

CUTTING DELILAH'S HAIR: SENTIMENTAL COLLABORATORS AND THE  
POLITICS OF FEMALE SEXUALITY IN WWI/II FRANCE

By

Andreea Mica Prundeanu

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

French, Language and Literature—Doctor of Philosophy

2017

## ABSTRACT

### CUTTING DELILAH'S HAIR: SENTIMENTAL COLLABORATORS AND THE POLITICS OF FEMALE SEXUALITY IN WWI/II FRANCE

By

Andreea Mica Prundeanu

This study is concerned with literary representations of the female body as a locus of discursive patriarchal power in the context of the two World Wars in France. It complements a body of scholarship focused on the intimate relationships between French women and German soldiers (labeled *sentimental/sexual/horizontal collaboration*) and the subsequent head shavings of these women, known as *les tontes*, and compensates for the exclusion of valuable works of fiction representative of a collective consciousness deeply marked by such violence. The gendered nature of this punishment indicates a pervasive, pre-existing masculinist anxiety surrounding women's unrestrained and unmonitored sexuality and a desire to reintegrate post-war women into the patriarchal status quo. I contend that the gendered discourses deployed by the various patriarchal mechanisms of power during both World Wars find continuity in debates surrounding the female body today.

Copyright by  
ANDREEA MICA PRUNDEANU  
2017

For my parents

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
<i>Female head shaving: a historical background</i>	1
<i>The politics of female sexuality: theoretical considerations</i>	9
<i>Literary corpus</i>	22
CHAPTER I	29
THE POLITICS OF DESIRE: FEMALE SEXUALITY AND SOCIOECONOMIC EMANCIPATION	
CHAPTER II	60
THE CONSOLIDATION OF WARTIME GENDER FICTIONS: PRIVATE BODIES, PUBLIC DISCOURSES	
<i>Depravation in a time of deprivation</i>	68
<i>The female-homeland allegory</i>	76
<i>Systems of female surveillance</i>	104
CHAPTER III	116
CONTROLLING THE FEMALE BODY: THE MATERNAL IMPERATIVE	
CHAPTER IV	143
OBJECTIFYING THE SUBJECT: PUNISHING FEMALE DISSENTION AND RE-ESTABLISHING THE PATRIARCHAL ORDER	
<i>Objectification of the female body</i>	152
<i>De-sexualization of the female body</i>	161
<i>Temporary exile: marginalization of the purified female body</i>	166
CONCLUSION	202
BIBLIOGRAPHY	206

## INTRODUCTION

### *Female head shaving: a historical background*

The present work on the subject of the *shorn woman*<sup>1</sup> arose out of a personal interest in the intimate relationships that developed between some French women and Nazi soldiers during the WWII occupation of France. Although the term evokes female “sexual collaborators” during World War II, one can extend it to encompass all women who were publicly punished at the end of both World Wars. The idiom “sexual collaboration”<sup>2</sup> was not officially coined until WWII; however, its use in reference to WWI’s “femmes à Boches”<sup>3</sup> is not entirely anachronistic. During the Great War, sleeping with the enemy had not yet overtly acquired the full political dimension that led to its subsequent stigmatizing nomenclature. Nevertheless, as we shall see in following chapters, the reasoning inherent in national discourses that proscribed such behavior was progressively rendered manifest. These discourses, anchored in profoundly-gendered notions, were subsequently repackaged and recirculated during the Second World War. Given the ideological continuity in the perception and treatment of these transgressive women during both wars and in the interest of rhetorical simplicity, we shall henceforth term *all* French women who had (concrete or alleged) sentimental and/or physical ties with German men during both armed conflicts “sexual/horizontal/sentimental collaborators”. Over the years, the image of the *femme à Boches* has struck a chord with scholars and non-academics alike: the fallen ‘seductress’ paraded

---

<sup>1</sup> Also known as “la tonduée” in French, “le seul terme utilisé pour désigner les femmes qui ont eu les cheveux coupés, tondus ou rasés parce qu’elles étaient accusées d’avoir collaboré. L’utilisation du substantif pour désigner une personne tonduée n’est pas nouvelle, mais, depuis la Libération, ‘tonduée’ (au féminin) est indissociable du sort des femmes sanctionnées ainsi pour avoir collaboré avec l’occupant” (Virgili, *La France “virile”* 12).

<sup>2</sup> Sexual collaboration was also referred to as “horizontal collaboration” or “sentimental collaboration”, terms used interchangeably in the pages to follow.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Boche’, a derogatory synonym for ‘German’, finds its rough equivalent in the English ‘Fritz’ or ‘Kraut’. “Femmes à Boches” thus implies women who intimately associated with (ergo ‘belonged to’) the enemy.

through the streets and simultaneously stripped of her clothing, hair and dignity, accused of political treason as a result of her emotional and/or physical affection for the enemy. After decades of national shame, the shearing episodes, known as *les tontes*, have begun to lose their aura of taboo. Recent scholarship has focused on blame inversion, redefining these ‘sinners’ as victims while denouncing their accusers<sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless, the image of the shorn woman continues to pervade public consciousness as evidenced by its unremitting presence in recent French literature<sup>5</sup>. These events represent a national wound that cannot heal, making the past a matter of ongoing concern.

Historically speaking, the *tontes* are neither a modern invention nor unique to France. In *Women and the Second World War in France, 1939-48: Choices and Constraints*, Hanna Diamond exposes the symbolism behind such practices in the West:

The practice of shearing as a way of punishing women for sexual infidelity was not unprecedented: it was the traditional punishment for adulterous women. It was a symbolic act which forced repentance for past acts, and prisoners had their heads shaved before being guillotined. Shaving women’s heads was therefore a

---

<sup>4</sup> Julie Desmarais’s analysis of a corpus of fictional and non-fictional literature produced during and after WWII by three types of French authors she labels “témoin”, “artiste” and “expert” reveals a historical shift in collective perception whereby the *tondue* is sequentially described as “‘coupable’ (1942-1948), ‘amoureuse’ (1970-2005), ‘victime’ (1970-2005)” (7). See: Desmarais, Julie. *Femmes tondues: France-Libération : Coupables, amoureuses, victimes*. Québec, QC: Presses de l’Université Laval, 2010. Print.

<sup>5</sup> *Des étoiles sombres dans le ciel*, by Nadia Salmi, published in 2011, is a quest for origins by the granddaughter of a German SS officer. Through her writing, Nadia addresses the grandfather she never knew : “Par ta faute, ma mère est le fruit d’un péché originel et moi, le ver obligé de tisser la toile de la vérité. Je suis en quête. Pour celle qui n’a pas beaucoup reçu et qui m’a tout donné...Au premier souffle, Ingrid est diabolisée parce qu’elle t’a comme père. Elle est, selon l’expression de l’époque, *une enfant de Boche*, une rien-du-tout ” (11-3). See: Salmi, Nadia. *Des étoiles sombres dans le ciel*. Paris: Oh! Éditions, 2011. Print. The same year, Philippe Frégné and Gérard Leray published *La tondue 1944-1947* to reveal the true story behind Robert Capa’s famous photograph of the anonymous shorn woman of Chartres (original photograph: <http://www.wikithionville.fr/images/5/5f/Tondue.jpg>). See: Frégné, Philippe, and Gérard Leray. *La tondue 1944-1947*. Paris: Vendémiaire, 2011. Print. [Note that Henning Mankell’s play *Des jours et des nuits à Chartres* is a fictional account of this very woman’s head shaving and arrest.] Most recently (November 2016), the Théâtre de Nîmes in France is showing an adaptation of Anna Prinner’s only novel, *La femme tondue*, published in 1946 under the name ‘Anton Prinner’. Born in Hungary, Anna emigrated to France in 1928. Information about the play can be found here: <http://theatredenimes.com/spectacle/la-femme-tondue/>.

symbolic process of purification dating back to the Bible, which attributed purifying virtues to it (136).

The image of the shorn woman can be traced back to the Bible. One reference can be found in 1 Corinthians 11 in the context of behaviors to be observed by men and women of the Church:

But I would have you know, that the head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ *is* God.

Every man praying or prophesying, having *his* head covered, dishonoureth his head.

But every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with *her* head uncovered dishonoureth her head: for that is even all one as if she were shaven . . .

For a man indeed ought not to cover *his* head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God (*King James Bible*, 1 Cor. 11.3-5, 7).

By playing on the dual interpretation of the word ‘head’, these verses evoke corporality as a link to the divine all the while establishing a clear social hierarchy: God, Christ, man, woman. The double standard with respect to men and women’s accoutrement in the Church is anchored in Genesis and the pivotal notion that Adam was made by God in His image while Eve was made out of Adam, as an extension of man. For a woman to be in communion with God she must don an accessory capable of veiling her body, be it her hair or an additional piece of cloth. Female hair is thus vested with symbolic significance, becoming a gendered mark of association with a community of believers. In her thesis entitled “Tontes et tondues: Résurgences et survivances de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale à nos jours”, Brittany Beel further explores the notion of head shaving as a religious practice, revealing an interesting double standard. She points out that female head shaving has traditionally been used as a form of punishment intended to exclude

‘sinful’ women from the religious community while male head shaving (the tonsure of monks and priests) has been employed as a rite of passage into a community of elite believers:

Dans la société corinthienne, les prostituées avaient les cheveux courts, et on rasait les femmes adultères pour les punir et les traiter comme des prostituées. En associant femmes adultères et femmes sans coiffe, la société démontre le rôle central de la religion et son appropriation symbolique du corps féminin (...) La tonsure a ses origines à l’époque romane et constitue un de premiers rites de passage dans la prise de la robe. Le rasage de la tête pour les hommes signifie leur appartenance à la communauté religieuse alors que cette marque physique chez les femmes souligne leur exclusion de cette même communauté (8).

In France alone, cases of head shaving as a punishment for prostitutes and adulterous women can be traced back to the Middle Ages. In 1314, Louis X ordered his wife, Marguerite de Bourgogne, shorn, imprisoned and later hanged for adultery (Kedward 155). Under the *Ancien Régime*, prostitutes were routinely punished with “barbouillage de suie, tonte de cheveux, fessée publique, exposition au pilori ou encore promenade sur un âne, la tête vers la croupe ” (qtd. in Le Naour, *Misère et tourments* 157) and systematically imprisoned at the Salpêtrière<sup>6</sup>. Likewise, the head shavings of the French sexual collaborators in 1944 had several European analogues. In 1918, Belgian women in at least twenty cities were shorn for having slept with German soldiers. Similarly, German women who had consorted with French soldiers, and colonial troops in

---

<sup>6</sup> The Salpêtrière, currently a hospital, was founded in the 17<sup>th</sup> century as a detainment facility for the poor. It subsequently became a dumping ground for a wide array of marginalized individuals including ‘insane’ criminals, prostitutes, mentally-disabled individuals and epileptic children. Ivan Berlin estimates that “at the end of the 17th century, according to the uses of the era, four categories of women were placed there. ‘Bad’ adolescents were kept enclosed in the ‘Correction’ section, with the idea that they could be rehabilitated. Women labeled as prostitutes filled the ‘Common’ section. Women who had been imprisoned with or without sentences were quartered in the ‘Jail,’ and inhabitants within the ‘Quarter of the Insane’ were those who usually had been sent there by their families”. For additional information, please see Berlin, Ivan. “The Salpêtrière Hospital: From Confining the Poor to Freeing the Insane.” *The American Journal of Psychiatry* 160.9 (2003): n. pag. Web. 8 February 2013.

particular —labeled by the racist Weimar Republic as the “black shame”— were beaten and given the “coupe honteuse” by the State Police in 1919 (Le Naour, “Femmes tondues” 150; Virgili 273) and again in 1924 by veritable head shaving clubs known as “Scherenclubs” (Virgili 273). Head shavings also occurred in 1943 in Denmark as retribution for the relations between Danish women and Wehrmacht soldiers that had led to an estimated 5,500 illegitimate births and in several major cities in Italy in 1945<sup>7</sup> (274-5). The same year in Jersey, Great Britain, “quelques témoignages font état de femmes jetées dans le port de Saint-Hélier, tondues, dénudées, ou encore enduites de poix” (275). Virgili equally mentions head shavings in Norway and Holland starting in the fall of 1944 (Virgili 276; François 81). In Greece both sentimental collaborators as well as female members of the communist party were shorn during the civil war, 1945-1949. Similarly, in 1936, during the Spanish Civil War, Falangists attacked and publicly shaved women as punishment for their dissolute—and supposedly republican—inclinations<sup>8</sup> (276-7).

From isolated shavings to systematic punitive practices, women in the West have historically undergone what scholars now call *gendered punishment*. As Fabrice Virgili states in his primordial study on French women shorn during WWII, entitled *La France “virile”: Des femmes tondues à la Libération*, “la coupe des cheveux n’est pas le châtiment d’une collaboration sexuelle, mais le châtiment sexué de la collaboration” (58, author’s emphasis). The fact that this type of punishment was unanimously adopted at various points in Western history to specifically castigate female sexual transgressions suggests that the punishment was

---

<sup>7</sup> The “femmes à Boches” finds its equivalent in the Danish “tyskerpiger” and the British “jerrybag”. In Italian, the “femmes tondues” are known as “donne rapate”.

<sup>8</sup> For more information on gendered sexual violence in the context of the Spanish civil war, please refer to Yannick Ripa’s “Armes d’hommes contre femmes désarmées: de la dimension sexuée de la violence dans la guerre civile espagnole” in Dauphin, Cécile, and Arlette Farge. *De la violence et des femmes*. Paris: A. Michel, 1997. Print.

not arbitrary, but rather the translation of a pervasive pre-existing patriarchal anxiety surrounding women's unrestrained and unmonitored sexuality. In *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, Margaret Higonnet observes that "emergency conditions either alter or reinforce existing notions of gender, the nation and the family. The ideas are not, however, created anew, but grounded in previous social and cultural sources. Within this system, female dependency is almost always presented as 'natural', as is the state of peace" (Higonnet et al. 5). War brings about the need for a re-gendering activity; *id est*, society must reiterate and reinforce established gender constructs that the wartime experience eroded (17). In this respect, war "draws upon preexisting definitions of gender at the same time that it restructures gender relations. When peace comes, messages of reintegration are expressed within a rhetoric of gender that establishes the postwar social assignments of men and women" (4).

In light of these considerations, chapter I of the dissertation at hand, "The Politics of Desire: Female Sexuality and Socioeconomic Emancipation," expounds upon the prevalent notion of WWI/II sexual collaboration as a gendered punishment. It has been argued that, as a form of sexual violence aimed at sexually-'transgressive' women, the *tonte* is an incarnation of patriarchal anxiety surrounding female sexuality. I advance the notion that French women's relationships with German soldiers during the war not only violated nationalist codes of behavior but also contravened a status quo contingent upon women's subordination. Though not all French women slept with the 'enemy' because they wanted to (see also: rape, economic need), there was always a lingering suspicion that they desired it and/or derived pleasure from it. The very fact of positing the 'crime' of sexual collaboration as a crime of 'proximity/visibility', in Fabrice Virgili's terms, illustrates the importance of the *être/paraître* dichotomy inherent in this phenomenon. As Chapter I shows, the very visibility of a franco-german association was

incriminating for women, even if it did not lead to sexual contact of any sort. Countless women were denounced and arrested at the Liberation based on hearsay because of the presumption that intention is tantamount to the act itself. For a woman to have desired and derived pleasure on her own terms, outside of the confines of a marital and reproductive sexuality, was problematic due to its potential to destabilize the patriarchal status quo. In addition, many women derived concrete benefits from their relationships with German soldiers (e.g. more money, additional help running the home, etc) at a time when the country was deprived of basic resources. Such personal improvements added to the resentment generated by an overall, yet temporary, upheaval in the condition of women (due to increased presence in the workplace, visibility in the public sphere, etc.). At the same time that the French state encouraged women to participate in the war effort by managing the homefront, it also attributed to them a climate of national degeneration and the erosion of ‘proper’ femininity and masculinity. The expression of an autonomous female desire via sexual acts with the national ‘enemy’, whether this desire was manifest or presumed, indicated women’s potential for emancipation from the fetters of the patriarchal state. It is in this specific context that chapter I refers to sexual collaboration as an instrument of dissention and female agency. It is also in view of these precise considerations that the *tontes* can be posited as a punishment aimed at re-taming the female body and re-affirming *all* women’s place in the patriarchy through the ceremonial violation of a scapegoated few.

Chaper II, “The Consolidation of Wartime Gender Fictions: Private Bodies, Public Discourses,” posits the *tontes* as anchored in a patriarchal imperative to preserve social structure. It isolates precise discourses (i.e. gender fictions) deployed to reclaim and re-assert control of women’s bodies. In establishing a link between the private body and the social body, the patriarchal mechanisms of power operative during the two World Wars inscribed female

sexuality and its powers of reproduction into a larger nationalist, gendered agenda that presented women as either spoils of war or compromised possessions in need of purification. One discourse pivotal to the French wartime state was centered around reproduction.

Chapter III, “Controlling the Female Body: The Maternal Imperative,” expounds upon Rich’s concept of motherhood as an institution by examining the ways in which French women were both included and excluded from citizenship in their capacities as (concrete or potential) mothers. In its analysis of legislation and debates surrounding the nuclear family, the chapter illustrates the importance of reproductive sexuality and the institution of motherhood in “the renewal of male power” (Rich 61). Given the primacy of the (re)productive female body, women who had either refused to reproduce or produced ‘enemy’ children, represented a transgressive element in immediate need of correction.

Chapter IV, “Objectifying the Subject: Punishing Female Dissent and Re-Establishing the Patriarchal Order,” situates the body of the sexual collaborator in a Foucauldian context of corrigible transgressive femininity. Through a resurgence of punishment as spectacle, the French patriarchal state set out to rearticulate the female (re)productive body as a docile body. The *tonte* emerged as symbolic purification ceremony with a multifaceted aim: isolating the transgressive female element, labeling the element as ‘corrupt’ and in need of rehabilitation, purifying the ‘sinner’ through a series of pseudo-religious rituals, and reintegrating the ‘reformed’ woman into society. The ceremony itself operated in three stages: objectification, de-sexualization and provisional exile. In light of the profound damage the *tontes* have exerted upon female collaborators as well as the female wartime population as a whole, and given the dearth of improvement in the overall condition of women in the immediate aftermath of the war, one is

inclined to conclude that this form of sexual violence was successful in reintegrating women into the patriarchal economy as objects.

### *The politics of female sexuality: theoretical considerations*

The previous pages have introduced terms such as ‘patriarchal’, ‘gendered punishment’ and ‘gender constructs’<sup>9</sup> which are fundamental concepts to the arguments advanced in this work. Because these words reference complex ideas within the macrocosm of feminist scholarship and also because their meaning is subsequently adapted to convey a specific message within the microcosm of the dissertation at hand, it is necessary to take a moment and establish a theoretical foundation. The aim is not to rehash decades of pioneering gender studies scholarship but to provide a brief overview of those works that have helped shape my own for the purpose of grounding subsequent claims in a theoretical continuity. As previously mentioned, the *tontes* were a gendered punishment. This form of chastisement was reserved for women whose *sexual* behaviors were deemed transgressive by the patriarchal state (to be understood here as the French state as a socio-political entity during and immediately after the two World Wars). The fact that female head shavings pre-date these events and transcend France’s borders suggests a continuum of sexual violence<sup>10</sup> against women of which WWI/II France is merely one point. Though an in-depth historical analysis of female head shaving spanning several centuries and countries is beyond the scope of this dissertation, an analysis of sexual violence against French women in the context of the two World Wars is certainly a good place to start asking some

---

<sup>9</sup> To be used synonymously with “gender discourses/fictions” in following pages and understood as pre-existing ideological structures promulgated as truth by a western patriarchy. More on this in chapter II.

<sup>10</sup> For a crucial and complete historical analysis of rape as another form of sexual violence against women, please see Brownmiller, Susan. *Against our Will: Men, Women and Rape*. New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1975. Print. For information on rape as a weapon of war, consult Rittner, Carol and John K. Roth. *Rape: Weapon of War and Genocide*. St. Paul, MN: Paragon House, 2012. Print.

important questions. Why did such forms of violence happen only to women? Did certain wartime conditions converge to create a propitious environment for such acts? The following pages address these questions and conclude with an invitation to reflect on the contemporary relevance of such seemingly-isolated historical events.

Because the work at hand is concerned with wartime patriarchy in the context of the two World Wars in France, I would like to make an important parenthesis on the term *patriarchy*—controversial among feminist scholars—by aligning my choice of nomenclature with Judith M. Bennett’s defense of its use in her essay “Feminism and History”. Bennett acknowledges that “patriarchy originally denoted the legal powers of a father over his wife, children, and other dependents, and it is still used by some historians in this specific sense (...) Although patriarchy originally derived from a specific familial meaning, it is now used by feminists in its broader sense” (Bennett 65). The sense she refers to, and the point of reference for my own work, is that of Adrienne Rich in *Of Woman Born*, where Rich defines patriarchy as a multi-faceted system anchored in several intersecting *mechanisms of power* (emphasized in italics below)—

Patriarchy is the power of the fathers: a familial-social, ideological, political system in which men—by *force, direct pressure, or through ritual, tradition, law, and language, customs, etiquette, education, and the division of labor*, determine what part women shall or shall not play, and in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male (57, emphasis mine).

I contend that the subsuming of the French woman under her male compatriot during WWI/II was the result of a confluence of discourses produced and enforced by a multitude of mechanisms of power. Each of these mechanisms gave rise to specific, though rarely unprecedented, fluctuating forms of domination, exemplified in parentheses: force (internment in

camps, head shaving), direct pressure (threats/surveillance/denunciation by community members), ritual (the *tontes* as pseudo-religious rites for penitence), tradition/customs (gender roles), law (pro-natalist and pro-familialist legislation), language (the articulation of a gender-specific form of collaboration anchored in ‘transgressive’ female sexuality and subsequent pejorative terms employed for sexual collaborators), etiquette (double standards in codes of conduct for prisoners of war and their wives), education (instructing women in view of more ‘feminine’ career paths: teaching, nursing, secretarial work, etc) and the division of labor (integration of women into unskilled, lower-paying jobs for the duration of the war followed by mass demobilization upon men’s return). Bennett indicates that the term “has been misrepresented as a transhistorical, fatalistic term which implies that women’s oppression is unchanging, natural, and inevitable. But patriarchy clearly has existed in many forms and varieties, and its history will, in fact, be a history of many different historical patriarchies” (Bennett 65). The specific focus of this dissertation is on *one* form of patriarchy at *one* particular point in time and in *one* part of the world, that is to say French patriarchy during and immediately after the two World Wars. Bennett also indicates that

patriarchy has been attacked as a too-encompassing term that ignores the many different experiences of women of different times, countries, religions, races, sexualities, classes and the likes. But patriarchy highlights the pervasiveness and durability of women’s oppression, without denying the differences generated by such other oppressions as imperialism, racism, feudalism, capitalism, and heterosexism...[a] term to describe the systems – with multi-faceted and varying forms– through which the superordination of men has been established and preserved (66).

As an extension of this logic, speaking about French women's uniform oppression<sup>11</sup> by the WWI/II patriarchy does not imply that the entire female population was a monolith and did not experience oppression<sup>12</sup> in varied configurations as it intersected with issues such as racism, classism or heterosexism. Yet despite the differences in wartime experiences between a bourgeois housewife living in Paris at the time of the Occupation, for example, and a poor farm worker living in the countryside, their struggle exhibited commonalities that cannot and should not be overlooked. Patriarchal wartime discourses addressed women primarily based on their shared gender and the specific roles assigned to it, only secondarily by class. One example is nationalistic discourses advocating a maternal imperative<sup>13</sup> whereby wartime "debates about women became debates about mothers" (Grayzel 2). Similarly, speaking about WWI and WWII women interchangeably, as a shared entity, should not be understood as an attempt to obfuscate individual female experiences or reductively conflate two different political contexts. Instead, it should be noted that a debate about French women, and sexual collaborators in particular, can only be correctly and fully understood through the prism of both armed conflicts. In other words, there is an overarching continuity in French women's wartime struggles and a cyclical form of oppression as evidenced by specific, recurring acts of violence against sentimental collaborators that requires a simultaneous examination of the French patriarchal apparatus during both World

---

<sup>11</sup> bell hooks disagrees with the notion of "common oppression" which she considers to be a reductive belief held by "primarily bourgeois white women...a false and corrupt platform disguising and mystifying the true nature of women's varied and complex social reality" (hooks 44). While I find this criticism noteworthy, I believe that solidarity on the premise of the "pervasiveness and durability of women's oppression" (Bennett 66) and awareness of intersectionality are no longer mutually exclusive.

<sup>12</sup> hooks objects to "the model of Sisterhood created by bourgeois women's liberationists. According to their analysis, the basis for bonding was shared victimization, hence the emphasis on common oppression" (45). Like Sheila Rowbotham, she claims that this view occults instances of female agency since "in their daily lives most women are not continually passive, helpless, or powerless 'victims'" and allows white women to conveniently overlook the privilege they have vis-à-vis "women outside their race/class groups. Identifying as 'victims,' they could abdicate responsibility for their role in the maintenance and perpetuation of sexism, racism and classism, which they did by insisting that only men were the enemy" (45-6).

<sup>13</sup> See chapter III.

Wars. Although, ideally, an inquiry into the French patriarchy during the two World Wars should be analyzed in the broader context of successive forms of patriarchy throughout French history, such an enormous task transcends my purpose and competency and I am led to concur with Judith Bennett's estimation that "we do not need to find the origin (or origins) of patriarchy in order to establish its historicity. Patriarchy has clearly existed in many different manifestations in past societies, and these different manifestations constitute a history" (Bennett 66). Nonetheless, further contextual clarity with respect to the evolution of patriarchy in the western world (and in France in particular) can be found in Simone de Beauvoir's groundbreaking work, *Le deuxième sexe*.

Beauvoir introduces the first volume of her work with an immediate attempt to pinpoint the origin of female subordination and, as such, the exact moment the patriarchy was born. She launches the proposition that the woman has always been described as relative to man, one half of a persistent dichotomy that is far from equal. Because she exists only in reference to the male, the female is not a subject in her own right but rather "l'Autre", or "the Other" (I: 17). As the *Other* by default, woman has always been subaltern to man who has historically created laws to serve his own agenda and subsequently employed power mechanisms of his own making such as religion, philosophy, etc to circulate ideological discourses aimed at 'justifying' and perpetuating woman's inferiority (22-4). According to Beauvoir, the female is further alienated by the biological imperative to reproduce: "l'individualité de la femelle est combattue par l'intérêt de l'espèce" (64), her subordination to the procreative functions of her body conflict with her desire and ability to claim herself an individual within her own right<sup>14</sup> (70-2). While the "servitudes de

---

<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to note (per chapter III) that one of the primary patriarchal gender discourses circulating during both World Wars was a maternal one. It reminded women of their biological duty to both gender and nation under the guise of moralistic patriotism and propaganda aimed at regenerating a dwindling nation. By legislating on divorce, contraception and abortion and making "Travail. Famille. Patrie." the national slogan of WWII-France, the

la femelle” (70) sounds like a bleak and fatalistic concept, Beauvoir claims that biology should not be a woman’s destiny (72-3) and that nature is not the only force able to shape an individual. Beauvoir refers to societal conventions and customs as “seconde nature...c’est en tant que corps assujetti à des tabous, à des lois, que le sujet prend conscience de lui-même et s’accomplit” (78). In other words, the female body (which has historically imprisoned women through a succession of imposed maternities), while governed by biological functions, is also inscribed with meaning by the particular society in which it lives: “le corps de la femme est un des éléments essentiels de la situation qu’elle occupe en ce monde” (79). This claim echoes Michel Foucault in *Surveiller et punir* : “Mais le corps est aussi directement plongé dans un champ politique ; les rapports de pouvoir opèrent sur lui une prise immédiate ; ils l’investissent, le marquent, le dressent, le supplicient, l’astreignent à des travaux, l’obligent à des cérémonies, exigent de lui des signes... le corps ne devient force utile que s’il est à la fois corps productif et corps assujetti” (34). Foucault’s theory of the physical form as a political arena whereby the productive human body becomes the cornerstone of an economy of power contingent upon its docility can be extended to women with the proviso that the female body is the (re)productive body. The tension inherent in such a gendered imposition is evidenced by the public WWI debates between Dr. Bonnaire (proponent of women’s factory work) and Pinard (proponent of women’s wholehearted dedication to children and the home) and the emphasis on French women’s alleged “impôt du sang” (“blood tax,” or duty to the nation, via child birth as opposed to the male duty of combat on the front). As Pinard himself claimed, “Avant leurs bras, le pays blessé veut leurs flancs” (Thébaud, *Les femmes* 393)<sup>15</sup>.

---

Vichy regime, through an extension of Beauvoir’s reasoning, imprisoned women once more inside the biological injunction to reproduce, thus re-emphasizing their alterity vis-à-vis men.

<sup>15</sup> For an extended discussion, see chapter III.

In chapters 2 and 3 of her first volume, Beauvoir sets out to examine the political meaning attributed to the female body through psychoanalytical and historical-materialism discourses. She acknowledges Friedrich Engels' theory that female oppression originated within the family with the emergence of private property and the implicit institutionalization of marriage, yet finds this line of reasoning reductive as it defines men and women as mere economic entities entrenched in a perpetual productive-reproductive dynamic (107). However, Beauvoir also concedes that the development of agriculture and the subsequent penchant for property ownership led to an increased emphasis on heritage which further enslaved women (136-8), an idea corroborated by Rich: "At the core of patriarchy is the individual family unit which originated with the idea of property and the desire to see one's property transmitted to one's biological descendants" (Rich 60). At the same time that men claimed 'active' contributions to the world (expansion, invention, combat), they relegated women to the 'passive' tasks of engendering and looking after the home (Beauvoir, I: 112-5). As the importance of clan and heritage augmented, women's lives became more sedentary and their work, albeit necessary, increasingly devalued (118-122). Complementary gender codes were established and the *Other* was once again subsumed under the male force (115). Margaret R. Higonnet and Patrice L.-R. Higonnet advance an image of "a double helix" which

allows us to see that, although the roles of men and women vary greatly from culture to culture, their relationship is in some sense constant. If men gather and women fish, gathering will be thought more important than fishing; in another society where men fish and women gather, fishing will be more prestigious. The actual nature of the social activity is not as critical as the cultural perception of its relative value in a gender-linked structure of subordination (Higonnet 34).

Beauvoir's complementary gender codes and Higonnet's double helix phenomenon of gendered valuation are inherent in wartime national discourses on maternity (aimed at women on the homefront) and combative virility (aimed at men on the front lines)<sup>16</sup>. Rich furthers Beauvoir's notion that "l'oppression de la femme a sa cause dans la volonté de perpétuer la famille et de maintenir intacte le patrimoine" (Beauvoir 147) by conceding that "the regulation of women's reproductive power by men in every totalitarian system and every socialist revolution, the legal and technical control by men of contraception, fertility, abortion, obstetrics, gynecology, and extrauterine reproductive experiments—all are essential to the patriarchal system, as is the negative or suspect status of women who are not mothers" (Rich 34). Both theoreticians perceive motherhood as pivotal to the success of the patriarchy (Rich 43). Beauvoir asserts that "en vérité le passage au droit paternel s'est accompli par de lentes transitions. La conquête masculine a été une reconquête : l'homme n'a fait que prendre possession de ce que déjà il possédait ; il a mis le droit en harmonie avec la réalité" (Beauvoir 136).

British socialist-feminist scholar Sheila Rowbotham, though she acknowledges the problematic gender relations generated by the patriarchy (as opposed to those generated by class struggles), finds the term itself disputable. She claims that the label 'patriarchy' is ahistorical and monolithic because "[i]t implies a universal and historical form of oppression (...) it suggests there is a single determining cause of women's subordination" (Rowbotham 52). In her opinion, "[p]atriarchy suggests a fatalistic submission which allows no space for the complexities of women's defiance" (52) and thus obscures not only women's agency within such a system but also existing positive aspects of male-female relations that "include varying degrees of mutual aid" (53). Rowbotham's objections are noteworthy. From this perspective, attributing the *tontes*

---

<sup>16</sup> See chapter II.

to the ‘patriarchy’ as an umbrella term for various forms of gender oppression may seem like a facile interpretation of history. It seemingly negates wartime women’s nuanced experiences and obfuscates their agency by advancing a black-and-white interpretation of an otherwise complex dynamic of oppression. To these objections, I oppose Sally Alexander and Barbara Taylor’s eloquent question in response to Rowbotham’s essay: “But does all this loving and needing and solidarising prove there is no general structure of sexual antagonism, only bad times and good times?” (58). Acknowledging the role of patriarchy in the oppression of women does not preclude identifying instances of female agency, nor does it obviate cases of male-female solidarity. In addition, the very concept of patriarchy “allows us to confront not only the day-to-day social practices through which men exercise power over women” but also to recognize the limitations of theories on class conflict in elucidating sexual conflict (57). “It has helped us to think about sexual division—which cannot be understood simply as a by-product of economic class relations or of biology” (58). For this reason, socioeconomic inequalities between French women during the two World Wars (e.g. bourgeois housewife vs factory worker vs village farmer), while important, cannot explain the forms of oppression common to all. If one may briefly return to Adrienne Rich’s definition of patriarchy (Rich 57), one begins to understand the importance of “the mechanisms by which women’s subordination are reproduced” referenced by Alexander and Taylor in their response to Rowbotham (Alexander and Taylor 57). My own work draws upon these considerations. It is premised upon the notion that patriarchy derives its power from the intersection of several mechanisms progressively built by the patriarchs in an attempt to secure their domination over the female *Other*. Because the system’s authority does not reside in any one locus but is rather dispersed among many, any attempt to successfully destabilize the system would need to systematically target and undermine several focal loci at once. This

analysis does not attempt to occult instances where French men supported women, nor does it claim that French wartime women were hopelessly oppressed at all times. On the contrary, it argues that French women did, in fact, express agency in various ways during both wars. Because wartime economy propelled them into the public sphere and due to the mass migration of men to the front, many women succeeded in making executive decisions with respect to their bodies, households, and families. As we shall see in subsequent chapters, it is precisely because they managed to destabilize several mechanisms of power that wartime women generated such patriarchal anxiety. If Vichy's triptych of "Travail. Famille. Patrie" may be evoked as an incarnation of the three most important loci of French patriarchal power, wartime women and sexual collaborators *did* inflict significant blows to a system contingent upon their subservience through their massive participation in the workforce<sup>17</sup> (ironically advocated by the patriarchy itself for the sake of the wartime nationalist cause), 'transgressive' use of their bodies and sexuality (recourse to contraception and abortion, adultery) and 'unpatriotic' behavior (relations with enemy soldiers leading in a rise in illegitimate births, efforts to hinder fighting through movements for pacifism, etc). The very fact that the *tontes* emerged as a systematic tactic to chastise and relegate *all* women to their pre-wartime roles through public, gender-specific sexual violence<sup>18</sup> is indicative of an imbalance in the status quo that the patriarchy felt an urgent need to correct. And yet such affirmations of female autonomy, albeit their temporary fruition, are not entirely unproblematic.

---

<sup>17</sup> bell hooks would object to the idea that female participation in the workforce or the fact of eschewing maternity as female duty are liberationist acts. She claims that such ideology is espoused by the white middle-class and discounts the validating, safe space many women of color find in motherhood as well as the oppression many poor and working-class women encounter within the workplace (134).

<sup>18</sup> See chapter IV.

In “Feminism and History”, Judith M. Bennett states, “Women have not been merely passive victims of patriarchy; they have also colluded in, undermined, and survived patriarchy. But neither have women been free agents; they have always faced ideological, institutional and practical barriers to equitable association with men (and indeed, with other women)” (67). In fact, she states, “[w]omen’s agency, *per se* is part of the strength of patriarchy” (67). Simone de Beauvoir echoes this concern by reminding the reader that a woman refusing the alterity assigned to her means relinquishing the very little power she may have: “Refuser d’être l’Autre, refuser la complicité avec l’homme, ce serait pour elles renoncer à tous les avantages que l’alliance avec la caste supérieure peut leur conférer<sup>19</sup>. L’homme-suzerain protégera matériellement la femme-lige” (Beauvoir I : 23). Adrienne Rich corroborates this notion by showing that motherhood<sup>20</sup> as a patriarchal institution is contingent upon female cooperation: “Patriarchy depends on the mother to act as a conservative influence, imprinting future adults with patriarchal values even in those early years when the mother-child relationship might seem most individual and private (...) it has created images of the archetypal Mother which reinforce the conservatism of motherhood and convert it to an energy for the renewal of male power” (Rich 61). It is perhaps this very perverse subsuming of female agency under patriarchy that has rendered wartime women’s success in upsetting the patriarchal status quo merely temporary. Aside from earning the ability to become legal guardians of their children (‘loi Violette’, 1917) and the right to vote (1944), French women did not experience much legal advancement in the aftermath of the two World Wars. Instead they were re-incorporated into a paternalistic system still governed

---

<sup>19</sup> For a direct example, refer to the archetype of the “rombière” and women policing other women on behalf of the patriarchal state in chapter II’s subsection entitled “Systems of female surveillance”.

<sup>20</sup> For a discussion on the limited/illusory power of women within a patriarchal system as mothers of citizens, see chapter III.

by the Napoleonic Code since 1804<sup>21</sup>. Given the upheaval in gender relations during both conflicts, one may wonder why French women did not manage to permanently reject their oppression, or at the very least secure more legal rights. Though Higonnet's comments on gender dynamics during war and peace may be evoked, the question is far too complex to successfully undertake here. Nonetheless, on a broad level, both Beauvoir and Rich advance some strategies for successful female empowerment. For Beauvoir, the improvement in women's status necessitates "la convergence de ces deux facteurs : participation à la production, affranchissement de l'esclavage de la reproduction" (Beauvoir 209). As chapters II and III show, French wartime women became both productive and *reproductive* bodies. Any attempts to escape the confines of regulated production (through self-employed prostitution, for example) or reproduction (via abortion, illegitimate maternity, etc) were met with a renewed set of laws and/or national debates geared at re-channeling and re-inscribing the (re)productive female body into a patriarchal economy anchored in female docility<sup>22</sup>. For Rich, female empowerment must originate from the very core of female oppression and must necessarily address and problematize the female body (and, by extension, female sexuality) as a political platform. In her perspective, "The repossession by women of our bodies will bring far more essential change to human society than the seizing of the means of production by workers" (Rich 285). The unifying element to both scholars' perspectives is that women may undermine the patriarchy by thoroughly reclaiming their bodies/sexuality (Beauvoir would argue, *qua* their alterity).

In light of the Foucauldian conception of the human form simultaneously subjugated and vested with power, and with the help of the aforementioned theoretical building blocks, the following pages set out to explore how, within the very specific WWI/II French patriarchal state,

---

<sup>21</sup> For a discussion on the Napoleonic Code and French women's legal rights, refer to chapter III.

<sup>22</sup> For a feminist reinterpretation of Foucault's concept of docile, productive bodies, refer to chapter IV.

French women's collective (re)productive bodies, intentionally or inadvertently, undermined multiple mechanisms of power via the wartime experience of *all* females and the sexual collaboration of *a few*. As the temporary shift in gender relations gained momentum, the need for an immediate re-evaluation of extant gender fictions became apparent. Faced with concrete (or merely presumed<sup>23</sup>) expressions of sexual agency, the patriarchal state responded with the criminalization of divergent sexual practices. In the aftermath of both wars, deportation to internment camps and public head shavings arose as repressive tools that re-objectified the emerging female subject through the systematic punishment of her unrestrained sexuality<sup>24</sup>.

The task I have undertaken is certainly not entirely novel and I am indebted to many scholars for socio-historical work that has paved the way to my own. Nonetheless, while building my corpus (highlighted in the section below), I have noticed a few problematic tendencies. Firstly, though I have encountered a plethora of works on French women's global experiences during either/both war(s) as well as several essays and books analyzing sentimental collaboration and head shavings in the context of each war, there seems to be a dearth of scholarship focused on simultaneous exploration of both armed conflicts and of the ideological continuity evidenced by the recurrent gendered oppression of women via their sexuality. One explanation is that, as discussed in chapter IV, head shavings were few and far between during the First World War and did not have the same political dimensions or geographical reach as those in the aftermath of World War Two. While ample documentation exists detailing the WWII *tontes* in France (legal documents, photographs and video footage, testimonies, etc.), relatively few documents have

---

<sup>23</sup> For the illusory distinction between concrete and presumed transgressions with respect to sexual collaboration, see chapter I.

<sup>24</sup> Consult chapter IV for an analysis of the specific stages of the *tonte* as a ceremonial purification/reintegration rite [1. the objectification of the female body (stripping of clothing, marking, parading), 2. the de-sexualization of the body (shaving of the hair), and 3. the temporary exile of the newly-purified body for the purpose of its reintegration into society].

survived on the treatment of female sexual collaborators during WWI, and only anecdotal evidence is available regarding *tontes* occurring in the north of France. While this is true, to overlook or underestimate the commonalities in the treatment of sexual collaborators between the two wars is to erroneously treat the oppression of women during each war as a separate event. Secondly, with a handful of exceptions, most scholars choose to focus on historical documents, testimonies, biographies, photographs and other forms of media at the detriment of fictional works produced during and after the wars (unless these works served a propagandist wartime agenda). The latent assumption is that fictional literature has little or nothing to bring to the table or, worse, that it is mere fabrication unworthy of trust. This collective reader skepticism is one Albert Camus identifies in *L'homme révolté* : “D’une façon générale, on a toujours considéré que le romanesque se séparait de la vie et qu’il l’embellissait en même temps qu’il la trahissait” (267). In *Les tondues : Un carnaval moche*, Alain Brossat challenges such literary mistrust by positing the fictional novel as the core of collective memory : “Ainsi, pour les mêmes raisons qu’elle embarrasse l’historien, la scène de tonte et la tondue sont la providence et la provende du romancier ; de la sorte, la littérature est devenue, bien davantage que les très nombreux ouvrages consacrés à la Libération par les historiens, le lieu de mémoire par excellence de ce service funèbre et joyeux où se célèbre la fin de l’Occupation” (47). Like Julie Desmarais, I believe the perspective of the “artiste” (to be understood here as the fictional novel writer) should be included with that of the “témoin” and the “expert” (Desmarais 7).

### *Literary corpus*

The following pages rely heavily on the perspectives of experts, many of whom, in turn, have relied on the wartime accounts of first hand witnesses, or “témoins”. Historians and critics

who have written on the topic of sexual collaboration in France concede that multiple influences coalesced to create a propitious environment for complex forms of violence such as the *tontes* to reoccur. To this date, Fabrice Virgili's *La France "virile": Des femmes tondues à la Libération* remains the primary point of reference for an exhaustive study of shorn women during World War II. His later publication, *Naître ennemi: Les enfants de couples franco-allemands nés pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, is an organic sequel of sorts that expands on the idea of sexual collaboration and further introduces the topic of illegitimate children conceived between foreign women and Nazi soldiers as well as German women and foreign soldiers. Six additional works written through the lens of women's experiences provide a useful general sense of the political climate and the way in which numerous discourses on gender came together to reclaim gender roles in times of war. Margaret Higonnet et al.'s collection of essays *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* highlights women's strikingly-similar wartime experiences in England, France, Germany, Italy and the United States. Hanna Diamond's *Women and the Second World War in France 1939-1948* analyses women's survival strategies during the war as well as their political involvement. Claire Duchén's *Women's Rights and Women's Lives in France 1944-1968* provides a useful summary of the developments in women's rights immediately after WWII and leading up to the events of May '68. Sarah Fishman's *We Will Wait: Wives of French Prisoners of War, 1940-1945*, examines the struggles and experiences of French POW wives who constituted a significant fraction of the female population. Susan Grayzel's *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* and Françoise Thébaud's *Les femmes au temps de la guerre de 14* are critical to a full understanding of women's experiences during the Great War in particular and a welcome contribution to a plethora of scholarship focused uniquely on the Second World

War. For a more masculinist historical approach, one may consult Philippe Burrin's *La France à l'heure allemande: 1940-1944* for its chapter on the Franco-German relationships during the Occupation and Yves Durand's *La captivité: Histoire des prisonniers de guerre français, 1939-1945* for its attempt to tactfully handle the topic of male sexual transgressions.

While a broad understanding of women's daily experiences during the war is contextually necessary, this dissertation is concerned with a very particular area of women's experience during the two World Wars, that of sexuality and bodily transgression, with the underlying assumption that, "the physical body is at once our most intimate experience and our most inescapable public form. Because it is at once so inalienably private and so ineluctably public, it has also formed, in most western cultures, the most basic political resource. It has been used as an image of the order of state and society" (Outram 1). The inherent politicization of the female body in French society became heightened during both World Wars and female sexuality quickly emerged as a set of practices and mentalities that the nation needed to manage more effectively. On the topic of war and sexuality, two particular works have helped lay the groundwork for further research on my part. Jean-Yves Le Naour's *Misères et tourments de la chair durant la Grande Guerre: Les mœurs sexuelles des Français, 1914-1918* provides an in-depth analysis of all sexual rhetoric in France during the First World War. For a similar analysis of French WWII sexuality, Patrick Buisson's two-volume work *1940-1945: Années érotiques* explores wartime sexual anxiety, gender discourses and various sexual practices categorized by the government as illicit, such as homosexuality, adultery and prostitution. In addition to the crucial scholarship of Le Naour and Buisson, the collection of essays entitled *Amours, guerre et sexualité: 1914-1945* edited by François Rouquet et al. brims with relevant material on wartime body politics.

Although all the aforementioned critical works provide a much-needed contextualization of isolated gender discourses in effect during WWI/II, many of them approach the deportation and head shaving of horizontal collaborators as specific historical occurrences that speak more about French wartime society than about the pre-existing gender mentalities that continue to shape our contemporary consciousness. In opting for a historical approach, most of these works privilege witness accounts, memoirs, biographies and other authentic documents at the expense of useful fictional representations written both during and after the two wars. As Alain Brossat has intimated, fiction—also driven by a desire to draw meaning from symbolic acts—affords a more accessible space where collective memory may be preserved. Albeit fictional, the novel draws upon real events, images and emotions deeply ingrained in the collective consciousness. As literature cannot exist in a vacuum, so the novel mirrors society. One might argue that fiction often uncovers truths that non-fictional works, preoccupied with the burden of proof, fail to recognize. In the specific case of French fiction that addresses WWI and WWII, these works provide a privileged meeting place for war- and peacetime gender discourses, unmasking the gender fictions inherent in French society. My corpus of fictional works includes seven novels and two screenplays. The most recent of these works was published in 2008, six others were published in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, two were written clandestinely during World War II and one of them was published in the period between the two wars. While these works may display stylistic and ideological differences, they all participate, consciously or not, in the extant reconstruction of collective memory. By privileging certain discourses over others, each of these authors has (re)claimed and (re)written a piece of history thus bringing us closer to understanding the deep scars the two World Wars have left on the French subconscious.

For perspectives on life under German occupation, I have chosen *Invasion 14, Suite française* and *Le silence de la mer*. Maxence Van Der Meersch's *Invasion 14*, published in 1935 by a French Flemish writer, evokes the daily struggles of the people in the northern town of Roubaix during the German invasion of France and Belgium in 1914. The novel's detailed portrayal of wartime society in all its forms is mirrored by Irène Némirovsky's *Suite française*, written between 1940 and 1941 by a Jewish bourgeois woman of Ukrainian origins. The latter is comprised of two novellas in a projected five-part series that remained unfinished after the author was deported to Auschwitz where she died shortly thereafter. While both *Invasion 14* and *Suite française* depict strikingly-similar realities under the German occupation, notably, the struggle to reconcile patriotic duty with basic instincts of survival, Némirovsky and Van Der Meersch differ in their treatment of female characters and, in particular, in their interpretation of sentimental collaborators. Van Der Meersch writes with paternalistic undertones and his female characters are almost always presented as victims of their choices who eventually regret having transgressed their assigned roles. As a woman writer, Némirovsky seems more preoccupied with the idea of female agency, despite her main character's eventual capitulation and reintegration into the patriarchal system. In stark contrast with these two novels illustrating a French society torn between resistance and collaboration, Jean Bruller's *Le silence de la mer* inscribes itself into the pro-Resistance intellectual propaganda movement. Published clandestinely in 1942 under the pseudonym Vercors, the allegorical novel features a chaste French woman symbolic of a "France résistante" rejecting the Occupation by treating the German officer stationed in her home with complete reservation. Her refusal to speak to the officer is an injunction to the entire French nation to reverse the power dynamic by avoiding any type of fraternization with the enemy.

