

MASTERARBEIT | MASTER'S THESIS

Titel | Title

From Banlieues to Breaking News: Media Framing of Race Riots in France,
2005 and 2023

verfasst von | submitted by

Suhana Suhana

angestrebter akademischer Grad | in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master (MA)

Wien | Vienna, 2025

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt |

UA 067 805

Degree programme code as it appears
on the student record sheet:

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt | Degree
programme as it appears on the student
record sheet:

Individuelles Masterstudium Globalgeschichte

Betreut von | Supervisor:

Assoz. Prof. Dr. Valeska Huber



MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

From Banlieues to Breaking News: Media Framing of
Race Riots in France, 2005 and 2023

verfasst von / submitted by

Suhana Suhana

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master (MA)

Wien, 2025 / Vienna, 2025

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme code as it appears on
the student record sheet:

UA 067 805

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme as it appears on
the student record sheet:

Individuelles Masterstudium Globalgeschichte

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Assoz. Prof. Dr. Valeska Huber

Keywords:

Deutsch- Rassenunruhen, Medienanalyse, Rassentrennung, Medienerzählung, Frankreich, post-kolonial, Identität, Zuwanderung, Migration, Multikulturalismus

English- race riots, media analysis, racial unrest, media narratives, France, post-colonial, identity, immigrants, migration, multiculturalism

Abstract (Deutsch)

Diese Arbeit untersucht französische Integrationsprobleme und anhaltende Unruhe durch die Analyse historischer Kontexte und die Verknüpfung mit der Berichterstattung über die französischen Unruhen von 2005 und 2023 durch vier internationale Medien (The New York Times, BBC, Al Jazeera und El Watan). Die Studie zeigt durch Medienanalyse unterschiedliche Schwerpunktsetzungen der Medien auf: manche betonen politische Versäumnisse und Unordnung, andere heben koloniale Erbschaften und strukturellen Rassismus hervor. Diese Mediennarrative beeinflussen den politischen Diskurs maßgeblich, indem sie Integrationsprobleme als Versagen der Staatsführung darstellen anstatt als Symptome tieferliegender struktureller Ungerechtigkeiten, und schlägt den Übergang zu einem wissenschaftlichen Multikulturalismus vor, der Ungleichheiten angeht und koloniale Erbschaften anerkennt.

Abstract (English)

This thesis examines French integration challenges and persistent riots by analysing historical contexts, and mapping the reporting on the French riots of 2005 and 2023 by four international media outlets (The New York Times, BBC, Al Jazeera, and El Watan). Through media analysis, the study reveals differential focus among outlets: some emphasise policy failures and disorder, others highlight colonial legacies and structural racism. These media narratives significantly influence policy discourse by framing integration challenges as governance failures rather than symptoms of deeper structural injustices, and proposes transitioning toward scientific multiculturalism that addresses inequalities and acknowledges colonial legacies.

1. Introduction.....	8
1.1. Research Objectives.....	12
1.2. Significance and relevance of the study.....	15
1.3. State of the Art and Literature Review Choice.....	17
1.4. Brief overview of migrant integration in France.....	18
1.5. The nature of media analysis.....	22
1.6. Structure of the Thesis.....	23
 2. Theoretical Framework.....	 26
2.1. Key concepts on integration & the French model.....	26
2.1.1. Assimilation.....	28
2.1.2. Social Cohesion.....	31
2.2. Integration approaches - EU model v. French Approach.....	33
2.2.1. The EU Model of Integration.....	33
2.2.2. The French Approach to Integration.....	35
2.3. Colonial past and the need for a historical understanding of migration flows.....	37
2.3.1. Colonial Foundations of Migration.....	38
2.3.2. Decolonisation and Its Social Impacts.....	40
2.3.3. Intergenerational Transmission of Colonial Memory.....	42

3. Methodology.....	44
3.1. Justification for using media analysis as the key qualitative research methodology.....	44
3.1.1. Defining Media Analysis.....	46
3.2. Selection of the media houses and their reports on the French riots.....	50
3.3. Method of secondary research undertaken.....	51
3.4. Ethical considerations.....	53
 4. The 2005 and 2023 Race Riots: The Events, Causes, and Consequences.....	55
4.1. The context of the riots, previous violent uprisings in France, and the socio-economic status of banlieues.....	55
4.2. The spread of the 2005 riots from Clichy-sous-Bois and the ignition of discontent.....	59
4.3. The 2023 riots as a result of the shooting of Nahel M. and excessive policing.....	64
 5. Media Analysis of the Reporting on the 2005 and 2023.....	69
5.1. How have the four media houses covered and perceived the 2005 and 2023 race riots?..	69
5.1.1. Source Selection and Voice Attribution: How the Outlets Framed Their Reporting?..	73
5.2. Framing the riots: narrative logics and journalistic standpoints.....	75
5.2.1. Diagnostic Framing: Identifying Root Causes.....	76
5.2.2. Prognostic Framing: How the Four Media Outlets Propose Solutions to the Riots?...	78
5.3. Analysis of the media reporting on the socio-economic conditions of immigrants in	

France.....	80
5.3.1. Economic Marginalisation and Employment Discrimination.....	80
5.3.2. Spatial Inequality and Systematic Disadvantage.....	83
5.4. Colonial continuities and postcolonial silences in media narratives.....	85
6. Conclusion.....	89
6.1. Key findings in relation to media coverage of immigrants and their realities.....	89
6.2. Key findings in relation to policy gaps and political agenda.....	92
6.3. The need for scientific multiculturalism and further research.....	96
7. Bibliography.....	100
A. Primary Research.....	100
I. Reporting on 2005 Riots:.....	100
II. Reporting on 2023 Riots:.....	103
III. Reporting on French Riots from the select media houses from other years:.....	108
B. Secondary Research.....	111
Scholarly Sources.....	111
Online Articles & Websites.....	119

1. Introduction

“There are no other options. There are no companies coming here and saying we'll pay you more than minimum wage... here people are supermarket cashiers or cleaners or security guards. We can't be judges, lawyers or accountants.” This is what Amine, a 19-year-old teenager, whose brother's charred body was recovered from a burnt car amidst riots in France, told a reporter (Hill, 2023). Amine resides in Frais-Vallon estate, a ‘banlieue’, which, while literally meaning ‘suburbs’, has long been considered and stigmatised as a deprived social housing project (Tissot, 2008, p. 3), segregating the poorer immigrants from the richer natives. These banlieues have often broken into riots that have rocked France, most recently in the 2023 riots, which made global headlines, and previously the 2005 riots (Plummer, 2023).

In recent years, immigration has emerged as a socio-political faultline in France (Harries, 2024; Freedman, 2017, p. 127-42), including all its associated issues: whether and how to integrate immigrants; whether a host nation can be selective in keeping out or segregating poor immigrants while rolling the red carpet for highly skilled immigrants; whether there can be integration while denigrating the culture and religion of immigrants; whether migrants can be assimilated without fair political representation; and whether immigrant policies can dissociate entirely from the history which creates them. These issues are not unique to France; they reverberate across Europe and the West: the recent race riots in the UK evidence this (Reuters, 2024). The escalating tensions and sporadic violence surrounding immigration in France, as exemplified by the 2005 and 2023 riots, underscore the deep-seated challenges and complexities inherent in the integration process. The recurring unrest in French banlieues reveals the limitations of existing integration models and the urgent need for new approaches.

Cognisant of this faultline, this thesis grapples with the question of how societies view and perceive immigration and immigrants by looking at the media coverage by certain media houses, which in one way or the other reflect the collective memory of many of their readers and people who may be influenced through their framing. Integrating immigrants, a complex and multifaceted challenge that has been at the forefront of political and social discourse in Europe for decades, and the media has actively framed immigration-linked events (Eberl et al., 2018, p. 207-223). This thesis attempts to unravel the intricacies of migration and integration, by researching, in a structured and comprehensive manner, the reporting on the 2005 and 2023 riots that have affected France. This thesis employs media analysis to examine how international media outlets narrate the 2005 and 2023 French riots, revealing global understandings of postcolonial migration, race, and integration. By analysing coverage from The New York Times, BBC, Al Jazeera, and El Watan, this study explores how media frames reflect ideological and geopolitical positions, selectively emphasizing or omitting historical and structural factors.

France has a long history of immigration, a unique republican model of integration, and a complex and continued relationship with its former colonies (Harzoune, 2022). Scholarly works, such as those by Claire Eldridge, highlight how colonial legacies and postcolonial migration continue to influence integration policies and public attitudes. Eldridge's research on Algerian migration and memory underscores the persistence of colonial frameworks in shaping contemporary French identity and immigrant experiences (Eldridge, 2013, p. 121-130). Yet, despite the attention given by the policymakers of France to immigration, the country continues to see frequent riots, conflicts, and socio-political breakdowns due to immigrant-native discourses. Similarly, historical accounts of race riots, such as those in 2005, reveal systemic issues like racialized policing and urban marginalization (Slooter, 2021, p. 440). Given the large

population and economy of France, and its global eminence as a major and influential nation state, these riots and linked integration issues have invited extensive media coverage.

This makes France a compelling case study for understanding the complexities of this issue. This thesis and its underlying research will examine the historical patterns of migration, the evolution of integration policies, and the role of media and public perception in shaping the realities of migrant life. To do so in a comprehensive manner, the thesis solely focuses on coverage of the 2005 and 2023 riots by The New York Times, BBC, Al Jazeera, and El Watan. Each of these media outlets carries a unique perspective shaped by its national, ideological, and institutional standpoint. This thesis is cognisant of the reality that digital, easy-to-access resources, such as Google search and key databases, have inherent biases: they favour English language, widely visited elite-media websites (Tworek, 2020). Furthermore, they often limit the findings to the most read or circulated articles, some of which may further selective perspectives appealing to the overwhelmingly urban, well-to-do readers, and not necessarily the ones most impacted by the reporting. To account for these biases, while not to the fullest extent possible (due to paucity of time, resources, and accessibility), the thesis considers the above-mentioned non-European/non-French media houses, each with its own unique attributes, including one from Algeria, which happens to be a key source of immigration into France.

Particularly, The New York Times (from the USA) represents elite liberal American internationalism, BBC (from the UK) embodies a government-funded but liberal Eurocentric perspective, Al Jazeera (from Qatar) frames itself as a Global South alternative, often engaging with postcolonial themes, and El Watan (from Algeria) reflects regional Francophone consciousness, diaspora ties, and historical critique of France.

Based on its assessment of the reporting on French riots by these four outlets, this thesis argues that global reporting is never entirely "global": it is filtered through layers of local bias, editorial frameworks, and cultural reference points. Thus, the analysis focuses not only on what is said about the French riots and migration crises, but who says it, how, and from where. This thesis adopts a media analysis approach to reflect on the dominant global narratives, selective memory, and political framing. Media analysis is deployed by this thesis as a method to assess how France's internal unrest is consumed, interpreted, and framed for different audiences. In doing so, the thesis not only considers the politics of French integration, but also the global discourse surrounding postcolonial migration, urban marginalisation, and racialised policing.

The core research question guiding this thesis is how international media outlets narrate the causes and consequences of French urban riots (2005 and 2023), and what does this reveal about global understandings of postcolonial migration, race, and integration? The thesis explores this question and proposes a thesis that different international media narratives reflect their own ideological and geopolitical positions through their framing of themes such as police brutality, colonial legacy, immigration, and integration failure. These framings selectively emphasise or omit historical depth and structural causes. For instance, the thesis finds that Al Jazeera and El Watan are more likely to highlight colonial legacies and systemic racism, while BBC and The New York Times may focus more on policy failures, youth unrest, or law-and-order concerns, while ignoring colonial linkages.

Through this media analysis, the thesis identifies key themes and keywords that dominate coverage of the 2005 and 2023 riots. These include words such as "ghetto," "integration," "police," "violence," "immigrants," "Muslims," "colonial," and "racism". These keywords are not neutral descriptors but carry ideological weight, and how each outlet deploys them offers

insight into their worldview. For instance, the lack or overuse of the words colonial and racism may signal whether the outlet considers colonialism as a key cause of the present-day integration problems.

By undertaking such a comprehensive analysis, the thesis argues that media outlets, often considered ‘global’, not only report and reflect, but also shape the discourse on migration, race, and politics in ways that align with their agendas. The reporting may be heartfelt, often moving, but may nonetheless carry inherent biases that present half-truths. The French riots of 2005 and 2023, when examined from the outside by the researcher, who has no direct links either to France or the countries from which the four media outlets operate, provide a mechanism to examine how the postcolonial present is narrated, contested, and understood around the world.

1.1. Research Objectives

Broadly, the thesis seeks to conduct an in-depth investigation of the intersection of media narratives, postcolonial history, and immigration policy in contemporary France. The core mechanism employed by the researcher is to look at present-day media narratives critically. Specifically, the thesis explores how select global media outlets frame events like the 2005 and 2023 urban riots, and what these representations reveal about France’s integration challenges and broader European migration politics. The research situates the French case within the overall European framework, acknowledging France's unique postcolonial context, its centrality in European migration discourse, and the ideological power of global media in shaping public understanding.

This thesis relies on media discourse analysis as its primary methodological approach, rooted in the understanding that international media are not neutral observers but biased participants in the

global reproduction of meaning, identity, and power. The research is particularly attentive to the biases and positionalities of the four media outlets that are the objects of this study. These media outlets carry specific geopolitical, linguistic, and ideological lenses that influence how they frame immigration, integration, and urban unrest in France. Within this overarching framework, the thesis focuses on three key research objectives.

First, it seeks to analyse the historical context of migration from the Maghreb region, specifically from Algeria, to France. Achieving this objective involves an examination of France's linkages with colonial and post-colonial Algeria, and the socio-economic-political factors that led to immigration into France. To do so, the thesis considers secondary academic literature, analytical works on historical events related to the decolonisation process of Algeria, and statistics pertaining to immigration from Algeria to France.

Second, the thesis critically analyses media representations of French immigration, riots, and immigrant identity, with a focus on the 2005 and 2023 urban unrest, through a comparative study of four international media outlets: The New York Times, BBC, Al Jazeera, and El Watan. The thesis examines how each outlet frames key terms (e.g. ghetto, violence, Muslim, colonial, integration), and the ideological assumptions that are associated with these outlets, influencing these framings. The thesis further inquires into how certain narratives, particularly in elite Western media, contribute to the production and sustenance of a form of liberal Eurocentrism, wherein the failure of European countries to uphold its own human rights ideals is often decried and identified, at the same time ignoring, downplaying, and erasing colonial continuities and systemic exclusion. This thesis, benefiting from an outsider's gaze, reflects on the role of the media not just as chroniclers of events, but as actors in the global migration regime.

Third, the thesis explores France's integration policies by comparing it to broader European approaches, and assesses how these policies are narrated in global media. France's approach to integration, which is influenced strongly by "colour-blind" republicanism, stands in contrast to the more multicultural models of countries like the UK. This objective investigates how integration is discussed in policy and media discourses, and how differing national models shape both the lived experiences of migrants and their representations in the public sphere. It further analyses how the selected media outlets compare or contrast France's model with the broader EU and the UK model, particularly given France's position as one of the largest recipients of migrants in the EU. By undertaking this comparative assessment, the thesis seeks to offer insights into the differences between France, the EU, and the UK's approaches to issues of colonial memory, law enforcement, and urban segregation. These insights highlight that narratives on the French riots of 2005 and 2023 cannot be understood solely through national lenses. In fact, they must be seen as products of a broader Eurocentric vis-à-vis the Global South's negotiation of race, migration, and postcolonial justice.

Based on the above three objectives, the thesis aims to contribute to the ongoing scholarly debate on migrant integration by providing empirical evidence and theoretical insights that can inform policy discussions and promote more effective integration strategies. This involves providing an in-depth understanding of the relationship between political narratives, policy realities, and the lived experiences of migrants. It also requires exploring the state of integration policies and how these policies, in turn, affect the daily lives of migrants. While the thesis does so, it is to a limited extent, and with a view to deepening the understanding of how the language of global media is framed, and how it influences not only public perception, but also policy responses, social cohesion, and collective memory.

1.2. Significance and relevance of the study

This thesis is relevant and carries significance due to both its contemporary nature and its historical basis. The issue of migration, migrant integration, assimilation, balancing of cultural and economic variations, and ensuring societies don't splinter into divisions, is of global importance today. It is not only France or the EU, but also many other countries, such as the USA, India, the UK, and others, that have migrants as a key aspect of their political discourses (Brenner, 2019; Richards et al., 2025; Roy, 2024). Oftentimes, the political discourse masks the historical reasons and linkages that continue to dictate today's migration patterns, and often links it only to present-day reasons (Mixed Migration Centre, 2020). Not only does it lead to unhealthy political discourse, which leads to increased marginalisation and social discord, but it also means that policies lack a strong scientific basis rooted in history and evidence.

Politicians also find allies in the media, which, while hyping current events, often fail to provide due airtime or space to the historical causes behind migration. There is always an attempt to either shock and disturb the citizenry by overstating shocking events that may have a link to migrants, such as accidents that may occur while migrants are entering a country, or crimes that may have been committed by some migrants, or events such as riots. On the flipside, some media houses may have an overstated focus on how many of the present-day problems of a country exist because of migrants, and can be solved by expelling such migrants and making it highly onerous for migrants to enter the country (Carvalho et al., 2024; Esses, 2013; Schemer, 2012).

These extreme views lack strong intellectual foundations, and it falls upon academic researchers, including young academics, to undertake rigorous research to present academic works that explore the historical reasons and socio-economic currents that lead to migration flows. This thesis is relevant for this key reason: it attempts to offer a deeper, multi-layered media analysis,

grounded in a critical understanding of both history and narrative. By focusing on the representation of the 2005 and 2024 French race riots in select international media, the thesis challenges the assumption that media are neutral observers. Instead, it reveals how even liberal or sympathetic reporting can reinforce Eurocentric logics, where Western values like human rights and democracy are nostalgically invoked in response to migrant “crises,” without confronting their colonial roots.

This thesis backs its conclusions and arguments by adopting a comparative media discourse methodology that assimilates and synthesises the reporting done by the four media houses, each of which represents divergent geopolitical standpoints, allowing the thesis to track how narratives are constructed, who is made visible, and whose perspectives are marginalised. This approach makes an important contribution to understanding not only the content of migration discourse but also the politics of its production.

This is not to say that there does not exist well-researched and grounded work on this topic - migration, particularly concerning France and Algeria, has been extensively studied. This thesis builds on those works and contributes to the existing body of scholarly literature on migration, integration, and multiculturalism. This thesis differentiates itself by relying on the deployment of media analysis and review of academic literature, and by restricting itself to the key events of race riots, particularly 2005 and 2008 race riots, offering a nuanced and in-depth analysis of the complexities of migrant integration.

Moreover, the thesis is particularly relevant in an era of global media saturation, where public opinion is increasingly shaped by the narratives selected, framed, and repeated by a small number of influential media institutions. Understanding how the standpoint of these media outlets, and their journalists, shaped by their institutional affiliations, geopolitical location, and

audience assumptions, impacts coverage is central to assessing the integrity of global migration discourse.

Ultimately, this thesis seeks to move beyond simplistic narratives about migrant inflows and integration, or their religion, and aims to recognise that migrant integration is not a linear process and that it involves a wide range of factors, including historical legacies, policy choices, social attitudes, and economic conditions.

1.3. State of the Art and Literature Review Choice

The state of the art in migration studies lay an emphasis on the interplay of historical, social, and political factors that have shaped integration (or its failures) in France. Scholars such as Freedman (2017) and Harzoune (2022) have argued that France's republican model of integration, that prioritises assimilation over multiculturalism, often fails in addressing structural inequalities faced by immigrants, particularly those from postcolonial backgrounds. Media has been found to be playing a role in amplifying tensions surrounding migration at times, while mitigating it in others (Eberl et al., 2018).

The choice of literature for the theoretical basis of this thesis has been focused on academic works that discuss French migration history, postcolonialism, and media framing; these are in addition to the primary research material, which are news reports from the four outlets that are the subject of this study. Some of the key sources that have been relied on to assess the primary material include Eldridge's *From Empire to Exile* (2016) for its focus on Algerian migration, Fassin's *Enforcing Order* (2013) for its analysis of policing and race, and Tissot's (2008) work on banlieue stigmatisation. These sources together provide a strong analytical framework for understanding the historical and structural factors that media narratives often act to amplify or

obscure. The literature review undertaken for this study also gives due weightage to studies on media representation, such as by Eberl et al. (2018), to assess how global media outlets frame migration-related events.

1.4. Brief overview of migrant integration in France

The French government's records state that almost 10.3% of France's population - or over 7 million people - are immigrants (INED, 2025). These are "all persons of foreign nationality born outside France". Of these, 7 million, over 12.3%, are of Algerian origin, forming the largest immigrant block. However, these statistics mask a key fact: given the French survey's definition of 'immigrant' is limited to first-generation immigrants, it fails to capture the total number of second or third generation French citizens, whose parents or grandparents were immigrants. For instance, when Algeria gained independence from France in 1962, there was a large migrant influx into France.

Between April and September of that year, over 800,000 migrants flew into France from Algeria, comprising both Algerian natives and European-origin people who had settled in Algeria (pejoratively referred to as *pied-noirs*, or black feet) (Miller, 2012; Eldridge, 2013; Jordi, 2025). This influx was equivalent to almost 2% of France's total population in 1962. The French government's data shows that in 1962, the net migration into France stood at 860,200. This was significantly higher than the previous years, when migration averaged 130,000 - 160,000. In 1963, the migration was still high at 214,599, but normalised by 1965 (110,000) (INSEE, 2025A). Today, it is the descendants of these immigrants who, along with the first generation immigrants, form a large segment of the French population. Reports indicate that a survey conducted by the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies and the National Institute for Demographic Studies, published in July 2022, but which does not appear to be

available online, found that about 32% of the French population has immigrant ancestors (Independent, 2022; MENA Research Center, 2022).

