

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, LABOUR MIGRATION AND URBAN SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY

With 1 figure and 3 tables

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Zusammenfassung: Ökonomische Entwicklung, Arbeiterwanderung und die sozialräumliche Struktur von Städten

Urbanisierung wird fast regelmäßig mit Industrialisierung gleichgesetzt und die Nettozuwanderung als entscheidende Komponente des städtischen Wachstums angesehen. Es gibt jedoch Wanderungsvorgänge ganz unterschiedlichen Typs; so haben die Art der Wanderung sowie die Reaktion der aufnehmenden Gesellschaft (einschließlich ihres Verwaltungsapparates) einen entscheidenden Einfluß auf die sozialräumliche Struktur der Städte. Dabei ist das jeweilige Wohnungsangebot, auf das die Zuwanderer treffen, von zentraler Bedeutung. Dieser Sachverhalt wird in der vorliegenden Studie anhand neuerer Untersuchungen in Frankreich dargestellt, wobei das Beispiel der Stadt Lyon besonders behandelt wird.

Um den Prozeß der Urbanisierung ausreichend verstehen zu können, so lautet die These, benötigt man sowohl einen allgemeinen Erklärungsansatz für die räumlichen Variationen im Verhältnis von Nachfrage nach Arbeit und Wanderung als auch eine genaue Vorstellung davon, wie die Zuwanderer durch die aufnehmende Gesellschaft assimiliert bzw. in diese integriert werden. Das Resultat ist jeweils ein spezifisches Verteilungsmuster städtischen Wohnens. Die Einzelheiten dieses Musters sind für die amerikanischen Städte mit ihrem weitgehend freien Wohnungsmarkt schon vielfach untersucht worden. Die hier vorgelegte französische Fallstudie zeigt demgegenüber, wie andersartige kulturelle Rahmenbedingungen auch zu unterschiedlichen Verteilungsmustern führen.

Urbanisation is almost invariably related with economic development, which in turn is usually equated with industrialisation. Further, urbanisation – the growth in the proportion of a country's or a region's population living in urban centres – is in part a consequence of net immigration. Thus the equation can be extended to link urbanisation with migration, mainly though not exclusively from rural to urban areas.

The migration can be of many types. We suggest the following framework for a typology of labour migrations:

	Seekers			
	Short-term	Fixed contract	of fortune	Settlers
Individual				
Family				
Community				

The two criteria indicated are the unit moving and the time period involved. The migrants may be individuals, families, or larger communities: with the last two, the migrations may occur sequentially, with individuals pioneering the move and, as a result of their relative success and the information and money that they remit, followed later by others from their home. This is the classic chain migration process. The nature of the unit moving may be

related to the other criterion: families and entire communities are most likely to move if the intention is to establish a new, permanent home, whereas for either fixed contract (e.g. migrant workers to the south African goldmines) or short-term moves the individual worker only will migrate.

Implicit in this representation of the migration process is its link to the process of economic development. The stimulus for moving is the search for work – any work in some circumstances; better, i.e. better-paid, in others. Not all migrations have been so stimulated, especially in the past, and there are still some – notably those of refugees – which have origins other than those involved in the equation of economic development with urbanisation (see JOHNSTON and JONES, 1983). The focus here, however, is on labour migration, and in particular on international labour migration and its influence on urban social geography.

Labour Migration and Urban Social Geography: an Outline

Many capitalist societies, in seeking to expand their workforce in order to promote industrial development, have imported labour. Much of the 'New World', for example, operated an open-door policy for several decades, encouraging immigration; today, such policies are in abeyance, and may never be rejuvenated. Other countries, such as Britain, have imported workers at certain times to meet particular needs, and in the decades after the Second World War most West European countries stimulated their industrialisation by recruiting workers from the less-developed economies of Southern Europe, North Africa and South-west Asia.

The importation of migrant workers introduces potential problems of host:migrant inter-relations. In some situations, the migrants may be entirely assimilated by their hosts, losing all of their distinguishing characteristics. In others, they may be well-integrated, but retain some identifying features – usually cultural and social. Most common, however, is the situation of minimal integration only; the migrants are accepted because their labour is needed but their hosts are unwilling to admit them to 'full membership'.

