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Julie Fette, *Exclusions: Practicing Prejudice in French Law and Medicine, 1920-1945*. Ithaca, N.Y., and London: Cornell University Press, 2012. xi + 314 pp. Notes, bibliography, and index. \$49.95 U.S. (cl). ISBN 978-0-8014-5021-1.

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The important theme of continuities between some policies of the late Third Republic and those of the Vichy Regime has become a major component of the historiography of both political moments, as has the judgment that Vichy noticeably expanded or worsened previous tendencies.[1] To this still evolving historiography Julie Fette has made a significant contribution with her study of how and why members of the legal and medical professions sought to exclude certain categories of individuals between 1920 and 1945. Her explanations for “exclusions,” particularly those aimed at people deemed foreign, focus on three factors: prejudice, fear of economic competition, and the nature of the process of professionalization (pp. 1, 204). Noting that the latter factor may seem less obvious than the other two, Fette emphasizes that the history of professionalization often reveals important tensions between the goal of ensuring expertise, so that clients of professionals are well served, and the reality that certification requirements and their manipulation may exclude individuals who could provide useful services. A central theme in the study is the point that members of the legal and medical professions often pressed for various exclusionary measures before politicians of the Third Republic were ready to embrace them. For documentation Fette draws on the publications of professional and student groups, as well as on relevant archives, and she also provides a useful overview of recent studies of the French legal and medical professions.

This seven-chapter book begins with a general introduction and a chapter detailing developments affecting the practice of law and medicine between the French Revolution and World War One. French citizenship was required for admission to law bars, although foreigners could study law at French universities. Medical practice was more open, in that an 1892 law confirmed that foreign doctors could practice in France if they held a French university diploma. In turn, doctors who resented foreign competitors began lobbying for the exclusion of foreigners, or restrictions on the foreign-born who became French citizens, well before many lawyers demanded new restrictions.

In chapter one, Fette also considers exclusions based on gender, a theme treated more fully here than in later chapters.[2] As historians of women’s experiences have demonstrated, women who sought to enter previously all-male professions encountered various obstacles. Universities were formally open to women, but for four decades the Third Republic’s new secondary schools for girls did not provide all of the preparation needed to obtain the *baccalauréat* required for admission. Furthermore, once they held university degrees, the pioneering women doctors of the 1880s had to overcome opposition to their access to the *externat* and *internat*. Lawyer Jeanne Chauvin could not gain admission to the Paris bar until after a new law was passed in December 1900. The resistance to women in the liberal professions has an obvious parallel in the history of women’s access to *postes de responsabilité* in French public administration.[3] Opponents of women’s access to professional work argued that the nature of that work was inappropriate for women and would divert them from essential familial duties. Of course, such arguments helped mask masculine fear of new professional competitors. Advocates for professional

women contended, in turn, that professions and the public would profit from the distinctive contributions that women could make, particularly by providing services to children and other women. One important recent study on gender and professions not in Fette's bibliography is Juliette Rennes's *Le mérite et la nature: l'accès des femmes aux professions de prestige, 1880-1940*.^[4]

After World War One, France experienced an influx of foreign workers, often welcomed because of the heavy wartime loss of manpower. Immigrants seeking citizenship benefited from the 1927 law that reduced the previous ten-year residency requirement to three years or to one year for holders of a French university diploma. Doctors' longstanding complaints about an alleged glut of practitioners in medicine became more pronounced after 1927 and, with the onset of the Depression and mounting employment, they found more political support for imposing new exclusions. The growth in the numbers of doctors and lawyers actually stemmed from the access of more French men and women to secondary and higher education, but those seen as "foreign" were the easiest targets. The 1933 Armbruster law specified that a naturalized citizen had to wait five years before beginning to practice medicine, although certain exceptions remained. A July 1934 law excluded the naturalized from legal practice or the civil service for ten years after naturalization. Doctors, in turn, demanded a longer waiting period for the naturalized, medical students staged protests to support that effort, and legislators obliged in 1935 by specifying that naturalized doctors could not hold posts in public facilities until five more years elapsed after they gained the right to practice privately.

