

AS THE STREETS BURNED:
A COMPARISON OF THE COVERAGE
OF THE 2005 PARIS RIOTS

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A THESIS

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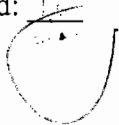
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This is a study of the historical context of the 2005 Paris riots and a comparison of the coverage in the American and French press. Specifically, it examined a three-week period of coverage of the riots from October 28-November 21, 2005, in four newspapers: *The New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro*. The articles were looked at in both a quantitative and qualitative manner, assessing how many articles appeared, what topics they covered and how they were framed. While there were many fundamental differences in visual content and editorial stance, there were also many similarities in the percentage of articles that appeared on the outlined topic areas. There was also an editorial battle that occurred in the two newspapers, with the French attacking the American press for sensationalizing the riots.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As I was studying abroad in Paris during the fall of 2005, I watched with the rest of the world when the outskirts of Paris erupted in social unrest and riots. Angry rioters throughout the month of November burned cars, buses, schools and community buildings on the fringe of the city. Images of the fires and angry youth donning masks graced the cover of newspapers not only in France, but also all over the world. Everyone watched with curiosity at what was happening and tried to explain why. And although I was living only a few of miles from the rioting, I did not see one burning car, not even one small flame, during the entire duration of the riots. Living close to the center of Paris, I was far removed from the poor and mostly immigrant communities that circle the city where the riots took over that fall. I watched the riots the way most of France and United States did—on television, in the newspapers and on the Internet. Although I was thousands of miles closer to what was going on than my friends and family in the United States, I too relied on the media to tell me what was happening and why.

When I started receiving phone calls from friends and family asking what was happening in Paris and if I saw burning cars on my way to school every day, I realized that these riots were not only a domestic issue and news story for France. In fact, newspapers all over the world were reporting on what was happening in the *banlieues* of Paris. I began to read both French and American newspapers to better understand not only what was happening and why, but also how the French and American press were looking at the events differently.

Cultures and countries cover domestic and international events in many different ways. As I read more about the riots that fall, I found myself searching for more answers. I wanted to better understand why the riots were happening. I wanted to know why the French and American press models seemed to differ. I also wanted to examine why in their coverage of the unrest, despite some similarities in coverage, the coverage between different newspapers was not uniform. As a journalism student, I had been trained to look at the media critically. The discrepancies I was finding in the coverage peaked my interest and propelled me to find out more.

There were fairly obvious differences in the treatment of the riots in the French and American newspapers, but there were also more nuanced differences harder to see from just surface reading. Because the riots erupted in French, not American, streets they dominated French political talk. The United States merely looked on, with the ever-critical eye, at what was happening. Americans watched and attacked the French model of integrating its immigrants and the reaction of President Jacques Chirac to the events. In response to this criticism, the French rebutted and accused the American press of being sensational and too quick to criticize France. While the American newspapers seemed to care very little about what France thought about the United States, the French seemed to care a great deal about what the United States thought of France.

However, while the two nations did criticize each other, they also have comparable core values of developed, “Western” democracies. For this reason, it can be presumed that many of the stories would be framed in a similar manner (unlike if I were to compare the coverage of the riots in France and an authoritarian nation). Although the two countries’ newspapers attacked each other editorially, they also seemed to agree on

many issues surrounding the riots. Many of the articles were framed in a similar manner, and similar percentages of articles on different topics appeared in both countries' newspapers.

This study aims to answer a number of questions about the aspects of the 2005 Paris riots and the newspaper coverage that ensued. While this thesis does examine and compare the coverage of the riots in four newspapers (the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* in the United States and *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* in France), it also seeks to answer deeper questions about the social unrest. In order to understand the riots in a cultural and historical manner, it is essential to better understand some of the factors that sparked the riots. Chapters 2 and 3 explain the events of the riots and a history of immigration in France. Specifically, these chapters seek to shed light on the deeper root causes of the riots and lead to a better understanding of why the riots were triggered.

Also important in understanding and comparing the coverage is examining the different press models in the two countries. Chapter 4 looks at these different press models and explains some of the fundamental differences in the way the two countries' major newspapers covered the same events. Chapter 5 provides the method for the study, explaining what coverage was looked at and in what manner. Chapter 6 looks at various elements of news coverage and why the coverage between the two nations' major newspapers was similar or different. Chapter 7 explains some of the basic findings in the quantitative and qualitative study of the coverage. Chapter 8 delves deeper into the editorial battle that occurred between the two countries surrounding the way the events were covered. Chapter 9 looks at the role race may have played in the coverage in both the American and French newspapers.

While many differences are pointed out in the coverage of the riots not only between the two countries, but also between the different newspapers within the two countries, I concluded that the coverage was similar in more ways than it differed. All four newspapers examined with similar attention the various topics of the riots. All four newspapers criticized and looked at the government reaction to the riots as well as the root causes for them. All four newspapers also had similar amounts of editorial, feature and news stories appearing during the three-week period examined. While the French press looked at the events in a more in-depth and domestic-centric manner, all four newspapers sought to reveal facts about the same things.

Overall, this thesis intends to provide a brief historical understanding of immigration in France and how four newspapers covered the tumultuous period. As the research and discussion will show, there were fundamental and important differences to note between the coverage of the four newspapers. However, there were also many similarities. While press models, language, cultural understanding and editorial stances differed, there was a basic similarity in the coverage in all four newspapers, showing a set of shared press, political and cultural values.

CHAPTER 2

THE RIOTS

On October 27, 2005, in the poor community of Clichy-sous-Bois outside Paris, three boys running from the police scaled a wall and hid in an electrical transformer. Two of the boys were electrocuted instantly, and the third was hospitalized with serious injuries (LM 2). The tragic event triggered a series of riots and civil unrest that spread through France and brought to light many of the larger social issues that had been brewing for generations.

The deaths of Buona Traore, a 14-year old boy of Malian descent, and Zyed Benna, a 16-year old boy of Tunisian descent, angered more than just the residents of Clichy-sous-Bois, the Paris suburb where the boys lived. Their deaths also ignited anger in the larger immigrant community (LM 2). Much like in the Los Angeles riots that erupted in 1992 after the Rodney King verdict, the deaths of the teenagers served more as a catalyst, rather than the root cause, of the riots that ensued. Clichy-sous-Bois and the other *banlieues* [suburbs] of Paris where the violence quickly spread were areas of poverty, high unemployment, poor housing conditions and social disconnection and despondence. Most of the residents of these *banlieues* are of Northern African, Portuguese and Turkish descent and live in crowded housing projects and either work in low paying jobs or are unemployed (Sayad 2004, 178).

The riots broke out in the same northern *banlieues* where Benna and Traore had been killed. Starting on the night of the boys' deaths, people living in Clichy-sous-Bois (mostly youths) marched in angry protest against the treatment of people in their

community. The situation had finally come to a boiling point. Within hours, the protests picked up considerable momentum, with more and more people joining in. By the following night, October 28, angry protesters had started to burn cars and buses in their neighborhoods. Schools and other public buildings came next. Each night, the riots gained momentum, with more and more cars and buildings burned each night. Soon, the riots also spread to the poor *banlieues* of Lyons and Marseilles, two major French cities in the south. On November 8, 2005, President Jacques Chirac declared a state of emergency in France. Police were deployed to the neighborhoods in full force to try to calm the angry rioters. Many arrests were made, but fueled by their anger, oppression and large-scale media attention, the rioters continued to burn. Much of the *banlieues* had literally gone up in flames. With threats of the riots moving into the center of Paris, Metro and RER lines to the *banlieues* were stopped at night, cutting off access to the rioting areas of the city. Between October 28 and November 16 (the heaviest concentrations of the riots), almost 9,000 cars were burned in France along with countless schools and other public buildings. A statement had clearly been made (LM 2).

CHAPTER 3

IMMIGRATION AND FRANCE

A History of Disregard and Social Inequality

Abdekmalek Sayad, author of *The Suffering of the Immigrant*, writes that immigrants in France hold a *de facto* position in society. They are overlooked, disregarded and mistreated. Problems of unemployment, poor housing conditions, education and crime in the areas with heavy concentrations of immigrant populations have long been regarded as the fault of the immigrant. Sayad questions this classification: “Are all these ‘problems’ really the *immigrant’s problems* or, on the contrary, problems that French society and its institutions have with immigrants?” In addition, immigrants in French society have long been treated as “foreign bodies in French society” and are never fully recognized as French, even after generations of living in France (Sayad 2004, 178).

Northern African immigrants first flooded France in huge numbers after WWI and WWII, when French industry was booming and many factory jobs were available. These immigrants were almost exclusively men; very few women or children followed their husbands and fathers to France. During this period, Algerians formed the majority of the immigrant population. France looked to Algeria, one of its colonies, as a logical source of cheap labor. Because many of the factory jobs where the immigrants worked were located on the outskirts of the major urban centers, housing or company towns were built in these areas to house the migrant workers close to the work site (McMaster 1997, 66-84). The result, however, was the segregation of the immigrant, Northern African

population. In his book, *Colonial Migrants and Racism*, Neil McMaster writes: “A key feature of the social, political and economic organization of the Algerian in France was their spatial location in dense ‘micro-ghettos’ or urban enclaves” (McMaster 1997, 84). The organization of the mostly Algerian migrant population in segregated zones contributed to weak integration and the low level of interaction with the French working class. This segregation also helps to explain why French society came to develop a radicalized stereotype of the immigrants as an “alien, secretive and dangerous force lurking in the depths of the worst slums” (McMaster 1997, 84-85). The isolation of immigrants, primarily Algerian, in these “micro-ghettos” on the outskirts of the cities created a negative stereotype of the immigrant. He was seen as dangerous, subversive and innately un-French. The isolation also led to a severe lack of integration into French society. It also established a basis of urban enclaves and segregated populations that persists today (McMaster 1997, 84-95).

Because of cultural and religious differences, Arabic immigrants were seen as outsiders in race, tradition and religion in France. These fundamental cultural differences led to negative Arab stereotypes in France. The working, more elite white French class also fueled the negative stereotype of immigrants, especially those of Northern African and Arabic descent. McMaster writes: “French working-class racism functioned significantly in anti-Arab stereotypes—‘Arabs’ as criminal, lazy, violent, libidinous etc.” (McMaster 1997, 178). During and after the Algerian War (1954-1962), many more Northern African immigrants flooded into France. However, there was a marked change in the demographic of this immigrant population. Unlike the industrial, working male

immigrants of the post-World War booms, the immigrant population that flooded France in the mid-1950s consisted of entire families, including women and children.

Despite this shift in demographics, separation of the immigrants in French society continued. McMaster writes: “The women, none of whom could speak French, tried to avoid contact with French society” (McMaster 1997, 183). The women continued to dress in the traditional clothing of their native Algeria, and some pregnant women even preferred to give birth in their “squalid accommodation” rather than go to a hospital (McMaster 1997, 183). This model of seclusion and separation of the Northern African population continues today. Much of the Northern African population still lives in the outskirts of the major urban centers, and full integration has not yet occurred.

During the Algerian War, Algerians became even further spatially segregated from French society through external political pressure and discrimination and through the immigrants’ selected and defensive choice. These spatially separated communities developed mostly where the previous company cities had existed during the industrial boom. Here, in the industrial suburbs, immigrants lived in “dreary fringe communes” where they were separated from the infrastructure that linked them to urban centers and the rest of the French population. These models of segregation and isolation still exist in the *banlieues* of Paris today (McMaster 1997, 193-197). The outskirts of the cities are still the homes of many immigrant and ethnic communities. The negative stereotype of angry youths living in the *banlieues* is also a part of mainstream French thought.

The French “Melting Pot”

France has had a long history of immigration. However, post WWII, the waves of immigration have been mostly from France’s former imperial colonies, including those in Africa. In 1968, 72.3 percent of France’s foreign workers were Europeans. In 1990, they only represented 40.7 percent. The percentage of immigrants from Northern Africa, primarily from Maghreb (a word describing the Northern African, mostly Muslim countries), grew from 24 percent of the foreign population in 1958 to 45.4 percent in 1990 (Derderian 2004). In his book, *North Africans in Contemporary France: Becoming Visible*, Richard L. Derderian writes: “It is the growing presence of immigrant families in French communities, social services, and institutions (schools, hospitals etc.) that gives rise to ethnic tensions between minority and majority populations” (Derderian 2004, 4). Derderian also writes that the “weight” of the immigrant community shifted from the first to the second generation (Derderian 2004). This shift was seen in the 2005 riots, as most of the youths involved in the events were second-and-third generation immigrants.

The racialization and scapegoating of immigrants was a direct consequence of the influx of Northern African immigrants into France. Northern Africans, different from earlier European immigrants in France, stood out from the majority of French people racially, culturally and religiously. Rising unemployment and economic problems nationwide contributed to a rising movement against immigration in France, particularly from North Africa. With the increasing economic and social problems, many French were eager to place blame for the problems on a group. The rise of *Le Front Nationale* (The National Front) and its leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen, in the 1980s brought immigration to the front of national politics. Le Pen has consistently garnered 10 to 15 percent of the

national vote for the past two decades and even made it as far as the final round of the presidential elections in 2002 (Derderian 2004). Much the *Le Front Nationale's* rhetoric has centered on France's growing Muslim community. According to Derderian, Le Pen appealed to the French public because he "provided a simple and powerfully appealing racial reading and solution to France's problems" (Derderian 2004, 10). This racialization of national French issues perpetuated a lack of integration that eventually led to the riots.

The French have a policy regarding racial and ethnic differences very different from that of the United States. In the U.S., cultural and racial differences are not only noted but also used as a tool to distinguish different groups in different institutions. Affirmative action is part of U.S. law and is practiced at universities and colleges nationwide. In the U.S., Americans point out difference in order to try to create equal opportunities. France, however, treats race in an entirely different manner. Based on the ideals of equality and brotherhood from the French Revolution, France has a more holistic view of equality and does not readily acknowledge racial or cultural differences. The French operate more on the model that pointing out and using racial differences enforces racism. While the ideal is that everyone is equal regardless of race, in practice, the policy is much different. Derderian writes:

The holistic view of French society has made for the invisibility of successive waves of immigration to France. Moreover, the absence of references to race, ethnicity, or religion in national statistics and censuses, another legacy of the French Revolution, has made it difficult for scholars to trace the presence or evolution of minority communities. Once a foreigner acquires French citizenship his or her origins vanish from state records... (Derderian 2004, 13).

In other words, the French, in an attempt to assimilate, overlook fundamental cultural and racial differences. Historically the French have had problems integrating social, religious

and cultural differences into their own culture. Their integration model is more one of a melting pot, blending differences into the common culture, rather than a salad bowl model, which allows different parts to coexist separately. The effect of this approach is a disregard of problems that exist primarily for minority populations. Accessibility to resources, despite the attempt at equality, is not equal for all groups in France. This is evident in the high unemployment rates, lack of good education and substandard housing in the immigrant dominated *banlieues*.

Fuel for the Riot Fires

The French model of integration and ideal for citizenship and assimilation above ethnic and racial identities has helped fuel racial discrimination and exclusion. Derderian writes that racism targeting North Africans “is an attempt to artificially construct new boundaries and dividing lines precisely because real cultural differences have become negligible” (Derderian 2004, 25). This racism and lack of access to resources has particularly affected second- and third-generation immigrants. This generation has adopted many of the French cultural values striving for equality; yet seem to remain second-class citizens. Social mobility of these groups is difficult to achieve, and the children and grandchildren of Northern African immigrants remain trapped in the *banlieues*, where anger and resentment has flourished.

Derderian asserts that the adoption of French values and the lack of accessibility to opportunities for this immigrant community have cultivated deep-seated resentment and frustration. He writes:

The gap between the hopes and expectations for social mobility and the reality of racial discrimination generates a deep sense of frustration or

moral indignation among the progeny of North African workers that can trigger a diverse form of protest...discrimination, racism, and other forms of disrespect can trigger various kinds of protest...it is precisely because ethnic minorities have embraced the dominant values that racial discrimination generates sentiments of hatred, anger, frustration or moral indignation capable of fueling revolt (Derderian 2004, 25).

Derderian also writes that immigrants have adopted French egalitarian values, which makes the substandard housing, school tracking, police harassment and “often-biased” justice system unacceptable (Derderian 2004, 25). The combination of French policies and institutional racism played a large role in the riots that occurred in 2005. The young rioters, many of whom were born in France, felt frustrated at their lack of opportunity, which many other Frenchmen enjoy. Their frustration was enough to culminate in the riots that engulfed the *banlieues* of Paris for nearly two weeks.

Modern Day Segregation: The *Banlieue* and Associations of Youth Delinquency

In recent years, politicians and academics have addressed the alienation of the immigrant and ethnic communities in France. However, roots of segregation and alienation run deep in French history. There has been a deepening marginalization of the poor, unemployed youth and ethnic minorities (Martinello 2000, 120). Particular attention in the past decade has been focused on the *banlieue*, which is a term associated with the high-rise, public housing located at the fringe of major cities. Housing projects called HLM (*Habitation à Loyer Modère* or rent-controlled housing) scatter many of the *banlieues*. These “‘ghettoized’ zones” have become associated with “rebellious minority youth, educational failure, the ‘breakdown’ of the family, criminality, rising drug abuse, and rioting” (McMaster 1997, 207).

Rap songs coming from these neighborhoods denounce police brutality and the abuse of police power, with many of the ethnic youths feeling unfairly targeted by the police. Stemming from these social problems, France has developed a booming hip-hop and underground rap movement. French quotas requiring radio stations to play a high percentage of French music has helped this sector of the music industry take off. Artists such as MC Solaar, who is a Senegalese immigrant, have become famous for lyrics about life in the *banlieues*. He raps about angry French youths, police mistreatment, poverty, unemployment and the overlooked immigrant population living on the outskirts of the cities. A recent fear has also developed in mainstream French society that the alienated youth, especially those of Maghrebian and other Arabic descents (some self described as *Les Beurs*), could create an ideal breeding ground for Islamic fundamentalism (McMaster 1997, 207). These fears have fueled further alienation and resentment within the Arabic and ethnic communities in the *banlieues*.

Years before the 2005 riots, the social issues surrounding racism and immigration had been discussed to a certain degree in French politics. There have been some efforts to find a solution to the continued segregation and alienation of these post-immigrant and ethnic communities. There have also been reactionary movements against immigration with candidates such as Jean-Marie Le Pen gaining considerable support. Le Pen's radical right-wing politics called for the shutting of French borders and taking away government services for the immigrant community and poor. In fact, all of Europe is facing a political backlash against immigrants. In his article, "The Judicial System and the Social Construction of Migrants' Criminality," Fabio Quassoli writes: "New right-wing parties, governments and media are concerned about the presence and impact of

migrants in these societies” (Quassoli 2000, 207). The rise of Le Pen and *Le Front Nationale* is a perfect example of one of these reactionary parties. Eager to place blame for the social problems in the *banlieues*, these politicians aim to close the borders to new immigrants in a hope to solve the problem. However, unemployment and social discontent is considerably higher in the *banlieues* and among these communities than in the rest of France (Quassoli 2000, 203-205). The youths in particular feel disaffected, ignored and marginalized by the rest of French society (Martinello 2000, 124).