Although the *tondue* is either a mere fleeting image or entirely absent from these narratives, the depictions of women's wartime experiences found in these novels is incredibly useful in understanding the context of the *tontes* as a gendered punishment. Extracts from one additional novel, Robert Sabatier's *La souris verte* (1990), have been equally incorporated for their occasional pertinence to the topic. This short novel is a particularly valuable source as it depicts an interesting inversion of circumstances whereby the male narrator becomes a sentimental collaborator (without the societal stigma) through his relationship with a member of the German female auxiliary services during WWII. On the topic of the *tontes*, I have selected five texts: Marguerite Duras' screenplay for Alain Resnais' film entitled *Hiroshima mon amour* (film released in 1959, screenplay published in 1960), Henning Mankell's translated play *Des jours et des nuits à Chartres* (Swedish original published in 2008, French translation in 2011), Guy Croussy's *La tondue* (1980), Sylvie Germain's *L'inaperçu* (2008) and Bertrand Arbogast's *La tondue: Un amour de jeunesse franco-allemand* (2010). It is interesting to note that, aside from Duras' screenplay in which the anonymous female *tondue* of Nevers directly describes her traumatizing experience as well as parts of Mankell's play, all the other proposed fictional works provide an exterior, third-person view of the victimized woman. In *Les tondues: Un carnaval moche*, Alain Brossat finds this issue perplexing:

Il faudrait au fond se demander pourquoi, dans la quasi-totalité des nombreux romans qui font apparaître le personnage de la tondue, elle se présente comme un élément de décor et non comme un véritable protagoniste ; pourquoi elle est toujours saisie par le regard extérieur que révolte le spectacle dont elle est la victime et l'accessoire, et est si peu un sujet agissant, sentant, parlant (47).

One proposed answer furthers the central argument of the following pages. If women are largely

absent from these narratives as acting, feeling, speaking *subjects*, it is because, in the aftermath of their wartime transgressions, they were forcefully reintegrated into society as *objects*. While their sexual escapades may have endowed them with a temporary sense of autonomy, their eventual chastisement was aimed at stripping them of this newfound freedom. Without going into further detail, it suffices to say that both in time of war and peace, when women bodies begin to speak, society's imperative becomes that of finding ways to silence them.

## CHAPTER I

### THE POLITICS OF DESIRE: FEMALE SEXUALITY AND SOCIOECONOMIC EMANCIPATION

In *La France "virile": Des femmes tondues à la Libération*, Fabrice Virgili estimates that around 20,000 women of all ages and professions were shorn in France between 1943 and 1946 (7). While these head shaving 'ceremonies' targeted various types of collaboration with the enemy — adherence to collaborationist organizations often coupled with pro-Nazi views and negative attitudes towards the Resistance or its Allies, monetary gains as a result of economic relations with the Occupier, denunciations of fellow Frenchmen to the German authorities or sexual relations with German soldiers— a significant number of shorn women were punished solely based on their personal relations with the enemy. Out of a sample of 586 shorn persons across 60 French departments whose cases have been most well-documented, Virgili found that 42.1% had their heads shaved due to such relations (23). It is important to note that while women were not the only victims of post-Liberation *tontes*, they were the only ones accused with respect to their sexuality (29, 83). In the rare cases where men had their heads shaved, the punishment targeted a wide range of political crimes but never their sexuality in particular. One instance of systematic male *tontes* can be found in the 1940 campaigns against the *zazous*: youngsters (male and female) with a passion for swing and jazz, easily identifiable by their long hair, English or American-inspired wardrobe and nonchalant attitudes with respect to the war. For men, the long hair was presumptively associated with homosexuality and lack of virility. Male *zazous* incarnated the antithesis of the virile soldier through their assimilation to women thereby insinuating a direct contribution to the disintegration of the social body and the perpetuation of an effeminate and sterile nation. The punishment consisted of public humiliation via *tontes* for

the men and *fessées* (spankings) for the women in addition to forced labor and the occasional deprivation of various civic duties (Buisson, *Années érotiques* I: 219-220).<sup>25</sup> According to Virgili, French men were shorn with certainty in at least 7 departments but for reasons completely unrelated to their intimate relationships such as “pillage, travail en Allemagne, appartenance à des groupes de collaboration (PPF, Milice, Franciste)” (“Les tontes de la libération en France” 65). Men’s private lives were not placed under scrutiny<sup>26</sup> and, as a result, no measures were taken at the Liberation to punish the illicit relationships between French men and German women forged during the war (Diamond 138-139)<sup>27</sup>. This discrepancy is indicative of an intrinsic national preoccupation with *female sexuality* during the war, an assessment that has led scholars such as Dominique François, Jean-Yves Le Naour and Hanna Diamond, to name just a few, to favor an understanding of the *tontes* as a gendered form of punishment. In *Femmes tondues: La diabolisation de la femme en 1944, les bûchers de la Libération*, François claims that “les tontes sont une punition de personnes en tant que femmes, une violence exercée contre, non pas des femmes mais les femmes” (96) while in her book, *Women and the Second World War in France, 1939-48*, Diamond pushes the same argument further by stating, “although the purges punished suspected collaborators of both sexes, they were also used as a way for men to express disapproval of women’s wartime behavior in a particularly gender-specific way” (134).

---

<sup>25</sup> For more information, see also p.240-242 in Capdevila, Luc. *Hommes et femmes dans la France en guerre (1914-1945)*. Paris : Payot & Rivages, 2003. Print.

<sup>26</sup> Because the patriarchal mechanisms of power reinforced male heterosexuality as the norm during both wars, homosexual men were sometimes marginalized with respect to their sexuality via the association of homosexuality with femininity and its various negative attributes: passivity, weakness, immorality, irresponsibility, selfishness. The sterile nature of such relationships in a time of acute preoccupation with reproduction further led to the vilification of homosexuals as hedonistic individuals preoccupied with their own pleasure rather than with the wellbeing of the nation as a whole. For more information on the issue of wartime homosexuality, please refer to p.124-131 of Florence Tamagne’s “Guerre et homosexualité” in Rouquet, François, Fabrice Virgili, and Danièle Voldman, eds. *Amours, guerres et sexualité: 1914-1945*. Paris: Gallimard, 2007. Print.

<sup>27</sup> Whereas the Nazi state attempted to carefully regulate interactions between French POWs and German women out of a concern for the purity of the Aryan race, the French state was rather lenient with respect to its prisoners’ sexual transgressions (Buisson I: 305-308, 310-313; Virgili, *Naître ennemi* 81-84). This exceptional tolerance was anchored in a double standard of morality, to be further explored in chapter II.

The very fact that “sentimental/sexual collaboration” had been established during World War II as type of crime against the State reveals the *tontes* that occurred at the Liberation to be incarnations of a patriarchal fear surrounding female sexuality. The accusations of immorality often found in testimonies against shorn women serve to support the charge of political collaboration by emphasizing sexuality as a gateway to other types of crime, thus obscuring the frontier between the private and the public. Luc Capdevila calls attention to the presumed link between sexual promiscuity and political denunciation commonly used to attribute political meaning to sexual acts between French women and German soldiers. In addition to the belief that sleeping with Germans bolstered enemy morale, “[l]’idée la plus répandue signale que la promiscuité avec les soldats allemands en fait des délatrices potentielles” (“La ‘collaboration sentimentale’” 70). Implicit in this idea is the assumption that sexual intimacy created a propitious environment for spying and extracting political information. As such, French women pursuing sexual exchanges with the enemy might be “potential informants,” ergo veritable political traitors. While a sexual act (proven or presumed) with the enemy was most often insufficient in itself to deem a French woman worthy of legal punishment (Virgili, *La France “virile”* 36), it undoubtedly contributed to a methodic fabrication of guilt anchored in deceptive rhetoric. The association of female sexuality with nationalism was the political dimension required to give legal bearing to an otherwise elusive offense and to ensure proper punishment for these “mauvaises Françaises” who transgressed their pre-established roles as French daughters, wives and mothers. By manipulating pre-existing discourses on female decorum and morality to include fallacies such as the idea of sexual promiscuity as a precursor to political collaboration<sup>28</sup> (denunciation, economic collaboration, etc.), the patriarchal mechanisms of

---

<sup>28</sup> For an excellent analysis of discourses on female sexuality and morality inherent in Revolutionary political rhetoric, please refer to Joan B. Landes’ *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in*

power operative in French society succeeded in reclaiming and reinforcing authority over women by drawing renewed attention to the female body as an ideological battleground. A French woman offering her body to the enemy was a woman capable of denunciation, abortion<sup>29</sup>, mercantile relations, each of these deviations incarnating a profound lack of patriotism, even treason (76). As Capdevila shows, the process of interrogating potential female collaborators at the Liberation often crossed into voyeurism as the officers stripped women of their intimacy by asking them to describe their sexual encounters in great detail. This phenomenon shows that if female intimacy was brought to the forefront, it was never as a means to alleviate charges of political involvement but rather as a manipulative technique to further inculcate women by drawing a direct correlation between their sexual practices and the integrity of the French nation as a whole. The generalized effort to politicize the female body, to be further analyzed in chapter II and III, suggests that sexuality, in all of its 'illicit' forms, shaped the identity of all shorn women.

The connection between sexuality and politics, and by extension the notion of the female body as a public space, not only predates the two World Wars but embodies an ideological undercurrent operative in the Western World since Antiquity<sup>30</sup>. One can argue that the continued

---

*Eighteenth-century France* in which she opposes two types of gendered imagery: the female allegory and the grotesque. She posits that "female grotesques exploited the strong ambivalence toward public women, which was a persistent theme in republicanism. Such depictions disclosed at the level of the body the very disorder and intrigue that sexually avaricious and politically ambiguous women of the Old Regime had been accused of promoting" (116).  
<sup>29</sup> The Vichy regime redefined abortion as a crime against the safety of the state, punishable by death. In 1943, the State guillotined Marie-Louise Giraud, a woman providing abortion services.

<sup>30</sup> One example lies in the Roman practice of *tutela mulierum perpetua*. Suzanne Dixon indicates that all Roman citizens were initially bound to paternal legal control and "had guardians (*tutores*) to safeguard their estate until puberty in the case of boys, who then took full control of their holdings. Girls, however, passed from one kind of guardian to another" (75). Upon marriage, women were subject to their husbands' families and a widow could inherit and manage her husband's estate only through the authority of a "*tutor* ('guardian')" (75). Dixon argues that "*tutela mulierum perpetua* was instituted to safeguard family property, not people, and that adult women were subject to it because, unlike their brothers, they were likely to transfer their birth-right to a different family unit. Exogamous marriage, whereby women transfer themselves and their reproductive rights away from the family of their birth, is essential to the workings of patrilineal cultures (in which property, names and family membership pass through the male or agnatic line) but it often results in this kind of institutional suspicion of women, who constitute a

preoccupation with deviant female sexuality is indicative not only of immediate ideological wartime concerns but of an overarching patriarchal economy that systematically attempts to shape female experience to its needs by defining and enforcing the ‘sexual norm’. In light of this imperative, all use of the adjective ‘transgressive’ or ‘illicit’ with respect to female sexuality should be understood here as mentalities and behaviors deemed outside of the norm due to their potential to undermine and ultimately endanger the patriarchal mechanisms that rely upon their regulation. This chapter aims to examine sexuality as an instrument of female agency and/or dissent. My premise here is, by no means, that all French women who had sexual relations with the enemy during the two World Wars did so to empower themselves either concretely, by temporarily improving their socioeconomic status for example, or ideologically, by crushing the oppressive gender roles governing their lives. In examining the various testimonies and personal accounts of women accused of sentimental collaboration, one finds a multitude of reasons ranging from economic need to naiveté to insouciance to rebellion and even rape<sup>31</sup>, yet one result common to all. Whatever the reasons for fraternizing with the enemy, female collaborators were almost always suspected of having desired these relationships and derived pleasure from them. As we shall see later in this chapter, autonomous female desire — self-defined and pursued

---

dynamic and mobile element in a system which places great weight, economically and morally, on stability” (75). The *tutela* practice changed over time and Augustus “as an incentive to parenthood...freed free-born women with three children or freed slave-women with four from *tutela*” (78). Dixon, Suzanne. *Reading Roman Women. Sources, Genres and Real Life*. London: Duckworth, 2001. Print. For a broader, theoretical analysis of sexual politics within the family as well as in various other social arenas, see Millett, Kate. *Sexual Politics*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1980. Print.

<sup>31</sup> In *Naître ennemi*, Fabrice Virgili argues that rape, a coerced sexual act by definition, did not spare women from criticism as victims were either presumed to have consented and enjoyed it or were accused of being complacent participants by having opted for enemy defilement over martyrdom. “[L]a seule véritable preuve de résistance d’une femme face à son agresseur était de se faire tuer. La survie rendait potentiellement coupable d’acceptation pour échapper à la mort” (240). The skepticism surrounding female victims of sexual violence acquired additional weight during WWII when the *Office national des pupilles de la nation* refused to offer any special assistance or reparations to children of rape because “la distinction entre les naissances par suite de viol et les autres s’avérerait bien difficile et bon nombre de mères coupables ne manqueraient pas de réclamer le bénéfice de ces dispositions particulières qu’elles n’auraient pas méritées” (240).

independently of conventional social norms— , whether real or imaginary, and the ensuing potential for pleasure were classified as taboo owing to the perceived danger they presented to a patriarchal economy whose success was contingent upon aligning female desires with male needs. In a sense, it was women's *potential* for empowerment through their sexuality that lay at the root of the patriarchal anxiety surrounding the female body. Additionally, in some cases, women's illicit sexual relationships brought about a concrete, albeit temporary, switch in social or socioeconomic status as some women acquired financial support, higher paying jobs and/or access to the public sphere through the influence of their partners. These *byproducts* of transgressive female sexuality also posed a threat to the patriarchal economy because they showed that even when women didn't intend to become emancipated, they had the potential to break the ideological fetters subjugating them should the patriarchy fail to intervene, repress such behaviors and re-inscribe them into the norm. All things considered, while it would be erroneous to assume that all women who resorted to fraternizing with the Occupier did so as a means to seek pleasure or derive benefits, it is not an exaggeration to claim that many, if not most, were *presumed* to have done so.

The issue of female desire momentarily aside, let us examine more closely some of the driving forces behind the sentimental collaboration phenomenon during the two World Wars. Having been left alone to shoulder the responsibility of caring for their families as well as keeping the national economy afloat, most women found themselves overwhelmed both financially and emotionally. In light of financial constraints, many of them were impelled to work for the Germans so they could make ends meet. In the second volume of his work, *1940-1945 Années érotiques: Vichy ou les infortunes de la vertu*, Patrick Buisson states that, starting with 1941, women of all backgrounds coveted positions in German military and administrative

bases because salaries were three to four times higher than those provided by French employers (II: 75). Virgili found that most of the women shorn after World War II held positions in one of the following prominent areas: the health industry (nurses or health aides), the administrative or intellectual division (secretaries, interpreters, teachers), the commercial sector (small business owners, servers, hotel employees, escorts) or the service sector (housemaids, laundry maids). Not only were these jobs better paid but they also provided the protection of the occupying authorities, a definite bonus in a time of intense deprivation and uncertainty (*La France "virile"* 227-229). On a basic level, the wartime economy was one based on exchange. Women often found themselves trading their only available resources—their bodies—for the basic prerequisites of survival, such as food and fuel. This survival-driven quid pro quo is evoked with such overwhelming frequency in testimonies and accounts of both World Wars that it has become permanently etched into the French collective consciousness whence it has inspired fictional literature from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century onward. In *Invasion 14*, a novel set in northern France during the First World War, the narrator depicts this phenomenon by stating, “on trouvait des gamines pour rien, une bouchée de pain littéralement, une assiette de viande froide dans une taverne, un chocolat dans une pâtisserie” (Van Der Meersch 169). Patrick Buisson finds this feminine ‘resourcefulness’ to be emblematic of the constant wartime need to barter for goods as well as the steady demand for sexual gratification (I: 294).

As further argued in Chapter II and III, wives of prisoners of war were more heavily criticized not only for having compromised the family unit but for having also endangered the wellbeing of the nation by undermining the morale of its soldiers. Beginning with the First World War, “en août 1914, la censure gouvernementale avait interdit à la presse de traiter de quelque façon que fût le sujet des relations adultérines des femmes de prisonniers, ainsi que tous

les thèmes susceptibles d'engendrer la discorde dans les couples séparés par la guerre" (Buisson I: 326). If this subset of women was judged more harshly, it was for having committed a double transgression: against the patriarchs immediately in charge of them and against the symbol of the patriarchal system as a whole. The government eagerly exercised its role as a female guardian substitute in the absence of its male citizens by erecting entire systems of surveillance, repression and regulation of illicit sexual behaviors. In addition to the double charge of patriarchal betrayal, adulterous bourgeois POW wives sometimes incurred supplementary criticism for having transgressed both gender and class norms by failing to observe proper decorum. They were often accused of not even having the excuse of poverty to justify their collaboration (Le Naour, "Femmes tondues" 152). In *Suite française*, a fictional account of the Occupation, Irène Némirovsky explores this additional burden placed on married women through the character of Lucile Angellier, a young bourgeois woman whose husband has been taken prisoner in Germany during World War II. Forced by the Nazi authorities to house a German officer in her home, Lucile is subject to constant criticism from her mother-in-law and the community at large for not observing the proper codes of conduct befitting a woman of her status and class. Mme Angellier— the overbearing mother temporarily assuming the role of the absent patriarch<sup>32</sup>— reprimands her for acting civil towards the German officer in her home by invoking her duty to stay loyal to husband and country: "Comment avez-vous pu, ici, dans sa maison, sous ses fenêtres, lui absent, prisonnier, peut-être malade, maltraité par ces brutes, comment avez-vous pu sourire à un Allemand, parler familièrement à un Allemand ? C'est inconcevable !" (Némirovsky 284). Inherent in Mme Angellier's reproof is the expectation that POW wives owed their husbands, and by extension the country they were fighting for, complete devotion which

---

<sup>32</sup> For a discussion on wartime mechanisms of surveillance and a more in-depth analysis of the paradox of women acting as instruments of female oppression, please consult chapter II.

precluded any type of interaction with the enemy beyond that which was required by the occupying authorities. A lingering gaze or a misdirected smile immediately brought to the forefront issues of the debased ‘nature’ of women and their depraved behavior in the absence of men: “rire! lorsqu’on a un mari prisonnier!...dévergondée, femelle, âme basse!” (359) The additional sexual taboos and restrictions placed on bourgeois women only made matters worse.

While a distinction was thus often made between sexually-collaborating women with respect to their socioeconomic status, only a slight distinction was made between women who *had* to sleep with Germans and women who *wanted* to. This is not to say that economic constraints were not a justifiable excuse for having collaborated with the enemy (most of France had succumbed to a collaborationist complacency during WWII) but that they did not present a sufficient excuse when female sexual ‘integrity’ was involved. In fact, many shorn women who attempted to exploit this distinction in their defense were often met either with general disregard or, worse, visceral attacks on their worth. One set of implications was that women who had succumbed to the need for financial or emotional support from men other than their compatriots, were simply too weak, too ignorant or too stupid to find the resources necessary to get by. In *We Will Wait: Wives of French Prisoners of War, 1940-1945*, Sarah Fishman points to a disapproval among POW wives of such personal attacks and facile interpretations: “They [prisoners’ wives] saw themselves as only human and blamed the unfaithfulness of some wives on their misery, deprivation, isolation, and alienation...Further, they rejected the idea that women fell due to inherent weakness or an inability to behave without the guidance of a man” (142-3).

Upon closer examination, this systematic attack on women appears to be little more than a patriarchal backlash to the fact that female sexual negotiation, even when motivated by a survival instinct rather than any dream of gender emancipation, inadvertently advanced women’s

position as decision-making, negotiating heads-of-the-family—one that had subsequently interfered with the pre-established patriarchal economy by granting them access to social privilege traditionally reserved for men. The subsequent attacks on women's integrity fueled the argument that women could not operate outside of the confines of male authority, thus furthering the interests of the patriarchy by justifying the need to perpetually monitor and control women's sexual experiences.

While the issues of desire and pleasure did not always serve as an impetus for women's sexual escapades, they were nevertheless often evoked in eyewitness testimonies as a means of affirming guilt. During both wars, France was plagued by a severe obsession with collective responsibility. One of the common reproaches made to women who pursued sexual pleasure during the war was the fact of having violated their duty to suffer alongside a grieving nation. In those harsh times, suffering was a mark of solidarity for those with the misfortune of having lost a spouse, a brother or a son, providing the cohesion essential to the survival of the nation. In *Invasion 14*, Flavie, one of the few female characters to categorically refuse any type of wartime collaboration, deplores the injustice dealt to the community by female collaborators who won privileges through their sexual acts:

On disait, reprit Flavie : “Après la guerre, elles le paieront, celles qui ont fait les Boches, ceux qui ont trafiqué, gagné de l'argent, ça leur coûtera cher. On aura sa revanche”. Total, on a été casser quelques vitres, tirer un peu les cheveux à l'une et à l'autre, et c'est fini ; elles restent avec l'argent ou la santé, ou leurs gosses bien portants et solides, que les Allemands ont nourris, et qui n'ont pas eu faim (Van Der Meersch 505).

This bitter resentment marginalized many women by instilling in them additional guilt and shame and ultimately fueled shocking displays of violence against women collaborators at the Liberation. Fannie Sennevilliers, another of Van Der Meersch's female collaborators, is left alone with her young son, her sister- and mother-in-law when her husband is called to the front. She eventually begins a liaison with Paul, the young German blacksmith lodged in her home, as he progressively affirms himself as the pseudo-paternal presence by providing assistance with household chores and becoming a father figure for little Pierre. Soon enough, Fannie begins to avoid her family and neighbors. "On eût dit qu'elle avait honte de ne pas partager l'infortune et les souffrances de la famille...Elle fuyait même les gens du village. Il semblait qu'elle se sentît comme coupable, d'être moins malheureuse que les autres. Car Paul apportait beaucoup de choses à la maison (46). When Fannie becomes pregnant, the community's hatred towards her accentuates. After the departure of her lover for the front, she is forced to face her neighbors by waiting in line for provisions and receives a violent retribution. "Lasse d'avoir faim, elle avait osé se faire inscrire sur les listes de ravitaillement...Des gens qui avaient perdu un fils, un mari, s'irritaient de cette présence" (298). In addition to an abundance of vitriolic attacks on her morality, Fannie is physically abused as the crowd chases her back to her home pelting her with stones, "comme la femme adultère qu'on s'apprête à lapider" (299). The town demands vengeance for the seemingly-underserved economic privileges Fannie gained through her relationship with her lover.

Women like Fannie who practiced sex as a means to temporarily-avoid or forget the gruesome realities of war were ultimately punished "for supposedly enjoying themselves at a time when, at worst, people were risking their lives and, at best, experiencing privation, separation and struggling to survive" (Diamond 139). Female pleasure—whether it was derived

from physical or psychological support from the enemy— was even more inexcusable for POW wives whose husbands were actively sacrificing their freedom, and perhaps their very lives, for the wellbeing of the entire country. Fannie is perceived not only as a harlot but also as a political traitor to the country, a figurative “Judas”. Her sister-in-law assumes the voice of the betrayed males and that of the nation when she lambasts her:

Ce sont des gens comme toi, qui nous ont trahis, vendus! Des Judas, des renégats ! Vous avez accepté l’ennemi, vous l’avez soutenu, c’est votre faute si on n’aura pas la victoire, c’est vous qui tuez les nôtres. Fille à Boches ! Espionne ! Tu t’es vendue! Oui, tu nous as trahis, c’est toi qui as tué ton mari (Van Der Meersch 290).

The focus on the physicality of the wartime experience (the cold, the hunger and the misery of deprived bodies) is re-directed onto that of the horizontal collaborator’s sexual experience (the warmth, the copious food, the well-being of depraved bodies). Céleste Bergance—a fictional POW wife in Sylvie Germain’s novel *L’inaperçu*—shorn after WWII for having found “les délices de l’émotion amoureuse et...la saveur du plaisir partagé” (249-250) in the arms of her German lover, a fulfillment she had not found in her marriage, is also repaid in full at the Liberation. Paraded in the street with her half-German baby in her arms, insulted and abused, she is treated like a vile and debased body. A voice in the crowd speaks out, “Allez, que l’on ne s’y méprenne plus, que l’on regarde en transparence de cette peau trompeuse qui n’empaquette que de la *chair à bas prix*, de la vulgaire *viande à soldat*- une panse à foutre ennemi, à immondices” (254). The use of the words “chair” (flesh) and “viande” (meat) is significant as it draws a correlation between two rudimentary physical aspects of the human existence (eating and sexual intercourse), both of which were scarce during the war. The inverse use of the terms provide a

play on words: *chair à bas prix* “cheap flesh”, preceded by the verb “empaquette” which translates to “packs”, makes one think of “cheap meat” (an inferior culinary product) while *viande à soldat* “soldier meat” or “meat for soldiers” makes one think of woman as mere “flesh for soldiers” (an inferior moral product). Wartime literature and testimonies dealing with sexual collaborators often reveal an analogous connection assimilating the satisfaction drawn from the sexual act and that which is drawn from good eating. The expression “faire la bonne chère” incarnates this preoccupation with physical pleasure derived from relations with the enemy by playing on the homonyms “chair” (flesh/body) and “chère” (food). As Buisson shows in his chapter entitled “Défaite et des fêtes”, WWII public opinion expressed concern with a widespread “débauche de consommation: nourriture, alcool et sexe” (Buisson I: 408). A link was established between “les plaisirs de la table et les débordements du sexe. Le manger et le boire retrouvent une forte charge érotique” (500). As such, sexual collaborators often figure in the national imaginary as debauched women who combined culinary and physical orgies in the presence of German males and who thereby savored a double *jouissance* while their compatriots suffered in silence.

The only female crime more serious than having experienced pleasure in a time of deprivation was having done so overtly. The community was fraught with resentment towards uninhibited women for having flaunted their wellbeing (or at the very least, not having bothered to hide it). This is the case of Céleste for whom

Johann n’était pas un occupant, pas un soldat, juste un homme plein de vitalité, de drôlerie et de sensualité. Tout en restant discrète, elle ne chercha pas à dissimuler sa liaison avec lui, et lorsqu’elle se trouva enceinte, elle porta sa grossesse avec une sérénité qu’elle n’avait pas éprouvée lors de la précédente (Germain 250).

While Céleste had an illegitimate child to serve as proof of her culpability, many sexual collaborators who didn't have half-German children, and some who were actually innocent, were shorn based on anecdotal evidence in the form of testimonies given by spiteful neighbors or bitter family members (Virgili, *La France "virile"* 195-200). This phenomenon has led scholars such as Virgili to label shorn women's transgressions as crimes of "proximity" and/or "visibility". Women who worked for the Germans, for example, were automatically presumed to have had sexual relations with men from their entourage, even when the evidence didn't support such allegations. Having been seen in the proximity of a German soldier implied having sexual relations with him or, at the very least, having wanted to<sup>33</sup>. In his novel *La tondue*, Guy Croussy tells the story of such a victim. Marie Prudente, widow of a man killed on the front during WWII, is presented throughout the novel as having been shorn "par erreur de bonne foi" (Croussy 45). The reader's attention is momentarily drawn to the irony of Marie's surnames: Prudente (married name) and Dommage (maiden name). Marie's situation is truly "a shame" since the text maintains that she has been shorn by error on account of an imprudent act of kindness, in her capacity as a nurse, towards a German sentry injured in an explosion (66). While the mayor of the village (who has a personal interest in her affections) and the family fight to rehabilitate her image amidst the community, she is never forgiven until she exiles herself, leaving behind her young son and her father who both suffer the effects of her alleged crime by being ostracized from the village. Her morality<sup>34</sup> is constantly brought into question by all the other characters, her son included, who fear that her 'nature' might have led her to borderline-

---

<sup>33</sup> Implicit in this line of thinking is Rousseau's distinction between women's *true* character and their *perceived* character and his insistence upon the importance of public opinion. One may call this the *être/paraître* dichotomy. "L'homme en bien faisant ne dépend que de lui-même et peut braver le jugement public, mais la femme en bien faisant n'a fait que la moitié de sa tâche, et ce que l'on pense d'elle ne lui importe pas moins que ce qu'elle est en effet...l'opinion et le tombeau de la vertu parmi les hommes, et son trône parmi les femmes" (*Émile* 702-3).

<sup>34</sup> For a more in-depth analysis of Marie Prudente's character and the issue of morality as a patriarchal tool used to discredit women, see chapters III and IV.

transgressive behaviors. In an anonymous letter addressed to the city hall after her head shaving, a neighbor states, “Marie n’est pas coupable de trahison . . . Elle est coupable de son attitude distante et étrange. Ce comportement l’écarte de nous” (60). We find here a reiteration of the reproach made against women for choosing individuality over community and for acting independently of their guardians.

The fact that women would be physically punished during both wars for *presumed* crimes with little to no regard for factual evidence—in some cases, young women were shorn despite having produced certificates of virginity to prove their innocence—is vastly significant. Intention became tantamount to the act itself because the sexual act itself was not entirely at issue. Rather, the audacious mentality of female agency whereby these women came to define themselves as *subjects*, independently choosing their personal interests over the public good, was being brought to judgment. Sarah Fishman shows that two images of the woman dominated public consciousness during the Second World War, a dichotomy that was equally apparent in the mentalities of the First World War:

A woman could either be entirely good, pure, chaste—a saint— or entirely evil, vicious, unchaste—a whore. She could only be ‘housewife or harlot.’ Chaste daughters, faithful wives, and mothers were saints. One false move, one lapse and a woman inevitably became a whore, with no possibility of returning to respectability. Women were protected from temptation by a weaker sex drive that derived primarily from desire to please their husbands and to bear children (130).

It is essential to point out here the conception of female desire as something that can and *should* only exist in relation to the woman’s ultimate guardian, her husband, and that coincides with the concept of female duty in the patriarchal economy of power. Lucile Angellier’s tormented inner

dialogue with respect to her emerging affection for the German officer in her home depicts the internal struggle of a woman torn between her own needs and desires and those projected onto her by the community:

Mais oui, il t'aime. Ce mari qui t'a trompée, délaissée, tu ne lui dois rien. Il est prisonnier et tu laisses un Allemand s'approcher de toi, prendre la place de l'absent ? Eh bien, oui ! Eh bien, après ? L'absent, le prisonnier, le mari, je ne l'ai jamais aimé. Qu'il meure ! Qu'il disparaisse ! Mais voyons, réfléchis (...) la raison... la voix de la raison... tu es une Française raisonnable... ça te mènera à quoi, tout ça ? Il est soldat, il est marié, il partira ; ça te mènera à quoi ? Eh bien, quand ça ne serait qu'à un instant de bonheur ? Même pas de bonheur, de plaisir ? Sais-tu seulement ce que c'est ? (Némirovsky 347)

The contradictory voices in Lucile's head oppose reason (loyalty to the absent husband—a husband she knew to be disloyal and whom she did not love) and passion (affection for the stranger in her home). The voice of reason's rhetorical strategy is characterized by a circular appeal to 'reason' which consists of neutralizing all emotion (and implicitly, any personal desire) and replacing it with a sense of duty. The husband is presented as the suffering prisoner doubly-afflicted by the enemy both abroad and in his own home. The husband's shortcomings (his marital indiscretions before leaving for the front, his own failures to help ameliorate a dysfunctional marriage) are downplayed, erased by the redemptive nature of his wartime sacrifice. When the other voice interjects—"Ce mari qui t'a trompée, délaissée, tu ne lui dois rien... L'absent, le prisonnier, le mari, je ne l'ai jamais aimé. Qu'il meure ! Qu'il disparaisse!"—and threatens the argument on duty, the voice of reason shifts its tactic by invoking the precarious status of a woman who gives up her husband for a lover—"Mais voyons, réfléchis...

Il est soldat, il est marié, il partira ; ça te mènera à quoi ?” Once the loyalty imperative has failed, the voice retaliates by instilling in Lucile’s mind the fear of abandonment as a reminder that a woman without a man’s protection is nothing and that, by extension, it is wiser to cherish the steady support of an absent husband than the volatile affection of a fleeting lover. The inner dialogue ends with a reflection on the potential for pleasure inherent in the latter : “Eh bien, quand ça ne serait qu’à un instant de bonheur? même pas de bonheur, de plaisir ? Sais-tu seulement ce que c’est ?”.

As a victim of an arranged, loveless bourgeois marriage, Lucile has never known happiness and pleasure in the company of her husband. Doubly-oppressed by discourses on class and nationalism, “elle s’effrayait parfois et s’étonnait même de sentir en son cœur une telle rébellion—contre son mari, sa belle-mère, l’opinion publique” (346). As a French citizen in a time of war, she is denied the freedom of individuality under the guise of nationalism and the “esprit de la ruche”:

Qu’ils aillent où ils veulent ; moi, je ferai ce que je voudrai. Je veux être libre.

Je demande moins la liberté extérieure, celle de voyager, de quitter cette maison ... que d’être libre intérieurement, choisir ma direction à moi, m’y tenir, ne pas suivre l’essaim. Je hais cet esprit communautaire dont on nous rabat les oreilles.

Les Allemands, les Français, les gaullistes s’entendent tous sur un point : il faut vivre, penser, aimer avec les autres en fonction d’un État, d’un pays, d’un parti...

Je suis une pauvre femme inutile ; je ne sais rien mais je veux être libre ! (346)

As a bourgeois woman, she is denied quotidian freedoms such as personal space and autonomy under the directive of female propriety:

Une chambre, une maison à moi seule, pensait Lucile, une chambre parfaite, presque nue, une belle lampe... Si je fermais les volets ici, si j'allumais l'électricité pour ne pas voir ce temps ! Jeanne viendrait me demander si je suis malade ; elle préviendrait ma belle-mère qui ferait éteindre les lampes et ouvrirait les rideaux parce que l'électricité coûte cher. Je ne peux pas jouer du piano : cela serait une offense à l'absent. J'irais bien dans le bois malgré la pluie, mais tout le monde le saurait. On dirait : " Lucile Angellier est devenue folle. " Cela suffit pour enfermer une femme dans un pays comme le nôtre (348).

Her desire to be freed of all constraints so that she may pursue pleasure on her own terms is automatically translated into mental illness, an expedient and clever means to suppress even women's potential for autonomy by imprisoning them in an asylum where they will be forced to further assert their dependence and confess their dreams of sovereignty as mere delusions. The sexually-charged relationship between Bruno and Lucile represents a kind of escapism, a "secret dérobé, un monde caché au sein de la maison hostile... elle se sentait alors un être humain, fier et libre" (346). Though the relationship does stall at the courting stage— limited to flirting, talks, long walks and other 'innocent' shared intimacies—, the text depicts both partners as lovers succumbing to a desire to forget the world and take refuge in their mutual pleasure. For Lucile, this newfound sexuality stems from a desire for freedom and holds the promise of empowerment. Her tryst with Bruno von Falk serves as a mirror that reflects her own acute sense of unfulfillment and forces her to reflect upon her place in society as a French married bourgeois woman. This brief encounter with pleasure incites her to express her desire for a better life: "Je veux être libre. Je demande moins la liberté extérieure, celle de voyager, de quitter cette maison (quoique ce serait un bonheur inimaginable !), que d'être libre intérieurement, choisir ma

direction à moi, m'y tenir, ne pas suivre l'essaim. Je hais cet esprit communautaire dont on nous rebat les oreilles" (346). Unfortunately, like many other women, she eventually succumbs to the wartime gender fictions aimed at re-inscribing her sexuality into the traditional social order.

The same problematic of pleasure and desire in the context of female empowerment, with a reverse spin on the concept of class oppression, can be found in another of Némirovsky's sexual collaborators: Lucile Angellier's seamstress. On a visit to her seamstress, "une jeune femme qui faisait, chuchotait-on, la vie avec les Allemands" (a common euphemism for the sexual collaborator), Lucile sees a German soldier's belt lying haphazardly on the bed. Overcome by patriotism and bourgeois propriety—and forgetting the feelings she herself has for the officer lodging in her home—, Lucile reacts with indignation: "Comment pouvez-vous?" (302). What follows is an incisive denunciation of wartime society:

D'un côté il y a lui et moi ; de l'autre, il y a les gens. Les gens ne se soucient pas de nous ; ils nous bombardent et nous font souffrir, et nous tuent pis que des lapins. Eh, ben, nous, on se soucie pas d'eux. Vous comprenez, s'il fallait vraiment marcher pour les autres, on serait pire que des bêtes. Dans le pays, on dit que je suis une chienne. Non ! Les chiens, c'est ceux qui vont en bande et mordent si on leur ordonne de mordre (303).

Through her reply, the seamstress indicts not only gender discourses but also those concerning class and politics: she consciously differentiates herself from a society that excludes her, reclaiming her individuality through the autonomous use of her body. In reversing the meaning of "chien(ne)", she posits a re-definition of herself—not as a collaborating whore but as an honest, peace-seeking citizen, who sees beyond the knee-jerk patriotic imperative to resent the enemy. Acutely aware of her inferior social standing, the woman contrasts her situation with that

of Lucile's: "Je vous dégoûte? Bien sûr, vous, vous êtes riche, vous avez des plaisirs que je n'ai pas... Vous avez de l'instruction. Vous voyez des gens. Nous c'est rien que travail et trime. S'il n'y avait pas l'amour, il y aurait qu'à se jeter tout de suite dans le puits" (302). The seamstress cites pleasure as a distinguishing factor between the classes. While the upper classes indulge in pleasures conferred by money and education, only those of a physical or sentimental nature remain for the poor. The seamstress, like many lower-class women, is doubly-disenfranchised during the war as she is denied the pleasures available to her based both on her class and her gender. Lucile, a prisoner of her own class, immediately seizes upon this irony: "Des plaisirs! interrompit Lucile avec une amertume involontaire, se demandant ce que la couturière pouvait imaginer de plaisant dans une existence comme celle des Angellier: sans doute visiter ses propriétés et placer son argent" (302). Despite their socioeconomic differences, both Lucile and her seamstress are bound by fabricated gender discourses aimed at defining acceptable female sexuality for the purpose of furthering an economy contingent upon their subservience.

If we may momentarily return to Lucile's conflicting inner dialogue with respect to Bruno, and the rhetorical trajectory of the 'voice of reason' as opposed to that of the 'voice of passion', we begin to see that the aforementioned scene translates to a dialectic between two discordant types of discourses: the patriarchal discourse that advocates female subservience through the repression of female expressions of autonomy and the feminine discourse that posits female empowerment as a product of self-expression. The very terms 'reason' and 'passion' (the latter only implicitly suggested by Némirovsky's text) as translations of woman's loyalty to the patriarchy and loyalty to the self respectively, are a semantic indicative of a patriarchal imperative to contrast its own interests—'rational', 'good' and 'desirable'—to those of the autonomous female subject—'irrational', 'bad' and 'detrimental'. In order to further its

imperative, Western patriarchal society has conditioned women since birth to depend upon men and to behave in ‘selfless’ ways by observing certain codes of conduct fashioned to further the interests of the patriarchs at all times. In book V of *Émile ; éducation ; morale ; botanique*, Jean-Jacques Rousseau paints a portrait of Sophie, the ideal 18<sup>th</sup>-century woman for his model citizen, Émile. He argues that since “la femme est faite pour plaire et pour être subjuguée” (693), young girls should be raised to attend to men’s needs “parce que la dépendance étant un état naturel aux femmes, les filles se sentent faites pour obéir” (710). He advances docility as a prerequisite for all women: “une docilité dont les femmes ont besoin toute leur vie, puisqu’elles ne cessent jamais d’être assujeties ou à un homme ou aux jugemens des hommes, et qu’il ne leur est jamais permis de se mettre au dessus de ces jugemens” (710). For the French patriarchal state of the 18<sup>th</sup> (and 20<sup>th</sup> century), unmarried women must operate under the authority of their fathers, married women under that of their husbands and widowed or divorced mothers under that of their sons.

In France, the Napoleonic Civil Code reinforced the legal inferiority of women from its inception in 1804 to 1965 when a few reforms were made. It was anchored in the concept of paternal power and placed women on the same legal platform as children and mentally-disabled adults. According to the Code, French women had no right to manage private or joint property (until 1965), to pursue a higher education degree (French universities opened their doors to women in 1919 but permission from a guardian was required before enrolling in classes until 1938) or to exercise a profession without authorization from their fathers or husbands (until 1965). The periodic changes to the Code can be seen as a reflection of the political climate over the years, allocating or abrogating women’s rights strategically. The law of 1920 is an example of the latter. Prompted by an urgent postwar need to repopulate a dwindling nation, this law criminalized abortions as well as the distribution of contraceptives and took a draconian turn in

1941. The Great War elicited some measures in favor of women such as the provision that “a wife could, in the absence or incapacity of her husband, act as head of the family” (Fishman 6), a measure that was re-implemented and passed into law on February 18<sup>th</sup> 1938, giving “married women the right to work without their husband’s express permission. The husband’s consent was assumed unless he publicly, and in the best interest of the household, opposed his wife working” (6). This measure arose out of an immediate wartime need for female employment and was in no way suggestive of a sudden preoccupation with the condition of women. While many laws were dissolved or fell obsolete after the armed combat ceased, two particular laws conducive to women’s emancipation survived the two World Wars: the law of 1917 giving women legal guardianship over their children and the law of 1944 allowing women to vote (24 years after their American counterparts, nonetheless, and 16 years after their British ones).<sup>35</sup> Any deviance from the norm automatically relegated women to the margins and lead to their vilification as selfish harlots whose immorality contributed to the disintegration of the nation.

This tactic is further evidenced by the paradox of the prostitute and the inconsistent distinction between ‘moral’ versus ‘carnal’ prostitution. As mentioned in the introduction, the *tontes* find precedent in biblical accounts of head shaving purification rituals for adulterous women. At the center of such religious punishment was the sin of seduction or, in other words, deviant sexual behavior that automatically relegated the ‘fallen’ woman to the realm of the prostitute. The fact that shorn women would thereby be treated as prostitutes and the fact that prostitutes (women who exchanged sexual favors for money) were sometimes shorn are

---

<sup>35</sup> An 1808 version of the Code Napoléon can be found here: <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101073435495>. For additional details on Civil Code changes and the broader issue of women’s rights and struggles from 1944 to 1968, consult Duchen, Claire. *Women's Rights and Women's Lives in France, 1944-1968*. London: Routledge, 1994. Print. For Vichy legislation pertaining to female employment in particular, see constitutional acts #30, 67, 73 and 81 in Rémy, Dominique. *Les lois de Vichy : Actes dits 'lois' de l'autorité de fait se prétendant 'gouvernement de l'État français'*. Paris: Romillat, 1992. Print.

interrelated phenomena that stem from the very same moral judgments made by the patriarchy in order to chastise female deviation from the norm. During World War I, matters became rather complex with respect to the treatment of sexual collaborators, whether prostitutes by trade or simply because of their ‘immoral’ behavior as ‘bad’ French women. Led by the Army under the control of the State, the *épuration*<sup>36</sup> undertook a triage of the population with the scope of separating “la partie honorable de la population à maintenir sur place, des éléments douteux, suspects ou indésirables à éliminer” (qtd. in Le Naour, “Femmes tondues” 154). The ambiguity as well as the ideological bias inherent in such terms as “honorable”, “douteux” or “indésirable” often proved detrimental for women denounced by community members for their sexual misconduct with the enemy:

Un officier trieur présent dans chaque division et relevant du service de renseignement du deuxième bureau est spécialement chargé de cette opération délicate : dépêché aussitôt dans les localités libérées encore habitées, il procède très rapidement à l’épuration à l’aide de fiches et de listes réalisées par le deuxième bureau grâce aux dénonciations des rapatriés. Mais comme ces listes ne sont pas complètes ni réactualisées, l’officier trieur s’en remet également à la rumeur publique et à l’aide des notables (Le Naour, “Femmes tondues” 154).

Acting out of an alleged concern for the well-being of the French army and the nation as a whole, “l’officier trieur agit dans la plus grande rapidité...car il serait dangereux pour l’armée de maintenir ces éléments suspects à l’arrière immédiate de ses lignes pour des raisons évidentes de défense nationale (peur de l’espionnage) et d’hygiène (les femmes atteintes de maladies vénériennes risquent de contaminer les soldats)” (155). The primary factor in establishing female

---

<sup>36</sup> Term used for the nation-wide purification/cleansing of collaborators after both wars.

guilt during the Great War was “habitual misconduct”, a consideration applied primarily to three categories of women: mothers of half-German children, women presumed to have had relations with the enemy (including prostitutes) and women who either displayed signs of venereal diseases or who missed the routine medical visits required by the State. Women belonging to these categories were sent to internment camps, known as “triage camps,” to await further investigation (155). While some women were liberated shortly after their imprisonment, others spent months in such camps awaiting a legal decision. From this perspective, any occasional head shavings as precursors to internment in triage camps after WWI could be seen as prophylactic treatments aimed at purifying the mind and bodies of all females soiled by the touch of the Germans and/or additional attempts to humiliate and dehumanize these women.

While the same prophylactic concern is evoked by some scholars with respect to World War II *tontes*, an important additional distinction arises at this time between “prostitution of the soul” and “prostitution of the body” (Virgili, *La France “virile”* 142) which indicates that the health concern alone does not suffice to justify the violence against horizontal collaborators after WWII. The insistence on this dichotomy can be justified, in part, by the change in the status of prostitution. Beginning with 1918, the French state introduced military brothels as a means of channeling soldiers’ sexuality in order to boost their virility and improve their performance. While prostitution had been vilified as one of the great evils of French society during WWI, the Vichy government, in collaboration with the Nazi regime, further encouraged legal prostitution by funding brothels serving the needs of the German army. Governed by strict laws anchored in stringent Nazi policies regarding racial purity and sexual hygiene, these institutions furthered the distinction between ‘real’ French women—expected to be chaste and faithful in the absence of French men—who betrayed their compatriots by having sex with the enemy and the pleasure

girls who were merely exchanging sexual favors as part of their job. François Rouquet points out that in the Pyrénées Orientales, prostitutes were not shorn at the Liberation while women accused of relations with the Germans were (“Épuration, résistance” 288). In addition, these women were submitted to a bi-monthly medical visit for the duration of a six-month period, a prophylactic measure that clearly suggests their assimilation to professional prostitutes (Virgili, *La France “virile”* 142). The prostitute paradox is further evidenced in the language used to refer to sexual collaborators in general: “Du très commun ‘putain’ en passant par ‘poule de luxe’, ‘hétaïre’, ‘garce’ ou ‘courtisane’, ces insultes ne concernent que rarement les prostituées et participent plus généralement à la condamnation morale de relations sexuelles entretenues par les femmes françaises avec les Allemands” (Virgili 41). Judith<sup>37</sup> Lacombe, one of Van Der Meersch’s many female characters who embody the archetype of the scorned sexual collaborator, comes to think of herself in these same terms after her German lover abandons her. As one of the daughters of the mayor of Roubaix, Judith sacrifices her public image as well as her relationship with her family in order to be with Albrecht— her father’s main farmhand and close friend. Not only does Albrecht lack the consideration to send his former French lover any news but, after months of absence, he directs three of his traveling friends to her house with a note entitling them to a hot meal and a night of sleeping with Madame (Van Der Meersch 141). She quickly realizes that Albrecht perceives her as nothing more than a prostitute: “Souffletée,

---

<sup>37</sup> The onomastic choice is not gratuitous as it is reminiscent of the biblical character Judith, a Hebrew woman who singlehandedly saved Israel from Holofernes and his invading Assyrian army. According to the “Book of Judith” in *The Apocrypha*, dressed “to entice the eyes of all the men who might see her” (Judith 10:4), Judith and her handmaiden walk into the Assyrian camp and promise to help capture Jerusalem. Judith employs several seduction techniques to win Holofernes’ confidence (Judith 3-4, 7, 14, 19, 23) and once she gets him intoxicated in his tent, she beheads him with his own sword (13:4-7). Upon her return home, Judith complements the story of her victory (and anticipates attempts to discredit her?) with reassurance that she has not been defiled by Holofernes thanks to God’s protection (13:16). Judith Lacombe is a reversal of the biblical Judith. Her personal sacrifices as well as her seductive behavior and sexuality as a whole do not lead to public prestige or personal empowerment (in the long term) but rather to collective scorn and shame.

bafouée, misérablement traitée en *femelle à vendre*, elle se voyait brutalement dégradée, tombée des cimes de son rêve, déchue de toute la déchéance de l'homme qu'elle avait aimé... Elle eut soudain l'horrible et précis rappel de tout ce qu'elle avait fait pour cet homme... de cette adoration d'une chair méprisable où elle s'était *abaissée et prostituée*" (emphasis mine). Judith's inner anger and sadness at her German lover's perception of her as a mere prostitute quickly mingles with the narrator's harsh moral judgment presumably echoing the universal opinion of the community: "Il la payait [cette affection pour Albrecht] suivant ses œuvres, *fille de jouissance à qui l'insulte convenait bien* » (142). The past participles "abaissée" and "prostituée" clearly indicate Judith's assimilation to a prostitute through her liaison with Albrecht. In her case, the line between moral and carnal prostitution is further blurred by the visit she receives from her lover's friends during which she is literally treated as a "fille de jouissance" whose body is public property ripe for the taking. In the end she is doubly-objectified by both the enemy and her own community, singled out as a moral prostitute who has no recourse left but to fully assume her depravity as if it were a profession.

