

The globalization of higher education and student migration

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Received: 22/04/2024 ; Revised: 07/06/2024 ; Accepted: 31/10/2025

Abstract: Education in general is a vector of development and well-being for individuals and societies alike. In today's knowledge-based society, higher education is the foundation for the human capital needed to master technologies, drive economic growth and create wealth. Today's student migration accompanies the globalization of higher education. The emigration of students to the countries of the North has become a subject of multi-disciplinary study, a controversial and political issue, and a hot topic in the media. In this article, we sketch out this issue, attempting to theorize it and place it in context.

Keywords: higher education, students, migration, theorizing, context.

Résumé : L'éducation en général est un vecteur de développement et de bien-être pour les individus et les sociétés. Dans la société du savoir actuelle, l'enseignement supérieur constitue le fondement du capital humain nécessaire à la maîtrise des technologies, à la croissance économique et à la création de richesse. La migration étudiante actuelle accompagne la mondialisation de l'enseignement supérieur. L'émigration des étudiants vers les pays du Nord est devenue un sujet d'étude multidisciplinaire, une question controversée et politique, et un thème largement débattu dans les médias. Dans cet article, nous présentons cette problématique, en tentant de la théoriser et de la replacer dans son contexte.

Mots-clés : enseignement supérieur, étudiants, migration, théorisation, contexte.

1- Introduction

Migration for the sake of knowledge has always existed, as Gaillard (1998) points out: "the mobility of scientists and scholars has been so enduring through the ages that the phenomenon has a socio-anthropological character that can be described as universal". Today "students are the most mobile" (Roulet Thomas, 2010, p. 71). Until the 1990s, these student migrations were not much exploited by academic studies, as Gildas Simon (1995) pointed out: "Migration for knowledge and training is an important and often little-known form of international migration". These student migrations are intensifying and diversifying, and constitute a field of migration studies in their own right. This form of study migration is becoming the focus not only of academic institutions, but also of countries, families and individuals. They are the subject of "particular attention from the countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (the OECD), which host 85% of the world's foreign students, around two-thirds of whom (67%) are non-OECD nationals" (OECD, 2012; Mathieu, Eyebiyi, and Mazzella 2014).

The aim of this article is to make a small contribution to understanding the ever-increasing student migration. It should also be pointed out that any attempt at theorizing is fraught with difficulties. In fact, these days, migration studies are the prerogative of the host countries, and the countries of origin are disarmed and do nothing more than follow suit. Appropriate theories and methodologies need to be developed to reflect the complexity,

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diversity and contextuality of migration processes. The solution does not seem to lie in seeking to formulate a general theory of migration, because all migratory processes are different. The question is as (Stephen Castles, 2008) points out, is how can the understanding of local migratory experiences be improved by the analysis of global social transformations

1.1- The rise of student migration:

From the 1970s onwards, global society has tended more and more to become a knowledge-based society and its economy is increasingly demanding in terms of qualifications and skills acquired through increasingly globalized higher education qualifications. As a result, higher education and training systems are becoming heavily involved in the modernization process of today's knowledge societies. From the 1990s onwards, the internationalization of higher education triggered by the Bologna process undermined nation-state policies on education and training. As Sylvie Mazzella (2007) points out, "the succession of liberal policies has had the effect of modifying public policies on higher education, disciplinary hierarchies and student strategies". Jean-Luc Metzger (2007) wondered: "Should we see this as the result of a purely brutal balance of power between countries, or as the sign of a more general transformation of the nation-state, concerning its place in the orientation of societies and the government of the world? Thus, debates, policies and studies have addressed the issue of academic migration in relation to the knowledge economy and the circulation of skills, while posing renewed questions of ethics, gains and losses both from the point of view of individuals and that of their countries of origin and host countries (Blaud, 2001; Gadegbeku, 2003; Gaillard and Gaillard, 1999; Jewsiewicki, 2003; Nkusi, 2006; Lucille Guilbert and Claudia Prévost, 2009).

Advances in science and technology led to the development of transport, information and communications, giving rise to globalization (Amin and Houtard, 2000; CSQ, 2002; Latouche, 1989; Lempen, 1999; Marin, 2004; Ramonet, 1997; Marín José and Pierre R. Dasen, 2019). The latter is characterized by interdependence, since the effect of the exchange and dissemination of information means that "social, political and economic activities transcend national boundaries so that events, decisions and activities located anywhere in the world can affect individuals and communities at any point on the globe" (Anthony McGrew (1997), in: Wasiu Dihissou, 2017, p: 27).

