

# Echoes of Poetic Realism in Matthieu Kassovitz's *La haine*

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**Abstract:** American mass culture and cinema exerted a decisive influence on Matthieu Kassovitz's *La haine* (1995). However, the importance of French cultural intertexts for this film has been less appreciated. I argue that 1930s French poetic realism provides a model for understanding Kassovitz's idiosyncratic approach to cinematic realism and to his representation of social tensions in the banlieues. I compare *La haine* to a subset of poetic realist films that include Julien Duvivier's *Pépé le Moko* (1937), Marcel Carné's *Quai des brumes* (1938), and Carné's *Le jour se lève* (1939).

**Keywords:** Matthieu Kassovitz – *La haine* – poetic realism – banlieue cinema – mass culture

Commentators of Matthieu Kassovitz's *La haine* (*Hate*, 1995) have often remarked upon the impact of American and African-American mass culture and cinema on the look and feel of the film. Kassovitz's transatlantic influences include Hollywood directors Francis Ford Coppola, Martin Scorsese, Brian de Palma, Quentin Tarantino, John Singleton, and Spike Lee, as well as American rap music and hip-hop culture (Vincendeau, *La haine* 73–74; Higbee, *Mathieu Kassovitz* 76–79; Doughty and Griffiths 122–23). Kassovitz's American references are both ubiquitous and self-conscious, but he also brings a series of French cultural intertexts into play. While most critics mention the influence of the French New Wave, particularly Godard, on *La haine*, Kassovitz's film also recalls art forms linked to early twentieth century working-class popular culture, such as the *chanson réaliste* [realist song] and French poetic realism.<sup>1</sup>

In this article, I argue that *La haine* draws on the stylistic resources of a subset of poetic realist films, namely Julien Duvivier's *Pépé le Moko* (1937) and Marcel Carné's *Quai des brumes* (*Port of Shadows*, 1938) and *Le jour se lève* (*Daybreak*, 1939). While the poetic realist corpus includes many more films, these three in particular cite and rework American films about early twentieth century immigrants, including 1930s gangster

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<sup>1</sup> Ginette Vincendeau and Dayna Oschweritz have suggested the connection between *La haine* and poetic realism without exploring it at length (Vincendeau, *La haine* 75; Oschweritz 108).

movies, as part of their drive to explore the fate of the French working class in a modernizing world. Poetic realism's emphasis on feeling and affect allows its directors to treat social problems forcefully but obliquely, and it is this very obliqueness that inspires Kassovitz in *La haine*. The film uses a hip-hop-inspired aesthetics of sampling and layering to integrate French and American cultural styles both past and present, one that both does and does not mirror the use of working-class popular song in poetic realist films. *La haine*'s famous scratching scene, in which DJ Cut Killer mixes "Nique la police [Fuck the police]" with Édith Piaf's "Non je ne regrette rien [No, I regret nothing]," makes a gesture similar to the interpolation of the *chanson réaliste* in Duvivier's *Pépé le Moko*. *La haine*'s treatment of space and masculinity, meanwhile, both aligns and does not align with films like *Pépé le Moko*, *Quai des brumes*, and *Le jour se lève*. Kassovitz's stylized use of cinematic space echoes the aesthetics of poetic realism, and his depiction of the banlieues contains important echoes of Duvivier's representation of a proto-banlieue space like the Kasbah. All four of these films examine the meanings of tough-guy masculinity through images circulating in American cinema. Finally, *La haine*'s melancholy, tragic story arc suggests a connection to the suicides that often ended poetic realist films. While Kassovitz's borrowings from early twentieth century French working-class culture are not as overt and self-conscious as his American references, they are nevertheless essential to the film's representation of the social problems confronting the banlieues.

### **Hip-hop meets the *chanson réaliste***

The aesthetics of hip-hop is fundamental to the Franco-American hybridity of Kassovitz's film. Rather than thinking about hip-hop in terms of ethnicity, race, or national belonging, in this article I will explore its compositional strategies. Cultural and legal theorist Richard Schur has criticized Anglo-American hip-hop scholarship because it "downplays [hip-hop's] production to focus on the violence, misogyny, or cultural nationalism of its lyrics" (46). For Schur, hip-hop as a form of music and performance art is based on sampling, the layering of samples, the flow and rupture of rhythms created through layering, and a use of parody and irony (43). Sampling and layering are modes of creative recontextualization that seek to transform and comment on pre-existing source materials without destroying the pleasures of listening to a song or dancing to a beat. Discussions of the impact of American hip-hop on *La haine* tend to concentrate on Kassovitz's use of rap, soul, and funk music in the soundtrack and his selection of recognizable visual markers from hip-hop culture, including B-boy clothing, graffiti/tagging, and breakdancing (Vincendeau, *La haine* 30–31; Tarr, *Reframing Difference* 63–64; Higbee, *Mathieu Kassovitz* 76–85). However, I would argue that Kassovitz's hip-hop aesthetics is fundamentally about the sampling and layering of cultural borrowings from both American *and* French popular culture.

The DJ scene, which incorporates a *chanson réaliste* into a rap song, presents the best case study for Kassovitz's aesthetic project.<sup>2</sup> *La haine* appropriates, blends, and layers samples of many different kinds in order to figure a popular, transnational French culture appropriate to a diverse and changing France. Sampling explores and reinterprets the past in order to produce new, hybrid meanings. The performance in the DJ sequence reflects the collaboration between DJ Cut Killer (who is the person mixing on screen) and the French hip-hop group Suprême NTM (NTM stands for Nique ta mère [Fuck your mother]). Cut Killer is wearing a Cypress Hill t-shirt, which references a West Coast hip-hop group that formed in the early 1990s. The song itself, "Nique la police," is primarily a French-language cover of American rap group NWA's 1988 song "Fuck da police." Indeed, the French song's title is a literal translation of the American one. The DJ sequence incorporates two other samples, one from KRS-One's "Sound of Da Police" (1993) and one from Édith Piaf's iconic "Non, je ne regrette rien."

Kassovitz's use of Édith Piaf has multiple meanings. "Non, je ne regrette rien" is Piaf's most recognizable song both in France and abroad (Bret 122), and thus its use in *La haine* suggests a concern with international accessibility. Piaf sang and recorded it in late 1960 at the height of the Algerian War, when French citizens were grappling with the question of what France would look like without its vanishing colonial empire (Burke 194). Members of the Organisation de l'armée secrète [Organization of the Secret Army] reportedly sang the song instead of "La Marseillaise" as they returned to France at the end of the war (Crosland 209). The OAS was a subset of French Army Officers who committed acts of terrorism to slow the process of decolonization when it became apparent that then-President Charles de Gaulle favored Algerian independence.