Abdelmalek Sayad writes that “immigrant delinquency” is ingrained in the deepest thought of the state and that a “delinquent immigrant” put on trial receives a double punishment: the punishment for the crime and punishment for simply being of immigrant status (Sayad 2004, 282). This seemingly expected delinquency of the immigrant youth in the *banlieues* contributed to the riots of 2005. The youths killed on October 27 were running from the police. Whether the police chase was justified (many in the community have said it was not), the teens’ ingrained fear and distrust of the police was enough to make them run. Sayad’s theory of assumed delinquency could explain why Buona Traore and Zyed Benna tried to escape authorities and hide in an electrical transformer. Maybe their oppressed and disaffected role in French society contributed to their deaths. Whether the deaths of the two young men represented a larger social problem or not, the event sparked a fire within the *banlieues* of Paris (Sayad 2004, 281-284).

CHAPTER 4

THE FRENCH AND AMERICAN PRESS MODELS

A Comparison of the Four Sources

To examine the coverage of the riots, it is important to look closely at some of the differences in the four newspapers studied. I compared the coverage of these riots from four media sources: *Le Monde*, a daily French newspaper, *Le Figaro*, also a French daily, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, two American newspapers that are known for their international coverage and have correspondents abroad. *Le Monde* is known as a center/center-left newspaper in France. It has a wide distribution, and in 2004-2005 its circulation was more than 370,000. It is a well-respected publication and is often one of the only papers available in non-francophone countries. It is also known as the French “newspaper of record,” meaning it holds high journalistic standards and it establishes a record of current events for current and future scholars (Thogmartin 1998). *Le Monde* has a reputation for being more critical of Jacques Chirac (the current conservative French president) than *Le Figaro*, another widely distributed newspaper in France and slightly more conservative publication. Unlike *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro* is known as the newspaper of the more conservative, upper middle class in France. *Le Monde*, like the *New York Times*, does not rely heavily on color or photos and is very text orientated publication, especially on the front pages.

Since 2004, *Le Figaro* has been controlled by Serge Dassault, a conservative businessman and politician. Dassault is best known for owning Dassault Aviation, an

aircraft manufacturer that supplies the French military. In an interview on a French public radio station, France Inter, Dassault said that "newspapers must promulgate healthy ideas," and that "left-wing ideas are not healthy ideas." The circulation in 2005 was 342,445 ("Le Figaro," www.wikipedia.org).

The *New York Times* is one of the most highly respected newspapers in the United States. Like *Le Monde*, the *New York Times* is considered the newspaper of record for the United States. It trails *USA Today* and the *Wall Street Journal* in circulation, but it still circulates about 1.3 million newspapers during the week and 1.6 million on Sundays ("Company History," www.nytc.com). It is known for its high journalistic standards. As of 2006, the paper had won 95 Pulitzer Prizes, far more than any other paper in country. It is known for having a slightly left-of-center editorial line and is often criticized by conservative politicians and voices for being a "liberal paper." The *New York Times* also owns and operates the *International Herald Tribune*, a paper printed internationally in English that "reaches a sophisticated non-American readership from Paris to Hong Kong (Hatchen and Scotton 2007, 109). Some of the stories that appeared in the *New York Times* were by *Herald Tribune* reporters. In addition, the *International Herald Tribune* publishes a section in *Le Monde* every Sunday.

The *Washington Post*, although known for extensive international coverage, considers itself a regional paper. It is the largest newspaper in the Washington, D.C., area with a circulation of 751,871 during the week and 1,000,565 on Sundays in 2005 ("Circulation," www.washingtonpost.com). The paper is known as generally being slightly liberal, endorsing John Kerry in the 2004 presidential election. However, the

paper has also backed Republican candidates in recent history (“Washington Post,” www.wikipedia.org).

I will examine how many articles appeared and where they were located in the paper, showing what prominence was given to the stories in the different papers. I will also examine how the different newspapers chose to frame the stories about the riots. It will also provide a good basis to compare not only how domestic newspapers covered the riots differently but also the differences in the transnational coverage.

There are fundamental differences between French and U.S. papers. There is not only the difference in language but also cultural understanding of the riots. It was important for me to research the long, complex history of French immigration and the social context of the *banlieues* to fully understand the problems behind the riots. This understanding will allow me to better analyze the French coverage and compare it more accurately to the American coverage. Evidently, the coverage of the riots by the *New York Times* is for a much different audience than that of *Le Monde*.

The *New York Times* must approach its reader without the cultural understanding and nuances of the French language. A primary example of this difference is in the word *banlieue*, which translates into English as “suburb.” However, there are contextual differences when using the word “suburb” in the United States. For the French, the *banlieues*, or suburbs, have long been socially exclusionary, immigrant areas of the cities that compare better to American inner cities. While that is an assumed cultural understanding for the French, it is not for Americans. When using the word suburb in the United States, the cultural association is that of white, middle-class American suburbia, a far cry from the realities of the French suburbs.

A Look at the American Press

American media consumers enjoy a strong freedom of the press. While the biases and filters of American news have been called into question in the past, American journalists stick to the standard of a removed, third-party objectivity. With the exception of the Op-Ed section and more in-depth feature stories, American journalists try to keep their opinions out of the material they present. In the United States, the dominant ideology of journalists is that news content is a reflection of reality. Shoemaker writes: “Some people, notably journalists, believe that mass media are mere channels for the transmission of information about reality to the audience” (Shoemaker 1987, 5). This varies from the French model, which does not assume objectivity in journalists and in fact promotes opinion in the news. Richard Salant, former president of CBS News, said, “We don’t make the news. We report it. Our reporters do not cover stories from their point of view. They are presenting them from nobody’s point of view” (Qtd. in Shoemaker 1987, 5). Salant’s statement shows the ingrained value of objectivity in American journalism. While the public often questions whether American media follow that objectivity, it remains the golden standard for most mainstream media sources.

A Look at the French Press

According to Clyde Thogmartin in *The National Daily Press of France*, in the last two decades, “French journalists have tried to develop a professional and ethical culture in which news serves as an end itself, not simply as a pretext for commentary defending a particular political ideology” (Thogmartin 1998, 265). That is to say, while French

journalists have been known to insert a great deal of opinion and overt political commentary in their daily reporting, this trend has been changing in the last twenty years. In a world of increased globalization and melding of cultures, this shift has been in part a response to the American press model. According to Thogmartin, the French have a certain reserved politeness with politicians that Americans seem to have long thrown out the window. Foreign correspondents in France told sociologist Jean Padioleau in the 1980s that, “French journalists spent too much time covering the easy subjects, such as the press conferences of elected officials, but seldom asking embarrassing or contradictory questions” (Thogmartin 1998, 267).

It is also important to understand how the fundamental differences in size and government affect the media of France and America. While the United States is a huge country with a relatively decentralized government, France is a far smaller country with a powerful and centralized government. According to a 1983 interview in *Le Monde*, French journalist Christine Ockernt, stated:

The journalistic community is side by side with a closed, hermetic world of politics, labor unions, artists. Well, I think those people know each other too well, because it is the same five thousand people who are going to do things, comment on them, react to them (Qtd. in Thogmartin 1998, 267-268).

So while France enjoys a freedom of censorship from the government, it is also important to note the closeness between French government officials and the press.

While there has been a slight shift in French reporting, the French clearly have a different approach in their methods of reporting. While American journalists attempt to maintain a removed third-party approach, French journalists see themselves as responsible commentators on issues. According to Thogmartin:

In France a top-rated journalist is not a reporter, but more likely a political commentator. Instead of dashing through the streets after his quarry (a sight rarely seen in France in any case), he sits in his office crafting literate and insightful articles from AFP wire stories or government press releases. He presses his source document like an orange to squeeze out of it the last drop of juice of its implications, probable consequences, and the hidden intentions of the person who wrote it (Thogmartin 1998, 273).

In other words, while foreign correspondents covering the Paris riots, such as Molly Moore of the *Washington Post*, were going to the *banlieues*, interviewing local people about the events and writing stories with such headlines as, “Parents’ tears calm youth rage” (WP 17), French reporters were mostly writing pieces that evaluated the political response of Prime Minister Villepin and other government officials.

In 1985 Jean Padioleau compared how *Le Monde* and the *Washington Post* covered election campaigns in their respective countries. Padioleau discovered the main difference in the coverage surrounded newsgathering techniques. He found that *Le Monde* used twice as much information from other media than the *Washington Post*. He also found that while the *Post’s* coverage contained only 31.2 percent interpretation, *Le Monde* had 42.5 percent (Padioleau 1985, 263). His study is important in noting some of the fundamental differences in journalistic values in the two countries. It is also important to keep these differences in mind when comparing the coverage of the riots between the French and American new sources.

The French “Journal of Reference”: A Brief History of *Le Monde*

Le Monde first appeared on French newsstands five months after the liberation of Paris in 1944. The new paper held true to its name, The World, and was dominated by foreign news with only a few stories about domestic politics. The owner of the paper,

Hubert Beuve-Méry became “the best-known figure in postwar French journalism” (Thogmartin 1985). He shaped the direction of French journalism through the shaping of *Le Monde* and his insightful, nuanced editorials (Thogmartin 1998, 185). A letter addressed to readers appearing in the first edition of the new paper, stated: “Its first ambition is to furnish the reader with information that is clear, and insofar as possible, true, rapid, and complete” (Thogmartin 1998, 183). This letter would come to guide the development of the paper over the years as it grew into France’s most respected newspaper.

While *Le Monde* is no longer the largest-circulation newspaper in France, it remains the “journal of reference” in France that Beuve-Méry wanted. While it maintained a lead in circulation over *Le Figaro* for years, it was surpassed in 1984. However, *Le Monde* is still the strongest French newspaper on the international scene. In fact, *Le Monde* sells three times as many copies outside of France as *Le Figaro*. *Le Monde* prides itself as being a progressively thinking newspaper. As Thogmartin writes, “It is not so much oriented to the right/left dimension in ideology as it is to its own definition of progress and its own intellectual leadership” (Thogmartin 1998, 219). *Le Monde* strives to be France’s opinion leader and is a staple for the country’s political and intellectual elite. Whether the power elite in France agrees with the opinions of *Le Monde* or not, it is essential to understand and respect the opinions of the paper, as it has historically had a strong influence in French politics.

Historically, *Le Monde* has affected French opinion on many subjects. In fact, the paper often contradicts much popular opinion, leading the way in many controversial topics. An internal report quoted by Padioleau states that “it would be very dangerous for

those responsible for a newspaper to adopt whatever the readers tell them. We should not follow them, but lead them” (Qtd. in Thogmartin 1998, 220). There are strong examples of *Le Monde* leading French opinion in many events. The paper supported Algerian independence ahead of the majority. It also supported putting De Gaulle back in power in 1958, despite the fact that most of the political establishment disagreed. In 1968, *Le Monde* strongly criticized the student riots at the Sorbonne and supported the return of order. Order soon followed. In 1981, the paper strongly supported Francois Mitterrand, a socialist candidate for the presidency. Mitterrand was later elected and became the first socialist president in France. Thogmartin questions whether *Le Monde* has changed French history by its strong editorial stances, or whether the influence is over-estimated, simply riding on a wave of opinion that would have naturally occurred. However, he writes: “What is certain is that *Le Monde* established itself from the start as an important forum of centrist and progressive public opinion. It remains France’s journal of reference and the paper in which significant proposals and opinions are likely to appear first” (Thogmartin 1998, 221).

French journalists, as mentioned above, have traditionally had a close relationship with politicians. As Ockernt stated in a recent interview, journalists and politicians make up the same small ring of powerful individuals in France. Unlike American journalists, are seen as part of the fourth estate, the “watchdog” of the government, French journalists have closer ties to the centralized government in France (though some have criticized American journalists for also being a bit too cozy with the government). In the early years, *Le Monde* was no exception to this French generality. In fact, *Le Monde*’s first owner and ethical model for the paper, Hubert Beuve-Méry, may “even have envisioned

a closer relationship between the government and the newspaper than later developed.” In 1945, Beuve-Méry asked De Gaulle if it would be possible to attend weekly meetings held between the president’s press secretary and the head of Agence France Press (much like the AP in the U.S.). Holding true to the model of French journalism, the publisher of *Le Monde* would not ask any questions but simply observe the meeting. However, while Beuve-Méry did envision a close relationship between the paper and the government, he in no way saw the paper as a voice of the government. On the contrary, Beuve-Méry proved to the public in 1957 that *Le Monde* was there to report the truth, even when it could have negative effects on the government. Beuve-Méry published a leaked copy of a report charging that French troops had used torture during the Algerian War. Because *Le Monde* was the only paper to have a copy of the report, other newspapers were forced to buy the paper and read the report in order to make their own commentary. This action by Beuve-Méry set the tone and direction that *Le Monde* would take over the next several decades (Thogmartin 1998).

While Beuve-Méry proved *Le Monde*’s independence from the government in 1957, he never claimed his paper was objective. On the contrary, he always wanted the opinion of the newspaper to be visible. He wrote, “I have always thought that the role of a newspaper, its public interest role, was to give, first and above all, information that was accurate as possible, and then opinions and reactions about that information, including its own opinions and reactions” (Qtd. in Thogmartin 1998, 218). According to Thogmartin, “*Le Monde* is both a newspaper of reference and a journal of opinion. He writes: “To someone trained in the American tradition of “objectivity,” this double role seems like an impossible contradiction” (Thogmartin 1998, 218). While prestigious American

newspapers such as the *New York Times* praise themselves for reporting the truth of events and confining commentary on the events to the Op-Ed section, French newspapers such as *Le Monde* praise themselves for simultaneously reporting events and making commentary and reactions about them.

A Brief History of *Le Figaro*

Le Figaro is the oldest surviving national French national daily newspaper. It went daily in 1866. It did experience a pause in publication during WWII, but much like *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro* was restarted after the war, in 1944 (Thogmartin 1998). During the German occupation of France, many of the French newspapers stopped being printed or were controlled by the Nazi regime and Vichy government (the French puppet government during the war). Other clandestine publications were scattered throughout France promoting the resistance, but it was a pause in French press history. The major French newspapers that have developed after WWII have therefore rebuilt new models of journalism and opinion. *Le Figaro* is one of these papers.

Although *Le Figaro* does not have the fierce reader loyalty of *Le Monde*, it is the richest in advertising and the most circulated newspaper in France. *Le Figaro* was re-launched in 1944 by Michel P. Hamelet under the ownership of Robert Hersant, who was one of the largest press owners in France. *Le Figaro* took an editorial stance just right of center, which made it a “natural polemic adversary” to the just-to-the-left *Le Monde*. In the 1970s, the French Left criticized Hersant’s papers, particularly *Le Figaro*, for supporting right-winged, Neo-Gaullist candidates such as Jacques Chirac. During this time, Hersant named highly partisan Max Clos as editor of the paper, which turned the

paper “from its traditional right-of-center position to hard right” (Thogmartin 1998, 226). However, after Mitterrand’s election in 1988, Hersant replaced the very right-winged Clos with more centrist Franz-Olivier Gisebert.

According to Thogmartin, the change in editor at *Le Figaro* marked a major event in French journalism history. Gisebert had been a leading journalist at a socialist-leaning newspaper, *Nouvel Observateur*. His change to a notoriously right-of-center paper was monumental. In the wake of the controversy of the crossover, Gisebert said in an interview with Thogmartin, “At the *Nouvel Observateur*, they thought I was pulling the paper to the right. Here, they say that I’m pulling the paper to the left” (Qtd. in Thogmartin 1998, 241). Gisebert sought “intellectual hegemony” and hoped to replace *Le Monde* as the leading French paper of quality (Thogmartin 1998, 241).

A Brief History of the *New York Times*

On September 18, 1851, Henry Jarvis Raymond and George Jones published the first edition of the *New York Daily Times*, which ran every day except Sundays. In 1856, Raymond would also head the newly organized Associated Press. In 1861, with the outbreak of the Civil War, the *Times* began running a Sunday edition, which years later would become the Sunday newspaper of choice around the country. The *New York Times* established its slight left-of-center editorial line during the outbreak of the Civil War, supporting unions and an anti-slavery line during the 1860s.

As one of the leading newspapers in the country, even early in the 20th century, the *Times* was the first to have on-the-spot wireless transmission in 1904 during the Russian-Japanese War. The newspaper also sponsored Robert Peary’s 1909 race for the North Pole in exchange for reports on his progress. The *Times* also became the nation’s

first newspaper to report on the sinking of the Titanic in 1912, setting the bar for coverage for many other papers.

Throughout the remainder of the century, the *New York Times* would set itself apart from other newspapers around the country. It won its first Pulitzer Prize in 1918 for coverage on WWI and would be the only newspaper in the nation to publish the entire Treaty of Versailles. In 1945, a science reporter for the *Times* would also be the only journalist on the U.S. mission to drop the atomic bomb on Nagasaki. In 1948, the newspaper introduced its international edition, later becoming the *International Herald Tribune*, a newspaper famous for reporting international news and events. In 1964, the *New York Times* would also win a landmark Supreme Court case protecting newspapers from being accused of libel in *Times v. Sullivan*. The first national edition of the newspaper in 1980. The paper would begin to be widely read and circulated nationwide, eventually being printed across the entire United States. By early 1996, the *Times* went online, launching www.nytimes.com. The *New York Times* boasts 95 Pulitzer Prizes, more than any other newspaper in the country and has one of the most heavily trafficked news websites in the world (“NY Times Timeline,” www.nytimes.com).

A Brief History of the *Washington Post*

Stilson Hutchins launched the Washington Post on December 6, 1877. The first edition was published as the “Democratic Daily Journal.” By 1880, the *Post* became the first newspaper in Washington to run seven days a week, which crushed its competition from the many Sunday weeklies. Throughout the rest of the 19th century, the *Post* continued to expand and grow, absorbing rival newspapers such as *The New Republican* and other competing publications.

In 1933, Eugene Meyer bought the newspaper at a public auction and sought to expand the paper's dwindling circulation. By 1935, the *Post* won its first Pulitzer Prize. Throughout the next few decades, the newspaper would continue to grow and gain prominence. In 1954 it purchased the *Times-Herald* and the merger made the *Post* the major daily newspaper in Washington, D.C. But the paper did not stop there. In 1961 the paper bought *Newsweek* magazine, and in 1962 it merged a joint news service with the *Los Angeles Times*.