This neo-liberal globalization, which has been reinforced in particular since the 1990s, has brought about profound changes within societies, and we are witnessing a worldwide explosion in migration and migratory patterns (Wihtol De Wenden C, 2009 and 2010; Dapsens S, 2015; Piché V, 1996; Guerassimoff. E, 2004 ; Glorius B, 2008 ...etc.). This process of globalization tends to homogenize social and cultural lifestyles and promote the consumer society. Moreover, this European model of modernization advocates individualism and self-determination. According to Marín José and Pierre R. Dasen (2019, pp.285-320): "is based on false values, such as competitiveness, profitability, pragmatism and utilitarianism in social relations, and leads us to the destruction of social ties". Thus, the individual is perceived first and foremost as a consumer, enjoying the free will to make his own choices, responsible for satisfying his own interests (Marcuse, 1999; Rochefort, 1995).

Theories of international migration have followed one another and are varied according to the forms of migration; they are divided into the following sections: push-pull theory and the neoclassical approach; transitions in migration and development; historical, structural and political economy models; the role of systems and networks; the "new economy" of migration; and finally, approaches based on the "transnational turn" in migration studies. As Massey (1998, 3) has already pointed out "The classical approach has now entered a state of crisis, challenged by new ideas, concepts and assumptions". Massey et al. believed that "the time has come... to reassess theories of international migration and bring them into conformity with new

empirical conditions" (Stephen Castles, 2008). Hein de Haas (2021) has developed an aspirations-capabilities framework to advance understanding of human mobility as an intrinsic part of wider processes of social change. He sees that "This yields a vision in which moving and staying are seen as complementary manifestations of migratory agency and in which human mobility is defined as people's capability to choose where to live, including the option to stay, rather than as the act of moving or migrating itself".

1.2- Changes in higher education

For Nico Hirtt (2007, p. 26), "one of the main features of the change in higher education since the late 1980s, under pressure from powerful international bodies and lobbies, has been the networking of autonomous, diversified institutions in intense mutual competition, and the abandonment of the humanities in favor of learning skills to ensure the employability and adaptability of workers and consumers". The 1970s-1980s saw the massification of schools and universities, while the 1990s saw the commodification of higher education systems. Indeed, the internationalization of higher education has turned higher education into a commodity subject to the laws of supply and demand on the global market. In short, the effects of globalization and neoliberal societies have accentuated the scale of migration and the diversification of its prospects. As a result, migration for study purposes has become more intense, valued and encouraged. In addition, the globalization of higher education has led to an increase in the value of student mobility - particularly since the 1990s - and selection mechanisms have been put in place at all levels to sift and choose the most desirable and wealthy, rather than the most deserving. These days, student migration is spreading exponentially across the globe, and is a major challenge for countries seeking to position themselves as poles of excellence, and for individuals seeking to carve out a future for themselves in the new globalized knowledge society. Indeed, for countries, education and especially higher education and training are sources of development, progress and social balance. For students, having a higher education diploma is almost a minimum requirement for entering the job market and contributing to economic growth based on science and knowledge. Indeed, for the majority of people, their professional destiny is correlated with their educational path and the diplomas that this path has enabled them to obtain.

2- Devaluation of national diplomas

Today, with the massification of higher education and graduate inflation leading to the devaluation of diplomas, students and their families are turning to international studies. Not all diplomas are valid, and not all carry the same weight. Those obtained from institutions that are well known and recognized in the global job and higher education markets are sought-after and constitute important international passports of sorts. As a result, in today's neoliberal global society, higher education has entered into fierce competition in the international market for training and education, and in turn in the globalized job market. Indeed, the commodification of work and study has given rise to inequalities that are becoming increasingly pronounced between and within countries, and between individuals and regions. Poles of excellence in wealthy countries reserved for the children of the world's elites, who accumulate a wealth of different assets. Within countries, too, internal inequalities affect the lot of disadvantaged regions and the children of the poorer classes. J.P. Fitoussi has already predicted the deepening of structural inequalities and dynamic inequalities with the process of globalization. He writes: "Globalization works in two opposite directions: financial globalization increases inequalities between profits and wages, while market globalization increases wage and employment inequalities between skilled and unskilled people". But J.P. Fitoussi adds that: "We have thus moved from logic of growth, where the expansion of some led to that of others, to logic of market shares, where the growth of some can only be achieved at the expense of others. This can only result in total paralysis and deterioration in the social situation" (Jean-Paul Fitoussi,

