

RESEARCH  
ARTICLE**Symbolic violence in social representations of blacks through American cinema , A reading between the past and the present****Boukhari Malika**

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**Abstract**

The study aimed to shed light on the social representations of blacks in the American cinema through various periods, whether in the past or even in the present. Indeed, it showed some models that presented blacks in the character of inferiority, directly or indirectly, through the roles assigned to them and also through the image they provide to more than 41 million black Americans. According to the paths that we propose in the study, it became clear to us the important number of social representations of blacks, which represent the alienation that blacks feel, as well as the huge amount of symbolic violence towards them and practiced through cinema, but it is presented in an implicit manner through cinema codes.

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**Introduction:**

The social representations conveyed in films through visual sequences are among the most important tools used by states to shape mental images of their own societies and to project stereotypical images of societies they view as hostile, inferior in the human hierarchy, or even as competitors for global leadership and chieftainship. These representations are often expressed through symbolic violence and vilification through "visual imagery. This symbolic violence may also target specific segments of domestic society, depending on the broader social and political context of these states.

American cinema is one of the most influential film industries in the world, using "visual representations" of social perceptions to present its strategic vision, which is in line with the political agenda of the United States. This applies not only to the degrading portrayals of other societies, such as Muslims, Arabs, Chinese, and Russians, but also to the portrayals of certain ethnic groups within American society itself, such as "Latinos" and "Chinese. Prior to these groups, African Americans, a significant demographic group with over 41 million people according to the 2020 Census, or about 12% of the total U.S. population, have historically been and continue to be portrayed in many films in a demeaning and negative manner, placing them in a lower tier of social representation.

Based on the above, we ask the following central question: What are the implications of symbolic violence in the representation of Black people through social representations in American cinema?

Through this research, we aim to examine the portrayal of Black people and their social representations in visual imagery, particularly in films produced by Hollywood since its early beginnings, where specific "social roles" have been assigned to them. We also seek to examine the relationship between the historical and social context of the United States and the racism associated with slavery, as well as the visual representations in which Black people have been portrayed. In addition, we shed light on black cinema, which emerged as a response to the stereotypical portrayals of black people.

Furthermore, this study aims to provide an analytical reading of the representation of Black people in American cinema, identifying the key techniques and characteristics used in Hollywood films to portray this segment of American society - one that has suffered from racial discrimination, slavery, and various forms of violence under the pretext of white supremacy. We also seek to present an anthropological and social framework for understanding the reality of black people in the United States, the consequences of the physical and symbolic violence inflicted upon them, and how cinema plays a role in reinforcing these racial disparities between people whose only difference is skin color and the historical circumstances that once made Black people slaves and White people masters.

To achieve the aforementioned objectives, we have adopted a descriptive approach that is undeniably based on analysis. Through this method, we have presented the general context of the blacks representation. Furthermore, we have used certain semiological readings as an approach to clarify the characteristics of these social representations and the symbolic violence conveyed through visual sequences that implicitly carry symbolic violence. This violence is not explicitly stated, but can be inferred from the overall context of the film, which reflects the director's vision, regardless of the justifications provided by the "dramatic context" or the overarching purpose of the storyline. In addition, we have relied on the historical method by incorporating testimony from sources that feature black filmmakers. This is also evident in the way we have outlined the key stages in the emergence of these social representations, as well as the manifestations of symbolic violence.

## 2. Definition of Key terms

Before exploring how symbolic violence against Black people is portrayed in American cinema, it is important to first, clarify the key terms and concepts relevant to this study, doing so will help establish a clearer understanding of the interconnected structure underling the central research question:

### 1.1 Symbolic violence

The concept of symbolic violence is one of the key concepts introduced by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, who argues that symbolic violence is not overt physical violence as we traditionally understand it, but rather a subtle and hidden form of violence (TANDRY, 2006, p. 85). The implicit nature of symbolic violence can manifest itself at various levels, including within state institutions themselves, as Bourdieu suggests in his analysis of symbolic violence in the sociology of education.

Furthermore, symbolic violence can be conveyed through "images" in the broad sense of media studies and mass communication. The danger of symbolic violence lies in the intellectual representations it conveys through images, which become deeply embedded in the minds of the audience, often perceiving them as unquestionable cultural and intellectual truths.