The 1970s would mark an historic and important decade for the *Post* journalistically. In 1971, it published the Pentagon Papers, which contained government secrets about the Vietnam War. The *Post* also won a historic Supreme Court case surrounding the Pentagon Papers, defending its right to publish the sensitive documents. In 1972, Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, two *Post* reporters, used aggressive and investigative reporting to uncover one of the biggest political scandals in history. The two reporters, along with other *Washington Post* editors and staff exposed the Watergate scandal, which eventually brought down President Richard Nixon, forcing him to resign. The scandal launched the *Washington Post* into the national light and by 1983 the paper was publishing a weekly edition specifically edited and tailored for a national audience. In 1996, the newspaper launched its online version.

The *Washington Post* remains one of the country's leading newspapers. It has had a long history of investigative and controversial reporting and has won many awards for its stories. In addition, in more recent decades, the newspaper has become well known for its extensive international reporting and is one a handful of American newspapers that

keeps foreign correspondents in many countries around the world. (“History of the Post,” www.washpost.com).

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

While it is important to understand the background and context in which the riots occurred, it is also important to see how the events were portrayed in the media. The press affects our daily perceptions of the world. It “frames” the way we see not only view specific events, but also entire issues. The news filters what it thinks is and is not important to the public. It defines what is and is not news. The press shapes our realities of the world (Shoemaker 1987). While the French and American press share many similarities in their freedom from government control, they also have differences in voice, editorial content and how stories are told and framed. In order to open a window onto these differences and the events of the riots themselves, I will examine the coverage of the Paris riots in the four different newspapers.

To compare the coverage in the four newspapers, I had to first catalogue the articles that appeared in the papers related to the riots. I chose to examine articles from a three-week period from October 28, 2005 (the day after the riots first broke out) through November 21, 2005 (five days after the riots had significantly cooled. October 28 is a critical date related to the riots because it is when newspapers would first be able to report on the events. However, it is also important to note that *Le Monde* is actually published at noon of the day before the date on the flag. In other words, the newspaper with the date October 28 was actually printed at noon on October 27. This would explain why the first article addressing the riots, “Violents affrontements dans les cites de Seine-Saint-Denis” (“Violent confrontations in the cities of Seine-Saint-Denis”) was not published until the October 29 edition of the paper.

I will cite the articles throughout this analysis based on the appendix of articles for each newspaper located in the back of the thesis. Each article is represented using a number. For *Le Monde*, articles will appear as LM 1, 2, 3 etc. *Le Figaro* will be referred to as LF 1, 2, 3 etc. The *Washington Post* articles will be referred to as WP 1, 2, 3 etc. and the *New York Times* will be NYT 1, 2, 3 etc. For example, an article from the *Washington Post* titled “Police, rioting youths clash in central Lyon” that appeared on Sunday, November 13, will be cited simply as WP 22. Full appendixes of all of the articles catalogued and studied appear in the back of this thesis.

Articles were examined in both a quantitative and qualitative manner. That is to say, stories published in the various publications were evaluated on where they appeared in the newspaper as well as the types of stories published and how those stories were framed. An effort was not made, however, to examine how the public may have perceived the coverage of the riots. Drawing conclusions about the media effects on the public would require a separate study.

I did the qualitative study by reading and analyzing the hundreds of articles that appeared in the four newspapers. Through careful reading and breaking down the articles, I was able to see themes emerging from the stories and different newspapers. In reading the hundreds of stories, common threads that tied stories together could be found. While I did not find that *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* framed their stories in any consistent opposing manner, I did find that there were obvious framing differences between the American and French newspapers. Overall, careful reading, finding common themes and analyzing the content provided the framework for my qualitative study.

Rather than focusing on articles singularly in the qualitative study, they were looked as parts of a singular body. Between the four newspapers, themes and similarities became evident in reading the articles closely. There were general similarities between the articles appearing in the same newspaper, as well as similarities in the articles appearing in the newspapers of the different countries. Rather than qualitatively analyzing each article separately, they were looked at as in more wholistic sense as one body of work. In cataloguing and reading the over 300 articles in the four newspapers, general themes began to emerge. In addition, I chose to focus on some of the more prevalent and obvious themes, such as the editorial battle between the French and American newspapers and the differences in visual content between the newspapers.

Using Jyotika Ramaprasad's article comparing the coverage of the 1992 LA riots as a model, articles were also studied in a quantitative manner. That is to say, how many stories were published, how long were they and where were they located in the newspaper. I also looked at whether the stories were written by newspaper staff (for the American papers that was mostly foreign correspondents) or whether they were wire stories. I examined how many front-page stories appeared in the four newspapers and whether those stories appeared above or below the fold. While this placement above or below the fold is mostly important only on the front page, it does indicate importance even in later sections in terms of first-glance visibility. In addition, I categorized the stories by type: News, editorial or feature.

Articles were also broken down into different categories: Riot, law/government, reaction, consequence, cause, after riot and other. "Riot" included all stories that focused directly on events of the Paris riots and the riots in other cities. "Law/Government"

included all stories that pertained to the police, and government action concerning the riots. “Reaction” stories were about reactions to the riots or reaction to the reason for the stories. “Consequence” stories pertained to the results of the riots. “Cause” stories examined the root and immediate causes of the riots. “After-riot” stories dealt with follow-up or rebuilding stories. While breaking the stories into these categories proved helpful in looking at how the four newspapers covered the riots, there were also limitations presented with these breakdowns. While stories were categorized based on the main focus of the story, many of the articles could have parts that fit into more than one category.

There were other limitations with this method. While French newspapers tend to have more stories that are reflective and analytical, American newspapers tend to stick to the objective, hard news story. It was therefore sometimes difficult to categorize what type of story appeared in the four different newspapers. Many of the French articles had both news elements and editorial elements, providing both news facts as well as opinion and commentary. Despite this, the findings demonstrate general trends of the four newspaper’s coverage.

There are also certain limitations in my own research as I am studying news items from a country and culture of which I am not a part. While I lived in France for five months and have made many trips there, I am still not a native. I also speak the language well, but I am by no means a native speaker. My research and personal experience has given me an understanding of the social-political situation in France, but this knowledge can in no way compare to my knowledge and experience with my own country and culture. Also, while I consider myself fluent in French, it is not my native language. This

could possible sway my understanding of the articles and the full understanding of the connotations of certain words and phrases. However, despite these limitations, France and the United States do share many similarities. As developed, Western nations, they share many of the same core values of democracy and equality. In addition, both nations share a common history of similar types of racial riots and un-integrated groups living within a nation. These similarities in political system and history, will lend a better understanding of the coverage of the riots.

CHAPTER 6

ELEMENTS OF NEWS COVERAGE

Newsworthiness and Proximity

In studying and comparing media coverage and content it is important to understand fundamental approaches to media analysis and media research. One important factor is the “newsworthiness” of an event. Newspapers, like other news and media sources, filter what news we receive based on “newsworthiness” or the publication’s perception of the importance and interest level of an event. Pamela Shoemaker defines newsworthiness as “an important criterion, which journalists use to judge whether a story should be covered.” According to her, some of the indicators of newsworthiness include: “Conflict or controversy; prominence; novelty; oddity or the unusual; sensationalism; importance, impact, or consequences; interest; timeliness; and proximity” (Shoemaker 1987, 4).

The Paris riots were newsworthy in America and France for different reasons. While the events were newsworthy globally because of the conflict and controversy, impact, sensationalism and importance, proximity was a defining difference for the newspapers in France and the United States. Shoemaker writes:

...proximity affects the type or amount of coverage of an event, it may have little impact on whether the event is covered. Proximity has been used as a surrogate measurement of newsworthiness, the assumption being that the closer the event is to a medium’s base of operation, the more likely the event is to be covered or the more coverage the event will receive (Shoemaker 1987, 11).

The discrepancy in the amount of coverage between the French and American newspapers can be mostly explained by the difference in proximity to the events.

These factors of newsworthiness affected mostly the amount of coverage. While *Le Monde* ran 169 stories and *Le Figaro* published 171 stories related to the riots between October 28 and November 21, 2005, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* ran 28 and 31 riot-related stories respectively during the same period. Proximity was the defining factor in the huge difference in the amount of content published on the events. Because the riots were happening in France, it is natural that a vast amount of news would appear in French newspapers. Proximity in this sense played a large role in the coverage. However, proximity also affected the way articles were framed and the types of stories that appeared in the four newspapers.

In her article “Riot News: The Spread of Opinion and Demographic Self-Interest,” Marilyn Rosenthal found that proximity is an important variable in determining the type of story written about an event. She states that editors close to an event chose “preparedness” stories, whereas editors farther away select more analytical stories about solving the problem (Rosenthal 1978). My research supported Rosenthal’s conclusion. Generally, I found that articles appearing in the WP and NYT tended to explain the cultural reason for the riots and possible solutions, whereas articles in LF and LM tended to address the actual rioting and political reaction and impact of the events. For example, articles like WP 7, “Rage of French youth is a fight for recognition,” and NYT 12, “Inside French housing project, feelings of being outsiders” are framed around the root causes of the riots and provide a cultural understanding for Americans about why the riots are occurring. In contrast, articles appearing in the French newspapers tended to

address the actual riots and the political backlash from the events. For example, articles like LM 11, “Villepin se saisit du dossier des banlieues en crise” (Villepin takes on the banlieues in crisis) and LF 8, “Violences urbaines: Villepin reprend l'initiative” (Urban Violence: Villepin retakes the initiative), which both ran in November 2 editions, addressed the political reaction to the riots in France. This supports Rosenthal's conclusion that stories farther from the epicenter of events are more analytical and stories from the French newspapers are more related to “preparedness.” However, while this was a general trend, it is not an absolute rule. Many articles appeared in both LM and LF addressing the cause of the riots and how to solve the problem.

Timeliness

The first and most important difference to note between the coverage of the riots in the two papers is seemingly obvious: far more information, stories, editorials and photos appeared in *Le Monde* than in the *New York Times*. In fact, not one briefing or article on the Paris riots appeared in the *New York Times* until Sunday, October 30, three days after the riots had begun. Even then, the coverage consisted of a small paragraph in the “World Briefing” section. A front-page article did not appear until Saturday, November 5, over a week after the riots first broke out and days after huge numbers of cars were burning each night.

The heaviest concentrations of articles in the *New York Times* occurred between November 8 and November 10. On these three days, four articles appeared each day concerning the Paris riots. The heaviest concentration of articles appeared in the *Washington Post* during the same three-day period as the *Times*. Two articles appeared in

the November 8 and November 10 editions, and three articles appeared in the November 9 edition.

The dates with the most articles appearing in *Le Monde* were similar to that of the *Post* and the *Times*. Between November 8 and November 11, 68 total articles appeared on the riots in *Le Monde*, about 40 percent of the total number of articles. Thirteen articles appeared on November 8, 23 on November 9, 17 on November 10 and 15 on November 11. In *Le Figaro*, the heaviest concentration on articles appeared on November 9, with 43 stories appearing on the riots, 25 percent of the total number of articles. Overall, the heaviest concentrations of articles were around the same three-day window for all four newspapers, which was when rioting had spread throughout France and Jacques Chirac declared a state of emergency.

Deviance

As mentioned in the discussion of newsworthiness, another component that makes a story “newsworthy” is the intensity of deviance in the events. The Paris riots centered on social change deviance and normative deviance. Pamela J. Shoemaker and Akiba A. Cohen define social change deviance as news that “refers to threats to the status quo...” and normative deviance as news that “deals with violations of laws and norms” (Shoemaker and Cohen 2006, 49). Shoemaker and Cohen found that newspaper items tended to have less intensely deviant stories than television, except in stories about internal politics, international politics and internal order, which had more intense deviance. News coverage of the Paris riots showed intense deviance in the articles examined in both the American and French newspapers. Because the riots touched on all

three of Shoemaker and Cohen's indicators for intense deviance—internal politics (for France), international politics (for the U.S.), and internal order (for France)—the riots deserved significant coverage in both the American and French newspapers (Shoemaker and Cohen 2006, 51). Shoemaker and Cohen also found that stories about internal order, which was clearly at stake during the almost two-week-long riots in France, is the most deviant topic category. This would explain why during the height of the riots (November 9), *Le Figaro* published 43 articles in one day on the events. The highly deviant nature of the events led to the high amount of coverage in both the domestic papers of France and in the international attention received from the American newspapers.

CHAPTER 7

FINDINGS

Quantitative Findings*New York Times*

In the total three-week sample, 28 stories appeared in the *New York Times* about the riots. *NY Times* staff members wrote almost all of the stories, with only one article appearing during this time period from the wire. Interestingly, the *Times* had fewer wire stories than both *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro*. Most of the stories were written by Paris foreign correspondent Craig S. Smith, with a few other stories coming from *International Herald Tribune* writers and Lyon foreign correspondent Mark Landler. It is also interesting to note that the majority of the stories were distributed between the categories of “riot,” “law/government” and “cause.” The majority of stories were split between “riot,” “law/government” and “cause.”

As noted in TABLE 1, a fairly high percentage of articles appeared in prominent locations within the paper, with about 71 percent appearing above the fold and nearly 18 percent of the articles appearing on the front page. Most of the articles dealt with the riots themselves, 46.43 percent, though there was a fairly high percentage of articles that analyzed the government response (32.14 percent) and the cause of the riots (14.29 percent).

TABLE 1 below shows the breakdown of percentages of articles appearing in the *New York Times*.

TABLE 1

Distribution of Stories by Variable, *New York Times*

Variable	Description	# of Articles	% of Articles
Page	Front	5	17.86%
	Other	23	82.14%
Placement	Above Fold	20	71.43%
	Below Fold	8	28.57%
Size	Greater than 1 column	27	96.43%
	Less than 1 column	1	3.57%
Byline	Staff	26	92.86%
	Wire	2	7.17%
	Other	0	0%
Story Type	News	19	67.86%
	Editorial	4	14.29%
	Feature	5	17.86%
Topic	Riot	13	46.43%
	Law/Government	9	32.14%
	Reaction	2	7.14%
	Consequence	0	0%
	Cause	4	14.29%
	After Riot	0	0%
	Other	0	0%

Washington Post

There were a total of 31 articles appearing in the *Washington Post* during the three-week period examined. Like the *New York Times*, staff members wrote a great majority of those articles, with the highest number of articles written by foreign correspondent Molly Moore.

As noted in the table below, the *Washington Post* gave a majority of the articles about the riots a prominent above-the-fold position in the paper (almost 71 percent), and a substantial percentage (16 percent) of the articles appeared on the front page. These percentages are strikingly similar to those of the *New York Times*. In fact, most of the findings about the two newspapers were very similar. Both newspapers had very similar percentages of news versus editorial and feature articles (News stories accounted for 68 percent for the *Post* and 68 percent for the *Times*). The area the two newspapers differed the most was in their story subjects. The *Washington Post* had a more dispersed percentage of story topics than the *Times*. However, the two newspapers still dedicated most stories to the same topic areas. As in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post* concentrated mostly on the riot itself, law and government action, cause and reaction.

TABLE 2 below shows the breakdown in percentages of stories from the *Washington Post*.

TABLE 2

Distribution by Variable, *Washington Post*

Variable	Description	# of Articles	% of Articles
Page	Front	4	16.13%
	Other	27	87.1%
Placement	Above Fold	27	70.97%
	Below Fold	9	29.03%
Size	Greater than 1 column	26	83.87%
	Less than 1 column	5	16.13%
Byline	Staff	27	87.1%
	Wire	4	12.9%
	Other	0	0%
Story Type	News	21	67.75%
	Editorial	6	19.35%
	Feature	4	12.9%
Topic	Riot	9	29.03%
	Law/Government	8	25.8%
	Reaction	6	19.35%
	Consequence	1	3.23%
	Cause	7	22.58%
	After Riot	0	0%
	Other	0	0%

Le Monde

Despite the difference in sheer number of stories between the French and American newspapers, the distribution of stories in terms of percentage were actually not all that different. *Le Monde* did run a lower percentage of front-page articles concerning the riots than both the *Times* and *Post*. However, this discrepancy can be explained in large quantity of overall articles ran in *Le Monde*. Because there were so many more articles in *Le Monde* than the American newspapers, a lower percentage of those articles appeared on the front page.

Additionally, *Le Monde* and the *New York Times* had the highest percentages of stories covering the topic of “law/government,” with both papers having about 32 percent of their articles on this topic. This high percentage of law and government stories supports the two newspapers general reputations in being analytical political oriented news providers.

TABLE 3 below shows the breakdown of percentages of articles appearing in *Le Monde*.

TABLE 3

Distribution of Stories by Variable, *Le Monde*

Variable	Description	# of Articles	% of Articles
Page	Front	15	8.87%
	Other	154	91.12%
Placement	Above Fold	129	76.33%
	Below Fold	40	23.66%
Size	Greater than 1 column	138	81.66%
	Less than 1 column	31	18.34%
Byline	Staff	144	85.2%
	Wire	11	6.5%
	Other	14	8.28%
Story Type	News	107	63.31%
	Editorial	28	16.57%
	Feature	34	20.12%
Topic	Riot	39	23.08%
	Law/Government	54	31.95%
	Reaction	30	17.75%
	Consequence	13	7.69%
	Cause	32	18.93%
	After Riot	1	.59%
	Other	0	0%

Le Figaro

There were many similarities in the percentages of stories by location, staff or wire authorship, placement, length and topic between *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro*. While the stories on these various topics may have been framed differently and represented visually in a very different matter, about the same percentage of stories appeared in the many categories shown below. *Le Figaro* did have a slightly lower percentage of articles on law and government than *Le Monde* (about 25 percent versus 32 percent). However, *Le Figaro* had a higher percentage of articles on the cause of the riots (24 percent versus *Le Monde*'s 19 percent).

TABLE 4**Distribution of Stories by Variable, *Le Figaro***

Variable	Description	# of Articles	% of Articles
Page	Front	18	10.53%
	Other	153	89.47%
Placement	Above Fold	108	63.16%
	Below Fold	63	36.84%
Size	Greater than 1 column	146	85.38%
	Less than 1 column	25	14.62%
Byline	Staff	149	87.13%
	Wire	9	5.26%
	Other	13	7.6%
Story Type	News	100	58.47%
	Editorial	36	21.05%
	Feature	35	20.47%
Topic	Riot	39	22.8%
	Law/Government	43	25.15%
	Reaction	34	19.88%
	Consequence	14	8.19%
	Cause	40	23.39%
	After Riot	1	.58%
	Other	0	0%

Discussion

When comparing all of the percentages in this method of quantitative analysis, it is interesting that all four newspapers had many similarities in the types of stories.