However, the song and its singer signified more than the difficulties of the Algerian War. As Ginette Vincendeau points out, Édith Piaf looks back to, and indeed represents the culmination of, the French *chanson réaliste* from the early twentieth century as figured by an earlier generation of singers including Damia and Fréhel. Vincendeau notes that the *chanson réaliste* tradition and French poetic realism shared a common iconography of working-class neighborhoods with their rainy cobblestone streets, *bals musettes* [village dances], unassuming buildings, and accordions ("The Mise-en-scène of Suffering" 107–8). Keith Reader characterizes the *chanson réaliste* and French poetic realism as parallel phenomena, both nostalgic for a vanishing France. He interprets Kassovitz's citation of Édith Piaf's song in *La haine* as an ironic gesture to the tradition's obsolescence (207). In a similar vein, Phil Powrie argues with respect to contemporary French cinema in general that the use of French songs from "historical periods" serves to evoke nostalgia "for a lost way of life under the pressure of Americanization,

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<sup>2</sup> Kelley Conway defines the French *chanson réaliste* [realist song] tradition as songs sung by "world-weary," "knowing," and sexualized women about "prostitution, urban poverty, and female desire." Active around the turn of the twentieth century, *chanteuses réalistes*, whom Conway characterizes as "ancestors" of Edith Piaf, were figures capable of uniting working-class communities (2).

nostalgia for the family that fragile ‘tribal’ communities are replacing” (“Soundscapes of Loss” 542).

I would suggest, however, that the presence of “Je ne regrette rien” in *La haine* marks not the *chanson réaliste*’s decadence or obsolescence, but rather its ongoing relevance for the late twentieth century as a model for how the affects and emotions of popular music and cinema can potentially model new forms of community and belonging. If the song were entirely obsolete, rap music would supplant it; rather, the opposite is true. The DJ’s performance begins with rap and Piaf’s song later takes over the foreground with the occasional “Nique la police” in the background. It is important to note that Kassovitz inverts the song’s associations from the Algerian War period. While it once was used to signify a lack of regret about the violence of the Algerian War and about the French colonial enterprise generally, in Kassovitz’s film, the generations of French citizens descended from France’s former colonial subjects suggest that they have no regrets about violent street riots as a form of social protest against a government and a dominant culture from which they feel excluded. Piaf’s song marks both their knowledge of French culture and situates their struggle within French history. Moreover, the presence of the *chanson réaliste* underscores the importance of emotion in *La haine*’s representation of social phenomena. Here, the song’s evident nostalgia comes into play. It is true that bleak modernist HLMs have replaced the pastoral iconography of working-class *faubourgs*, or working-class neighborhoods, familiar from poetic realist films like *Le jour se lève*, but the emotional tonalities of Interwar popular traditions nonetheless inform Kassovitz’s representation of the despair of late twentieth century France’s marginalized groups. With the interpolation of a sample from the *chanson réaliste* tradition, Kassovitz suggests an analogy between the historical struggles of the early twentieth century working class and those of the unemployed banlieue youth of the 1990s. Fundamentally, both groups share a lack of access to self-determination, solidarity, acceptable living conditions, and adequate employment in the wake of the alienating pressures of modernization, urbanization, and globalization.

The song also marks *La haine*’s complex Franco-American hybridity. Piaf’s song came out in 1960, a time of transition in French popular music. The *chanson réaliste* began to diminish in importance as jazz, rock, and the blues flowed to France from the United States. Johnny Hallyday, often called the French Elvis, said that he loved Édith Piaf and that her emotional style influenced him, even though her work seemed antithetical to the rock and jazz that were taking over pop music and that he himself was using in his songs (Burke 200–1). In an analogous manner, Kassovitz uses the song for its emotional mixture of melancholy and defiance. Poetic realist films from the 1930s like *Pépé le Moko* often incorporated *chansons réalistes* for the same reason.<sup>3</sup> The staging of the DJ sequence in *La haine* suggests rap’s ability to link people and urban space through music, and

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<sup>3</sup> For an overview of the contact and overlap between *chanteuses réalistes* and Interwar French sound cinema generally, see Conway 4–8.

Kassovitz's DJ performs a similar function to the DJ in Spike Lee's *Do The Right Thing* (1989). However, the scene also harks back to Jean Gabin's musical number on the rooftops of the Kasbah in Duvivier's *Pépé le Moko*, which creates a sense of community among the Kasbah's inhabitants. The Édith Piaf sample, moreover, echoes the function of the other musical number in Duvivier's film, "Où est-il donc [Where is it now?]," performed by French music hall legend Fréhel. "Où est-il donc" offers a melancholic take on the competing attractions of the modern city figured by the emigrant dream and the American gangster and traditional French working-class neighborhoods figured by typical community spaces, street foods, and public festivals. Fréhel's number represents the suffering occasioned by historical change and economic exclusion, and its themes bleed into the tragedy of the film's plot.

"Où est-il donc"'s refrain has generated significant scholarly interest,<sup>4</sup> as it evinces nostalgia for a long-lost past through a neighborhood version of the medieval *ubi sunt* trope: "Où est-il mon moulin de la Place Blanche / Mon tabac, mon bistrot du coin [Where's my windmill at Place Blanche / My tobacco shop, my corner bistro]."<sup>5</sup> The first verse, which has been less studied, takes on the idea of emigration to America as a potential escape for the French working class:

Y'en a qui vous parlent de l'Amérique  
 Ils ont des visions de cinéma<sup>6</sup>  
 Ils vous disent quel pays magnifique  
 Notre Paris n'est rien auprès de ça  
 Ces boniments là rendent moins timide  
 Bref, on y part, un jour de cafard...  
 Encore un de plus qui, le ventre vide  
 A New-York cherchera un dollar  
 Parmi les gueux et les proscrits,  
 Les émigrants au cœur meurtri;  
 Il dira, regrettant Paris...  
 [Some people talk about America  
 They see it at the cinema  
 They tell you how magnificent it is  
 Our Paris just can't compare  
 That kind of talk makes them bold  
 When they're feeling blue, they leave

<sup>4</sup> The best discussion of Fréhel in *Pépé le Moko* is Conway 95–101.

<sup>5</sup> The translation of "Où est-il donc?" is based on the subtitles with the Criterion DVD release of *Pépé le Moko*, but I have modified it when I found it misleading. Translations of French sources in this article are mine unless otherwise noted.

