only, three twice a month, and seven once a week. When they do not eat couscous, they tend to exist on chips or Algerian vegetable stew. It can be seen that those who earn between 1300NF and 1500NF save the smallest percentage of their incomes. The number of those who save as much as 50% of their incomes is low, and tend to be on higher wages while living at the same standard as those on lower incomes.

An event which directly concerns members of the village in France, as of most immigrants is the death of one of them in France. It is an invariable custom that the body must be taken back to the village, and the migrants run a fund to cover this contingency. All immigrants donate a certain amount of money, once a year, depending on the wages they earn. This donation is made to a senior migrant, a man who has a hotel in Paris and one in Algiers. The money is either collected by him, or sent directly to him. He keeps a list of all immigrants from the village in France. When there is a death, he books the flight for the corpse with the help of others, usually the closest relatives or friends of the deceased, and he deals with the administrative papers required. If he cannot for any reason do so, he asks those who are close to the deceased to take his place. The

Table XXVII.

Savings by 19 'Single' Migrants per month.

Savings as a percentage of income.	Number of migrants	Average earnings per month.
20% of Total income	7	1300NF-1500NF
30% of Total income	8	1600NF-1800NF
40% of Total income	2	1900NF-2100NF
50% of Total income	2	2200NF-2400NF
<hr/>		
TOTAL	19	

body is flown from France to Algiers airport, from where it is driven to the village. The family of the deceased only pays for the funeral expenses incurred in the village itself. This has always been a collective social obligation both for members of the village and for all Algerian migrants in France. If the migrant who died is rich, his body is accompanied by a delegation of a few other rich migrants (merchants) living in France, and some of his relatives come from Algeria to accompany them. In the case of a poor man, only a few relatives and close friends accompany the coffin.

It is seen as a cause for shame for the village that a member should be buried on foreign soil and members of other villages could be highly critical if this were done. Even villagers from Taguemount Azouz who live in other parts of Algeria are buried in the village, but in these cases their respective families are solely responsible for transport and the funeral.

Among the younger generation, however, there are some who are reluctant to give money towards returning corpses to Algeria, claiming that they hardly know the village and that it is unimportant whether a burial takes place in France or in Taguemount Azouz.

Another event that unites immigrants and villagers is marriage. In the village, as in all parts of Algeria, marriages are usually held during the summer. During my period of fieldwork, two daughters of migrants in France were married, one to a man who lives in Algeria, and the other to a man from a village who lives and works in Setif.

During the same period, a girl from the village married the son of a migrant in Paris. In this last case, the marriage had been arranged the summer before through discussions between the mother of the boy and the mother of the girl when the immigrant family was on holiday in the village. But the

couple subsequently had problems as the French authorities would not allow the bride to go to France.

The lives and attitudes of the younger generation of immigrants (ie. the children of immigrants) is, however, very different from that of their parents. Their immediate environment in France is, of course, made up of their families and these excite social pressures on them as they would in Algeria.¹ But breaches of social relations between parents and children do occur. Difficulties tend to come to a head when members of the younger generation refuse to accept arranged marriages. Nearly all the children in the census have visited the village, but 59 of them do not know any other parts of Algeria, and 35 know only a few cities like Algiers and Oran. There were 12 children who have not been to Algeria at all.

The Algerian government organizes annual summer holidays for about a month for groups of immigrant children in Colonies de vacances in Algeria. The aim is to prevent children from losing their Algerian identity.¹ This is appreciated by the parents many of whom do send their children to these colonies de vacances. During the course of my fieldwork I worked in one of these centres in Northern Algeria. The relations between the children and local Algerians can be extremely tense. The local people are to some extent resentful about the way in which the migrant children 'behave like Europeans', 'do not respect old people', and so on. On the other hand the immigrant children especially the girls find it extremely difficult to understand the pressures that the local people put on women, in saying that women 'should not talk to men', that girls 'should not be friendly with boys',

1. For a discussion of problems of younger generations of Algerian migrants in France and the problems of their readjustment see No.237 Economie et Humanisme; 'Des Droits Effectifs Pour Les Algériens' by De Bernis, G.D. Sept/Oct. 1977.

and should 'stay indoors'. The pressure is felt by the boys as well. The difficulties are comparable to those that develop when the children of immigrants visit their own relatives in Taguemount Azouz. Girls commonly say that they 'could not live in the village for a day' because, as one said, 'women are like slaves' there.

IV MIGRANTS AND FRENCH TRADE UNIONS.

The relation between the French trade unions and the Algerian workers in general and workers from Taguemount Azouz in particular has to be seen in relation to developments since the Algerian war of Independence. During the war French workers regarded Algerians as terrorists, 'barbaric people' whose main aim was kill the French in Algeria.

Conversely, of course, those migrants who were in France during the War linked trade unionism with the French war effort. They commonly said that 'it was impossible to join trade unions of people who did not even consider us as human beings'. But there were some exceptions, such as two migrants from Taguemount Azouz in Paris who actually joined the GGT during the war even though they were resenting the French, including the French working class which they saw as being just as racist as the rest of French society. Since the independence of Algeria the situation has not changed very much, and in some senses has become worse owing to the repatriation of pieds noirs who spread their own virulent brand of racism.

During my field work, only six people from Taguemount Azouz were members of trade unions, 5 of the CGT and one of the CFDT. There were more people in the CGT than CFDT because the former is more vigorous in defending the immigrant workers. All six men who were members of trade unions were living on their own in France and had their families back in the village.

Typical reactions of other migrants towards French trade unions were as follows:

'Why should I join a trade union that does not defend my rights?'

'Trade Unions are for French workers, not for me'.

'They never look after us, French workers always come first'.

'Trade unions or not, I think all of them are racist, and will not do anything for me.'

The fact that the migrants are not in France permanently and constantly think of going back to Algeria, naturally affects these attitudes. Added to the general racism of the French working class towards all North Africans, and especially Algerians, and to the nationalisation by Algeria of French assets, the general political climate has clearly not been conducive to the integration of migrants at this level.

In this chapter I have described aspects of the socio-economic conditions and lives of Taguemount Azouz migrants in France and have shown that the relations between the Taguemount Azouz community and the village are very close. The older generation of migrants maintain very close ties with home, but the younger generation of migrants perceive the situation differently and do not 'belong' to the village in the same way as their parents. In a sense they are French, but without being socially accepted by the French, and they are Algerians without a sense of 'belonging' to Algeria (see p. 192 in this chapter).

The aim of their parents remains to return to Algeria if and when they can before retirement. I now give a brief account of the attitudes towards and preparations for returning to the village or to some place in Algeria.

V Preparations for returning to Algeria.

I shall discuss those heads of families and 'single' migrants who work but do not run a business in France. I do not dwell on the few owners of businesses because they tend to stay in France until they cannot work any more, or sell their business in France in order to go back under circumstances that are very favourable as compared to those of ordinary workers. One of the six heads of families who do not own a business but are dependent on wage labour (See Table XX), one, who is the father of ten children, is waiting for them to finish their studies before returning home as he has already planned to do by buying a house in Tizi-Ouzou; four are waiting for retirement age before going back; two are already building houses in the village; one has a house in which to retire in the Algiers, and another is buying a shop in a small town in the county. In the case of 'single' migrants, 21 say that they will return to the village as soon as they retire or that they would go immediately if they could find a comparable job. Six claimed that they would open shops in the capital of the province when they retire; and two are already running taxis in the village when not working in France. With a few exceptions, all migrants intend to return to Algeria, but they stress that the length of their stay in France is dictated by economic circumstances. There were two cases in my sample of men who actually did give up their jobs in France when they found suitable work in Algeria. The first man was employed in a restaurant in Paris and had a relative who was employed in a national company in the south of Algeria. When he heard that wages were high in this desert area, he contacted his relative who eventually found him a job as a cook. He is earning as much as he earned in France and, although he works in unpleasant climatic conditions, he says that he is happy to be at 'home' (ie. in Algeria) and appreciates being able to see his wife more often. The

second man was living in Paris in a very small room in a hotel belonging to a 'merchants of sleep'. He earned 2000NF a month but never liked France and said 'French people were not human'. He went back to Algeria once and spent four months looking for a job after sending a certificate of non fitness to his employer in France. He eventually found work as a gate-keeper in a textile factory situated thirty eight kilometres from his village. He earned 800DA (about 750NF) or less than half of what he earned in Paris. In order to make ends meet, he had to sleep in a hammam (i.e. a sort of Turkish bath), this hammam is used as a bath during the day and transformed into a dormitory at night. After six months under these conditions, he decided to go back to France where, as he said, 'even if he could not see his wife and children, he could at least earn enough money' whereas in Algerian wages were poor and he cannot see them often enough anyway. I met this man just before the end of my fieldwork in Algeria, and heard later that he was back in France. (He was allowed to return because he had not surrendered his registration card, which lasts for 10 years, to the French authorities).

To assist the return of migrants, Algeria has an official policy called la politique de la réinsertion des immigrés. As part of this policy, the government has asked state companies to allocate some of the new jobs created to migrants in France, but what is seldom publically stated is that new companies and the government have openings for skilled or highly skilled employees only, and few of the migrants in France fall into these categories.

Conclusion: I have outlined the way immigrants have settled in France, their socio-economic conditions in France, their relations with the village, and the attempts made by some of them to readjust in Algerian

society. Algerian immigrants are in France on a temporary basis. Most of them will return to Algeria, but there is a change in attitude towards the village among the second generation of Algerians in France. Their readjustment will be very complex. Most of their parents will readjust to Algeria as in the past, but the new generation (born in France) have radically different attitudes to the village. They themselves are on a temporary basis in France, as their parents are, as there has been no agreement between the Algerian and French governments to change the situation. Most of them feel rejected by French people and yet they are strangers to their own country. They often go to Algeria with their parents who want them to settle down there, but they do not feel 'accepted' by Algerians.

Migration is leading to a change in the local village economy as in other parts of Algeria. At the same time, however, numbers of migrants are no longer returning to their village but are settling in other parts of Algeria instead.

Chapter VI: THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF MIGRATION ON THE
VILLAGE.

I Introduction.

The aim of this chapter is to examine the effects of migration on the village of Taguemount Azouz with special emphasis on the following: (1) the importance of remittances in the province and in the village; (2) the different kinds of migrants and the social positions they occupy in the village on their return to the village; (3) the growth of demand for consumption goods; (4) the changed economic significance of land which is now secondary to wages in the economy of the village; (5) the changes in households structure and organisation that have accompanied the development of nuclear families as an integral part of the total change; and (6) the development of the petty bourgeoisie, the proletariat that have resulted from colonialism in general, and migration in particular.

We have seen that out-migration from Taguemount Azouz is an old phenomenon, resulting from developments arising out of both external and internal factors. The main external factor was the penetration of capitalism in Algeria during the colonial period, as in North Africa in general. This led to the growth of a wage sector and to people moving from their rural areas in search of work (see Chapter II).

Heavy out-migration does not, however, mean that people do not go back. The migrants leave 'home' because they need money to buy consumer needs in the village, and because, as we saw in Chapter V, the land cannot support them. But they often return to the village on holiday, or to marry, or to settle, or retirement and sometimes before

that (see Chapter III).

Cash remittances sent home by migrants and pensions paid by companies to retired migrants are extremely important in the changing economy and society of the village, and as we shall see, these are used in various ways in Taguemount Azouz. It is interesting to note at this stage that the remittances from migrants to their home villages have been studied in other parts of the world. Thus Connell, Dasgupta, Laishley, Lipton referring to some of them writes that

'Not all remittances are cash flow (or postal orders and cheques).... Remittances almost always include valuable durables; radios, bicycles and so on. McFarlane found that returning migrants to the Nepalese village of Thak brought about 2/3 of the value of the remittance in cash; the rest was mainly gold and transistor radios.... In many villages a very high proportion of households receive remittances. In Thak, Nepal, it is 54% - mainly the poorer families, since the richer families were less likely to send sons away from the fillage.'¹

But neither Connell, nor McFarlane whom he cites, tell us much about what actually happens to remittances in the economy of the village. The flow of remittances to Tanguemount Azouz is comparable to that in Nepal, or even higher, because 80% of the households have at least one member working abroad or in Algeria away from the village.² But in the case of Taguemount Azouz it is not only the children of the wealthier families that go to towns; they all do, 'rich' and poor.

Connell, Dasgupta, Laishley and Lipton make another statement that certainly corresponds with my study of Taguemount Azouz:

'Although it is hazardous to assert that a given income source is spent in a specified way, the weight of evidence suggests that, in the majority of cases, by far the greatest proportion of

1. Connell, J., Dasgupta, B., Laishley, R. Lipton, M. Migration from Rural Areas the Evidence from Village Studies. Oxford University Press, 1976, second impression 1978 p.94, 95, referring to MacFarlane, A.D.J., Population and Economy in Central Nepal; a study of the Gurungs, University of London, 1972, unpub. Ph.D.Thesis, p.333. First edited in 1976.

2. Estimates from the town Hall of Beni Doula.

remittances are used to increase outlay on everyday household needs - food, clothing, possibly house repair, and sometimes repayments. Only when basic requirements are met are remittances used for other purposes. Then they are usually committed to enhancing the security of the family, possibly by stocking up on wealth - in the form of jewellery or cattle or in house construction - which enhances the social standing and power of the household.¹

House construction, in particular enhances the social status of migrants returning from France.

The study of the use of remittances, pensions and savings accumulated when away demands that we draw distinctions between different categories of returning migrants. Not all of them return with the same amount of money as they do not all have the same opportunities when they are 'away'. I have therefore divided returning migrants into two main categories; those returning with some capital, and those returning with a pension. We shall see that the majority return with a pension, and that those who return with modest savings tend to invest them in taxis, shops, or other small enterprises. Those who have more substantial capital invest in wholesale firms, restaurants and hotels in towns of Algeria.

The flow of money to the village has also led to a large demand for goods. For example, there is an increasing demand for refrigerators, cars, and television sets among certain sections of the population. Among other sections, we notice a modernisation of their houses with furniture, running water and electricity.

One of the most far-reaching changes wrought by migration is that land is now of secondary economic importance. In most cases, households rely for their main income on remittances rather than on

1. Connell, J., Dasgupta, B., Laishley, R., Lipton, M., op.cit. p.209.

production from their plots. And for certain sections of the population, it is more important to own land than to work it, because property gives a sense of 'belonging' to the village.

