



UK & France

A comparative view on riots



- Riot Cycles
- Riot Morphology
 - Role of looting
 - Role of the police
 - Inter-group violence
 - Spatial developments
- Rioters
- Political significance of riots
 - Riot impact on politics
 - Riot impact on policies
 - Riot impact on polities

Dave Waddington, Fabien Jobard, Mike King (eds.), 2008.
Rioting in the UK and France. Willan Pbs





Riot Cycles



France

3 phases ?

- 1980: unique urban disorders (Lyons)
- 1989-mid 90s: 2d phase
- 2005: violent, nationwide, small cities

- *France & UK: 1950s, 1940s, 1930s*
- *France's banlieues apathy 1980s = the enigma*

- *UK: 3 types of 'rioters', France*

UK

4 phases ?

- 1980s: police-centered conflicts
- 1998 & 1992: 'white' post-industrial working class youths
- 2001: inter-racial conflicts and/or anti-BNP battles
- 2011: 1980s duplicated?

1?

- *France: 1 type of event, UK: 3 types?*



Riots Phenomenology (1)

Role of looting



France

No looting

- France: political rebellions, 'primitive rebels' (Hobsbawn)
- *UK: Mixed events (Keith) + notion of 'opportunity'*
- *France: absence of looting as a result of police tactics (encapsulating)*
- *France: Where are the stores?*

UK

Looting

- UK: nihilism & consumption

What kind of stores?

- *France: opportunity structure (Paris protests vs. Banlieue riots)*

Germany: urban disorders and 'anticapitalist lootings'

Agnostical Conclusion





Riots Phenomenology (2)

Role of police confrontations



France

Determinant

- Systematic, almost 100% immediate cause

UK

Contextual → Determinant

- Predominant 1980s
- Not igniting in the 1990s, 2000s
- 2011: Back to the future?

Germany:

The absolute difference with France & UK

Troubled Times:

August 2011 and... and smiling faces of French police chiefs in 2011

.....



Riots Phenomenology (3)

Inter-group conflicts



UK

Inter-ethnic violence episodes

France

Territorial/Ethnic cohesion vs Police

France

inter-youths fights during conventional youths protest
(1990, 1999, 2003, 2006)

- pictures -

Germany:

Longstanding right-wing violence,
with at least one pogrom-like action (Rostock, 2002)

Warning Conclusion

To free from weberian ideal-types of genuine, pure 'riots'

Inter-groups conflicts





Riots Morphology (4) Space



France Nationwide

2005: an *unique* nationwide event

- ...that hides different waves of protest
- ...that show the centrality of the State/Ruler and the immediate link between ruler & rioters
- ...that authorizes large-scale 'US like' correlation studies

2005: parochial factors and diversity within unity

2005: new migrants' cities

Since 2005: poor small-scaled cities
(Saint-Dizier, Romans-sur-Isère, Vitry-le-François, Amiens)

UK Local

Is there any large-scale systematic study?

...why no riots in Leeds 2011?

Diffusion & duplication?

Need for an unified pattern of investigation



Rioters



France

Banlieues underclass

- Hugues Lagrange's controversy

France: collective attempt to re-frame the 1980's riots into a political movement (ambiguity)

UK: riots as a piece in a long-term acceptance of race (race relations Act; instit. racism...)

UK

Race Riots

- The vanishing race frame

The **'We'**-formation in French Banlieues vs. The **Mosque** in 2005 as an key-event