<sup>6</sup> American gangster films the likely reference point for Fréhel's "visions de cinema," which suggests another point of comparison to *La haine*.

Just one more who will, with an empty stomach,  
 Go scrounging for dollars in New York  
 Among the criminals and the outcasts,  
 And the emigrants with broken hearts  
 He will say, regretting Paris...]

Crucially, Fréhel listens to this first verse, associating it with mechanical reproduction and mass culture; she only begins to sing along when the nostalgic refrain begins. The play between voice and reproduction in *Pépé le Moko* evinces nostalgia for live performance (see Figure 1). In *La haine*, a similar dynamic is at work. In the DJ sequence, the strategic use of samples and the scratching together of songs and beats is itself a live performance that fosters community (see Figure 2). According to David Looseley, rap's sampling aesthetic was originally intended to allow would-be rappers to make music with minimal training and equipment (55). In this reading, sampling is a democratic musical form that does not require years of study in order to master instrumental, vocal, or compositional techniques. *La haine's* sample of Édith Piaf taps both into the *chanson réaliste's* perceived democratic nature and its nostalgia for "authentic" emotion communicated through performance.

While the Édith Piaf sample is an overt reference to the *chanson réaliste* tradition and to early twentieth century working-class culture, Kassovitz's layering of aesthetic techniques borrowed from poetic realism is more subterranean. "Poetic" elements are essential to the flow and feeling of Kassovitz's film, what I would call the film's deep rhythmic structure. *La haine's* way of treating the social obliquely, through style rather than substance, is the very essence of poetic realism. When I speak of "poetic realist cinema," I am referring to the body of working-class tragedies produced during the Popular Front era that immediately preceded World War II. These films have a chiaroscuro aesthetic and a pervasive sense of pessimism, and they are famous for their stylized reproductions of working-class spaces. They do not reflect working-class reality in any documentary sense; rather, they reconstruct it in studios and on soundstages for bourgeois as well as popular audiences. Jean Gabin is the tradition's most recognizable lead actor, and he meets his death in a number of tragic scenarios. In poetic realism, the past of France is always more attractive than its present, young love is doomed, and the working class lives in the shadow of annihilation. Whether the enemy is rich capitalists, the coming war, or industrialization, working-class protagonists struggle against forces much greater than themselves, only to be swallowed by the films' overwhelming bleakness.

Kassovitz brings some of this style and spirit to *La haine*. He gestures explicitly to the influence of Popular Front cinema on his work in a 1995 interview with the French magazine *Les Inrocks*: "Ce n'est certainement pas le cinéma américain qui a inventé le cinéma social, mais plutôt les Français, les Anglais, les Italiens... Ce ne sont pas les Américains qui auraient fait *La belle équipe* et tous les films sur le Front Populaire.

[It certainly wasn't American cinema that invented social cinema, but rather the French, The English, the Italians... It's not the Americans who would have made *They Were Five* and all the films about the Popular Front]" (Kaganski, Blumenfeld, and Kassovitz). Crucially, Kassovitz marks his interest in what he calls "the social" as French and European rather than American. His remark about the Popular Front is almost certainly a reference to poetic realism, as Duvivier's 1936 film *La belle équipe* [*They Were Five*], about a trio of workers who win the lottery and open up a *guinguette* [café, dance hall, and bar], belongs to the poetic realist corpus. For Kassovitz, the category of "social film" as developed in France includes the highly stylized yet critical approach of poetic realism.

### Figural Realism and Cinematic Space in the Banlieues

The aesthetics of poetic realism offer the best way to understand Kassovitz's idiosyncratic take on realism in *La haine*, which has long proved difficult to classify with respect to historical trends in French cinema. While it was in response to this film that critics first began to refer to "banlieue cinema" as a film genre (Konstantarakos), *La haine* differs greatly from its predecessors in terms of style. Previous films about the banlieues (often made by second-generation French of North African origin) use what Carrie Tarr has called a "low-key social realism" (*Reframing Difference* 15). *La haine*, by contrast, is a virtuosic exercise in stylization and intertextuality. René Prédal, in his book on the young cinema of the 1990s, calls *La haine* unclassifiable because it mixes modes as diverse as the allegorical fable, the realistic official government report, anarchist agit-prop, and vaguely leftist humanism (116). Phil Powrie notes that government ministers watched *La haine* to "understand" the banlieues,<sup>7</sup> but he cautions that the film is "not particularly representative of 'a return to the real'" (*French Cinema in the 1990s* 17).

Following Jean Mitry, Dudley Andrew has described poetic realism's aesthetics as one that "maintains contact with social experience analogously, not directly; it models social experience by means of a cinematic experience that chemically transforms whatever facts make up its climate" (15). Kassovitz uses similar analogic techniques, particularly in his stylized treatment of banlieue space. In contrast to poetic realist directors, whose elaborate studio sets became essential to the style, Kassovitz shot part of *his film* in a real cité, Chanteloup-les-Vignes (Vincendeau, *La haine* 15). Reconstructed locations afforded poetic realist directors maximal control over the image, allowing a selection and condensation of detail that maximized expressive effect. Kassovitz is able to achieve these abstract, expressive effects while shooting on location. In the film, Kassovitz never reveals the identity of the cité, allowing the images to become unmoored from geographic space and historical time. Kassovitz offers a generic iconographic typology of the French *banlieues*: HLM apartment buildings, courtyards,

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<sup>7</sup> On this point, see also Vincendeau, *La haine* 84–85.

playgrounds, deserted parking lots, a grocery store, a police station, and cramped apartment interiors. Even the aerial shot of the cité during the DJ sequence does not offer any terrain markers that would allow viewers to situate it in the geography of Paris' suburbs. Kassovitz's purported reason for this choice was that the town wanted no publicity about the shooting location (Vincendeau, *La haine* 15). However, by reducing the cité to set of striking architectural forms, Kassovitz enables the cité to stand for the *banlieues* and their social ills in general rather than a real place and time. *La haine* could be set in any French *banlieue*.