1997, pp: 5-16). So, in addition to this increase in inequality, there is a profound recomposition of jobs in a direction that favors the most qualified and disfavors the least qualified, as well as inequalities between professions and fields of study. Economists use the term polarization to describe this trend, which sees a simultaneous increase in low-skilled, poorly-paid jobs, on the one hand, and good, highly-skilled jobs that are no longer easily accessible, on the other. In addition to the wage gap, which has grown by leaps and bounds, purchasing power is also steadily declining. Louis Chauvel (2016) notes that: "Given the average purchasing power of blue-collar workers, it took them 166 years in 2013 to reach the standard of living of executives in that year, compared with 29 years in 1955".

3- Polarization and the living standards gap between countries

Globalization is spreading, creating imbalances between and within countries, and giving rise to new global stratifications and networks of interconnections transcending nation-states. With the exponential development of science and technology, the world has reached a phase of development where relations between civil societies are closer, and inequalities within and between countries more intolerable. Indeed, since the 1990s, the world has undergone a decisive turning point, and we're talking more and more about networks than territories. However, the apparent unification of planetary space conceals profound disparities of all kinds. Jehan Philippe Contesse (2010) notes that: "OECD countries represent 20% of the planet's population, but hold 80% of the world's wealth. The planet has never been so rich, but half the world's population lives on less than \$2 a day". According to the WHO (2013): "Poor countries account for 80% of the world's population, but concentrate only 20% of its wealth. In contrast, the rich, industrialized countries, numbering around thirty, represent 20% of the world's population but hold 80% of the wealth. What's more, their wealth continues to grow, further exacerbating inequalities. What's more, while today's world is characterized by unprecedented scientific and technological development, the effects of this development are not benefiting all of humanity. As a result, science and technology are not democratized, but concentrated in the world's leading cities. As Jean-Luc Metzger (2003, pp. 173-192) notes: "while communities of scientists are transnational, technical progress remains owned and implemented by rival nations; science appears to be based on universal values, but local wills to non-dependence remain". Another factor driving people to migrate is the difference in living standards between developed and underdeveloped countries. Bairoch Paul (1971 pp: 497-514) has already noted that: "the overall gross domestic product of Western developed countries is six times greater than that of underdeveloped countries", and this trend is on the increase. He notes that: "this difference in the balance of power is further aggravated by the changes in the economic structures of production brought about by past colonization". Bairoch Paul explains: "in the final analysis, the extent of the gap between levels of development cancels out and will cancel out to a large extent, or even perhaps totally, the increased room for manoeuvre acquired by political independence". For his part, Raul Prebisch, former Secretary General of the United Nations (UN) Economic Commission for Latin America, believes that: "The arrangement of international links between the advanced countries (core countries) and the backward countries (peripheral countries) inevitably plays a role in aggravating inequalities between the former and the latter (Gaston Leduc, 1964, pp: 95-106). Like a vicious circle, underdeveloped countries will lose their elites, especially those who have been downgraded or marginalized. The populations of these backward countries, those who can envisage migrating to places where it's good to live and where there are the conditions to take advantage of and participate in the progress offered by our times, will do so again and again. Bertrand Badie (2009, pp: 23-31), drawing inspiration from Durkheim, explains that social phenomena are born of other social facts that are external to individuals, writing that: "Social mechanics alone are formidable: if, for example, Europe represents 32% of the world's GDP and only 6% of the world's population, it obviously becomes a magnet for migration".

5. The globalization of higher education and student migration

In this general context characterized by contradictions and inequalities, education systems, and higher education and training in particular, are not on the sidelines of these transformations. In today's knowledge-based society, where science and technology play a key role, the pursuit of long, high-quality studies is a major challenge for countries and individuals alike. Higher education is seen as an essential path to self-determination and personal fulfillment. Higher education is also a means of social integration and membership of the privileged social classes. For countries, higher education sectors are vectors of economic development and cultural influence. They are areas of competition for the best position in today's global knowledge society.