The fact that Judith is the daughter of a community leader and a woman from a good French family aggravates her position. Buisson finds that intimate relations between professional prostitutes and German soldiers were considered much more socially acceptable than those between "honest French women" and German soldiers, due not only to Vichy's economy on prostitution<sup>38</sup> but also to a correlation between the bodies of "femmes honnêtes" and national integrity (I: 101). The very terminology that justifies one subset of women's behavior

---

<sup>38</sup> Vichy policy tolerated supervised prostitution as a purportedly-beneficial activity for the morale of its soldiers and in response to Nazi requisitions of brothels for the sake of its own occupying forces. Nonetheless, it attempted to regulate it by repressing all activity outside of registered *maisons closes*. The law of 1942 additionally required all prostitutes to carry cards and submit to bi-monthly health exams while also banning soliciting in public places. For more details on prostitution during the Vichy regime, see p. 39-41 and p. 165-167 of Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France, 1939-48: Choices and Constraints*. Harlow: Longman, 1999. Print.

incriminates another subset via a double standard. This distinction is revelatory of the fact that what seems to be truly at stake is not so much the integrity of the French nation as a whole but rather the integrity of the patriarchal economy operating on the premise of female subservience. One might conclude that women are covertly sanctioned for their sexual autonomy under the guise of nationalism through a manipulative discourse that undermines their agency by deeming any sexual behavior not sanctioned by the patriarchy as ‘immoral’. The nation deplores women’s decadent nature and its role in the “fureur-utérine”<sup>39</sup> that seems to have taken the country by storm—a term that designates the multitude of POW wives who had turned to clandestine prostitution for money (329). Virgili notes a drastic discrepancy between the treatment of legal and clandestine prostitutes during WWII. “Il convient tout d’abord de distinguer les prostituées professionnelles, auxquelles on reconnaît un faible degré de fraternisation, et les clandestines ou occasionnelles, qui se situent plutôt dans la catégorie des femmes qui s’affichent avec les Allemands” (41). A preoccupation with public hygiene and the Nazi obsession with venereal diseases justified, on the surface, the constant battle of the Vichy administration against clandestine prostitution yet one must wonder why an additional distinction was made between clandestine and legal prostitutes in addition to that between professional and moral prostitutes. While concerns about the spread of STD’s among soldiers frequenting illegal prostitutes were

---

<sup>39</sup> The idea of a “uterine furor” finds its parallel in the Ancient-Greek medical concept of a “wandering womb” as the presumed source of behavioral or health problems in women, and the associated notion of “female hysteria”. Though Hippocrates is often credited for having attributed the cause of numerous female pathologies to a displaced uterus, in “Once upon a Text: Hysteria from Hippocrates,” Helen King argues that the term *hysteria* itself along with the specific group of symptoms subsequently associated with it in Early-Modern medicine and, later, in Freud’s psychoanalytical scholarship was introduced by Emile Littré in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century through his translations of Hippocrates’ literary corpus. King’s essay along with a thought-provoking analysis of hysteria from ancient times and leading up to Freud can be found in Gilman, Sander L., Helen King, Roy Porter, G.S. Rousseau, and Elaine Showalter. *Hysteria Beyond Freud*. Berkeley: U of California, 1993. Print. For additional details on “uterine fury” in the context of WWII, see “Fureurs utérines” in Buisson, Patrick. *1940-1945: Années érotiques*. Paris: Albin Michel, 2008. Print.

not unfounded, the answer lies elsewhere if one bears in mind the existence of a patriarchal economy that defines and enforces female sexual norms as a means of furthering its interests. We must recall here the French Napoleonic Code, still in effect during both World Wars, and its open advocacy of an acute inequality between men and women in almost every area of public life. In light of the ‘norm’, women’s experience was limited to the fulfillment of men’s needs and the only acceptable female desire was that of pleasing the male in charge— father, husband, brothel client— who was himself operating under the authority of the patriarchal state (Fishman 130-132). Clandestine prostitutes were guilty of non-normative behavior not only because their monetary gains were entirely theirs, and therefore not taxed by the government in any way, but also because they picked their clientele through independent channels which afforded the state less control over their bodies. As Luc Capdevila poignantly states, “La prostituée est au service des hommes, la fille-mère soumise à son père et la femme adultère demeure sous l’autorité morale de son époux, qui pardonne ou répudie” (“La ‘collaboration sentimentale’” 82). There is no room in this system for self-sufficient women who pursue their own needs independently of the patriarchs under whose authority they are placed. The expression of an autonomous female sexual desire (manifest or presumed) during the war presented a danger precisely because it indicated women’s *potential* for emancipation through uninhibited use of their sexuality. Desire affords women a way out of their subaltern existence as objects and propels them into a world of subjects. For the woman to designate the object of her desire, she had to first identify herself as “I”. A female subject capable of making independent choices becomes a threat to the ideological fictions at play because her acts contravene the expectation and will of those who continue to identify her as an object. If one considers the self-affirmation of subjectivity as the pre-condition

to becoming an autonomous citizen, the need to arrest this movement becomes all the more apparent.

We have seen thus far that not all women consciously wielded their sexuality as a tool for socioeconomic emancipation. In light of the diverse motivations of sexual collaborators — financial constraints, physical and psychological deprivation, insouciance, genuine love, opportunism or a penchant for transgression—, one should not assume that the temporary socioeconomic power gained by some women through sleeping with German soldiers extended to all French women regardless of their background. Nevertheless, the two World Wars eroded the pre-established order by undermining gender roles, creating a situation whereby *some* women's private and often unintentional use of their sexuality had an effect equivalent to that of peacetime collective efforts aimed at gaining political rights for *all* women. Many women attained a certain degree of financial independence due to the absence of their male guardians. Abandoned by her German lover and rejected by her father, Van Der Meersch's character, Judith learns to survive by conducting business on the black market. "Et ce double trafic lui faisait gagner beaucoup d'argent. On venait chez elle, respectueusement, demander si elle ne pourrait pas apporter de Lille un médicament pour un malade, une chemise pour une communion. On la haïssait et on la craignait. On savait qu'elle pouvait faire, ainsi protégée par la Kommandantur, beaucoup de bien et beaucoup de mal" (Van Der Meersch 139). The entire town finds itself at her feet in a temporary reversal of power. "Elle rendait service à tous, largement, sans compter... comme si elle avait espéré ainsi gagner le pardon public" (139). Despite her numerous efforts to re-enter the community, Judith cannot be pardoned for the temporary power she yielded over her suffering compatriots. At the end of the war, she tries to flee to Germany but she is arrested and thrown in prison "au milieu des houlées d'une foule où elle reconnaissait ceux qu'elle avait aidés

et servis pendant la guerre” (461). Van Der Meersch further reveals his preoccupation with sexual collaborators’ socioeconomic emancipation by evoking the prosperity of “des femmes comme Clara Broeckx . . . [qui] profitaient de leurs relations avec les gros bonnets pour faire amener chez elles de beaux meubles, tapis, bibelots et toiles voilées dans les châteaux vides du boulevard de Paris” (363). Knowing how to make use of her charms at the Kommandantur, Clara—a newly-married young woman of modest means left alone with her mother after the departure of her husband to the front—manages to acquire a new home which she subsequently establishes as a *Kursaal* (temporary officer residence). “Elle en retirait à présent d’inappréciables avantages, une cuisine abondante et fine, des vins acceptables, et les menus cadeaux que lui laissaient en s’en allant ceux qu’elle avantageait de ses faveurs” (363). Clearly-conscious of her own potential for economic mobility, Clara refuses to lead a life of dependency on the meager pension of her husband whom she may never see again. Clara and Judith are both incarnations of collaborating women who benefited from liaisons with German men during the war. Regardless of intent, their actions upset the nominal social order by transgressing their traditional roles as dependent, submissive women under the financial authority of French men (father and husband respectively).

While French women remained under the authority of their male compatriots for the duration of both wars, they saw their traditional roles shift periodically to reflect the nation’s political climate. For many women, the opportunity to work outside of the home in formerly male-dominated fields was a useful concession, albeit a temporary one. By taking the labor force by storm<sup>40</sup>, women of all backgrounds gained not only financial autonomy but visibility in the

---

<sup>40</sup> In agriculture, women comprised 36% of the labor force in 1906, 33% in 1926, 30.5% in 1936 and 32% in 1946. The decrease can be explained by a steady rise in female employment in the tertiary sector as more women traded rural work for service jobs (e.g. sales, clerical, administrative, etc) (Fishman 8).

public sphere. During WWI, “restrictions loosened to accommodate working women, and people became more accustomed to seeing young women out alone and working alongside men in previously ‘male’ occupations” (Fishman 3). Movements like that of the *garçonne* (flapper) of the 1920s, though not sufficiently widespread, further solidified the sense “that a new woman had emerged from the war, a liberated woman, comfortable with her sexuality, a woman who worked outside the home, lived alone, and preferred parties and dancing to starting a family” (3). While this profile only fit a minority of women, it exemplified the potential for a more extensive social change that threatened to rapidly reverse the patriarchal hierarchy. In light of these shifts in power, little does it matter if all women put their sexuality to political use, whether those who did had anarchic intentions or mere practical ones, or whether some managed to actually emancipate themselves in the process. What matters is that the actions of a few demonstrated the potential of all. So were all women chastised for the moral degradation of the nation and the suffering incurred at the hands of the enemy through the punishment of a sexually-uninhibited few.

## CHAPTER II

### THE CONSOLIDATION OF WARTIME GENDER FICTIONS: PRIVATE BODIES, PUBLIC DISCOURSES

In *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, Margaret Higonnet illustrates war as “*gendering* activity...that ritually marks the gender of all members of a society” (4). She notes that “emergency conditions either alter or reinforce existing notions of gender, the nation and the family. These ideas are not, however, created anew, but grounded in previous social and cultural sources” (5). The following pages define *gender fictions* as pre-existing ideological structures promulgated as truth by a western patriarchy in particular: the woman as nurturer and caretaker, the man as a protector of homeland, maternity and virility as complimentary codes (Beauvoir, I: 112-122; Higonnet 34; Bourdieu 75-8). In France, the two World Wars threatened to alter gender narratives, vesting women with a certain degree of newfound authority in both private and public spheres. The Great War introduced a new gender dynamic, owing to its unprecedented reliance upon technology and, therefore, upon the means by which that technology was produced. For the first time, albeit begrudgingly, society entrusted women with keeping the wartime economy afloat by supporting the manufacture of weapons and otherwise exercising duties historically reserved for men<sup>41</sup>. Hagemann and Springorum note that “the concept of ‘home front’, which was created in the very first months of the First World War in German propaganda... was to become the backbone of the troops in the field. Thus, the constantly-emphasized traditional borders between military and civilian society, between ‘front’ and ‘home’ became increasingly

---

<sup>41</sup> For further reading on technological shifts in combat and the concept of “*guerre totale*”—warfare that permeates all dimensions and strata of society, obliterating “la différence entre le civil et le militaire, le front et l’arrière, les combattants et les autres, les hommes et les femmes” (Dauphin et al. 152)—and the division of gender roles in times of conflict, see “Les bombardements aériens : une mise à mort du ‘guerrier’ ? (1914-1945)” by Danièle Voldman in Dauphin, Cécile, et al. *De la violence et des femmes*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1997. Print.

blurred, particularly during the Second World War” (ix). This unexpected gender reversal—intended as temporary measure to preserve statewide integrity—altered the established order. Women’s newly-acquired responsibilities on the *homefront* threatened the patriarchal economy by seemingly problematizing the gender fictions that served as the understood basis for the claim to male privilege. For example, Françoise Thébaud signals a 20% decrease in male factory workers due to WWI mobilization and new subsequent female employment opportunities for women from all walks of life (*Les femmes* 238). Nevertheless, despite such major shifts in the public sector, women still represented a workplace minority, “dans l’armement 430 000 femmes, 497 000 ouvriers mobilisés, 425 000 ouvriers civils, 133 000 enfants de moins de 18 ans, 13 000 mutilés, 108 000 étrangers, 61 000 coloniaux et 40 000 prisonniers de guerre” (240). Though women were numerous in the “fabrication des obus, celle des cartouches, grenades, fusées, d’où leur surnom de munitionnettes” (240), they also represented unskilled labor limited to certain types of tasks characterized by patience, repetition, and attention to detail as opposed to technical knowledge or sheer physical force (242-4). Although female salaries in the metal industry doubled during the war, the sexual division of labor and poor working conditions for women also lead to overwork, exhaustion and serious health problems (249). As such, the new wartime opportunities women obtained in the workplace also entailed heavier responsibilities and generated, to a certain extent, new forms of inequity. Consequently, it would be reductive and anachronistic to perceive female wartime employment—generated by the nation’s economic needs as opposed to a patriarchal concern with female representation in the workplace—as sole evidence of improvement in women’s status per se. Nonetheless, one cannot overlook the fact that, in spite of persistent inequalities, their indispensable contribution to the war did, in fact, create more visibility and jobs for women. This change led, in turn, to an almost immediate and

paradoxical patriarchal backlash to a predominantly-female presence in traditionally-male spaces. Incentives to hire women coincided with discourses lamenting the “masculinization of women” (253) and depicting the factory as “le mal absolu, un lieu de perdition qui détruit les familles” (255). At the same time that they were recruited to work for the nation, women were also blamed for a rise in youth delinquency and infant mortality rates (254)<sup>42</sup> and for upsetting nominal gender roles by behaving like men.

In *Gender and Citizenship: Politics and Agency in France, Britain and Denmark*, Biirte Sim indicates that propaganda campaigns targeting French working mothers were prominent all throughout the 1930s yet restrictions on salaried work for married women were not put in place until the Vichy government (Sim 58), a point corroborated by Hélène Eck in her essay entitled “Les Françaises sous Vichy: Femmes du désastre—citoyennes par le désastre ?”. In 1940, the Vichy government, with its pro-natalist preoccupations, restricted employment in administrative and public service positions for married women but was soon forced to concede in light of German requests for labor. 1941 German propaganda for voluntary employment opportunities in Germany targeted both men and women but the French state attempted to limit female employment abroad as much as possible at least until the 1943 German ordinance requesting obligatory conscription—*Service du travail obligatoire*, or STO. Mothers in particular were to be protected from the dangers of working abroad.

Les dispositions des lois ‘sur l’utilisation et l’orientation de la main-d’œuvre’ (4 septembre 1942, 26 août 1943, 1er février 1944) ne concernaient d’abord que les célibataires de vingt et un à trente-cinq ans, puis elles s’appliquèrent aux femmes

---

<sup>42</sup> See also the entirety of Grayzel’s chapter 3, “Promoting Motherhood and Regulating Women: Women’s Labor and the Nation,” in *Women’s Identities at War*.

âgées de dix-huit à quarante-cinq ans, même mariées, mais jamais aux mères et il fut précisé que le travail s’effectuait en France même (Eck 305).

According to Eck, 44 835 women worked in Germany in the summer of 1944. Fabrice Virgili places forced labor abroad at 650 000 French citizens for the duration of the war, excluding voluntary contracts estimated at 180 000 for men and 80 000 for women (*Naître ennemi* 34).

Rose-Marie Lagrave indicates a restructuring in factory work at home whereby “[l]a part des ouvrières dans le travail des étoffes chute de 62% en 1931 à 55% en 1954, tandis que le nombre d’ouvrières dans les métaux est multiplié par 6 pour cette même période” (Lagrave 588). She claims that “[e]ntre 1913 and 1931, le nombre de travailleuses à domicile chute de moitié car elles entrent de plain-pied dans les usines” (589). In spite of such opportunities, the pay gap between men and women according to Lagrave fluctuates between 31.1% in 1920, 19% in 1930, 23% in 1936 and 15% in 1945 (588). Just like during the Great War, pay inequality, the division of labor (women and immigrants epitomize unskilled, cheap labor) and poor working conditions are part and parcel of female opportunities in the workplace during WWII (589)<sup>43</sup>. As “women were alternately welcomed, even ordered, into the labour market and then pushed out of it as events and the labour market appeared to dictate” (Diamond 21), Vichy patriarchal discourses advocating the primacy of the family cell also fluctuated to both glorify and vilify paid female employment in the public sector while relentlessly affirming women’s duties as housewives and mothers?<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> For more information on female employment before and during WWII, see chapter 2 entitled “Financial Resources and Paid Employment” in Hanna Diamond’s *Women and the Second World War in France, 1939-48: Choices and Constraints*.

<sup>44</sup> In *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics*, Jan Pettman reflects on the importance of unpaid housework to the economic success of the state as a whole: “All states rely on women’s unpaid domestic and reproductive labour. No state could seriously attempt equality in work, or to pay fairly for women’s work, without profound transformation of all social and power relations. The domestication of women means naturalising women’s work as a labour of love, and so perpetuates the ‘double load’ and the containment of women. Many states exclude women from state rights as private or dependent, or as communal property. Women have great difficulties in

Wartime created an inclination toward re-gendering activity: a need to reinforce the machinery of patriarchal influence by re-inscribing normative gender categories (17). Grayzel argues that in spite of the agency women derived from “active roles” outside of the home, their public activity was always considered secondary to their nurturing responsibilities as homemakers and mothers. In addition, “[t]he ultimate figure of public interest and anxiety remained the fighting man” (Grayzel 49) and all sacrifices on the homefront were deemed subordinate to those on the front. In the aftermath of the war, ‘re-normalization’ rhetoric advocated reintegration of men and women into society along traditional, gendered lines (Higonnet 4). The subsequent focus on sexual collaboration can thus be understood as a desire to return to ‘how things used to be,’ symptomatic of male concerns surrounding female (sexual) behavior. As such, the postwar *tontes* emerge as extensions of the ubiquitous patriarchal imperative to preserve the social structure by exercising control over women’s bodies. Female organizations themselves sometimes echoed imperatives to return to the patriarchal status quo. Such was the case of the *Association pour l’ enrôlement volontaire des Françaises au service de la patrie* whose president, Mme Boutroux, urged French women to resume their place in the home during a general assembly on March 4<sup>th</sup> 1919:

Il serait odieux qu’ en revenant, les maris trouvassent leur place prise et eussent à lutter contre des revendications souvent légitimes, mais qui, éclatant à l’ occasion ou immédiatement à la suite de la guerre, deviendraient *a priori* condamnables. Ceux qui, depuis cinq ans, ont traversé toutes les épreuves et tous les dangers de la guerre et qui, quoi que nous ayons fait, ont eu infiniment plus de souffrances et

---

becoming state subjects and citizens. State legislation regarding marriage, divorce, legitimacy of children and the status of women, profoundly affect women’s rights and their access to resources and choices” (15).

de mérite que nous, désireront retrouver leurs logis riant et bien tenu, et jouir des affections qui leur ont manqué (qtd. in Thébaud, *Les femmes* 401).

While Mme Boutroux acknowledges women's claims regarding work in the public sector as legitimate, she considers their timing to be of crucial importance. Though French women had a patriotic responsibility to work for the duration of the war, any claims made after the war and upon the men's return are reprehensible. Explicit therein is the idea that men's more meritorious wartime sacrifices entitle them to immediate restitution of now female-occupied jobs and a return to society as they once knew it. A returning soldier, according to Mme Boutroux, should be recompensed for his military valor with affection and a warm, well-tended home, the traditional realm of the woman.

Women's agency during the war derived from a nationwide necessity for women's full participation in the public sphere as well as newfound flexibility in the private sphere in the absence of males. The wartime climate had generated more opportunities for women because the patriarchal state was in urgent need of their support. For the status quo to be maintained intact despite such shifts in power relations, "[n]ationalist movements mobilise women's support and labour, while simultaneously seeking to reinforce women's female roles and femininity" (Pettman 61). Steven C. Hause shows that the overall preoccupation with national success in the face of a foreign enemy stifled the efforts of feminist movements. Women's suffrage campaigns that had been fervently initiated before the war fizzled out as "feminists sought ways to participate in the war—through the Red Cross, through organizations to aid refugees, through the recruitment of women to replace men" (Hause 109). Having temporarily suspended their quest for rights, French feminists expected to be compensated for their patriotic efforts at the end of the war like their British sisters who had officially obtained the right to vote in 1918.

Unfortunately, it was not until 1944 that French women were legally recognized as deserving of a basic male citizenship tenet—the right to vote<sup>45</sup>.

Suffrage victory aside, gendered social assignments reverted after both wars. Society first asked that women contribute by filling vacant jobs, then insisted that they step back into their former roles. Françoise Thébaud evokes a public notice signed by Minister Louis Loucheur on November 13, 1918 which urged French women to return to their “anciennes occupations”. He promised compensation equivalent to a month’s salary for those willing to leave by December 5<sup>th</sup>. After this date, the compensation would be reduced per diem and entirely eliminated by January 5<sup>th</sup>, 1919 (*Les femmes* 403). The financial incentive to quit early completely overlooked the harsh realities of single or widowed women who could not survive on welfare alone (i.e. the various *allocations* granted by the government) or the continued need for female workers in certain sectors such as agriculture that had been more severely impacted by war’s casualties—“500 000 morts, 400 000 blessés et de nombreux mutilés” (404). Nonetheless, in the aftermath of the Great War, the many workplace opportunities afforded to women in previously male-dominated sectors became a memory of the past<sup>46</sup>. The same patterns of female workplace demobilization were reproduced to a certain extent after WWII when “[w]omen who were employed in factories were asked to leave in cases where they were no longer the main breadwinner...Across the nation there was a definite policy of employing men, particularly ex-prisoners, rather than women. Many returned prisoners-of-war were channeled into agriculture” (Diamond 168). Hanna Diamond also shows that many employers laid off women in favor of a

---

<sup>45</sup> For a wonderful side-by-side analysis of feminist movements and female political rights in France and Britain in the context of the Great War, see chapter 6 of Grayzel’s *Women’s Identities at War*, “National Service and National Sacrifice: Civic Participation, Gender, and National Identity”. For a discussion on women’s suffrage and citizenship in France in the aftermath of the Second World War, see Hanna Diamond’s chapter 8, “Women Gain New Rights and Become Citizens,” in *Women and the Second World War in France*.

<sup>46</sup> More on the demobilization of women in the workplace can be found in the chapter “Perspectives” of Françoise Thébaud’s *Les femmes au temps de la guerre de 14*.

cheaper, immigrant *main d'oeuvre*. She further indicates that certain sectors that had been contingent upon the demands of a wartime economy naturally downsized and “there was less job availability in the sectors that had specifically catered for women before the war. Textile manufacturing, for example, traditionally a significant employer of women, especially as homeworkers, who were often married mothers and wives of factory workers, was particularly hit by the postwar shortages of raw materials” (169). She also finds that female post office workers were demoted to positions available prior to 1939 (173)<sup>47</sup>.

From an ideological perspective, Jan Jindy Pettman confirms the general postwar tendency to revert to prewar status quo by ‘re-normalizing’ and ‘naturalizing’ women’s roles. She affirms that the demobilization of women complicates the question of women’s wartime advancements and predicates “that wars help create a temporary expansion of women’s public roles and kinds of work, often then removed after the fighting stops (...) The domestication of women is revealed as a multifaceted political and cultural process; it takes a lot of ideological work to (re)normalize and ‘naturalise’ women’s place” (137-8). Neither world war substantively altered the dynamics of gender beyond a somewhat negligible improvement in women’s rights. This atavism can be explained using Margaret Higonnet’s previously-evoked theoretical construct, the *double helix*, a uniquely western mechanism that implicitly ascribes value to all gendered activity. One finds gender relationships inflected by the inherent instability of any wartime period, during which temporary shifts in power exacerbate the patriarchal anxiety over property and order: the privileges temporarily afforded women eventually cause the patriarchy to tighten its grip by reiterating and reinforcing essential gender fictions. War in itself neither

---

<sup>47</sup> For a better understanding of the complexities of female employment during the Second World War, the reader is encouraged to read chapter 7, “Everyday Life and Paid Employment 1944-48,” of Hanna Diamond’s *Women and the Second World War in France, 1939-48: Choices and Constraints* in conjunction with chapter 2, “Financial Resources and Paid Employment”.

creates nor redresses gender inequality; on the gendered front, all victories are Cadmean. The following pages examine the ways in which wartime gender discourses acted to reclaim female sexuality. These were not narratives invented by a threatened French society but rather reformulations of preexisting gender fictions, repackaged for the purpose at hand. The present chapter will focus on one particular gender fiction from which further pervasive gender discourses stem: the private body as a reflection of the social body (and vice versa).

### *Depravation in a time of deprivation*

In order to understand the politics inherent in the intimate link between the private, citizen's body and the public, collective body, one must first reflect upon the notion of nationalism and its crucial role in the preservation of the state as a political entity. In her book on gendered imagery in French revolutionary culture, Joan B. Landes states that nationalism arose in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the context of shifts in norms and mores surrounding sexuality and the family unit:

The family came to be associated with the values of intimacy and sentimentality, and private morality was seen as a necessary condition for a healthy state and society. Female virtue was absolutely pivotal to this new conception of public and private life, and women as a whole were divided between those who did and those who did not contribute to the nation's moral well-being (136).

Both World Wars were marked by a concern with unbridled sexuality and the social regulation of sexual impulses, presumably exacerbated by the state of armed conflict. War itself was perceived as immoral in nature (Le Naour, *Misère et tourments* 392) and thereby conducive to selfish and decadent acts. WWI debates on physical and moral *degeneration* as causes of

national decadence were substantiated by medical scholarship such as doctor Benédicte-Augustin Morel's 1857 treaty entitled *Traité des dégénérescences physiques, intellectuelles, et morales de l'espèce humaine et des causes qui produisent ces variétés maladives* in which he set out to examine "[l]es caractères de l'ordre intellectuel, physique et moral qui distinguent les variétés maladives des variétés naturelles dans l'espèce" (Morel 5). Le Naour explains that "depuis la défaite de 1870 et l'amputation du territoire, l'extrême droite nationaliste ne cesse de crier à la décadence de la nation, à la perte de la vitalité et de force du sang français dont l'atonie démographique serait le révélateur, au même titre que l'expansion de la criminalité ou le relâchement des mœurs" (*Misères et tourments* 11). Debauchery and the moral disintegration, embodied by three contemporary "biopolitical perils"—alcoholism, syphilis and pornography—were perceived as the root of political defeat<sup>48</sup>. The wartime ideology of *regeneration*, to which France so avidly aspired, was anchored in the assimilation of the human body to the social body and promoted a rebirth of the social through an active discipline and purification of the physical. Chastity and the glorified endurance of a physical body deprived of (acceptable, regulated) sexual intercourse became synonymous with the difficult but crucial resistance of a nation in the face of its enemy<sup>49</sup>. Mastery of the physical body was translated into a national defense tactic aimed at reclaiming and restoring the social body. The notion of discipline was no longer an ideal reserved for those fighting in combat but one that all citizens should practice on a personal

---

<sup>48</sup> Susan Grayzel shows that during the Great War, "campaigns against alcohol became a major wartime feminist activity. They were particularly concerned with the dangerous association between alcohol and prostitution, although it was not until October 1917 that laws forbade the presence of prostitutes in all establishments where drinking occurred" (124-5).

<sup>49</sup> Joan B. Landes points to the tendency to blur private and public lines two centuries earlier, in the context of the French revolution: "private morality was intimately tied to public virtue and state interest. Unhindered sexuality was seen as a threat to the republic body politic, and women's unlicensed sexuality and untampered enthusiasms were thought to imperil state and civil order" (5).

level for the sake of the nation. France's political victory was contingent upon its citizens' ability to subjugate their own internal enemies, personal vices promoted to the rank of national threats.

Si la France veut rayonner, sortir grandie et régénérée de la guerre, elle doit aussi vaincre ses laideurs morales : prostitution, alcoolisme, néo-malthusianisme<sup>50</sup>, pornographie, syphilis, égoïsme... Dans le cas contraire, sa victoire ne lui servirait de rien et le 'boche intérieur' triompherait (Le Naour, *Misères et tourments* 14-15, emphasis mine).

Le Naour's reference to the 'internal Boche' demonstrates that the unprecedented *battlefront/homefront* dynamic of WWI led to a dichotomous understanding of the enemy. On one side, the enemy, incarnated in the German soldier, was an *external* threat the country had to fight so as to maintain its frontier intact and prevent infiltration. On the other side, the enemy, incarnated by personal vices, was *internal*, requiring the nation to purify the minds and bodies of its citizens to prevent their moral and physical decay. Both cases required that the enemy be contained in order to prevent contamination of the national body. This notion of internal/external enemy is aptly illustrated by the term "boche intérieur". Vice, by property of its inherent danger to the integrity of the physical body and thus to the collective body was nothing but an "internal Fritz", a personal demon that would expedite the German soldier's victory over a weakened nation. Women, already under suspicion for their questionable nature, came under constant attack as agents of immorality.<sup>51</sup> In January 1915, the organization *Famille du soldat* instituted a

---

<sup>50</sup> The term (*néo*)*malthusianisme* derives from the 19<sup>th</sup>-century writings of English pastor and economist Thomas Malthus who argued that all species have a tendency to reproduce beyond available resources. He advanced the need to control human reproduction through abstinence and marriage law reforms in order to control overpopulation and prevent the depletion of resources. Neo-malthusianism came to encompass all types of contraception, many of which Malthus himself would have denounced.

<sup>51</sup> Landes shows that in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, "female propriety, chastity, and fidelity, along with monogamy, all became tropes of civilized or virtuous nationhood" (5). She asserts that "[r]evolutionaries dreamed of a republican mother, capable of banishing her own vanity, passions, and self-interests in the name of her children and the nation. However, the very doctrine of republican motherhood, which celebrated female goodness, cannot be understood

correspondence system called *marrainage*<sup>52</sup> between anonymous French women and soldiers. Female volunteers of all social strata from all over the country became ‘adoptive godmothers’ to male soldiers in need of moral support, wrote letters and even sent them packages in the hopes of lifting their spirits. According to Françoise Thébaud, there were 25,000 “filleuls de guerre” (wartime godsons) in 1917 (*Les femmes* 197).

The *marraine de guerre* represented a new opportunity for women to exercise traditional functions of moral support, while it quickly came to be seen as providing the alluring possibility of violating norms for contact between men and women and for female conduct. Given the relative anonymity of letters, *marraines* quickly became constructed not as the maternal figures that the word ‘godmother’ would imply, but as potential objects of sexual fantasy and even fulfillment” (Grayzel 30).

While some correspondences remained amicable, many turned into written opportunities for sentimental or even pornographic activity. Though the soldier was always judged lightly, the *marraine* was often accused of being “perverse et demi-prostituée, donc demi-espionne” (Le

---

apart from republicans’ suspicions of women and female nature and their anxiety about female independence in both the public and private spheres, including the possibility that the latter would result in women’s sacrifice of family interest. These attitudes owe much to Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s vision of a reformed society (...) he placed women, along with aristocrats and city dwellers, among the worst examples that corrupt, civilized existence has to offer” (99, 101)

<sup>52</sup> For more information on the *marraines de guerre*, see ch. 5 (pp. 195-203) of Françoise Thébaud’s *Les femmes au temps de la guerre de 14* as well as pp. 30-33 and 124 of Susan Grayzel’s *Women’s Identities at War*. Henriette de Vismes, one of the founders of the *Famille du soldat*, attempts to refute the sexualized image of the *marraines* in a rather naive and moralistic book entitled *Histoire authentique et touchante des marraines et des filleuls de guerre* by vehemently clinging to the exclusively pseudo-familial relationship between these women and their *filleuls*. She reverses the image of licentiousness by positing one of piety and propriety in claiming that, even in their most intimate thoughts, soldiers imagine their “godmothers” only as angels or saints sent to provide them with support. “*Les vraies marraines et les vrais filleuls, la vraie pitié et le vrai malheur ont d’autres sollicitudes et des visées plus hautes (...) Et si parfois dans les heures immobiles au fond de la tranchée où la nuit triste peu à peu descend, un jeune filleul se prend à rêver plus ému à sa jeune marraine, c’est pour l’apercevoir au-dessus de lui, parée de toutes les grâces mais aussi de toutes les vertus, intangible et presque sacrée, sous les traits d’un ange ou d’une sainte descendue du Ciel pour le secourir*” (3). See Vismes, Henriette de. *Histoire authentique et touchante des marraines et des filleuls de guerre*.

Naour, *Misères et tourments* 74), a dangerous woman due to her ability to seduce and sway the *poilu*<sup>53</sup> in favor of the enemy with her feminine wiles<sup>54</sup>.

The link drawn between prostitution and espionage<sup>55</sup> reflects the private body/social body parallel and the correlation between immorality and antipatriotic behavior. Prostitution also carried with it the fear of venereal diseases and the ravages they may cause amid soldiers and military personnel. WWI saw a profusion of medical literature on the matter. Dr. F. Balzer (1915) argued for mandatory medical visits as well as surveillance of all prostitutes coming into contact with soldiers. Dr. Butte (1917) was particularly apprehensive of “*les insoumises*, whose ranks now included ‘refugees, married women, [and] female factory workers,’” a concern echoed by Dr. Paul Faivre, a proponent of increased surveillance of all prostitutes and regulation of state-controlled prostitution. In his opinion, “regulated prostitution protected the population from the more certain danger of the *femme isolée*, or unregulated woman...For example, while female war factory workers were not exactly prostitutes, they nonetheless ‘gave themselves’ to specific men and needed to be watched closely (Grayzel 142-3). The fear of sexually-transmitted diseases and its implications for women is exemplified in Maxence Van Der Meersch’s novel, *Invasion* 14. During a routine administrative meeting organized by a local colonel from the Kommandantur, all nearby mayors are convoked to the town of Roubaix and ordered to establish health examinations for all male villagers as well as for specific women “suspected of bad behavior”. The rise in venereal diseases among soldiers stationed in the area incites German authorities to detect and contain infection more proactively and contact with local women is

---

<sup>53</sup> Term coined during the Great War to designate French soldiers.

<sup>54</sup> The biblical archetype of the female seductress may be evoked here and the notion woven “[t]hroughout patriarchal mythology, dream-symbolism, theology, language... that the female body is impure, corrupt, the site of discharges, bleedings, dangerous to masculinity, a source of moral and physical contamination, ‘the devil’s gateway’.” (Rich, *Of Woman Born* 34).

<sup>55</sup> For further discussion on espionage and the case of the infamous WWI female spy Mata Hari, see Françoise Thébaud, ch. 2 in *Les femmes au temps de la guerre de 14* (pp. 94-101).

considered a primary source of contagion. “Les femmes indiquées sur la présente liste, et suspectes de mauvaises mœurs, se présenteront désormais chaque semaine à la visite médicale du major. La liste sera affichée à la porte de la Mairie” (35). As mayor Lacombe reads the list out loud, he stumbles upon the name of one of his daughters. The year 1918 saw a proliferation of military brothels, or *maisons tolérées*, as a ‘lesser evil’ and means of channeling soldiers’ sexuality in regulated, socially-acceptable ways (Le Naour, *Misères et tourments* 123). The rising concern with the syphilis epidemic among French soldiers justified a strict surveillance of all houses of ill repute, periodical exams for both prostitutes and their clients and strict requirements dictating women’s daily operations<sup>56</sup> (150). While the distinction between state-registered prostitutes and the “insoumises” or “femmes isolées” can be understood as a function of national health concerns, it also masked a constant suspicion surrounding female sexuality and the assumption of female decadence. In a book entitled *La psychologie du soldat*, Drs. Huot and Voivenel quote a 1917 report entitled “Les maladies vénériennes à l’armée” by Dr. Jules Gaudy. Gaudy places the number of arrests of Parisian “filles insoumises” at 3,211 during 1913-1914 and 3,907 during 1914-1915 and points to an increase in venereal diseases from 1,363 between 1913-1914 to 2,275 between 1914-1915 among all social classes. He attributes prostitution to

---

<sup>56</sup> Debates on prostitution, brothels and venereal diseases span several centuries and often find legitimacy in scientific texts published by doctors and other authoritative male figures. Such 19<sup>th</sup> century texts include Dr. Parent Duchâtelet’s pioneering socio-historical analysis of Parisian prostitution [Duchâtelet, Parent. *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris, considérée sous la rapport de l’hygiène publique, de la morale et de l’administration; ouvrage appuyé de documens statistiques puisés dans les archives de la Préfecture de police; avec cartes et tableaux, par A.-J.-B. Parent Duchatelet, ... . Précédé d’une notice historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de l’auteur, par Fr. Leuret.* Paris : J.-B. Baillière, 1836. Print.] as well as Dr. Armand Després’ broader analysis of prostitution in France [Després, Armand. *La prostitution en France : études morales et démographiques, avec une statistique générale de la prostitution en France / par le Dr Armand Després.* Paris : J.-B. Baillière et fils, 1883. Print.]. For a more contemporary overview of the topic, consult Bernheimer, Charles. *Figures of Ill Repute: Representing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century France.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989. Print.

economic need, lack of patriarchal control in the case of married women, as well as a general increase in demand for sexual gratification. He also warns against novice prostitutes whose lack of expertise makes them inherently more dangerous (qtd. in Huot and Voivenel 156).

Prostitutes and *marraines de guerre* were not the only women considered dangerous for the *poilu* and the success of his military mission. The anxiety surrounding female sexuality extended to widows and nurses in the service of the army. Le Naour explains the suspicion surrounding widows as an “angoisse de la femme libre, privée de mari et d’autorité masculine” (*Misères et tourments* 82) while the fear of the nurse—commonly referred to as an “ange blanc”<sup>57</sup>—reflects “la peur des contemporains envers une femme toute puissante, au-dessus des mâles diminués par la blessure ou la maladie, et exerçant sur eux la tyrannie sexuelle du désir et de la séduction dans un schéma de domination inversé du temps de paix ” (79). Thébaud illustrates the hospital as not only a place for women to forget their personal losses and misfortunes by virtue of charitable or nurturing work but also a liberating getaway from the stifling confines of the home (*Les femmes* 137). Although women of all socioeconomic backgrounds volunteered or worked as wartime nurses, the ones who benefitted most were perhaps young bourgeois. According to Thébaud,

[ê]tre infirmière ou auxiliaire permet une initiation rapide aux choses de la vie, contraire au rigide code d’éducation. Celles qui ne sortaient qu’accompagnées d’un chaperon promènent des blessés convalescents ou des aveugles, dorment parfois à l’hôpital, partent ou rentrent de bon matin...Elles découvrent le sexe masculin, la chair, les classes populaires et même les peuples de couleur (138).

---

<sup>57</sup> For an extensive analysis of the ‘anges blancs’, please refer to ch. 3 (pp. 115-144) of Françoise Thébaud’s *Les femmes au temps de la guerre de 14*.

Marie Prudente, Guy Croussy's female protagonist in *La tondue*, incarnates the double danger of the widowed nurse. Marie is left to raise her son Manu with the help of her father after her husband is mobilized, made prisoner for having brought aid to Resistance efforts, and then executed (*La tondue* 59). "Marie Prudente fut, épisodiquement, infirmière de l'Escaping Society, réseau de docteur Hallory (...) [elle] fut arrêtée et tondue pour avoir soigné une sentinelle allemande blessée par l'explosion d'une lame de voie ferrée piégée" (67). As a widow who keeps her distance from the watchful eye of the community, Marie is perceived as an *insoumise* who lends herself to licentious activities and the selfish pursuit of pleasure. Though the mayor himself agrees with the family that Marie was "tondue par erreur de bonne foi" (45), even he expresses some suspicion by saying, "avec ses silences et ses airs distants, elle aurait pu séduire n'importe qui" (41). Due to women's increased public exposure and the absence of most male legal guardians from the homefront, concern over female behavior generated ambiguity towards even those women exercising roles conducive to the wartime effort. In the hierarchy of national enemies, virtually all categories of women were integrated as potential incarnations of vice, agents of nationwide disintegration and detractors from the imperative for regeneration.

The concept of degeneration and regeneration, trumpeted by the deeply-moralizing war of 1914-1918 was re-adopted by the 1939-1945 Vichy regime who blamed individualism for the disintegration of the family unit. "To combat individualism, Vichy proposed to place the family as a buffer between the individual and the state by making it one-third of the triptych *Travail, Famille, Patrie*"<sup>58</sup> (qtd. in Higonnet 278). At the same time that it encouraged female employment as a necessary contribution to wartime efforts, the government also vilified women

---

<sup>58</sup> The phrase finds its equivalent in the German motto "Kinder, Küche, Kirche" (Children, Kitchen, Church) that, despite having preceded the Nazi regime, came to be associated with the Third Reich. The triptych rests on similar notions as those promoted by Vichy and reveals the political value of the family unit for both nations.

as untrustworthy. Employment gave women “money and exposed them daily to the opposite sex, feeding their female taste for luxury and flirtatious narcissism. Working wives scorned housework as tedious, avoided pregnancy, and left children to fend for themselves” (Fishman 18)<sup>59</sup>. In the absence of men, working women generated distrust due to the authority they had been vested with. It was assumed that a woman without a male guardian to watch over her would easily give in to her ‘true’ corrupt nature, thus compromising the integrity of the nation through her immoral behavior. In this sense, Fabrice Virgili defines the female enemy — in contrast with the male enemy who must be eliminated by death or imprisonment— as a “territoire corporel. La victoire sur l’ennemi passerait alors plus par sa reconquête, comme dans le cas d’un territoire national, que par sa destruction” (*La France “virile”* 279).

### *The female-homeland allegory*

Traditionally perceived as weak, unstable and impulsive creatures<sup>60</sup>, wartime women came under close scrutiny for behavior that might compromise the nation. Deviant female sexuality was intolerable not only because of the reproductive role affixed to it, but also because of women’s subaltern position, which required them to align their interests with those of the community—and make no objection. Their sexuality, to be closely monitored in times of peace, acquired an almost frenzied significance in the face of a national threat. The renewed interest in

---

<sup>59</sup> Susan Grayzel reveals a series of national debates between 1916 and 1917 concerned with whether mothers should be allowed to work in factories. “In the end, the only legislative measure taken in regards to mothers in French factories was to give women time off, with pay, to breast-feed their children, a recognition of the difficulty of not using women in wartime factory work despite the fact that such work curtailed what was regarded as their other national responsibility” (110).

<sup>60</sup> In “Sophie ou la Femme”, Jean-Jacques Rousseau advances a need to educate women differently from men based on differences inherent in their nature : “La dissipation, la frivolité, l’inconstance, sont les défauts qui naissent aisément de leurs premiers goûts corrompus et toujours suivis. Pour prévenir cet abus apprenez-leur surtout à se vaincre. Dans nos insensés établissements la vie de l’honnête femme est un combat perpétuel contre elle-même ; il est juste que ce sexe partage la peine des maux qu’il nous a causés” (*Émile* 709). For a female to be an ‘honest woman’, she must constantly battle her scattered, frivolous, inconstant inner-self.

the *female-homeland* allegory as a means of professing a direct link between unbridled female sexuality and political demise reflected quite clearly the patriarchal anxiety surrounding women's unrestrained sexuality. In *Le deuxième sexe*, Simone de Beauvoir notes that the image of the woman as the incarnation of the home, anchored in nurturing and maternal qualities, undergoes a significant redefinition with the emergence of Christianity. From that point on, the woman no longer represents just the concrete and physical home but also its essence, or soul. "Elle est l'âme de la maison, de la famille, du foyer. Elle est aussi celle des collectivités plus vastes : ville, province ou nation...c'est à travers les femmes qu'on voit l'étranger tenter de s'approprier l'âme d'une région" (I : 293-294). In her essay entitled "Sexualités, identités et nationalismes dans la longue guerre européenne", Alison Moore notes the tendency of European nationalist movements to elevate women symbolically by turning them into visual embodiments of the nation all the while advocating concrete measures that perpetuate their inferior legal status. She remarks,

Depuis la fin du XVIIIe siècle, les mouvements nationalistes à travers l'Europe prenaient pour symboles des thèmes sexuels, genrés. La nation devint une belle femme chaste qu'il fallait protéger contre ceux qui étaient désignés comme prédateurs. Ainsi naquit l'ère des Marianne, des Germania des Britannia. Dans une grande partie de l'Europe postnapoléonienne, alors que les codes civils officialisaient le statut légal inférieur des femmes, les symboles de la nation se féminisèrent dans des images de virginité fière et noble (25).

According to Moore, this phenomenon reveals an innate human need to personalize an otherwise abstract concept in order to successfully elicit feelings of love towards one's country: "La patrie est...comme notre mère, comme notre fille vierge. Pour encourager l'amour d'un concept aussi

abstrait que celui de la nation, il fallait lui accorder des qualités non seulement anthropomorphiques, mais aussi genrées, voire sexualisées”<sup>61</sup> (25). The two World Wars continued to perpetuate this gendered symbolism by building propaganda around a dichotomous vision of the *femme-patrie*. On one end of the spectrum, “la patrie est représentée comme une belle vierge ou comme une douce mère menacée par l’approche d’un ennemi au regard de brute, au désir pervers, portant son arme braquée comme une érection” (25) while on the other, we find the image of France as a dissolute woman, a willing sexual partner to the enemy. A precedent to this dichotomy can be found in revolutionary iconography in which

the traits of proper, chaste, natural womanhood are transposed onto a larger canvas that is populated by a series of antique goddesses representing woman’s natural goodness rather than her social virtue through motherhood. As a result, motherhood is magnified and glorified—stripped of its mundane, ultimately conventional character—by its association with the antique past and a future, regenerated Republic. Classical female bodies bore the names of Liberty, Republic, Victory, Philosophy, Reason, Nature, and Truth. They functioned to instruct all of the public on the cardinal virtues of republican France: unity, fraternity, equality, and brotherly love. Occasionally, however, they attested to the special virtues of women: modesty and chastity (Landes 102).

---

<sup>61</sup> Joan B. Landes outlines the reasons behind France’s historical use of female allegories: “the grammatical gender of abstract nouns in French, Latin, and Greek; the Catholic veneration of the Virgin Mary; the role of female patron saints in religious practice and popular festivity; the importance of goddesses, as personifications of various virtues, within classical myth; and, perhaps, most important, the crisis in representation caused first by the adoption of a constitutional monarchy and subsequently by the fall of the French monarchy. However, it is not enough to question why the revolutionaries turned to female allegories or to enumerate the precedents in prerevolutionary culture that might have inclined them to readopt a female likeness of the nation or its central values. Rather, it is crucial to inquire into the effects of the national body’s femininity—that is, by the surprising feminine face of the aggressively masculine version of revolutionary French nationalism. Not only does the national body’s sexuality and gender position deserve a fuller explanation, so, too, does the foregrounding of heterosexual relations despite the existence of homosocial or fraternal impulses in the fashioning of the new body politic” (17-8).

The chaste and/or maternal female body propagated through such imagery found its opposition in *female grotesques*, which “embodied women’s base, material, and changeable attributes” by depicting women as “monstrous and animal-like” through caricaturization of their physical characteristics, in particular those associated with their sex (116). One finds here an opposition between the *sexless* woman<sup>62</sup>—stripped of all autonomous, carnal desire—who is idealized for her ‘selfless’ nature and admirable behavior in the service of the country, and the *sexualized* woman—armed with an articulated desire and a penchant for uninhibited sexual activity—who is demonized for her ‘selfish’ nature and unpatriotic inclinations. Such male-regulated notions of morality and female sexual propriety have traditionally served as an impetus for the systematic politicization of the female body<sup>63</sup>. Landes indicates that “female grotesques exploited the strong ambivalence toward public women, which was a persistent theme in republicanism. Such depictions disclosed at the level of the body the very disorder and intrigue that sexually avaricious and politically ambiguous women of the Old Regime had been accused of promoting” (116). Arguments over corrupt female nature and the grotesque sexualization of politically-active women are symptoms of a patriarchal apprehension engendered by the very presence and visibility of women in the male, public sphere. Pettman corroborates the perception of public female performance (to be understood as participation in state politics, a departure from traditional roles assigned to women by the patriarchal state, i.e. motherhood) as transgression:

---

<sup>62</sup> In her essay entitled “Corps, apparence et sexualité”, Sara F. Matthews Grieco states, “Le Moyen Age assiste à l’élaboration d’une éthique sexuelle fondée sur le refus du Plaisir et l’obligation de procréer, mais il faut attendre le XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle pour voir naître une campagne cohérente contre toutes les formes de nudité et de sexualité extra-conjugale. Entre 1500 et 1700, de nouvelles attitudes envers le corps et de nouvelles règles de comportement produisent une valorisation radicale de la chasteté et de la pudeur dans tous les domaines de la vie quotidienne” (86).

<sup>63</sup> Jan Pettman maintains that “[t]he use of women as boundary markers suggests why the control of women and especially their sexuality is strategic in the maintenance and reproduction of identity and of the community (Peterson, 1994). In this context, the ideological weight some men give to women’s outward attire and the sexual purity of women in the community can be noted” (59). The politicization of the female body thus revolves around the notion of kinship and the reproductive and familial tasks attributed to women. “The language of kinship, family and home in national discourses link blood and soil (Lui, 1991). As such, controlling the sexual behavior, marriages and children of women becomes central to community reproduction and defence” (62).