TABLE 5 below compares the breakdown of percentages for all four newspapers side-by-side in order to provide an easy way to see the many similarities between all four newspapers.

French newspapers had a slightly higher percentage of stories about the consequences of the riots than the American newspapers. This is probably due to the proximity of the events as well as the relevance of consequences domestically. The French are more likely to have articles discussing the possible political implications of the riots in the 2007 presidential elections than the Americans. This is due to the implications of the riots that apply to the everyday French citizen's life. While Americans were not super concerned with how the riots may affect future French politics and the rebuilding process that would need to take place, the French were concerned with both of these issues.

TABLE 5
Distribution of Stories by Variable, Comparing the Four Sources

Variable	Description	NY Times	Wash Post	Le Monde	Le Figaro
Page	Front	5, 17.86%	4, 16.13%	15, 8.87%	18, 10.53%
	Other	23, 71.43%	27, 87.1%	154, 91.12%	153, 8.47%
Placement	Above Fold	20, 96.43%	27, 83.87%	129, 76.33%	108, 63.16%
	Below Fold	8, 28.57%	9, 29.01%	40, 23.66%	63, 36.84%
Size	Greater than 1 column	27, 96.43%	26, 83.87%	138, 81.66%	146, 85.38%
	Less than 1 column	1, 3.57%	5, 16.13%	31, 18.34%	25, 14.62%
Byline	Staff	26, 92.86%	27, 87.1%	144, 85.2%	149, 87.13%
	Wire	2, 7.17%	4, 12.9%	11, 6.5%	9, 5.26%
	Other	0,0	0, 0	14, 8.28%	13, 7.6%
Story Type	News	19, 67.86%	21, 67.75%	107, 63.31%	100, 58.47%
	Editorial	4, 14.29%	6, 19.35%	28, 16.57%	36, 21.05%
	Feature	5, 17.86%	4, 12.9%	34, 20.12%	35, 20.47%
Topic	Riot	13, 46.43%	9, 29.03%	39, 23.08%	39, 22.8%
	Law/Government	9, 32.14%	8, 25.8%	54, 31.95%	43, 25.15%
	Reaction	2, 7.14%	6, 19.35%	30, 17.75%	34, 19.88%
	Consequence	0, 0	1, 3.23%	13, 7.69%	14, 8.19%
	Cause	4, 14.29%	7, 22.58%	32, 18.93%	40, 23.39%
	After Riot	0, 0	0, 0	1, 0.59%	1, 0.58%
	Other	0, 0	0, 0	0, 0	0, 0

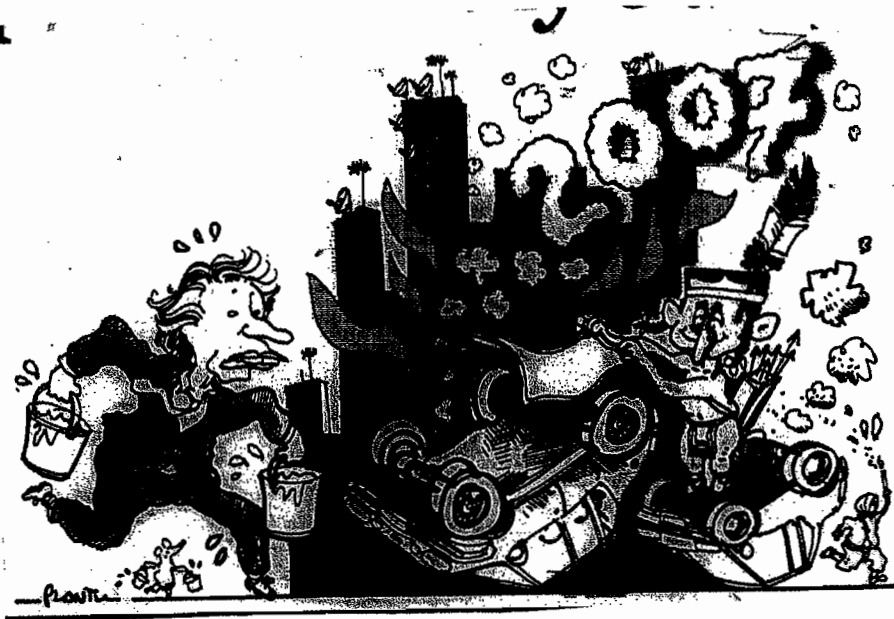
Visual Content

Everyone knows the old adage of “a picture is worth a thousand words.” In terms of news content, this idea is definitely true. In an increasingly visually oriented world, images are an important and crucial part of news content. According to a study on visual news content, a photograph paired with a story leaves a stronger impression on a reader. In the case of the riots, photos from the riots appeared in all four newspapers. The coupling of words and images of rioting youth made many of the stories more deviant and therefore had more of an impact. According to the theories of newsworthiness and proximity, far more photographs appeared in *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro*. However, many images did appear in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. Besides the difference in quantity of images, it is also important to note the difference in the types of images in the four newspapers and how they reflected deviance and framed the stories.

Newspaper content can be easily divided into two main categories: verbal content and visual content. Verbal content of newspapers consists of headlines, captions, and printed columns of text. Visual content in newspapers includes photographs, charts, graphs, tables, figures, cartoons, drawings, maps or any other graphic element (Shoemaker and Cohen 2006). Because visual content can be more powerful than verbal content in newspapers, the selection of images is important. Often, more deviance is described in verbal content in American newspapers than in visual content. For example, in a story about a bombing, body parts strewn around the scene may be described in the article, but rarely shown in the photo (Shoemaker and Cohen 2006).

In the two French newspapers, different images were chosen to accompany the stories about the riots. While *Le Figaro* chose mostly images of burning cars, police lined

up against angry and violent rioters and hooded youths rioting in the street, *Le Monde* ran more political cartoons, maps, tables and graphs. While it is untrue to say that *Le Monde* did not run photos of burning cars or rioters, it did run far fewer photos depicting the rioters in a violent and hostile manner. *Le Monde* is known for often running political cartoons by Plantu on the front page. This editorial choice goes along with *Le Monde*'s tradition of strong opinion. For example, on November 4, *Le Monde*'s top story was "Les banlieues continuent a flamber, Villepin et Sarkozy s'affrontent" ("The *banlieues* continue to burn, Villepin and Sarkzoy continue to confront each other"). Instead of running a photo, the text was limited to one column and there was a large cartoon depicting Sarkozy fanning the flames and Villepin running with buckets of water to put out the fires. The year 2007 formed from the smoke (the year of the next presidential elections). The cartoon is effective in communicating a lot of ideas and opinions in synthesized way. The cartoon is pictured below.



(LM 16)

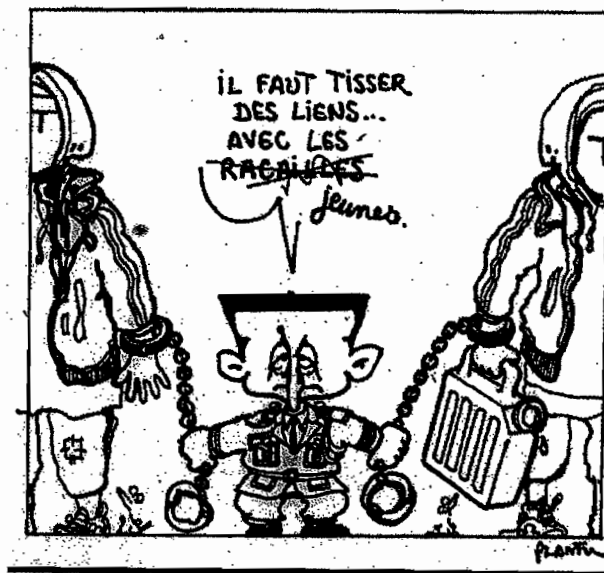
During the three-week period of articles examines, *Le Monde* ran many different political cartoons like the one above. Many of these ran on the front page, replacing a photo of rioters or fires. This visual approach to content lent more to *Le Monde*'s historic method of commentary with news.

On November 5, *Le Monde* ran another front-page cartoon with its story depicting Sarkozy choking President Jacques Chirac in front of a scene of burning buildings. President Chirac has a bubble stating, "Si c'est la police, de proximate, merci bien" ("If it's the police in proximity, thank you very much"). The headline running above the cartoon is "La strategie policiere de Sarkozy en accusation" ("Sarkozy's Police Strategy called into question"). While *Le Figaro*'s front-page articles ran photos of burning buildings and cars, *Le Monde* ran many more editorial cartoons in conjunction with news stories surrounding the riots. The cartoon is pictured below:



(LM 22)

In November 6-7 edition of *Le Monde* another cartoon ran on the front page. This cartoon depicted Sarkozy holding two chained hands with the statement, “Il faut tisser des liens avec les racailles/jeunes” (It is necessary to weave lines with the scum). The writing “racailles” (scum) is crossed out and replaced with the word “jeunes” (youth). This cartoon pokes fun at Sarkozy for his statement calling the youth of banlieues scum. The cartoon is pictured below:



► Le ministre de l'intérieur s'explique dans « Le Monde »

► La politique de sécurité de la gauche était « angélique et calamiteuse »

► La menace : « l'ordre des mafias ou celui des intégristes »

► Le regard des médias étrangers

Lire pages 6, 7 et 15
et notre éditorial page 14

(LM 30)

As will be discussed later, the French newspapers ran several editorials criticizing the American media for sensationalizing the riots, partly through the use of images. Photographs can be an integral and important part of news coverage, framing the story and the words that accompany the picture. In her article, “Photojournalists’ and Photo

Editors Attitudes and Perceptions: The Visual Coverage of 9/11 and the Afghan War,”

Shahira Fahmy studied images in a variety of news sources depicting 9/11 and the Afghan war. She found that newspapers critical of U.S. military action in the Middle East, particularly foreign news sources, tended to run more violent images of injured civilians and war damages. On the contrary, many American news sources tended to run photos of patrolling American soldiers and other less violent images. Fahmy’s study was important in that she claims an editorial stance can be not only heard in the verbal content of the stories, but also seen in the types of images presented with the stories.

Le Figaro ran far more images of the riots that were destructive and/or violent in nature like the one below, which appeared in the October 30 edition of the newspaper:



(LF 4)

However, while *Le Figaro* did run the most photos depicting the violence of the riots, the American newspapers did run many photos depicting flames and rioters in the streets such as the image below, which appeared in the November 5 edition of the *New York Times* on the front page:



(NYT 4)

What is important to note in the visual coverage of the riots is how the images were possibly perceived by French and American news consumers. While the images shown above that appeared in *Le Figaro* and the *New York Times* seem to be very similar, there is a difference in cultural and understanding of the images. As discussed above, the French, especially Parisians, knew the riots were mostly confined to a few neighborhoods on the outskirts of Paris. However, Americans had no context for this understanding.

Because of this difference in cultural understanding, images such as the one above could have led some Americans to visualize the entirety of France embroiled in a war like zone.

While *Le Monde* did run some photographs of the burning cars and rioters, it ran far fewer than *Le Figaro*. Perhaps this is because of *Le Monde*'s historically more text-driven layout, or perhaps it was the newspaper's attempt to stay away from the sensationalism that type of photos could create.

CHAPTER 8
THE FRENCH VERSUS AMERICAN EDITORIAL STANCE;
AMERICA CRITICIZES FRANCE, FRANCE CRITICIZES
AMERICA

The French Perspective

As noted in the different basic press models of France and the United States, the French newspapers tended to carry many more stories that reflected and analyzed the riots, the government reaction to them, and how order would be reinstated. As expected, *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* ran the most stories about the riots, with 169 and 171 articles respectively. While most of the stories about the riots in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* appeared in the World News or International News sections, the French newspapers dedicated entire special sections of their papers to stories about various aspects of the riots. Also, while American stories focused on what was happening where, how the government was handling it and why the riots started, the French newspapers looked at the riots in a variety of different contexts.

The sheer number of stories relating to the riots in the French newspapers demonstrate how consumed the French media became with the events in the *banlieues*. They looked at the riots on many different levels and in many different contexts. For example, “Le Parti Socialiste” (“The Socialist Party”) (LM 18), looks entirely at how the Socialist Party was reacting to the riots and how it was planning on using the events as a political springboard. Also, LF 6, “Education ou Sauvagerie” (“Education or Savagerie”), examined the education system in the *banlieues* and how a lack of pushing kids from the

banlieue toward a university education could have helped cause the riots. While the U.S. papers did run articles on the French politics and possible causes for the riots, they tended to be more general feature and editorial-style pieces that looked at these components as a whole rather than separately. The American newspapers also focused many editorials and features on how the French model of integration had failed and how that could have led to the riots.

It is also interesting to note that while American coverage concerned itself very little with how the French newspapers were covering the events in their own country, several articles in both *Le Figaro* and *Le Monde* appeared analyzing the American coverage of the riots. It seems that France was not only concerned with how the riots were affecting its country internally, they were concerned with how the events were being perceived internationally.

In an editorial in the November 7 edition of *Le Figaro* called “La France au pilori,” (“France ridiculously critiqued”) Yves Therard examines how the riots were represented in the international press. In his editorial, Therad said the American Press is eager to shoot down the French model of integration and failure of the French government, remembering the critical eye of France as the United States entered war with Iraq. He writes:

The American newspapers do not hesitate to compare Paris to Baghdad, Seine-Saint-Denis to the Gaza strip, and qualify the crisis as a “Katrina of social disasters.” Great leader Muammar Kadhafi even offered his help to Jacques Chirac...France pays for its arrogance. In the eyes of the world, our famous model of integration is in the midst of departing from the “go-with-the flow” ideal. This crisis translates as “their incapacity to integrate their immigrants,” according to the *New York Times*. Vengeance is a dish best served cold. The Americans will never forget the unflattering actions taken by their country and their society at the moments of the war in Iraq and the hurricane in Louisiana. Their analyzation has not yet unraveled

their shortsightedness. They underline the forty years of political failure. If France is not in war, it is buried in the mud of its incoherences and its contradictions. (Translated by Blakley, LF 33).

Yves Therard is clearly critical of the American coverage of the riots. His editorial says that Americans are too quick to compare the rioting *banlieues* to the streets of Baghdad and looks at France as a war zone. He claims that, wanting to distract attention away from their own political and social disasters, the American press was too quick to criticize French integration models and depict France as up in flames. Whether his editorial has validity or not is a matter of opinion, but the opinion is nonetheless important at showing how the French newspapers looked at the American coverage of the riots.

In a *Le Monde* article on November 5, “La presse étrangère critique l’attitude de Nicolas Sarkozy” (“The foreign press criticizes Nicolas Sarkozy’s attitude”) the editorial board looked at how the international press was covering the riots. Although this article addresses international coverage of the riots in general, it nonetheless shows how the French press were interested in how the riots were being covered on the international stage. The article criticizes the harsh American perspective on the riots, stating:

The official report erected by the *Washington Post* is similar: “The violence is contagious in the immigrant communities where the unemployment rate is high and at least double that of the national average.” The American newspaper insists on the weakness of social services and the confines of a degraded life. The majority of international media also returns to the management of the crisis of Dominique de Villepin and often criticizes that attitude of the interior minister (Translated by Blakley, LM 26).

Taking a surprisingly similar editorial stance to *Le Figaro*, this article states that perhaps the international media is being a little too harsh on France’s social and political practices that may have contributed to the riots. Here, the French press not only comments on the American coverage of the riots, but also defends its country against the critical eyes of

the world. The November 7 article would also not be the only time *Le Monde* would examine the international coverage of the riots.

In the November 6-7 issue of *Le Monde*, Guy Duthell and Pascale Santi once again examined the critical coverage of the riots by the foreign press in “Les medias etrangeres stigmatisent l’echec de l’ ‘integration a la francais’ “ (The foreign media stigmatize the failure of integration “a la Francaise”). Once again, this article compares the American coverage of the riots to its own coverage of the war in Iraq. The authors question whether the amount of coverage the riots were receiving from the international media is warranted:

Some question if the American media, notably, are not over-covering the events. They stigmatize the French political failure on immigration, in the opinion of several foreign correspondents in Paris (Translated by Blakley, LM 36).

Here, *Le Monde* questions whether the amount of coverage by the American press is warranted, or whether the riots are being exaggerated. In my findings, the *Washington Post* ran 31 articles the concerning the Paris riots during the three-week period examined, an average of close to 1.5 articles per day. The *New York Times* ran 28 articles during this same period, an average of 1.33 articles per day. Was this too much? Too little? While separate study would be required to analyze whether the American press magnified the French riots more than other international events, it is important to note the French attitude toward the American press and the coverage of the riots.

As France watched unrest take over the suburbs, it worried about more than restoring internal order. France, and the media, also worried about the French image internationally. Would the riots lower the opinion of France in foreign countries? In a November 15 *Le Monde* editorial, “Banlieues: The American media without

complacency,” Eric Lesser examines the image of France in other countries. Once again, the article likens the American coverage of the riots to the American coverage of the war in Iraq. France, openly critical of the American military action in Iraq, seems quick to criticize how the media may have reflected the Paris riots as similar to a war zone.

According to the article, Jean-Francois Coupe, press secretary for France, accused the foreign media for using formulas of “caricaturized evidence” in the coverage. He also stated in the article that “the shock of certain images deforms the reality of the facts” (LM 129). Eric Lesser, in his editorial accuses the American media of dramaticizing and sensationalizing the events. He writes:

On the news channels, the dramatization of the stage of events is, as always, spectacular and without nuance. The United States’ CNN opens systematically with reports titled “Paris Burning” with images of burning cars. Fox News shows red letters stating “Muslim Riots” in front of a blue, white and red flag flapping in the wind. The American media relate the riots to the war in Iraq or the earthquake in Pakistan, with maps and reporters in the nerve centers and a number of experts in tow. They are interested in the history of the banlieues and of immigration in France, questioning the causes of the riots and preoccupied with the possible link to Islamic terrorists (Translated by Blakley, LM 129).

Here, Eric Lesser criticizes not only how the American media covered the riots, but also the motivations behind that coverage. Later in the article, he pokes fun at a CNN survey, which found 63 percent of Americans thought France should deploy troops, and criticizes Bill O’Reilly for criticizing without understanding the “weakness” of the Chirac administration. Lesser does state that while editorials and articles in American newspapers, such as the *New York Times* are generally more “nuanced” than the televised version of events, they are nonetheless overly critical and slightly misrepresentative.