The ability to attract foreign students is not only a question of economics, but also of cultural, scientific and technological development. The internationalization of higher education, which has been underway since the 1990s, essentially responds to the needs of developed countries. Research on these transformations and reforms is mainly focused on Western industrialized countries, and underlines the strong global evolution of study mobility (Burton, 1998; Bond & Lemasson, 1999; Breton & Lambert, 2003; Elieth P. Eyebiyi and Sylvie Mazzella, 2014; p. 7-24). As a result, student mobility has increased, becoming a specific feature of globalized higher education. Laure Endrizzi (In: dossier d'actualité de la VST n°51, 2-2010) notes that: "this change in perspective has led to the deployment of new strategies at the level of countries, regions and institutions, and to the emergence of new discourses on the individual benefits of mobility for students". This political and institutional promotion of student mobility has led to increased competition between higher education institutions worldwide. This competition is driven by the laws of the market. Indeed, the university is one of the main places where knowledge is produced in the form of commodities that circulate on the global labor market. What's more, as Bradley Smith (2009) points out, "once the university has produced its goods, it is not up to the university itself to go and sell them directly on the market; it is up to the graduates to go and sell themselves".

Bradley Smith (In: *contretemps.eu*, 15/05/2009) gives the example of indebted American students: "...starting their graduate lives with several thousand dollars in debt, they enter the job market at a time when there are very few buyers, but they still have to pay off their debts". Indeed, the creation of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) in 1995 reflects the formalization of market procedures and processes applicable to the international exchange of services (Jandhyala B.G. Tilak, (2012), p: 9). What's more, the internationalization of knowledge is not a direct function of the university system, but of the wage system, which turns knowledge into an alienable commodity circulating on the global common labor market.

6. The internationalization of higher education and student migration

What's more, in today's globalized economy, as Eugénie Terrier (2009, p. 70) points out, "international mobility for study purposes is socially valued, as it is presented as a guarantee of skills recognized by employers". Indeed, since the 1990s, higher education has undergone a decisive turning point as it has become part of neoliberal globalization, with factors of a more economic nature taking precedence over other areas. Neoliberal ideology reduces education to a commodity in the supermarket of globalization. Knowledge and know-how become goods to be bought and sold. In addition to this common European labor market, a common European human capital market has emerged to enable the circulation and visibility of the skills trained by top-quality higher education establishments in the North. This is how student mobility is encouraged around the world, but supported and inspired by and for Europe, "since the establishment of the Bologna process -to model the American system-, in the construction of Europe, which subsequently spread to other countries, academic migration has become a global phenomenon" (S. Garneau and S. Mazzella, 2013; S. Mazzella, 2010). Indeed, a global

phenomenon but with European characteristics and inspirations. As Cariou-Charton Sylvain (2016, p. 11) points out: "To this massification of education and the diversity of training paths available, we need to add another factor: international offers. This growing phenomenon is having a major impact on young people's existential questions".

Thus, in this context of strong international competition, policies linked to the attractiveness of higher education and the reception of foreign students have undergone major changes, involving many players at different levels" (European Migration Network, main study 2012, p: 7). These different actors involved in the management and monitoring of student migration are to be found at the level of both sending and receiving countries. Various bodies have been set up to control, facilitate or restrict student flows, according to regulations decided by nationalist policies. The latter are not always equitable, but rather the result of compromises and transactions between nation-states. This generates new and unpredictable social phenomena. Indeed, students and their families are influenced by the value placed on international diplomas, mobilizing resources and adopting strategies to gain access to institutions offering internationally recognized and valued training. This competition for the best courses and the best students generates inequalities of all kinds and at all levels. Academic migration thus becomes an issue for individuals, institutions and countries alike, giving rise to a variety of dynamics and actions that accentuate inequalities between countries and between individuals.