No **racial conflicts** in France

Migration vs. Culture

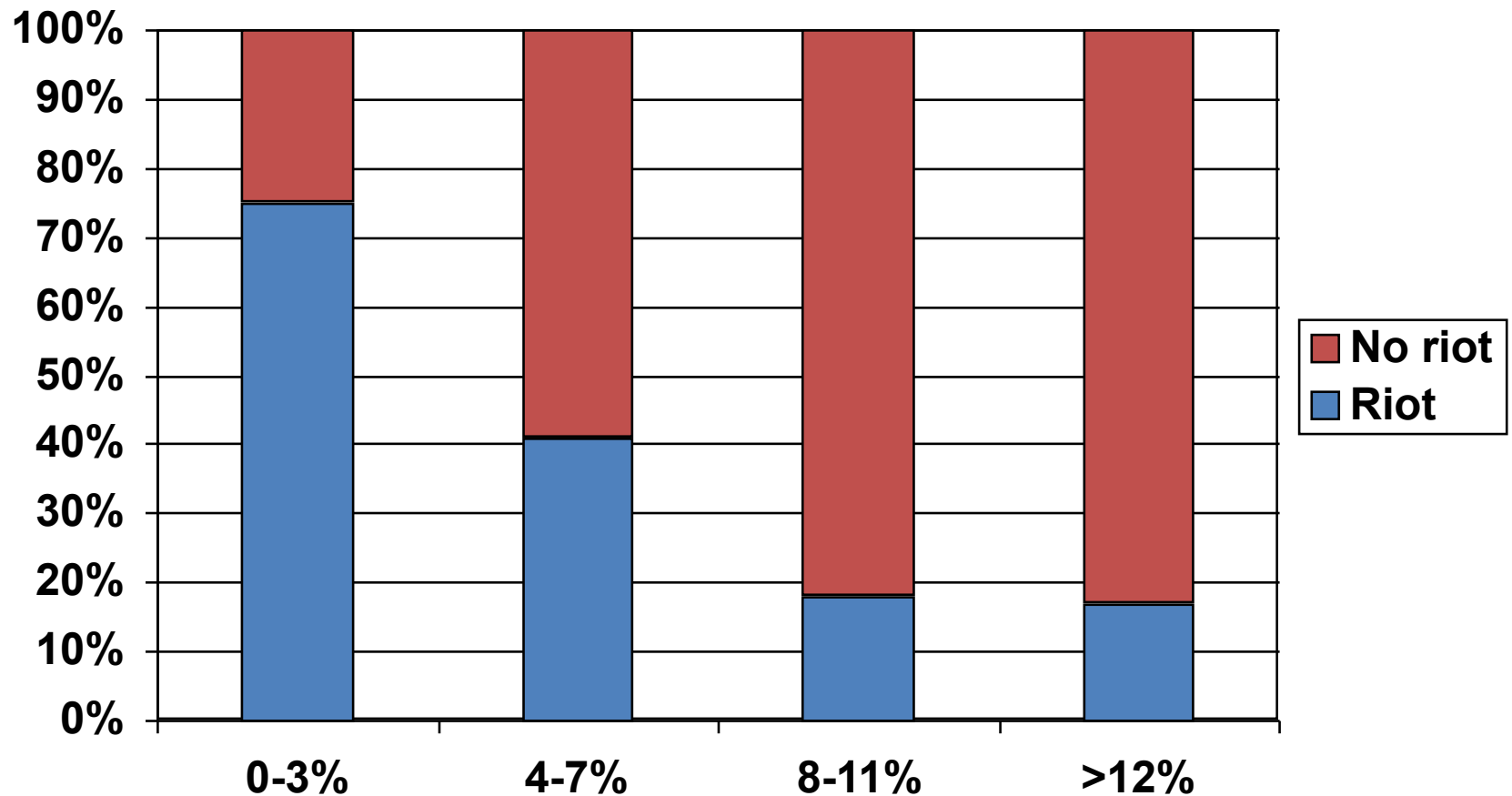
Conclusion: Research is needed!!!

Course of the riots, participants, local leaders, etc.

Interviews with rioters, non-rioters and women.

2005 nationwide riots: Impact of families' size

(Cities France >65 000 residents / Cities Paris' region > 25 000)





Urban Riots & *Polis* (1)

Impact on politics



France

Decisive

- Sarkozy: paradigm of J. Simon's *Governing through ~~Crime~~ Disorders*
- Winning the election vs. Staying in power (*Winning through Dirsorder... Losing through Powerlessness*)