Given such a large share of the population being first-generation immigrants, and another major segment having immigrant roots, France has grappled with the problem of migrant integration for many decades now. Consequently, it has developed policies and frameworks aiming to both reduce immigration and integrate incoming immigrants into the French society to cause minimal disruptions. This has, however, not translated into reality, as this thesis would reveal, given the emergence of banlieues, and high levels of socio-economic disparities between these immigrants and people with immigrant heritage vis-a-vis the native French.

France's approach to immigrant integration is deeply rooted in its republican tradition, which emphasises the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity (Hollified, 2022, p. 271-277). The French model of integrating immigrants is often characterised by its emphasis on assimilation, which requires immigrants to adopt the French language, culture, and values, and to identify primarily as French. This model is based on the idea of a unified national identity, where differences based on ethnicity, religion, or origin are expected to be subsumed under a common civic identity. This idea of integration, which requires the adoption of inherently French values, dates back to the political tradition of the Third Republic. Bertossi (2020) states, “during the last quarter of the 19th century, French society was in the process of becoming a national society. at the time, national integration spelt the transformation of “peasants into Frenchmen”, to use the title of a seminal work by US historian Eugen Weber, as a result, it is common sense to attach the notion of “intégration” to this tradition” (Bertossi, 2020, p. 13).

This historical imagination continues to be the basis of the French integrationist policies today. This historical understanding of integration has certain key elements, which sometimes lead to

conflicts that can flare into riots, terrorism, and other disastrous events. For instance, one of the foremost elements of French integration is the idea of *laïcité* or secularism, which calls for strict separation of religion and the state, aiming to ensure that religious beliefs do not interfere with public life. This often means that the French do not find religious symbols such as the burqa and niqab appropriate in public spaces, such as schools and universities, which were banned in 2004 (Diallo, 2024). In fact, such religious symbols were also banned during the Olympics, and players in French sports teams are banned from even fasting during Ramadan.

Other key aspects of French integration include universalism - the belief that all citizens, regardless of origin, should be treated equally under the law; national centralisation - integration policies, given their close link to national identity, are primarily designed and executed by the national government in cooperation with local governments; and emphasis on learning the French language - French language has since centuries been a matter of national pride (for instance, it was a key aspect of reinforcing the French identity when parts of France were under Prussian occupation in 1870 - 71). In fact, the French hold these aspects in such high regard that it is not just an expectation but is concluded into a contract - the *Contrat d'Intégration Républicaine* or the Republican Integration Contract (French Republic, 2025). The French government's website states, "*The Republican Integration Contract (CIR) is concluded between the French government and any non-European foreign national admitted to France who wishes to settle there permanently, with some exceptions. The signatory agrees to undertake training to facilitate their integration into French society. Civic training is mandatory. Language training may be required depending on your level of French.*"

The CIR was conceived in 2002, and the then minister had stated, “*Living in France means choosing France together with its duties and ideals. Our country is not merely a geographical area ... it has chosen integration over communitarianism*” (Pélabay & Alaoui, 2020).

The French model is unique, and has a focus on assimilation as integration, and ensuring that immigrants share a similar cultural ethos, with the support of state mandate. In recent times, as in the past, this model has faced increasing challenges. Critics have argued that its emphasis on assimilation is impractical, that it fails to adequately address the needs and concerns of diverse communities, and the use of state power to enforce this has led to repression and legitimisation of exclusion (Pélabay & Alaoui, 2020). Immigrants and their descendants, particularly from Maghreb or Africa, experience discrimination in housing, employment, and education (Alba & Silberman, 2002, p. 1169-1179). Many of these immigrants, often finding it challenging to assimilate or find relevant economic opportunities, end up living in one of the ‘banlieues’, which are marginalised urban areas with large concentrations of residents of immigrant origin. These have become a symbol of the difficulties of integration in France. About 10% of France’s population lives in these banlieues (Bohdan, 2018).

A recent report by Institut Montaigne, a major Paris-based think tank largely funded by French corporations, titled ‘L’avenir se joue dans les quartiers pauvres’ finds that the average income in these banlieues is 60% of the French national average, about 43% of the people in these neighbourhoods lack access to the government’s social welfare aid, and they are three times more likely to be unemployed than the national average (El Karoui and Lefebvre, 2022). As these neighbourhoods continued to remain under economic and social exclusion, they have often broken into riots, leading to further polarisation and negative coverage. Given how intensely politicised the issue of integration is, the French government has never undertaken detailed

assessments on ethnicity. This lack of official data on ethnicity, motivated by republican ideals, hinders efforts to measure discrimination and accurately evaluate integration policies' effectiveness (Escafré-Dublet, 2014). In later chapters, this thesis closely looks into the history, reality, and contemporary media coverage of such neighbourhoods and events such as riots. This thesis will contribute to the ongoing debates by providing a nuanced and in-depth analysis of the challenges and opportunities associated with migrant integration in France.

1.5. The nature of media analysis

Given the background of France's integration politics and the objectives of this thesis, it is pertinent to understand why media analysis can provide insights into how the French perceive integration, how immigration politics unfold, and how media narratives shape the conditions of migrants. This section of the introduction briefly encapsulates the method of media analysis, while the later chapters apply the same to the specific case study of race riots in France.

This thesis recognises that journalism and reporting contribute to collective memory, and are a result of the refraction through the minds of the journalists and reporters (Griffith, 1999; Zelizer, 2010, 380-82). Contemporary media reports on immigration in France, or media reports from the last few years, which this thesis bases its research on, are all a reflection of the views of the authors, the publications, their times, and the socio-political undercurrents. Similarly, this thesis also recognises the importance of looking into the past and mapping that to present-day events, allowing one to gain a critical insight into the events or policies that may be decades old, but continue to have influence over migration patterns today.

This thesis is cognisant that marshalling of facts and chronological listing of events is insufficient. That does not explain the many different aspects, facets of life and of society, which

interact to produce complex social events such as migration. As such, this thesis deploys media analysis to not just list out events, but to dissect them, and inquire into those to provide comprehensive arguments on how immigration are closely connected to France's historical policies and governmental actions, and how the French society can move towards a more scientific and humane approach to integration of migrants. While the thesis relies on secondary academic literature to provide the context for understanding the push and pull factors of immigration, media analysis would reveal how these narratives are framed and disseminated, shaping public opinion and policy.

Analysing media coverage, particularly of events such as riots and conflicts, can reveal how different frames are used to portray immigrants, particularly Algerian immigrants in the case study in this thesis, as economic threats, cultural outsiders, or as objects of pity (Eberl, et al., 2018, p. 207-223; Chouliaraki, 2012, p. 13-31). Furthermore, examining the language used in media reports, the visuals employed, and the overall tone of the coverage will help provide insights into the dominant narratives and their potential impact on public opinion (Burn & Parker, 2003, p. 3-10). Understanding Algerian immigration requires examining how these elements of media coverage interact with policy making and socio-economic realities. Media representations themselves are often influenced by the socio-economic narratives and historical baggage created over decades. These representations then influence public opinion, policy decisions, and ultimately the integration experiences of immigrants such as those from Algeria.

1.6. Structure of the Thesis

In addition to this chapter introducing the thesis, its core themes, and objectives, this study is structured into four chapters. Chapter 2, which provides the theoretical basis for this thesis, examines some of the key theories relating to integration, integration approaches, and

colonialism's reverberating impact on immigration. This includes providing an overview of the concepts of multiculturalism, assimilation, and social cohesion; an understanding of the core principles of the French integration model, and how it compares and contrasts with the broader EU model; and an understanding of the preeminence of colonial history as a reason for migration. Doing so at the outset, before the thesis delves into the specific case study of race riots in France, ensures that the study and its readers are assured of the direction of the paper and its rigour.

Next, Chapter 3 details the research methodology employed in undertaking the specific case study of the thesis and evaluating the same. This chapter identifies the limitations against which this thesis was prepared and justifies the use of qualitative research methods, specifically media and secondary academic and literature analysis. In particular, the decision to rely on secondary research was motivated by the availability of extensive and credible existing literature, which allowed for a broad-based and in-depth exploration of the research questions set out herein. This chapter also restates the ethical considerations involved in broader research.

Chapter 4 relates to the specific case study that forms the core of this thesis work, containing an extensive evaluation of the select media coverage of French race riots between 2005 - 2025 by media houses such as the BBC, Al Jazeera, The Guardian, The New York Times, amongst others. It contains an examination of how these media houses cover immigration into France, the socio-economic and political state of immigrants, the kind of visuals and stories they focus on, and the overall intended effect of such reporting. This includes aspects such as public discourse and social perceptions, and how they are shaped by media narratives. Particularly, this also involves looking at how the global media narratives influence politics, ultimately influencing the

lived reality of migrants in Marseilles, in Paris, in France, in the EU, and across the World. This has consequences for integration, sometimes positive and at other times negative.

This chapter also looks at how media houses, while focusing on the immediate issues, lose sight of the history and fail to inform their readers of the history, creating a myopic view of immigration and related problems. To do so, the thesis looks at historical migration from Algeria into France by considering academic literature and theories mentioned in Chapter 2. It assesses the socio-economic factors, policy decisions, and key events that have shaped the migration flows and the experiences of migrants in France. This chapter also explores the formation of banlieues in France, as well as the realities of these banlieues.

Chapter 5 concludes by summarising the key findings and learnings of the overall research. It also highlights the need for a more scientific approach to integration and highlights the potential for ‘scientific multiculturalism’. This chapter also suggests directions for further research by academicians and researchers aiming to influence migration policies.

2. Theoretical Framework

The primary theoretical framework for this thesis, as also detailed earlier, is to assess the media narrative around the French riots of 2005 and 2023 by using theories relating to integration. Integration of immigrants into host societies is a complex process shaped by competing (sometimes overlapping) concepts such as multiculturalism, assimilation, and social cohesion. These concepts together provide the theoretical lens to critically analyse how media narratives frame the 2005 and 2023 French riots. These concepts also help the researcher assess the broader socio-political context of migration and race riots in France, particularly involving migration from postcolonial nations such as Algeria. This chapter explores these concepts relating to integration, particularly how these concepts intersect with France's unique republican model and the historical and postcolonial context of French republicanism, to provide a scholarly basis for the thesis's media analysis.

2.1. Key concepts on integration & the French model

The key concepts on integration that this thesis relies on are multiculturalism, assimilation, and social cohesion. These concepts help the researcher formulate an overarching idea of what integration could look like, and to assess what integration in today's France looks like. Of the three key concepts, the first is multiculturalism, which advocates for the recognition and accommodation of cultural diversity within a society. The direct implication of this proposition is that immigrants should be allowed to retain their cultural identities while participating in the host nation's civic society and life, as the core philosophy is to accommodate such new ways of life in an affirmative manner (Baubock, 2002, p. 3-4).

Key proponents argue that multiculturalism ultimately contributes to social justice and cohesion, as it empowers minority groups by ensuring their right to cultural expression, linguistic freedom,

and freely practicing religious practices (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2010, p. 265-268). This allows them to feel included, fostering inclusion without erasing differences between the host society and immigrant communities, and ultimately contributes to cultural confluence.

In the European context, multiculturalism has been implemented variably, with some countries such as the UK having embraced policies on cultural pluralism in the past to varying degrees (Modood & Uberoi, 2012). In France, however, multiculturalism is not usually recognised as an ideal policy objective, rather is often seen as being contrary to the republican ideal of a unified national identity; such an ideal relies on the idea that the immigrant communities must adopt the host's social values and way of life, and assimilate into the society (Geddes & Scholten, 2016, p. 48-53).

France's non-consideration of multiculturalism as an ideal policy objective is seen as a consequence of its historical emphasis on universalism. Universalism, as thought of in France, is an idea that cultural differences should be subsumed under a singular French identity (Jennings, 2000, p. 575-580). This leads to an inherent tension between incoming migrants, who may not always find it easy to mould into the French cultural values and way of life, which may be very different from theirs (Jennings, 2000, p. 575-580). This tension is also evident in how media narratives portray and characterize banlieue unrest and French riots of 2005 and 2023. Outlets like Al Jazeera highlighted cultural marginalisation as a key reason behind the riots (see Al-Jazeera reports dated 2005, November 11 & 2005, November 10). BBC and The New York Times, did not focus on cultural marginalisation as much, and instead framed riots as failures of social order (Snow & Vliegthart, 2007, p. 385-415; Darling-Wolf, 2008, p. 357-370). This is not to say they were not critical of French authorities, but position the riots as a breakdown of social cohesion and governance, rather than as a symptom of systemic discrimination or

historical injustices, and focused on contrasting France's handling of race relations with that of their home countries (the USA & the UK) (Snow & Vliegthart, 2007, p. 385-415; Darling-Wolf, 2008, p. 357-370).

Scholars have also identified that religion too is closely connected to the complex dynamic between ethnicity, immigrant status, and socio-economic status (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010, p. 104-105). These factors together come to influence integration outcomes, particularly where multicultural diversity is not the ideal accepted norm in politics. This implies that the exclusion of immigrants, such as in French cities, is not a straightforward equation. It is not X (immigrant status) equals Y (exclusion). It is layered, intersectional, and complex: there are likely to be many shades and degrees of exclusion, dictated by piling up of social aspects (Geeraert, 2018, p. 68-81; Hauser, 2021, p. 149-153). It is likely that the level of exclusion and marginalisation faced by a female Muslim immigrant is higher than that of a Christian male immigrant. Media narratives more often than not overlook this complexity, and as such oversimplify riots as mere cultural clashes, ignoring structural factors like economic inequality and colonial legacies, and the absence of policy thrust for multiculturalism.

2.1.1. Assimilation

The other key integration concept that may help inquire into the French riots is assimilation. While the concept starkly contrasts multiculturalism, it is not inherently problematic. Assimilation theorists posit that migrants coming into the host society should be recognised as equals who should be assimilated into that society (Morawaska, 2015, p. 128-130). The concept recognises the need for equal respect, and at the same time also casts a responsibility upon the immigrants to adopt the cultural norms, values, and practices of the host society.

This naturally comes at the expense of their original identities. In France, this model is embodied in the Contrat d'Intégration Républicaine (CIR), which mandates civic and language training to align immigrants with French values, particularly *laïcité* (French Republic, 2025). France's assimilationist approach to integration is rooted in the Third Republic's nation-building project (1870–1940); this approach was designed to forge a unified national identity through universalism, often sidelining cultural diversity (Weber, 1976). This has often been argued to have created tensions with postcolonial immigrants, particularly North Africans, whose cultural and religious practices are often perceived as incompatible with French secularism (Song, et al., 2024, p. 1-13; Alba & Silberman, 2022, p. 1169-1173). While there is validity to this argument, it would be an oversimplification to claim that republicanism and assimilationist ideology necessarily has a negative outcome always and has no contribution to ultimately creating a society that is adept at accepting others. France is after all a country that has historically been one of the more diverse and accepting societies in the world (Ersanili & Koopmans, 2010, p. 773-791).

Nonetheless, a dogged implementation and pursuance of this policy in an absolutist manner has contributed to the marginalisation of banlieue residents, of which the 2005 and 2023 riots are a consequence. El Watan in its reporting has emphasised this systemic exclusion over individual cultural failures for these riots, and noted the UN Human Rights Commissioner's statement that "This is the time for the country to seriously address the deep-seated problems of racism and racial discrimination among law enforcement agencies" (Abdelkrim, 2023). Scholars too critique assimilation for its unidirectional nature, arguing that it places the burden of adaptation solely on immigrants, ignoring mutual accommodation (Garcia, 2016, p. 468-470). This naturally leads to conflicts, as there is a significant expectation mismatch between the host society and the

immigrants. While the former expects immigrants to bend to the societal rules and customs, as soon as they arrive, the latter, particularly from former colonies like Algeria, expects that the host society would provide them the necessary socio-economic opportunities for them to acclimatise themselves into the new environment (Saada, 2000, p. 28-32).

Media analyses in this thesis reveals that assimilationist narratives dominate the reporting by Western outlets like The New York Times & BBC. These media houses often frame the narrative relating to riots as a conflict between marginalised immigrants, who have failed to integrate as equals and as such sidelined into banlieues, and who are not being cared for enough by the government (Snow & Vliegthart, 2007, p. 385-415; Darling-Wolf, 2008, p. 357-370).

To illustrate, BBC's 2005 article "Ghettos shackle French Muslims" frames the 2005 riots as a consequence of socio-economic deprivation and cultural alienation in banlieues, while reinforcing assimilationist narratives and obscuring colonial legacies. The language of the report is heavy on usage of words such as 'ghetto'. The framing strongly stresses on the ethnic French seeing these banlieues as hotbeds of separatism and a foreign culture resulting from Islam. This framing is reinforced with assimilationist proposals such as "France's Muslim ghettos... are not hotbeds of separatism", "Islam is seen as the biggest challenge to the country's secular model in the past 100 years," "We were all poor, but there were French people, East Europeans, as well as blacks and Arabs... On today's [class] pictures only one or two are [white]", and "How am I supposed to feel French when people always describe me as a Frenchman of Algerian origin? I was born here. I am French". This framing subtly stresses that the immigrants are not integrated into the French society due to their distinct religious identity, and places a strong responsibility on immigrants to overcome systemic obstacles, aligning with assimilation's unidirectional

demands, without highlighting either governmental failures, historical complexities, or past policies.

While this may come from a place of empathy for these immigrants for whom the government may not be doing enough, this furthers the narrative that these immigrants are characteristically different people, who have failed to assimilate; this completely masks historical inequities, need to reform state policies to promote a more diverse society, and colonial hangover (Snow & Vliegthart, 2007, p. 385-415).

2.1.2. Social Cohesion

The third key concept of integration is that of social cohesion. This concept emphasises the importance of shared values, trust, and mutual obligations to foster unity across diverse groups. Unlike assimilation, which focus on cultural conformity and forging of a unified culture, social cohesion prioritises an inclusive society with strong cultural bonds that accommodate diversity while reducing disparities. Jenson defines social cohesion as the capacity of a society to ensure the well-being of all members, reducing societal and economic disparities, and promoting overall inclusion (Jenson, 2010, p. 3-12).

In France, social cohesion, while seemingly being the ultimate goal of assimilationist policies, is challenged by economic and social disparities in banlieues (El Karoui & Lefebvre, 2022). These disparities, which are further deepened by racialised policing and social exclusion, have led to low levels of trust between banlieue residents, the rest of the nation, and the state, ultimately leading to the 2005 & 2023 riots (Fassin, 2013).

Some scholars also identify a “hunkering down” effect that may result from diversity. It essentially implies that when a society becomes diverse but is unable to accommodate the

diversity in a reasonable and cohesive manner, the distinct communities withdraw into insularity, both physically and psychologically (Ariely, 2014, p. 573-575). This leads to decline in the trust between the communities, ultimately reducing everyone's overall well-being. Such insularity can only be addressed from inclusive policies designed to foster cohesion.

France's assimilationist model, which demands cultural conformity over mutual accommodation, appears to be leading to such a hunkering down effect by marginalising postcolonial immigrants, particularly North Africans, whose cultural identities are often stigmatised and are portrayed as inducing fear and shock (Jalusic & Bajt, 2020, p. 518-526). This ultimately undermines social cohesion as the state expects immigrants to integrate into a universal French identity, even as the immigrants do not have enough resources and opportunities to achieve such integration, ultimately withdrawing into an insular state of being (Saada, 2000, p. 28-32). The riots of 2005 and 2023 reflect the results of such breakdowns in social cohesion. But, this understanding of social cohesion also helps us understand how continuous media framing of riots as "immigrant violence" can deepen the pre-existing and prevalent fears against immigrants, deepening social divides, and making integration even more difficult to achieve.

These three concepts of multiculturalism, assimilation, and social cohesion are key to grounding the media analysis so that we can understand how the identified media outlets reflect, align with, or contest these integration concepts, shaped by their ideological and geopolitical lenses. These concepts also each stress various aspects with integration being the ultimate objective, but the path involves different aspects such as pressure, accommodation, demanding compliance, opportunities, and so on. This understanding of integration concepts provides us the right lens to identify what are the aspects of the French model that may not be working, and why historical and postcolonial factors continue to shape migration and media portrayals.

2.2. Integration approaches - EU model v. French Approach

France's integration model, dictated by assimilationist strategies, stands in contrast to the overall European Union's (EU). It is a model inherently linked to the French national identity and is a bit rigid. Understanding this contrast is key to understanding the 2005 and 2023 riots, as it would help us figure out the differing aspects of the French model that may partly be responsible for contributing to the occurrence of these riots.

The EU's overall model is to promote a flexible framework on immigrant integration that accommodates diverse national policies, often leaning toward multiculturalism; though in recent times the bloc has also started giving weightage to assimilationist policies (Bolmberg, 2020, p. 92-114; Carrera & Wiesbrock, 2009; Goodman, 2010, p. 753-760). France, as discussed in this thesis, adheres to a republican model that emphasises assimilation and *laïcité* (secularism). This section considers these two approaches, their theoretical underpinnings, and their implications for migrant integration. By comparing the EU's generally multicultural framework with France's assimilationist policies, this section provides a lens to understand how integration models engender events such as the 2005 and 2023 French riots.

2.2.1. The EU Model of Integration

The EU's approach to migrant integration is designed to balance common principles with national autonomy. While this reflects the diversity of its member states, it is a necessary accommodation of national sovereignty given the inherently political and social dimensions of immigration and integration (Carrera & Wiesbrock, 2009). The EU's balancing act is evident from its 2020 Action Plan on the Integration of Third-Country Nationals which advances and adds to the 2004 Common Basic Principles (CBP) and the 2016 plan.

The 2020 Action Plan emphasises multicultural aspects such as promotion of cultural diversity and anti-discrimination measures, while also stressing the need to provide access to employment, education, and civic participation (European Commission, 2020). At the same time, it notes that integration can be successful only if it is a “two-way process” of mutual adaptation between immigrants and host societies (European Commission, 2020). The EU framework is often seen as broadly aligning with multicultural principles, as it appears to foster inclusion through recognition of cultural identities; particularly, in countries like the Netherlands (Becker, 2004, p. P. 164-166).

