

CULTURAL MIRROR, IDENTITY, AND PERCEPTION:

stereotypes about France and Spain in the European imagination

Alias: Alma CÉLESTE¹

ABSTRACT

The paper examines how stereotypes about France and Spain are formed and how they shape contemporary cultural perceptions. Drawing on the theories of Walter Lippmann, Gordon Allport, and the Stereotype Content Model, the paper argues that stereotypes serve as mental shortcuts that help people make sense of social reality but can also lead to oversimplifications and biased judgments. The study adopts an interdisciplinary approach that integrates theoretical analysis, media representations, and socioeconomic data. It shows that France is often associated with romance, refinement, gastronomy, and secularism, while Spain is commonly linked to siesta, fiesta, flamenco, and emotional expressiveness. However, statistical data on work, education, and tourism challenge these simplified images and reveal more complex social dynamics. The paper concludes that stereotypes are not accurate reflections of reality but symbolic constructions shaped by media, history, and cultural discourse, and that they should be critically examined in intercultural education and communication.

Keywords: *préjudice; Stereotype Content Model (SCM), cultural imagology, laïcité, identity pluralism.*

Article info

Received: April, 15, 2026; Revised: April, 23, 2026; Accepted: May, 24, 2026; Available online: June 30, 2026

¹BA in Foreign Languages, "Spiru Haret" University, Bucharest; MA in National Security Information Management, "Mihai Viteazul" National Intelligence Academy.

Introduction

What is a stereotype: definition and directions for analysis

The concept of stereotype occupies a central place in social psychology and cultural imagology, serving as a tool by which individuals influence social and intercultural relations. Walter Lippmann (1922), considered one of the founders of the modern study of public opinion and of the role of the media in shaping social and political perceptions, defined stereotypes as an "image in our minds" through which we filter social reality for direct perception. These "cognitive templates" facilitate information processing but can also distort reality and lead to misinterpretations.

On the other hand, Gordon Allport (1954), one of the first researchers to study prejudice and stereotypes through a scientific approach, later developed a complementary perspective, defining prejudice as "an antipathy based on a false and rigid generalization." In this perspective, stereotypes become beliefs associated with social categories, which can justify discriminatory emotions and behaviors.

This paper proposes a comparative analysis of how cultural stereotypes about France and Spain reflect contemporary identities, values, and social dynamics, integrating concepts from both social and cultural psychology. The comparative analysis of stereotypes about the French and Spanish shows that these representations, although seemingly opposite—one based on refinement and rationalism, the other on spontaneity and emotionality—are generated by the same mechanism of cognitive simplification and affirmation of cultural difference.

Theoretical framework: from "images in our minds" to the content of stereotypes

Lippmann was among the first authors to argue that people live in a socially constructed pseudo-environment, shaped by cultural and media concepts. Stereotypes function as mental shortcuts that reduce complexity, but they can limit discernment. They transform reality into a network of standardized symbols and images.

Allport (1954) later integrated these ideas into his theory of prejudice, emphasizing the direct relationship

between stereotypes and discrimination. On this basis, the Stereotype Content Model (SCM) (Fiske et al., 2002), provides a contemporary framework for understanding the structure of stereotypes. The SCM predicts that perceptions of social groups are organized along two dimensions that are defining for group evaluation: warmth—associated with the perceived intentions of the group—and competence—the capabilities attributed to these intentions. This framework explains why some communities are perceived as respectful but cold (e.g., Germans) or as friendlier (e.g., Southern Europeans) (Fiske et al., 2002).

Cultural imagology, developed by Joep Leerssen and Manfred Beller, analyzes how nations and cultures are symbolically represented in literary, historical, and media texts. It starts from the idea that the image of "the other" does not reflect the objective reality of a culture, but rather the projections, comparisons, and hierarchies constructed by one's own community of perception. In this sense, imagology explains the persistence of national clichés (such as the "refined Frenchman" or the "passionate Spaniard") through their constant reproduction in European cultural discourse—literature, press, tourism, films—which repeat and recontextualize these images over time.

Methodology and comparative elements

This paper takes an interdisciplinary approach, combining theoretical analysis, interpretation of cultural discourses, and socio-economic contextualization with empirical data. The methodological goal is to understand how stereotypes about the French and Spanish are formed, perpetuated, and transformed in contemporary cultural interactions.