In a November 9 editorial in *Le Figaro*, “Inquietude et ironie predominant a l’etranger” (Concern and irony predominant abroad) (LF 76) the French once again

question the American press and its coverage of the riots. The article asserts that conservative news sources in the United States were eager to criticize the French government in retaliation for the French criticizing the U.S. government's response to Hurricane Katrina earlier that fall. The article states:

Death to the "French model" of integration, warn the tourists: the international press, which is largely covering the violence in the banlieues, does not hesitate to make severe lessons of the events. Of the international press who did this again this weekend was the American press, which does not mince its words in stigmatizing the impotence of the French government. The television channels transmit mostly images of burning cars. "Paris burns" is even announced on ABC... For the most conservative media, like television station Fox News or the daily *Washington Times*, France is getting it back for its part in having denounced the failings of the American administration in the face of Hurricane Katrina (Translated by Blakley, LF 76).

In this article, much as in the others, the author is quick to blame the American media's response to the riots on failings in their own country during the same year. In this article, as well in the similar articles in *Le Monde*, it is clear that the French press was critical of the way in which the American press was choosing to cover the events. Whether this criticism is valid, it is important to note that the two countries did see the riots very differently.

In a *Figaro* feature appearing on November 9, Philippe Gelie interviews Jack Levin, the director of Violence Studies at the College of Criminal Justice at Northwestern University, in order to gain some insight on how the Paris riots could compare with violent uprisings in the American past. This article, unlike the other articles criticizing the American reaction to the riots, gives a voice to the United States the article attempts to make connections between past riots in the U.S. past and the situation in France. *Le Figaro* asks what lessons American history can give France and how the problem could

be solved. He says that while riots of the proportion of the 1992 Los Angeles riots are very unlikely to recur because, “we have finally succeeded in ameliorating the state of the police and other local institutions,” he says that the work France has cut out for it is not easy. Levin’s advice in the article is, “It might be necessary that Muslim representatives and immigrant communities show their voice to the rest of French society” (LF 52). This article is yet another example of the French press attempting to show the American perspective. While this article is not as critical as the others mentioned, the number of articles appearing on the riots concerning American viewpoints shows the French interest in what Americans are thinking. While the French press may not generally agree with the viewpoints of Americans or how the riots were being covered, they nonetheless care what Americans think.

The American Perspective

As discussed above, the French were overtly and unabashedly critical of the American coverage and opinions on the riots. Articles in both *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* bashed the American press for sensationalizing the events, misconstruing facts and being too quick to criticize the French government’s response to the unrest. While the two French newspapers also ran a large number of stories critical of the government response to the riots, the several editorials in *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* blamed, at least in part, the critical American perspective on a response to French criticism for the war in Iraq and the response to Hurricane Katrina. While it would take a separate study to determine fact behind these French assertions, my research can show how Americans did cover the riots. Regardless of why the American newspapers framed the stories the way they did, it is important to examine how the events were covered.

In accordance with the assertions in *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* editorials, the articles in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* tended to be overtly critical of many areas of French society. Editorials in both newspapers criticized the French government's response to the riots, the French model of integration and French society's dealing with immigration. In an editorial appearing in the *Post* on November 17 titled "What's French for Lost?" Jim Hoagland criticizes several arenas of French politics and society surrounding the riots. Hoagland writes:

The French place language at the center of their culture and their politics. But words have failed them in the nearly three weeks of urban violence that has scarred the country's self-image. Words have failed the French in every way. There have been too many of some words from their politicians—"scum," for example—and too few of others. The verbal imbalance has produced a sense of national crisis and no clear sense of how it will be resolved, or by whom (WP 29).

The editorial starts by criticizing the French government's response, or lack thereof, and continues to criticize the French press. Sitting on the opposite side of the fence from the French editorials accusing the American press for blowing the riots out of proportion, Hoagland claims the French press has done just the opposite and kept too quiet. He writes: "Like Chirac's government the French press has been holding its breath as thousands of cars, some schools and other government buildings were torched by marauding youths, who blame their economic and social exclusion from French society for their outbursts" (WP 29). While it may be an exaggeration to state that the French press "held its breath" (with hundreds of articles on the riots appearing in *Le Figaro* and *Le Monde*) perhaps Hoagland is pointing at how the French press, notoriously opinionated in matters, held back from any significant criticism of French models of integration and discrimination.

In another editorial appearing on November 11 in the *Washington Post* titled “Where France Failed,” Eugene Robinson examines how the French model of integration failed as a whole and how it contributed to the riots. He criticizes the French model of equality that forbids keeping statistics based on race or ethnicity and states that disregarding cultural, racial and ethnic differences hardly solves the problem. He writes:

According to the French government, ethnic or religious or racial enclaves do not exist in France. But now no one can deny that for the past two weeks these non-existent slums have been consumed in very real flames. The failed French experiment proves that you can’t make differences and disparities disappear simply by ignoring them (WP 17).

Robinson goes on to state that when comparing the American model of multiculturalism to that of France, we manage quite well. He says countries like France “cover their ears and go ‘na-na-na-na-na’ to avoid hearing complicated truths” (WP 17). While, as previously discussed, the French blatantly and unabashedly criticized the American press for their harsh criticism, the American press did not hold back on criticizing French policies. Editorials such as Robinson’s and Hoagland’s attacked French policies, French society and even the French press.

The *Post* was not alone in its harsh and overt criticism of French policies in the Op-Ed section of its paper. The *New York Times* also published blunt and critical pieces about the French and not only their reaction to the riots, but the root causes of them. In an editorial appearing in the November 8th *Times* titled “While France Burns” (an article cited in editorials in both *Le Figaro* and *Le Monde*), the editorial board criticizes the French reaction to the riots. The article states:

As shocking as the riots that have swept through the depressed outskirts of Paris and other French cities over the past two weeks has been the flailing response President Jacques Chirac and his ministers. They appear to have no idea to whom to talk. Their floundering illustrates the deeper problems

that underlie the current unrest: a failed approach to absorbing immigrants into society, an out of touch political elite and ministers more interested in a presidential election that's still nearly two years away than in coming up with answer's for today's literally burning problems (NYT 11).

Here, the article bashes not only Chirac and his ministers, but also the entire system of integration in France and the political elite. The editorial calls the French administration "flailing" and "floundering." The criticism is harsh. Whether it is warranted or not, it shows why French journalists may have been compelled to respond to the harsh words coming from across the Atlantic. Disregarding any amount of truth that may lie in either the French or American articles that criticize one another, the American press seemed to have prided itself on its critical and investigative eye and the French felt misunderstood, misrepresented and attacked.

Another editorial appearing in the *Times* criticized the French government, police and society for the riots. On November 9, "The Revolt of the Ennui" appeared in the Op/Ed section of the newspaper. In his editorial, Antoine Audouard tells an anecdote of a friend who grew up in the Paris *banlieues*. He reveals a story of police brutality and unemployment. Audouard writes:

In many respects, the situation in the cites invokes prison: the inmates' life sentence is the color of their skin. Meanwhile the engine of French politics—the state as Great Purveyor—has stuttered and stalled. To acknowledge this, however, would require a political courage that clashes with most politicians' personal ambitions (NYT 15).

Audouard does not hold back on his criticism of the way the French government has handled the immigrant community in the past, not how its handling the current situation. His editorial is another example of both the *Post's* and the *Times'* positions of harsh criticism and exposing of problems in their editorial sections. In addition, while the majority of harsh criticism in the American newspapers was relegated to the Op-Ed

sections, features like the *Times*' November 11 story "France Faces a Colonial Legacy: What Is It That Makes Someone French" (NYT 20) and the *Post*'s "A Mixed Family Struggles on France's Urban Fringe" (WP 30) also exposes French issues and perhaps demonstrates American criticism of France.

International News Coverage

While the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* are known for their international coverage, American newspapers still have considerably less international coverage than French newspapers. While American newspapers rarely report on how France is covering major U.S. events, French newspapers (as seen in the editorial battle discussed above) report often on how American papers are covering major French events. As seen in the large quantity of articles that appeared in *Le Figaro* and *Le Monde*, the French dedicated a fair amount of time and energy into analyzing how Americans were looking at their internal events.

As noted in the discussion about proximity, it is important to note another huge difference in the coverage between the French and American newspapers—one set of papers reported on international events and one set reported on domestic events. The media play a large role in determining how people develop views about the world. As discussed in Christopher E. Beaudoin and Esther Thorson's article, "Spiral of Violence? Conflict and Conflict Resolution in International News," news coverage of "international topics, such as war and peace, is especially influential because the public cannot rely on other sources of information, such as personal experience and interpersonal communication" (Beaudoin and Esther 2002, 45). That is to say, someone living in the

United States can only learn about and understand the riots through the media coverage, whereas a person in France has other ways of understanding the riots and why they were occurring. While the French have a cultural perspective and understanding of their own immigration policies and integration methods, Americans have only perceptions of the situation from the media. While people in both countries received information filtered through the media, the French have a broader base for receiving information. This theory may have contributed to the American viewpoints expressed in editorials and the French response to that coverage.

While France and the United States are not in conflict with one another, the editorial battle that occurred in the French and American newspapers shows that Americans did not hold back in their criticism of the French in terms of the riots. The *Post* and *Times* editorial staffs called into question the French government, immigration laws and policies of integration. However true or untrue these statements were, these editorials set up American understanding about what exactly was occurring in the banlieues of Paris. Beaudoin and Thorson found that U.S. news coverage has a tendency to paint negative pictures of international conflict issues. They write: "That the U.S. media often fall into the trap of negatively biased international news coverage may, thus, instill the public with an improper depiction of reality" (Beaudoin and Thorson 2002, 46).

CHAPTER 9

RACE AND THE MEDIA

In researching the historical context of the 2005 Paris riots, it is clear that race and ethnicity played a large role in not only the cause of the riots but in also their effects. Because race was an important component, if not the key component, to the events that occurred, it is essential to look at how race is represented in the media and how it may or may not affected the media coverage of the riots. In his book, *Race in the News*, Ian Law asserts that news organizations “use the lens of race extensively in reporting and portraying news events concerning nations, ethnic groups, and, in particular, migrating groups” (Law 2002, 1). In a highly cited study by Raymond E. Rainville and Edward McCormick titled “Extent of Covert Racial Prejudice in Pro Football Announcers’ Speech,” the authors found that the majority of people could identify the race of pro football players in only listening to the announcers with no visual association and no direct mention of race (Rainville and McCormick 1977). These findings of their study suggest that journalists’ personal biases affect coverage of events, consciously or unconsciously. In his study, Law found “the linkage of race, violence dangerousness and crime remains a constant high-profile theme. The ‘old frames’ persist, that is immigrants are a welfare burden and are prone to deception hence racialized control, surveillance and expulsion are vital” (Law 2004, 75). While Law’s findings are not necessarily indicative to the coverage of the Paris riots, it is possible that these recurring racial themes could have helped contribute to attitudes that eventually sparked the riots. It is important to

examine and keep in mind the role that race may have played in the coverage of riots in Paris, both in the American and French press.

A Look at the Coverage of the 1992 Los Angeles Riots

The Paris riots are not the first riots that have been sparked as a result of bad housing conditions, high unemployment and general destitute in a neglected area of a city. In fact, many parallels seem to exist between the 2005 Paris riots and the 1992 Los Angeles riots and other race riots in the United States. In fact, in a survey of rioters participating in the 1967 Detroit riots rated overcrowded living conditions, police brutality, poor housing, lack of jobs and poverty as their major grievances contributing to the riot. These grievances are oddly reminiscent of the grievances that seem to have sparked the 2005 Paris riots (Ramaprasad 1996). While cultural circumstances in the United States and France are different, there are many similarities to the cause for the riots and how they were covered. Race played a role in both events. There was also widespread media coverage of the conflict in both countries.

In Jyotika Ramaprasad examined how newspapers covered the events in Los Angeles in 1992. Ramaprasad found that “routine stereotypical and negative coverage of African Americans in the media” results in “racial disharmony, which in turn leads to conflict” (Ramaprasad 1996, 77). That is to say, the media coverage of these racial groups even before the riots could have contributed to the outbreak of the conflict. She also found that “media coverage of the conflict often confirms racial stereotypes and keeps the vicious cycle going” (Ramaprasad 1996, 77). A study by M.J. Bridge based on the coverage of the L.A. riots in ten publications concluded the following:

The media fanned the flames of the racial and ethnic unrest between the blacks and whites, blacks and Latinos, and other groups by reducing complex events to short phrases, which were then repeated again and again in news stories. These phrases or key descriptors were often misleading (Qtd. in Ramaprasad 1996, 79).

Bridge's study found that the media coverage helped to increase racial tensions in the LA riots. Was this the case in the Paris riots? How did the media affect the tensions between racial and ethnic groups in France?

It can be said for certain that the media played a role in spreading the news of the riots in Clichy-sous-Bois to other communities that led to increased rioting and violence. In fact, the onslaught of violence was brought on in part by a statement to the media by Nicolas Sarkozy, the interior minister for France. Sarkozy called the youths that had begun to riot in response to the deaths of Traore and Benna "scum." The statement spread like wildfire through France. It was on television, in the newspapers and talked about all over Paris. Hateful messages about the minister were scrawled along the metro tunnels. Many said the statement alone helped triggered more burning cars and angry rioters. Also, as with any news of civil unrest, information helps spread violence, protest and movements. The Civil Rights movement in the United States was able to gain support and protesters through the spreading of information about protests and people like Martin Luther King Jr. More recently, a revolutionary movement in the southern Mexican region of Chiapas has used the media to garner international support. In Chiapas, a remote area, General Marcos (the leader of the movement and rumored graduate of a communications program) has used to media to his advantage in battling the Mexican government (Martinez lecture May 10, 2007).

While it is presumptuous to say the riots in Paris were any sort of revolution or major social movement, it is fair to say that the riots garnered steam from the media attention they received. As youths in surrounding Paris *banlieues* heard about the riots, they too began to get involved. After several days, fueled in part by the attention they received, rioters in the *banlieues* of Lyon in southern France also began to riot. A November 9 article in *Le Monde* called “A Schaerbeek, dans la banlieue de Bruxelles, des jeunes observent avec attention la situation en France” (In Schaerbeek, in the suburbs of Bruxelles, the youth observe with great attention the situation in France) shows the media influence of the riots in surrounding European cities (LM 70). As news of the riots spread, some worried if other European cities would also erupt in rioting. A *New York Times* article on November 8 (“Despite minor incidents, chance of large-scale riots elsewhere in Europe is seen as small”) looks at how the widespread international coverage of the riots could possibly help spread the riots to neighboring European cities. However, while the media coverage may have incited the spreading of the riots, it also did little to dispel stereotypes of rioters as angry youth of Arabic and African descent.

As Ramaprasad mentions in her article, historically protest coverage of African Americans in the United States historically has been negative. Ramaprasad also quoted a 1969 study by D.L. Paletz and R. Dunn, stating that even when “riot coverage is not directly provocative and in fact deliberately restrained and exemplary, it may still ‘fail to provide a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day’s events’ because it does not contribute ‘to an understanding of the nature of Afro-American grievances or of conditions in that community’” (Qtd. in Ramaprasad 1996, 79). That is to say, even though it is safe to say that the four newspapers did not intentionally portray race in a

negative light or manner, the coverage still could have been missing a racial and cultural understanding. In my research, I found that the visual representation of the rioters seemed to be the most racially detrimental. Photos of dark faces hidden by masks burning the streets of Paris could create negative stereotypes and racial connotations. In his 1994 article, "Race, America's Rawest Nerve," O.H. Gandy wrote: "Because of the media's role in the cultivation of social perceptions, there is reason to be concerned about the tendency for African-Americans and Hispanics to be presented in media roles that define them as violent criminals" (Gandy 1994, 41). Perhaps the images of France's minority population instigated additional prejudice and judgment in and out of France. While it is important to note that the racial divide in France and the United States is historically different, there are also many similarities in the role of race in France. As previously discussed, the 1992 LA riots and the 2005 Paris riots were similar in cause and in that the majority of the participants were of racial and ethnic minority groups. Because of this, it is fair to compare the role of race in LA riots to the riots in France.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

The world looked on with curious and inquisitive eyes as the suburbs of Paris erupted in riots in 2005. Other European nations watched nervously, wondering if the riots would move across borders. The press in the United States critically examined what was happening and attempted to explain why. As more cars were burned each night, the French press became engrossed in what was happening outside of their capital city. Everything in the press seemed to be focused on the rioting suburbs. Special sections in both of France's major newspapers were created and dedicated only to reporting on the riots. The economy section of their newspapers ran stories about how the riots would affect the French economy. The education section ran stories on the educational system in the *banlieue*. Editorials about the government response to and the cause of the rioting youth appeared on both sides of the Atlantic.

When first starting to examine the coverage of the riots, I expected to find huge differences in the way the French and American newspapers covered the events. I also expected to find discrepancies of coverage between the more liberal *Le Monde* and the more conservative *Le Figaro*. However, what I discovered was that the coverage was more similar than it was different. While there were important differences to note and there was editorial battle between the United States and France, there were a fairly uniform percentage of stories dedicated to the same topics in the same story format.

Le Figaro was more critical of the French government's response than I initially expected, and contrary to my initial perception did not run a great deal fewer articles

critical of the French administration than *Le Monde*. I did conclude that the visual coverage in *Le Monde* did more to villainize the rioters than *Le Monde* with photos of angry youths and burning cars. *Le Monde* did more to satirize the Sarkozy and the government, running more political cartoons on its front pages than photos of masked youths burning buildings.

While it is clear that the context and histories in the United States and France impacted coverage, the coverage between the two nations was still framed in similar manner. All four newspapers had critical coverage. I did find that in general, the articles appearing in the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* tended to explain the cultural reason for the riots and possible solutions, whereas articles in *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* tended to address the actual rioting and political reaction and impact of the events. While the French newspapers did examine the political implications of the riots in a more in-depth manner than the American newspapers, all four newspapers looked at how the French government attempted to restore order. All four newspapers criticized to some degree the way the French government handled the riots. All four newspapers examined the causes of the riots.

The research did show that both the *Post* and the *Times* were very critical of France in their editorial stances on the riots. The American press criticized the French integration model and blamed a long history of poor integration policies for the rioting youth. In a sense, the American press held an attitude that it was “about time” riots broke out in reaction to this mistreatment. The French were also critical of their own country and government. Like the Americans, the French press called into question their

integration model. However, the French were also quick to criticize Americans for their criticism. They blamed the harsh American criticism on resentment towards the French.

My research on the immigration history in France also gave a better contextual understanding of the riots and gave insight into what the French already understood about the *banlieue* and the community that lived there. Both the French and American newspapers looked to compare the 2005 Paris riots to similar riots in U.S. history. *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* ran stories about how the riots compared to the 1992 Los Angeles riots and other social unrest. Race clearly played a role in the riots. In my research, I found that race also played a role in the coverage. However, I found little difference in how the four newspapers depicted race in articles concerning the riots.