However, the EU model, particularly with changes made in recent times, has resulted in a transition away from multiculturalism and its multicultural aspects are not without challenges (Berry & Taban, 2022, p. 5-10). Foremost of these is its lack of binding authority, as integration is firstly an issue of national competence; this leads to uneven implementation across member states (Bottero, 2022, p. 534-535). For instance, Sweden’s multicultural policies contrast with Denmark’s restrictive assimilationist approach, creating varied outcomes for postcolonial migrants (Borevi, 2017, p. 364-367). This uneven application limits the EU’s ability to address systemic issues like economic disparities.

Additionally, in recent times media and political debates on immigration and native discontentment against immigrants has put immense pressure on EU policymakers (Jalusic & Bajt, 2020, p. 518-526). This is despite scholars’ finding that “there exists a clear gap between public opinion and media and policy debates, which indicates that citizens might not be as anti-immigrant as it follows from the representations in the media and policies” (Jalusic & Bajt, 2020, p. 518-526). This highlights the role of media narratives in shaping the EU’s recent immigration and integration policies. Particularly, in the context of postcolonial migration from

former colonial regions, the EU model has struggled to address economic disparities that drive marginalisation & has created a sense of fear and exclusion (Jalusic & Bajt, 2020, p. 518-526).

Nonetheless, despite the challenges, the EU model has continued to stress integration backed by empowerment of the immigrants, and its successes include enhanced social cohesion in countries with inclusive policies. For example, Portugal's 2020 Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) score of 81/100 and Sweden's score of 86/100 reflects robust anti-discrimination laws and civic participation programs, reduced unemployment gaps for migrants, and overall comprehensive integration of immigrants (MIPEX, 2020). These outcomes contrast with France's banlieue challenges, where economic exclusion fuels unrest, as seen in the 2005 and 2023 riots.

2.2.2. The French Approach to Integration

As already discussed earlier, France's integration model is deeply rooted in its republican tradition, which prioritises a unified national identity over cultural pluralism. France's legal framework reflects this assimilationist direction of policy making and integration approach. The shift in France's approach started as early as 1993, when the Pasqua Laws were adopted, tightening immigration controls (Brochmann, 2020, p. 297-98). Subsequent legislations and governmental policies have further moved ahead with deepening assimilation requirements by connecting residency rights to integration obligations, such as language proficiency and adoption of French values. The CIR, discussed earlier was also established in 2007, and is structured as a formal integration contract that immigrants must sign. The 2017 Law Regarding Equality and Citizenship (Loi n° 2017-86 du 27 janvier 2017) has also mandated civic education and language proficiency for newly arrived immigrants, reinforcing assimilation.

The French model essentially relies on the idea that assimilation through such strategies is achievable, and is invisible to race and ethnicity, including in official statistics which do not

record race and ethnicity and reject ethno-racial categorizations (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010, p. 104-105). This approach obscures the structural barriers faced by postcolonial migrants, particularly those from regions such as Algeria, as there are close to no statistics on their integration, on the opportunities and quality of life available to second generation of these immigrants, and their overall happiness at a societal level.

Such invisibilisation of the true socio-economic conditions of immigrants, and an utopian idea of universalism that erases cultural variations, ultimately allow differences to simmer which manifest in the form of the 2005 and 2023 riots. Government responses to these riots have oscillated between security-focused measures and social policy interventions (Murray, 2006, p. 26-30; Chevalier, 2023, p. 20-23). Some of these have been affirmative in nature, while some have focused on restrictions and controls. The Banlieue Plan of 2008 and the National Urban Policies (*Politique de la Ville*) renewed from time to time (such as the *Action cœur de ville* of 2018) aim to revitalise disadvantaged neighbourhoods through education, employment, and urban renewal programs; but also incorporate stronger security and policing measures. In 2021, President Macron, who had identified urban renewal as a key part of his political agenda (having announced his 2016 bid from Seine-Saint-Denis, the poorest suburb in France), announced yet another plan. This was funded with over 10 billion Euros and targeted education, job training, and entrepreneurship in marginalised areas, with the hope of kindling integration (Elysee, 2018).

These are all important developments in the French integration policies, but scholars continue to cite that the core of French integration policies haven't changed, as the requirements on assimilation continue to remain strict, institutional racism is still prevalent, discussions on ethnic discrimination has remained outside of the purview of policy discussions (Chevalier, 2023, p. 20-23).

As a result, the French model continues to differ from the overall EU model which is broadly multicultural, though has tilted towards the assimilationist models in recent years, driven by media narratives and political pressure. Nonetheless, the EU model continues to allow for flexibility of incorporating multicultural policies that accommodate diverse identities, as is the case in many European countries like Sweden and the Netherlands, which are seen as being multicultural (Citrin, Levy, & Wright, 2014, 1531-1557). In contrast, France has remained steadfast behind its assimilationist approach demanding cultural conformity from the immigrants, which has the consequence of alienating them (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010, p. 104-105). Such alienation leads to the prevalence of economic disparities and social exclusion, which in the end contributes to unrest.

The fact remains that these immigrants often originate from poorer countries, many of which were former colonies, and colonisation impacted their economy deeply. Some nations, such as Algeria, are closely influenced on the former colonisers such as France economically & politically, and citizens of these countries continue look up to the former colonisers as ideal nations for economic and social opportunities (Hamidani, 2020, p. 69-73). This dictates migrations which are often considered postcolonial migrations, and should be considered such in media and policy narratives. Media narratives, however, as chapter 4 below shows, fail to identify colonisation as a causation factor, and fail to consider structural inequities.

2.3. Colonial past and the need for a historical understanding of migration flows

Media narratives' failure to consider migration flows as a consequence of colonial past is a major issue within the French context. Scholarly literature has found that contemporary France has been strongly shaped by immigrants from former colonies like Algeria, and such immigrant movements are deeply rooted in the country's colonial past (Adamson, 2024, p. 597-600). As

such, to understand media narratives and their failures or successes, it is pertinent that these historical dynamics are understood and analysed. This will help assess the present-day integration challenges and the media narratives surrounding the 2005 and 2023 French riots.

2.3.1. Colonial Foundations of Migration

France's colonial empire in North and West Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Caribbean established deep economic, social, and political connections that fueled migration from the peripheries to the metropole. France primarily dominated the African continent, especially the northern parts including the Sahel region and African Mediterranean. This has closely linked France and these countries, especially when it comes to economic ties and soft influence (Adamson, 2024, p. 597-600). Many people, particularly the elite in many of these countries, speak French and relate to it given their education systems and history (Hamidani, 2020, p. 69-75; Aldridge & Connel, 2024, p. 175-176).

Further, because of France's civilizational view of itself as an empire and the resultant strategic confusion, there is a deep-rooted French interest in maintaining influence over these former colonies; for example, the French president often visits these nations and assures them of the French support (Benneyworth, 2011). As another example, France continues to maintain the Financial Community of Africa (CFA), comprising 12 former colonies - Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Togo, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, and Republic of the Congo - plus Guinea-Bissau and Equatorial Guinea, which still use Franc as their currency, which is directly managed by the French government (King, 2022). These countries are mandated to keep 50% of their foreign currency reserves in the French Treasury, and 20% of it for financial liabilities. Hence, the French state receives 70% of the reserves of these countries which are pumped into the French financial system.

Algeria too is one of these former colonies which was under French rule from 1830 to 1962. It held a unique colonial status during the colonial rule, as it was legally considered an integral part of France with significant European settlement (*pieds-noirs*), yet Algerians were denied full citizenship while exploited for provision of labour from French industrialisation (Comtat, 2016, p. 263-265). This differential treatment meted out to the Algerians during the colonial era, ran directly counter to the French universalism and deeply rooted an idea of exclusion that has persisted after independence. Further, the colonial labor policies also cultivated structural dependency, such that the low-end work ended up with the colonised and all the high-end high-value work was reserved for the metropole and its citizens (Barclay, Chopin, & Evans, 2018, p. 115-120). There was strong labour migration to France and its other colonies to undertake low-value work, which led to dependence on migration to find work.

Furthermore, the colonial era saw a focus on extractive industries and infrastructure designed to serve French interests, leaving colonies such as Algeria with an economic structure that was neither diversified nor self-sustaining, and which continued to remain sub-servient to the French economy post-independence (Belmekki & Fidouh, 2024, p. 356-360). After independence, local economic opportunities remained limited, and the industrial structure continued to remain limited to the industries which were created during colonial era, such as mining and agriculture (World Bank, 2025). This has continued to mean that many Algerians look at the former metropole as the destination for finding economic opportunities to improve their quality of life, influencing migration.

The other key strand of early post-colonial migration was the exodus of French-origin people who had settled in Algeria during the colonial era and those Algerians who had supported the French empire during its rule and during the independence war. Eldridge highlights how the

Algerian War of Independence (1954–1962) and the subsequent exodus of almost a million pieds-noirs and Algerian harkis (pro-French Algerians) to France in 1962 reshaped migration patterns to France (Eldridge, 2016, p. 50). This mass migration was equivalent to nearly 2% of France's population in 1962, which stood at about 46 million (INSEE, 2021). As per INSEE's data, the net migration in 1962 was 860200, far exceeding the 180000 in the previous years, and stood at 214599 in 1962, before normalising to 92000 in 1967 (INSEE, 2021). This sudden and large immigration overwhelmed integration mechanisms, facilities that the government had planned, and the ability of the government to provide them with economic and educational opportunities. This led to the concentration of these newcomers in urban peripheries that evolved into banlieues.

This is the primary strand influencing migrations into France from countries like Algeria, and it is worthwhile to assess how media narratives capture and assess these in their reporting of the French riots of today.

2.3.2. Decolonisation and Its Social Impacts

The decolonisation process & the long drawn violent war that led to the end to the French rule in Algeria had social and political repercussions for migration and integration. The war ended with the death of many Algerians and the exodus of the Pied-Noirs and the Harkis, whose lives were upended. This created immense trauma, which, coupled with France's failure to acknowledge its colonial violence or redress it in any meaningful manner, created wounds that have endured and shaped both immigrant identities and French public attitudes (Belmekki & Fidouh, 2024, p. 356-360). Eldridge notes, "even today the 'unhealed wounds' of the parental past over-determine the lives of current generations, trapping them within a politicised collective narrative of suffering" (Eldridge, 2016, p. 27). These wounds, as per Hamoumou (as cited by Eldridge)

continued to lead to difficulties for the ‘second generation’ for integrating into France (Eldridge, 2016, p. 27).

This unresolved history and persistent wounds continue to manifest themselves in the ongoing marginalisation of Algerian descendants (and descendants of other similarly placed immigrants) in banlieues, where economic disparities and social exclusion fuel unrest (Ulichina, 2017). The 2005 and 2024 riots, are ultimately the coming to the fore of these underlying feelings of having been wronged during colonisation and its aftermath, the oppression meted out to their ancestors, and the resultant exclusion that continues to impact them directly. This remnant of the colonial legacy influences immigrant communities to perceive the present day systemic racism and rejection of their cultural characteristics under assimilationist policies as a continuation of colonial oppression (De Laforcade, 2006, p. 217-225).

There is also the persistence of “double absence” of Algerian migrants: on one hand, they are absent from their homeland due to economic necessity and post-colonial economic stunting, and on the other hand, are also absent from full inclusion in France due to discriminatory policies (Saada, 2000, p. 28-32). These double absences highlight how the colonial-era hierarchies and exclusionary structures have continued to persist in modern integration challenges. Assimilationist policies in France have only heightened this feeling of double absence as there is a continuous pressure from the state and the society to let go of the associations with their cultural and religious origin and identity, while there is insufficient support to actually engage in meaningful assimilation. The lack of official data on ethnicity, driven by France’s republican aversion to racial categorisation or even acknowledging its existence, further obscures these historical connections, hindering policy responses to systematic discrimination (Escafré-Dublet, 2014).

2.3.3. Intergenerational Transmission of Colonial Memory

The colonial past of immigrants in France and their ancestors is not merely a historical reality, but it continues to shape their contemporary identities through intergenerational memory. The so-called wound in their memory continues to survive. House and MacMaster argue that second- and third-generation Algerian immigrants in France inherit a sense of exclusion and wrong that is rooted in colonial injustices, and this sense of exclusion is only amplified by the geographical segregation in the form of banlieues and the racialised policing experienced by them (House & MacMaster, 2006, p. 310-339).

This memory of exclusion continues to influence how these immigrant communities perceive policy decisions that may have the effect of erasing their identities, may further exclude them, or events such as the killing of Nahel M. by law enforcement. This ultimately triggers events like the 2005 and 2023 riots, and also reinforces their pre-existing notions of exclusion, and may be seen by some of them as resistance against systemic marginalisation. Media narratives may often play a role in either reinforcing or silencing this memory.

Some scholars have studied how second-generation North Africans in France navigate what has been referred to as a “citizen outsider” status. Similar to the double absence theory, the citizen outsider status refers to the immigrants and their descendants being caught between formal citizenship and social exclusion (Beaman, 2017). This dynamic is evident in how media framing often portrays banlieue residents as people with distinctive culture and way of life, even when these individuals may be born in France. Such framing often reinforces the assimilationist pressures of the French model, that these residents and individuals must be pressurised further to become more like native French, demanding cultural conformity while ignoring colonial legacies that shape immigrant identities (Bertossi, 2020). The thesis’s media analysis will examine how

these historical narratives are reflected or obscured in coverage by The New York Times, BBC, Al Jazeera, and El Watan, revealing the interplay between colonial memory and integration discourses.

This historical understanding of migration flows and their colonial linkages is crucial for analysing media narratives around the 2005 and 2023 riots, as the colonial past, through labour market distortions, violence-led governance, wars, and intergenerational memory, continues to influence the socio-economic conditions of banlieues and the integration challenges that fuel unrest. Media analysis will help understand how media outlets engage with this past, and whether their framing is designed to bring to light these past injustices or to perpetuate the present-day marginalisation of postcolonial communities.

3. Methodology

3.1. Justification for using media analysis as the key qualitative research methodology

This thesis relies on the use of media analysis, particularly involving the assessment of media articles and reports by select global media houses covering French race riots and immigration-related events, as its central methodology. While alternative methodologies such as discourse analysis, archival analysis, historical analysis, on-ground surveys, etc. were considered as alternative methodologies, due to the availability of extensive primary literature such as news articles and media coverage, and also detailed secondary literature such as academic articles, books, and policy papers, the researcher chose a single robust and effective methodology to undertake the study.

Media analysis, involving a critical reading and comparative analysis of media reports to understand broader trends and narratives, has been considered a robust qualitative research methodology for investigating intricate socio-economic issues (Gamson, 1992). While the thesis does not assess or argue that any of these media houses have outright political ideologies or linkages to any interest group, it is pertinent that news media have been seen as being closely connected with one or the other political ideology. Kosicki and Pan argue, “*political actors skew the flow of information and opinions in public deliberation toward their advantage by using discursive means. News media, operating in terms of their professional ideology and established work ways, more often than not are found to be collaborating with the ruling elite in weaving this discursive order*” (Pan & Kosicki, 2001, p. 34-40). Immigration and race riots are, both in France and globally, a major political issue (Laurence and Vaisse, 2005). For global media, more often than not, events in France are also events relevant to the nations they primarily operate out of, whether it be the British media, the American media, the Middle Eastern media, or elsewhere.

Given that immigration, particularly immigration from countries such as Algeria, which are culturally and religiously distinct from France, receives a lot of media coverage both within and outside of France, media analysis offers an appropriate means to understand migrant integration, media representation of immigrants, race riots, and the construction or framing of global narratives around these issues. Media houses' ability to frame issues: that is, their ability to write and present information and news using structure, shape, imagery, word choices, and so on, to influence perspectives and opinion, is a key aspect of modern society (Gamson, 1992, p. 13-29).

Even as social media and digital, informal news sharing mechanisms have challenged the hegemony of legacy media houses, the ability of these media houses to convey credibility and legitimacy in what they report is critical (Moncada, 2023). This means that media houses are not neutral observers of social phenomena; they actively participate in shaping public perception and defining what is considered important. Shoemaker has argued that the news media do not just influence our daily observations or how we consume daily events; they also shape our thinking and perspective on entire issues such as immigration (Shoemaker, 1987).

The portrayal of migrants, their integration, and race riots in France by large global media houses directly impacts how these issues are understood and responded to by the public and political actors. The choice of language and emphasis can significantly influence how readers interpret events, especially if they lack prior knowledge of the specific context, such as would be the case with the non-French public that the global media houses primarily cater to.

Agenda-setting theory of understanding media reporting is also relevant here, as it posits that the media's emphasis on certain issues can shape public perception of their importance (McCombs & Protes, 2016, p. 17-26). Given that reporting by major media outlets increases the visibility of certain issues and actors, the media can potentially heighten our group hostility and influence

anti-immigration sentiments (Eberl et al., 2018, p. 210). In the context of race riots in France and other immigration related adverse events, which can be construed as events that have a high level of connection with immigrants whether understood plainly as ‘immigrants causing riots’ or as ‘immigrants bringing their marginalisation to fore’, global media coverage and the manner of it can determine whether and how these events are seen by the political and social leaders of France, and the public itself would think more deeply and form a stronger view if the reporting itself is at a global level. Accordingly, the event and the underlying issues would be considered serious socio-economic matters and would accordingly be responded to by the political decision-makers. This again makes assessing the framing by global media important.

Given the pre-eminence of media, and particularly well-reputed global media houses, in shaping how the global citizenry views race riots and immigration in France specifically, but also in their own countries; and when the immigration concerns immigration of people from Muslim-dominant countries such as Algeria, understanding the framing of this issue by such media houses is critical. This thesis uses media analysis to look at the choice of imagery and language by these media houses to understand what their framing has been and how it has impacted integration in France.

3.1.1. Defining Media Analysis

Media analysis on a particular issue, as a qualitative research method, involves systematically examining reporting and coverage by media house(s) to read the underlying messaging, context, subtext, theme, and approach (Burn & Parker, 2003, p.). Media reporting can be to inform, to evoke a response, to kindle emotions (such as anger, patriotism, pity, shock, etc.), to force one to ponder, or to deliver a judgment on an issue. Media analysis aims to understand these underlying themes by looking at a set of reports on a certain issue.

Conducting media analysis requires the researcher to have both a quantitative and a qualitative approach. Quantitative analysis, or looking at salience, involves collating a large enough dataset of media reports to be able to measure the frequency or volume of reporting on a certain topic or issue, the keywords and phrases used frequently when reporting on such an issue, and the overall frame of coverage and the frequency of the usage of such a frame (Lawlor, 2015). For instance, if BBC or Al Jazeera reports frequently and extensively on race riots in France, while the Yomiuri Shimbun from Japan does not do so as frequently, is likely because for Al Jazeera, which is based out of the Middle East, it is an issue critical to its primary reader base who are likely to be Muslims; BBC, on the other hand, is likely interested given the proximity of France and the similar immigration related issues being dealt with by the UK. Similarly, if Al Jazeera uses the word 'colonialism' frequently in its reporting of the French race riots, while the BBC does not do so, that again indicates the ideologies of the two media houses.

Qualitative analysis supplements the quantitative assessment by focusing on the interpretative aspects of media content. It involves reading media texts with a view to identifying themes, narratives, and the way language is used to construct issues and influence views. Methodologies such as frame analysis are key to qualitative media analysis (Brüggemann & D'Angelo, 2018, p. 99).

Frame analysis, which was pioneered by the sociological work of Erving Goffman in "Frame Analysis: An essay on the organization of experience," provides a structured approach to understanding how media constructs and presents information, influencing audience perception and shaping public discourse (Linström & Marais, 2012, p. 23). Goffman suggested that frames are "schemata of interpretation" that govern our subjective involvement in events. In terms of qualitative media analysis, this translates to analysing how media content utilises frames to shape

audience understanding of events and issues. Framing often involves defining a problem or identifying an issue or event, diagnosing the causes behind the same, making value judgments to influence public opinion, and suggesting remedies based on the value judgment (Meyers & Abrams, 2010, p. 6). Global media outlets often select, frame, and present certain aspects of reality to promote a particular understanding of an issue and to evoke a certain reaction, ultimately shaping how their readers are subjectively involved with various events.

Frame analysis is often paired with a critical discourse analysis of the language used and the identified ideology of media houses to complete qualitative media analysis. While frame analysis primarily identifies what is being presented and how (the frames), critical discourse analysis goes the next step and helps dissect why those frames are chosen and whose interests they serve (Wodak, 2014). The premise of such critical discourse analysis is that language is not neutral but rather a reflection of power relations, and how they are enacted, negotiated, and contested (Johnson & McLean, 2020, p. 377).

Pairing framing and critical discourse analysis allows for a comprehensive assessment of how media frames are constructed, how they resonate with audiences, and how they contribute to shaping public opinion and policy debates. Frame analysis, for instance, may reveal that a particular media outlet consistently frames immigration as a threat to national security or riots reflecting a national security concern emerging from immigration. The frames may involve emphasis on border crossings and crime while neglecting positive stories, and economic or historical reasons. Critical discourse analysis, when applied to such findings can then reveal, by considering language and imagery used as well as the broadly known political and ideological positioning of the media outlet, how these critical factors contribute to the construction of immigrants as "outsiders" and reinforcement of negative stereotypes.

For this thesis, media analysis undertaken by the researcher involves a close reading of media articles and reports of the four selected global media outlets to identify how race riots and migrant communities are depicted, how frequently are these covered, the keywords used by these media houses in the context of reporting on immigration in France, what is the imagery they use, what is the overall messaging, and what is the framing employed, such as emphasis on socioeconomic factors, cultural differences, or historical reasons.

Doing so would provide a scientific basis to understand how public opinion on immigration and integration in France, particularly at a global level and indirectly at a local level, has been influenced by the global media outlets considered by this thesis. It would also help identify dominant narratives that have been appearing in media reports between 2005 - 2023, ultimately impacting how immigrants from countries like Algeria are perceived by the French, by the French government, and global citizenry. It would also allow us to compare the different frames deployed by media houses from different regions, such as the BBC from the UK, The New York Times from the USA, Al Jazeera from Qatar, and El Watan from Algeria.

