



UNIVERSIDADE CATÓLICA PORTUGUESA

CULTURAL DIPLOMACY THROUGH CINEMA: THE CASE OF THE FRENCH
CINEMATOGRAFIC "EXCEPTION" IN THE ERA OF GLOBALIZATION

Internship Report presented to Universidade Católica Portuguesa to obtain a
Master's degree in Communication, Advertising and Marketing.

By

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Universidade Católica Portuguesa

Faculdade de Ciências Humanas

September 2023



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INTERNSHIP REPORT

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Under the supervision of Professor Catarina Duff Burnay

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Abstract:

This internship report comprehensively investigates the roles of French cinema in shaping national identity through cultural diplomacy and its response to globalization and Hollywood's influence. It highlights key historical developments, including the Lumière Cinematograph and the French New Wave, showcasing France's cinematic legacy and its unique "cinematographic culture."

Furthermore, the study closely examines the State's active involvement in supporting the French film industry, scrutinizing government actions contributing to its enduring presence. It also explores how the French film industry strategically responds to global challenges, revealing its adaptive strategies.

Through a content analysis approach, this research deeply explores two auteur films to uncover the unique qualities of French cinema, particularly within the global context. Ultimately, it demonstrates how France's commitment to its cultural heritage and strategic use of cinema as a diplomatic tool position it as a prominent global cultural center. France successfully maintains its cultural diversity and artistic expression while appealing to a broader international audience, emphasizing the significance of French cinema in preserving and promoting cultural diversity and safeguarding cultural identity on the global stage.

Key words: French cinema, Cultural diplomacy, Globalization, Cultural identity, Hollywood

Resumo

Este relatório de estágio investiga, de forma abrangente, os papéis do cinema francês na formação da identidade nacional por meio da diplomacia cultural e a sua resposta à globalização e à influência de Hollywood. Destaca os principais desenvolvimentos históricos, incluindo o Cinematógrafo Lumière e a Nouvelle Vague francesa, exibindo o legado cinematográfico de França e da sua cultura "cinematográfica" única.

Além disso, o estudo examina de perto o envolvimento ativo do Estado no apoio à indústria cinematográfica francesa, analisando as ações governamentais que contribuem para a sua presença duradoura. Ele também explora como a indústria cinematográfica francesa responde estrategicamente aos desafios globais, revelando as suas estratégias adaptativas.

Através de uma abordagem de análise de conteúdo, esta pesquisa explora, de forma aprofundada, dois filmes de autor para descobrir as qualidades únicas do cinema francês, especialmente no contexto global. O trabalho demonstra como o compromisso da França com o seu património cultural e o uso estratégico do cinema como ferramenta diplomática posicionam o país como um centro cultural global proeminente. A França mantém com sucesso a sua diversidade cultural e expressão artística enquanto atrai um público internacional mais amplo, enfatizando a importância do cinema francês na preservação e promoção da diversidade cultural e na salvaguarda da identidade cultural no palco global.

Palavras-chave: Cinema francês, Diplomacia cultural, Globalização, Identidade cultural, Hollywood

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INTRODUCTION

France, renowned as the *Patrie des Arts*, the birthplace of "Human Rights," and celebrated for its exquisite gastronomy, is a country often associated with these expressions. These labels are deeply rooted in France's historical legacy and contribute to its strong cultural identity. Nevertheless, one could say that it is crucial to recognize that these associations, although capturing certain facets of the country, do not fully encompass its entire reality. Because France is a remarkably diverse and complex nation that extends far beyond these broad and stereotypical perceptions. Yet, France, with its rich history and vibrant culture, has managed to create an image abroad that truly reflects its exceptional influence on various aspects of culture. The concept of *Exception Culturelle* initiated by France has garnered criticism from many authors who perceive it as a form of "cultural protectionism"¹. They argue that such an approach could potentially erect trade barriers and impede international cultural exchanges. On the other hand, some recognize the significance of this concept as it strives to safeguard and foster cultural diversity and artistic creation within France. Those who defend this idea seem to be those who consider this notion to prevent the decline of culture: "Raising the theme of French cultural exception is like trying to rehabilitate as if you were saving the furniture" (Jean Baudrillard, translated by the author, 1999)".

The notion of "Cultural Exception", being a polysemic notion, is difficult to define, and can therefore be misinterpreted. Thus, one should contextualize the creation of this notion. In 1993, driven in large part by France, the European Union made a significant decision to establish a distinctive status for audiovisual works and production, aimed at safeguarding them from the constraints of free-trade regulations. This measure rests upon the fundamental belief that cultural creation should not be treated as a simple commodity, but distinct from other commercial goods (CSA, n.d.). Thus, one could argue that this notion was initiated at a key period when the culture was threatened by the changes induced by the growing globalization and hegemony of the United States, which is ultimately based on a

¹ See among the authors: Jacques Delacroix and Julien Bornon in "Can Protectionism ever be respectable?" (2005), Serge Regourd in "Limites et contradictions de l'exception Culturelle" (2004), etc.

free-trade system, allowing the promotion of international trade without excessive restrictions.

Every country and every nation possess its unique culture, history, traditions, values, and tangible or intangible cultural heritage. Whether it serves to strengthen the sense of belonging to a culture, a group, or a shared past, or to preserve and transmit collective memory through education and institutions, cultural heritage is essential for fostering understanding and mutual respect (UNESCO, 2005). France's reputation for its unwavering commitment to both tangible and intangible cultural heritage is widely acknowledged. With an impressive total of 49 UNESCO World Heritage sites (2023), France stands as a testament to its rich historical and cultural legacy. Beyond this remarkable heritage, the country offers an extraordinary cultural experience, encompassing diverse productions, a vibrant artistic community, and an authentic way of life (*Ministère de la Culture*). In addition to its cultural prowess, the French state assumes a crucial role as a manager and regulator across various sectors, including culture, education, and health. Within this context, the state's dedication to the common good, i.e., culture, is deeply ingrained in French society. The French Constitution of 1958 affirms the fundamental principle of equality for all citizens and places upon the French State the responsibility to ensure unrestricted access to culture, without any form of discrimination (French Constitution, 1958). By combining its rich cultural heritage, remarkable cultural offerings, and a strong commitment to equal access, France exemplifies a nation that values and prioritizes its cultural heritage for the betterment of its citizens and the promotion of mutual understanding. More generally, France places culture at a higher level than other businesses, thus proposing an “exception” that revolves around culture in the broadest sense.

Even if the notion of *Exception Culturelle* was born in the 90s, France has given a lot of importance to cultural products since the 12th century. France's enduring reputation as the "country of culture, art, and literature" is a direct reflection of the values and principles that have permeated its history. Throughout the ages, France has held a dominant position in shaping cultural and aesthetic ideas. This influence can be traced back to the extent that French was the official language of the European court until the 18th century. However, it was during the reign of François I that France truly flourished as a cultural powerhouse.

Indeed, he was known for creating patronage and funding for the arts and literature, supporting artists, writers, and intellectuals of his time. Under Louis XIV, Paris became the hub of fine arts, supported by royal collections dating back to François I and involving the nobility. This period marked the establishment of France's first patronage and commission systems, spearheaded by Louis XIV himself (Gerbault, 2007). It also led to the development of an academic education system that cultivated new aesthetic standards, including the concept of *bon goût*, along with subjects such as philosophy and arithmetic. Thus, this support system ensured that talented artists remained in France, fueling the kingdom's prestige and reputation as a hub of artistic brilliance. The patronage of the arts not only fostered creativity but also cemented France's position as a center for cultural excellence. It's since this flourishing century that France's rich cultural heritage and dedication to fostering artistic expression, have forged its enduring status as a cultural force, perpetuating a legacy where art, literature, and creativity flourish. This reasoning might be seen as a predecessor of the government's current involvement in cultural matters in France (Gerbault, 2007).

According to Daniel Haize (2003), French cultural diplomacy focuses on two main objectives: forging high-level partnerships and enhancing the appeal of the country's territory, while promoting French expertise, ideas, and creativity. By disseminating works across various sectors such as music, film, intellectual discourse, audiovisual content, live performances, fashion, design, books, and more, France has the potential to expand its cultural and intellectual influence globally. Given the profound significance of culture in France, with its rich historical heritage and unique knowledge, the cultural industries assume a crucial role in diplomatic endeavors. Culture is widely recognized today and serves as a strategic tool utilized by numerous nations to support or sustain their influence beyond their borders. By projecting a strong cultural presence internationally, countries can effectively enhance their image, forge alliances, attract customers, and disseminate ideas, ideologies, models, and values. France, acknowledging the significance of cultural influence, has historically embraced its role as a cultural leader, particularly during periods when its other instruments of power were less assured. Although it could be said that France's cultural diplomacy developed under the kings of France, it was not until the aftermath of the Second World War that France established its real diplomacy, which included primarily culture.

Indeed, after the war, France had lost its status as a great power, and culture appeared to be its last remaining means of exerting influence (Frank, 2003).

As France's cultural heritage in its cultural diplomacy cannot be overstated - with a rich and diverse cultural heritage, including historical sites, monuments, traditions, and artistic expressions - France recognizes the value of preserving and promoting its cultural legacy on the global stage. According to UNESCO (2005), creative industries serve to manage and safeguard cultural heritage. These industries have emerged as vital elements within contemporary knowledge-based economies, characterized by their potential for above-average growth and job opportunities. Beyond their economic significance, creative industries act as vehicles for cultural identity, playing a crucial role in promoting and nurturing cultural diversity. As defined by UNESCO (2005), cultural industries encompass a wide range of sectors, such as printing, publishing, multimedia, audiovisual, phonographic², and cinematographic productions, as well as crafts and design. Therefore, it would not be incorrect to say that creative and cultural industries in France's cultural diplomacy are intimately connected to the concept of cultural exception.

In the era of globalization, the role of cinema as a powerful tool for cultural diplomacy has gained prominence. Cinema serves as a unique medium through which countries can showcase their cultural identity, values, and heritage on the international stage. This internship report delves into the intriguing case of the French cinematographic "exception" and its impact on cultural diplomacy in the global context. France has long been regarded as a cultural powerhouse, renowned for its contributions to the arts, including cinema. French cinema has enjoyed a rich history of producing iconic auteurs, influential films, and distinct cinematic styles that have garnered international acclaim. Despite the dominance of Hollywood in the global film industry, French cinema has managed to carve out a unique position through its exceptional storytelling, artistic expression, and strong commitment to cultural preservation. In recent decades, globalization has posed both challenges and opportunities for the French film industry. On one hand, the growing influence of Hollywood and the homogenizing effects of cultural globalization have raised

² A written or printed representation of the sounds of speech.

concerns about the preservation of cultural diversity and national identity in the face of globalized entertainment. On the other hand, the interconnectedness facilitated by globalization has opened avenues for French cinema to reach broader international audiences, strengthening its role as a cultural ambassador. Cultural diplomacy through cinema has become a strategic aspect of France's international engagement. The French government and film institutions have actively promoted and supported the dissemination of French films worldwide to enhance the country's soft power and foster intercultural understanding.

This internship report seeks to explore how the French film industry, despite challenges, has managed to maintain its unique identity and influence in the global cinema landscape. It aims to analyze the strategies employed by France to navigate the complexities of cultural diplomacy in the context of globalization, examining the role of government policies, co-productions, and international collaborations; through the study of two emblematic films that reflect the idea of French culture. The research objective is characterized by its considerable breadth, and the generalizability of findings may be constrained by the limited dataset comprising only two films. By shedding light on the case of the French cinematographic "exception," this study contributes to the broader understanding of cultural diplomacy, the dynamics of global cinema, and the preservation of cultural diversity in the face of globalization. Moreover, it provides insights into how countries can leverage cinema as a powerful tool for promoting cultural exchange, mutual understanding, and intercultural dialogue in the interconnected world of the 21st century.

By exploring the intricate relationship between French cinema and cultural diplomacy, with a particular focus on the concept of "cultural exception," this study seeks to achieve a comprehensive understanding of how French cinema functions as a powerful tool of cultural diplomacy and its significance in promoting and preserving national identity on the global stage. To begin with, the research efforts aim to provide a holistic perspective on how French cinema fits into broader debates concerning the role of cultural industries in cultural diplomacy. By delving into the interactions between French cinema and cultural diplomacy, the study aims to shed light on how films serve as ambassadors of cultural values and expressions, fostering mutual understanding and intercultural dialogue between nations.

Understanding the historical development of French cinema is a crucial aspect of this research. By tracing the major trends and innovations in French cinema, the study seeks to grasp the significance of its cinematographic heritage. Unraveling the cinematic journey of France will illuminate how its unique artistic expressions have contributed to its allure and resonance with international audiences.

An essential aspect of this report involves examining the role of the State in the preservation and promotion of French cinema. Investigating government policies, funding, and support mechanisms will provide valuable insights into the deliberate efforts made to safeguard and promote French films as symbols of national identity and cultural diplomacy. Understanding the State's role in preserving and nurturing the film industry will shed light on how it contributes to the country's cultural diplomacy efforts. Moreover, the research aims to explore the resilience and adaptability of the French film industry in the face of globalization and the threat of Hollywood hegemony. By studying the strategies employed by the French film industry to navigate the challenges posed by globalization, the study seeks to reveal how it preserves its distinct identity while seeking broader international recognition. Through these objectives, this report seeks to enrich our understanding of the intertwining relationship between French cinema, cultural diplomacy, and the concept of "cultural exception." By exploring the unique position of French cinema on the global stage, this research contributes valuable insights to the broader discourse on the role of cinema in promoting cultural diversity and fostering mutual understanding between nations. Ultimately, this study aims to highlight the profound significance of French cinema as a bridge between cultures and an embodiment of France's cultural identity on the world stage. Caves, 2000; Barrère, 2020; Baecque, 1995; Neupert, 2007; Olson, 2000; Crane, 2013, Hayes & O'Shaughnessy, 2005; Morin, 1956; Truffaut, 1954-1955; Thiesse, 1999; Serge Regourd, Gerbault, 2007, etc., are key authors have played an important role in illuminating the central concepts within this internship report.

However, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of this study. Firstly, due to the vastness and complexity of French cinema's history and its role in cultural diplomacy, the research will focus primarily on selected key periods, influential films, and notable policies. The study may not be able to cover every aspect comprehensively. Secondly, while

the research aims to shed light on the broader implications of French cinema's influence on cultural diplomacy, it will not extensively explore the impact of other cultural industries or the cultural diplomacy efforts of other countries. The focus remains on the unique case of French cinema. Lastly, the study will primarily rely on existing literature, film analyses, and policy documents. As such, original data collection through surveys or interviews may be limited, affecting the depth of certain analyses. By acknowledging the scope and limitations, the study aims to provide a nuanced and meaningful exploration of the captivating world of French cinema and its impact on the global cultural landscape. The report's conclusions are constrained by the analysis of only two films, as it was not feasible to conduct an in-depth examination of a wider selection of movies. However, the analysis of these two films serves as a means of illustrating, within the scope of its limitations, the overarching findings of the research report.

The significance of this study lies in its contribution to the understanding of the profound impact of French cinema as a powerful tool of cultural diplomacy and its relationship to the concept of "cultural exception." While a lot of studies have been done by researchers about the French "cultural exception", and the role of cinema in cultural diplomacy³, the specific role of French cinema and its landscape in fostering intercultural exchange and cultural diversity is not extensively explored. The literature review's structure has been constructed in such a way as to give an overall understanding of this attachment on the part of France to culture in general, but to cinema, which is nonetheless part of culture. The study also adds depth to the understanding of the concept of "cultural exception" and its significance in the preservation of cultural diversity in the face of globalization. Through an examination of how the French film industry resists and adapts to the pressures of Hollywood hegemony, this paper offers valuable insights into how countries can protect their cultural identity while engaging in the global film landscape. This understanding holds relevance not only for France but also for other nations facing similar challenges to their

³ Graeme Hayes and Martin O'Shaughnessy in "French cinema, globalization, Representation and Resistance" (2005), Allen J Scott in "French cinema: economy, Policy and Place in the making of a cultural-products industry" (2000), Serge Regourd, etc.

cultural heritage. Furthermore, this study contributes to the knowledge of the historical development of French cinema and its lasting impact on the global cinematic heritage. By tracing major trends and innovations, the research unveils the unique French artistic expressions that have enchanted audiences worldwide. This historical perspective enriches the appreciation of French cinema as a cultural treasure. Moreover, the insights gained from examining the role of the State in supporting and promoting French cinema provide valuable lessons for policymakers and cultural institutions worldwide. Understanding the deliberate efforts made by the French government to safeguard its film industry as a symbol of national identity and culture informs best practices for other countries seeking to harness the potential of cinema for cultural diplomacy. Furthermore, to understand the French audiovisual system, and more specifically the French film industry, a comparison with the Hollywood system seemed the best way to show the different ideologies and the 'exceptional' system envisaged by France as an example for other European nations. By studying the Hollywood system, we can look at the strategies put in place by the French system to remain competitive and 'adapt' to Hollywood's hegemony, facing globalization. With a focus on France, the research enriches the existing knowledge in the field of cultural diplomacy and global cinema. Its findings offer valuable insights that resonate not only within academia but also in the realms of policymaking, cultural preservation, and international engagement.

The theoretical part of this research is very important because it provides all the necessary theoretical foundations for the study of my problem. As my title 'Cultural Diplomacy through Cinema: the case of French Cinematographic 'Exception' in the Era of Globalization', what is important to know is that the literature review (Caves, 2000; Barrère, 2020; Baecque, 1995; Neupert, 2007; Olson, 2000; Crane, 2013, Hayes & O'Shaughnessy, 2005; Morin, 1956; Truffaut, 1954-1955; Thiesse, 1999; and others.) has been constructed in such a way as to show in short that French cinema, the system that encompasses it, its history, as well as its important place in the creative industries, is what could be called a 'cultural exception' and this 'exception' encompassing all that, is a weapon of French cultural diplomacy, since it stands out, builds transnational interests thanks to this credible and well-regulated system. The use of the term "cultural diplomacy" instead of "soft power" was clear from the outset. "Soft power" is a broader term than "cultural diplomacy," encompassing a wide range of influences and strategies used by a country to positively impact other nations.

It goes beyond cultural diplomacy to include elements such as cultural values, foreign policy, economy, education, technology, and more. The United States is often associated with the concept of "soft power." Its significant international influence stems from its ability to export culture, lifestyle, and values through various means like cinema, music, fashion, and technology. This cultural and ideological influence exercised by the United States is often regarded as a prominent example of "soft power." It didn't appear to be a perfect fit for a country like France. On the other hand, 'cultural diplomacy' is a more nuanced and sophisticated term, widely embraced by France, as it specifically encompasses culture in its entirety. According to the definition by Marie-Christine Kessler:

"Cultural diplomacy is indeed a public policy that aims, within the framework of foreign policy, at the exportation of representative elements of the national culture, and interactions with other countries in the same cultural domain." (Kessler, 2018).

This definition of cultural diplomacy is associated with a conventional understanding of the results of state actions taken by France. Culture and the creative and cultural industries of France serve as powerful tools in the exercise of cultural diplomacy by the country. Through its creative industries such as cinema, music, art, and more, France effectively conveys its national values and culture, engaging in cultural diplomacy. However, it is not only through its creative industries that France achieves this but also through its state policies that regulate and promote these industries, enabling the country to establish a credible image for the effective practice of diplomacy. By nurturing and preserving its cultural assets, France strengthens its ability to engage in successful cultural diplomacy. That is why the first chapter exclusively focuses on French culture, heritage, and creative industries, and their significance for cultural diplomacy. This allows me to grasp the importance France places on culture as a whole.

Another fundamental concept in this paper is the notion of "Cultural Exception." Based on the definition provided by the French Ministry of Culture (2013), the "Cultural Exception" is based on the idea that culture is not just a commodity like any other. While its economic aspect is important, its role in personal development and society is too significant to allow cultural productions to be entirely subjected to market forces. Public intervention is deemed necessary to ensure the continuity of a diverse and accessible cultural offering for the broader population (French Ministry of Culture, 2013). The French cultural exception is

closely linked to the realm of culture, particularly in the audiovisual and cinema sectors. This exceptional status is bolstered by France's strong connection to its cultural heritage across various artistic disciplines. Within this context, French cinema, its works, and its film industry can be regarded as a "Cinematic Exception." France's deep-rooted commitment to preserving and promoting its artistic traditions has fostered a unique environment for the growth and recognition of its cinema. This exceptionalism is reflected in the diversity and creativity of French films, which often showcase distinct cultural values and narratives. Additionally, the French film industry benefits from a robust system of support and protection, ensuring the continued development of its cinematic productions. The French cultural exception, particularly in the domain of cinema, has allowed the nation to maintain a strong presence in the global film landscape while preserving its identity and promoting its values. Through this exceptional approach, France stands out as a country that values its cultural heritage, and its cinematic achievements continue to be celebrated and recognized worldwide. The second chapter, titled "The French Film Industry: A Cinematographic Exception," will delve into these aspects in detail. Finally, the term "globalization" holds significant importance in this study. It refers to the increasing interconnectedness and integration of economies, societies, cultures, and technologies on a global scale. Considering the impact of globalization provides valuable insights into how the French film industry engages with global dynamics, preserves its cultural heritage, and positions itself on the international stage amidst a rapidly changing world.

To address the research question: how does French cinema utilize cultural diplomacy and demonstrate its "exceptional" characteristics within the globalized film landscape during the era of globalization? the report will adopt a qualitative research approach to delve into the relationship between the French film industry and the concept of "cultural exception," while also exploring the role of French cinema as a potent tool of cultural diplomacy. To achieve this, two significant French films, "La Haine" (1995) and "Les Misérables" (2019), will undergo content analysis. This qualitative analysis of the films' textual content will serve as concrete examples to illustrate and validate the insights gathered from an extensive literature review conducted in the preceding chapters. By focusing on textual analysis and seeking to gain a deeper understanding of the films' content and context, this study aligns with the principles of qualitative research, aiming to provide in-depth insights into the unique

role of French cinema in the era of globalization and cultural diplomacy. However, at times, external data will be incorporated in this study. For instance, in analyzing the cinematic techniques employed in the films, existing articles on various cinematographic techniques will be used, as they offer valuable insights. Similarly, to understand the production strategies implemented for the films, such as promotion and communication, relevant interviews with the directors or official documents attesting to their strategies will be utilized.

The literature review aims to comprehensively understand how French cinema contributes to broader discussions on cultural industries' role in promoting and preserving national identity, with a particular focus on cultural diplomacy. It examines the historical development of French cinema, including important inventions like the Lumière Cinematograph and French New Wave, revealing France's profound cinematographic heritage and distinctive "cinematographic culture." The study also explores the State's instrumental role in preserving and promoting the French film industry, analyzing governmental efforts and support mechanisms. Additionally, it investigates the industry's resilience and adaptability in the face of globalization and Hollywood's influence, offering insights into how it maintains its unique cultural voice amidst global challenges. The literature review will enhance our understanding of the French film industry's exceptional economic model and its ability to maintain cultural significance. Following the completion of a comprehensive literature review, the content analysis of the chosen films will serve as a tangible representation of the information and concepts presented in the literature review, substantiating the study's conclusions and contributing to the existing knowledge in the field of cultural diplomacy and the world of French cinema. "La Haine" and "Les Misérables" will be purposeful choices for this analysis as they offer compelling examples of the exceptional economic model and cultural representation of the French film industry. These films have not only achieved considerable cultural impact and international success, demonstrating the industry's ability to connect with global audiences, but they also embody artistic merit and provide profound socio-political insights, making them particularly relevant for understanding the cultural representation and socio-political commentary evident in French "auteur" cinema. Since its creation during the French New Wave, "auteur" films have been created by directors who are revered as the driving creative forces behind

their works, embodying unique artistic visions and retaining full control over the filmmaking process. French filmmakers are celebrated for their styles and unwavering commitment to artistic integrity, solidifying the enduring significance of *films d'auteur* in French cinematographic culture. By examining "La Haine" and "Les Misérables" through the lens of "auteur" cinema, this study will gain deeper insights into the industry's artistic strengths, its ability to reflect socio-political issues, and its unique cultural representation in a global context. The artistic and thematic qualities of these films will provide valuable evidence of how French "auteur" cinema contributes to the country's exceptional cinematic landscape, a crucial aspect to consider in the broader exploration of the French film industry's impact and distinctiveness in the era of globalization and cultural diplomacy.

For data collection, handmade tables were created for both films, each comprising different categories and sub-categories (tables will be included in the appendix). The first category will focus on identifying the main themes presented in the films, offering insights into the cultural and societal context of French society. These themes will also shed light on the artistic choices and narrative approaches that define the unique aesthetic and style of French cinema. The second category will examine the representation of French culture in the films, a crucial aspect as we investigate French cinema's role as a tool of cultural diplomacy. The third category will delve into the cinematographic techniques utilized in the films, providing an understanding of the diverse and successful techniques employed by filmmakers to showcase French cinematic expertise in terms of visual aesthetics, effects, and storytelling, all within the framework of French "auteur" cinema. Lastly, the fourth category will focus on the production strategies employed to promote the films. Understanding how the distinctive system of financing French cinematography adapts to new technologies and innovative promotional methods will be essential in comprehending the industry's adaptation to contemporary challenges. These categories and sub-categories will enable a thorough content analysis, contributing to a comprehensive understanding of the French film industry's exceptional economic model and its unique role in cultural diplomacy.

The theoretical framework is organized into four main chapters, each focusing on a distinct aspect of the French film industry and its role in cultural diplomacy. The first chapter will aim to provide a comprehensive understanding of how French cinema fits into broader

debates concerning cultural industries' impact on promoting and preserving national identity, with an emphasis on cultural diplomacy. This section will delve into existing literature to analyze the significance of French cinema in shaping the country's cultural image and fostering international relationships. Moving on to the second chapter, we will explore the Historical Development of French Cinema. Here, we will trace the evolution of French cinema throughout history, examining pivotal trends and innovations like the Lumière Cinematograph and the influential French New Wave movement. This exploration will offer valuable insights into France's profound cinematographic heritage and its unique "cinematographic culture," which has significantly influenced artistic expressions in the industry. This chapter will also focus on the State's Role in Preserving and Promoting French Cinema. This section will investigate the crucial role of the State in safeguarding and promoting the French film industry. By scrutinizing various governmental efforts and support mechanisms, we will gain a deeper understanding of the interplay between state policies and the industry's success in cultural preservation and promotion. Finally, in Chapter 3, we will delve into The French Film Industry Facing Globalization and Hollywood Hegemony. This chapter will concentrate on the challenges posed by globalization and the pervasive influence of Hollywood. By analyzing the resistance and adaptation strategies employed by the French film industry, we will gain insights into its ability to maintain a distinct cultural voice and exceptional economic model amidst global cinematic forces. Through these interconnected chapters, the paper will aim to present a comprehensive and coherent examination of the French film industry's impact on cultural diplomacy. By analyzing its historical development, governmental support, and response to global challenges, we will gain a deeper understanding of how French cinema utilizes cultural diplomacy and demonstrate its "exceptional" characteristics within the globalized film landscape during the era of globalization.

CHAPTER 1 – THE FRENCH CULTURAL HERITAGE

1.1 - CULTURE AND ITS HERITAGE

It would be interesting to try to define the word *culture* since it is part of what can be considered as *heritage* - a material or immaterial heritage - transmitted from generation to generation within a specific culture that holds its values and traditions. According to Claude Lévi-Strauss culture is a collection of values that are unique to a people and define them as a people (Lévi-Strauss, 1952). These *cultural values*, which constitute a *culture*, are expressed through customs, language, behavior, traditions, and the use of available resources in daily life. These cultural norms are assimilated at a young age and are transmitted from one generation to the next. However, these *cultural values* are not stable over time, they are not fixed. They do change over time in reaction to social and historical developments (Parsons, 1951). Due to its nuanced meaning, we might liken a *culture* to a *person* who has developed a unique *personality* as a result of the values that have been passed down to them from their culture's history. The term "human and cultural diversity" refers to the variety of people (cultures) and personalities (values) that make up this diversity, not simply one form of humanity. First and foremost, the existence of various languages rather than a single global language explains this cultural variety. So, it is because of these numerous and various cultures that human history has been created.

There isn't a single heritage or history, just like there isn't a single culture; each heritage or legacy is unique to a particular civilization and its history. It all includes the distinctive features of that culture's past. According to the Cambridge definition, heritage is: "Features belonging to the culture of a particular society, such as traditions, languages, or buildings, that were created in the past and still have historical importance". This heritage, also known as patrimony, is distinctive historically to every human society, each with its own culture. Cultures and society both change as time goes on, continuing to make history. Culture develops as a result of social change, which is a phenomenon. Culture tries to follow

society's evolutionary trends since it can't exist in isolation; it must "walk" side by side with society (Ramirez, n.d.). People of different ages indeed have slightly varied cultural perspectives and worldviews because of changing values over time. Culture and society both advance at the same speed. According to Clifford Geertz: "Culture is the web of meanings according to which humans interpret their existence and experience, also as the way of conducting one's actions" and society "is the way that assumes the existing action and social relations of a group of individuals of a specific culture" (Geertz, 1977). We can refer to "cultural heritage" or "cultural inheritance" if "heritage" and "inheritance" are synonyms and both have to do with the concept of culture. Truly, we are born into a particular society with its own culture, values, expressions, and customs, all of which are passed down and changed from generation to generation.

Academics and global organizations - including UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) - have been debating culture and the necessity of preserving tangible and intangible cultural heritage for many years. The importance of intangible culture (i.e., expressions, values) as a treasure worthy of preservation has been recognized by UNESCO because of its progressive recognition that physical culture (i.e., historical monuments) is ultimately a representation of human mental capacities (Bendix, 2011). Undoubtedly, diverse cultures construct and leave true and original marks in their communities because of their perspectives on the world and distinctive knowledge. For instance, the well-known church of Notre Dame de Paris, which was inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1991, is a treasure of French Gothic architecture that not only houses some of the most significant Catholic artifacts but has been deeply ingrained in French culture ever since Victor Hugo's book *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1831) was published, inspiring projects to restore the church up to the present day. This church has grown to represent Catholicism and to serve as a holy site for people all around the world, not only the French.

Cultural and social studies frequently adopt the idea that cultural heritage can provide people with a sense of cultural belonging. The impact that cultural heritage can have on people's sense of cultural belonging has been studied by numerous thinkers and scholars. Individuals develop their cultural identities through the transmission of and involvement in

cultural practices like cultural celebrations, traditional rituals, music, art, or literature, which helps them feel more at home and connected to a specific culture (Hall, 1990). Nevertheless, the concept of *collective memory* is crucial to the notion of cultural transmission and the creation of cultural identity. It makes it possible for people to recall cultural customs, principles, and values (Rowlands, 1993). It must also persist because it plays a crucial role in maintaining the cohesiveness and identity of a social group. To preserve this *collective memory*, cultural heritage must be passed down from one generation to the next (Halbwachs, 1950). When we speak about collective memory, we speak about cultural memory, and to Jan Assman (1992): "Cultural memory has its fixed points, and these fixed points are fateful events of the past, whose memory is maintained through cultural formation and history (texts, rites, monuments) and institutional communication". Therefore, this collective memory—which, through its shared memory, also transmits from generation to generation through customs, ideals, monuments, etc.—helps to build and transmit this cultural heritage. The strengthening of cultural identity, the development of community conscience, and social inclusion are thus all influenced by cultural heritage (Pica, n.d).

Each country, each nation has its own culture, history, traditions, and values, its cultural heritage, tangible or intangible. Whether it is for the reinforcement of the feeling of belonging to a culture, to a group, to a past, or for the safeguarding and transmission of this collective memory through education and institutions, cultural heritage is necessary for understanding and mutual respect (UNESCO, 2005). France is seen as a nation that is extremely devoted to both its tangible and intangible cultural heritage. This country has experienced a cultural influence that explains the frenetic manner in which it maintains and passes on the traces of a "hegemonic past." France has 49 sites classified as World Heritage sites, including 42 cultural properties, 6 natural properties, and 1 mixed property (UNESCO, 2023). This makes France's cultural presence abroad one of the most developed and vast in the entire globe. The UNESCO International Convention lists these buildings as world heritage (1972)⁴. For UNESCO, every monument that is listed as a global heritage site must

⁴ The UNESCO International Convention lists these buildings as world heritage (1972): Only man-made or naturally present elements are covered by this agreement, which is aimed at safeguarding the world's cultural and natural heritage (i.e. landscapes)

be of exceptional value, which means that its cultural significance must transcend national boundaries (UNESCO, 1972).

Due to the diversity of its production, the dynamism of the artistic community, and the authenticity of its *savoir vivre*, France has an extraordinary cultural offer despite its rich heritage (French Ministry of culture, n.d.). To understand this strong French cultural identity, one must go back to the history of France. The general interest has surely played a predominant role in the construction of the French cultural identity - the French Revolution and the rights of man show this. However, this general interest is satisfied by the State, which is the "spokesperson" of this collective interest. In this sense, "the primary mission of the State is to enable the exercise of national sovereignty, which belongs to the people" (Art.3 - Constitution, 1948). For Max Weber, the State "successfully claims for itself the monopoly of legitimate physical coercion". In this sense, citizens recognize the authoritarian legitimacy of the state, agreeing to submit to maintain order and stability in a given society (Weber, 1919). In this respect, the State must guarantee the rights and freedoms of citizens (Art-12 DDHC, 1789). Given its function as a manager and regulator in several industries, including culture, education, and health, the French State is a significant participant in this regard. The state's contribution to the common good—culture—is well known in France. The French Constitution of 1958 affirms the concept of equality for all people and declares that the State is obligated to guarantee culture to all citizens, without distinction (French Constitution, 1958). As evidenced by the country's motto, *Fraternité, Égalité, Liberté*, France maintains and defends the ideals set in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (DDHC), which was created in the wake of the French Revolution. The desire and collective need to protect and promote France's cultural history was, and still is, vital given that the country has a rich cultural heritage and a nearly "glorious" cultural identity. A country's willingness to contribute and make known its know-how overseas is also demonstrated by the strong identity that has been passed down through generations and inherited from its rich history. Therefore, it would be interesting to consider the following: **Is the French cultural heritage a useful diplomatic tool?**

1.2. CULTURAL HERITAGE AS A DIPLOMATIC TOOL

People around the world often consider France to be one of the richest and most influential nations in terms of culture in Europe. Outside of its borders, the culture of France is frequently seen as "sophisticated, elegant, and romantic, with a rich past and a strong sense of national identity". From Marcel Proust to Victor Hugo, Jean-Luc Godard to Luc Besson or Jacques Audiard, Jean-Paul Sartre to Michel Foucault, Claude Monet to Édouard Manet, and a multitude of other historical figures, France is rich in figures who the entire world is familiar. It would not be inconsequential to state that the stronger the cultural identity, or the stronger the sense of belonging to one's own culture, the more a country can project its cultural influence abroad (Huntington, 1996). A nation can build relationships and develop a favorable reputation abroad with the help of this strong cultural identity.

During the rule of Francis I, France had long since come to this realization. Francis I, who is renowned for his support of the arts and literature, significantly influenced the growth of French tradition and culture. This nation's current reputation as the "country of culture, art, and literature" results from the values and principles that it has carried over from earlier times. Cultural and aesthetic ideas have long been dominated by France. The European courts' official language until the 12th century was French, which was governed by sovereigns. Nonetheless, it was during the rule of François I that France amassed significant structures and pieces of art, as well as one of the greatest libraries, which he made accessible to scholars and intellectuals. Artists remained in France thanks to the provision of royal salary, which also increased the French kingdom's prestige and reputation. Paris, the capital of the fine arts during the reign of Louis XIV, which developed the royal collections created since Francis I and involved nobility in its support of the arts, is the best example to highlight the affluent periods of French culture. He was responsible for creating France's first patronage and commission systems (Gerbault, 2007). The "French know-how" that was once transmitted from father to son, was transformed into an academic education that taught students new aesthetic standards, ideas of *bon goût*, as well as topics like philosophy or arithmetic. In terms of art and culture, this was the time when Paris and the entirety of France claimed the title of "nobility" and "excellent taste." What's crucial to realize is that the concept of "patronage" developed during the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XIII. This

reasoning might be seen as a predecessor of the government's current involvement in cultural matters in France (Gerbault, 2007).

Since the Renaissance, all of these structures, ideals, and cultural traditions have persisted at the core of French culture, forming an extremely significant tangible and intangible cultural heritage. It is neither an exaggeration of the truth nor an attempt to "beautify" France when we claim that it is a global cultural center. But it's legitimate to argue that *culture* in the broadest sense of the word was and still is at the heart of the nation's diplomatic efforts. UNESCO defines "culture" as "the set of distinctive features, spiritual and material, intellectual and emotional, which characterize a society or a social group. It encompasses, in addition to the arts and letters, lifestyles, fundamental human rights, value systems, traditions and values" (UNESCO, 1982⁵). The broadest definition of "culture" leads us to realize that it is a composite that has been passed down to us whether we like it or not. This one became a key element to draw in foreign interest for economic reasons as well as to protect what is more crucial for any nation: every nation has the right and duty to promote its culture. Of fact, because it cannot be quantified, "culture" will always be a vague word, but for many nations, it is nevertheless a resource that supports economic development. The cultural sectors are crucial to development because of the diversity of culture. Culture has intrinsic value that, when supported and valued at the individual and community levels, promotes personal fulfillment, human development, social structure, and social cohesion. It also generates a variety of marketable or non-marketable activities. (Jeretic, 2009). So, both on an economic and social level, culture serves as a tool for sustainable development (Facchini, 2008).