In light of all this, much more could be researched still be researched on this topic. An interesting study could analyze how the press coverage in the two countries affected public opinion in France and the riots. In addition, Nicolas Sarkozy, who was highly criticized during the riots, was recently elected as the next French president. It would be interesting to see how and if the French coverage of the riots influenced the elections.

Overall, this study has been important in illuminating key differences between French and American newspapers. The comparison also showed the many similarities in coverage between the four newspapers and the two countries. The comparison in coverage shed light on not only how the two countries examined the riots, but also in how they saw each other.

NYT	Date (2005)	Title	Page, Section	Article Type	Author
1	Tues., Nov. 1	France: More violence in Pairs suburb	A10, International	News Brief	John Tagliabue
2	Thurs., Nov. 3	Chirac appeals for calm as violent protests shake Paris' suburbs	A11, International	News	Craig S. Smith
3	Fri., Nov. 4	Rioting spreads as angry youths burn more cars	A3, International	News	Craig S. Smith
4	Sat., Nov. 5	Angry immigrants embroil France in wider riots	Front page, A8 International	News	Craig S. Smith
5	Sun., Nov. 6	Riots and violence spread from Paris to other French cities	A3, International	News	Craig S. Smith
6	Mon., Nov. 7	10 officers shot as riots worsen in French cities	Front page, A10 International	News	Craig S. Smith
7	Mon., Nov. 7	Behind the furor, the last moments of 2 youths	A10, International	News	Thomas Crampton
8	Tues., Nov. 8	French officials try to ease fear as crisis swells	Front page, A6	News	Craig S. Smith and Mark Landler
9	Tues., Nov. 8	Suburban officers criticized as insensitive to racism	A6, International	News	Katrin Bennhold
10	Tues., Nov. 8	Despite minor incidents, chance of large-scale riots elsewhere in Europe is seen as small	A7, International	News	Richard Bernstein
11	Tues., Nov. 8	While Paris burns	A26, Editorial/Letters	Editorial	Editorial board
12	Wed., Nov. 9	Inside French housing project, feelings of being outsiders	Front page, A12 International	Feature	Craig S. Smith
13	Wed., Nov. 9	France declares emergency. Curfews to be imposed	A12, International	News	Mark Landler
14	Wed., Nov. 9	Get French or die trying	A27, Op/Ed	Editorial	Oliver Roy
15	Wed., Nov. 9	The revolt of ennui	A27, Op/Ed	Editorial	Antoine Audouard
16	Thurs., Nov. 10	France prepares to deport foreigners guilty of rioting	A12, International	News	Mark Landler

17	Thurs., Nov. 10	Chirac, lover of spotlight avoids glare of France's fires	A12, International	News	Blaine Sciolino
18	Thurs., Nov. 10	French police fear that blogs have helped incite rioting	A12, International	News	Thomas Crampton
19	Thurs., Nov. 10	Gangsta, in French	A29, Op/Ed	Editorial	David Brooks
20	Fri., Nov. 11	France faces a colonial legacy: What makes someone French?	Front page, A6 International	Feature	Craig S. Smith
21	Fri., Nov. 11	Target of critics, Chirac says he'll discuss French unrest after order prevails	A6, International	News	Craig S. Smith
22	Sat., Nov. 12	Police brace for violence in Paris, citing web messages	A3, International	News	Helene Fouquet
23	Sun., Nov. 13	Paris police are on guard as fear rises over threats	A6, International	News	Craig S. Smith
24	Sun., Nov. 13	A very French message from the disaffected	A6, International	News feature	Mark Landler
25	Sun., Nov. 13	The French riots: A political scoreboard	4, The World	Feature	Craig S. Smith
26	Mon., Nov. 14	French unrest subsides, but violence persists in Lyon	A8, International	News	Craig S. Smith
27	Tues., Nov. 15	Chirac to ask for extension of crisis rules to combat riots	A14, International	News	Craig S. Smith
28	Wed., Nov. 16	France is trying, discreetly to integrate television a bit	A3, International	Feature	Craig S. Smith

WP	Date (2005)	Article	Page, Section	Article Type	Author
1	Tues., Nov 1	French official defends policy as riots continue	A21, World News	News Brief	News Services
2	Wed., Nov. 2	Anger erupts in Paris suburb after deaths of muslim boys	A15, World News	News	Molly Moore
3	Thurs., Nov. 3	French rioting spreads as government seeks an answer	A12, World News	News	Molly Moore
4	Fri., Nov. 4	Rioters attack trains, school and businesses in the Paris suburbs	A19, World News	News	Molly Moore
5	Sat., Nov. 5	As youth riots spread across France, Muslim groups attempt to intervene	A1, Front Page	News	Molly Moore
6	Sun., Nov. 6	Rage of French youth is a fight for recognition		News Feature	Molly Moore
7	Sun., Nov. 6	Riots spread across France and into Paris	A20, World News	News	Molly Moore
8	Tues., Nov. 8	France beefs up response to riots		News	Molly Moore
9	Tues., Nov. 8	Fires in France	A18, Editorials	Editorial	Editorial Staff
10	Wed., Nov. 9	Violence erupts as its roots are debated in plaza	A22, World News	News	Daniel Williams
11	Wed., Nov. 9	A crisis for France and Sarkozy	A22, World News	News	Molly Moore
12	Wed., Nov. 9	Why France is burning	A31, Op/Ed	Editorial	David Ignatius
13	Wed., Nov. 9	French lessons	A31, Op/Ed	Editorial	Jim Hoagland
14	Thurs., Nov. 10	France's youth battles also waged on Web	A18, World News	News	Molly Moore and Daniel Williams
15	Thurs., Nov. 10	Few in Europe fear riots will spread	A22, World News	News	Craig Whitlock
16	Fri., Nov. 11	Parents' tears calm youth rage	A18, World News	Feature	Molly Moore
17	Fri., Nov. 11	Where France failed	A25, Op/Ed	Editorial	Eugene Robinson

18	Sat., Nov. 12	Paris spared riots on holiday	A19, World News	News	Molly Moore
19	Sat., Nov. 12	Chirac speaks out on rioting	A14, World News	News	Molly Moore
20	Sun., Nov. 13	A French city and its underclass	A18, World News	News Feature	Daniel Williams
21	Sun., Nov. 13	Police, rioting youths clash in central Lyon	A18, World News	News	Molly Moore
22	Sun., Nov. 13	When in Paris: What should the Algerians and Morroccans do?	Outlook	Feature	Frances Stead Sellers
23	Sun., Nov. 13	The other France-- Separate and unhappy: Torching France's assimilationists model	Outlook	Feature	Keith Richburg
24	Mon., Nov. 14	Youth violence persists in S. France	A13, World News	News	Molly Moore
25	Tues., Nov. 15	Chirac says riots rooted in 'Deep Malaise'	World News	News	Molly Moore
26	Wed., Nov. 16	Long Integrated, Marseille is Spared	World News	News Feature	Daniel Williams
27	Wed., Nov. 16	French premier visits suburb hit by riots	World News	News	Helene Fontanaud
28	Thurs., Nov. 17	In Brief: Paris	World News	News Brief	News Services
29	Thurs., Nov. 17	What's French for lost?	Op/Ed	Editorial	Jim Hoagland
30	Mon., Nov. 21	A mixed family struggles on France's urban fringe	A1, Front Page	News	Molly Moore

LM	Date (200)	Article	Page, Section	Type	Author
	Fri., Oct. 1 28	M. Sarkozy veut promouvoir l'égalité des chaînes par la loi	8, France Societe	News	Laetitia van Eeckhout (L.V.E)
	Sat., 2 Oct. 29	Violents affrontements dans les cites de Seine-Saint-Denis	Front Page	News	Service Societe
	Tues., 3 Nov. 1	Violences urbaines: Sarkozy prône la "tolérance zéro"	Front Page	Cartoon	Pennet
	Tues., 4 Nov. 1	Émeutes de Clichy-sous-Bois: Les interventions de Nicolas Sarkozy sont contestées, même a droit	9, France Societe	News	Jean-Baptiste de Montvalon
	Tues., 5 Nov. 1	Les limites d'une politique	14, Horizons Analyses	Editorial	editorial board
	Wed., 6 Nov. 2	La colère des banlieues	Front Page	News	Luc Bronner and Catherine Simon
	Wed., 7 Nov. 2	Clichy-sous-Bois cristallise les tensions politiques et sociales	5, France Societe	News	Luc Bronner
	Wed., 8 Nov. 2	Les familles des deux victimes reulent "s'en remettre a la justice"	5, France Societe	News	Piotr Smolar
	Wed., 9 Nov. 2	Azouz Begag, principal opposant a Nicolas Sarkozy	5, France Societe	News	NA
	Wed., 10 Nov. 2	Situation "précaire" et tension permanente des banlieues lyonnaises	5, France Societe	News Feature	Richard Schittly
	Thurs., 11 Nov. 3	Villepin se saisit du dossier des banlieues en crise	Front Page	News	NA
	Thurs., 12 Nov. 3	Les violences s'entendant en Seine-Saint-Denis et changent de forme	12, France Societe	News	Luc Bronner and Piotr Smolar
	Thurs., 13 Nov. 3	Quand les "frères" musulmans tentent de ramener le calme	12, France Societe	News Feature	Luc Bronner and Piotr Smolar
	Thurs., 14 Nov. 3	Les maires de banlieue critiquent Nicolas Sarkozy	12, France Societe	News	

Thurs., 15 Nov. 3	Après cinq jours de silence, M. de Villepin reçoit les familles de Clichy-sous-Bois avec M. Sarkozy	12, France Societe	News	Christophe Jakubyszyn (C.G.) and L.V.E
Fri., Nov. 16 4	Les banlieues continuent a flamber, Villepin et Sarkozy s'affrontent	Front Page	News	Service France
Fri., Nov. 17 4	Les divisions du gouvernement sur les banlieue s'exaspèrent la droite	8, France Societe	News	Service France
Fri., Nov. 18 4	Le Parti Socialiste	8, France Societe	News Feature	NA
Fri., Nov. 19 4	Jean-Louis Barloo, ministre de l'emploi et de la cohésion sociale: "Il faut conjuguer social et maintien de l'ordre"	8, France Societe	News	Remi Barroux
Fri., Nov. 20 4	Un jeune a Aulnay-sous-Bois: "Ce n'est qu'un début, on va continuer jusqu'a ce que Sarkozy démission"	9, France Societe	News	Pascal Ceaux
Fri., Nov. 21 4	Les RG ont recense 70,000 cas de violences urbaines depuis janvier	9, France Societe	News Feature	Piotr Smolar
Sat., 22 Nov. 5	La stratégie policiere de Sarkozy en accusation	Front Page	News w/ cartoon	NA, Plantu
Sat., 23 Nov. 5	La stratégie policiere de Sarkozy en accusation	6, France Societe: Violences Urbaines	News	Piotr Smolar
Sat., 24 Nov. 5	600 véhicules incendie, moins d'affrontements directs	6, France Societe: Violences Urbaines	News	Luc Bronner
Sat., 25 Nov. 5	Les circonstances de la mort des adolescents restent floues	6, France Societe: Violences Urbaines	News	Nathalie Guibert
Sat., 26 Nov. 5	La presse étranger critique l'attitude de Nicolas Sarkozy	6, France Societe: Violences Urbaines	Editorial	editorial board

Sat., 27 Nov. 5	Les destins fracasses des jeunes gens juges a Bobigny pour leur participation aux émeutes	7, France Societe: Violences Urbaines	News	Luc Bronner
Sat., 28 Nov. 5	Rappèles par l'Élysée M. Villepin et M. Sarkozy s'affichent désormais "unis"	8, France Societe: Violences Urbaines	News	Patrick Roger
Sat., 29 Nov. 5	Un petit Mai '68 des banlieues	15, Horizons Analyses	Editorial	Patrick Janeau
Sun/Mon , Nov. 30 6/7	Sarkozy: "Nous ramènerons l'ordre et la tranquillité"	Front Page	News w/ cartoon	Plantu
Sun/Mon , Nov. 31 6/7	Les maires des banlieues s'exaspèrent de la réduction de leur aides	6, France Societe: Banlieues	News	Bertrand Bissuel, Michel Deiberghe and Beatrice Jerome
Sun/Mon , Nov. 32 6/7	Fuite des classes moyennes, chômage a 25%: Clichy-sous-Bois radiographie d'une ville pauvre	6, France Societe: Banlieues	News Feature	Michel Deiberghe
Sun/Mon , Nov. 33 6/7	M. de Villiers, Mme Le Pen et souverainistes réclament un couvre-feu et l'envoi l'armée	6, France Societe: Banlieues	News	Patrick Roger
Sun/Mon , Nov. 34 6/7	Les incendies de voitures ont progresse	6, France Societe: Banlieues	News	Service Societe
Sun/Mon , Nov. 35 6/7	Une partie de la gauche demande la démission de Nicolas Sarkozy	7, France Societe: Banlieues	News	Sylvia Zappi
Sun/Mon , Nov. 36 6/7	Les Medias Étrangères stigmatisent l'échec de l' "intégration a la française"	7, France Societe: Banlieues	News Feature	Pascale Santi
Sun/Mon , Nov. 37 6/7	"L'imam a raison, il faut respecter ce pays!"	7, France Societe: Banlieues	News	Mustapha Kessous
Sun/Mon , Nov. 38 6/7	Dans les mosquées, les prêches appellent du calme	7, France Societe: Banlieues	News	Xavier Ternisien with Richard Schitty

Sun/Mon , Nov. 39 6/7	Modestie et Ambition	14, Horizons Analyses	Editorial	editorial board
Sun/Mon , Nov. 40 6/7	Notre Stratégie est la bonne		Editorial	Nicolas Sarkozy
Tues., 41 Nov. 8	Violences et vigilance, le face-à-face des banlieues	Front Page	News Feature	Jean-Michel Dumay
Tues., 42 Nov. 8	Fracture Urbaine	2, Analyse	Editorial	
Tues., 43 Nov. 8	Une nuit avec des "émeutiers" qui ont "la rage"	12, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Yves Bordenave and Mustapha Kessous
Tues., 44 Nov. 8	Au PC de crise de Bobigny, la guérilla urbaine sur un tableau informatise	12, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Benoit Hopquin
Tues., 45 Nov. 8	"Nos frères, ce sont caméléons: gentils a la maison, de terreurs au dehors	12, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Luc Bronner
Tues., 46 Nov. 8	A Grigny, les habitants se mobilisent la nuit pour protéger les lieux publics	14, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News	Pascal Ceaux
Tues., 47 Nov. 8	"S'ils avaient des couilles, ils iraient casser le centre- ville"	14, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News	Luc Bronner
Tues., 48 Nov. 8	Jacques Chirac réagit dix jours après le début de la crise	16, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News	Beatrice Gurrey

Tues., 49 Nov. 8	Dominique Villepin utilise la cagnotte budgétaire pour les quartiers difficiles	16, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News	C.G.
Tues., 50 Nov. 8	La Banlieue et ses érecteurs, vus par Nicolas Sarkozy	16, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Philippe Ridet
Tues., 51 Nov. 8	Clichy rerendique une colère "sincère" dix jours après la mort des deux adolescents	17, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Piotr Smolar
Tues., 52 Nov. 8	M. Sarkozy veut sélectionner les étudiants étrangères	17, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News	L.V.E
Tues., 53 Nov. 8	Yazid Kherfi: Docteur es violences	31, Decryptages	Feature (profile)	Catherine Simon
Wed., 54 Nov. 9	Face a la crise dans les banlieues, Villepin décrète l'état d'urgence	Front Page	News	Jean-Michel Dumay
Wed., 55 Nov. 9	France, états Unis, modèles contestes	2, Analyse	Editorial	Sylvie Kauffmann
Wed., 56 Nov. 9	La version Policiere des avènements de Clichy-sous-Bois	3, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Gerard Devet and Fabrice Lhomme
Wed., 57 Nov. 9	"Les Keufs essaient a 30 mètres"	3, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Gerard Devet and Fabrice Lhomme
Wed., 58 Nov. 9	Dominique de Villepin choisit l'état d'urgence	3, La Crise dans les Banlieues	Editorial w/Cartoon	Jean-Michel Dumay, cartoon Pessin
Wed., 59 Nov. 9	Une procédure rarement appliquée	10, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Beatrice Gurrey, C.J., Philippe Ridet

Wed., 60 Nov. 9	L'entrée en apprentissage a 14 ans jugée "scandaleuse"	10, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News	Jean-Baptiste de Montvalon
Wed., 61 Nov. 9	Épuisés, les maires sont chaque nuit sur les qui-vive	10, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News	Michel Deiberghe
Wed., 62 Nov. 9	Préconise par les renseignements généraux, la recours au couvre-feu laisse dubitatifs nombre de policiers	11, Politique et societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News	Isabelle Mandraud
Wed., 63 Nov. 9	Le Front National et Philippe de Villiers comptent sur un afflux d'adhésions	11, Politique et societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News	Piotr Smolar
Wed., 64 Nov. 9	A Aubervilliers, les réactions des jeunes	11, Politique et societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Christophe Chombeau
Wed., 65 Nov. 9	Au Raincy, îlot privilège le couvre-feu est déjà en vigueur	12, France Societe	News	Mustapha Kessous
Wed., 66 Nov. 9	L'étude de Jacques-Alain Benisti, député UMP, prône la création d'un système de détections des signes de delinquance des la crèche	12, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News	Luc Bronner
Wed., 67 Nov. 9	Stains choquée par le "geste gratuit et prémédité" qui a cause la mort d'un homme	12, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News	Frederic Potet

Wed., 68 Nov. 9	Les "émeutiers" ne sont pas véritablement organisés	13, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News	Catherine Simon
Wed., 69 Nov. 9	Des religieux musulmans organisent des patrouilles de nuit pour tenter d'arrêter la violence	13, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News	Nathalie Guibert
Wed., 70 Nov. 9	A Schaerbeek, dans la banlieue de Bruxelles. Des jeunes observent avec attention la situation en France	14, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Xavier Ternisien
Wed., 71 Nov. 9	Les pays européens craignent les risques de contagion	14, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News	Jean-Pierre Stroobants
Wed., 72 Nov. 9	Nos ghettos vus d'Angleterre	14, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	Editorial	Jean-Jacques Bozonnet and Henri de Bresson
Wed., 73 Nov. 9	Revisser l'intégration et laïcité	28, Debats	Editorial	Tariq Ramadan
Wed., 74 Nov. 9	L'intifada palestinienne pour modèle	28, Debats	Editorial	L.V.E
Wed., 75 Nov. 9	L'ascenseur est en panne, prenez l'escalier	28, Debats	Editorial	Marco Diani
Wed., 76 Nov. 9	Les couvre-feux sont approuvés par la majorité, acceptés à gauche	Front Page	News	editorial board
Thurs., 77 Nov. 10	A Contre Courant	2, Analyse	Editorial	Raphaelle Bacque
Thurs., 78 Nov. 10	A quand l'entreprise black-blanc-beur?	2, Analyse	Feature	editorial board
Thurs., 79 Nov. 10	Le recensement de l'origine ethnique des salariés, un casse-tête pour les DRH	3, Diversite Ethnique	Feature	Francois Bostnavaron and Stephanie Lauer

