

# **The World in our neighbourhoods**

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# Summary

- **Words**
- **Images**
- **Facts and Analysis**
- **Political answers**
- **Which social movement ?**
- **Local and national stakes remain crucial**  
*(Transation from French to English is under my responsibility)*

# Novembre 2005... and words

- *Riots in banlieues? Rebellion? Violence? Insurrection? Events? Guerrilla?*
- It is difficult to analyse what happened, and it is even difficult to find the right words: are there right words? We had also a words' war, and an images' war:
- Political interpretation are behind words: social violence or urban violence?  
November 2005 as a media phenomenon

# Images... Critics against media

- **Compassion/condemnation**
- **Stigmatization/stereotypes**
- **News in brief/images**
- **Sensationalism/morals**

# Media's role

- **« *Journalists' problem is that, due to their socio professional background, they come there like in a zoo* », Malek Boutih, PS, ex-leader SOS-Racisme**
- **The issue is also about political use of events on current themes of immigration and delinquency**

# About political use of events...

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- In its definition for the word “riot”, French Dictionary Petit Robert quotes Victor Hugo: *“Riots strengthen governments they don't overthrow”*

# Libération

## Banlieues Les femmes à vif



Les mères et sœurs des jeunes des cités racontent leur quotidien de colères et de frustrations et expriment leur soutien aux émeutiers. **Page 4**

**Chehrazed**  
avec sa fille  
dans le centre  
social de la cité  
des Boisquets,  
à Montfermeil,  
le 9 novembre.

- *“Young of the “cités” Mothers and sisters tell about their everyday life made of anger and frustration, and express their support to those who commit crimes”*

# What happened in November 2005?

## Facts and analysis

- **Immediate causes and factual data:**
  - 27 October 2 young boys, 14 years old, Bouna et Ziad, die in a power station while they were trying to escape from policeman
  - Sarkozy says policeman are not guilty, and use words considered as insulting by young people
  - Riots, thousands of cars burnt, schools and public buildings vandalized
  - 8 November: State of Emergency. Back to a law of Algerian War times. Several hundred of arrests

## **A new phenomenon? No but...**

- **1981: les Minguettes (Lyon suburbs) and since, several events of that type**
- **1990: Vaulx en Velin (Lyon suburbs)**
- **1991: Val Fourré (Mantes)**
- **Difference 2005: several cities touched at the same time**

# How to analyse these events ?

- The so-called “live-together crisis” is a matter of fact.
- It leads to an increase of social segregation’s spatial effects and to an aggravation of experience and representation of insecurity.
- Because of the lack of room for political expression, violence comes out against easier targets (cars) and symbols of exclusion or oppression (schools, public services, buses)

# Spontaneous or organised?

**« Media have let people think that there was a strong solidarity between all young from all suburbs, which is only partly true. What we can say is that they have been contacts between them thanks to mobiles including very far suburbs that usually were not violent at all. Excepting few particular situations (Grigny, Aulnay, Sevran ou Évreux), it is not correct to talk about riots in the american meaning of the word (...) Troubles have developed on a spontaneous basis, from an accumulation of very negative feelings toward police, administration and politicians ».** H. Vieillard-Baron

# The place of « 2<sup>Nd</sup> G » in question

- Migrants children have become « paria of the Republic » (G. Noirie, S. Beaud). In the municipalities, either right or left politically oriented, they have had no room to take responsibilities or to express themselves
- They suffer to be stigmatized and it is even more unbearable that they feel perfectly « integrated » from cultural point of view. *we are « icistes » (« thering »)* says the humorist Djamel Debouze - meaning we are belonging to here.
- School socializes all young in the same norms and values, but wrinkles the gap
- Labour market is discriminating

# Political answers

- **1. political answer in terms of Urban Policy**
- **2. political answer in terms of Integration Policy**
- **3. political answer in terms of « security concerns »**
- **But « Social cohesion » is mainly supported by Urban policies**

## « Urban policy »

- Urban policy (Politique de la Ville) is aimed to promote social cohesion and to combat segregation and insecurity in urban neighbourhoods
- « Neighbourhoods policies » appear in France in the middle of 70th (Habitat et Vie sociale, 1977). At that time it was mainly aimed to improve living environment and local housing conditions
- 1981 : After Minguettes riots the State decides to establish a permanent National Commission for Neighbourhoods social development (CNDSQ) : real beginning of « Urban Policy »

# Urban renewal goals

- **Give attractiveness to these neighborhoods thanks to a diversified housing offer (rental and ownership, public and private)**
- **Improve means of communication**
- **Avoid “ghettos” by scattering poor and migrants and attracting middle-income households**

# Urban policy tools

- CV: *Contrats de Ville* Urban Contracts, concluded between State and municipalities
- CLSPD: *Conseils locaux de sécurité et de prévention de la délinquance* Security and Delinquency Prevention Local Boards
- ANRU: *Agence nationale pour la rénovation urbaine* National Agency for Urban Renewal