A society's social cohesion encourages confidence in other nations. So, it is essential and crucial for a nation to have a strong cultural identity that is supported by unity and cohesion. A person's ability to flourish as well as the development of the nation to which they belong depends on their sense of belonging to a culture:

"Culture constitutes a fundamental dimension of the development process and contributes to strengthening the independence, sovereignty, and identity of nations"
[..] It is vital to "Humanize" development, the ultimate goal of which is the individual

⁵ UNESCO, World Conference on Cultural Policies, Mexico City, 1982

in his dignity as a human being and his responsibility to society...” (UNESCO, 1982⁶, p.39).

Since Europe is a more universal region that includes a widerange of cultures, culture plays a key role there. In the EU, culture has developed into an engine for economic growth and job creation, establishing an active and distinctive cultural sector for the continent's future as a whole (European Council, 2007). Given this cultural diversity at the European level, UNESCO recommends the promotion of these many cultural expressions, highlighting the importance of culture as a key element of the EU's foreignpolicy (UNESCO, 2005).

One of the most attractive resources that a nation and its diplomatic system use to cultivate allies abroad is culture. Since the Treaty of Versailles, Francehas distinguished itself from other countries not only by the weight of its culture but also byits internal and external cultural action (Chaubet and Martin, 2011). The French cultural internal and exterior efforts have been linked to what is known as the *Exception culturelle française* for the past years. The concept of "Cultural Exception" is sometimes used in apolemical manner to demonstrate a particular French pride to feel itself "above other cultures", but, in reality, it is an older French invention. From François I and the subsequent governments, the French language has been imposed as the universal language, contributing to the "exception" status of French culture (Esclatine, 2013). We could say that historically, France got lucky concerning the rich cultural heritage of its ancestors. The French Revolution brought a liberal vision, portraying culture as a democratic ideal and serving as a testimonial to the French mind and intellect. There is always has been this desire to underline the tangible and intangible heritage that has been passed down from king to king, from emperor to emperor, and so on (Esclatine, 2013).

⁶ UNESCO, Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies, 1982

According to Henry Kissinger⁷ (1994), Cardinal de Richelieu, King Louis XIII's prime minister, would have invented the idea of diplomacy: the *raison d'Etat*⁸, the credo according to which all decisions about policy and governance should be made with the needs of the state as a whole, rather than the needs of specific people or groups, in mind (Kissinger, 1994). As a form of "soft weapon" and "soft power" created by the State, this style of policy and diplomacy emerged as an alternative to conflict. Hence, the State forges alliances and collaborations with other States through diplomacy to develop its own culture and expertise. The General Directorate for Globalization, Development, and Partnerships (DGM) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, its staff, and a large network overseas oversee cultural diplomacy today as part of the French State's foreign policy (Haize, 2013).

As both "soft power" and cultural diplomacy play an influential role abroad, they can be linked. Joseph Nye introduced the concept of "soft power" and described it as: "the ability of a state to obtain a result and to alter the behavior of other protagonists in that direction", to "shape what others want". "Soft power" focuses on more abstract, immaterial, and diffuse resources, such as culture, ideology, intellectual influence, persuasion, and seduction, as opposed to "hard power," which mobilizes coercive methods like intimidation, threats, or sanctions (Nye, 2004). However, there is a subtle distinction between "soft power" and "cultural diplomacy," namely that this concept of "soft power" is interpreted in a larger sense than only "culture diplomacy," since it includes other aspects of soft power like public diplomacy or propaganda. (Buhler, 2021). In this perspective, "soft power" is simply a nation's capacity to persuade other nations to share its cultural, economic, and political values. Because it involves a variety of players interacting with foreign actors, "cultural diplomacy" is more complicated than that (state and non-state actors). It consists of cultural connections that promote engagement, conversations, reciprocity, and trust (Singh al., u.d).

According to Daniel Haize (2013), French cultural diplomacy "revolves around two priorities: the search for high-level partnerships and the strengthening of the attractiveness of

⁷ American diplomat, author of the book « Diplomacy », 1994

⁸ Richelieu, in contrast to these battles, elevated the state above these ideological ones (ethnic, religious, and dynastic), using it as a tool to forge alliances with other nations to accomplish practical objectives rather than for dynastic purposes.

the territory on the one hand, and on the other hand, the promotion of French know-how, ideas and creativity". To promote French "know-how," ideals, and creativity, one must simultaneously position themselves at a high level of worldwide influence, forge alliances, and establish credibility. the two collaborating. The Ministry of Europe and Foreign Affairs (MEAE) policy of promotion and cultural cooperation is built on two pillars: the expansion of France's intellectual and cultural influence and, increasingly, the promotion and organization of the cultural and creative industries. With the transmission of works in a variety of sectors, including music, film, the discussion of ideas, audiovisual content, live performances, fashion, design, books, etc., France can increase its cultural and intellectual influence overseas. The French Institute in Paris, a cultural organization run by the Ministry of Europe and Foreign Affairs (MEAE), as well as the French Institutes located in other European capitals, also support these initiatives. (MEAE, 2021). Given the importance of culture to France, which has a rich historical history and distinctive knowledge, the cultural industries play a significant diplomatic role. They constitute an important part of the French economy, which helps to increase France's influence globally.

"The cultural and creative industries are the lifeblood of our culture. Architecture, books, cinema, music, audiovisual, press, radio, video games, visual arts, and live performances: the sectors they represent account for 640,000 jobs and 91 billion euros in revenues" (Frank Riester apud French Ministry of culture, n.d.).

1.3- DEFINING CULTURAL INDUSTRIES AND THEIR ROLE IN FRENCH CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

This culture, which has been previously mentioned, is present in the cultural industries as a factor of production. It is rooted in history, preserved in a heritage, and generated through a creative process. Industry and culture are then linked. Why? How? Let's take cinema as an illustration. According to the economics of cinema, the historical and modern dynamics of cinema can be reinterpreted as the outcome of a creativity-heritage dynamic that manifests itself as preserved culture and creativity as a flow of new culture. This creativity-heritage connection is the source of a virtuous circle that today encounters limits related to the transformation of cinema from an elitist art form, primarily accessible to the wealthy classes, and where the first exclusive cinematographic screenings were reserved

for the cultural and intellectual elites, to a commercial model (Barrère, 2006). Thus, culture is seen as a useful resource. According to Richard Caves, the creative industries are those that feature an essential artistic or creative component in their products or services and are typically transmitters of cultural, aesthetic, or economic value. Publishing, visual arts, live performance, the music recording industry, film and television, and the fashion sector are some of them in his opinion (Caves, 2000).

Creativity is also a useful resource in this situation. In a framework of the subjectivity of representation, those who bring "something new" are those who are regarded as "great" musicians and painters (Barrère, 2020). Therefore, creativity becomes the key to all art since it is what is new. Because creative industries are frequently impacted and inspired by the unique cultural heritage of a nation, and consequently by a culture with its values and customs, there is a close relationship between heritage and the creative industries. Culture and tradition require a series of creative revivals to "be alive" (Piétri, 2001). The "extension" of creativity that now supports an intellectual economy whose performance is primarily dependent on the presence of intangible assets (brands, patents, patrimony) rather than tangible assets (movable capital) may be found in these businesses where culture and creativity are productive sources. Via the creative industries, the expanding connections between them and other businesses, and the incorporation of creativity into established industries, creativity in this case, occupies a significant position in the economy (Barrère, 2020).

Today, certain creative industries in developed nations are positioning themselves upward in response to international competition that uses globalization to lower production costs. These industries are those for which the possession of historically acquired heritages represents an important competitive advantage (Barrère, 2020). As a result, knowledge-based, strategic creative industries have emerged in modern economies⁹. The advantages of this new economy based on creativity are difficult to quantify because they are frequently immaterial goods (ideas, concepts, designs, or experiences), but they still contribute to the

⁹ Adam Smith, the father of the modern economy and liberalism.

French GDP ¹⁰(job creation, exports,etc.) and they strengthen the social bonds, the identities, and the allure of the nations where they are produced. Following that, we will ponder the following: How do a nation's cultural and creative sectors advance its cultural diplomacy? UNESCO defines these cultural and creative industries as "a sector that combines the creation, production and marketing of goods and services whose particularity lies in the intangibility of their cultural content, generally protected by copyright" (UNESCO apud Vincent and al., 2021) According to United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) the value of cultural industries is found in their support of preserving and fostering cultural variety as well as democratizing access to culture. Cultural organizations mobilize and plan resources with the dual goals of assisting artists and building new networks, while also assisting the cultural and creative sectors in fostering intellectual and artistic collaborations. These cultural institutions, which are situated abroad, support the development of identity, which is expressed via cultural expressions, and as a result, they promote understanding between the cultures of the host nation and the country of origin. Sharing of the performing arts, visual arts, music, literature, and languages is how this promotion is accomplished.

The various countries can project their cultural impact abroad because of the establishment of cultural institutes—cultural organizations that serve as middlemen between nations (Busson,2012). As was previously mentioned, France has been linked to the idea of cultural diplomacy for a very long time because of its early concerns about the influence of foreign cultures on its foreign policy. France is a leader in international cultural investment, according to Joseph Nye, originator of the term "soft power," who observed this in his 2004 book *Soft Power: The Means to Success in Global Politics* France uses cultural diplomacy to increase its influence and presence in the world. French Institutes, formerly known as Cultures France associations and public establishments of an industrial and commercial nature (EPIC - state-controlled entities of an industrial and commercial nature), are in fact where France develops its artistic exchange activities in addition to its missions based on the promotion of the French language, knowledge, and ideas (Busson, 2012). Eva Nguyen Binh, Director General of the *Institut français* since 2021, defines the missions of the French

¹⁰ The Gross Domestic Product of France is PIB (Produit Intérieur Brut).

Institutes located around the world as: "to support and promote the internationalization of artists, creators of the French cultural industries abroad via the French Institutes but also the *Alliances françaises*, the cooperation services of the embassies and binational cultural centers" (Bouhours, 2022). During the UNESCO general session in 2005, the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions was adopted thanks to France's proposal. - This convention has been ratified by 148 states. Since cultural diversity is a source of exchange, invention, and creativity as well as an engine for economic growth, this universal proclamation views it as a "component of development" that also benefits mental development. Also, this cultural variety is closely related to human rights because everyone has the right to exercise basic liberties including freedom of speech and opinion. This French attempt within UNESCO could be viewed as the "prolongation" of France's political culture, which is profoundly influenced by the ideals realized during the French Revolution. The French Revolution, which symbolizes a fundamental rupture with absolute monarchy, also represents the transition to the contemporary democratic state and, consequently, to a "laboratory" of ideas where law and political culture have a significant French cultural identity aspect. The historical contribution made by the French Revolution to the spread of the democratic culture and the spirit of liberty demonstrates France's determination to spread these cultural values, this inheritance conceived via its history and diplomatic efforts. (Monnier, 2002).

In France's diplomatic effort abroad, the questions of "cultural diversity" and "democratization of culture" are crucial. These two facets of culture are related in that they both underline the significance of making culture available to everyone to foster its development and allow humankind to flourish. Through the promotion and preservation of cultural variety for the benefit of humanity, these ideals and principles from the past enable France to maintain its significant diplomatic position in the world. Since France is a nation that invests heavily in culture to promote and innovate, employing this "French know-how," this "cultural exception," inherited from the past, this French cultural diplomacy is performed via France's rich cultural and creative industries. Also affected by this "cultural exception" are the cultural industries. The fact that they are referred to as "cultural and creative industries" does not change that. On the one hand, "creativity," as described above, represents this desire for originality and evokes associations of dynamism. It is a word that is

used to describe innovation and "development" in society. When it comes to "culture," it is a reflection of humanity and its creative spirit. Knowledge, creativity, the arts, industry, civilization, and ideals are all connected to culture. This is why, culture will always have an impact on creativity, and it is now a powerful force in both the social and economic spheres. As these industries foster employment, economic development, education, and social cohesion, we may now refer to them as "cultural and creative industries". Our heritage is expanded and enriched by this inventiveness, which varies from culture to culture and from person to person.

Scholars such as Adorno and Horkheimer invented the term "culture industries" with a predominantly critical undertone. They referred to cultural commodities (such as radio, film, magazines, etc.) that were exploited to guide mass society toward passivity, a result of the commodification and industrialized production of these cultural artifacts. The negative repercussions of this partnership between "culture" and the logic of the market are examined, particularly in the context of cinema. Because of the impact of the cultural industries, there is now a phenomenon known as "mass culture," in which members of the mass consume cultural goods that serve to support the ruling elite. They use the example of film, which they claim may be used to manipulate people's thoughts and perceptions by creating an "illusory" fictional reality. The cultural industries are viewed by the two authors as mass culture creators who use uniformity, repetition, and manipulation (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1944¹¹). Horkheimer and Adorno's perspective highlights that mass culture, produced industrially, results in cognitive stagnation. The culture industry provides commodities, leaving individuals solely in the role of consumers. Through mass production, uniformity prevails, with only minor distinctions setting things apart. In the view of Adorno and Horkheimer, contemporary culture overwhelmingly embodies sameness. Within capitalist culture, there's a tendency towards homogenization (Gunster, 2000). The intrusion of the commodity framework into artistic creation is deeply concerning for Adorno due to his conviction in art's suitability for celebrating and conveying sensory distinctiveness. As the logic of uniformity infiltrates the inception and reception of art through commercialization, it effectively erodes art's capacity to mirror societal paradoxes. Consequently, culture loses

¹¹ In the book entitled *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1944) by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer

its authenticity and becomes an artificial fusion of the particular and the universal. As Russo explains: « Its internal relations, techniques, and forms are restructured around equivalence, calculability, and effect ». This is most evident in sectors of cultural production heavily reliant on capital and technology, like the film sector, which must embrace innovative production methods pioneered in other sectors (Russo, 2020).

One should consider whether this negative influence would not manage to make the diplomatic mission of "cultural diversity" described previously more challenging in this case as cultural industries, and cinema in particular, are vectors of cultural standardization. Theorist of globalization Arjun Appadurai claims that the Frankfurt School's point of view is supported and confirmed, considering that the spread of mass culture has a homogenizing effect on cultures. As a result, there is a reduction in the diversity of cultures – which is necessary to foster intercultural understanding, making cultural diplomacy more challenging (Appadurai, 2006). In this case, this cultural homogenization would be a consequence of globalization, contemporary economic neo-liberalism, and capitalism. However, since the creative and cultural industries use the arts, music, film, and other forms of cultural expression as a form of individual expression, and since we now live in a world where globalization allows for limitless information to flow throughout the globe thanks in part to the development of new technologies. **What sector could promote cultural diversity better than the creative and cultural industries?** And if it is true that culture is made of a language, traditions, and values that are part of the history and the space-time experience of a people, doesn't the cinema become a privileged instrument of cultural expression? To UNESCO (1980)¹²: “Moving images are an expression of the cultural identity of peoples, and because of their cultural, educational, artistic, scientific, and historical value, form an integral part of nation’s cultural heritage”. Hence, movies would be cultural products that represent cultural expressions. (Issenmann, n.d.) But films are not only a form of expression considered as art and creation, but these multiplied films can also reinforce the cultural heritage constituting a form of heritage of its own - Can we speak of French cinematographic

¹² The general conference of 1980 in Belgrade for the preservation of moving images.

heritage or French cinematographic culture? If so, can we use the 7th art as a cultural diplomatic tool?

CHAPTER 2 – THE FRENCH FILM INDUSTRY: A CINEMATIC “EXCEPTION”

2.1 – THE 7TH ART: A FRENCH HERITAGE

Paris, December 28th, 1895: Louis Lumière and Auguste Lumière, inventors of the *cinematograph* - a device capable of reproducing movement through photographs - made the first public projection at the *Grand Café, 14 Boulevard des Capucines*. At the launch of the "new show," thirty-three viewers witnessed for the first time moving images: *Arrival of at La Ciotat* (1896) – a film captured by the Lumière brothers on the moment of a train's arrival at La Ciotat station, a village in the proximity of Marseilles. Georges Méliès¹³ wanting to buy this revolutionary machine, was unable to do so since the Lumière brothers owned the absolute rights of exploitation. Indeed, Louis Lumière and his brother Auguste were the ones who came up with this innovative machine: easy to use, lightweight, portable, and suitable for usage in the outdoors or with the family (Oscherwitz and Higgins, 2009). The camera was initially intended to be used by enthusiasts of photography, but because of its incredible capabilities, a new commercial use quickly appeared. Instead of selling cameras to professionals, screenings for a larger and more receptive audience were arranged. This first projections program was composed of various "genres", with each topic lasting no longer than a minute, with a brief break between each so that the camera could be recharged. The cinematograph, a device that can reproduce movement through images, was the foundation for the beginning of cinema history. Indeed, the word *cinema* is the abbreviation of the term *cinematograph*, from the ancient Greek *kinema*, which means "movement", and "graph", meaning "which transcribes or writes". The Lumière cinematograph, which is what we now refer to as cinema, was developed by the Lumière brothers who had the brilliant

¹³ If the Lumière brothers invented the cinematograph, it is Georges Méliès who raised it to the rank of 7th art. Pioneer of the cinematographic spectacle, Georges Méliès believed in the future of the moving image. Inventor of trickery, he was the first to express the enchanting, the marvelous and the fantastic through cinema.

idea to turn reality into the "new spectacle." The invention of the first cameras and the creation of the first silent and sound films gave French directors, producers, and actors an outstanding reputation in France and overseas from the very beginning. Cinema has always held a very special place in French culture. France has a long and impressive film history thanks to its privileged relationship with the 7th art and ongoing investment in its development, which has helped to forge a unique cinematic culture known throughout the world as the "French cinema" (Oscherwitz and Higgins, 2009).

Industrial and societal revolutions occurred throughout the 19th century. In addition to the invention of the 7th art, social order manifestations also made it possible for democracy and equity to be established in France. Paris had also developed into a modern metropolis, the epicenter of the Industrial Revolution, becoming France's capital while changing daily in various industrial fields. All of this is portrayed in the first moving images. Early movies tended to show the city in motion and the people living their daily lives while experimenting with the camera at the same time. The cinematograph was first regarded as a machine, a "practical" instrument with technical and scientific purposes. It was like a tool for "experimentation" that could only serve as a reflection and assistant of the *réel*. However, contrary to other machines, the cinematograph gradually diverged from its strictly technical goals to seize its "spectacular" goals and ultimately transform into cinema. This is how Edgar Morin, in his book *Le cinéma ou l'homme imaginaire* (1956), confronts the cinematograph's radical change from a tool for practice to a medium for the creation of feelings and dreams. Morin questions the anthropological component of this evolution of the cinematograph¹⁴, initially a method for recreating movement whose application appeared to be practical, if not scientific, into the cinema we know today, that is, a type of imagined spectacle. What relationship does Méliès' first magic shows have with the development of cinema? (Morin, 1956, p.9.). Thus, for him, the cinematograph's progression, evolution, and dual identity go beyond its purely functional purpose: as certainly, the cinema is a machine, an art of machines, an art industry, it also creates a feeling that is much more beautiful and

¹⁴ In his book *Le Cinéma et l'homme imaginaire* (1956), Edgar Morin wants to question the cinema by considering its human totality. As if cinema had anatomical and biological characteristics that allowed it to evolve, to "metamorphose" into something superior.

extraordinary than any other representation: “*It is a unique feeling of the physical order that cannot be compared with other art forms*” (Morin, 1956, translated by the author). Thus, Edgar Morin turns his reflection around cinema as an invention that never stops progressing upward, toward the "stars," and gradually distancing itself from the "down to earth" character originally imagined.

Spectacle was the next development in film, and narrative did not advance until Hollywood's Golden Age in the 1920s. Even though they did not yet use the narrative conventions - started in the golden age of Hollywood during the 1920s - movies were made to convey stories. Méliès could be regarded as the first independent filmmaker and *auteur*, though such a notion didn't yet exist. In contrast with the Hollywood first filmmakers, he was more concerned with the quality and artistic aspects of his films than their commercial potential. This passage from cinematograph to cinema, that is, from absolute realism (Lumière) to absolute unrealism (Méliès), the antithesis from which cinema was to be born and developed, was more than a passage, one could say a "fusion" of the Lumière cinematograph and the Méliès storyteller, as Morin would describe it (Morin, 1956). Some may argue that cinema is an international innovation rather than a French one because Edison had already animated photography and Reynaud had projected animated images on a screen. However, the *cinematograph* - of French origin – and that is, the connection of photography and projection in a singular system, is a device that has its uniqueness. This projection gives birth to what we might term a "show," which is characterized by the contemplation of moving images. This exceptional passion started by the Lumière brothers' film projections emerged not only from the discovery of the unknown world but also from the vision of the known world of daily life by the audience. What distinguished Edison from the Lumière brothers was that, unlike Edison, they had the concept of filming and projecting as a spectacle what was not a spectacle: everyday life, people walking, and so on. He had already realized that people were fascinated by seeing what was not "spectacular," but rather ordinary, through qualitative moving images: their houses, their faces, their gestures...

The Lumière brothers' first films, such as “*L'arrivée d'un train en gare de La Ciotat*” (1896) or “*Sortie de l'usine Lumière à Lyon*” (1895) captivated audiences not for the real but for the image of the real (Morin, 1956). The creators, Thomas Edison and the Lumière

Brothers had very different views on their inventions. On one hand, the Lumière Brothers didn't realize the potential of motion pictures. On the other hand, Edison saw motion pictures as an appealing medium with the ability to reach a wider audience. Nonetheless, the Lumière Brothers and Georges Méliès profoundly contributed to the evolution of cinema: the invention of the cinematograph machine and the invention of special effects (Liulevicius, 2020). Moreover, Edgar Morin differentiates the invention of cinema in France from other countries with the idea that the Lumière Brothers sensed and exploited the cinematographic image. For that, he emphasizes the concept of creation and reverie *à la française*. Indeed, if cinema is an international invention, the result of a long series of scientific and technical works around the world, it is in this same France that he defines "innovative and artisanal" where many cinematographic discoveries were made - "*129 patents for the year 1896 against 50 in England*" (Morin, 1956, p.17).

France collaborated on the main inventions and techniques that are now known today as Cinema, which ultimately have been improved throughout the decades. Since the invention of the new cinematographic apparatus, France has created a unique cinematographic culture, beginning to make films that will mark the history of French cinema, cult films that will then be inscribed in what could be called a true and proper French cinematographic heritage. When discussing French cinematographic history and heritage, Christophe Gauthier¹⁵ transmits the historical context of the years 1910-1920, where we find the birth and a strong consideration of cinema as an art, the 7th. Gauthier's reflection in his book *1927, Year One of the French Film Heritage* (2005) revolves around a symbolic figure of the wish to "build" this heritage of the 7th art in France. He explains that in 1924, Jean Tedesco¹⁶, managing director of the Vieux-Colombiers movie theater in Paris, created a list of classic film titles that he felt represented cinema's brief history. He titled this list *Répertoire du film* (Film Repertory) and published it in his journal *Cinéa-Ciné pour tous* - one of the first cinephile journals - on the same day as the inauguration of the Vieux

¹⁵ French researcher-teacher, historian, and library administrator. He is the director of studies at the École Nationale des Chartes, where he has taught book history and modern media since 2014.

¹⁶ He was a French cinema director, critic, and screenwriter. He was also the chief editor of the *Cinéa* magazine and the managing director of the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier between 1924 and 1934, where he screened avant-garde films during the 1920s.

Colombiers Theatre (Gauthier and Brost, 2005). This theater had the goal of attracting cinephiles who had been demanding a place where film classics could be shown, and the film repertory reflected a new attitude toward film history, signaling the maturation of the cinephile movement that had emerged at the end of the 1910s. This movement, created by young intellectuals who praised cinema as an art form, claimed that cinema was a way to break free from traditional storytelling, promote a national cinema in France, and express French values on a global stage. This movement's invention had a profound impact on the French film industry and its history, which now has multiple dimensions: not only cultural, but also political, economic, and social. This cinephile movement in French cinema, and thus the recognition of a true and proper history of cinema, will make the 7th art a domain that can be studied from various perspectives: cinema as a social phenomenon, cinema as a spectacle and as a state of morals, cinema as an intellectual debate, cinema in international relations and as a nation's image abroad, cinema in domestic political debates, and film as a witness expressing the perception of a nation (Gili and Milza, 1986). It is therefore since the 1910s and 1920s that this field has expanded with not only the cinephile movement, but also the desire to preserve, exhibit, and debate past cinematographic works fixed in the history of a nation at a specific time in history. Jean Tedesco understood this already during the 1920s, creating this film repertory that represents a reflection on the history of cinema long before the films were preserved in the Cinematheques. This list raised the question of what constituted a cinema classic and was thus the first step toward what would later be referred to as a “patrimoine cinématographique” (a national film heritage or patrimony). Tedesco’s film repertory was, in fact, based on cultural legitimization¹⁷ norms: as he indicated, it was intended to designate: “the progress of moving pictures toward art” (Gauthier and Brost, 2005, p. 289). There was already the debate of patrimonialization, of preserving film, because it was already regarded as an independent art form, ranked seventh. This first glimpse of the history of cinema, established through Tedesco’s film repertory list, was indeed the start of a new era for French film heritage.

¹⁷ It is a way of validating and justifying the value and significance of cinema as a cultural form that goes beyond entertainment or commercial appeal. By legitimizing cinema as an art form, we are acknowledging its cultural significance and value, and recognizing the creative and intellectual achievements of filmmakers.

The twentieth century saw an unprecedented level of activity in the historical studies of film. In this instance, cinema is no longer merely a "cultural practice," but rather a component of a larger whole, as a set of social, economic, and cultural practices that, in the end, produce cultural ends. As an example, consider film analysis: the context of the work's realization/production becomes a topic of study for the historian (Altman, 1995, p.73). As previously demonstrated, the phenomenon of cinema has been redefined since its beginnings, constantly evolving and becoming an object that can be understood from a sociological, cultural, or political perspective, through its representation of a past reality inscribed in a specific historical context. The current state of cinema studies assumes that the film is no longer regarded as a simple source of analysis, but as an autonomous sector to be studied as such. Cinema history, as it should be considered today, has numerous dimensions: The problem of the State's relationship with cinema takes on a political component. (Cinematographic legislation, the existence or absence of laws of financing to the production, distribution, etc.). Economically, the cinema, which relies on industrial infrastructure, necessitates significant money. (Investments, etc.). Finally, as previously stated, the socio-cultural dimension of cinema is the notion that a cinematographic work created and produced at a particular moment in a society's evolution presents a representation of that society. In this regard, we want to understand not only the messages created by the film's creators (producer, director, etc.), but we can also observe, study, and analyze the social models communicated by the film at this specific historical moment, as well as its effect on the audience. Thus, the history of cinema informs us about how a society portrays itself (Gili and Milza, 1986, p. 178). The idea that cinema, or more specifically the cinematograph, is a French invention demonstrates the desire and exaltation on the part of members of the cinematographic profession to build the official history of cinema, to preserve these testimonies of "French genius," and thus to constitute a stronger than-ever cinema heritage in France. According to Anne-Marie Thiesse¹⁸, the patrimonialization of French cinema began in the nineteenth century, with its invention and establishment of a date, as well as the ideological construction - by the press and film critics i.e., André Bazin - of a national cinematographic expression (Thiesse, 1999). This desire for the

¹⁸ Author of the book *La Création des identités nationales*, 1999

patrimonialization of cinema is certainly at the heart of the idea of celebrating the past of French cinema, but it is also motivated by the richness of the history of French cinema as marked by major figures such as historians, film critics such as André Bazin, or even filmmakers themselves who participated in its historical construction, and cinephiles in general. Thus, since its beginning, a whole French cinematographic culture developed, as Edgar Morin would say, a culture with a soul, a personality, a history, an evolution, and a technique. Above all, an avant-garde character who is always searching for new ways to transmit emotions.

2.2 – THE IDEA OF “CINEMATOGRAPHIC CULTURE” AND THE EXAMPLE OF *LA NOUVELLE VAGUE*

Even if one considers the idea that the seventh art was not created by a single person or nation, but rather by a multitude of researchers active in the study and activity of movement - through photography, drawing, and so on - The cinematograph, on the other hand, remains an original technique of the foundation of cinema, and it has helped to create what can be described as a French cinematographic culture. As such, this cinema culture will develop over time until it is recognized as an art form, not something insignificant, but an object deserving of being considered, studied, and understood as part of an artistic discipline. Antoine de Baecque, in his article entitled “*La cinéphilie ou l’invention d’une culture*”, gave the authentic quote of Jean-Luc Godard¹⁹ in 1959 for an article published in the weekly journal *Arts*²⁰:

« And we have the right to tell you better than anyone else, in the name of the cinephiles, to the mediocre French filmmakers of the moment. If your name is now spread like a star on the pediments of the Champs-Élysées [...] it is thanks to us. We, who here, at Cahiers du Cinéma, at Positif or Cinéma 59, it doesn't matter, on the

¹⁹ As a complete creator of his films, he is frequently the director, scriptwriter, dialogue writer, and editor. He was a cinema critic and theorist, as well as a producer and writer. Jean-Luc Godard, like Éric Rohmer, François Truffaut, Claude Chabrol, and Jacques Rivette, started his career as a film critic in the 1950s. He was a frequent contributor to *La Gazette du cinéma*, *Cahiers du cinéma*, and *Arts*.

²⁰ The French weekly magazine devoted to art and culture, established in 1952 by gallery owner Georges Wildenstein, provided an arena for the new film critics of the 1950s, most notably François Truffaut, who later invited Jean-Luc Godard and his partners from *Cahiers du Cinéma*.

last page of the Figaro littéraire or France-Observateur, [...] we who have led, in homage to Louis Delluc, Roger Leenhardt and André Bazin, the fight of the film's author. We have won by having the principle accepted that a film by Hitchcock, for example, is as important as a book by Aragon. The authors of films, thanks to us, entered definitively in the history of the art ». (Baecque and Frémaux, 1995, translated by the author).

Thanks to this quote, we understand that Jean-Luc Godard pays homage to the French cinephile movement of the 1950s, to their work as cinephiles, which was first and foremost to make marginalized and misunderstood directors of the time (French or foreign) true authors whose works should be worthy of consideration. For this, he takes the example of a Hitchcock film, which, according to the major cinephiles and auteurs of the 50s, should be put on the same level as a book by Louis Aragon²¹. There was an early idea that we would not talk of History and Cinema anymore, but rather of a new field of study: cinema history. How was cinema history established in France? Introduced in the post-war period by Georges Sadoul's²²writings, it was quickly taken over by some film critics in the early 1950s, reinterpreting it according to the succession of schools, filmmakers, and their style, then captured by cinephiles that fed it with detailed filmographies, re-evaluations, classifications, genres, giving thus the status of "author" of film. They used to fight and write in a polemical way, and still with an adoration for the Hollywood rivalry. This is France's "history of cinema," a living and revolutionary history defined by the New Wave. French cinephilia becomes a culture constructed around the film: around the film, the author crosses his numerous and diverse sources, writing the cinema in its context in the same way that an intellectual writes history. The idea is not to understand a society through its cinematographic production, but through the diversity of the sources most likely to enlighten it i.e., criticism as a way of interpreting cinema, of interpreting intimately and deeply the work to go back to the very concept of the "author" of the film. This demanding practice of the cinephile community congregated in a projection room regularly, produces a singular and regular ceremony (Milza and Marès, 1995). Throughout the 1950s, French cinephilia

²¹ Nobel Prize French poet who was a prominent voice in the French surrealist movement. He co-founded the surrealist journal *Littérature* with André Breton and Philippe Soupault.

²² French film critic and historian, Georges Sadoul is the author of the important book of 6 tomes entitled *Histoire générale du cinéma*.

was thus a powerful tool for the cultural legitimization of an art that was still banalized and considered marginal in the 1920s. Surprisingly, one of the most iconic cinephile works was the promotion of some Hollywood films in the 1950s. The function of French cinephilia in this case was to formally legitimize Hollywood which was perceived, at the time, as not only a spectacle of pure entertainment but also a threat to the post-war French cinema²³. Paradoxically, the French cinephile movement of the 1950s went searching for its authors in French cinema, but also across the Atlantic i.e., Welles, Hitchcock, Huston, and many others, in a commercial and modeled system such as Hollywood, where few people suspected their existence and were ultimately marginalized (Baecque, 1995). In the first issues of *Les Cahiers du cinéma*, published in 1951, cinephiles defended American cinema and argued against the negative attitude held by some critics who saw Hollywood as a powerful model of "dumbing down the people". There was this idea that Hollywood filmmakers could not create intellectual cinema as French directors are good at. But rather attract a large audience because they are well known for making shows and creating celebrities. In this regard, André Bazin, founder of the *Cahiers du cinéma*, called this negative attitude toward American cinema an "irresponsibility" considering the major cultural mission of the time: making cinema an art and acknowledging filmmakers like Welles and Huston as intellectuals or auteurs, considered at that time "outsiders" from the Hollywood system.

Since the birth of cinema and the growth of its own cinematographic industry, France has always placed a high priority on the cinema as a cultural sector. French cinema has succeeded in establishing itself on an artistic, intellectual, and creative level from its cultural basis and history that has been reinforced year after year by its various literary adaptations, the talent of its screenwriters, significant film critics, and actors. During the 1950s, Paris became the city of cinephilia. Parisian cinephiles became more and more militant and dogmatic: it was a question of selecting authors, and then defending them to impose on them the status of film authors. This is what François Truffaut²⁴ refers to as a "Politics of Authors"

²³ It should be noted that the 1945s was a time of great aesthetic and economic stability, considered even the golden age of French cinema.

²⁴ French filmmaker and major figure of the New Wave, he revolutionized cinematographic narration. Initially a critic for *Arts-Lettres-Spectacles* and *Cahiers du Cinéma*, he later became a self-dictating director following the "Politique des Auteurs".

in a set of written articles published in 1954 and 1955. Considered one of the most famous critical theories ever invented in a film magazine, the “Politics of Authors” is the first, for Antoine de Baecque, "strategy of intervention". Through the understanding of the work of chosen filmmakers - French or foreign - the critic analyzes it and defends it through all his films (Baecque, 1995). As an example, he cited the American filmmaker Joseph Losey²⁵ who had left Hollywood because he felt isolated and misunderstood, suddenly saw his career taking a turn in 1958, when his film *Time without Pity* (1957) was released in Paris, where Parisian moviegoers appreciated the film and led to its recognition by a wider audience.

« I owe all this to the group at the Mac-Mahon cinema in Paris. It gave me confidence in myself. I could again make something that was successful, original, strong, and I was relieved that there were again people who were enthusiastic about one of my films [...] I am very conscious of my debt to the Parisian cinephiles. » - (Baecque, 1995, translated by the author)

Joseph Losey, during his interview with Michel Ciment for the book *Le livre de Losey* (1979), affirms this major influence of Parisian cinephilia at that time, especially thanks to the establishment of this “policy of authors”, which allowed foreign filmmakers to be recognized as authors worthy of being understood, studied and rewarded for their cinematographic works. Thus, at the time, Parisian cinephiles played an important part in the promotion of foreign filmmakers and the worldwide cultural consecration of cinema. Foreign filmmakers' films were well received, and cinephile magazines embraced them by publishing critiques and evaluations of their *mise en scène*. Special programs were arranged at the *Cinémathèque* and many other Parisian cinemas, and foreign filmmakers were sometimes invited to Paris by film clubs, where they were interviewed about their work. Polemical and influential, *Cahiers du Cinéma* magazine with a total of 5,000 copies, was the primary reference for cinephiles around the world, and a starting point for future French filmmakers such as François Truffaut, Jean-Luc Godard, Éric Rohmer, Claude Chabrol, and many others. which will be studied in universities around the world for their iconic films but also for their everlasting contribution to the history of cinema. It is this assurance, passion, and desire that, between 1945 and 1960, established a very specific and profound culture in Paris, its impacts of which can still be seen today: Paris is still one of the cities in the world

²⁵ American director, producer and screenwriter

where one can see the most films of all origins and periods, with continuous retrospectives dedicated to national cinematographies or cinephile authors (Baecque 1995). It is at the *Cinémathèque* of Paris, an emblematic place of French cinephilia and cinematography, that a collection of films from around the world is preserved. It is its founder, Henri Langlois, who during the same years, contributed on the one hand to the international awareness of the fragility of this cinematographic heritage and on the other hand to the establishment of a true and strong cinephilia in France.

The emblematic French cinephile magazine *Cahiers du cinéma*, inherited in a general way from the French culture and more specifically from a tradition of cinematographic cultural interests established since the 1920s, managed to establish the most important cultural movement of the film in the history of the cinema: the *Nouvelle Vague* (New Wave). The New Wave revitalized France's already reputable cinema, as well as international art cinema, film criticism, and theory, in the late 1950s and early 1960s. When we think about the New Wave, we think of a new method of making films, new styles, topics, and ways of production that inspired countries all over the world. "New" because young filmmakers such as Louis Malle, François Truffaut, Jean-Luc Godard, and Claude Chabrol - who wrote in the *Cahiers* - introduced this new way of making films while also launching a new generation of film stars such as Jeanne Moreau, Brigitte Bardot, Jean-Paul Belmondo, and others. By revisiting the strategies and aesthetics of cinema production from the past, such as Jean Renoir or Italian neo-realism, new directors and auteurs began making low-budget films while experimenting with new storytelling norms.