Taking inspiration from poetic realism, Kassovitz aestheticizes images of the *cité* rather than representing them as "real." He chooses not to use film stock with the characteristic grain and smaller contrast ratio of documentary film.<sup>8</sup> In interviews, Kassovitz has said that he wanted to contest the rough and dirty images that had characterized the French *banlieues*, particularly on television. He wanted his film to be beautiful, and consequently he would only make *La haine* once he had secured a generous budget (Vincendeau, *La haine* 14). Furthermore, he chose to print the film in black and white, recalling the look of poetic realism and effectively abstracting the cité for a mid-1990s audience habituated to color film. French poetic realist directors accomplished a similar effect by adapting the chiaroscuro cinematography of German Expressionist films like *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (1920). Stylization in poetic realism comes from the framing, choreography, and play of light and dark in the images of otherwise "realistic" objects and locations. In a similar manner, Kassovitz stylizes a realistic location through cinematography and *mise-en-scène* in order to highlight the space's "poetry," which coexists with the characters' squalor, despair, and boredom. In a key moment early in *La haine*, the three main characters sit on stones in a public park while listening to a young boy recount an anecdote about the French version of *Candid Camera* (see Figure 3). The dialogue of this scene has no implications for the film's plot, but the framing and composition of the shot tie into *La haine's* key themes. In addition to being an arresting image, the oblique lines of the park's building obscure the sky and entrap the trio, suggesting their isolation in the *banlieue*.

Kassovitz also distances himself from documentary realism when he eschews handheld camerawork in favor of the lyrical sweeps that characterize Steadicam. In a particularly striking example from early in the film, Kassovitz cuts to a tracking shot of the French riot police in the foreground as they approach the trio through a narrow alley between HLM buildings. The characters talk about the riots while evading the cops. The vertical lines of the buildings and windows create a jail-like visual claustrophobia that serves as a metaphor for the sense of entrapment the police bring to the space. This scene and other long take shots in *La haine* are the lyrical equivalent of the extended crane or tracking studio shots in Carné's films *Quai des brumes* and *Le jour se*

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<sup>8</sup> As a counter example to Kassovitz's unconventional *banlieue* film aesthetics in *La haine*, Will Higbee discusses Jean-François Richet's hand-held camera and quasi-documentary style in *Ma 6-T va crack-er* (*My City is Going to Crack*, 1997). See Higbee, "Screening the 'Other' Paris" 204–5.

*lève*. For example, in *Quai des brumes*, when the colonial deserter Jean and the local ingénue Nelly walk the streets of Le Havre, Carné uses extreme wide shots that reveal as much about the docks as the characters. After an initial establishing shot that dwarfs the human figures in it, Carné cuts to wide shot of a freighter anchored next to the dock and then pans left to follow the mooring cables attached to the bollard. He ends the camera movement with a framing of Nelly and Jean sitting at the edge of the docks, talking. Thick ropes metaphorically suggest their entrapment (see Figure 4).

In poetic realism, style is the emotional conduit for the characters and their problems, and the carefully constructed images suggest a tragic melancholy that transcends the films' immediate social context. For example, the scene that introduces Jean Gabin's sandblaster character in *Le jour se lève* works on three independent but mutually reinforcing levels. First, at a literal level, it represents the everyday work of sandblasting, highlighting the full-body safety suit and the need to drink milk. Second, at a figural level, it likens François' working-class despair at the modern factory to the ill effects of inhaling sand. François, the metaphor suggests, is tainted. Third, at an aesthetic level, the image has been calculated so that layered grays stand out against the white of the milk. The same three levels are at work in *La haine's* early scene in which Saïd and Vinz find Hubert at his burned-out boxing gym. Kassovitz leaves his camera on the far side of the parking lot as Vinz and Saïd cross a space devoid of cars. On the first level, the building looks very much like a dilapidated big box store. On the second level, Kassovitz accentuates the emptiness of the space by tracking Vinz and Saïd and then fixing his camera in space as if stuck in the adjoining gas station's pump. The camera stays wide, looking at the characters from the outside and transforming the parking lot into a metaphor for the social and economic devastation of the *banlieues*. No one in the *banlieues* is able to move, for lack of cars and gas. Third, Kassovitz composes the image with visually striking foreground and background elements that emphasize the distance Vinz and Saïd must cross. A mix of dark elements in the foreground and light elements in the background provide a visual contrast that is reminiscent of poetic realist technique.

*La haine* also freely mixes objective and subjective perspectives in a way that evokes the aesthetic of 1930s poetic realism. While *La haine* foregrounds a trio rather than a single protagonist as the point of identification, Kassovitz does focalize on individual members of the trio and juxtapose their inner and outer worlds. One of the ways in which Dudley Andrew defines poetic realism is as a "sensibility that opens the pores of the screen to allow free passage from the outer to the inner" (38). In *La haine*, Kassovitz's fluid, mobile camera and long takes blur the boundary between objective and subjective narration. Kassovitz used wide-angle lenses in the cité sequences to place the characters in the space of the banlieue (Konstantarakos 163), but it is the close-ups of the trio's eyes that anchor them to the spaces and link the expressivity of Kassovitz's mise-en-scène to the ways the characters feel about those spaces. One of the most salient examples occurs during the scene just after the opening riot footage sequence.

Framed in a wide shot, Saïd stands in front of the police station with his eyes closed as the camera pushes in on his face. On the soundtrack, viewers hear a low rumbling noise that codes for inner space. As the camera holds a close up of Saïd's face, he opens his eyes and realistic ambient sounds erupt onto the soundtrack. Kassovitz cuts to what looks like the matching reverse angle, a languorous tracking shot that reveals the CRS riot police guarding the cité's police station. Saïd's closed eyes suggest that he is attempting to shut out the reality of what is happening around him, a reading echoed by the film's ending, in which the camera again pushes in on Saïd as he closes his eyes and the sound of a gunshot explodes in the soundtrack. The contrast in the opening scene between the bucolic bird song on the soundtrack and the long line of riot police in the frame heighten the sense of disjuncture. As the camera inspects the officers and passes by a large van, the sound of a squeaking marker rises from the background. The shot ends by revealing Saïd writing "Fuck the police" on the rear door. What began as a classic point of view shot ends by retrospectively revealing a temporal ellipsis and returning to objective narration. Kassovitz's play with the movement between subjective and objective narration juxtaposes a sense of menace with Saïd's playful protest. This type of bait-and-switch ellipsis is also present in Carné's *Quai des brumes*. When Jean first arrives in Le Havre, the scene in which he meets a drunk in the streets contains a shift in which what was ostensibly a subjective POV shot turns out to be an objective shot with ellipsis. In both cases, the unexpected ellipsis indexes danger for the character.