Expanding on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence, researcher Djamil Hamdaoui states that: "It is well known that there are two kinds of violence: physical violence, which involves causing physical, material, or organic harm to others, and symbolic violence, which is more subtle and operates through language, dominance, prevailing ideologies, and widely accepted beliefs. It can also manifest itself through insults, defamation, slander, religion, and the media, as well as through intellectual coercion. Pierre Bourdieu defines symbolic violence as a subtle, gentle and almost imperceptible form of violence, invisible even to its victims. It is exercised through purely symbolic means such as communication, the transmission of knowledge, and especially through recognition and acknowledgement - or, in its most extreme form, through emotion and intimacy" (Hamdaoui, 2017).

This is precisely the mechanism used in cinema, as it is rare to find films that do not have ideological or philosophical undertones. Cinema and visual imagery in general are among the most important and effective tools for shaping human categorization. As the Algerian critic Mohamed Ben Salah describes in his book *The Mediterranean Encyclopedia: The Cinematic Bridge* visual representation plays a crucial role in reinforcing human differences. He states: A collection of images forms a visual composition whose meanings become deeply ingrained in the human mind, especially when they are presented repeatedly - much like commercial advertisements that imprint products in the minds of consumers. (Salah, 2004, p. 42).

### Social Representations

Linguistically, the term "representations" derives from the Arabic root **MATHALA** which has several meanings: "to resemble someone to create an image or statue," or "to depict something through writing or other means so that it appears visible to the mind." The concept of representation involves the formation of an image in the mind, the perception of a concretized meaning for any mental action, or the conception of an example that replaces and stands in place of the original entity. (Al-Hadi, 2018, p. 143).

From a terminological perspective, the meaning of representations varies depending on the field of study. In psychology, it refers to a mental process through which knowledge is acquired, such as sensory perception and imagination. The term representation includes anything present in the mind or any tangible content of thought (Zuhair, 2021, p. 8).

In reality, imagination and mental images are formed and constructed through observations, most of which are visual. These observations later contribute to the formation of mental images or stereotypes through social representations. Given that our era is dominated by an overwhelming presence of visual imagery, it is undeniable that representations are heavily influenced by the multitude of images that flood the various platforms and screens we encounter daily.

Social representations of human groups align with the images, perceptions, and understandings conveyed through various tools—particularly cinema, which is one of the most influential means of mass communication. Cinema reflects these social representations through visual depictions that interact in a reciprocal relationship with prevailing social behavior. These depictions carry encoded symbolic meanings that become embedded in human cognition, ultimately reinforcing the dominant culture at the expense of marginalized cultures. This process mirrors other aspects of social existence, such as language, traditions, and cultural norms.

As Edward Sapir (1967) explains, "All cultural behavior follows specific models. In other words, what an individual does, thinks, and feels cannot be analyzed solely in terms of his biological patterns of behavior, but must be understood within the broader social context to which he belongs." In this sense, any classification of social behavior is based on preconceived notions that are later translated into cultural productions that in turn categorize and represent certain groups over others.

Technology has played a critical role in this dynamic. At the end of the 19th century, the world witnessed one of the greatest transformations in the media of cultural production. Photography, cinema, radio, television, printing, and recording all advanced rapidly during what was considered the modern era. It was also during this period that self-developing groups emerged to promote their own culture" (Taleb, 2000).

Here we refer specifically to the dominant groups that control these production structures, which promote one culture at the expense of others, ultimately marginalizing alternative cultures. This marginalization fosters a sense of inferiority and alienation among those who belong to these oppressed cultures, leading to the formation of stigmatized identities.

As Pierre Bourdieu (1994, p. 13) asserts, "The model of cultural oppression, established through power relations between social groups or classes within a given social structure, ultimately expresses, whether explicitly or implicitly, the material and symbolic interests of the dominant groups or classes seeking to consolidate their power".

### Social Representations of Black People Through Visual Perception of Images

In this study, we define social representations as the portrayal of behaviors and social attributes assigned to Black people in cinematic productions -that is, the collection of behaviors and characteristics through which stereotypical images of the Black race are constructed and reinforced.