“The rule was to shoot as quickly as possible with portable equipment, sacrificing the glamour of mainstream productions for a modern look” (R. Neupert, 2022, p.17). From that point on, directors saw the advantages of this new method of film production and began delivering movie after movie with the assistance of small producers. This revival was called a wave at the time. Not only does the New Wave represent a completely new interpretation of cinema and narrative methods, but what makes its significance and originality so enduring is that it has profoundly influenced every French film creation since. Certain New Wave concepts and film vocabulary, such as "*auteur*," "*mise en scène*," and "*cinephile*," became widely used abroad. Several books have been written about the French New Wave,

as well as several studies of their creators' iconic films. Nevertheless, the new wave was first and primarily a cultural movement, a result of 1950s economic, political, artistic, and social changes (Neupert, 2007, p.28). The numerous authors and theorists of film rarely put this movement, which has had such an impact outside France, into context. It is consequently important to comprehend French life and culture between the end of the 1950s and 1960s. Aside from the war, there was a sense of urgency to "rebuild" life in France and reclaim its status as the world's leading fashion capital. (Neupert, 2007, p.5). Thus, it's not a surprise that these young filmmakers from the *Cahiers* aspired to make a greater impact on films that reflected the nation's sense of "new" and changes. Charles De Gaulle's 5th Republic - which came to power in 1958 - and its willingness to change contributed to the establishment of a "New Look" in fashion as well as the introduction of fresh faces and production processes in the French film industry. The French cinema business was emerging within a new society that was rapidly changing. If the French film industry was artisanal and not sufficiently capitalized, the New Wave brought more attention and respect to the French film industry, thus making France, and more specifically Paris, the most exciting place for making movies (Neupert, 2007, p.11).

A new cinematographic genre not only emerged in France during the New Wave's ten-year run but one that would later spread throughout the globe, influencing some of the greatest filmmakers of all time. French filmmakers, profoundly rooted in French society and culture, are now recognized as the "heirs" of this revolutionary cinematic movement. Louis Garrel and Matthieu Kassovitz are an example. And foreign filmmakers, from "Novo cinema" in Brazil to "Nuovo cinema" in Italy, will also be the ones to inherit. The New Wave has successors everywhere, and in a few years (after its inception), it will become a cinematic heritage that will endure without vanishing from the moment it appears, and continues to inspire, allowing for reinterpretations as the *Birth of Venus* painting of Botticelli has experienced. The New Wave is undoubtedly a style of film, but as we've already mentioned, it was also an important era in French history (the Algerian war, feminist movements, students' protests, etc.) There is indeed a desire to move on from the past, to redefine cinematic conventions as well as the conventional practices dictated by society (Stardust

Masterclass, n.d). The "young Turks"²⁶ invented a whole new method of filmmaking with the New Wave, transforming both film and its history and contributing to what might be considered a genuine "cinematographic heritage" or perhaps a "cinematographic exception" unique to France and its culture. This movement's ability to create the "New" in cinema and at the sociopolitical and cultural level in France, as well as the strengthening or even "birth" of the French film industry, made it possible for the State to begin giving cinema its full support at that time with the assistance of the Centre National de la Cinématographie (CNC). The aid system established by the CNC to support French national cinema will be provided for this first generation of New Wave French filmmakers. The creation of the New Wave also occurred in the context of a connection between the State and culture, where there was a movement from a negative form of cultural involvement by the public authorities (i.e., censorship) to a positive one (i.e., aids), thereby inspiring the independence of creators.

The National Center of Cinematography (CNC), the public institution in charge of the cinematographic sector since 1946, was attached to the new Ministry of Cultural Affairs, created by President Charles de Gaulle and given to André Malraux, in 1959, marking the beginning of the State's expanding role as a patron of the arts. However, the taking in hand of the cinema by the public power began in 1959. This result was consistent with fresh initiatives that aimed to elevate cinema to the status of a creative and cultural artifact, such as the film club movement and the New Wave (Péton, 2019). This reattachment made it possible to support outstanding practices in film creation and the widespread distribution of cinematic classics, ensuring the greatest exposure to French cultural heritage. In fact, at this moment, André Malraux established a system of advance on receipts²⁷ which promoted the production of cinematic works and provided financial support for distinctive and qualitative projects. Alain Resnais²⁸, who released the movie "*Last Year at Marienbad*" in 1960, was

²⁶ Jean-Luc Godard, François Truffaut, Eric Rohmer, Jacques Rivette and Claude Chabrol, who worked together on the influential journal *Cahiers du Cinéma* before becoming film director, are often referred as the "Young Turks" in reference to their fight against academicism and decadent cinema.

²⁷ The advance on receipts was established in 1960 with the intention of encouraging new forms of creation through supporting the making of independent films.

²⁸ Alain Resnais, the director of "*Hiroshima mon amour*" (1959), is regarded with Roberto Rossellini, Ingmar Bergman, and Michelangelo Antonioni as one of the greatest exponents of the new cinema (Nouvelle Vague) and as one of the founders of modern European cinematography.

one of the first directors to take advantage of this aid (*Les dates clés du CNC*, n.d.). This Advance on Receipts, a representation of the French cultural exception and a key component of the CNC's support fund made a significant contribution to the growth of auteur cinema in France during the New Wave and, more importantly, to the preservation of a strong national cinematography to this day. Thus, the New Wave was a lot of "new," but it also accelerated or at least coincided with the French socio-politico-economic developments occurring in Paris at the time. La Nouvelle Vague is a historical and cinematic movement that will commemorate the history of France's development of a strong cinephile culture as well as make its film heritage known abroad. French culture became stronger than ever. Considered an important art and cultural industry, the French 7th art is protected and promoted by the State through several government entities, which provide the film industry with financial support.

2.3 – THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN SUPPORTING AND PROMOTING FRENCH CINEMA: A CULTURAL “EXCEPTION”.

When we talk about the "cultural exception" of France, we don't just mean that France gives a lot of value to culture in general because of its rich cultural heritage. It is also, and maybe more importantly, how much value it places on its creative sectors, namely the film industry. From the invention of the cinematograph Lumière to the New Wave movement, France has been able to legitimize its cinema and protect what may be referred to as a French cinematographic heritage. However, this idea of a cultural exception is used by the French government, and more specifically by the State itself, and is therefore seen as a legitimizing factor for French culture. This cultural legitimization of the state would take place through a set of processes that would ensure the maintenance of social identity (Jobert, 1985, p.656). The State preserves this notion of social belonging (subjects' attitudes and values) while integrating its system (State regulating actions). Indeed, the State is a significant integration agent, and as such, it has created a remarkable variety of administrations and services (Jobert, 1985, p.661). These factors are necessary for social cohesion; one cannot exist without the other. The State cannot operate as the voice of the

people without the support of its people. Every citizen who makes up the nation must be aware of the connection that exists between the State and the nation to help build and sustain the connections that enable social coexistence (Picq, 2018, p. 68). The funding of culture and its industries, as well as the maintenance of their vitality, is also made possible by the citizens, whether it is through the tax paid on each movie ticket (10,72%) or simply visiting a museum (Ministère de la Culture, n.d) Therefore, a variety of state-controlled public entities are responsible for establishing the rules (collectivizing and transferring money) that permit cultural and creative industries like the French film industry to be supported and protected from international competition. Additionally, the French government's resistance to preserving its cultural identity may be seen in the adoption of the notion of “cultural exception” in the cultural policy also applicable to the French film industry. The French cinema industry would not just be an industry or a cultural production with economic goals. In opposition to this notion of "commodification" of culture, the French State acts and establishes measures. Thus, the "Cultural Exception" on the part of the State—a special treatment—is what would prevent culture from becoming a simple commodity (Rahma and Nugrahani, 2020).

Globalization is seen as a threat to France's cultural singularity. This concept motivates and inspires the government's action resulting in continuous updating of regulations to safeguard and advance its cultural sector, or the seventh art. This notion of a "cultural exception" was first proposed by France during the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1993. France was a significant proponent of the audiovisual assistance measures implemented at the European level during these negotiations as well as the main driving force behind the European Union's adoption of the cultural exception strategy during the GATT (Rahma and Nugrahani, 2020). In principle, this agreement aspired to liberalize global trade in services in a similar manner to trade in products. The cinematographic and audiovisual works, in particular, fall under this category of services. France has proposed the idea of "cultural exception" to oppose the application of free trade principles to works that represent cultural identity since they cannot be reduced to the status of goods or services because they are not only products or services like many other things are (Regourd, 2004, p.3-10). Given the difficulty of defining culture in the first place, and then taking into consideration the fact that the United States film and television sector belongs to the category

of entertainment rather than culture, the Ministers of Culture of the European Union's members thus listed what it is necessary to save at all costs to allow the acceptance of this idea of "cultural exception" and to take legal and financial action to protect the two cultural industries of film and audiovisual production (Regourd and Rogard, 2020).

During these GATT negotiations, it is already clear that France is persistent in its resistance to the cultural legitimization of cinema. Without a doubt, now more than ever, given the effects of globalization and the intense competition in the film industry on a worldwide scale, but also because France has a strong cinematographic culture cultivated by the country's rich film history and its cinephilia. For France, cinema equals culture. Initiated by France, the idea of "Cultural Exception" also promotes the idea of "cultural diversity" and is subsequently adopted by the European States. Every State has its unique culture, and it is important to defend it from globalization and the American rival, according to the theory. To resist the Hollywood machine, which promotes American values and ideas and views movies as mainly entertaining and commercial, it is vital to encourage the 7th art more than ever. Following Nazi Germany's takeover of France in 1946, the National Assembly of France established a law for the reconstruction of French cinema with the establishment of the renowned Centre National de la Cinématographie et de l'Image Animée (CNC). The initial goals of this organization were to rebuild the severely damaged cinemas and to promote the production and sale of cinematic works (*Les dates clés du CNC*, n.d). Eric Garandeau²⁹ attempts to describe it as: "A motor that helps filmmakers to "row against the current", to resist the diktat of the markets, to better impose their ideas, their views, their singularities and their asperities, their works." (Garandeau, 2011, p.57 – p.65, translated by the author).

The CNC is crucial for both the defense of writers' rights and its promotion of creative writing and artistic growth. According to Eric Garandeau (2011), there is a perception that this organization is a hub for "cultural democracy." Many industry professionals (producers, artists), as well as experts, gather at the *centre* to direct the administration's decisions and divide the funding as evenly as possible among the projects. As a result, it serves as a forum

²⁹ President of the CNC (Centre National du cinéma et de l'image animée) from 2011 to 2013.

for the expression of all visions. For him, it is a “French model” in which the success and unusual model of financing and support for audiovisual and cinematic creation are certainly explained by this association and unification on one hand of the public servant and the artist, and the other hand the public and the commercial sectors. The CNC is a key component of this "cultural exception" since it ensures the multiplicity of artistic expression. The notion suggests that culture and the arts cannot be viewed as consumer goods. As a result, it ensures a variety of artistic expressions, a wide range of film offers, and distribution techniques. In addition to preserving this "cultural exception" or "cultural diversity," this institution also promotes and produces French cinema, making it an "exception" in its own right. The money used to encourage creativity comes from taxes collected on the film and television industries, not from the budget allocated to culture. The first tax, which is charged on movie tickets, was established in 1949, two years after the CNC was established. This tax equals 10,72 % of the cost of each movie ticket. This implies that Hollywood movies screened in France additionally support the CNC fund (*Le Monde*, 2014). In addition to this one, there is a tax on television services (TST) with a rate of 5.5%, which has two branches: the earliest (since 1986), which is charged on television channels, and the latest, which is imposed on the distributors (Canal +, cable and satellite broadcasting services, etc.) who provide the viewer with audiovisual content. Finally, the tax on video and video-on-demand services, which applies to any seller or renter of videos, is the third significant tax and has a rate of 2%. Overall, the majority of the CNC is financed by these three taxes, which are the most significant ones (Montesquiou, 2012). Therefore, the CNC invests in French audiovisual and cinematic production thanks to these taxes. However, this support is split into two categories: automatic assistance and selective assistance. The automatic aids allow the French film industry to remain vibrant and strong, while the selective aids support ambitious creative projects that will face greater obstacles in achieving success but whose support enables the promotion of diversity in works and the emergence of new talents. These two types of support—automatic and selective—allow for the inclusion of all sector participants, from the most innovative businesses to those that face more difficulties, such as independent distribution enterprises engaged in auteur filmmaking (both French and foreign). The CNC offers very specific assistance in each area of the cinematographic and audiovisual sector, including creation, production, distribution, and exhibition. This demonstrates both the

CNC's solid commitment to the French film industry's growth and its support for cultural diversity. Examples include assistance for international co-productions, assistance for overseas filming, assistance for world cinema, etc. We are thus able to determine that the CNC's responsible financing mechanism is an advanced and complete system that has no comparable in Europe. Despite being the primary regulatory body and quasi-autonomous administrative unit of the French film industry, the CNC also serves as the coordination body for French film industry policy and engages in several other activities: it supports Unifrance Film International, which works to promote French films abroad; it makes regular contributions to the annual Festival de Cannes; and it collaborates with the culture and education ministries to support the artistic education of students enrolled in the most prestigious French film schools i.e. La Fémis³⁰. The National Centre for Cinema and the Moving Images (CNC) also advises and directs the CST (The Higher Technical Commission for Sound and Images) in terms of technology and apparatus as part of their affiliation. Above all, the CNC oversees an extensive system of taxes and financial allocation within the entire French audiovisual-cinematographic complex, operating it as a central support fund for the film industry (Scott, 2000). It has represented the State's support for film since its founding in 1946. It promoted the growth of television in the 1980s, developed the strong French cinema against Hollywood products at the end of World War II, and is now adapting the French cultural exception to the emergence of streaming platforms (Netflix, etc.). According to a recent report by the CNC (*Rapport d'activité*, 2020), during a year of turbulence brought on by the COVID-19 epidemic, the institution was forced to mobilize along with the industry professionals to aid them in dealing with the challenging struggle of the health crisis. To address this, the organization has established emergency measures to prevent disasters in the sector as well as recovery procedures that will keep its financial support even if revenue has undoubtedly decreased. The French film industry received significant assistance during the epidemic, receiving 430 million euros in total, which was spent by the end of 2022. The whole film industry, including filmmaking and movie theaters, was impacted. The CNC's support structure has made it possible for national production to

³⁰ *École nationale supérieure des métiers de l'image et du son* (FEMIS), is a French public institution of higher learning. It has often been ranked by American magazines, *Variety* and *Hollywood Reporter*, among the best film schools in the world.

resist the pandemic crisis' effects and to catch up almost all of the year 2020. (Bacchi, 2023). According to the analysis of the commission's report, there was an increase of 100 films between 2020 and 2021. This increase can be attributed, on the one hand, to compensation funds established by the CNC to cover additional costs incurred during temporary or permanent production interruptions caused by Covid-19, and, on the other hand, to an increase of 10% of support for the producers registered in the CNC accounts, if they have invested in the creation of new works between 2020 and 2021. (Bacchi, 2023). Additionally, in a piece written by the Vie-publique.fr³¹ editorial team, after the constraints related to the health crisis, France has experienced one of the best recoveries in the world in terms of moviegoing (Vie-publique.fr, 2023). 152 million moviegoers went to theaters in 2022, a 59.2% increase over 2021, a year with 138 days of theater closings, according to CNC statistics published on January 2, 2022 (CNC, 2023). The CNC has suffered some difficulties in its efforts to support French cinema during the health crisis. The CNC has lost some of its revenue from the tax on the sale of tickets in theaters (TSA), which it collects and distributes to fund national creation. The CNC's revenue dropped by 65 million euros in 2020. As a result of this emergency, also the State has taken it upon itself to support the CNC's well-being and has implemented emergency measures like, for example, State-guaranteed loans, partial unemployment mechanisms, a plan to revive the audiovisual and cinematographic industries, a solidarity fund, etc. (Wiart, 2021, p.44-p.49). With the assistance of the State and the CNC in the creation of a very effective recovery plan with an "exceptional" budget, France has experienced an effective recovery in terms of cinema attendance for the year 2022, despite the challenging period between 2020 and 2021 brought on by the pandemic, with the closing of movie theaters and a consequent drop in cinema attendance. Moreover, France continues to have the highest cinema attendance rates in all of Europe (Bardalou, 2023).

The special objective of protecting the rules of free trade (GATT agreement) has been established thanks to several legislative and regulatory devices specifically concerning the artistic creation of theater and cinema. This "cultural exception" action has been carried

³¹ Free information site produced by the DILA (Direction de l'information légale et administrative), attached to the Prime Minister's office.

out since the establishment of the Ministry of Culture in 1959, assigned initially to André Malraux. The concept of "French cultural exception" has an unbreakable connection to this system, whose effect is also determinant on a global scale, whether it be because of the significance of the festivals staged in France (such as the Cannes Festival) or because of the special system of self-financing used by the French film industry. French cultural policy has only contributed to the dynamism of the various French directors, encouraging them to create cinematic masterpieces that will mark the history of French cinema, increasing its legacy in the seventh art. This is done by guaranteeing subsidies to the production of French films and a *rayonnement* of French cinema. Since the CNC was established in 1946, many French classics, particularly those from the New Wave film movement, have been produced as a result of this cultural exception, or cultural policy centered on cinema. France never lost faith in the promise of its film industry, from the Lumières brothers through the New Wave. Thanks to the numerous organizations that defend, support, and promote French cinema, including the French *Cinémathèque*³² which houses one of the largest databases on the seventh art in the world, the CNC, UniFrance, the Cannes Film Festival, and the French Institutes, it continues to pursue its objective of influence through the exchange of ideas, products, and influences.

³² Henri Langlois, an influential figure during the French New Wave era, founded the organization. It is one of the world's largest databases on the seventh art, with more than 40,000 videos and thousands of related documents and artefacts.

CHAPTER 3 – FRENCH CINEMA FACING GLOBALIZATION AND THE HOLLYWOOD HEGEMONY: THE NECESSITY TO ADAPT.

3.1 – THE HOLLYWOOD SYSTEM AND NEW GLOBAL COMPETITORS

When we want to understand why this "cultural exception", this protection of cultural diversity, was adopted by France during the 1993's GATT concerning the European audiovisual and film sector facing the superpower of Hollywood and in a context of globalization, we need to understand how the Hollywood model works and in what way it would be a threat, especially in a world where countries are increasingly interdependent. There is nowadays a stronger competition in the market of the cinema and audiovisual industry. Indeed, many new competitors at the global level have entered the game, having understood the major stakes and the importance of cultural industries in the promotion and preservation of culture. It is through cinema that several countries are resisting this cultural "homogenization" triggered by globalization but also by the hegemonic ideology of Hollywood. The accelerated circulation of images in the contemporary world has led film and media researchers to become aware of the need to go beyond national frameworks for the study of film production, circulation, and reception. Thus, it is important to understand the problem within the framework of French cinema, its cultural identity, and its resistance in the context of an increasingly globalized world. If French cinema has an "exceptional" economic and political model, France is also determined to keep its "prestige" image and its position of cinematographic leadership in the world. Previously we observed numerous diplomatic actions related to culture which are thus considered to give weight to French cultural industries, and more specifically in the context of cinema e.g., the Cannes International Film Festival. While the French state participates through specialized organizations specifically to help French cinema export internationally, there is this will to keep this "cinematographic exception" that is deeply implanted in French culture thanks to its rich cinematographic and cultural heritage.

“The American cinema is a classical art, but why not then admire in it what is most admirable, i.e., not only the talent of this or that filmmaker, but the genius of the system” – André Bazin (Bazin apud Buskirk, 2016, p.1).

"The Hollywood model is better at splitting the two things (production and distribution). For example, American television never puts money into films. It broadcasts it, it will buy it afterward if it likes it. But the Americans have this strength, which the Europeans no longer have. The American private companies, even if they are big companies, will never ask for money from the television [...]. They count on them. This is their great strength, compared to the European system." - Jean-Luc Godard in a press conference on February 15, 1971. (Translated by the author)

Artisanal techniques set at the beginning of the 1920s had already made the American film industry unique. It has already developed standardized, effective mass-production techniques. Henry Ford served as an inspiration for other important companies. In the era of mass production, the Hollywood studio system was at its most successful, and the film industry utilized vertical integration and an oligopolistic structure. Hollywood underwent a huge transformation in the 1940s with the introduction of television as a replacement entertainment medium and the creation of antitrust legislation, which limits market dominance to encourage competition. The five major Hollywood studios of that time (Paramount, Warner Bros., Metro Goldwyn Mayer, Fox, and RKO Pictures) felt the need to react to this change in the business model by combining their strategies for product differentiation and vertical disintegration, as opposed to vertical integration, in which the production process is redistributed to various companies, each of which executes a limited number of activities necessary to create a finished product. Because of this, the studios made fewer films, but they compensated for it by continuously changing their product line to differentiate them from the competitors³³. Their efforts were concentrated on producing innovative, "spectacular" films to compete with television's appeal as a pure entertainment medium. The studios in this post-Fordist or "New Hollywood" succeeded in creating a structure of cooperation with independent producers to encourage creativity and share

³³ Product differentiation strategy is commonly used to refine the target audience and sell more.

investment risks. A new degree of stability was established at this point. As a result, the major Hollywood studios built a power structure to control their interactions with independent filmmakers and one another (Aksoy & Robins, 1992). The main objective of the American big media corporations throughout this period of change was to increase their control over the cultural sectors and develop their image industries within a wider environment, such as the globalization of Hollywood. Independent producers are essential despite Hollywood studios' increased hegemony. They give the impression that there is diversity and competition in the market, which reduces pressure and worries about oligopolistic dominance. They also contribute significantly to the economy by attracting new investors and innovative talent that the majors can take advantage of through their distribution domination. Due to the high risk and need for a constant flow of capital, American film firms have always had to develop tactics to lower their risk and raise their revenue. In reality, Hollywood's commercial objective is to reach the broadest audience possible to maximize earnings and, consequently, the ability to take risks. As part of their continual efforts to attract the broadest audience possible, filmmakers have since the early days of American cinema examined prospective areas of public appeal while also standardizing those areas whose appeal had already been confirmed successful, by audience response (Schatz, 1981). Although "*Rolling the dice*" is how Hollywood producers describe releasing a film - believing it impossible to predict a film's reception and commercial success, the fact that they release a film with the usage of differentiation strategy implies that they will already know more or less if the film is going to be successful or not. Additionally, for many years the Hollywood system has successfully funded product differentiation through cost rationalization³⁴. Based on this, the industry has evolved what is known as "runaway production," or the capacity to lower production costs by filming outside of Hollywood or the US. Hollywood is known for having higher production costs due to higher pay for performers, artists, and other crew members (Aksoy & Robins, 1992). The ability of the Hollywood giants to reach a global audience has pushed them to the position of dominant forces in the film business, even though the rationalization of production costs has helped them succeed. First, we could say that the Hollywood system and its attempt to

³⁴ Minimizing the costs to improve the company's profitability and operations.

appeal to a worldwide audience rely on the development of an indirect relationship between a creator and audience, e.g., a filmmaker whose creative impulse is constrained by a practical awareness of certain conventions and audience expectations (Schatz, 1981). Secondly, Hollywood studios now largely serve as distributors, maintaining their supremacy even though the majority of movies are made independently or in collaboration with independent producers.

The Paramount Decree of 1948, a key antitrust lawsuit also known as “United States v. Paramount Pictures, Inc.”, marked the official beginning of this transition from the monopoly of the Hollywood studios system to a system that is more competitive and scattered. The case centered on the big studios at the time, such as Paramount Pictures, Warner Bros., and 20th Century Fox, who were vertically integrating the film business. The major motion picture companies owned and ruled over every aspect of filmmaking, distribution, and screening, as well as their cinemas. Independent filmmakers and theater operators found it difficult to compete as a result of the studios' growing influence over the film industry. In response to this ruling, the Supreme Court adopted the Paramount settlement, concluding that the major motion picture studios had broken antitrust laws. The studios were compelled to abandon their network of cinemas and end their monopolistic practices in the film industry. As a result of giving independent filmmakers and theater owners an equal chance to compete, this case helped to build a more diverse and competitive film industry³⁵. As a result, Hollywood developed methods for standardizing and differentiating products to capture new markets and grow its audience. Blockbuster movies, the star system, and genre films, for instance, increased consumer loyalty while promoting Hollywood and its system globally. Hollywood has a lot more to offer than only its complex for making, distributing, and showing movies. Hollywood's successful economic system has led to the development of Hollywood as an artistic element of American popular culture. Through its works, this industrial cultural giant propagates a new cinematic style that has an impact on American society as a whole and far beyond the borders of its nation. Concerns

³⁵ United States v. Paramount Pictures, Inc., 334 U.S. 131 (1948) is the official citation for the case that led to the Paramount Decree

about the health of the film industries in European countries are raised by the overflow of American cinematic works.

During the 1993 GATT negotiations, France tried to limit the amount of American media programming that was legal on its territory. The notion that American values are transmitted through the media is what drives an important part of the fear of American media. Hollywood has become so renowned internationally that it is often used to describe media giants in countries other than the United States. For instance, "Hollywood of the East" and "Bollywood," respectively, are terms used to describe the film industry's centers in Hong Kong and India. Hollywood has successfully cultivated its recognized corporate image to the point where other entertainment industries across the world have adopted it as an aesthetic (Olson, 2000). Hollywood is one of those cultural factories that produces a product with culturally transparent qualities, according to Olson (2000), who explains this phenomenon as "The coming together of diverse idiosyncrasies to form an attractive and familiar whole." Hollywood would then be successful in exporting motion pictures and television shows since they serve as small-scale examples of the desires of a worldwide audience.

Since making films that appeal to a wide range of viewers has historically been a long-term competitive advantage in the Hollywood sphere, it is important to understand how Hollywood films and American media in general are so appealing to everyone, that they manage to reach a wide audience. What distinguishes American media's appeal is also this transparency of cultural characteristics. Olson (2000) refers to these cultural characteristics as "Attributes of global media texts" e.g., all Disney animated movies contain these characteristics, which are fundamental to the narratological way of telling stories and, in the end, transcend time and space. However, unlike American films, these qualities do not coexist in national cinemas like French cinema because they do not share the same cinematographic aesthetic. It is possible to explain these characteristics, which are common in American feature films, as a response to cultural conventions. Because of the sizable and diversified native populations from the former colonies, a new world that has changed tremendously over the years, becoming a superpower in many disciplines, we perceive the US as predominantly multicultural and cosmopolitan. Thus, the US has evolved this idea of

"transparency" that, according to the Cambridge Dictionary, refers to "the quality of being done in an open way without secrets" and "the characteristic of being easy to see through" and is ultimately evident in the way they tell stories. Indeed, "archetypal characters, open-ended storylines, audience inclusion techniques, negentropy³⁶, and excellent production quality" represent the majority of the narratological approaches of American film storytelling (Olson, 2000). Hollywood broadens its audience by becoming culturally "transparent" to make its products appealing to everyone by presenting its distinctive aesthetic through many cinema genres (drama, comedy, romance, etc.), which ultimately explains this desire to diversify its offerings. We could also look into a kind of artistic expression that interacts with the public more directly than any prior traditional art form has, namely film genres that suggest popular narratives—stories whose storylines, characters, and themes are redefined and reused based on the success of the film (Schatz, 1981). Thus, this point of view is predicated on the notion that the general public actively and indirectly contributes to the development of well-liked commercial films. Their involvement depends on the studio system frequently using similar stories that the audience has responded favorably to. While for Schatz, audiences participate in an indirect to the commercial success of films, Remme (2012) talks about the “water cooler” experience i.e., the audience creates conversations and gossips around the film making them want to go watch to enter the conversation. This would be a cause of the box-office success all around the world. This means that by discussing the movie and ultimately persuading those who haven't seen it to do so, viewers directly contribute to the globalization of audiences. However, this phenomenon is most likely due to event movies. Today, big international media organizations create blockbusters or event films, which can cost millions of dollars, but have a minimal probability of failing because of their proven marketing strategies and ability to appeal to a wide range of viewers, such as *Pirates of the Caribbean*, *Titanic*, or *Jurassic Park* (Jockel & Dobler, 2009). The Hollywood majors (Disney, Warner Bros., Fox, Universal, Sony, and Paramount) have controlled the global cinema market for almost a century by concentrating on both the production and distribution of films. They were able to

³⁶ Contrary term of “entropy” is the degree of order, organization and adaptiveness.

develop the "Think Global, Act Local" philosophy and the "glocalization" ideology because of their position (Carrie, 2018). It supports the idea that a product's manufacturing must be "thought globally" by conceiving its films as globalized products like blockbusters which are based on the idea of the "global consumer," show similar characteristics among various national expectations, and as a result creating what we could call a "global culture". The process of globalization, which involves the growth of the interconnectedness of economies, societies, and cultures, has given rise to global cultures, which ultimately represent the cultural dimension of globalization by encompassing shared experiences, beliefs, practices, and expressions that transcend national boundaries. The ability of Hollywood majors to achieve their goal (broaden their audience) through approachable and transparent blockbusters and thus "globalizing" their Hollywood aesthetic, could quickly diverse negatively in what other countries could call the homogenization of culture. This is true even though different sociologists view "global culture" as a positive aspect of the process of globalization because it promotes interconnectedness and diversity. The truth is that the world can't be reduced to a simple "global village" of people who all go to the same movies or to a single civilization that is purely based on American ideas and cultural products. Significant research has been done on the topic of cultural imperialism, particularly the question of American media culture's global influence (Crane, 2013). Globalization and the concern that American cinema may threaten the diversity of cultures are two reasons why local film industries are growing more rapidly than ever. The Motion Pictures Association of America (MPAA) estimates that international markets now account for more than 70% of box office revenue worldwide (*Driving Economic Growth – Motion Picture Association, 2023*) Thus, Hollywood is undergoing fundamental change as a result of growth in the global box office. If Hollywood studios have traditionally produced high-budget films that will appeal to audiences outside, the growing significance of the global market is also having an impact on casting. Actors are picked based on whether or not audiences in specific markets are going to identify with them. According to David Hancock: "You have Chinese actors coming to American films, you have Korean, Australian actors being slotted into a role for a film. That's largely because these markets are important" (Hancock apud Brook, 2014), China, Japan, and the UK were the top three box office markets outside of the US and Canada

in 2021, according to the 2022 MPAA report³⁷. Before Russia, France came at number four with \$0.8 billion. The globalization of the economy is nothing new to the film business (Motion Picture Association, 2021). The exchange of films between countries has been simpler as a result of the development of connections between businesses situated throughout the world (through partnerships, purchasing decisions, etc.). Then, many cultures converge in the fields of cinematic production, consumption, and distribution. It should go without saying that this results from the migration of professionals in the film industry, but it also occurs as a result of the creation of cultural commodities that, in the end, "respond" to a variety of consumers, such as expanding audiences by creating films that can satisfy the most viewers from different cultures. All of this consequently contributed to global market expansion and increased business possibilities. China has established itself as a key international player in a variety of different industries, including a constantly expanding percentage of the worldwide box office market, as a result of the expansion of certain countries' production and markets. The Chinese market, which has the highest box office revenue, is now competing with the US in the global cinema business (Martínez, 2015). Although China's film industry continues to pose the biggest threat to Hollywood's hegemony in the global market, other nations have established mechanisms to guarantee the survival of their domestic industries. These systems essentially consist of a cultural strategy that the governments have put in place to assist their national film industries and fight the fear of cultural homogeneity. To prevent American film productions from entering their country and opposing the American film industry's global domination, this policy contains tariffs, quotas, subsidies, etc. The American government's film strategy, however, is to abolish film quotas in other countries to make sure that American films can access their markets (Crane, 2013). The homogenizing effects of globalization, which threaten the distinctiveness of national cultures and are best exemplified by the American film industry's dominance around the world, could be seen as a challenge to these cultural policies, which are largely based on government financial support e.g., the French film industry.

³⁷ Motion Picture Association Theme report of 2021

3.2 – THE RESISTANCE OF GLOBAL COMPETITORS – THE EXAMPLE OF FRENCH CINEMA

One of the main concerns of cultural globalization is the possible homogenizing impact of global culture, which poses a danger to the diversity of national cultures and is best exemplified by the global dominance of the American film industry (Crane, 2013). Therefore, the film business is the focus of these national cultural policies in many nations, and the fact that many governments invest a lot of money to stay active in the film industry shows that people regard movies highly from a symbolic and cultural standpoint. In today's context, in a globalized and connected world, we must consider cultural policies that are applicable globally, and internationally, and by looking beyond national boundaries. The idea of "cultural diversity" is predominant in this desire by several countries to oppose Hollywood's globalization, whose main objective is to have a "global" consumer of their cinematic products. Contrary to European countries, and particularly France, cinema is not perceived as a good or service like the others inscribed in free trade and therefore a purely commercial product, but rather as an art, the 7th being part of artistic expression (Blanchart et al., 2015). Indeed, for UNESCO, culture is defined as “the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that define a society or social group, encompassing arts, letters, ways of life, values, traditions and beliefs”³⁸. As for some countries, this battle against the hegemony of Hollywood can be more recent, for France, the fight started with the invention of the nickelodeon.

In the article *Années 90: la fin du cinéma ?* (2020) Joël Danet explains the concern of many professionals in the French audiovisual sector about the state of French cinema in the early 90s. The proliferation of television channels, the development of the Internet, and other significant breakthroughs in the audiovisual field all occurred during this period. The future of film was in danger. According to Danet, the French film and audiovisual industries have a certain negative attitude that puts them at risk of becoming "museumized." Many philosophers and filmmakers talk about the death of cinema because they are so loyal to the brilliant years of French cinema in the 1960s, which were marked by many innovations. The

³⁸ UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity 2001.

notion that French cinema in the 1990s lacked originality and inventiveness is also prevalent among critics and filmmakers: "Cinema is relegated to the cultural practices of the past" (Danet, 2020, translated by the author). It was thought that some French filmmakers relied too heavily on conventional narrative and visual products, which led to a certain artistic stagnation. There was also the idea that the appeal of movies from this era was constrained by the fact that many of them targeted niche audiences or niche markets. French films were unable to compete in terms of commercial success with Hollywood's high-budget productions due to their expensive special effects and strong marketing that attracted a global audience. According to Danet, "In France, the number of admissions in cinemas over a year went from 400 million in the early 1950s to 110 million in the early 1990s" (Danet, 2020, translated by the author).

Due to the development of new technologies, innovations, and a focus on Europe and its audiovisual landscape in relation to significant American media distributors, the French film industry appears stronger and in better health at the end of the 90s than it did following the end of World War II. However, these changes were crucial in the struggle against the US's commercial and "imperialistic" battle. The concept of "cultural diversity," which is a broader concept of what we call the protection and promotion of national identities, was a concern for France in their national audiovisual arena, called the "Exception Culturelle," but it ultimately looked to be a global problem (Pacaud, 2013). One could argue that France initiated and saw the need to preserve its culture in a world that is more and more evolving since the first GATT negotiations (1945), and French "Exception culturelle" was increasingly perceived as "protectionist," differentiating the French culture from the others, and seeing French people as "pretentious." Even if some French films from the 1990s, like Matthieu Kassovitz's *La Haine* (1995), were recognized as avant-garde masterpieces, French cinema struggled to expand its audience and generate significant box office revenue. For French cinema to compete effectively on the world stage, it was necessary to adapt. Beginning in the early 2000s, there was an increasing trend toward creating mass-market hits, with "seventy-three French films attracting over 1 million spectators at the domestic box office" between 2001 and 2004. More than 1 million people attended *Un long Dimanche de Fiançailles* and *Le Fabuleux Destin d'Amélie Poulain*, while Christophe Barratier's *Les Choristes* (2004), which attracted 8.6 million people, was the most successful movie at the

domestic box office (Hayes & O'Shaughnessy, 2005). The French film industry finally sees itself revitalized thanks to investments in the technology of all significant French cities with at least one multiplex.

Although the development of French "event" films made for the new screening infrastructure seems to be advancing in step with public expectations, shaping a national popular cinema, the majority of French film production is in trouble due to structural pressures brought on by the emphasis on the competitive performance of a national mass-market cinema. Independent movies are really under more pressure from the competition now, which makes it harder for them to attract audiences. As a result, tiny distributors prefer exposure at large multiplex theaters like UGC, making it more and more difficult for independent and art house film theaters to receive these films (Hayes & O'Shaughnessy, 2005). "Exceptionalism" has generally taken the form of defending the right of an interventionist state to continue running a variety of mechanisms to fund and promote its film industry in the specific context of French cinema. This perspective, which is characterized by the search for cultural adaptability as well as new aesthetic and industrial models that enable wider market penetration abroad, could be then considered as both protectionist and expansionist at the same time.

3.3 – FROM NATIONAL TO TRANSNATIONAL CINEMA STRATEGIES

The French film industry understood that to compete with Hollywood productions, it was also necessary to "adapt" in terms of cinematographic practices, even though France places a lot of importance on its film institutions, promoting and preserving its domestic film productions on a national as well as an international level. The French State has started actively promoting the development of an international cinema capable of competing with Hollywood for its share of global markets on its terms due to the difference between their business models, their contrasting definitions of cinema, and the growing pressure of economic globalization (Danan, 1996). This explains the growth of commercialized post-national films like *Le merveilleux Destin d'Amélie Poulain* (2001), which turns national culture into an enjoyable show for both domestic and foreign viewers. While auteur cinema is deeply ingrained in the French film legacy and cinematographic style, post-national

cinema developed along with different forms of cinematic practice, allowing them to coexist. The 2001 movie *Le merveilleux Destin d'Amélie Poulain* by Jean-Pierre Jeunet serves as an example of this shift to a hybrid, postnational cinema as a new global marketing tactic. The movie *Amélie*, which sold itself as a well-liked French comedy, was the creation of a renowned auteur. Because of the cultural prestige of its French heritage aesthetics and, in particular, because it evoked a tourist in Paris, it attracted an audience that was more middle-class or elite abroad. (Hayes & O'Shaughnessy, 2005). *Amélie* (2001) was a huge success in France with 8.64 million viewers, which earned four César awards for the best film, best director, best music, and best-set design. And managed to simultaneously appeal to a French audience looking for a more mystical and hero-driven film and attracted also a cinephile audience. Even though some film critics saw the film as: "A film whose retro advertising aesthetic, adulterated poetry and insignificant subject matter mask (with great difficulty) a particularly reactionary and right-wing vision of Paris, France, and the world (not to mention the cinema), to remain polite"³⁹ (Kaganski, 2001, translated by the author).