There are other moments in *La haine* in which Kassovitz complicates the single point of view, offering a composite or shared subjectivity that gives the spaces in the film an affective charge. When Vinz and Hubert await Saïd's release from the police station, they stand inside as the camera makes a slow 360-degree tracking shot around them. The same rumbling sounds with a faint, intermittent heartbeat code for inner space, but this time the realistic sounds of the police station are overlaid with the inner sounds. Kassovitz slows down the tracking shot's image speed, creating a lyrical lethargy that codes for menace as the various police officers stare at the banlieue residents. The tracking shot begins tight on Vinz's eyes and ends on a similar framing of Hubert, suggesting that their dread is shared, not specifically tied to either character. Again, eyes link the emotions encoded in the *mise-en-scène* to the spaces in the film. Because these feelings are never definitively rooted in character, they circulate to the viewer. Kassovitz's purposeful lack of POV attribution represents certain feelings as shared, or even impersonal, responses to a difficult living situation. In this way, Kassovitz's camera, editing, and sound design freely pass between subjective and objective, imbuing space with affect through a visual and aural lyricism that echoes French poetic realism.

Kassovitz's *La haine* and poetic realist films also resemble each other in their focus on marginalized characters and spaces. The characters of poetic realist films are often workers, the urban poor, or criminals. The setting of *Quai des brumes* is the port city of *Le Havre*. Many of its scenes are set in the marginalized space of Panama's bar, where the down on their luck gather. *Le jour se lève* is set in a working-class apartment building

and surrounding neighborhood. Edward Turk explains that contemporary audiences mistook the studio location for the Parisian *working-class suburbs* (161). *Pépé le Moko* chooses another marginalized space to reconstruct in the studio, the Kasbah, the indigenous neighborhood of the colonial capital of Algeria. Duvivier depicts it as a struggling but diverse neighborhood in which Algerian Arabs, immigrants from all over the world, and French criminals live.

Duvivier's treatment of the Kasbah is particularly interesting when compared to *La haine*. Although ethnic Arabs must perforce be the majority in Algiers, the film represents them as a minority, separated by both physical barriers and culture from the modern, French-influenced parts of the city. The Kasbah is a proto-banlieue space both because of its isolation and because the colonial authorities, including the police, have little power within its confines. In her study of the cultural politics of architecture in colonial-era Algiers, Zeynep Çelik reproduces a 1930s aerial photograph of the Kasbah and the adjacent French neighborhood. The Kasbah is a dense, thick tangle of small buildings and barely discernable streets, whereas the French quarter contains wide boulevards bordered by tall buildings (3). Duvivier reproduces this labyrinthine geography both through a map in the police chief's office and in the claustrophobic framings of the Kasbah scenes. Much of the film's narrative concerns Pépé's desire to escape the Kasbah; it is a refuge for the gangster but also a prison. Pépé's escape ultimately fails. He is apprehended and commits suicide in the Marine Quarter, a space visually coded as "French" in its openness, modernity, and Gallic architecture. Like *Pépé le Moko*, banlieue films typically feature an attempted escape from the cité to another space, often central Paris (as in *La haine*) or the sea (as in Mehdi Charef's 1985 film *Le thé au harem d'Archimède* [*Tea in the Harem*]).

In *La haine*, Kassovitz keeps his cité visually separate from Paris, and his trio takes a train ride on the RER to reach the city center. The first image of Paris is a wide boulevard near the Montparnasse train station. The trio stands above the streets by a staircase in an image that evokes Pépé's descent down the Kasbah's stairs to Algiers' Marine Quarter (see Figures 5 and 6). While Duvivier's depiction of the Kasbah's medieval warren of streets contrasts with Kassovitz's evocation of modernist HLM buildings, Çelik explains that urban architecture in Algiers was in fact defined by large public housing projects from the 1930s on. These "grands ensembles" were designed to keep the Algerians separate from Europeans, but they also sought to modernize their living conditions (7). Çelik calls attention to the continuities between urban planning in Algeria and in the metropole (9), and it is possible that the modernist house projects in Algeria represent a dry run for the architecture of the 1960s and 1970s *villes nouvelles* [new cities] that have come to define the French banlieues. Duvivier's treatment of the architectural and cultural separation of the Kasbah from the French quarter represents an early version of the treatment of suburban space in banlieue films like *La haine*. The colonial space in *Pépé* and the neo-colonial space of the banlieues in *La haine* are marked

as economically marginalized, culturally distinct, and troublesome for the disciplinary forces of law and order.

The policing of borders between city center and periphery extends to culture as well as space. Both Duvivier and Kassovitz's films feature Arab characters that have chosen to work with the law, Slimane in *Pépé le Moko* and the plainclothes detective in *La haine*. Pépé's assimilation anxiety, moreover, parallels Vinz's uncertain positioning as a white Jew living in the banlieue. Yosefa Loshitzky has argued that Vinz's Jewishness raises important questions about the minority status of post-Holocaust Jews in contemporary France. Vinz represents a choice this community must make: they can either align themselves with the postcolonial ethnic minorities (North Africans, Sub-Saharan Africans) in the banlieues or "pass" as assimilated, "white" French Jews (Loshitzky 146). Sven-Erik Rose raises similar questions, arguing that the film self-consciously interrogates Vinz's position of being "off-white" (486). Duvivier triangulates Pépé's own off-white identity between Inès, his dark-skinned gypsy girlfriend, and Gaby, his white French lover.<sup>9</sup>

### Realism and Reception

Beyond the cinematography, the mise-en-scène, and the cinematic treatment of space, *La haine*'s relationship to the history and socio-economic context of the French banlieues also has important parallels with French poetic realism. As topical as Kassovitz's film felt upon its release, the time and setting remain vague. Though *La haine*'s costumes and production design offer clues, the film's setting cannot be pinpointed to a specific day, week, or year. *La haine* deliberately positions itself as a film about the eternal, cyclical conflict between the forces of power and those living at the margins.

Kassovitz's oblique treatment of history resembles that of Marcel Carné in *Le jour se lève*. Carné's police officers wear vaguely Germanic uniforms, alluding to the impending crisis on every 1939 viewer's mind without making the reference explicit or deterministic.<sup>10</sup> André Bazin reproached the realism of *Le jour se lève* for its distance from history and politics (97). Similarly, Kassovitz does not appeal to concrete historical causes or political projects. Rather, he builds the film's narrative around anti-police and anti-establishment sentiments that could emerge from a variety of places and time periods.<sup>11</sup> In *La haine*, one of the few historical references is the image of the Bosnian

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<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of assimilation anxiety in *Pépé le Moko*, see Kennedy-Karpat 26–32.

<sup>10</sup> For a full discussion of the costume design details, see Turk 161–62. Turk also discusses a scene that was cut from the final film in which a discussion between police officers makes the historical references more explicit.