A previous study on French and American coverage of the 2005 riots found critical differences in the framing; while the French media emphasised cultural factors, the American coverage, less sentimental, focused on socio-economic factors and historical realities (Snow & Vliegenthart, 2007, p. 385-415). This would also enable us to contextualise and place the modern-day events in a historical context and assess the histories of immigration, particularly from Algeria to France, from a modern-day perspective. Ultimately, media analysis of the select coverage on race riots in France would provide an understanding of the global narratives about immigrants and how the local issues are perceived internationally, and feed into larger global conversations.

3.2. Selection of the media houses and their reports on the French riots

The selection of the four media houses for this study was driven by the need to ensure ideological diversity, geographical variation, and contrasting institutional standpoints. This selection reflects the overall aim of the thesis to critically analyse how the 2005 and 2023 French riots were framed in different global media contexts, and how these representations contribute to shaping public understanding, political discourse, and policy approaches to migration and integration. The four media outlets, i.e. The New York Times, BBC, Al Jazeera, and El Watan, offer distinct interpretive frameworks shaped by their geopolitical locations, editorial ideologies, and primary audiences.

First, the New York Times (NYT) is known for its liberal leanings but is also known for its broadly Eurocentric approach to reporting events (Avraamidou, 2020). In recent times, the NYT has also been criticised by magazines such as The Economist for framing narratives to stick to its agenda, instead of allowing facts and investigation to inform its reporting (Bennet, 2023). Nonetheless, the NYT offers an important source for media analysis, given its sheer influence, the strong online presence, making it accessible to readers globally, and its ability to steer policy debates globally.

Second, this thesis considers the BBC. Similar to the NYT, the BBC is also known to be liberal but also Eurocentric (Allsop, 2022). It is also funded by the British government, and hence, is often alleged to be furthering the government's perspectives, subtly and indirectly (Bourne, 2016). It is an important source for media analysis, as it is influential, has an accessible archive, and offers a view on the French immigration riots and issues from a high level of geographical proximity and from a domestic base that shares similar political and social issues related to immigration.

Third, the thesis considers Al Jazeera. Al Jazeera, while headquartered in Qatar, positions itself as a Global South counterweight to Western-centric media narratives (Telhami, 2023). Al Jazeera has been particularly notable for the inclusion of postcolonial themes, issues of Muslim identity in Europe, and socio-political unrest in immigrant communities in various countries, in its reporting. The media house has global accessibility, is multilingual in reporting, and has remained free to access, allowing it to reach a wider public base, particularly those in the Middle East and Africa, and the diaspora originating from there. Al Jazeera, too, has covered both the 2005 and 2023 riots extensively.

Fourth, the researcher has considered El Watan, a leading Algerian French-language daily. El Watan is included to provide a regional, non-European perspective, emanating from a country that is the biggest source of immigration into France. Being in the French language, El Watan informs the educated classes of Algeria, and as such, those who are interested in the conditions of their diaspora in France. Being an Algerian media outlet, El Watan offers valuable insight into how events such as the French riots are understood in Algeria itself. It reflects Algerian public opinion, historical grievances, and ongoing linkages between the two nations. It would allow a basis for the researcher to undertake a comparative analysis, with the limitation that El Watan's coverage of the 2005 riots is not available online.

3.3. Method of secondary research undertaken

To complement the media analysis and provide a robust framework for understanding the narratives surrounding the 2005 and 2023 French riots, this thesis relies on an extensive review of secondary literature from the fields of migration studies, race studies, and historical studies. The literature review process has considered books, scholarly articles, and policy papers focused on French postcolonial migration, race, and urban unrest. The key aim behind reviewing these

sources was to contextualise the media narratives by identifying key issues related to immigration, including the impact of colonisation, economic dependency of former colonies on France, the emergence of banlieues as marginalized urban spaces, and integration policy failures.

As also stated in the introduction, the researcher has considers works such as Eldridge's *From Empire to Exile* (2016), which provides critical insights into how colonial legacies shape postcolonial migration and identity in France, and the integration challenges it poses. Similarly, Fassin's *Enforcing Order* (2013) deeply examines racialised policing in French cities, and its role in perpetuating marginalisation in banlieues, offering a lens to understand the structural factors behind riots. Tissot's research on the stigmatization of banlieues elucidates how these spaces became synonymous with deprivation and exclusion, rooted in economic and social policies that segregated immigrant populations (2008).

Hargreaves' *Multi-Ethnic France* (2007) explores the socio-political consequences of France's colonial history and its impact on immigration policies. He highlights how economic dependency on France drove migration from former colonies like Algeria and Morocco, while confining many immigrants to low-wage jobs. This has ultimately contributed to the socio-economic conditions of banlieues, and created conditions that lead to riots. Harzoune (2022) has also explored how postcolonial economic ties, coupled with France's demand for labour in the post-war period, shaped migration flows and the socio-economic conditions of immigrants.

These sources highlight how economic disparities and colonial histories have interacted to cause the marginalisation of immigrant communities, a recurring theme in media coverage of the riots. Freedman's (2017) analysis of France's republican integration model has also found that this model has failed in addressing systemic inequalities, particularly for immigrants from North Africa. Similarly, Chabal (2020) offers a contemporary analysis of how France's universalist

ideals clash with the realities of multicultural diversity, exacerbating tensions in banlieues and fueling unrest.

The selection of these secondary sources was guided by their relevance to the thesis's core themes: postcolonial migration, race, urban marginalization, and integration. These works enable the identification of key issues that shape media narratives. By grounding the media analysis in this scholarly framework, the thesis aims to ensure a comprehensive understanding of the historical and structural factors that influence how global media outlets frame the French riots and immigration.

3.4. Ethical considerations

Conducting research, particularly in social sciences, necessitates a robust framework of ethical considerations to ensure the integrity, validity, and responsible application of findings. For this thesis, which primarily relies on media analysis, certain ethical principles apply to the research process. The sensitive nature of the subject matter, involving issues of race, social unrest, and migration, also makes it necessary for the researcher to follow ethical considerations.

The most important consideration for the researcher during the process of conducting the primary and secondary research, and synthesising and analysing the material, has been to ensure objectivity and avoid researcher bias. While this thesis aims to objectively analyse media reports on the riots in France, it is nonetheless pertinent to acknowledge that there is inherent subjectivity in qualitative interpretation that is unavoidable. To avoid the bias, as far as possible, the researcher has followed a systematic process delineated in this chapter. This includes both establishing clear criteria, and a conscious effort to remain neutral and allowing the data to speak for itself.

The second key consideration for the researcher, under the guidance of their advisor, has been to maintain sensitivity and avoid the usage of socially and emotionally charged words. The media articles under examination often contain descriptions of violence, social tension, and potentially stigmatizing portrayals of certain communities. The research process incorporates an ethical imperative to approach, assess, and derive from such content with sensitivity. The analysis has been focused on the framing and narratives presented by the media outlets, rather than sensationalizing or perpetuating harmful stereotypes. The aim is to understand how these issues are represented, not to endorse or reinforce any particular viewpoint.

Lastly, the thesis has followed the principles of academic integrity and transparency by citing any direct quotes, concepts, or arguments made by others. The thesis has also remained true to the works of other authors without misrepresenting the original intent or context of those works. When critiquing any work, particularly media reports, the researcher has attempted to remain respectful and not denigrate the validity or importance of those works.

4. The 2005 and 2023 Race Riots: The Events, Causes, and Consequences

This chapter examines the 2005 and 2023 race riots in France, and ensures that the arguments in this thesis are well grounded in the facts relating to the two events, their causes, and consequences, while integrating insights from previous chapters on immigration, integration models, and media framing. This chapter draws from media reports from BBC, Al Jazeera, New York Times, and El Watan, alongside academic sources; it explores the historical context of the riots; the spread of unrest; and the structural continuities between these events, highlighting the persistent challenges of social exclusion and systemic inequality in France's banlieues.

4.1. The context of the riots, previous violent uprisings in France, and the socio-economic status of banlieues

France's banlieues are suburban areas surrounding major cities. These have over time become the residence for many of France's immigrants or immigrant-origin communities, given the inability of these communities to often afford the higher living costs of cities (Roux, Purenne, and Talpin, 2023). Over time, these banlieues have also become the focal points of social unrest, with the 2005 and 2023 riots representing the most recent, extreme episodes in the often-spurring unrest. These two riot events were not isolated or outlier events, but part of a broader pattern of uprisings driven by socio-economic marginalisation, discrimination, and tense police-community relations. As such, it is pertinent to understand the historical and socio-economic context of the banlieues and social unrest of France's marginalised. This will allow us to assess some of the key causes of the riots, as well as for assessing the effectiveness of policy responses of the French government over years.

To look at the post-colonial history of extreme social unrest and riots in France, one needs to go back to the 1970s. In 1979, Vaulx-en-Velin, a suburban banlieue near Lyon, broke into riots due to simmering social angst. This angst broke out after the arrest of a local youth of North African descent (BBC News, 2023, July 3). This incident marked the beginning of a recurring pattern of riots and protests, which have often been triggered by individual events of perceived injustices or police actions, which end up bringing simmering and underlying tensions to the fore.

Similarly, in 1981, there were the Rodéo riots in Les Minguettes, yet another suburban banlieue near Lyon. It saw many marginalised and unemployed young people stealing cars, performing dangerous stunts, and setting them ablaze, a phenomenon that spread across various banlieues (Cesari, 2005). The 1990s saw further unrest. In 1990 there were widespread riots and protests, yet again, in Vaulx-en-Velin after a young man of Spanish origin died in a motorcycle accident allegedly caused by police (Greenhouse, 1990). The protesters were primarily North African youth, and yet again brought social and economic disparities to the fore. The government reacted by increasing police presence in the banlieues. Similar riots were seen in Sartrouville in 1991 following the fatal shooting of an Arab teenager by a supermarket security guard; in Mantes-la-Jolie in 1991 after there were police-caused deaths, and again in Vaulx-en-Velin in 1992 (Jobard, 2009, p. 27-38).

All these riots highlight a clear and consistent pattern of grievances related to law enforcement and social exclusion coming to the fore, after there is a tipping point event such as a police action-led death or incident. These earlier uprisings often led to government responses that were either inadequate in alleviating the social and economic marginalisation, or were wholly counter-productive by increasing police presence and trampling on liberty. These riots, and the consequent actions, set the stage for the 2005 and 2023 riots, which were triggered by similar

incidents. The 2005 riots began after the deaths of Zyed Benna and Bouna Traoré in Clichy-sous-Bois (Safdar, 2017A). Both Benna and Traore were young boys (aged 15 and 17) who were electrocuted after being chased by policemen when they were returning home after a football game, truly shocking the communities.

While the government started inquiries against the individual policemen, they were cleared of any wrongdoing in 2015, causing great shock, and angst within the community (BBC News, 2005, May 18). Likewise, the 2023 riots followed the police shooting of Nahel Merzouk in Nanterre, a suburb near Paris (Kirby, 2023). Merzouk, 17 years old, was shot at point blank after failing to comply with a frisking command of a policeman. These deaths, sombre-inducing as they are, shocked the immigrant communities, and brought out long-standing frustrations over systemic issues, as discussed in Chapter 2, where theoretical frameworks of social exclusion and marginalisation highlight the alienation felt by banlieue residents.

These riots are undoubtedly a consequence of the socio-economic conditions of the banlieues. While the systemic discrimination is difficult to capture as numbers, the statistics on the economic conditions of banlieues, particularly in the quartiers prioritaires de la politique de la ville (QPVs), or priority neighborhoods, are telling. In 2022, the unemployment rate in some banlieues and priority neighbourhood was as high as 54% (Baker, 2023). In Grigny banlieue, it stood at 41%, in banlieues near Toulouse at 54%, 42% in the Nantes projects, and 37% in Clichy-sous-Bois (Baker, 2023). This is not only a large number, even when seen in isolation, it is near shocking in relative terms; the national average is 7-7.5%, which would imply that the average unemployment in banlieues may at times be 5-6 times the national average (INSEE, 2025B). Consider further statistics like the poverty rates in QPVs: they often exceed 40-45%; in areas immediately surrounding the QPVs, but not forming parts of it, the poverty rate is usually

around 12%. A report by INSEE, France's national statistics institute, notes, "The poverty rate in these neighborhoods ranges from 37% in Île-de-France to more than 47% in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur and Languedoc-Roussillon-Midi-Pyrénées.....*it is 12% around these neighborhoods, or 30 points lower than within them*" (INSEE, 2016).

This displays an acute state of unemployment and poverty in these areas, which clearly shows a lack of governmental incentive or desire to address the root causes of these riots. The variation, which is of a quantum of 3-4 standards, is exceedingly high even by objective standards, impacting how the residents perceive themselves and the Republic. While failing to address this high variation, the government appears reliant more on immediate fixes or easy (but counter-productive) solutions such as increased police deployment.

These statistics are a direct consequence of how the banlieues developed after the end of World War II. The emergence of these banlieues was a direct result of sudden population growth, particularly from government-facilitated immigration, to fill labour shortages due to the war casualties (Almeida, 2023, p. 377-396). There was planned, and at times unplanned, spatial segregation, with these areas becoming isolated from urban centres and high-value economic and educational opportunities. Over time, there was a decline of manufacturing jobs, which was the mainstay for those who had been brought in for manufacturing-led reconstruction efforts.

As these jobs were sidelined with economic growth, many banlieue residents became unemployed (Schafran and Le Moigne, 2022, p. 234-254). Cultural exclusion, which already existed due to differences in way of life, only became stronger with increasing economic disempowerment. These experiences and struggles directly informed and fostered a search for identity among second- and third-generation immigrants, sometimes manifesting in radical or violent expressions (Saïdani, 2023). This socio-economic and cultural context, as explored

earlier in the discussion of integration models in Chapter 2, underscores the failure of France's assimilationist policies to address these communities' needs.

4.2. The spread of the 2005 riots from Clichy-sous-Bois and the ignition of discontent

The 2005 riots were instigated after Zyed Benna (17) and Bouna Traoré (15), two teenagers of North African descent, died due to a police chase on 27 October 2005 in Clichy-sous-Bois, a socio-economically disadvantaged suburb of Paris (Safdar, 2017A). This tragic incident triggered a wave of unrest that is now seen as one of the most significant event or period of civil disorder in French history (Mucchielli, 2009, p. 731-732). Benna and Traoré were with a third teenager, Muhittin Altun (17). Altun survived the electrocution incident with severe burns. All three were electrocuted in a power substation while hiding there after being chased by the police, who were investigating a reported break-in in the area (BBC News, 2010, October 22).

This incident was seen by the local residents, already economically and socially disadvantaged, as a direct consequence of the aggressive and discriminatory policing practices being exercised against them and their communities. These issues, as discussed earlier in Chapter 2, are deeply rooted in France's assimilationist integration model, which demands cultural conformity while failing to address economic disparities and institutional discrimination that have to go hand in hand with such conformity.

The unrest began almost immediately after the incident came to light on the evening of October 27 in Clichy-sous-Bois. Local youths started protesting, clashed with the police, and set cars alight (Safdar, 2017B). The initial violence was fueled by a sense of injustice, since the account that was widely spread amongst local communities was that the police had chased the teenagers into the substation. This claim was later disputed by the government, but has never fully been

rebutted or clarified, due to conflicting accounts (Chrisafis, 2015). The protests quickly spread outwards from Clichy-sous-Bois, and by October 28-30 neighboring suburbs such as Aulnay-sous-Bois, Sevran, and Bondy, had all seen their share of protests and rioting; each of these areas was characterised by high unemployment (often exceeding 25%) (Burke, 2005; The Guardian, 2005).

Over the next week, the depth and extent of anger against the government in banlieues across the country were widely apparent. In Aulnay-sous-Bois, rioters set fire to a gymnasium (The Guardian, 2005, November 03); in Lyon, a police station was attacked with Molotov cocktails, injuring several officers, while in Toulouse, a bus depot was torched, disrupting public transport (Duval Smith, 2005). As November approached, the unrest continued to worsen with inflammatory incidents such as the throwing of a tear gas grenade into the Bilal mosque in Clichy-sous-Bois during evening prayers (Bennhold, 2005, November 3). This was not only shocking from a humanitarian perspective, but was clearly seen as an attempt to further alienate and anger the communities that were protesting. The immigrant communities, who often shared a Muslim identity, saw this as a deliberate attack on their cultural and religious identity, which had already been under pressure from the assimilationist governmental policies. This attack, attributed to the police, caused immediate anger against the government forces (The Washington Times, 2005). The government did not act to hold accountable the responsible policemen, significantly escalating the tensions, and also drawing international condemnation (Bennhold, 2005, November 3).

The French government, then headed by President Jacques Chirac and Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin, and the interior affairs ministry, then handled by Minister Nicolas Sarkozy (who went on to become a future President) was intensely security-focused (Jobard,

2008, p. 1287-90). Nicolas Sarkozy, in particular, used the riots as a platform to showcase his security-first approach and highlight his strongman identity (Moran, 2010). The actions of his ministry, which were security forces led and focused on using state power, ended up exacerbating rather than alleviating the tensions. His publicly announced zero-tolerance policy, and his inflammatory description of rioters as *racaille* (scum), poured much fuel on the fire. Many community leaders and activists saw such rhetoric as dehumanising banlieue youth, and as irrational ignorance that entirely overlooked the structural issues driving the unrest (Jobard, 2008, p. 1287-90).

Ultimately, on November 8, the government declared a state of emergency. The government made use of a 1955 law, which had originally been enacted during the Algerian War, and which allowed tight curfews, house searches without warrants, and complete restrictions on public gatherings (Thenault, 2007, p. 66-70). This act of the government, which was primarily targeted towards banlieues, came under heavy criticism. Not only was it a clampdown on civil liberties, but the obvious colonial connotation and linkages with the Algerian war only further enflamed passions and refreshed the second and third-generation trauma of historical oppression (Al Jazeera, 2005, November 08).

Given Sarkozy's zero-tolerance policy, when the riots began to subside around November 17, almost 2,900 individuals had been arrested (Sahlins, 2006). Many of these were minors: while this highlights the youth-driven nature of the protests, it also shows the government's strong-armed approach and lack of empathy towards the youth that had been left unemployed and marginalised due to decades of policy neglect (Sahlins, 2006).

While there were community responses during the riots to normalise the situation and bring normalcy, such efforts were neutralised and often overshadowed by the government's

heavy-handed approach. Local associations, religious leaders, and activists in Clichy-sous-Bois and other banlieues attempted to mediate between rioters and authorities; they organised peace marches and community dialogues, which failed due to the government's adverse actions (Bennhold, 2005, November 3). These organisations (for e.g., the Collectif Banlieues Respect) also called on the government to invest in education and jobs rather than solely relying on punitive measures and security objectives (Fekete, Bouteldja, and Muhe, 2010, p. 20). Other groups, such as Mères en Colère (Angry Mothers), which represented mothers living in banlieues, organised and demanded justice for the deceased teenagers and an end to police violence (Topcu, 2002, p. 140).

Regardless of these efforts and protests, the government refused to reduce or deviate from its national focus on security, and prioritised control over engagement with community grievances, as has also been highlighted in Chapter 1 above. The socio-economic and cultural context of the 2005 riots, as discussed above in Section 4.1, was critical to the triggering of the 2005 riots, and their rapid and extreme spread. Media coverage, as assessed in Chapter 3 above and Chapter 5 below, played a significant role in shaping public perceptions and policy responses. While many international media outlets focused on the socio-economic conditions of the banlieues and government's response, there was little mapping of the riots to the colonial era policies and injustices. Not to mention the glorification of government's strong armed approach, which ultimately promoted Sarkozy's image as a strong leader, allowing him to reach presidency (Moran, 2010).

These riots also had a strong cultural dimension, bringing out the cultural marginalisation of the banlieue residents as a result of assimilationist policies. Reports highlight that the banlieue youth and protestors attempted to assert their identity in the face of stigmatisation and rejection. There

were graffiti that started to appear across cities, and there were protest slogans that highlighted their anger (Jobard, 2009, p. 27-38). There was also representation in music and popular culture, particularly hip-hop; these songs played a role in articulating the grievances of the banlieue youth. Some artists like La Rumeur and Médine released songs that criticised police brutality and social exclusion (Agzar, 2019, p. 358). These cultural expressions, as discussed in Chapter 2, reflect the failure of France's integration model to accommodate diverse identities. The government's response, while ultimately succeeding in stopping the rioting, failed to address most of these underlying socio-economic concerns.

The government's extreme focus on security, while inadequate efforts towards addressing the root causes, is also apparent from the long extended imposition of the state of emergency; it went on until February 2006 in some areas (Murray, 2006, p. 30). It came under significant criticism from human rights groups for its disproportionate impact on minority communities, with thousands of house searches and arrests (Murray, 2006, p. 30-35). The rhetoric was alienating, and there was a marked increase in police patrols and deportations of foreign nationals (Schneider, 2008, p. 133-144). The trial of the officers who had been implicated, as stated earlier, went on until 2015, when they were acquitted. This reinforced perceptions of impunity and further deepened the state-community distrust. The consequences of the 2005 riots were significant, but it failed to induce meaningful policy change that could have improved the situation and enabled progression. While there were some urban renewal programs, such as the Plan Borloo, which aimed to improve housing and infrastructure, these were inadequate (Breuillard, 2014, p. 45-50).

4.3. The 2023 riots as a result of the shooting of Nahel M. and excessive policing

The government's failure in addressing the root causes of the 2005 riots meant that the conditions continued to worsen and tensions simmered, but remained dormant. There were casual breakouts of unrest, but none on the scale seen in 2005, until the 2023 riots (Nagel and Lutter, 2021, p. 274).

In 2023, another series of widespread rioting and protests engulfed France. It is pertinent to note that despite the riots in 2005, and subsequent minor uproars and unrest, the state of banlieues remained broadly unchanged. High levels of poverty and unemployment, coupled with discrimination, continue to impact them, despite the strong campaign pitch of President Macron to address their issues.

The 2023 riots were triggered when, on June 27 in 2023, Nahel Merzouk, a 17-year-old French youth of Algerian and Moroccan descent, was shot to death at point-blank by a police officer after he was stopped at a traffic stop in Nanterre, a socio-economically disadvantaged suburb of Paris (Kirby, 2023). As in earlier events, particularly the 2005 deaths, the police and the government denied wrongdoing and argued that Nahel posed an immediate threat to the police officer and tried to evade a check (Bechrouri, 2023). Within hours, however, video started circulating, recorded by bystanders, which wholly contradicted initial police claims that Nahel posed an immediate threat, showing instead that the officer fired at close range as Nahel's car began to move away (Bechrouri, 2023). These recordings were widely circulated online on social media websites such as Twitter (X) and TikTok, attaining virality given the strong proof of police wrongdoing. This generated intense and immediate outrage, with hashtags such as JusticePourNahel trending not only in France but globally. There were calls for justice, and the anger started to spill over into spatial forms (Laabadli, 2025, p. 1-5). This incident occurred in a

banlieue that was already marked by socio-economic marginalization (as discussed in Section 4.1), with unemployment rates as high as 20%, particularly amongst the youth where it is as high as 60% (INSEE, 2025C). This incident, coupled with the video evidence of outright abuse of police power, ignited riots that spread rapidly across France, echoing the 2005 unrest but with distinct aspects shaped by present-day dynamics and technologies.

The core aspects of the riots were similar to the 2005 ones. They began in Nanterre on June 27; similar to earlier, protestors set cars on fire and clashed with the police. By the next day, the riots and the unrest started to spread to other Parisian suburbs (as Nanterre was located just around Paris), which had also been the ones largely impacted in 2005. These included Clichy-sous-Bois, Aulnay-sous-Bois, and Montreuil, and thereon the unrest spread outwards to cities like Lyon, Marseille, Toulouse, and Lille (AJLabs, 2023).

Over the course of a week, rioters torched thousands vehicles, damaged nearly hundreds of buildings, including police stations and townhalls, and looted hundreds of businesses, such as malls, brand stores, etc. (Foroudi and Campenhout, 2023). Extreme incidents such as an attack on the mayor's home in L'Hay-les-Roses by ramming a burning vehicle and throwing fireworks at his family were also witnessed (Pineau and Overstraeten, 2023). The French Interior Ministry reported an overall of 3486 arrests, with a significant proportion being minors, reflecting the youth-driven nature of the protests (Al Jazeera, 2023, July 4). President Macron noted that over a third of those arrested were "young or very young" and likely influenced by video games (Al Jazeera, 2023A, June 30). The violence peaked on July 1; by then, over 2000 had been burnt, more than 700 shops and stores had been looted or burnt, and over 45,000 police officers had been deployed, alongside armored vehicles and tear gas, to quell the unrest (Overstraeten and Garcia, 2023).

The government's response to the riots was swift and heavily security-focused, like in the 2005 riots. The government condemned the shooting of Merzouk and identified that the policeman had not been unpunished and had been put on trial. The President remarked that the rioters were perpetrating an "unacceptable exploitation of a death of an adolescent" (Al Jazeera, 2023, July 1). While the government considered all options as being on the table to restore order, including emergency, the government proceeded to impose curfews and did not impose a state of emergency (Al Jazeera, 2023B, June 30). While well-known celebrities (such as Mbappe and Omar Sy) and leaders of the communities called for dialogue and reforms, the focus over the course of the riot moved towards restoration of order, and most calls for reforms were drowned out by the government's emphasis on law and order (Al Jazeera, 2023, June 28). This is quite similar to the state of public dialogue in 2005, when security measures overshadowed efforts to address root causes.

Like the 2005 riots, the 2023 riots too were deeply rooted in the systemic issues outlined in Chapters 2, particularly the failure of France's assimilationist integration model and the socio-economic disparities in the banlieues, which continue to subsist to date. The nature and extent of the violence, however, shifted the debate away from these systemic issues towards the extreme and unjustified nature of the violence itself, the state of the police force, and the need for policing measures (Henley, 2023).

As Chapter 3 details and suggests, varying media frames emerged in the immediate aftermath, channelling emotions in different forms, and steering policy discussions post the killing and riots. The BBC, for instance, published regular live-blogs that focused primarily on chronicling the damage caused by the riots (Armstrong, 2023). It focused on presenting riot-related statistics, and relayed calls from leaders and mayors calling for calm and dialogue (Gozzi, 2023). Al

Jazeera, in contrast, was primarily focused on the lived experience of the protestors and of immigrants: its reports often related interviews with Nanterre locals who spoke of routine identity checks, verbal slurs used against them in daily life, and what one middle-aged plumber called “growing up as a ‘dirty Arab’ every single week” (Al Jazeera, 2023, July 3). Al Jazeera’s framing had a key focus on the everyday harassment and marginalisation that made the banlieues a tinderbox waiting to catch fire (Al Jazeera, 2023B, June 30). The New York Times’ focus was on what it termed a vicious cycle between aggressive policing and minority mistrust, and that many young demonstrators saw their own lives reflected in Nahel’s death (Porter and Méheut, 2023). El Watan, with its Algerian base, framed the riots with a post-colonial angle; it argued that France had failed to confront the colonial residues that continue to shape the experiences of the immigrant populations and influence law-and-order debates. It noted, “the populations from the former empire being still largely stigmatized and perceived as 'suspect’” (Mebarak, 2023, July 2). Together, these narratives and the frames they employed catered to distinct ideological biases while influencing how the riots were viewed; these frames will be looked at closely in the next chapter.

In terms of what had changed significantly since 2005, social media had in 2023 emerged and played a key role in amplifying the speed and scale of the riots. Platforms like Twitter and TikTok not only spread the video of Nahel’s shooting but also facilitated protest coordination, with groups organizing via encrypted apps like Telegram. The government, in fact, noted this as a major concern and directed social media websites to take steps to prevent such coordination, and threatened to shut them down (Vasist, 2025). This digital media angle to the riots, which was entirely absent in 2005, reflects the evolving nature of media, as also discussed in Chapter 3. With the evolving dynamics, there were also new issues: as the government moved to restrict

content and threatened shutdowns, there was a direct conflict between law and order, and free speech.

Possibly due to the influence of social media, and the amplification of the message through it, the 2023 riots saw broader societal participation compared to 2005; many protests were outside of banlieues and occurred at key urban centres, showing the involvement was not limited to banlieue residents (Euronews, 2023). The 2023 riots also saw significantly stronger economic rioting, such as looting and attacks on commercial areas. This is likely due to its occurrence around the time of other protests and riots, such as the Yellow Vests and post-COVID anger against inflation. France had already seen many rounds of economic protests, and many of those ended up being channeled also into the 2023 riots (Euronews, 2023). This aligns with Chapter 2's argument that economic marginalization, combined with cultural exclusion, fuels resentment among diverse groups, not just immigrants.

While comparatively, in terms of the duration of the riots, the 2023 riots were shorter (one week versus month-long riots in 2005), they have been considered to have been a lot more intense and widespread, with social media amplifying their reach (Euronews, 2023). The government's quick action, in terms of deployment of 45,000 police officers and its heavy-handed response in terms of social media and information directives, was ultimately effective in curbing violence. It, however, did little to address the underlying grievances. The 2023 riots, like those in 2005, yet again highlighted the urgent need for policies that move beyond security to address the socio-economic and cultural marginalisation of banlieue residents, and are not quick fixes to control riots.

5. Media Analysis of the Reporting on the 2005 and 2023

This chapter aims to comprehensively assess and undertake a media analysis of how the four identified international media outlets, including The New York Times, BBC, Al Jazeera, and El Watan, covered the 2005 and 2023 French riots. The thesis undertakes a systematic and detailed examination of their reporting patterns, media framing strategies, and keyword deployment. By doing so, the media analysis herein reveals how distinct ideological and geopolitical perspectives that media outlets carry shape global understanding of French integration challenges. This chapter aims to demonstrate and argue that while Al Jazeera and El Watan consistently emphasise colonial legacies and systemic racism, BBC and The New York Times predominantly focus on policy failures, youth unrest, and law-and-order concerns, while largely ignoring colonial continuities. The findings of this analysis support the hypothesis that the varying international media narratives reflect the ideological and geopolitical positions of the outlets through selective emphasis and framing, and omission of historical and structural causes where it is not aligned with their framing.

5.1. How have the four media houses covered and perceived the 2005 and 2023 race riots?

The coverage and framing undertaken by the four key media outlets (BBC, the New York Times, El Watan, and Al Jazeera), over the years for the 2005 and 2023 riots, reveal striking variations in both the volume and analytical depth of the coverage. This reflects not merely editorial preferences but fundamental differences in how each outlet conceptualises French integration challenges and their historical origins, and how they believe the issue should be positioned and presented to their audiences. These differences become apparent when one examines the coverage frequency, language used, temporal framing, and the analytical frameworks employed by the publication authors to explain riot causation, spread, aftermath, and solutions.

To illustrate, consider the coverage by the New York Times in the wake of the 2005 riots. While the publication did not publish any piece undertaking an in-depth analysis of the underlying reasons and structural issues that caused or led to the situation that resulted in the riots, it undertook episodic coverage focusing on dramatic moments, bringing to light the failure of the French government's policies in striking a cord with the immigrant minorities. For instance, the articles "Riots in France Blamed on a Vacuum in Authority" and "Suburban Officers Criticized as Insensitive to Racism" both spoke in length about how the immigrant communities do not trust the government and its policies, and how the government does little to address this gap (Bennhold, 2005, November 3; Bennhold, 2005, November 8). The articles emphasised the failure of immediate governmental responses and policy inadequacies, and focused on the "vacuum in authority" in the banlieues; framing the riots as governance failures. This also reflects the broader American media tendencies to interpret European conflicts, particularly riots and protests, through policy-oriented lenses.

Similarly, mirroring its 2005 framing of riots first and foremost (and possibly only) a governance and policy issues, the publication again in 2023, maintained this pattern with articles like "Riots in France Highlight a Vicious Cycle Between Police and Minorities," which attributed the riots to vicious cycles of police brutalities and banlieue reaction to such overpolicing, ignoring any structural continuities from the eras of colonial violence and pauperisation (Porter & Meheut, 2023, July 17). This framing undertaken by the globally renowned and influential publications portrays the French riots as primarily a cyclical governance issues, rather than a systemic and structural societal failure that has its root causes in colonial socio-economic policies and its institutions that continue to produce racialised outcomes. The outlet's emphasis on

police-minority relations positioned the conflict as domestic American-style racial tensions rather than a unique postcolonial power structure, which is a result of French colonial policies.

While the New York Times' coverage nonetheless highlighted the governance failures of the French government in addressing immigrant and minority concerns, the BBC's framing was further conventional and conservative. It primarily focused on emphasising official responses and policy frameworks, while avoiding an analysis of structural issues, or socio-economic discrimination that engendered the riots in the first place. During the 2005 riots, the BBC provided an event-by-event reporting of each violent event during the riot; this framing appeared to have not only reported the riots, but also done so with an intent to paint the protests first and foremost as acts of violent urban crimes devoid of any social value. Second, articles such as "Ghettos shackle French Muslims" framed the immigrant minorities as communities that are sidelined into 'ghettos' due to their inherently different cultural values, leading to an integration failure (BBC News, 2005, October 31). The article's use of keywords such as ghettos and its focus on cultural differences appear to have presented the socio-economic segregation of banlieue residents and the widespread discrimination against them as an unfortunate circumstance caused due to irreconcilable differences rather than a deliberately maintained structure.

BBC's 2023 coverage too, such as in its piece "France riots: Why do the banlieues erupt time and time again?", again acknowledged these differences and identified policy inadequacies as the primary cause behind the continuation of riots, rather than the presence of structural discrimination or legacies from colonial era that must be addressed (BBC News, 2023, July 3). This framing by the BBC appears to align with its parentage as a British media house, supported with government funding; this may have prompted the media house to avoid colonial themes

when reporting contemporary integration challenges, treating them as technical policy problems requiring better management rather than systematic injustices requiring social and institutional transformation.

Al Jazeera, on the other hand, given its parentage in the Middle East, and its focus on the issues faced by Muslims around the world and positioning as a Global South alternative, provided sophisticated coverage of the French riots. It consistently contextualised both the 2005 and 2023 riots within France's historical trajectory, connecting the riots to the widespread contemporary discrimination in France, and that discrimination to colonial oppression. For instance, during its 2005 coverage, in its piece - "State of emergency declared in France" - the outlet explicitly linked the government's use of 1955 emergency laws to their colonial origins during the Algerian War (Al Jazeera, 2005, November 8). It noted, "the curfew powers would be invoked under a 60-year-old law first brought in as an unsuccessful attempt to quell an insurrection in Algeria, at a time when the north African country was a French colony". As such, Al Jazeera has proactively contextualised the riots in France in its colonial and post-colonial history, presenting the policy failures of today as a continuation of colonial governance rather than exceptional responses to civil disorder.

In its 2023 coverage of the riots, Al Jazeera continued to focus on structural issues such as systemic discrimination. In "How many Nahels didn't get filmed?: Voices from the banlieues", it interviewed and provided a platform to many banlieue residents and asked them to articulate their experiences with systematic discrimination prevalent in France (Al Jazeera, 2023, July 4). This approach reflected Al Jazeera's usual framing of issues, which often challenge Western-centric narratives by centering marginalised voices.

With respect to El Watan, the analysis is limited to its 2023 coverage, given the absence of online archives for 2005. The media houses extensively covered the 2023 riots, given how closely they were tied to the Algerian community in France. The media house explicitly connected the riots and preceding events to Algeria's colonial history with France. In "La France face à ses banlieues", the media house's author Abdelkarim focused on the colonial dimensions of French integration challenges, and framed the riots within broader postcolonial power structures (Abdelkrim, 2023, July 1). Mebarak's reporting, also writing for El Watan, emphasised how colonial heritage and remnants from then continue to shape the experiences of immigrant populations in France (Mebarak, 2023, July 2).

5.1.1. Source Selection and Voice Attribution: How the Outlets Framed Their Reporting?

Analysis of source selection in the articles by these four outlets that have been included in the source list below and reviewed by the author helps reveal how the differences in the priority that these outlets accord to different perspectives are framed. The review of these articles and reports reflects the distinct understandings of journalistic objectivity and analytical authority that these outlets pursue. To illustrate, Al Jazeera repeatedly featured and presented the voices of banlieue residents, community activists, and critical scholars. It focused on presenting and highlighting connections between contemporary discrimination and historical processes of colonial exclusion. There was frequent mention of and interviews with residents who described their daily experiences of police harassment and institutional discrimination. These interviews provided testimonial evidence of how racialised segregation and discrimination continue to shape immigrant experiences regardless of citizenship status (Al Jazeera, 2023B, June 30). This framing ultimately meant that Al Jazeera's reporting on the riots was primarily centred on highlighting the riots not as criminal activities but as responses to systematic oppression.

Similarly, El Watan's reporting included voices from immigrant communities; but it also included perspectives from Algerian officials and intellectuals who spoke at length about colonial legacies and continued discrimination. Its reporting also frequently cited human rights organisations, postcolonial scholars, and cultural icons such as writers. This meant that its reporting was framed in a way that contemporary discrimination was linked to historical processes of colonial domination.

BBC appears to have relied more heavily on official sources, policy experts, and academic specialists from established institutions. It is not to say that it did not include voices of locals and banlieue residents, but most of its reporting was tied to event-based ground reporting and reporting based on official statements and releases. This approach has its benefits of providing institutional credibility and preventing conjectures, but it also means that there was a systematic ignorance of the inclusion of marginalised voices from affected communities. Its coverage, particularly the statements and opinions of mainstream political figures, reinforces what is often referred to as an official source bias.

While not appearing to be that reliant on official sources, the New York Times also demonstrated reliance on experts and officials. For instance, in "What Britain Can Tell France About Rioters" it focuses on expert analysis, who position the riots as policy challenges requiring technical solutions rather than expressions of political grievances requiring social and institutional transformation (Cowell, 2005, November 20).

The outlets' framing is also evident from the temporal frameworks they employed. By temporal frameworks, the thesis refers to the linkages between the past and the present, and the time horizon the outlets considered when reporting the riots. For instance, Al Jazeera consistently framed both the 2005 and 2023 riots within longer historical trajectories, connecting

contemporary police violence to the historical injustices during the colonial eras and the then prevalent oppression during the French rule in Algeria and other colonies. Similarly, El Watan's coverage demonstrated an explicit engagement with colonial continuities, consistently emphasising how contemporary French policies toward immigrants represent a continuation of colonial governance structures. The outlet's reporting positioned riots as inevitable consequences of France's failure to address colonial injustices and structural inequalities inherited from that era.

BBC and The New York Times, on the other hand, very explicitly employed present-focused framing that treated riots as contemporary policy challenges disconnected from historical processes. When historical context appeared, it typically extended back only to previous riots rather than back to the 1900s and the immediate aftermath of the colonial period. For instance, the New York Times' article "This Paris Suburb Burned Before. Has Anything Changed?", is one of the pieces that looked back at the origins of the 2023 riots; it went back to 2005, but not before. To its credit, the article does mention the prevalence of racial discrimination, but does not employ a temporal framing that uncovers the origins of such discrimination (Méheut, 2023, July 9). This restricted temporal range, in a way, limits the ability of both the media houses to uncover, assess, and present to their readers the colonial themes linked to the French riots of 2005 and 2023. Instead, this framing limits them to treating the riots as exceptional governance issues that require immediate responses rather than manifestations of systemic structures that require a more sustained and transformational effort from the government and the public.

5.2. Framing the riots: narrative logics and journalistic standpoints

This thesis's assessment of the framing strategies employed by these four media outlets also reveals notable differences in how each outlet constructs and presents explanatory narratives about the causes, nature, and significance of these riots; and how they perceive the French integration challenges. These differences in the reporting of these outlets are reflective of their ideological positions, and demonstrate how media narratives are not merely sources of information transmission but are essential ideological frames that shape how people and policymakers see key social events such as the French riots of 2005 and 2023.

5.2.1. Diagnostic Framing: Identifying Root Causes

One of the ways to frame certain events is to engage in diagnostic framing, which involves looking at the root causes and attributing blame. It is the way in which a media house identifies and defines a social problem, and specifies what the issue is and who or what is responsible for it (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). This way of framing is distinct from prognostic framing (which proposes solutions) and motivational framing (which calls for action). By analysing the diagnostic frames used by the four outlets, this thesis considers how they set the narrative around the French riots.

To start with Al Jazeera consistently employed a framing around structural racism, systematic discrimination, and colonial continuities. These were highlighted as the root causes behind the urban unrest. This meant that the narrative that was furthered by it was focused on how the contemporary French institutions perpetuate racial and religious exclusion through state mechanisms such as discriminatory policing, residential segregation, and employment discrimination that were developed during colonial rule and adapted to modern contexts. For instance, its coverage of Nahel's killing emphasised how this was not an one-off instance of exceptional police misconduct but part of systematic practices of racialised violence in France (Al Jazeera, 2023, June 28). Thus, Al Jazeera's diagnostic framing appears to identify the

continuation of colonial security practices as one of the root causes behind the system that reproduces the French urban riots.

El Watan's diagnostic framing also explicitly connected contemporary unrest and riots to unresolved colonial legacies; it positioned the riots as inevitable consequences of France's systematic refusal to address colonial injustices and structural inequalities. Its coverage framed the riots and the discrimination of today not as mere policy failures or governance lapses, but as a deliberate continuation of hierarchies that were once crafted to maintain France's dominance over formerly colonised people. The outlet emphasised how the people who have their origins in the peripheries of the former colonial empire are still largely stigmatised and perceived as 'suspects', noting the continuities in the colonial and contemporary governance (Mebarak, 2023, July 2).

The New York Times, in contrast, employed what may be referred to as a "policy failure" diagnostic framing; it identified inadequate and inefficient integration programs, insufficient economic opportunities, and poor urban planning as the root causes of the unrest (Smith, 2005, November 6). Indeed, these are key near-term causes and are directly linked to the emergence of the urban riots, but are not in themselves the primary causes. This diagnostic framing presented the French riots as correctable policy problems rather than symptoms of systemic oppression requiring deeply impactful societal solutions, and changes in the way integration is imagined and implemented in France (Bennhold, 2005, November 3).

BBC's diagnostic framing, similar to the New York Times, included narratives on policy failure. In addition, it also consistently features social breakdown and state capacity issues in its narratives. Its coverage acknowledged structural factors but ultimately attributed the unrest and the riots to integration failures and security lapses, and not to the widely prevalent institutional

and social discrimination (BBC News, 2005, November 06). This diagnostic framing approach reflects the BBC's ideology that is broadly aligned with liberal Eurocentrism, which while highlighting the issues faced by the marginalised does not bring to light the core structural issues and legacies that continue to reproduce the discrimination and marginalisation (Thussu, 2022, p. 1578-1580; Zhang, 2024, p. 124-127). While this framing is important for reporting key events, informing readers of the ongoing development, and alerting them to the need for policy corrections; it obscures how colonial legacies continue to impact lived realities, how institutional arrangements systematically disadvantage certain segments of the population, and the need for societal level changes to accommodate and integrate diverse populations.

5.2.2. Prognostic Framing: How the Four Media Outlets Propose Solutions to the Riots?

While diagnostic framing relates to diagnosing the root causes and attributing responsibility, prognostic framing is about proposing solutions in the narrative. The solutions a media outlet proposes are again a reflection of their diagnostic frameworks and reveal distinct ideological alignment with how a nation and a government should appropriately respond to systematic discrimination and colonial legacies. Al Jazeera, for instance, in its reporting in 2005 and 2023 repeatedly advocated for structural reforms that address systematic discrimination against immigrants and Muslims in France, and proposed police accountability mechanisms, anti-discrimination legislations, and recognition of colonial injustices as necessary solutions to enable genuine and fair integration instead of merely demanding cultural submission through strict and one sided assimilationist policies (Al Jazeera, 2023, July 4; Al Jazeera, 2005, November 10).

Likewise, El Watan's prognostic framing emphasised the need for the French Republic and its public to confront and acknowledge its colonial past, and establish fresh, equitable relationships

with its formerly colonised people based on equality rather than discrimination. Its framing suggested that sustainable solutions required acknowledgment of historical injustices and reparative measures addressing colonial legacies that continue shaping contemporary inequalities. This approach positioned the French integration challenges as requiring not merely short-term socio-economic policy adjustments but fundamental alterations to the French integration frameworks based on assimilation, including recognition of cultural rights and diversity of values.

The New York Times, in alignment with its diagnostic framing, proposed primarily technocratic solutions that focused on improved social services, better urban planning, and enhanced economic opportunities. Its reporting suggested that the French integration problems and the resultant riots could be resolved through better policy implementation and increased government investment. While this is certainly a rational solution, it has to nonetheless form part of a broader socio-political change that addresses the institutional structures that reproduce systematic inequalities, and consequently the riots. This reformist approach, in a way, reflects the broader American assumptions about institutional perfectibility through technical improvement rather than systematic transformation. Similarly, the BBC's prognostic framing emphasised dialogue, community engagement, and gradual reform within existing institutional frameworks. The outlet's coverage suggested that riots could be prevented through better communication between authorities and communities, improved police training, and enhanced integration programs operating within current assimilationist frameworks. The outlet frequently used language such as, "French police know that there is no shortage of potential jihadis in the country. The assertiveness of French Islam is seen as a threat not just to the values of the republic, but to its very security" (BBC News, 2005, October 31). As such, the outlet went on to identify

improvement in security measures as a key solution, alongside improving the socio-economic situations of the banlieues, which it equated to ghettos.

5.3. Analysis of the media reporting on the socio-economic conditions of immigrants in France

As is evident from the analysis in this section, the approaches and framing of the four media outlets were markedly different during both the 2005 and 2023 riots. The portrayal of the socio-economic conditions of the banlieues and their residents, which was the immediate underlying cause behind the urban unrest, also differed. Its assessment reveals distinct understandings of how economic inequality, social exclusion, and institutional discrimination interact to produce marginalisation among immigrant communities in France. These differences reflect broader ideological variations of these four media outlets about the causation of the riots, and the appropriate responses to the riots and the underlying systemic inequality.

5.3.1. Economic Marginalisation and Employment Discrimination

As regards the economic marginalisation of the banlieues, which the previous sections highlighted as the key immediate cause behind the riots, Al Jazeera consistently reported on the economic hurdles faced by residents of these banlieues, particularly the ways in which residential segregation translates into employment discrimination. The outlet noted that employers often used names, looks, addresses, etc. as indicators of racial or ethnic background, and use them as an unspoken filter that keeps many out of the job market (Alsaafin, 2019, May 26). Their investigations revealed how people with certain names or addresses were systematically sidelined, echoing the statistics referred to in the previous sections that highlight the rate of unemployment in certain neighbourhoods exceeding 40%. The outlet's analysis of the banlieue's

socio-economic conditions extended beyond individual discrimination to examine structural factors concentrating poverty and exclusion in specific areas. Its coverage documented how assimilation policies became all about 100% assimilation and erasure of original values, while not in return offering the necessary economic and social empowerment. It noted, “Integration and assimilation have a double meaning here in France. In 2005, when we pointed out at the suburbs issues, the public said that it was ‘their’ fault because they weren’t integrated in the nation. This makes no sense. How can’t they be integrated when they were born in France? They’re 100 percent French”.

Thus, the reporting by the outlet appears to have a nuance in identifying the problem with blaming the banlieue residents for failing to integrate, when it is the Republic’s fault in not doing enough for them and allowing structural racism to persist. As the historical analysis undertaken in the previous section shows, what is crucially amiss from Western media coverage is that the contemporary unemployment of banlieue residents is directly linked to deliberate policy choices during decolonisation that channeled formerly colonised populations into specific geographic and economic positions within the French society. Al Jazeera’s reporting suggested that this state of current economic marginalisation is directly linked to the systemic racism that is a continuation of colonial economic structures rather than mere integration failure.

El Watan’s reporting followed a similar framing but was even more forthcoming in referring to the colonial roots of economic exclusion that cause the socio-economic issues of today in French banlieues. It drew a direct line between the colonial era, when the colonised populations were stigmatised, excluded, discriminated, subjected to intense security scrutiny, and pushed towards low-value tasks upon migrating to France, and the unemployment conditions prevalent in the contemporary banlieues. The outlet was clear in its framing of how today’s socio-economic

conditions in the banlieues mirror yesterday's racial and economic divisions. The suggestion was that the colonial systems have persisted, with state support, and are the key causes behind the conditions that lead to the occurrence of unrest and riots. It noted, for instance, "France has a long history of racializing police control. If we do not take into account colonial history, we do not understand why the number of people dying in interactions with police officers is, in France, much higher – two to five times – than in European countries like Germany or the United Kingdom.....social and cultural diversity has deteriorated. Most often, residents are poor, in precarious situations, and are immigrants or the result of successive immigration processes. But above all, those who "get by" leave the neighborhood and are replaced by even poorer residents from even further away" (Mebarak, 2023, July 5).

In contrast, the New York Times offered a framing that had limited coverage of the socio-economic conditions. While journalists like Méheut acknowledged the bleak employment numbers, the reporting generally did not go beyond this and stopped short of in-depth analysis of the structure, institutions, and long-persisting social measures that produce these bleak socio-economic indicators with respect to the banlieues. The articles published by the outlets did not, per se, frame discrimination as a key cause, and considered economic hardship primarily as the backdrop to the unrest and the riots rather than as a phenomenon with its own roots worth tracing. For instance, while reporting the spread of the riots, the outlet noted "But in the poorer suburbs where many people of color and immigrant backgrounds live, resentment bubbles just beneath the surface as they see opportunities cut off by often substandard schooling and discrimination in hiring", before almost immediately moving the focus back to "the violence of recent days has baffled many neighborhood residents who see it destroying property in the place they live, which simply makes people's lives harder" (Méheut, 2023, July 1).

Similarly, the BBC's coverage acknowledged the economic challenges faced by the banlieue residents but typically framed them as policy problems requiring technical solutions and not social problems that needed systemic overhauls. The outlet's reporting recognised discrimination while avoiding systematic analysis of how institutional practices and colonial legacies are the core causes that produce the present-day economic exclusion. This is aligned with the findings in academic publications that highlight the BBC's tendencies to acknowledge problems, in line with its liberal outlook, while avoiding structural explanations that might challenge existing institutional arrangements or may bring to light colonial injustices (Thussu, 2022, p. 1578-1580; Zhang, 2024, p. 124-127).

5.3.2. Spatial Inequality and Systematic Disadvantage

All four outlets recognised residential segregation as central to understanding the French urban unrest, but employed different analytical frameworks to explain its origins and maintenance mechanisms. Al Jazeera's coverage, for instance, consistently positioned banlieue segregation within broader patterns of discriminatory urban planning that concentrate immigrant populations in peripheral areas with limited services and opportunities, deliberately maintained through policy choices over decades, starting from the immediate aftermath of decolonisation.

The outlet's analysis drew connections between contemporary spatial segregation and colonial urban planning practices that separated European and indigenous populations through spatial arrangements designed to maintain control while extracting resources. This historical perspective enabled Al Jazeera to present current residential patterns as products of deliberate policy choices rather than natural outcomes of resource competitions (Fleming, 2023, June 30). For instance, it noted in one article a comment, “The tram creates social links. They were scared of this population from Clichy-sous-Bois travelling to work through their posh neighbourhoods”

(Safdar, 2017B, June 12). This residential segregation translates into educational and employment inequality, creating schools with concentrations of immigrant-origin students who receive inferior resources and face discriminatory treatment from educators, and this then translates into disadvantages in the job market. It noted another interviewee who highlighted, “If your CV says Clichy-sous-Bois, you will be rejected even if you have a master’s degree” (Fleming, 2023, June 30).

El Watan's coverage too connected contemporary residential segregation to colonial era practices, positioning banlieues as spatial locations where “residents are poor, in precarious situations, and are immigrants or the result of successive immigration processes” (Mebarak, 2023, July 5). This, in a way, is a continuation of colonial geographies that separated the wealthy colonisers and the poorer colonised populations through spatial arrangements designed to maintain hierarchical relationships. The outlet responded to the French President’s statements on peace after the 2023 riots by asking, “Many progressive analysts would like to ask him how to make up for decades of delay and laxity....Conflictual relations with the police, discrimination and social segregation, underfunding of public spending, unemployment...” (Mebarak, 2023, July 5). This analytical framing by the outlet enabled it to present the segregation in France as deliberately maintained rather than accidentally produced. El Watan's coverage connected the persistent inequality to colonial systems designed to limit opportunities for colonised populations while preserving high-quality opportunities for privileged groups.

The New York Times also acknowledged residential segregation while providing limited analysis of its origins or maintenance mechanisms. Its coverage presented segregation as an unfortunate outcome requiring policy intervention rather than as a systematic product of long-standing institutional practices, avoiding examination of how current policies perpetuate rather than

remedy spatial inequality (Smith, 2005, November 6). It also provided limited coverage of educational, systematic disadvantage, and employment issues, typically presenting these as problems of inadequate resource investments that primarily require solutions around increased funding rather than examining discriminatory practices.

BBC's coverage likewise recognised spatial inequality while emphasising potential solutions such as urban renewal programs and improved services. While these are indeed important and highly relevant policy suggestions that are necessary, it is insufficient as the government has in the past already implemented many such programmes to little effect. This representation of spatial segregation as a technical problem requiring better management rather than systematic restructuring of planning institutions has been a persistent theme in the BBC's reporting. BBC's articles emphasised reform possibilities, suggesting that systematic disadvantage problems could be addressed through better infrastructure and increased resources, without calling for fundamental societal and political transformation. This approach reflects the broader assumptions about institutional perfectibility through technical improvement that are prevalent in BBC's articles on the French riots.

5.4. Colonial continuities and postcolonial silences in media narratives

The most significant finding of this media analysis chapter relates to the wide variations in how the four outlets address colonial legacies and their contemporary relevance. This section closely looks at the findings already highlighted above on how colonial continuities are either highlighted or systematically obscured in the coverage of the French riots of 2005 and 2023 by the four media outlets, directly basis the ideological alignment of these outlets and the imperial histories and contemporary inequalities of the home country of these media outlets.

Al Jazeera, for instance, demonstrated consistent engagement with colonial themes throughout coverage of both the 2005 and 2023 riots, regularly referencing how French colonial practices continue shaping contemporary immigrant experiences. The outlet's reporting connected current discrimination to specific colonial policies that excluded colonised populations while exploiting their labor, enabling presentation of contemporary unrest as a continuation of anti-colonial resistance rather than criminal activity. The outlet's colonial analysis extended beyond general historical references to specific policy continuities, documenting how contemporary French security practices and decisions taken during the riots (such as emergency and curfews) directly mirror or employ tactics developed during the French colonial rule, including excessive surveillance and presumption of guilt applied to entire communities based on spatial segregation. The outlet's 2005 coverage of the implementation of the emergency law explicitly referenced its origins in 1955 during the Algerian War, connecting the French state's responses during the riots to colonial governance mechanisms designed to suppress anti-colonial resistance (Al Jazeera, 2005, November 08).

Similarly, El Watan also included robust colonial analysis, positioning the French policies toward immigrants, which ultimately resulted in the riots, as a continuation of colonial governance structures rather than just integration failures. The outlet's 2023 coverage repeatedly emphasised how the present-day discrimination represents colonial residues that continue to shape experiences of immigrant populations (Mebarak, 2023, July 2). The New York Times and the BBC both avoided colonial themes, treating French riots as present-day policy and governance challenges. When historical references appeared, as described earlier in this chapter, they only related the riots back to previous riots or civil unrest rather than colonial origins. This temporal

limitation prevented recognition of how colonial legacies continue to shape France's society today.

Similarly, an analysis of terminology used by these outlets reveals how racialised vocabulary continues to shape media discourse on French riots. Al Jazeera, for instance, often placed words like integration and assimilation in quotation marks, consistently referred to segregation and discrimination, avoided using words such as ghetto, and had extensive references to the colonial era. El Watan similarly demonstrated awareness of terminology, explicitly critiquing French republican discourse that demands cultural conformity from immigrant populations while presenting this demand as a neutral republican principle. It noted, "themes of decivilization and savagery echoed by police unions who speak of a 'war' against 'pests' are dangerous... according to Sébastien Roché, research director at the CNRS, who castigates this semantics, believing that it was colonial vocabulary" (Mebarak, 2023, July 05). The outlet's coverage had extensive references to colonisation, segregation, discrimination, racialized police control, and so on, reflecting its broad framing approach.

The New York Times and BBC employed terminologies largely consistent with their framing. There were references to ghettos, integration challenges, investments, security failures, violence, destruction of property, Jihad, and so on. There was, as the framing approach already signifies, an absence of terminologies such as colonial policies, racial segregation, etc. Cowell's analysis in "What Britain Can Tell France About Rioters" is an example of the terminologies that form the basis of the reporting of these outlets; the article employs a comparative approach, looking at British policies on immigration and what they imply for the French governance frameworks. The article includes everything from bombings, ghettos, violence, radical Islam, multiculturalism

(defined as people who come to live in Britain should adopt the values and traditions of British culture), to assimilation (Cowell, 2005, November 20).

The terminologies used and the framing employed also mean that these outlets engaged with memory, trauma, and intergenerational transmission of such memories to varying degrees. Outlets such as Al Jazeera and El Watan demonstrated a high degree of engagement with how colonial trauma transmits across generations, affecting contemporary immigrant communities' relationships with French institutions. The outlets' coverage documented how second and third-generation immigrants inherit memories of colonial violence that shape interactions with police, schools, and other state institutions regardless of their formal citizenship status.

This analysis of intergenerational trauma enabled Al Jazeera and El Watan to present the French riots not as mere law and order issues, but as expressions of inherited grievances rather than event-based, one-off series of criminal activity. They positioned the urban unrest within longer trajectories of resistance to colonial oppression while legitimising political dimensions of riots even as they condemned violence. Their coverage included interviews with residents describing how family histories of colonial violence continue affecting daily interactions with French institutions, providing testimonial evidence of how colonial legacies shape contemporary experiences through intergenerational transmission, and interviews with academicians and intellectuals from the immigrant communities.

The New York Times and BBC included limited examination of intergenerational trauma, typically treating riots as immediate responses to current conditions rather than expressions of inherited grievances connecting contemporary discrimination to historical injustices. This approach prevented deeper analysis of how colonial legacies continue shaping contemporary conflicts through both institutional and cultural mechanisms.

6. Conclusion

This final chapter consolidates this thesis's theoretical and empirical insights into a coherent set of takeaways and scholarly recommendations. In this chapter, the thesis distils how four key international media outlets, the New York Times, the BBC, Al Jazeera, and El Watan, have framed the 2005 and 2023 French race riots, what these frames reveal about deeper political and policy issues that plague France, and why a scientific and complete overhaul of the French integration model is pertinent to ensure the root causes of these riots are addressed. Two analytical insights emerge from the overall analysis undertaken in the thesis: race is debated in a very different way in France compared to the EU, and France invisibilises race, but reality is highly contradictory to this idealist assumption. These insights are key conclusions that are backed by this thesis's analysis, and are the touchstones on which the paper has assessed the frames employed by the four media outlets.

6.1. Key findings in relation to media coverage of immigrants and their realities

This thesis's core inquiry into the media coverage of the 2005 and 2023 French race riots by the New York Times, the BBC, Al Jazeera, and El Watan highlights the immense and critical influence that journalistic framing, their ideological standpoints, and their historical consciousness have on global understandings of immigrant realities in France and beyond. Across the nearly two decades separating these riots, these select international media outlets have played a crucial role not only in reporting events but also in constructing collective memory and shaping narratives about race, migration, and integration.

This thesis first and foremost finds that global media coverage, especially from credible outlets such as the above four, are often presumed to be neutral or cosmopolitan, when, in fact, they are

deeply shaped by their domestic context, editorial biases, and geopolitical leanings. In fact, it may safely be concluded that there is no singular “global narrative”, and each outlet’s depiction of immigrants and riot events, in this case study, appears to be refracted through distinct editorial priorities and institutional standpoints. For The New York Times and the BBC, reporting relating to the French riots was predominantly event-driven, focusing on reporting the day to day events of the ebbs and flows of the riot violence, the immediate policy and governance failures, the urban disorder and looting, and the law-and-order concerns. Both outlets, while referencing socio-economic marginalisation and, on occasion, the “failure of integration,” largely avoided probing into structural continuities of exclusion and colonial legacies as active factors that shaped the riots. Instead, their terminology set primarily centred around “ghettos,” “integration failure”, “violence”, and “youth unrest”. This framing communicated a consistent message that identified the failures of the French government in maintaining law and order, ensuring economic equality in the French society, and ensuring assimilation, while persistently avoiding discussions on the long-standing systemic discrimination.

Al Jazeera’s coverage offers a counterpoint to the BBC and the New York Times’ coverage; it consistently rooted its narrative and framing relating to the French riots in colonial continuities, structural racism, and testimonies from marginalised communities. It constantly amplified the voices of banlieue residents and activists, and contextualised individual episodes of police violence and the longer periods of urban riots within the persistent racialised societal structures of exclusion that originated during the colonial era. El Watan, similarly, writing primarily from the perspective of Algeria and its people, who are France’s most significant postcolonial source of migrants, directly tied the lived realities of the residents of French banlieues and their recurring unrest to unresolved colonial histories, ongoing stigmatisation, and deliberately

maintained hierarchies of power. This framing positions banlieue residents not merely as the marginalised “other” but as historical victims of a republic that has failed to reckon with its imperial legacy.

A distinguishing feature of both Al Jazeera and El Watan’s reporting during the riots is their engagement with intergenerational memory and trauma. These outlets did not treat the riots as one-off, spontaneous outbursts of criminal activity, but as expressions of grievances that have accumulated across generations. By bringing to light narratives of inherited exclusion, racialised policing, and the alienation experienced by descendants of immigrants, these outlets revealed the lived experiences that are often ignored by mainstream, policy-focused Western coverage, even from outlets which are usually considered to be liberal.

The thesis finds, despite its attempts to be neutral and not position any media outlet as biased, that the New York Times and BBC exhibit an undeniable and apparent tendency toward what can be called a “presentist” narrative framing: focusing on contemporary policy failures or technical governance lapses as the root causes of the riots, instead of the actual, persistent root causes of social exclusion and systemic discrimination; they also, at the same time, chronologically restrict the source of causes and diagnosis to the last few decades, ignoring events from the time of colonialisation and the decolonisation periods. As a result of this restrictive framing, their reporting, while critical of the French state in moments of crisis and bringing to fore the present day issues, typically positions the French riots as solvable issues of integration and policing, ignoring or underemphasising the depth of societal fractures inherited from the colonial and decolonisation periods. Even as both the outlets acknowledged racial discrimination and economic marginalisation, they rarely situated these within a broader context of postcolonial memory and structural, state-led exclusion.

Another core finding of this thesis relates to the use of language and terminology to send specific messages and project certain frames, exploiting the value-laced nature of certain terminologies. For instance, the repeated use by BBC and the New York Times of terms such as “ghetto,” “integration problems”, and “radical Islam,” in the absence of rigorous or critical explanation, effectively constructs banlieue residents as perpetual outsiders who have failed to integrate due to their inherently different cultural and religious values and unwillingness to adapt. In contrast, Al Jazeera and El Watan broadly avoided the use of words such as “ghetto”, and instead used the language of spatial exclusion, systemic discrimination, and colonial legacies, all of which indicate a much deeper, historically sound understanding of urban marginalisation and its causes. Finally, the last key conclusion of this thesis with respect to these media narratives is that these media houses, by their choices of what to emphasise, whom to quote, and which historical timeframes to acknowledge, play a formative role in shaping global perceptions of France’s integration challenges and civil unrest. The Western elite media often reinforce a perspective that there is a French universalism, broadly reflective of secular Western values, which is undermined by insufficiently assimilated populations; Al Jazeera and El Watan, to the contrary, appear to be contesting this perspective by centering their analysis on systemic injustice and the unresolved burdens of colonial legacies.

6.2. Key findings in relation to policy gaps and political agenda

The media’s selective framing of events has profound implications for policy discourse, both within France and in the broader European and global contexts. A central insight that this thesis discovers is that there is a significant convergence of media narratives and policy frameworks: the persistent treatment of integration challenges as failures of policy management, rather than as symptoms of structural injustices rooted in both France’s assimilationist ideology and its colonial

past, has over the past decades narrowed the policy options that are being explored and acted upon by the French government; increasingly, the focus is limited to urban renewal and investments, which has not yielded desired results. In doing so, media coverage, especially that of influential outlets like the New York Times and BBC, parallels the prevailing political discourses in France that frequently reduce immigrant unrest to questions of cultural differences, security robustness, economic planning, and law enforcement. This narrative framing by these influential media houses shapes political agendas by reinforcing the state's tendency to manage unrest as episodic disorder and law and order breakdowns, rather than as evidence of deeper, chronic crises of belonging and equality that must be solved through more effort consuming systemic and societal overhaul.

An immediate policy consequence of such narrative framing is the displacement and deflection of responsibility away from the Republic and its broader citizenry, to the victims of decades of prejudice and marginalisation. When the mainstream media, particularly the ones with international influence, attribute the riots to youth unrest, lack of effective policing, failure to integrate by adapting to the cultural values of France, or to certain government initiatives or failures, they then divert attention from questions of institutional racism, urban segregation, generational poverty, and colonial legacies. This supports the persistent policy practice of addressing unrest and riots with security-first solutions: curfews, emergency laws, surveillance, and heightened policing, rather than with long-term, structurally robust socio-political and economic reforms. The 2005 invocation of a decades-old emergency law, which in itself was a legacy from the Algerian War for independence, and the rapid deployments of tens of thousands of police in both 2005 and 2023, are each justified or downplayed in certain reports, failing to highlight how these acts entrench intergenerational memory and trauma.