### 3. The Social Representations of Black People Through Visual Perception

Black people have historically suffered and continue to suffer from the consequences of racial discrimination and social classification. As a result, protest and resistance movements arose in response to these injustices, including political struggles such as the Black Panther Party, which was formed after the assassination of Malcolm X. Prominent historical figures such as Martin Luther King Jr. also fought for black civil rights and advocated for equality and justice.

One of the most recent expressions of this struggle was the phrase "I Can't Breathe," which became a powerful global slogan in 2020. This phrase spread widely across the United States and beyond through social media following the viral video documenting the killing of George Floyd—a black man who suffocated after Police Officer Derek Chauvin (a white officer) pinned him under his knee. Floyd was suspected of using a counterfeit \$20 bill, a minor accusation that escalated into a fatal act of police brutality.

This tragic event reignited Black communities' rejection of their lived reality, particularly the excessive use of force by police against Black individuals, reflecting a continuing pattern of systemic racial violence.

"I Can't Breathe" became the slogan of the protests that swept across the United States, closely associated with the "Black Lives Matter" movement and its political and security-related repercussions in the country. This incident provides insight into racial conflict and the physical and symbolic violence endured by Black people in a nation where all its components are ethnically diverse—primarily due to its historical formation through immigration.

However, whites came to dominate as "masters" in contrast to blacks who were forcibly brought to America from Africa through the transatlantic slave trade. Thus, historical circumstances created a social structure in which the white man became the master, while the black man remained the enslaved.

It is important to emphasize that negative social representations pose a significant risk by reinforcing these inequalities in the general perception of society. As stated:

Social representations are a form of knowledge known as common sense and are characterized by the following features:

- Representations are socially constructed and distributed.
- They aim to organize and make sense of the environment (physical, social, and cultural).
- They contribute to the creation of a shared vision of reality within a social (group, category) or cultural context." (Zohir, 2021, p. 9)



### 1. Tom and Jerry: The Black Maid-White Lady Dichotomy

One of the earliest stereotypical representations of the black race was prominently featured in cartoons, which served as a medium for conveying sensory perceptions that shaped social representations of blacks. A clear example can be found in the animated cartoon series "Tom and Jerry," which depicted certain characteristics of the Black woman in a highly racist manner.

She is portrayed as overweight, dark-skinned to the extent that even her hands appear painted, short-tempered, and dressed in patched socks and multiple layers of clothing under her dress. Her social position in the household is strictly limited to the role of the "evil" maid with a deep, intimidating voice reinforcing a racially charged social representation. In addition, the show's creator deliberately avoids showing her face, instead reducing her to a mere physical presence and an eerie voice, performed by actress Hattie McDaniel.

In stark contrast, the white woman (the lady of the house) in Tom and Jerry is always portrayed as thin, well-groomed, and of high social status. Her "beautiful" face (according to American standards of beauty) is often shown, reinforcing the contrast between the two characters. The same visual contrast applies to the depiction of animals, such as the white, elegant female cat—often resembling the White Lady—which further emphasizes these racially charged social representations.

An image from the Tom and Jerry\* series showing the maid, a \*Black woman\*, with her stereotypical physical characteristics.

### 3.2 The Birth of a Nation and Griffith's Racism:

Griffith presented a highly racist portrayal in his 1915 film *The Birth of a Nation*, which is considered the first full-length American feature film to depict the American Civil War. His deep-seated racism and hatred of black people\*\* was evident in the social representations conveyed in the film's imagery. Griffith went so far as to refuse to cast black actors in black roles, instead employing white actors in blackface to portray them.

In addition, this racist film was banned from showing in Paris. Although it was scheduled to be shown in 1916, just a few months after its Los Angeles\*\* premiere, it was among the 145 films that were denied release. The likely reason for the ban was the film's depiction of violence, including scenes of Abraham Lincoln's assassination, lynchings, Civil War battles, attempted sexual assaults, and images of the dead.