The emergence of *films d'auteur* and the creation of an important category of film criticism in the 1950s and 1960s undoubtedly contributed to the development of the New Wave movement. But today, a significant number of film reviewers continue to defend French cinema, which is viewed as an auteur cinema in contrast to Hollywood-branded filmmaking, because the golden age of innovation and French cinematographic production during the Nouvelle Vague movement remained rooted in French culture. According to Martine Chaudron (2008) "The most legitimate dominant artistic expression remaining today in France literature, one understands better than the fortune, in its time, of the "pen camera", and of the "author" in the cinema. Everything happens as if the Seventh Art in France was the direct heir of the literary form that fully developed in the 19th century, the modern novel. Moreover, several cinema films still today, and more and more, are adaptations "from the written word to the screen" (Chaudron, 2008, translated by the author). While in France, the press is very much present in French society, film critics are still very much on track still entertaining with debates and cinephile viewpoints about French cinema,

³⁹ Serge Kaganski, French journalist and film critic wrote a radical critic about the *Amélie* movie in the French left-wing newspaper *Libération*.

and going against Hollywood-like narratives, and commercial films. For Godard, cinema is not made to work on a commercial level. Indeed, during an interview with Godard at the Cannes Festival, he takes the example of Luc Besson's *Fifth Element* (which made a lot of money given its success abroad), which worked from a commercial point of view but for him: "The whole of the cinema is not made to work". For him, a "good film" is "a film where there are discoveries. It's the same process as for scientists" (Godard apud Tranchant, 2022, translated by the author). Although Godard's opinion is accepted and shared by Truffaut, he also supported the idea that commercial cinema may offer the funding required to promote auteur filmmaking. He claims that the money made from commercial movies can be used to fund greater risk-taking and original projects. So there is this idea that auteur cinema does not follow the logic of the market. That is to say that auteur film operates on the logic of offer, as opposed to the logic of demand that often characterizes a market like Hollywood (Schappely, 2020). As we've seen before, Hollywood studios have consistently worked to streamline this production and create economies of scale, particularly by attempting to recycle successful recipes and increasing viewer loyalty through a series of films that are linked to one another. The logic of auteur cinema thus proclaims itself as a logic that offers by placing the author at the core of its identity in opposition to this notion of demand. Contrary to the system, which places the studio at the center (where production and distribution are intrinsically combined), he is the author in legal terms because he has the paternity of the work and the final cut. According to the logic of auteur cinema, the author's intentions are what matters the most. *Amélie* is thus a preponderant example in the demonstration of this antagonism between commercial film and "film d'auteur", because made by an author (Jeunet), he still managed to make his film a French cult film appreciated especially beyond national borders. It was broadcast internationally to approximately 23 million viewers in 50 countries across 5 continents, bringing in 133.5 M€ in revenue. The success of *Amélie* at the box office in markets where it is usually difficult for foreign language films to penetrate, especially if the language is not English, is another example of the film's originality. *Amélie* was also screened simultaneously by both large multiplexes and independent cinemas, taking advantage of a variety of theaters (Unifrance, 2021). However, it is important to underline the fact that a part of the revenues generated by the success of the film "Amélie" was returned to the CNC, thus increasing its financial resources

and contributing to the support of new cinematographic works, whether commercial or artistic. Due to his success, Jeunet was able to produce a film with a production budget that was second highest in French film history—45 million euros. Marcel Rogemont, in the information report on the cinema recorded by the National Assembly, highlighted two new phenomena in the context of the release of the film *Amélie* in 2001: First off, the diversity of films and authors demonstrates unequivocally that French cinema's expansion into new genres has not come at the expense of its outstanding works by renowned directors. Thus, French cinema has reached a wider audience. Second, there is a better correlation between domestic and foreign triumphs, indicating that major French productions now have a more global focus than in the past (Rogemont, 2001). Although Jeunet's movie *Amélie* is considered above all a French film: the Parisian setting, the aesthetic strategies and contexts, the French director and casts, the French producer, etc., the film was also a German production, thus benefitting from German investors and distributors. While the example of the film *Amélie* (2001) demonstrated the pursuit of cultural adaptability from the French film industry facing Hollywood production, presenting universal themes and relatable characters that ultimately resonated with audiences around the world and became a cultural phenomenon, exceptionalism is seen in the success of the French cinema to create commercial films while supporting its films of authors, which even if they have more difficulty to be related to an audience abroad, meet a great success at the national level or even at the European level.

While the “exceptionality” of French filmmaking continues to be undeniable in this desire to "resist" Hollywood hegemony by gaining market share, the French model is far from being a "closed national system" due to its strong regulatory frameworks, its support system, and its protectionist attitude towards its domestic industry. In truth, France has a history of embracing international artists and was the first country to sign inter-governmental co-production agreements, placing France at the fore of European efforts to promote European film and aid less fortunate cinematographies. The post-World War II era saw on one hand the first agreements regarding the cinema and audiovisual sector of European countries facing the liberalization of goods and services (GATT) and on the other hand the first intergovernmental co-production treaty with Italy, allowing the production of several films with dual nationality (Jäckel, 2007). The threat of Hollywood domination has been a

decisive factor in France's opening up its borders, as well as access to its public funding. Producers whose movies were given coproduction status were eligible for national subsidies as well as other benefits in both countries. It is specifically intended for France and Italy to minimize American influence and dominance in their domestic and international film markets by allowing their respective cinematographic businesses to collaborate. The co-production mechanism's principal impact is to release co-produced films from the restrictions on exporting between the two nations and to grant them benefits that were previously only available to national films (credits and financial support). However, the notion of the nationality of the films frequently causes the two states to disagree when negotiating agreements. The CNC was concerned about the ambiguity surrounding the nationality of films and saw it as a barrier to the influence of French culture abroad by preventing its recognition and commercial success abroad. Authors also saw their emancipation from the national framework as a problem because it limited their creative freedom. Because enabling the international release of dual nationality films is the goal of cinematic co-productions (Givois, 2022). This European "cinematographic opening" may be viewed as both a cultural and social reaction to the (American) imposition of a particular way of life and thought, as well as an economic and financial response to Hollywood dominance. Even though this first agreement raised concerns about nationality requirements, France was successful in establishing other agreements with 44 nations across all continents (Jäckel, 2007). With more French co-productions being made nowadays, the CNC is playing a bigger part in the "global cinema" scene. Jäckel claims that "France [...] has made a significant contribution to the growth of both European cinema and cinema in Europe." In the production industry, France has created some of its most inventive programs in favor of other cinemas. French cinema policy has aided numerous international filmmakers who, for various reasons, have found it challenging to make films in their own country, representing the French tradition of welcoming foreign artists. In his cinema policy established during the 80s, Jack Lang, then Ministry of Culture, known as *Les actions liées au rayonnement de la culture française* ("Actions related to the influence of French culture"), has helped well-known foreign filmmakers such as Ken Loach, Andrei Tarkovsky, and others (Jäckel, 2007). According to Jean-François Polo (2003), the success of contemporary French cinema both domestically and abroad indicates the effectiveness of a

public aid policy that has been able to adapt, since the end of the 1970s, facing the sector's ongoing evolution and to the expectations of the general public. Thus, since the success of the first co-production agreement between Italy and France, and the development of other co-productions with other countries to promote "cultural diversity" in the audiovisual sector, the CNC has provided aid to support and stimulate film creation in Europe, thus allowing the development of more fragile film industries and their influence in the face of the hegemony of Hollywood. Furthermore, in 2012, created a fund called *Aide aux cinémas du monde* ("Support for world cinema"), managed both by the CNC and the French Institut dedicated to international co-productions. Its overall budget for 2021 is 6,4 million euros. Four sessions are held annually to support fifty projects (*Aide aux Cinémas*, 2023).

The expansion of digital images, the expansion of networks like the internet, the quick rise of emerging nations (like Brazil, Russia, India, and China), the change in moviegoers' behavior into individual users, and the dominance of American cinema around the world since the turn of the 20th century are some of the factors that are causing the cinema industry to undergo a revolution, as was previously stated (Hatchondo, 2011). Like the establishment of several public institutions whose objective is to support French cinema, as well as "cultural diversity" in global cinema, the French film industry became a complex of different public institutions that work together intending to enter other markets and compete with American films' hegemony on screens. Due to this, an organization called UniFrance Films was established in 1949 during the post-war era to promote and distribute information about French cinema. The French government authorities first became aware of the significance of the worldwide scene during those years, based on the idea that "France is the capital of filmmakers from all over the world." This association receives 80% of its funding from the CNC and 4% from the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs. Daniel Toscan du Plantier served as president of UniFrance Films from 1993 to 2003. During that time, the company saw significant growth as a result of its strategy of organizing major events around the world that made a lasting impression on viewers, such as the *Rendez-vous d'Unifrance*, a significant annual event.

"Representative of the French and European film industry, inspirer of imagination and an aesthetic that made our cinema and filmmakers triumph, unrivaled spokesman for the French spirit of the 7th art, without question, Daniel Toscan du Plantier was, with panache and efficiency. [...] If we have won the battle against Hollywood and against the Europeans who are more interested in free trade than in culture, we owe it to the men and women, in particular from the profession, who understood and demonstrated that the cultural exception was not an identity-based approach but an instrument for promoting the universal values of a European culture of which Daniel Toscan du Plantier was a perfect representative." (Toubon apud UniFrance, 2023, translated by the author).

To benefit from the global technical and commercial revolution, Unifrance Films, like all the professional bodies in charge of the film and audiovisual industries today, must reconsider its strategy. The missions of UniFrance Films are thus presented on several fronts: As part of its contribution to the influence of French cinematographic and audiovisual creation in all its diversity, the organization promotes the export of French films and audiovisual programs around the world. Its continued involvement in important international festivals (such as those held in Berlin, Cannes, Locarno, Venice, Toronto, etc.) serves as evidence of this. Additionally, Unifrance hosts the *Rendez-vous d'Unifrance* in Paris and Biarritz, which are the largest markets in the world devoted to French films and audiovisual programming. Additionally, Unifrance supports professionals, artists, and French works overseas from production to distribution, including promotion, through specialized assistance and resources. UniFrance supports film seminars given by French directors and performers around the world, i.e., master classes of well-known French actors, to expand knowledge of French cinema among a target audience such as students around the globe. Finally, Unifrance encourages conversation about the challenges facing French cinema and promotes the revitalization of French creativity by exhibiting innovative works and formats. The accompaniment to the works has also changed. In addition to its regular *Rendez-vous* events in Paris or abroad (New York, Rome, Madrid, etc.), the association supports French films at other film festivals, such as the Mostra di Venezia's *L'Événement* d'Audrey Diwan in 2021. Theaters worldwide have demonstrated a genuine appetite for French films despite the pandemic. In 2021, 1527 titles from France brought in 14.8 million admissions, an 8% increase over the year before, for a total of €91.4 million (provisional figure) in overseas box office receipts for French films (Lemercier, 2022). Unifrance Film plays a significant role

at the Cannes Film Festival as it plays a critical role in promoting cultural diversity by offering a global platform for films from various countries to be discovered, thus celebrating the richness of cinematic expressions, as well as promoting French cinema by giving French directors, actors, and productions international visibility. To promote French cinema, it plans many events and initiatives. This includes establishing a special pavilion where movie industry professionals can exchange ideas and advertise their movies. Additionally, it arranges exclusive viewings of French movies chosen for the Cannes Film Festival, while also arranging press conferences, crew interviews, promotional publications, and special events to draw in media representatives and industry experts from all over the world.

The French film industry has demonstrated a great willingness to adapt to compete with Hollywood productions while preserving its institutions and promoting its national films both domestically and internationally. The rise of post-national commercial cinema, such as Jean-Pierre Jeunet's film *Le merveilleux Destin d'Amélie Poulain* (2001) exemplifies this evolution towards a hybrid cinema capable of appealing to both French and foreign audiences. The growth of "auteur cinema" and the continued support from French film critics have allowed the French film industry to maintain its distinct identity in the face of Hollywood's influence. Furthermore, France has adopted an open approach by promoting international co-productions and supporting more vulnerable film industries, which has strengthened its position in the global film landscape. Through institutions like UniFrance Films and supportive policies like the "Aide aux cinémas du monde" fund, France continues to promote its cinematic culture and defend cultural diversity in the global film industry. However, while pursuing this path, France has managed to preserve its cultural exception and strike a balance between commercial films and auteur films, thereby offering a unique and diverse cinematic experience.

CHAPTER 4 – INVESTIGATION’S METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative approach to examine the relationship between the French film industry and the notion of "cultural exception" and how French cinema is utilized as a tool of cultural diplomacy. The content analysis of two French films: *La Haine* (1995) and *Les Misérables* (2019) illustrates the information outlined in the three chapters of the literature review, which were written to achieve the previously mentioned research objectives by providing an overview of existing published works on the subject. By "concretizing" the material discovered and written in the literature review, the content analysis of the two films will illustrate the information provided in the chapters.

The literature review firstly aimed to provide a comprehensive understanding of how French cinema fit into broader debates about the role of cultural industries in the promotion and preservation of national identity, particularly through cultural diplomacy. Then, by examining the historical development of French cinema, including its major trends and innovations, i.e., the Lumière Cinematograph or the French New Wave, we sought to understand the important cinematographic heritage of France and its unique "cinematographic culture". Consecutively, we sought to understand the role of the State in the preservation and promotion of French cinema, examining the governmental efforts in supporting and sustaining the industry. Furthermore, the research explored the resistance and adaptation of the French film industry in the face of globalization and the threat of Hollywood hegemony. Finally, by investigating the industry's strategies for resistance and adaptation, we gained insights into its resilience and the measures taken to maintain a distinct cultural voice in the global cinematic landscape.

The methodology employed a content analysis approach, analyzing two auteur films to gain a deeper understanding of French cinema's "exceptionalism" in terms of cinematic techniques and production strategies amidst globalization (see tables of the content analysis on the appendix). Two films from different time periods were carefully selected, focusing on advancements and policies shaped by global influences. The main categories for the

content analysis, including main themes, cultural representation, cinematographic techniques, and production strategies, were constructed. Sub-categories were then created for each main category, exploring specific aspects of the films. For example, under "Main themes," sub-categories like social issues, urban violence, youth culture, economic inequality, racism, discrimination, alienation in mainstream society, community and solidarity, interpersonal relationships, and youth empowerment were identified. During the analysis, the first film, "La Haine," directed by Matthieu Kassovitz in 1995, was closely observed, and detailed notes were taken to complete the tables for each category. Concrete examples from the film were provided under each sub-category, explaining observations. For instance, under the very last sub-category of the sub-category "youth empowerment", i.e., "youth culture as a resistance," the strength and youth resistance symbolized by the character of Issa in "Les Misérables" were highlighted, supported by a specific scene from the movie.

To investigate the main category "Production strategies," data from interviews, CNC reports, and policy reports were utilized, in addition to the film's credits. Some sub-categories were marked with a cross to indicate their presence in the films. While "La Haine" was readily accessible on YouTube (not anymore), acquiring "Les Misérables" of 2019 was more challenging due to its recent release. However, a suitable streaming platform was eventually found, allowing for a comprehensive content analysis of both films, revealing the unique attributes of French cinema and its response to globalization:

- "La Haine" (1995) by Matthieu Kassovitz:
<https://lookmovie.foundation/movies/view/1689756707-la-haine-1995>

- "Les Misérables" (2019) by Ladj Ly :
<https://lookmovie.foundation/movies/view/1699956345-les-miserables-2019>

The qualitative content analysis of two films, one from the 1990s and one from the 2010s, was crucial to gain insights into how the French film industry has sustained its exceptional economic model amid challenges posed by globalization. To ensure the research's credibility and reliability, the selection of two French "auteur" films of the same genre, "La Haine" from

1995 and "Les Misérables" from 2019, was deliberate. These films were chosen based on their cultural impact and success abroad, aiming to avoid biased data. By selecting films from different time periods but with similar cultural significance and international recognition, the analysis could encompass a broader perspective on the French film industry's response to globalization, minimizing the risk of skewed findings and providing a more comprehensive understanding of its resilience and uniqueness in the global film landscape. In fact, using two movies of the same genre in the content analysis provided a basis for comparative analysis and genre-specific insights. It allowed me to examine similarities and differences in production strategies, cultural representation, and responses to globalization challenges within that specific genre. By focusing on a particular genre, you could explore how the French film industry's exceptional economic model and unique cinematic force are manifested within that genre. Analyzing the films' aesthetic and stylistic elements within the genre context enabled a deeper exploration of the industry's artistic strengths. Additionally, contextualizing the findings within the broader genre landscape enhances the significance and generalizability of the study, contributing to a comprehensive understanding of the industry's success in maintaining its exceptional economic model and artistic impact in the face of globalization. Both films shared elements of crime and social issues despite having different narrative focuses and stylistic approaches. "La Haine" centers on the experiences of the marginalized youth and the violence of the police, while "Les Misérables" focuses on the dynamics between police officers and the communities they serve presenting a more nuanced approach on the Parisian suburbs. "La Haine" and "Les Misérables" were relevant choices for this study as they exemplify the exceptional economic model and cultural representation of the French film industry. These films have achieved significant cultural impact and success abroad, showcasing the industry's ability to resonate with global audiences, while exhibiting artistic merit and reflecting socio-political issues, that ultimately provided insights into the cultural representation and socio-political commentary found in French *auteur* cinema, relevant for my study. In the literature review, Antoine de Baecque emerges as a prominent figure who introduced the concept of the 'politics of authors' and played a significant role in the phenomenon of French cinema's profound appreciation for *auteur* films. These films emphasize the director as the driving creative force, showcasing their distinctive artistic vision and complete control over the

filmmaking process. This cultural emphasis has influenced the industry, education, and critical discussions, creating a diverse cinematic landscape that values innovation, experimentation, and personal expression. French filmmakers are celebrated for their distinct styles and artistic integrity, solidifying the prominence of "films d'auteur." These films stand out with their artistic quality, storytelling techniques, and the director's creative vision. The concept is closely linked to the French New Wave movement, which challenged traditional filmmaking and celebrated the director as the true author of a film.

To understand the changing dynamics of the French film industry, such as the production strategies facing globalization and the strong competition in the global film market, these films are from different time periods. In fact, with the advent of new technologies, that didn't yet exist during the 90s, or this will of doing more and more international co-productions to sustain the vibrance of different film industries that continue to grow, or by collaborating and competing in the global market, are some of the dynamics that helped me understand how the French film industry remained an exceptional economic model in the face of the challenges of globalization, combating the threats of cultural homogeneity, promoting cultural diversity, and therefore a way of doing cultural diplomacy. While the conduction of a content analysis of the two films was a way to organize the data, their comparison and analysis contributed to highlight elements that contribute to the French film industry's economic success and its distinct aesthetic and style. Whilst the study didn't cover the entire evolution of the French film industry, it still provided valuable insights into its exceptional economic model and artistic contributions through a focused analysis of the selected films. The goal of the films content analysis was to underline the relevance of the literature review, and so demonstrating the industry's continued success and cultural significance despite the challenges of globalization.

Handmade tables with different categories and sub-categories were made for both films (tables in the appendix):

- 1st Category: Main Themes presented in the film.

The themes portrayed in film reflected the cultural and societal context of French society, providing insights into prevailing concerns and values. These themes also helped identify

the unique artistic choices and narrative approaches that define the distinct aesthetic and style of French cinema.

- 2nd Category: Representation of French Culture in the film.

The analysis of the film's centers around the portrayal of French culture as the second category. This aspect was imperative due to the paper's primary focus on French cinema and its significant cinematographic system. Although the main objective was not to present a positive image of French culture through movies, gathering data on its representation served to comprehend the film's overall identity, collecting information that delves deeper into the analysis of French cinema and its significance in diplomatic contexts.

- 3rd Category: The cinematographic techniques employed in the film.

Coming up with this category was a way to understand the variety and successful techniques used within the film from the filmmaker, showcasing the French cinematic expertise in terms of visual aesthetics, effects, and storytelling, within the idea of French "auteur" film.

- 4th Category: Productions strategies used to promote the film.

This category was important to understand how the unique system of financing French cinematography adapts to new technologies and new ways of promoting.

After constructing these tables for each film, the viewing of a first movie and then the other one was inevitable to complete each category and sub-categories of the tables. In order to complete each category, the qualitative transcription of specific scenes with their timings in the film were used to demonstrate the presence of category within the film e.g., a sub-category of the category "Main Themes" was "social issues". But in order to be more specific and understand more in depth the overall themes of the film, the creation of sub-categories for "social issues" was predominant (see tables in the appendix). Overall, the tables were completed in a qualitative way using the description of scenes, crosses, or numbers if necessary (e.g., for the box-office category) and phrases underlying the presence of a certain category and sub-category. These exhaustive tables helped to understand the common points, the comparison, and the contrasts between the two films.

After completing the tables, it was important to use all the data extrapolated by the two films and write the comparison of the two films, structuring it with sub-titles: Main themes, Representation of French culture, cinematographic techniques, and production strategies. This permitted to analyze the films chosen with the help of the literature review.

CHAPTER 5 – INTERNSHIP DESCRIPTIVE MEMORY

5.1 – PRESENTATION OF THE COMPANY

D18 Paris is a Paris-based production company founded by British-born producer Tim Newman in March 2019. Since its inception, D18 has been dedicated to promoting visual arts through various short programs such as “d'Art d'Art”, “Ouh là l'art!”, “Oh! Afric'Art”, “Pièces Secrètes”, and the current program “Oh! Biz'Art”, which is broadcast on France 2. The company has also produced notable documentaries like “Fernand Legros - Le roi des faussaires” and “La Naissance de Vénus – Le contresens pop.” The primary objective of D18 is to tackle challenging and initially complex subjects, making them accessible to a wide audience. In addition to visual arts, D18 also explores historical topics, including the life and work of philosopher Hannah Arendt and the histories of specific countries such as Albania.

Since 2022, D18 Paris has expanded its involvement to include the organization of cultural events. This includes the URBX festival in Roubaix, a groundbreaking event that brings together various facets of urban culture. The company has also co-produced an international contemporary dance festival in Albania under the presidency of Angelin Preljocaj. Furthermore, D18 collaborates with the French Embassy in Tirana to organize French Week in Albania, an event that invites artists, photographers, and craftsmen to showcase French culture to the Albanian audience.

Tim Newman's career in television production began with notable programs such as “Rapido,” a French music program hosted by Antoine de Caunes in 1987 for BBC2, and “Eurotrash” in 1993, which showcased provocative and humorous moments from across Europe. In 1994, Newman founded his own production company, Froggies Media, and

subsequently produced documentaries, short programs, and entertainment shows that were broadcast on various networks including France Télévisions, M6, RMC Découverte, and Netflix. In 2019, Tim Newman established D18 Paris as his new production company for television programs, documentaries, and cultural events. Throughout his career, Tim Newman has created and produced several short art-related programs, including “D’Art, D’Art” which began in 2002 for France Télévisions and ran for 18 seasons. Following the discontinuation of this program, it was succeeded by “Ouh là l’Art!” and later replaced with “Oh! Biz’Art” in 2023, a new art show broadcasted every Sunday evening on the French television channels France 2 and TV5 Monde, developed and produced by D18 Paris. In just two minutes, the renowned French comedian Stéphane de Groodt takes viewers on an artistic journey exploring various motifs from antiquity to the present day. « Oh ! Biz’Art » offers a delightful and unique cultural experience, filled with puns and narrated by Stéphane de Groodt’s distinctive voice. Today, D18 Paris continues developing and producing original TV programs, documentaries, and events, but its new goal now is to start developing and producing fiction series and films. A variety of projects have been developed, but now it’s about producing them and finding partners ready to co-produce them.

5.2 – MISSIONS AND TASKS

It is well known that the television industry is a very dynamic one that is constantly looking for novel concepts. The intense competition between networks and streaming services that characterizes the television landscape generates the demand for original and innovative programming. To attract viewers' attention and stand out in a crowded market, the business thrives on developing distinctive and captivating shows. There is a constant need for new concepts, formats, and storytelling techniques due to the introduction of new technology and shifting viewer tastes to draw in and hold viewers.

As a production and development assistant at D18 Paris during the internship, the assignments were many and varied. From administrative tasks to organizing shoots, the goal was to do a variety of tasks to ensure that the projects moved forward as smoothly as possible. Throughout the internship, the main mission was to assist the production managers in the development of documentary and television projects. This included taking part in creative meetings, where we all sat around the producer's table to come up with ideas for

programs or documentaries, and to find an original and appropriate format if it concerned a television program for France Télévisions, for example. It was also during these meetings that the producer gave each of us a task in the development of the project. Very often, we had to make a benchmark of existing programs, present them to the producer, and see what we could come up with. Once a new idea had been conceived, a document presenting the program had to be created using Indesign. This was an important part because we had to be clear and concise if we were to convince the TV channel. Whether the project was a program or a documentary, everything had to be presented in the presentation: the director, the documentary maker, the main points to be made, some factual information, the contributors (in the case of a documentary), and other information such as potential sponsors or collaborators.

Depending on the project, it has been necessary many times for a documentary project to make a list of potential documentary directors. We had to look for a director who would meet the expectations of the project: watch the director's work, see if he or she had enough experience in the field, if he or she had a particular style that would be interesting for the project, and so on. One of the D18 Paris projects, a documentary for France Télévisions (France 5), had already been developed along these lines. In other words, the presentation of the project had already been created, as well as the entire team (director, documentary maker, etc.). However, it had to be taken in hand again because the deadline for submitting it to France Télévisions was almost upon us. So we had to get back in touch with the director and documentary filmmaker we'd chosen beforehand, and then organize the shoot. Once we had confirmation from them, we sat down again to talk about the project and, if necessary, make a few changes. In this case, the director is a force to be reckoned with, so that he can give his point of view and feel part of the project. In this case, it was a documentary about Sandro Botticelli's Venus, and we wanted to deal with the following question: In what way has Botticelli's Venus become, over the centuries, an icon that has become part of the collective mind? Why has she been re-imagined by so many artists to this day? The initial idea was to create a documentary that wasn't a classic documentary, but as it was a fairly 'pop' subject to deal with, the producer had thought of a director of fashion advertising campaigns who has made several stylish videos for Galleries La Fayette, LVMH, etc. The director, with his unique style of directing and highly concentrated editing, could

make the documentary different and more dynamic (different colors, collages, and special visual effects). After all these creative meetings with the documentary team, we had to revisit and recontact all the people who had agreed to the project when it was finished. The mission was to call the different speakers - who would have been interviewed by the documentary script - who had a connection with Botticelli's Venus varied between artists, art historians, and fashion designers such as Jean-Paul Gaultier. After re-contacting all the participants to check if they were still involved in the project or not, it was necessary to find suitable filming dates that would accommodate everyone. Once the filming dates were established, one of the tasks was to organize the shoot by creating a call sheet⁴⁰, which is a document containing dates, schedules, filming locations, as well as practical information. This call sheet would be sent to the entire team to ensure a smooth and well-organized shoot. During the shoot, the mission was to ensure that we were on schedule according to the timings noted on the call sheet, find a solution if something went wrong, arrange taxis for the participants, and assist the director or camera director if they needed an extra hand. It was also necessary to organize meals for the entire team and ensure that everyone had a good working experience. After completing a shoot, the tasks involved noting all the artworks mentioned during the interviews with the speakers to add them to the editing process. This required listening to the interview recordings again, noting all the mentioned artworks, and acquiring the rights. After obtaining the necessary rights, the acquired materials would be handed over to the director for their integration into the editing phase. For numerous documentary projects, the tasks encompassed not only organizing sets and creative meetings but also conducting extensive research on the documentary's subject, particularly when it involved historical topics. The objective was to gather a wealth of information, images, footage, and archival material that could contribute to the documentary's production. This entailed compiling and organizing all the discovered materials into documents and then delivering them to the chosen documentary filmmaker. Moreover, we had the responsibility of searching for suitable documentary filmmakers for the projects and reaching out to them to present the project.

⁴⁰ A daily and detailed schedule for filming, filled with vital information about the shoot.

D18 Paris also produces a television program called "Pièces Secrètes"("Secret Pieces") - every weekend on the LCI and TV5 Monde French channels - in which Laurent Dassault⁴¹ personally meets with diverse French and international collectors to discuss their artworks. The responsibilities associated with this TV program included regularly reaching out to new art collectors, arranging the sets, and coordinating the shoots. On certain occasions, we had to travel both within and outside of France to meet with artists or collectors. As an example, we had the opportunity to interview David LaChapelle in Milan during the opening of one of his exhibitions.

As mentioned previously, D18 Paris regularly organizes cultural events. During the internship, one of the main responsibilities was to manage the inaugural edition of the International Contemporary Dance Festival (ICDF) in Tirana, Albania. This festival was co-produced in collaboration with the Albanian company Harabel Contemporary. The successful execution of this first edition, with the involvement of Albanian collaborators, was a significant milestone for D18 Paris as it attracted many spectators. During the festival, our role was to represent D18 Paris. The primary tasks included selecting professional ballet groups, contacting and coordinating with them, organizing meetings with the Harabel Contemporary team, designing the festival's comprehensive program using Indesign software, and creating Excel spreadsheets with budgets, dates, ballet names, locations, and technical requirements for the performances. It also involved arranging travel logistics for the various ballet groups. Furthermore, a crucial aspect was reaching out to various prominent press publications specializing in cultural events and dance. We facilitated the journalists' attendance by covering their travel expenses so they could witness the performances and subsequently write articles about the festival. During the internship, another assignment was to collaborate with colleagues in developing a communication strategy for the newly developed and produced TV program by D18 Paris called "Oh! Biz'Art." This two-minute art program was created for France 2. After its release, the objective was to enhance the show's impact by devising a podcast as a complementary component, organizing collaborations and sponsorships, and most importantly, establishing

⁴¹ French billionaire businessman and co-CEO of the Dassault Group: leading French aerospace company that plays a pivotal role in shaping the future through the design and construction of military aircraft, business jets, and space systems.

an Instagram page to generate buzz and publish abstracts of the episodes. We embarked on the development of another TV show, which involved a game of improvisation featuring various well-known guests. Our task was to prepare a presentation dossier to be presented to a theatrical director specializing in comedy sketches and original creations. We initiated contact with the director and shared the dossier with him, and upon his positive response, we were invited to one of his theater shows. During the event, we had the opportunity to personally discuss the project with him, and he graciously agreed to write the sketches for our show.

The internship experience was rich in assignments, allowing us to get to know the company on a global level, but above all to gain a global perspective on the audiovisual production business. During the internship, I also had to deal with administrative tasks, as well as various assignments that involved responsibility. Indeed, there were times when we had to assist the producer at important meetings, dealing with people of high repute and professionals.

5.3 – CONNECTION WITH THE TOPIC

Throughout my six-month internship at the D18 Paris audiovisual production company, the task of selecting a research topic for my final master's internship report emerged. Considering the context of the internship and my desire to delve deeper into the intricacies of audiovisual production within the framework of the French audiovisual ecosystem, I aimed to develop an argument that would enhance my understanding of this area. Motivated by a genuine passion for cinema and a profound admiration for French cinema, I embarked on a comprehensive study of the French cinema environment within a broader cultural context. The primary objective of this exploration was to illuminate the exceptional nature of this system on a global scale.

Within the French film industry, an audiovisual production company can obtain the advantages of the existing system. The CNC (National Center for Cinema and the Moving Image) provides support to all individuals contributing to the continuous development of programs, documentaries, dramas, and more. At D18 Paris, we consistently pursue CNC assistance whenever feasible. For documentary projects like Botticelli's Venus and the

documentary about Hannah Arendt, we applied for aid to secure financing for their production. However, certain criteria must be met to qualify for grants from the CNC. For instance, the documentary's financing plan necessitates the involvement of at least one broadcaster committed to broadcasting it and thus contributing to its financing. In the case of the documentaries "Botticelli's Birth of Venus - the Pop counter-narrative" and "Hannah Arendt, la liberté d'être libre", both are broadcasted and financed by the France Télévisions group⁴². On the other hand, the CNC may not agree to contribute financially to the project. This was the case for the documentary on Botticelli's Venus, but the documentary on Hannah Arendt was able to receive financial support for its production. The same applies to the TV magazines⁴³. For example, our TV program related to art: "Oh! Biz'Art" is broadcast on France 2 every Sunday evening, which was able to benefit from the magazine production grant from CNC. This also holds for the cultural events we create. Specifically, the CNC (National Center for Cinema and the Moving Image) can provide financial assistance for show productions. Similar to documentaries, one of the requirements is to have a broadcasting partner and a format that distinguishes it from a traditional TV show, meaning no TV sets or presenters are involved. Under these conditions, we were able to benefit from CNC support for the production of a show for the event produced by D18 Paris: "La Grande Soirée du Festival URBX 2022".

One of the main goals of D18 Paris in the creation of these events is to promote French culture abroad. As part of the French Week organized in Albania from April 25 to 30, 2022, the D18 teams worked with the Albanian Ministry of Culture to showcase French culture in the country. From dance to patisserie, cinema, architecture, and music, D18 programmed the week with artists and professionals from France's cultural heritage. Always in Albania, the D18 team was able to collaborate with the well-known photographer JR to bring the InsideOutt project to Tirana. For 2 days, JR's photobooth truck visited Tirana and photographed over 300 Albanians. An open-air work of art, the portraits were then pasted onto the walls of the city's art university.

⁴² Company that manages the public broadcasting service in France and in the French overseas territories.

⁴³ A television program format that combines information, entertainment, and storytelling to explore a variety of subjects in depth i.e., cultural subjects.

One of the events for which I collaborated regularly was the International Festival of Contemporary Dance in Tirana (ICDF). ICDF is first and foremost an artistic event in the heart of Tirana, which aims to make the city a center for contemporary creation. The festival is under the artistic direction of internationally acclaimed Albanian-born choreographer Angelin Preljocaj, accompanied by Ballet Preljocaj, the company he has directed since 1984. The aim of the ICDF is not only to present contemporary dance performances by internationally renowned companies, but also to promote promising young performers, with an emphasis on international and Albanian choreographers, and to showcase original creations. The festival is also an opportunity to showcase French cultural influence in Albania, with French-Albanian choreographer Angelin Preljocaj as artistic director and the Ballet Preljocaj troupe as opening act. I had the chance to work directly with our Albanian collaborators, and to be in regular contact with journalists and troupes, as well as coordinating and helping out during the festival in Tirana. These internationally organized French events serve multiple purposes: not only do they promote French culture abroad and introduce French expertise to countries like Albania, but they also provide an opportunity for Albanians and people from other nations to explore a country that aspires to exert its cultural influence. By promoting and supporting cultural diversity as a catalyst for comprehension and collaboration in the cultural sector, these events contribute to fostering mutual understanding. Currently, we are in the process of developing a documentary and fiction project centered around a historical event titled "Operation Valuable." This extraordinary story of espionage sheds light on life during the communist dictatorship of Enver Hoxha⁴⁴, delving into the clandestine world of intelligence services and exploring the methods employed by spies, manipulation, influence games, and the complexities of human nature. For the fiction of this project, we have in fact to collaborate with a well-known Albanian director. The idea would be to distribute this series-fiction series of fiction on platforms.

Although D18 Paris has not yet ventured into producing series and feature films for cinema, the company regularly receives support from the French government in the form of aid that champions "cultural diversity" and backs various projects. As we have witnessed, for many endeavors, we inevitably seek financial assistance from the CNC (National Center

⁴⁴ Supreme leader of Albania from the end of World War II in 1944, until his death.

for Cinema and the Moving Image), even though success is not always guaranteed. This applies similarly to events, where we benefit from support provided by either the CNC or the Ministry of Culture. Nowadays, the discourse surrounding "diversity" is increasingly prevalent, not only concerning projects and TV programs aimed at boosting the company's profitability and competitive edge but also in the context of "cultural diversity." By producing TV programs, documentaries, fiction, and cultural events in places like Albania, D18 Paris engages in cultural diplomacy to promote French culture globally. Additionally, these collaborations foster mutual understanding among diverse cultures, facilitating a platform for collaboration on different projects.