<sup>11</sup> In a related vein, Carrie Tarr argues that the *La haine* is not principally concerned with issues of ethnicity, but with class and social marginalization ("French Cinema and Post-Colonial Minorities" 77–78).

crisis on the train station's TV monitors near the end of the film. This clip does place *La haine* in the 1990s, but it also broadens the film's themes beyond French borders, placing the conflict in an allegorical space of genocide. In the bathroom scene, the character Grumwalski's enigmatic references to Siberian work camps and by extension the Holocaust further serve to unmoor the conflicts of *La haine* from the specificity of time and space.

*La haine's* topicality is the product of reception rather than a feature of the film itself. As Vincendeau has noted, violent images of the banlieues and riots saturated TV screens and front pages in the early 1990s (*La haine* 24–25). Audiences made the connection with *La haine* without being prodded. Ashwani Sharma and Sanjay Sharma note that Kassovitz does not “situate the racialized crisis of the banlieues as the product of decolonization in France and contemporary postcolonial social relations” (111). He offers no history of the banlieues, treating neither the utopic *villes nouvelles* nor the construction of HLMs, nor the economic crises of the 1970s and 1980s. In connection, the film's use of music may seem topical, but in fact this is an illusion. As Sharma and Sharma point out, Kassovitz's soundtrack is not defined exclusively by 1990s gangsta rap. Kassovitz does employ some gangsta rap, but what predominates is “a thoughtful and knowledge mixture of soul, funk, and rap” drawn from the 1970s to the 1990s (113).

*La haine* exists, then, in an eternal present tense that mid-1990s French audiences matched to the world around them. The film *felt* real, as anxieties surrounding the French banlieues were heavily mediatized. Just like the audience of *La haine*, 1930s viewers understood poetic realist films as topical and historical despite their purposeful vagueness. For example, 1930s film critic Émile Vuillermoz wrote that “[c]e tableau d'Alger [dans *Pépé le Moko*] peint par des Français est plus éloquent que n'importe quel article de polémique. La France s'avoue elle-même indigne de posséder et incapable d'administrer un empire colonial. [this picture of Algiers (in *Pépé le Moko*) painted by the French is more eloquent than any polemical article. France reveals herself to be unworthy of possessing and incapable of administering a colonial empire].”<sup>12</sup> Critics and politicians went so far as to blame the bleak pessimism of *Quai des brumes* for the debacle of the French capitulation to the Germans at the start of the Occupation (Turk 114–15). Such a statement is clearly exaggerated and even ridiculous if thought of as an accurate statement of historical cause, but it does index the e/affect of poetic realist films in their historical moment, the extent to which they figured the social anxiety and unease of late 1930s France. Kassovitz opts for a similar mode of approaching the social ills of the banlieues in *La haine*.

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<sup>12</sup> *La cinématographie française*, no. 1032, August 12, 1938.

## Masculinity in Mass Culture

In addition to the treatment of space and time, *La haine* also echoes poetic realism in its exploration of working-class masculinity through models provided by American mass culture. Following Judith Butler's influential account of gender as inherently performative (33), Todd Reeser has argued that masculinity in general possesses no original, authoritative model. Rather, it is an individualized and shared performance that draws on previously existing models circulating within a given culture or space. Akin to a style, masculinity takes shape through the ritualized repetition of corporeal practices and codes by individuals over time (81–85). *La haine* and the poetic realist films I discuss here share a preoccupation with adjudicating upon appropriate and inappropriate forms of masculinity, especially tough, virile versions of masculinity among France's marginalized classes. They juxtapose different images of masculinity through their contrasting male characters, and they self-consciously engage with images of tough-guy masculinity circulating in the media of their respective cultural moments.

*La haine* measures the appropriate balance of tough-guy hardness and vulnerability, and this duality has a history in the representation of gangster figures in poetic realism. In the same way that Kassovitz softens the hard, violent edges of masculinity represented in American films about the urban ghetto, French poetic realist directors like Marcel Carné and Julien Duvivier tempered the images of brutal and violent men that they adapted from early 1930s American urban gangster films like *Little Caesar* (1930), *The Public Enemy* (1931), and *Scarface* (1932). While the poetic realist films I discuss here try to hide the artifice of masculinity as performance for the central Jean Gabin character, Kassovitz in *La haine* seeks to highlight that artifice.

France produced one genuine Gallic gangster film in the 1930s, Julien Duvivier's 1937 film *Pépé le Moko*, which Vincendeau credits as the Ur-text for all post-war French crime films. Writing about the differences between the French and American gangster models, Vincendeau notes that the French version is more "romantic" than the American one (*Pépé le Moko* 49–51). While American gangsters may resemble the dandy in their style of dress, they tend to emphasize brutality over refinement. The gangster may desire fine things, but business always comes first.<sup>13</sup>

Ginette Vincendeau has argued that the other male characters in *Pépé le Moko* who surround Pépé represent excessive versions of masculinity. Their excess serves to demonstrate that Pépé possesses these same qualities (anger, violence, refinement, effeminacy), but in proper moderation ("Community" 31–32). In addition to particular emotions, the other male characters in the film serve to construct Pépé's particular embodiment of the gangster figure. Vincendeau herself notes elsewhere that the Gaston Modot character Jimmy's garish costume offers a visual caricature of the American

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<sup>13</sup> For a longer discussion of the differences between French and American gangsters in the interwar period, see my forthcoming book *Americanism, Media and the Politics of Culture in 1930s France* (University of Wales Press).

gangster that contrasts with P  p  's elegant dress (*P  p   le Moko* 43–44). Duvivier's camera focuses several times on P  p  's tailored suits and even self-consciously pans up and down in an elevator gaze to reveal P  p  's spectator wingtips, a stark contrast to the poorly chosen clothing of the other members of his gang (see Figure 7).<sup>14</sup> For example, Pierrot, P  p  's surrogate son in the film, tries to play the tough guy, but his ill-fitting suit calls attention to his youthful na  vet   and awkwardness. What is more, his sentimentality leads to his death when the Arab owner of a local bar orchestrates his capture by police by pretending that Pierrot's mother is ill. In his naivet  , Pierrot prefigures P  p  's own downfall.