This is not to say that any of the four outlets studied in this thesis are anti-thetical to the broader need for reform in France, alterations to its integration policies, or fail to report the right set of facts, including the abject condition of the banlieues and their residents. Both the Western outlets reference the failures of integration, and call attention to housing, education, and employment disparities. Yet, despite being broadly aligned with the liberal values of equality and socio-economic empowerment of the marginalised, these outlets continue to stress upon “perfectible” policies, improved social services, and technical reform to solve challenges which run deeper.

On the other hand, Al Jazeera and El Watan, while also talking about such policy reforms, additionally bring to light the systemic and historical factors. They prompt a different kind of policy questioning: why has the French model of universal republicanism, centered on color-blind assimilation, led to such chronic, visible spatial, racial, and economic inequality? Why do the policies, which are supposedly designed to treat all as “French”, paradoxically resulted in the marginalisation of millions of residents (many born in France), rendering their experiences invisible or stigmatised? Their coverage does not merely question and frame police brutality or mismanaged housing policy, but also questions the foundational principles of French citizenship, state power, assimilationist ideology, and the absence of multicultural recognition. These outlets have often connected the present-day marginalisation and discrimination to the continuing legacies and impact of colonialism and its many tribulations. By doing so, these outlets attempt to force policymakers and readers to recognise and understand the limitations of the universalist republican model, and the silence around race and ethnicity in both media narratives and state discourse.

Another key policy gap that emerges from this thesis is the French state's invisibilization of the true state of marginalisation by refusing to collect and use data relating to immigrants (including second and third generation ones) and their socio-economic conditions. The French republican ideal, which believes in an idealistic universalism, rules out the collection of ethnic statistics, erasing the possibility of empirically tracking institutional racism or progress toward integration. This gap is only occasionally registered in the BBC or the New York Times, but is a recurrent theme for Al Jazeera, which highlights how the absence of such data prevents the ascribing of accountability and the designing of effective solutions.

The thesis also finds that the primary focus of leading media houses, and even the French policymakers, remains on the immediate issues: riot control, unemployment, youth crime, or policing reform. Apart from Al Jazeera and El Watan's coverage, rarely do the media houses report how post-WWII labour migration policies, urban planning decisions, deindustrialisation, and changing social policies have, over the course of decades, reinforced the economic and spatial segregation of immigrant-origin communities. Only Al Jazeera and El Watan consistently zoomed out to consider this historical horizon. Indeed, it is likely that political exigencies and immediate electoral interests prompt French leaders to focus on the short term solutions, as is evident from Sarkozy's use of the 2005 riots as a plank for his successful presidential bid.

This has immediate impact for policymaking: the persistent silence or avoidance of references to colonial legacies reinforces the political status quo and absolves the French state and its institutions of responsibility for the persistent structural marginalisation of immigrants and immigrant origin communities. This means that the policymakers have little to no incentive to address these, and instead steer the policy objectives towards law-and-order policy goals, especially during events like the 2005 and 2023 riots. This delegitimises legitimate concerns

behind the civil unrests, and acts such as surveillance and overwhelming police presence reinforces a cycle of alienation. Voices from the banlieues, when provided a space in the neoliberal media coverage, are more often than not presented as subjects of pity or anger, but rarely as participants in or shapers of the policy debate. In this way, media reporting and state responses form a feedback loop, perpetuating policies that seek crisis management over socio-political transformation.

6.3. The need for scientific multiculturalism and further research

Drawing on the conclusion above and the detailed analysis presented earlier, this thesis concludes that France's assimilationist model of integration, as reflected in its policies, speeches of its policymakers, and its republican imaginary, remains fundamentally inadequate and not in sync with the challenges posed by a society that is marked by high levels of postcolonial diversity. The model's assumption that assimilation alone can resolve structural inequalities is, demonstrably, an idealist imagination that has been brought into question by the recurrence of violent unrest, persistent spatial segregation, and lasting economic disparities in the banlieues.

There is a need, therefore, for the French Republic to transition away from assimilationist ideology towards what this thesis considers scientific multiculturalism: an empirically grounded, historically conscious, and policy-oriented approach towards recognising, accepting, and steering the multicultural diversity and social reality. This has to be aligned with the systematic measurement and gradual redressal of structural inequalities. Scientific multiculturalism is not merely the recognition or celebration of cultural diversity, but an approach that incorporates rigorous data collection, critical analysis of institutional structures, and an open national dialogue about the burdens and legacies of colonialism.

First and foremost, France must move beyond the political fixation with republican universalism and accept the reality that diversity is a necessary consequence of immigration and cannot be erased or assimilated in totality. It must accordingly commit to collecting and analysing data on ethnicity, race, employment, housing, education, and encounters with the state. Only with such data can progress (or stagnation) be measured, discrimination made visible, and accountability imposed upon both public and private actors. Refusing to see cultural and socio-economic diversity and variations as real or important has not eliminated discrimination; it has rendered it measurable only by anecdote or protest, leaving its victims with few recourses.

Second, France must experiment with new paradigms for driving integration instead of solely relying on assimilation. These paradigms should be tested on outcomes (which must be measures through statistics), and should recognise both the structural limitations of assimilationist color-blindness and the value of policies that provide group recognition, targeted support, and mechanisms for reparative justice. Comparative analysis with northern European models, such as those of Sweden and the Netherlands, where multiculturalism has been accompanied by robust anti-discrimination law and civic participation, offers potential lessons for a French and European context. It must also be acknowledged, however, that the European Union's own model in recent years has moved towards assimilationist tendencies, prompted by rising political pressures and shifting media discourses, suggesting that the struggle for a scientific, multicultural approach is as continental as it is national.

Third, this thesis recognises the urgent need for confronting and engaging with colonial memory. Political acknowledgment of the lasting impact of colonial violence and policies is a necessary precondition for societal healing and policy transformation. Media, policy discourse, and academic research alike must shift away from presentist narratives and event-based explanations

towards a historically layered understanding of structural inequality and exclusion, which are ultimately the core causes behind the 2005 and 2023 riots. It is undeniable that there exists intergenerational trauma, which has not been healed, and which continues to get reinforced because of the non-equitable policies. This trauma must be acknowledged and addressed for the French society to become more equitable and stable.

While this thesis bases these proposals on its in-depth analysis of the French integration policies, the media analysis of the reporting on the riots by the four key media outlets, and the theoretical bases explored in the previous chapters, it also recognises the need for further research and analysis on various fronts. Particularly, the thesis recognises a need for deeper comparative studies of media coverage across other former colonial powers and postcolonial migrant flows to those countries, so as to chart variations in narrative logic and policy outcomes. Second, there is also a pertinent need to assess the impact of assimilationist versus multicultural integration policies on educational, economic, and social outcomes, using freshly drawn data on ethnicity and origin in France and comparing it to nations like Sweden, which have had more successful integration outcomes. Third, there is also a need for critical studies of memory transmission and trauma among second and third-generation immigrants, assessing what policy choices can actually help address such trauma and forge a better path forward for them and the Republic.

In conclusion, the case of France, and the riots of 2005 and 2023 in particular, demonstrate the dangers of denial and the cost of clinging to ideological models that fail to engage with lived realities and historical contexts. Media coverage, far from being a neutral mirror, is a powerful actor in shaping what the world sees, understands, and proposes as responses to immigration, integration, and unrest. To move forward, France (and other societies facing similar challenges in dealing with diversity) must embrace a scientific, historically conscious multiculturalism that is

committed to evidence, acknowledgment, and equity, as the foundation of both policy and public discourse. International media houses, those with high levels of influence, must also be more circumspect in their narrative framing, and bring to fore the root causes of unrest and riots, instead of painting them with a certain brush, to contribute positively to sustainable change. Only with such efforts, from the government, the Republic, and international media outlets can the cyclical violence and exclusion of banlieue realities be transformed into genuine belonging and participation, for immigrants and for the French Republic as a whole.

7. Bibliography

A. Primary Research

I. Reporting on 2005 Riots:

New York Times

- Bennhold, K. (2005, November 3). Riots in France Blamed on a Vacuum in Authority. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/11/03/international/europe/riots-in-france-blamed-on-a-vacuum-in-authority.html> (accessed on 31 July 2025).
- Bennhold, K. (2005, November 8). Suburban Officers Criticized as Insensitive to Racism. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/11/08/world/europe/suburban-officers-criticized-as-insensitive-to-racism.html?searchResultPosition=7> (accessed on 04 July 2025).
- Blau, J. (2005, November 9). The Rioting That Roils France. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/11/09/opinion/the-rioting-that-roils-france-736295.html?searchResultPosition=2> (accessed on 04 July 2025).
- Cowell, A. (2005, November 20). What Britain Can Tell France About Rioters. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/11/20/weekinreview/what-britain-can-tell-france-about-rioters.html?searchResultPosition=5> (accessed on 04 July 2025).
- Smith, C. S. (2005, November 6). Riots Spread From Paris to Other French Cities. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/11/06/world/europe/riots-spread-from-paris-to-other-french-cities.html?searchResultPosition=1> (accessed on 04 July 2025).

- The New York Times. (2005, November 14). French police see violence waning.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2005/11/14/world/europe/french-police-see-violence-waning.html?searchResultPosition=12> (accessed on 04 July 2025).
- The New York Times. (2005, November 3). Riots in Paris.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2005/11/03/opinion/riots-in-paris.html?searchResultPosition=4> (accessed on 04 July 2025).

BBC

- BBC News. (2005, October 27). Ghettos shackle French Muslims.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4375910.stm> (accessed on 04 July 2025).
- BBC News. (2005, November 03). French police sent to riot towns.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4404362.stm> (accessed on 04 July 2025).
- BBC News. (2005, November 04). Clichy's 'les miserables'.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4408972.stm> (accessed on 04 July 2025).
- BBC News. (2005, November 06). The other side of Aulnay.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4410980.stm> (accessed on 04 July 2025).
- BBC News. (2005, November 06). Boys and girls: Paris riots.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4412590.stm> (accessed on 04 July 2025).
- BBC News. (2005, November 11). Paris rallies banned in riot fear.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4429356.stm> (accessed on 04 July 2025).
- BBC News. (2005, November 13). Riot erupts in French city centre.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4430540.stm> (accessed on 04 July 2025).

- BBC News. (2005, November 16). France extends laws to curb riots.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4441246.stm> (accessed on 04 July 2025).
- BBC News. (2005, November 18). France 'needs ethnic statistics'.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4451038.stm> (accessed on 04 July 2025).
- BBC News. (2006, January 10). French 'haven of politeness' changing.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4596390.stm> (accessed on 04 July 2025).
- BBC News. (2006, January 14). France: After the riots.
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/crossing_continents/4612912.stm (accessed on 04 July 2025).

Al Jazeera

- Al Jazeera. (2005, November 4). Paris rioting spreads.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2005/11/4/paris-rioting-spreads> (accessed on 04 July 2025).
- Al Jazeera. (2005, November 6). Riots engulf Paris suburbs.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2005/11/6/riots-engulf-paris-suburbs> (accessed on 04 July 2025).
- Al Jazeera. (2005, November 08). State of emergency declared in France.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2005/11/8/state-of-emergency-declared-in-france>
(accessed on 31 July 2005).
- Al Jazeera. (2005, November 10). French unrest simmers.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2005/11/10/french-unrest-simmers> (accessed on 04 July 2025).

- Al Jazeera. (2005, November 10). Riots subside across France. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2005/11/10/riots-subside-across-france> (accessed on 04 July 2025).
- Al Jazeera. (2005, November 11). Paris march planned amid unrest. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2005/11/11/paris-march-planned-amid-unrest> (accessed on 04 July 2025).
- Al Jazeera. (2005, November 14). Timeline: France riots. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2005/11/14/timeline-france-riots> (accessed on 04 July 2025).

II. Reporting on 2023 Riots:

New York Times

- Breeden, A. & Méheut, C. (2023, June 28). Protests and Sorrow After Fatal Police Traffic Encounter in France. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/28/world/europe/france-police-shooting-paris-nanterre.html?searchResultPosition=10> (accessed on 04 July 2025).
- Gross, J., Kerr, S. & Dean, A. (2023, June 30). A Visual Timeline of the Protests in France. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/30/world/europe/france-protests-police-shooting-timeline.html?searchResultPosition=49> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Méheut, C. (2023, July 1). In the Paris Suburb Where Police Shot a Teenager, Violence and Vigilance. The New York Times.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/01/world/europe/paris-shooting-protests-violence.html?searchResultPosition=54> (accessed on 05 July 2025).

- Méheut, C. (2023, July 9). This Paris Suburb Burned Before. Has Anything Changed? The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/09/world/europe/this-paris-suburb-burned-before-has-anything-changed.html?searchResultPosition=23> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Porter, C. & Méheut, C. (2023, July 17). Riots in France Highlight a Vicious Cycle Between Police and Minorities. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/17/world/europe/france-riots-police-poor.html?searchResultPosition=53> (accessed on 05 July 2025).

BBC

- BBC News. (2023, July 3). France riots: Why do the banlieues erupt time and time again? <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-66071455> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- BBC News. (2023, July 3). Spectre of violence still hangs over France. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-66083281> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- BBC News. (2023, July 6). France riots: Fuelled by everyday discrimination. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-66097318> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- BBC News. (2023, July 8). France riots: Can Paris prevent tensions igniting again? <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-66133676> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- BBC News. (2023, June 29). Paris riots: France is changing but suburban scars are not healed. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-66056374> (accessed on 05 July 2025).

- Armstrong, K. (2023, July 05). France shooting: Peak of rioting has passed, says Macron. BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-66099482> (accessed on 31 July 2025).
- Gozzi, L. (2023, July 04). France riots ease as mayors hold anti-violence rally. BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-66084677> (accessed on 31 July 2025).
- Hill, J. (2023) France riots: 'For the politicians we are nothing'. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-66104632> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Kirby, P. (2023, July 01). France shooting: Who was Nahel M, shot by French police in Nanterre?. BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-66052104> (accessed on 31 July 2025).
- Plummer, R. (2023) 'France bans buying fireworks for Bastille Day after riots'. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-66147920> (accessed on 05 July 2025).

Al Jazeera

- AJLabs. (2023, June 30). Mapping French protests triggered by the police killing of Nahel. Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/6/30/mapping-french-protests-over-teen-killing> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Al Jazeera. (2023, June 28). From Macron to Mbappe, France outraged by latest police killing. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/6/28/french-president-says-teenagers-killing> (accessed on 31 July 2025).

- Al Jazeera. (2023A, June 30). Macron appeals to parents, social media firms to end France riots.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/6/30/macron-appeals-to-parents-social-media-firms-to-end-france-riots> (accessed on 31 July 2025).
- Al Jazeera. (2023B, June 30). ‘Police rough kids up here’: France reels after teen’s death.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/6/30/security-heightened-in-france-as-police-violence-in-the-spotlight> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Al Jazeera. (2023, July 1). France’s Macron cancels trip over riots as family buries teenager.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/7/1/french-police-confront-rioters-shops-looted-in-4th-day-of-unrest> (accessed on 31 July 2025).
- Al Jazeera. (2023, July 2). France unrest appears to be ebbing but more than 700 arrested.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/7/2/france-unrest-protest-riots-calmer-night> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Al Jazeera. (2023, July 3). Fund for French police officer who killed Nahel M tops \$1m.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/7/3/fund-for-french-police-officer-who-killed-nahel-m-tops-1m> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Al Jazeera. (2023, July 4). Prosecutors in France investigate man’s death in Marseille riots.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/7/4/prosecutors-in-france-investigate-mans-death-in-marseille-riots> (accessed on 05 July 2025).

- Al Jazeera. (2023, July 4). Will the death of a teenager in France change the police?
<https://www.aljazeera.com/podcasts/2023/7/4/will-the-death-of-a-teenager-in-france-change-the-police> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Al Jazeera. (2023, July 4). 'How many Nahels didn't get filmed?': Voices from the banlieues.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2023/7/4/looking-at-the-french-riots-through-the-eyes-of-the-suburbs> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Fleming, C. M. (2023, June 30). French police killed Nahel because French racism enabled it. Al Jazeera.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2023/6/30/french-police-killed-nahel-because-french-racism-enabled-it> (accessed on 31 July 2025).

El Watan

- Abdelkrim, M. (2023, July 1). Plusieurs villes secouées par des émeutes après la mort d'un adolescent d'origine algérienne : La France face à ses banlieues. El Watan.
<https://elwatan-dz.com/plusieurs-villes-secouees-pardes-emeutes-apres-la-mort-dun-adolescent-dorigine-algerienne-la-france-face-a-ses-banlieues> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- El Watan. (2023, July 1). 1311 interpellations, 1350 véhicules brûlés... les chiffres de la quatrième nuit d'émeutes après la mort de Nahel.
<https://elwatan-dz.com/1311-interpellations-1350-vehicules-brules-les-chiffres-de-la-quatrieme-nuit-demeutes-apres-la-mort-de-nahel> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- El Watan. (2023, July 1). Émeutes après la mort de Nahel : envoi de renforts policiers à Marseille face à un record de violence.

<https://elwatan-dz.com/emeutes-apres-la-mort-de-nahel-envoi-de-renforts-policiers-a-mar-seille-face-a-un-record-de-violence> (accessed on 05 July 2025).

- Mebarak, W. (2023, July 2). Émeutes en France : La soif de justice des banlieues. El Watan. <https://elwatan-dz.com/emeutes-en-france-la-soif-de-justice-des-banlieues> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Mebarak, W. (2023, July 3). Émeutes en France : Le débordement de colère fait des ravages. El Watan. <https://elwatan-dz.com/emeutes-en-france-le-debordement-de-colere-fait-des-ravages> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Mebarak, W. (2023, July 5). Émeutes en France : Les extrémistes de droite jettent de l'huile sur le feu. El Watan. <https://elwatan-dz.com/emeutes-en-france-les-extremistes-de-droite-jettent-de-lhuile-sur-le-feu> (accessed on 05 July 2025).

III. Reporting on French Riots from the select media houses from other years:

New York Times

- Erlanger, S. (2010, August 8). Utopian Dream Becomes Battleground in France. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/09/world/europe/09grenoble.html> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Greenhouse, S. (1990, October 19). Vaulx-en-Velin Journal; Arab Youths of France: Their Anger Boils Over. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/1990/10/19/world/vaulx-en-velin-journal-arab-youths-of-france-their-anger-boils-over.html> (accessed on 05 July 2025).

- Sciolino, E. (2007, November 28). In French Suburbs, Same Rage, but New Tactics. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/28/world/europe/28france.html> (accessed on 05 July 2025).

BBC

- BBC News. (2007, November 27). Riots in Paris suburbs replayed. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/7114521.stm> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- BBC News. (2009, March 13). Hope still faint in Paris suburbs. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/7913011.stm> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- BBC News. (2011, August 11). Do the English riots parallel France? <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-14496461> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- BBC News. (2010, October 22). French police to go on trial for 2005 Paris riot deaths. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-11609014> (accessed on 31 July 2025).
- BBC News. (2015, May 18). France police cleared over Zyed and Bouna 2005 deaths. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-32778505> (accessed on 31 July 2025).

Al Jazeera

- Al Jazeera. (2007, October 29). Two years on. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2007/10/29/two-years-on> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Al Jazeera. (2014, August 9). Muslims of France. <https://www.aljazeera.com/program/featured-documentaries/2014/8/9/muslims-of-france> (accessed on 05 July 2025).

- Al Jazeera. (2015, January 13). Marseille marches in solidarity with Paris.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/1/13/marseille-marches-in-solidarity-with-paris>
 (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Al Jazeera. (2015, January 13). Marseille Muslims warn of social tension.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/1/13/marseille-muslims-warn-of-social-tension>
 (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Alsaafin, L. (2019, May 26). French Algerians on identity, discrimination, protests at ‘home’.
 Al Jazeera.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2019/5/26/french-algerians-on-identity-discrimination-protests-at-home> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Bohdan, K. (2018, April 26). New ‘battle plan’ to improve life at France’s deprived suburbs.
 Al Jazeera.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2018/4/26/new-battle-plan-to-improve-life-at-frances-deprived-suburbs> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Safdar, A. (2017A, October 27). When Bouana Traore’s death led to France’s 2005 riots.
 Al Jazeera.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2017/10/27/when-bouana-traores-death-led-to-france-s-2005-riots> (accessed 31 July 2025).
- Safdar, A. (2017B, June 12). Clichy-sous-Bois: A suburb scarred by 2005 French riots.
 Al Jazeera.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2017/6/12/clichy-sous-bois-a-suburb-scarred-by-2005-french-riots> (accessed on 05 July 2025).

- Tatke, S. (2021, March 2). 'Not French enough': What it means to be an immigrant in France. Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2021/3/2/not-french-enough-what-it-means-to-be-an-immigrant-in-france> (accessed on 05 July 2025).

B. Secondary Research

Scholarly Sources

- Adamson, F. B. (2024). Entangled migration states: mobility and state-building in France and Algeria. 50(3) Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 597-616.
- Agzar, M. (2019). "T'appelle ça du racisme?" French-Maghrebi Youth Culture and the Politics of Anti-racism. 7(3) International Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research 347-364.
- Aldrich, R., & Connell, J. (2024). Francophonie: Language, Culture or Politics? 170-193. (Routledge).
- Alba, R., & Silberman, R. (2002). Decolonization immigrations and the social origins of the second generation: the case of North Africans in France. 36(4) International Migration Review 1169-1193.
- Alexander, J. C. (2013). Struggling over the mode of incorporation: backlash against multiculturalism in Europé. 36(4) Ethnic and Racial Studies 531-556.
- Almeida, D. (2023). The republic's inner borders: Rethinking French banlieues through critical border studies. 38(3) Journal of Borderlands Studies 377-396.
- Ariely, G. (2014). Does diversity erode social cohesion? Conceptual and methodological issues. 62(3) Political Studies 573-595.