CHAPTER 6 – CONTENT ANALYSIS OF « LA HAINE » AND « LES MISERABLES »

In 1995, director Mathieu Kassovitz brought us the compelling drama film "La Haine", a hybrid between fiction and documentary, captured in striking black-and-white cinematography. Matthieu Kassovitz got the idea when a young boy named Makomé M'Bowolé was killed by the police in 1993, and riots were still taking place while filming the movie in the suburb. The film's setting takes the spectator to the heart of the Parisian banlieues, specifically the Cité des Muguets in Chanteloup-les-Vignes. The story unfolds in the aftermath of a tumultuous night of riots that erupted in the Paris region, putting the suburban youth against the police. These violent clashes were sparked by the brutal injury inflicted upon Abdel Ichaha, a young resident of the suburbs, by a police inspector. Against this context of rising tension and social instability in French society during the 1990s, "La Haine" digs into the lives of its three young characters, offering a raw and captivating exploration of identity, disillusionment, and the quest for justice in a marginalized community. "La Haine" takes the spectator on a poignant journey through the lives of three friends: Vinz, Hubert, and Saïd, as it follows their experiences over a day. The film explores a wide range of important issues, including social and economic injustice, police violence, racism, and the deep frustrations felt by the youth within the "banlieues" of Paris. The banlieue film offers a raw and authentic portrayal of life in the underdeveloped suburbs, renowned for their high unemployment rates and marginalized communities. Through its

powerful narrative, the film explores the characters' struggles with identity and their overwhelming sense of alienation, as they search for purpose and meaning in a society that dismisses them. Strong visual contrasts and black-and-white photography are employed in this “docu-fiction” to accentuate its portrayal of a divided world, shining a spotlight on the profound disparities that persist within French society.

In 2019, Ladj Ly's French drama film "Les Misérables" was released. The movie is set in Les Bosquets's neighborhood in the Montfermeil commune, a Paris suburb famous for serving as the setting for Victor Hugo's cult book *Les Misérables* (1862). Stéphane, a freshly appointed police officer, is one of the main characters of the narrative as he joins an anti-crime squad in the neighborhood. The story takes place over a few days and explores various aspects of social tensions, police misbehavior, and community interactions within the Parisian suburbs. The film "Les Misérables" examines issues of prejudice, poverty, injustice, and the struggle for survival in the Parisian suburbs. It explores the interactions between the neighborhood's residents and the police, stressing the difficulties both parties encounter daily and the potential for systematic abuse of authority. The movie draws references to Victor Hugo's novel, utilizing it as a backdrop to consider modern themes and highlight the social difficulties portrayed in the original work's social struggles' enduring significance. "Les Misérables" uses a realistic visual approach to represent the claustrophobic and tense situations that develop in encounters between the police and the community, as well as the neighborhood's dynamic and diversified atmosphere.

As more than a decade passed between the two films, their stories, and endings, which are open to interpretation, leave viewers thinking and reminding them that police brutality and serious social discrimination within the disadvantaged neighborhood are still very much present in France. Both "La Haine" (1995) and "Les Misérables" (2019) have gained critical acclaim - national and international - and established themselves as prominent films within the French cinematic landscape. General press such as The New York Times, Le Monde, The Washington Post, The Guardian, and The Los Angeles Times, and cinema magazines such as Rotten Tomatoes and Cahiers du Cinéma, wrote positively about “La Haine”. But These works have been praised also internationally for their significant social commentary, exploring in depth the experiences of marginalized individuals and the

challenges they face within a society marked by pervasive inequality. *Les Misérables* became a “film événement”, inspiring discussion that went beyond film review pages, attracting media attention and provoking reaction from French politicians, much like Kassovitz's film almost 25 years prior, to which Ly's movie is inevitably compared. In the same way that Prime Minister Alain Juppé is said to have organized a screening of “*La Haine*” for his cabinet in 1995, President Macron asserted in 2019 that he was "shaken by the accuracy" of *Les Misérables* (Higbee, 2022). Analyzing the films "*La Haine*" and "*Les Misérables*" will offer valuable insights into how the French film industry has sustained its exceptional economic model amidst globalization challenges. These two cinematic works, "*La Haine*" (1995) from the 90s and "*Les Misérables*" (2019) from the late 2000s, have been selected for analysis in this study due to their cultural impact and international success. As they have achieved recognition as French "auteur" films – due to their unique artistic vision and creative control by their directors - they serve as ideal subjects for this research.

To comprehend the evolving dynamics of the French film industry, encompassing production strategies in the face of globalization and more competition in the global film market, it was essential to consider films from different periods. Technological advancements and the increased focus on international co-productions have significantly shaped the industry's landscape, necessitating an examination of these dynamics to understand the French industry's exceptional economic model, cultural diplomacy, and preservation of cultural diversity. Combined with the literature review, this “cinematographic” analysis of both films aims to highlight specific elements contributing to the French film industry's economic success and its distinct aesthetic and style. Although the study does not encompass the entire evolution of the French film industry, it aims to offer valuable insights into its economic model and artistic contributions by focusing on the selected films.

- **Main Themes**

The titles of "*Hatred*" (“*Haine*”) and "*Misery*" (“*Misère*”) seem not to be over. It is this cycle of discriminatory violence that continues, even in the wake of a fatal "fall"⁴⁵. This is

⁴⁵ Reference to the line of Hubert in "*La Haine*": "So far so good, so far so good, so far so good. But the important thing is not the fall, it's the landing".

what the two films aim to denounce. "La Haine" and "Les Misérables" deal with similar themes linked to the social and economic discrimination suffered by people in the suburbs, that perpetuate from generation to generation, because of a political system that indirectly shatters innocent youth.

As both films depict social issues in terms of marginalization and discrimination, the settings of the two films, the Parisian “banlieues”, are presented as isolated geographically from the rest of French society. “Physical barriers” separate the marginalized suburban communities from the “Capital of Lights”⁴⁶: Paris. On one hand, “La Haine”, the film is set in the suburb called “Chanteloup-les Vignes”, an area located outside Paris; and on another hand “Les Misérables” sets its story in “Les Bosquets”, in the commune of Monterfermeil, also outside the capital. Hugo painted a picture of the struggles Montfermeil's residents encountered in the nineteenth century, in his renowned book “Les Misérables” (1862). Ladj Ly shows that the barriers to suburbanites' social and economic integration are still there two centuries later by using the same location and title, although the local architecture and demographic of the people have changed (Hainline, 2021). Throughout both films, we can see that even if these suburbs aren't so far away from the capital, these immersions created by the two movies in the disadvantaged neighborhood feel like a whole other reality. Indeed, this geographical location symbolizes the community's isolation and exclusion from the opportunities and resources available in more privileged areas.

As the geographical isolation of the Parisian suburbs takes place, consequently its residents – adults and young – feel socially excluded. In both films, the main characters are young residents. While in “La Haine”, special attention is given to the three characters: Vinz, Said, and Hubert, as a whole, in “Les Misérables”, the main characters remain the young ones e.g. Issa, but without concentrating only on them, but rather giving a broader approach on these social issues – which in the end comes not just from one side, i.e. the police brutality, but more generally from a bad system, whose consequences are also felt by the police. The film's ending is marked by a quote from Victor Hugo's notable book: "My friends, remember

⁴⁶ Paris is often referred to the “Capital of lights” (Capitale des Lumières) that ultimately encapsulates Paris's historical, cultural, artistic, and technological significance, highlighting its role as a guiding light of enlightenment, creativity, and inspiration.

this. There are no bad weeds or bad men. There are only bad cultivators." (Victor Hugo, *Les Misérables*, 1862). Thus, Ladj Ly's overall critique is not only about the violent misconduct of the police and the marginalized suburbs but rather a whole political system that is responsible for these events: "My film is a call to action addressed to politicians, who are primarily responsible for the situation" (Ladj Ly, as cited by Balle, translated by the author, 2019). Contrarily to Kassovitz, Ly explores the complexities of different characters that detain different positions of dominance within the community. While Kassovitz's "La Haine" is more considered and viewed as a critique of police brutality, "Les Misérables" wants to make realize to the spectators that it's a vicious circle that will never end if the politicians don't take appropriate actions. Indeed, this phenomenon of exclusion can also be seen in the police group. Police officers can be isolated within their institution. They face pressure and expectations from their superiors that force them to adopt behaviors, and working conditions that are not the best. For example, in "Les Misérables", Stéphane, the new police officer is an example of isolation and exclusion (5:01- 5:20): his colleagues, especially Chris, bully him and don't seem to understand each other in their way of working. In addition to that, the working conditions of the officer don't seem to be professional: the behavior of the police "Matriarch" towards her officers does not seem to be a "conventional" way of working: one of the first scenes of the film, when we meet for the first time the boss of Gwada and Chris, called by them the "matriarch", seems to have a very close relationship that not coincide with professionalism (9:00 - 10:30).

Instances of racial and ethnic discrimination are shown in both films. For example, in "Les Misérables", an episode with Chris, a misogynistic and racist police officer, displays his abusive words regarding the neighborhood's residents. He makes a statement about the "illegals" while driving past them and advises Stéphane to wear gloves due to the diseases they are known to carry. In addition, Chris mispronounces the name "Gavroche", a fictional character from Victor Hugo's "Les Misérables," while speaking with an African accent (14:56-15:59). These scenes appear to depict certain behaviors and interactions between police officers and the banlieue population. They highlight potential instances where racial and ethnic discrimination may be perceived or experienced. Additionally, the policemen in the movies are often shown drawing conclusions and making assessments based on a person's appearance. Several scenes in both films portray racial discrimination towards the

young residents due to their ethnicity, and in “La Haine”; the three characters are not only victims of the local police but also of the media, which stereotype them as violent, establishing a prejudice against young people from the suburbs. A notable example would be the scene portraying Vinz, Hubert, and Said sitting in a park, interrupted by a group of TV journalists that stop by car from a long distance. They film them while asking them if they participated in the big riot from the night before (19:59-21:12).

Both "La Haine" (1995) and "Les Misérables" (2019) explore the themes of urban violence and police brutality, albeit in different contexts and with distinct approaches. “La Haine” portrays the systemic police brutality experienced by the characters, highlighting physical brutality such as the misuse of violent arrest and detention. In one scene set in Paris, the police abuse their power by arbitrarily arresting and detaining the characters without proper cause (1:03:05 – 1:04:40 and 1:06:10 – 1:09:07). The characters are often taken into custody without evidence or lawful justification. “Les Misérables” presents a scene where one of the policemen called Chris, questions teenage girls at the bus stop. Not only does he insult them, but he also gets defensive, smashing a teenage girl’s mobile phone when she starts filming his aggressive behavior (20:31 - 22:05). This demonstrates his sexist nature but also his abuse of power over innocent young, that are ultimately victims of prejudices. Thus, police harassment is at the heart of both cinematographic works presenting the isolated suburbs as urban environments that are filled with violence.

The use of handheld camera techniques and a gritty visual style in the two films immerse the audience in the volatile and tense atmosphere, effectively capturing the urban violence and the confrontations between the youth and the authorities. The youth culture theme is predominant in both movies, demonstrating the group dynamics within the disadvantaged communities in order “to survive”. In one scene (10:40-11:06), the “matriarch”⁴⁷ of “Les Misérables” - says to the new police officer Stéphane at his arrival: “No team, we are alone”. Indeed, Ly’s film portrays a community that is divided into gangs, creating group dynamics that often end up in fights and clashes between them. If the young boys often clash with the policemen, the gang of gypsies that have the circus and own the

⁴⁷ The boss of the policemen, portrayed as a woman and unprofessional, treating the policemen as non-professional, but “good” at their jobs.

kidnapped lion cub, are portrayed as violent and ready to kill someone if someone betrays them, e.g., Zorro (the boss of the gypsies). The idea of groups and gangs within the neighborhood reflects this idea that to survive and be respected, they need to be a team and help each other face everyday threats. This gang mentality reinforces what we could call the influence of peer pressure. Gang members often engage in risky and violent behavior driven by the need to conform to group norms and maintain their sense of identity within their community, for example, in the final scenes of "Les Misérables", where Issa organizes his revenge – a violent riot - with all his group of friends against the three policemen (1:30:51-1:44:33). He influenced his peers to act against them, influencing them in rebellions and delinquency, encouraging one another. In the film "La Haine," peer pressure can be depicted as a driving force in Vinz's actions. For instance, when Vinz finds a police officer's lost gun, his friends urge him to get rid of it to avoid trouble. Ignoring the warnings, he keeps the gun and becomes fixated on using it for personal revenge. Peer pressure to conform and maintain a reputation heavily influences Vinz's choices.

Youth, in the two films, is presented to be fragile, evoking the characters' identity crises showcasing the complexities of their lives and the challenges they face in reconciling their desires for belonging, personal integrity, and social recognition. The characters in "Les Misérables" deal with internal difficulties relating to their identity and social position. Issa, a teenager of African descent, is a representative of the many young people struggling with difficult concerns of recognition and belonging in a marginalizing society, as he deals with conflicts between youth groups and tensions with the police. Issa is experiencing a severe identity crisis. He battles his dual identity as an immigrant in a delicate Montfermeil neighborhood. Issa is attempting to find his position in society as he desperately wants to be accepted by his peers. He expresses his need for approval, his desire for status, and his never-ending search for identity through his behaviors and decisions. In fact, in the film, he is involved in the lion cub's kidnapping. This action not only demonstrates his rebellious attitude and his ambition to get acceptance from his peer group but also gives the lion cub freedom and justice against a system that caged him and mistreated him. Stéphane, another main character, is seeking acceptance and attempting to strike a balance between his strict adherence to the law in his capacity as a police officer and his empathy for the people of the area. Identity crises are at the center of the narrative in "La Haine" as well: Vinz, Hubert,

and Saïd, the characters, struggle with what it means to be a part of a social class that is underprivileged and frequently stigmatized. In a society that rejects them, each of them communicates their frustrations and the need to give their lives significance.

Despite these resemblances, the two films' depictions of identity crises differ from one another. The moral difficulties of the characters as representatives of authority and their interactions with the community are given more attention in "Les Misérables". The film examines the complexities of having numerous, conflicting identities, especially as a result of racial and cultural diversity. In contrast, "La Haine" focuses on the inner conflicts and identity exploration of the young protagonists against a background of marginalization and urban violence. Indeed, the violence of the film lies in the "free fall" of the three characters, who have lost their orientation and can no longer hold on (Mongin, 1995). In the film, Vinz, who is of Jewish origin, develops a tough-guy behavior and idolizes Travis Brickle from the movie "Taxi Driver." Travis Brickle is an aggressive and angry person, and his admiration for him seems to symbolize his desire to overcome prejudices and presumptions related to his background. The well-known scene (9:36 – 10:09) of him speaking to himself in front of his mirror demonstrates the influence of the "Are you talking to me?" performance in Martin Scorsese's "Taxi Driver"(1976).

Throughout the films, the difficult living conditions of the Parisian suburbs are shown. From the oppressing and collapsed architecture of the housing project depicted in "La Haine" (41:12 – 41:56), to the scene where we see a group of women gathered at Issa's mother's house, counting notes in "Les Misérables" (46:25 – 47:35), these scenes realistically depict the economic challenges faced by people living in the suburbs, highlighting the inequalities, financial difficulties and lack of good living conditions that weigh on their daily lives. Shots from above are included in both films, showing the architectural complexities of the Parisian suburbs. Both "La Haine" and "Les Misérables" explore in depth the complex impacts of racism and discrimination on society. In "La Haine" the characters are faced with direct encounters with systemic racism and prejudice that pervade every aspect of their journey. Their interactions involve instances of stereotyping and police violence, which intensify sentiments of rage and frustration. The character of Vinz is indeed "La Haine", meaning "The Hate" a feeling that comes to life in flesh and

blood through his character, a sentiment that certainly developed due to its perpetual frustrations in the neighborhood. Similar to this, "Les Misérables" illustrates the cultural gap between Paris and its surrounding suburbs, highlighting the real living conditions and unfairness experienced by those who live there. By doing so, Ladj Ly seems to give an overview of the complex social dynamics within the neighborhood, established through the variety of its characters and identities, and so developing this idea of a different social reality from Paris. As characters negotiate the complex dynamics of their identities and work to forge a feeling of belonging in a society that frequently ignores or marginalizes their existence, the movies illuminate the battle of ideas and values, i.e., youth values against police values.

Contrarily to Ladj Ly's *cinéma vérité*⁴⁸, Mathieu Kassovitz's "La Haine" do not present the Banlieue as a substantial space, but rather a coherent overview of the "culture of suburbs", through the "normal" day of three boys from the *banlieues*. This "culture of suburbs" is emphasized through youth culture that ultimately plays an important role in both films, functioning as an instrument of resistance against the injustices. This youth empowerment from young suburbanites is seen through creative and artistic outlets. "La Haine" is based on the "suburban culture" experienced by the three young protagonists, and the audience immerses itself in it, witnessing the artistic and creative identities of the characters. Indeed, throughout the film, several scenes reveal this street hip-hop culture: the DJ who scratches vinyl with talent (40:24 – 41:09), Saïd who marks his personalized and stylized signature on the police's car (6:08 – 6:35), as well as young that do the break-dance in an abandoned structure (45:54 – 47:14). Similarly, "Les Misérables" portray the youth creative talent by the character of Buzz, the young boy and nerd-loner, who spends his days flying his drone over suburban buildings to film and watch different spots of the neighborhood such as girls through their private room's windows (13:35 – 14:19). One could say that it's a way for him to express himself, but above all to resist against the oppressive conditions he faces every day. By using a drone to fly around the neighborhood, Buzz asserts his presence and challenges the dominant narratives imposed on him and the youth in general. It's thanks to the drone and his technological expertise that he manages to testify

⁴⁸ Style of documentary that present a truthful and authentic portrayal of reality.

about the tragic event that occurred to Issa: he was shot by one of the police officers. By filming this, he demonstrates his desire to make his voice heard and assert his identity in the face of adversity.

The self-expression of this youth culture can be seen also through the use of slang and language in both films. On one hand, “La Haine” offers dialogues in the “Verlan”⁴⁹ language, a form of slang that originated in the suburbs of Paris, and in “argot” French slang composed of unconventional vocabulary often associated with marginalized communities. The use of street slang highlights the cultural identity and sense of community of the characters. Within their social group, language usage turns into a means of communication and self-expression. On the other hand, in “Les Misérables” the young protagonists often use slang, but Verlan is not present as in “La Haine”. Ladj Ly, not wanting to fall into the stereotypes of the suburbs, did not want to use the language of a suburban film: “I purged the film of clichés like drugs, guns, and rap. Even in the way I spoke, I wanted to avoid the clichés of the “suburban film” clichés”⁵⁰ (n.d.).

- **Representation of French culture**

In the films “Les Misérables” (2019) and “La Haine” (1995) there is a clear critique of French institutions, particularly those responsible for law enforcement and governance. The portrayal of these institutions highlights the systemic racism, abuses of power, and social inequality present in the French suburbs. The films expose instances of police brutality and abuse of power, shedding light on the mistreatment and violence experienced by marginalized communities in the banlieues. It challenges the notion of the police as protectors of the people and exposes the flaws within the institution. Both films portray the same ideals and values: equality, social justice, friendship, solidarity, anti-racism, identity, self-expression, and resistance. Both films present a nuanced portrayal of the characters'

⁴⁹ Involves the reversal or inversion of syllables or sounds in words. For example the word “louche” i.e. suspicious, in Verlan is “che-lou”. Both detain the same meaning.

⁵⁰ Interview taken from the press kit for the film Les Misérables (Le Pacte)

struggles and aspirations, highlighting the complexities of their pursuit of these values within the challenging social context of the *banlieue*.

Although the French culture is negatively portrayed in both films, ultimately doing a critique of French society, and so of the *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité* motto, French culture is very much shown in both films through the French cultural heritage. For example, the opening scene (1:04-1:47) of the film sees the film's young characters traveling to Paris to watch the football world finals and support the French team. This desire on the part of the young suburbanites to celebrate and support the French football team is a clear sign of their desire to belong to a country, despite their immigrant origins and the difficult living conditions in the suburbs. The opening scene ends with a static shot of the young people celebrating France's victory at an iconic French landmark: the Arc de Triomphe in the Champs-Élysées, a powerful symbol of French values of freedom, resistance, and unity. The very architecture of the *Arc* represents French aesthetics and architecture. In this shot, where the title of the film "Les Misérables" appears in big, we see the French people, including the young protagonists of the film (e.g., Issa) celebrating their victory by shouting for joy and waving the French flag (1:01- 4:10). It's obvious that this powerful opening scene, considering the film's story, is sarcastic or, better still, a 'delusional' one – showing a “United France” that is not. Nevertheless, French values are represented, albeit in a biased way, and the overall film is intended to represent French culture, given the themes it deals with. Indeed, the title refers to the masterpiece of one of the most important figures in French literature, and his work has had a significant influence on French culture and society: *Les Misérables*, written by Victor Hugo (1862).

In "La Haine" and "Les Misérables", both films deal with difficult aspects of French society, but they present different perspectives and focus on different elements of suburban reality. In "La Haine", the perception of French culture can be seen in a more negative light. The film highlights the social inequalities, ethnic tensions, violence, and discrimination faced by characters from the suburbs. It depicts an often harsh and hopeless reality, where the protagonists are faced with obstacles that are difficult to overcome. "La Haine" highlights the social problems and dysfunctions of the system that can generate frustration and bitterness in the young protagonists. The film focuses only on the three characters and leaves

out the police, who are presented exclusively as the villains of the story, without giving them much depth in their characters. Indeed, throughout the film, the police officers that the protagonists meet symbolize only order and the law, discriminating and oppressing. The policemen in the film are portrayed as no soulless. For this reason, "La Haine" was and still is considered an "anti-cop" film. Ladj Ly's 'Les Misérables', on the other hand, offers a more nuanced and complex view of the reality of the French suburbs. Although it also deals with inequality, violence, and social tensions, the film also reveals moments of hope and solidarity. It emphasizes the need to understand different points of view, break down stereotypes, and find ways to change the viewer's perception of the Parisian suburbs. "Les Misérables" offers a deeper reflection on the possibility of reconciliation and justice and offers a feeling of hope for the future. The film is a global portrait of all the dynamics that can be found in the Parisian suburbs, but there is no real bias in this film. What Ladj Ly succeeds in doing is portraying an entire political system that doesn't seem to work. There is an absence of Manichean vision which is obvious. It's a film that appeals to all strata of society, a film that has its urgency. And because 25 years after "La Haine", nothing has seemed changed. Ladj Ly during interviews, insisted several times that his film is not "anti-cop" and that the term "Misérables" also refers to the police. While he warns of police violence, he also denounces their difficult working conditions. On "C à Vous" French broadcast on the 14th of November 2019, he made a statement that is repeated in many of his interviews:

"I had no interest in making an "anti-police" film. What I want to do is talk about the problems in these neighborhoods, and the solution is not to make an "anti-police" film. On the contrary, it's to say that we're all living with this complicated situation and the solutions can only come from our politicians." (Ladj Ly, 2019, translation by the author).

As in "Les Misérables" pretty much of the cultural references are French, portraying France and its people, almost through a "patriotic" eye, "La Haine"'s most of the cultural references are directed towards the United States: both in the scene where Vinz imitates Travis Bickel's famous "Are you talkin' to me?" scene in Martin Scorsese's "Taxi Driver" (1976), and the more sustained influence of hip-hop and American street culture. We can find a lot of references to American culture and cinema, such as Spike Lee's movie, "La Haine"'s number

one fan and American actress, Jodie Foster, says⁵¹: “He uses all of them, he has references, but it is a cohesive piece. It’s not a movie that it’s an imitation of other films. It has its style and own look.”

- **Cinematographic techniques**

The Parisian cinephiles who claimed the idea of an “auteur film” were the ones who embraced films that had alternative and personal styles and aesthetics, putting the filmmaker at the same level as an artist, someone who had a vision and had the talent to reproduce it on screen through exceptional cinematographic techniques (Milza and Marès, 1995). It was a cultural consecration of cinema that was done by the same cinephiles that then created the revolutionary French “New Wave”: Truffaut, Godard, Rohmer, and the ones who defended the works of Hitchcock over the Americans who didn’t understand his vision. It is not a coincidence that one of the cinematographic techniques is called the “Vertigo effect”⁵² honoring the unique visual effect found in Alfred Hitchcock’s masterpieces. Mathieu Kassovitz could be considered as one of the heirs to “La Nouvelle Vague” in terms of the renewal of cinema by young French filmmakers. This renewal takes place from generation to generation, and Mathieu Kassovitz was part of this new wave of young filmmakers from the 80s and 90s. The French New Wave's following “Nouvelles Vagues” translated into a call for authors to express themselves freely in a language that wasn't standardized by Hollywood. It served as a starting point for a cultural decolonization initiative (Mira, n.d.). In 1995, the emergence of suburban cinema as a recognized category in film reception was evident. The release of the film *La Haine* (1995) initiated discussions surrounding the identification of a distinct genre within the national cinema and the appropriate terminology to designate it. In the June edition of *Cahiers du Cinéma*, the publication proposed the specific term "banlieue-film" to encapsulate this particular genre (Milleliri, 2011). The numerous cinematic techniques and the expertise of Mathieu Kassovitz in “*La Haine*” also deserve to be recognized as a unique voice in French cinema, as did the movement's heirs. Not only do the visual effects vary between shots from high to low angle shots, from static

⁵¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mQ7uaZV1tDo>

⁵² It takes its name from the film "Vertigo" directed by Alfred Hitchcock in 1958, where this effect was used in a particularly notable way.

to tracking shots, from wide shots to close-ups, from fast to slow motion, or from the split diopter technique to the vertiginous “Vertigo” effect... “La Haine” has become a cult film that has become part of the French cinematographic heritage, alongside other films that have left an indelible mark on the French 7th art. Even though "La Haine" portrays an unfavorable portrait of France, characterized by social and economic difficulties— the film opens with a night of riots sparked by a police blunder—it has still gained international recognition as a symbol of French culture. Indeed, a few of the movie's instances, such as the one with Vincent Cassel and a mirror, have become iconic, and part of its dialogue has become popular expressions (*C'est à moi que tu parles?*). As a universal theme, and therefore dealing with the political and social arguments marked by police, the three protagonists in "La Haine" are driven by a vengeful spirit that is fueled by this brutality. The "hatred" that they feel, and experience links these characters together. Therefore, one may claim that the film's success relies primarily on how well the different types of resistance these young protagonists mobilize against police brutality are staged (Bordier, 2011). There is certainly a political dimension to the film, but it does not focus on the simple enunciation of political discourse but on the ability to stage political discourse that was both controversial and complex at that time, using several techniques and visual effects, from an alternative or 'auteur' cinema that is deeply integrated into the French cinematic milieu. Inviting the viewer to watch is the whole focus of Mathieu Kassovitz, and this is what makes the movie such an experience ("film évènement"). He shoots pictures "from a forbidden zone likened to the jungle" using his hand-held camera to create a distance only the camera can produce (Mongin, 1995).

"With "La Haine", it's the old lesson of cinema that is back on the order of the day: not to look at other people's bodies but to show them in all their dimensions" (Olivier Mongin, 1995, translated by the author)

We could therefore say that Kassovitz's film-banlieue follows in the footsteps of the auteurs of cinema, checking the boxes of this 'Politique des auteurs' theorized by the major figure of Truffaut. If Mathieu Kassovitz has succeeded in creating a cult film and has been one of the best to deal with this discourse of police violence, it goes without saying that he has succeeded in imposing his style and committed vision, becoming the author and creative

force behind his film. The success of "Les Misérables" (2019) is largely attributable to the filmmaker Ladj Ly's ability to effectively convey his message about the suburbs and the dynamics that exist there, just like Mathieu Kassovitz did with "La Haine" (1995). Ladj Ly has distinguished himself by highlighting both the police and the residents of the suburbs, without ever siding with either side, whereas the point of view of "La Haine" focused exclusively on the young people of the housing estate, depicting the police as a problem to them.

Between the two films, more than two decades have passed, societal dynamics have evolved, and the two movies' production environments reflect the eras in which they were made. However, the problems in the Parisian suburbs have not changed. Ladj Ly has succeeded in doing the same things that Kassovitz did, which included shocking audiences, generating political debate, and making a cult classic. Indeed, after being "bowled over" by the veracity of the movie *Les Misérables*, President Emmanuel Macron decided to look at the matter more (Le Figaro, 2019). Contrary to "La Haine," "Les Misérables" provides a unique perspective on the urban landscape and social structure of the Paris suburbs, making them the primary characters of the film (Gregorio & Di Matteo). Furthermore, Ladj Ly is successful in capturing the social structure, dynamics of power, and relationships that develop and give rise to Montfermeil through the individuals and groups that reside there. He provides a more comprehensive, spatial, and social analysis of the dynamics of the Montfermeil suburb. Ladj Ly uses drone aerial images as well as various wide shots to convey the scene he wants us to see and understand. These shots immerse us in the neighborhood's huge, frequently ruined buildings as well as its deserted playgrounds and community gathering places. One instance is the scene in the market where, at one point, a drone shot allows us to view the market from above (28:37 - 28:47). Another is the aerial shot of the young locals protesting against the police to rescue Issa, who will be shot by Gwada (51:12 - 51:57). These images transmit to the spectator, the suburbs' urban environment creates the impression of a little town where everyone knows each other. In these settings, social ties become more intimate and complex. The aerial shots elicit a tense, claustrophobic atmosphere that fully immerses the viewers in this "miserable" neighborhood and makes us feel like we are there alongside the characters. Utilizing a hand-held camera gives the film, directed by Ladj Ly, a documentary, reportage aesthetic, and a sense of

intimacy with the individuals. The director can immortalize real-life moments by using this technique and sequence shots to capture spontaneous moments. Additionally, there are a lot of close-ups of the character's faces, which help us comprehend their feelings and inner distress. For instance, when Issa, the young adolescent, suffers an injury, the close-ups of his face convey his pain at the violence that has been done against him on numerous occasions, revealing the tensions within him (1-13:47 -1:13:58). Alternatively, Stéphane's close-up face gazing out the window at home after a long day at work conveys his despair and oppression toward the police system he works for (1:21:44 – 1:21:50). When characters are arguing, close-ups are frequently employed to increase the drama and tension between them and the overall story.

The themes explored in "La Haine" and "Les Misérables," as well as the settings and characters chosen, can be considered as being closely related, e.g. the trio of Vinz, Hubert, and Sad, and the trio of Gwada, Stéphane, and Chris, who have the role of taking the spectators with them to discover the suburbs and critical locations; the aesthetics can be considered different. Ladj Ly appears to adopt a hyper-realistic point of view with the use of scenes shot by drone, which is understandable given that this technology will be one of the driving forces behind the drama. In contrast, Mathieu Kassovitz uses a less visually immersive direction, not using sequence shots or too many scenes using the hand-held camera: Instead, its use is rarer, focusing on key moments such as scenes of action and dialogue, through static or sophisticated tracking shots. In several specific ways, "La Haine" appears to have a more "crafted" style than "Les Misérables". For instance, Kassovitz carefully crafts the visual composition of "La Haine" to produce strong, symbolic meanings. He pays close attention to the little things and the overall aesthetic, enhancing the visual impact with things like symmetry, disappearing lines, and contrasts. For instance, the police are depicted as an oppressive and discriminatory force in a clear play of contrast with the youth. The concept of "La Haine" is evident: it's them versus the police, but the focus of the movie is in fact on the characters, their identities, and their disparate psyches.

Whether it be the decision to shoot in black and white or the various transition effects, visual effects and film techniques like fast motion, slow motion, jump cut, title cards, the "vertigo" effect, camera panning and tilting, split diopter, flying camera, etc., Mathieu

Kassovitz seems to have made a more planned, more structural choice of setting and direction, establishing the overall aesthetic of the film. While "Les Misérables" still has its aesthetic and style, it appears that the emphasis is more on the raw portrayal of reality and less on sophisticated visual compositions. Both movies use rhythmic, dynamic editing to keep a continuous, captivating flow. Scenes move quickly from one to the next, generating urgency and enhancing the viewer's immersion. For instance, the title cards in "La Haine" that display the passing of time and play a clock's ticking sound in between scenes heighten the narrative's intensity (25:25 – 25:34).

In contrast to *Les Misérables*, Kassovitz uses quick cuts and transitions to capture the tense atmosphere of the neighborhoods. *Les Misérables*, which aims to be more "immersive" visually and technically than "La Haine," on the other hand, uses quick cuts and dynamic editing more frequently. Scenes flow into one another quickly to create a sense of urgency and to increase the viewer's sense of immersion. For that, the use of music is crucial to Ladj Ly's film: Key action sequences are accompanied by unique music from Pink Noise, which makes the spectator more anxious. Key action sequences are accompanied by unique music from Pink Noise, which makes the spectator more anxious. Even while existing French rap tracks were specifically chosen for the movie and not the film's original creation, they effectively capture this "urban culture," or "suburban culture," in "La Haine». Furthermore, they rely heavily on sound to evoke oppression, tension, and suspense. Examples include the sound of the clock, helicopters, guns, police sirens, and other sounds.

Both "La Haine" and "Les Misérables" fall under the category of "auteur" films. Mathieu Kassovitz's fearlessly dedicated vision in "La Haine" and the unique portrayal of societal issues with a distinct visual and narrative approach, along with the creative direction in "Les Misérables," contribute to their status as "auteur" films. Ladj Ly does offer his socially conscious viewpoint, stressing the disparities, conflicts, and injustices in the French suburbs. The film's unique aesthetic and standing as a work of auteur are enhanced by Ly's distinctive visual style, which is characterized by imaginative cinematographic methods like sequence shots, immersive camera angles, and skilled directing. Ly integrates his voice and develops a cinematic work that expresses his sensibilities, concerns, and ideas by drawing

on her personal experiences and intimate knowledge of suburban realities. Ly avoids immediate answers and enables audiences to contemplate and analyze the complicated topics highlighted through a sophisticated investigation of important subjects including social injustice, power abuse, violence, and marginalization.

The visual appeal of "La Haine" and "Les Misérables" is just as important to their success as their themes or plot lines. The concepts of beauty and art are the focus of aesthetics. And apply to the cinema in terms of how directors organize the creative contributions of the camera, lighting, production design, sound, and music during production, followed by editing during post-production, to present a meaningful work. Both films made significant advances in each of these categories; just as Mathieu Kassovitz used revolutionary techniques for his film, so did Ladj Ly his. They are films made to be seen on the widest screen possible in a theater. The complex camerawork and careful application of sound and music necessitate a big theater.

- **Production Strategies**

Although the two movies were made 25 years apart and in very different historical contexts, they both enjoyed tremendous success both domestically and abroad. As a result, the two directors were able to establish their reputations, make sizable sums of money, and gain media attention as distinctly French auteurs. The French film industry evolved as the year 2000 transitioned into a new millennium of great changes like new technologies, new streaming platforms, and more and more international links in a globalizing and hyper-connected world.

The cost of "La Haine" was estimated to be between 14 and 16 million French francs, or roughly 1.7 million euros. Because he was accustomed to working with smaller budgets for his earlier works, Mathieu Kassovitz appeared satisfied with the constrained resources. He was able to carefully prepare for the shooting in the Parisian area because of his tight budget. The movie's triumph at Cannes a week before it debuted in French theaters suggested its huge potential. The distributors, presuming it was a "small" auteur picture, first only made 50 prints available; however, this number was immediately increased to 250, which is more in line with the number of prints released for a mainstream French or even American

movie in France. "La Haine" was screened throughout the 1995 summer and finished the year as the 13th highest-grossing film in France with about 2 million tickets sold (Stafford, 2012). The fact that La Haine has continued to be a cult favorite and has been regularly screened at different locations since the late 1990s makes it more significant. Its release in North America brought in a total box office of about US\$500,000. One could claim that the movie was "too French" for the American market based on its slightly disappointing reception at the box office in America, which failed behind numerous more mainstream French movies. Since the general narrative structure was considered "unconventional" and the subject matter of the movie was first quite controversial, the movie had an unfavorable start in terms of distribution. However, the movie received more attention after it won the Best Director Award at the Cannes Film Festival, which led to a wider release and successful promotion. After viewing Mathieu Kassovitz's 1995 Cannes Film Festival portrayal of teenage violence and police brutality, the American actress Jodie Foster was so moved by it that she worked with her own production company, Egg Pictures, to secure the film's US release.

Gilles Favier, a documentary photographer who worked for prominent news publications, was hired by Mathieu Kassovitz to take pictures of the suburb and their inhabitants which was considered unusual. These photographs were published along with the scenario of the film. Some of them were exhibited along with images of the film during an exposition at the Villette in Paris, where a series of meetings combining cinema, photography, music, and the suburbs were organized, some of which were led by Kassovitz and Favier (Stafford, 2012). These activities aided in the establishment of discussion forums concerning the film's production. Moreover, a music album was created inspired by the film, in which different artists (French rappers such as Ministère Amer, Sens Unik, Assassin, Expression Direkt, etc.) present their vision of the suburbs serving the film's original soundtrack. All these events and promotion strategies around the film were organized before the release of the film in the movie theaters. However, later, more debate surfaced online and on several fan websites that were present. Moreover, the film has had so much impact that the film prompted coverage by many newspapers: "Young French cinema is undergoing a promising revival" (Le Monde, translated by the author, 1995); Les Cahiers du Cinéma featured the film on the front page of the June 1995 issue, with a special report on the

suburban film⁵³; quoted in the Los Angeles Times in 1996, “Raw, vital and captivating “Hate” (Los Angeles Times, 1996) and other French and foreign specialized magazine. Kassovitz's controversial remarks about the movie being "against the cops" sparked additional controversy regarding the les banlieues issue. Unquestionably, "La Haine" developed into a "film event" in France during the 1990s. As opposed to now, traditional promotion methods including posters, trailers, previews, and word of mouth were more prevalent and widely used in the 1990s. On the other hand, the 2019 film "Les Misérables" enjoyed a more advantageous promotion as a result of social media; their marketing strategy was built on these technological platforms. In fact, according to Clara Dietrich (2021), the director of marketing for the distributor Le Pacte (the same distributor of "La Haine") revealed the communication strategies for "Les Misérables" during a round table organized by the “Sommet des Arcs⁵⁴”. These strategies are primarily based on partnerships and press purchases with various French media that either target urban youth audiences (like Konbini and Sens Critique) or more film-loving (Arts & Essais) audiences (like those reached by Télérama and France Inter) (Dietrich, 2021). Additionally, the use of social media to promote "Les Misérables" was successful. The French distributor, Le Pacte, had set up an Instagram account that featured extras from interviews with Ladj Ly and the cast, press videos, images of the filmmaker or the film's poster for notable publications, the awards won by various film festivals, and information about the movie's screenings. All of the content shared on social networking sites enabled direct communication with fans and helped to create an online buzz.