“The domestication of women and their containment in the private sphere writes them out of the public-political, such that women’s appearance and performance in public space can be read as a transgression, and so ‘invite’ sexual approach or attack” (185). Public attention unsanctioned by the patriarchal state becomes problematic as “the attention that a woman drew to herself could be taken to be a sign of her immorality or immodesty, and a symptom of the menace posed to social order by the presence of women acting (out) in public” (Landes 110). Female sexuality and female participation in the politics of the wartime state are intimately tied and strictly coded.

During the second World War, the noble efforts of the Resistance became synonymous with the chaste French woman while collaboration became associated with the harlot. François Rouquet finds evidence of this gendered dichotomy in the national imagery of the Resistance which advances two *sexless* female archetypes: “la mère du sauveur et la vierge mystique” (“Épuration” 290). The “sauveur” is none other than Maréchal Pétain, while his mother is described in terms reminiscent of the supreme Mother, Virgin Mary: “Elle y est décrite comme ‘une brave et sainte femme, qui a gardé confiance en son fils et la victoire’, et dont on s’émeut à penser que ‘son cœur a cédé de savoir le pays envahi’ (elle meurt d’une crise cardiaque à quatre-vingts ans)” (290). The image is anchored in Vichy propaganda presenting Pétain as the Christ, the father and husband of the entire nation. France “se donne au Maréchal” (Buisson, *Années érotiques* I : 139) in a mystical union combining sexual impulse and spiritual sublimation (137). The second female archetype is that of the virginal martyr. Rouquet provides the example of 17-year-old Agnès de Nanteuil who is arrested and executed for her refusal to submit to the yoke of the Nazi regime, a veritable WWII Joan of Arc<sup>64</sup> (Rouquet, “Épuration” 291). Rouquet concludes that “[c]es figures de la Résistance ... s’opposent à l’image de la collaboration des femmes,

---

<sup>64</sup> Ironically, Joan of Arc was herself shorn and burnt at the stake for transgressing gender roles by donning men’s clothes and becoming a military leader.

toutes de vice, de désir et de chair” (291). Resistance and collaboration are opposed through the gendered images they circulate. The chaste woman inspires French citizens through her physical and mental devotion to the nation while the sexual collaborator betrays— “[elle] ‘se couche’ avec l’Allemand comme elle a entraîné la France à se coucher devant l’Allemagne” (François 74). For the impact of such female archetypes to be understood properly, one must recall the importance of gendered imagery for national discourse: “The nation is often called up in familial language—motherland, kin, blood, home...In a complex play, the state is often gendered male, and the nation gendered female—the mother country—and the citizens/children become kin...’women are the *symbol* of the nation, men its *agents*, regardless of the role women actually play in the nation” (Pettman 49). As “mothers of the nation”, women turn into “markers of its boundaries” (45). Joan Landes exposes an interesting problem derived from such gendered imagery by noting that, as an allegorical woman, the nation becomes vulnerable to the dangers threatening real women, notably rape (166). Through the assimilation of the nation with the female body, France became subject to sexual violence and abuse at the hands of the enemy. As Pettman demonstrates,

[e]roticising the nation/country as a loved woman’s body leads to associating sexual danger with boundary transgressions and boundary defence. It can materialise in competition between different men for control of women. Indeed, a triangle, a love story, a fairytale is often constructed, necessitating a villain, a victim and a hero. The sexual subtext and gendered politics of nationalism are further complicated through the feminising—and hypermasculinising—of ‘other’ men (49).

The wartime nation becomes a mirror projection of personal gender relations whereby the ‘strong’ sex must protect the ‘weak’ one. Pettman finds the “protector/protected relationship” problematic as it implies that women must be “good, faithful, defenceless—worth dying for—to make men feel responsible for them and willing to fight for them” (99). She argues that such a relationship engenders female dependency, vulnerability (to fellow male compatriots as well as to enemy men) and can be used to justify control over women’s bodies and surveillance of their activities (99).

WWI/II national discourses routinely reinforced and propagated complimentary ideological codes such as defenseless motherhood and inflated virility. The notion of assimilation of territory through an appropriation of the female body pervades the literature produced during both World Wars. In his essay entitled “Qu’est-ce qu’un collaborateur?” Jean-Paul Sartre comments on the recurring image of France as a willing sexual partner to Nazi Germany in contemporary literature. In the absence of the French soldiers, the invasion of German troops on French soil was perceived by critics of the collaborationist regime as an act of rape: forceful, shameful, defiling. The penetration of Nazi soldiers on French soil and into the intimacy of French homes was not only an emasculating symbol of the men’s failure to protect their country but also a double violation of their patriarchal rights. In requesting French civilians to lodge German soldiers in their homes, the Nazi regime stripped French males of access to two of their primary possessions: their territory and their women. France’s political defeat led to a male identity crisis and a widespread concern with the emasculated state of the nation. Pettman traces such national concerns with virility to the very essence of the state as an entity anchored in fraternal bonds and homosocial (heterosexual) masculinity and its implicit exclusion of women from therein (50). Wartime nationalism positioned men as fighters and women as reproducers

and failure on both fronts was met with disapproval. “Un homme vaincu est-il encore un homme? Cette question lancinante est au cœur de la crise de l’identité masculine qui atteint son point culminant au lendemain de la défaite” (qtd. in Buisson, *Années érotiques* I : 212). The Vichy administration undertook a campaign to regenerate the nation by re-cultivating essential masculine virtues and solidifying the sense of patriotic virility that had become lost amidst a “République féminisée” (213). Among the measures taken was the institution of a new physical education program in schools, one quickly criticized by Catholic conservatives as a promoter of indecency among the nation’s youth (184-5). In *La domination masculine*, Pierre Bourdieu expounds upon virility and chastity as complimentary codes :

La *virilité*, entendue comme capacité reproductive, sexuelle et sociale, mais aussi comme aptitude au combat et à l’exercice de la violence (dans la vengeance notamment), est avant tout une *charge*. Par opposition à la femme, dont l’honneur, essentiellement négatif, ne peut qu’être défendu ou perdu, sa vertu étant successivement virginité et fidélité, l’homme ‘vraiment homme’ est celui qui se sent tenu d’être à la hauteur de la possibilité qui lui est offerte d’accroître son honneur en cherchant la gloire et la distinction dans la sphère publique (75-6).

Male virility is constructed in direct, indissoluble opposition to female passivity, “[l]a virilité, on le voit, est une notion éminemment *relationnelle*, construite devant et pour les autres hommes et contre la féminité, dans une sorte de *peur* du féminin, et d’abord en soi-même” (78). Joan Landes points out that, by virtue of its etymology, the word ‘virility’ denotes “valor, strength force and energy” as it derives from the Latin *vir* meaning “man”. When applied to women, on the other hand, “the manlike woman or virago from the Latin means both a female warrior and, pejoratively, a noisy, scolding, or domineering woman” (90-1).

A furtive admiration for the German soldiers and their exemplary physiques contributed to the development of a true cult of the male body. The body of the German soldier, perpetually on display, had become a covert object of desire, one that functioned both as a motivator as well as a perpetual symbol of defeat, a mirror held up to the *poilu* as a reminder of his own humiliation. This preoccupation with the nation's symbolic castration served as an impetus for a series of measures designed to re-boost France's image. Buisson points out that, upon being named Chief of State, Pétain required that all statues of Marianne—female symbol of the Republic—found in public establishments be replaced with portraits or busts of himself (I: 181). This decision marks a significant ideological shift from one gendered representation of the homeland to another, one that would further facilitate the vilification of women in the aftermath of France's defeat:

Opérer une telle substitution revient à consacrer symboliquement le changement de sexe de la figure allégorique de la France, à affirmer la nature essentiellement masculine du nouveau régime au détriment d'une représentation féminine que la nouvelle donne issue de la défaite et de l'Occupation fait apparaître comme inopportune, dévalorisante ou plus exactement dévirilisante (I : 183).

The emphasis on the Maréchal's virility despite his advanced age is an injunction against the "climate of femininity" evoked by Sartre, the alleged root of national defeat.

Dans la mythologie de la Révolution nationale, il [Pétain] est le patriarche protecteur mais toujours fécond, celui qui, en dépit de son grand âge, incarne la vitalité de la race française dont la 'vieille graine peut encore germer', la force et la puissance constitutives de l'identité mâle de la nation, une 'réaction très viriliment humaine à une République féminisée, une République de femmes et

d'invertis' dont les faiblesses coupables ont conduit la défaite (I : 188-9).

Buisson shows that Pétain's cane acquired a prominent status in France's collective consciousness becoming symbolic not of weakness but of virility and fecundity<sup>65</sup>. On the opposite side of the national spectrum, de Gaulle's anti-collaboration rhetoric assimilated the discourse on virility and reshaped it to fit its resistant agenda : "Face à la 'France qui se couche' dans une attitude de soumission féminine à l'occupant, la Résistance se pose d'emblée à travers la figure antithétique d'une France 'debout', d'une 'France qui se lève et qui se dresse' pour reprendre les armes et se battre " (I : 189). The opposition between erect and prostrate and other such gendered homologous pairs are the subject of an in-depth analysis in Pierre Bourdieu's *La domination masculine* where he judiciously charts the various manifestations of a binary system anchored in a division between masculine and feminine (Bourdieu 24). He argues that such arbitrary divisions, though they may seem 'natural,' are not only artificial but one of the many self-legitimizing patriarchal strategies aimed at securing social domination (20-21).

Many collaborationist writers such as Brasillach, Drieu La Rochelle and Chateaubriand depicted the Franco-German union in terms of a sexual union between a feminine, submissive France and Germany, its virile and dominating partner (Buisson, *Années érotiques* I: 250). The same imagery of territorial conquest operating through the subjugation of the female body dominates Vercors' *Le silence de la mer*, a pro-Resistance piece written clandestinely by Jean Bruller. All throughout the novel, Officer Werner von Ebrennac— lodged in a home owned by an old Frenchman (the narrator) and his young niece, a submissive and quiet young woman with no name— perpetually seeks out the niece's gaze in order to impose upon her his fervent desire to unite Germany and France through their marriage. While the officer is eventually revealed for

---

<sup>65</sup> For further analysis of phallic imagery and the Vichy discourse on virility, please consult chapter 4 (pp.151-223) of Buisson's *Années érotiques*, volume I.

what he is, a victim of his country's ideologies, he adamantly believes that "mes amis et notre Führer ont les plus grandes et les plus nobles idées" (Vercors 53). In speaking about war, von Ebrennac betrays his idealism by telling the French family that "c'est la dernière ! Nous ne nous battons plus : nous nous marierons !" (42). Before leaving for Paris "pour préparer la merveilleuse union de nos deux peuples " (58), he refers to the political negotiations to take place as a celebratory day: "C'est le plus grand jour, en attendant un autre que j'espère avec tout mon âme et qui sera encore un plus grand jour. Je saurai attendre des années s'il le faut" (57). His constant reiteration of the marriage metaphor and the patience he exerts in courting the French woman are intended to evoke the tenacity of the German nation with respect to its plan for political domination. A victim of lofty ideologies, von Ebrennac constantly betrays his naïveté in matters of war to his hosts until, deceived by the Führer's covert strategy to annihilate the French under the guise of a peaceful unification, he opts for a figurative suicide—a transfer request for the Eastern front—as a means of dealing with his disillusionment.

Despite the occasional apologetic tones with respect to the enemy, Vercors paints a portrait of the Nazi soldier as a seducer, a charming Dom Juan whose libertinism advances his political ideology. He delights in transgression, seduction and mastery of the other. The insistence upon the gaze as an instrument of seduction is far from being gratuitous in this text. It is significant to note that the eyes are the main locus of interaction between the German officer and the young French woman. Her persistent refusal to reciprocate his conversation or meet his gaze translates to a form of resistance condoned by many anti-collaborationist thinkers of the time who maintained that "[à] l'occupant, les yeux eux-mêmes doivent refuser droit de cité" (Burrin, *La France à l'heure allemande* 203). France had lost its dignity as a result of the Occupation, a dignity that it could only recuperate through psychological subversion. Once the

nation recognized that its physical borders had been transgressed and its public and private spaces had been violated, it attempted to retreat deeper into itself by erecting symbolic borders: “Il faut subir sans s’abaisser, s’en tenir à une obéissance forcée, telle qu’elle est due à une autorité illégitime” (199). Unfortunately, such symbolic borders were more effective in theory than in practice and eventually, “[l]a distance et le refus en bloc se concilient, pourtant, avec une sorte de civilité et, parfois, de solidarité élémentaire” (204). The proximity of the occupier and Hitler’s perpetual efforts to fashion an exemplary army led to an overall ambiguity towards the enemy that bordered on admiration and often crossed into desire. Irène Némirovsky’s character, Lucile Angellier, reveals this ambiguity early on as she treats the German officer lodged in her home with unreserved politeness, an act she justifies with a need to respect social etiquette regardless of differences between individuals: “On peut garder au fond de soi tous les sentiments que l’on voudra, mais, extérieurement du moins, pourquoi ne pas être poli et bienveillant?” (Némirovsky 284). Despite her own bourgeois preoccupation with decorum, Lucile’s mother-in-law refuses to acknowledge any shared humanity between her French compatriots and the German soldiers and, as such, rejects all moral obligations towards the enemy:

Je ne peux pas le voir, cet officier! J’ai envie de lui arracher les yeux! Je voudrais le voir mort. Ce n’est ni juste, ni humain, ni chrétien, mais je suis une mère, je souffre sans mon fils, je déteste ceux qui me l’ont pris, et si vous étiez une vraie femme, vous n’auriez pu supporter la présence de cet Allemand à côté de vous. Vous n’auriez pas eu peur de paraître vulgaire, mal élevée, ridicule. Vous vous seriez levée et, avec ou sans excuse, vous l’auriez quitté (284).

The insistence on the gaze as a means of rebellion (she does not want to *see* him and even wishes she could tear his *eyes* out) and the irrationality yet desirability of such an act align perfectly

with the resistant propaganda of the time. Mme Angellier posits herself as a mother devoted to her son and reproaches Lucile for not being “a real [proper, patriotic] woman”.

In spite of her efforts to resist the Nazi officer stationed in her home, even Vercors’ heroine eventually falters. Not only does her silence fail to discourage von Ebrennac but it serves to fuel the pleasure of his seduction game: “Je suis très heureux d’avoir trouvé ici un vieil homme digne. Et une demoiselle silencieuse. Il faudra vaincre ce silence. Il faudra vaincre le silence de la France. Cela me plaît” (Vercors 43). The officer immediately recognizes the French woman’s behavior as a form of resistance and counters it with an allegorical re-telling of the tale of *Beauty and the Beast* depicting, in veiled terms, his anticipated conquest:

Pauvre Belle! La Bête la tient à merci, — impuissante et prisonnière, —elle lui impose à toute heure du jour son implacable et pesante présence...La Belle est fière, digne, — elle s’est faite dure...Mais la Bête vaut mieux qu’elle ne semble. Oh, elle n’est pas très dégrossie ! Elle est maladroite, brutale, elle paraît bien rustre auprès de la Belle si fine !...Mais elle a du cœur, oui, elle a une âme qui aspire à s’élever. Si la Belle voulait !...La Belle met longtemps à vouloir. Pourtant, peu à peu, elle découvre au fond des yeux du geôlier haï une lueur, — un reflet où peuvent se lire la prière et l’amour. Elle sent moins la patte pesante, moins les chaînes de sa prison...Elle cesse de haïr, cette constance la touche, elle tend la main...Aussitôt la Bête se transforme (...) Leur union détermine un bonheur sublime. Leurs enfants, qui additionnent et mêlent les dons de leurs parents, sont les plus beaux que la terre ait portés... (44).

It is essential to note that the gendered conception of homeland lies at the foundation of this story. France is compared to the Beauty: graceful, fragile and powerless yet filled with

determination to survive her captivity with dignity. Germany is akin to the Beast: awkward, brutal and forceful yet driven by a presumably-good heart and noble intentions. By cultivating patience and letting time follow its course, the Beast eventually sways the Beauty whose determination wears off as quickly as her hatred for her captor. In what can only be described as a classic case of the Stockholm syndrome, the Beauty develops feelings for her captor, begins to desire him and eventually accepts a physical union, thus furthering the Beast's agenda. The fruit of this union is a new race of superior individuals, a concept all too revelatory of the Nazi regime's obsession with ethnic purity and the perpetuation of the Aryan race. The sadistic insistence on captivity as a seduction game corroborates the notion of territorial assimilation through the conquest of the female body. Not only must the woman be subjugated and made to surrender completely, but in order for the conquest to be legitimate and thoroughly satisfying, she must acquiesce to her captivity and yearn for her captor. In anticipation of this very danger, Némirovsky's Mme Angellier wants to hide her young, beautiful daughter-in-law from the gaze of the intruding German officer:

Elle pensait que par ses regards il voulait insulter davantage cette demeure française profanée par lui, qu'il éprouvait un sauvage plaisir à voir à sa merci la mère et la femme d'un prisonnier français. Ce qu'elle appelait 'l'indifférence' de Lucile, l'irritait par-dessus tout : 'Elle essaie de nouvelles coiffures, elle met des robes neuves ! Elle ne comprend donc pas que l'Allemand croira que c'est pour lui ! Quel manque de dignité !' Elle aurait voulu couvrir le visage de Lucile d'un masque et la vêtir d'un sac (Némirovsky 329).

For Mme Angellier, the mere gaze of the enemy defiles that on which it lingers. By penetrating into French homes, it violates two intimate physical spaces: the hearth ('le foyer') as well as the

corporeal presence of the women within it ('le corps'). Although Madame is legally obligated to grant the German officer access to her home, she wishes she could deny him visibility of her daughter-in-law whom she mentally reproaches for (naively) flaunting herself at the enemy. Mme Angellier feels the urge to cover Lucile's face and body so as to arrest the potential for a dangerous and treasonous seduction.

During one of his monologues, Vercors' intruding officer, von Ebrennac, re-iterates his political aspirations for France through another sexually-charged metaphor:

Maintenant j'ai besoin de la France...je demande qu'elle m'accueille. Ce n'est rien, être chez elle comme un étranger, — un voyageur ou un conquérant. Elle ne donne rien alors, — car on ne peut rien lui prendre. Sa richesse, sa haute richesse, on ne peut la conquérir. Il faut la boire à son sein<sup>66</sup>, il faut qu'elle vous offre son sein dans un mouvement et un sentiment maternels... Il faut qu'elle accepte de comprendre notre soif, et qu'elle accepte de l'étancher...qu'elle accepte de s'unir avec nous (Vercors 47).

Here, the female-homeland allegory operates through the metaphor of sexual union as well as the eroticized image of maternity. As foreigner and enemy, von Ebrennac seeks to shed the otherness that excludes him from the French community and to assimilate with the French to gain access to the country's resources. France, the nurturing mother, shares its very soul—its most precious resource—through the breast milk it feeds to its children. Excluded from this ritual, the outsider seeks a way to infiltrate the community and master the Mother. Despite his physical presence on

---

<sup>66</sup> Joan Landes comments on the centrality of motherhood and the presence of breast imagery in 18<sup>th</sup> century political discourse: "Motherhood is best understood, therefore, as the vehicle of women's incorporation into the new political order, as an almost primordial incorporation insofar as female traits are what work for and against their full participation in the new polity. *The breast itself remained an ambivalent symbol: an enticement to sexual desire but also the most vital instrument of the infant citizen's original survival*" (156, emphasis mine).

foreign territory, the German soldier cannot fully conquer his victim unless he has brought her to her knees in *willing* submission of both mind and body. This submission, however, requires a particular passivity on the part of the victim, a willingness that paradoxically borders on *desire*. Throughout this discourse, France emerges as both a patriotic mother and a collaborating harlot, a dichotomy that incarnates the ambiguity of many French soldiers towards their own women (Le Naour, *Misères et tourments* 324). In manipulating the private/public body discourse, Vercors, like many other thinkers of his time, warned women against capitulating to seductive Nazi males by attributing to them the responsibility for political defeat. In light of the female-homeland allegory, sexual collaboration was perceived not only as an individual female transgression but also as a political statement. Having no identity of her own outside of that of her male protector, the “femme à Boches” willingly assumes the identity of her oppressor, which further emasculates her male compatriot (François 101). She thus becomes the castrating woman who, at the Liberation, must pay in full for her short-lived freedom (76):

Dans l’imaginaire social de l’époque, les femmes n’intériorisaient pas pleinement une identité politique autonome, elles s’appropriaient ou on leur attribuait celle de l’homme sous l’autorité duquel on les considérait. Aussi, les représentations collectives des relations sociales homme/femme, telles qu’on peut les appréhender dans les procès d’épuration montrent qu’une femme en se plaçant sous l’autorité d’un Allemand avait de facto changé d’identité, elle était devenue allemande (101).

In Bertrand Arbogast’s *La tondue*, this process of assimilation operates through the act of sartorial disguise. Aurore, the 81-year old *tondue* of the story, reminisces about the immense risks she took as a love-stricken 16-year-old to hide her relationship with Gunther, the young son

of a German general. In order to facilitate their trysts, the young lovers take refuge on an isolated family property in the country, where Aurore accepts Gunther's suggestion to disguise herself as a German soldier. Marginally aware of the gravity of her actions, she becomes carried away by her desire to spend time with Gunther in plain view of the world: "Aurore a honte d'être dans cet uniforme allemand, elle sait qu'elle va trop loin, qu'elle trahit son pays, qu'elle le paiera très cher un jour. Mais elle a aussi envie d'aller se balader dans ses coins préférés avec Gunther... Elle sait au fond d'elle-même qu'elle déconne, l'utopie et le désir ne sont pas de mise en tant de guerre" (Arbogast 47). In a time of deprivation and duty, Aurore succumbs to her own desire, which transforms her very language—in private, the couple speaks only in German, another act of treason which Aurore justifies according to the utility of speaking the Occupier's language. Likewise, her desire alters the way that she looks: "L'uniforme va comme un gant à Aurore et on a vraiment l'impression de voir un jeune soldat allemand" (47). To any outside observer who may cross paths with the two young German lads walking side by side, Aurore is *with* the enemy because she *is* the enemy. Yet in her mind, the treacherous act takes on a different meaning: "C'est paradoxal de s'habiller comme l'occupant pour être libre mais elle n'a jamais le sentiment de pactiser avec l'ennemi" (54). The disguise allows her to proclaim her desire publicly, albeit covertly, and to temporarily escape fictions dictating her behavior. Aurore epitomizes the virago, a female soldier guilty of transgressions against the patriarchal wartime trifecta: gender, nationality, and sexuality.

The notion of female sexuality as an expression of political identity can be understood as a symptom of two separate assumptions. First, one must recall the masculinist notion that women's identity is anchored in nurturing roles within the home (Virgili, *La France "virile"* 319). Up until wartime constraints left France desperate for help on the homefront, women were

compelled to define themselves strictly by their private roles as wives and mothers. Their participation in public matters was limited and fell under the authority of their fathers and husbands who represented their interests in nearly all areas of public life. To be a daughter, a sister or a wife meant to align one's interests with those of the respective male guardians. It stands to reason, then, that a woman's association with a German automatically implied a transfer of allegiance as she presumably assumed his political identity in order to compensate for a lack of her own. In fact, at the Liberation many women attempted to exploit this belief in order to exonerate themselves and avoid punishment. They strategically evoked family members in the Resistance, claimed ignorance, or ardently downplayed their lovers' involvement in the Nazi cause by claiming they were good men, forced to fight a war in spite of themselves:

Bien qu'elles se disent souvent ignorantes de la chose publique, elles revendiquent, quand elles le peuvent, un 'malgré lui' pour amant ou pour le moins un Alsacien, un amant patriote parti pour le maquis, un Allemand opposant au régime nazi, et lorsque par malheur il s'agit d'un SS, elles jurent sur tous les saints qu'elles ne le savaient pas, ou affirment qu'elles ont eu tôt fait de rompre avec lui, tant il était 'déplaisant'. À l'identique des mères, des épouses ou des filles qui construisent leur identité nationale par cognation, en s'appropriant la mémoire du mari ou du fils surtout, mais aussi celle du frère, du père et parfois même de l'oncle, ces femmes utilisent leur compagnon masculin pour établir leur propre identité de femme non collaboratrice. La notion de 'collaboration sentimentale' elle-même repose sur cette représentation sociale: une femme n'a pas d'identité politique propre, elle reçoit celle du dernier homme dominant qu'elle a connu (Capdevila 78).

In order to distance themselves from the crimes of their German lovers, women often evoked the innocence of their partners by ideologically extracting them from the Nazi regime they fought under. Thus, a German soldier could be opposed to Hitler's policies yet still be forced to fight in the war and, as such, the national constraints that compelled him to fight should exculpate him. By the same logic, a lover from Alsace<sup>67</sup> should be judged more lightly due to the region's ambiguous political climate. When attempts to exonerate their German partners failed, some women resorted to silence while others desperately mentioned names of friends or family members in the Resistance whose affiliations may buy them favor. Though such rhetorical efforts were prevalent among testimonies of shorn women, it is hard to say how many of them escaped further punishment in this manner. The second assumption operating against sexually-autonomous women was the fear of crossbreeding and acculturation. If women embodied the nation, their willingness to share their bodies with the enemy was interpreted as the culmination of collaboration (Virgili, *La France "virile"* 57). By willingly surrendering their bodies, French women jeopardized not only their personal identity but also the identity of the French nation as a whole since "le métissage du vainqueur et du vaincu est perçu comme le germe de la disparition de la nation" (57). For those women who had children with their German lovers, the transgression acquired a literal dimension as their children incarnated the very "evil" of acculturation. Susan Grayzel exposes a marked ambiguity with respect to children conceived with enemy soldiers during WWI:

---

<sup>67</sup> Alsace is a region fraught with political tension as both France and Germany historically fought for its ownership. Though Alsace was fully incorporated into France by the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Franco-German War led to its annexation to the German Empire. After WWI, Alsace was re-established as French property through the Treaty of Versailles but was once again reclaimed by Germany during the WWII occupation of France, then reverted to French territory after the Liberation. Due to its numerous changes in administration, Alsace remains a region rich in both French and German customs.

Resistance to the idea of legalizing abortion or tolerating infanticide in such cases hinged not only on questions of preexisting anxiety about depopulation or general morality, but also on whether or not a woman could prove that she had been raped by actual Germans and was not just looking to erase evidence of her own sexual misbehavior. Moreover, the arguments against abortion hinged on the idea that a mother's French 'blood' would make her children French and thus offered a version of nationality rooted not in a child being born on French soil, but to a French *mother* (51).

The concerns over the primacy of enemy sperm versus French maternal blood further reveal a paradox as, per Napoleonic code, legal authority resided in the man and a woman was unable to lawfully pass on her nationality to her child (until 1973). It is interesting to note that the anxiety surrounding France's loss of identity via sexual intercourse with the enemy was never projected onto the male body. "Women who consort with the enemy are stigmatized, humiliated, even executed, while soldiers' romantic interludes in enemy territory are idealized" (Higonnet 37). For Higonnet, this double standard supports the notion of women as property (37) and corroborates the metaphor of the female body as a geographical space. As an element of the allegory of female-homeland, the woman's sex represents either a sacred space to be fertilized and protected from the enemy or a space to be defiled in a symbolic show of male territoriality. Pettman argues that such imagery renders females susceptible to sexual violence from both enemy and national men. Not only do women risk losing the protection of male compatriots if they are deemed unworthy but their bodies and behaviors become regulated and policed as a way to "mark national or communal boundaries" (51). As Véronique Nahoum-Grappe points out in "Guerre et différence des sexes: Les viols systématiques (ex-Yougoslavie, 1991-1995)", rape as a war

occurrence<sup>68</sup> rests on the tacit understanding that women belong to their male compatriots and, as such, figure among possessions that can be traded among members of the same group or forcefully-claimed by outsiders through “l’acte sexuel [qui] est une ‘possession’ du féminin par le masculin et non pas l’inverse. Le vainqueur dit ‘c’est à moi’ lorsqu’il plante son drapeau sur la ville conquise et qu’il viole les femmes, deux actions homologues en ce sens” (168). The imagery of the flag being violently planted into freshly-conquered soil denotes the enemy phallus penetrating a sacred, intimate space responsible for the renewal of the entire community. In this sense, “[é]gorgement des hommes et viol des femmes sont des crimes homologues qui s’adressent au même objet, le lien généalogique de transmission de la filiation à *condition de supposer comme allant de soi la nature politique de cette transmission généalogique qui passe par la sexualité et la responsabilité masculine majeure dans cette transmission*” (170, author’s emphasis). Blood and sperm as life-carrying fluids become symbols of destruction— as one seeps out the other flows in, threatening the future of the vanquished nation. The female body as the locus of national identity and the power dynamic inherent in the sexual act are important factors in understanding the reaction to female collaboration during armed conflict.

The perception of collaborating women during WWII was not solely a function of nationality (head shavings occurred both in France and in Germany), rather it varied depending upon the status of their male guardians. In France, where the men had been emasculated through their own failure to protect their ‘property’, French women represented a compromised good to be re-conquered and eventually re-integrated into the social order. The ambiguity of French

---

<sup>68</sup> In his book entitled *Taken by Force: Rape and American GIs in Europe during World War II*, J. Robert Lilly defines wartime rape as “a gendered subject...[that] changes in meaning and measurement, across groups and places and through historical time and in individual lives” and identifies the following types: mass rape as a cultural and genocidal weapon (21-22), rape as an element of male communication (22-23), rape as part of military culture (23-24), rape as part of a drive for revenge and a desire for elevated masculinity (25-26), rape as a “rule” of war—pay and pillage (26-27), sexual comfort rape (27), strategic rape (27-28), rape as an “imperial right” (28) and rape as gratuitous/random behavior (28-30).

soldiers towards their own women and their treatment as either oppressed martyrs or treacherous harlots reflect a backlash against female autonomy. “Face à la menace de la dépossession de leur autorité, les hommes réagissent en employant le vocabulaire de la domination sexuelle, identifiant ni plus ni moins leur pouvoir politique et social avec leur sexe” (Le Naour, *Misères et tourments* 328). Their bruised egos and diminishing virility fueled a violent, sexualized retaliation against the opposite sex. As French men’s attempts to reclaim French women’s bodies during the Occupation failed, their frustration turned to the enemy’s women inciting fantasies of rape. Gabriel Chevallier speaks of the soldiers’ lust for the enemy’s women: “Ils rêvaient de provinces ravagées, de tonneaux percés, de villes incendiées, du ventre blanc des femmes blondes de Germanie, de butins immenses, de tout ce dont la vie habituellement les privait” (qtd. in Le Naour, *Misères et tourments* 335). The German woman’s body becomes synonymous with the enemy territory and the male thirst for revenge surges, as evidenced in this explicit letter from an artilleryman to his French mistress in which he enthusiastically paints a demeaning portrait of the enemy women that elicits vivid rape fantasies in his mind:

Ah ! Si jamais nous allons en Bochie, nous allons leur faire voir un peu à ces salauds de quel bois on se chauffe, ils ont violé nos filles, déshonoré nos femmes, nous en ferons autant ; pour ma part je fais venir un stock de capotes car j’aurais trop peur de me salir à leur contact de ces superbes gretchens, il paraît qu’elles sont toutes couleur filasse, qu’elles ont du rabiote de gras double et qu’elles sentent toutes l’aigre, vivent nos petites Françaises si gracieuses et si jolies, seules elles sont capables de nous inspirer de réelles passions (qtd. in Le Naour 336).

The degrading language with which the enemy “gretchens” are described emphasizes the anger and resentment towards the German nation as a whole. The eye-for-an-eye mentality betrays a

puerile show of dominance, a primeval impulse to fight for the title of alpha male by using women as capital and turning them into trophies. The tendency to perceive one's women as chaste (provided they behave in sanctioned ways) and other nations' women as harlots is a phenomenon corroborated by Pettman:

the nation's men are 'Just Warriors', the defenders and protectors; and its women are the virtuous ones...Other men's/nation's/state's women, especially those who have been racialised or made exotic, licentious, tempting, dangerous, inferior, are not 'beautiful' like the home/national woman is. (Though home/national women may place themselves outside the bounds of protection by unruly, ungrateful behaviour, or by dishonoring themselves/their men/their nation by sexual or other associations with 'other men') (50).

In his novel *La souris verte*, Robert Sabatier's narrator, young Marc, feels compelled to take vengeance on the German enemy in the only way he can— by defiling the body of a German female soldier. As he sees these women patrolling through the streets of Paris, “j'étais partagé entre deux sentiments : le plaisir d'une revanche, fût-elle temporaire, contre la soldatesque, le regret (ma bonne éducation ?) qu'on s'en prît à ces filles ” (21). Fortunately, his “good education” overrides his territorial instinct and he gives up all such notions. He later meets Maria, a member of the German auxiliary troops, and falls in love with her, a development that has him fearing for his safety as “j'avais ‘volé’ une Allemande. J'étais l'auteur d'un impardonnable forfait” (209). At the Liberation, as the country is ‘purified’ and re-conquered through the systematic punishment of French collaborating women's bodies, Marc awaits his own punishment only to realize that his confessed transgression is interpreted by members of the

Resistance as a French victory of sorts. His sexual conquest is perceived as a strategic strike against the enemy, deserving of a military decoration:

‘J’ai une confidence à vous faire. Avant de rejoindre le maquis, j’ai aimé une Allemande. —Et alors ? demanda quelqu’un. —Et alors...’ J’allais poursuivre mon discours en disant quelque chose comme : ‘Selon vos conceptions, je devrais subir le même sort que ces pauvres filles. Qui veut me tondre ? quels sont les amateurs ?’ Je n’en eus pas le temps car Libelle, transformé en homme cordial, me tapa joyeusement sur l’épaule. ‘C’est vrai ? questionna-t-il. Tu ne te vantes pas ? Tu as vraiment couché avec une fridoline ?...Tiens, pour fêter ça, je te pardonne tout. On va même boire un coup à ta santé. Voilà que tu me deviens sympathique. On devrait te décorer, lieutenant !’ (244).

In admitting his previous ties to a German woman, Marc expects reprisals from his resistant friends yet the leader of the group reacts to the confession with a show of respect. As someone who has conquered the enemy’s woman, Marc should be decorated for his sexual prowess. While French women are being humiliated and abused for having surrendered their bodies to the enemy, Marc is commended for his ability to undermine the enemy’s authority by ‘stealing’ a woman from the German army: “Ainsi, les filles tondues étaient des ‘putains à boches’ et je devenais une sorte de héros populaire, Fanfan-la-Tulipe, Till l’Espiègle ou le Gaulois qui a dérobé une femme à l’ennemi. Les manifestations hostiles s’étaient transformées en témoignages d’admiration” (244). Whereas French women are treated as debased, national traitors and shorn for being “whores of the krauts,” Marc’s sexual acts turn him into a popular hero along the lines

of Fanfan-la-Tulipe, Till l’Espiegle and the Gaulois<sup>69</sup>. In the French male’s perspective, both French and German women are objects to be possessed, mere pawns in a game of political domination. This implicit objectification of the female body facilitated an overt propagation of a double standard with respect to sexuality. While a French woman’s autonomous sexuality on the homefront was labeled as an unacceptable transgression, a political crime even, the French male’s sexuality both at home and on the front was interpreted as a virile triumph over the enemy. This discrepancy explains why French POW wives were chastised for their immoral behavior with German soldiers while French POW imprisoned in Germany were excused, even applauded, for their liaisons with German women outside of their camps. While it is false to assume that all French POW saw German women as objects vested with political significance<sup>70</sup> one cannot overlook the nation’s overall tendency to silence its sons’ transgressions (Buisson, *Années érotiques* I: 305) all the while regaling in their symbolism:

D’avoir pu ainsi hisser dans l’Allemagne victorieuse le pavillon de la phallocratie tricolore est, pour eux, autant source de fierté que de mépris...Par-dessus tout, un extraordinaire sentiment de revanche habite les prisonniers auxquels le cours de la guerre a livré ce gibier facile. Revanche sur l’humiliante débâcle de juin 1940 : ici, ce n’est plus le vainqueur qui se réserve la femme du vaincu, mais le vaincu qui, par un imprévisible retournement de la situation, s’empare de la femme du

---

<sup>69</sup> Fanfan-la-Tulipe is the main character of a 1952 action film. He becomes captain in the French army due to his valorous adventures. Till l’Espiegle is a popular fictional trickster from German lore and the Gaulois is one of the French national symbols connoting virility and power.

<sup>70</sup> In a very defensive account of French POW’s amorous experiences in German concentration camps, Yves Durand emphasizes the fact that most POW turned to German women for the nurturing companionship reminiscent of that once provided by their absent wives and mothers: “C’est la femme en tant que femme, non en tant qu’amante ou maîtresse, qui a joué un rôle spécifique dans la vie des P.G., pris dans leur ensemble...ceux-ci, au lieu d’être les coureurs de jupons qu’on attendait, se révélaient dans leur grande majorité des hommes sérieux, fidèles, attachés à leur famille autant et souvent plus que les Allemands eux-mêmes” (414-415). For more, see the chapter entitled “Les femmes allemandes et les P.G.” in *La captivité: Histoire des prisonniers de guerre français 1939 - 1945*.

vainqueur. Revanche aussi sur leur situation de prisonnier : parqués et marqués comme du bétail derrière les barbelés des stalags, ils n'étaient plus que des hommes diminués, amoindris, impuissants ; les voici restaurés dans leur condition de mâles à part entière par la grâce de ces milliers de femmes allemandes (I : 310).

The ambiguous and often politically-charged attitudes of French men towards women — whether their own or those belonging to the enemy— were, in many ways, replicated by the Germans whose superior political status effected, nevertheless, several shifts in attitude. Germany was the victor, the invader, the occupier and as such, it held the power and authority that the French nation lacked. German soldiers were the conquering males, ‘rightfully’ claiming the spoils of war and appropriating the booty that the French males had failed to protect. The issue of rape presented an act of wartime violence and the supreme expression of possession. During the First World War in particular, reports of rape by members of the Germany army were numerous (Virgili, “Le sexe blessé” 140). Van Der Meersch advances an image of chaos wherein “[d]es hordes de soldats ivres pénétrèrent dans les maisons, chassèrent à coups de crosse les femmes et les enfants, firent prisonniers les hommes, pillèrent, saccagèrent, arrosèrent de pétrole les meubles et les planchers” (*Invasion 14* 51). This act, atrocious and barbaric in the eyes of the French population “parce qu’il touchait à des populations féminines, c’est-à-dire le plus souvent civiles, ou non combattantes, mais aussi considérées comme plus fragiles et innocents (...) fut un enjeu de propagande majeur entre les belligérants” (Virgili, “Le sexe blessé” 140). Both nations accused each other of sexual violence and numerous campaigns were carried out on each side in order to cultivate fear and hatred of the enemy. According to Susan Grayzel, “the rape of women portrayed as a *rape of mothers* helped to solidify national support—in both France and Britain—

against a racialized German enemy, while affirming the centrality of motherhood as a primary source of women's agency and patriotism" (50). While France was deploring the alleged systematic rape of women on French soil by German soldiers, Germany was retaliating against France's use of colonial troops, particularly following the defeat of 1918 and the occupation of Rhineland. "La présence au cœur de l'Europe des combattants considérés comme des sauvages et affublés de fantasmes du cannibalisme, du chasseur de trophée et d'une sexualité débridée était pour l'Allemagne une atteinte à la civilisation" (Virgili, "Le sexe blessé" 140). Preoccupied with notions of racial purity, Germany saw the presence of black French males as a double threat to the integrity of their women. The propaganda surrounding *la honte noire* or "the black shame" was further exploited by the Weimar as a means of vilifying the enemy of the Aryan nation, incarnated by "une jeune vierge blonde violée par tous les ennemis de la 'race'"<sup>71</sup> (Moore 21). After his ascension to power, Hitler continued to exploit these racial and gendered dimensions as a means of shaping public mentalities. The image Nazi Germany wished to convey to the occupied nations was an important military strategy and, as a result, "les viols commis par les soldats allemands furent sanctionnés. L'armée allemande voulait alors donner une image de correction afin de faciliter les premiers temps de l'Occupation" (Virgili, "Le sexe blessé" 140). It is this very strategy that eventually wore away at the French nation's distrust and resentment towards the German nation as many French citizens—satiated by stories of German soldiers as ill-mannered, uncultivated and brutal rapists—found that their country had been invaded by rather obliging, cultivated and proper individuals<sup>72</sup>.

---

<sup>71</sup> In *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order 1940-1944*, Robert Paxton shows that Vichy eventually gave in to Germany's requests regarding its colonial troops. "Senegalese units were excluded from the Armistice Army only upon German order, in memory of their presence in the Rhineland in the 1920's" (175).

<sup>72</sup> The conflicting French opinion with respect to the occupying army was evidenced through variations on the adage "au moins ils sont correctes" ("at least they are polite/obliging").

Alison Moore shows that sexual relations between German soldiers and women belonging to conquered nations were met with various levels of tolerance based on a series of racial considerations<sup>73</sup>. The Nazi state enforced extreme pronatalist policies in the case of ‘racially-pure’ women yet prevented ‘undesirable’ women from reproducing through compulsory sterilization and euthanasia (19). While it was in the German nation’s interest to earn the trust and eventual collaboration of its prisoner nations by cultivating admiration among the (Aryan) female population, it was also in its interest to protect the integrity of its own women. Although French males on German soil were at the mercy of their captors, their inferior status did not detract from their capacity to undermine the Aryan nation by soiling the bodies of good, honest German women.

Une ordonnance d’Hitler dès le 10 janvier 1940 faisait interdiction absolue aux prisonniers de guerre d’entrer en relations intimes avec les femmes et les jeunes filles allemandes ou de s’approcher d’elles sans autorisation spéciale. Avec l’afflux des prisonniers, le dispositif fut complété le 5 août 1940 par une circulaire de Reinhard Heydrich, chef de la police de sûreté et de sécurité du Reich, prescrivant la peine de mort pour les prisonniers de guerre en cas de rapports sexuels avec une Allemande ... A partir de l’été 1941, le tarif s’alourdit dès lors que la relation coupable implique la femme d’un soldat de la Wehrmacht mobilisé sur le front russe et tombe du même coup sous la double incrimination de

---

<sup>73</sup> In “Rape during the Nazi Holocaust: Vulnerabilities and Motivations”, Eva Fogelman points out that marriage and sexual intercourse between Jews and Germans were considered *Rassenschande* (“race defilement”) and strictly prohibited. Despite the 1935 Nuremberg Law for the Protection of German Blood criminalizing such behaviors, “rape and other forms of sexual violence” were not entirely absent during the Holocaust and represented “very real tools of terror and racial dominance” (17).

‘démoralisation’ et de ‘travail de sape contre la défense nationale’ (Buisson, *Années érotiques I* : 311).

In January of 1943, the Minister of Justice accused women consorting with foreign POWs of having betrayed the front, disgraced the nation and harmed the reputation of German femininity abroad (Theofilakis 58). The female-homeland allegory was equally-operative in both Germany and France and any woman found cheating on a soldier was immediately labeled a national traitor. While sexual relations with French POWs were discouraged and sometimes heavily-sanctioned— French men were deprived of their right to work outside of the camp and sometimes even imprisoned while German women were forced to pay fines, shorn and sometimes obligated to wear signs specifying the nature of their crime (59) — the Nazi regime was not very successful at repressing this type of interaction. Alongside threats and punishment, the German state attempted to regulate French POW’s sexuality by creating brothels within the camps where “les prostituées recrutées sont exclusivement des étrangères, puisque l’objectif affiché est de ‘garantir la sauvegarde de pureté du sang allemand’” (Buisson, *Années érotiques I* : 312). These measures were also largely ineffective.

### *Systems of female surveillance*

The inability of French men to thoroughly control their female compatriots’ sexuality led to an overall fixation on the idea of French women’s infidelity and a true “culture du soupçon” (Voldman 121). The assumption of disloyalty is crucial here as it focuses on women’s *potential* to transgress. Whether or not they did was a different matter; after all, not all French women had sexual relations with enemy soldiers. It is interesting to note that this anxiety was directed towards all women, regardless of status. Not even prostitutes were exempt from suspicion, due to

“le brouillage de repères entre les femmes honnêtes et les prostituées, l’effacement de limites entre prostitution clandestine et sexualité libre et non tarifée” (Le Naour, *Misères et tourments* 182). While fidelity was not an expected virtue for a prostitute, the rise in clandestine prostitution presented the risk that the services provided to any soldier, French or German, were carried out by a wife or a mother in need of money. As a result, all women operating outside of the confines of conjugal relations were subjected to state surveillance and control<sup>74</sup> (188). Jean-Yves Le Naour explains that, during WWI, the image of the unfaithful and duplicitous woman ran parallel to that of the male deserter, on the opposite end of the patriotic spectrum and in severe contrast with the image of the faithful wife and mother and her heroic and presumably-chaste *poilu*, both wholeheartedly dedicated to their homeland (226). The anxiety surrounding these women came, in part, from the soldiers’ fear of providing for illegitimate children. Most men did not wish to attach their name or fortune to children who were not their own, much less to ones who were conceived with the enemy. In *Of Woman Born*, Adrienne Rich affirms that “historically, to bear a child out of wedlock has been to violate the property laws that say a woman and her child must legally belong to some man, and that, if they do not, they are at best marginal people, vulnerable to every kind of sanction” (260). The fear of illegitimacy became a wartime obsession and, as such, the French state touted the importance of motherhood, yet “[m]otherhood is ‘sacred’ so long as its offspring are ‘legitimate’—that is, as long as the child

---

<sup>74</sup> Joan Landes points to male anxiety over female infidelity in Rousseau’s writings: “Dictating that men ‘ought to be active and strong,’ women ‘passive and weak,’ he nonetheless feared that women would fall easily into dissipation, frivolity, inconsistency, and all manner of corruption. The unfaithful woman is more than a weak member of the social community; she threatens its continued existence. According to Rousseau, ‘She dissolves the family and breaks all the bonds of nature. In giving the man children which are not his, she betrays both. She joins perfidy to infidelity.’ Therefore, Rousseau proposes a different, more severe course for women’s education from men’s. He advocated subjecting girls early on to strict discipline and constraint, because they (unlike men) would have to learn to live for reputation and opinion. He prescribed rules of decorum and propriety for everything from appearance to conduct. Woman’s duty is to be tied to the family, her purpose to the tasks of reproducing and nurturing children” (101).

bears the name of a father who legally controls the mother” (42). In their absence, soldiers relied on the community to safeguard the integrity of their families. As a result, the denunciation of immoral female behavior became a national phenomenon. Many soldiers received anonymous letters, often written by family members or neighbors, informing them of their wives’ or partners’ transgressions. Whether the allegations were founded or not, “il suffisait d’une dénonciation de l’entourage ou d’un soupçon de ‘débauche’ pour que l’allocation aux femmes de mobilisés fût suspendue. Seul le mari pouvait demander son rétablissement” (Voldman 121). While some soldiers simply reprimanded their wives, others resorted to divorce, suicide, desertion and sometimes even crimes of passion. Incidents of this type were often passed under silence as the men’s status as national heroes guaranteed them the complicity of the legal system (Le Naour, *Misères et tourments* 236). Meanwhile, women suffered from violence and marginalization.

Fabrice Virgili estimates that almost a half of the 1,600,000 prisoners of war during WWII were married and around a quarter of them were fathers. The majority did not return home until 1945, leaving their wives alone and vulnerable (*La France “virile”* 258). Prisoners’ wives represented a significant percentage of the female population left behind to fend for themselves. Wartime society attempted to prevent and repress female adultery by coercing these women into obedience through formal and informal systems of surveillance. The State, defender of soldiers’ financial and moral interests, perceived female adultery as a seditious act due to its potential to emotionally incapacitate men and detract from their ability to carry out their military responsibilities successfully. Consequently, adultery<sup>75</sup>, an otherwise private act, was perceived

---

<sup>75</sup> For an overview of Vichy legislation on adultery and concrete WWII statistics of illegitimate relations, please refer to Cyril Olivier’s essay, “Les couples illégitimes dans la France de Vichy et la répression sexuée de l’infidélité (1940-1944)”.

not only as a challenge to the social order but also as a public affront. Personal betrayal became national treason because it carried with it the risk of undermining soldiers' morale and sabotaging the country's potential for regeneration. Adultery endangered the central family unit by providing absent men with a basis for divorce, especially in the event of an illegitimate pregnancy. Pettman shows that the shift to a welfare state was "a shift from private to public patriarchy" as it replaced individual males with public systems of surveillance under the guise of protecting the nation (11). These systems included governmental organizations, the press and the community *qua* neighbors and family members (Buisson I: 320). In her extensive study on POW wives during WWII, Sarah Fishman examines the contributions of the institution *La Famille du prisonnier* to the lives of these women and its role as an organism of surveillance. Initially founded by a woman as a private agency in 1941, the organization was temporarily taken over by the Secours national in 1942 and, upon its restoration as an autonomous entity in 1943, continued under male representation (Fishman 78). As such,

the Famille du prisonnier description of its role could have been modeled on the French Civil Code description of paternalism. Famille du prisonnier social workers took over the role of husband and father, providing for the family, deciding how money should be spent, where the family should live, and whether the wife should work. They were to guide the wife who, in their view, was not fully responsible and needed leadership. They were to prevent infidelity, oversee the education and discipline of the children, and decide the children's future career and schooling needs. The Famille du prisonnier considered prisoners' wives incapable of fulfilling these duties alone (79).