Such 'minimal integration' strategies are usually associated with inter-group conflict, in which the more powerful, and usually more numerous, hosts hold virtually all of the political power. This conflict is almost always linked to inter-group stereotyping and prejudice. The hosts seek to place the migrants in inferior situations, and to ensure that they cannot escape these and challenge the hosts' superior

positions within society. In part, this can be done through allocation mechanisms – allowing the migrants access to certain jobs and occupations, and also to certain segments (tenurially and locationally defined) only of the housing market. Those allocational mechanisms may be the only means whereby the migrants obtain jobs and housing, so that control is complete. In many societies, however, the migrants may be able to compete in open markets; to maintain the superior: inferior position of hosts and migrants, the former must structure the markets to their advantage and to the migrants' disadvantage.

With regard to housing, it is not so much access to dwellings per se that is crucial to the hosts in this structuring as access to particular *areas*. The stereotyping of the migrants presents them in a negative light, implying that they do not make acceptable potential neighbours. The migrants are to be confined to certain areas only, where they do not impinge on the neighbourhood quality enjoyed by their hosts. There is thus a process of *distancing* (JOHNSTON, 1980), the consequence of which is residential segregation.

The detailed nature of this distancing process and the consequent residential segregation varies from society to society, and also over time within a society, reflecting the particular local circumstances and the institutional arrangements erected to manipulate the housing market to the migrants' disadvantage (for a review of various European countries, see WHITE, 1984). In most countries, the state is implicated in the manipulations, through its control of building standards and health regulations, as well as in the subsidisation and direct provision of housing. Again, the detailed nature of state involvement varies from society to society (see, for example, JOHNSTON, 1984).

The equation of urban industrialisation with labour migration suggests a set of general processes whereby towns grow. These processes vary considerably in their nature, however, as the above mentioned typology suggests. Further, their impact on the geography of the host society also varies, in part as a consequence of the type of migration and in part as a function of local variations in the social response to the immigrants. It is suggested here that although stereotyping and distancing may be general reactions to immigrants, the geographical representations of those reactions vary from place to place and time to time. To understand any one situation, it is necessary to set the particulars of the local context within the general framework of a model of the processes and their geographical elements. Thus the remainder of this paper provides the findings of a single case study, presented to advance both specific and general understanding. The case study refers to labour immigration to France, and in particular to the city of Lyon.

Economic Development, Immigration and the Social Geography of French Cities

The inter-relationships that we have outlined – between economic development, immigration and the social geo-

graphy of urban areas – are investigated further with the aid of case study material relating to contemporary France. It is apparent that the late 1960s represent a turning-point in the recent history of international migration to French cities. Up to this time, migration was characteristically short-term in nature, and consisted principally of 'lone' (that is, unmarried or unaccompanied) male workers; subsequently it was to become increasingly long-term or settler oriented and more closely associated with family groupings, though with a residual 'lone worker' community of not-insignificant proportions. A number of variables interact with these demographic developments, though simple cause-effect relationships are difficult to identify. They include changes in economic conjuncture and in the demand for immigrant labour; changes in ethnic community attitudes vis-a-vis long-term residence, and the spontaneous 'maturation' of migratory streams; and, finally, shifts in state policy in the spheres of immigration itself and of housing for immigrants. The case study briefly outlines these developments at the national scale, and then proceeds to investigate in greater depth aspects of immigrant housing and their impact on the social geography of French urban areas.

Immigrant Labour in France

Economic growth during the 1960s created unprecedented opportunities for upward occupational mobility amongst indigenous French workers and, equally, for lower status employment on the part of immigrants from Southern Europe and North Africa. A substantial proportion of foreigners entered France without recourse to the official procedures however, either without any papers at all or as 'tourists'. Reasons for this growth in clandestine migration are several: lengthy bureaucratic procedures, which workers and employers alike preferred to bypass; fear on the part of migrants themselves that they would fail the medical examination or proficiency test; relaxation of frontier controls and other aspects of immigration associated with the EEC; and for Portuguese workers specifically, to whom legal migration was denied during this period, the desire to avoid military conscription for that country's wars in Africa. Furthermore, according to GRANOTIER (1976, 65–66), clandestine migration was favoured by employers and given unofficial approval by the state: it created in effect a reserve supply of labour which acted as a curb on wage rises, and which could be hired and dismissed with ease according to economic fluctuations. Official tolerance extended to ratification of the 'regularisation' procedure, whereby migrants could legalise their circumstances retrospectively once employment had been found.