Even though the movie "Les Misérables" was created in 2019, which is to say a time when new technologies have created new communication channels, aiding in the effort to promote the movie to a larger and international audience, "La Haine" has nonetheless succeeded in becoming known to a global audience using the resources available at the time: "In France, Mathieu Kassovitz's "Hate" ("La Haine"), is the most well-known and successful of a new genre known "banlieues films"(quote of the article, New York Times, 1996). The

⁵³ <https://galeriebabylone.com/shop/la-haine-mathieu-kassovitz-cahiers-du-cinema/>

⁵⁴ Part of *Les Arcs Film Festival* in France, « Sommet des Arcs » brings together more than 280 film professionals every year to discuss issues of independence, film exhibition and innovation.

media's ongoing interest in "La Haine" is another indication of its widespread appeal. According to Peter Bradshaw in *The Guardian* in 2020 « Mathieu Kassovitz's classic of banlieue rage has been rereleased after 25 years with a new urgency and relevance in the Black Lives Matter era » (*The Guardian*, 2020). Despite having a small budget, Mathieu Kassovitz's "La Haine" effectively conquered the film industry by utilizing all of his cinematographic expertise. While Mathieu Kassovitz didn't make the film with French subvention (CNC): "He wasn't able to get the money from the French government. And almost every French movie gets money from the government. It's because it wasn't a topic anybody was wild about" (Jodie Foster, Introduction to "La Haine").

"Les Misérables" had a more significant budget - 2,1 million euros - because of the larger production. It was funded by a mix of public money, co-production deals, and private financing. According to the French newspaper *Libération*, "Les Misérables", which was nominated in 11 categories at the Césars, received two types of support from the CNC: a €10,000 grant for music and a €100,000 grant for production from the Images de la diversité fund. But the two aids were given after the shooting of the film. Also, the film did not obtain the famous advance on receipts before production because it hadn't been selected: "We applied, and we weren't selected. These things happen." says one of the producers of the film Toufik Ayadi during an interview with *Libération* (Andraca, translated by the author, 2020). In general, "Les Misérables" had a larger budget compared to "La Haine", which allowed for more production standards, such as the use of professional performers like Damien Bonnard, while yet preserving a realistic approach to the story. It's important to keep in mind that the three main characters in "La Haine" were portrayed by actors who weren't yet well-known to the general public (like Vincent Cassel). Vincent Cassel's career took off because of the popularity of the movie and his outstanding performance. Cassel did receive a nomination for best actor at the prestigious "Les Césars" French Film Festival. The film industry has become more worldwide, and "Les Misérables" benefited from this by using international co-productions and sales agents to obtain distribution in many countries. The pan-European⁵⁵ distribution business Wild Bunch handled the film's international sales, and the giant of technology Amazon Studios purchased the US rights, allowing the movie to be

⁵⁵ That operates across multiple European countries distributing films.

streamed straight online through the Amazon Prime service. As a result, the movie was distributed on additional VOD Streaming services like Netflix, HBO Max, and Apple TV. While "La Haine" won praise from critics around the world, "Les Misérables" also gained accolades and nominations on some occasions, receiving the jury prize at the Cannes Film Festival and being nominated for an Oscar in 2020 (this was not the case with "La Haine"). Additionally, Ladj Ly's movie has won many accolades at film festivals all around the world, including the European Discovery Award at the Eurofilm Awards 2019 and Best Foreign Film at the Jerusalem Film Festival in 2019.

The production strategies for the films "La Haine" and "Les Misérables" diverged in terms of technology and marketing, reflecting the evolution of the cinematic landscape. "La Haine" followed a different path, relying more on private investments and gaining increased recognition through word of mouth, despite the absence of CNC's "Advance on Receipt." The film became a genuine cult phenomenon, surpassing national boundaries. On the other hand, "Les Misérables" was able to benefit from more substantial financial assistance through co-productions and selling distribution rights to streaming platforms like Amazon Prime. Additionally, communication strategies were reinforced through social media, providing greater visibility for the film.

To conclude, "La Haine" and "Les Misérables" both deal with issues of prejudice, violence, and socioeconomic inequality in the suburbs of Paris, exposing the complex effects of racism and exclusion. They highlight aspects of French culture while offering critiques of French institutions. These movies showcase the artistic talent of their filmmakers through their cinematography, with "La Haine" helping to revive French cinema in the New Wave style and "Les Misérables" giving a hyper-realistic portrayal of the suburbs. Both films were able to reach a larger international audience despite having different production and marketing approaches. These films stimulated political debates and encouraged societal transformation, emphasizing the significance of confronting primary causes to end the cycle of hatred and suffering in underprivileged communities. Overall, we may argue that these movies served as effective cultural ambassadors, bringing attention to the issues and socioeconomic realities that underprivileged groups experience in the Paris suburbs. They provoked debates on prejudice, inequality, and structural injustice around the world with

their thought-provoking narratives. Moreover, the production and distribution strategies of these films contributed to the promotion of French cinema on the global stage. "La Haine" became a symbol of French culture despite its smaller budget and unconventional distribution methods, showcasing the innovation and artistic prowess of French filmmakers. Similarly, "Les Misérables" capitalized on modern marketing techniques, partnerships, co-productions, and streaming platforms, solidifying the reputation of French cinema and its ability to produce impactful works. As cultural ambassadors, these films challenged stereotypes, fostered dialogue, and promoted cross-cultural understanding. They exemplified the power of cinema as a tool for cultural diplomacy, connecting people from different backgrounds and shedding light on important social issues." La Haine" and "Les Misérables" not only enriched the artistic landscape of French cinema but also played significant roles in France's cultural diplomacy. By raising global awareness and promoting dialogue, these films showcased the social realities of marginalized communities and contributed to the international reputation of French cinema as a thought-provoking and impactful industry.

CONCLUSION

During my internship at D18 Paris, I had the invaluable opportunity to gain practical exposure to the subject matter explored in my internship report, namely the intricate relationship between French cinema and cultural diplomacy. By actively working on various projects that aimed to promote visual arts and cultural diversity, I witnessed how French cinema served as a powerful tool of cultural diplomacy, reflecting the broader objectives of French cultural exchange on the global stage. Working closely with production managers allowed me to actively participate in creative meetings, develop presentation documents, and collaborate with directors and contributors. These invaluable experiences provided me with a firsthand glimpse of the distinct French cinematographic system, enriched by its history, and how it serves as a tool of cultural diversity and the guardian of cultural identity, precisely as investigated in my internship report. Moreover, my active involvement in organizing cultural events like the International Contemporary Dance Festival in Albania vividly showcased the practical implications of cultural diplomacy. Witnessing these events fostered mutual understanding and collaboration among diverse cultures and reaffirmed the significance of my study's findings in the global exchange of cultures. In essence, my internship at D18 Paris not only deepened my comprehension of the intricate relationship between French cinema and cultural diplomacy but also solidified the importance and relevance of the theoretical concepts explored in my research. The practical application of this knowledge in real-world scenarios further emphasized how French cinema acts as a center for preserving and disseminating the nation's cultural heritage, advancing the objectives of cultural diplomacy on a global scale.

This internship report aimed to understand the relationship between French cinema and cultural diplomacy, with a particular focus on the concept of the French “cultural exception”. Through comprehensive research and analysis, the paper gained valuable insights into how French cinema functions as a powerful tool of cultural diplomacy, promoting and preserving national identity on the global stage. This paper does not delve into the diplomatic skills of cinema in promoting a specific idea of French culture abroad through movies. Instead, it focuses on a broader aspect, examining how the French

cinematographic system, distinct from Hollywood, serves as a powerful tool of cultural diplomacy. Enriched by its extensive and credible history, French cinema is harnessed as a means to promote cultural diversity, combat the Hollywood hegemony, and safeguard cultural identity, all of which are governed and preserved by the French government. This internship report aims to explore the central role of French cinema in cultural diplomacy and its mission to uphold and share the nation's cultural heritage on a global scale.

The study began by providing a holistic perspective on how French cinema fits into broader debates concerning cultural industries and their role in cultural diplomacy. By exploring the interactions between French cinema and cultural diplomacy, we first studied the concept of “culture”, defined as a collection of values unique to a people, that forms the heritage transmitted from one generation to another. Cultural norms change due to social and historical changes, leading to diverse cultural expressions and identities. Cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, plays a crucial role in fostering cultural belonging, collective memory, and social cohesion. France is deeply devoted to preserving its cultural heritage, reflecting its strong cultural identity and diplomatic presence abroad. The French State actively supports cultural endeavors, promoting equality and access to culture for all citizens. Given its rich history and cultural identity, France's cultural heritage serves as a valuable diplomatic tool, representing the nation's *savoir-faire* and promoting understanding and mutual respect across borders. France’s rich cultural heritage, historical significance, and dedication to promoting its culture through cultural diplomacy make it a global cultural center. Indeed, cultural diplomacy serves as a valuable diplomatic tool for the nation, fostering alliances and collaborations while showcasing its cultural prowess to the world. More specifically, we discovered that the cultural and creative industries are essential for a nation's cultural diplomacy, representing valuable resources for economic growth and social cohesion. Linked to culture and creativity, these industries encompass publishing, visual arts, music, film, and more, contributing to the preservation and democratization of cultural expressions. France, a leader in international cultural investment, utilizes cultural diplomacy through its French Institutes and UNESCO initiatives to promote cultural exchange and understanding between nations. However, concerns arise about the potential negative impact of mass culture propagated by cultural industries, leading to cultural homogenization. Despite this, cinema remains a powerful tool for promoting cultural diversity and expressing

a nation's cultural heritage, making it a significant instrument in cultural diplomacy. By studying in the first chapter, thanks to already existing literature, the importance of cultural heritage, its relevance in cultural diplomacy activities, and the prominent role of cultural industries in French cultural diplomacy, we have highlighted the value of cultural heritage as a foundation for cultural diplomacy, reinforcing national identity and fostering connections with other countries. It recognized France's commitment to preserving its cultural legacy and using it as a means of promoting understanding and respect among nations. Indeed, France's dedication to cultural heritage and its strategic use of cultural diplomacy through the creative industries make it a prominent global cultural hub, facilitating international collaborations and cultural exchanges.

Understanding the historical development of French cinema has been a crucial aspect of this research. By tracing major trends and innovations in French cinema, we grasped the significance of its cinematographic heritage. By doing so, we highlighted the birth of cinema in France through the Lumière brothers' invention of the cinematograph in 1895. By exploring how cinema evolved from a mere technical tool to a form of art and spectacle, with pioneers like Georges Méliès contributing to its transformation, we understood that French cinema culture developed significantly, leading to the recognition of film as an independent art form and the establishment of a national film heritage. Cinema history expanded to include political, economic, and social dimensions, reflecting its impact on society and its representation of a specific historical context. The desire to preserve and celebrate the past of French cinema led to the patrimonialization of cinema, creating a rich and evolving cinematographic culture with a continuous search for new ways to convey emotions. Therefore, we delved into the idea of "cinematographic culture" and the example of the Nouvelle Vague (New Wave) demonstrated how the French cinematograph played a crucial role in the birth and development of cinema as an art form. The French cinephile movement of the 1950s, represented by influential magazines like *Cahiers du Cinéma*, elevated filmmakers to the status of authors and recognized the artistic value of films, both domestic and international. The New Wave, led by young filmmakers like Truffaut, Godard, and Chabrol, brought a revolutionary approach to filmmaking, redefining cinema conventions and leaving a lasting impact on global cinema. This cultural movement not only transformed film styles and techniques but also reflected the sociopolitical changes in post-

war France. The New Wave's success was supported by the French state through the National Center of Cinematography (CNC), which provided financial aid to promote auteur cinema and safeguard the nation's film heritage. The cinematic revolution of the Nouvelle Vague was inseparable from the growth of French cinephilia and its enduring influence on the appreciation of cinema as an art and cultural industry, reinforcing France's unique position in the world of filmmaking.

The role of the state in supporting and promoting French cinema was exemplified by the concept of a "Cultural exception." This exceptional approach represented how France valued its creative sectors, particularly the film industry, by legitimizing and preserving its cinematographic heritage. The French government, through various state-controlled entities like the CNC, plays a vital role in funding and safeguarding cultural and creative industries. The "Cultural Exception" was a strategy to resist the commodification of culture and defend French cultural identity from the homogenizing effects of globalization. By providing financial support, implementing regulatory measures, and fostering artistic diversity, the state ensured the continuity and growth of French cinema. The CNC, as the central support fund, is important in the success of the French film industry, enabling it to withstand challenges such as the COVID-19 pandemic. This unique approach to cultural policy allowed France to maintain its cinematic legacy and influence on the global stage, fostering the creation of cinematic masterpieces that shaped the history of French cinema. Thus, by examining the role of the State in the preservation and promotion of French cinema, we investigated the government policies, funding, and support mechanisms providing valuable insights into the deliberate efforts made to safeguard and promote French films as symbols of national identity and cultural diplomacy. We discovered how the State's active involvement in preserving and nurturing the film industry contributes significantly to the country's cultural diplomacy efforts.

Moreover, exploring the resilience and adaptability of the French film industry in the face of globalization and Hollywood hegemony has been illuminating. We understood that the adoption of the "cultural exception" by France in the 1993 GATT negotiations was driven by the rise of the Hollywood system and the emergence of new global competitors in the cinema and audiovisual industry. With increased interdependence between countries in a

globalized world, competition has intensified, and many countries recognize the significance of cultural industries in preserving and promoting their distinct identities. French cinema, as a form of cultural resistance against cultural homogenization, has been essential in preserving its unique cultural heritage. The Hollywood model, with its ability to appeal to a broad global audience through standardized and differentiated products, poses a threat to local film industries worldwide. However, local film industries, including French cinema, have been adopting cultural policies to safeguard their diversity and resist cultural imperialism. These policies include tariffs, quotas, and government subsidies. As Hollywood continues to expand its global reach, countries are striving to maintain their own cinematographic identities and protect their cultural industries from homogenization and dominance. Cinema, as a powerful medium of cultural expression, has become a focal point for national cultural policies. As France was our main focus, we discovered that it has faced challenges in preserving its cinematic identity amidst the proliferation of television and the rise of Hollywood's global appeal. Critics and filmmakers expressed concerns about the decline of French cinema in the 1990s due to a perceived lack of originality and reliance on conventional narratives.

By studying the strategies employed by the industry to navigate these challenges, we revealed how it preserves its distinct identity while seeking broader international recognition. To compete with Hollywood's commercial success, France shifted its focus to creating mass-market hits, leading to a revitalization of the film industry. However, the emphasis on mainstream cinema also posed challenges for independent and art-house films. We understood that the concept of "cultural diversity" became a driving force for France's efforts to protect and promote its cinematic heritage on both national and global levels. The French approach has been a delicate balance between preserving its cultural identity and expanding its market reach, making it both protectionist and expansionist in nature. The French film industry recognized the need to "adapt" and compete with Hollywood while preserving its film institutions and promoting national and international productions. Amidst economic globalization and differing business models, France actively developed a post-national cinema to appeal to broader audiences. The success of films like "Le merveilleux Destin d'Amélie Poulain" demonstrated the industry's ability to create commercial hits while supporting auteur cinema. French filmmakers resisted the Hollywood commercial approach,

emphasizing the importance of artistic expression. France also embraced international co-productions, fostering cultural diversity and aiding less fortunate film industries. Organizations like UniFrance Films played a crucial role in promoting French cinema globally and engaging in strategic initiatives. Overall, France managed to strike a balance between commercial and auteur films, contributing to its exceptional position in the global film landscape while preserving its strong cultural identity and “cinematographic culture”.

It is essential to acknowledge the limitations that may affect the study’s findings. Due to the vastness and complexity of French cinema’s history and its role in cultural diplomacy, the research focused on selected key periods, films, and policies, and could not cover every aspect comprehensively. Additionally, the study primarily relied on existing literature, film analyses, and policy documents, which may have affected the depth of certain analyses. However, by acknowledging these constraints, the study aimed to provide a nuanced and meaningful exploration of the captivating world of French cinema and its impact on the global cultural landscape. The study's limitations, such as the reliance on existing literature and selected key films for content analysis, are acknowledged. However, the research still provides a nuanced and meaningful exploration of French cinema's impact on cultural diplomacy and its mission to uphold and share the nation's cultural heritage on a global scale.

The significance of this study lies in its contribution to the understanding of the profound impact of French cinema as a powerful tool of cultural diplomacy and its relationship to the concept of “cultural exception”. While other studies have explored the concept of “cultural exception” and the role of cinema in cultural diplomacy, this research uniquely focused on the specific role of French cinema and its landscape in fostering intercultural exchange and cultural diversity. Through an examination of how the French film industry resists and adapts to the pressures of Hollywood hegemony, this paper offers valuable insights into how countries can protect their cultural identity while engaging in the global film landscape. This understanding holds relevance not only for France but also for other nations facing similar challenges to their cultural heritage. Moreover, this study contributes to the knowledge of the historical development of French cinema and its lasting impact on the global cinematic heritage. By tracing major trends and innovations, the research unveils the unique French artistic expressions that have enchanted audiences

worldwide. This historical perspective enriches the appreciation of French cinema as a cultural treasure. Furthermore, the insights gained from examining the role of the State in supporting and promoting French cinema provide valuable lessons for policymakers and cultural institutions worldwide. Understanding the deliberate efforts made by the French government to safeguard its film industry as a symbol of national identity and culture informs best practices for other countries seeking to harness the potential of cinema for cultural diplomacy.

The theoretical framework employed in this research provided a comprehensive understanding of the cultural diplomacy of French cinema, avoiding the broad term “soft power” in favor of the more nuanced and sophisticated term “cultural diplomacy”. This choice was justified by the historical emphasis France placed on promoting its culture, language, and arts as a means of fostering international relations and influence, with its cultural heritage playing a pivotal role in its diplomatic strategy. By focusing on "cultural diplomacy," the exploration of how France effectively utilized its creative industries, particularly cinema, to convey national values and culture became more profound. The concept of "cultural exception" emerged as a central theme, highlighting the exceptional status of French cinema, treated not merely as a commodity but as an integral element of the country's cultural identity. The study utilized a qualitative research approach, with a focus on content analysis of two significant French films, "La Haine" (1995) and "Les Misérables" (2019). These films were chosen for their powerful social commentary on police violence and discrimination in the Parisian suburbs, reflecting the enduring relevance of social issues in marginalized communities. The main themes explored in both films included the cycle of discriminatory violence, social and economic discrimination, and youth culture as a form of resistance against injustice. The representation of French culture in the films was critical, denouncing systemic racism, abuses of power, and social inequality present in the suburbs. However, they also offered glimpses of French values and heritage, showcasing the desire for unity and belonging. The cinematographic techniques employed by the filmmakers contributed to the success and impact of the films. "La Haine" directed by Matthieu Kassovitz, embraced fully the concept of an "auteur film" using sophisticated visual compositions and powerful storytelling to address societal challenges. "Les Misérables" directed by Ladj Ly, effectively captured the urban environment and power dynamics in the

suburbs through drone shots and wide angles, making it an immersive experience. Both films are examples of auteur films as they exhibit a strong artistic vision and a deep exploration of social and political themes, showcasing the exceptional talent and creativity of their respective directors, Mathieu Kassovitz for "La Haine" and Ladj Ly for "Les Misérables." Despite differing from mainstream commercial productions, these films have garnered significant recognition and have left an indelible mark on the history of French cinema, thanks to their compelling and distinctive artistic perspectives. The production strategies for "La Haine" and "Les Misérables" differed due to the evolving film industry landscape. "La Haine," released in 1995, faced financial constraints, relying on private investments and word-of-mouth recognition for success in a time when streaming platforms were not prevalent. In contrast, "Les Misérables," released in 2019, benefited from co-productions and distribution deals with streaming platforms, taking advantage of modern film financing opportunities and reaching a wider global audience. These divergent approaches showcase the impact of technological advancements and changing distribution methods on film production over time. "La Haine" and "Les Misérables" played significant roles in cultural diplomacy, enriching French cinema artistically and making a lasting impact on the global stage. They fostered cross-cultural understanding and exemplified the power of cinema in shaping cultural diplomacy and fostering connections among people from diverse backgrounds. Both films served as cultural ambassadors by showcasing aspects of French culture and critiquing institutional flaws. They reached a broad international audience, sparking debates and discussions on social issues worldwide, and making a lasting impact on the global stage.

The content analysis of "La Haine" (1995) and "Les Misérables" (2019) generated key insights that shed light on various aspects related to cultural diplomacy and social issues in the Parisian suburbs:

- **Themes of Social Injustice:** Both films highlighted the cycle of discriminatory violence, social and economic discrimination, and the difficult living conditions faced by marginalized communities in the Parisian suburbs. The portrayal of police brutality and mistreatment experienced by residents reflected systemic issues within French institutions, denouncing racism and social inequality.

- **Cultural Representation:** While both films offered a critical view of French institutions, they also showcased aspects of French culture. "Les Misérables" linked its narrative to French literature through Victor Hugo's classic novel, while "La Haine" incorporated references to American culture and cinema, expressing disillusionment with French society.
- **Cinematographic Techniques:** The films were characterized as "auteur films," demonstrating the directors' distinct artistic vision and commitment to conveying societal messages. "La Haine" used sophisticated visual compositions and storytelling to address societal challenges, while "Les Misérables" employed drone shots and wide angles to create a tense atmosphere and immerse the audience in the suburb's environment.
- **Production Strategies:** The films followed different production and distribution strategies. "La Haine" relied more on private investments and gained recognition through word-of-mouth, becoming a cult classic. "Les Misérables" benefited from co-productions and streaming platforms, utilizing social media for enhanced visibility.

These findings are aligned with the literature review (Hayes and O'Shaughnessy, 2005; Hatchondo, 2011; Garandau, 2011; Esclatine, 2013; etc.) which emphasizes the role of cinema as a powerful tool of cultural diplomacy. Both films effectively reflected the enduring relevance of social issues in marginalized communities, contributing to France's cultural diplomacy efforts by promoting cross-cultural understanding and encouraging societal change. Additionally, their unique cinematographic techniques and distinct cultural representations enriched French cinema artistically, further solidifying its reputation as a powerful industry on the global stage. After thoroughly examining all other categories and watching the movies, the final phase of the research delved into analyzing the production strategies employed. Through interviews, reports from CNC (National Centre for Cinema), and informative platforms like UniFrance, essential data was gathered, revealing that both films utilized French production strategies involving the French government, CNC, private production companies' investments, and other subsidies. This showcased the remarkable

system of cinema unique to France, characterized by its exceptional support and funding mechanisms.

The research objectives of evaluating the intricate relationship between French cinema and cultural diplomacy, with a focus on the concept of the French "cultural exception," were well-achieved through the literature review and content analysis. The literature review and content analysis synergistically complemented each other, not only validating my research literature but also providing profound insights into the artistic cinema techniques employed by the two French filmmakers. The content analysis of the films offered a deeper understanding of their approaches, enriching the data presented in the literature review. This combined approach yielded comprehensive and valuable information about the films' themes, narratives, and cinematic methods, enhancing the overall understanding of the research subject.

- The literature review provided a comprehensive understanding of the significance of cultural heritage in fostering cultural belonging, collective memory, and social cohesion. It highlighted France's strong commitment to preserving its cultural heritage and using it as a diplomatic tool to promote understanding and mutual respect between nations. The review also delved into the historical development of French cinema, showcasing its unique artistic expressions and its pivotal role in the birth and development of cinema as an art form. Additionally, the review explored the concept of "cultural exception" and its importance in safeguarding French cultural identity against the pressures of globalization and Hollywood hegemony.
- The content analysis of "La Haine" (1995) and "Les Misérables" (2019) provided valuable insights into the themes, representation of French culture, cinematographic techniques, and production strategies used in these films. Both movies effectively addressed profound issues of prejudice, violence, and socioeconomic inequality in the Parisian suburbs, shedding light on the complexities of racism and exclusion. They served as cultural ambassadors, promoting cross-cultural understanding and sparking discussions on social issues worldwide. The analysis of these films aligned

with the research objectives, demonstrating the powerful role of French cinema in cultural diplomacy.

Future research should consider conducting a comparative analysis of French cinema's cultural diplomacy efforts with those of other film-industry-leading countries, exploring their strategies, policies, and initiatives to identify best practices and lessons for enhancing the impact of French cinema's cultural diplomacy. Additionally, the role of digital technologies and streaming platforms in the distribution and global reach of French cinema should be investigated to understand how filmmakers and production companies adapt to the changing landscape. The impact of film festivals as platforms for promoting French cinema and fostering cultural exchange warrants exploration to gauge their effectiveness in promoting cultural diversity and intercultural understanding. Further research on the representation of marginalized communities in French cinema could reveal its potential for fostering cross-cultural understanding and challenging stereotypes. Lastly, an in-depth analysis of the economic sustainability and international collaborations of the French film industry can inform policies and strategies for supporting and expanding French cultural diplomacy through cinema. Overall, these areas of investigation can build upon the knowledge presented in this study and enrich our understanding of the critical role of French cinema in cultural diplomacy.

In conclusion, this internship report has showcased how France's dedication to its cultural heritage and strategic use of cinema as a means of diplomacy makes it a prominent global cultural center. The research has delved into the historical development of French cinema, recognizing its role as a pioneer in the birth and evolution of cinema as an art form, ultimately contributing to its unique position in the world of filmmaking. The concept of "cultural exception" has been central to understanding how France safeguards its cinematic identity amidst the challenges of globalization and Hollywood dominance. By navigating these challenges, France has successfully maintained its cultural diversity and artistic expression while appealing to a broader international audience. This research highlights the significance of French cinema in preserving and promoting cultural diversity, combating cultural homogenization, and safeguarding cultural identity on the global stage. It contributes to the understanding of the profound impact of French cinema as a powerful tool of cultural

diplomacy, emphasizing the importance of cultural heritage and its role in fostering cross-cultural understanding and cooperation between nations. As cinema continues to evolve and adapt to changing times, this research provides a valuable foundation for future studies, enabling policymakers and cultural institutions to harness the potential of cinema for cultural diplomacy and uphold their nation's cultural legacy on the global stage. Ultimately, French cinema remains an exemplary ambassador of cultural diversity and a testament to the power of artistic expression in connecting people across borders and preserving cultural heritage for generations to come.

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APPENDICES

TABLE “LA HAINE” (1995)

• 1st main category: Main Themes

Categories	Sub-categories	Sub-sub categories	Sub-Sub-Sub categories	
Social Issues	Marginalization and discrimination	Exclusion and isolation	Geographical isolation	The film depicts the physical barriers that separate the marginalized suburban communities from the rest of society: the characters reside in housing projects located on the outskirts of Paris, creating a sense of Isolation. The suburb is called “Chanteloup-les Vignes”, area located in the Yvelines department outside of Paris.
			Exclusion of young residents	The film vividly portrays the multiple facets of exclusion experienced by young residents. The characters endure frequent instances of police brutality and harassment, facing discriminatory practices solely based on their appearance or neighborhood. Limited job opportunities perpetuate their exclusion, trapping them in a cycle of poverty and unemployment. Moreover, they suffer from social stigmatization, being labeled as troublemakers or threats, further alienating them from society. The lack of essential community resources, such as quality education increase their marginalization
			Exclusion of adult residents	The film depicts essentially the three main character’s journey in their neighborhood and outside,

				without giving a lot of importance to adults characters.
		Discrimination based on race, ethnicity and social class		Vinz, Hubert and Saïd, who come from marginalized backgrounds, face social exclusion due to their ethnicity, socio-economic status, and living conditions.
		Stereotyping and Prejudice	Ethnic and Racial	The three main characters are assumed to be involved in criminal activities solely because of their race or appearance. → Scene of the journalists in their camion that ask them if they were involved in the violent protests of the night before.
			Media Stereotypes	TV journalists stop by car far away from the main characters (this distant explains the preconception that the characters can be dangerous). She also asks them if they participated to the clash between the police and civilians, asking if they destructed cars, etc. Said asks her if she thinks that they are thugs and Hubert wonders why the journalist don't come closer to talk. This explains the frustration of the characters of being stereotyped by people of being dangerous and criminals. → Scene
Urban violence	Police brutality	Abuse of power	Police harassment	The police repeatedly subject the characters to harassment and humiliation. They use derogatory language, degrade the characters based on their ethnicity and social status and engage in verbal abuse to assert their authority. (scene)
			Unprovoked aggression	The police in the film are often shown displaying unprovoked aggression

				towards the characters. They initiate confrontations and escalate tensions without justification, reinforcing the power dynamic and abuse of authority (scene)
			Misuse of arrest and detention	The police abuse their power by arbitrarily arresting and detaining the characters without proper cause. The characters are often taken into custody without evidence or lawful justification. → Scene in Paris, when going out of the drug dealer apartment Hubert and Said are stopped by the police, while Vinz escaped.
		Brutal interactions	Physical	Police officers engage in physical violence against the characters. One officer brutally beats Vinz, showcasing the excessive use of force. →(scene) Interrogation room: in a police station, Hubert is taken into an interrogation room where he is subjected to brutal treatment. The police officers verbally and physically abuse him, using intimidation tactics and asserting their power over him. → (scene) Violent arrests: instances of violent arrests where the police use aggressive tactics to apprehend individuals (physical force, grappling, etc.) → (1:31:42): Hubert, Said and Vinz encounter a group of Parisian thugs. This scene portrays a brutal and physical interaction between the two groups.

			Psychological	→ Scene of the interrogation room
Youth culture	Gangs and group dynamics	Formation of cliques and Gangs	Vinz, Hubert and Saïd	The characters Vinz, Hubert and Saïd form a tight group based on their shared experiences and struggles. They rely on each other for support, forming a close friendship that acts as a form of protection against the challenges they face.
		Peer pressure and influence		Peer pressure in the film manifests as the characters conforming to the norms and values of their social group. They may adopt certain behaviors, attitudes, to fit and gain acceptance from their peers. → Hubert, even though he is tired of his neighborhood, and the problems he faces with his peers, he still behaves like his peers in certain situations.
			Collective decision making	Throughout the film, the three protagonists are always together. And even if in some moments they separate, they end up together, for good or evil. The decisions they make, even if they are decisions made by one of the three, are always accepted by the others. They are one, and never wish to separate in order to be more powerful and fight the enemy.
		Identity Crisis and belonging	Young residents	Character's identity crises are portrayed throughout the film showcasing the complexities of their lives and the challenges they face in reconciling their desires for belonging, personal integrity, and social recognition. → Vinz's imagined identity: Vinz, who is

				jewish descent, adopts a tough-guy persona and idolizes Travis Brickle from the film “Taxi Driver”, an aggressive and vengeful individual which reflects his desire to break free from societal expectations and prejudices associated with his background.
			Adults residents	Throughout the film, adults characters are secondary compared to the young protagonists. In their neighborhood, only the young people are presented. Adults are the parents of the protagonists.
Economic inequality	Socio-economic disparities	Poverty	Living conditions	The film portrays the poor living conditions of the marginalized community in the banlieues of Paris. The poor conditions of the buildings, the lack of adequate infrastructures and the limited access to basic services highlight the poverty and unfavorable conditions in which the people live.
		Educational disadvantages		(scene) At the beginning of the film, Vinz’s sister explicitly says that her school burnt.
		Unemployment and financial struggles		The film depicts the high levels of unemployment and economic struggles faced by the residents of the neighborhood. The character’s financial instability is evident in the living conditions and the daily struggles they face to afford basic necessities. → Said (10:12) Tell to Vinz the story of a resident to that could do anything to have money, even killing someone. This explains the struggle to have money. Many characters engage in illegal activities as means

				of survival due to the lack of stable employment opportunities. → Hubert – dealing
Racism and discrimination	Racial tension	Systemic Racism	X	
		Microaggressions and prejudice	X	
		Effects on mental and emotional well-being	Trauma and post-traumatic stress	<p>The characters grapple with conflicting emotions and navigate complex social dynamics. They face internal conflicts, struggle to find their place in society, and experience emotional turmoil, which can affect their overall well-being.</p> <p>→ Throughout the film, the characters face traumatic events due to the police harassment and societal tension. As the film goes towards the end, the three characters go more and more into a state of distress.</p> <p>→ Said and Hubert, when taken by Parisian “police officers”, they are imprisoned in a room and get tortured. We could argue that this event has effects on the mental of the characters (post-trauma).</p>
			Anxiety and fear	<p>The constant presence of police surveillance and harassment creates an atmosphere of anxiety and fear within the character’s neighborhood, but also in Paris. Characters are constantly on alert, uncertain of when they will be targeted or face violence. This chronic stress harms their mental health and emotional well-being.</p> <p>→ (scene) Hubert, in one scene smokes weed in his room. It seems to be a way</p>

				to “disconnect” from this anxiety and fear.
			Isolation and loneliness	<p>The characters in the film often feel isolated and disconnected from the mainstream society. They struggle to find a sense of belonging and face social exclusion, which can lead to feelings of loneliness and alienation.</p> <p>The film revolves around the three characters, and we often see them alone, with each other, and rarely any other interaction (except to end up in danger). By staying together all the time, they have created a world of their own. Them against the world.</p> <p>➔ Rooftop Scene: In one memorable scene, Vinz, Hubert, and Saïd find themselves on a rooftop, separated from the rest of society. They are physically isolated from the world below, emphasizing their detachment and alienation from mainstream society.</p> <p>➔ Vinz's Reflections: Vinz often expresses his feelings of loneliness and isolation. In a poignant moment, he looks at himself in the mirror, donning a hoodie and imitating the iconic Taxi Driver scene, emphasizing his own sense of solitude and disconnection.</p> <p>➔ Hubert's Boxing Gym: Hubert's refuge in the film is his boxing gym. The fact that he spends much of his time there also implies a separation from the outside world.</p>
Alienation from	Feeling disconnected from	Cultural divide (contrast between	Physical separation	The film showcases the physical separation between the affluent areas

mainstream society	mainstream culture	Paris and the suburbs)		of Paris and the impoverished suburbs. This is depicted in the architecture, infrastructures and living conditions.
			Different social realities	The film portrays the difference in social realities experienced by the residents of Paris and the banlieues. While Paris is depicted as an affluent city with its cultural landmarks (Tour Eiffel, Bistrot, etc.), the banlieues are portrayed as economically disadvantaged areas with limited opportunities for its residents.
			Cultural divide	Throughout the film, there is a significant contrast between Paris and the suburbs. → (57:04) : Said says that the police of Paris seem less violent and more “polite” than the suburb ones. Differently from the Parisian suburbs (the “cite”), Paris is more rich and have different social categories. → Scene: In one scene, the three characters found themselves at a typical Parisian vernissage of contemporary art and Said seems not to understand the piece of art and says that is ugly. Another example during the vernissage would be when the waiter comes with a glass of free champagne (as in every vernissage) and Said surprised by the manner, says ironically “Merci Charles” with a snob tone, doing sarcasm of the Parisian bourgeoisie.
		Clash of values and Ideologies	Police officers and residents	The characters clashes with the police and authority figures

				demonstrate a clash of values and ideologies. The police represent the establishment and exert control, while the characters challenge the oppressive system, resulting in conflicts and differing perspectives on power and justice.
			Individualism vs community	<p>The film highlights the clash between individualistic values and a sense of community and fight for collective empowerment. These conflicting values result in tensions and ideological clashes within the film.</p> <p>→ Vinz's Vendetta: Vinz embodies a strong sense of individualism, seeking personal vengeance throughout the film. His desire to take justice into his own hands and his confrontations with others highlight his focus on personal objectives rather than collective well-being.</p> <p>→ Unity in the Banlieue: Despite the characters' individual struggles, there are moments of unity and community within the banlieue. For instance, the scene where the residents come together during the protest against police brutality demonstrates a collective spirit and a shared sense of purpose.</p>
			Law and morality	<p>The film explores the clash between the enforcement of the law and individual moral judgments.</p> <p>→ Throughout the film, the characters experience excessive police force and brutality, which raises questions about the morality of law enforcement.</p>

				<p>→ Vinz's Vendetta: Vinz's desire for personal revenge against the police officer who injured Abdel challenges traditional notions of justice and morality. His willingness to take matters into his own hands and potentially commit violence raises ethical questions about the limits of individual morality within a system governed by laws.</p>
		Lack of representation and recognition		<p>Lack of representation and recognition of marginalized communities, specifically the residents of the banlieues. Their voices, concerns, and experiences are often disregarded by those in positions of power and authority.</p> <p>→ The film critiques the media's lack of representation and accurate portrayal of the marginalized suburbs and their residents. The characters feel invisible and misrepresented in mainstream media, leading to a lack of recognition.</p> <p>→ The characters feel neglected and ignored by politicians and institutions, which perpetuate a lack of recognition for their needs and concerns.</p>
		Seeking identity and validation outside mainstream		<p>The characters seek alternative sources of identity and validation, distancing themselves from the dominant culture.</p> <p>→ The characters find validation within their own subculture and community. They embrace their own identity,</p>

				language, and artistic expressions as a means of finding validation and asserting their unique identities.
Alienation and frustration	Sense of hopelessness and desperation	Anger and frustration		<p>→ (scene) The characters particularly Vinz display moments of intense anger throughout the film. Their frustrations with the injustices they face, the lack of opportunities, and the systemic biases erupt in bursts of anger as a means of expressing discontent. The characters make acts of violence as a manifestation to rebel against the oppressive system they feel trapped within.</p> <p>One notable scene that captures these emotions occurs when tensions escalate during a confrontation between the young residents of the banlieue and the police. The residents are angry and frustrated by the ongoing police presence in their community, which they perceive as oppressive and discriminatory.</p> <p>→ Scene of the young residents protests against the policemen</p>
Community and solidarity	Bonds and support among marginalized communities	Collective resistance	Unity in the neighborhood	Throughout the film, the three characters demonstrate a sense of unity and solidarity. They support and protect one another, forming a collective resistance against the oppressive forces that surround them.