As Fishman points out, the underlying paternalism of the system was propagated not only by male leaders of the organization but also by women in their capacity as social workers. Social work itself in France rested upon the infantilization of working-class women. Most social workers at this time originated from the bourgeoisie and nurtured inherent prejudices against uneducated women working outside of the home to the purported detriment of their maternal responsibilities (79-80). The *Famille du prisonnier*, by its very nature, was an association deeply anchored in a classist and sexist vision of the world. In exercising control over working-class women, bourgeois women social-workers propagated the gendered principles they had been raised with all the while exercising a pseudo-male agency they themselves were deprived of.

As a powerful agent of the patriarchy, the organization became increasingly intrusive into the lives of working women. While the financial and emotional support it accorded women was admittedly invaluable, the values it promoted were undeniably oppressive. “While the prisoner was gone, the social worker, not the wife, was to ensure that the ‘house becomes more beautiful, but only better to receive him.’ In fact, the *Famille du prisonnier* should make sure that the prisoner’s wife ‘remains attractive, but only because he loves her’—not, it is implied, to attract other men” (80). The operative premise was the primacy of the male patriarchs and the implicit need for women to center their needs and activities around their male guardians. The push for women to remain attractive yet chaste is indicative of the patriarchal imperative to possess and control women by emphasizing male dominance. POW wives were expected to endure the absence of their husbands by constantly cultivating hope for their return. They were to manifest agency only temporarily and only in the interest of the family unit as a whole. Social-workers “were to press wives to consult with their husbands before making decisions. By doing so the organization fulfilled its task of keeping husband and wife together and of preparing for the

prisoner's return" (80). It was essentially responsible for a series of tasks meant to keep women in line. As "'interim head of the family', [it] had to guide wives, keep the memory of the husband alive, prevent divorce, and make sure wives consulted husbands and wrote interesting letters" (82). Each task rested upon the assumption that women needed guidance in everything from cooking to cleaning to child rearing and sexual conduct. Presumably weak and immoral by nature, women were bound to fail in their tasks if unaided— as citizens, as mothers and as wives. The association carried out investigations into women's behavior on behalf of absent husbands and "assumed responsibility for preventing infidelity, and if that failed, for saving marriages by reforming the wife. 'We must try to have the wife climb back up the slope, even if it seems that she is completely lost.' It encouraged the prisoners in these situations to forgive their wives" (81). As the Vichy regime constantly deplored the decline in birth rate and touted natality as a key element to the regeneration of the nation, any behavior that could endanger the integrity of the family unit was deemed undesirable. Intervention strategies included pleading with absent soldiers to forgive their wives and even obstructing or falsifying the information provided to POWs about women's conduct back home. Fishman quotes an incident in which the organization corroborated a woman's false story that she had been raped in order to prevent the couple's divorce (139).

While the *Famille du prisonnier* and other similar organizations incarnated one type of system of surveillance, family members often represented another. For Marguerite Duras' young *tondue* of Nevers— the nameless female protagonist referred to by the pronoun "Elle"— the surveying authority becomes her father. "Quelquefois je rentrais en retard. Mon père me guettait derrière les volets" (Duras 129). Confined to a small town in a time of war, Elle suffers from isolation: "Ma jeunesse me sautait à la gorge. Je n'en disais rien à mon père. Il me disait que

j'étais sa seule consolation. Les seuls hommes de la ville étaient allemands. J'avais dix-sept ans. La guerre était interminable. Ma jeunesse était interminable. Je n'arrivais à sortir, ni de la guerre, ni de ma jeunesse" (129). Despite the close watch the father keeps on his adolescent daughter, he cannot protect her from imminent doom as she gradually falls into a tryst with an injured German soldier whom she meets in her father's pharmacy. Having been taught to treat the enemy with proud dignity, "je ne levais pas les yeux sur lui, comme on m'avait appris". Yet the persistence of the enemy in seeing Elle even after he is healed engages the young woman in a dangerous game of seduction. The point at which she reciprocates his gaze marks a turning point, one that her father desperately attempts to avoid: "Cet homme revint le lendemain. Alors je vis son visage. Comment m'en empêcher encore ? Mon père vint vers nous. Il m'écarta et annonça à cet ennemi que sa main ne nécessitait plus aucun soin" (131). Faced with her father's disapproval and the scrutiny of the entire community, she assumes the burden of culpability brought on by a clandestine relationship: "Dans cet ennui, des femmes derrière les volets clos regardent l'ennemi qui marche sur la place. L'autre aventure doit être étranglée. On regarde, n'empêche. Rien à faire contre le regard. Nous nous sommes embrassés derrière les remparts. La mort dans l'âme, certes, mais dans un irrépressible bonheur j'ai embrassé mon ennemi" (109). The imagery of the eye as a primary locus of sexual transgression as well as an agent of regulation of female sexuality echoes previously-evoked passages in *Vercors* and Némirovsky all too revelatory of a collective female body kept under the constant watchful eye of the patriarchy. "L'amour y est surveillé comme nulle part ailleurs," (114) observes Elle in reflecting upon her experience in the small town of Nevers, a remark filled with double significance. The spying eye of the community from behind the *persiennes* is not, in fact, a phenomenon limited to Nevers but a nationwide one found during both wars, as Mme Angellier reveals in the reprimand aimed at her daughter-in-law—

“Vous n’avez donc aucun sens des convenances. Les Allemands doivent défiler devant des fenêtres fermées et des persiennes closes...comme en 70” (Némirovsky 329)— while Lucile observes that, “les gens ont des yeux qui percent les murs” (295). As a mother-in-law, Mme Angellier incarnates, incidentally, yet another agent of male scrutiny: the woman who has fully internalized patriarchal gender discourses and derives illusory power from ardently defending the status quo. She is often pejoratively referred to as the *rombière*, a reductive and problematic archetype of the older woman animated by bitterness and jealousy towards younger, more attractive women whose success she attempts to dismantle in a system that perpetually questions her worth (Buisson, *Années érotiques* I: 319).

For Lucile’s overly-protective mother-in-law, the idea of a normal life without her son Gaston is inconceivable and she often finds herself doubting her daughter-in-law: “son mari est prisonnier des Allemands, et elle peut respirer, bouger, parler, rire? C’est étrange” (Némirovsky 236). For the suffering mother, the hostility toward the German officer stationed in her home represents a form of duty towards her son— “je suis mère de prisonnier et, à ce titre, on ne me ferait pas, pour tout l’or du monde, considérer un de ces messieurs autrement que comme un ennemi mortel” (316). The control she exercises over the household is shaped by her understanding of her responsibilities as a mother as well as by her own experiences as a POW wife during the First World War. Deeply set in her bourgeois ways, she promotes patriarchal notions of female decorum and virtue and expresses agency not as a woman but rather as an extension of her son, a matriarch vested with temporary authority until her son’s return from the front. Mme Angellier, “en arrivait à se trouver seule de son espèce, farouche, irréductible comme une forteresse, la seule forteresse qui demeurerait debout en France,” establishes herself as an instrument of repression by appropriating masculine traits— the strength of a fortress, an image

suggestive of virility and scrutiny. However, Mme Angellier's power is illusory : "Que pouvait-elle faire ? Les hommes ont les armes, savent se battre. Elle ne pouvait qu'épier, que regarder, qu'écouter, que guetter dans le silence de la nuit un bruit de pas, un soupir pour que ça au moins ne soit ni pardonné ni oublié, pour que Gaston à son retour... " (359). Vested with a masculine pseudo-authority, the mother-in-law, like many other women during the Occupation, acts as an agent of repression who derives her power from the absence of the real master. Just like other *délatrices* of transgressive behaviors—spiteful female witnesses who denounced inappropriate female behaviors both to the *Kommandantur* as well as, more directly, to cuckolded French soldiers themselves via anonymous letters—, Mme Angellier is a denouncer of female desire and pleasure: "Rire ! lorsqu'on a un mari prisonnier !...dévergondée, femelle, âme basse !" (359). The choice of qualifiers in Mme Angellier's reprimand—"dévergondée", "femelle", "âme basse"—is revelatory of a taboo surrounding female enjoyment in the absence of French men. By referring to her daughter-in-law as *femelle*, Mme Angellier reduces her to the status of an animal driven by its base, sexual instincts and lacking any consideration for social decorum. The choice of *dévergondée* is equally important as it is a particularly-gendered pejorative term connoting sexual moral degradation (licentiousness, debauchery, perversion) in its reference to women. For POW wives in particular, "ce que d'aucuns attendent des femmes de prisonniers est un demi-deuil, seule attitude extérieure jugée finalement en rapport avec leur état et conforme aux convenances" (Buisson, *Années érotiques* I : 319). The *Fédération des associations des femmes de prisonniers*, another organization aimed at providing assistance to POW wives during WWII, perpetuated this concern with female decorum through its monthly journal, *Femmes des prisonniers* which "stressed the importance of [acceptable] leisure activities. The public expected prisoner of war wives to be in a state of mourning and disapproved if women did not behave with

the proper decorum” (Fishman 107). The constant surveillance and the many taboos pertaining to POW wives’ behaviors made many women feel guilt and shame over the pursuit of enjoyable activities in the absence of their suffering husbands. The federation’s primary concern was the preservation of the family unit<sup>76</sup> and, as such, all assistance provided to women was contingent upon male approval. Acceptable activities included “walks in the country, reading, picnics, ‘feminine’ sports, and, if one woman previewed the film for acceptability, going to a movie together” (108). Female-approved activities were, in other words, sanitized, deprived of all context that might induce any type of morally-problematic behavior. Hobbies such as dancing or going to the movies were perceived as potentially-licentious activities (Buisson, *Années érotiques* I : 456). Henning Mankell’s fictional incarnation of Simone, the real *tondue* of Chartres featured in Robert Capa’s famous WWII photo, is thus reprimanded by her prison guard for having spent her leisure time during the war dancing (which, incidentally, is how she met her German lover): “[T]u dansais avec tes Allemands alors que mes copains mouraient”. When she replies, “Je dansais avec *un* Allemand,” he retorts with the gravity of her actions, “Tu ne comprenais donc pas ce que tu faisais? Tu trahissais ! *Tu dansais avec toute l’armée d’occupation ! Tu ouvrais les cuisses pour Hitler!*” (Mankell 69, emphasis mine). At a time when the private is public and the female body is vested with added political significance, the act of dancing is perceived as the prelude to a sexual act (“You were dancing with the entire

---

<sup>76</sup> According to Adrienne Rich, “[a]t the core of patriarchy is the individual family unit which originated with the idea of property and the desire to see one’s property transmitted to one’s biological descendants...A crucial moment in human consciousness, then, arrives when man discovers that it is he himself, not the moon or the spring rains or the spirits of the dead, who impregnates the woman; that the child she carries and gives birth to is *his* child, who can make *him* immortal, both mystically, by propitiating the gods with prayers and sacrifices when he is dead, and concretely, by receiving the patrimony from him. At this crossroads of sexual possession, property ownership, and the desire to transcend death, developed the institution we know: the present-day patriarchal family with its supernaturalizing of the penis, its division of labor by gender, its emotional, physical, and material possessiveness, its ideal of monogamous marriage until death (and its severe penalties for adultery by the wife), the ‘illegitimacy’ of a child born outside of wedlock, the economic dependency of women, the unpaid domestic services of the wife, the obedience of women and children to male authority, the imprinting and continuation of heterosexual roles” (60-51).

occupation army. You were opening your thighs for Hitler.”), itself a metaphor for the treasonous surrender of the *femme-patrie* to the defiling enemy. Like dancing, the cinema also posed a danger to women not only due to the potentially-immoral content of the films shown but also because of its well-heated, half-lit theater rooms where men and women took refuge to escape the cold and loneliness of their own homes. Conducive to both mental and physical escapism, such places were denounced as places of debauchery where illicit sexual activity flourished.

The climate of suspicion that haunted wartime women in their leisure time, volunteer time, the workplace and the home is a manifestation of a generalized concern over their ability to contribute to the war effort in ways sanctioned by the patriarchal state. National discourses that promoted motherhood and virility as gendered incarnations of patriotic duty and conflated private matters with public politics should be understood as mere replicas of pre-existing gender fictions exacerbated by the state of armed conflict. Though vesting the female body with political significance precedes the 20<sup>th</sup> century by far, the patriarchal mechanisms of power operative during the two World Wars were successful in preserving the status quo by inscribing female sexuality and its powers of reproduction into a larger nationalist context whereby state-sanctioned behaviors were equated with patriotism and prospective victory while transgressive behaviors entailed treason and threatened the nation’s integrity. According to Jan Pettman,

[n]ationalism speaks of a people, of ‘us’, of belonging. It calls up criteria for belonging that popularly assume shared history, language or religion (...) The nation is a form of identity and difference. It creates the outsider, the other, the stranger. The nation produces its boundaries and simultaneously produces the foreigner, minority, immigrant, exile (Lerner, 1991). Nationality is relational, for

its derives from difference...difference is hierarchised. So one way to approach nationalism is to ask how, and who, the nation is used to exclude and subordinate (46).

Nationalism itself is a discourse anchored in gender fictions and suffused with gendered imagery. As Joan Landes affirms, “decent and correct manners and morals, as well as proper attitude toward sexuality, were intimately connected with the development of modern nationalism. And female propriety, chastity, and fidelity, along with monogamy, all became tropes of civilized or virtuous nationhood” (5). Female sexuality is at the core of the nation. WWI/II national discourses identified Germans as the enemy and the female body as the marker of a territory in constant danger of being breached. Complimentary codes of male valor and female chastity became tools for generating cohesion in the face of the adversary. All behaviors external to such codes acquired political significance, consequently attributing to non-conformist women the potential for sedition.

### CHAPTER III

#### CONTROLLING THE FEMALE BODY: THE MATERNAL IMPERATIVE

As illustrated in the previous chapter, the nation is, in Jan Jindy Pettman's terms, a "masculinist construct" premised on women's marginalization. Pettman traces the gendered construction of power and domination back to "[t]he Athenian Polis [which] marks the emergence of the (free) male citizen, and the construction of public space as male. Politics involved performance and appearance in the public space. In the private space of the home, women, children and slaves lived and worked to provide for the physical and emotional needs of men thus freed to go about their public and citizen duties" (6). As Carole Pateman has further indicated, the transition from male despotic power to a "fraternal contract" gave rise to a "sexual contract" whereby "all men were admitted to sex right, to women's unpaid labour, sexual services and reproductive powers—to women's bodies" (7-8). Positing the individual male as the model citizen relegated women to the margins of a valuation system centered around masculine traits. As the opposite gender in a binary infused with centuries of religious and philosophical speculation on sex and 'nature', women are deemed relationally inferior. The emergence of complimentary codes discussed earlier (i.e. valor and chastity, virility and motherhood) is symptomatic of a gender dynamic whereby a woman is "connected, dependent, nurturing, or—alternatively—unruly, sexual, disorderly. In either case, she needs to be under the protection/control of a man (to protect her—or to protect the polis/the man from her?)" (8). The disenfranchisement of women through the equation of citizenship with masculinity and their relegation to the private sphere as protégées has led, historically, to the creation of paternalistic laws. The Napoleonic Code in France is one such example. Title 5, Article 213 of the Code

states, “Le mari doit protection à sa femme, la femme obéissance à son mari”<sup>77</sup>. The wife is obliged to live with her husband wherever he goes (Art. 214) and prohibited from selling, giving or exchanging goods without his authority (Art. 217). According to the Civil Code, women were banned from signing contracts, managing their own wealth or property without a male guardian’s permission (until 1965), earning an income (until 1907, if married), pursuing secondary or higher education (until 1880 and 1919 respectively), exerting legal guardianship over their children (until 1917) and participating in politics. Though women’s rights were uniformly dictated by the Napoleonic Code, their concrete experiences sometimes varied according to their socioeconomic status— widows and women of lower classes enjoyed more flexibility in areas such as financial responsibility, work outside of the home and child rearing. Within the nuclear family, fathers had complete authority over their children.

Frederick Engels had attributed female economic dependency to the emergence of private property and its effects on the family unit. The concept of patrimony ushered in a new definition of marriage and reproduction whereby marriage became an economic contract and progeny a means to solidify private assets over several generations. Men contracted with other men over property (land, women) while attributing to women the task of creating (legitimate) heirs. In *Of Woman Born*, Adrienne Rich comments on power as an integral element of patriarchy:

Through control of the mother, the man assures himself of possession of his children; through control of his children he insures the disposition of his patrimony and the safe passage of his soul after death. It would seem therefore that from very ancient times the identity, the very personality, of the man depends on power, and on power in a certain, specific sense: that of *power over others*,

---

<sup>77</sup> Access to the full text of the Napoleonic Code here: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5406276n/f63.item>.

beginning with a woman and her children. The ownership of human beings proliferates: from primitive or arranged marriages through contractual marriages-with-dowry- through more recent marriage ‘for love’ but involving the economic dependency of the wife, through the feudal system, through slavery and serfdom (Rich 64).

According to Pierre Bourdieu, the *private patriarchy* occasioned by the shift to private ownership transitions to a *public patriarchy* as masculine power transcends the family unit and permeates three additional structures: the church, the school, and the state (Bourdieu 55). The Napoleonic Code is a case in point of Bourdieu’s public patriarchy at work. During WWI, in the absence of its mobilized male citizens, “l’Etat-Père se fait à la fois répressif et nourricier, garant des prérogatives du chef de la famille” (Thébaud, “La Grande Guerre” 117). Women were not granted legal parental authority until 1915 and only reluctantly (117). Though the concession was intended as a temporary measure until the rightful male guardians returned from the front, it was passed into law in 1917, becoming the only women’s rights victory to survive the Great War. The role of the State in Bourdieu’s public patriarchy is to disseminate and reinforce all discourses and constraints inherent in private patriarchy. By taking gender relations out of the private sphere and infusing the family unit with political meaning, public patriarchy acquires a broader reach as it enlists the support of other mechanisms of power. In equating social order with moral order, in establishing a hierarchy of authority within the family (male>female>child), in conflating morality and bodily discipline, “les États modernes ont inscrit dans le droit de la famille, et tout spécialement dans les règles définissant l’état civil des citoyens, tous les principes fondamentaux de la vision androcentrique” (Bourdieu 120). Adrienne Rich’s literary exploration of motherhood further examines one of the most crucial ramifications of Bourdieu’s public

patriarchy: motherhood as an institution. She distinguishes between “the *potential relationship* of any woman to her powers of reproduction and to children; and the *institution*, which aims at ensuring that that potential—and all women—shall remain under male control” (Rich 13). She further elaborates on its invisible yet pervasive nature. Sexual violence, the regulation of childbirth and contraception, the criminalization of abortion and out-of-wedlock motherhood, unequal pay, economic dependency on men, the minimal involvement of men in matters of the private sphere such as raising children, the persistent attempts to control motherhood by generating scientific discourses intended to make mothers feel inadequate: “all these are connecting fibers of this visible institution” (277). Not only is maternity framed as a woman’s physiological destiny (Beauvoir II: 326) but her reproductive abilities (that is, potential for motherhood) become the very chains that bind her into submission. As Rich asserts, “[i]n the most fundamental and bewildering of contradictions, it has alienated women from our bodies by incarcerating us in them” (Rich 13). Rich contemplates the source of agency and empowerment motherhood once represented: “At certain points in history, and in certain cultures<sup>78</sup>, the idea of woman-as-mother has worked to endow all women with respect, even with awe, and to give women some say in the life of a people or a clan” (13). It is interesting to note that in institutionalizing motherhood, public patriarchy has stripped childbearing of a great deal of its potential for agency, yet it continues to present motherhood as a means to achieving a privileged societal status. In *The Sexual Contract*, Carole Pateman states, “The meaning and value accorded to motherhood in civil society is, rather, a consequence of the patriarchal construction of sexual difference and political difference” (Pateman 34), a statement echoing Nancy Chodorow’s claim

---

<sup>78</sup> For an exploration of the influential status of motherhood in the private and public spheres of the Ancient World, see Petersen, Lauren Hackworth, and Patricia B. Salzman-Mitchell. *Mothering and Motherhood in Ancient Greece and Rome*. Austin: U of Texas, 2012. Print.

in *The Reproduction of Mothering* that “certain broad universal sexual asymmetries in the social organization of gender [are] generated by women’s mothering” (Chodorow 9-10). Women are reminded of their reproductive duties in ways that obscure the struggles and limitations of (institutionalized) motherhood through arguments centered on the glory of childbearing as an act of selfless devotion to both family and State. Motherhood reveals “tensions in women’s citizenship” as women “have been both excluded and included on the same grounds, as mothers...The maternal is located in the private and the family, away from the political. Yet the maternal is also claimed by the state, to give (the right kinds of women) particular civic duties; to give birth to, bring up, and offer to the state future citizens, soldiers, workers” (Pettman 18). It is by exploiting motherhood that patriarchal states have secured access to “women’s unpaid work, an enormous subsidy to the state and the employers” (10) and coerced women into regenerating nations in the aftermath of decimating wars. And yet, as Pettman indicates, “[a] small space is made for women who act within traditional gender roles and identities” (124).

While (institutionalized) motherhood has problematized female agency in reproduction, it has also created a hierarchy whereby, through childbearing, women can ascend the patriarchal ladder (to the detriment of women who cannot or do not want to have children). “For many women, acting in the name of mothers, like acting for the nation, provides the justification to move into the public space. Their political action can be seen as patriotic and respectful, where a daughter’s politics might appear as unruly or rebellious, and more of a threat to masculinity and male political power” (Pettman 124). In other words, it is (sanctioned) motherhood that both legitimizes and problematizes female citizenship. This is especially true in times of armed conflict when women’s bodies are recruited to regenerate a dwindling nation. Susan Grayzel declares that, during WWI in France, national discourses strategically conflated womanhood and

motherhood thus making maternity representative of female citizenship as a whole: “debates about women became debates about mothers...both pacifists and patriots alike spoke for and with the voice of mothers—it became a primary way to talk about women during the war since it allowed for appeals to women across region, ethnicity, class, and even nation” (2). The patriarchal French state further legitimized pre-existing complimentary codes of virility and motherhood through a nationalist rhetoric inciting men and women to observe their respective patriotic duties. Even French feminists became divided over the issue of compulsory maternity<sup>79</sup>. On the left side of the spectrum, neo-Malthusian feminists such as Nelly Roussel argued for motherhood as a choice (i.e. importance of contraception) and advocated improved rights for mothers. Reformist feminists such as French physician Madeleine Pelletier, who saw maternity as the root of female inferiority, went as far as to recommend celibacy and the decriminalization of abortion.

World War I mobilized 8 million men in 4.5 years and left 2,150,000 civilians behind to fend for themselves. Ten departments experienced the penury of German occupation (*Les femmes* 39). In light of these statistics, wartime concern with population decline can be partially understood.

[T]he maintenance of gender order in society via an appropriate maternity became a fundamental tactic of the war. Commentators continually reminded women that what happened at ‘home’ was pivotal to what happened in the theater of war.

Further, while many voices proclaimed the dawn of a new age for women...

---

<sup>79</sup> See Cova, Anne. *Féminismes et néo-malthusianismes sous la IIIe République : “La liberté de la maternité”*. Paris: L' Harmattan, 2011. Print.

voices across the political spectrum lamented what they saw as one of the war's greatest costs: the potential loss of women's childbearing capacities (Grayzel 3).

Thébaud states that losses on the front increased national participation in various social movements concerned with demographics ("La Grande Guerre" 117). Some advocates of natalist policies labeled maternity as "le devoir naturel ou l'épanouissement suprême de la femme, et même comme le service actif des femmes à la patrie" giving rise to the term "impôt du sang" (118) illustrating the citizen's duty to shed blood for the homeland, either by fighting or by producing children, both implying a sacrifice of one's body to the nation. "Contrasted with soldiering, the dominant, gender-specific role that was explicitly denied to them, women evaded their duty not by refusing to fight, but by refusing to produce future fighters" (Grayzel 2).

Among the avid natalists of the time was Dr. Adolphe Pinard, a staunch opponent of women's factory work and proponent of motherhood as a woman's primary duty. In a speech in front of the Academy of Medicine on December 5<sup>th</sup> 1916, he advanced motherhood as a female biological imperative and social duty<sup>80</sup>: "Les femmes n'ont qu'une aptitude pour laquelle elles sont créées, celle de nous donner des enfants... Les enfants qu'elle nous donnent, qu'elles nous donneront sont aussi nécessaires, indispensables pour la seconde victoire, que les munitions pour la première" (qtd. in Thébaud, *Les femmes* 370). Pinard qualifies munitions and children as wartime capital crucial to France's triumph over its enemy. While other contemporaries such as

---

<sup>80</sup> For further information on French medical discourses surrounding maternity, please consult Knibiehler, Yvonne. "Les médecins et la 'nature féminine' au temps du code civil". *Annales* (1976) : 824-45. *Persée*. Web. 23 Sept. 2016. <[http://www.persee.fr/doc/ahess\\_0395-2649\\_1976\\_num\\_31\\_4\\_293751](http://www.persee.fr/doc/ahess_0395-2649_1976_num_31_4_293751)>. For a broader understanding of maternal discourses and pronatalist policies in France, refer to the following: Cole, Joshua. *The Power of Large numbers. Population, Politics and Gender in Nineteenth-Century France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000. Print.; Tomlinson, Richard Peter. "The Politics of Dénatalité During the French Third Republic, 1890-1940." Diss. Christ's College, 1984. Print.; Koos, Cheryl Ann. "Engendering Reaction: The Politics of Pronatalism and the Family in France, 1919-1944." Diss. University of Southern California, 1996. Print.; Knibiehler, Yvonne. *La Révolution maternelle. Femmes, maternité, citoyenneté depuis 1945*. Paris: Perrin, 1997. Print.

Dr. Bonnaire applauded women's important homefront work as wartime factory workers, Pinard opined, "Avant leurs bras, le pays blessé veut leurs flancs" (*Les femmes* 393). The wartime patriarchal state demands men's arms and women's wombs: death and (re)birth as a sacrifice to the nation.

Sarah Fishman argues that the decline in birth rates had become a national preoccupation in France as early as 1870. Two primary movements emerged: one preoccupied with raising dwindling birth rates at all costs (natalism) and the other focused on strengthening the family as an institution (familialism). Natalists focused on "encouraging births, stopping birth control and abortion, protecting all children—even those born out of wedlock—and redistributing the costs of raising children" while familialists "stressed that the state should reinforce the family, end divorce, and strengthen paternal power but should never condone pre- or extramarital sex by protecting illegitimate children" (Fishman 17-18). Vichy family policy attempted to create an environment conducive to couple fertility by legislating on divorce, spouse/child abandonment, adultery and abortion. Because of the reproductive and nurturing roles implicitly attributed to 'the weaker sex', the double standard inherent in many aspects of society, as well as the reality of their daily wartime experiences, women were more heavily-impacted and significantly more disadvantaged by national policies targeting family life. Under the Third Republic, the Naquet law of 1884 had restored divorce, previously banned in 1814, but restricted it to cases of "adultery, cruelty and abuse, or serious criminal conviction" (Fishman 6). While charges of adultery were deemed sufficient for husbands to file for divorce, wives could only initiate the process if their husbands had been caught with a concubine in the family home (Olivier, "Vichy" 82). At the insistence of various associations protecting the interests of prisoners of war, Vichy tightened the law but left its operative definition of adultery intact. Beginning with 1941, a law

Buisson calls the “marriage-camisolé” (*Années érotiques* I: 488), prohibited couples from filing for divorce within the first three years and encouraged judges to extend the procedure in the hopes of favoring reconciliation. A subsequent law passed on December 23<sup>rd</sup> 1942 targeted specific instances of adultery committed with POW wives<sup>81</sup> (Eck 294). While quick to prohibit all forms of female adultery in the interest of the family unit, the Vichy regime was supportive of the institution of *maisons closes* as ‘necessary evils’ aimed at satisfying the needs of its soldiers and prisoners of war (Buisson, *Années érotiques* I: 45-53, 433-434). The climate of surveillance surrounding POW wives reinforced the hypocrisy of the system’s double-standard and is testament to Vichy’s paternalism and its deep-seated fear of non-normative female sexualities. By encouraging citizens to get married and forcing them to stay together as well as providing them with various financial incentives upon the birth of each child<sup>82</sup>, the government hoped to successfully regenerate the nation. Distribution of contraceptives<sup>83</sup> had been explicitly prohibited in 1920 and abortion made illegal in 1923; however, the Vichy government went so far as to label it a crime against the State. Despite this repressive environment, women continued to pursue abortions illegally, often under unsanitary and unsafe circumstances. Anyone performing such services was considered a veritable “national assassin” (Olivier, “Vichy” 84). Hélène Eck cites 4000 yearly charges between 1942 and 1944 against people offering abortion services (Eck 294). The *faiseuses d’anges*, a euphemism for women who performed abortions, became

---

<sup>81</sup> For more detailed information on the issue of adultery and the double-standard with respect to marital infidelity among POWs and their wives, please see previous chapters as well as chapter 6 of Sarah Fishman’s *We will wait: Wives of French prisoners of war, 1940-1945*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.

<sup>82</sup> Daladier’s Family Code of 1939 had already implemented a variety of measures designed to financially assist large families such as “first birth bonuses”, family allowances based on the number of children in the home (paid only after the birth of the second child) and “mother at home” allowances (Fishman 19-20). “Daladier justified redistributing these costs thus: ‘Children constitute the most important part of our national patrimony; it is therefore fair that each individual share in the cost of raising them’” (19).

<sup>83</sup> Though diaphragm use was forbidden, couples employed other contraceptive methods such as coitus interruptus, condoms and ‘natural’ fertility-monitoring methods. It would take 47 years for contraception to be authorized again in France under the Neuwirth Law and 55 years until the implementation of the Veil Law authorizing abortion under select circumstances.

enemies of the State. In an effort to make an example of such agents of disorder, Pétain ordered the execution by guillotine of Marie-Louise Giraud on July 30<sup>th</sup> 1943 for having performed 27 abortions over the span of 15 months<sup>84</sup> (Buisson, *Années érotiques* I: 535). Buisson shows that while abortion clients came from all strata of society, wives of prisoners of war and women working for the occupier comprised the majority of the “avorteurs d’habitude” brought to trial (*Années érotiques* I : 504). French propaganda reflected the State’s avid preoccupation with procreation by depicting abortion as national suicide (Le Naour, *Misère et tourments* 102). The catholic bourgeoisie figured at the forefront of debates on natality. Members of familialist leagues found it appalling that abortion, while illegal, was still largely tolerated and that women exhibiting complications from abortion procedures could confidentially request medical help. They proposed to dissolve doctor-patient confidentiality laws, establish surveillance in medical centers and even encourage community members to become informants no matter the circumstances (Thébaud *Les femmes* 387).

During the Great War, the urgency of national repopulation had occasionally overshadowed moral concerns: unwed mothers were encouraged to keep their babies under the guise of patriotism and female rape victims were sometimes offered financial assistance in exchange for anonymous delivery, even if the child had been conceived with the enemy. On February 18<sup>th</sup>, 1915 legislation was proposed in the Senate to temporarily suspend all legal repercussions for abortions carried out in occupied territories. Public response was divided among those in favor of abortions, those supporting placement of the child into the care of the state and a small segment who believed in the preeminence of French blood over enemy genes. “A confidential June circular regarding refugees specified how such women impregnated by

---

<sup>84</sup> For detailed information on Marie-Louise Giraud, see “La véridique histoire de Marie-Louise” (pp.527-544) in chapter 10 of Patrick Buisson’s 1940-1945, *Années érotiques*, volume I.

Germans could arrange for the births of these children and if they chose, abandon them to the state” (55). Women pregnant with enemy children (whether victims of rape, or ‘sentimental collaborators’) benefitted from confidential assistance with delivery and post-partum care in Parisian hospitals. Their children would be raised with no knowledge of their origins. To this end, illegitimate newborns were sometimes taken to live with viable French families in the hopes that a new beginning and a ‘proper’ upbringing would mold them into good French citizens (Le Naour, *Misères et tourments* 110). It is important to note that popular opinion did not always align with government discourse and pregnancy out of wedlock, or because of adulterous encounters, still represented an immoral act worthy of community reprisal. Many women found themselves caught in a double bind, facing violence and marginalization whether they pursued abortions to rid themselves of the proof of their transgressions or whether they chose to assume responsibility and raise illegitimate children. For wives of soldiers and prisoners of war, the situation was even more delicate especially if the children had been conceived with the enemy. Such is the case of Fannie Sennevilliers, one of Van Der Meersch’s fictional characters in *Invasion 14*. Left to care for her little boy Pierre after her husband dies in combat, she finds herself pregnant with a German soldier’s child. Abandoned by her lover who eventually returns to the front, she triggers an outpour of hatred and violence from her neighbors when she enlists for provisions. Jealous of her relative wellbeing due to her relationship with the Occupant, the villagers waiting in line for food lash out at her and her unborn baby:

—Alors, lui dit un homme, lui mettant le poing sous le menton, il t’a plaquée, ton Boche, ou bien il est mort ? ...

—Il t’a tout de même bien engrossée, avant de partir, hein ? dit un autre.

—On peut tâter, les amis, c’est pas du faux...dit un troisième, avançant les mains

vers son corsage, tandis qu'elle reculait avec épouvante (...)

—Attends qu'ils soient partis, on ira te le chercher dans le ventre, ton petit Boche, on te le mangera... (Van Der Meersch 299).

The neighbors wish to know whether Fannie's German lover has left her or whether he has died. In the absence of her protector, they take liberties by touching her body, insulting her and threatening to extract the "little Kraut" out of her womb. They chase Fannie away with stones, leaving her bruised and bleeding and contemplating the thought of suicide:

[E]lle aurait bien voulu mourir aussi, mais il y avait l'enfant, en elle...Deux vies anéanties d'un seul coup. Pouvait-elle le faire ? Sans doute, oui...Pourquoi laisser venir un être promis d'avance à un pareil malheur ? Seulement il y avait aussi Pierre, Pierre qui n'avait pas mérité de souffrir (300).

The thought of taking two lives (her own and that of her unborn child) is no detractor to Fannie as she foresees the trauma and stigma her child will inherit. Nonetheless, she recognizes the impact her death would have on her son Pierre, an innocent victim of his mother's actions. After the birth of her daughter, Fannie slips into a deep depression, neglects her newborn and disappears one day. Her body is found a few days later frozen in a nearby pond, suggestive of a possible suicide attempt. While innocent, the child she could not bring herself to abort incarnates a curse—the permanent, visible sign of her unforgivable transgression. Through death, "Fannie avait enfin trouvé le définitif apaisement" (306).

Just as Fannie was ostracized for having kept her illegitimate child, Judith Lacombe is equally ostracized for assuming responsibility for the abortion of her sister, Estelle. When Estelle discovers that she is pregnant with a German child, her mother urges her to abort to avoid public shame and the anger of her absent husband. After Estelle takes matters into her own hands and

triggers a miscarriage, Mrs. Lacombe recants her advice and tells Judith, “c’est pas moi qui lui avais dit de faire ça. J’avais seulement dit que je n’en voulais pas...Un bâtard! qu’est-ce qu’il aurait dit, le père [Lacombe] ! Et Babet [le mari], quand il reviendra de la guerre !” (31). When Mr. Lacombe finds out about the incident from the gravedigger who had been asked to dispose of the fetus, he explodes and asks his wife, “Laquelle de tes deux garces de filles s’est fait faire un gosse par les Boches? ...Laquelle s’est fait avorter? Hein? Hein ? J’ai couru à la Kommandantur ! On s’est foutu de ma gueule !” (39). As mayor of the town, Mr. Lacombe’s reputation is particularly important and the disgrace he incurs at the Kommandantur due to his “bitch” (from the pejorative “garce”) daughter’s actions is unbearable. In order to spare Estelle the shame and dishonor of her situation— “Estelle mariée! Que dirait Babet, le beau-fils, en revenant ? Scandale ! Déshonneur ! L’autre était fille, tout de même, libre...” (39)— Mrs. Lacombe and Judith decide to cover for her. Judith tells her father that the child had been hers, conceived with one of Mr. Lacombe’s German farmhands whom Judith had actually been seeing in secret. Mr. Lacombe immediately chases his daughter away. Abandoned and shamed by her German lover and father, she is ostracized by the community and punished at the Liberation. While the examples of Fannie and Estelle/Judith’s experiences are fictional, they represent nonetheless the concrete experiences of many French women caught between a pervasive patriarchal discourse regulating their sexuality and a political wartime agenda promoting female fertility at all costs.

The moralizing spirit of the Vichy regime and its unrelenting preoccupation with fertility and regeneration led proponents of natalism to embrace policies deemed immoral by familialists via rhetoric reminiscent of that advanced during WWI. Beginning with September 2<sup>nd</sup> 1941, all hospitals were required to provide all pregnant or postpartum women with free care and the

option to surrender their newborns to the Assistance publique. Inherent in this legislature is the assumption that pregnancy out of wedlock and illegitimate children trump sterile sexuality (Buisson, *Années érotiques* I : 492). The paradox inherent in this measure is equally evident in legislation authorizing anonymous delivery, called “l’accouchement sous X,” which derived its name from the X marked on birth documents to preserve the mother’s anonymity (492). The law guaranteed complete confidentiality before and after delivery for women who wished to hide their condition and/or abandon their infants, as well as free healthcare services in select secret maternities created in 1939. POW wives and young unwed mothers likely benefitted the most from such services. In the case of the former,

on espère préserver l’honneur de ceux qu’on appelle par euphémisme les ‘maris absents du foyer’, autrement dit les prisonniers...Pétain en personne a tenu à ce que l’article 4 du code de la famille soit modifié en ce sens et à ce que le texte soit complété par une disposition interdisant la recherche de paternité naturelle, sauf dans les cas où il y a eu enlèvement ou viol au moment de la conception (493-494).

Hoping that such provisions would salvage the integrity of the family unit all the while protecting the life of its unborn citizens otherwise susceptible to abortion or infanticide, the government equally oversaw efforts by the Famille du prisonnier and various Red Cross branches to place unwanted illegitimate children into French homes (494). In his book *Naître ennemi: Les enfants des couples franco-allemands nés pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, Fabrice Virgili cites 36,638 illegitimate births in 1939 and 56,389 in 1944 with certain departments in the occupied zone reporting the highest numbers (Virgili 155). For its part, the German State had created the *Lebensborn* in 1935 as a refuge for single women pregnant with

children of SS members. In fact, the Lebensborn (literally, “Fountain of Life”) program was aimed at regenerating the nation by encouraging young ‘racially-pure’ women to have children in secret and relinquish them to the State for adoption. Relations with officers of the Wehrmacht were highly encouraged and both parents had to pass strict racial purity tests. The program was met with some criticism in Germany for enabling immorality. Given its racial prerogatives, the organization initially restricted its services to a handful of countries: Germany, Austria, Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium (a few centers opened in Poland for exclusive use by German minorities). Because French women did not belong to the ‘Aryan nation’, the first Lebensborn center in France did not open its doors until 1944 (159-161). “Alors qu’au moment de l’invasion de 1940, les Françaises n’étaient en aucun cas envisagées comme procréatrices d’enfants ‘aryens’, deux ans plus tard, Leonardo Conti écrivait à Himmler que ces enfants ‘ne sont pas mauvais, dans la plupart des cas pas plus mal que ceux qui ont été procréés en Norvège avec des Norvégiennes...Je propose que le Lebensborn s’occupe énergiquement de ces enfants” (160). Having opened so late, the Lebensborn branch in France, located a few kilometers outside of Paris, only provided services to a handful of French women before the war came to an end. Tough familialists and religious conservatives were not always happy about Vichy’s Machiavellian approach to family life, the backlash caused by the aforementioned laws was much less significant than that initiated by the law of September 14<sup>th</sup> legitimizing children conceived outside of marriage. “Aux termes du nouveau dispositif, un homme a désormais la possibilité de reconnaître, dans tous les cas, un enfant naturel issu d’une seconde union et ce droit est également étendu aux femmes” (Buisson, *Années érotiques* I : 495). Buisson estimates that such a law could have applied to a total of 250,000 illegitimate children born between 1941 and 1945, most of them in the occupied zone and to wives of prisoners (499). Known

collectively as the “gardener’s law” in reference to Pétain’s gardener whom Mrs. Pétain purportedly tried to protect, the law further confirms the extent of the politicization of French sexuality during World War II.

While natalists and familialists disagreed on several issues during both wars, they all converged upon the urgent need to repopulate the nation. A subsequent general anxiety surrounding changes in the status quo became palpable early on during both armed conflicts as evidenced by debates surrounding the emergence of a ‘new woman’ characterized by a new look (short hair, masculine traits) and emancipatory notions (work outside of the home, fewer sexual inhibitions). Having been left alone, projected into male-dominated fields, and asked to assume responsibilities previously denied to them, women were exhibiting dangerous tendencies.

“Elles prennent conscience de leurs capacités, goûtent l’indépendance financière, deviennent plus autonomes et même revendicatrices” (Thébaud *Les femmes* 233-4). Having transformed their solitude into a certain degree of autonomy, French women assumed their wartime roles in ways that illuminated their potential and highlighted their individuality. “De ce point de vue, la rupture du moule familial et des habitudes quotidiennes est propice à leur libération. Elles veulent vivre autrement, décider de leurs choix ; elles osent avoir des projets, amoureux ou professionnels” (18). This newfound agency is not without consequence. One notices a shifting rhetoric whereby “[b]efore the war the declining birth rate was widely interpreted as a ‘crisis of male virility’; afterward many saw it as a ‘crisis of female egoism’ supposedly unleashed by the new freedom and independence women had attained during the war” (Fishman 18). Hélène Eck reveals that the ‘new’ woman’s refusal to bear children was anchored in two assumptions: “la féminité reniée par la recherche de l’égalité avec le sexe masculin (d’où l’ambition,

l'orgueil, l'intellectualisme de certaines) et la féminité déviée par l'obsession de la séduction (d'où la futilité, la coquetterie excessive, l'infidélité)" (Eck 292).

Whereas those in power had encouraged women to work outside of the home for the duration of the armed conflict, they were quick to blame working mothers in particular for failing in their homemaking duties and sacrificing the wellbeing of their families for the sake of an additional income. As early as 1900, in a report presented at the 10<sup>th</sup> International Congress on Hygiene and Demographics in Paris, Dr. Pinard had emphasized the detrimental effects of fatigue ("surmenage") on pregnancy (*Congrès international* 420-24) and requested that "[t]oute femme salariée a droit au repos pendant les trois derniers mois de sa grossesse" (424). He called on employers to reduce work hours for pregnant women (425), a demand that his contemporary, Dr. Berthod, found unrealistic: "Nous sommes ici, il est vrai des hygiénistes et non des législateurs, mais nous devons être possibles et pratiques " (425). During the war, Dr. Pinard proposed banning factory work for all pregnant, new or nursing mothers and granting a daily allowance for women who were pregnant or nursing. The factory as a place of relative public visibility and financial opportunity represented a dangerous place where women forgot their traditional roles. It is a "killer of children" due to its potential to dissuade women from bearing children, or worse, to convince them to abort for the sake of their selfish aspirations (Thébaud, *Les femmes* 377). In contrast with Dr. Pinard's vilification of the working woman, Dr. Bonnaire wished to reconcile motherhood and work duties. In his 1916 report entitled "Le travail féminin dans les fabriques de munitions dans ses rapports avec la puerpéralité," he retorted, "[r]ien n'est moins démontré que le retentissement nocif du travail dans les usines de guerre sur les fonctions génératrices des femmes" (Bonnaire 276-9). For a nation in the midst of military conflict, both munitions and children were presented as integral requirements for France's victory and the

responsibility for both rested on the shoulders of women. As a reconciling measure, some factories did, in fact, establish financial bonuses for working mothers. A factory in Meudon advertised new employee benefits as such: “La naissance d’une fille donne droit à une prime de 100 francs. La naissance d’un garçon donne droit à une prime de 200 francs.” (370). One notes the value placed on each gender implicit in the amounts granted per child: 200 francs for future French soldiers and 100 francs for future French mothers. In order to redirect women towards their traditional roles as wives and mothers, demobilization rhetoric praises the merits of the homemaker (Thébaud, “La Grande Guerre” 137). Beginning in 1918, mothers of 5, 8 and 10 children were publicly rewarded with the “médaille de la Famille” and Mother’s Day was created in 1926. In 1920 legal steps had already been taken to provide additional financial support for prolific citizens yet the “allocation familiale” —monetary assistance for families with children— did not become official until 1932 (Thébaud, “La Grande Guerre” 137).

The obsession with motherhood as a duty resurged in the interwar period under the guise of *puériculture*, the new art of caring for young children. Premised on science and moralistic medical discourses, this new trend placed a greater burden of responsibility on women as primary caretakers thus multiplying the injunctions against that ultimate female threat to the fabric of society: degenerate motherhood. Anne-Marie Sohn contends that the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Pasteurian revolution and its hygienist concerns in the name of decreasing infant mortality solidified a new medical discourse anchored in the culpabilization of mothers. “En France surtout, la chute très précoce de la natalité et le spectre de la dépopulation associés à la croisade hygiéniste entraînent un double combat, à la fois sanitaire et nataliste” (Sohn 168). The consequences of such an intensive child-rearing program had negative implications for working

mothers who were led to believe that they could no longer trust daycares<sup>85</sup> to provide proper care for their children. The added insistence on nursing as opposed to bottle-feeding infants and the incessant culpabilization of mothers in the name of hygiene and infant mortality concerns reinforced the mother-child dependency and pressured many new mothers into staying home (169). It is important to note that concerns about nursing and ‘proper motherhood’ predate the Pasteurian revolution. Joan B. Landes provides one poignant example from 18<sup>th</sup>-century French society:

In Year II a law regarding national festivals was proposed to the Convention; in this proposal, nursing mothers would occupy first place behind the officials. When they had enough children, they would be awarded a medal bearing the inscription ‘I have nurtured them for the fatherland—the fatherland gives thanks to fertile mothers’. The Convention took seriously the need to legislate on the issue of maternal duty, decreeing on 28 June 1793 that if a mother did not nurse her child, she and the child would not be eligible for the state support offered to indigent families (Landes 98-9).

Just as men must pay for citizenship with their blood, women must pay for the fatherland’s protection with (birthing) blood and (nurturing) milk. Nevertheless, despite Pinard’s insistence on the fact that France needed women’s wombs before their arms, wartime economy *did* depend on female work. In addition, many women found themselves in dire financial need and unable to

---

<sup>85</sup> The first *crèche* in France was founded in 1844 but daycares were not institutionalized until 1861. For information on daycares and a medical discussion on the alleged health hazards they presented during this time, see the section entitled “Les crèches” (pp.437-49) by Dr. Eugène Deschamps included in the *Xe congrès international d’hygiène et de démographie : Compte rendu*. Additional readings on French daycares include: Reynolds, Siân. “Who Wanted the Crèches ? Working Mothers and the Birthrate in France 1900-1950.” *Continuity and Change* 2 (1990): 190. Print. and Girard, Alain. “Une enquête sur l’aide aux mères de famille, extension des crèches, travail à temps partiel.” *Population* 3 (1948) : 539-543. Print.

stay home to raise children in spite of financial assistance from the state. Consequently, numerous mothers continued to pursue work outside of the home. Anne-Marie Sohn shows that between 1906 and 1946, on average, up to 37.9% of the active working population in France was female. In 1920, half of workers were married women and up to 14.5% were widows with children (Sohn 170). For women in the countryside, work was unavoidable and represented a much heavier load; female farm workers found themselves replacing both absent males and work animals requisitioned by the Germans all the while maintaining their homemaking responsibilities. Though their workload may have been hard, it also presented a certain degree of flexibility. The task of caring for children, for example, was often the joint effort of a tight community, a luxury that city women did not have (170). According to Sohn, two out of three working women in the city were mothers. “[L]’arrivée des enfants entraîne de plus en plus rarement l’arrêt de la vie professionnelle : à Paris, la moitié des salariées prend un congé assez long, mais 10% seulement, mères de nombreux enfants ou exerçant un métier ingrat, renoncent définitivement à travailler” (172).

The Third Republic had passed ample legislature surrounding work and family life<sup>86</sup>. With the creation of the Code de la Famille in 1939, the government passed new pronatalist laws such as the creation of stipends for stay-at-home mothers (“allocation de mère au foyer”). From its inception in 1940, the Vichy government re-circulated preexisting discourses on the family and elaborated upon prior pronatalist legislature<sup>87</sup> at the same time that it “blamed the Third

---

<sup>86</sup> In 1896, concerns over population decrease led statistician and demographer Jacques Bertillon to create the *Alliance nationale pour l'accroissement de la population française* and publish his findings the following year in a report entitled *Le problème de la dépopulation* on the “conséquences fatales de la dépopulation de la France” (Bertillon 81). See : Bertillon, Jacques. *Le problème de la dépopulation. Le programme de l'Alliance nationale pour l'accroissement de la population française*. Paris: Bureaux De La Revue Politique Et Parlementaire, 1897. Print.