It should also be noted, although this is not central to Fette's treatment of the 1930s, that after 1929 women faced new quotas or bans on hiring in various sectors of public administration.^[5] With her focus on lawyers and doctors, Fette finds that continuing male prejudice against professional women during the interwar decades was less prominent than the anti-foreign bias. The burgeoning xenophobia, heightened by the arrival of many refugees from political oppression, also fueled demands for modifying the naturalization law of 1927. Subsequent decree-laws in 1938-1939 boosted the residency requirement to five years and imposed a five-year wait before naturalized men could vote. These Depression-era measures thus imposed new restrictions on the rights of people who were French citizens. All women, of course, were still denied voting rights

The Vichy Regime, treated in Fette's last two chapters, introduced more notorious restrictions and exclusions, most notably with measures disadvantaging French Jews. Indeed, much of the xenophobic sentiment of the late 1930s was a not very subtle cover for anti-Semitism. To the well-known history of Vichy's repressive laws concerning Jews, naturalized citizens, freemasons, and political opponents,^[6] or its perhaps less well known measures affecting women civil servants and teachers,^[7] Fette adds an account of the role played by professional organizations of doctors and lawyers. Once Vichy imposed a two percent quota on French-born Jews in medical or legal practice, regional law bars and the new *Ordre des médecins*, along with departmental medical councils, identified those allowed to continue in practice. At least 800 Jewish doctors and more than 200 Jewish lawyers thereby lost their livelihoods. In the imposition of the quota on Jewish lawyers, law bars evidently played a greater role than the *Commissariat général aux questions juives*, which intervened in some cases involving doctors and lawyers.

Fette's concluding summation emphasizes that the provisional government's nullification in 1944 of Vichy's exclusionary laws did not necessarily cancel the Third Republic's exclusionary measures. The important ordinance of 19 October 1945 maintained the five-year waiting period before naturalized citizens could vote, although it did reduce naturalized lawyers' wait to practice from ten years to five. These discriminatory measures were not fully removed until 1973. The law of 17 July 1978 finally ended the 1930s measures affecting naturalized doctors and the five-year waiting period to work in the civil service.

Julie Fette's detailed study of the discriminatory practices favored by two prestigious professions and supported by republican legislators is an important contribution to the literature on the many exceptions to the universal "rights of man" that French governments and public opinion have been willing to accept at various times. Her book requires readers to pay careful attention to many details in laws and decrees but offers those who do so a fine account of the interaction between important professional associations and the political class, which has long included many lawyers and doctors.

NOTES

[1] Robert Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972); Ralph Schor, *L'Opinion française et les étrangers, 1919-1938* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1985); Ralph Schor, *L'antisémitisme en France pendant les années trente* (Paris: Editions complexe, 1982); Vicki Caron, *Uneasy Asylum: France and the Jewish Refugee Crisis, 1933-1942* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1999); Sarah Fishman, Laura Lee Downs, Joannis Sinanoglou, Leonard V. Smith, and Robert Zaretsky, eds., *France at War: Vichy and the Historians* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000).

[2] Fette treats exclusions based on gender more fully in "Pride and Prejudice in the Professions: Women Doctors and Lawyers in Third Republic France," *Journal of Women's History* 19 (1972): 60-86.

[3] Robert A. Nye, "The Legacy of Masculine Codes of Honor and Admission of Women to the Medical Professions in the Nineteenth Century," in Ellen S. More, Elizabeth Fee, and Manon Parry, *Women Physicians and the Cultures of Medicine* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), pp. 141-159; Sara Kimble, "Justice Redressed: Women, Citizenship, and the Social Uses of Law in Modern France, 1890-1939," Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 2002; Linda L. Clark, *Women and Achievement in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Linda L. Clark, *The Rise of Professional Women in France: Gender and Public Administration since 1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[4] Paris: Fayard, 2007.

[5] Clark, *Rise of Professional Women*, pp. 165-189.

[6] Michael Marrus and Robert Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* (New York: Schocken, 1982); Claude Singer, *Vichy, l'université et les juifs* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1993); Marc Olivier Baruch, *Servir l'Etat français: l'administration en France de 1940 à 1944* (Paris: Fayard, 1997).

[7] Fette's only reference to Vichy's law of 11 October 1940 "relative au travail feminine" is in a note (p. 270, n. 105). It applied to women working in the public sector, but its last article signaled Vichy's plan (not realized) to impose similar restrictions on women in the private sector.

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