Migration of men to France for long periods has affected the patriarchal family. Thus, among certain households, the head of the family exercises much less control over his children than in the past. This is one of several factors to be discussed later that has led to the development of nuclear families, especially among young couples.

Other more general aspects of the affects of migration to be discussed in this chapter are the full integration of the village into the world of capitalism and into the political economy of the country, and the growth of a proletariat and a petty bourgeoisie.

The chapter is thus divided into several sections to cover the above topics.

II The Social and Economic Effects of Migration.

Sixty five per cent of men from the village have worked for at least a few years in either France or in towns in Algeria. Until Independence in July, 1962, most of the migrants went to France, for reasons already discussed in Chapters II and V. One very old peasant expressed the main change he saw as a result of migration as being 'that there is no equality any more; everybody is individualistic'. This comment is interesting. It suggests that 'equality' between villages has disappeared, that there has been a fracturing of 'families' with the development of nuclear families and a tendency for sons not to help their parents as they used to.

(A) The Flow of Money to the Province:

Figures on pensions sent by companies to retired migrants and on remittances sent by migrants are difficult to get for the province as a whole, but according to estimates made by the Post Office for the

year 1967, the total was between £800,000 and £900,000 per month, as shown in Table XXVIII.

TABLE XXVIII.

Total Sums of Money sent into the Province of
Kabylia in 1967, from France.

Month	Money in old French Francs (Millions)
January	804
February	708
March	1,131
April	768
May	979
June	821
July	956
August	977
September	958
October	812
November	711
December	<u>725</u>
Total	10,350

SOURCE Estimates provided by the general post office of Tizi-Ouzou.

These figures include a very large number of orders sent by migrants from France as well as pensions from companies. To obtain figures, or even estimates, for remittances sent by migrants in the 1970s is more difficult. This is mainly due to the black market in French currency which has developed over the last decade. The black market is to be understood in the wider context of political

developments of the last decade. In the late 1960s the government of Algeria placed restrictions on the export of foreign currency. Thus, at one point, any Algerian citizen travelling abroad was only allowed to take the equivalent of £5 with him. Nowadays, Algerians travelling abroad are allowed to take an average of £35. As a consequence of this, and of both restrictions and taxes on imported goods, French currency is hardly ever sent back to Algeria through the once normal channel of the post office. Instead, it is exchanged on the black market to the benefit of migrants who, at the time of my fieldwork, made profits of up to 200% in the process. The only reliable figures we now have thus relate to pensions sent by French companies and remittance by migrants from cities in Algeria. Since this study is not concerned with remittances for the whole province of Kabylia, I shall limit myself to discussing what I was able to ascertain in relation to Taguemount Azouz.

(B) The Flow of Money to the Village.

The total amount of money sent 'Home' every year, mainly from France, but also, to a lesser extent from Algeria, is extremely high. The number of orders passing through the post office of Beni Douala, of which Taguemount Azouz is an administrative part, in the year 1977 is shown in Table XXIX.

Table XXIX.

ORDERS SENT FROM COMPANIES TO RETIRED MIGRANTS AND
REMITTANCES SENT TO RELATIVES IN 1977.

<u>Month</u>	<u>Number of Orders</u>	<u>Total Amount of Money in Algerian currency (Dinar)</u>
January	676	388,620,74 Dinar
February	434	245,490,37 "
March	534	388,920,49 "
April	641	355,740,81 "
May	479	365,785,83 "
June	717	484,466,49 "
July	1038	409,089,94 "
August	580	467,342,88 "
September	716	481,951,56 "
October	1500	481,951,56 "
November	512	309,498,74 "
December	802	528,370,90 "
TOTAL	<u>8629</u>	4,907,230,31 Dinars

Source: Post Office of Beni-Douala.

These figures cover three villages: Taourirt, Tizi-Hibel and Taguemount Azouz. As we know, however, the latter has the largest population, 3958 in 1976, as against 1951 for Tizi-Hibel and 2500 for Taourirt. So the proportion of orders going to Taguemount Azouz is considerable. As can be seen, there are marked variations during the summer. This is because marriages and circumcisions are mainly arranged for that period and because a substantial number of orders are made for, and in relation to, these occasions.

It is important to stress that these figures for 1977 refer mainly to pensions because of the use of the black market for transmitting savings. An example of this drastic fall in the number of orders sent from abroad through the post office by immigrants will help us to grasp the reality. For the first two weeks of October 1976, out of one hundred and eight orders, only twenty-nine were remittances. All the rest were pensions, whereas in the same month of 1971, 90 out of 200 orders were remittances for migrants.

The exact number who receive remittances is difficult to assess because of the decline in the use of the post office. But I was able to 'trace' two hundred and thirty men or women receiving either pensions from France or remittances whether from Algeria or France.

The Beni Douala post office records made it possible to compare the amounts (excluding illegal transactions) sent from Algeria with those from France. This is shown in Table XXX. (The figures given are for a different period because the statistics of 1977 did not allow amounts from Algeria and France to be separated.

Table XXX. Remittances from Algeria, Pensions, and a Limited Number of Remittances from France from March 1978 to August 1978.

<u>Month</u>	<u>From Algeria</u>	<u>From France</u>	<u>'Added' Value *</u>
March	92,666,89DA	341,652,52DA	60,033,90DA
April	138,226,25DA	319,727,01DA	56,247,84DA
May	92,409,54DA	257,901,23DA	41,856,46DA
June	106,555,96DA	354,453,14DA	59,429,17DA
July	75,847,95DA	228,945,27DA	34,952,12DA
August	149,331,28DA	270,182,90DA	36,066,41DA

Source: Post Office of Beni Douala

(* Added value relates to money coming from France. Officially the Algerian Dinar has a higher value than the French Franc. In order to encourage people to send money from France, the Algerian authorities therefore add a bonus in Algerian currency to the money sent from France).

The table shows that the total amount sent from within Algeria is very much lower than that from France. The Algerian total includes some pensions but by far the greater part is made up of remittances sent by relatives living in Algerian towns and cities.

From information I gathered at first hand from the two hundred and thirty retired migrants or their widows in the village, it is clear that the money sent from abroad varies a great deal. Thus, the lowest remittances was in the order of 100DA (approx.£10) and the highest about 2000DA (over £100). The number of widows who receive pensions quarterly represents sixty eight persons out of the total of two hundred and thirty ie.52.3%. Out of these two hundred and thirty people, nineteen who received pensions were disabled returned migrants who had stopped working and returned home because of accidents or illness.

Table XXXI reveals a big difference between the number of retired migrants and widows with money coming from Algeria and France.

Table XXXI.

Pensions and Remittances sent to the 230 Retired Migrants from December 1977 to March 1978 from Algeria and France.

Algeria		France	Total
Pensions - Remittances		Pensions - Remittances	
14 - 62		103 - 51	
Total	76	154	= 230

The pensions from Algeria were received mainly by people who had worked in the administration post office, ministeries, etc. in Algerian urban centres. (It should be stressed that my informants were not selected randomly, but the proportions revealed are probably a good indication of the reality). The proportion receiving pensions from within Algeria is very low compared to those with pensions coming from France. Remittances or, rather 'official' remittances received through the post office from France are lower than those sent from within Algeria but this is undoubtedly due to the black market. On the whole, according to the statistics of the post office of Beni Douala, pensions and remittances received from France represent between 65% and 75% of the money received by people in the village, and this would be much higher were it not for the black market.

The sums received from Algeria and from France also differed appreciably as shown in Table XXXII.

Table XXXII.

Actual sums of Money sent from France and Algeria to
230 people from December 1977 to March 1978.

Actual Sum	Algeria		France	
	Pensions	Remittances	Pensions	Remittances
Under 100DA	-	9	-	-
between 100-200DA	-	19	-	-
300-500DA	-	15	10	3
600-800DA	-	8	37	18
900-1100DA	2	7	15	9
1200-1400DA	5	4	17	6
1500-1700DA	4	1	23	8
1800-2000DA	3	-	1	5
Over	-	-		1
Total	<u>14</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>103</u>	<u>50</u>
		77		153
			Total	230

It is clear that the moneys sent from France are far more important than those from within Algeria. Although 'officially' there are more remittances sent from within Algeria, in real terms and in terms of the amounts, there is far more from France. Finally, it can be seen that there are also more pensions from France.

Among those who receive small sums from within Algeria, there were three old women in Algeria. One of these received between 50DA and 60DA (roughly £6. to £7. a month) from her son who works as an electrician in Algiers, but sometimes he gives her more when he can afford it.

The moneys received in the village are used in various ways. It is difficult to say precisely what people do with the money, but in general there are some uses that were regularly reported as I now explain.

(C) Use of Remittances.

The money sent back home by the large number of men away is, in the first place, used for day-to-day living expenses. In this section on the use of remittances, I am leaving out the use of pensions which I shall analyse in the next section which I shall analyse in the next section which focusses on returning migrants. Here I only deal with the hundred and thirteen people who receive remittances and not pensions. The main ways in which they use the money they receive is shown below.

Table XXXIII.

Principal Uses of Remittances Reported by 113 people.

Balancing household budget	48
Repairing or extending house	24
Investment in Agriculture	11
Buying goods for children and the household in general	20
Total	113

This table shows that the largest single category of people use the moneys they receive prominently to 'make ends meet'. Most of the old couples or widows who need money for their daily expenses on goods like food fall in this category. The next largest category is that of women who have children to bring up and whose husbands are working away, their money is largely used to feed, clothe themselves, their children, as well as other members of the family, (e.g. grandparents or other relatives). The third category consists of those who use their money mainly to repair or build their homes. These people usually have other sources of income like small profits from the sale of land, produce or from several relatives remittances. Finally, the last category, which is the smallest consists of those who invest money in agriculture by buying new tools, or animals needed for ploughing, or goats for milk, or donkeys for transport of their goods.

II The Different Categories of Returning Migrants.

There are different categories of returning migrants who play important economic and social roles in the village.

(1) Retired migrants with a Pension: This is the most important category economically and socially of returning migrants in the village. The majority of this latter group worked in factories in such places as Paris, Marseilles, Dunkirk, and Lyon.

When a pensioner returns from France, he is usually well regarded in the village as he has secured a pension and is thought to have brought back a 'fortune', this is especially so when he is either rich or has cared for his family by sending them regular

remittances.

Such migrants usually return to working the land alongside their wives. Some case histories given by the returning workers will help us to understand their situation in the village.

Case I: C. had been an industrial worker in Marseilles returning five years ago with a pension. He had kept the house he inherited from his father, in good repair when on leave in the village. C. has seven children, four married daughters and three sons. One son works in a restaurant in Algiers and one is employed by the National oil company in the desert of Algeria, whilst the third remains unemployed in the village. C. has a pension of 2200DA a quarter and owns a plot of 1 hectare. He only cultivates half the plot; growing mainly olive trees, although a small area is set aside for vegetables used by the household. His life now consists of working on the land, spending and visiting the local cafes and the mosque. His social status is high as he returned to the village having worked 'all his life' in France and hence is a man of knowledge, as he knows the 'outside' world. He is able to both 'protect' his household against others and give advice to people in the Tajmaat. His pension serves to buy goods that are not produced on his plot. He also receives some money from his working sons on which to maintain his unemployed son and his wife. This is a fairly typical example of the lifestyle of a retired migrant. Although this man already had his own house, which is socially significant as a returning migrant is expected to build a house to provide security' and 'shelter' for the children and as a symbol of his past successes in France.

However, only some of the people in this category build houses. The finance to build a house comes from their lifetime savings not from

pensions, hence some start building then wait until the next flow of money. Pensions are important in the economy of the household and serve to increase the consumption of goods as well as buildings, as was the case for family A outlined below.

Case II: A. is a pensioner who gets 1600DA per quarter. He has two sons who work in Algiers, one in the post office and the other in a state company. They gave their father a large proportion of their salaries as their wives live in his house alongside his own daughters, one of whom teaches in Taguemount Azouz school. A. is in charge of the household economy and his main target is to expand the house to accommodate the whole family in comfort. Hence he spends all his pension extending the house, using the money from his sons to buy household goods and food.

Very few of the returned migrants actually build houses, although many do improve their houses by either adding new rooms or transforming the house. Most pensioners cannot afford to build a new house as the cost of both materials and labour is very high - this is more fully discussed in the section on house building and is illustrated by the figures given below.

Table XXXIV.

House Building and Improvement amongst 103 Pensioners
from France.

Number of Pensioners	Building a house	Extending or improving Housing
103	11	35
	Total	46

Out of 103 people only 11 were able to build a house, and thirty five to improve or expand their homes. The others do have shelter,

but usually live in what are known as 'traditional' houses. Some of these 'traditional' houses do not have running water, hence a basic improvement consists of installing plumbing.

A general pattern is exhibited by these migrants who on retirement return to working their plots and improving their living conditions. Pensions rarely contribute to improving or increasing the output or means of working the land. Instead the vast majority of this income is used to build or improve houses or to buy goods that cannot be produced locally. The relation between these 'new' peasants who were workers and their land is complex. They generally work on the land in order to help their wives and for some who have little else to do but await the arrival of their pensions this work provides a meaningful activity. However at the beginning of this section I pointed out the economic significance of this category of migrants. Their wages and later pensions provide a permanent and regular flow of money into the village economy. Hence, most have cash that allows them to survive if their land fails to produce. This is important, as we saw, in Chapter V, land production does vary according to both climatic and ecological conditions.

However some returning migrants do engage in small scale businesses such as hen marketing. They use their money to build hen houses and to buy chicks that are later sold at the market. I recorded one case of a pensioner involved in this kind of business.

Case III: N is a pensioner who was a factory worker in Paris for twenty five years. He has five married children, two sons and three daughters. One son works in France, and the other in an Algerian urban centre. All the daughters were married and live in the village. When N returned he invested a capital of 10,000DA = £1000 in a hen-house and in addition to this business has a pension of 2200 DA a quarter. The chickens he produces are sold to school canteens, and

to people from the village and even from neighbouring villages. He also has a small plot of land (0.75ha) which is worked mainly by his wife and produces vegetables for the household.

The other two cases I recorded are very similar with business being conducted on the same scale. This kind of family 'industry' can be very profitable due to the high demand for chickens from schools and created by feasts. These examples show how some migrants can rescue capital to invest in family businesses.