The French film censorship committee also cited the film's racist portrayal of African-Americans that could offend black audiences, particularly the portrayal of characters such as Gus, Lydia Brown, and Silas Lynch, as well as the scene depicting \*\*Black members of the House of Representatives. The committee justified the ban in the context

of World War I, during which France relied on black soldiers from its African colonies. Officials feared that the film might disturb public order and undermine the war effort in France. (Spiers, 2019, p. 65)

(After the end of World War I, the committee eventually allowed the film to be shown in Paris)



**A scene from the 1915 film \*The Birth of a Nation**

directed by Griffith, showing black elected officials in the representative parliament. They are shown drinking, eating, and resting their feet on desks, symbolizing their savagery, ignorance, and other inferior traits attributed to blacks by the film and its director. (Spiers, 2019, p. 69).

### **3.3 The classic film Gone with the Wind**

The continued presentation of these social representations, which carry implicit symbolic violence, came as a response to the historical and political context of the United States. However, it continues to this day, albeit in less blatant and more subtle ways by those who create these visual representations.

In the classic 1939 film *Gone with the Wind*, beyond the plot, the roles assigned to black characters were inferior and portrayed through stereotypical visual representations. This is evident in the character of the maid, played by actress Hattie McDaniel, who was the only African American actress in Hollywood at the time. She was also the first African American to win an Oscar, although at the time she was denied entry through the same door as other actors and had to enter through a different door.

The film reflects the social representations of roles assigned to black people by depicting them in a subordinate position, often characterized by physical traits such as obesity. In addition, their speech patterns differ from those of white characters, reinforcing the distinctions in their portrayal. Although the film's historical context is rooted in slavery, its portrayal of black people goes beyond historical accuracy, shaping perceptions of them and justifying their continued inferior status. (\*Combis, 2020\*).

Note: In 2020, the film was removed from the HBO Max digital streaming platform following the murder of George Floyd and growing protests against racism around the world.





A scene from the movie *\*Gone with the Wind\**, an American movie produced in 1939  
and directed by Victor Fleming.

#### 4. Black people and revolutionary cinema:

Since the 1960s, following protests against racial discrimination in the United States, black people have used cinema as a tool of resistance and, more broadly, as a means of engaging with the media. This movement gained momentum after President John F. Kennedy proposed a political project to advocate for the enactment of fair civil rights laws. However, the proposal was initially rejected by Congress, only to be reintroduced and enacted by President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964.

Prior to this legislation, Kennedy had commissioned a committee chaired by Chicago's governor, "Kernar," to investigate the causes of these protests. The committee identified various forms of segregation and discrimination suffered by blacks in housing, employment, and education, among other areas. What stood out in the committee's report, however, was the stark absence of black representation in the media. Except for a few isolated cases, such as Sidney Poitier in the film industry and Jackie Robinson and Campanella in sports, blacks were rarely featured in newspaper articles, radio broadcasts, or television programs. This exclusion from the media landscape contributed to a deep sense of frustration in black communities and reinforced the perception that "white America" was indifferent to the existence and struggles of "black America." The committee concluded that this exclusion played a critical role in fueling racial tensions.

In response, institutions such as Ford and Carnegie sought to establish a television program that would address the needs and concerns of the black community in America while also serving as an information platform for white audiences who were largely unaware of black perspectives. This initiative led to the creation of *The Black Press* (Mullin, 1980, p. 57).

In the realm of cinema, the 1980s saw the emergence of black filmmakers such as William Graves and Pan Caldwell, who presented their films at the 1980 "Three Continents Festival" in Nantes, France. Often classified as independent cinema, these films did not necessarily share a singular vision, but rather presented different facets of the collective black experience. Through their work, these filmmakers sought to portray the suffering and marginalization endured by black individuals and their ancestors.

