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Elisa Camiscioli, *Reproducing the French Race: Immigration, Intimacy, and Embodiment in the Early Twentieth Century*. Durham, N.C., and London: Duke University Press, 2009. xi + 227 pp. Figures, notes, bibliography, and index. $75.00 (cl). ISBN 9780822345480; $22.95 U.S. (pb). ISBN 9780822345657.

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Elisa Camiscioli's *Reproducing the French Race: Immigration, Intimacy, and Embodiment in the Early Twentieth Century* makes a significant contribution to the historiography of interwar France. It does so by integrating two fields that have too often been dealt with separately: gender and immigration. Previous histories on these topics often share a point of departure--the demographic crisis provoked by World War One-- but they have only occasionally been treated within a shared analytic frame.[1] As Camiscioli's book successfully demonstrates, the politics of immigration and the postwar reordering of gender were not merely parallel. They were mutually implicated-- and *intimately* related.

The "intimate" is precisely the framework that Camiscioli uses to organize her treatment of several overlapping domains: demography and pronatalist politics; racialized accounts of labor power; discussions of interracial sex and sex trafficking; international marriage and the reform of French nationality law. Following Ann Laura Stoler, from whom she adopts "the intimate" as an analytic term, Camiscioli shows that gender, sexuality, and domesticity were not merely symbolic planes on which other concerns (about labor power, international and imperial power, racial difference and hierarchy) played out. Rather, as she explains, "the intimate is critical to the study of immigration because it was an essential site upon which ideas about assimilability and belonging were elaborated"(p. 3). By detailing the extent of contemporary concern about how foreign bodies related to French national ones--with respect to work *and* sex (as well as sex work)--Camiscioli illustrates how race informed the politics of migrant labor, whether European or colonial in origin.

This focus on embodiment has a second, and related aim, namely to illuminate the historical relationship between immigration and French republicanism. Like many recent works, the book draws connections between discussions of the desirability of certain migrants over others, their relative aptitudes for work and reproduction, and their eventual ability and rights to become full citizens. For Camiscioli, the simultaneously sexualized and racialized character of interwar immigration politics reveals the limits of republican universalism. The exclusions of some French nationals--women and colonial subjects--from full political participation are the most stark examples of how the "universalism" of French men's citizenship was, in fact, structured by conceptions of embodied particularity. As Camiscioli works to show, inclusion as well as exclusion depended on having a certain kind of body.

In her opening two chapters, Camiscioli explores how pronatalist ideas of the properly reproductive citizen and labor experts' vision of the productive worker privileged the

presumptively white bodies of European immigrants. The moral, economic, and social imperatives of natalists, employers, and government officials conveniently coincided in an idealized vision of a productive European--and white--worker, who, once married to a native French woman, both assimilate and produce future French citizens. Color bound, rather than color-blind, the pronatalists' model of citizenship and work scientists' ideal laborer (their vision of "human capital") were, Camiscioli argues, mutually reinforcing.

In chapter three, Camiscioli pursues how contemporary hygienists, some of whom were in the employ of the state, elaborated a racialized conception of populations in and through their work on métissage. Here, and throughout the book, Camiscioli borrows from scholars of American immigration and critical histories of "whiteness" in the United States.[2] In demonstrating the prevalence of biologism in interwar thinking about reproduction, Camiscioli highlights "whiteness as a necessary precondition for citizenship in Republican France"(p. 76). In contrast to Emmanuelle Saada and Owen White's books on métissage, *Reproducing the French Race* focuses on a metropolitan context, where concerns about the mixing of colonizer and colonized overlapped with discussions of immigrant desirability.[3] Camiscioli suggests that metropolitan interracial unions were not regulated in the same way as they were in colonial space. The race concepts at work here were labile, discursive constructs, rather than legal categories. Indeed, the very purchase and power of these population scientists' deployments of "race" lay in its fungibility--its combination of organicist and culturalist elements and its slippery relationship to nationality as well as ethnicity.

The final two chapters offer concrete examples of how concerns about race and métissage shaped the regulation of both metropolitian and colonial prostitution, on the one hand, and French women's nationality rights, on the other. Camiscioli's account of prostitution in chapter four complements and extends earlier work done on the recruitment of colonial soldiers and workers in the Great War by illustrating how concerns about interracial sex continued into the interwar period.[4] By offering a parallel account of French efforts to combat "white slavery"--which is to say French women's sex work abroad--Camiscioli again demonstrates how foreign *and* French race and gender were significant regulatory nodes of interwar population policy.

The book's argument culminates in chapter five, which explains how natalist arguments framed the 1927 French nationality law. It shows how the National Assembly's decision to grant women who married foreigners the right to keep their nationality was motivated as much by racially tinged (and implicitly gendered) natalism, as by concern for women's individual rights. The contemporary resonance and relevance of this discussion, which maps both the confluence and contradictions between nationality law and women's rights, are very clear. In 1927, French women were given the right to keep their nationality in order to protect them from purportedly treacherous, polygamous, foreign men. Recently, French politicians have expressed analogous concerns about women's victimization by foreign spouses--cynically tricked into marrying racialized foreigners (in so called "mariages gris") for immigration purposes and potentially trapped in degrading de facto "polygamous" unions.[5] The history related in Camiscioli's book illuminates how contemporary concerns about immigrant men's abuse of mariage at once echo and ironically reverse the motivations of the 1927 law.