<sup>87</sup> For additional readings on Vichy’s discourses on the family, see : Capuano, Christophe. *Vichy et la famille: Réalités et faux-semblants d'une politique publique*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires De Rennes, 2009. Print. and Lackerstein, Debbie. *National Regeneration in Vichy France: Ideas and Policies, 1930-1944*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011. Print.

Republic for an antifamily climate of high divorce, legalized prostitution, alcoholism, and rampant individual license” (Paxton 166). Profoundly preoccupied with the wellbeing of the community at the expense of individual rights, Pétain proclaimed the family as the primary social cell. Individualism and the pursuit of personal freedoms became veritable enemies of the State while notions of community, solidarity and citizenship were erected as national standards. As the very slogan “Travail, Famille, Patrie” suggests, the alleged success of the nation rests in community and not individualism. In her essay entitled “Gender and nation”, Mrinalini Sinha signals the significance of the family metaphor in nationalist imagery as a tactical strategy intended to catalyze patriotic support by eliciting feelings of familial bonding. The rhetoric of familial love, “an ‘eroticized nationalism’— helps account for the distinctiveness of nationalism as a discourse capable of arousing enormous passions from the members of nations (Sinha 328). At the head of the French WWII ‘family’ was Maréchal Pétain, father and husband of a nation in need of guidance, Christ-like figure promising to rehabilitate a country that had lost its way. The *maréchalisme* of the Vichy era was the result of a concerted effort to regulate sexuality and promote family values through the subtle manipulation of nationalist imagery anchored in a series of extant gender fictions. Mrinalini Sinha points out a logical fallacy in national discourses by which the nation uses such pre-existing gender fictions to legitimize its actions while using the actions to support the legitimacy of the fictions themselves:

The discourse of the nation is implicated in particular elaborations of ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’...On the one hand, national narratives rely heavily on the supposedly natural logic of gender differences to consolidate new political identities around the nation. On the other hand, the discourse of nationalism provides legitimacy to normative gendered

constructions of masculinity and femininity (Sinha 326).

Hélène Eck corroborates this observation by indicating that the theory of the difference and complementarity of the sexes was at the very root of Vichy's conception of the family unit (Eck 291). The clear division of gender roles whereby the private domain belongs to the female and the public to the male is an extension of an all-too-familiar gender fiction relegating women to their roles as child bearers and nurturers. In an essay entitled "Women's Culture and Women's Power: Issues in French Women's History", Dauphin et al. show that the gendered distribution of tasks promoted as complimentary, and thus conducive to an alleged social balance, follows a predictable social hierarchy that favors men. While the feminine and masculine duality is presented as necessary "the distribution of tasks has, after all, a positive and a negative pole and contains implicitly a hierarchical system. The roles may be complementary, but one is subordinate to the other (Dauphin et al., "Women's Culture" 573-574). This notion of a 'complementarity of subordination' lies at the root of Margaret Higonnet's image of the *double helix* whereby male and female tasks represent opposite strands on a theoretical helix (Higonnet 34-35). In *Le deuxième sexe*, Simone de Beauvoir had already hinted to this theory (Beauvoir I : 114). Unlike the gatherer and the warrior, the woman does not participate in activities that mark her as a productive member of the community: "ce n'est pas en donnant la vie, c'est en risquant sa vie que l'homme s'élève au-dessus de l'animal ; c'est pourquoi dans l'humanité la supériorité est accordée non au sexe qui engendre mais à celui qui tue" (115).

The idealization of motherhood served to substantiate as well as perpetuate Vichy's doctrine of the separation of the sexes. Through its added emphasis on the notion of gender difference and the renewed valuation of its implicit private/public binary, the Vichy state sends the message that motherhood is a woman's innate destiny and that "[i]l n'existe pas de

mauvaises mères, il n'existe que de mauvaises femmes qui refusent d'être mères" (Eck 292).

Simone de Beauvoir dissects this line of thinking by pointing out that "[p]uisque l'oppression de la femme a sa cause dans la volonté de perpétuer la famille et de maintenir intact le patrimoine, dans la mesure où elle échappe à la famille, elle échappe donc aussi à cette absolue dépendance" (Beauvoir I : 147). Vichy's obsession with motherhood, while seemingly fueled by the urgency of the war, is a mere resurgence of pre-existing gender fictions repackaged for the occasion. The cult of motherhood existed long before Daladier and Vichy's efforts to honor French mothers for their service to the country and finds its *raison d'être* in the unrelenting effort of a "civilisation patriarcale où il convient que la femme demeure annexée à l'homme...C'est comme Mère que la femme était redoutable; c'est dans la maternité qu'il faut la transfigurer et l'asservir" (I: 284). Beauvoir points to the figure of the Virgin Mary as the epitome of this phenomenon: "C'est là la suprême victoire masculine qui se consomme dans le culte de Marie: il est la réhabilitation de la femme par l'achèvement de sa défaite" (I : 285). Sexually-pure and entirely dedicated to her son, "pour la première fois dans l'histoire de l'humanité, la mère s'agenouille devant son fils ; elle connaît librement son infériorité" (I : 285). It is through her annexation to the male that Mary becomes worthy of glory, in particular through her virgin maternity and her devotion to her child. If one educes Rich's distinction between motherhood as "the *potential relationship* of any woman to her powers of reproduction and to children; and the *institution*, which aims at ensuring that that potential—and all women—shall remain under male control" (Rich 13) in the context of Beauvoir's analysis, one understands how Christianity has contributed to the institutionalization of motherhood in the western world. By replacing goddess worship and supplanting fertility cults, it strategically harnessed the power women once derived from their own bodies. The *mater dolorosa* discourse is palpable in Guy Croussy's *La tondue* as shorn mother Marie Prudente

incarnates two contradictory female archetypes: the chaste mother and the fallen seductress. While Manu, her son, insists that “Maman a été tondue de bonne foi” (88), the overall doubt surrounding Marie’s morality within the community eventually overcomes his conviction. As she attempts to rebuild her life elsewhere while claiming to do so for “[m]on petit garçon, mon petit espoir” (161), her unsteady relationships with the men she meets lead to a narrative shift whereby her boy (who is also the narrator) comes to perceive her as “la femme la plus délurée du territoire” (260). The progressive emphasis on Marie’s looks (her clothing and make-up) and her seductive demeanor reflect Manu’s torment at the thought that “elle connaîtrait bientôt autant d’hommes qu’elle possédait de robes” (260). Her own culpability about having temporarily abandoned her child and her attempt to justify it — “Jamais je ne l’ai abandonné. Si vous voyiez la chambre que je lui ai préparée !” (290) — is perceived by Manu as “un discours d’exorcisme” (290) and “des sornettes hors de propos” (291). Marie fights the implicit notion that she is a monster : “Je ne suis quand-même pas un monstre” (291). In the end, Marie must face her two identities—sexual woman and chaste mother—and acknowledge that only one can survive<sup>88</sup>. Her brief dalliance with the mayor, a prostitution act of sorts, leads to (an alleged) call for repentance whereby she admits that all men have ceased to exist for her with the exception of her son: “Si tu ne veux plus de moi, je n’aurai aucune issue, je serai seule pour toujours” (297). Manu mentions, “Seule la parole peut laver les offenses du monde et désaltérer les êtres offensés” (297). Marie’s salvation requires a purification ritual beyond that of her *tonte*; it involves a willing amputation of an aspect of her identity deemed problematic and a figurative baptismal submersion into her proper patriarchal role. Like Mary Magdalene, Marie Prudente’s carnal sins are washed away by

---

<sup>88</sup> For a complete analysis of this scene and its narrative devices, please consult chapter IV.

a male presence to whom she surrenders. Like Virgin Mary, her worth resides in her wholehearted devotion to her son.

Dauphin et al. advance the theory that “women derive from the [patriarchal] system all kinds of compensations, including a certain number of powers, which may explain the degree to which they consent to a system that would not function without such consent” (“Women’s Culture” 582). In spite of their traditional relegation to the home, they often found a certain degree of power in their roles as wives and mothers. Beauvoir notes that the male pleasure derived from an unremitting sense of superiority over women is only reproducible for women through motherhood. Only through the addition of kin hierarchically-lower than herself can a woman acquire some power within the family. Dauphin et al. corroborate this theory of women’s (limited) access to patriarchal power through motherhood. In their view, 19<sup>th</sup> century socio-medical discourses on childhood reinforced and codified maternity in unprecedented ways.

These mothers, especially those from the petty bourgeoisie, so eager for recognition and distinction, became scrupulous guardians of morality and propriety after internalizing the goals of social mobility. Overwhelmed with rules, duties, feelings of shame and culpability, they turned themselves into paragons of virtue and became cogs in a power system which could only satisfy them if they submitted to it, the price for rebellion often being insanity itself (“Women’s Culture” 584-585).

It is this very phenomenon that explains the tyranny of women such as Némirovsky’s character, Madame Angellier, and the complex psychological motives behind the country’s *rombières*, mentioned in chapter II. It is not only through maternity but through the relationship with her

son(s) that a woman gains access to a fraction of power within the patriarchal state<sup>89</sup>: “elle possédera le monde: mais à condition qu’elle possède son fils” (Beauvoir II: 373). As the overbearing *mater dolorosa*, Mme Angellier exhibits the “dévouement masochiste” (I: 370) of a woman whose agency (if attainable?) is paradoxically contingent upon internalizing and perpetuating oppressive patriarchal discourses. Beauvoir interprets this renunciation of self and the subsequent inter-dependency it engenders as a “volonté tyrannique de domination” which perpetuates the problematic cycle of patriarchal power (370-1). Though Beauvoir is correct in her estimation of psychological trauma this dynamic could bestow upon children, one must understand such behaviors as symptoms of female marginalization, subconscious attempts to utilize the very mechanisms that subjugate women (e.g. the institution of motherhood) to access power in the macrocosm of the patriarchal system. Women like Madame Angellier, though praised by the Vichy regime as maternal heroes, are both victims and oppressors within a structure designed to disenfranchise them at all costs.

As this chapter has shown, maternity has historically been a locus of both oppression and limited agency for women. The patriarchal mechanisms of power operative during the two World Wars did not produce new discourses on motherhood in France, they simply re-circulated extant gendered fictions and infused them with a nationalist rhetoric. Wartime state policies regarding divorce, contraception, abortion and prostitution can be grouped under V. Spike Peterson’s term “battle of the cradle” indicative of a broad array of pronatalist measures (Peterson 43). Familialist measures focused on illegitimate births and proper ways to raise children thus fall under the term “battle of the nursery” which Peterson qualifies as “ensuring that children born are bred in culturally appropriate ways (43). While women are posited as second-class citizens

---

<sup>89</sup> One might wonder whether this power by proxy is not, in fact, illusory.

within the patriarchal state, relegated to the private realm, they are nonetheless “the primary socializers of children” (43-4). Their responsibility is to raise model citizens ready to assume their gendered roles thus perpetuating the status quo. It is in this light that Adrienne Rich states,

Patriarchy depends on the mother to act as a conservative influence, imprinting future adults with patriarchal values even in those early years when the mother-child relationship might seem most individual and private...it has created images of the archetypal Mother which reinforce the conservatism of motherhood and convert it to an energy for the renewal of male power (Rich 61).

## CHAPTER IV OBJECTIFYING THE SUBJECT: PUNISHING FEMALE DISSENTION AND RE- ESTABLISHING THE PATRIARCHAL ORDER

“[P]uisque l’homme a un corps, c’est par le corps qu’on l’a.”

(Lacan, *Autres écrits* 568)

In *Surveiller et punir*, a genealogy of the penal and carceral system in France from the Middle Ages to the 19th century, Michel Foucault indicates the importance of the human body as a locus of power. His analysis of surveillance and punishment as instruments and manifestations of a larger mechanism of power exposes a progression from a fixation with the physical body as a primary site of control and expiation (punishment as a spectacle contingent upon physical pain and visibility, i.e. criminals tortured in public spaces) to a concern with touching the ‘soul’, or rather “le cœur, la pensée, la volonté, les dispositions” (24) in the hopes of rehabilitating the transgressor (punishment as a private, systematic set of codes aimed at correction and potential reintegration into society, i.e. criminals locked inside prisons). Although the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century marked an end to punishment as a spectacle on a broad scale and ushered in subtler and more effective ways to prevent and reprimand transgressive behaviors, and while the body came to be perceived as more of a receptacle for the ‘self’ than a direct target, one cannot deny that the Foucauldian ‘soul’ is not entirely dissociable from the body as a vehicle of one’s ‘self’. In other words, all punishment, even at its most abstract, affects the body and its functions, even if the body is left untouched. A criminal in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was no longer subject to physical torture and public execution but the deprivation of his legal rights and physical liberty had undeniable repercussions on his body. When efforts were properly orchestrated, the Foucauldian mechanisms of power acting upon him succeeded in creating a *docile body*, “un corps qui peut

être soumis, qui peut être utilisé, qui peut être transformé et perfectionné” (160). And what is a docile, cooperative and productive body if not pivotal to the continued success of the mechanisms of power that construct it? According to Foucault,

[c]et investissement politique du corps est lié, selon des relations complexes et réciproques, à son utilisation économique ; c’est, pour une bonne part, comme force de production que le corps est investi de rapports de pouvoir et de domination ; mais en retour sa constitution comme force de travail n’est pas possible que s’il est pris dans un système d’assujettissement (où le besoin est aussi un instrument politique soigneusement aménagé, calculé et utilisé) ; le corps ne devient force utile que s’il est à la fois corps productif et corps assujetti (34).

In other words, the body is vested with power only when it has been established as a unit of production, which paradoxically requires its docility and subjection. As such, the docile body’s power is at best limited and at worst illusory. It is as a body that is surveyed and controlled that a transgressor can reintegrate society and become a productive element contributing to its success. As such, the *productive body is the servile body*.

Chapter I of the dissertation at hand has set out to expose the ways in which French women’s bodies during the two World Wars (and, by extension, their physical and emotional desires and/or choices) have been manipulated by patriarchal mechanisms of power in distinctly gendered ways. Chapter II and III have explored some of the gendered discourses deployed in WWI/II France by a profoundly devirilized nation to criminalize autonomous female sexuality. In the absence of direct French male authority, the autonomous sexual act became an act of disobedience. Single women were shunning the authority of their fathers or brothers, married women were expressing disloyalty to their husbands, illegal prostitutes were escaping the

watchful eye of the patriarchal state. If Foucault's concept of the *docile body* may be reiterated here, one can begin to understand the importance of docile female bodies for the welfare of the patriarchal state. In particular, as expounded upon in Chapter III, one can seize upon the centrality of the *female (re)productive body* as a patriarchal cornerstone. The sentimental collaborator, as Dominique François shows, was labeled a "castrating woman" (76) because she represents the French male's failure to control and protect the mother(land). Through her choices and behaviors, the sexual collaborator exposed collective French male inadequacies and eschewed her responsibilities as a (re)productive body as sanctioned by the patriarchal state. As such, the *tontes* were deployed as a *gendered punishment* intended to reintegrate women into post-war society by forcing them to abandon any (concrete or perceived) personal and political autonomy/authority they may have gained during the war and reassume their previously-assigned societal roles. The *tontes* were ultimately successful in reintegrating women into society as objects.

It is important to take a brief moment here to reiterate the continuity in the treatment of sentimental collaborators in 1918 and 1944 so as to avoid the conflation and dangerous generalization of events pertaining to different historical periods. Hanna Diamond states, "French women who consorted with the Germans in 1918 had their heads shaved" (136). In a biographical account<sup>90</sup> of his life in the village of Saint-Loup (near Chartres), farmer Ephraïm Grenadou relates his experiences as a soldier during both World Wars and claims to have witnessed such events. After a short military leave, he recalls rejoining his regiment near

---

<sup>90</sup> Ephraïm Grenadou, born in 1897, lived in Saint-Loup his entire life. In 1959, Parisian writer Alain Prévost bought a summer home in the area and became friends with Grenadou. Their friendship served as inspiration for a book about "la vie d'un cultivateur" in this farming community. Prévost's *Grenadou, paysan français*, published in 1966, is a result of "soixante heures de magnétophone" in the company of Grenadou (8) and, as such, is not only a biography but also a historical account of an otherwise overlooked rural region.

Fourmies (Hauts-de-France region). “Le soir on cantonnait dans des camps que les Boches avaient quittés le matin... Quand on arrivait dans ces pays-là, ils réglaient leurs comptes, de vieilles querrelles du temps des Allemands. Ils coupaient les cheveux aux bonnes femmes. Tu parles d’un cirque!” (Prévost 107). While some scholars are skeptical of Grenadou’s testimony in the absence of official records confirming the *tontes* in this area, Luc Capdevila maintains that

néanmoins, le récit de Grenadou reste plausible et irait dans le sens d’une piste possible : l’existence en Allemagne de précédents de tontes publique des femmes pour avoir eu des relations sexuelles avec des étrangers ayant entraîné un phénomène d’imitation... Des Français ont été en mesure d’observer ces violences sexuelles, après la Première Guerre mondiale et pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale (*Les Bretons* 5).

Mimetism of Belgian and German displays of gendered violence is by no means an ideological stretch, especially given the treatment of female sentimental collaborators in France in the aftermath of the Great War. In “Femmes tondues et répression des ‘femmes à boches’ en 1918,” Jean-Yves Le Naour shows that many French women accused of sexual collaboration were sent to concentration camps<sup>91</sup>. He argues that, in contrast with the Second World War when a wave of *épuration* took the country by storm and the *tontes* became spontaneous events contingent upon collective participation, violence against sexual collaborators post-WWI was systematically carried out by the State via the military. “Fondamentalement en 1918, force reste à la loi, celui de l’État français et de son armée pourvue d’instructions au sujet des suspects des zones libérées,

---

<sup>91</sup> “Les convaincues de prostitution ou de compromission avec l’ennemi sont ensuite évacuées vers l’intérieur à destination des camps de triage, c’est-à-dire des camps de concentration pour tous les suspects et indésirables arrêtés en France, dans lesquels elles sont internées administrativement sans décision de justice et en parfaite illégalité” (Le Naour 155). The term “concentration camps” refers to three primary camps based in Feré-Macé, Melun-Fleury-en-Bière and Besançon and is not to be confused with that referring to death camps.

tandis qu'en 1944 une grande fête populaire et spontanée s'impose, avec ou sans participation des résistants" (154). If one is to assume that the continuity in the treatment of sexual collaborators post-WWI and post-WWII is due to a pervasive patriarchal state that temporarily released its grip on women's bodies during wartime only to tighten it again in a time of peace, how can one account for the aforementioned differences in the *tontes*? One theory accounts for the violence of post-Liberation *tontes* by attributing it to the intensified anger and fear caused by the more extensive occupation of France by enemy forces during WWII. Unlike during the Great War, the French population suffered a longer and more pervasive enemy presence during the Second World War. As societal scapegoats, WWII women collaborators faced a greater amount of collective anger and suffering. These sentiments had been repressed for lack of acceptable outlets but needed to be exorcised for the community to successfully turn the page. An additional explanation for the amplification of violence towards these women lies perhaps in the very idea of recurrence. During the Great War, women had transcended the confines of their established roles and were immediately reprimanded. They had served their part during the conflict and were urged to resume their proper places once the war ended. Sexual collaborators were punished and society returned to its preexisting state. When the phenomenon was repeated during the following war, sexual collaboration became a recurring crime necessitating perhaps a more severe punishment, an even more ostentatious show of authority. While variations in the manifestations of gender violence during both wars are important, they should not occult the continuity in the treatment of female sexual collaborators from one war to another. Women who had fraternized with the enemy in any capacity were once again singled out not as political collaborators in the real sense of the word but as *women*: sexual, (re)productive bodies inscribed in a patriarchal economy reliant upon their docility.

Marie-France Brive was the first scholar to indicate the gendered nature of the *tontes* at a French conference on the Liberation in 1986, amid angry and dismissive voices<sup>92</sup>. Years later, this important consideration became pivotal to subsequent scholarship concerned with understanding why public head shavings were reserved for women collaborators, in particular those guilty of a sexual behavior labeled as criminal by wartime society. As François states,

[l]es femmes accusées de collaboration sentimentale n’avaient pas pour autant directement porté préjudice à leurs concitoyens, à la différence des autres collaborateurs qui par la collaboration politique, militaire ou économique avaient effectivement soit ‘apporté’ une aide directe ou indirecte à l’Allemagne ou à ses alliés, soit porté volontairement atteinte à l’unité de la nation, ou à la liberté et à l’égalité des Français. Tout au plus, les Françaises maîtresses d’un soldat allemand avaient privé leurs concitoyens masculins d’une épouse ou d’une jouissance potentielles (96).

According to Hanna Diamond, the argument positing the political nature of sexual collaboration was used to obscure a profound sense of emasculation and insecurity in the face of women’s “considerable degree of initiative” during wartime (Diamond 153). To deprive the nation of a docile body in its capacity as daughter, wife, or mother was to undermine a system contingent upon women’s complaisance. “On retrouve dans l’ensemble de ces discours [en temps de guerre] la condamnation d’une sexualité autonome et le nécessaire rétablissement du contrôle du corps des femmes par la société” (Virgili, *La France “virile”* 319). Additionally, as Chapter II has shown, women’s bodies had traditionally been conflated with the notion of homeland, territory

---

<sup>92</sup> To read Brive’s conference presentation as well as the reactions of audience members, please consult Trempé, Rolande. *La Libération dans le Midi de la France: Actes du colloque*. Toulouse: Eché, 1986. Print.

that must be protected at all costs against violating invaders. Access to French women's bodies in the absence of their rightful male guardians was a violation of property and, when voluntary on the woman's behalf, a humiliating and treasonous surrender of the figurative motherland to the enemy. Consequently, "[w]omen are seen as body and if women's bodies are the property of men and of the nation, then they must be punished in the body, by the nation" (Duchen 236).

In the aftermath of the war, the (re)productive female body needed to be re-rendered docile and reintegrated into patriarchal society in properly-sanctioned roles reminiscent of the prewar period. As evidenced in Chapter III, most of the leeway women had been given during the war with respect to their rights was rescinded in the aftermath of both conflicts. "The [WWII] desire for women to stay in the home was also expressed through the ongoing repression of abortion, the closing of the brothels and the emphasis placed on the importance of marriage and having children. All of these policies had some continuity with the prewar period, and were continued into the postwar period" (Diamond 153-4) until well into the late sixties. Due to its significance, women's reintegration into society required a public act laden with meaning. Post-war patriarchal society needed to isolate the element perturbing the status quo, identify it as a corrupt and debased component needing to be reformed and then 'purify' it through physical, psychological, and legal punishment. Once in its sanitized and socially-acceptable form, the transgressive element could be re-embraced after a temporary period of ostracism (often corresponding to the time it took for hair to re-grow, ergo for the physical traces of the crime to fade). It is interesting to note that female transgressors during WWII included not only sexual collaborators but also women returning from forced labor service in Germany. The Vichy government had instituted the Service du Travail Obligatoire in 1942 as a response to Nazi requests for labor. Initially volunteer-based, the STO became obligatory as the French state

attempted to use it as leverage for the liberation of its prisoners of war (i.e. France would send three workers to Germany in exchange for one French prisoner of war). By 1944, service was extended to single women without children between 18 and 45 years of age and men between 16 and 60 years old whose economic contributions were not “indispensable” to the French nation. Upon their return from Germany in the spring of 1945, STO workers experienced significant disapproval from the community and were interned in camps “unless they were carrying cards handed out by the Allies which proved they had been deported” (Diamond 143). Women encountered particular struggles such as inadequate accommodations after the camps became overcrowded.

[W]omen were transferred into the men’s compound as this was larger, and three supplementary female wardens had to be recruited (...) German women who had come to France during the Occupation and who had not managed to leave in time were also put in these camps. The large numbers involved posed problems of food supply, hygiene and accommodation for the authorities...The prevailing view was that after their wartime behaviour, they deserved whatever treatment they received in the camps or prisons (Diamond 143-4).

Many of the women interned in camps spent months awaiting news of their cases as authorities took their time to sift through accusations that were often unfounded. Their gratuitously-dreadful treatment in these unsanitary and overpopulated internment camps reflected the idea that, guilty or not, these women must do penance for their association with the enemy.

While the transgressive element represented only a part of the populace—the segment that had been ‘defiled’ by its involvement with the adversary—the punishment was intended as a warning to the female population as a whole. As François iterates, “[l]es tontes sont une punition

de personnes en tant que femmes, une violence exercée contre, non pas des femmes mais les femmes” (96). As expressed in earlier chapters, collaborating women became the embodiment of the unruly female subject, the scapegoats:

La tondue ‘paie’ pour un autre, elle est un paratonnerre de la fureur des masses, elle neutralise l’ardeur meurtrière de la meute et sauve ainsi la vie des Lacombe Lucien...La grande ‘sagesse’ des tontes consiste non seulement en ce qu’elles représentent un ‘moindre mal’, mais surtout en ce qu’elles improvisent une peine de substitution (en un double sens) réparable, réversible, à une sanction irréparable, irréversible (Brossat, *Les tondues* 148).

The reference to Lacombe Lucien, Louis Malle’s anti-hero in the 1974 WWII-drama bearing the same name, symbolizes a nation expiating crimes of its own. Lucien, a 17-year-old, is denied membership into the Resistance due to his young age and later revenges himself by joining the Gestapo and denouncing the resistant who turned him away. Though Lucien is not motivated by a political or philosophical agenda but rather by a naïve sense of empowerment, at the Liberation he is tried and executed for his collaborationist acts. Lucien incarnates the (albeit unintentional) political collaborator at the root of societal resentment and disgust, the one who must forfeit his life in exchange for forgiveness for his war crimes. Though sentimental collaborators were also treated as political collaborators to a certain degree, their crimes (unless explicitly political, e.g. denunciation) were nevertheless not considered worthy of execution:

[S]exual collaboration was a ‘crime’ which only concerned women, and each court set its own barometer as to how it should be sanctioned. In some areas of France it was defined as punishable in itself, whereas other courts used alternative, less direct ways of punishing this crime. Thus some courts defined it

as a crime of intelligence with the enemy, punishable with sentences of forced labor and imprisonment, whereas others only saw fit to deprive women found guilty of their civil rights (Diamond 145-6).

Given this national ambiguity, many individuals perceived the *tontes* as a “lesser evil” to be incurred for having violated societal conventions. As Virgili suggests, the violence and intensity of the *tontes* were due in part to the general climate of anger and disappointment generated by the war and its true crimes, but they also served to assert the authority of the patriarchal state (*La France “virile”* 124). Sexual collaborators became scapegoats for a tormented post-war society, meant to absorb the community’s hatred, guilt and remorse all the while delivering a lesson: “Bien avant d’être conçu comme un objet de science, le criminel est rêvé comme élément d’instruction” (Foucault, *Surveiller et punir* 132). On the surface, the lesson is one in national loyalty and solidarity yet beneath the patriotic façade lies a different, gender-specific message: the need for women to resume their proper place in the patriarchal state. The *tontes* were aimed at re-taming the female body and re-claiming female sexuality. As ‘purifying rites’, they operated in three phases: 1) the objectification of the female body (stripping of clothing, marking, parading), 2) the de-sexualization of the body (shaving of the hair), and 3) the temporary exile of the newly-purified body in view of its reintegration into society.

### *Objectification of the female body*

In Guy Croussy’s book, *La tondue*, the narrator spends a great deal of time reminiscing about his mother’s head shaving. As a young boy, Manu recalls the day when a handful of men from the village dragged his mother into his classroom and humiliated her as the teacher and classmates looked on. The text emphasizes the dehumanization of Marie Prudente as she bears

the insults of the men holding her down. The narrator's poignant commentary emerges: "Quand un homme, une femme, un enfant est tondu, ce n'est plus un homme, une femme, un enfant. C'est une bête." (82). The reference to the "animal/beast" nature of a shorn human evokes head shaving as a dehumanizing tactic used in prison and concentration camps to humiliate detainees and strip them of identity and self-worth. As discussed in chapter I, head shaving as a form of violence is particularly humiliating for women whose societal worth is traditionally anchored in the corporeal. Reduced to a bestial status by way of her treatment, Marie patiently undergoes her punishment with stoicism before escaping her captors.

Le visage blême et fatigué de la tondue n'exprimait plus ni crainte ni désespoir. Elle était au-delà de la souffrance (...) Elle se jeta sur la porte et déguerpit. Au même instant, tous les élèves se levèrent de leurs bancs et, par la fenêtre, la regardèrent qui fuyait dans la cours. Elle virevolta sur le préau, exécuta quelques sauts à cloche-pied pour reprendre équilibre, tituba encore. Elle erra longtemps dans la cour de récréation. Bientôt, elle courut à toute vitesse, tantôt dans un sens, tantôt dans l'autre, l'air de chercher un réduit où se cacher (25-26).

Her erratic trajectory in the schoolyard is that of a frightened animal fleeing for her life from the clutches of her hunters: "Interloqués, les hommes la suivaient des yeux. À l'heure de leur victoire, ils semblaient dépossédés comme le chasseur, sa proie à la main, regarde les plumes qui flottent sur le marais, puis se rend compte qu'il a métamorphosé une vie en chair morte " (26).

The same imagery can be found in *Hiroshima, mon amour*, in Marguerite Duras' portrayal of Elle who reflects on her own *tonte* at Nevers years earlier— "Une fois tondue la fille attend encore. Elle est à leur disposition. Du mal a été fait dans la ville. Ça fait du bien. Ça donne faim... Comme elle a l'air de vouloir rester en ce lieu, il faut la chasser. On la chasse comme un

rat.” (123). Elle’s public humiliation satisfies the communal hunger for retribution. Once she has been designated as an aberrant element in need of purification, and after her objectification has been fully carried out, she becomes the ‘vermin’ society must chase away to sanitize the premises. As Alain Brossat indicates, “[l]a tonte commence par une traque de la ‘coupable’ qui permet à la communauté des hommes atomisée par la guerre de se reformer et d’exhiber sa superbe retrouvée. Réduits par le sort des armes au rôle du chassé, du traqué, les voici redevenus eux-mêmes pleinement hommes, c’est-à-dire chasseurs.” (*La tondue* 126). The post-WWII patriarchal state is slowly restoring its wounded virility through primordial displays of machismo.

Michel Foucault asserts that marking the body was an important step in the punishment process prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, at a time when the success of legal repercussions as means of mass control was contingent upon the visibility of the crime. The scaffold where hanging and guillotining took place was a stage and the punishment itself was intended as a moralizing spectacle for those considering transgressing against the sovereign power. Part of the torture process consisted in labeling bodies with the nature of their transgressions: “On le [le corps] charge, en quelque sorte, de la proclamer et d’attester ainsi la vérité de ce qui lui a été reproché : promenade à travers les rues, écriteau qu’on lui accroche au dos, sur la poitrine ou sur la tête pour rappeler la sentence” (*Surveiller et punir* 53-4). As mentioned in the introduction to the chapter in relation to Foucault’s text, beginning with the 19<sup>th</sup>-century, France abolished ostentatious shows of physical torture in favor of subtler, less corporeal and more psychological forms of punishment. Yet on this point, Fabrice Virgili discloses a text published in February 1942 in the 11<sup>th</sup> issue of *Défense de la France* addressing proper forms of retribution for “traitors and collaborators”: “Vous serez tondues, femelles dites Françaises qui donnez votre corps à

l'Allemand, tondues avec un écriteau dans le dos : 'Vendues à l'ennemi'. Tondues vous aussi, petites sans honneur qui minaudez avec les occupants, tondues et cravachées. Et sur vos fronts, à toutes, au fer rouge, on imprimera une croix gammée." (*La France "virile"* 97). Historically-speaking, the warning was not an empty scare tactic but rather foreshadowed a series of grim reprisals against women accused of sentimental collaboration. At the Liberation, collaborating women's bodies were sexually objectified as the crowd stripped them of their clothing and paraded them through the streets nude or in their torn undergarments. Many women had their foreheads, chests or bottoms marked with swastikas, most often drawn in black pencil or ink (though some accounts claim hot irons were used). Envisioned as former possessions of the Germans—bodies soiled by the touch of the soldiers, just as the country had been defiled by the troops' presence—these women were symbolically re-appropriated by their 'rightful' male owners. Such was the case of Marcelline, Bertrand Arbogast's fictional character in *La tondue: Un amour de jeunesse franco-allemand*, who recounts her traumatic *tonte* during which the community humiliated her by stripping her naked and marking her forehead with a swastika: "Les femmes me traitaient de salope, de traînée, la femme du boucher m'a arraché ma blouse, et les autres ont déchiré ma jupe, ma culotte, je me suis retrouvée complètement nue sous les cris, les enfants ricanaient... Ils m'ont assise sur la chaise et le coiffeur m'a complètement tondue. Mais cela ne suffisait pas, ils avaient apporté un seau de goudron et avec un bâton ils m'ont tracé une croix gammée sur le front" (124). Indeed, photographs of the time period show shorn women marked with swastikas, some holding signs detailing the nature of their crimes such as "Nous regrettons nos boches", 'J'ai couché avec les Allemands', 'Vendues à l'ennemi', 'Putin [sic]', 'Le char des collaboratrices'" (Virgili, *La France "virile"* 238-9). It is important to note the contrast between these signs used on shorn women and two other examples used on two men

shorn in Saint-Etienne: “‘Pour 5000 frs j’ai livré deux patriotes à la Gestapo’, ‘Pillard, j’ai pillé au nom de la police FFI,’” the former showcasing political collaboration in its true form (238). While the signs used on women refer solely to transgressive sexual behaviors in occasionally vulgar terms — i.e. “sold to the enemy” and “whore”— the ones affixed to men relate illicit economic acts such as denouncing compatriots to the Gestapo in exchange for money, or stealing. Reminiscent of the “supplices” (tortures) of the Middle Ages evoked by Foucault, “[l]a construction d’une estrade, ou le choix d’un lieu rehaussé, la présentation debout des femmes une fois tondues, la prise de photographie, les poignées de cheveux brandies, tout concourt à mettre le corps en avant. Tondu, promené, affublé d’une pancarte, dénudé, marqué de croix gammées, le corps de la collaboratrice porte le crime qu’il a commis et participe à sa propre condamnation” (Virgili 240). In addition to the swastikas emblazoned on some women’s bodies, the removal of the hair itself was a temporary form of branding as evidenced by the colloquial term “la coupe 44” designating the ‘hairstyle’ of shorn women. The exchange between Dominique, one of the two resisters guarding Simone in prison, and her father in Mankell’s play, *Des jours et des nuits à Chartres*, confirms this fact: “—Nous allons l’emmener à la préfecture. —Et ensuite ? —Elle sera interrogée. —Mais elle est déjà condamnée, non ? Elle est déjà punie ? Puisque vous lui avez arraché les cheveux. —Ça c’était pour qu’on la reconnaisse ” (83).

The recurrence of such purportedly outdated forms of punishment is precisely what incited scholars like Alain Brossat and Dominique François to compare the *tontes* to the charivari/carnival traditions and the witch burnings, respectively, indicating a resurgence of punishment as a spectacle in the postwar period. The *tontes* were a grotesque revival of punishment anchored in visibility bordering on voyeurism. François exposes the perversity of

certain members of the Resistance who took it upon themselves to obtain penitence from women collaborators through violence:

Ou encore ces deux ‘résistants’ qui giflaient avec violence une malheureuse femme qui avait eu une liaison avec un soldat de la Wehrmacht en lui posant toujours les mêmes questions. Ils voulaient savoir comment les Allemands se comportaient au lit. En l’absence de réponse, la femme recevait une nouvelle gifle. Puis les questions deviennent de plus en plus précises, sur la taille du sexe des ‘Boches’ (89).

The indecent nature of the questions asked, particularly those referring to the size of the enemy’s sex, suggests male insecurity, bitterness and resentment. As discussed in previous chapters, the presence of German soldiers on French soil during the Occupation established a stark contrast between the virile body of the intruder and the deplorable body of the French *poilu*. The voluminous humiliation the French patriarchal state incurred at the hands of both enemies and transgressive female citizens as well as the anger and disappointment it repressed for the entire duration of the armed conflict were finally unleashed then violently-projected onto the collaborating scapegoats representative of a motherland who had sold her body to the enemy. “The crowd provides a compelling sight of collective sadism, taking vicious and petty pleasure in the proceedings...The contemporary viewer is made profoundly uncomfortable by witnessing the scene through photography. Spectators are turned into voyeurs, looking at an image of a public yet intimate act.” (Duchen, *When the War Was Over* 245). Duchen thus suggests that photographing women during these ordeals became a continuation of their punishment since the pictures contributed to a violation of intimacy and immortalized the subsequent humiliation and stigma for future generations. These photographs are therefore much more than mere visual

records. Even to the eye of the 21<sup>st</sup>-century viewer, they re-victimize the *tondues* through a perpetuation of a collectively-sadist desire to witness the punishment of bodies on display (245). The essence of the gazer's visual pleasure is amplified by the sexual nature of the female collaborator's crimes. Her body is displayed in a public place, on a raised platform, stripped of clothing and marked in ways that visually or verbally articulate the intimate nature of its crimes. Her (re)productive body is scrutinized, manipulated, violated in order to strip it of any autonomy and re-inscribe it into the patriarchal state in its rightful role as object. Her (re)productive body is re-rendered docile.

Fabrice Virgili emphasizes the sexual dimension of the *tontes* by contrasting female head shaving incidents after WWII with a handful of cases of male head shaving recorded in Escoussens, Saint-Girons, and Paris. He indicates that both men and women were subjected to beatings, stripping of clothing, swastika markings and public parading but that the process acquired a sexualized dimension for women alone. The logic behind this distinction is two-fold. First, as we have seen, punishment for sexual crimes as opposed to political or economic ones was reserved for women. Secondly, coerced public nudity (i.e. exposing the torso) is much more degrading for women than for males due to the inherent societal sexualization of the female form (i.e. the breasts). In addition, Virgili shows that only women had their sexual parts exposed.

Les dénudations sont non seulement plus rares pour les hommes, mais paraissent dans la plupart des cas partielles, limitées au pantalon ou à la chemise, et ne dévoilant pas, contrairement aux femmes, les parties sexuelles du corps. Le châtiment corporel est fondamentalement sexué et la fessée en est une autre illustration ; car, si les coups sont partagés par les deux sexes, la fessée est réservée aux femmes (*La France "virile"* 244-5).

A few points are worthy of reiteration in the context of this juxtaposition of male and female punishment. Once again, men Virgili refers to in this case were punished for collaborationist acts of a political nature which in no way touched upon their sexuality. Secondly, although both male and female bodies were objectified, marked, humiliated through removal of hair and clothing, only the women were symbolically stripped of their sexuality through the removal of their most visibly-feminine attribute: their hair. A woman stripped of her hair—seen since Antiquity as the primary tool for female seduction— was also stripped of her femininity, her sensuality and thus her very identity and visibility. Many photographs of the time depict these de-feminized women, eyes shamefully averted, marching through the streets or standing in lines. Their masculine countenance is striking: nothing but their breasts and skirts indicates their sex. This reintegration of the physical female body into the community under the restored male tutelage was sometimes preceded by a symbolic show of capitulation reminiscent of religious rites for penitence. “Les tondues font pénitence...doivent parfois s’agenouiller sous la tondeuse, demander pardon, implorer” (Brossat, *Les tondues* 206). Consequently, a woman shorn, to be expounded upon later in the chapter, is a woman partially robbed of the worth bestowed upon her by the patriarchy. A man stripped of his beard may connote a loss of virility if one equates body hair with a sense of purported male potency and, as such, one may attempt to claim that a shorn man is an effeminate man, but the argument is not entirely convincing. In addition, the use of spanking solely for female collaborators denotes phallocratic authority, a mixture of misogynistic infantilisation, sexual violence, masochistic pleasure and lechery. “La fessée se place entre une malheureuse banalité du harcèlement et une véritable violence corporelle (...) Le caractère sexué et sexuel des violences infligées aux femmes en atténue souvent la portée chez les auteurs, pour qui elles s’inscrivent dans un registre où se mêlent grivoiserie, plaisir, misogynie et phallocratie” (245-6).

Lastly, the fact that denudation was rare and only partial for shorn men but frequent and often complete for women evidences a blatant objectification of the female body. In accordance with age-old western traditions focusing on the female nude, the body of the female collaborator is exposed to viewers not as a male-endorsed element of beauty to be dissected by the public gaze but as a grotesque representation of autonomous female sexuality stripped of its power, rendered depraved and abject.

In Sylvie Germain's *L'inaperçu*, the sexual objectification of Céleste is recounted through the reactions of onlookers. When she refuses to undress, community members tear her clothing and mock her supposedly hypocritical modesty. As a "slut of her kind" who has had no reservations "getting naked in front of a Kraut and getting screwed by him while her husband was forced to toil in Germany," she has forfeited all rights to moral and physical integrity:

De quelle pudeur prétendait-elle se targuer, une salope de son espèce qui ne s'était pas privée de se foutre à poil devant un Chleuh et de se faire sauter par lui pendant que son mari trimait de force en Allemagne ? Trop tard pour la pudeur, elle n'y avait plus droit, qu'elle montre donc à tous la 'vérité' de son corps, de son être : un cloaque perfidement emballé dans une jolie peau (253).

Céleste's crime must be exposed through the baring of the very parts she used to commit it. In exposing her body, her 'true' worth in the eyes of the male-dominated wartime society she has crossed is revealed. The proverbial finger is pointed at her debased character, a cesspit ("cloaque") deceptively wrapped inside layers of beautiful skin.

Allez, que l'on ne s'y méprenne plus, que l'on regarde en transparence de cette peau trompeuse qui n'empaquette que de la chair à bas prix, de la vulgaire viande à soldat—une panse à foutre ennemi, à immondices. Avec son Vert-de-gris,

d'ailleurs, elle a eu une mioche, eh bien qu'elles défilent donc ensemble, la traînée et sa Fridoline de même ! Et on avait collé dans les bras de Céleste la petite Zélie alors âgée de treize mois (253-4).

The crass, demeaning and violent language channels the rage of the crowd. The terms used to designate Céleste and her actions (“une salope”, “se foutre à poil”, “de la chair à bas prix”, “de la vulgaire viande à soldat”, “une panse à foutre ennemi”, “la traînée”) are all indicative of a desire to target, degrade and destroy the very sexuality that once brought joy and satisfaction to Céleste on her own terms. The naked body of a female collaborator, like that of the fictional Céleste, was the confluence of conflicting feelings of patriarchal anger, disgust, curiosity and desire. It was the canvas onto which male domination had to be (re)inscribed.

### *De-sexualization of the female body*

Foucault defines torture as a form of asserting the sovereign's power : “Il s'agit d'un cérémonial pour reconstituer la souveraineté un instant blessé. Il la restaure en la manifestant dans tout son éclat...Son but est moins de rétablir un équilibre que de faire jouer, jusqu'à son point extrême, la dissymétrie entre le sujet qui a osé violer la loi, et le souverain tout-puissant qui fait valoir sa force” (*Surveiller et punir* 59-60). The *tontes* as a modern revival of an equally-archaic type of punishment are a theatrical castigation of all women orchestrated by the patriarchal mechanisms of power on behalf of the patriarchal state as a whole. They also point out the power dissymmetry between women as a subservient class and the phallogentric system that governs them. “La force physique du souverain s'abattant sur le corps de son adversaire et le maîtrisant : en brisant la loi, l'infacteur a atteint la personne même du prince ; c'est elle— ou du moins ceux à qui il a commis sa force— qui s'empare du corps du condamné pour le montrer

marqué, vaincu, brisé” (60). By transcending the confines of their pre-established roles, sexual collaborators posed a threat to patriarchal sovereignty. The very bodies they had used illicitly were subsequently targeted, manipulated, and subdued. The initial objectification phase accorded collaborators increased visibility; it brought their crimes to the forefront via the over-exposure, humiliation and branding of their sexual(ized) bodies. Their sexuality was emphasized so it could later be effaced in a process reminiscent of religious rites of purification. The body in its mutilated form became a mirror reflection of the transgressing woman’s moral ugliness as well as her powerlessness (Virgili, *La France “virile”* 249). However, as François indicates, the ultimate aim of such violent reprisals was rehabilitation. “C’est pourquoi la mise en scène des tontes met aussi en avant un processus de revalorisation des corps féminins : marquage comme destruction symbolique du corps coupable, désacralisation qui interdit à la tondue de recouvrir les attributs de la féminité et d’avoir une sexualité” (François 80). Through the *tonte* process and its ‘purifying’ stages, the Mary Magdalenes of French wartime society were temporarily ostracized only to be rehabilitated and reincorporated into society as archetypal daughters, wives and mothers.

In their capacity as teaching elements, sentimental collaborators symbolized a corrigible transgressive femininity, a potential for newfound docility. As Foucault suggests, “[s]’il y a des incorrigibles, il faut se résoudre à les éliminer. Mais pour tous les autres les peines ne peuvent fonctionner que si elles s’achèvent” (*Surveiller et punir* 127). The final stages of the *tontes* as purification rites required penitence, the absolution of sins and a cleansing of the mind and body, beginning with the very physical space that the collaborator had occupied. Post-war society was reclaiming spaces previously defiled by the enemy from public, urban landscapes to private residences to the intimacy of female bodies themselves. “La ‘maison des tondues’ s’inscrit à

deux titres dans la géographie de la Libération. Elle est d'abord le lieu du crime, celui où passaient les soldats allemands, puis un territoire à libérer, c'est-à-dire à investir et purifier.” (Virgili, *La France “virile”* 200). Head shaving ceremonies often started at the collaborator's residence where community members sometimes forced their entry. “C'est le cordonnier qui menait les opérations. Il est entré dans la maison sans frapper, a sorti une chaise,” recounts Marcelline, a former *tondue* in Bertrand Arbogast's novel. “Deux hommes, le coiffeur et le boucher, m'ont tirée à l'extérieur, je n'ai pas opposé de résistance” (Arbogast 124). Young Aurore, the protagonist, experienced a slightly less violent encounter. Members of the community forcibly entered the family hotel while Aurore and her parents were dining. They shielded her from public view by escorting her to the inner courtyard where a chair awaited her.

Un des hommes va fermer le portail de la cour, il n'y aura pas de témoin de la scène, Aurore évitera les cris et la haine de la foule. Le plus âgé des hommes lui explique qu'elle a été surprise à faire l'amour avec un Allemand au bord du Leurre mais, plus grave, qu'elle a revêtu l'uniforme allemand. Les résistants ont longuement évoqué son cas, certains voulaient qu'elle soit exécutée mais en considération de son âge, de ses parents qui par l'intermédiaire du cuisiner ont aidé la Résistance, ils ont juste décidé de la tondre. Deux autres femmes seront également tondues tout à l'heure pour elles aussi avoir couché avec les soldats allemands, mais comme ce sont des adultes, elles seront tondues sur la grande place, en public (176).

Aurore's head shaving is kept private only due to her young age and as a favor to her parents, hotel owners, who had indirectly helped the Resistance through one of their employees. Though personal treatment was not common, it was certainly not unheard of and some women did

manage to avoid public retribution due to resistant friends and family members who pleaded on their behalf. In fact, for some women, having been shorn in a private place was a privilege in itself given that the punishing rite typically entailed extricating the transgressor from the private universe of her residence and escorting her to a public place where the community could partake in the remainder of the ceremony.

La réappropriation de l'espace urbain par la communauté peut être déclinée en quatre niveaux. Politique, devant les mairies et les préfectures ; répressif, dans les différents lieux de détention ; patrimonial, dans les lieux traditionnels de l'identité urbaine ; local, dans chaque rue ou quartier, au domicile des collaboratrices. La totalité du territoire urbain ou villageois est ainsi quadrillée par la population, un peu comme si les pieds innombrables du peuple libéré effaçaient par leurs foulées sur le pavé les traces des bottes de l'occupant (Virgili 295).

Each geographical point in the *tondue's* trajectory resembles a strategic point in a pseudo-religious pilgrimage to a place of communal forgiveness and rehabilitation. The woman begins her journey alone, in the intimacy of her home where her transgressions are seemingly private. As community members forcefully enter her home, her crimes are verbalized then rendered visible as they are brought into the public space. Once outside, the *tondue* is no longer alone. A procession often forms; neighbors and villagers motivated by curiosity or anger join along the way. Amid screams, insults and threats, the scapegoat makes her way to the sacrificial altar. "Les tondues font pénitence, vont à Canossa"<sup>93</sup>, doivent parfois s'agenouiller sous la tondeuse,

---

<sup>93</sup> The historical reference to Canossa is pertinent as it alludes to a similar pilgrimage for penitence. King Henri IV, previously excommunicated by Pope Gregory VII, had embarked on a humiliating journey to the castle of Canossa to beg the Pope for absolution. Donning the garb of a penitent, the king is said to have kneeled in front of the castle, pleading for the revocation of his excommunication, which he eventually obtained. The Merriam-Webster defines "Canossa" as "a place or occasion of submission, humiliation, or penance —often used with *go to*": <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Canossa>.

demander pardon, implorer. Elles sont astreintes à un rite purificateur, des ablutions prometteuses de rémission de péché ainsi ‘lavé’ ” (Brossat, *Les tondues* 210). The very steps of those in the *tonte* procession represent an ablution culminating in the redemption of spaces previously defiled by the touch of the invader. Once the collaborator has reached the site of her figurative crucifixion, she must confess her sins and pray for collective forgiveness. At this stage in the purification rite, the base corporeal is emphasized once more before a transition can be made to a higher, spiritual level. Locks of hair fall to the ground and with them the frustrations, anger and disappointment of a nation in need of regeneration.