Thurs., 80 Nov. 10	M. de Villepin impose sa stratégie de crise a M. Sarkozy	3, Diversite Ethnique	News	L.V.E
Thurs., 81 Nov. 10	A droite comme a gauche, des maires disent leur scepticisme	10, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News	Piotr Smolar
Thurs., 82 Nov. 10	Partagée sur l'état d'urgence, la gauche ne sait pas de quelle façon s'opposer au gouvernement	10, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Jean-Baptiste de Montvalon
Thurs., 83 Nov. 10	L'apprentissage touche plus le supérieur	11, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Isabelle Mandraud and Sylvie Zappi
Thurs., 84 Nov. 10	Sécurité 1,150 policiers mobilise a Paris	11, Politique et societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News	Isabelle Mandraud
Thurs., 85 Nov. 10	Quand M. Sarkozy exigeait une "baisse significative" des violences urbaines	11, Politique et societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Catherine Rollot
Thurs., 86 Nov. 10	La grenade lacrymogène des policiers ne visait pas la mosquée de Clichy-sous-Bois	12, Politique et societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News	Piotr Smolar
Thurs., 87 Nov. 10	Accroyer: "Que notre generosite humanitaire ne soit pas galvaudée"	12, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News	Piotr Smolar

Thurs., 88 Nov. 10	Au Blanc Mensil, le maire menace de demissionner en cas de couvre-feu	12, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News	Patrick Roger
Thurs., 89 Nov. 10	A Francfort, malgré des déceptions, le melting pot fonctionne	12, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Pascal Ceaux
Thurs., 90 Nov. 10	"L'agressivite n'est jamais gratuite" juge Lilian Thuram	13, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News	Adrien de Tricornot
Thurs., 91 Nov. 10	Entre impuissance et irresponsabilité	22, Debats	Editorial	Bruno Causse
Thurs., 92 Nov. 10	Désintégration sociale	2, Analyse	Editorial	Charles Rojzman
Fri., Nov. 93 11	La naturalisation renforce sensiblement les chances pour un immigré d'obtenir un emploi	2, Analyse	Editorial	Thomas Ferenczi
Fri., Nov. 94 11	Nicolas Sarkozy veut expulser les étrangers impliqués dans les violences urbaines	10, France Politique	News	Michel Deiberghe
Fri., Nov. 95 11	Le gouvernement espère que les troubles dans les cites ne remettront pas en cause le rebond spectaculaire de la croissance	12, France Societe	News Feature	L.V.E
Fri., Nov. 96 11	Dans les Yvelines, les policiers notent avec satisfaction une décline des incidents	12, France Societe	News	Alain Beuve-Mery and Joel Morio
Fri., Nov. 97 11	Jean-Francois Lamour: "Bruler un gymnase, c'est pour un jeune, comme tirer une balle dans le pied"	13, France Societe	Feature	Yves Bordenave

Fri., Nov. 98 11	A Aulnay-sous-Bois, l "énervement" des jeunes footballeurs du CSL devant leur terrain incendie	19, Sports	News Feature	Stephanie Mandard
Fri., Nov. 99 11	Retour a Clichy-sous-Bois	21, Debats	Editorial	Stephanie Mandard
Fri., Nov. 100 11	Une défiance colossale	22, Debats	Editorial	Jean-Claude Barrois
Fri., Nov. 101 11	Appel des mères a la responsabilité	22, Debats	Editorial	Karim Amellal
Fri., Nov. 102 11	Ils sont entres en politique	22, Debats	Editorial	Yamina Benguigui, Alima Boumediene- Thiery, Dounia Bouzzar and Sapho
Fri., Nov. 103 11	L'état d'urgence: Qui sont les ennemis?	23, Debats	Editorial	Francoise Blum
Fri., Nov. 104 11	Pourquoi un tel fiasco de la politique de la ville?	23, Debats	Editorial	Michel Tubiana
Fri., Nov. 105 11	La crise du ghetto	24, Focus	Feature	Bertrand Bissuel with Jean-Louis Andreani. Nicolas Bastuck, Regis Guyolat, Beatrice Jerome and Sophie Landrin
Fri., Nov. 106 11	Violences urbaines: L'inconnu du week-end	26, Enquete	News Feature	Stephanie Davet, Bruno Lesprit and Veronique Mortaigne
Sat., 107 Nov. 12	Jacques Chirac affirme qu'il a pris "toutes les mesures" sur la crise des banlieues	Front Page	News	Piotr Smolar

Sat., 108 Nov. 12	La loi protège les étrangers contre l'expulsion	11, France Societe	News	Beatrice Gurrey
Sat., 109 Nov. 12	Christine C., vingt-huit ans de Courneuve	17, Decryptage	Feature (profile)	Nathalie Guibert
Sat., 110 Nov. 12	A French underclass similar to the U.S.	New York Times insert	News Feature	Craig S. Smith
Sat., 111 Nov. 12	Deux semaines de violences urbaines	Front Page	News	NA
Sun/Mon , Nov. 112 13/14	La reparation des commissariats remise en question	7, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Beatrice Jerome and Piotr Smolar
Sun/Mon , Nov. 113 13/14	Financièrement, les villes riches d'Ile de France sont de moins en moins solidaires des communes pauvres	7, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Beatrice Jerome
Sun/Mon , Nov. 114 13/14	Des artistes animent des ateliers en Seine-Saint-Denis auprès de jeunes persuades qu' "on ne les aime pas"	7, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Nathaniel Herzberg
Sun/Mon , Nov. 115 13/14	La station Skyrock procède a une surveillance renforcée de ses blogeurs	8, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Pascale Santi
Sun/Mon , Nov. 116 13/14	"Il y a en France une xénophobie réelle"	8, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Frederic Lemaitre and Virginie Malingre
Sun/Mon , Nov. 117 13/14	250 Manifestants sur le Champ-de-Mars	8, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Marc Chaumeil
Sun/Mon , Nov. 118 13/14	"Rien ne sépare les enfants d'immigres du reste de la société"	14, Decryptage	Feature (interview)	Raphaelle Bracque, Jean-Michel Dumay and Sophie Gherardi
Sun/Mon , Nov. 119 13/14	La crise dans les banlieues interpelle la pratique du journalisme	16, La Fabrique de l'Info	Feature	Services Medias

Sun/Mon , Nov. 120 13/14	L'état d'urgence proroge, Jacques Chirac a la télévision	Front Page	News	NA
Tues., 121 Nov. 15	M. Sarkozy juge son bilan "plutôt positif" et ne se sent pas "politiquement affaibli"	12, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Philippe Ridet
Tues., 122 Nov. 15	A gauche, un début de mobilisation	12, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Sylvia Zappi
Tues., 123 Nov. 15	Jean-Marie Le Pen critique Jacques Chirac et epaigne le ministre de l'intérieur	12, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Christiane Chombeau
Tues., 124 Nov. 15	Les habitants des pavillons de Montfermeil vivent dans un sentiment d'angoisse et d'injustice	13, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	Feature	Luc Bronner
Tues., 125 Nov. 15	A Aulnay-sous-Bois, des médecins confrontés aux "signes de misère"	14, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	Feature	Anne Chemin
Tues., 126 Nov. 15	La commission européenne propose de débloquer des fonds	14, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Philippe Ricard
Tues., 127 Nov. 15	"Les jeunes grandissent dans un bras de fer permanent"	14, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	Feature (interview)	Luc Bronner
Tues., 128 Nov. 15	Les policiers s'émeuvent d'une sanction "disproportionner"	14, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Piotr Smolar
Tues., 129 Nov. 15	Banlieues: Les medias Américains sans complaisance	19, Medias	Feature	Eric Lesser
Tues., 130 Nov. 15	Les chiffres qui expliquent la révolte des enfants d'immigres	Le Monde Economie I	News Feature	Marie- Beatrice Baudet

Tues., 131 Nov. 15	Des conditions de vie difficile et beaucoup plus précaires	Le Monde Economie III	News Feature	Marie-Beatrice Baudet
Tues., 132 Nov. 15	Chirac déplore "le poison des discriminations"	Front Page	News	Raphaëlle Bacque
Wed., 133 Nov. 16	La France selon Nicolas Sarkozy	2, Analyse	Editorial	Piotr Smolar
Wed., 134 Nov. 16	Tout ce que permet l'état d'urgence	3, Page Trois	Editorial	Jean-Baptiste de Montvalon
Wed., 135 Nov. 16	M. Chirac diagnostique une "crise d'identité"	9, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Beatrice Gurrey
Wed., 136 Nov. 16	50,000 Jeunes pour le service civil	9, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Gaurent Zecchini
Wed., 137 Nov. 16	Bernard Thibault: "Nous sommes confrontés à une crise sociale"	10, Politique et Societe: Violences dans les Banlieues	News	Remi Barroux
Wed., 138 Nov. 16	Contre les violences, M. Le Pen exhume la "préférence nationale"	10, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Christiane Chombeau
Wed., 139 Nov. 16	La droite relance la controverse sur la suspension des aides sociales	10, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Michel Deiberghe
Wed., 140 Nov. 16	A Lyon, entreprises et chômeurs des quartiers difficiles entrent en contact	10, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Sophie Landrin
Wed., 141 Nov. 16	Pour sa famille, le jeune Fouad "est devenu un symbole"	11, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Anne Chemin

Wed., 142 Nov. 16	Sur son blog, Mathieu Kassovitz s'en prend a Nicolas Sarkozy	11, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Anne Chemin
Wed., 143 Nov. 16	"Le lien avec la criminalité de droit commun est établi: 80% des interpellés étaient connus"	11, France Societe: La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Piotr Smolar
Wed., 144 Nov. 16	Cette fois, les réformes ne peuvent plus attendre	20, Debats	Editorial	Charles Nyplosz
Wed., 145 Nov. 16	L'humiliation ordinaire	21, Debats	Editorial	Alain Badiou
Wed., 146 Nov. 16	Partager l'excellence	21, Debats	Editorial	Students of Paris
Wed., 147 Nov. 16	Pourquoi j'en veux aux casseurs?	21, Debats	Editorial	Jeannette Bougrab
Wed., 148 Nov. 16	Les "immigrés" Français font peur à Moscou	3, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Marie Jégo
Thurs., 149 Nov. 17	Les correspondants étrangers à Paris estiment ne pas avoir de leçons à recevoir	3, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Daniel Psenny
Thurs., 150 Nov. 17	Les députés UMP et UDF votent l'état d'urgence pour trois mois	12, France Societe	News	Patrick Roger
Thurs., 151 Nov. 17	L'état n'est pas prêt à tout payer	12, France Societe	News	Beatrice Jerome
Thurs., 152 Nov. 17	M. Larcher fait le lien entre polygamie et violence urbaines	12, France Societe	News	Luc Bronner
Thurs., 153 Nov. 17	Incendiaires et cogneurs	22, Debats	Editorial	Didier Peyrat
Thurs., 154 Nov. 17	La polygamie et le regroupement familial au centre de la polémique	Front Page	News	Bertrand Bissuel and L.V.E
Fri., Nov. 155 18	Regroupement familial et polygamie au banc d'accusés	11, Politique et Societe	News	Patrick Roger with L.V.E.
Fri., Nov. 156 18	Un thème de prédilection pour FN	11, Politique et Societe	News	Christiane Chombeau
Fri., Nov. 157 18	"Il n'y a aucun lien avec les violences"	11, Politique et Societe	Feature (interview)	Jean-Baptiste de Montvalon

Fri., Nov. 158 18	A Stains, les destins croisés de mères en difficultés	12, Politique et Societe	Feature	Anne Chemin
Fri., Nov. 159 18	Quatre fils, quarante-neuf antécédents judiciaires et une arrestation mouvementée	12, Politique et Societe	News Feature	Piotr Smolar
Fri., Nov. 160 18	Du "paradis" au ghetto: L'histoire de la rose-des-vents	24, Focus	Feature	Bertrand Bissuel, Sandrine Blanchard, Benoit Hopquin, Catherine Rollot and Xavier Ternisien
Fri., Nov. 161 18	La Générale des banlieues doit paître en retraite	36, Analyse	News Feature	Laurent Zecchini
Fri., Nov. 162 18	Banlieues: La provocation coloniale	Front Page	News	Philippe Bernard
Sat., 163 Nov. 19	Après l'appel dessus des "minorités visibles" le parti affiche sa volonté d'aider les quartiers	11, France Politique	News	Isabelle Mandraud
Sat., 164 Nov. 19	Des jeunes diplômés chômeurs témoignent devant des chefs d'entreprise de Seine-Saint-Denis	14, France Politique	News Feature	Jean-Baptiste de Montvalon
Sat., 165 Nov. 19	La vraie crise de l'Europe	2, Analyse	Editorial	Eric le Boucher
Sun/Mon , Nov. 166 20/21	Le premier ministre appelle a "éviter amalgames" sur la crise dans les banlieues	8, France Politique	News	C.J.
Sun/Mon , Nov. 167 20/21	Le collectif devoirs mémoires demande un débat public sur les violence policiers	8, France Politique	News	Mustapha Kessous
Sun/Mon , Nov. 168 20/21	"L'état a aide les territoires, il faut promouvoir les individus	15, Decryptage	Feature	Raphaëlle Bacque and Sylvie Kauffmann

Sun/Mon , Nov. 169 20/21	Un soir au pied des barres	16, Enquete	Feature	Mustapha Kessous
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1	Fri., Oct. 28	Borloo: "N'opposons pas rupture et continuité!"	11, France Politique	Interview	Claire Brommelaer and Bruno Jeudy
2	Sat., Oct. 29	Détresse et consternation a Clichy-sous-Bois	10, France Société	News	Delphine Chayet
3	Sat., Oct. 29	Malgré un alourdissement des peines, la justice reste inopérante	10, France Société	News	Laurence de Charette
4	Sun., Oct. 30	Violence: la banlieue parisienne sous le choc	Front Page	News	NA
5	Sun., Oct. 30	Clichy-sous-Bois toujours sous tension	9, France Société	News	Delphine Chayet
6	Sun., Oct. 30	L'éducation ou sauvagerie	9, France Société	Feature	Yves Threard
7	Tues., Nov. 1	Clichy: Prison ferme pour trois émeutiers	Front Page	News	Delphine Chayet (D.C.) and Christophe Cornevin (C.C.)
8	Wed., Nov. 2	Violences urbaines: Villepin reprend l'initiative	Front Page	News	D.C. and C.C.
9	Wed., Nov. 2	Les "Keufs" sont aussi pris pour cible sur internet	11, France Société	News Feature	Sophie de Ravinel
10	Wed., Nov. 2	Les règles de base pour 'bloquer' en paix	12, France Société	News Feature	Jean-Marc Leclerc
11	Wed., Nov. 2	Cartoon of Sarkozy	Front Page	Editorial	NA
12	Thurs., Nov. 3	Banlieues: Mobilisation politique sous tension	Front Page	News	Claire Bommekier and Charles Jaigu
13	Thurs., Nov. 3	Quand la guerre des 'quartiers' ravive la guerre des chefs	6, France Politique	News Feature	Paul Henri du Limbert
14	Thurs., Nov. 3	En région parisienne, la fièvre des violences urbaines ne retombe pas	6, France Politique	News	C.C.
15	Fri., Nov. 4	Banlieues: La Colère de la population	Front Page	News Feature	NA
16	Fri., Nov. 4	Banlieues: Trente Ans Après	19, Débats/Opinions	Editorial	Alexis Brezet
17	Sat/Sun, Nov. 5/6	La méthode de Villepin a l'épreuve de la crise	8, France Politique	News	Bruno Jeudy

18	Sat/Sun , Nov. 5/6	Banlieues: Portraits d'émeutiers	Front Page	Feature	Cecilia Gabizon (C.G.)
19	Sat/Sun , Nov. 5/6	Un tri délicat a opérer pour la justice	10, France Société	News	Laurence de Charette
20	Sat/Sun , Nov. 5/6	L'islam ne joue pas un rôle déterminant dans la propagation des troubles	10, France Société	News Feature	C.G.
21	Sat/Sun , Nov. 5/6	RATP: 3.5 millions d'euros en fume	10, France Société	News	Eric de la Chesnais
22	Sat/Sun , Nov. 5/6	Une handicapée sauvée des flammes par un chauffeur de car	10, France Société	News	Angelique Negrone
23	Sat/Sun , Nov. 5/6	Chronique policier d'une nuit d'affrontements	12, France Société	Feature	Patrice Burnat, C.C.
24	Sat/Sun , Nov. 5/6	Une triste odeur de brûlé flotte désormais les rues d'Aulnay	12, France Société	News Feature	Cyrille Louis
25	Sat/Sun , Nov. 5/6	Le défi de la transparence sur les violences urbaines	21, Débats/Opini ons	Editorial	Jean-Marc Leclerc
26	Mon., Nov. 7	Banlieues: l'inquiétante contagion	Front Page	News	C.C.
27	Mon., Nov. 7	Scènes d'émeutes et de vie ordinaire en Seine-Saint- Denis	8, France Société	News	C.C., Said Mahrane (S.M.), Anne- Charlotte de Langhe (A- C.d.L.)
28	Mon., Nov. 7	L'enquête sur le drame de Clichy	8, France Société	News Feature	C.C., S.M.
29	Mon., Nov. 7	Mourad: "On veut retournée"	8, France Société	Interview	C.C., S.M.
30	Mon., Nov. 7	La province gagne a son tour par les troubles	9, France Société	News	A-C.d.L.
31	Mon., Nov. 7	A Toulouse, le mirail s'est enflamme	9, France Société	News	Philippe Molta
32	Mon., Nov. 7	Jacques Chirac veut "rétablir l'ordre publique"	10, France Société	News	Philippe Goulliard
33	Mon., Nov. 7	La France Au Pilon	19, Débats/Opini ons	Editorial	Yves Theard
34	Mon., Nov. 7	Une nuit avec la cellule de crise de Bobigny	20, Grand Reportage	Feature	Cyrille Louis