Despite the importance of these other figures, Carlos offers the strongest contrast that serves to construct P  p  's Gallic gangster. Despite his working-class costume and Spanish origins, Carlos offers a simulacrum of the American gangster figure. His personality and attitude evoke Rico from *Little Caesar*, Tony Camonte from *Scarface*, and Tom Powers from *The Public Enemy*. He is quick to anger, always ready to draw a gun, and obsessed with financial gain. Carlos' brutality prevents him from developing the style and taste that Duvivier associates with the more humane gangster P  p  . By contrast, Duvivier represents P  p   as sentimental, fashion-conscious, even aristocratic. P  p   can be hard in word or deed, but only when circumstances demand it. His story is an overt imitation of Howard Hawks's *Scarface*, but Duvivier revises certain aspects of the American gangster's personality. P  p   views thievery and gangsterism as both an art form and an artisanal trade. P  p   runs his gang more like a family than a business, as we see in his fatherly treatment of the young Pierrot. The film's valorization of the familial over the competitive aspect of the gangster maps the Gallic version of the archetype onto the proletarian hero and evokes a sense of working-class solidarity.

Unlike *P  p   le Moko*'s focus on the Jean Gabin character, Kassovitz places a trio at the heart of his film, allowing for a more prismatic and ambivalent examination of tough-guy masculinity. Whereas a female character causes both P  p  's downfall and that of the working-class trio in Duvivier's earlier *La belle   quipe*, Kassovitz largely excludes women from his version of the banlieues. Each main character embodies a different form of masculinity, and the same personal qualities are at issue in both *La haine* and *P  p   le Moko*. Though he is not as refined as the Grandp  re character in *P  p   le Moko*, Sa  d constructs his masculinity through language. For example, in the rooftop sequence, Sa  d attempts to use persuasion rather violence to get himself a hot dog. When that fails, he steals it and runs away rather than confront the vendor directly. In Sa  d's police interrogation scene, Kassovitz also recycles cultural stereotypes about the effeminacy of Arab men. With his penchant for language and his supposedly "feminine" looks, Sa  d resembles the Slimane character from *P  p   le Moko*. Hubert and Vinz, by contrast, present (or try to present) a harder exterior to others and have direct recourse to violent

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<sup>14</sup> For an analysis of how P  p  's costumes shade into the pimp, see Vincendeau, *P  p   le Moko* 42–46.

means. In their heated discussions about the appropriate use of violence, Hubert and Vinz in *La haine* resemble P  p   and Carlos. Vinz declares that he will kill a cop to avenge Abdel’s death, while Hubert argues that the death of one more police officer will do nothing to stop the cycle of violence.

Hubert displays his perfect understanding of Vinz when he implies that the latter’s tough-guy persona is an act. For Vinz, as for P  p  , masculinity is about style, surface, and the imitation of American models. Posters of action heroes Sylvester Stallone and Arnold Schwarzenegger adorn the wall of Vinz’s bedroom. Media representations are especially important to understand masculinity as performance because, as Reeser explains, they simultaneously “reveal a form of masculinity that already exists in culture” and “construct (or help construct) the masculinity that they depict in culture” (25). The importance of American cinema for the construction of Vinz’s masculinity is clearer in *La haine*’s original script than in the final film. Myrto Konstanarakos points out that according to the script, Vinz was supposed to see American movies featuring Schwarzenegger and Stallone during his peregrinations through the Parisian multiplex. The script also mentioned an older but no less virile model of masculinity, Clint Eastwood. In the script version of the story, Vinz also watches *Bambi*, which alludes to the character’s sentimental interior (164). The actual scene in the film when Vinz hides from the Paris police in a movie theater preserves the juxtaposition of violence with animation, and it tellingly features Vinz making the gesture of a gun with his hand (see Figure 8).<sup>15</sup>

Though Vinz proves perfectly capable of pulling the imaginary trigger in the Cineplex, he cannot do so in real life. Vinz stumbles upon the opportunity to murder an overtly racist skinhead. This potential act of violence appears more justified than the planned cop killing, and Hubert urges Vinz to go ahead, all the while knowing that his friend is either unable or unwilling. Hubert’s unmasking of Vinz’s tough-guy persona exposes the vulnerability beneath the (cinematic) pose. This scene resembles the moment in Carn  ’s *Quai des brumes* in which the Jean Gabin character slaps Le Havre’s would-be hoodlum Lucien, who has been imitating the behavior of gangsters from American films, revealing the sniveling and terrified child beneath the mask (see Figure 9). Both these unmasking scenes explore the disjuncture between the performance of tough-guy masculinity and the embodiment of violent action. In the case of *Quai des brumes* and the other poetic realist films discussed here, the exposure of inappropriately soft and weak forms of masculinity serves to shore up the seeming virility and effortlessness of Jean Gabin’s masculine style.<sup>16</sup> In the case of *La haine*, Kassovitz reveals tough-guy masculinity to be an unstable performance.

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<sup>15</sup> Doughty and Griffiths argue that mass culture in the film functions like a mirror through which Vinz seeks an identity for himself, though they conclude that he ultimately fails to stabilize a sense of self (126).

<sup>16</sup> For an analysis of Jean Gabin’s masculine star persona across his many films, see Gauteur and Vincendeau.

## Tragedy

If sentimentality, vulnerability, and even anxiety lie beneath Vinz's tough-guy act, *La haine's* tragic conclusion extends his pathos to the film's viewers as well. Sharma and Sharma argue that *La haine* contests stereotyped media representations of violence in the banlieues through an intensified realism that emphasizes affect rather than through a modernist or self-reflexive realism. They suggest that *La haine* most resembles classical melodrama in that "the mise en scène attempts to present the anxiety of exclusion and the alienation of the violence" (110). In a similar vein, Tom Conley and Jenny Lefcourt suggest that film's pathos has its roots in a "residual classicism." They write that "[t]he gun . . . becomes the 'floating signifier' of violence, like a letter of fate" and "the film obeys the Aristotelian 'unities' in its circumspection of time, space, and action" (231). I would suggest that the particular tonalities of despair that are at the heart of *La haine* also reference the tragic dramaturgy of French poetic realism.

Tragedy drives the beat of *La haine*, and it pulses in the ticking clocks that punctuate the film. In the film's final moment, a policeman shoots Vinz, Hubert avenges him, and Saïd looks on in horror. Like Gabin's many working-class heroes, the trio was not meant to survive the day unscathed; in fact, their destruction is premeditated and communicated to the viewer from the earliest frames. Hubert's opening monologue about a man falling from a fifty-story building foreshadows the ending: the viewer will spend the film waiting for the inevitable end of a long, slow fall. Vincendeau quotes an interview with Kassovitz in which he explains: "I knew the ending before I knew the storyline. Everything is about the end, the last five seconds" (*La haine* 44). Both *La haine* and *Le jour se lève* take up the classical unity of time in order to count down to the protagonist's death. Carné marks this technique through a flashback structure that was innovative for the 1930s, and Kassovitz indicates it through temporal intertitles. The ticking clock, moreover, likens the banlieues to a bomb waiting to explode.