In summary the vast majority of this first category of returning migrants receive pensions from the companies they worked for in France with a few of them receiving pensions from companies based in Algerian centres. Their income or pension enables some to build and improve their homes and to consume goods that are not produced locally. This is, however, very varied as well illustrated by the examples of those few who manage to invest in small businesses. On the whole, this group of people play an important social role in the village, precisely because their eventual return is permanent and hence tend to 'protect' the women of their households, and run the Tajmaat (see Chapter III). They assume this role as most of the other men from the village are absent. These responsibilities are also ascribed to the returned migrants because of their enhanced status in terms of age and world experience.

(2) Returning Migrants with small Capital: This category of returning migrants can be further subdivided into groups, distinguished by the time they spend away from the village, usually in France. There are those who are away for their working lives or for a few years or for a few months but all return to involvement in what I call 'petty industry' and 'petty trading'. Most of them are engaged

in small businesses such as taxi driving, shop keeping, which I shall take as examples. The most striking difference between the first category of returning migrants and these people lies in the expansion of their business beyond the village.

The local authorities in the province allocate a certain number of taxi licences. Licences are mainly granted to the widows of those who died fighting the French, who rent the car to a driver on a monthly basis. However licences are also granted to others. In Taguemount Azouz, out of the six 'officially' registered taxis only two belong to widows of freedom fighters (Moudjahi Dine) and are rented by two young men from the village. The other four official taxis are owned by former migrants. There are however many 'non-official' taxis operating as there is a great demand for this important service. The reasons for the demand are varied; health facilities are lacking in the village, hence people need to visit the capital of the province; many people work in the capital yet live in the village and therefore travel everyday. Some of the taxi drivers make roughly fifteen to twenty journeys to and from the capital per day. The taxi is usually shared by four or five per day, who each pay about 70p for this journey. The drivers who do not hold a licence are usually migrants who are on holiday in the village and turn their cars to taxis to make a profit (see Chapter V).

Among this category of migrants, we find some taxi drivers originally from the village of Taguemount Azouz who now live in the capital of the province or in Algiers. I recorded ten villagers who settled as taxi drivers in the capital and four who settled in Algiers after returning from France. Their age varied between thirty five to forty five years. These former 'immigrants' explain their choice in the following way. 'There is no future in the village'. 'The

village is only good for retirement' 'There is nothing to do in the village' 'Children need good education' 'There are no opportunities in the village' 'The village is only good for holidays'. Their statements reflect the general feelings and tendencies among this and other categories of returning migrants.

Both taxis and cars are important assets for returning migrants, providing possibilities for earning money. In many cases these taxi drivers have spent a much shorter time in France than those migrants in the first category, after acquiring the necessary capital to buy a car they tend to return.

(A) The Social significance of Taxis: Few decades ago in addition to money, migrants returned with a radio. Over the last fifteen to twenty years, the expectations have changed and now migrants want, and are expected to return with a car. The car replacing the radio as a symbol of 'success' in France.

(B) Investments in Shops: Investment in shops as a result of out migration is also important to any discussion on this category of returning migrants. In Chapter IV we noted the number of shops in the village; there are now three shops, although fifteen years ago there were eleven. These three shop keepers were studied in Chapter IV, so here I only need stress the role of returning migrants who invest capital in shops outside the village. The returning shop keepers invest not in the village but in the capital of the province. The shop keepers originally from Taguemount Azouz who now have shops in Tizi-Ouzou, share a common background. They acquired capital by working for some years in France and then all settled in Tizi-Ouzou. Five of these shop owners have created jobs in Tizi-Ouzou and employ young people from the village as shop assistants, hence making this category even more important to the economy of the village. This

pattern was followed by the six shop keepers who had settled in Algiers, two of them employing young people from the village. So far this is the only group that has created employment although one has to stress that the number of jobs created in this way is not high (7 altogether).

The most interesting aspect of this group is the tendency to settle in urban centres due to the lack of opportunities in the village. They stated that this lack of opportunity 'drove' them to the towns with the education offered in the towns also providing an incentive. At this stage, it would be inaccurate to assume that their relationship with the village has disappeared. On the contrary, they maintain links through the different religious feasts (See chapter III) held in the village, and through relatives that are still living in the village. If their family stays in the village, they continue to make financial contributions.

(3) Returning Migrants with Substantial Capital:

This category is not as large as either the first or even, the second one, but is nonetheless important within the wide context of the effects of migration on the village. This category is very much linked to that of 'rich' migrants, discussed in Chapter V,

as many of these returning migrants have kinship links with those who own businesses in France. Thus Mr.B., already discussed in Chapter V, has a hotel in Algiers run by his brother who is also a migrant. One returning migrant has invested in a small textile factory and a large shop that sells the factory products. At the time of my fieldwork he was the only migrant from Taguemount Azouz who owned a factory. Generally, this category invests in hotels, restaurants, small building companies.

The accumulation of capital necessary for this kind of

investment is in some cases done entirely within the family, as several members of a family would save from their incomes and invest together in a business, as with Mr.L. who owns a medium size hotel in Algiers. He worked in France with his brother and father, saving their earnings which the father invested in a restaurant in Paris. After his death and burial in the village, the brothers inherited the restaurant. Mr.L. with some of the profits from the restaurant bought a small restaurant in Algiers which he was later able to extend and modernise. However, it is interesting to note that out of twenty three people who invested in restaurants, hotels, and large shops only three inherited them from their parents, all the others accumulated the necessary capital in France.

This is a second group that has created some employment opportunities for other villagers as well as for some people outside the village. Although it must be stressed that apart from sometimes building a house, this group does not invest capital in the village.

(A) Economic Opportunities Created by Returning Migrants with Substantial Capital.

(1) The Creation of Jobs: At the time of my fieldwork, twenty three migrants returning with a substantial capital had been able to create employment for both villagers and other Algerians. Although the number of created jobs is low they are of importance as Table XXXV shows.

Table XXXV.

Jobs Created by Returning Migrants in Urban Centres of Algeria.

<u>Kind of Investments</u>	<u>Number of Jobs</u>	<u>%</u>
Hotels	14	17.5
Wholesale shops	28	35
Shops	10	12.5
Restaurants	20	25
One factory	8	10
Total	80	100%

Wholesale shopkeepers, selling wood, coffee, and couscous, employ a substantial number of people, although the number of available jobs is limited by the small size and family nature of these enterprises. The hotels and restaurant sector employs the greatest number of people.

The people employed by these 'rich' migrants come from many areas of Algeria. This is a recent development as in the past, the majority of these employees came from Taguemount Azouz and the surrounding neighbourhood. The reason for recruiting workers from other areas were explained by the employers in the following way. 'If I employ somebody from the village, it is difficult to sack him.' or 'I find it difficult to make someone from the village work as hard as someone whom I don't know'. It is mainly the social pressure from those still resident in the village that prevents the employers from employing their former 'neighbours'; hence avoiding any criticism from the village if they say have to give an employee. However, the important jobs, such as handling the money are given to villagers and usually to relatives from the village. Apart from these special jobs little consideration is given to the origin of other employees as Table XXXVI shows.

Table XXXVI.

Origin of the Employees.

From the Village	From the Province	From Algeria
46	15	23
Total		84

The employees who are not from the village tend to come from either the south of the country or from the high plains. Those from the province tend to come from either neighbouring villages or from other villages of the province. Migration has itself created jobs, although on a small scale, benefitting people from Taguemount Azouz by giving them access to employment. Like those migrants who return with modest capital, the majority of 'rich' migrants have built or are building houses in Taguemount Azouz. The houses of the latter group are very modern, and resembling houses built in the residential areas of Algerian cities and serve as 'summer residences'. This building has created an employment boom, although obviously this kind of employment is not permanent.

(B) Building Industry in the Village.

The housing boom has benefitted 'new' workers such as bricklayers, carpenters and builders. A few decades ago house building was a collective process called Twiza. As the village has become integrated into the capitalist system and the money economy the Twiza has disappeared. Lacoste describes the process of housebuilding in another village in the province in the following terms

'....Autrefois, la construction des maisons fut même oeuvre collective, donnant lieu a Twiza = entraide. En 1971 les choses ont changé, et le travail produit de plus en plus de la valeur d'échange, même au sein des villages (alors que le travail salarié était, dans un passé encore point trop lointain ici, réservé aux activités extérieures au village, en ville ou à l'étranger). Les maçons et leurs aides travaillent au villages moyennant rétribution en argent souvent modeste, elles s'établit aux alentours d'une dizaine de dinars par journée de travail... lorsqu'il n'y a pas de construction en train ou qu'elle s'est arrêtée, faute de ciment ou faute d'argent, le maçon cultive son jardin, il peut aussi bien se muer en journalier agricole ou participer

eventuellement aux chantiers communaux....
Le maçon tent de trouver, grace à cette
activité un peu spécialisée, des revenus un
peu plus substantiels que dans le secteur
agricole. Ce qui n'entraîne pas non plus de
leur part, rappelons le, l'abandon total de
l'agriculture.¹

Lacoste's analysis of bricklayers and house builders reflects the general tendency prevailing in Taguemount Azouz, although some points require qualification. The pay received by workers in Taguemount Azouz is well over that given by Lacoste and is now around 50 Da or £5 a day, and also includes a meal. Their assistants are given 30Da a day (£3.) and are also provided with a meal. Whilst some workers return to their land others seek building jobs in other villags. Those who do work their land, generally spend as much time as is needed on their land to produce the necessary crops and then take building work when it is available.

Most of the builders and their assistants come from the village. Some of them do not own any land at all, although most have small plots. When there is no work to be done on their own plots and no employment in housebuilding, they hire themselves to those who cannot cultivate their own land for about 20Da (= £2) a day, showing that the wage value of work in building is higher than that of agriculture. Hence this category of 'workers' has benefited from the migration of others; returning migrants providing employment opportunities at a remunerative rate for housebuilding.

(C) Links Between 'Rich' Migrants and the Village.

The first category of returning migrants retain strong links with the village due to the very fact that they and usually their families, return to settle in the village. Although most of the

1. Lacoste, D.C., Op.citpp.69-70.

second category of returning migrants settle in the cities, they tend to return to the village for religious ceremonies and feasts. Similarly the third category return for these occasions and also often spend summer holidays in their 'villas' in the village. Marriages, circumcisions and family business are also occasions that cause the return of these migrants. The third category also make financial contributions to any family member remaining in the village. For example, the man who owns a small textile factor visits his brother who still lives in the village. But despite the general trend, there are a few particular cases of 'rich' migrants and indeed some other migrants, who have cut off relations with the village. This is the case with a coffee wholesaler whose sons live in urban centres and only has distant relations in the village. His relationships with them are not at all close and he seldom visits the village, although on death his immediate family are still buried in the village.

(D) Social Status of the Returning Migrants in the Village.

As we have already seen retired pensions occupy a high social position in the village, however this does not exclude the other categories of returning migrants from revered status. If all the three categories are analysed we can see that all returning migrants, and especially those who actually settle in the village, assume strong positions within their immediate and extended families and are accorded considerable respect in the village. Seven retired migrants from France serve on the village council of twelve members (see chapter III). This in itself points to the kind of status they acquire on their return, though this social position is also due to their advanced age and experience. Their travelling, with the assumption of increased wisdom and experience adds to their importance.

Five of the seven migrants members of the council are simply pensioners and hence not members of the second or third categories of returning migrants. Those who belong to the second category are usually younger and mobile and the third category settle in urban centres and therefore cannot participate in the daily affairs of the village.

Migrants who return to the village for goods, or just on a visit, scarcely even convey a poor image of life in France despite the racism and other problems they have all encountered. Hence when young people who have not travelled meet these returning migrants, they obtain a biased image of France, as being the country where 'it is easy to make money' and where they can obtain goods either not available or not produced in Algeria. This is despite the fact that at a national level, mass media often report murders of Algerian workers by French fascist organisations and sometimes report on the poor living conditions of migrant workers.

It is easy to understand and explain the migrants' report of France when his social and financial position in the village are considered. These circumstances make it difficult for him to explain the real situation in France. The third category hardly ever suffer from racism as racism is mostly felt by the workers and not by the wealthy migrants so their reports on France are generally of a 'heaven on earth'. (See chapter V).

IV Relation Between the Village and the Wider Economy.

As already stressed, migration started with the introduction of capitalism, the development of an agricultural wage sector, and in response to the needs of France for labour. These factors, added to pre-existing local problems like the lack of opportunities,

ecological problems and the increasing number of people in the land has led to a massive departure of the male population to France and more recently (ie. since 1962 the year of Independence) to urban centres of Algeria. One or two decades prior to Independence, most of the future migrants from Taguemount Azouz knew only three places in Algeria: the village; the capital of the province and the harbour or the airport in Algiers from where they depart to France. Commonly migrants knew more towns in France than they did in Algeria. Urbanisation following the end of the Algerian war, has tremendously increased the links between the village and cities of Algeria.

The inclusion of the village into the political economy of the country is apparent by the remittances sent from migrants in urban centres and by links that they have established between the village and the cities of Algeria. This integration of the village into the wider economy can be grasped by a careful analysis of the situation created by the number of outgoing landowners from the village, especially since Independence. However it must be stressed that migration to France has a long history which accelerated after Independence. (See chapter II). A similar pattern can be traced for internal migration. It is often said that the capital of the province of Kabylia is not Tizi-Ouzou any more but Algiers, due to the massive urbanisation and outflow of people to the capital of the country since Independence, a situation illustrated by the Table below showing the number of absentee landowners.

Table XXXVII.

Landowners Present or Absent from the Village.

Landowners in the Village:	Present	Absent
	293	214
Total		507

This table shows the kind of massive out migration that has occurred since 1962 with nearly fifty percent of landowners absent from the village and living in France or in cities of Algeria. Those present in the village include pensioners, some women (who are officially registered as landowners) and some people who work their land as well as working on the building site as well as 'real' peasants. The vast majority of those who are absent own plots that comprise a size ranging from less than a hectare to three hectares. People have concentrated mainly in Algiers, to a lesser extent in Tizi-Ouzou, with fewer in the towns like Oran Setif, Annaba and more recently in the south of Algeria with some young people going to work in the oil industry.