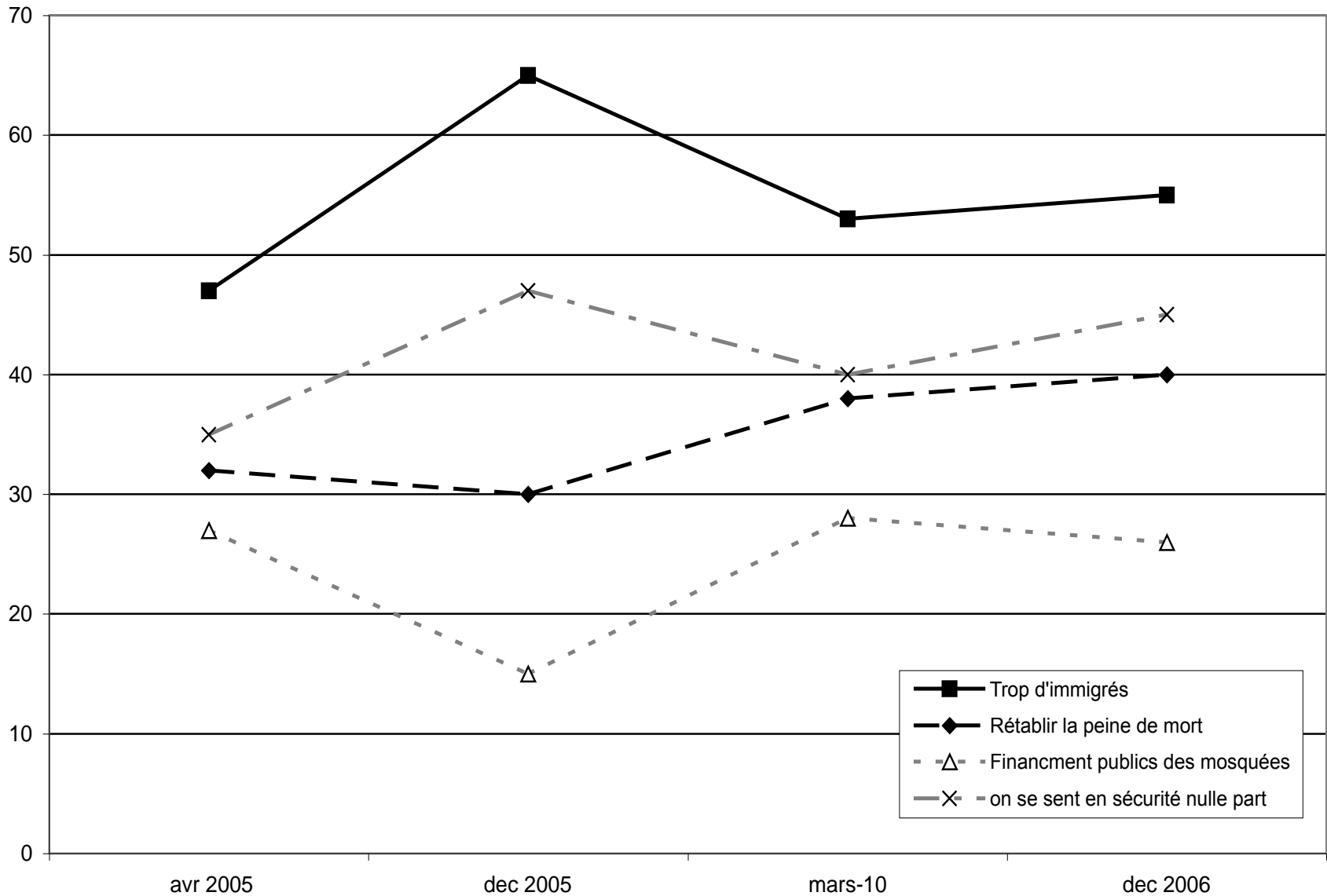
UK

Second-ranging

- Immediately identifiable electoral profits are scarce

Polls Data

April 2005 – December 2006



Vincent Tiberj, *La crispation hexagonale*. Plon, 2008





Urban Riots & *Polis* (2)

Impact on policies



France

UK

Evanescent → Substantial → Evanescent

Substantial

- 1980s: Urban youths vacation programs → Ministry for Urban Matters
- 1990s: Dislocation of the Ministry, 'nothing works' despair
- 2000: Urban renewal (i.e. destructions)
- 2005: Targeted small-scaled policies for minorities

- Constant 'non-policy': Police forces (except 1997-2000)

- 1980s: Scarman Report and the openness of police forces (S&S, IPCC, Minorities, etc.)
- 2000s: Backlash? ('Community Cohesion')
- 2011: ?



