GNDR 22302

Queer and Feminist Theory
in post-1945 France

Spring 2005

Tuesday – Thursday 3:00pm – 4:20pm
Location: Judd 111

Instructor: Sébastien Chauvin, Ecole Normale Supérieure.
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Office 308
Chauvin /// a t /// uchicago /// d o t /// edu
This class provides an overview of queer and feminist theories developed in France since 1945. From the founding insights of Simone de Beauvoir’s *Second Sex* to the differentialist brand of “feminine” theory canonized in the United States as “French Feminism” (Luce Irigaray, Julia Kristeva, Héliène Cixous), to currents less known abroad but equally or even more important theoretically, as “materialist feminism” (Christine Delphy, Colette Guillaumin, Nicole-Claude Mathieu…), the array of texts and authors we will study aims both at presenting a more exact picture of French feminist landscape in the past decades, and to understand more accurately authors traditionally read in the United States by placing them back within their intellectual, historical and political context of production, thus preventing effects of false eternicization occurring when texts are studied in isolation. We will keep that in mind while studying Monique Wittig’s “Materialist Lesbianism”, an intersection between queer and feminist thought equally famous in France and abroad (which oddly enough is quite an exception).

The more exclusively “queer” theories will include both gay writers (the sensual and violent universe of Jean Genet, along with his philosophy of gay abjection and subjectivation, analyzed by Jean-Paul Sartre and later by Didier Eribon) and gay liberationist activists like Guy Hocquenghem’s and his classic *Homosexual Desire*, along with the Homosexual Revolutionary Action Front (FHAR)’s *Manifesto Against Normality* (1971). We will also discover straight authors who have had a tremendous influence in the international field of queer studies and well beyond, most notably Gilles Deleuze & Felix Guattari and their debunking of heterosexist psychoanalysis in *Anti-Oedipus* as well as their brilliant essays on minorities and “becoming” in *A Thousand Plateaus* (which later inspired Toni Negri and Michael Hardt’s *Empire*). Our week on Michel Foucault naturally includes the arch-famous pages of *History of Sexuality* but will also lead us beyond into later interviews in which Foucault exposes his views on gay relationships, S/M sex or “friendship as a way of life”.

Finally a session is devoted to the current political debates over recent important pieces of legislation, as the law on “Parité” (equal gender representation in electoral bodies) and the French Civil Union or PaCS (Pacte Civil de Solidarité), showing again how today’s lines of fracture could be found in germ, though never entirely, in the previous periods.
Books ordered at the Seminary Co-op bookstore:


The texts not included in these volumes are currently being placed on electronic reserve at [http://libcat.uchicago.edu/ipac20/ipac.jsp?session=M1091721J5466.320&profile=ucres&uri=link:3100003~!4621~!3100005~!3100019&aspect=reserves&menu=search&ri=1&source=~!horizon&term=Chauvin%2C+Sebastien&index=I NST](http://libcat.uchicago.edu/ipac20/ipac.jsp?session=M1091721J5466.320&profile=ucres&uri=link:3100003~!4621~!3100005~!3100019&aspect=reserves&menu=search&ri=1&source=~!horizon&term=Chauvin%2C+Sebastien&index=I NST)

Requirements:

- Full completion of the readings and aware, active participation in class discussion (30% of grade)
- A 5-7 page take-home midterm paper due week 6 (topics will be distributed by instructor on week 5 – 30% of the grade)
- A 10-12 page take-home final paper due June 8th (topics will be distributed by instructor on week 10)
Schedule of classes

**Week 1: The Emergence of Second-wave Feminism in France**

Session 1a (March 29th) – Introductory lecture: Theory, Activism and Historical Contexts.

Preliminary texts:
(These are two very short texts which you will find on Chalk, and which will be handed out with the syllabus on the first day of class. You don’t have to have read them for that first day, though you can if you want)

- “A Declaration of the Rights of Women” by Olympe de Gouges (1791).

To go further:

Session 1b (March 31st) – Simone de Beauvoir and the Second Sex

- Simone de Beauvoir, “Introduction to The Second Sex”, *French Feminism Reader*, p.6-19
- Simone de Beauvoir, “The Mother”, *French Feminism Reader*, p.20-27
- Simone de Beauvoir, “The Woman in Love”, *French Feminism Reader*, p.27-34

**Week 2: Jean Genet, Queer Theorist Before Time?**

Session 2a (April 5th) – Extracts of Novels by Jean Genet

- Jean Genet, *The Thief’s Journal*, p.65-85


• Jean Genet, *Miracle of the Rose*, p.300-316 (from “A week before he left for Toulon…”)

**Session 2b (April 7th) – Jean Genet by Jean-Paul Sartre**

- Jean-Paul Sartre, *Saint Genet Actor and Martyr*:
  - “A Dizzying Word”, p.17-25 (until “is not always certain”)
  - “I Will Be a Thief”, p.49-58
  - “The Eternal Couple of the Criminal and the Saint”, p.76-83 (until “graft them on himself”).