The people who own land are engaged in various occupations ranging from owning shops, restaurants and hotels, to administration or factory work as the Table below shows. This table does not include migrants returning from France and settling in Algiers, although some of the landowners may have worked for a while in France.

Table XXXVIII.

Occupations of Absentee landowners from Taguemount
Azouz in the Urban Centres of Algeria.

Shopkeepers	10
Restaurant workers	6
Hotel (workers)	7
Factory workers	28
Taxi drivers	11
Lorry drivers	4
Employees in Administration	15
Services (Railways, hospitals etc)	14
Total	95

This table refers to men who are working mainly in Algiers, to a lesser extent in Tizi-Ouzou, and to a few who work in factories that are located between Tizi-Ouzou and Algiers for example, those who work in the textile factory of Dra Ben Khedda, which was established in 1966. These men also work in factories in and around Algiers (like in the factory where lorries are assembled situated some thirty Kilometers from Algiers and belonging to the state owned company, Sonacome). It is interesting to notice that the high number of people are officially declared as owning land who work in the administration, working as clerks, porters and civil servants. Many of their children work in the ministry of Employment where one of the top civil servants is from Taguemount Azouz. It is not possible to assert that he favours the employment of villagers, as there is no direct evidence. But the concentration of villagers is certainly high and this man is regarded in Taguemount Azouz as one who has 'succeeded'. Many villagers work in the service sector, frequently as nurses in hospitals, as workers in the railways or as taxi drivers. Three villagers drive lorries for national companies who involved in industry. One has his own lorry and carries material such as cement, sand, wood, for building sites.

Among the factory workers we find a large number of men leaving their wives in the village, due to the lack of accommodation in the urban centres. It is very easy for those who work in the capital of the province to return daily to the village, but those in Algiers can only really go home for the weekends. This movement helps us to have an understanding of the development of the taxi business in the village. Other workers or shopkeepers live with their families in the urban centres and tend to keep the previously described links with the village.

Land for these 'landowners' who turn to urban centres and, indeed for those who work in France, is more important as a social asset than for its economic value. Land ownership gives an individual the sense of 'belonging' to his community of origin, although women tend to work it and in effect are, as we have already seen in the previous chapter acting as a hired labour force. As will be explained in Chapter VII, since 1971 land cannot be bought or sold, although secret sales do continue.

Out of the five hundred and seven landowners in Taguemount Azouz seventy eight are 'proper' peasants who do not have a regular income from abroad or from urban centres, although twenty two of them receive some remittance from their children. These peasants own plots of land that range in size between 0.5 ha and 2ha, and often work the land of others such as widows or migrants unable to cultivate their own plots. Their income comes from the wages they receive for their labour and from the sale of their surplus produce.¹ This category of peasants has benefited from migration in so far as they can now earn some income by working the land of migrants.

I have only been able to trace sixty seven 'journaliers' (daily workers) without land, although there are others with land, but it was difficult to find out the exact number due to their mobility. The journaliers are amongst the poorest of the villagers. They work the land of others, carry heavy materials, and sometimes work on building sites, but are often unemployed.

It is difficult to draw a line between Journaliers and the unemployed, because both might find temporary jobs or be without work for a long period. Unemployment is a problem for the whole Algerian society, as 50% of the population are young (under twenty five years

1. For a discussion of this matter see the novel written by Ferroun M. La Terre Et Le Sang Seuil, Paris, 1976, which is about a returning migrant with a French wife. One section of the book is concerned with him buying the plot his father had sold to a member of the Kharouba.

of age) and the creation of jobs does not match the birth rate which is one of the highest in the third world. The unemployed 'survive' with the help of the extended family that is bound to provide food and shelter if not cash.

In conclusion to this section, it must be stressed that Taguemount Azouz is not isolated from the rest of the country, but it is an integral part of the wider political economy of Algiers and is even part of a much wider system, namely the French and world-wide capitalist society. Since independence and high out migration the economy of the village largely depends on the ability of the men to find jobs in the Algerian economy as a whole, and indeed in the capability of the state to provide employment for the working force.

(1) Some Other Effects on the Women's Role in the Village.

As has already been discussed in Chapter V, women constitute a hired labour force for the migrant male population. On the other hand some women were obtaining other jobs as a result of their education, reflecting the broad influence of the political economy of the country. In this section I analyse the effects that male migration, and indeed the inflow of money has had on the role of women in certain households.

It is common for the first category and second category of returning migrants to bring back sewing machines. These machines are used by their women to make dresses for (informal) sale and is a flourishing 'business' in some households. This business is especially important when before the celebration of and before weddings. This new occupation brings a supplementary income to the household. Although I have no precise figure on the exact number of households participating, three households were brought to my notice as people frequently talked about buying dresses and jumpers from

them.

Labour saving machines, most are used in the west, have been introduced into only a few households of the 'richest' returning migrants. These machines such as washing machines and television sets (although this last item is more widespread) are in households where the women tend to do little, certainly not the cultivation of the land and rarely housework, instead they hire house keepers.

The disintegration of the old economy of the village has come about through migration and the social attitudes and way of life are being restructured through education and other 'outside' influences. The changes are so profound and pervasive that it is difficult to single out specific 'causes'. But there are still conflicts between those who want to maintain 'traditional' village life and to fight new tendencies and those who willingly participate in the change.

(2) Conflict between different tendencies in the Village.

The deep socio-economic change that has occurred in the village has created conflicts between those who want to maintain what they call the 'traditions' of the village and those who do not see the value or importance of the old way of life. Those who fight for the 'traditions' are the minority who have never left the village and, more significantly, some of the pensioners (the retiring migrants). The younger men and women tend to be critical of these 'traditions'.

There are several fields in which the conflicts are expressed firstly, religious ceremonies; secondly disobedience to the elders; thirdly the 'freedom' of women and girls; fourthly by individualism; and lastly by declining ties with the village.

(1) Religious ceremonies and feasts.

Those who want to maintain 'traditions' strongly criticize those who do not attend ceremonies and feasts and they make special efforts to persuade young people to attend the feasts. Further,

they inform those living outside the village of the exact dates of specific feasts, to ensure maximum attendance. They do this by sending verbal messages through regular visitors to the village. A special effort is made with parents living in towns to encourage them to bring, at least, their eldest sons to these festivities. The elders often say 'such and such because he lives in town, thinks he is superior to us; he does not bother to attend ceremonies'; or 'It is disgraceful that some of them do not bring their children'; or 'Children are the future; if they do not know our traditions, it will be the end of the village'.

Such remarks are often repeated by the pensioners and the few who have never left the village. It is easy to understand why those who never left the village try hard to keep these traditions. But the attitude of the pensioners requires some explanation. Most of them never took their families abroad and only went to France in order to support those left behind. The impossibility of retirement in France has strengthened their identification with the village, therefore they wish to maintain their 'traditions' and heritage.

(2) Disobedience to the elders.

Young people increasingly seem to disobey the head of the household in every sphere. Thus the head of households frequently refers to his perfect obedience to his father, contrasting this with his own children who do not listen or accept authority. This 'problem' exists mostly within households where the head has spent all his working life abroad, and is often marked in families where the father has been away for long periods. It is often said that 'When we were young, it was unthinkable of smoking in front of our father', but 'these days our sons do not respect us any more', or that 'my son does not want to live with me, although I ordered him to do so', or that 'they have no respect for elders, they are all hooligans'.

(3) The 'freedom' of women and girls.

This is seen as one of the strongest and sharpest attacks by many pensioners who do not admit that daughters should work in cities or should wear European clothes in the village. For them the first role is to acquire some education, because she needs to look after her children in the 'modern' way, but after acquiring this education, she should marry and care for her family. Although such attacks are strong, not all pensioners carry out such views. In fact, the majority accept education for their daughters, although most people, not only pensioners, hold that the girls should not mix with the boys. Although women are not veiled, it is not acceptable for the sexes to mix. (See further discussion in Chapter V).

(4) Individualism.

The fourth point is maybe one of the most interesting and concerns development of individualism. Many heads of household complain about 'individualism', they often refer to the old days when all the village would stand by a head of household and would help him for example, to build a house or to solve his problems and complain that today everything is done for money. They tend to blame individualism on money: 'No one works for nothing', is commonly heard. Beyond these comments, one can see the radical change wrought in the village by the development of capitalism. The existence of individualism, in itself is proof that the ancient 'solidarity' in the village has been eroded and that the village is well integrated into the political economy of the country.

(5) Loss of links with the village.

This point is closely related to the foregoing discussion and concerns the destruction of ties between migrants and the village. Elders tend to criticize those who live in towns for not frequently

returning to the village and for not bringing their children for the summer holidays. This only refers to a minority, but a significant minority of families have cut their links with the village and are often referred to as 'strangers'.

These five points have one thing in common they show the far-reaching change that has occurred through migration to France and later to other parts of Algeria especially the towns. These issues are all linked to the development of new types of households as an integral result of the overall change in the village.

V Development of New Types of Households.

It is certainly time to say that there is a development of nuclear families in the sense that we understand it, but many of these nuclear families retain close relationships with their in-laws. The reasons for this development are numerous. Firstly, the diversity of incomes due to migration of many sons creates problems in some households, as the money has to be given to the household head to share amongst all the household members. Thus some dissatisfied sons have an economic motive for moving away. Secondly, the conflicts between the son's wife and her mother-in-law. Thirdly, long migration of heads of households which encourages some children to move. Fourthly job opportunities in urban centres leads to the creation of a nuclear family, if families move with the men. These main points that explain the development of nuclear families are in one way or another part of the effects of migration on the village and are thus linked with the whole process of the disintegration of the old village structure.

The situation that prevails in Taguemount Azouz has been described in relation to another village by Lacorte in the following terms

'....La conjugalité paraît liée également à des départs masculins, parfois récents mais plus souvent anciens, qui se sont institués sous forme de courants au niveau de certains villages L'établissement de ces courants a pu être favorisé par la proximité d'autres villages.... ou l'implantation par la puissance coloniale d'une école qui a donné aux hommes le langage minimum leur permettant de partir travailler à l'étranger. Dans un cas comme dans l'autre, la conjugalité est la conséquence directe d'une réduction assez ancienne de la natalité au sein des familles de ces villages, réduction consécutive aux absences des hommes, à leur célibat souvent prolongé, et sans doute aussi dans certains cas à l'influence sur eux des modèles individualistes citadins. La conjugalité est donc, dans l'ensemble, exceptionnellement voulue. Les ménages conjugaux demeurent rarement sur place, ils sortent le plus souvent du cadre local pour s'intégrer complètement aux villes qui les accueillent, que ce soit au niveau national en Algérie même, ou au sein du système capitaliste en émigration à l'étranger. Localement la conjugalité est essentiellement accidentelle, précédant de circonstances dépassant le cadre local; elle l'est dans l'état actuel des choses, transitoire.'¹

Lacoste's conclusion on the development of nuclear families in the village where she did her research calls for some remarks if compared to the situation that prevails in Taguemount Azouz. If the migration and the development of schools in the colonial period have helped the development of nuclear families, both of them belong to the wider phenomenon of commercialism and wage earning in the country.

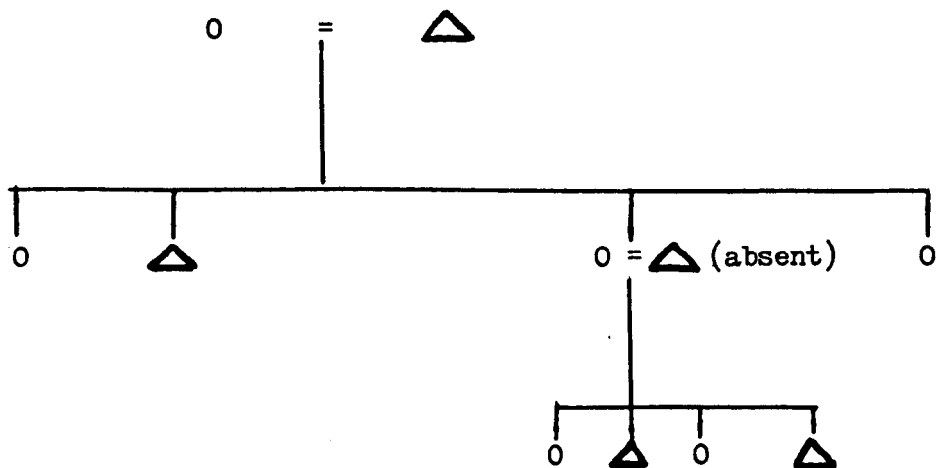
I would agree that migration has been the major factor in the rise of nuclear families and certainly in Taguemount Azouz. In this village, there has been no fall in the birth rate. On the contrary, it follows the national rate which is considered to be among the highest in the world. Nuclear families are not either wanted or accidental, but are an integral part of the far-reaching change occurring in Taguemount Azouz.

1. Lacoste, D. op.cit. p.162.

Despite the development of nuclear families, there are still some households that are based on the 'traditional' or 'pre-capitalist' pattern. These fall into four categories: firstly, households where married sons live with their fathers and mothers; secondly, households where married brothers share the same house; thirdly households where women live with their married children and lastly, a few households that differ according to individual problems or circumstances.

(1) Households where Married Sons live with their Fathers and Mothers.

This type of household still exists, but has changed from the 'traditional' form as often sons work away from home, so the household is now essentially composed of the father and mother and their daughters in law. The following diagram shows the composition of a fairly typical patrilocal household.