Foreign immigration was unable to solve the problem of labour shortages in low status occupations, however. On the contrary, it tended to encourage the outward movement of indigenous workers from such jobs, as they became increasingly aware of the inferiority of their work. So long as economic growth persisted, therefore, the demand for migrant labour was apparently guaranteed. With the excep-

tion of minor downturns in 1958–59 and again in 1966–68, economic expansion indeed continued largely unabated until the autumn of 1973, when rapidly rising oil prices initiated what was destined to become the worst recession in post-war history. Attempts to regulate labour migration and to re-assert the authority of the state had already been made in 1968 and 1972, and these trends culminated in a complete moratorium on the issue of new work permits, imposed in July 1974. Though unemployment rose sharply, and affected foreign workers disproportionately, migrant labour in general could not easily be dispensed with; native French workers (especially of the younger generation) had been led to expect a vocation in life above that of unskilled manual labour, a fact which policy-makers at least could not afford to ignore (see *Secrétariat d'Etat aux Travailleurs Immigrés – SETI*, no date, 47). Indeed, CASTELS (1975, 39–44) and others have argued that while economic recession leads to a temporary fall in the demand for low-cost labour, longer-term structural changes (of which, paradoxically, recession is the principal catalyst) assure migrant workers of a permanent and central role in the advanced capitalist economies of Western Europe. Despite political pressure for a substantial reduction in the immigrant workforce, therefore, state initiatives were limited to (voluntary) assisted return passages and lump-sum payments offered to selected groups, especially the unemployed. Furthermore, the migration of dependants was allowed to continue, with only a brief interruption during 1974–75. Henceforth, however, it would be subject to closer surveillance and greater selectivity: the regularisation procedure was to be phased out, and conditions for entry would, in future, include one year's legal residence on the part of the applicant, stable finances, satisfactory housing, and successful medical examination (SETI, no date, 78). The state's position on this issue was couched primarily in humanitarian terms, though the inevitability of demographic 'maturation' in the migratory flow was recognised also (*ibid.*, 72). However, it can be argued that the new immigration policies themselves provided a stimulus to family migration, in the sense that many lone (but married) workers, faced with mounting restrictions upon periodic departure and subsequent re-migration, inevitably looked to reunification in France as the only realistic means of maintaining family contact. By the same token, however, continued family *disunion* was to be the demographic outcome for that element within the migrant worker community unwilling or, more frequently, unable to resort to reunification; this qualification is not unimportant in view of the increasingly stringent conditions attached to family migration itself.

It is in the context of these economic, political and demographic developments that new immigrant housing policies were formulated from 1970 onwards. The following sections are concerned to identify and evaluate major changes in the character of immigrant housing during this period, and their impact on the social geography of urban areas. We will begin by surveying the entire range of housing types widely used by foreign migrants, and then proceed to consider more closely the evolution of one principal sector – the workers' hostels – using data pertaining to the provincial city of Lyon.

The Changing Nature of Immigrant Housing

Foreign immigrants in French cities have traditionally remained either on the margins of, or else completely outside, the conventional housing market. General reasons for ethnic group exclusion and segregation in the sphere of housing have already been outlined. However, additional specific factors of the French case include the shortage of new construction both before World War II and after, and the general turgidity of housing markets, which lasted well into the 1960s; this combined with government ambivalence towards the foreign population to create an immigrant housing crisis without parallel in the advanced capitalist world. The immigrant response inevitably bore witness to the severity of this problem, whilst reflecting also the largely covert and spontaneous character of the immigration process itself. Innumerable sources have documented the shameful condition of migrant housing which prevailed during the 1960s (see for example BANINE, 1968; CALME and CALME, 1972; CASTLES and KOSACK, 1973, especially chapter 7; GRANOTIER, 1976, 109–32); several have been reluctant to acknowledge the (admittedly limited) improvements in material terms which followed state intervention during the 1970s, whilst failing to recognise the important *qualitative* changes which took place also, notably in terms of spatial distribution, in terms of cost, in terms of tenure, and in terms of 'self-determination' or its converse, 'institutionalisation'.