Camiscioli's analyses of how gender and race were mutually constituted in the arenas of public debate and policy are well documented and largely convincing. Her use of this evidence to critique "republicanism" is, however, less so. Many of the figures she discusses are clearly invested in questions of race, nationality, and population. But *republicanism* as either a political theory or governmental practice is not at the forefront of their concerns (with the notable exception of feminists, whose rights-based arguments were marginalized in discussions of the 1927 nationality law). Camiscioli's aim, of course, is to critique overly abstract (and often

idealized) accounts of "Republican" citizenship and immigration. In highlighting how "intimate" relations between gendered and raced bodies informed thinking about immigration, she argues against the (at this point well worn) "myth of a 'colorblind' France"(p. 11). Camiscioli amply documents the profusion of "race talk" in the interwar period. But its relationship to republicanism (as distinct from "Frenchness") is not always clear.

Part of the problem may lie in the fact that the book's strawperson--"republican universalism"--appears to be a self-evident (if highly problematic) abstraction. While successfully demonstrating how populationist thinking presumed and produced French and foreign embodiment, Camiscioli doesn't really historicize the republican citizenship whose abstraction she aims to critique. The book does, indeed, show, as she writes in her conclusion, the "persistent use of racial language in immigration discourse during the Third Republic" (p. 159). This discourse--and policy--was, of course, profoundly concerned with citizenship (and its constitutive exclusions). But was it actually about "republicanism"? And in what sense? A clear demonstration of how the embodied particularity that was the focus of so much populationist and immigration discourse structured "republicanism" would require a fuller discussion of republicanism's historically specific--and contested--meanings in the period under discussion.

The book's principal strength lies in the concrete connections it draws between seemingly distinct discursive and policy arenas. By pairing discussions of desirable laborers with those surrounding international marriage, and the racial segregation of prostitution with anxieties about French women's sex work abroad, Camiscioli illustrates how past politics and policies of immigration were gendered and raced. Beyond recasting the historiography of interwar France, *Reproducing the French Race* provides an important basis for comparing the mutual implication of sex and immigration in France today.[6]

NOTES

[1] On gender in interwar France, see Carolyn J. Dean, *The Frail Social Body: Pornography, Homosexuality, and Other Fantasies in Interwar France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Laura Lee Downs, *Manufacturing Inequality: Gender Division in the French and British Metalworking Industries, 1914–1939* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 1995); Sîan Reynolds, *France between the Wars: Gender and Politics* (London: Routledge, 1996); Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilization without sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917-1927* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). On immigration, see Mary D. Lewis, *The Boundaries of the Republic: Migrant Rights and The Limits of Universalism in France, 1918-1940* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007); Clifford D. Rosenberg, *Policing Paris: The origins of modern immigration control between the wars* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Gerard Noiriel, *The French Melting-Pot: Immigration, Citizenship and National Identity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996). Some notable exceptions to this division of historiographical labor include, K. H. Adler, *Jews and Gender in Liberation France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Laura Levine Frader, *Breadwinners and Citizens: Gender in the Making of the French Social Model* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008), esp. Chapter Three; Nancy Green, *Ready-to-Wear and Ready-to-Work: A Century of Industry and Immigrants in Paris and New York* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997).

[2] Matthew Frye Jacobsen, *Whiteness of a Different Color* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999); David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*, revised and expanded edition (London: Verso, 2007).

[3] Emmanuelle Saada, *Les enfants de la colonie: Les métis de l'Empire français entre sujétion et citoyenneté* (Paris: La Découverte, 2008); Owen White, *Children of the French Empire: Miscegenation and Colonial Society in French West Africa, 1895-1960* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). Camiscioli might however have discussed how these dynamics were prefigured in Algerian colonization. Comparisons between the relative assimilability of "European" immigrants to Algeria and that of colonial subjects already informed nationality policy prior to the First World War. See, for example, Kamel Kateb, *Européens, 'indigènes,' et juifs en Algérie (1830-1962): représentations et réalités des populations* (Paris: INED/PUF, 2001); Patrick Weil, *Qu'est-ce qu'un français? Histoire de la nationalité française depuis la Révolution* (Paris: Editions Grasset et Fasquelle, 2002).

[4] Cf. Jean-Yves Naour, *Misères et tourments de la chair durant la Grande Guerre: Les moeurs sexuelles des Français, 1914-1918* (Paris, Aubier, 2002); Tyler Stovall, "Love, Labor, and Race: Colonial Men and White Women in France during the Great War," *French Civilization and its Discontents: Nationalism, Colonialism, and Race*, ed. Tyler Stovall and Georges Van den Abbeele. (Lanham: Lexington, 2003); Richard Fogarty, *Race and War in France: Colonial Subjects in the French Army, 1914-1918* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), esp. chapter 6.

[5] On the implicit racial language and logic of the combat against the "mariage gris," see Éric Fassin, "La couleur vive des 'mariages gris," *Vacarme* 52 (Summer 2010), available on-line, http://www.vacarme.org/article1904.html
[6] For a good précis of these contemporary intersections, see "Le sexe de l'immigration," *Cette France-là*, Vol. 1. Available on-line, http://www.cettefrancela.net/volume-1/descriptions/article/le-sexe-de-l-immigration

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