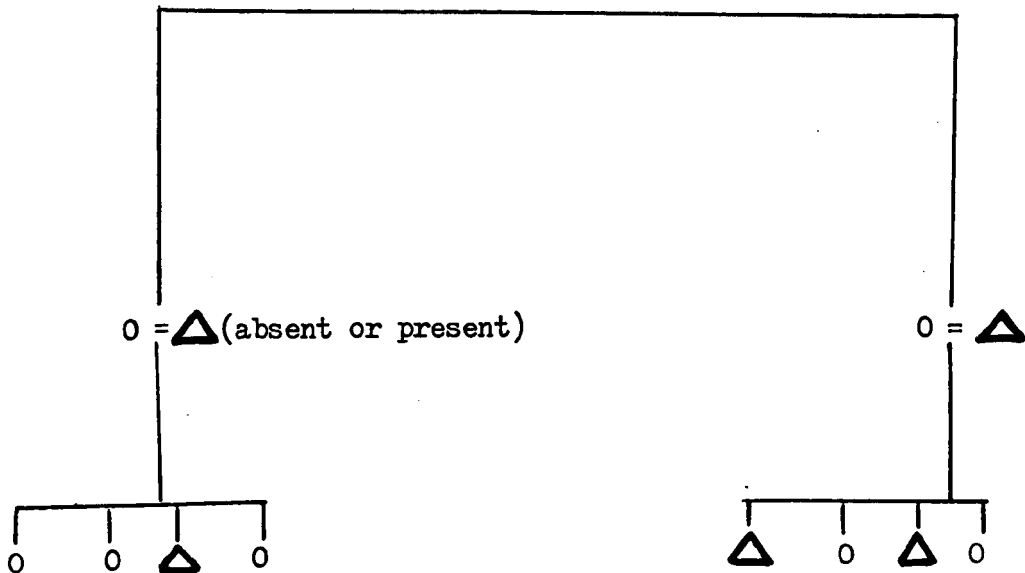


I identified sixty three households of this type, but their number is higher. In this type of household, when the sons migrate as they often do, the role of the head of household is to 'look after' the women - his wife and daughters in law, and any grandchildren. Eventually these households either remain of this type on the return of the sons or change if the sons remove their families to Algerian

or French cities. This was the most typical household that developed alongside migration to France.

(2) Households where Married Brothers live together in the same house.

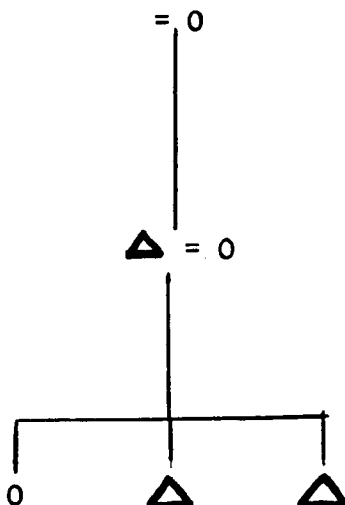
This type of household is comparatively less common and usually includes two brothers of an advanced age who inherited the house from their father and for economic reasons prefer to share their incomes; a situation often reinforced by the lack of opportunities for building their own houses. This type of household often experiences problems. Usually the brothers are elders and often one of them is absent. Their wives rarely get on well with the result that one has to move. The following diagram shows patrilineal constitution of this type of household.



(3) Widows Living with their Married Children.

This type of household is common among all stratas of the population in Taguemount Azouz, as there are many widows both of retired migrants and those men who never left the village. It is usually the son who takes in his widowed mother. If the son is away

the widow then became the real heads of household with control over the household's finance and decisions, due to the special status acquired by older women (see chapter V). This type of household is constituted as follows:



During my fieldwork I came across a few households that were variants on this pattern.

CASE I: A widower moved in with his daughter who was married with five children. He could not look after himself any more; his sons lived in Paris and Algiers and their wives refused to accommodate him, each wife arguing that one of the others should take him in.

CASE II: This example is not rare and concerns a widow who lives with her divorced daughter. The daughter's former husband migrated to France and after the divorce deliberately lost contact with his wife. Both the women share a house, whilst the only remaining son lives in another house with his nuclear family.

(4) Unusual Cases:

The combination of migration and family problems have resulted in individual forms of household that are an adoption to specific circumstances. Two brothers originally lived in the same house with

their wives and children. The first man is a housebuilder and a peasant. His brother died in a road accident in France, leaving a wife with four children. She receives a pension and is looked after by her brother-in-law. The other case is that of a divorced woman with seven children. Her husband 'divorced' her in a customary manner without legal permission from the court of justice or from the 'traditional' court, led by a Cadi.¹ He ordered her to leave his house, so eventually she turned to her mother. Her husband then remarried and had three more children. The eldest son (twenty five years of age) from the first marriage left his father and went to live with his mother. Although his sister, desperately wanted to join her mother she was forced to stay with her father and stepmother, as at the age of 20, she was eligible for marriage, her father being regarded as best qualified to arrange a marriage.

Migration to France, and more recently to urban centres in Algeria has affected household organisation in Taguemount Azouz. Nuclear families are developing rapidly but often move into the towns or to France.

VI The Growth of Demand for Consumer Goods.

The growth can only be understood in relation to the massive inflow of money in the village in the form of remittances and pensions. Each returning migrant, depending on wealth brings back certain goods that were not, or rarely, available in the village. I have already discussed the introduction of sewing machines and television sets into some households. Here, I confine the discussion to the mass demand for consumer goods.

Some twenty to thirty years ago, most villagers ate home made bread, whereas today the consumption of French bread is widespread,

1. Cadi = a religious judge applying and working within the framework of the Qura'nic law.

throughout different social groups. Although this pattern of consumption is less prevalent amongst peasants who have not migrated. Generally the demand for consumer goods is a result of exposure to French habits. Thus, in the homes of the third category of returning migrants, we find most of the goods (food, clothing) that would be common in any French house.

As discussed in Chapter V, those who return to the village on holidays are expected to bring certain goods with them. If they fail to do so, they are seen as 'poor'. The table below gives a random survey of the items brought back by migrants and indeed, 'needed' in the village.

Table XXXIX.

Items Brought to the Village by Returning Migrants.

Items	Pensioners	Returning Migrants with a small capital	Total
Sewing machines	3	2	5
Radios	9	10	19
Clothes	10	10	20
Medicine	2	8	10
Cars	5	15	20

This sample was drawn from ten pensioners and ten migrants returning with a small capital. Sewing machines are used to increase the income of the house but clothes are brought back by all strata of returning migrants. Clothes have always been valued as gifts both to members of the family and to friends. Medicine is a special case, as it is often in short supply in Algeria. Hence it is frequently brought

back and is of high value and importance.

Families that have developed high consumption patterns fall into the third category of returning migrants and often are civil servants. Items like refrigerators, televisions and cars are a conspicuous sign of wealth and success amongst this group. Generally there is the development of consumption patterns comparable to that found in cities, and due to long term migration both to France and to Algerian cities.

VII The Development of a Petty Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.

One of the most important changes in the social structure has been the growth of a petty bourgeoisie; consisting of shop keepers, taxi drivers, hotel and restaurant owners and the like. 'Petty bourgeoisie' 'bourgeoisie', 'peasantry' and 'working class' are all terms which derive their analytical value from a vast literature and have already been used in Algeria, for example, by Marnia Lazzag. Although he analyses the whole development of social structure in Algeria with regard to the position of different classes and their stand in the Algerian war, discusses Marx as follows:

'Although it did not result in a specific definition, Marx's treatment of class hinges on three main elements:
(1) relation to the means of production
(2) Consciousness of one's class position and interests; (3) political organisation to promote class interests. The ownership of the means of production gives rise to the unequal social relations between those who own capital and those who merely own their labour power. In other words, the process of production determines the mechanism of distribution and autonomy at work. The inequality of the distribution of products within the capitalist mode of production is a reflection of the inequality in the distribution of the instrument of production.'¹

These conceptions are of direct value in analysing the village

1. Lazreg, M. op.cit., p.78 referring to Marx, K., Grundrisse 1973 p.96. Penguin Books in association with New Left Review, Harmondsworth, 1977.

of Taguemount Azouz, where a system of social stratification has developed, and continued to develop, with the help of the continuous inflow of money, albeit in small amounts, over the years, which has led to a petty bourgeoisie (taxi drivers, shop keepers) owing their 'means of production'.

The extent to which the other developments referred to by Lazreg have reached Taguemount Azouz, however, are a matter for discussion. Quoting Marx, Lazreg states that,

'A class 'in itself' will become class 'for itself' only if the individuals engaged in the process of production develop a consciousness of their objective situation as members of a class with common interests. The consciousness of an identity of interests is assumed to lead a 'community', a political organisation which would promote those interest through the 'class struggle'.¹

In the case of Taguemount Azouz, it is hard to say, whether the petty bourgeoisie has passed the form of a class 'in itself' and become a class 'for itself' with all the subsequent consequences. This is difficult to ascertain because of the specific relations that exist between different households even within a single household where the head may be a peasant yet his son belongs to the petty bourgeoisie. However the social structure of the village has changed with the development of a petty bourgeoisie, although members of this class tend to move out to the towns.

The integration of Taguemount Azouz into the capitalism system is responsible for the rise of the petty bourgeoisie, as well as, working class. Conceptualisations of this latter class can be confusing as it is difficult to assess whether this class takes the form of a proletariat as known in Europe or as a proletariat that reverts to a peasantry. Especially as these workers, after returning

1. Lazreg, N. op.cit. p.8 referring to Marx, K. the 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, New York Publishers, New York, .1969, p.124.

to the village turn to working their plots.

To clarify the conceptualisation of this class it is useful to note three major definitions of the working class in Africa as seen by Stichter, who states that

'In the case of Africa, three broad positions may be distinguished. First, there are those who argue that it is as yet premature to apply a class terminology to the wage earner (or other social groups). It is thought that economic differentiation is far enough advanced, and that status and prestige line are frequently based on factors extraneous to the relationship between capital and labour. Second, some authors maintain that principally because of his migrant character and ties to the land, the African worker is no different from his equivalent in industrialised societies that comparisons are misleading, if not impossible. Third, there are those, usually of an orthodox Marxist persuasion, who tend to see the evolution of the African working class as similar to that of the proletariat in other capitalist society.'¹

These three approaches to the African Working class are the most fundamental ones, although it seems to me, the second and third are rather close to each other in so far as they mention the link between the African proletariat and his land. Thus, Stichter qualifies

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1. Stichter, S. 'The formation of a Working Class in Kenya' in the Development of An African Working Class. Studies in Class Formation and Action ed by Sandbrook, R. and Cohen, R. Longman Group Limited, London 1975 p.21. Stichter refers to Lloyd, P.C. The New Elites of Tropical Africa, Oxford University Press 1966 p.56. Mitchell, J.C. and Epstein, A.L. op.cit. pp.356 In Arrighè, G. and Saul, J. 'Nationalism and Revolution in Sub-Saharan Africa'. The Socialist register, Monthly Review Press 1969, pp.158-9. Arrighè, G. 'International Corporations, Labour Aristocracies, and Economic Development in tropical Africa in R.I. Rhodes (ed) Imperialisation and Underdevelopment. Monthly Review Press 1970 pp.234-5. Woddis, J. The Lion awakes, Lawrence and Wishart (1959). Ledda R. Social Class and Political Struggle International Socialist Journal 4 (22) 1967 and Braundi, E.R., 'Neo Colonialism and Class Struggle'. International Journal. 1 Jan. 1964.

the third view in relation to the worker's ties with land.

'The third view, however, must be qualified by taking note of the special features which differentiate the working class in a peripheral society from that in a metropolitan one. For example, the working class in African societies is still a relatively small part of the total population. A segment of the class remains migrant or semi-proletarianized, gaining part of its living from production on the land.... Conceptually, the notion of a class is used in both a structural sense, to refer to a social category defined by its relation to the various means of production or of administration, and in a social sense, to refer to class-related consciousness and action, especially political economic action on the individual and collective levels. Structurally, the working class is defined as those who have no accents, or do not make use of their access to, production means, but who instead sell their labour-power for a wage on the market.... Class formation in this situation centres on the process of class crystallisation, in which working class membership gradually becomes more nearly a life situation for the worker. This development provides the pre-condition for class formation of class consciousness and class related collective action.'¹

If Stichter's discussion of the Kenyan working class is compared with the situation in Taguemount Azouz I would say that Stichter's views are in many ways opposite. It is inaccurate to assume that because a worker returns to his land he cannot be a real worker. What differentiates the returning migrant from a 'real' peasant is the fact that the former returns to the village and land with a pension. Secondly he has spent all his life in factories where he fulfils the main requisites for proletarian status and of belonging to that class; namely (1) not owning the means of production, or (2) selling labour for a wage. Therefore he has the life of a proletarian, although his socio-economic conditions as a Taguemount

1. Stichter, op.cit. pp.21-22.

Azouz worker are different from those experienced by French workers. (See Chapter V). He is lowly paid, and partly because there is a racial prejudice he suffers from. His legal status is different from that of a French worker as his immigrant status means he is not allowed to retire in France. Finally his motivation to work in France stems from his economic obligations. So the debate about 'the return to the land' becomes irrelevant in this context and the migrant worker's position in the capitalist system can be seen as similar to that of the European worker. However it should be stressed, that in one major aspect, the migrants differ from proletarians as they retain links with the village and know that they can return, whereas 'true' proletarians do not have land or a village to which they can return.

CONCLUSION:

In this chapter, I have focussed on six salient aspects of the changes that Taguemount Azouz is experiencing through the migration of about eighty per cent of its adult male population. Firstly, in a situation where 80% of families have at least one man working away. Remittances and pensions are crucial. They are mainly used to buy goods that are not produced locally. With little money being directly spent on plots. Secondly, migration to France and more recently to Algerian urban centres has produced three types of migrants: retired pensioners, who are by far the larger group, retiring migrants with a small capital and returning migrants with a large capital. The first group usually settle in the village and live on their pension and on products from their plot. The second group of returning migrants have usually only spend a few years in France and return with a capital that allows them to own a taxi, hotel or restaurant. Due to lack of opportunities this category does not usually settle in the village. The last category is the least numerically important but is economically significant as they invest capital in enterprises

such as wholesale buying, large hotels, restaurants, in one case, a factory, so creating jobs for villagers and other Algerians.

The third and fourth points developed in this chapter are closely interrelated. They are the development of consumer goods and the changing significance of land, now taking second place to wages. Although the importation of goods is linked to each group's financial capability nonetheless this importation is important for the whole village. These two points are linked because capital is spent on these goods rather than on the land.

As a consequence of migration the village of Taguemount Azouz is well integrated into the political economy of the country and to the wideworld of the metropolitan France. One of the results of this integration has been the development of new household forms. Thus nuclear families develop in response to local problems and the pattern of migration caused by Taguemount Azouz immersion in the capitalist system.

Finally, this chapter has discussed the development of the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat and, again, related these developments to migration. Petty bourgeoisie is characterised by the development of the ownership of small businesses and the gradual dispersion of members of this class.