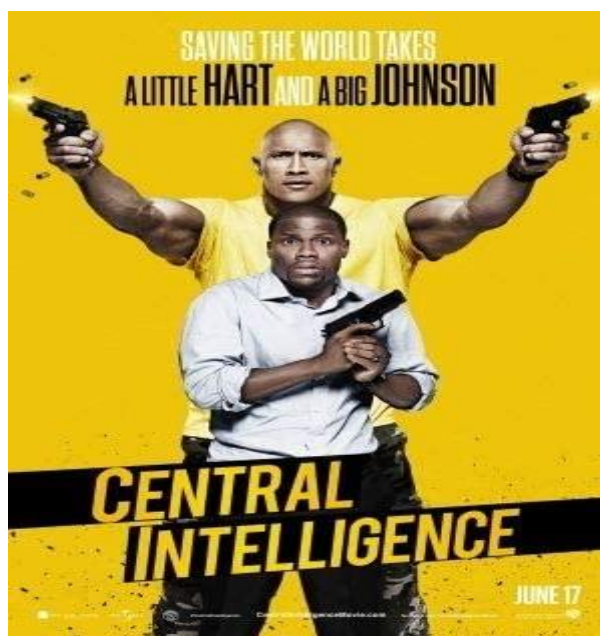
Cinema, as a cultural and ideological apparatus, plays a crucial role in shaping meanings and constructing narratives. According to Pierre Sorlin, "A film is not only a cultural product that reflects the orientations, inclinations, and affiliations of a particular social group, but also a collaborative production that embodies the strategic positioning of a collective within its socio-political context and its audience dynamics" (Sadiq, 2019, p. 19)

This was precisely the intention behind Pan Caldwell's cinematic work, particularly in his film *I & I*, where he sought to challenge racial prejudices. He stated, "The white man in the coffin in my film *I & I* represents America and all the men who raped our mothers in order to impose a new racial identity on black Americans. However, I balanced this representation with the son's love for his father and his desire to claim his paternal lineage. In this way, I wanted to reject the stigma associated with mixed-race individuals" (Mullin, 1980, p. 60). Caldwell is referring to "mulattoes," a term historically used to describe children born to a white father and a black mother. Even today, cinema continues to depict the difficult period of black life in the United States through films such as *The Help*, *12 Years a Slave*, *Hidden Figures*, *The Banker*, and others. However, these contemporary films cannot be classified as part of independent black cinema, either in terms of their production histories or their goals. Their primary focus is on depicting past events and highlighting racial issues without necessarily engaging in deeper political or ideological discourse. In addition, these films are predominantly directed by non-Black filmmakers and are largely profit-driven, in keeping with the commercial ethos of Hollywood. This is evident in the box office success of *12 Years a Slave*, which grossed over \$187 million worldwide.

In contrast, early Black revolutionary cinema embraced a multiplicity of narratives, often going beyond mere historical representation to explore themes of identity, roots, and global struggles. This broader perspective was championed by filmmaker Larry Clark, who stated:

"We've talked a lot about going back to Africa, but we have to understand that we've been isolated from the world for a long time. Some leaders have tried to give a global dimension to our work, as seen in films about Malcolm X or Martin Luther King. The real challenge is not only to understand our relationship to these issues, but also to feel what is happening elsewhere in the world, such as the resistance movements in South Africa. Because of our isolation in the 1960s, we lost our bearings, and we must now grasp the realities unfolding in other regions" (Mullin, 1980, p. 62).

#### 6. An Analysis of Representations of Symbolic Violence Against Black People in *Central Intelligence*



\*Poster of the film *Central Intelligence*, directed by Rawson Marshall Thurber, 2016.

It is undeniable that cinema plays a pivotal role in the construction of images and representations of various social groups, as previously discussed. As films are shaped by their political and cultural contexts, they function as



instruments of intellectual domination, using specific visual and narrative codes to create these representations. As Paquot (2019, p. 120) observes:

\*Since the birth of cinema, it has been engaged in the production of stereotypes and "genre. Especially in the silent era, the medium had to develop its own cinematic language-one that relied on visual grammar rather than spoken dialogue. This visual alphabet included gestures, movements, pacing, and close-ups, all of which conveyed emotions and reactions through universally understood subtexts, regardless of language barriers.

This visual language continues to be used in many Hollywood films to construct and perpetuate racial stereotypes. Black characters are often portrayed as gangsters or drug dealers, while Black women are often portrayed as "tall and overweight," reinforcing deeply ingrained physical stereotypes. While there are exceptions that conform to the American standard of beauty or the so-called "acceptable shade of black," the overall representation of black people in film remains limited.