			Confrontation with the authorities	<p>The young characters and young residents in general, confront the police in their efforts to resist mistreatment and discrimination. These confrontations highlight their collective resistance against the abuse of power.</p> <p>→ Scene of the young residents protests against the policemen</p>
			Documentation	<p>In the film, the documentation is seen in one scene, but from the tv journalists, when they confront from a significant distant, while filming, the three characters.</p>
		Importance of unity and collaboration		<p>Vinz, Hubert and Said form a tight group of friends who rely on each other for emotional support and protection. Their bond exemplifies the importance of unity and collaboration in navigating their challenging environment. The characters come together to collectively address their shared struggles and aspirations. They recognize the power of unity and collaboration in fighting against the systemic barriers and injustices they face.</p> <p>→ In the last scene, Vinz and Said are stopped by another gang that threaten Vinz with a gun pointed at his brain. By mistake, the guy kills Vinz. Hubert, who saw the event points the gun of Vinz and the other too. Presumably, at the end of the scene he kills the guy to revenge his friend.</p>
		Mutual aid		<p>The characters demonstrate acts of mutual</p>

				<p>aid by helping each other in times of crisis. For example, Hubert provides support and guidance to Vinz when he is overwhelmed by anger and despair, showing the importance of community care and support.</p> <p>→ (scene) During the imprisonment of Said and Hubert in Paris, Hubert defends Said when the officers try to touch him and get him injured.</p>
Interpersonal relationships	Friendships and loyalty	Trust and betrayal	Trust	<p>Trust is a recurring theme throughout the film, as the characters navigate their relationships with one another and the outside world. The dynamics of trust are tested and evolve as the story progresses, highlighting the complexities and vulnerabilities that arise within their interpersonal connections.</p> <p>→ The rooftop scene portrays the characters' trust in each other's friendship and solidarity, as they find solace and comfort in their shared experiences. It highlights their reliance on one another in a world that often seems indifferent and hostile. This scene illustrates the power of trust in cultivating a sense of belonging and understanding among the characters.</p>
			Betrayal	<p>Tensions rise between Vinz and Hubert. Vinz discovers a police officer's lost gun and becomes increasingly obsessed with the idea of using it for revenge. Hubert however urges Vinz not to act on his vengeful impulses, emphasizing the importance of breaking the</p>

				<p>cycle of violence. Despite this, Vinz decides to confront a rival gang member, leading to a confrontation that escalates into violence. One could argue that Vinz's actions betray Hubert's advice and the trust placed in their friendship.</p>
		Support and solidarity		<p>The characters come together to support each other in moments of crisis. They stand in solidarity, providing assistance and protection when needed, emphasizing the importance of support and collective strength.</p> <p>→ (scene) Hubert's protection over Said, when they are tortured mentally and physically by police officers in Paris.</p>
Youth empowerment	Artistic and creative outlets	Youth culture as resistance		<p>The characters express themselves through graffiti and street art, which serve as forms of resistance and self-expression.</p> <p>→ The walls of the housing projects are covered of graffiti, reflecting frustrations, dreams, and identities of the youth (Said graffiti, park graffiti "nous sommes l'avenir")</p> <p>The characters embrace urban fashion trends and create their own unique looks, which serve as symbols of their belonging to a particular subculture and their refusal to conform to mainstream norms.</p> <p>The film features hip-hop music (scene dj: assassin de la police remix edith piaff) and rap as a prominent part of the youth culture. The characters engage in street</p>

				dance battles. Through music, they express their experiences and values.
		Self-Expression and Identity	Language and slang	The film incorporates the use of street slang (Verlan and Argot), emphasizing the character's cultural identity and sense of belonging to their community. The use of language becomes a tool for self-expression and communication within their social group.
			Hobbies	<p>→ Vinz's Mirror Scene: Vinz looks at himself in the mirror and imitates the famous "You talkin' to me?" scene from the film "Taxi Driver." This scene showcases his desire for self-expression and the way he identifies with iconic figures from cinema as a form of escapism.</p> <p>→ Said's graffiti's (first scene)</p> <p>→ Hubert's talent for boxing (scene).</p>

- **2nd main category: Representation of French culture**

Category	Sub-category	Sub-sub category	Sub-sub-sub category	
French Culture	Diversity and Multiculturalism	Representation of Different Ethnic Communities		<p>The trio is the representation of multi-ethnic communities that face systemic inequalities and discriminations.</p> <p>→ Vinz is a Jewish descent, and his character highlights the experiences and tensions faced by the Jewish community in the neighborhood</p> <p>→ Hubert, is an African descent. His character portrays the challenges and systemic inequalities faced by the black community in</p>

				<p>the neighborhood. He navigates issues of racial profiling, social injustice, and limited opportunities. (scene of torture of the police officers in Paris)</p> <p>➔ Said is of North African descent, reflecting the presence and experiences of the Araba community in the neighborhood. His character confronts stereotypes, discrimination and cultural clashes.</p>
		Cultural Expressions and Traditions	Language and dialect	<p>« verlan » which is a form of French slang where words are reversed or modified, reflecting the linguistic creativity and cultural expression of the community. The “verlan” becomes a linguistic marker, a tool for establishing camaraderie and a means of expressing their connection to the community they belong to.</p> <p>➔ In one scene, Vinz uses verlan when he says “Cimer les keufs!”. In standard French, it would be “Merci les flics!” which translates to “Thanks, cops!”. “cimer” (verlan for “merci” and “keufs” (verlan for “flics”). This showcases the linguistic style and street language prevalent in the neighborhood.</p>
			Religion Practices	<p>Religion practices are not prominently depicted. However, there is one scene that briefly alludes to religious practices.</p> <p>➔ (9:13-9:36): At the beginning of the film, Said goes to Vinz’s house to wake him up and ends up having breakfast with Vinz’s family members. His grandmother blames him not to go to the synagogue and so practice religion.</p>

			Artistic expression	<p>Music and dance as a form of cultural expression.</p> <p>→ Break dance scene in a room. People from the neighborhood community do a session of break dance accompanied by music. This scene serves as a powerful moment of connection and self-expression, highlighting the temporary release from the harshness of their surroundings and express their emotions in physical manner.</p> <p>→ Dj scene: a young person from the community starts playing vynils from a window with a big sound system that resonates the music in all the neighborhood. The music is called “Assassin de la police” by NTM a French hip-hop group. The young dj demonstrates a talent in scratching the vynils an dplaying music. This is a way of self-expressing creativity whilst portraying the rebellious behavior of the community. “Assassin de la police” means “Killers of the police”.</p> <p>Community gatherings is a type of cultural tradition.</p> <p>→ The rooftop scene in which we see the characters and other residents of the community gather on the rooftop of a building. This gathering creates a sense of community and provides a space for dialogue and reflection.</p>
		Integration and assimilation		
		Clash of Cultures And linguistic diversity		<p>The scene where the characters Vinz, Hubert, and Said visit a high-end art gallery in Paris.</p> <p>→ As they enter the gallery, they are immediately met with disapproving glances</p>

				<p>and judgmental stares from the predominantly white and upper-class attendees. The clash of cultures becomes evident through the contrast between the characters appearance, language and behavior and the refined environment of the art gallery. The characters casual attire, street slang, and nonconformist attitudes clash with the formal and sophisticated atmosphere of the gallery, creating a palpable tension.</p> <p>→ Scene when the characters speak with the 2 girls at the art gallery. You can feel the linguistic diversity between them the characters. You can feel the contrast of behavior and linguistic use between the Parisian people and the suburb community.</p> <p>→ Scene in Paris/ Parisian cop: Said asks a Parisian police officer some street information. While the police officer speaks to him in a formal way, Said seems surprised of how the cops in the capital are more polite.</p> <p>→ At the train station, the scene where we see Vinz pretending to box and the backdrop is a screen where we see a true footage of riots in Paris. Vinz looks towards the camera while boxing with the footage of riots and fire. When he turns, he watches the screen and there is videos of tv in which the upper class celebrates with fireworks and sing together. This can be interpreted as a clash of cultures, seeing the evident differences of way of life.</p>
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French Identity	National Pride and Symbols	French Flag and National Anthem		
		French History and Heritage		<p>Although not directly depicted the film takes place in the banlieues, which have historical and cultural significance within the French context.</p> <p>➔ (scene) When the characters are on the rooftop of a Parisian building, they can see the lights of Paris and the city's panorama. They see the Tour Eiffel, that symbolizes the presence of the capital city, with all its history and heritage.</p> <p>➔ Throughout the film, the death of "Abdel Ichaha" is reference of a historic fact occurred in France. A young living in the suburbs that participated in the violent riots and died after some days, it is inspired by "L'Affaire Makomé M'Bowolé", which Makomé has been killed by a police officer in Paris in the 1993 in the 18th arrondissement.</p> <p>➔ (scene) The shots of the Eiffel Tower and the Haussmannian structures of Paris in the film "La Haine" express French history and heritage. These iconic architectural elements of Paris are visual symbols that evoke the history and culture of the city, and by extension, of France. The Eiffel Tower in particular is one of the most famous landmarks in the world and is often associated with Paris and its identity.</p>
		Cultural Icons and Figures		French cultural icons are not depicted. But throughout the film, American cultural icons and figures are used to

				<p>portray resistance and street culture. (the character of Taxi Driver, poster of Mohammed Ali, etc.) → (1:19:32): However, in one scene, Vinz, Hubert and Said are at a Taxi stop. In the shot we see Vinz and Hubert speaking in front of an advertisement. As they go away, we can clearly see the French advertisement portraying the famous French water “Perrier”</p>
		French Identity in the Banlieues		<p>The banlieues depicted in the film, serve as a microcosm of French society, highlighting the complexities of multiculturalism, social disparities, and the search for a sense of belonging. The character’s interactions, conflicts and shared experience provide insights into the challenges they face asserting their French identity.</p> <p>→ The banlieues are often associated with social and economic challenges, and they have been a focal point of discussions on immigration, integration, and the formation of cultural identity in France.</p> <p>→ The banlieues are depicted as diverse communities with residents of various backgrounds. This diversity brings together different cultures, languages, and traditions, highlighting the complexities of defining a singular French identity.</p>
		Challenges to French Identity	Ethnic and cultural diversity	<p>The banlieues are depicted as diverse communities with residents of various backgrounds. This diversity brings together different cultures, languages, and traditions, highlighting the</p>

				<p>complexities of defining a singular French identity.</p> <p>→ The three characters are from different culture and ethnicities: Jewish, Arab, and African.</p>
			Discrimination and Police Brutality	<p>The film addresses issues of discrimination and police violence, which further complicate the sense of French identity. The interactions between the residents and the police expose the tensions and mistrust that exist between these groups, reflecting broader issues of systemic racism and social injustice.</p>
		Perception of Frenchness	National symbols	<p>→ (Scene) The Tour Eiffel symbolizes the connection to a larger French identity. These symbols serve as a reminder of a shared national heritage and evoke a sense of belonging, even within the context of the banlieues.</p> <p>→ Paris is a French national symbol. As the capital, it is considered being rich artistically and historically.</p> <p>(scene) The scene of the art gallery gives a sense of frenchness. The idea of “Vernissage”. This attachment to art and artistic expression in French society. Also the art gallery scene is set in an elegant and sophisticated environment, which is often associated with the higher echelons of French society.</p> <p>→ (scene)The scene in the Parisian metro: represents the energy of the city, the diversity of its inhabitants, and the everyday experiences of the Parisian life. The metro is a common meeting point and a shared space where people from different backgrounds come together, reflecting the multicultural</p>

				and cosmopolitan nature of French society. The Parisian metro can be seen as an integral part of the French urban experience and french culture for its historical significance.
			Language and communication	The film is predominantly in French, with dialogue reflecting the slang used in the contemporary French society. The characters conversations and interactions in “Verlan” contribute to the portrayal of Frenchness. But also the scenes sets in Paris where the characters speak with people of the capital, we can see the different ways of communication and vocabulary used.
			Values and ideals	The film explore the values and ideals of equality, social justice, friendship, solidarity, anti-racism, identity, self-expression, and resistance. The film presents a nuanced portrayal of the characters' struggles and aspirations, highlighting the complexities of their pursuit of these values within the challenging social context of the banlieue.
Values and Beliefs	Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité	Disillusionment with French Society	Social inequality	The film highlights the stark social inequalities and disparities faced by residents of the banlieues. The characters' experiences of poverty, limited opportunities, and marginalization contribute to a sense of disillusionment with a society that seems to exclude and disregard their needs.
			Police brutality and abuse of power	The film portrays instances of police brutality and abuse of power within the banlieues and in Paris. These scenes depict a lack of trust and a deep sense of injustice towards law

				enforcement, contributing to the disillusionment and resentment towards the authorities and the broader system.
			Discrimination and Racism	The characters in the film face discrimination and racism based on their ethnic backgrounds. The experiences of racial profiling, stereotyping, and systemic racism contribute to a sense of disillusionment with a society that fails to provide equal opportunities and treats them as second-class citizens.
			Lack of representation and recognition	The film highlights the lack of representation and recognition of the banlieues and their residents within French society. The characters' frustrations stem from a feeling of being ignored, misunderstood, and excluded from mainstream narratives. → (scene) The scene in Paris, when the characters are in the rooftop with the Eiffel Tower view, Hubert asks Vinz if he has “des phrases à la con” meaning “bullshit sentences/expressions”. Hubert and Vinz start saying “Liberté, Fraternité et égalité” with an ironic ton. They banalize the values and beliefs of France, because of their poor conditions and emphasize their distance with the French society. (1h25)
			Alienation and isolation	The banlieues in the film are depicted as isolated and disconnected from the rest of French society. The physical and cultural barriers, along with the lack of resources and support, contribute to a sense of alienation and

				disillusionment among the residents.
		Equality and Social Justice		While the film doesn't represent equality and social justice, Vinz's character portrays revenge and social justice against the police violence. In fact, throughout the film, Vinz is always waiting for the time to kill a police man to revenge the death of Abdel.
		Solidarity and Community	Unity among the residents	Throughout the film, the characters demonstrate a sense of community by protecting their neighborhood from external threats. They rally together to defend their homes and support each other during moments of tension and conflict. The friendship between Vinz, Hubert and Said is a central aspect of the film. Their loyalty to each other is evident as they navigate the challenges and dangers of their environment. The film emphasized the importance of coming together as a community to confront challenges and fight for a better future.
			Collective resistance	The film depicts instances where the residents collectively resist the oppressive actions of the authorities.
			Shared experiences and empathy	The characters in the film share similar experiences of discrimination, poverty, and marginalization. This shared sense of struggle and understanding fosters empathy and a collective identity within the community.
			Camaraderie among police officers	There are scenes that show police officers working together as a team. But since the film is centered around the three characters, it doesn't portray the social

				dynamics within the police teams.
		Critique of French Institutions	Police brutality	<p>In the film, there is a clear critique of French institutions, particularly those responsible for law enforcement and governance. The portrayal of these institutions highlights the systemic issues, abuses of power, and social inequality present in French society:</p> <p>➔ The excessive use of police brutality and the lack of fairness and respect for individual rights during the police station interrogation.</p>
			Corruption and cover-up	NO
			Lack of social support and recognition	<p>➔ The media's role in perpetuating stereotypes and influencing public opinion.</p> <p>➔ The film depicts the characters struggles with unemployment, poverty and limited access to social services.</p>

- **3rd Main Category: Cinematographic techniques**

Categories	Sub-Categories	Sub-Sub categories	
Cinematographic techniques	Framing choices	Wide shot	<p>Wide shots are often employed to establish the location and provide a sense of the surrounding environment. They give viewers a broader perspective and help orient them within the story.</p> <p>The scenes that use wide shots framed from a distance, is to show their small figures against the vast backdrop of the housing projects. In the film is often used to portray the isolated and gritty environment of the Parisian suburbs.</p>

			<p>→ (10:28): The scene where Vinz and Said are walking through a large square towards a building to meet Hubert, the action is framed from a distance to show the isolated and vast neighborhood.</p> <p>→ (23:56) The scene where the characters are all sited in a square with a backgrounds of walls with graffities, from a long distance. Vinz is having a conversation with a teenage boy.</p> <p>→ (47:35): Scene of the police harassing a young resident and thus becoming a collective protest against the policemen. The wide shot is used here to have a general view of the event that is taking place.</p> <p>→ (1:13:40): Vinz, Hubert and Said, walking at the train station of Paris. The wide shot is used to see where the characters in the story are.</p> <p>→ (1:14:06): Wide shot of Vinz, Hubert and Said, walking on a street of Paris.</p>
		Medium shot	Several medium shots are used in the film to capture the characters from the waist, allowing the audience to see their facial expressions, body language and gestures more clearly
		Close up	<p>In the film, the close ups allow for a more intimate and focused view of the character's emotions, expressions, and physical details, intensifying the impact of their performances and the overall narrative.</p> <p>→Vinz's and Hubert's close ups: Vinz and Hubert are at the police station waiting for the officers to let Said out. They are surrounded by police officers who are controlling them and working. First, a close up of</p>

		<p>Vinz's face (32:10), and after of Hubert's face (32:22). They are both concerned and look suspicious in their facial expression. They're facial look create more tension in the scene.</p> <p>➔ Close up of Hubert (49:42): In the scene where the three characters are in the train to go to Paris, Hubert sits in front of Said and Vinz who are talking to each other, while Hubert ignore them and don't seem happy. The close up of Hubert's face showcases his intense gaze and nervous look.</p> <p>➔ Close up of the police officer (1:09:06 - scene in Paris): the young police officer looks with a criminal and intense face Hubert and Said being physically and mentally tortured by other police officers.</p> <p>➔ Close up of Vinz (1:10:29 - scene in Paris): Vinz is watching a boxing match in Paris, while Said and Hubert are captured to a police station being beaten by the officers. This close up on Vinz's face showcases his irritation and increasing anger while looking to the boxers.</p> <p>➔ Close up of Said and Vinz (1:14:56-1:15:31 – Scene in Paris): The scene in the Parisian art gallery, presents a close up of Said's face looking at a piece of art with a look of incomprehension and neutrality towards the work of art. Subsequently to this close up, follows a close up of Vinz's face approaching the work of art. He looks at the piece with a strange look, trying to understanding it.</p> <p>➔ Close up of a Parisian man (1:15:16-1:15:18 – Art Gallery in Paris): In the scene of the art gallery, when Vinz's looking to</p>
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		<p>the work of art, there is a close up of the art object and a man passes in front of it, looking at Vinz with a wary, conflicted expression.</p> <p>➔ Close up of Vinz (1:30:02 – 1:30:10 – Paris out of the metro station): scene where Vinz imagines shooting a police officer with an imagined gun to get revenge from the death of Abdel Ichaha. This close-up of Vinz’s face gives us an idea of his emotions at the time: anger, determination and frustration in the face of the police.</p> <p>➔ Close up of Vinz’s face (1:33:11 – 1:33:49 – Paris): The close up is focused on Vinz’s face pointing a gun at a parisian thug (at the camera) who has threatened them. At this point Hubert tests Vinz on his ability to kill someone. He speaks to his ear, telling him to kill him and provoking him. The look of Vinz seems to be one of stress and his indecision adds the suspense for the audience who don’t know whether he will kill him or not. During this scene, there is also a close up of the thug’s face that has the gun pointed at his head. He is covered of blood and he has a look of fear.</p> <p>➔ This scene present several close ups of the actors to add more tension and suspense to the scene.</p> <p>➔ Last scene (1:35:40 – suburbs): Close up of Hubert’s face who looks concerned. Another close-up on Said’s face (1:36:45) who seem concerned and scared looking to the camera. He closes his eyes to not see the dramatic scene in front of him.</p> <p>➔ This final scene focuses on Said’s facial expressions to add tension and suspense at the end of the film.</p>
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			<p>➔ First scene (5:41 – suburbs): The film starts with a close up of Said’s face who look at the group of cops in front of him. His gaze is confrontational and serious, giving the police a menacing look.</p> <p>➔ Famous scene of the mirror – (9:46 – suburbs): Close up of Vinz saying “C’est à moi que tu parles?” (meaning “Are you talking to me?”) in front of the mirror of his bathroom, with a menacing look and aggressive tone. This close-up of Vinz gives a first glimpse of information regarding the character’s temperament and emotions.</p>
		Establishing shot	X
		Subjective shot	<p>This cinematographic technique shows the perspective of a character. It allows the audience to experience the scene from the character’s point of view, seeing what the character sees. In the context of the film, subjective shots are often used to provide the audience with the direct perspective of one of the main characters, such as Vinz, Said or Hubert</p> <p>➔ (40:03): Hubert’s perspective from his window, looking at the people from up, and he sees Said and Vinz walking in the crowd of people. In the film, several subjective shots are used by the filmmaker.</p> <p>➔ (11:46): Said and Vinz’s perspective on Hubert boxing, and showing the strength and aggressiveness of Hubert.</p> <p>➔ (9:40) : Vinz's Bathroom Scene In one intense scene, Vinz, played by Vincent Cassel, stands in front of a bathroom mirror, holding a handgun. The</p>

			<p>camera adopts a subjective point of view, showing Vinz's reflection in the mirror as he stares at himself while contemplating his actions. The shot immerses the audience in Vinz's state of mind, conveying his internal struggle and the weight of his decisions.</p> <p>→ (1:10:31): Vinz is watching a boxing match. We can see that it is a subjective shot because it is taken by the perspective of the character, that is ultimately nervous, and seems to think about things while watching the boxing match.</p> <p>→ (1:15:12): Vinz and Hubert are observing from close an artwork at the art gallery in Paris. They are looking at it is wondering if the person that did this work is well known. They seem surprised and confused about the significance of it. The subjective shot is used when the camera shots the art work that Vinz and Hubert are watching.</p>
		Sequence Shot	<p>→ (51 :28- 53 :03) This long scene portrays all three characters in the restroom of a Parisian bar. The filmmaker uses the mirror to do a continuous shot without any cuts. This technique gives an immersive sensation for the audience.</p> <p>→ (32:10-33:33): Scene at the police station.</p>
		High angle shot	X
		Low angle shot	<p>→ (6:39) : Said is calling Vinz's from outside his building. A low angle shot on Said's face helps understanding the behavior and personality of the character, from a low angle perspective but also have a view from down of the suburban's buildings. This scene gives an idea of the circular architecture of the buildings, while at the same time creating an effect of oppression.</p>

		Flying camera	<p>The cinematography in the film tends to focus more on handheld and observational camera techniques to capture the raw and gritty nature of the banlieue. However, there is one notable scene where a flying camera shot is employed: immersive effect. It also increases the effect of drama.</p> <p>➔ (41:11-41:55): During this scene shot with a flying camera, we have an overview from above of the banlieue. It gives an immersive effect and increases the effect of drama.</p>
		Static shot	X
		Overhead shot	X
		Handled camera	<p>The use of handheld camera techniques adds to the raw and immersive nature of the storytelling.</p> <p>➔ (48:23): Police's chase scene: the camera follows the characters closely and dynamically. It moves with them through narrow corridors, up and down staircases, capturing their frenetic movements and adding a sense of urgency and immediacy to the scene.</p>
		Tracking shot	<p>A cinematographic technique where the camera physically moves alongside the action or subject being filmed. It involves the use of a camera dolly or a specialized tracking rig that allows smooth and controlled movement of the camera. The purpose of tracking shots is to create a sense of movement and perspective, as if the audience is actively following or tracking the characters or objects in the scene. It can be used to enhance the viewer's immersion in the film and create a dynamic visual experience. In the film, this technique is used several times to capture the character's movement, immerse the audience in their experiences,</p>

			<p>and enhance the sense of realism and tension.</p> <p>➔ During certain sequences, the camera tracks the characters as they walk through the banlieue. This technique is used to depict their daily routines and interactions within the neighborhood. It follows them along streets, through staircases, and into different locations, creating a sense of continuity and spatial immersion.</p>
		Camera panning and titling	<p>➔ (32:10): Police station 180 degree pan on Vinz's face, Hubert's face, and the policemen. The camera goes from Vinz's face towards Hubert's face. This scene and camera technique increase tension emotions and gives information about the character's surroundings.</p>
	Visual effects	Slow motion	<p>The technique of slow motion is used used to emphasize specific moments and intensify their impact. While the film primarily relies on a gritty and realistic visual style, slow-motion shots are strategically incorporated for dramatic effect.</p> <p>➔ (11 :48): Slow motion of Hubert boxing is used to intensify his moves, portraying the strength of Hubert.</p> <p>➔ (1:30:03-1:30:07): Slow motion of the policeman getting "shot" by Vinz.</p>
		Split diopter	<p>Split diopter is a camera technique that involves using a special lens attachment to achieve a split focus, allowing both the foreground and background of a shot to be in focus simultaneously. This technique is often used to emphasize two subjects or to create a sense of tension or separation between characters or objects.</p>

			<p>➔ (1:12:03 – 1:12:17) : Scene of the entrance of the nightclub. There is the close up of Vinz's face and use of split diopter to get both Vinz's face and the background in focus.</p>
		Dolly Zoom/Vertigo effect	<p>The dolly zoom is a camera technique that involves zooming in or out while simultaneously moving the camera in the opposite direction, resulting in a distorted perspective and a disorienting effect. This technique is often used to create a sense of unease and tension. The camera focuses more and more about the characters forgetting the Paris background.</p> <p>➔ (49:47): The scene of the characters arrived in Paris. Use of the dolly zoom overlooking the city, compressing the characters against the background</p>
		Zoom-in	X
		Jump cut	<p>Jump cuts are a prominent stylistic feature in the film. A jump cut is an abrupt transition between two shots of the same subject but with a slight variation in camera angle, framing, or time. It disrupts the flow and create a sense of sudden change or interruption.</p> <p>➔ (19 :55) : Vinz, Hubert and Said are sited at a park. A jump cut with a transition fade is used to emphasize the time that passed, and the subjects didn't change positions. This gives the effect of boredom in their neighborhood.</p>
		Title card	<p>A piece of filmed, printed texte edited into the midst of the shot actions at various points.</p> <p>➔ In the film, title cards are used to inform the viewer about the time. The film retraces the day of the three characters. These black shots in which we only see the marked timetable reveal to the viewer that we are getting closer and closer to the end, like a bomb about to</p>

			explode. It's a way of keeping the viewer's attention.
		Fast motion	➔ (7:43) : Fast motion towards Vinz's ring.
	Staging	Natural set	X
		Constructed set	NO
		Mixed set design	NO
		Chromakey set design	NO
		Historical costumes	NO
		Contemporary costumes	X
		Black and White shots	X
	Sound	Original music	X
		Existing music	X
		Sound effects	<p>Sound effects contribute to the sensory experience of the film</p> <p>➔ Transition effects: specific sound effects are used to mark scene changes or key moments in the narrative.</p> <p>➔ Clock sound: The ticking sound of a clock is prominently used throughout the film, serving as a recurring motif that symbolizes the passage of time and the increasing tension</p> <p>➔ Gun sounds: gunshots and the sound of firearms are used during the scenes that involve acts of violence or confrontations, intensifying the impact of those moments.</p> <p>➔ Helicopter sounds: the sound of helicopters is employed in certain scenes, representing surveillance and the oppressive atmosphere in the banlieues.</p> <p>➔ Police sirens: the sound of police sirens is heard throughout the film, reflecting the constant presence and tension between the police and the characters.</p> <p>The sound engineers are Vincent Tulli and Dominique Dalmasso.</p>

- **4th Main Category: Production Strategies**

Category	Sub-category	Sub-sub category	Sub-sub-sub category	
Production strategies	Choice of financing	Private investment		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Les production Lazenec - Le Studio Canal+ - La Sept Cinema - Kasso inc. Productions
		Public investment		
		International co-productions		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Egg Pictures (Jodie Foster Production company – She helped release the film in the US) - Polygram Entertainment – distribution in the US by Gramercy Pictures.
	Distribution	Theatrical distribution		X
		DVD and Blu-Ray distribution		X
		VOD distribution		
		Festival distribution		X
		Domestic distribution		MKL Distribution (France)
		International distribution		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Le Pacte - Gramercy Pictures (US)
		International Sales representatives		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Le Pacte - Studio Canal (theatrical)
	Choice of promotion	Online advertising (social networks, film websites, film blogs, streaming platforms)		
		Word of mouth		X
		Partnerships and Media		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews with media press with the cast and the filmmaker.
		Trailers		X
		Posters		X
		Previews		X
		Brand partnerships		
		Social networks (Instagram accounts, etc.)		
	Production	Producer		Christophe Rossignon

		Associated Producers		Adeline Lecallier Alain Rocca
		Editors		Mathieu Kassovitz Scott Stevenson
		Director of Photography		Pierre Aïm
		Costume designer		Virginie Montel
		Scriptwriter		Mathieu Kassovitz
		Director		Mathieu Kassovitz
		Decors		Giuseppe Ponturo
		Sound engineer		Vincent Tulli Dominique Dalmasso
Awards and box office	Awards received			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - César Award for Best Film - César Award for Best Editing - Cannes Prize for Best Director - Best foreign language film award of the Film Critics Circles of Australia Awards - Lumières Award for Best Director - Lumières Award for Best Film - European film Award for Young European Film
	Nominations			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Chicago Film Critics Association Awards – Best Foreign language film - César for Best Original Screenplay or Adaptation - César for Best Direction - Special Jury Prize at Cannes - Cannes Jury Prize - Cannes Grand Prix - Palme d'Or de Cannes - Cannes Jury prize (Ecuménique) - European Film Awards for best -European film - Camerimage Grenouille d'or price for best picture - International film Festival of Thessalonique's "Alexandre d'or price" - César for best photography - César for best sound - Online film and television association for best film in foreign language - Turkish Film Critics Association for best foreign film (1997) - César for best actor (Vincent Cassel)

				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - César for promising young actor (Vincent Cassel) - César for promising young actor (Hubert Koundé) - César for promising young actor (Saïd Taghmaoui) - La Villette Outdoor Film Festival for best film (1997) - 20/20 Awards for best film in foreign language (2016)
	Critical Acclaim of (Acclaimed general press and acclaimed specialized film magazine)	Le Monde		<p>"Young French cinema is undergoing a promising revival". (title, translated by me, Le Monde, 1995).</p> <p>« "La Haine" will be remembered as the defining film of spring 1995» (quote of the article, translated by me, Le Monde, 1995)</p> <p>https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1995/06/29/le-jeune-cinema-francais-connaît-un-renouveau-prometteur_3862459_1819218.html</p>
		New York Times		<p>"This film is a major step ahead in his strong and still new career" (quote of the article, New York Times, 1996)</p> <p>"In France, Mathieu Kassovitz's "Hate" ("La Haine"), is the best-known and most successful of a new genre known as "banlieue" films" (quote of the article, New York Times, 1996)</p> <p>https://www.nytimes.com/1995/10/12/movies/film-festival-review-crime-violence-and-pessimism-not-in-america.html</p>
		The Washington Post		<p>« a stunning picture by Mathieu Kassovitz that starkly divides the world between French society and its dark-skinned underclass, and between racist cops and oppressed immigrants. » (quote, The Washington Post, 1995)</p> <p>https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/style/longterm/movies/videos/hate.htm</p>
		The Guardian		<p>« Mathieu Kassovitz's classic of banlieue rage has been rereleased after 25 years</p>

				with a new urgency and relevance in the Black Lives Matter era » (quote, The Guardian, 2020). https://www.theguardian.com/film/2020/sep/11/la-haine-review-effervescent-classic-radiates-with-rage-and-comedy
		Cahiers du Cinéma		The specialized magazine featured the film on the front page of the June 1995 issue, with a special report on the suburban film. https://journals.openedition.org/map/1003?lang=en https://www.cahiersducinema.com/boutique/produit/n492-juin-1995/ https://galeriebabylone.com/shop/la-haine-mathieu-kassovitz-cahiers-du-cinema/
		Rottentomatoes (critics consensus)		« Hard-hitting and breathtakingly effective, <i>La Haine</i> takes an uncompromising look at long-festering social and economic divisions affecting 1990s Paris » (Critics Consensus, Rottentomatoes, n.d.) https://www.rottentomatoes.com/m/la_haine
		Los Angeles Times		« Raw, vital and captivating “Hate” » (quote, Los Angeles Times, 1996) https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1996-03-08-ca-44396-story.html
	Domestic Box-Office	NB: the numbers are approximate, since not a lot of data is available due to its date release (1995)		2 042 070 euros https://www.jpbox-office.com/fichfilm.php?id=3984&view=2
	US Box Office			No data
	International Box-Office		France Italy Germany Spain	3 224 445 euros https://www.jpbox-office.com/fichfilm.php?id=3984&view=2
	International releases			37 countries

				https://www.unifrance.org/film/12487/la-haine
	Total revenue			No data

TABLE “LES MISÉRABLES” (2019)

- **1st Main Category: Main Themes**

Categories	Sub-categories	Sub-sub categories	Sub-Sub-Sub categories	
Social Issues	Marginalization and discrimination	Exclusion and isolation	Geographical isolation	The film is set in the disadvantaged suburb of Montfermeil, located on the outskirts of Paris. This geographical location symbolizes the community’s isolation and exclusion from the opportunities and resources available in more privileged areas.
			Exclusion of young residents	In the film, the young characters of the banlieue are always looked as the “problem”, which create chaos. We can also see that the young characters always stay with friends, creating groups, isolating themselves from the rest. The young residents in the neighborhood are often seen as a problem by society at large, which excludes them from economic and cultural opportunities.
			Exclusion of adult residents	In the film, police officers are often portrayed as isolated within their own institution: they face pressure and expectations from their superiors that force them to adopt behaviors that are not always in line with their own values. The resident’s lack of confidence in the police can also increase this feeling of isolation and lack of understanding of the police. → Stéphane, the new police officer is a perfect example of isolation and exclusion. His colleagues, especially Chris,

				bullies him and don't seem to understand each other.
		Discrimination based on race, ethnicity and social class		<p>Discriminations based on race and ethnicity are seen throughout the film.</p> <p>→ Chris, who is a misogynist and racist cop, "joking" gives to Stéphane an explanation of the people of the neighborhood while passing next to them with the car.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (15:10): "illegals over there. So, cholera, typhus... Always wear gloves. You never know". - (15:52): "Gavroche is now "Gavaracha". Gaveroche is a fictitious character of the novel of Victor Hugo "Les Misérables". While he says "Gavaracha" he uses an African accent. <p>→ These two examples of scene reflect the racism of the cops, but also the discrimination based on race and ethnicity that face the residents of the banlieue.</p>
		Stereotyping and Prejudice		<p>Throughout the film, the policemen give the impression that they can recognize someone's guild from their appearance.</p> <p>→ (20:33): Chris and Stéphane (Pento) question the girls at the bus stopm accusing them of smoking weed.</p> <p>→ (42:14): The policemen stop and search young boys to get information about the kidnapped lion.</p>
Urban violence	Police brutality	Abuse of power	Police harassment	<p>→ (20:33): Scene where Chris questions the teenage girls at the bus stop. Not only does he insult them, but he gets defensive, smashing a teenage girl's mobile phone when she started filming his aggressive behavior with her friend. This demonstrates his</p>

				<p>sexist nature but also his abuse of power over innocent people.</p> <p>→ (1:06:25-1:07:25): The scene of the confrontation Salah and Chris: the police confront Salah, a local resident who is trying to protect young people from the police harassment. The policeman use intimidation and abuse of power, threatening him and trying to silence him in order to maintain his authority.</p>
			Power imbalance	<p>Within the community itself, there is a power imbalance between the older generation and the young characters. The adults, including local gang members, exert control over the young, imposing their violent authority and exploit their vulnerability. This power imbalance leads to instances of manipulation and mistreatment:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (1:12:18): The scene where the police and Issa go to the gypsy Zorro who owns the circus to give back to him the kidnapped little lion. After taking back the little lion (Johnny), he takes Issa's neck and take him in the cage where he was "educating" a lion. He takes Issa in front of the nervous lion, in the cage, threatening him and saying not to kidnap his lion again. - (1:14:39): the policemen take Issa home. Chris gets him out of the car, grabbing him from the neck. Before leaving him, Chris manipulates him by telling him that none of this happened and