Inner city lodging houses similar to those described by REX (1968; see also REX and MOORE, 1967) in Birmingham, England, have been a prominent feature of the French urban scene, where they are known as *hôtels meublés*, or *garnis*. Indeed, the lodging house district has traditionally acted as a reception and information centre for newly arrived migrants, the end point of a migratory chain where friends and relatives could be found who would provide temporary accommodation and help in the search for employment and a place to live. A second principally immigrant submarket has been that of the workers' hostels, or *foyers*. Though the existence of hostel accommodation in France dates back at least to the beginning of the present century, this sector acquired a new significance after 1945 with the upsurge of labour migration, notably from North Africa. Most of the early hostels were small and fairly rudimentary, often making use of former barracks, warehouses, factories and the like; they were run either by employers of migrant labour or by local charitable organisations. However, the most distinctive feature of immigrant housing in France during the 1960s, compared with other European countries with large-scale immigration, was the appearance and rapid growth of *bidonvilles*, or shanty towns, on the periphery of most larger settlements. Statistics pertaining to these three forms of housing are inevitably lacking in precision; however, there is evidence to suggest that for North African migrants at least they represented the norm rather than the exception at this time (see GRANOTIER, 1976, 110–14; SETI, no date, 87).

Bidonvilles and *garnis* alike may be seen as a solution to the problem of 'expropriation', not from the means of housing

per se – indeed both (and in particular the former) constitute a rather extreme form of ‘self determination’ in this respect – but rather from the means of *socially acceptable* housing, and also, in the case of the *bidonvilles*, from the means of urban accessibility. The lodging house generally offered accommodation which was marginally superior in material terms to that of the shanty town – though, of course, in return for the payment of rent; its decisive advantages from the point of view of newly arrived migrant workers, however, lay in its centrality and its long-established self-help network. Nevertheless, given the severity of the housing crisis, it was inevitable that the *bidonvilles* would possess certain attractions, in general for those unable to find or afford accommodation elsewhere in the city, and in particular for workers who obtained employment in the distant suburbs of large urban areas.

As early as 1964 the ‘Loi Debré’ had made available financial and legal means for the clearance of *bidonvilles*; whilst in theory these measures were not aimed exclusively at one form of insalubrious housing, in practice the *bidonvilles* were to become their principal target. A statement to the Assemblée Nationale de la Commission des Finances in 1974 reported the *bidonville* population to have fallen to 38,647 by the beginning of 1972, and one year later to around 22,000 (see GRANOTIER, 1976, 113). However, in view of the fact that, in its initial stages at least, the policy was largely carried out without any profound change in the conditions which gave rise to the existence of *bidonvilles*, it was predictable that alternative forms of marginal housing, including *micro-bidonvilles* (makeshift dwellings built singly or in small groups), would arise. Indeed, it is interesting to note in this respect that the 1974 statement reported an intensification of the lodging house ‘problem’, as more and more immigrants crammed into such low-cost accommodation as was available. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that the gradual suppression of illegal migration and the culminating ban on new work permits added some weight to the campaign against insalubrious housing; to the extent that lodging house districts and the *bidonvilles* served as reception areas for newly arrived migrants, and provided cheap accommodation for workers wishing to save as quickly as possible before returning home, any stabilisation of the immigrant community was bound to have a positive effect. On the other hand, increasing numbers, both of lone workers and, for the first time, families also, obliged to stay semi-permanently in France due to the impossibility of their returning in the foreseeable future, meant that a successful housing policy would depend not only upon measures to eradicate substandard dwellings and to control new immigration, but, most importantly, on the provision of alternative forms of housing.

The ‘Loi Vivien’ of 1970 extended state power for compulsory slum clearance to all forms of housing, and for the first time outlined a programme of rehousing for those made homeless by urban renewal. Whilst these provisions could not by definition be aimed exclusively at immigrant populations, it was clear from the outset that foreigners would feature very prominently in any projects of this nature.

Responsibility for clearance and rehousing work was delegated to the *sociétés d'économie mixte*, semi-public development companies which play a prominent role in many French urban renewal programmes. While state finance was available, in the form of construction grants and low-cost loans, and, indeed, subsidisation of rental payments themselves, the constructing agencies were nonetheless encouraged to make their operations economically viable so far as possible; in particular this implied that new housing would be confined to low-cost peripheral locations (more accessible sites being sold off for commercial redevelopment), whilst at the same time commanding rent levels which corresponded to the claimed superiority of the accommodation provided, compared with traditional forms of immigrant housing.

Specifically, the ‘Loi Vivien’ outlined programmes for expansion of three types of housing into which foreign immigrants would be encouraged to move. For immigrant families, two kinds of housing were envisaged: conventional (rented) ‘social’ dwellings (generally referred to as *habitations à loyer modéré*, or simply ‘HLMs’), together with a new form of specialised short-stay accommodation known as *cités de transit* (transit centres) for families made homeless by slum clearance projects or arriving for the first time in France, who found adaptation to high-rise living in the HLM sector impossible without some sort of initial ‘training’ period. For lone migrant workers, a large increase in the provision of hostel accommodation was seen as the only acceptable longer term solution. Thus while none of these housing types was intended to accommodate foreigners to the *absolute* exclusion of native French, there could be little doubt that at least two of the categories (and possibly all three) would give rise to institutionally-imposed social segregation of the immigrant population.

In general terms, these policy developments indicate several important trends in immigrant housing provision: from ‘self-help’ to institutionally controlled housing; from low-cost to high-cost accommodation; and (at least in part) from central to peripheral housing locations. The underlying philosophy would appear to reflect what SIBLEY (1981, 25–26) regards as a dual state concern to eliminate deprivation and deviancy on the part of non-conformist urban minorities:

As commonly applied, the labels ‘deviant’ and ‘deprived’ are opposed. Thus, deviancy can be defined as norm infraction (the violation of widely accepted standards of behaviour), a negative attribute that needs to be rectified; deprivation suggests a lack of material or cultural resources and, in policy terms, implies a positive response, a need to channel resources to the group or individual in order to reduce inequalities. In practice, however, the categories are blurred ... both deviancy and deprivation may be recognized as imputed characteristics that legitimate the dominant society’s social control policies.

Workers’ Hostels in Lyon

At the national level, state intervention to promote workers’ hostels began as early as 1956, with the establishment of a semipublic development company known as the

Société Nationale de la Construction pour les Travailleurs (SONACOTRA). Private and semipublic development proceeded side by side after this date, though with the latter assuming an increasingly important role; indeed, the most important phase of hostel construction, from 1970 to 1974, was based almost exclusively on the operations of SONACOTRA. This national pattern was closely followed in Lyon, where small-scale, private initiatives progressively gave way to large, purpose-built, hostels developed under the auspices of SONACOTRA, and, in a lesser degree, the HLM organisations. In 1975, SONACOTRA itself administered 28 hostels in Lyon, accounting for some 68 per cent of total capacity within the conurbation; most important amongst the private agencies administering hostels was the Maison du Travailleur Etranger (MTE), with 16 hostels and approximately 30 per cent of total capacity. The overall number of hostel places in Lyon was in the region of 15,000 at this time, or about 50 per cent of the 'target' population of lone male workers.

Most of the available data associate individual hostels with their agency of administration only; however, a simple categorisation of this nature is less than ideal for two reasons. First numerous hostels constructed under the SONACOTRA-HLM regime were subsequently transferred for day-to-day administrative purposes into the hands of a local organisation such as the MTE, though the circumstances of construction themselves exerted a powerful influence over the character of hostels as living environments. And secondly, certain hostels both constructed and managed by SONACOTRA in Lyon date from the late 1950s and early 1960s, when political as well as economic circumstances were radically different from those prevailing during the later period of hostel development. This blurring of the line of demarcation between what in their stereotypical form represent two very different types of housing for migrant workers clearly renders more difficult the provision of valid socio-geographical generalisations; however, it may be thought to enhance, rather than diminish, the strength of any such statements which can be supported statistically for precisely this reason.

Several major differences between the two groups of hostels can be identified. First, there is a clear difference in terms of geographical distribution; this is shown cartographically in fig. 1 (occupied places only) and demonstrated statistically in table 1 (in terms of total capacity), which indicates SONACOTRA-HLM hostels to be significantly over-represented in suburban communes, with 'other' establishments associated more closely with the central urban area. Secondly, the mean size of SONACOTRA-HLM administered hostels was of the order of 270 beds, compared with only 180 for 'other' hostels; in fact, had it been possible to calculate the *modal* (that is, most frequently occurring) hostel size within each of the two groups it is probable that this difference would have been shown to be greater still, since the latter group includes a large number of very small hostels alongside a smaller number of rather large establishments, while relatively little size variation is apparent within the former group. The question of size