Proletarianisation is an older process than that affecting the bourgeoisie, although the proletarians usually return to settle in the village. Taguemount Azouz has a 'declining male population', but, generally, the three groups of returning migrants retain links with the village. It is difficult to generalise about the relations that these people maintain with the village, although it is possible to see the reasons for perpetuating these links: Firstly, the

presence of relatives maintains ties and, further, it is a social obligation for the 'rich' to assist less fortunate members of his extended family. Secondly, a move to town does not necessarily mean a severing of all ties especially maintained by their continued land ownership in the village. The very fact of land ownership gives a membership to village life. Thirdly, also death links migrants to the village as the vast majority born in Taguemount Azouz are also buried there. Fourthly, the fact that the building of houses in the village demonstrates and strengthens these ties.

For many decades people have been leaving the village, a situation reflected at the provincial level.

The whole area has provided many workers to France and now to Algeria. As we have already seen a half of the Algerian workers in France are from this area. The Algerian state has tried over the last twelve years to check on this migration through the setting up of different plans to create jobs. In the next chapter, I will analyse these attempts and see how the village of Taguemount Azouz has been or has not been affected.

Chapter VII: DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR KABYLIA AND ITS IMPACT ON
TAGUEMOUNT AZOUZ.

I INTRODUCTION

Although this thesis is not concerned with the problems of development as such, this chapter is devoted out of general interest to an account of attempts made by the Algerian^{Authorities} to counter poverty and migration in Kabylia. The aim of the chapter is to present and analyse the Algerian Government's Programme Spécial de Développement de la Grande Kabylie from 1968 onwards. This plan must, however, be viewed in the context of the general plans drawn up by the state for the development of the country as a whole. One of the aims of the plan is to check migration by the creation of work opportunities in Kabylia where, as we have seen, there is a long history of emigration.

We have also seen that the region of Kabylia was, from the earliest days of colonialism, progressively integrated into the political economy of metropolitan France with ever-increasing migration as one consequence of this. The Algerian Government has, since Independence, tried to dismantle the structures developed through history by establishing industries in the region. Although the aim of this chapter is not to assess political developments in the country since Independence, it is necessary to put the State's plans in their total political context. Political leaders since 1962 have tried to gain control of the economy through large-scale nationalisation with the aim of exploiting hydrocarbons and gas in order to allow the creation and development of heavy industry. This policy was started with the nationalisation between 1966 and 1971 of most industries

controlled by foreign capital. Thus in 1966 the state nationalised the mining industry, and the banks. In 1967 British and American oil companies (B.P., ESSO, MOBIL) were taken over by a state-owned oil company (SONATRACH). In 1971, the state nationalised the shares of French Companies in gas which were even larger than those of American and British firms. Finally, Sonatrach was given a majority control over former French oil interests. The nationalisation of oil and gas was considered as they constitute the major sources of national income and the intention was that these should be used in general development plans.

At this stage it is necessary to differentiate between the plans for Kabylia and the national plans. Two national plans were drawn up: The first between 1970-73 called Plan Quadriennal de Développement; the second with the same name between 1974-77. The plan for Kabylia, was specifically for a region recognised by the State as being very poor. Some other provinces, like Aurés, also had special plans like that of Kabylia. Such regions draw some benefit from both national and regional plans.

Among the long term aims of the national plans were the total elimination of unemployment. Thus Ammour, Leucate and Moulin say that

'Le but principal de la stratégie de développement à long terme choisie a pour préoccupation centrale l'élimination radicale du chômage et du sous-emploi par l'industrialisation authentique du pays. L'objectif fixé par cette stratégie est l'élimination du chômage a partir de 1980'.¹

In 1980, however, the aims of 1969 are very far from having been achieved and massive unemployment continues. This is partly due to the kind of industry that has been established. It is

1. Ammour, K., Leucate, C., Moulin J.J. op.cit. pp.95-96. They quote it from le Rapport général du plan quadriennal.

capital-intensive and does not employ many people. Since the death of the late President Boumedienne the new government has criticised the overall plan for this kind of industry which has dismally failed to solve the problem of unemployment. The chief architect of those national development plans was the French economist, De Bernis. In his view, highly capitalised industry was to have created a stimulus for the other sectors like agriculture. Ammour, Leucate and Moulin summarize the ideas that lay behind the plans as follows:

'Le plan repose prioritairement sur la sidérurgie et la première transformation des métaux et des hydrocarbures. Le point le plus important est de développer le secteur industriel situé en aval des industries de base..... D'autre part ce sont les industries de base très capitalistiques, qui sont privilégiées par rapport aux industries qui possèdent un faible coefficient en capital.¹

Parallel with plans for development at national and regional levels, the State landed an 'Agrarian revolution' in 1971. This was done following a long political struggle between those in favour of it and those who opposed it and it led to the resignation of the head of the F.L.N. Mr. Kaid Ahmed who opposed it.

Chaliand, and Mincas question this 'Agrarian Revolution' in the following terms:

'Qu'est ce qu'est la 'révolution agraire,' dont l'application a été décidée en novembre 1971, après une longue lutte à l'intérieur de l'appareil au cours de laquelle, dit-on, le chef de l'état aurait jeté tout le poids de son autorité pour que le projet soit adopté.'²

I only mention the agrarian revolution in passing because it has had no appreciative effect in the mountains of Kabylia. This is

1. Ammour K., Leucate C., Moulin, J.J. op.cit. pp.18-20.

2. Chaliand, G., Mincas, J., L'Algérie Indépendante Paris, Maspero, 1972, p.137.

due to the fact that the poor land of the region was, in the end, not considered worth nationalising.

The regional plan for Kabylia, as Quandt explains, consisted of:

'Massive government credits, reportedly exceeding \$100 million, were designated for agricultural and industrial development in Kabylia' and by 1970, he claims 'something of an economic boom was under way in that region'.¹

Such a boom as there was, however, scarcely affected the villages because investments in agriculture were far less than in industry, and they were largely made in urban centres rather than in the mountains.

I shall dwell on a few main points (1) the economic and employment situations prior to the national and regional plans, (2) the type of industrial investments made, the creation of jobs and the location, (3) Investments in agriculture, (4) Effects of the plan on Taguemount Azouz (5) Conclusion.

II Economic Situation in Kabylia Prior to the Plan.

(1) State Industries in the Area: Prior to the development plan for the region, there was only one important state-owned textile factory. This was built in 1963, a year after Independence, and is called Société Nationale Des Industries Textiles (Sonitex).

Production started in 1966.

(i) Labour force of the ^{Sonitex} factory: The labour force was recruited mainly from Kabylia. In addition to 2830 Algerian employees, there were twenty 'skilled' and 'highly skilled' personnel of whom

1. Quandt, W.B. 'Berbers in the Algerian Political Elite.' The Sand Corporation, Santa Monica, California, June 1970, p.25.

seventeen were Egyptians, three Palestinians, and Algerians from other parts of the country. The large mass of employees were from the province and were unskilled.

The stability of the work force is high. As shown in Table below, only a small minority had been employed for less than a year.

Table XL Stability of the Work Force in the Factory

in 1977.

Number of years in the factory	Number of Workers	Per cent
Less than a year	355	14.8
Between 1 and 3 years	711	29.6
Between 4 and 6 years	995	41.5
7 years and over	337	14.1
Total	2,398	100.0

Source: Direction du Complexe textile De Draa ben Khedda, 1977.

This table does not include the foreigners or the managing board or the skilled or highly skilled Algerians. Seventy of the workers are women (2.9% of the total). It can be seen that those who have worked there for four or more years constitute a majority.

(ii) Origin of the Workers: The workers in the factory come from 48 different communes or districts, though most were from the communes of Tizi-ouzou, Draa Ben Khedda, and Beni Douala. Only ten people from Taguemount Azouz worked in the factory. Workers often have difficulties with transport which is to get to their work, because although transport is good between the capital of the province and the factory, but those who live in Beni Douala find it hard, and some workers have to rent rooms in the capital of the province (see Chapter V) where I referred to the case of a returning migrant who

worked in the factory and compared his situation then to that of migrants in France because, although near to his family in the village, he was unable to see them daily.

(iii) Wages of the Work Force: Until 1972, there were two shifts working for eight hours each. Afterwards a new shift was added bringing the production to twenty four hours a day. The working day is eight hours, with half an hour's rest. The minimum wage for unskilled workers was 3.10DA per hour (ie. 24.80DA or about £2.50 per day). To this has to be added an annual bonus which represents 15% of the total yearly wage, a small daily bonus, and a small allowance for transport.

Another factory, which is more like a work shop, was established in Tizi-ouzou itself in 1966, two years before the plan for the province was drawn up. This workshop was part of another state-controlled company (Sonac). From 1966 to 1972 it ran into many difficulties on account of lack of raw materials, and many workers were made redundant. From 1973, it was controlled by the national company Sonitex. It specialises in making trousers for men and children. Production is, on average, 1000 tonnes a day. Only 85 workers are employed of whom seventy are women, who come mainly from the capital of the province.

Before the launching of the plan there were some other small factories owned by the state in the province, but I have mentioned the two most important.

III Private Industries: The most important workshops or factories in the province prior to the launching of the plan were privately owned. These workshops and factories are situated either in the capital of the province or in other big villages on the plains

or the mountains. The main reason for this is the facility of communication with other parts of Algeria and especially Algiers. Most of these privately owned factories are specialised in textiles, and employ in general an insignificant number of employees. There are only two private companies that employ a large number of workers, one is a French owned company, the other one is owned by an Algerian business man. The factory owned by a French company called D.M.C. is set up in the capital of the province. It was built in 1958, under the famous 'plan de Constantine' which was launched during the war of liberation by the government of General De Gaulle in order to create employment in Algeria.

This factory is specialised in making thread and employes 122 workers out of which twenty two are women. This workforce is recruited in Tizi-ouzou. The manager is French.

Out of thirteen private 'firms' twelve are specialised in textile or making veils, cloths, linens and the like and one in metal building. All but one of these are owned by Algerian business men. Six of the factories or workshops were in the capital of the province. Only two are situated in a fairly large village in the mountains. Four are situated in the small town of Bordj Menaiel, situated in the plains between Algiers and Tizi-ouzou. The last is situated in the village of Issers on the plains not far from Bordj Menaiel.

These factories employ a very small proportion of the working population, most of them having fewer than twenty workers (See Table XLI).

Table XLI. Private Firms and the Number of People
Employed in them.

Firms	Number of Workers
Nebri	9
Oumoukhtar	13
Guers	5
Gruzet and Habani (owned by a French and an Algerian)	5
Mrabet	2
Ticharcha	3
Amal	3
Benseray	9
Filtal (European)	133
Mad	16
LED	12
Stim	182
Tmi	29
Total	431

Source: Service de la Planification Wilaya de Tizi-Ouzou.

Other activities that provide a little employment are wholesalers of drinks, detergents and the like, and private transport. Before the introduction of the plan, there was no public transport. The most important wholesalers are based in the capital where they provide a total of eighty two jobs. The private transport companies ran coaches, usually owned by local people. Each coach had a driver and a ticket collector, and there were twenty five coach owners who between them employed one hundred and eighty four people.

To sum up, the opportunities for wage labour in Kabylia prior

to the plan were very limited indeed, namely 3171 jobs - as shown in Table XLII- in a population of over one million. In addition, of course, small numbers of people were employed in small businesses not included here.

Table XLII. Total number of people employed in State owned industries and in private sector prior to the plan.

	Number of jobs
State owned industry	2,474
Private sector	697
Total	3,171

Source: Service des Statistiques, Wilaya de Tizi-ouzou.

IV: The Plan and the Type of Investments in Industry.

The Algerian state allocated 500 million Dinars to the province of Kabylia. These were invested in the following as stated by Chaliand and Mincez:

- 49%, investissement productifs;
- 20%, éducation; 17% communes;
- 14% infrastructures Économiques et sociales.¹

Table XLIII. Types of Factories Established or Planned and the Estimated number of Workers.

Type of factories	Number of job opportunities
Sonelec (refrigerators, washing machines)	4500
paint	180

1. Chaliand, G. and Mincez J. op.cit. p.134.

Semolina	500
Bricks and tiles	140
Tiles	176
Gas filling bottles	70
Leather	98
Textile	148
Furniture	400
Mining	100
Cosmetics	1000
Carpentry	320
Chocolate	200
Satchels and the like	280
Knives	150
Total	9162

The number of jobs offered is appreciable for a region that had very limited industrial development before, but it is still very small given the ever-increasing population.

(A) Location of Industrial Development.

The vast majority of the factories that have been built, or are in the process of being built, are in the plains rather than the mountains. So the towns are again the main beneficiaries to the virtual exclusion of the villages. Tizi-ouzou had a population of around 15,000 in 1954, and today this figure is well over 60,000. This is due to migration from the mountains since Independence and since the investment in the city from 1968 onwards. Table XLIV shows the location of industrial investments in the region.

Table XLIV. Location of Factories in the Region.

Towns	Number of factories
Tizi-ouzou	4
Bordj Menaiel	3
Dellys	1
Lakhadaria	1
Naciria	1
Issers	2
Draa Ben Khedda	2
Tizi-Rached	1
Larba, Nath Iraten	1
Total	16

Source: Service de Planification, Wilaya de Tizi-ouzou.

Moreover, the larger factories are in Tizi-ouzou and in Bordj Menaiel. The last two names in the table are larger villages situated in the mountains, and are the only two that have accommodated a factory as a result of the plan. Thus the long-standing disparity between the plains and the mountains is being maintained and is leading to further migration from the mountains to the cities. At the same time migration to the cities is also taking place from other parts of Algeria as a result of the growth of a building industry as factories and schools are being provided.

V Investments in Agriculture.

Agriculture in the province of Kabylia has undergone considerable change in the plains since the 1971 'Agrarian Revolution'. But, as we show in Chapter IV, land in the mountains consisted largely of fragmented plots with poor soil. The effects of the

'Agrarian Revolution' have been virtually nil in the mountains.

a) Agrarian Revolution: This Agrarian Revolution was decreed on the 8th November 1971 by the revolutionary council and the council of ministers.¹ The charter called 'Chartre de la Révolution Agraire' stipulates in the first article of this 'land charter' that the 'land belongs to those who work it'. The second article stipulates that the State may take away the rights of landowners who do not participate in production or who do not work their land. And the size of properties is set so that it does not exceed the labour capacity of the landowner and his family, and can yet assure them of a sufficient income. In non-irrigated areas, private property is limited to five hectares, in irrigated areas to 0.50 hectares. The charter assumes therefore that five hectares in non-irrigated areas should assure a land owner and his family of a living.