Le sexe, la sueur, les larmes, la salive des crachats, les cheveux qui tombent au sol, le tissu des vêtements arrachés constituent les ingrédients et le matériau volontairement prosaïques et triviaux de la cérémonie ... La tonte, elle, est une fête, une cérémonie qui, dans tous ses signes et ses gestes, s’affiche comme étant de l’ordre de la matérialité corporelle et non celui de l’âme ou de la ‘conscience’—une manifestation qui, dans sa ‘vulgarité’, affirme son appartenance au monde du ‘bas’ (260).

For Foucault, punishment via ceremonial display accentuates the crime in order to justify, to the public, the ostracism of transgressive elements. (*Surveiller et punir* 130). The patriarchal state solidifies its authority by temporarily banishing those operating outside of the status quo. Once the de-sexualization of sexual transgressors has been fully carried out, freshly-shorn women are often escorted in a second procession that symbolizes the official (yet temporary) expulsion of the criminal from society.

*Temporary exile: marginalization of the purified female body*

What awaited many of the *tondues* after these ‘purifying rites’ was not a smooth reintegration into society but rather a pronounced marginalization culminating in isolation. Many shorn women found their rights to communal life suspended (e.g. rights to replenishment of foodstuffs at the end of the war, right to vote, etc.), others had to expiate their crimes through forced labor while some had to pay fines. Hanna Diamond shows that, in some cases, shorn women were even re-arrested after having been permitted to return home (Diamond 142). During World War II, authorities claimed such re-arrests were protective measures intended to shield newly-punished women from ongoing reprisals. These women were presumably safer in prisons and internment camps than within their own communities. Whether that was actually true is uncertain; however, what is certain is that all sexual collaborators had to deal with the stigma placed on them by a community that refused to forget.

For women like Duras’ Elle, the very gaze of the neighbors provided a constant reminder of her crime: her love for the German soldier who had visited her father’s pharmacy for a combat injury during the Occupation. At the Liberation, after her lover was executed,

[o]n m’a prise dans un dépôt du Champ de Mars. Là, certains ont dit qu’il fallait me tondre. Je n’avais pas d’avis. Le bruit des ciseaux sur la tête me laissa dans une totale indifférence. Quand ce fut fait, un homme d’une trentaine d’années m’emmena dans les rues. Ils furent six à m’entourer. Ils chantaient. Je n’éprouvais rien. Mon père, derrière les volets, a dû me voir. La pharmacie était fermée pour cause déshonneur (Duras 133-4).

The shame caused by the spectacle of her crime and her shaved head as a badge of dishonor subsequently motivate her parents to lock her up in the pharmacy’s basement, closed after the

Liberation as a way to pay penance for the familial sin. “La société me roule sur la tête...Je la vois marcher, cette société. Rapidement pendant la semaine. Le dimanche, lentement. Elle ne sait pas que je suis dans la cave. On me fait passer pour morte, morte loin de Nevers. Mon père préfère. Parce que je suis déshonorée, mon père préfère” (72). Ostracized, the *tondue* of Nevers is literally prostrated at society’s feet. Relegated, like many other shorn women, to a clandestine existence until the visible sign of her crime is effaced and her hair grows back, her existence is repeatedly denied and her memory is trampled. Throughout her imprisonment, Elle slowly slips into insanity. The trauma she has experienced triggers a loss of memory and eventually she becomes fixated on her lover’s name which she screams incessantly like a mantra. “Au début, non, je ne crie pas. Je t’appelle doucement...Puis un jour, un jour, tout à coup, je crie, je crie très fort comme une sourde...Ton nom allemand. Seulement ton nom. Je n’ai plus qu’une seule mémoire, celle de ton nom” (72-3). Years later, her brief affair with a Japanese man allows her to remember the painful details of a past she has spent her entire adult life repressing. The man gently presses her to purge her pain as he himself verbalizes his own personal trauma concerning Hiroshima:

—Ce sont des caves très anciennes, très humides, les caves de Nevers...tu disais...*Elle se laisse prendre au piège.* —Oui. Pleines de salpêtre. [Je suis devenue une imbécile.] *Sa bouche contre les murs de Nevers, qui mord...* Faute d’autre chose, le salpêtre se mange. Sel de pierre. Riva mange les murs. Elle les embrasse aussi bien...Le souvenir d’un homme est dans ces murs, intégré à la pierre, à l’air, à la terre (120).

Elle “allows herself to be trapped” and begins to meander through the dangerous tunnels of her memory. Her descriptions of the pharmacy basement overwhelm the reader’s senses. One can

feel the humidity, taste the salt and the blood, see the woman wildly clawing at the walls of her prison. “Les mains deviennent inutiles dans les caves. Elles grattent. Elles s’écorchent aux murs...à se faire saigner...” (71). The reader/spectator can sense the alienation and despair the woman is experiencing, can hear her piercing screams and see the spectacle of her grief: “Elle ne sait pas qu’elle crie...Riva<sup>94</sup> se fait saigner les doigts et mange son sang ensuite. Fait la grimace et recommence. Elle a appris, un jour, sur un quai [when her lover was shot] à aimer le sang. Comme une bête, une salope” (118). Elle’s mind and body disintegrate simultaneously and her once sensual-sexual body is now nothing more than an empty automated object carrying the weight of her head: “Le visage de Riva est comme plâtré. *Ce visage n’a pas servi depuis des mois*. Les lèvres sont devenues minces. Le regard peut maigrir. Le corps ne plus rien signifier. Le corps de Riva quand elle tourne ne sert plus qu’à porter sa tête...Le corps est sale, *inhabité*” (124).

The *tondue*’s loss of integrity and humanity are conveyed through figurative language insinuating the torment of an animal in captivity. The same image of animality occurs in Croussy’s book where the narrator says that his grandfather, “Vivi Dommage avait enfermé Maman dans une étable. Chaque jour, je lui portais du pain et du lait. Silencieuse, elle restait étendue sur une couverture, avec un sourire qui affleurait son visage comme si elle avait découvert une ouverture sur le ciel : ‘Abandonnée et perdue, rejetée à tout jamais’” (39). Like Elle, Marie is shut away by her family until the outward sign of her crime disappears. Even more explicitly, she is imprisoned in a barn where her son often finds her curled up on a horse blanket. One day, she escapes her prison and runs away to a neighboring town to start her life afresh. It is only through the mayor’s connections that her family is able to find her at which point Vivi

---

<sup>94</sup> The female protagonist is referred to both by the impersonal pronoun *Elle* as well as by the name of the actress playing her role in the movie.

advises his grandson to give her space and time to heal, “Manu, ta maman est retrouvée, elle refait sa vie, il faut la laisser en paix. Nous l’attendrons avec patience” (Croussy 73-4). The temporary imprisonment of the *tondue* corresponding to the time needed for the hair to re-grow is not only a means to avoid further public shame (for the family in particular) but also an important step in the societal rehabilitation process. Even after their public purification, female collaborators must undergo a period of expiation. “Des mesures sont parfois prises, comme à Angoulême, pour interdire aux tondues de porter tout ce qui pourrait cacher le crâne” (Virgili, *La France “virile”* 250). These women must be reminded of their crimes and continue to suffer their consequences wherever they go. One cannot expect the (re)productive body to become docile and resume its place in society overnight. Additional time is needed for reflection and penance and perhaps also for a collective absolution to solidify. For society to be able to forgive and forget, it must also be spared the sight of the criminal who is relegated to isolation. In Marie’s case, her community expressly requires her expulsion through an anonymous letter<sup>95</sup>:

Maman devait quitter le village immédiatement ou la mort la surprendrait à l’improviste...M. Buisson [the mayor] surgit peu après. D’une seule haleine, il raconta que lui aussi avait reçu des menaces. L’auteur de la lettre lui intimait l’ordre de remettre sa démission ou de se calfeutrer en attendant la balle qui lui transpercerait la tête entre les yeux. A moins qu’il ne nettoiyât le village de la tondue (48).

---

<sup>95</sup> Denunciation of fellow citizens (*délation*), through anonymous letters was a prominent wartime occurrence presented as “civic duty” by the collaborationist Vichy regime. For additional details, consult pp. 86-90 in Diamond, Hanna. *Women and the Second World War in France, 1939-48: Choices and Constraints*. Harlow: Longman, 1999. Print. For a more in-depth look at *délation* during WWII, see André Halimi’s documentary *La délation sous l’Occupation*: <http://www.ina.fr/video/VDD08004681>.

Vivi Dommage is unable to understand the virulence of community members in light of the fact that his daughter had been “shorn by mistake”. The exchange between him and the mayor reveals the hopelessness and injustice of Marie Prudente’s situation: “—Je te parle comme à un frère, Virgile, comprends-tu? Ta fille a été tondue. Tu ne peux donc pas te mettre ça dans la tête ? — Elle n’a jamais rien fait de mal. —Maintenant on sait qu’elle n’a pas agi de travers, mais personne ne souhaite rencontrer une tondue sur sa route” (43). Legally, once branded as a sexual collaborator, Marie cannot be rehabilitated or allowed to bypass the ostracism intrinsic in the purging process. “Je me dis que si la tondue faisait une chose réellement belle, tout le monde lui pardonnerait d’avoir été rasée par erreur, et Vivi Dommage demanda si la mairie allait publier un rectificatif officiel établissant l’innocence de Maman. M. Buisson répondit qu’on n’apportait jamais de correctif par voie communale. On n’efface jamais tout à fait les traces d’une méprise” (45). Punishment and shame can be allocated collectively with striking facility but the rehabilitation process must follow a rigorous ritual. The female sexual collaborator has been branded and must be marginalized until she fully understands the seriousness of her transgressions. Wherever she goes, the marks on her body will follow her. For Elle, the ostracism ran its course as the community was spared the sight of her presence for the time it took for her hair to re-grow. “Elle est restée dans une cave, tondue, à NEVERS. C’EST SEULEMENT LORSQUE HIROSHIMA est arrivé qu’elle a été assez décente pour sortir de cette cave et se mêler à la foule en liesse des rues” (Duras 7, author’s emphasis). Ironically, both her imprisonment and her liberation coincide with societal calamity; however, while the Liberation has engendered her personal trauma, Hiroshima has indirectly provided the closure she needed to overcome it. “Je ne crie plus. Je deviens raisonnable...Ce n’est pas tellement longtemps après que ma mère m’annonce qu’il faut que je m’en aille, dans la nuit, à Paris. Elle me donne de

l'argent. Je pars pour Paris à bicyclette, la nuit" (80-1). Once she has become "reasonable", to be understood as *docile*, Elle must leave the place of crime. She begins a new life in Paris, gets married, has children and yet her subsequent existence is founded on unresolved trauma. "—Ton mari, il sait cette histoire ? *Elle hésite*. —Non" (82). Like Elle, Marie Prudente must also leave her past behind. "—Ici il n'y a plus d'avenir pour elle, dit le maire, je serais content si elle acceptait de travailler à la préfecture. Plus tard, elle reviendra la tête haute. Sinon... Le maire se tourna vers moi [Manu] : —Sinon, il aura des racines comme les mauvaises herbes et toute sa vie il en paiera les conséquences" (Croussy 47). Marie must be exiled not only for her sake but also for that of her son who becomes the target of a mock *tonte* carried out by schoolmates after her departure. Once she escapes from the barn and manages to make her way to another town, Marie finds an office job yet is unable to overcome her past "à cause de ses cheveux qui témoignaient contre elle". Her coworkers insult her and evoke her past sexual transgressions as they attempt to undermine her integrity and reputation. She is accused of being the 'easy' woman, accessible to all the men around her: "Une femme avait même réclamé que tous les hommes du service 'passent dessus'. Un soir, trois inconnus l'avaient attendue à la sortie du bureau et marquée au visage d'une trace indélébile" (286). The *tondue* is branded once through head shaving, banished from her community and then re-branded by the next community she flees to in search of a new beginning. She cannot be allowed to forget and her wounds must not be allowed to heal until her figurative debt to the patriarchal mechanisms of power has been paid in full.

For most shorn women, the shame and alienation caused by the marks on the body (not including the lifelong psychological repercussions) were temporary. This was not the case for those women who had found themselves pregnant with the enemy's children. An "enfant de Boche" was essentially a permanent mark on the woman's body, a perpetual reminder of her

crime. Mankell's (fictional version of) Simone Touseau is very conflicted about the child she had with Helmut. After she gives birth, Simone tries to give her daughter to her German lover saying she does not want it (61). She admits once she is imprisoned that "[à] vrai dire, je n'ai jamais pensé à avorter. J'aurais dû, je sais. Alors je ne serais peut-être pas ici. Mais je ne pouvais pas, je l'aimais, c'était comme ça. Et je sais qu'il m'aimait aussi" (72). Her father comes to her defense by saying, "[e]lle a une un enfant avec toute l'armée de l'occupation ? Non, elle a eu un enfant avec un simple soldat allemand dont elle est tombée amoureuse... On ne peut pas faire autrement que d'aimer son enfant." (63). In touching upon the purported naturalness of loving one's own child, he echoes his own feelings towards Simone whom he supports throughout her ordeal. Yet Simone is young and mercurial and her despair at having been robbed of her freedom as she awaits her judgment is often projected onto the child whom she resents for being a visible incarnation of her crime. "Parfois je souhaite qu'elle arrête de respirer (...) Mais c'est surtout à cause de l'enfant qu'ils me détestent. Tu ne comprends pas ça ? Je pense qu'ils me laisseraient sortir si je l'étranglais" (48). Simone naively assumes that the existence of her half-German child is at the root of the community's hatred of her when, in fact, the child is merely a by-product of Simone's sexual transgressions which are directly responsible for her ostracism. The baby is the convergence of feelings of hatred and love, a reminder of her love for Helmut and their happiness together as well as concrete evidence of her crime which may bring about her execution as a political collaborator. And yet in Robert Capa's photograph of the shorn Simone holding her child, the child is precisely the visually- redeeming factor. The seemingly-loving gaze between mother and baby amid the noise and violence of the community surrounding her has touched the minds and hearts of many individuals over the years. The photograph captures a Madonna and child, the freshly-purified Mary Magdalene holding a child born of sin whom she

sanctifies through the power of her own love. For the fictional Simone, the problem is not her baby per se but what this child represents. When David expresses concern for his granddaughter, Raphael (one of Simone's guardians) retorts, "[p]ersonne ne juge un bébé. Mais quelle va être sa vie ? Avec une mère pareille ? Du moins ici, à Chartres. Peut-être que si elle déménage, si elle change de nom, si elle change de vie" (41). While the baby is innocent, at least in theory, both mother and child will suffer because of Simone's reputation. The inevitability of changing towns, names, and building a new life removed from all traces of the past becomes apparent. The urgency of the situation is clear to Simone who understands that she and her daughter are not safe in Chartres: "Quelqu'un pourrait me donner un coup de couteau, et peut-être à l'enfant aussi. Je ne peux pas vivre entourée de toute cette haine" (60). The child is a paradox, innocent because it did not have a say in its birth yet guilty because it shares the enemy's genes.

In *Naître ennemi*, Virgili shows that public opinion regarding Franco-German children, referred to as the "vipéreaux" during WWI (230)— young figurative vipers capable of injecting the enemy's poison into the pure blood of the French motherland—, was divided between those who advocated legal abortion exemptions, especially in the case of rape<sup>96</sup>, and those who favored abandonment and subsequent adoption into new French families. For children raised by sexual collaborators who had chosen (or been forced) to carry their pregnancy to term, an overall climate of guilt and shame dominated their formative years (Virgili 316-17, 325). Daughter of a German soldier, Josiane Kruger, author of the biographical novel *Née d'amours interdites: Ma mère était française, mon père, soldat allemand*, relates the alienation she experienced as a result of her origins: "Je fus, comme beaucoup d'autres enfants conçus dans l'enfer de la guerre, le fruit

---

<sup>96</sup> For a detailed analysis of legislation and public opinion surrounding Franco-German children in general and children of rape in particular (and the difficulty in determining whether a birth was the result of a coerced or consensual relation), consult chapter 7, "Que faire des enfants d'Allemands dans une France libérée," in Virgili's *Naître ennemi*.

d'une passion interdite, mise à l'écart par les uns, chahutée par les autres, évitée comme la peste " (20). The insults Kruger received as a child (31) are echoed by Suzanne Lardreau in her own autobiographical novel entitled *Orgueilleuse*. Lardreau was raised in an orphanage managed by nuns after her mother was shorn and "condamnée par défaut à l'indignité nationale à vie et à une interdiction de séjour de dix ans dans le Tarn-et-Garonne" (Lardreau 234) for relations with the enemy and for having trafficked her daughter's ration cards (11). In the eyes of the nuns as well as the community at large, Lardreau is an extension of her mother, ongoing proof of her sexual transgressions.

Les sœurs ne cherchaient pas une cause profonde aux malheurs de la guerre mais plutôt un bouc émissaire. Une chevrette, en l'occurrence. C'était plus facile.

'Avec ta tête de Boche...', 'La petite vert-de-gris...', 'Fille de tondue...' (...) Je vois le visage de sœur Thérèse de l'Enfant Jésus, celui de sœur Bernadette de l'Immaculée et j'entends les insultes : 'trainée', 'tondue', 'vicieuse'... " (229).

Until she leaves the orphanage for a boarding school, Lardreau must constantly suffer the pain of being conflated with her mother as well as the shame of being half German. When Sister Marie-Victoire discovers that teenage Lardreau had kissed a boy in the orphanage garden, "[e]lle a parlé d'abord d'impureté et d'indécence, puis de perdition et de corruption, ensuite elle a pimenté ses propos de petits noms comme 'aguicheuse', 'racoleuse', 'dévergondée', et, enfin, ma mère a été jetée à son tour sur le bûcher avec sa couronne très usagée de 'grue', 'tondue', 'collabo' (...) 'sale vicieuse', 'Marie-couche-toi-là', 'dégénérée', 'fille à soldats'" (175). Through the sole act of coming into the world, the child of a sexual collaborator inherits his mother's transgressive past along with a set of foreign genes deemed problematic. Additionally, the mother finds herself doubly-vulnerable, crushed under the weight of her own trauma and that of the one she has

passed on to her child. This painful legacy and its consequences (alienation, fear, resentment) are detrimental to both mother and child as well as to the relationship between them.

Sylvie Germain's fictional character, Céleste, and Guy Croussy's Marie both incarnate this double burden and the texts provide additional insight into the psyche of half-German children and the psychological scars they must live with as children of shorn women. Céleste is mother to two children: Pierre-Éphrem (conceived with her French husband, Pacôme) and Zélie (conceived with her German lover, Johann). As we shall see, both children exhibit signs of emotional trauma. Marie only has one child, conceived with her French husband who subsequently died in the war. Although he is not half-German, Manu's classmates give him the nickname "Manu tondu" and his mother's *tonte* earns him significant physical and emotional abuse at the hands of members of the community (Croussy 51). For Pierre-Éphrem, Céleste's oldest child, family life was never easy to begin with. His mother married a closeted homosexual who naively whispered in her ear on the day of their marriage, "Je ne vous aime pas, Céleste, et je ne crois pas vous aimer un jour" (Germain 241). For Céleste, the child is the spitting image of his father and, as such, an incarnation of feelings of betrayal, sadness, anger, and disappointment. From the moment he is conceived, she perceives him as an unwelcome foreign entity draining her life force and as soon as he is born, she immediately distances herself from him by refusing to breast feed him. His hyphenated name represents an attempt to bridge the marital abyss—her husband, Pacôme, insisted on Éphrem (whom she suspects was one of his boyhood crushes) while she is bent on Pierre. Her ensuing refusal to call the child by his full name is a marked rebellion against a spouse she despises. Pierre-Éphrem grows up divided between his mother's ambiguous feelings and his father's love, constantly seeking his mother's approval. When Pacôme is recruited to go work in Germany for the duration of the war, Pierre finds his mother

slightly calmer and kinder yet he still struggles with feelings of profound alienation as the unwanted and thus figuratively-bastard child. When his mother meets Johann, she experiences unprecedented feelings of happiness and fulfillment. She publicly assumes this relationship, and her subsequent pregnancy, with the gusto and serenity of a woman with agency.

Tout en restant discrète, elle ne chercha pas à dissimuler sa liaison avec lui, et lorsqu'elle se trouva enceinte, elle porta sa grossesse avec une sérénité qu'elle n'avait pas éprouvée lors de la précédente. Cet enfant-là n'était pas une greffe obscure plantée dans son corps réduit à un ustensile, mais bel et bien un rejeton de sa chair, éclos et poussant dans ses entrailles (250).

The bastard child, legally-speaking, is the one Céleste comes to recognize as her own, as the fruit of her passion and the culmination of her newfound bliss. Adrienne Rich explains this paradox by referencing a 12<sup>th</sup>-century tradition that once glorified bastard children:

The courtly love tradition perceived marriage quite correctly for what it was—a property settlement—and located the real springs of feeling, intensity, vital energy as dwelling in passion-love, a secret and usually doomed relationship. To bear the child of a man with whom one was entangled in passion-love became an assertion of the seeming uniqueness of that love; to bear *this man's child* was to bring this love to a tangible consummation. Bastards were believed to be exceptionally vital and dynamic beings, begotten in the intensity of passion rather than between the dull, obligatory sheets of marriage...To bear an 'illegitimate' child proudly and by choice in the face of societal judgment has, paradoxically, been one way in which women have defied patriarchy (159-160).

Pierre is so fascinated by his newfound mother that his feelings of alienation temporarily subside. “Elle lui paraissait plus belle que jamais, tellement plus gentille que par le passé, même si des réflexions à son sujet, très dures, parfois vulgaires, sifflaient à ses oreilles dans la cour de l’école ou chez des commerçants du quartier” (Germain 251). When the child is born, Céleste names her Zélie after her maternal grandmother, a choice heavily disapproved by the rest of the family.

Ce choix lui valut d’être définitivement rejetée par sa famille, le nouveau-né, marqué d’une double tare—la bâtardise et le déshonneur patriotique—, était indigne d’hériter du prénom d’une aïeule que tous avaient respectée et aimée. Mais Céleste tint bon, elle était sortie de l’état de soumission à l’ordre imposé par son entourage... Elle osait ce que Pacôme n’avait pas eu l’audace de faire : refuser le devoir d’imposture dictée par la tyrannie des convenances et la frayeur du qu’en-dira-t-on (251).

Céleste refuses to feel ashamed or intimidated for the autonomous use of her sexuality and the personal choices that had brought her so much emotional fulfillment. She dares to ignore societal conventions and her proper role as French wife and mother. Subsequently, her courage to publicly affirm her desires (contrasted with Pacôme’s inability to do the same) is heavily punished once the war comes to an end. Her autonomy was short lived and the *tonte* ceremony succeeds in objectifying, de-sexualizing and reducing her to the deplorable state of an abused animal. Having been present in the street during the ceremony, Pierre is forever marked by the image of his mother’s humiliation. Having seen her stripped of clothing, shorn, and paraded under the spittle and insults of the entire community, Pierre subsequently fixates on a dehumanized image of his mother whom he deplores and can no longer respect:

L'image de la mère souillée, grotesque et nauséuse se superposait sans cesse, parasitant le corps, aussi bien habillé fût-il, et le visage, aussi lavé, soigné fût-il, de sa mère revenue en apparence à la normalité. Il ne pouvait s'empêcher d'éprouver de la répulsion à son égard, et aussi de la rancune. Ces sentiments étaient confus, mais tenaces (259).

The disgust Pierre feels at the sight of his mother's body in its subsequent 'normal', well-tended state is complemented by feelings of betrayal and anger at Céleste for having been unable to avoid such a public humiliation. He blames her entirely for having 'allowed' her oppressors to treat her as a marionette and reduce her to a bestial state akin to that of a cow or bitch ("chienne" used here with its dual connotation of 'female dog' and 'bitch').

Il se sentait trahi par elle, non parce qu'elle avait remplacé un temps son père par ce soldat allemand et avait eu un autre enfant (...) mais parce qu'elle n'avait pas su échapper à ces marionnettistes fous qui l'avaient rabougrie à l'état de vache, de chienne, parce qu'elle s'était laissé pourchasser en plein jour dans les rues, aux yeux de tout le monde (259-60).

The vague vociferations of the crowd, "It's shameful! Shameful!," (do they refer to her sexual behavior or her public humiliation as a shorn mother holding her illegitimate baby?) echo the ambiguity in Pierre's own mind with respect to his mother. The scene of Céleste's *tonte* is reminiscent of Simone's: two sexual collaborators shorn and humiliated publicly, clinging to their half-German babies as permanent and irrefutable proof of their crimes. Though too young to remember the events, Zélie and Simone's daughter both inherited a traumatic past that would shape the rest of their lives.

Pierre's feelings towards his mother in the aftermath of the *tonte* are a proof of the ritual's efficacy. As previously discussed in the chapter, the initial stage of the ceremonial was aimed at objectifying the victim. Céleste is publicly reduced to the shameful state of a drunk, "titubante comme une ivrogne, et chauve comme un nourrisson ou un vieillard, comme un bagnard" (260). The act of shaving her head robs her of a great deal of value in her son's eyes. The purification rite successfully de-sexualizes her as evidenced by her comparison to "a newborn," "an old man" and "a convict". Subsequently she becomes so ugly to Pierre that a return to normal is no longer possible. She will forever be the "mère souillée, grotesque et nauséuse" (260) regardless of efforts to rehabilitate herself and regain her beauty and sensuality. Pierre now perceives her as an abject, contagious element capable of infecting Zélie by proximity. Pierre's feelings of betrayal, anger and disgust are suffused with problematic tendencies of victim-blaming. The sexual collaborator is held responsible not only for her crime but also for the treatment she experiences at the hands of her retaliators. She deserves the violence she incurs and her inability to protect herself is yet another failure attributed to her. While one may argue that Pierre's thoughts can be interpreted as a projection of his own anger at the situation, potential feelings of inadequacy and/or latent guilt at his inability to help her, such an interpretation does not invalidate the onus of blame placed on the sexual collaborator by society and its patriarchal apparatus. Céleste's outlook stands in contrast with that of her son. Her suffering does not originate in shame at her actions but rather in anger at the humiliation attributed to her feelings for Johann and, by extension, to her daughter as a byproduct of their love. Though she is humiliated and dehumanized by her community, Céleste refuses to assume the shame and guilt attributed to her vis-à-vis her own conscience. She has no regrets about her love for Johann or their relationship, which she feels she approached with honesty and integrity:

Mais elle n'avait pas honte, elle ne ressentait aucune indignité devant sa propre conscience, car elle ne regrettait pas d'avoir aimé et d'avoir vécu cet amour sans dissimulation, en toute franchise, en pleine droiture de cœur...Ce dont elle souffrait était différent, elle ne pouvait oublier ni pardonner l'humiliation qu'à travers elle on avait infligé à cet amour-là, le refus, le déni et la profanation de cet amour par une collectivité qui n'y connaissait rien et n'en voulait rien connaître (258).

Céleste's anger and resentment do not originate in feelings of remorse but rather in society's desecration of a love she found pure and fulfilling. Her courage and insouciance in the face of an ignorant and unforgiving society had been repaid with stark violence and she was forced to feel the painful repercussions of her non-conformism. After the *tonte*, the family relocates to a new town on account of Céleste and her bastard child (261).

Over the years, Zélie serves as an ambiguous reminder of Johann just as Pierre-Éphrem is the unfortunate reflection of his father. Unlike Pierre, who incarnates a failed relationship, Zélie represents the last bit of Céleste's happiness, a reminder of what her life could have been as well as a token of enduring trauma.

De Johann, elle ne possédait même pas une photo, rien, il lui restait seulement l'enfant, cette fillette très vive et questionneuse, au caractère lunatique. La petite passait sans transition et sans mesure de l'allégresse à la mélancolie, d'assauts de babillages exaltés à d'abruptes bouderies, et de la gentillesse à la colère...A l'âge de treize ans, Zélie fit une fugue. On la retrouva trois jours plus tard, errant aux alentours de la frontière allemande (265-7).

Aware of her origins, Zélie becomes obsessed with the person she calls her Vater and the search for her origins. From an early age, Zélie displays behavioral problems which she does not herself fully understand. While she exhibits a peculiar level of maturity, she is exceedingly argumentative and gets expelled from high school twice due to insubordination and insolence (273). Her outspoken and rebellious nature scares her peers and prevents her from solidifying friendships. After Céleste's death, Pacôme falls ill and is unable to deal with Zélie's exacerbated emotional troubles. Pierre convinces his sister to concede to a purportedly-temporary admission into a mental hospital. When it becomes clear that he has no intention to bring her home, she commits suicide by jumping through a window, thus putting a violent end to an existence plagued by her father's absence and her mother's past. Pierre matures into a tortured adult who temporarily joins a widowed woman to work in her family's shop and becomes a pseudo-father to her children. One day he disappears completely and winds up in a mental hospital under the alias Jésus le Boeuf. After years of having been silent on his past, his time spent in the institution represents a quest for his true self. Like Jesus, he must sacrifice himself to redeem the sins of others. Pierre must suffer through the act of revisiting his childhood in order to make amends with the past. He must rise again as a reborn individual starting anew. Once he is discharged from the hospital, Pierre goes back to look for the widow Sabine hoping to start a new chapter far from the ghosts of his past. Having waited for his return for years, Sabine denies him a welcome by saying, "[i]l est trop tard pour reparaître, trop tard pour revenir, il n'y a plus de place pour toi parmi nous. Pas de place pour les revenants. (...) Nous t'avons cru mort. Et à force de passer pour mort, eh bien vois-tu, tu as fini par mourir pour nous" (288). Pierre learns that there is no going back, no escape from the clutches of the past, no rebirth possible.

The stigma and suffering experienced by Pierre and Zélie as children of shorn women present a major theme in Guy Croussy's fictional story. After having endured the spectacle of his mother's head shaving, intentionally carried out in his classroom, "[il] y eut la haine qui s'infiltra dans mes veines et envahit mon sang pour des journées et des nuits et, dans le fond, ne se retira jamais" (Croussy 34). His persistent claims that she had been shorn due to a misunderstanding are futile. The mayor, the only person in the village concerned with restoring Marie's reputation, warns that "désormais, je ne pourrais plus compter sur ma maman. Ma vie ne ressemblerait pas à celle des autres enfants. Le plus vite possible, j'aurais à me débrouiller seul. Selon lui, Vivi Dommage ne pouvait plus vivre au village à cause des mauvaises langues et des arrière-pensées qui le narguaient" (46-7). Indeed, shortly after the *tonte*, grandfather Vivi—the town cobbler—ceases to receive orders and is forced to close his shop. Day-to-day life becomes even more difficult when violence towards Manu escalates. One day, while approaching a girl's house to ask her to play, Manu is met with virulent hatred from both her and her mother who see him as an extension of Marie, his shorn mother. In their eyes, he is defiled by proxy, symbolically shorn, thus stripped of his worth and integrity.

—Manu-tondu pas propre ! Et j'entendis une femme qui hurlait comme une dératée : —Tondu, viens ici ! Elle accourait en faisant claquer le clacheron d'un fouet à chevaux. —Tondu, viens ici que je te donne une tannée ! Je criai que je n'étais pas tondu, ôtai mon béret pour preuve et rappelai que maman avait été tondue de bonne foi. Vivi Dommage arriva à la rescousse. Il voulait qu'on me pardonne. Rien à faire, la femme vociférait : —Eh bien, j'aime mieux vous dire que le fils de la tondue est un sacré numéro ! Il a de qui tenir. Si je l'attrape, je lui coupe son zizi et je marque son cul au fer rouge ! (51-2).

Through his mother's crime, Manu has indirectly acquired her debased state. Like her, he is now unclean ("pas propre"), figuratively shorn and must be marked ("[que] je marque son cul au fer rouge") and de-sexualized in his turn through castration ("[que] je lui coupe son zizi"). While his mother's integrity and worth had been removed through the cutting of her hair—the primary locus of her femininity—, his must be removed through amputation of the very part that embodies male virility. His attempts to exonerate himself with logical arguments are ineffective; he has become a scapegoat in his own right. A few days later, his classmates catch him in the schoolyard and re-enact his mother's *tonte* as a way to exact vengeance for the shame and humiliation her own head shaving had brought upon the community (or so the narrator suggests). By subconsciously positing themselves as victims in search of just retribution, the children have no qualms about abusing Manu like their village elders had previously abused his mother:

À les voir résolus, je compris qu'ils voulaient venger l'école et le village de l'humiliation que la tondue leur avait infligée. C'était juste. Pour l'honneur, ils s'apprêtaient à m'administrer une dégelée (...) [J]e reste un moment sans me rendre compte que Dédé le Coz tient une paire de ciseaux à la main et qu'il me faudra céder à ses exigences (...) Il détale, mimant la marche de la tondue. Les autres ont les mains pleines de cailloux. Ils me sourient d'un air doux car, depuis l'instant où j'ai franchi la grille de la cour de la récréation, ils ont compris qu'ils me tiennent à leur merci. Quand ils le décideront, ils frapperont (76-7).

A second purification rite is needed to cleanse the village of the *tondue*'s defiling presence, as well as to cleanse Manu of his crimes by association. The boy feels it is a "[c]orrection méritée. À cause de Maman, j'étais plus ou moins dans mon tort. Mais pour la première fois, je me sentis l'égal de tous. Ma dette payée, j'éprouvai un bonheur qui ne m'était pas dû. Quelque part, il y

avait une femme qui me serrait dans ses bras, tremblante, pour jamais blessée, elle ne savait pas que j'étais un peu tondu" (81). The child's happiness is a mixture of relief for having paid his own supposed debt to society and pride for the solidarity in humiliation that brings him closer to his mother. Like his mother, he was punished and now feels "a little shorn" also. Determined to find her, he runs away to a neighboring town.

Vivi Dommage eventually realizes that there is no future for him and his grandson in the village. "—Oui, dit Vivi Dommage, je m'en irai où personne ne nous connaîtra. Il pourra y grandir en paix et oublier" (94). Financially destitute and concerned with giving Manu the life he deserves, he relocates to another village, opens a new cobbler workshop and starts saving money for a house. Manu is placed in a boarding school for marginalized children (orphans, delinquents, children from broken homes or with various handicaps) where only the director is familiar with his background and assures him that "[u]n grand garçon de mon âge ne devait pas se laisser démoraliser par la faute d'honneur qu'avait commise sa maman, ni par la peine qui s'était abattue sur elle" (131). During his stay in the institution, which he ironically calls "La Colonie", the boy receives periodic visits from his grandfather as well as letters from his mother. Marie's letters are wrought with culpability:

Depuis qu'il m'est arrivé quelque chose et que je suis partie du village, il ne faut pas que tu me juges mal, je suis restée la même femme, la même mère, la même fille, aussi honnête que je l'étais avec vous tous. Pourtant je t'écris et je te parle avec honte. Je te demande de me pardonner pour le drame auquel tu as assisté dans la petite école et le pauvre visage que je t'ai montré. Je n'ai jamais fait de mal à personne sinon à toi et à ton grand-père, ce jour-là (231).

The very euphemism she uses to reference her *tonte* (“depuis qu’il m’est arrivé quelque chose”) as well as her use of words like “honest” and “shame” are indicative of the stigma and indignity associated with her experience. For Marie and other women like her, this dishonor— unlike the temporary physical marks left on the body—became the heaviest charge to bear. Doubly-burdened by her own shame as well as that of her family, she is “condamné[es] à mourir interminablement dans le souvenir du traumatisme originel” (Brossat, *Les tondues* 150). François Dominique elaborates on the psychological repercussions of the *tontes* : “Se sentant ‘honteuse’, la femme tonduée a deux solutions : se mépriser elle-même ou mépriser ses bourreaux et ceux qui lui ressemblent. Dans les deux cas, le résultat est le même : elle s’autodétruit, car la haine de soi ou la haine de l’autre sont toutes les deux destructrices” (105). As a mother, Marie feels particularly ashamed of the impact her treatment has had on her family and the emotional damage it caused her son whom she repeatedly refers to as her ‘hope’. Her letters exhibit conflicting feelings of embarrassment about the past and hope for rehabilitation through the promise of a better future:

“Mon petit garçon, mon petit espoir, ne t’inquiète pas pour moi. Je travaille et je gagne ma vie...Ne crois pas que rien ne nous appartienne depuis que nous sommes séparés, quand nous nous retrouverons, le monde entier sera à nous. Plus tard, à ta sortie, je t’emmènerai à la mer et tu te baigneras. Ta maman qui pense à toi à chaque minute (...) Tu es mon grand espoir. Chaque jour je rends grâce à Dieu de t’avoir donné à moi” (Croussy 168).

At first, Manu awaits his mother’s letters with impatience and dreams about the day when they will meet again. Although they are not far from each other, Marie wishes to exercise caution when visiting him so as not to further harm his reputation. Her very visibility on the premises

could lead to gossip and she effaces herself in order to spare him potential peer disparagement: “Pendant les vêpres, monsieur le directeur m’a fait visiter tous les endroits où tu vis. Personne d’autre ne m’a aperçue, tu n’auras donc pas à rougir de moi, et monsieur le directeur a promis de garder le secret de ma visite” (167). Her culpability manifests itself as a reticence to be seen in the presence of her son until all marks of the crime have faded. Marie is the expiating Mary Magdalene seemingly forsaking her sexuality in favor of her maternal duties. Yet when her letters start referring to “ton nouveau papa” (233) and “[l]’homme dont je t’avais parlé [qui] est parti car je ne pouvais plus le supporter” (260), Manu starts to experience increasing anxiety about his mother’s dedication to him and her rehabilitation. “Sous toutes réserves, j’affirmai que Maman était la femme la plus délurée du territoire...Je me tourmentai beaucoup à ce sujet” (260). Over several pages, Manu emphasizes his mother’s beauty and dangerous sensuality on her visits to La Colonie. The reader notices a shift from his conviction that she was “tondue par erreur de bonne foi” to a pronounced suspicion that she is, in fact, as immoral as some of her previous community members claimed her to be. As Manu slips into doubting his mother’s morality, he corroborates Hanna Diamond’s finding that “[t]he documentation relating to the postwar collaboration trials suggests, however, that women were treated rather differently from men. The main focus of discussions in court, whatever the accusations involved, tended to be on the moral behaviour of the women as compared with the men” (145-6). Previous chapters of the dissertation at hand have addressed the extreme emphasis on women’s morality in discussions justifying the *tontes* as a valid form of punishment. Since many sexual collaborators had been denounced by members of the community through anonymous letters, the global opinion of community members was often used to compensate for a lack of concrete evidence. This reliance on hearsay was perhaps the most frightening aspect of sexual collaboration as a crime: personal

judgment took precedence over facts. Thus, Manu's reaction should not be dismissed as a child's mere display of concern for his mother but rather as the incarnation of a profound concern with female sexuality and evidence of the efficacy of the gender fictions disseminated by the patriarchal state.

Marie's worth, like that of western women over the centuries, is indelibly tied to her body and the use of her sexuality. Lengthy discussions of her morality at the beginning of the text are reminiscent of a longstanding tradition of repressing and controlling women through discourses that attribute worth to them in specific, self-serving patriarchal ways. Morality operates as rhetorical tool deployed by the patriarchal mechanisms of power to reward women for behaving in ways that benefit the patriarchal state. Marie had been denounced for having used her skills as a temporary wartime nurse to care for an injured German soldier. The anonymous letter stated, "Monsieur le chef de la Libération, Si vous voulez connaître le nom de celle qui a soigné la sentinelle blessée lors du sabotage de la voie ferrée, allez chez Marie Prudente. Premier et dernier avertissement. La parole est d'argent mais le silence est d'or. Avec mes salutations. Le Prix de l'Honneur" (68). The denouncer references the price/prize of honor for having brought to light the injustice of Marie's alleged crime. After Marie's exile, mayor Buisson begins an investigation and "fit appel aux témoignages de bonne volonté et dignes de foi qu'il présenterait 'là-haut'. Cette expression recouvrait le comité de la Libération et même la Chancellerie, à Paris, si nécessaire" (56). Ironically, the mayor's good faith in wishing to rehabilitate Marie only causes more harm as letters pour in from the community containing entirely subjective feedback that reflects divided opinions in regards to her personality. One of Marie's retired teachers recalls that "un détail de l'existence de 'cette enfant à l'école' lui avait paru suspect : un jour, elle avait hoché la tête pendant la leçon de morale qui traitait des droits civiques de chacun" (58). The

town hall secretary opines, “[e]lle n’est pas faite pour vivre dans une époque aussi arriérée que la nôtre. C’est une femme en avance sur son temps et sur son milieu” (59). Another woman, Mme Vivier, maintains that Marie “possédait de la fausseté de la tondue : le jour de son mariage, fleur d’oranger sur robe blanche, elle était fraîche et jolie. Six mois plus tard, elle mettait au monde. Le corps gâté par un enfant, elle avait eu l’audace de braver la pureté du sacrement de l’union” (59). The imputation is anchored in the fact that Marie broke the sacred vow of marriage by becoming pregnant before her wedding. The contrast between the orange blossom in her hair and the purity of her white gown foreshadows the disparity between her beautiful appearance and the ‘truth’ of her depraved moral character. “A titre d’information objective, Mme Vivier reconnaît qu’aucun malentendu ne plane sur la mort de Michel Prudente...Il est mort pour la patrie” (60). Mme Vivier concludes her testimony with an ‘objective’ reference to the death of Marie’s husband, indirectly revealing the assumption that a woman of her character may have even been suspected of having killed her husband. An additional letter states, “Marie n’est pas coupable de trahison. À ce sujet les ragots sont les cris des corbeaux. Elle est coupable de son attitude distante et étrange. Ce comportement l’écarte de nous. Il est à craindre que son veuvage prématuré ne la conduise à une quête d’expériences physiques et morales. La recherche du plaisir sera désormais sa seule occupation” (60). The logic or lack thereof in this testimony is anchored in the suspicion surrounding a woman no longer tied to her husband (“prematurely widowed”). In the absence of a male authority figure to regulate her behavior and “faire rentrer dans le droit chemin les brebis égarées” (60), Marie is in danger of trading her virtue and respectability as a French wife and mother for sexual sin. Her reserved nature and the relative freedom of her civil status left her open to plenty of purported opportunities for debauchery which would ultimately justify her *tonte*. It validates reactions such as the following: “Vous voulez que je vous dise ce

que je pense des putes de son espèce ? Elles ont le feu au cul. C'est la nature ! Si vous saviez combien de fois j'ai couché à l'œil avec les femmes des prisonniers et des militaires !" (62). The person voicing this judgment, likely a male, perfectly demonstrates the double-standard with respect to male and female sexual desire. Though he has only "couché de l'œil" with French wives of prisoners and soldiers and has presumably not concretely acted upon it, his desire is legitimate and in no way problematic. For Marie to have (possibly) desired another man, in particular an enemy, or worse, to have slept with him is intolerable. By attempting to rehabilitate Marie through community testimonies, the mayor falls into the very morality trap that has brought about her demise. Whether positive or negative, such statements are subjective and, as such, in no way indicative of Marie's guilt. Since they do not provide any concrete evidence, M. Buisson unintentionally invalidates his own efforts and sets himself up for failure. Moreover, he sheds further doubt on Marie's character by sharing the contradictory information with Vivi all the while Manu picks up on bits of their conversation.

Manu's mental journey with respect to his mother is in itself tumultuous. He is brimming with pain and conflicted feelings. He goes from witnessing her public humiliation to caring for her like an injured animal in the barn. He initially clings to the idea that her punishment was a mistake, desperately repeating to himself and everyone else that she was shorn by error. He allows himself to eagerly anticipate a new life by her side until her letters reference a changing male presence and doubts begin to creep in. "Quand je fermai les yeux pour me remémorer son visage d'avant la tonte, je me rappelai ses joues creuses et perçus une véritable douleur au cœur mais, cette douleur, je l'enfouis définitivement en moi. Elle ne se lèverait plus jamais. Maman était venue à la Colonie pour rechercher un enfant qu'elle attendait, dont elle ne connaissait plus que le nom" (288). After his grandfather's passing, Manu must choose to stay at the Colonie or

go live with his mother and yet, for him, an emotional distance has formed between them that cannot be bridged. Upon coming to get her son, Marie attempts to assuage her own guilt by telling the mayor,

Non, dit-elle, je ne l'ai jamais abandonné. Je préparais son avenir. Avec mon père, je le savais en de bonnes mains. La pension était dure mais il apprenait un métier et suivait des études. Jamais je ne l'ai abandonné. Si vous voyiez la chambre que je lui ai préparée ! Une litanie. On eût dire qu'elle prononçait un discours d'exorcisme. Quelque chose la rongait à l'intérieur. Elle débita des sornettes en hors de propos : —Je ne suis quand-même pas un monstre !" (291).

The use of the words "litany" and "exorcism" are far from gratuitous. Marie is Mary Magdalene, expiating her crimes. She zealously chants her motives like a litany in the hopes of exorcising the past and starting anew. She is, or perhaps should be, the Virgin Mary sacrificing herself for her son who is her primary focus and the only veritable source of redemption. It is through maternity only and her relationship with her son that Marie can obtain salvation and yet her son is beginning to elude her. As Adrienne Rich indicates, "[t]he divisions of labor and allocations of power in patriarchy demand not merely a suffering Mother, but one divested of sexuality: the Virgin Mary, *virgo intacta*, perfectly chaste. Women are permitted to be sexual only at a certain time of life" (183). The narrative voice belonging to Manu acknowledges his mother's inner torment but dismisses her words as "sornettes", utter nonsense. In part, he invalidates her pain by superposing his resentment at having "la femme la plus délurée du territoire" for a mother (Croussy 21). If Marie feels like a "monster," it is because she is the antithesis of the good patriarchal mother. She has preserved her extraconjugal sexuality even after the purification ceremony intended to de-sexualize her. Not only has she (presumably) transgressed sexually in

the past but subsequently failed to make her child the absolute center of her world. Adrienne Rich shows that motherhood is a pivotal notion to the integrity of the patriarchal state: “Patriarchy could not survive without motherhood and heterosexuality in their institutional forms; therefore they have to be treated as axioms, as ‘nature’ itself, not open to question except where, from time to time and place to place, ‘alternate life-styles’ for certain individuals are tolerated” (43). A sexually-active, widowed mother like Marie is a “monster” precisely because she goes against the fabricated patriarchal concept of a ‘natural’ de-sexualized, chaste motherhood. Though she struggles to prove that her efforts to build a new life are dedicated to her son, she remains suspicious in his eyes.

Manu’s suspicions reach their climax when M. Buisson offers to help drive Vivi’s body back to its native village to be buried. On the way back, the mayor stops the car and invites her to take a leisurely walk in the woods. He seems excited at the prospect of sexual gratification of some sort with this “pretty lady” who, one might suspect, allegedly owes him a debt of gratitude. Throughout her ordeal, he has been her champion, presumably giving him rights to the very sexuality he has attempted to exonerate.

—Si vous le voulez, nous pouvons nous promener un peu dans la forêt pour nous détendre. Elle fit mine de ne pas l’entendre. —Manuel nous attendra dans la cabine, il dort comme une marmotte. Il fermait ses yeux à demi et souriait. Ensuite il chanta tout bas pour ne pas me réveiller. Il fredonnait son bonheur d’être à côté d’une ‘jolie dame’ et demandait au ciel de bénir cette nuit. D’abord Maman se fâcha. Il dit qu’il avait affaire à une ‘idiote’. Par petits coups, sa main de déplaça vers le bras de Maman : —Non, dit-elle, non, pas ça ! (292).

Manu pretends to be asleep but is aware of M. Buisson's advances. He carefully observes his mother's reaction. At first, "[s]es yeux lançaient des flammes. Elle s'en servait pour repousser M. Buisson" (292) who tenaciously pursues his intentions.

Il s'approchait d'elle avec bonté dans l'intention de l'aider mais, par orgueil, avec un entêtement furieux, elle le rejetait comme un sale animal. Avec mes yeux, je la suppliai d'accepter la main de M. Buisson et de chasser de son cœur le démon de l'orgueil et de la fierté. Et je fermai encore les yeux, comme endormi, et je priai pour cette femme fière et aveugle comme je n'avais pas prié pour personne (...)  
Elle avait entendu ma prière car elle soupira de désespoir (293).

With the naiveté of a child, Manu blames his mother for her pride. He prays for her to open her blind eyes and learn humility towards her benefactor. In the moment, he either does not understand the mayor's true motives or believes in the need for his mother to express gratitude at all costs. The voice of the narrator (Manu himself but presumably as an adult) and that of young Manu, the character, are often conflated thus rendering the analysis of his reaction difficult.