				<p>that nobody hurt him, he just fell on the floor because “he is clumsy as always”. This can be seen as an abuse of power from the policeman.</p>
		Brutal interactions	Physical	<p>There are scenes where the young characters are physically abused by adults, including the policemen. This includes instances of bullying, beatings, and acts of aggression that further perpetuate the cycle of violence and power imbalance within the community.</p> <p>→ (48:36): the policemen, especially Chris, assaults Issa while he was peacefully playing football with his friends. He puts him down violently to arrest him.</p> <p>→ (51:22): This scene turns into a battle between the young and the policemen. The young, wanting to free Issa, and the police trying to stop them. In this scene the policemen are violent with their language and physically. They use weapons, while the harmless young residents use whatever they find on the ground. The scene turns tragic after he “unintentionally” shoots Issa with his flash ball.</p>
			Psychological	<p>→ (1:12:18): the scene where the police and Issa go to the resident that owns the circus and lost his small lion, stolen by Issa. The owner of the lion goes towards the policemen and take Issa’s neck to take him in front of the lion threatening to make him kill by the lion if he does this again. Issa ends up peeing on him for the fear.</p>

				<p>Brutal psychological intercatons are also seen between the young residents:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (22:29): the scene where Buzz is stopped by three teenage girls taller and older than him. They threaten him about the videos he has taken of local girls with his drone, recording them through their room’s window. The three girls use brutal language, threatening to hurt Buzz if he doesn’t delete the videos. In addition, the three girls use bullying language when they ask Buzz to send them a video of a girl they don’t like, in which she is seen dancing from her window. - (32:09): the gang of the circus come to see the mayor with sticks to tell him that he must find the boy who kidnapped the lion cub, or they will hurt him. The scene turns into a brutal interaction.
Youth culture	Gangs and group dynamics	Formation of cliques and Gangs	The young boys called “les microbes” i.e., “bacterias”	<p>Prominent clique composed by the young boys of the neighborhood, including Issa’s character and other young boys. They form a tight-knit group that engages in various activities together, such as playing, roaming in the streets, etc. The formation pf this clique represents a sense of unity and protection among the young residents.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (17:50): In the scene where young boys are sledging with plastic pieces of a

				trash can. The young boys are having fun, including Issa that is telling stories to his friends.
			The policemen called “les bacqueux” i.e. slang word used to say the people leaving in the suburbs.	The policemen form a group. Chris and Gwada work together since a long time now and know how the banlieue works and the dynamics. Stéphane is new in the group, and at the beginning is more distant from the action of the group, but after becomes more and more part of the group, becoming the testimony of different tragedies occurred in the neighborhood, done by the policemen.
			The gang of the circus are called “les gitans” i.e. gypsies.	This group is composed by Zorro, the captain of the group, they are tattooed Roms, who own the circus and who have weapons and are violent.
			The Mayor	The mayor has a group that embodies a system of power and authority that can be perceived as distant and insensitive to the concerns of marginalized residents. Their presence in the film highlights the tensions between institutions and disadvantages communities, as well as the inequalities and dysfunctions of the political system.
		Peer pressure and influence	Gang mentality	The presence of gangs in the film reinforces the influence of peer pressure. Gang members often engage in risky and violent behavior driven by the need to conform to group norms and maintain their sense of identity within the community. → Issa’s involvement in risky and violent actions, such as the last scene, where he organizes his revenge (a riot) with all his group of friends against the three policemen. He influenced his peers to take action against them, drawing them in rebellions

				and delinquency, encouraging one another.
			Collective decision making	<p>Throughout the film, we witness instances where group decisions are made collectively, influenced by the majority opinion or the more dominant member. This highlights the power group dynamics in shaping individual behavior and choices.</p> <p>→ (10:40-10:47) : In the first scenes, the scene where we see for the first time the “matriarch” of the policemen. She says to Stéphane that in this job, especially in the suburb, “without a team, we are alone”.</p>
		Identity Crisis and belonging	Young residents	<p>Character’s identity crises are portrayed throughout the film showcasing the complexities of their lives and the challenges they face in reconciling their desires for belonging, personal integrity, and social recognition.</p> <p>→ Issa’s identity : Issa experiences an identity crisis as he grapples with the pressure of his environment. In the opening scene, Issa is shown wearing France’s flag, which signifies his aspiration to be part of something bigger and his desire to belong. This scene sets the stage for his identity struggles throughout the film.</p> <p>→ Issa’s involvement in the kidnapping of the lion cub. This act highlights his rebellious nature but also showcases his desire to prove himself and gain recognition within his peer group.</p>
			Adults residents	<p>→ Stéphane Ruiz: Stéphane, the newly assigned police officer to the neighborhood faces an identity crisis as he struggles to find his place within the police team force and establish his own identity. He grapples with the tension</p>

				<p>between adhering to the rules of his profession and empathizing with the marginalized residents of the community.</p> <p>→ Chris, is a police officer who also grapples with his identity within the context of the neighborhood. He is depicted as being eager to prove himself as a tough and authoritative figure. However, as the film progresses, Chris starts to question his own actions and the consequences of his behavior.</p> <p>→ Gwada's identity crisis is depicted through his internal struggles, facial expressions, and interactions with other characters. It serves as a reflection of the broader themes explored in the film, such as the complexities of power dynamics, social injustice, and the blurred boundaries between law enforcement and the community they serve.</p>
Economic inequality	Socio-economic disparities	Poverty	Living conditions	<p>The film portrays the poor living conditions of the marginalized community in the banlieues of Paris. The poor conditions of the buildings, the lack of adequate infrastructures and the limited access to basic services highlight the poverty and unfavorable conditions in which the people live.</p>
		Educational disadvantages		<p>The young seem to go to school in their neighborhood, but the film is set during the holidays, so the schools are not shown.</p>
		Unemployment and financial struggles		<p>The film depicts the high levels of unemployment and economic struggles faced by the residents of the neighborhood.</p> <p>→ Scene in which a resident tells the policemen that he is going to Paris to find a job.</p> <p>Many characters engage in illegal activities as means of</p>

				<p>survival due to the lack of stable employment opportunities.</p> <p>→ Scene where we see the friend of Chris that can help him cover up his bad actions. He seems to have illegal activities.</p>
Racism and discrimination	Racial tension	Systemic Racism	X	
		Microaggressions and prejudice	X	
		Effects on mental and emotional well-being	Trauma and post-traumatic stress	<p>The film portrays instances of violence and police brutality, which have a profound impact on the mental and emotional well-being of the characters. Scenes depicting traumatic events such as riots or violent confrontations, highlight the long-lasting effects of such experiences on their mental health.</p> <p>→ Scene of the confrontation between Chris and Issa. Issa's face is injured due to the policemen and his bad mental well-being is shown.</p>
			Anxiety and fear	<p>The constant presence of police surveillance and harassment creates an atmosphere of anxiety and fear within the community. Characters are constantly on alert, uncertain of when they will be targeted or face violence. This chronic stress harms their mental health and emotional well-being.</p>
			Isolation and loneliness	<p>The characters in the film often feel isolated and disconnected from the mainstream society. They struggle to find a sense of belonging and face social exclusion, which can lead to feelings of loneliness and alienation.</p>
Alienation from mainstream society	Feeling disconnected from mainstream culture	Cultural divide (contrast between Paris and the suburbs)	Physical separation	<p>The film showcases the physical separation between the affluent areas of Paris and the impoverished suburbs. This is depicted in the architecture, infrastructures and living conditions.</p>

			Different social realities	The film portrays the difference in social realities experienced by the residents of Paris and the banlieues. While Paris is depicted as an affluent city with its cultural landmarks (Tour Eiffel, Bistrots, etc.), the banlieues are portrayed as economically disadvantaged areas with limited opportunities for its residents.
		Clash of values and Ideologies	Police officers and residents	The film portrays a clash of values and ideologies between the police officers and the residents of the banlieues. The police represent authority and order, often using aggressive tactics and asserting their power. On the other hand, the residents have a deep distrust of the police and feel oppressed by their presence, leading to frequent confrontations and clashes.
			Individualism vs community	The film highlights the clash between individualistic values and a sense of community and fight for collective empowerment. These conflicting values result in tensions and ideological clashes within the film.
			Law and morality	The film explores the clash between the enforcement of the law and individual moral judgments. Certain characters, including police officers, grapple with decisions that require them to choose between following the law and following their own moral compass. These conflicts highlight the complexities of navigating justice and morality with oppressive system.
		Lack of representation and recognition		Lack of representation and recognition of marginalized communities, specifically the residents of the banlieues. Their voices, concerns, and experiences are often disregarded by those in positions of power and authority.

		Seeking identity and validation outside mainstream		<p>→ One example of seeking identity and validation outside the mainstream is seen through the character of Issa, a young boy from the neighborhood. Issa is caught between the conflicting influences of his neighborhood friends, the local gang, and his Muslim faith. He is searching for a sense of purpose and validation, and he becomes involved in acts of rebellion and resistance as a means to establish his identity and gain recognition.</p> <p>→ Another example is through the character of Buzz, a young man express himself through video recording through the drone. Buzz represents the desire to break free from societal constraints and find validation through self-expression and talent with the drone.</p>
Alienation and frustration	Sense of hopelessness and desperation	Anger and frustration		<p>One notable scene that captures these emotions occurs when tensions escalate during a confrontation between the young residents of the banlieue and the police. The residents are angry and frustrated by the ongoing police presence in their community, which they perceive as oppressive and discriminatory.</p> <p>→ Scene of the young residents protests against the policemen</p>
Community and solidarity	Bonds and support among marginalized communities	Collective resistance	Unity in the neighborhood	<p>Throughout the film, the residents, especially the young residents of the banlieue demonstrate a sense of unity and solidarity. They support and protect one another, forming a collective resistance against the oppressive forces that surround them.</p>
			Street protests	<p>The film features scenes where the community organizes and participates in</p>

				street protests. These protests serve as a collective expression of frustration and a demand for justice and equality.
			Confrontation with the authorities	The young characters confront the police in their efforts to resist mistreatment and discrimination. These confrontations highlight their collective resistance against the abuse of power.
			Documentation	Some characters, especially Buzz, use his talent of video recording thanks to a drone, recording and documenting and exposing instances of injustice and police misconduct. → Scene where he records the shoot of Issa.
		Importance of unity and collaboration		Unity and collaboration are important for the residents that feel oppressed by the police, but also for the police men that are confronted with young boys protests and need to collaborate to not get injured.
		Mutual aid		The characters in the film find strength and empowerment through their collective resistance. They draw courage from one another, offering support and encouragement in their shared struggle against the systemic oppression. → Scene in which all the young boys are against the policemen to defend Issa) → Scene of the policemen resisting young boys protests.
Interpersonal relationships	Friendships and loyalty	Trust and betrayal	Trust	Trust is seen between the members of the different groups and gangs. → Throughout the film, Chris and Gwada are portrayed as partners and friends within the police force. They work closely together, relying on each other for support and backup in their daily duties. There is a sense of trust between them as they navigate the challenging and

				tense situations in the banlieue.
			Betrayal	
		Support and solidarity		→ One notable scene is when the young boys of the neighborhood come together to confront the policemen and demand justice for the wrongful actions committed against a young boy named Isaa. In this scene, tensions are high as the residents gather in a show of unity and defiance. They support and protect one another against the police force.
Youth empowerment	Artistic and creative outlets	Youth culture as resistance		→ The example of youth culture and resistance is represented by the character of Buzz. Buzz is a young resident that uses the technologies of the Drone and video recording, as a form of self-expression and resistance against the oppressive conditions they face. Through his use of the drone through the neighborhood, Buzz asserts his presence and challenges the dominant narratives imposed upon them. It demonstrates his desire to make his voice heard and assert his identity in the face of adversity. → Issa's character serves also as a powerful symbol of the strength and resilience of marginalized youth. Through his actions and choices, he challenges the oppressive systems and strives to make a difference within his community. His embodiment of youth culture as resistance highlights the power of young voices and their ability to inspire change, break social barriers and pave the way for a more inclusive and just society.
		Self-Expression and Identity	Language and slang	The film incorporates the use of street slang and vernacular, emphasizing the character's

				cultural identity and sense of belonging to their community. The use of language becomes a tool for self-expression and communication within their social group.
				→(13:56) Buzz’s character presents his self-expression and identity through his talent of using the drone throughout the neighborhood, filming the suburbs but also its residents, especially young residents. He manages to use this technology with a lot of ability.

- **2nd Main Category: Representation of French culture**

Category	Sub-category	Sub-sub category	Sub-sub-sub category	
French Culture	Diversity and Multiculturalism	Representation of Different Ethnic Communities		<p>Throughout the film and the characters, the religion of Islam is very present.</p> <p>→(12:21) Scene of the muslims: in this scene, a group of muslims come stop a group of young boys, including Buzz, to do a little “reminder” about religion. As they blocked the passage to the young boys, they remind them the rules of behavior at the mosque, explaining that in Islam, one’s behavior is important towards all the community and especially the parents and adults. The young boys seem not caring about the religion and seem bored about the speech the Muslims give to them</p> <p>→(3:17) : The first scene in Paris: During the first scenes in Paris, for the celebration of the winning of the French team during the world cup, we can observe people of different culture. This</p>

				emphasizes the social reality and multiculturalism of France.
		Cultural Expressions and Traditions	Language and dialect	The film includes various languages and dialects spoken by the characters, reflecting the multicultural and multilingual nature of the community. This linguistic diversity is an important aspect of cultural expression and adds authenticity to the portrayal of the neighborhood. (African, slangs, and accents from different cultures)
			Religion Practices	Traditions are presented through the scenes in which Muslims do a prayer and speak about the mosque.
		Integration and assimilation		NO
		Clash of Cultures And linguistic diversity		While everyone in the neighborhood speak French, and sometimes with accents or dialect from their own cultural background (Arabic, African or French), they all understand eachother.
French Identity	National Pride and Symbols	French Flag and National Anthem		<p>➔ First scene (00:43) : Issa is going out of his house with the French flag on him, the French flag drawn in his cheeks, to go watch the final of the world football championships in Paris with his friends.</p> <p>➔(2:14) In one of the first scenes (in Paris), people are all reunited at a bar watching the final of the worldcup. People start to sing the French National Anthem (La Marseillaise)</p>
		French History and Heritage		➔(1:43) : In the first scene, the young characters go all together to Paris to watch the final match of the worldcup. They seem very happy and excited to see France winning. As they arrive to Paris, a scene see them from the back in front of the Tour Eiffel.

			<p>→(3:42) : Scene of the Arc the Triomphe: this scene presents the joy and happiness of the French people in front of the Arc de Triomphe, celebrating the winning of the French team in the world cup. They are unite in this celebration, celebrating the winning of their team and of France, without any barriers or preoccupations. French flags are represented everywhere in this scene, during the celebration.</p> <p>→(4:08) The title “Les Misérables”: refers to Victor Hugo's French heritage and highlights the cultural and literary importance of his novel in French society.</p> <p>→ (15:31): Chris in the car asks the new arrival, Stéphane, a question about the Lycée Victor Hugo in Montfermeil and why it's called that. This scene is a reference to the novel "Les Misérables" and Victor Hugo.</p>
		Cultural Icons and Figures	<p>Victor Hugo, major figure of French literature is employed throughout the film. We could consider him a cultural and icon figure of French culture.</p> <p>→ (15:31): Chris in the car asks the new arrival, Stéphane, a question about the Lycée Victor Hugo in Montfermeil and why it's called that. This scene is a reference to the novel "Les Misérables" and Victor Hugo.</p>
		French Identity in the Banlieues	<p>The banlieues depicted in the film, serve as a microcosm of French society, highlighting the complexities of multiculturalism, social disparities, and the search for a sense of belonging. The character's interactions,</p>

				<p>conflicts and shared experience provide insights into the challenges they face asserting their French identity.</p> <p>→ The banlieues are often associated with social and economic challenges, and they have been a focal point of discussions on immigration, integration, and the formation of cultural identity in France.</p> <p>→ The banlieues are depicted as diverse communities with residents of various backgrounds. This diversity brings together different cultures, languages, and traditions, highlighting the complexities of defining a singular French identity.</p>
		Challenges to French Identity	Ethnic and cultural diversity	The banlieues are depicted as diverse communities with residents of various backgrounds. This diversity brings together different cultures, languages, and traditions, highlighting the complexities of defining a singular French identity
			Discrimination and Police Brutality	The film addresses issues of discrimination and police violence, which further complicate the sense of French identity. The interactions between the residents and the police expose the tensions and mistrust that exist between these groups, reflecting broader issues of systemic racism and social injustice.
		Perception of Frenchness	National symbols	French flag, Arc of Triomphe, symbolizes the connection to a larger French identity. These symbols serve as a reminder of a shared national heritage and evoke a sense of belonging, even within the context of the banlieues.
			Language and communication	The use of the French language and various dialects within the film

				reflects the linguistic diversity within the banlieues. The characters' interactions and communication in both standard French and urban slang highlight the fusion of different linguistic expressions
			Values and ideals	The film explores the tensions between societal values and the lived experiences of the characters. It touches on concepts such as equality, justice, and solidarity, which are often associated with the ideals of the French Republic. However, it also highlights the challenges faced by marginalized communities in fully embracing and experiencing these values.
Values and Beliefs	Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité	Disillusionment with French Society	Social inequality	The film highlights the stark social inequalities and disparities faced by residents of the banlieues. The characters' experiences of poverty, limited opportunities, and marginalization contribute to a sense of disillusionment with a society that seems to exclude and disregard their needs.
			Police brutality and abuse of power	The film portrays instances of police brutality and abuse of power within the banlieues. These scenes depict a lack of trust and a deep sense of injustice towards law enforcement, contributing to the disillusionment and resentment towards the authorities and the broader system.
			Discrimination and Racism	The characters in the film face discrimination and racism based on their ethnic backgrounds. The experiences of racial profiling, stereotyping, and systemic racism contribute

				to a sense of disillusionment with a society that fails to provide equal opportunities and treats them as second-class citizens.
			Lack of representation and recognition	The film highlights the lack of representation and recognition of the banlieues and their residents within French society. The characters' frustrations stem from a feeling of being ignored, misunderstood, and excluded from mainstream narratives and opportunities for social mobility.
			Alienation and isolation	The banlieues in the film are depicted as isolated and disconnected from the rest of French society. The physical and cultural barriers, along with the lack of resources and support, contribute to a sense of alienation and disillusionment among the residents.
		Equality and Social Justice		
		Solidarity and Community	Unity among the residents	Despite their diverse backgrounds and personal differences, the residents of the banlieues come together in moments of adversity.
			Collective resistance	The film depicts instances where the residents collectively resist the oppressive actions of the authorities.
			Shared experiences and empathy	The characters in the film share similar experiences of discrimination, poverty, and marginalization. This shared sense of struggle and understanding fosters empathy and a collective identity within the community.
			Camaraderie among police officers	There are scenes that show police officers working together as a team and demonstrating a sense of

				solidarity within their own group. They rely on each other for support and navigate challenging situations together.
		Critique of French Institutions	Police brutality	<p>In the film, there is a clear critique of French institutions, particularly those responsible for law enforcement and governance. The portrayal of these institutions highlights the systemic issues, abuses of power, and social inequality present in French society. Here are some examples of the critique of French institutions in the film:</p> <p>→ The film exposes instances of police brutality and abuse of power, shedding light on the mistreatment and violence experienced by marginalized communities in the banlieues. It challenges the notion of the police as protectors of the people and exposes the flaws within the institution.</p>
			Corruption and cover-up	<p>The film showcases instances where police officers engage in corrupt practices, including covering up their misconduct. This critique suggests that there are systemic.</p> <p>→ (56:13): scene of Chris corrupts and covers up through a resident that does illegal things.</p>

- **3rd Main Category: Cinematographic techniques**

Categories	Sub-Categories	Sub-Sub categories	
Cinematographic techniques	Framing choices	Wide shot	The film incorporates wide shots to capture the environment and provide a broader context for the events taking place.

		<p>Wide shots are used in scenes to give the viewer an idea of where the scene is going to take place. This gives context to the scenes where the characters are going to confront each other.</p> <p>→1:45 (scene in Paris): Wide shot of people in front of the Eiffel Tower, with French flags.</p> <p>→4:00: wide shot of people celebrating France's victory in the World Cup in front of the Arc de Triomphe</p> <p>→17:50 : A scene in which we see young people from the suburbs playing in a large hollowed-out square, where they are sledging. This wide shot shows us their surroundings and the conditions in which they live: damage in the foreground.</p> <p>→ (36:11) : arrival of the policemen car in a street. This wide shot is used to establish a new location and introduce a new scene.</p> <p>→(1:07:58): Wide shot of Salah and Stéphane talking peacefully. We see the two characters talking behind Salah's Kebab restaurant.</p> <p>→(1:11:18): Wide shot of the circus cage containing one of the gang (zoro) taming the lion.</p> <p>→(1:12:44) : Zoro took issa into the cage where there is the angry lion. He grabs Issa from the neck and put it in front of the lion.</p> <p>→1:17:53: Wide shot of Issa walking injured, with a graffitied wall in the background. This scene shows his distress at the violence meted out by local people, including the police. The scene</p>
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			<p>is set up in such a way as to give the impression that he is reflecting on the situation, deeply oppressed. We see the character in introspection.</p> <p>→(1:20:47): wide shot on the environment of the kebab restaurant of Salah and himself sitting on a chair with next to him a poster of the boxer of Mohammed Ali, figure of resistance and politique figure against social injustice.</p> <p>→(1:21:02): Wide shot of Issa sitting in a sofa left outside, with a lot of rubbish in the foreground and a large suburban building in the background (behind Issa).</p> <p>→(1:21:54 – 1:22:10): wide shot of the suburb of Montfermeil, at sunset time, reflecting the global environment and increasing this feeling of isolation of the neighborhood from the rest of society.</p> <p>→(1:26:58) : Wide shot on the young boys playing in a plastic pool of water. We can also see a large building of the suburbs behind</p> <p>→(1:28:31): Wide shot of Issa seen from the back. The wide shot is presenting Issa looking in front of him i.e. the landscape of its neighborhood.</p>
		<p>Medium shot</p>	<p>Several medium shots are used throughout the film.</p> <p>→1:14:46: Medium shot of Chris and Issa. Chris talks to Issa, holding him by the nape of the neck. He warns him, manipulating him and showing his abuse of power, telling him not to tell anyone about what has happened. He manipulates him by telling him that he just fell because he's clumsy and nothing happened.</p> <p>→1:22:28: Medium shot that shows Stephane and Gwada</p>

			sited at a pub. This confrontation between the two portrays the effects of working as a policeman in the suburbs, the effects on mental health.
		Close up	<p>Close-ups are very common in the film. When characters are confronted with tense or confrontational situations, the director often uses close-ups to emphasise their facial expressions and reactions. For example, during confrontations between residents and the police, close-ups of the characters' faces convey their anger, frustration or fear. Close-ups are also used to highlight the emotions and internal dilemmas of the characters. For example, when Issa, the young teenager, is faced with difficult choices, close-ups of his face show the conflicts that are going on inside him. The close ups are very much used during every confrontations between the characters intensifying the drama and tension between them and the story.</p> <p>→(1:13:49-1:13:58): the close up on Issa's injured face reflects his distress at the violence he had inflicted on him on several occasions by the policemen but also from Zoro, the member of the gang circus. We can observe from his face that he has been mentally and physically abused.</p> <p>→(1:14:12) Close up on Stéphane's face, looking at Chris in a very angry way.</p> <p>→(1:18:18) : Close up on Buzz's face looking at the girl from the neighbourhood who had come to see him, threatening him. This close-up shows Buzz's fear and distress at the situation created by the police and the local people.</p> <p>→(1:21:33): Close up of Stéphane's face looking outside the window of his apartment. This close up intends to portray the emotions of the character.</p>

			<p>We can feel the sadness and the character's sense of distress and oppression in the face of the police system in which he works. Stéphane is like a witness to the atrocities committed in the suburbs.</p> <p>➔(1:31:06): Close-up of Issa's face, wounded and angry, as he aims fireworks at the police car.</p>
		Establishing shot	X
		Subjective shot	<p>Technique that aims to convey the perspective and experience of a character by showing the scene from their point of view.</p> <p>➔(1:29:55 – 1:30:50): Gwada, and the others are in the car watching outside and feeling observed from the young residents outside. We have a direct perspective of Gwada's eye (the camera) on them watching. The young residents are watching the camera as if the camera was Gwada, and so the spectators. This bring the audience closer to the characters, intensifying the emotional impact of the scenes. By showing events from the characters' point of view, the shots create a sense of immediacy and make the audience feel as if they are experiencing the events alongside the characters.</p> <p>➔ This sequence of subjective scenes increases the tension and suspense of the film for the viewer. It's as if the viewer feels targeted by the rest of the community.</p>
		Sequence shot	NO
		High angle shot	X
		Flying camera	<p>Throughout the film, there are several scenes where a drone camera is used to capture dynamic and high-angle shots. These shots offer a unique perspective and allow for a more immersive experience of the surroundings. In the scenes</p>

			<p>depicting protests and demonstrations, the flying camera technique is used to capture the scale and energy of the crowds. The camera moves above the masses, giving a bird's-eye view of the gathering and emphasizing the collective power of the protesters.</p> <p>➔(14:08) : a powerful aerial shot that showcases the banlieue from above. The camera glides smoothly over the rooftops, providing an overview of the neighborhood and setting the stage for the story.</p> <p>➔(51:13) : Aerial zoom from above: This overhead shot, includes an aerial zoom that starts from the a high overhead position and gradually zoom in closer to the action below. It creates a dynamic and immersive effect. It also increases the effect of drama. In this scene, we see the conflict between the suburban youths who want to save Issa, and the three policemen.</p> <p>➔(52:40 and 53:48) : Aerial zoom out from the precedent scene. In this scene, Chris sees the drone that filmed all the event. When he sees it, he try to shoot the drone while the drone (camera) is zooming out from the scene, and going back to Buzz while filming the “way home” from above and seeing the suburbs.</p> <p>➔(1:30:50): This shot, taken from above, shows the police car approaching a building in the area where he is turning the corner. The police don't yet know that they are going to be surrounded and attacked by local youths seeking revenge for Issa's injuries.</p>
		Static shot	X
		Overhead shot	➔(28 :46) : view from above used to give an idea of where

			<p>the scene is taking place. This view from above used to give an idea of where the scene is taking place. This scene shows the local market, where we go to meet the mayor.</p> <p>→(44:52-45:08): The police arrive with their cars in a new part of the neighbourhood. We see them arriving and getting out of the car from above. In this scene, the police are picking Issa up from his home.</p> <p>→(49:15) : In this scene we see Issa escaping from the police. This perspective from above allows us to see where Issa is escaping from. Once again, this technique is used to give an overall perspective of the place, a perspective of surveillance from above, creating a feeling of oppression.</p> <p>→(51:13) : Aerial zoom from above: This overhead shot, includes an aerial zoom that starts from the a high overhead position and gradually zoom in closer to the action below. It creates a dynamic and immersive effect. It also increases the effect of drama.</p>
		Handled camera	<p>A hand-held camera is used to create a sense of immediacy and realism. It gives the impression that the viewer is at the heart of the action, following the characters closely through the narrow, busy streets of the suburbs.</p>
		Tracking shot	<p>Tracking shots involve a smooth and continuous movement of the camera, following the action or characters as they move through the scene. They can immerse the audience in the scene, giving them a dynamic perspective as if they are moving alongside the characters. This immersive quality enhances engagement</p>

			<p>and makes viewers feel more connected to the narrative..</p> <p>➔ 29:36-30:00: The circus gang's car is presented and followed by the camera from above. In this scene, we see the circus car with an amplifier in the car and we hear one of the circus gang talking in an angry tone, without seeing his face. This creates a very tense effect.</p> <p>➔ 42:20: In this scene we follow the policeman Chris, going up the stairs and chasing one of the suburban youths.</p> <p>➔ (49:28) : In this scene, we follow Issa as he escapes from the police, starting with a wide shot with Issa running in the foreground and the two police officers running behind him in the background. This camera tracking effect gives an immersive effect, capturing the viewer's full attention in this action.</p> <p>➔(1:31:22-end): the final scenes are done with the technique of tracking the characters throughout their actions in order to immerse the spectator and create tension. In this scene, the policemen just arrived in the building where the final and violent confrontation between them and the young residents will take place. The camera chase the actions of the policemen, while at the same time chasing the young characters portraying their dominance and determination in revenging their freedom against the oppression they face everyday.</p>
		Camera panning and titling	<p>➔(32:14-32:17) : The use of camera panning horizontally in this scene is present. The camera rotates horizontally during the confrontation between the policemen, the mayor's group and the gang of the circus (gypsies). This allow</p>

			<p>the fluidity of the scene allowing the audience to scan the scene from side to side. This horizontal rotation allow the audience to see the actions from a new frame.</p> <p>➔(48:47-48:59): The use of camera panning horizontally in this scene is present. The camera rotates horizontally during the confrontation between the policemen and the young residents. The policemen came to arrest Issa during a football game with his friends.</p>
	Visual effects	Slow motion	NO
		Split Diopter	➔(1:14:12) Split diopter and Close up on Stéphane's face, looking at Chris in a very angry way.
		Dolly zoom / Vertigo effect	NO
		Zoom-in	X
		Jump cut	NO
		Title card	NO
		Fast motion	X
	Staging	Naturel Set	X
		Constructed set	
		Mixed set design	NO
		Historical costumes	NO
		Contemporary costumes	X
		Black and White shot	NO
	Sound	Original music	<p>Pink Noise (Marco Casanova and Kim Chapiron)</p> <p>➔ homogenous electronic tracks, constant whatever the challenges of the film, sound effects with no other purpose than to maintain tension</p>
		Use of existing music	NO
		Sound effect	X

- **4th Main Category: Production strategies**

Category	Sub-category	Sub-sub category	
Production strategies	Choice of financing	Private investment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - SRAB Films - Les films du Worso

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Srab Films - Rectangle Productions - Lyly Films - Canal + - Ciné +
		Public investment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Centre National du Cinéma (CNC) - Région de l'île-de-France : The Île-de-France region, where part of the film's story takes place, also provided financial support for the production. - Les Fonds images de la diversité : This fund, managed by the CNC, aims to encourage diversity in film production. "Les Misérables" benefited from this support because of its exploration of social and cultural issues in the French suburbs.
		International co-productions	
	Distribution	Theatrical distribution	X
		DVD and Blu-Ray distribution	X
		VOD distribution	Amazon Prime Video Itunes Google Play Youtube Movies Canal VOD HBO Max Rakuten Tv Apple TV Filmo Microsoft Store Orange VOD Netflix Universcine
		Festival distribution	X
		Domestic distribution	Le Pacte
		International distribution	Wild Bunch Amazon Studios
		International Sales	Wild Bunch
	Choice of promotion	Online advertising (social networks, film websites, film blogs, streaming platforms)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Distributor website (Le Pacte) (information about the movie, watch trailers, purchase tickets or access online streamings)

		Trailers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Creation of 2 trailers: one for younger audiences, short, rhythmic and impactful, and another for adults, longer.
		Posters	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - poster for theatrical release, posters in the metro, on buses and in advertising columns. To seduce a bit of everyone.
		Word of mouth	X
		Previews	X
		Partnerships and Media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partnerships and press space purchases with Télérama and France Inter to target adults, an "Art et Essai" target group. - Partnerships and press space purchases with Konbini and Sens Critique to target young people. - Purchase of radio spots on NRJ and Skyrock (and other secondary sponsors) -
		Social networks (Instagram accounts, etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Instagram account "Les Misérables" - Facebook - Twitter <p>→ Behind-the-scenes content, and promotional material were shared. This allowed for direct interaction with fans and helped generate online buzz.</p>
	Production	Producer	Christophe Barral and Toufik Ayadi (SRAB Films)
		Associated Producers	Benoit Quainon Sylvie Pialat Antoine Pialat
		Editors	Flora Volpelière
		Director of Photography	Julien Poupard
		Costume designer	Marine Galliano
		Scriptwriter	Ladj Ly Giordano Gederlini Alexis Manenti
		Director	Ladj Ly
		Decors	Karim Lagati
		Sound engineer	Matthieu Autin Jérôme Gonthier

Awards and box office	Awards received		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Prix de la découverte Européenne aux Eurofilm awards 2019 - Prix du jury Festival de Cannes - Prix Vulcain de l'artiste technicien (editor and photography) - Prix of l'AFCAE (Association française des cinémas d'art et essai) - Festival du cinéma américain de Deauville 2019 : Prix d'Ornano-Valenti - Durban International Film Festival 2019 (best film and best script) - Goyas 2020: Meilleur film européen - Lumières de la presse internationale 2020: (best film, best script and révélation masculine Alexis Manenti) - César du public - César du meilleur film - César meilleur montage - César du meilleur espoir masculin à Alexis Manenti - French Syndicate of Cinema Critics 2020: Best film - Association of Polish Filmmakers Critics Awards 2020: best foreign film - Jerusalem Film Festival 2019: best international film - Athens International Film Festival 2019 : Greek Film Critics Association Award - Athens International Film Festival 2019: Audience Award - El Gouna Film Festival 2019: Audience Award - COLCOA French Film Festival 2019: Best first feature film
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			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Palms Spring International Film Festival 2020: directors to watch <p>https://www.imdb.com/title/tt10199590/awards/</p>
	Nominations		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - BAFTA 2021 : best foreign language film - Oscars 2020 : best foreign film - Golden Globes 2020 : best foreign language film - César 2020 : best director - César 2020: best actor for Damien Bonnard - César 2020: Best New Male Talent for Djibril Zonga - César 2020: Best Original Screenplay - César 2020: Best Photography - César 2020: Best Sound - César 2020: Best Original Music - César 2020: Best First Film - Critics choice Awards 2020: Best foreign language film - Houston Film Critics Society Awards 2020: best foreign language film - Denver Film Critics Society 2020: best foreign language film - Globe de Cristal Awards: Best film - CineEuphoria Awards 2020: 4 nominations - Awards Circuit Community Awards 2020 : best foreign language film - Grand Prix de l'UCC: grand price - Belgian Film Press Union: grand price - Huading Award 2020: 3 nominations

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - North Dakota Film Society Awards 2020: Best international feature - Turkish Film Critics Association (SIYAD) Awards 2020: Best foreign film - Columbus Film Critics Association : Best foreign language film - Hollywood Professional Association Awards 2020: outstanding sound - Cannes Palme d'Or 2019 - Cannes Golden Camera 2019: best director - International Cinematographer's Film Festival Manaki Brothers 2019: Golden Camera 300 - Philadelphia Film Festival 2019: Best first feature - Stockholm Film Festival 2019 : Best film - European Film Awards 2019: best European film - European Film Awards 2019: best European scriptwriter - Satellite Awards 2019: Best motion picture international film - Dallas-Fort Worth Film Critics Asssocation Awards 2019: best foreign film - North Texas Film Critics Association (US) : best foreign language film - Indiewire Critic's Poll Award 2019: Best first feature - Cahiers du Cinéma 2019, top 10 Film Award : Best film - San Sebastian International Film Festival 2019: Audience Award - San Francisco Bay Area Film Critics Circle: Best foreign film language film - British Independent Film Awards 2021 : best
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			<p>international independent film</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - London Critics Circle Film Awards 2021: Foreign language film of the year - Bodil Awards 2021: Best non-American film - David Di Donatello 2021: Best foreign film - Faro Island Film Festival 2021: best new director - Gopo Awards 2021: best European film - Palms Spring International Film Festival 2020: best foreign language film - Film Independent Spirit Awards 2020: best international film - Lumière Awards (France) 2020 : 7 nominations - Black Reel Awards 2020: 2 nominations <p>https://www.imdb.com/title/tt10199590/awards/</p>
	Critical Acclaim of (Acclaimed general press and acclaimed specialized film magazine)	Le Monde	<p>« Cannes Festival 2019: "Les Misérables" shocks the Croisette »</p> <p>https://www.lemonde.fr/culture/article/2019/05/16/festival-de-cannes-2019-les-miserables-de-la-liesse-a-la-haine_5462789_3246.html</p>
		New York Times	<p>“A movie torn from the pages of his life” (the Saturday profile)</p> <p>https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/06/world/europe/adj-ly-les-miserables-paris-film.html</p>
		The Washington Post	<p>“Victor Hugo’s ‘Les Misérables’ gets a starkly contemporary update in France’s exhilarating Oscar nominee” (review)</p> <p>https://www.washingtonpost.com/goingoutguide/movies/victor-hugos-les-miserables-gets-a-starkly-contemporary-update-in-frances-exhilarating-oscar-nominee/2020/01/14/09ea359c-</p>

			34c4-11ea-91fd-82d4e04a3fac_story.html
		The Guardian	NO
		Cahiers du Cinéma	« Les Misérables de Ladj Ly » Cover issue November 2019 Numéro 760 https://www.cahiersducinema.com/editions/editions-n760-novembre-2019-dernieres-sommations/
		Rottentomatoes (critics consensus)	“Les Misérables transcends its unwieldy story with compelling ideas and an infectious energy that boils over during a thrilling final act. » https://www.rottentomatoes.com/m/les_miserables_2020
		Los Angeles Times	« Review: ‘Les Misérables’ is compelling and terrifyingly real “ https://www.latimes.com/entertainment-arts/movies/story/2019-11-27/les-miserables-review
	Domestic Box-Office		2 181 860 euros https://www.jpbox-office.com/mobile/fichfilm.php?id=19782
	US Box Office		330 181 \$ https://www.jpbox-office.com/mobile/fichfilm.php?id=19782
	International Box-Office		17 735 846 \$ https://www.jpbox-office.com/mobile/fichfilm.php?id=19782
	International releases		59 countries https://www.unifrance.org/film/47617/les-miserables
	Total revenue		18 066 027 \$ https://www.jpbox-office.com/mobile/fichfilm.php?id=19782