**Week 3: Differentialist Feminism in France**

**Session 4a (April 12th) – Julia Kristeva, Hélène Cixous: Writing Women**

- Kelly Oliver “Maternity, Feminism, and Language: Julia Kristeva”, *French Feminism Reader*, p.153-157
- Julia Kristeva, “From One Identity to the Other”, *FFR*, p.158-166.
- Hélène Cixous, “Castration or Decapitation?”, *FFR*, p.277-290.

**Session 4b (April 14th) – Luce Irigaray: an Ethics of Difference**

- “This Sex Which is Not One”, *French Feminism Reader*, p.206-211.
**Week 4: Deleuze and Guattari Debunking Heterosexist Psychoanalysis**

**Session 3a (April 19th) – Anti-Oedipus**

- “Preface” by Michel Foucault, in Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia, p.xi-xiv
- “The Whole and Its Parts”, in Anti-Oedipus, p.42-50
- “The Imperialism of Oedipus”, in Anti-Oedipus, p.51-56
- “The Connective Synthesis of Production”, in Anti-Oedipus, p.68-75
- “The Disjunctive Synthesis of Recording”, in Anti-Oedipus, p.75-84
- “Social Repression and Psychic Repression”, in Anti-Oedipus, p.113-122

**Session 3b (April 21st) – A Thousand Plateaus: Minority and Becoming**


**Week 5: Materialist Feminism in France**

**Session 5a (April 26th) – Essentializing Essentialism: the US Invention of “French Feminism”**


**Session 5b (April 28th) – Christine Delphy**

- Christine Delphy, “Rethinking Sex and Gender”, in French Feminism Reader, p.63-76.
**Week 6 - Materialist feminisms (continued)**

**Session 6a (May 3rd) – Colette Guillaumin**


*Midterm Papers due Wednesday May 4th at 4pm at the Center for Gender Studies (5733 S University Ave), office 308*

**Session 6b (May 5th) – Nicole-Claude Mathieu, Paola Tabet**


**Week 7: Guy Hocquenghem and Gay Liberationist Theory**

**Session 7a (May 10th) – Homosexual Desire 1**


**Session 7b (May 12th) – Homosexual Desire 2**

- Guy Hocquenghem, *Homosexual Desire*, Ch.4-7, p.93-150.
Week 8: Michel Foucault and “Friendship as a Way of Life”

Session 8a (May 17th) – Histories of Sexuality
- “Do We Need a True Sex?”, Introduction to *Herculine Barbin*, p.vii-xvii.

Session 8b (May 19th) – Becoming Gay and Inventing New Relationships
- “An Ethics of Pleasure”, in *Foucault Live*, p.371-381
- “Friendship as a Way of Life”, in *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*, p.135-140.

To go further:  

Week 9: Monique Wittig and Materialist Lesbianism

Session 9a (May 24th) – Exploring the Straight Mind
- “One is Not Born a Woman”, in *FFR*, p.128-135.
- “The Straight Mind”, in *FFR*, p.136-143.
- “The Mark of Gender” in *The Straight Mind and Other Essays*, p.76-89.

Session 9b (May 26th) – Radical Lesbianism and its Discontents
- “Homo Sum”, in *FFR*, p.144-151.
Week 10: Contemporary Debates

Session 10a (May 31st) – Contemporary Debates in French Political and Social Life.

- Mariette Sineau, “Parité in Politics: From a Radical Idea to Consensual Reform”, BFF, p.113-126.

To go further:

- Laure Béréni, “Gendering Political Representation Through Affirmative Action ? The Case of Gender Parity Reform in France” (paper online on the chalk website, course documents section).

*Final Papers due Wednesday June 8th at 4pm
at the Center for Gender Studies (5733 S University Ave), office 308*
The Rights of Women
Olympe de Gouges
1791

Man, are you capable of being just? It is a woman who poses the question; you will not deprive her of that right at least. Tell me, what gives you sovereign empire to oppress my sex? Your strength? Your talents? Observe the Creator in his wisdom; survey in all her grandeur that nature with whom you seem to want to be in harmony, and give me, if you dare, an example of this tyrannical empire. Go back to animals, consult the elements, study plants, finally glance at all the modifications of organic matter, and surrender to the evidence when I offer you the means; search, probe, and distinguish, if you can, the sexes in the administration of nature. Everywhere you will find them mingled; everywhere they cooperate in harmonious togetherness in this immortal masterpiece.

Man alone has raised his exceptional circumstances to a principle. Bizarre, blind, bloated with science and degenerated - in a century of enlightenment and wisdom - into the crassest ignorance, he wants to command as a despot a sex which is in full possession of its intellectual faculties; he pretends to enjoy the Revolution and to claim his rights to equality in order to say nothing more about it.

Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen

Mothers, daughters, sisters [and] representatives of the nation demand to be constituted into a national assembly. Believing that ignorance, omission, or scorn for the rights of woman are the only causes of public misfortunes and of the corruption of governments, [the women] have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration the natural, inalienable, and sacred rights of woman in order that this declaration, constantly exposed before all the members of the society, will ceaselessly remind them of their rights and duties; in order that the authoritative acts of women and the authoritative acts of men may be at any moment compared with and respectful of the purpose of all political institutions; and in order that citizens' demands, henceforth based on simple and incontestable principles, will always support the constitution, good morals, and the happiness of all.

Consequently, the sex that is as superior in beauty as it is in courage during the suffering of maternity recognized and declares in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following Rights of Woman and of Female Citizens.

Article 1
Woman is born free and lives equal to man in her rights. Social distinctions can be based only on the common utility.

**Article 2**

The purpose of any political association is the conservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of woman and man; these rights are liberty, property, security, and especially resistance to oppression.

**Article 3**

The principle of all sovereignty rests essentially with the nation, which is nothing but the union of woman and man; no body and no individual can exercise any authority which does not come expressly from it [the nation].

**Article 4**

Liberty and justice consist of restoring all that belongs to others; thus, the only limits on the exercise of the natural rights of woman are perpetual male tyranny; these limits are to be reformed by the laws of nature and reason.

**Article 5**

Laws of nature and reason proscribe all acts harmful to society; everything which is not prohibited by these wise and divine laws cannot be prevented, and no one can be constrained to do what they do not command.

**Article 6**

The laws must be the expression of the general will; all female and male citizens must contribute either personally or through their representatives to its formation; it must be the same for all: male and female citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, must be equally admitted to all honors, positions, and public employment according to their capacity and without other distinctions besides those of their virtues and talents.

**Article 7**

No woman is an exception: she is accused, arrested, and detained in cases determined by law. Women, like men, obey this rigorous law.

**Article 8**
The law must establish only those penalties that are strictly and obviously necessary, and no one can be punished except by virtue of a law established and promulgated prior to the crime and legally applicable to women.

**Article 9**

Once any woman is declared guilty, complete rigor is [to be] exercised by the law.

**Article 10**

No one is to be disquieted for his very basic opinions; woman has the right to mount the scaffold; she must equally have the right to mount the rostrum, provided that her demonstrations do not disturb the legally established public order.

**Article 11**

The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most precious rights of woman, since the liberty assures the recognition of children by their fathers. Any female citizen thus may say freely, I am the mother of a child which belongs to you, without being forced by a barbarous prejudice to hide the truth; [an exception may be made] to respond to the abuse of this liberty in cases determined by the law.

**Article 12**

The guarantee of the rights of woman and the female citizen implies a major benefit; this guarantee must be instituted for the advantage of all, and not for the particular benefit of those to whom it is entrusted.

**Article 13**

For the support of the public force and the expenses of administration, the contributions of woman and man are equal; she share all the duties [corvees] and all the painful tasks; therefore, she must have the same share in the distribution of positions, employments, offices, honors and jobs [industrie].

**Article 14**

Female and male citizens have the right to verify, either by themselves or through their representatives, the necessity of the public contribution. This can only apply to women if they are granted an equal share, not only of wealth, but also of public administration, and in the determination of the proportion, the base, the collection, and the duration of the tax.
Article 15

The collectivity of women, joined for tax purposes to the aggregate of men, has the right to demand an accounting of his administration from any public agent.

Article 16

No society has a constitution without the guarantee of the rights and the separation of powers; the constitution is null if the majority of individuals comprising the nation have not cooperated in drafting it.

Article 17

Property belongs to both sexes whether united or separate; for each it is an inviolable and sacred right; no one can be deprived of it, since it is the true patrimony of nature, unless the legally determined public need obviously dictates it, and then only with a just and prior indemnity.

Postscript

Woman, wake up; the tocsin of reason is being heard throughout the whole universe; discover your rights. The powerful empire of nature is no longer surrounded by prejudice, fanaticism, superstition, and lies. The flame of truth has dispersed all the clouds of folly and usurpation. Enslaved man has multiplied his strength and needs recourse to yours to break his chains. Having become free, he has become unjust to his companion. Oh, women, women! When will you cease to be blind? What advantage have you received from the Revolution? A more pronounced scorn, a more marked disdain. In the centuries of corruption you ruled only over the weakness of men. The reclamation of your patrimony, based on the wise decrees of nature - what have you to dread from such a fine undertaking? The bon mot of the legislator of the marriage of Cana? Do you fear that our French legislators, correctors of that morality, long ensnared by political practices now out of date, will only say again to you: women, what is there in common between you and us? Everything, you will have to answer. If they persist in their weakness in putting this non sequitur in contradiction to their principles, courageously oppose the force of reason to the empty pretensions of superiority; unite yourselves beneath the standards of philosophy; deploy all the energy of your character, and you will soon see these haughty men, not groveling at your feet as servile adorers, but proud to share with you the treasures of the Supreme Being. Regardless of what barriers confront you, it is in your power to free yourselves; you have only to want to. Let us pass not to the shocking tableau of what you have been in society; and since national education is in question at this moment, let us see whether our wise legislators will think judiciously about the education of women.
Women have done more harm than good. