

‘First Wave’ Portrayals of the ‘Grands Ensembles’ in Contemporary France: Mythifying the ‘Cité’, Shaping the Nation (1971–1981)

BRUNO LeVASSEUR

The University of Western Australia

In France, the portrayals of the nation in recent decades have mainly revolved around the advertising of the “banlieues” as a social problem. Generally speaking, the suburbs inside French society have been connected with recurrent images of “failed urban communities torn apart by violence, drugs, delinquency, unemployment and above all, young North African immigrants” (Derderian 145). Yet, prior to the rise of the immigrant problem, the issue in the 1970s of the deprived “cités rouges” had been at the core of the national debate. The destitution and marginality of their inhabitants symbolized the decline of the national community. They also called into question the integration and citizenship of the working-class in the nation.

Popular culture has played a vital part in stimulating debate about the suburbs in their relation to the national community. More specifically, representations of the “immigrant banlieues” (Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992, 58) have been used to reflect on the national threat posed by the settlement of diasporic population. Here, my goal will be to propose a historical decentering in the study of suburban narratives and explore a first wave portrayals

of the “cités,” that of the “cités rouges.” My analysis is based on early portraits of a notorious working-class suburb, the Cité des Quatre-Mille, situated in La Courneuve in the north east of Paris. Through a close reading of the constructivism of the Quatre-Mille estate, I shall show how, between 1971 and 1981, the journalistic and artistic discourse combined to reactivate a deeply entrenched “class racism” in the French nation.

More precisely, my main purpose here will be to demonstrate how some cultural depictions of the housing projects played a part in the early characterization of the “cités rouges” as a social problem. According to historian Antoine Prost (7), the working-class suburbs, by conflating “la misère, le chaos, la délinquance, la barbarie,” have played a central part in the discourse on inclusion and exclusion in France; they have especially been used as a foil to the bourgeois center, which is associated with “[la] culture,” “la civilisation,” “le capitalisme” (7). Although recent images of the immigrant “banlieues” have been crucial in delineating suburban narratives, I contend here that the problematization of the “grands ensembles” during the 1970s represented a major feature of the French national debate. The sources under examination focus on the Quatre-Mille and include excerpts from television (*1ère chaîne* and *2è chaîne*), newspaper and magazine articles (*Paris-Jour*, *L’Aurore*, *France-Soir*, *Paris-Match*) as well as a feature film (Alain Corneau’s *Le Choix des armes* 1981), a novel (Frédéric Rey’s *L’Enarque et le voyou* 1974) and a song (Renaud’s “Adieu minette” 1977). Drawing on Roland Barthes’s conception of myth, I shall argue here that these early cultural creations pervading the public imaginary of the 1970s did not only contribute to constructing a mythical image of the “cité rouge,” but also actively shaped the discourse on space, difference and belonging in the French nation.

**Contemporary France and the “Banlieues” Issue:
National Politics, Cultural Representations of the Suburbs,
Overlooked Portrayals of the “Grands Ensembles”**

In contemporary France, the “banlieues” issue has been at the centre of the national debate for many years now. First, a common characteristic of a nation is the fact that its existence is “imagined.” Each nation derives its cohesion by portraying itself in symbols, myths, legends and other elements, all referring to such notions as a specific territory, a shared language, and some common habits and practices. At the core of the national rhetoric, these items combine to represent what Balibar calls a “fiction” or a “myth” (130). In France, the construction of the “banlieues” as a social problem is certainly not as new as it may seem. Many historians have demonstrated how, in the 19th century, the labouring classes housed in segregated quarters of the cities were perceived as a most dangerous threat to French society (Chevalier; Merriman). Similarly, in the second half of the century, the inhabitants of the “zone” located outside Paris were seen as a subversive peril at the doors of the capital. In France, this magnified fear of the masses, justifying the urban exclusion of the proletariat, has also constituted a distinctive feature of the 20th century. After the “red belts” of the interwar years, the “cités rouges” have embodied, throughout the 1970s, spatial alterity, social distance and political subversion.

In French popular culture, representations of the “grands ensembles” are also, and logically, part of this “lointain héritage” (Boyer and Lochar 37), which largely antedated the building of the housing projects. Before the fear of the “cités rouges,” the theme of the immigrant problem has served to shape the common depiction of the suburbs. In the process, it has transformed the “cités immigrées” into the foreign lands of the nation. Specialists of postcolonial France, Simone Bonnafous and Alec Hargreaves, demonstrated how the racially oriented journalistic rhetoric of the 1980s and 1990s played a part in creating deviant portrayals of the suburbs by assimilating the immigrants as a-social and a-cultural

elements. Similarly, both Carrie Tarr and Leonard Koos showed how cinematic, fictional and musical productions contributed to heightening the threat posed by the “banlieues” and the so-called cultural difference of diasporic communities. My purpose here is by no means to undermine the significance of these studies (and others), which have spotlighted the connections between space, race and ethnicity in contemporary France. However, I want to contend that this focus on the relationship between immigration and “cité” has testified to a narrow take on depictions of the housing projects. Not only did this take hinder the specific portrayals of the French workers as a “*damné*” (Lazar) but, more importantly, it has also overshadowed the significance of the stigmatization of the “*cités rouges*” during the 1970s.

Representations of the “banlieues” issue in contemporary France—even if the point has been dismissed by critics—has also been linked to the existence of overlooked depictions of the periphery related to the “*cités rouges*.” In this study, my purpose is to re-read what I have called, first wave of representations of the “*grands ensembles*,” and re-situate their overlooked portrayals as a significant component of the history of the narratives of the suburbs. I shall propose, as a general rule, that the overlooked first wave representations of the “*grands ensembles*” have largely contributed to shaping the stereotypes and the *topoi* of (sub) urban exclusion in contemporary France. Inscribed in a “*petite bourgeoise*” vision of society at the core of the “*doxa*,” I contend that the early portrayals of the “*cités rouges*,” divided between “*violence*” and “*noirceur*” (Papiaud), constitute a substratum for the depictions of the “*grand ensembles*.” Reflecting on a strong populism (Wieviorka 181), these depictions not only broaden our knowledge of representations of the working-class “*cité*,” but also help us rethink the developments of the “banlieues” issue in the French nation.

My analysis of the portrayals of the “*cités rouges*” in 1970s France is based on the estate of the *Quatre-Mille* situated in La Courneuve. An emblematic suburban town affected by violent and dramatic

events, La Courneuve and its housing project have received much attention in French popular culture, not only as a “cité immigrée” but also as a “cité rouge” (Breton 67). In this study, I shall propose that the early journalistic coverage of the Quatre-Mille by the *1ère* and *2è chaîne*, *Paris-Jour*, *L’Aurore*, *France-Soir*, *Paris-Match*, along with the following artistic creations (Alain Corneau’s *Le Choix des armes*, Frédéric Rey’s *L’Enarque et le voyou* and Renaud’s *Adieu Minette*), contributed to portraying La Courneuve as a myth inside the nation. My analysis will fall into three parts. I will first deal with the spatial alterity of the Quatre-Mille. I will then examine the social distance displayed by the depictions of the “cité.” Finally, I will concentrate on the subversive political threat represented by the “grand ensemble.”

An “Other” Space

In recent years, the dissemination of stereotypical images of the suburbs has identified the “cités” with crime, flames and revolts. The circulation of these sensational and dramatic images has thus played a crucial part in characterizing the periphery as a special territory, a dangerous site, an “other” space of the nation, though situated within its limits. In his classic “Of Other Spaces,” Michel Foucault has underlined the existence of “heterotopias” inside national communities. “Heterotopias,” for Foucault, crystallize “spaces of deviation (. . .) spaces where individual whose behavior is deviant in relation to the norm are placed.” The first impressions of La Courneuve’s housing project greatly intersect with spatial ab-normality characteristic of a class racism.

In *Mise en image d’une banlieue ordinaire*, Christian Bachmann and Luc Basier examine the metaphorical use of gigantism, disease and violence. A noticeable feature of the portrayals of the Quatre-Mille during the 1970s is the way a high proportion of journalists and artists depict this “cité rouge” as a monstrous space. When evoking the specific morphology of the estate, some newspapers and magazines talk about the “monstrueuse cité dortoir” (*L’Aurore* 8 mars 1971) as “inhumaine” (*Paris-Jour* 8 mars 1971), while some televisual programmes (“Le drame de La Courneuve” *1ère*

chaîne JT 20h 6 mars 1971) underline through camera work the dehumanization of the “barres” and the “tours” of the “cité.” These depictions, which are suggestive of a different space, find an echo in the way artists portray the Quatre-Mille in their work. Examples in the films, fictions and songs of this period are numerous. In *Le Choix des armes*, Corneau, like Renaud in *Adieu Minette*, alludes on screen to the gigantism and uniformity of the urban block. In *L'Enarque et le voyou*, Rey describes at length the “hideur du monde” of the protagonist (63) mainly composed of “béton” and “plastique” (198).

Illustrations of the monstrous architecture of La Courneuve, which characterizes the “grand ensemble” as a special space, appear continuously, and in various subtle ways in journalistic and artistic discourse. They therefore contribute to shaping the general discourse on the working-class suburbs in their abnormal relation to the nation. In addition to their monstrosity, images of the diseases and dirt pervading the “cités rouges” abound. More than in the televisual media which, in the 1970s, were under the control of the State, articles from the written press talk about the “bâtiment lépreux” (Basier and Bachmann 28) or the “maladie des grands ensembles” (*Paris-Match* 20 mars 1971) or even the “maladie (. . .) qui écaille le coeur des habitants.” In a similar vein, repulsive artistic impressions of the housing project are multiple. The most illuminating example suggestive of the “otherness” of La Courneuve’s “cité rouge” certainly comes from Rey’s novel. The author’s emphasis on the dirt, along with his taste for the sordid, remind us of Pierre Bourdieu’s words (19), “Avec des mots ordinaires, on n’épate [pas] le bourgeois. Il faut des mots extraordinaires”:

Depuis longtemps, je ne faisais plus attention aux lieux que j’habitais. De temps en temps, une nouvelle copine ou un nouveau copain me disait: “Il est drôlement dégueulasse ton HLM.” Alors, je rouvrais les yeux: les gosses chiaient sur les marches d’escalier et se torchaient au mur (Rey 16)

Descriptions of the “grands ensembles” in the 1970s, with their focus on the monstrosity and pathologies of the working-class,

thus provide us with a fairly familiar image of the suburbs. Yet, the most significant characteristic of the otherness of the “*cit  rouge*” probably concerns its level of dangerousness. In her study of the town of Bobigny during the interwar period, Annie Fourcaut (1986) indicates how the myth of the “wild west” came to symbolize the violence of the “red belt.” Going back to images of La Courneuve in the 1970s, the most illuminating example regarding the exaggeration of suburban violence concerns the “Huet affair” in 1971. If the televisual and print media provided ample comments on the tragic “fait-divers,” the coverage by *Paris-Match* (20 mars 1971), which focused on the “image du western,” strongly exemplifies the radical “otherness” of La Courneuve. The manner in which the journalist colours the tragedy does not only contribute to americanize the “*cit *,” but also mythifies the violence prevailing in the working-class. By complementing the spatial otherness of the “banlieue,” the social cultural distance of the outskirts constitutes another striking thematic regarding the developing in the 1970s of the suburbs as a social problem.

Socio-Cultural Alterity

Traditionally, the discourse on the “grands ensembles” as a national issue has been concomitant with a rhetoric that has contributed to turning the urban periphery into a zone of relegation. Presented in the light of their difference to the rest of society, the housing projects have often been regarded as a socially and culturally separated zone, as deprived enclaves far from the normative national culture. Discussing the alterity of the margins, Dubet and Lapeyronnie state that the “banlieue est m pris e [:] elle est hors de la soci t  et r duite   une s rie de probl mes sociaux” (10). The main interest of the early depictions of the Quatre-Mille is to situate, in accordance with class racism, the “*cit s rouges*” as an a-social and a-cultural territory inside the nation.

In the context of the crisis, the continuous rise in unemployment and poverty amplified the prejudices against the working-class representatives confined in the declining “*cit s*.” Jean-Claude

Chamboredon and Madeleine Lemaire indicate in “Proximité spatiale, distance sociale” that “les rapports entre les groupes hétérogènes sont dominés par l’opposition de la morale petite bourgeoise à la condition populaire” (23). The depictions of the inhabitants of the Quatre-Mille in the 1970s clearly testify to the so-called insuperable difference of the suburban proletariat as perceived by the rest of society. A significant point about the dominant portrayals of La Courneuve during this period relates to the construction of a certain alienness of the residents of the “cité.” This alienness first manifests itself in reports of their use of language. Logically, Renaud’s song, *Adieu Minette*, which features a certain working-class slang, illustrates the discrepancy between linguistic standard and popular norms. However, it is probably in the media that the notion of not belonging to the linguistic space appears more forcefully. If the television appearances of the inhabitants of La Courneuve reflect on a suburban accent and mode of speech (“Incident à La Courneuve” *2è chaîne JT 20h* 6 mars 1971), the painstaking portrayal of the relatives of the murdered youth, which focuses on their lack of linguistic capital, is eloquent. It places the “cité rouge” outside the “communauté de langue” (Balibar 132): “-J’té dis moi que le patron est mort. C’t’un homme mort, j’té dis. Lui, son fils, sa femme, I sont tous morts’. Il parle, il parle, mais comme il n’a pas beaucoup de mots, il fait de grands gestes . . .” (*Paris-Match* 20 mars 1971).

Besides their difficulty or inability to express themselves according to the linguistic norm, the characterisation of the inhabitants of La Courneuve further stresses the outsider quality of the residents of the “cités rouges,” just like the journalists of the printed word, who commonly portray the suburbanites, in a way that emphasizes their subhumanness—“la lie de la population parisienne est venue s’y installer” (*Paris-Jour* 6 mars 1971). A similar process is at work under the pen of Rey. The author of *L’Enarque et le voyou* forcefully insists on the incredible filth and ugliness of the characters: “baskets pourris” (134), “vêtements pourris” (155), “teint brique” (238). Going beyond the principal invariants of their social uniform, he also reduces the proletariat to animals as shown

by his description of the protagonist: “Je suis comme un animal qui emporte à l’écart son os pour le savourer” (142).

Depictions of the working-class suburbs and their concentration on the outsidership of the residents through their linguistic practices and appearance thus reactivate the prevalent differentialist image of the worker. One last main interest concerning the emphasis on the alienness of the suburban proletariat relates to the abyssal difference between popular and “petit bourgeois” modes of life. In *Le Monde privé des ouvriers*, Olivier Schwarz showed the specificities of working-class culture and demonstrated the singularity of daily life inside a housing project. The manner in which the journalistic, literary and musical discourse represent La Courneuve’s “grand ensemble” illustrates in an exemplary way socio-cultural alterity prevailing in the “cités rouges.” From this perspective, Corneau’s *Le Choix des armes* is probably the creation which provides the audience with the most essentialist outlook on the Quatre-Mille. Examples of daily life difficulties and specific practices among the residents are found continuously in the movie. The scenes at the beginning when the family of a local man, Dany, shelters a dangerous thief (Mickey) are illuminating in this respect. Corneau’s camera, which invites us to discover the interior of the apartment (Figure 1 and 2), not only shows a family having specific popular tastes in terms of decoration, but also presents them as possessing



Figure 1.



Figure 2.



Figure 3.



Figure 4.