7. Underdeveloped countries fall by the wayside

While developed countries have made the transition to the mass education revolution and created a common market for education and employment, many developing countries are still unable to adopt this evolution in education and adapt the development of science and technology to their local contexts and development policies. What's more, the lack of fit between their education systems and the economic sector means that the arrival of large numbers of graduates on the job market creates fundamental problems of integration that sometimes even affect the stability of these countries. At a time when UNESCO is setting targets (UNESCO 2020-2030) to ensure that: "women and men have equal access to technical and university education"; and "to increase, by 2030, the number of young people and adults with the skills needed for employment, decent work and entrepreneurship", developing countries are unable to come up with an overall policy that would ensure a match between the education system and the labor market, and between demand for training and supply in terms of quality and diversity. Indeed, some of these countries are unable to diversify and modernize their educational offerings in terms of quality and specialization, let alone create a developed economy capable of absorbing the products of universities and offering job opportunities to integrate these graduates economically and socially. As a result, underdeveloped countries remain on the sidelines of the global technological revolution underway in all fields. In the field of internationalized and diversified higher education, some underdeveloped countries are struggling to meet the aspirations of their young people and the demands of their students for quality training and cutting-edge specialties. In fact, underdeveloped countries, particularly the former colonized countries currently experiencing a demographic explosion, are unable to meet the high demand for training on the part of their students, whether in terms of volume, quality, diversity or outlets. In addition, a major problem arises when it comes to integrating graduates, as social structures are generally not developed, the economic sector is not diversified, institutions and structures are not coherent and cohesive, and social ills are on the increase. What's more, international training opportunities and the attractiveness of certain developed countries and their higher education establishments are attracting students from all corners of the globe. Indeed, the internationalization of the higher education sector, which has aligned itself with the economic and international job markets, means that an international degree is valued to the detriment of national ones, which remain limited and offer no prospects. What's

more, career prospects are greater once an internationally-recognized diploma has been obtained in a European institution, whether in the home or host country.

8. Divide between North-North mobility and South-North migration

Jean-Marc Siroën (2004, p. 2) contrasts "internationalization" and "globalization", the former emphasizing the interdependence of nation-states that retain national specificity; "globalization", on the other hand, postulates the idea of integration and the withdrawal of the state in favor of "global" markets and regulators. The globalization of higher education is often interpreted as a phenomenon of neoliberalism, which emphasizes strong global competition through the removal of protective policies and the implementation of global and regional laissez-faire trade regimes, such as the World Trade Organization and the North American Free Trade Agreement. Competition is often emphasized in political discourse at both national and international levels (OECD, 2008; Salmi, 2009; UK Department for Business Innovation and Skills, 2009; World Bank, 2003). One of the characteristics of globalization is the polarization and concentration of capital in a few "global cities", to paraphrase Sassen (1991). Thus, the effects of contemporary globalization on social stratification have given rise to a whole stream of research (Wagner and Réau, 2015; Lecler, R. 2018, pp. 307-318). As a result, international higher education is for many the route to accessing dominant social positions in knowledge societies. Mobility in general is seen as an investment of human capital in a more profitable global market. However, with regard to the management of student "migration" specific to students from underdeveloped countries, we note contradictions and inequalities in relation to state management of the latter. Various regulations are imposed by state policies, thus constraining the globalization process in the higher education and employment sectors. We believe that a country like Algeria, which has no private universities or foreign higher education establishments, and which issues diplomas that are sometimes not even recognized by companies within the country, and which applies the LMD system with only Arabic in the social sciences and humanities, is managing in a way that runs counter to the global development process. As a result, the international migration of students and academics has not only grown, but has become a way of aspiring to insertion into the emerging global society, and of getting out of the corners of the world forgotten by the benefits of progress made possible by science and technology. Indeed, with today's information and communication technologies enabling the instant dissemination of the ways and lifestyles of developed societies, the populations of underdeveloped countries are fascinated, adopting unpredictable practices and behaviors to break out of the confines to which they are subjected. Indeed, internationalization cannot be reduced to physical flows; it also, and above all, corresponds to cultural, symbolic and normative influences. As Christine Musselin (2008, p. 13-24) notes: "It is no longer just the numbers of mobile students and academics that are at the heart of internationalization, but also the emergence of a globalized model". Henri Jorda (2007, p. 41-59), for his part, notes that: "The globalized character of the reforms presented as modern, they are designed to bring Europe into the knowledge society by creating a single market for human capital". Thus, the single European labor market and the single market for human capital create disparities and divide the world into North and South poles. What's more, since the 1990s, a multilateral migration management system has been in place, giving each state the right to "sovereignly decide who may enter and stay on its territory, and under what conditions" (UNFPA, ICPD-PoA-final, 1994). As a result, young students from underdeveloped countries experience segregation at both national and international levels. Selections are made by level of study, language, discipline, capital held... etc.

9. South-North migration is costly and unequal

The system in which contemporary international migration is embedded is full of inequalities. The policies of global domination, which monopolize cheap, flexible labor and the natural resources of the South, and which prevent the transfer of technology and the sharing of science, make today's world asymmetrical. Raúl Delgado Wise (2013) challenges us in the following way: "It is crucial to understand that this crisis requires us both to engage in a process of radical social transformation and to build an agent of social transformation capable of confronting the current dominant imperialist power".