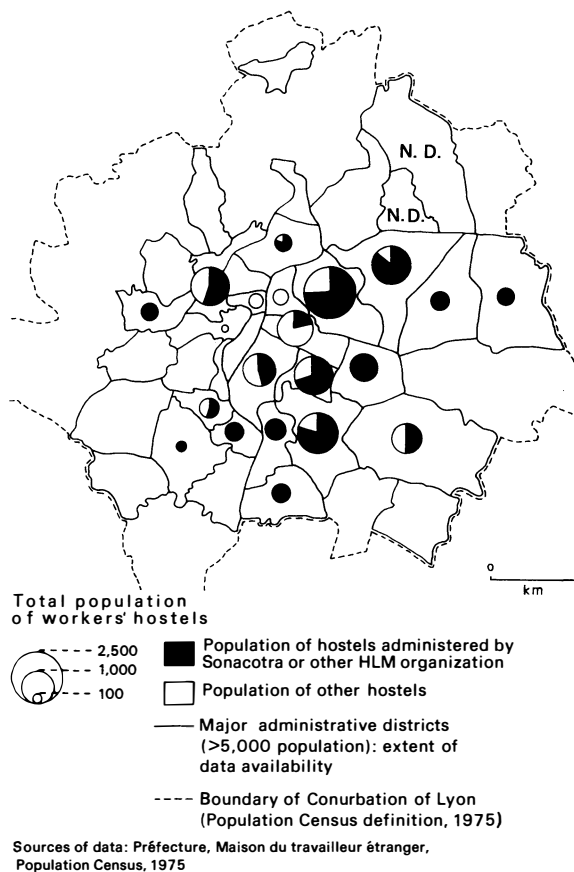


Fig. 1: Lyon: Two Generations of Workers' Hostels, 1975

inevitably has implications for the type of administrative arrangements to be adopted within a hostel, and, more generally, for the character of the living environment which develops. It is especially pertinent in the light of a government memorandum of 1971, which recommended the maximum size of hostel to be 150 beds only (see Anon., 1979, 77). Thirdly, the type of accommodation offered was exclusively of the apartment variety (either individual beds or shared apartments) in the SONACOTRA-HLM hostels, but included both dormitory- and apartment-type quarters in those establishments administered by other agencies. Fourthly – and clearly related to the first three observations (especially the third), as well as to those more general remarks concerning circumstances of development – the rent charged varied considerably from hostel to hostel; for SONACOTRA-HLM hostels it was generally between F200 and F340 per month in late 1975, compared with between F138 and F200 for 'other' hostels¹⁾. This was probably the single most important consideration for migrant workers whose stay in France was intended to be

¹⁾ Data relating to hostel rents have been provided by Dr. R. G. Grillo (University of Sussex), and are based on personal field work.

Table 1: Geographical Distribution of Hostel Capacity According to Agency of Administration, 1975

		SONACOTRA and HLM Agencies	Other Agencies	All Agencies
Central Area	Observed	4481	3665	8146
	Expected	5571.57	2574.43	
Suburbs	Observed	6024	1189	7213
	Expected	4933.43	2279.57	
Total		10505	4854	15359

CHI-square (where 'expected' distribution for each group of agencies is in proportion to the distribution for all agencies together) = 1787.65 (significant at 0.1 per cent)

Sources of Data: Préfecture; Maison du Travailleur Etranger; Notre Dame des Sans-Abri

temporary only, and the duration of which was governed principally by their ability to save.

The relative popularity of different hostels is most clearly displayed in the widely varying rates of occupation recorded (by the Préfecture) at the close of 1975. Tables 2 and 3 show, respectively, that rates of occupation were significantly lower in suburban hostels than in those located centrally, and that SONACOTRA-HLM hostels were considerably less popular than those administered by other agencies. Given the geographical distribution of hostels which has been observed, it is unfortunate that the data do not permit a statistical 'separation' of these two variables, namely location and agency of administration. However such information as is available indicates the apparent relevance of both factors; for example, a recent survey undertaken in Lyonnais hostels includes rent levels, location, noise (resulting mainly from size and the insubstantial nature of walls and partitions) and degree of discipline among the main factors serving to differentiate SONACOTRA establish-

Table 2: Rate of Occupation of Hostels According to Location, 1975*

	Number of Beds Available	'Observed' Number of Beds Occupied	'Expected' Number of Beds Occupied
Central Area	8498	6368	5507.36
Suburbs	7443	3963	4823.64
Total	15941	10331	10331.00

CHI-square (where 'expected' distribution of occupied beds is in proportion to distribution of available beds) = 288.05 (significant at 0.1 per cent)

* Includes 9 hostels for young workers and one Armée du Salut hostel.