In a first stage, the research is based on a theoretical analysis of the fundamental concepts of stereotype, prejudice, Stereotype Content Model (SCM) (Fiske et al., 2002), and cultural imagology, drawing on the major contributions of Walter Lippmann (1922), Gordon Allport (1954), and researchers in modern social psychology (Fiske et al., 2002, pp. 878–902). This stage aims to define the conceptual framework necessary for the subsequent interpretation of cultural and media data.

The second stage consists of a comparative analysis of media discourses representative of France and Spain. In particular, we examine the series *Emily in Paris* (Star, 2020), which presents a stylized, touristy, and idealized image of French society, and the Spanish comedies *Ocho apellidos vascos* (Martinez-Lazaro, 2014)

and *Ocho apellidos catalanes* (Martinez-Lazaro, 2015), which explores regional and national stereotypes in Spain (Garcia, 2020). The analysis examines narrative and aesthetic elements, as well as the ideological dimension, by identifying tensions among identity, authenticity, and cultural globalization.

The third methodological stage involves the socio-economic and institutional contextualization of these representations through official sources, in particular public data provided by institutions such as the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) on the labor market and educational performance, UNESCO, on tangible and intangible cultural heritage, and UN Tourism, on international tourism flows and trends (UNESCO, 2025). At the same time, the analysis will incorporate elements of the legislative framework and administrative organization: the French Law on Secularism of 1905 and the Spanish Constitution of 1978, which enshrines the principle of regional autonomy. By triangulating theoretical, media, and empirical sources, the paper seeks a more nuanced understanding of how stereotypes about France and Spain function as mirrors of collective European identities.

Institutional and cultural context

France between secularism (laïcité) and gastronomy as a symbolic heritage

The principle of *laïcité* is one of the fundamental values of the French Republic. It is enshrined in law by the Act of December 9, 1905, which guarantees freedom of conscience and the separation of church and state, and establishes the religious neutrality of public institutions. By virtue of this principle, the state does not recognize, pay for, or subsidize any religious denomination, except for chaplaincy services for hospitals, the armed forces, and prisons.

Beyond its legal dimension, *laïcité* has also acquired cultural and symbolic significance, becoming a hallmark of French modernity. In public discourse, it is often associated with values such as rationalism, universalism, and individual freedom—traits that influence external perceptions of the "French spirit."

Culturally, the "gastronomic meal of the French" (*le repas gastronomique des Français*) was recognized in 2010 as an intangible cultural heritage of humanity by UNESCO (2010). This social practice emphasizes

conviviality, the ritual of serving, the balance between food and wine, and respect for regional culinary traditions. Gastronomy thus becomes a symbol of national cohesion and refinement associated with France's international image, helping to reinforce a positive stereotype of a refined, harmonious society.

Spain: the state of autonomous regions and identity pluralism

The Spanish Constitution of 1978 recognizes "the right to autonomy of nationalities and regions," establishing 17 autonomous communities and two autonomous cities: Ceuta and Melilla. This model of governance defines the state of autonomies as an asymmetrical form of decentralization that balances the unity of the state with cultural and linguistic diversity (Cortes Generales, 1978).

This political architecture explains why "national" stereotypes about Spain—flamenco, siesta, fiesta—tend to overlook the country's internal pluralism. In reality, Spain is a mosaic of distinct regional identities: Catalonia, the Basque Country, Galicia, Andalusia, and Valencia are differentiated by their languages, traditions, and specific cultural expressions. In the international media, however, the image of the "typical Spaniard" remains reduced to a symbolic synthesis of the warm, passionate, and festive Mediterranean south.

This tension between internal diversity and external representation is a key element in the comparative analysis of cultural stereotypes: while France presents itself as a model of republican uniformity, Spain illustrates a complex pluralism of identities, in which local culture coexists with European and global identities.