The recent trends in the global economic order and evolving exigencies in the job market have impacted the field of education. The world is rapidly moving towards knowledge-driven and service-driven economies with the demand for human talent ever increasing (B. Potnuru et al., 2023). Then, taking into account the mobility costs of migrants partly explains their selection in the emigration process. This selection effect has important implications for the dynamics of emigration flows and for explaining the ambiguous effects of migration on countries of origin and host countries. And because of the high cost of international migration and the stakes involved, those who emigrate to study are from well-off families, and this accentuates the growth of inequalities. As a result, disadvantaged young people in the South observe the unprecedented advances being made in the developed world with resignation and helplessness. Sometimes, however, they rebel against their governors who fail to offer them the opportunities they need to keep up with the normal flow of development taking place around the world. With the help of their families and networks, they adopt a variety of strategies to get to these developed countries, and sometimes resort to circumvention tactics. Indeed, many underdeveloped countries are not penetrated by progress, and their populations live far from the benefits of scientific and technological developments enjoyed by developed societies. As a result, some students defy the material, ideological and political constraints that stand in their way, and they confront the various borders imposed by the policies of nation-states, managing to carve out paths that lead to places that enjoy the progress they are denied. It is against this backdrop that student migration has been increasing year on year, particularly since the 1990s; "between 2006 and 2016, the global student population grew by almost 50%, from 146 million to 218 million, a growth rate of 4.1% per year" (Chiffres clés Campus France 10 avril 2019). Indeed, the division of the world into rich and poor has accentuated social and spatial inequalities. Branko Milanovic (2005), measuring global inequalities between individuals on the planet using data articulating average country incomes and incomes within countries, comes to the conclusion that: "the richest in the poorest countries remain poorer than the poorest in the richest countries". As a result, the choice to emigrate becomes an escape route and a springboard for accessing rich places and escaping poverty in all its forms. Migrants from poor countries are increasingly motivated to go to rich countries, even if the migrant's journey is often an obstacle course, but they know that they will reach places of bliss and escape the torments of their places of departure. Indeed, many developing countries are experiencing crises and problems of various kinds. In addition to economic poverty, they are experiencing political problems such as totalitarianism and instability, as well as social scourges like corruption, despotism and lack of social cohesion. What's more, for young, educated populations, there's a glaring lack of means of intellectual stimulation and a lack of elite groups and scientific human capital to emancipate and evolve. As a result, young people and their families are looking to higher education abroad to help them realize their full potential and aspire to a better life. However, it's not easy for students from underdeveloped countries to gain access to higher education establishments in wealthy countries, which impose varied and tough selections. As a result, higher education institutions in the northern hemisphere are in fierce competition for excellence, and those that appear in international rankings are often those that attract the world's wealthiest students. Indeed, welcoming international students represents a major area of influence and is part of a competitive trend to attract the world's best students.

Job markets, meanwhile, favor the products of these prestigious, listed establishments, which are located in highly developed countries, further splitting the differences between countries and creating northern poles of excellence.

10. Various inequalities

These poles exert an influence on societies and individuals the world over. This in turn generates student mobility and migration, which is increasingly valued. Between rich countries, student mobility is facilitated, desired and encouraged as part of reciprocity, interculturality and outreach. However, students from underdeveloped countries are considered foreigners, and do not benefit from the same facilities as other students from the community. These student "migrations", which are not part of European "mobilities", are constrained, suspected, limited and monitored. What's more, these migrations from the South to the North are also divided into managed migrations and free individual migrations. Students who emigrate within the framework of partnerships benefit from state and institutional support in both the host country and the country of origin. Students who migrate individually, on the other hand, receive no coverage or institutional assistance. These "free mover" migrations are on the increase, even if they are subject to various constraints and obstacles. Nevertheless, they remain undocumented and unknown to both sending and receiving countries. What's more, these free individual student "migrations" are also marked by inequalities, as those who manage to make their migration plans to the countries of the North a reality and enroll in their universities are generally the children of the social classes who possess the various assets required for international migration. Migration has a cost, as Timera (2001, pp. 37-49) points out: "It is rarely the people from the poorest areas who emigrate. To a certain extent, emigration is a luxury that not everyone can afford". As a result, migrant students from underdeveloped countries are divided into two groups:

1-There are students who emigrate to study abroad, or part of their studies, under intergovernmental or inter-institutional cooperation agreements. These students benefit from assistance from the country of departure and all the facilities of the host country. They generally sign a contract to return to their home country at the end of their studies.