Urban Riots & *Polis* (3)

Impact on politics



France

Decisive

- Strongly reinforced 'bad reputation effect' of Banlieues
 - ...and that way to the increase of real discrimination & prejudice
- 2005: Contributed to a demand for order and discipline vs. To a (limited) classical politicization in the Banlieues
 - ...and to a slight breach in the 'republican social contract' e.g. minorities
- Long-term: contributed for a neo-colonial view on urban youths
 - ...that could not jeopardize long-term decline of overall racism

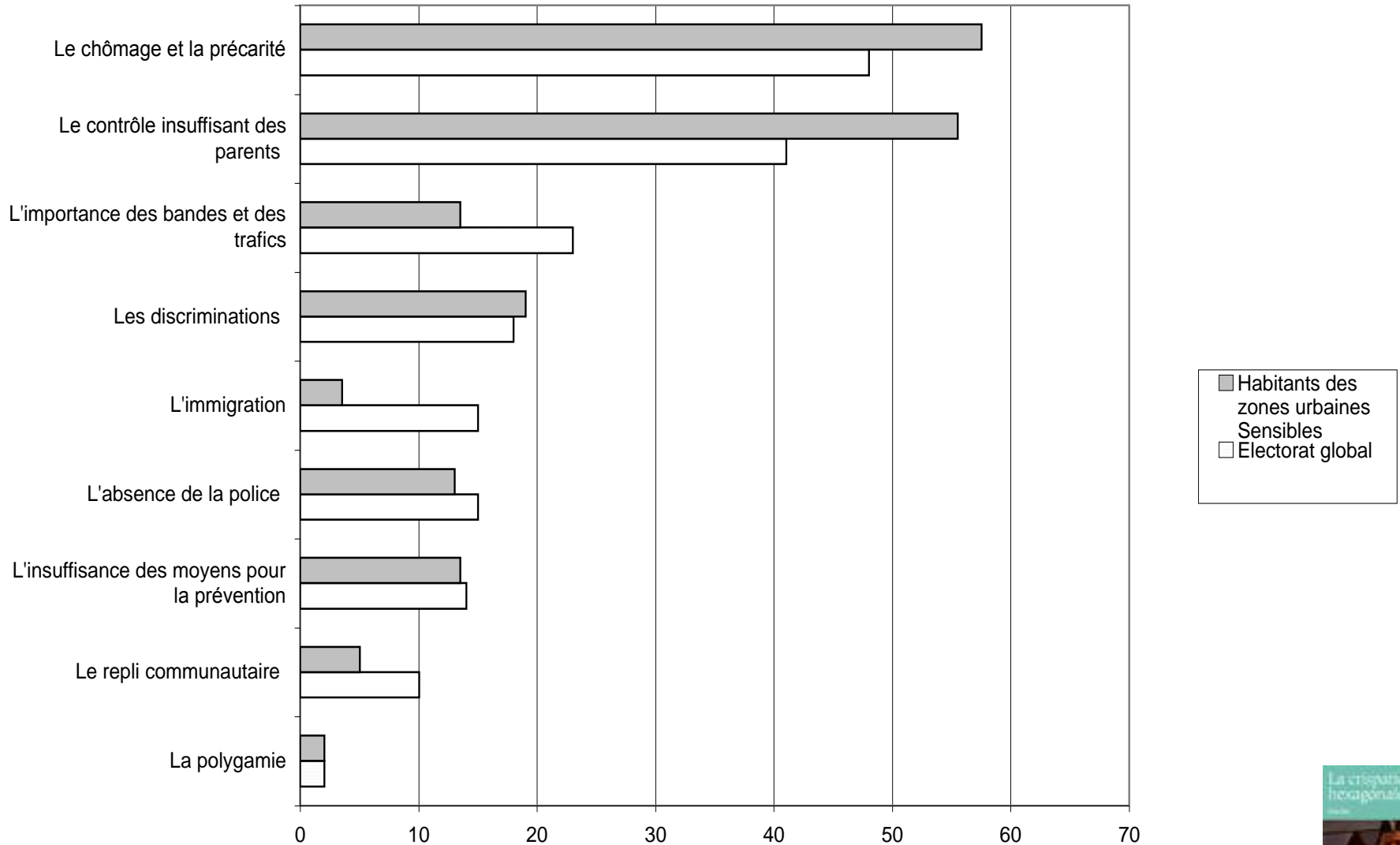
UK

Decisive

- 1980s: Consolidation of multiculturalism
- 2000s: Community Cohesion and the fear of 'parallel lives'
- 2011: Criminal nihilism & consumerism
 - ...overall fear for 'Broken Britain'?

Deep causes of the 2005' riots (poll data)

Les causes profondes des émeutes



Vincent Tiberj, *La crispation hexagonale*. Plon, 2008