Furthermore, black protagonists are significantly underrepresented compared to the invincible American hero, who is consistently portrayed as the savior of humanity against existential threats. Even when Black actors are cast in leading roles, they are rarely given complex or nuanced characters, with a few exceptions such as Will Smith and Denzel Washington. More alarmingly, when Black characters are cast as protagonists, they are often framed within the social archetype of the \*funny Black hero\*. This trope is exemplified in films like the \*Rush Hour\* trilogy, where Chris Tucker plays a co-leading role but is consistently positioned as the comic relief.

The stereotype of the \*funny black character\* is not merely comedic, but carries with it a deeper form of symbolic violence. Unlike comedic portrayals of white protagonists, where humor is often used to enhance their charisma, the comedic framing of black characters serves to trivialize them and reinforce their subordination within the cinematic hierarchy.

In reality, Hollywood has become increasingly cautious in its portrayal of black characters. However, it remains unable to break away from the tendency to present negative and derogatory social representations under the guise of comedy. This stereotypical classification is particularly evident in the film **Central Intelligence**, directed by Rawson Marshall Thurber. Despite a production budget of \$50 million, the film grossed over \$217 million, further demonstrating the commercial success of such racialized portrayals.

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Throughout the film, Kevin Hart's character is portrayed as confused, lacking confidence, and struggling with the dissonance between his current reality as an accountant and his former high school popularity. In addition, Hart's dialogue reinforces several racial stereotypes about black people, encapsulated in statements such as the following, made during his Student of the Year acceptance speech while addressing the high school principal:

- Honestly, if my mom was into white guys, it would have been you.

(This statement reflects an underlying discourse of racialized sexuality and inferiority, and exposes the lingering effects of colonialism and internalized subjugation that continue to shape Black identity today).

Other statements followed:

- I'm black; I don't watch that kind of movie. (This reinforces a social categorization of Black people, implying that their film preferences exclude certain genres).

- Black people don't go to therapy. (This perpetuates another stereotype that portrays black people as reluctant to seek professional mental health care.)

In addition, Calvin Joyner (played by Kevin Hart) is consistently portrayed as confused and lacking the courage to save the world and protect U.S. national security from a cyber attack on its satellite systems. Instead, he resorts to profanity and crude language to convey his fear. Throughout the film, he appears weak-willed and lacking in determination - traits that Hart has repeatedly embodied in other roles, most notably in the \*Jumanji\* franchise, where he is portrayed with similar characteristics.

The director has infused the film with an overwhelming number of social representations that are often tied to the physical representation of black people. However, by embedding these representations in comedy, they become more palatable to the audience, as opposed to serious representations that can be more easily identified and deconstructed. When symbolic violence is cloaked in humor, it becomes more digestible, yet it subtly constructs perceptions of social representations through both visual and non-visual codes embedded in the film's narrative. Moreover, most contemporary films prioritize commercial success and shy away from addressing issues that might critically examine these social representations. This phenomenon extends beyond the United States, influencing global cultural norms that seek to impose stereotypical images of the "other" while employing various forms of symbolic violence to disseminate these representations and mental constructs.

## 9. Conclusion:

From the foregoing analysis, it can be concluded that the representation of any social group through visual media is one of the most potent tools of contemporary symbolic violence. The representation of Black individuals in American cinema remains pervasive, albeit in a more sophisticated manner to avoid explicit classification as a form of symbolic violence.

American cinema continues to present distorted and stereotypical representations of Black characters, especially after the departure of many Black filmmakers from the industry due to financial constraints that hinder the development of a Black film industry competitive with Hollywood. As a result, what is currently being presented is merely a "historical retelling" of the hardships endured by Black individuals, while critical engagement with potential solutions and broader socio-political issues remains largely absent.

The comedic portrayal of Black actors often relies on physical markers such as short stature and a frail physique, as well as psychological traits such as confusion and unintentional humor.

Perhaps the most insidious feature is the attempt to portray black individuals from a white American perspective - one of the most prominent manifestations of symbolic violence. This reinforces the notion of assimilation to the white model, a concept previously analyzed by Frantz Fanon. The visual markers examined in this article further support this argument by demonstrating that Black individuals are consistently portrayed in a demeaning and violent manner that rejects their color and difference.

This white-imposed perception of Black individuals has been perpetuated through various platforms that shape visual representations, from animated films to depictions of successful Black figures-who, even when portrayed positively, are framed through the gaze of the dominant white male perspective.

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