Another extremely important article states that if any landowner is temporarily absent from his land, it is not liable to nationalisation.² This is significant because in areas such as Kabylia, many landowners live in cities or in France, as their land is not sufficiently productive, hence rendering it impracticable for the state to nationalise such land.

The charter forbids the purchase of land for accumulation, although allows land to be bought for building purposes. At a political level the state decided that peasants should unite to share the working of land in Co-operatives called Coopérative agricole polyvalente de service (CAPCS). The cooperatives aim to organise agricultural production and improve the landowners' conditions of life

1. Source: Chartre De la Revolution Agraire; Présidence du Conseil. Imprimerie officielle. 1971 pp.41-47.

2. Coopérative Agricole de production de la Révolution Agraire (CAPRA) Chartre de la Révolution agraire op.cit. p.51.

and labour. In areas where land is nationalised and worked by landless peasants/^{the new land holders work} in a cooperative called Cooperative Agricole de production de la Revolution Agraire (CAPRA). Their role is to supply members with the seed and instruments necessary for commercial agricultural production, storage and commercialisation.

b) Agricultural Developments in the province of Kabylia.

In Kabylia the Agrarian Revolution primarily affected the plains where large farms were prevalent, between Tizi-ouzou, Bordj Menaiel and other villages and towns. The table given below shows the amount of land nationalised in this region.

Table XLV. Land nationalised by the State in the region of Kabylia.

Areas	Number of hectares
Bordj Menaiel	1,031,62ha
Tizi-ouzou	469,61ha
Draa el Mizan	259,83ha
Azazga	71,50ha
Total	1,832,56

Source: Service de la Revolution Agraire, Wilaya de Tizi-ouzou.

The two largest amounts of nationalised land are situated on the plains around Tizi-ouzou and Bordj Menaiel, with little state intervention in the mountain region of Azazga. This rotates to the observations made in Chapter IV, on the state of land in the mountainous regions. After nationalisation, the previous owner receives a refund from the state.

Taguemount Azouz did not experience any nationalisation whatsoever as the size of the properties was small and the land unproductive. In the immediate area surrounding Beni Douala only two properties were nationalised, however the owners were not refunded as they had left the country in 1962 (independence) and were Harkis (Algerians who fought with the French army against their country). The total area of these two properties only amounted to an insignificant 2.70 ha. So unlike other parts of Algeria, Kabylia did not undergo radical change in terms of the nationalisation of land.

The state created nine CAPRA in Bordj Menaiel, three in Tizi-ouzou and one in Azazga. Bordj Menaiel also had the largest number of CAPCS, having seven whereas there were only three in the immediate administrative area of Tizi-ouzou, one being situated in Beni Douala. Since the agrarian revolution has not changed the structure of land ownership in the mountains, I will limit myself to the study of the Beni Douala CAPCS which affected the peasants of Taguemount Azouz.

c) The effects of the CAPCS of Beni Douala on Taguemount Azouz.

In general the role of the CAPCS in Beni Douala is to assist the peasants of the area by providing help in case of surplus production of olive oil, figs and the like to provide new trees free of charge and to distribute products from other regions. However at the time I undertook my fieldwork there were many problems in the implementation of this role. These problems can be understood in relation to the conflict between the private sector and the CAPCS and hence is a political problem as the state is attempting to diminish the power of the private sector. Thus when there is a surplus peasants refuse to sell it to CAPCS preferring to sell to wholesalers, shop keepers who offer higher prices. Peasants also choose to buy trees from the private sector

because for bureaucratic reasons the CAPCS is incapable of obtaining sufficient trees. The CAPCS takes weeks and even months to get only small numbers of trees. The director of Beni Douala's CAPCS stressed several times that 'He could not compete with the private sector due to the burden imposed on him by bureaucratic decisions made in either Algiers or in the capital of the province, concerning, for example, the number of plants he could give to the peasants.'

.VI Effects of the Plan on Taguemount Azouz.

The immediate positive effects of the development plan on the village of Taguemount Azouz are nil or virtually nil. Indeed, the main effects are negative in that people continue to move out of the village into the towns of the region where jobs have been created. This constitutes a change in so far as some migration is now no longer to France but to other areas of the region, as also to the other regions of Algeria.

On the other hand, one cannot dismiss State's effort to provide schooling in the village and surrounding areas. There is now even a high school in Beni Douala. Its construction created some jobs on a temporary basis, but the labour force has now moved on. But the effect of this school, and of the new primary schools in the area, will simply be that the present and future generations of children will continue to migrate, unless local opportunities are created.

The State has also invested money improving road communications between the different villages. Thus Taguemount Azouz has been linked by more paved roads to other villages where previously there had only been a path. However improved transport and education only adds to incentives for migration.

VII Conclusion: The development plan for Kabylia has not been totally ineffectual or negative. It has radically changed some aspects of this region, especially the urban centres but villages have only been indirectly affected through the creation of industries in the towns. The plan has also brought electricity, running water, schools and the like to some villages, and will continue to be extended. But it has not removed the division that existed between towns and villages. People have, and are continuing to move from the mountains to the towns and, certainly, to the capital of the region which has now grown into an important economic and social centre for the region as a whole. In this region that depends heavily on migration, although the creation of jobs is important, it is not enough, and maybe the best way to summarize the whole situation is to refer to a seminar¹ held in Algiers between the 18th and 29th of March 1975 on the reintegration of migrants into the Algerian economy by the ministry of employment. It was claimed that 80,000 migrants with their families could be brought back to Algeria and offered jobs. However, this scheme applied to highly skilled workers, skilled workers, professionals and students, and is not relevant to the majority of migrants. It is obvious that the small number of created jobs cannot remove unemployment in the region, and does not offer opportunities for return to the many migrants from who live in France.

1. For a discussion of this seminar, see Dossier des Journées d'études sur la Réinsertion, 18th to 20th March 1975 a copy of which is available in O.N.A.M.O's headquarters, Algiers.

Chapter VIII: CONCLUSION.

In this thesis, I have attempted to analyse migration and its effects on a local community in the Kabyle province of Algeria. The process that led migration of the male population from the village to France and, later, after Independence to urban centres in Algeria could not have been explained or analysed without a close review of the French colonial policies that have made Algeria what it is. As stressed in Chapter II, the country underwent radical change during the colonial period through the expropriation of land, the introduction of capitalist relations leading to the privatisation of property, and the settlement of a European population on the most fertile lands situated on the coast. The establishment of farms owned by Europeans who needed the labour power of the indigenous population coincided with other measures which were driving people their own land. The rural populations of the country thus became a reserve army of labour ready to work on the farms and, later, in France. Itself the development of agricultural labour, especially in the Mitidja (the symbol of Colons' success) attracted many peasants from rural areas in the early period, mainly from Kabylia.

I have attempted to answer the question why migration started from Kabylia. The answer lies in a series of factors ranging from the ecology and demography of the region to the whole political economy of colonialism. Kabylia was, and is still, highly populated; land in the mountains is of poor quality, and the colons farms seeking labour were close to the mountains. A close relationship between the farms and the villages thus inevitably developed. But this has to be seen in the context of political and economic developments over the entire period of colonialism.

Another important factor relating to the early migration of people from Kalylia ahead of migration from other parts of the country was the French policy of treating Kabyles and Arabs differently. The French did not create the cultural distinctions between Kabyles and Arabs but they played on them in their political and economic administration of the country. Similar policies were pursued by the French in Morocco, and the British in various parts of their empires, as for example, in the Sudan where differences between peoples from the north and the south were commonly emphasized. This point is important historically and has continued to affect relations within Algeria up to the present time as is exemplified by the recent events which shook Kalylia while this thesis was being written. Such problems persist. They are no longer due to any direct involvement of the French authority but they have become part of the fabric of Algerian society which the Algerian government tends to mishandle and simply to blame on the colonial part.

Up to the 1920s, migration to France itself involved mainly people from Kabylia to the almost total exclusion of others, but after that it spread to the whole country. It was around the end of the 19th century, and the beginning of the 20th century that Kabyle people started to move from the Colons farms to France, but this developed considerable momentum with the First World War and with France's need for Algerians to fight for the 'mother land' or to take the places in factories of French workers who had been conscripted.

I have attempted to show that the 'reasons' for migration existed at three levels: (1) Colonial policy; (2) specific economic circumstances at different historical periods, (3) Inter-Imperialistic wars in Europe.

After the Second World War, the volume of Algerian migration to France increased rapidly and became massive population movement due basically to both economic problems in Algeria and to France's need for labour power to once again rebuild the 'mother land'. It was at this period that the character and nature of migration changed in important ways. Migrants began to stay in France for longer periods and in many cases to take their families with them. After the war of liberation and final Independence in 1962 migration to France continued on a large scale. Although the Algerian government has been deeply concerned with the welfare of migrants in France and is anxious to see migrants returning to Algeria, there can be no doubt that migration has also been welcomed in so far as it has helped to keep down the high levels of unemployment in Algeria. When the Algerian government stopped migration in 1973, it did not do so on economic grounds, but because of racist events in France. Although this thesis has not dwelt on the new development of migration of Algerians to other countries, it is significant to note that Algeria and East Germany signed an agreement for the 'export' of Algerian labour power to East Germany in 1975. The development of the situation of Algerian labour migrants in East Germany will be a matter of interest for future research workers.

The main purpose of this thesis was to analyse the effects of migration on the village of Taguemount Azouz, a village which has no written history other than the one article produced by a French writer. So in order to appreciate how deep rooted change has been since the onset of colonialism, I started by examining the social and political organisation of the village in pre-colonial time to the present day and the way in which the people of Taguemount Azouz perceive their history and conceive their own past.

The political organisation that once characterised the village and almost entirely disappeared. The legal system and former conceptions of justice and of government have been changed out of all recognition by the colonial state, and the process has inevitably continued since Independence. Local bodies have, and indeed one can call it very little power other than remnants of what one might call 'symbolic power'. Local legends and stories about saints do remain and constitute a significant part of the culture of the village, but this 'culture' covers limited areas and aspects of life and continues to lose its struggle among the new generation.

In Chapter IV we saw that the economy of the village, to the extent that such an economy remains as an identifiable feature, is based on olive and fig trees, and on small-scale household garden production. In this respect the ecology of the region is also important and soil erosion, as in many other parts of the mountains is a serious problem affecting all agricultural activities. Such agricultural and arboricultural production as is possible is used mainly for household consumption and for petty trading along the roadside or in local markets. Landownership is characterised by highly fragmented plots, and many properties consist of very small pieces of land which are sometimes situated far from each other. Some of these plots are not worked at all for reasons ranging from the nature of land which may be too rocky to the fact that entire families have left the village.

A striking feature of the economy of the village has been the progressive involvement in it of women over the years. Women in Taguemount Azouz as in Kabylia in general, have been responsible for activities such as fetching water from the fountain, collecting fire wood, and picking olives. But women's activities have now been

extended well beyond these 'traditional' practices. They now tend to work plots with their husbands or on their own as many of their husbands are not there; they collect remittances from the post office and administrative papers from government offices. But I have stressed that the 'freedom' of women and the nature and degree of their participation in 'public' life still varies considerably according to age and status. The elder women find more opportunities to operate in what is still a male dominated society. Thus, it is generally after the menopause and, indeed, only after a woman has become a mother-in-law that she 'enjoys' the 'freedom' of circulating freely in the village, and going where she wants to.

As far as the work is concerned, however, women of all ages participate in cultivation, though the younger ones are usually 'protected' by a male or, failing that, by an older woman. The development of women's roles can be directly traced to the large-scale departure of men from the village. The general role of 'woman' is in itself changing. This is due to a large extent to the spread of education and to the related growth of occupations considered suitable for women such as teaching and working in Hospitals. If these trends continue, as one must expect them to do, land will soon be worked only by a minority of women and retired migrants.

The vast majority of households have at least one member working abroad or in Algeria in activities which have nothing to do with agriculture, and those left behind in the village tend to rely more on money sent home or on pensions. Unless government policies intervene or retiring migrants begin to invest in land to a greater extent than they have done in the past, the economic value of land is bound to fall in the long run.

Despite all these changes, the village still maintains a relatively strong identity. In this connection, it is important to recall the creation in France of what I have called micro-villages, there, and the 'society' of migrants abroad, are still largely related to village affiliations. The micro-village of Taguemount Azouz is an extension across the Mediteranne of the home village for many reasons. Most do not stay in France, they usually work until they retire, then return to their village, where most of them have left their families. Often immediate reasons for going to France were to improve the situations of those they left behind, and this is why they keep close touch with them. In addition to this, their problems in France ranging from the disadvantages of being mainly unskilled workers and of encountering a severe language barrier to the hostility of the French, racism, and discrimination, naturally tend to perpetuate their vision of the village as 'home'.

In Chapter V I have analysed the cohesion of these migrants in France especially of those who went there in the 1950s and 1960s. This is seen in their mutual cooperation with their 'own' people whether kin or fellow villagers in finding jobs, providing accommodation for each other, and the like. Yet this cohesion does not mean that a minority of men from the village that owns hotels, bars, and the like refrain from 'exploiting' their fellow villagers under the cover of 'belonging' to the same group. Thus they offer fellow migrants low wages and they set themselves as Marchands de Sommeil. And it is difficult for villagers to escape this situation in a society like France where North Africans in general are discriminated against and ill treated.

The relations between migrants in France and their village is maintained through regular holidays, through remittances, and

through the presence of other villagers around them. At the same time, there is a tendency among the new generations of migrants to break out from the micro-villages and the constraints they impose by mixing with members of other minority communities and with French people. Their attitudes towards the villages of their parents is understandable as they were born in France, and usually have a language barrier not with French people but with their own people. Generally speaking, they are, what I call 'the rejected French people'. They are rejected when in Algeria, because 'they behave like the French', and they are rejected in France because they are not 'totally' French. Members of this generation are inevitably in conflict with their elders because they do not 'know' the village, let alone Algeria. They resent the kind of relations with the village that their elders try to impose on them. This is true of young women and girls as well as of young men and boys. In fact, the young women are often more resentful than the men because they are expected to adapt to an entirely different conception of life when they visit their villages with their parents. This is not to say that all of them are 'free' in France. Certain parents succeed in reproducing exactly the same values with their daughters as they hold themselves.