Young Manu is clearly tormented about his mother's morality, but one must not forget that he is also a child. It is Manu the narrator who has the necessary perspective to analyze the situation in retrospect yet the two perspectives are often inextricably woven within the narrative.

Upon seeing his mother leave with the mayor, young Manu feels dejected and resentful for having been left behind with the dead body of his grandfather, "like a dog", while the two lend themselves to "God knows what folly" (296). A grotesque scene emerges to the reader's eye: an act of prostitution on Marie's behalf while her dead father and sleeping son lie waiting in the car. Marie's erratic movements as she emerges from the woods are reminiscent of those of her freshly-shorn body escaping her captors. She is visibly disheveled and wipes off her lips in

presumed disgust at M. Buisson's likely fervent kisses: "Maman reparut la première. Elle allait d'un pas irrégulier, courait, s'arrêtait, un fichu sur la tête, sa cape de loden jetée sur le bras. Quand elle fut sur le marchepied, elle s'essuya les lèvres du revers de la main" (296). The sight of his visibly-perturbed mother leaves the boy confused (the reader is reminded that the scene is a re-telling of young Manu's observations filtered through adult Manu's hindsight perceptions). He claims to be unaware of the reason for his mother's sadness but emphasizes the fervent nature of the hug she imparts. "[She] jumped on me" like an animal, only to kiss him as if she were touching him for the first time.

Un moment elle resta silencieuse puis se jeta sur moi et m'embrassa sur la joue comme si elle ne m'avait jamais embrassé. Elle me serra comme si je pouvais la purifier. Seule la parole peut laver les offenses du monde et désaltérer les êtres offensés. J'eus envie de lui parler des eaux de Jérusalem où l'on purifiait les bêtes destinées au sacrifice mais son regard pleurait et je me figurai qu'elle me parlait (296-7).

The beast imagery is reminiscent of the one employed in recounting Marie's *tonte* yet a subtle reversal is operative herein. Marie goes from being depicted as a frightened prey animal fleeing the townsmen chasing her down to something akin a predatory beast bending over her son's body with urgency, to a sacrificial animal destined for the altar. In keeping with religious imagery, Manu emphasizes that his mother clings to his body as if he held the promise of her purification. A parallel with her *tonte* as a purification ceremony emerges and one is advised to reflect upon the importance of both events. Marie's *tonte* was a purifying act intended to absolve her of her alleged sexual sins with the enemy (for which the text supplies no proof except subjective testimonies from community members). The scene of her embracing her son is also

portrayed as a purifying act intended to absolve her for prostituting herself to M. Buisson (an act for which the text also fails to supply concrete proof, apart from insinuations and observations meant to facilitate certain deductions on the reader's part). In fact, regardless of whether Marie is innocent or guilty of either or both acts, her absolution lies in a male presence. As a shorn woman, her rehabilitation and reintegration into society are contingent upon her ability to resume her proper place in the patriarchal state. As a mother, her redemption is equally dependent upon her wholly dedicating her future to her child.

The shorn mother's penitence and atonement via male forgiveness is depicted in similar religious imagery in *Invasion 14* through an interaction between Fannie and her son Pierre. In the aftermath of the scene described in chapter III, Fannie returns home battered by community members. Pierre finds her bloody, weeping "de misère et de douleur" (Van Der Meersch 303). He reaches out to her and comforts her by saying, "[n]e pleure plus, mère, ce n'est pas tout à fait ta faute" (302). It is with great effort that Pierre manages to put aside his own humiliation and pain and reassure his mother that her public abuse was not "entirely" her fault. Like Marie Prudente, Fannie clutches at her son in desperate need of forgiveness. "Elle l'avait pris dans ses bras, frénétiquement... Elle se voyait seulement absoute, par le seul être d'où pût encore lui venir l'absolution. Elle l'embrassait, l'étouffait, éperdue, en larmes, folle de gratitude et de désespoir" (302). Her ardent embrace is a frantic plight for absolution from the only being who can provide it: the son she has harmed through her behavior. "Elle gémissait tout haut, elle invoquait son mari mort: —Jean, Jean, pardonne-moi, pardon!... Comme si par la voix de leurs fils c'était l'oublié lui-même qui lui avait accordé sa miséricorde" (303-4). Fannie chants her absent husband's name and begs forgiveness for having betrayed him. His authority is transferred to

their son whose voice becomes the symbol of paternal redemption. The spoken word<sup>97</sup> acquires vital meaning for both Fannie and Marie Prudente as well as for their sons since “[o]nly the spoken word can wash away the wrongs of the world and quench those who have been wronged” (Croussy 296-7, my translation). Marie Prudente’s transgressions must be verbalized via a tearful, heartfelt confession before her sins can be forgiven. Similarly, Fannie must verbally plead for her husband and son’s<sup>98</sup> forgiveness before she can feel absolved. The word/voice is both painful and liberating, an important instrument of redemption. In Marie Prudente’s case, the tearfulness of her confession is presented in ambiguous terms through the narrative voice: “son regard pleurait et je me figurai qu’elle me parlait” (Croussy 297). Is Marie crying or are her eyes simply reflecting a sadness worthy of tears? Is she speaking to Manu or to herself? Is she actually speaking at all? The phrase “I figured she was talking to me” leaves room for interpretation and one may suggest that Manu imagines the entire conversation as a projection of his own desires.

‘J’étais si seule que j’ai accepté les mains de cet homme sur mon corps. Pour le service qu’il rendait à Vivi Dommage. Pour ne pas le perdre avant que ton grand-père soit enterré. Dès que je t’ai revu, cet homme n’a plus existé. Ne me juge pas, c’est vrai. Si tu ne veux plus de moi, je n’aurai plus aucune issue, je serai seule

---

<sup>97</sup> One may reflect on the importance of the word for the patriarchal system by evoking one branch of Bourdieu’s public patriarchy trinity: the church. According to the Bible, “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God” (*King James Bible*, John 1.1). At the root of genesis is God (the ultimate patriarch) who verbalizes the world into existence.

<sup>98</sup> The religious analysis may be extended to the onomastic choice in Van Der Meersch’s text. After having been stoned by community members for her sexual transgressions (see also: stoning as biblical punishment for female adultery), Fannie must earn her redemption through her son, Pierre. According to the New Testament, Jesus had made his disciple Peter the cornerstone of his church: “And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it” (*King James Bible*, Matthew 16.18). Young Pierre can be interpreted as an incarnation of patriarchal authority. He speaks with the legitimacy of his deceased father and perhaps even that of God, thus embodying Bourdieu’s private (i.e. family) and public patriarchy (i.e. church).

pour toujours'. Son égarement dans la forêt lui avait fait retrouver la raison. Son regard paraissait renaître...Je me sentis libre à nouveau (296-7).

The discourse positions Marie as a woman repenting for a sexual act she saw as a form of repayment, or perhaps punishment for her sins. Once consummated, the act leaves her feeling abject and used. The sight of her son as a reminder of motherhood urges her to confess her sin and yearn for forgiveness. Now that her husband is dead and all other men are in the past, her son becomes the center of her life and her *raison d'être*. Her ability to be happy and fulfilled depends on his willingness to grant her a pardon. If he rejects her, she will spend the rest of her days alone. Manu receives this (real or perceived) confession with satisfaction. His wretched mother has finally “found reason” and her “gaze seemed to be reborn”. By articulating the nature of her crimes, Marie unleashes the purifying waters of Jerusalem and finds the Son who can grant her salvation. The scene is interrupted by M. Buisson’s return whose questions, “s’il ne lui avait pas fait mal. Si elle ne regrettait rien” (297), shift the ambiance by operating a switch from a spiritual register back to a corporeal one. What follows is Manu’s silent reflection on women in general as seductive beings:

Je n’ai pas une profonde connaissance de la vie mais je sais qu’il existe des femmes qui, dans leur jeune amour pour un homme, lui font des niches et des agaceries pour le charmer. Elles s’arrangent pour que leur robe soit échancrée au bon endroit, portent des talons hauts, s’agenouillent quand il leur faut, attentives, amollies, à l’écoute des désirs de l’autre, râlant d’approbation. Elles passent leur vie à vouloir plaire. Au contraire, depuis son escapade avec M. Buisson, Maman se dégoutait. Elle ferma les yeux pour avoir honte en elle-même et se ratatina sur son siège, respirant avec un bruit d’agonie (298).

Taken in isolation, this paragraph is open to interpretation. The narrator clearly calls to mind the sexuality of women as they dress and behave in ways aimed at attracting and pleasing men. The double-entendre in “kneel when they must” as well as the qualifiers “attentive” and “listening to the desires of others” create the portrait of a submissive woman who indeed spends her life seeking male approval. Since the paragraph goes on to address Marie’s shame, one must assume that she could have been one of these women, sacrificing her own desires for those of others, aiming to please. In the context of her *tonte*, are these words intended as an admission of guilt but also an exoneration based on the fact that Marie has learned her lesson and, since the incident with M. Buisson, had become “disgusted by herself”? If Marie simply obeyed the desire of others, does her sexuality imply any amount of autonomy? Assuming she did sleep with the German soldier she helped, did she do so simply to please or to please herself? Would the distinction even matter in the eyes of a society who relied on anecdotal evidence to find women guilty of sexual crimes? In light of previous claims surrounding her identity as a mother, can Marie co-exist as both a sexual being and a widowed mother dedicated to her child? Such questions and the various answers one might propose transcend Croussy’s text and bring us back to gendered issues addressed in previous chapters. They go to the core of womanhood and the experience of French wartime women. Moreover, in analyzing these passages, it has not been my intention to argue that a mother asking for her child’s forgiveness is wrong nor that it was abnormal for sexual collaborators to feel guilt or shame over the ways in which their experiences had negatively impacted their children. Nonetheless, if one may evoke Adrienne Rich’s notion of motherhood as a patriarchal institution, the paternal implications of the scenes examined above become clear. Manu mentally urges his mother to confess her sins amidst metaphors of the cleansing waters of Jerusalem and the altar onto which beasts are destined to be sacrificed. Pierre

becomes the mouthpiece for the *pater familias*' mercy. In both cases, the figurative female scapegoat must once again be sacrificed on the altar of the patriarchy.

In the interest of maintaining focus, we will suspend further literary analysis and return to the original discussion on trauma and, in particular, the transgenerational suffering shorn women inevitably passed on to their children. Irrespective of the paternalistic implications one may arguably find in Manu's reflections, he is —along with Pierre, Zélie and the many (il)legitimate children of the *tondues*— a child who suffers greatly due to his mother's ordeal. His mother, like Céleste, must carry a double burden of guilt. Dominique François indicates that “la honte est un mélange de peur du rejet et de colère envers le bourreau et la foule ayant participé sans réagir au châtiment” (104). The tendency to resort to loathing (of the community or specifically those involved in the event) or self-loathing are equally destructive. Self-loathing (Marie's case?) is particularly effective in “anesthetizing” shorn women's desires and stripping them of autonomy either by rendering them sedate or pushing them to self-destruct.

Le mépris de soi a quatre fonctions : il atténue la honte, étouffe ses aspirations à l'intimité et à la tendresse (se mépriser anesthésie le désir), donne l'illusion de maîtriser sa souffrance et évite de rechercher la guérison de son être. Lorsque le mépris de soi est trop intense, il peut pousser à la violence contre soi et au suicide : dans ces deux cas, la personne châtie son propre corps. Il a été rapporté qu'un certain nombre de femmes tondues se suicidèrent dans les semaines qui suivirent le châtiment (105).

Duras' *tondue* attempts to make sense of these feelings herself. Once she moves to Paris, she forces herself to forget and tries to repress the pain by getting married to a man unaware of her past and starting a family. Years later, one particular adulterous encounter acts as the necessary

catalyst for her internal healing process. “Que s’est-il passé dans sa vie pour qu’elle soit ainsi, si libre et traquée à la fois, si honnête et si malhonnête à la fois, si équivoque et si claire ? Si désireuse de vivre des amours de rencontre ? Si lâche devant l’amour ?” (Duras 5). She reflects upon her conflicted self and her unending hunger for peace and satisfaction. After years of necessary yet problematic amnesia as a coping mechanism—“Je commence à t’oublier. Je tremble d’avoir oublié tant d’amour” (79)—, she feels a resurgence in her desire. “J’avais faim. Faim d’infidélités, d’adultères, de mensonges et de mourir” (94). Elle wants to feel alive again, to love, yet her past is holding her back. It is not until she exorcises it through speech that she is able to move on. “J’ai raconté notre histoire. Je t’ai trompé ce soir avec cet inconnu. J’ai raconté notre histoire. Elle était, vois-tu, racontable. Quatorze ans que je n’ai pas retrouvé...le goût d’un amour impossible” (90). Her confession brings her both guilt and relief. Because she has offered a mental, intimate part of herself to a stranger, more intimate even than her body, she feels liberated of a burden and able to feel love once again. Only after years of mutism and feeling “folle de méchanceté” (43), after years of rejecting a country capable of harming her in such a way—“Je ne désire plus avoir de patrie. À mes enfants j’enseignerai la méchanceté et l’indifférence, l’intelligence et l’amour de la patrie des autres jusqu’à la mort” (93)—, after having found the right person and moment to share her emotional burden, only then can Elle rebecome a functional, sensual and sexual woman. Only then can she re-assemble the pieces and become whole once more. For women like Elle, the aftermath of the *tontes* brought about years of complex problems such as depression, sexual dysfunction, alienation, loss of memory or substance abuse. Mankell’s afterword reflects a mixture of historical truth and fiction concerning the infamous *tondue* of Chartres following her *tonte*. He details Simone’s two years served in prison and an attempt to turn the page by moving to a new town with her baby and cutting all

contact with everyone, including her father. He relates her premature death due to alcoholism and her daughter's own decision to change names and protect herself from a traumatic heritage by embracing anonymity (88). The psychological burden that Mankell's Simone tried to cope with through addiction led other women to more extreme and irreversible measures such as suicide. Bertrand Arbogast confesses to his readers that "ma grand-mère maternelle a aussi été tondue fin 44, mais elle est morte peu de temps après, elle s'est suicidée, la honte et l'injustice l'ont tuée. Je n'en sais pas beaucoup plus, on ne parlait jamais de cela dans la famille, c'est un vieux secret et il n'y a plus personne pour le dévoiler" (Arbogast 13). Many traumatized women like Arbogast's grandmother or his character Marcelline, Duras' Elle, Germain's Céleste, Croussy's Marie and Mankell's Simone attempted to repress the pain of their *tondes* by returning to a male-sanctioned versions of femininity, to their duties as wives and mothers, and drawing a shroud of silence over their past. The physical and emotional trauma these women incurred and subsequently passed on to their children was the heavy price they paid for their transgressive wartime behaviors that had posed a perceived threat to patriarchal sovereignty. As sexual collaborators, their bodies became the screen onto which male domination had to be re-projected—publicly and through a series of rigorous ceremonies—so that, through them, the female (re)productive body could be (re)rendered docile and reassigned to its pre-wartime roles. The sexuality of the sentimental collaborator represented a corrigible transgressive femininity that could only be amended through a public purification ritual operating in three distinct phases: objectification, de-sexualization and marginalization. It was only after each stage had fully deployed its array of rites that the *tondue* and her body could be safely reintegrated into the patriarchal state. As Dominique François poignantly concludes, "si la Libération représente la liberté retrouvée et la fin de la tyrannie nazie, ce ne fut pas encore la libération de la femme,

mais au contraire la ‘remise en place’ symbolique de la femme dans la société de l’Après-Guerre” (François 108).

## CONCLUSION

This study has been concerned with the French patriarchal state during and post-World Wars and the violence it exerted upon the bodies of women whose sexuality transcended the confines of the status quo. By laying down a theoretical foundation surrounding crucial concepts such as ‘patriarchy’, ‘gendered punishment’ and ‘gender fictions’, the introductory pages have elaborated upon the notion that patriarchy derives its authority from the intersection of several ‘mechanisms of power’. As Adrienne Rich aptly illustrates, such mechanisms include, but are not limited to, education, tradition, law, customs, language (Rich 57) and coalesce to create and perpetuate the “superordination of men” (Bennett 66) in times of peace. When armed conflict arises, pre-existing gender discourses on the roles and duties of men and women are recirculated and reinforced through a (patriarchal) rhetoric of nationalism. Complimentary gender codes such as valor and chastity, virility and motherhood acquire new significance as the nation attempts to bolster citizen support for its wartime agenda. Allegories of nations as mothers in need of male protection (the “motherland”) reemerge and citizens are reminded of their duties. Patriotism demands the spilling of blood along gendered lines: in battle for men, in childbirth for women. Sexuality and reproduction, instrumental patriarchal dimensions, become the primary loci of concern for the wartime state in view of lives lost on the front. Discourses advocating acceptable sexualities resurface under the guise of pronatalist and familialist debates aimed at regenerating and revitalizing the nation. Legislation on family life (i.e. divorce, abortion, contraception, adoption) blurs distinctions between private and public matters and (re)propels the female body to the center of discussions on politics and citizenship. Already a primary locus of oppressive masculinist discourses, the female body with its potential to give life becomes the primary tool in

solidifying victory in a conflict perceived as the realm of men. Consequently, the strict regulation of female sexuality is a priority to any wartime society. The sexualized dimension of wartime head shavings in France as well as the cyclical nature of female oppression has led me to wonder whether the *tontes* hold relevance for French society in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The question is not necessarily whether an atrocity such as a public head shaving would be possible/tolerated in the age of social media (and yet, would it?). What I am more concerned with is the continuity in the discourses that made the *tontes* possible. What problematic ideological assumptions inherent in the culpabilization of sexual collaborators do we still hold true today?

In a report<sup>99</sup> published on October 5<sup>th</sup> 2016, the *Haut Conseil à l'Égalité entre les femmes et les hommes* cites the yearly number of rapes in France at 84,000 for women and 14,000 for men between the ages of 18 and 75. Even if one takes into account the relative unreliability of data for men in particular, who are less likely to report such forms of victimization, the contrast is nonetheless stunning. According to the report, “[p]armi les 84 000 femmes majeures déclarant chaque année être victimes de viol ou tentative de viol, moins de 10% déposent plainte, et seule 1 plainte sur 10 aboutira à une condamnation” (10). Among the contributing factors to a rape culture that makes such statistics possible are “la chosification des femmes, la mise en scène publicitaire du viol, la dépolitisation de ce crime, la présomption de la responsabilité des victimes, et l’empathie avec les auteurs” (13). The objectification of women and the perception of the female body as “both territory and machine, virgin wilderness to be exploited and assembly-line turning out life” (Rich 285) as well as the patriarchal primacy of relations of power (Rich 64) are still relevant today. Among the five axes listed in view of reform, the report proposes a “sensibilisation de la société” (12). A similar campaign to sensitize the public to sexual

---

<sup>99</sup> The full report can be accessed here: <http://www.haut-conseil-egalite.gouv.fr/violences-de-genre/actualites-69/article/publication-de-l-avis-pour-une-1137>

harassment on public transport had already been proposed in a 2015 “Plan national de lutte contre le harcèlement sexiste et les violences sexuelles”<sup>100</sup> published by the Minister of the Interior and the Secretaries of Women’s Rights and Transportation. “Cette campagne d’affichage et sur Internet aura pour but de rappeler que le harcèlement et les violences sexistes sont punis par la loi, d’en dissuader les auteurs potentiels et d’inciter les témoins à être solidaires face à ces situations” (7). The report also projected combatting sexist representations of women in ads displayed on public transportation due to their capacity to create “un environnement hostile pour les femmes” (11). The government campaign, launched on November 9th 2015 under the slogan “STOP-ÇA SUFFIT”, urged the RATP public transportation system to post informational flyers on all bus and metro lines<sup>101</sup>. Today, the Ministère des Familles, de l’Enfance et des Droits des femmes<sup>102</sup> website includes a specific portal<sup>103</sup> for violence against women featuring sexual harassment, domestic violence, forced marriage and sexual mutilation. On its list of trending topics<sup>104</sup>, one finds “#HarcelementAgissons” (in response to accusations of sexual harassment against politicians Denis Baupin<sup>105</sup> and, more recently, Jean-Michel Baylet<sup>106</sup>), “achat d’actes sexuels” (referencing new legislation on prostitution<sup>107</sup>), and “#SexismePasNotreGenre”.

<sup>100</sup> The plan can be viewed here: <http://www.gouvernement.fr/sites/default/files/action/piece-jointe/2015/07/plan-national-de-lutte-contre-le-harcelement-sexiste-et-les-violences-sexuelles-dans-les-transports-en-commun.pdf>

<sup>101</sup> More information on the RATP campaign: [http://www.ratp.fr/fr/ratp/v\\_139437/contre-le-harcelement-des-femmes-dans-les-transports-la-ratp-agit/](http://www.ratp.fr/fr/ratp/v_139437/contre-le-harcelement-des-femmes-dans-les-transports-la-ratp-agit/)

<sup>102</sup> <http://www.familles-enfance-droitsdesfemmes.gouv.fr/>

<sup>103</sup> <http://stop-violences-femmes.gouv.fr/Suis-je-concernee.292.html>

<sup>104</sup> On November 2, 2016.

<sup>105</sup> <http://information.tv5monde.com/terriennes/accus%C3%A9-d-harc%C3%A8lement-sexuel-Denis-Baupin-d%C3%A9missionne106252>

<sup>106</sup> [http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/politique/ps/une-deputee-accuse-baylet-de-violences-passees-contre-une-collaboratrice\\_1839852.html](http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/politique/ps/une-deputee-accuse-baylet-de-violences-passees-contre-une-collaboratrice_1839852.html)

<sup>107</sup> According to a new law passed on April 13<sup>th</sup> 2016

(<https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000032396046&categorieLien=cid>), soliciting prostitution will incur a fine of 1,500 euros. The legislation criminalizes prostitution and the commodification of female sexuality without penalizing prostitutes, perceived as victims. The law has been controversial and feminists are divided between supporters and critics of sex work. For Senate debates on the matter, see: <https://www.senat.fr/seances/s201510/s20151014/s20151014007.html#int892>. For perspectives of sex workers fighting for their rights, please consult the website of the STRASS (French Union of Sex Workers): <http://strass-syndicat.org/ressources/feminisme/>.

On October 17<sup>th</sup> 2016, in response to recent debates on sexual violence and harassment against women in politics, a group of female politicians launched a website<sup>108</sup> showcasing testimonies of sexism and violence in the National Assembly and various other political institutions. For female politicians, who often hesitate to speak out for fear of reprisals, the website offers the possibility to share their experiences anonymously. In the context of a culture that continues to view women's bodies as territories to be conquered, breaking the silence is an urgent and necessary act: "Parler et témoigner, c'est non seulement libérer une parole trop longtemps étouffée sur un sujet qui nous concerne toutes et tous, mais c'est aussi prendre conscience de cette réalité. Femmes et hommes, nous avons tous intériorisé cette culture sexiste, qu'il est nécessaire aujourd'hui de démonter"<sup>109</sup>.

Contemporary issues such as rape and sexual harassment as well as debates surrounding prostitution anchor women in the corporeal. They are indicative of extant discourses on female sexuality and the persistent politicization of the female body. In spite of progress we have made with respect to women's rights<sup>110</sup>, "[d]oes it mean that loving men is unproblematic for women, something to be gratefully accepted rather than critically investigated? Surely not." (Alexander and Taylor 58).

---

<sup>108</sup> <https://chaircollaboratrice.com/> (The play on words between "chère"/dear and "chair"/flesh is intentional. "Collaboratrice" is the equivalent of "counselor/assistant" but I cannot help but make a connection to a photograph taken in 1945 of some shorn French women in the flatbed of a vehicle. In the right-hand corner is a man holding a sign that reads "Le char des collaboratrices"/The collaborator's chariot. Image here: <https://www.histoire-image.org/etudes/tondues-liberation>. Sexuality is at the forefront for both kinds of "collaboratrices" whose bodies are considered public property.

<sup>109</sup> To read the full article, see: [http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2016/10/17/sexisme-le-harcelement-en-politique-doit-etre-pris-pour-ce-qu-il-est-une-realite\\_5014766\\_3232.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2016/10/17/sexisme-le-harcelement-en-politique-doit-etre-pris-pour-ce-qu-il-est-une-realite_5014766_3232.html).

<sup>110</sup> For a 2016 World Economic Forum report comparing 144 countries on the gender gap across areas such as economic participation and continuity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment, see <http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2016/>.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alexander, Sally, and Barbara Taylor. "In Defense of 'Patriarchy'." *The Feminist History Reader*. Ed. Sue Morgan. London: Routledge, 2006. 56-58. Print.
- Apocrypha: King James Version*. Cambridge: University Press, 1983. Print.
- Arbogast, Bertrand. *La tonduie: Un amour de jeunesse franco-allemand*. Paris: Harmattan, 2010. Print.
- Beauvoir, Simone De. *Le deuxième sexe*. 2 vols. Paris: Gallimard, 1976. Print.
- Beel, Brittany. "Tontes et tondues: Résurgences et survivances de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale à nos jours." Honors Thesis Duke University, 2011. *Duke University Libraries*. 11 May 2011. Web. 3 Nov. 2016. <<http://dukespace.lib.duke.edu/dspace/handle/10161/3748>>.
- Bennett, Judith M. "Feminism and History." *The Feminist History Reader*. Ed. Sue Morgan. London: Routledge, 2006. 323-338. Print.
- Berlin, Ivan. "The Salpêtrière Hospital: From Confining the Poor to Freeing the Insane." *The American Journal of Psychiatry* 160.9 (2003): n. pag. Web. 8 February 2013.
- Bertillon, Jacques. *Le problème de la dépopulation. Le programme de l'Alliance nationale pour l'accroissement de la population française*. Paris: Bureaux De La Revue Politique Et Parlementaire, 1897. Print.
- Bock, Gisela. "Le nazisme. Politiques sexuées et vies des femmes en Allemagne." *Histoire des femmes en Occident*. Ed. Françoise Thébaud. Paris: Perrin, 2002. 233-266. Print.
- Bonnaire, Dr. "Le travail féminin dans les fabriques de munitions dans ses rapports avec la puerpéralité." *Bulletin des usines de guerre* n.35 (1916) : 276-279. Print.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *La domination masculine: Suivi de quelques questions sur le mouvement gay et lesbien*. Paris: Seuil, 2002. Print.
- Bourdrel, Philippe. *L'épuration sauvage 1944-1945*. Paris: Perrin, 1991. Print.
- Bracher, Nathan. *After the Fall: War and Occupation in Irène Némirovsky's Suite Française*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic U of America, 2010. Print.
- Bridenthal, Renate, Atina Grossmann, and Marion A. Kaplan. *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany*. New York: Monthly Review, 1984. Print.
- Brossat, Alain. *Les tondues: Un carnaval moche*. Levallois-Perret: Manya, 1993. Print.

- . *Libération, fête folle, 6 Juin 44-8 Mai 45: Mythes et rites ou le grand théâtre des passions populaires*. Paris: Editions Autrement, 1994. Print.
- Brownmiller, Susan. *Against our Will: Men, Women and Rape*. New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1975. Print.
- Buisson, Patrick. *1940-1945: Années érotiques*. 2 vols. Paris: Albin Michel, 2008-2011. Print.
- Burrin, Philippe. *France under the Germans: Collaboration and Compromise*. New York: New Press, 1996. Print.
- . *La France à l'heure allemande: 1940-1944*. Paris: Seuil, 1997/1995. Print.
- Camus, Albert. *L'homme révolté*. Université du Québec à Chicoutimi. *Les classiques des sciences sociales*. Web. 3 Nov. 2016. <[http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/camus\\_albert/homme\\_revolte/camus\\_homme\\_revolte.pdf](http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/camus_albert/homme_revolte/camus_homme_revolte.pdf)>.
- Capa, Robert. *La tondue de Chartres*. Chartres, 1944. Photograph. *Wikithionville.fr*. Web. 2 Nov. 2016. <<http://www.wikithionville.fr/images/5/5f/Tondue.jpg>>.
- Capdevila, Luc. "La "collaboration sentimentale": Antipatriotisme ou sexualité hors-normes ? (Lorient, Mai 1945)." *Les Cahiers De L'IHTP* 31 (1995). *Institut d'histoire du temps présent - IHTP*. 1995. Web. 10 June 2011.
- . *Hommes et femmes dans la France en guerre (1914-1945)*. Paris: Payot & Rivages, 2003. Print.
- Capuano, Christophe. *Vichy et la famille: Réalités et faux-semblants d'une politique publique*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires De Rennes, 2009. Print.
- Cesbron, Georges, and Gérard Jacquin. *Vercors (Jean Bruller) et son œuvre*. Paris, France: L'Harmattan, 1999. Print.
- Chaircollaboratrice.com*. Web. 2 Nov. 2015. <<http://www.chaircollaboratrice.com>>.
- Chodorow, Nancy. *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978. Print.
- Cole, Joshua. *The Power of Large numbers. Population, Politics and Gender in Nineteenth-Century France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000. Print.
- "Contre le harcèlement des femmes dans les transports, la RATP agit." *RATP.fr*. RATP, 2015. Web. 2 Nov. 2016. <[http://www.ratp.fr/fr/ratp/v\\_139437/contre-le-harcèlement-des-femmes-dans-les-transport-la-ratp-agit/](http://www.ratp.fr/fr/ratp/v_139437/contre-le-harcèlement-des-femmes-dans-les-transport-la-ratp-agit/)>.
- Corbin, Alain. *Time, Desire, and Horror: Towards a History of the Senses*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1995. Print.

- Cova, Anne. *Féminismes et néo-malthusianismes sous la IIIe République: "La liberté de la maternité."* Paris: L' Harmattan, 2011. Print.
- Croussy, Guy. *La tonduée*. Paris: Grasset, 1980. Print.
- Dauphin, Cécile, and Arlette Farge, eds. *De la violence et des femmes*. Paris: A. Michel, 1997. Print.
- Dauphin, Cécile, Arlette Farge et al. "Women's Culture and Women's Power: Issues in French Women's History." Ed. Joan Wallach Scott. *Feminism and History*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996. 568-596. Print.
- Desmarais, Julie. *Femmes tonduées. France-Libération: Coupables, amoureuses, victimes*. Québec, QC: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2010. Print.
- Després, Armand. *La prostitution en France: études morales et démographiques, avec une statistique générale de la prostitution en France / par le Dr Armand Després*. Paris: J.-B. Baillière et fils, 1883. Print.
- Diamond, Hanna. *Women and the Second World War in France, 1939-48: Choices and Constraints*. Harlow: Longman, 1999. Print.
- Dixon, Suzanne. *Reading Roman Women. Sources, Genres and Real Life*. London: Duckworth, 2001. Print.
- Douglas, Tom. *Scapegoats: Transferring Blame*. London: Routledge, 1995. Print.
- Duchâtelet, Parent. *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris, considérée sous la rapport de l'hygiène publique, de la morale et de l'administration; ouvrage appuyé de documens statistiques puisés dans les archives de la Préfecture de police; avec cartes et tableaux, par A.-J.-B. Parent Duchatelet. Précédé d'une notice historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de l'auteur, par Fr. Leuret*. Paris: J.-B. Baillière, 1836. Print.
- Duchen, Claire. *Women's Rights and Women's Lives in France, 1944-1968*. London: Routledge, 1994. Print.
- Duchen, Claire, and Irene Schöffmann. *When the War Was Over: Women, War and Peace in Europe, 1940-1956*. London: Leicester UP, 2000. Print.
- Durand, Yves. *La captivité: Histoire des prisonniers de guerre français 1939 - 1945*. 3. Éd. ed. Paris: Féd. nat. des combattants prisonniers de guerre et combattants d'Algérie, Tunisie, Maroc, 1980. Print.
- Duras, Marguerite, and Alain Resnais. *Hiroshima mon amour: Scénario et dialogues*. Paris: Gallimard, 1960. Print.

- Eck, Hélène. "Les Françaises sous Vichy: Femmes du désastre—citoyennes par le désastre ?" *Histoire des femmes en Occident V*. Ed. Françoise Thébaud. Paris: Perrin, 2002. 287-323. Print.
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke. *Women and War*. New York: Basic, 1987. Print.
- "Féminisme." *Strass-syndicat.org*. Strass: Syndicat du Travail Sexuel. Web. 2 Nov. 2015. <<http://strass-syndicat.org/ressources/feminisme/>>.
- Fishman, Sarah. *We Will Wait: Wives of French Prisoners of War, 1940-1945*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1991. Print.
- Fogelman, Eva. "Rape during the Nazi Holocaust: Vulnerabilities and Motivations." *Rape: Weapon of War and Genocide*. Rittner, Carol, and John K. Roth, eds. St. Paul, MN: Paragon House, 2012. 15-28. Print.
- Foucault, Michel. *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison*. Paris: Gallimard, 1975. Print.
- . *Histoire de la sexualité: La volonté de savoir*. Paris: Gallimard, 1976. Print.
- France. *Code Napoléon*. Ed. Impériale, Paris: 1807. *BnF Gallica*. Web. 3 Nov. 2016. <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5406276n/f63.item> >.
- . *Code Napoléon*. Nouv. Ed., Paris: Garnery, 1808. *Hathi Trust Digital Library*. Web. 3 Nov. 2016. <<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101073435495>>.
- . *Haut Conseil à l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes. Avis pour une juste condamnation sociétale et judiciaire du viol et autres agressions sexuelles*. Web. 5 Oct. 2016. <<http://www.haut-conseil-egalite.gouv.fr/violences-de-genre/actualites-69/article/publication-de-l-avis-pour-une-1137>>.
- . *Légifrance*. "LOI n° 2016-444 du 13 avril 2016 visant à renforcer la lutte contre le système prostitutionnel et à accompagner les personnes prostituées (1)." Web. 2 Nov. 2016. <<https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000032396046&categorieLien=cid>>.
- . Ministère des Familles, de l'Enfance et des Droits des femmes. "En ce moment." Web. 2 Nov. 2016. <<http://www.familles-enfance-droitsdesfemmes.gouv.fr/>>.
- . Ministère des Familles, de l'Enfance et des Droits des femmes. *Violences contre les femmes*. Web. 2 Nov. 2016. <<http://stop-violences-femmes.gouv.fr/Suis-je-concernee,292.html>>.
- . *Ministre de l'Intérieur, Secrétaire d'État chargée des Droits des femmes, and Secrétaire d'État chargé des Transports, de la Mer et de la Pêche. Sécurité des femmes dans les transports en commun: Plan national de lutte contre le harcèlement sexiste et les violences sexuelles*. Web. Jul. 2015. <<http://www.gouvernement.fr/sites/default/files/action/piece-jointe/2015/07/plan-national-de-lutte-contre-le-harcèlement-sexiste-et-les-violences->

sexuelles-dans-les-transports-en-commun.pdf >.

---. Secrétariat Général du Congrès. *Xe Congrès international d'hygiène et de démographie à Paris en 1900. Compte rendu*. Paris: Masson Et Cie, 1900. Print.

---. Sénat. *Séance du 14 octobre 2015 (compte rendu intégral des débats)*. Web. 2 Nov. 2016. <<https://www.senat.fr/seances/s201510/s20151014/s20151014007.html#int892>>.

François, Dominique. *Femmes tondues: La diabolisation de la femme en 1944, les bûchers de la Libération*. Coudray-Macouard: Cheminements, 2006. Print.

Frétygné, Philippe, and Gérard Leray. *La tonduée: 1944-1947*. Paris: Vendémiaire, 2011. Print.

Germain, Sylvie. *L'inaperçu: Roman*. Paris: Albin Michel, 2008. Print.

Gilman, Sander L., Helen King, Roy Porter, G.S. Rousseau, and Elaine Showalter, eds. *Hysteria beyond Freud*. Berkeley: U of California, 1993. Print.

Girard, Alain. "Une enquête sur l'aide aux mères de famille, extension des crèches, travail à temps partiel." *Population* 3 (1948): 539-543. Print.

Grayzel, Susan R. *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War*. Chapel Hill, NC: U of North Carolina, 1999. Print.

Grieco, Matthews Sara F. "Corps, apparence et sexualité". *Histoire des femmes en Occident III*. Ed. Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge. Paris: Perrin, 2002. 65-110. Print.

Hagemann, Karen, and Stefanie Springorum, eds. *Home/front: The Military, War, and Gender in Twentieth-century Germany*. Oxford: Berg, 2002. Print.

Hause, Steven C. "More Minerva than Mars: The French Women's Rights Campaign and the First World War". *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*. New Haven Conn.: Yale UP, 1987. 99-113. Print.

Higonnet, Margaret R., Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel, and Margaret Collins Weitz, eds. *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*. New Haven Conn.: Yale UP, 1987. Print.

Higonnet, Margaret R. and Patrice L.-R. Higonnet. "The Double Helix." *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*. New Haven Conn.: Yale UP, 1987. 31-47. Print.

hooks, bell. *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*. Boston, MA: South End Press, 1984. Print.

Huot, Louis, and Paul Voivenel. *La psychologie du soldat ; préface de Paul Magritte*. Paris : La Renaissance du livre, 1918. Print.

- Kedward, Harry R. *The Liberation of France: Image and Event*. 1. Publ. ed. Oxford: Berg, 1995. Print.
- Knibiehler, Yvonne. *La Révolution maternelle. Femmes, maternité, citoyenneté depuis 1945*. Paris: Perrin, 1997. Print.
- . "Les médecins et la 'nature féminine' au temps du code civil." *Annales* (1976) : 824-45. *Persée*. Web. 23 Sept. 2016. <[http://www.persee.fr/doc/ahess\\_0395-2649\\_1976\\_num\\_31\\_4\\_293751](http://www.persee.fr/doc/ahess_0395-2649_1976_num_31_4_293751)>.
- Koos, Cheryl Ann. *Engendering Reaction: The Politics of Pronatalism and the Family in France, 1919-1944*. Diss. University of Southern California, 1996. Print.
- Kruger, Josiane. *Née d'amours interdites: Ma mère était française, mon père, soldat allemand*. Paris: Perrin, 2006. Print.
- La délation sous l'Occupation*. Dir. André Halimi. Feat. Jean Pierre Rioux, Henri Rolland Coty et al. Editing Productions, 2003. Documentary. *Institut national de l'audiovisuel*. Web. 4 Nov. 2016. <<http://www.ina.fr/video/VDD08004681>>.
- Lacan, Jacques. *Autres écrits*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2001. Print.
- Lackerstein, Debbie. *National Regeneration in Vichy France: Ideas and Policies, 1930-1944*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011. Print.
- Lagrange, Rose-Marie. "Une émancipation sous tutelle: Éducation et travail des femmes au XXe siècle." *Histoire des femmes en Occident*. Ed. Françoise Thébaud. Paris: Perrin, 2002. 581-623. Print.
- Landes, Joan B. *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-century France*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2001. Print.
- Lardreau, Suzanne. *Orgueilleuse*. Paris: R. Laffont, 2005. Print.
- Le Naour, Jean-Yves. "Femmes tondues et répression des 'femmes à boches' en 1918." *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* (1954-) 47.1 (2000): 148-58. *JSTOR*. 2000. Web. 21 Mar. 2011. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20530533>>.
- . *Misères et tourments de la chair durant la Grande Guerre: Les mœurs sexuelles des Français, 1914-1918*. Paris: Aubier, 2002. Print.
- Lilly, J. Robert. *Taken by Force: Rape and American GIs in Europe during World War II*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. Print.
- Lottman, Herbert R. *The People's Anger: Justice and Revenge in Post-liberation France*. London: Hutchinson, 1986. Print.

- Mankell, Henning. *Des jours et des nuits à Chartres ; Miles*. Trans. Terje Sinding. Paris: L'Arche, 2011. Print.
- Meersch, Maxence Van Der. *Invasion 14*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1939. Print.
- Millett, Kate. *Sexual Politics*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1980. Print.
- Moore, Alison. "Sexualités, identités et nationalismes dans la longue guerre européenne." *Amours, guerres et sexualité: 1914-1945*. Ed. François Rouquet et al. Paris: Gallimard, 2007. 18-25. Print.
- Morel, Bénédicte Auguste. *Traité des dégénérescences physiques, intellectuelles, et morales de l'espèce humaine et des causes qui produisent ces variétés maladives*. Paris : Baillière, 1857. Print.
- Mourgere, Isabelle. "Nouvelles accusations de harcèlement sexuel contre Denis Baupin." *Terriennes*. TV5 Monde, 9 May 2016. Web. 2 Nov. 2015.  
<<http://information.tv5monde.com/terriennes/accus%C3%A9-d-harc%C3%A8lement-sexuel-Denis-Baupin-d%C3%A9missionnaire106252>>.
- Nahoum-Grappe, Véronique. "Guerre et différence des sexes: Les viols systématiques (ex-Yougoslavie, 1991-1995)." *De la violence et des femmes*. Ed. Dauphin, Cécile, and Arlette Farge. Paris: A. Michel, 1997. 159-184. Print.
- Némirovsky, Irène. *Suite française: Roman*. Paris: Denoël, 2004. Print.
- Olivier, Cyril. *Le vice ou la vertu: Vichy et les politiques de la sexualité*. Toulouse: Presses Universitaires Du Mirail-Toulouse, 2005. Print.
- . "Vichy ou le sexe contrôlé." *Amours, guerres et sexualité: 1914-1945*. Ed. François Rouquet et al. Paris: Gallimard, 2007. 82-85. Print.
- , "Les couples illégitimes dans la France de Vichy et la répression sexuée de l'infidélité (1940-1944)", *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés / Crime, History & Societies*. Web. Vol. 9, n°2. 2005.  
<<http://chs.revues.org/295>>
- Outram, Dorinda. *The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale UP, 1989. Print.
- Pateman, Carole. *The Sexual Contract*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988. Print.
- Paxton, Robert O. *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944*. New York: Norton, 1975. Print.
- Petersen, Lauren Hackworth, and Patricia B. Salzman-Mitchell. *Mothering and Motherhood in Ancient Greece and Rome*. Austin: U of Texas, 2012. Print.

- Peterson, V. Spike. "Gendered Nationalism: Reproducing 'Us' versus 'Them'" Ed. Lois Ann Lorentzen. *The Women and War Reader*. New York: New York UP, 1998. 41-49. Print.
- Pettman, Jan. *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics*. London: Routledge, 1996. Print.
- Prinner, Anton. *La femme tondue*. Paris: APR, 1946. Print.
- Rémy, Dominique. *Les lois de Vichy: Actes dits 'lois' de l'autorité de fait se prétendant 'gouvernement de l'État français'*. Paris: Romillat, 1992. Print.
- Reynolds, Siân. "Who Wanted the Crèches? Working Mothers and the Birthrate in France 1900-1950." *Continuity and Change* 2 (1990): 190. Print.
- Rich, Adrienne Cecile. *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution*. New York: Norton, 1995. Print.
- Ripa, Yannick. "Armes d'hommes contre femmes désarmées: de la dimension sexuée de la violence dans la guerre civile espagnole." *De la violence et des femmes*. Ed. Dauphin, Cécile, and Arlette Farge. Paris: A. Michel, 1997. 131-145. Print.
- Rittner, Carol, and John K. Roth, eds. *Rape: Weapon of War and Genocide*. St. Paul, MN: Paragon House, 2012. Print.
- Rouquet, François. "Épuration, résistance et représentations: Quelques éléments pour une analyse sexuée." *La Résistance et les Français. Enjeux stratégiques et environnement social : Actes du colloque international 'La Résistance et les Français: Le poids de la stratégie, Résistance et société', 29-30 Septembre - 1er Octobre 1994*. Ed. Jacqueline Sainclivier. Rennes: Presses Universitaires De Rennes, 1995. 285-293. Print.
- Rouquet, François, Fabrice Virgili, and Danièle Voldman, eds. *Amours, guerres et sexualité, 1914-1945*. Paris: Gallimard, 2007. Print.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Émile ; éducation ; morale ; botanique*. Paris: Gallimard, 1969. Print.
- Rowbotham, Sheila. "The Trouble with 'Patriarchy'." *The Feminist History Reader*. Ed. Sue Morgan. New York: Routledge, 2006. 51-56. Print.
- Sabatier, Robert. *La souris verte: Roman*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1990. Print.
- Salmi, Nadia. *Des étoiles sombres dans le ciel*. Paris: Oh! Éditions, 2011.
- Sartre, Jean-Paul. "Paris sous l'Occupation." *Situations, III*. Paris: Gallimard, 1949. 15-42. Print.
- "Sexisme : 'Le harcèlement en politique doit être pris pour ce qu'il est, une réalité.'" *M Idées*. Le Monde. 17 Oct. 2016. Web. 2 Nov. 2015. <<http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/>

article/2016/10/17/sexisme-le-harcelement-en-politique-doit-etre-pris-pour-ce-qu-il-est-une-realite\_5014766\_3232.html>.

Sohn, Anne-Marie. "Entre deux guerres: Les rôles féminins en France et en Angleterre." *Histoire des femmes en Occident*. Ed. Françoise Thébaud. Paris: Perrin, 2002. 165-196. Print.

Soulard, Isabelle. *Les femmes de l'ouest sous l'Occupation: Bretagne, Basse-Normandie, Pays de Loire, Poitou-Charentes-Vendée*. La Crèche: Geste, 2002. Print.

Sinha, Mrinalini. "Gender and Nation." *The Feminist History Reader*. Ed. Sue Morgan. London: Routledge, 2006. 323-338. Print.

Siim, Birte. *Gender and Citizenship: Politics and Agency in France, Britain and Denmark*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Print.

Sumpf, Alexandre. "Les 'Tondues' de la Libération." *L'histoire par l'image*. Web. 2 Nov. 2015. <<https://www.histoire-image.org/etudes/tondues-liberation>>.

Tamagne, Florence. "Guerres et homosexualité." *Amours, guerres et sexualité: 1914-1945*. Ed. François Rouquet et al. Paris: Gallimard, 2007. 124-131. Print.

*The Holy Bible: King James Version*. San Diego, CA: Thunder Bay, 2000. Print.

"The Global Gender Gap Report 2016." *World Economic Forum*. Web. 2 Nov. 2016. <<http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2016/>>.

Thébaud, Françoise. "La Grande Guerre: Le triomphe de la division sexuelle." *Histoire des femmes en Occident*. Ed. Françoise Thébaud. Paris: Perrin, 2002. 85-144. Print.

---. *Les femmes au temps de la guerre de 14*. Paris: Éd. Payot & Rivages, 2013. Print.

Théofilakis, Fabien. "Sexes captifs, la sexualité des prisonniers." *Amours, guerres et sexualité: 1914-1945*. Ed. François Rouquet et al. Paris: Gallimard, 2007. 55-61. Print.

Tomlinson, Richard Peter. "The Politics of Dénatalité During the French Third Republic, 1890-1940." Diss. Christ's College, 1984. Print.

Trempé, Rolande. *La Libération dans le Midi de la France: Actes du colloque organisé par les universités Toulouse-Le Mirail et Paul Valéry de Montpellier à Toulouse, Centre de Promotion de la Recherche Scientifique, Les 7 et 8 Juin 1985*. Toulouse: Eché Editeur & Service Des Publications U.T.M., 1986. Print.

Veillon, Dominique. *La collaboration*. Paris: Le Livre De Poche, 1984. Print.

Vercors. *Le silence de la mer, et autres récits [par] Vercors [pseud] Édition définitive*. Paris: Michel, 1951. Print.

- “VIDEO. Une députée écologiste accuse Baylet de violences contre une collaboratrice.”  
*L’Express.fr*. L’Express, 11 Oct. 2016. Web. 2 Nov. 2016.  
 <[http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/politique/ps/une-deputee-accuse-baylet-de-violences-passees-contre-une-collaboratrice\\_1839852.html](http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/politique/ps/une-deputee-accuse-baylet-de-violences-passees-contre-une-collaboratrice_1839852.html)>.
- Vinen, Richard. *The Unfree French: Life under the Occupation*. 1. Publ. ed. London: Allen Lane, 2006. Print.
- Virgili, Fabrice. *La France “virile”: Des femmes tondues à la Libération*. Paris: Payot, 2000. Print.
- . “Les tontes de la Libération en France.” *Les Cahiers de L’IHTP* 31 (1995). *Institut d’histoire du temps présent - IHTP*. 1995. Web. 10 June 2011.
- . “Le sexe blessé.” *Amours, guerres et sexualité: 1914-1945*. Ed. François Rouquet et al. Paris: Gallimard, 2007. 138-144. Print.
- . *Naître ennemi: Les enfants de couples franco-allemands nés pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale*. Paris: Payot, 2009. Print.
- Vismes, Henriette de. *Histoire authentique et touchante des marraines et des filleuls de guerre*. Paris: Perrin, 1918. Print.
- Voldman, Danièle. “‘J’attendrai ton retour’. Maris et femmes en temps de guerre.” *Amours, guerres et sexualité: 1914-1945*. Ed. François Rouquet et al. Paris: Gallimard, 2007. 116-123. Print.
- . “Les bombardements aériens : une mise à mort du ‘guerrier’ ? (1914-1945).” *De la violence et des femmes*. Ed. Dauphin, Cécile, and Arlette Farge. Paris: A. Michel, 1997. 146-158. Print.