A defining feature of modern Spanish culture is its linguistic and cultural diversity, which is reinforced by both the state's legal framework and the historical dynamics of the autonomous regions. The Spanish Constitution of 1978 explicitly recognizes that "Castilian is the official language of the State," and "the other Spanish languages shall also be official in their respective Autonomous Communities, in accordance with their Statutes."; This provision enshrines the protection and respect for linguistic varieties as part of the nation's cultural heritage. In practice, this principle is reflected in the co-official status of some historical languages in the regions where they are traditionally spoken. Catalan is co-official in Catalonia, the Valencian Community (where it is often called Valencian), and the Balearic Islands, and its status is supported by regional provisions that ensure its use in administration, education, and the media. Basque (Euskera), the only linguistic isolate in continental Europe, has co-official status in the Basque Country and

in defined Basque-speaking areas of Navarre. Galician (Galego) is co-official in Galicia, where it is a language of public and institutional use and an essential element of local cultural identity. These regional languages are not only instruments of communication, but also symbols of cultural autonomy and collective memory, and their legal recognition reflects Spain's commitment to protecting linguistic pluralism in the context of social and administrative coexistence. Viewed comparatively, Spain's linguistic communities highlight different ways of relating to language and its function in social life. The Castilian-speaking area, which is demographically dominant and present throughout the country, uses the language predominantly as a means of interregional communication and as an instrument of institutional functioning, with the identity dimension being less explicit in this case. In contrast, in Catalan-speaking communities, the Catalan language occupies a central position in defining collective identity, being associated with ideas such as cultural continuity, regional autonomy, and the normalization of its use in public spaces. The choice of Catalan in official and everyday contexts is often perceived as an expression of social cohesion and cultural affirmation. The Basque-speaking community is distinguished by a deeply symbolic relationship with the Euskera language, which, beyond its communicative function, is invested with identity and historical value. Its unique character, as a language unrelated to other European languages, has fostered a perception of Euskera as a fundamental element of cultural belonging. Although the processes of standardization and revitalization have been more recent than in the case of Catalan, they have benefited from significant institutional support. Despite these differences, the three linguistic communities coexist within a common legal framework that allows for the articulation of cultural diversity within a unitary state, highlighting the balance between political unity and identity pluralism.

Spain's linguistic diversity is evident in everyday language use, where common expressions take on distinct cultural meanings depending on the community in which they are used. In the Castilian-speaking area, phrases such as "Buenos días," "¿Cómo está usted?" or "Muchas gracias" are widespread at the national level and reflect a predominantly pragmatic function of language, geared towards effective communication and institutional interaction. In Catalan-speaking communities, the same speech acts are performed through expressions such as "Bon dia", "Com estàs?" or "Moltes gràcies," with the use of Catalan in formal and informal contexts being associated with the affirmation of cultural identity and the normalization of the language in the public sphere. Similarly, in the Basque Country, expressions such as "Egun on" (good morning), "Zer moduz?" (How are you?) or "Eskerrik asko" (Thank you)

not only fulfill a communicative function, but are also frequently perceived as markers of community belonging and historical continuity. The differences between these examples illustrate that, although speech acts are functionally comparable, the languages in which they are performed carry different symbolic meanings, reflecting distinct references to identity, tradition, and social space.

Stereotypes about France: romance, sophistication, and gastronomy

Romantic and chic Paris." Tourist and media discourse, from travel guides to pop culture clichés such as "Emily in Paris," presents the capital as a place of fashion, gastronomy, and seduction. However, media research reveals a tension between idealized fantasy and critical local reception, in which perceptions of superficiality and lifestyle homogenization emerge (Spain Culture New York, n.d.).

"Refined at the table and great wine lovers." UNESCO recognizes French gastronomy as an element of intangible heritage, reinforcing the ritualistic dimension of dining. OIV (International Organisation of Vine and Wine) data confirms a robust wine culture, with France consistently ranking at the top in terms of total and per capita consumption, but long-term trends show a decline in per capita consumption, in contrast to the static image of the "wine nation"(OIV, 2024).

"Rigid secularism." Often presented in external discourse as a form of "uniformity," secularism actually seeks equality among citizens through the state's neutrality toward religion. Recent controversies concern the application of the principle in increasingly pluralistic contexts, not the abolition of religious freedom.

According to the SCM, France's external image tends toward perceived high competence (due to its cultural and economic status) but ambivalent "warmth": admiration for art de vivre combined with perceptions of "coldness" and "distance" in work interactions, exemplified by the cliché of the "snobbish" waiter.

Stereotypes about Spain: siesta, flamenco, bullfighting

Siesta = rest after lunch (cf. RAE-Real Academia Española)." OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) data on annual hours worked show that Spain is not a "lazy" country: in some recent series, the annual average exceeds that of other advanced European economies, and

the practice of siesta is much less common in large cities, so it does not fully reflect the diversity and complexity of Spanish reality. Although siesta has its origins in climatic and agricultural characteristics, in today's urban environments, it has become a simple short break.