*La haine's* prominent clock sounds echo the role of the alarm clock in the final scene of Carné's *Le jour se lève*. François winds this clock early in the film and explains to the Jules Berry character how its sound wakes him for each unremarkable day in his working-class life. The alarm clock finally goes off the next morning, after Gabin's character has committed suicide. The ticking clock in *La haine* morphs into the sounds of an alarm clock during the police repression midway through the film, but the ticking resumes just after. Vinz's murder, not the second riot, is the film's true paroxysm.

Both *La haine* and *Le jour se lève* end in a symbolic martyrdom that figures the social and economic forces oppressing the urban poor. In *La haine*, a sincere lament about the futility of violence underlies the masculine posturing of the police and the banlieue trio. In the final scene, a police car arrives out of nowhere. The train station is devoid of people and activity, again suggesting that viewers are in an abstract, figural

space. The three policemen immediately begin roughing up Vinz. One of the cops ostentatiously holds a gun to Vinz's head in a way that echoes Vinz's earlier performance of the tough guy. Kassovitz films this moment in an intimate two-shot that accentuates the size of the phallic gun. The framing of the shot makes it somewhat visually ambiguous whether Vinz or the cop is holding the weapon, suggesting that the ongoing escalation of violence is in fact a form of collective suicide (see Figure 10). The gun goes off by accident, and so the cycle of violence completes itself once more. Once the cop shoots Vinz, the other two policemen vanish. With their disappearance, the narrative ceases to exist in real time and space and enters the plane of the purely figural. Hubert, who has advocated non-violence throughout the film, now pulls Vinz's gun on the cop. *La haine* ends with the sound of a gunshot but cuts to black before viewers see who pulled the trigger. In this way, the film suggests that the logic of violence exceeds the psychology or motivation of any one person. Like Carné and Duvivier's films, *La haine* seeks to create a typology of martyrdom that symbolizes the ills of modern society.

The martyr's symbolic power is directly connected foreshadowing and fatalism, but as ending-oriented as these devices seem, Vincendeau has argued that in *La haine*, the scenes of "telling" and "listening to stories" that take place throughout contain the film's true meaning (*La haine* 44–46). I would add that the struggle over who tells the stories is just as important, for the poetic realist films as well as for *La haine*. In *Le jour se lève*, François calls attention to the disjuncture between the sensational techniques the papers will use to vilify him for his murder of a petty bourgeois entertainer and the psychological depth the film's retelling of events offers viewers. In *La haine*, the media coverage of Abdel's shooting by the police prefigures the shooting of Vinz in the final scene. The TV news offers a version of events tainted by the interests of power. The film fills in other possible stories about the causes and meanings of the riots and police violence. Facts are less important than the subjective, individual and collective forces that shape the meaning of events.

Both *La haine* and *Le jour se lève* end with a gesture that inscribes the characters' death within a community whose borders are not fully specified. In the case of *Le jour se lève*, the crowd gathered below François' window figures the dissolving unity of the Popular Front. In *La haine*, an ethics of solidarity replaces the hoodlum or American gangster's unbridled self-interest. Early in *La haine*, viewers see *Scarface*'s iconic slogan "La vie est à vous [The World is Yours]" written on a billboard advertisement. Near the end of the film Saïd rewrites this slogan with spray paint to read "La vie est à nous [The World is Ours]." Conley and Lefcourt read this rewriting as a reference to Jean Renoir's 1936 militant Popular Front film of the same name (235). Though Renoir and Kassovitz's films differ at an aesthetic and thematic level, the reference further confirms that Kassovitz had the Popular Front period in mind when he made *La haine*. While one could argue that *La haine*'s rewriting of *Scarface*'s slogan is ironic, Hubert takes up Saïd's inscription of an "us" in the final retelling of the fall story that closes the film. Crucially, it is no longer the story of a man falling from a fifty-story building, as in the prologue,

but that of a whole society falling. By changing the individualistic slogan from Hawks' *Scarface* to embrace the collective destiny of a whole society, Kassovitz echoes the way in which Carné and Duvivier channeled traditional French notions of working-class solidarity. Whereas the "us" in poetic realism is often remains implicit, in *La haine*, Saïd's rewriting makes it explicit.

My contention here has been that poetic realism is an important element in the cultural sampling and layering at work in *La haine*. The poetic realist moment in French film history offers a model for understanding *La haine*'s politics of style, by which I mean its particular mode of engaging with social problems through affect, pathos, and a figural rather than documentary realism. Poetic realism and the *chanson réaliste* emerged from the popular imaginary of early twentieth century working-class France, and they represented modes of evoking the despair, defiance, and beauty of working-class spaces and people. The complex Franco-American sampling at work in *La haine* suggests that American rap, hip-hop, and cinema now play an analogous role in fashioning the emotions and feelings of life in the banlieues. However, whereas American gangster films from the 1930s and beyond, along with some forms of hip-hop and rap, often emphasize the unbridled self-interest and acquisitive nature at the heart of American capitalism, Kassovitz's interpolation of the *chanson réaliste* tradition and the look and feel of poetic realism serves to counterbalance this focus on the individual with a reminder of the collective and societal aspects of the violence and marginalization at work in the French suburbs, both for those living inside and outside them.

Figures:



Figure 1: Fréhel starts the gramophone in *Pépé le Moko* (courtesy of Criterion)



Figure 2: DJ Cut Killer prepares for his performance in *La haine* (courtesy of Criterion)



Figure 3: The trio listens to a young boy discuss the French Candid Camera in *La haine* (courtesy of Criterion)



Figure 4: Jean and Nelly at the docks in *Quai des brumes* (courtesy of Criterion)



Figure 5: The trio arrives in Paris in *La haine* (courtesy of Criterion)



Figure 6: Pépé looks down at the Marine Quarter in *Pépé le Moko* (courtesy of Criterion)



Figure 7: P  p  's wingtips (courtesy of Criterion)



Figure 8: Vinz at the movies in *La baine* (courtesy of Criterion)



Figure 9: Jean slaps Lucien in *Quai des brumes* (courtesy of Criterion)



Figure 10: The cop holds a gun to Vinz's head in *La haine* (courtesy of Criterion)

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