35	Tues., Nov. 8	Couvre-feu dans les banlieues	Front Page	News	NA
36	Tues., Nov. 8	Banlieues: Renvoyez l'ascenseur	18, Débats/Opinions	Editorial	Salem Kacet
37	Tues., Nov. 8	Contre la haine, le républicain	19, Débats/Opinions	Editorial	Alexis Brezet
38	Tues., Nov. 8	Les Entreprises dans la fièvre des banlieues	22, Enquête	Feature	Anne Saloman
39	Wed., Nov. 9	Couvre-feu dans les banlieues: l'épreuve de vérité	Front Page	News	NA
40	Wed., Nov. 9	Des cites dortoirs à la rénovation urbaine	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," II	News Feature	Claire Brommelaer and Odile Coupe
41	Wed., Nov. 9	La poste maintient sa présence dans les zones urbaines sensibles	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," II	News Feature	Alexis Brezet
42	Wed., Nov. 9	A Washington, la renaissance d'une "zone no-droit"	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," II	News Feature	Pierre-Yves Dugoa
43	Wed., Nov. 9	34 milliards investis depuis 2000	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," II	News Feature	Anne Rovan
44	Wed., Nov. 9	Les banlieues, éternelles malades de chômage	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," III	News Feature	Francois-Xavier Bourmaud and Marie Visot
45	Wed., Nov. 9	Les "zones franches," rare succès de la politique de la ville	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," III	News Feature	Cyrille Lachevre
46	Wed., Nov. 9	Pierre Billon: "Les inégalités se sont creusées depuis quinze ans"	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," III	Interview	Sophie Fay

47	Wed., Nov. 9	"Gringo" a la conquête d'une nouvelle suede	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," III	News Feature	Marie-Laure le Foulon
48	Wed., Nov. 9	A chaque époque, sa vague d'étrangers	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," IV	News Feature	Marie- Christine Tabet
49	Wed., Nov. 9	Le chemin cahoteuse de l'intégration	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," IV	News Feature	Marie- Christine Tabet
50	Wed., Nov. 9	Les clandestins paupérisent les quartiers sensibles	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," IV	News Feature	Marie- Christine Tabet
51	Wed., Nov. 9	De la loi des bandits a la jungle urbaine	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," V	News Feature	Jean-Marc Leclerc
52	Wed., Nov. 9	La drogue au centre d'une florissante économie souterraine	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," V	News Feature	C.C.
52	Wed., Nov. 9	Levin: "Le nombre d'émeutes s'est effondré aux Etats-Unis"	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," V	News Feature	Philippe Gelie
53	Wed., Nov. 9	Prévention, répression, la police a tout essaye	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," V	News Feature	Jean-Marc Leclerc
55	Wed., Nov. 9	L'échec des zones d'éducation	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," VI	News Feature	Marielle Court

56	Wed., Nov. 9	A l'école de la République, l'ascenseur sociale est en panne	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," VI	News Feature	Marie-Estelle Pech
57	Wed., Nov. 9	Thomas Piketty: "Trop d'élèves par classes en ZEP"	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," VI	News Feature	Marie-Estelle Pech
58	Wed., Nov. 9	Égalité des chances, plus que discrimination positive	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," VI	News Feature	Beatrice Taupin
59	Wed., Nov. 9	Des militants PC aux associations musulmanes	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," VII	News Feature	Cecilia Gabizon (C.G.)
60	Wed., Nov. 9	L'autorité parentale ebranlée par la précarité	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," VII	News Feature	C.G.
61	Wed., Nov. 9	Un sous-équipement médical chronique	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," VII	News Feature	Olivier Auguste
62	Wed., Nov. 9	Cultures urbaines: avec des bouts de ficelle	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," VIII	News Feature	Eric Bietry- Rivierre and Bertrand Dicale
63	Wed., Nov. 9	Impasse de la République	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," VIII	News Feature	Alain-Gerard Slama
64	Wed., Nov. 9	Petit lexique des mots de la crise	Spécial Section: "Les 7 Faillites des Cites," VIII	News Feature	NA
65	Wed., Nov. 9	Violence urbaines, l'engrenage des crispations	16, Débats/Opini ons	Editorial	Andre G'ebine

66	Wed., Nov. 9	Apprentissage, la bonne idée	16, Débats/Opinions	Editorial	Jean-Paul Mulot
67	Wed., Nov. 9	En plein campagne, le PS se divise sur le couvre-feu	7, France Politique	News	Myriam Levy
68	Wed., Nov. 9	L'arme du couvre-feu brardie, Dominique de Villepin dévoile son plan social pour les cites	8-9, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	C.C., G.T.
69	Wed., Nov. 9	L'état d'urgence doit d'abord servir d'instrument de dissuasion	8, La Crise dan les Banlieues	News	Anne- Charlotte de Langne
70	Wed., Nov. 9	Menace sur les Champs-Élysées	8, La Crise dan les Banlieues	News Brief	C.C.
71	Wed., Nov. 9	Les émeutiers qui "n'ont rien dans la tête"	8, La Crise dan les Banlieues	News	Marie- Christine Tabet
71	Wed., Nov. 9	Polémique autour de l'apprentissage a 14 ans	9, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Marielle Court and Beatrice Taupin
72	Wed., Nov. 9	L'UMP fait bloc, le PS propose un "pacte de non-agression"	9, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Sophie Huet and Bruno Jeudy
73	Wed., Nov. 9	Quand les jeunes decouvrent l'avantage de "gagner de la thune"	9, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Justine Ducharne
74	Wed., Nov. 9	Associations: quinze ans d'empilage de subventions	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Cecilia Gabizon (C.G.)
75	Wed., Nov. 9	A Aulnay, les médiateurs avouent n'avoir "rien au venir"	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Cyrille Louis
76	Wed., Nov. 9	Inquiétude et ironie predominant a l'etranger	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	Editorial	AFP et nos correspondan ts
77	Wed., Nov. 9	Les touristes rechignent a venir a Paris	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Eric de la Chesnais
78	Wed., Nov. 9	La police mobilisée partout en France	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Jean-Marc Leclerc
79	Wed., Nov. 9	A Toulouse, le quartier du Mirail partage entre Intifada et agora	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Philippe Molta

80	Wed., Nov. 9	A Asnières, des rondes de nuit "citoyennes" sont organisées par la maires	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Delphine Chayet
81	Thurs., Nov. 10	Sarkozy promet d'expulser le émeutiers étrangers	Front Page	News	C.C. and G.P.
82	Thurs., Nov. 10	Le couvre-feu est décrète dans cinq départements et Nicolas Sarkozy décrit le ton a l'Assemblée	6-7, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	C.C. and G.P.
83	Thurs., Nov. 10	Mode d'emploi d'une dispositif exceptionnel	6, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Jean-Marc Leclerc
84	Thurs., Nov. 10	A la nuit tombée, les rues d'Amiens se sont vidée de leur frères a la maison	6, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Beatrice Pujebet
85	Thurs., Nov. 10	Les filles des cites tentent de ramener leurs frères a la maison	6, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Delphine Chayet
86	Thurs., Nov. 10	Le Ministre de l'Intérieur entend expulser les etrangers fauteurs de troubles	7, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Marie-Christine Tabet
87	Thurs., Nov. 10	Le patron de l'UMP ne veut pas être pris de vitesse	7, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Charles Jaigu
88	Thurs., Nov. 10	Entres Jacques Chirac et Dominique de Villepin, comme un passage de témoin	7, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Philippe Goulliard and Bruno Jeudy
89	Thurs., Nov. 10	Violences urbaines et architecture	14, Deb tas/Opinions	Editorial	Henri Gaudin
90	Thurs., Nov. 10	Lyon et son agglomération provees de transports	8, La Crise dan les Banlieues	News	Audrey Henrion-Poyard
91	Thurs., Nov. 10	Un drame qui a bien failli rompre le calme niçois	8, La Crise dan les Banlieues	News	Sophie Catil
92	Thurs., Nov. 10	Profession recruteurs en banlieue	8, La Crise dan les Banlieues	News Feature	Jean-Francois Pimaud and Christine Ducros
93	Thurs., Nov. 10	Réussir l'égalité, assumer la diversité	14, Débats/Opini ons	Editorial	Yazid Sabeg

94	Thurs., Nov. 10	Providence de l'état	15, Débats/Opinions	Editorial	Nicolas Barre
95	Thurs., Nov. 10	La révolte des banlieues et le perdant radical	15, Débats/Opinions	Editorial	Alexandre Adler
96	Thurs., Nov. 10	De Los Angeles a New York, comment l'Amérique s'est attaquée aux violences urbaines	15, Débats/Opinions	Editorial	Philippe Gelie
97	Thurs., Nov. 10	Les émeutiers du "9-3" au tribunal	16, Grand Reportage	Feature	Laurence de Charette
98	Fri., Nov. 11	Jacques Chirac réaffirme son autorité tandis que l'acclame se poursuit dans les cites	8-9, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	NA
99	Fri., Nov. 11	Le Président revendique la paternité des décisions	8, La Crise dan les Banlieues	News	Philippe Goulliard
100	Fri., Nov. 11	Sarkozy "persiste et signe"	8, La Crise dan les Banlieues	News	Judith Waintraub
101	Fri., Nov. 11	Les préfets se penchent sur un casse-tête juridique	8, La Crise dan les Banlieues	News	Marie-Christine Tabet
102	Fri., Nov. 11	Week-end sous tension dans la capitale	9, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	C.C.
103	Fri., Nov. 11	Davantage de noirs chez les émeutiers	9, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Cecilia Gabizon (C.G.)
104	Fri., Nov. 11	Une nouvelle agence publique doit revela le défi de l'égalité des chances	9, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News Feature	C.G.
105	Fri., Nov. 11	Violences urbaines, le cœur et la raison	14, Débats/Opinions	Editorial	Eveque de Saint Denis
106	Fri., Nov. 11	Je brûle, donc j'existe et ça me suffit	14, Débats/Opinions	Editorial	Nikos Aliagas
107	Fri., Nov. 11	Rébellion contre "le modèle français"	15, Débats/Opinions	Editorial	Ivan Rioufol
107	Sat/Sun , Nov. 12/13	Émeutes: Paris se protégé de la contagion	Front Page	News	C.C.

108	Sat/Sun , Nov. 12/13	La capitale se prémunit contre les casseurs	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	C.C.
109	Sat/Sun , Nov. 12/13	Cinq policiers mis en examen, dont écroue, pour la bauvre de la Couneuve	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Jean Chichizola
110	Sat/Sun , Nov. 12/13	Les maires de banlieues parisienne tentent de panser leurs plaies	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Marie- Christine Tabet
111	Sat/Sun , Nov. 12/13	Quand des parents démissionnent	11, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Cecilia Gabizon (C.G.)
112	Sat/Sun , Nov. 12/13	Un lycée de la Courneuve: "on nous met tous dans le même sac"	11, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Marie-Estelle Pech
113	Sat/Sun , Nov. 12/13	Manyar Monshipour: "Les émeutes étaient prévisibles"	11, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Jean-Yves Guerin
114	Sat/Sun , Nov. 12/13	Au Champ-de-Mars, a peine 300 marcheurs pour la paix	11, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Anne- Charlotte de Langne
115	Sat/Sun , Nov. 12/13	Poursuivre notre action pour les quartiers	18, Débats/Opini ons	Editorial	Gerard Gaudron
116	Sat/Sun , Nov. 12/13	Rites de "pas sages" ou rites de passages	18, Débats/Opini ons	Editorial	Fabrice Hervieu-Wane
117	Mon., Nov. 14	Les pistes pour sortir de la crise des banlieues	Front Page	News	J.C., M.C., A.N. and M.- C.T.
118	Mon., Nov. 14	Tandis que l'accalmie se confirme sur le terrain, le gouvernement doit préparer la sortie de crise	10-11, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	J.C., M.C., A.N. and M.- C.T.
119	Mon., Nov. 14	Bavure de la Courneuve: Le vrai scénario	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Jean Chichizola
120	Mon., Nov. 14	Un policier de terrain: "La menace est permanente"	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Jean Chichizola

121	Mon., Nov. 14	Des incidents secouent Lyon et sa banlieue malgré le couvre-feu	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Audrey Henrion-Poyard
123	Mon., Nov. 14	Dominique de Villepin réfléchit a un déplacement en banlieue	11, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Clare Brommelaer
124	Mon., Nov. 14	Les troubles vus du Maghreb	11, La Crise dans les Banlieues	Feature	Arezki Ait-Larbi and Thierry Oberle
125	Mon., Nov. 14	Un nouveau djihad selon des sites islamistes	11, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Jean Chichizola
126	Mon., Nov. 14	Paroles brutes d'émeutiers	12, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Laurence de Charette
127	Mon., Nov. 14	Violences urbaines: c'est l'état qui a pris le feu	20, Débats/Opinions	Editorial	Guy Sorman
128	Mon., Nov. 14	Banlieues: Le trauma colonial	21, Débats/Opinions	Editorial	Alain-Gerard Slama
129	Mon., Nov. 14	Aidons les jeunes qui veulent s'en sortir	21, Débats/Opinions	Editorial	Jacques Kossowski
130	Tues., Nov. 15	Regroupement familial, les projets du gouvernement	Front Page	News	Sophie Huet and Bruno Jeudy
131	Tues., Nov. 15	Chirac tire les leçons de la "crise d'identité" alors que sur le terrain la situation s'apaise	8-9, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	C.G., G.T., J.C.
132	Tues., Nov. 15	Le chef d'état crée le "service civil volontaire"	8, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Philippe Goulliard
133	Tues., Nov. 15	Le parlement s'apprête a prolonger d'état d'urgence	8, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Guillaume Perrault
134	Tues., Nov. 15	Policiers et gendarmes prêts a s'installer dans la durée	8, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Christophe Cornevin
135	Tues., Nov. 15	Sécurité: les démocraties contraintes aux lois d'exception	9, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Stephane Kovacs
136	Tues., Nov. 15	Une reforme qui a toujours bute sur des obstacles juridiques et politiques	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Marie-Christine Tabet

137	Tues., Nov. 15	La course a l'emploi de jeunes Lyonnais issues des quartiers difficiles	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Audrey Henrion-Poyard
138	Tues., Nov. 15	Le vrai-faux cadeau de Bruxelles aux banlieues francaises	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Pierre Avril
139	Tues., Nov. 15	Alain Kinkielkraut: "l'illégitimité de la haine"	13, Débats/Opinions	Feature (interview)	Alexis Lacroix
140	Tues., Nov. 15	La fermeté paie, l'unité aussi	13, Débats/Opinions	Editorial	Alexis Lacroix
141	Wed., Nov. 16	Émeutes: dix étrangers menaces d'expulsion	Front Page	News	Anne-Charlotte de Langne, D.C., M.-C.T
142	Wed., Nov. 16	L'assemblée prolonge l'état d'urgence	8, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Sophie Huet and Bruno Jeudy
143	Wed., Nov. 16	Logement social: l'effort des maires recapitaliser	8, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Clare Brommelaer
144	Wed., Nov. 16	Les cortours du service civil se prédisent	9, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Sophie de Ravinel
145	Wed., Nov. 16	Amadiou: "Avancer sur le CV anonyme"	9, La Crise dans les Banlieues	Feature (interview)	Laurence de Charette
146	Wed., Nov. 16	Emploi des jeunes: le medef répond a l'urgence	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Beatrice Taupin
147	Wed., Nov. 16	Paroles de flics: "il faut vraiment avoir la foi"	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	C.C. and Jean-Marc Leclerc
148	Wed., Nov. 16	A la Courneuve, les policiers sont "secoues" après le séisme	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Jean Chichizola
149	Wed., Nov. 16	Le fauteur de troubles en devenant étudiant a sciences po	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Louis Laroque
150	Wed., Nov. 16	L'apprentissage n'est pas une voie de garage	18, Débats/Opinions	Editorial	Laurent Henart
151	Wed., Nov. 16	Carte scolaire: le système règne a Paris	13, Éducation	News Feature	Justine Ducharne
152	Wed., Nov. 16	Tarek, d'une ZEP du Val-d'Oise a un grand lycée du VIIe arrondissement	13, Éducation	News Feature	Justine Ducharne

153	Thurs., Nov. 17	Banlieues: la methode Sarkozy plébiscite	8, France Société	News	C.C. and O.P.
154	Thurs., Nov. 17	L'état d'urgence prolonge sur fond d'accalmie	8, France Société	News	C.C. and O.P.
155	Thurs., Nov. 17	Les enfants de familles polygames montres du doigt	8, France Société	Feature	Cecilia Gabizon (C.G.)
156	Thurs., Nov. 17	A Nanterre, l'association Zy'va reconstruire le tissu familial pour apaiser les esprits	8, France Société	Feature	Cecilia Gabizon (C.G.)
157	Thurs., Nov. 17	L'action affirmative pour forcer les portes de l'intégration	14, Débats/Opinions	Editorial	Nicole Bacharan
158	Thurs., Nov. 17	Le gouvernement doit indemniser les victimes des violences urbaines	14, Débats/Opinions	Editorial	Arnaud Montebourg
159	Fri., Nov. 18	Begag: "Nous partageons tous la responsabilité des émeutes"	9, La Crise dans les Banlieues	Feature (interview)	Claire Brommelaer and Cecilia Gabizon
160	Fri., Nov. 18	Les CRS se redéplient dans les quartiers	9, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Jean-Marc Leclerc
161	Fri., Nov. 18	Les entreprises de Seine-Saint-Denis se mobilisent pour leurs jeunes diplômés	9, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Francois-Xavier Bourmaud
162	Fri., Nov. 18	La service civil et l'apprentissage a 14 ans sur les rails	Front Page	News	Beatrice Taupin
163	Fri., Nov. 18	Banlieues: la dignité blesse des insurgés	16, Débats/Opinions	Editorial	Ulrich Beck
164	Fri., Nov. 18	Les responsables désastre	17, Débats/Opinions	Editorial	Ivan Rioufol
165	Sat/Sun . Nov. 19/20	L'indiscernable profil de émeutiers	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News Feature	Laurence de Charette
166	Sat/Sun . Nov. 19/20	Dominique de Villepin réclame de la serenite dans le débat sur l'immigration	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Bruno Jeudy

167	Sat/Sun . Nov. 19/20	Michèle Alliot-Maire: "Évitons de mettre tout le monde dans le même sac"	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	Feature (Interview)	Claire Brommelaer and Philippe Goulliard
168	Sat/Sun . Nov. 19/20	Un trafic d'armes demantile au coeur d'une cite de Yvelines	10, La Crise dans les Banlieues	News	Christophe Cornevin
169	Mon., Nov. 21	Quand "talents des cites" rime avec ténacité	12, France Société	Feature	Cecilia Gabizon (C.G.)
170	Mon., Nov. 21	Des violences urbaines au règne de Narcisse	20, Débats/Opinions	Editorial	Tony Anatrella
171	Mon., Nov. 21	L'urgence et l'état	21, Débats/Opinions	Editorial	Alain-Gerard Slama

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