Thus the young people are breaking the community 'cohesion' and, because of the attitude of the French towards North Africans in general, they tend to associate with all immigrants rather than with people from the same village or region of Algeria. But, for their parents, villages of origin remain important culturally and socially, and as the places to which nearly all expect to return and to settle in the end. Those who succeed in accumulating sufficient capital tend to return to the village, or to other parts of Algeria,

before retirement. Before doing so, however, an immigrant has to send remittances home throughout his working life. We saw that the region of Kabylia lives mainly from remittances received from France. The village of Taguemount Azouz is no exception.

These remittances, added to pensions paid by French companies to retired migrants or their widows constitute a very considerable amount of money that circulates in a community that could not possibly live on small quantities of olive oil, figs and what is little more than household gardening. The money is often for the purchase of ordinary consumer goods imported to the village shops. Without remittances and pensions there would be no market for these in the village. The total of remittances received from France is difficult to trace because of a flourishing black market in French currency. This in fact constitutes a national problem. The black market benefits the migrants in general, but especially the few who are 'professional' dealers.

Migration to France has resulted in three main categories of returning migrants. By far the most important consists of those I have classified as retired migrants who usually receive pensions from French companies. Their pensions serve to acquire general consumer goods which are then supplemented by products from their plots. We saw that members of this category tend to play an important role in 'keeping the village together' through their involvement in the Tajmaat, their participation in religious ceremonies, and their role in 'watching' over women whose own men are away. The second category that is smaller than the first, consists of returning migrants with a limited capital. Members of this category are important in another way. Some settle in towns rather than in the village where investment opportunities are limited

and where schooling opportunities for their children are poor. They commonly invest their savings in Taxis, small shops and the like. The third category is small but very important economically. It consists of those returning with a substantial capital and who invest their money in large restaurants, cafes, wholesale firms and the like. Their investments have created some job opportunities in towns, usually for their own people as well as people from other parts of the country. Despite the fact that they tend to exploit their workers, as they also do when in France, they do contribute to changing the situation in the village when any opportunities are valued.

Another important direct effect of migration to France has been the boom in house building. This has come about through all the three categories of returning migrants, but obviously house-building is more difficult for members of the first category. House building has created some job opportunities for peasants in the village who often work alternatively on their land and on building. It has also created opportunities for those who have no land at all and who hire their labour power partly as agricultural workers and partly on any unskilled work that becomes available. Members of the third category of returning migrants now commonly build homes in the village, as well as in the towns where they settle, and they use their village home for the summer holidays. Building a house in the village also increases one's social status, and contributes to the sense of 'belongingness' in the same way as owning land does.

A different kind of effect of migration is the decreasing interest shown in land itself, which has become secondary in importance to wage earning. This is reflected nationally, as well as locally, in the fact that labour for agricultural work is difficult to find because people prefer to work in towns. In the village of

Taguemount Azouz in particular agricultural enterprise brings nominal reward. Even many women no longer work on the land, so the retired migrants, landless labourers and some of the elder women are the only ones prepared to do such work. Remittances and the return of migrants has thus combined with loss of economic interest in land to create a demand for goods from outside the village which was much lower as recently as 10 or 20 years ago.

The three categories of returning migrants can be approximately equated with social classes in the Marxian sense. The first category are proletarians although they return to their land. They have worked under proletarian conditions for most of their lives and do readily return to a peasant-style life on their return. Many would probably have stayed away on retirement were it not for their family links in the village and the French laws which made it difficult for any appreciable number to settle in France.

The second category constitutes a new petty bourgeoisie, owning cars, taxis, and shops from which they derive their livelihood. They aspire to better education for their children and expect them eventually to settle in the cities. The third category clearly consists of members of a developing capitalist class.

The study has shown that Taguemount Azouz far from being an isolated or self-contained unit, is fully integrated into the whole political economy of the country and of metropolitan France. We have seen that this integration took place through a number of different phases. In the last phase, after Independence, migration to Algiers and Tizi-ouzou and to some extent, to other Algerian towns, has developed a considerable momentum.

Despite this integration of the village population into the wider world, local conflicts between those who want to maintain the

'traditions' of the village and those who do not, persist. These conflicts are partly inter-generational (ie. between the elders and the youngers) but are also more complex as they are an aspect of the process of disintegration of the social and economic basis of the village life. Some feel the need to maintain their 'traditions' without which they could lose their identity and have nothing to replace it. Others are acquiring new aspirations and hold alternative visions of the future for themselves and their children.

Urbanisation and migration have forced the state of Algeria to attempt to find some solutions, thus, within the context of national development plans, the state has allocated large amounts of money for the 'development' of Kabylia. I have demonstrated the limited effects of this plan which, it is clear, cannot alter the overall social and economic structures developed over the past century and a half. A full analysis of the kind of measures that would be required to bring effective relief to Kabylia falls far beyond the scope of this thesis. I have, however, noted that up to now, it is the towns in Kabylia that have benefited from these plans. And migration from Taguemount Azouz continues, as it does from other villages. Moreover one of the main effects of the plan has been to drain unemployed people from regions as far away as Laghouat in the south of Algeria, to this region rather than solving the problems of the more local villagers. In Taguemount Azouz, the net effect of the plan is that more people are leaving the village.

The absence of detailed studies on labour migration in Algeria was my reason for taking an interest in the British anthropological studies, conducted in Southern and Central Africa. Despite the considerable differences that exist between migration patterns from Taguemount Azouz to France and the circular migration so common in Central and Southern Africa. Despite certain weaknesses

and limitations, these analyses of labour migration are worth considering because of their major strength, namely their analysis of peoples' perceptions of what is happening to them. I have attempted to contribute to the understanding of the effects of labour migration on the community of Taguemount Azouz in the same way while setting the overall analysis in a broader political and economic context. Most of the work previously done at the national level does not adequately portray what happens at the level of community. This is not to say that these studies are 'wrong', but simply that they do not focus on aspects which I have tried to clarify.

Now that migration to France has been stopped, people are migrating to the new industrial centres of Algeria, whereas people from other parts of Algeria have moved into the region. The effects of these new patterns will also call for close study in the context of political and economic plans for the future.

I hope that this study may lead to the development of further studies on aspects which I have not developed. There is an obvious need for comparative assessments of Algerian migration and that of the north African countries. And there clearly is a need for comparison between the experiences of different villages and different regions within the country.

THE FRENCH MEDICAL TEAM AND ITS ROLE IN ALGERIA

The organisation and role of the French medical team has been governed by the guidelines set out in the Ordonnance of 25 April 1964, which stipulates that doctors are appointed by the French authorities, and work under the direction of Coopération technique, i.e. as technical assistants. The head of the team is responsible to the Algerian Ministry of Labour, and liaises with the medical adviser at the French Embassy in Algiers. Statistics of those checked by the French medical team are forwarded to ONAMO.

Table Medical reasons for refusing permission to migrate, 1968.

<u>Disease</u>	<u>No.</u>
Sériologies positives	1,326
Tuberculoses pulmonaires évolutives ou cicatricielles	348
Pneumopathies chroniques	41
Dyatrophies et Malformations	182
Affections Cardio-vasculaires	468
Glycosuries	72
Troubles Endocrinières	34
Albuminerie	426
Acuité Visuelle Insufisante	922
Affections Dermatologiques	338
Hernies	69
Insuffisance Staturo-Pondurale	1,749
Troubles Digestifs	27
Uréthrites ou Affections Génitales	136
Affection Auculaire autre que Trachome	18
Coefficient Dentaire inférieur à 20%	150
Surdité	4

<u>Disease</u>	<u>No.</u>
Troubles Neuropsychiques	42
Refus d'examen	30
Affection osseuse	4
Affection orl	4
Divers	31
Hors limite d'age	22
Pédiculose	9
Tentative de corruption	3
	<hr/>
Total	6,455
Total number of people examined	29,699
Total number who failed	6,455
Total number allowed to migrate	23,244

Appendix B

The statistics given below concern Algerian migrants expelled from France during 1974. These statistics are forwarded to ONAMO annually by the French Home Office, and are available in ONAMO headquarters. The statistics for 1974 were the only ones I was allowed to consult.

Table Algerians Expelled from France during 1974.

<u>Causes of expulsion</u>	<u>Total per year</u>
Vols, Tentatives de vol, Recèl, Cambriolage	318
Infraction à arrêté d'expulsion, Infraction à la SNCF	164
Agression, Menace, Rixe, Homicide volontaire	127
Séjour illegal, Séjour irrégulier, Défaut de certificat de résidence	127
Proxénétisme, Détournement Contrainte par corps, Acte contre nature, viols.	68
Faux usage de faux, Falsification de pièces, Falsification de cartes ONAMO	24
Sans motif, Sans Précision	10
Malade mental	2
Vagabondage, Tapage nocturne, Conduite en état d'ivresse, Mauvais comportement	38
Tentative de meurtre, Meurtre, Tentative d'assassinat	20
Trafic de stupéfiants, Trafic de drogue	4
Outrage à agents de la force publique	13
Sans ressources	2
Escroquerie, Fraudes	5
Interdiction de séjour	2
Infraction d'hygiène	1
Port d'arme prohibé, Détention d'armes à feu	13

<u>Causes of expulsion</u>	<u>Total per year</u>
Adultaire	1
Carte de résidence périmée	1
Accident de circulation	1
Abondan de famille	1
Ivresse	1
Immigration clandestine	2
Fausse déclaration de perte de carte ONAMO	1
Défaut de permis de conduire	1
	<hr/>
Total	947

PROVINCE OF ORIGIN OF MIGRANTS EXPELLED FROM FRANCE

IN 1974

<u>Province</u>	<u>No. expelled</u>
Alger	190
Medea	7
El-Asnam	33
Tizi-ouzou	104
Annaba	81
Constantine	146
Setif	82
Batna	44
Oasis	5
Oran	118
Tlemcen	38
Saida	2
Saoura	2
Monstaganem	68
Tiaret	6
Sans domicile fixe	21
	<hr/>
Total	947

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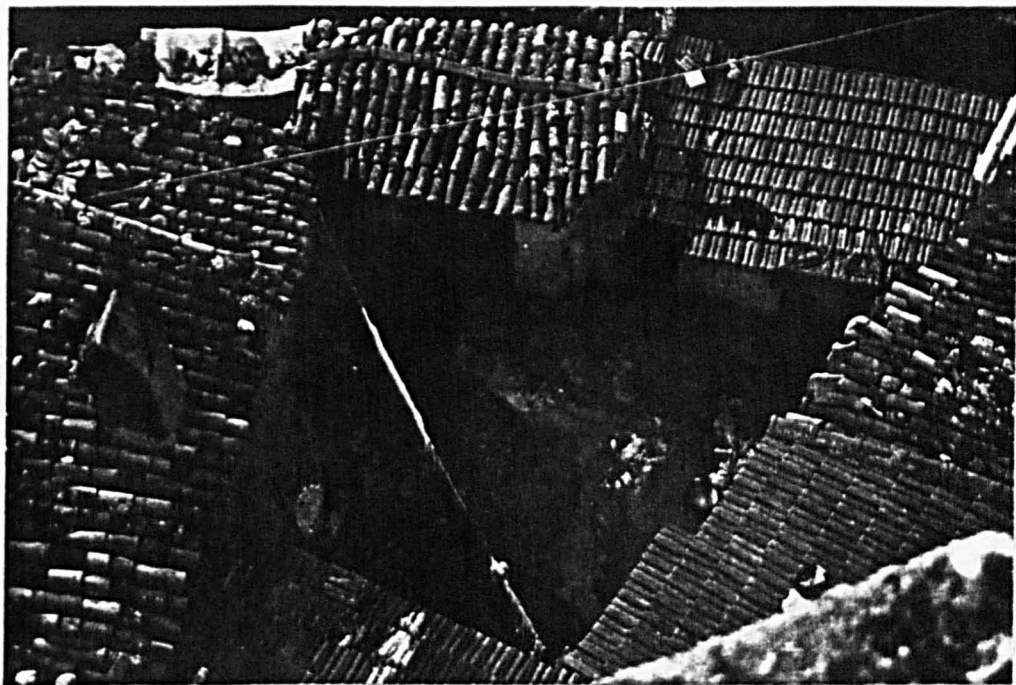
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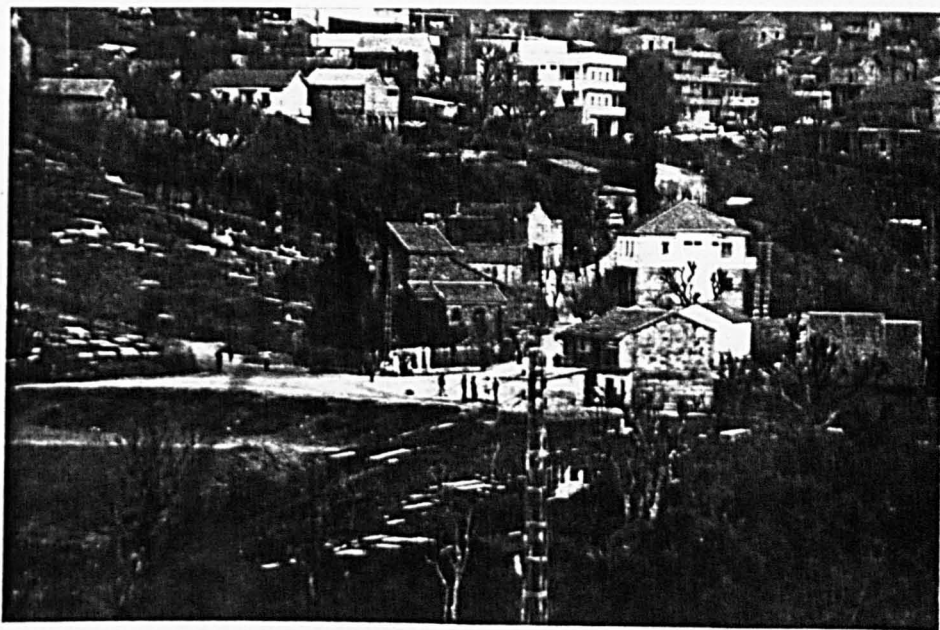
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picture no. 1



'traditional' house .

picture no. 2.



'modern' houses .