- Barclay, F., Chopin, C., & Evans, M. (2018). Introduction: settler colonialism and French Algeria. 8(2) *Settler Colonial Studies* 115 - 130.
- Bauböck, R. (2002). Farewell to multiculturalism? Sharing values and identities in societies of immigration. 3(1) *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 1-16.
- Beaman, J. (2017) *Citizen Outsider: Children of North African Immigrants in France* (University of California Press).
- Becker, M. A. (2004). Managing diversity in the European Union: Inclusive European citizenship and third-country nationals. 7 *Yale Human Rights & Development Law Journal* 132-183.
- Belmekki, B., & Fidouh, A. (2025). Algeria, France: Complex Relations and a Lasting Trauma of Colonialism. 86(4) *The Historian* 356 - 369.
- Berry, S. E., & Taban, I. (2022). The EU Migration Pact and Action Plan on Integration and Inclusion: A Progressive Step or Half Measure?. 19(1) *European Yearbook of Minority Issues Online* 5-26.
- Brochmann, G. (2020). Controlling immigration in Europe. In *Mechanisms of immigration control* (Brochmann, G. & Hammar, T. eds.) 297-334. (Routledge).
- Bolmberg, G. (2020) EU Policy on Immigration and Integration: Multiculturalism or Assimilation?. 4(2) *Journal of Autonomy and Security Studies* 92.
- Borevi, K. (2017). Diversity and Solidarity in Denmark and Sweden. In *The Strains of Commitment: The Political Sources of Solidarity in Diverse Societies* 364-388 (Banting, K. & Kymlicka, W. eds., Oxford University Press).
- Bottero, M. (2022). Integration (of Immigrants) in the European Union: A Controversial Concept. 24(4) *European Journal of Migration and Law* 516-544.

- Breuillard, M. (2014). Politique de la Ville in Lille. In Regenerating urban neighbourhoods in Europe: eight case studies in six European countries (Widmer, C. & Kubler, D. eds.). p. 45-65 (Zentrum für Demokratie).
- Brüggemann, M., & D'Angelo, P. (2018). Defragmenting news framing research: Reconciling generic and issue-specific frames. In Doing News Framing Analysis II. D'Angelo, P. (eds.) 91-111.
- Burn, A., & Parker, D. (2003). Analysing Media Texts (Bloomsbury, London).
- Carrera, S. & Wiesbrock, A. (2009). Civic integration of the third-country nationals: Nationalism versus Europeanisation in the common EU immigration policy. CEPS Liberty and Security in Europe.
- Carvalho, J., Duarte, M. C., & Ruedin, D. (2025) Follow the media? News environment and public concern about immigration. 64(1) European Journal of Political Research 117-133.
- Chabal, E. (2020) France - Polity Histories (Polity Press, Cambridge).
- Chouliaraki, L. (2012). Between pity and irony – paradigms of refugee representation in humanitarian discourse. In Migrations and the Media. Moore, K., et al. (eds.) (Peter Lang, New York) 13-32.
- Comtat, E. (2016) From indigènes to immigrant workers: pied-noir perceptions of Algerians and people of Algerian origin in postcolonial France. 8(2) Settler Colonial Studies 262-282.
- Darling-Wolf, F. (2008). Holier Than Thou. 9 Journalism Studies 357 - 373.
- De Laforcade, G. (2006). 'Foreigners', Nationalism and the 'Colonial Fracture'. 42 International Journal of Comparative Sociology 217 - 233.

- Eberl, J., et al. (2018) The European media discourse on immigration and its effects: a literature review. 42(3) *Annals of the International Communication Association* 207-223.
- Eldridge, C. (2013) Returning to the “Return”: Pied-Noir Memories of 1962. 29(3) *Revue Europeenne des Migrations Internationales* 121-140.
- Eldridge, C. (2016) *From empire to exile* (Manchester University Press).
- Esses, V.M., Medianu, S., & Lawson, A.S. (2013) Uncertainty, threat, and the role of the media in promoting the dehumanization of immigrants and refugees. 69(3) *Journal of Social Issues* 518-536.
- Ersanili, E. & Koopmans, R. (2010) Rewarding Integration? Citizenship Regulations and the Socio-Cultural Integration of Immigrants in the Netherlands, France and Germany. 36(5) *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 773-791.
- Fassin, D. (2013) *Enforcing Order: An Ethnography of Urban Policing* (Wiley Publishers).
- Fekete, L., Bouteldja, N., and Muhe, N. (2010). *Alternative Voices on Integration in Austria, France, Germany, the Netherlands and the UK*. (Institute of Race Relations).
- Freedman, J. (2017) *Immigration and insecurity in France* (Routledge, London).
- Gamson, W.A. (1992) *Talking Politics* (CUP, Cambridge). [Note: the book does not contain a subtitle.]
- García, J. (2016). Resisting Assimilation and Other Forms of Integration. 10 *Sociology Compass* 468-476.
- Geddes, A. & Scholten, P. (2016). *The Politics of Migration & Immigration in Europe* (Sage Publishers).

- Geeraert, J. (2018). Healthcare Reforms and the Creation of Ex-/Included Categories of Patients - “Irregular Migrants” and the “Undesirable” in the French Healthcare System. 56 *International Migration* 68-81.
- Goodman, S. W. (2010) Integration Requirements for Integration's Sake? Identifying, Categorising and Comparing Civic Integration Policies. 36(5) *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 753-772.
- Hargreaves, A. G. (2007). *Multi-Ethnic France: Immigration, Politics, Culture and Society* (Routledge, London).
- Hauser, J. (2021). Education, secularism, and illiberalism: Marginalisation of Muslims by the French state. 32 *French Cultural Studies* 149 - 162.
- Hollifield, J. F. et al. (2022) Immigration and the Republican Tradition in France. In *Controlling Immigration. A Comparative Perspective*, Hollifield, J.F. et al. (eds.) (4th edn.) (Stanford University Press, Stanford) 271-277.
- Jalusic, V. & Bajt, V. (2020) A Paradigm Shift Framed by a Crisis: Recent Debates on Immigration & Integration in Six EU Countries. 30(4) *Annales* 517-527.
- Jennings, J. (2000). Citizenship, Republicanism and Multiculturalism in Contemporary France. 30 *British Journal of Political Science* 575 - 598.
- Jenson, J. (2010) *Defining and Measuring Social Cohesion* (Commonwealth Secretariat).
- Jobard, F. (2008). The 2005 French Urban Unrests. 2(4) *Sociology Compass* 1287-1302.
- Jobard, F. (2009). An Overview of French Riots : 1981-2004. In *Rioting in the UK and France - A Comparative Analysis* (Waddington, D., Jobard, F., and King, M. eds.). Willan Publishing.

- Johnson, M. & McLean, E. (2020). Discourse Analysis. *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*. Kobayashi, A. (ed.) (2nd Edition, Elsevier) 377-383.
- Laabadli, H., et al. (2025). Exploring Security and Privacy Discourse on Twitter During the Justice Pour Nahel Movement in France. In *Proceedings of the 2025 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems* (p. 1-19).
- Lawlor, A. (2015). Local and national accounts of immigration framing in a cross-national perspective. 41(6) *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 918-941.
- Linström, M., & Marais, W. (2012). Qualitative news frame analysis: a methodology. 17 *Communitas* 21-38.
- McCombs, M. E. & Protess, D. (2016). *Agenda Setting*. (Routledge, London).
- Meyers, C. & Abrams, K. (2010) Feeding the Debate: A Qualitative Framing Analysis of Organic Food News Media Coverage. 94(3) *Journal of Applied Communications* 3-21.
- Miller, J.E. (2011) Algerian, French, Refugees, Repatriates, Immigrants? Harki Citizens in Post-Imperial France (1962-2005). Dissertation submitted at Pennsylvania State University, available at https://etda.libraries.psu.edu/files/final_submissions/7164 (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Modood , T. & Uberoi, V. (2012) Inclusive Britishness: A Multiculturalist Advance. 61(1) *Political Studies* 23-41.
- Mucchielli, L. (2009). Autumn 2005: A Review of the Most Important Riot in the History of French Contemporary Society. 35(5) *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 731–751.
- Murray, G. (2006). France: the riots and the Republic. 47(4) *Race & Class* 26-45.

- Nagel, C. & Lutter, M. (2021). The 2017 French riots and trust in the police: A quasi-experimental approach. 20(1) *European Journal of Criminology* 270-291.
- Pan, Z., & Kosicki, G. M. (1993). Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse. 10 *Political Communication* 55-75.
- Pan, Z., Kosicki, G. M. (2001) Framing as a Strategic Action in Public Deliberation. In *Framing Public Life*. Reese, S. D. et al. (eds.) (Routledge, New York) 83-94.
- Pelabay, J. (2020). Integration by Contract and the 'Values of the Republic'. In *Europe and the Refugee Response*. Gozdzia, E. M., Main, I., & Suter, B. (eds.) (Routledge, London) 111-127.
- Rodríguez-García, D. (2010). Beyond Assimilation and Multiculturalism: A Critical Review of the Debate on Managing Diversity. 11 *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 251-271.
- Roux, G., Purenne, A., & Talpin, J. (2023). The experience of discrimination and citizenship: A study with inhabitants of French banlieue neighborhoods. 3 *Appartenances & Altérités* (Online).
- Schafran, A., & Le Moigne, Y. (2022). *Between the Suburbs and the Banlieue* (Routledge).
- Schemer, C. (2012) The influence of news media on stereotypic attitudes toward immigrants in a political campaign. 62(5) *Journal of Communication* 739-757.
- Schneider, C. L. (2008). Police power and race riots in Paris. 36(1) *Politics & Society* 133-159.

- Shoemaker, P., & Mayfield, E. K. (1987) Building a Theory of News Content. Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Publication. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED284240.pdf> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Slooter, L. (2021) Urban Uprisings: The Troubled Relationship Between Citizens and Police in France, the UK, and the USA. 15(1) Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice 440-452.
- Snow, D. & Vliegenthart, R. (2007) Framing the French Riots: A Comparative Study of Frame Variation. 86(2) Social Forces 385-416.
- Thenault, S. (2007). The State of Emergency Law (1955–2005): The History of a Law from Colonial Algeria to Contemporary France. 1(218) Le Mouvement Social 63-78.
- Thussu, D. (2022). De-colonizing Global News-flows: A Historical Perspective. 23 Journalism Studies 1578 - 1592.
- Topcu, S. (2002). From Resistance to Co-Management? Rethinking Scientization in the Contestation of the Technosciences. 8(1) Engaging Science, Technology, and Society 128-149.
- Tworek, H.J.S. (2020). Digital History and Global Publics. In Global Publics: Their Powers and Limits, 1870-1990. Huber, V. & Osterhammel, J. (eds.) (OUP, Oxford) 313-342.
- Vasist, P.N. et al. (2025). a comparison of ‘organizing forces’ on reddit and youtube networks: insights from the france riots of 2023. Information Systems Frontiers.
- Wodak, R. (2014). Critical discourse analysis. In The Routledge companion to English studies. Leung, C. & Street, B. (eds.) (Routledge, Londons) 302-316.

- Zelizer, B. (2010). Journalism's Memory Work. In Cultural Memory Studies. Erll, A. & Nunning, A. (eds.). (De Gruyter, Berlin) 379-388.
- Zhang, J. (2024). International Media Analysis: Critical Analysis Comparing News Reports in Listed West/South Digital Media. 46 Journal of Education, Humanities and Social Sciences 124-127.

Online Articles & Websites

- Allsop, J. (2022, March 15) The biases in coverage of the war in Ukraine. Columbia Journalism Review. www.cjr.org/the_media_today/media_bias_ukraine_war.php (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Avraamidou, M. The "Refugee Crisis" as a Eurocentric Media Construct: An Exploratory Analysis of Pro-Migrant Media Representations in the Guardian and the New York Times. 18(1) TripleC - Communication, Capitalism & Critique. <https://www.triple-c.at/index.php/tripleC/article/view/1080/1361> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Baker, R. (2023) Les Banlieues The story of the neglected French suburbs. Mancunian Matters. <https://schoolofjournalism.shorthandstories.com/les-banlieues/index.html> (accessed on 31 July 2025).
- Bechrouri, I. (2023). On the Anti-Racist Revolt in France. Spectre Journal. <https://spectrejournal.com/on-the-anti-racist-revolt-in-france/> (accessed on 31 July 2025).
- Bennet, J. 'When the New York Times lost its way' (2023, December 16). The Economist.

<https://www.economist.com/1843/2023/12/14/when-the-new-york-times-lost-its-way>
(accessed on 05 July 2025).

- Benneyworth, IJ. (2011) The Ongoing Relationship Between France and its Former African Colonies. E-International Relations.
<https://www.e-ir.info/2011/06/11/the-ongoing-relationship-between-france-and-its-former-african-colonies/> (accessed on 20 July 2025).
- Bertossi, C. (2020, December). Etudes de l'ifri.
https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/migrated_files/documents/atoms/files/bertossi_im_migrant_integration_2020.pdf (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Bourne, R. (2016) The Problem of Bias in the BBC. Institute of Economic Affairs.
<https://iea.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/BBC%20Bias%20Chp%203.pdf> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Brenner, Y. (2019, April) Mixed Migration Centre.
https://mixedmigration.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/063_briefing-paper_Rohingya_India.pdf (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Burke, J. (2005). Fires of 'civil war' erupt in Paris. The Guardian.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/oct/30/france.jasonburke> (accessed on 31 July 2025).
- Cesari, J. (2005, November 30). Ethnicity, Islam, and les banlieues: Confusing the Issues. Social Sciences Research Council.
<https://items.ssrc.org/riots-in-france/ethnicity-islam-and-les-banlieues-confusing-the-issues/> (accessed 30 July 2025).

- Chevalier, T. (2023). Metacrisis, not civil war: Examining France's unrest in June/July 2023. 3(2) Emancipations 1.
- Chrisafis, A. (2015). The trial that could lay bare France's racial divide. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/15/trial-france-racial-divide> (accessed on 31 July 2025).
- Citrin, J., Levy, M., & Wright, M. (2014). Multicultural Policy and Political Support in European Democracies. 47 Comparative Political Studies 1531-1557.
- Diallo, R. (2024, April 12). What has 20 years of banning headscarves done for France?. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2024/apr/12/ban-headscarves-france-secularism-exclusion-intolerance> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Duval Smith, A. (2005). Lyon burns as riots hit city centre. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/nov/13/france.alexduvalsmith> (accessed on 31 July 2005).
- El Karoui, H., & Lefebvre, I. (2022). The future is being played out in poor neighborhoods. Institut Montaigne. <https://www.institutmontaigne.org/publications/lavenir-se-joue-dans-les-quartiers-pauvres> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Elysee. (2018). Speech by the President of the Republic France, an opportunity for everyone. www.elysee.fr/emmanuel-macron/2018/05/23/la-france-une-chance-pour-chacun (accessed on 20 July 2025).

- Escafré-Dublet, A. (2014, August). Mainstreaming immigrant integration policy in France Education, Employment, And Social Cohesion Initiatives. Migration Policy Institute.
<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/Mainstreaming-France-FINAL.pdf> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- European Commission (2016) European Commission Communication: Action Plan on the integration & Inclusion 2021-2027, COM(2020) 758.
- Euronews. (2023). Riots in France: what are the differences between the urban violence of 2023 and 2005?.
<https://www.euronews.com/2023/07/08/riots-in-france-what-are-the-differences-between-the-urban-violence-of-2023-and-2005> (accessed on 31 July 2025).
- Foroudi, L. & Campenhout, C.V. (2023). France riots: Minister deploys 45,000 police amid riots. Reuters.
<https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/frances-macron-hold-new-crisis-meeting-after-third-night-riots-2023-06-30/> (accessed on 31 July 2025).
- French Republic. (2025). What is the Republican Integration Contract (CIR)?.
<https://www.service-public.fr/particuliers/vosdroits/F17048> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Griffith, T. (1999). 1959: The Pursuit of Journalism. Nieman Reports.
<https://niemanreports.org/1959-the-pursuit-of-journalism/> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Harries, K. (2024, April 24) France's Immigration Crackdown Starts to Crumble. Michigan State International Law Review Blog.
<https://www.msuilr.org/new-blog/2024/4/24/frances-immigration-crackdown-starts-to-crumble> (accessed on 05 July 2025).

- Hamidani, S. (2020). Colonial Legacy in Algerian–French Relations. 13 Contemporary Arab Affairs 69-85.
- Harzoune, M. (2022). Histoire Immigration. <https://www.histoire-immigration.fr/en/migration/since-when-has-france-been-a-land-of-immigration> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Henley, J. (2023). French police’s tendency to violence questioned after latest killing. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/jun/30/french-police-tendency-to-violence-questioned-after-latest-killing> (accessed on 31 July 2025).
- House, J. & MacMaster, N. (2006) Paris 1961: Algerians, State Terror, and Memory. (Oxford University Press).
- Independent (2022, July 16). Studies: France is a melting pot but discrimination lurks. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/france-ap-studies-paris-asian-b2124610.html> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- INED, ‘How many immigrants are there in France?’ (January, 2025) https://www.ined.fr/en/everything_about_population/demographic-facts-sheets/faq/how-many-immigrants-france/ (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- INSEE (2025A) Demographic balance sheet 2021. <https://www.insee.fr/en/statistiques/6040011?sommaire=6323335> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- INSEE. (2025B). In Q1 2025, the unemployment rate was virtually stable at 7.4%. <https://www.insee.fr/en/statistiques/8571298> (accessed on 31 July 2025).

- INSEE. (2025C). Full set of local data - Municipality of Nanterre (92050). <https://www.insee.fr/en/statistiques/6457611?geo=COM-92050> (accessed on 31 July 2025).
- INSEE. (2016). Les habitants des quartiers de la politique de la ville. <https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/2121538#titre-bloc-5>
- INSEE (2021). Population changes: Demographic balance sheet 2021 - Retrospective tables. <https://www.insee.fr/en/statistiques/6040011?sommaire=6323335> (accessed on 20 July 2025).
- Jordi, J. 1962: the French exodus from Algeria. (2025) Chemins de Memoire. <https://www.cheminsdememoire.gouv.fr/en/1962-french-exodus-algeria> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- King, I. (2022) True Sovereignty? The CFA Franc and French Influence in West and Central Africa. Harvard International Review. <https://hir.harvard.edu/true-sovereignty-the-cfa-franc-and-french-influence-in-west-and-central-africa/> (accessed on 20 July 2025).
- Laurence, J. and Vaisse, J. 2005. Immigration and race riots are, both in France and globally, a major political issue. Brookings. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/understanding-urban-riots-in-france/> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- MENA Research Center (2022, November 24). Is France heading toward demographic change?. <https://www.mena-researchcenter.org/is-france-heading-toward-demographic-change/> (accessed on 05 July 2025).

- MIPEX (2020). <https://www.mipex.eu/key-findings> (accessed on 21 July 2025).
- Mixed Migration Centre (2020) <https://mixedmigration.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Insights-evidence-introduction-to-MMC.pdf> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Moncada, M. (2023, March 03). Migration narratives in media and social media: the case of France. Bridges. <https://www.bridges-migration.eu/publications/migration-narratives-in-media-and-social-media-the-case-of-france/> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Moran, M. (2010). Nicolas Sarkozy: a one-trick pony?. Open Democracy. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/opensecurity/nicolas-sarkozy-one-trick-pony/> (accessed on 31 July 2025).
- Morawska, E. (2015). In defense of the assimilation model. In *Incorporating Diversity* (Kivisto, P. ed.) 128-137 (Routledge).
- Murray, G. (2006). France: the riots and the Republic. 47 *Race & Class* 26-45.
- Overstraeten, B.V. & Garcia, H. (2023). Sporadic violence, but calmer night in France after family buries teenager. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/france-deploys-45000-police-armored-vehicles-amid-riots-2023-07-01/> (accessed on 31 July 2025).
- Pineau, E. & Overstraeten, B.V. (2023). Rioters assault home of French mayor, injure his wife. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/rioters-ram-raid-home-french-mayor-wife-injured-2023-07-02/> (accessed on 31 July 2025).

- Reuters (2024, August 7). Explainer: Why are there riots in the UK and who is behind them?.
<https://www.reuters.com/world/uk/why-are-there-riots-uk-who-is-behind-them-2024-08-07/> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Richards, L., Fernández-Reino, M. & Blinder, S. (2025, January 24). Migration Observatory.
<https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/uk-public-opinion-toward-immigration-overall-attitudes-and-level-of-concern/> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Roy, D., Klobucista, C., & Cheatham, A. (2024, August 7) CFR.
<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/us-immigration-debate-0> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Saada, E. (2000). Abdelmalek Sayad and the double absence. 18(1) French Politics, Culture & Society 28-47.
- Sahlins, P. (2006, October 24). Riots in France. Social Sciences Research Council.
<https://items.ssrc.org/category/riots-in-france/> (accessed 30 July 2025).
- Saïdani, A. (2023). To Belong or Not To Belong: Ethnic, Religious and National Identities among second and third-generation Algerians in a Post-Colonial France (Doctoral dissertation, University of York).
<https://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/id/eprint/34460/> (accessed on 31 July 2025).
- Song, W., et al. (2024). Differentiated Secularism: Discourse shaping of immigrants from different religious backgrounds in the French media. 11 Humanities and Social Sciences Communications, 1-13.
- The Guardian. (2005). Clashes continue in Paris suburbs.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/nov/02/france> (accessed on 31 July 2025).

- The Guardian. (2005, November 03). French youths open fire on police.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/nov/03/france> (accessed on 31 July 2025).
- The Washington Times. (2005). Seeds of militancy seen in fiery riots.
<https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2005/nov/20/20051120-124044-9694r/>
(accessed on 31 July 2025).
- Telhami, S. (2023, June 15). Al Jazeera: The Most-Feared News Network. Brookings.
<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/al-jazeera-the-most-feared-news-network/> (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Tissot, S. (2008). French Suburbs: A New Problem or a New Approach to Social Exclusion. CES Working Paper Series 160.
https://ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/wps/gspe/0015983/f_0015983_13861.pdf (accessed on 05 July 2025).
- Ulichina, I. (2017). Politics of History in France. 84(4) *Politologija* 54-85.
- Vertovec, S., & Wessendorf, S. (Eds.). (2010). *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practice* (Routledge).
- World Bank (2025). Algeria.
<https://thedocs.worldbank.org/en/doc/65cf93926fdb3ea23b72f277fc249a72-0500042021/related/mpo-dza.pdf> (accessed on 20 July 2025).