2-There are also students who emigrate individually and sometimes with the help of their families, mobilizing various resources and adopting strategies and tactics to avoid blockages and suspicions at home and in the host country. In the main study by the European Migration Network (2012, p: 19), we read that: "France, for example, seeks to privilege supervised mobility, via scholarship programs or university cooperation agreements. The aim is to ensure greater success for foreign students on mobility programs in France. Despite a significant increase, supervised mobility currently accounts for only 20% of student flows to France, compared with 80% for individual mobility. Against a backdrop of fierce international competition, our aim is to attract the best foreign students, particularly from emerging countries. Thus, the majority of international student migration takes place outside state and institutional contracts. However, academic studies concerning this latter category of migrant students are rare, even though these distinctions are important, as they highlight the inequalities between two categories of students in the same country of origin. What's more, the paths, motives, dynamics and strategies of these students who migrate freely are rich in information and reflect the global situation of the country of departure. Studying these free migrations of students from Southern to Northern countries in relation to their global and local contexts could lead us to fundamental sociological questions that touch on epistemology and human issues. Also, the question of migration today refers to diverse and varied socio-economic issues that integrate plural dimensions of analysis (Vincent Fromentin, 2010).

3- Conclusion

Thus, the fields of education and higher training are affected by internationalization policies linked to the process of globalization (Brock-Utne 1996; Carnoy 1999; Lange 2001; Laval and Weber 2002; Vinokur 2002) and "the 1990s can be seen as emblematic of the spread and imposition of these policies" (Marie-France Lange, 2003, pp: 169-170). Indeed, today's migrations are a feature of the globalization that has driven them, but has also divided them into mobilities with a North-North trajectory, which are valued and encouraged, and "migrations" with a South-North trajectory, which are limited, stigmatized and incriminated.

Higher education is generally the most appropriate and common way of accessing the advantages offered by today's knowledge-based society and technological development. As a result, student mobility is on the increase these days, encouraged by governments and economic, institutional and political players. The mobility of young students, armed with knowledge and skills that can be adapted to scientific and technological developments, is valued within the framework of the common market for labor and human capital in the countries of the North. Student mobility is thus proof of the reciprocity and cultural influence of the European world, united by the common market for science and technology and the common market for labor and human capital. However, this same advanced and standardized world, which disseminates these achievements in terms of success and attractive life models, creates desires and aspirations within the populations of other societies in underdeveloped countries or countries of the South and former colonized countries. In this asymmetrical global context divided into North and South poles, inequalities create fantasies and imaginaries to which unpredictable behavior, attitudes and unprecedented tactical practices correspond. The aggregates of these practices and behaviors in turn create new social phenomena that affect societies and populations. This in turn generates national and international migration policies, and multiplies the number of players involved in these migrations, often creating tensions. Student migration", with its South-North trajectory, is one of these phenomena, created in parallel with European "student mobility", which is promoted and encouraged. They are therefore a natural secretion of global structures. Indeed, the Internet enables the instant dissemination of advances in science and technology, and the spread of what these advances enable in terms of wealth and generalized well-being. Influenced, animated and enchanted by these advances, students adopt a variety of attitudes and use a variety of strategies to gain access to places where life is good and where they can develop and apply their knowledge, potential and skills. Thus, education is a factor in migration, as Wihtol De Wenden Catherine, (2014, pp: 7-17) has written: "...the progress in education that has made it possible to refuse the fatality of being born in a poor and badly governed country by seeking elsewhere the possibility of realizing one's life project".

To finish we will say with (Laurence Roulleau-Berger, 2011) : "In this context of globalized capitalism and the establishment of polycentric economic systems, the diversification of migrants' biographies highlights the emergence of "partially denationalized classes" (Sassen, 2006), particularly with the formation of transnational elites, new middle classes and disqualified or poor workers. It is the most affluent and least affluent populations that appear particularly visible in this process of constructing a globalized social stratification" (Laurence Roulleau-Berger, 2011).

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- **Comment citer cet article par la méthode APA:**

- BELHOCINR HOUA HASSINA. The globalization of higher education and student migration . *Journal du développement des sciences sociales*. 17 (01). Algérie: Université du Djelfa. 109-120.