All images Corneau 1981.

a (very) distinctive lifestyle within which drinking prevails. The insertion of these scenes, in between sequences showing the cosy bourgeois environment of Noël's mansion (Figure 3 and 4), insidiously reinforces the alterity of the "cite."

The manufacturing of a mythical image of the "grands ensembles" in the 1970s does not limit itself to a focus on spatial otherness and socio-cultural alterity, both of which structure the discourse on the periphery as a problem for the nation. One last and most significant element of the "cités rouges" during this period is certainly the stress on political subversion. This emphasis, in a subtle but visible way, helps to inscribe the suburbs as a potential for the political cohesion and integrity of the nation.

Political Subversion

If the "banlieues" generally came to be pictured as the lost territories of France, the early construction of the "cités" as a myth also relates to the level of danger that prevails in the housing projects. Laurent Mucchielli insists in his work about urban violence on the importance of the "faux débats civilisationnels" and the "vrais enjeux sociologiques" linked to portrayals of the working-class. He shows how some debates related to "violence" and "crise de modernité" serve "les discours politiques sécuritaires" (85). The manner in which early journalistic and artistic depictions of the housing projects perpetuate the need for control of the barbaric suburbanites, contributes to representing the "cités rouges" as a political threat while testifying to the ongoing class racism prevailing in 1970s France.

In *La Peur des banlieues* (1996), Henri Rey examines the history of the deviance of the dangerous classes, personified as a threat for society and requiring policing by the State. "La banlieue rouge," he writes, "[est] perçue comme une menace, une subversion aux portes de la ville et comme une forme tangible de contre société anticipant le modèle de transformation sociale" (20). A notable characteristic of the depictions of La Courneuve's housing project, reactivating the themes of subversion and counter society during the 1970s, concerns the stress placed on the organizational

ineffectiveness of the “cités rouges.” Oscillating between the dramatic and the sensationalist, the treatment of the organizational dysfunctions existing in the “grands ensembles” accentuates the menace represented by the youths. In this regard, the “Huet affair” provides a logical reason for the editorial press to highlight the lack of facilities and social control in the suburbs as well as the extreme danger this represents for the rest of society. The following headlines unquestionably exemplify the potential risk of subversion prevailing in the “grand ensemble”: “Jeunes en révolte à La Courneuve après le drame du café” (*France-Soir* 8 mars 1971), “La cité de la peur” (*France-Soir* 9 mars 1971), “Le feu couve dans la cité” (*L’Aurore* 8 mars 1971) and “La jungle de La Courneuve” (*Paris-Match* 20 mars 1971). Predictably, the tone of the televisual discourse sounds rather more nuanced in comparison. Yet the closing remark of a debate involving the “préfet” and some inhabitants of the “cité” leaves the viewer perplexed about the feasibility of a political management of the site: “Cet ensemble très monolithique est inhumain. Il faut donner une âme (. . .) un équilibre entre habitat et tous les équipements auxquels on vient de faire allusion [“des terrains de football, des équipements médico sociaux, des équipements scolaires”] (“La Courneuve vue par ses habitants.” *2è chaîne Le Troisième œil* 27 mars 1971).

Similarly, the imperative need for policing social disorder is a major theme of artistic creations and evocations of the Quatre-Mille. In *Le Choix des armes*, Corneau provides an opportunity to discover the derelict estate, but more importantly the filmmaker’s camera also highlights the shortage of facilities in the “cité.” The sequence of the car ride in the Quatre-Mille, where one of the protagonists endeavours to track down Mickey (the thief), underscores the organizational disorder of the place. Along the same line, Renaud’s *Adieu minette* is equally telling. The biased evocation of the housing project by the singer not only reflects its institutional void—“A La Courneuve y’a pas d’école, y’a que des prisons et du béton” (song), but the central part of the line evokes features of a penitentiary in which the city outskirts function as a space to isolate dangerous individuals who represent a risk

for the cohesion and integrity of the community. In journalistic and artistic discourse, the emphasis is placed on the need for a political management of the “cité” and this contributes to equating the outskirts with societal subversion. At the same time, through the sensationalist and the dramatic posture adopted both by journalists and artists, it creates a fictitious image of the working-class community. Another major element concerning the threat of political subversion imposed by the “cités rouges” relates to the revolutionary ideals at work within the city margins.

In French history, working-class suburbs have commonly been portrayed as “[des] contre-sociétés” (Lazar and Courtois 282) and their residents as menacing invaders camping “at the gates of the city” (Stovall 9). If the political role of the French Communist Party has undergone a noticeable decline in the course of the 1970s, the traditional association between “banlieue” and revolution (Fourcault *Banlieue Rouge*, 12) remains in the 1970s a crucial element of representations of the “cités rouges” in general and the Quatre-Mille in particular. Suggestive of a societal takeover, the trope of invasion constitutes a major specificity of the journalistic discourse, but also and most importantly of artistic representations. In *Le Choix des armes*, the spectacular irruption by Mickey in Noël’s bourgeois mansion (Figure 4) certainly is strongly suggestive of the violence and the longstanding project of the storming of the centre by the periphery. Besides Corneau, a similar evocative image of a societal take over is present in Renaud’s song. Here, the radical difference is that figuration of this coup is evoked on a lighter note:

tu m’as téléphoné cent fois/
 pour que j’aille te voir à Neuilly/
 dans ton pavillon près du bois/
 et j’ai dit oui j’ai dit oui/
 j’suis v”nu un soir à ta surboum/
 avec vingt trois d”mes potes/
 on a piétiné tes loukoums/
 avec nos bottes/
 (song)

Beyond the trope of invasion, the expression of the revolutionary ideals prevailing in the suburbs is also translated by the promise of the imminent destruction of society. Once again, numerous examples can be found in the journalistic and artistic discourse that account for the danger represented by young revolutionaries eager to replace the current model of society. First, this theme is apparent in Rey's *L'Enarque et le voyou*. The way in which the young protagonist, who happens to be described as a "barbare" and a "hun" (156), discusses society is telling. Showing him as torn between his rejection and attraction to the "Parti" (212), Rey tells how the young protagonist chooses to go back to La Courneuve and its "eaux rouges" (66) to pursue his own "rebellion contre la bourgeoisie" (236). Overall, however, the most frightening description regarding the revolutionary project incarnated by the residents of the "cités rouges," and the threat of subversion in this period, probably comes from *Paris-Match* (20 mars 1971). The following excerpt not only displays an extremely sensationalist account of the tragic "fait-divers," but projects all the ills of French society on the Quatre-Mille. More specifically, it forcefully demonstrates how the "exposition decorative" of the myth is at the core of the interpretation of the "cités rouges" as a problem inside the nation:

Rois de ce désastre, seigneurs de cette guerre permanente qui chaque nuit éclate à La Courneuve: les bandes de jeunes. Enragés et qui sèment la peur. Leur domaine: la rue et les caves. On y vole, on y attaque, on y pille, on y viole. On y règne dans l'impunité la plus absolue (. . .) Et si l'insécurité, le viol, le vandalisme et le crime, chaque jour un peu plus était destinés à devenir maîtres (. . .) du centre de nos villes (. . .) Nos métropoles, nos villes deviendront des jungles (Barthes 219).

Conclusion

In France, representations of the "cités rouges" as part of first wave portrayals of the "grands ensembles" have offered a significant insight into the problematization of the suburbs inside the national community. Characterized by class racism, I suggest that the cultural

depictions of the “cités rouges” during the 1970s have constituted a significant moment in the history of the representations “grands ensembles,” which has coincided with the mythification of the housing projects in the French nation.

In contemporary France, the “cités rouges” have certainly formed a major “substratum” of the portrayals of the city margins. Translating a longstanding opposition between the center and periphery, representations of the “cités rouges” in journalism and art participated in an early manufacturing of the vertical “banlieues” as a territory torn between difference and violence, and perpetuated most of the negative and dark images usually attached to the periphery. By reflecting on the menace posed by the working-class suburbs, they have inscribed the “grands ensembles” as a social problem inside the nation. Similarly, they have brought to the fore the imaginary dimension of the national community (Balibar “La Forme Nation,” 130).

Barthes remarks in *Mythologies* that une “même pâte ‘naturelle’ recouvre les représentations nationales” (229). Throughout the 1970s, the stress of journalists and artists on the otherness of the “cités rouges” has helped naturalized the common perception of the “banlieue” as apart from the nation. Likewise their focus on the social distance and political subversion incarnated by the “cités rouges” has participated in essentializing the image of the periphery as a threat for the rest of society. Resorting to all the stereotypes and received ideas about the city margins, they have thus contributed to developing an early “moral panic” (Cohen) regarding the “cité” issue. At the same time, they provided a reductive and simplistic insight into the increasing dysfonctionnings within the nation.

In his analysis of the French suburbs, Alain Bertho argues that the “banlieues” today represent places deprived of history (15). Overall, it can be said that current research about issues of space, race and nation in contemporary France should not discard the working-class legacy of the stigmatized housing projects. Even though representations of the “cités immigrées” have become predominant and ethnicity and identity are now seen as societal issues, the first wave portrayals of the “cités” certainly form a

significant part of the whole suburban picture and, as such, should not be forgotten.

Works Cited

TV/ NEWSPAPER ARTICLES (UNAUTHORED)

- “Le drame de La Courneuve” *1ère chaîne JT 20h* 6 mars 1971.
“Incident à La Courneuve” *2 JT 20h* 6 mars 1971.
“La Courneuve vue par ses habitants,” *2è chaîne Le Troisième oeil* 27 mars 1971.
“Le feu couve dans la Cité.” *L’Aurore* 8 Mar. 1971. Print.
“Jeunes en révolte à La Courneuve après le drame au café.” *France Soir* 8 Mar. 1971. Print.
“La cité de la peur.” *France-Soir* 9 Mar. 1971. Print.
“La jungle de La Courneuve.” *Paris Match* 20 Mar. 1971. Print.
“Ils assiègent le café meurtrier.” *Paris Jour* 6 Mar. 1971. Print.

FILMS AND SONGS

- Corneau, Alain, dir. *Le Choix des armes*. 1981. Film.
Charef, Medhi, dir. *Le Thé au harem d’Archi Ahmed*. Mercure de France, 1983. Film.
Kassovitz, Mathieu, dir. *La Haine*. 1995. Film.
NTM. *Paris sous les bombes*. 1995. CD.
Renaud. “Adieu minette.” 1977. CD.
Rey, Frédéric. *L’Enarque et le voyou*. Paris: Flammarion, 1974. Print.

ACADEMIC REFERENCES

- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, 1983. Print.
Bachmann, Christian and Luc Basier. *Mise en image d’une banlieue ordinaire*. Paris: Syros, 1989. Print.
——— and Nicole Leguennec. *Violences urbaines*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1996. Print.
Balibar, Etienne. “La forme nation: histoire et idéologie.” *Race, Nation, Classe*. Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, Ed. Paris: La découverte. 1997. Print.
———. “Le racisme de classe.” *Race, Nation, Classe*. Ed. Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein. Paris: La découverte. 1997b. Print.
Bancel, Nicolas, Pascal Blanchard and Françoise Vergès. *La République coloniale*. Paris: Albin Michel, 2003. Print.
Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies*. Paris: Seuil, 1957. Print.

- Bertho, Alain. *Banlieue, banlieue, banlieue*. Paris: La Dispute, 1997. Print.
- Blanchard, Pascal, Nicolas Bancel and Sandrine Lemaire. (dir.). *La Fracture coloniale*. Paris: La découverte, 2005. Print.
- Bonnafoous, Simone. *L'Immigration prise aux mots*. Paris: Kimé, 1991. Print.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Sur la télévision*. Paris: Raisons d'agir, 1996. Print.
- Boyer, Henri and Guy Lochard. *Scènes de télévision en banlieues, 1950–1994*. Paris: L'harmattan, 1998. Print.
- Brenner, Emmanuel. *Les Territoires perdus de la République*. Paris: Mille et une Nuits, 2004. Print.
- Breton, Emile. *Rencontres à La Courneuve*. Paris: Temps actuel, 1983. Print.
- Chamboredon, Jean-Claude and Madeleine Lemaire. "Proximité spatiale, distance sociale. Les grands ensembles et leur peuplement." *Revue française de sociologie* XI (1970): 3–33. Print.
- Chevalier, Louis. *Classes laborieuses, classes dangereuses*. Paris: Perrin, 1958. Print.
- Clerc, Denis, Alain Lipietz and Joël Satre-Buisson. *La Crise*. Paris: Syros, 1983. Print.
- Cohen, Stanley. *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*. London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1972. Print.
- Derderian, Richard. *North Africans in Contemporary France: Becoming Visible*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004. Print.
- Dubet, François and Didier Lapeyronnie. *Les Quartiers d'exil*. Paris: Seuil, 1992. Print.
- Foucault, Michel. "Of Other Spaces." <http://foucault.info/documents/heteroTopia/foucault.heteroTopia.en.html> 1967.
- Fourcaut, Annie. *Bobigny, banlieue rouge*. Paris: Editions ouvrières, 1986. Print.
- . *Banlieue rouge, 1920–1960*. Paris: Autrement, 1992. Print.
- . "Banlieues d'hier, les Zoniers de Paris." *Intégration ou explosion? Banlieues . . .* Ed. Catherine Wihtol de Wenden and Daoud Zakya. Paris: Panoramiques, 1993.
- Hargreaves, Alec. "A Deviant Construction: The French Media and the Banlieues." *New Community* 22:4 (1996): 607–618. Print.
- Kitsuse, John and Malcolm Spector. *Constructing Social Problems*. New York: Transaction Publishers, 1977. Print.
- Koos, Leonard. "Tales of the City: Representing the HLM in Contemporary French Culture." *Forty Years of the French Fifth Republic*. Ed. Maggie Allison and Owen Heathcote. New York: Lang, 1999. Print.
- Lapeyronnie, Didier. *Ghetto urbain*. Paris: Laffont, 2008. Print.
- Lazar, Marc. "Damné de la terre et homme de marbre. L'ouvrier dans l'imaginaire du PCF du milieu des années trente à la fin des années

- cinquante." *Annales ESC* 5 (1990): 1071–1096. Print.
- Lazar, Marc and Stéphane Courtois. *Histoire du parti communiste français*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1995. Print.
- Merriman, John. *Aux Marges de la ville*. Paris: Seuil, 1994. Print.
- Mucchielli, Laurent. "Violences urbaines, réactions collectives et représentations de classe dans la jeunesse des quartiers relégués." *Actuel Marx* 26 (1999): 85–108.
- Noiriel, Gérard. *Les Ouvriers français au XIX^e et XX^e siècles*. Paris: Seuil, 1986. Print.
- Papiaud, Isabelle. *La Construction des images dans les discours sur la banlieue*. Paris: L'harmattan, 1996. Print.
- Prost, Antoine. Preface. *Bobigny, banlieue rouge*. Paris: Editions ouvrières, 1986. Print.
- Rey, Henri. *La Peur des banlieues*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po., 1996. Print.
- Schwarz, Olivier. *Le Monde privé des ouvriers*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1990. Print.
- Stebé, Jean-Marc. *La Crise des banlieues*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999. Print.
- Stovall, Tyler. "From Red Belt to Black Belt: Race, Class and Marginality in Twentieth Century Paris." *L'Esprit Créateur*. (2001): 9–23. Print.
- Tarr, Carrie. *Reframing Difference: Beur and Banlieue filmmaking in France*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2005. Print.
- Wieviorka, Michel. *La France raciste*. Paris: Seuil, 1992. Print.