"Flamenco and bullfighting define Spain." Flamenco is an art form representative of the south (Andalusia), but not of the whole of Spain. Bullfighting, a frequently invoked symbol, is increasingly controversial socially and even banned in some regions; cultural anthropology also shows that the "masculinity" excessively associated with bullfighting is a questionable construct. (Stanford SPARQ, 2022)

"País de fiesta (n.t. Party country)." Tourism confirms the country's attractiveness with 85 million international arrivals in 2023, a historic record, but this performance reflects infrastructure, services, and regional diversity. Spain's external image combines the perception of warmth (hospitality, conviviality) with a variable perception of competence, often underestimated by the cliché of "siestas" to the detriment of competence (InspirePencil Analytics, 2024).

Verifying clichés with comparative data

Work and time

OECD indicators show that the annual number of hours worked in Spain (≈1,630–1,690 in recent series) is comparable to, or even higher than, that of other European economies, contrary to the cliché of "long siestas" (OECD, 2023). In France, historical regulations such as the 35-hour week have reduced the average number of hours worked, but the correlation with "low productivity" is false: the data indicate high hourly productivity, suggesting compensatory efficiency rather than "structural laziness."

Tourism and external image

Post-pandemic trends show a rapid recovery in tourism for both countries. France maintains its position as a world leader thanks to a combination of cultural tourism, international events, and a diverse range of urban and gastronomic experiences. Stereotypes such as "Paris, the city of love" are effective in marketing, but the reality of French tourism is much more complex, including heritage, gastronomy, nature, and modern hospitality technologies. On the other hand, stereotypes such as "the French are lazy and always on

strike" are explained by the fact that protests are frequent and highly publicized in France, but this element is a central component of French civic culture, closely linked to republican tradition and democratic participation.

Spain, in turn, capitalizes on its reputation as a vibrant and diverse destination. Beyond the popular image of a "party country", Spain's tourism offering is sophisticated and varied: it includes beaches, historic cities, regional gastronomy, cultural festivals, and rural or nature tourism, reflecting the pluralism and cultural diversity of the autonomous state.

Gastronomy and wine consumption

Gastronomy is a central element of cultural identity for both France and Spain, reflecting the regional traditions and culinary innovations of each country. In France, the "gastronomic meal" is recognized as cultural heritage and is associated with elaborate rituals, conviviality, and the pairing of dishes with local wines. French cuisine includes an impressive variety of regional products and recipes, from artisanal cheeses and breads to sophisticated urban delicacies.

Spain, on the other hand, stands out for the diversity and authenticity of its cuisine, which reflects the history and specific characteristics of each region. Dishes such as tapas, paella, and gazpacho are just a few examples of this culinary tradition, which combines simplicity and conviviality with gastronomic refinement.

The role of the media in perpetuating and negotiating stereotypes

Popular culture plays an ambivalent role in the construction and circulation of cultural stereotypes: it can simultaneously reinforce and undermine them. Recent audiovisual productions are revealing examples of this dynamic.

The series "Emily in Paris" (Star, 2020) offers a stylized representation of France, and Paris in particular, by reviving established clichés about Parisian romanticism, aesthetic refinement, and a certain professional negligence. These narrative codes, although commercially effective, have been critically received in France, where numerous commentators have accused the series of "Hollywoodizing" the cultural imagination and reducing the social complexity of the capital (Martin,

2022, p. 45-58). Moreover, the French are portrayed as snobbish and arrogant, but this trait is rooted in a strong intellectual tradition that has shaped European culture.

In contrast, the Spanish films *Ocho apellidos vascos* (Martinez-Lazaro, 2014) and *Ocho apellidos catalanes* (Martinez-Lazaro, 2015) use regional stereotypes about expansive Andalusians, rigid Basques, and pragmatic Catalans to ironize and defuse them through comedy. Here, humor becomes a mechanism for negotiating identity, offering the audience a critical mirror on their own prejudices (Garcia, 2021).

Effects and implications

Education and the "stereotype threat"

Cultural stereotypes, such as the perception that the French are more romantic than rigorous or that the Spanish prefer siestas to performance, can influence the behavior and motivation of individuals in international academic contexts. The phenomenon known as stereotype threat (Creative Europe, 2023) occurs when people become aware that they belong to a group targeted by a negative stereotype, which can reduce their performance and confidence in their abilities.