# ZUS « Sensitive Urban Area »

- *Created by law in 1996, ZUS are characterized by big estates and dilapidated neighbourhoods. There are 750 ZUS (9 in Paris intra muros)*
- *4,7 millions of inhabitants live in a ZUS, that is to say 1 for 12 in France*
- *Most of them are localized in big urban areas, 27% are localized in Parisian Region (IDF)*

## **Portrait of a ZUS** (% agglo)

- **More unemployed : 18,9% vs 11,6%**
- **More persons whose at least 25% of income is constituted by social benefit : 26% vs 14%**
- **More persons leaving in Social Housing : 62% vs 22%**
- **More workmen and employees : 50,6% vs 34,7%**
- **More foreigners Head of household: 15,8% vs 8,1%**
- **More young people less than 25: 43% vs 34,7%**
- **More young people aged 15-24 having ended studying: 47,2 vs 39,1%**
- **More unqualified young people above 15: 39,3% vs 26,8%**
- **Vacancy in Social Housing stock: 4,5% vs 2,1%**

# Integration policies

- Creation of HCI, haut conseil à l'intégration, 2002
- Creation of l'ANAEM, Agence Nationale de l'accueil des étrangers et des migrations, 2006
- Creation of HALDE, Haute Autorité de lutte contre les discriminations et l'égalité, 2005
- Creation of Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration, 2005

# Rapport du HCI, 2002-2005...

- Looking at the suburbs crisis, HCI asks: What has been done? What has been missing?

# HCI report, 2002-2005

- *« HCI regrets that national implementation's measures for equity (égalité des chances) have been poorly communicated and that integrative policies have not been defended at a good altitude as if it was a painful and dangerous topic. »*
- *« HCI also notices that principles of Republican Integration defended with sense of continuity by our president have been currently suspected and instead of a drastic common law based action, other solutions have been presented as panacea while there were mainly inspired by communautarism - like positive discrimination and ethnic quota - and as such rejected by public opinion. »*

## « security policy »

- The third type of answer is a leitmotiv, especially in times of trouble: safety concerns have emerged and occupy a large space on the public stage
- strengthening of « security measures »: more control and repression for minors and families, more severe immigration policies.

# Which social movement in 2006?

- One year after, the same causes have not had the same effects:
- Change of political context
- Raising of a social movement
- Engagement of Local authorities

# AC LE FEU: stop the fire

« *let's put words on harms* »



# « Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité »...but before all Equality

- *“Our collective is born just the day after the social revolts that have shaken down the country in November 2005, after two of our children, Bouna et Ziad, died in Clichy-sous-bois.*
- *In order to assert that they are not dead in vain, we have given to ourselves the mission to go and meet the population in its diversity all over France and to fulfil a Grievances Paper Book. The idea was to set up a report based on observations and including propositions, (that we put in your hands today).*
- *As « sans culottes » during the French Revolution in 1789, we want to give a chance to lead people’s expression and desires until the stakeholders of the Nation. History is repeating itself: Today, like yesterday, the central notion is clearly perceptible in those paper books: Equality!...”*

# Main complaints and demands

About 20 000 contributions have been obtained:

- Employment
- Fight against discrimination and exclusion
- Fair justice
- Control on policemen's behaviour
- Education and orientation at school
- More proximity between politicians and inhabitants

## **Community based movements: CRAN (Representative Council for Black Associations) example**

- **Sixty French associations for black people have formed a federation to fight racial discrimination in the aftermath of a flare-up of violence in poor suburbs across France.**
- **Prejudice and exclusion have been cited among the reasons why youths from immigrant families spent three weeks rioting on the outskirts of French cities blighted by poverty and unemployment in late October and November.**
- **"What's really at stake is how to find greater social cohesion by reintegrating, both in the national story and in the national community, those who are permanently excluded from it because they have black skin,"**

# Local stakes (1)

- **At local level, decentralization has given more power to the majors, but, they complain, without more financial means.**
- **At national level, repressive oriented policies are dominating on preventive oriented policies, and drastic urban renewal on social development**

## **Local stakes (2)**

### **Encouraging elements:**

- **citizenship dynamics with broad movement of inscription on the electoral lists**
- **vitality of local initiative**
- **requirement for democracy**

# Conclusion

- In its report, HCI states that *« the worse would be that, on the basis of the current crisis, (...) temptation to end up with republican promises of rights and chances' equality would prevail, and that positive discrimination and ethnical and communitarian strategies would dominate »*
- It is necessary to be aware that life conditions will not change in the « quartiers » without a strong intervention at macro-social and macro-economical levels. An emergency plan is necessary.
- It doesn't exclude that inventive local dispositions do exist and have to be developed. Some example are now coming in stage... (Katia S.)