Source of Data: Préfecture

Table 3: Rate of Occupation of Hostels According to Agency of Administration, 1975*

	Number of Beds Available	'Observed' Number of Beds Occupied	'Expected' Number of Beds Occupied
SONACOTRA and HLM Agencies	7956	3466	4812.09
Other Agencies	6142	5061	3714.91
All Agencies	14098	8527	8527.00

CHI-square (where 'expected' distribution of occupied beds is in proportion to the distribution of available beds) = 864.29 (significant at 0.1 per cent)

* Excludes one hostel administered by the Centre d'Accueil, d'Information et d'Orientation.

Source of Data: Préfecture

ments from the more popular MTE hostels (*Groupe de Sociologie Urbaine de Lyon*, no date, 66-7).

There can be little doubt as to the relative unpopularity of SONACOTRA-type hostels in Lyon, therefore, and hence of government policies designed to promote this kind of accommodation at the expense of traditional immigrant housing forms, including *bidonvilles*, lodging houses and the older *foyers* themselves. Published government statistics (*Service de Liaison et Promotion des Migrants*, no date, 41) – as opposed to unpublished records, which alone have been used in the present account – display only the aggregate rate of occupation for hostels in the Lyon area (65 per cent at the close of 1975); this is to justify the future closure of certain older hostels. However, the foregoing analysis clearly demonstrates that such a move would serve further to distance state policy from the housing preferences of immigrant workers themselves.

Summary

Evidence drawn from recent French experience, therefore, illustrates clearly the relationship between economic development, immigration and the social geography of urban areas. Migration has occurred primarily in response to the demand for low-cost labour, and this fact overrides all others in shaping its impact on urban landscapes. However, we have argued that the state represents an important intervening variable in these relationships: government policy, in the spheres both of immigration and of immigrant housing, has been formulated with a view to promoting economic growth without undue disturbance of the prevailing social order.

Oil crisis and recession notwithstanding, the demand for low-cost labour continued in the 1970s. Immigration policies during this period were designed to stabilise the ethnic community, while housing policies were themselves concerned to provide socially more 'acceptable' forms of accommodation for the growing number of migrant families

present on French soil, as well as the 'residual' community of lone migrant workers. Several important changes in the social character of immigrant housing ensued, including increased suburbanisation, growing institutionalisation (or loss of self-determination), increasing state subsidisation and – despite the growing injection of state funds – increasing costs to the immigrant clientele itself. There is evidence to suggest that these policies were viewed with some disfavour by many immigrants, not least those whose principal objective was to save as quickly as possible before returning home. It is in relation to this conflict of interest between state and ethnic community that the social geography of immigration and immigrant housing in French cities may profitably be viewed.

Conclusions

Economic development has been based on the utilisation of labour, mainly in concentrated units of production. The needed labour force has been spatially concentrated, thereby contributing not only to economic development but also to urbanisation. Thus migration has played a central supporting role in the processes of economic development. Many of the migrants have been drawn to the expanding towns from nearby areas, and they have been readily assimilated into the new urban society. But where local sources could not meet the demands, supplies of labour – particularly for the less attractive, menial, poorly-paid jobs – were obtained from further afield. In many cases, the workers so obtained were offered (or wished) temporary status in their new home only; they occupied separate social as well as economic positions, and were treated accordingly by their hosts.

Within urban areas, the consequences of these migrations are clearly visible in the social landscape. The urban residential mosaic is in part a reflection of the interplay among migrant groups and between migrants and their hosts. This mosaic has been clearly demonstrated many times for American cities, where its form is very much predicated on a free market in housing, allied to social and political influences on who can live where. In other countries, the role of the state in housing markets has brought about a further element to the processes and patterning of migrant residential segregation, as our French case study has shown.

Understanding the process of urbanisation in the past requires a full appreciation of the role of labour migration, therefore, and understanding the urban residential mosaic

demands detailed study of the incorporation of migrants into urban society. Today, economic development is not as closely linked to labour, for much industry is capital intensive. Labour migration continues, but there are increasingly volumes of non-labour migration, as with the flows of newly-retired people to the pleasanter environments of the American Sunbelt. In the future, it may be that more attention will need to be given to the social rather than the economic causes of migration, and to the assimilation of new types of migrants into new types of expanding towns.

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