Business and intercultural negotiation

In professional environments, clichés about punctuality, hierarchy, or attitudes toward collaboration are often drawn from standardized cultural indicators, but the reality is much more nuanced. For example, the perception that the French are rigid or the Spanish are relaxed at work can influence how international teams are built or negotiation strategies are developed. If these stereotypes are taken as strict rules, managerial decisions risk being ineffective or generating unnecessary tension. However, the French respect company hierarchy but do not hesitate to express their views when the situation requires it, whereas in Spain, there is still a discrepancy in the representation of women in management positions.

Tourism and cultural policies

Stereotypes can also have positive effects when used strategically: the image of romantic Paris or Spain as a "party country" attracts tourists and creates economic opportunities. Tourism programs and cultural policies that promote diversity, regional heritage, and authentic experiences contribute to more sustainable tourism and a more accurate image of cultural reality. In this way, France and Spain can benefit both economically and symbolically, without limiting their identity to simple stereotypes.

Findings

Media and intercultural education

Researchers insist on the integration of theoretical models such as the Stereotype Content Model (SCM) and the phenomenon of stereotype threat (i.e., the risk that a person will reconfirm, through their behavior or performance, a negative stereotype about the group to which they belong) into high school and university curricula, through subjects dedicated to media and intercultural education. Organizing workshops for teachers, focused on recognizing and managing cultural biases, can increase awareness and pedagogical competence in addressing interculturality (Creative Europe, 2023).

Cultural policies

Cultural projects should present France beyond the capital and the clichés of "Parisian romance and chic," promoting regional heritage and local gastronomy. Similarly, Spain can be presented beyond the triad of "siesta, flamenco, bullfighting," highlighting regional innovation, science, and design (ILOStat, 2023). Such initiatives allow for the construction of a more nuanced image and reduce the impact of reductive stereotypes on external perceptions.

Business communication and responsible tourism

Comparative cultural frameworks, such as those based on the work of Gerard Hendrik Hofstede, can be useful

for understanding intercultural differences, but they must be used with caution and accompanied by empirical data. Professional training on intranational differences (France: centralism vs. regions; Spain: autonomous communities) supports effective intercultural negotiation and management. In tourism, diversifying offerings and the event calendar help reduce pressure on stereotypical symbols and manage the seasonality of tourist flows (Collaboratory Princeton, 2023).

Conclusions

Stereotypes about France and Spain function as true "cultural mirrors," reflecting the human need for simplicity and cognitive organization rather than the complex realities of the two societies (Lippmann, 1922). In light of the classical theories of

Lippmann and Allport and the Stereotype Content Model (SCM), clichés can offer limited cognitive utility, serving as quick reference points in social perception. However, they become problematic when they replace critical analysis and interpretation of empirical data, leading to erroneous conclusions about cultural groups (Fiske et al., 2002).

Thus, France is not limited to the image of "romantic Paris," and Spain is not "just siesta and flamenco." An informed approach that integrates psychosocial perspectives alongside comparable indicators (education, work, cultural consumption) allows us to move from imagination to rigorous knowledge. This perspective not only promotes intercultural education but also contributes to more informed economic decision-making and the strengthening of European cohesion (Allport, 1954).

REFERENCES:

- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- BBC News Mundo. (2017). *Mujeres toreras: por que siguen siendo minoria en el mundo del toreo*. Retrieved October, 2025, from <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/vert-cap-40349274>.
- Beller, M., & Leerssen, J. (Eds.). (2007). *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters*. Brill/Rodopi.
- Brandes, S. (U.C. Berkeley). (n.d.). *Torphiles and Torophobes*.
- Caballero Gálvez, A. A. (2017). *The Fall of the Andalusian and Catalan Stereotypes in Contemporary Spain*. In *Catalan Journal of Communication and Cultural Studies*.
- Cortes Generales. (1978). *Constitución Española*. Boletín Oficial del Estado, num. 311, 29 December. Retrieved February, 2026, from <https://www.boe.es/buscar/act.php?id=BOE-A-1978-31229>
- Creative Europe. (2023). *Integrating stereotype awareness in education and teacher training Collaboratory Princeton*. (2023). *Tourism management and responsible cultural promotion ILOStat*. (2023). *Cultural policy and regional promotion in France and Spain*. October 2025, Retrieved February, 2026, from <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/15234730/17582411/KS-HA-23-001-EN-N.pdf>.
- Douglas, C.B. (1997). *Bulls, Bullfighting, and Spanish Identities*. University of Arizona Press. Retrieved February, 2026, from https://www.academia.edu/37274027/Bulls_Bullfighting_and_Spanish_Identities_Women_and_Bullfighting_Gender_Sex_and_the_Consumption_of_Tradition_Bulls_Bullfighting_and_Spanish_Identities_Women_and_Bullfighting_Gender_Sex_and_the_Consumption_of_Tradition.
- Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content. *JPSP*, 82(6), 878–902;
- Fiske, S.T. (2018). *Current Directions in Psychological Science*.
- García, L. (2021). *Humor y estereotipos regionales en el cine español contemporáneo*. In *Revista Comunicación y Sociedad*, 34(2), 89–107.
- Gouvernement français. (n.d.). *What is secularism?* Info.gouv.fr. Retrieved October, 2025, from <https://www.info.gouv.fr>
- InspirePencil Analytics. (2024). *Warmth–Competence mapping in Mediterranean societies*. Retrieved October 2025, from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/336109570_Warmth_and_competence_stereotypes_about_immigrant_groups_in_Germany.
- International Organisation of Vine and Wine. (OIV). (2024). *State of the world vine and wine sector 2024*. Retrieved October, 2025, from <https://www.oiv.int>

La Tribune. (n.d.). Les grèves en France: Un impact limité sur l'économie depuis 50 ans. Retrieved October, 2025, from <https://www.latribune.fr/opinions/tribunes/les-greves-en-france-un-impact-limite-sur-l-economie-depuis-50-ans>

Le monde. (2025, December). France's 1905 law separating churches and state> An irreplaceable compass. Retrieved October, 2025, from https://www.lemonde.fr/en/opinion/article/2025/12/08/france-s-1905-law-separating-churches-and-state-an-irreplaceable-compass_6748272_23.html, accessed October 2025

Le Parisien. (n.d.). Culture et loisirs. Retrieved February, 2026, from <https://www.leparisien.fr/culture-loisirs>

Lippmann, W. (1922). New York: Harcourt, Brace. Public Opinion. (open access edition)

Martin, J. (2022). Cultural Stereotyping in Global Streaming: The Case of Emily in Paris. *Journal of Media and Communication Studies*, 14(3), 45–58.

Martinez-Lazaro, E. (Director). (2014). *Ocho apellidos vascos*. [Film]. Spain.

Martinez-Lazaro, E. (Director). (2015). *Ocho apellidos catalanes*. [Film]. Spain.

Ministry of Industry and Tourism (Spain). (2024). FRONTUR 2023: Tourist movements at borders. Retrieved October, 2025, from <https://www.ine.es>

Ministry of Territorial Policy and Democratic Memory (n.d.). Portal. Retrieved February, 2026, from <https://mptmd.gob.es/en/portal/inicio>.

Mitchell, T. J. (n.d.). Bullfighting: The Ritual Origin of Scholarly Myths.

Moreno, L, Colino, C. & Hombrado, A. (2019). Spain: Constitutional transition through gradual accommodation of territories (Ocasional Paper Series No. 37). *ConstitutionNet*. Retrieved February, 2026, from https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/2019-06/Spain_37.pdf

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2023). PISA 2022 country note: Spain. Retrieved February 2026 from <https://www.oecd.org/pisa>

Spain Culture New York. (n.d.). French culture and its representation in global media. Retrieved February 2026, from spainculturenewyork.org

Stanford SPARQ (2022). Gender, ritual, and identity in bullfighting cultures

Star, D. (creator). (2020-). *Emily in Paris* [TV series]. Netflix.

Steele, C. M., & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype Threat and the Intellectual Test Performance of African Americans. *JSPS*, 69(5), 797–811.

UN Tourism (World Tourism Organization). (2023, November). World Tourism Barometer. Retrieved October 2025 from <https://www.unwto.org>

UNESCO. (2010). Le repas gastronomique des Français. Retrieved October, 2025, from <https://www.unesco.org/fr/RL/le-repas-gastronomique-des-francais>

UNESCO. (2025) Intangible Heritage Lists, UN Tourism Statistical Database 2025. Retrieved February, 2026, from <https://www.unesco.org/en/lists>.

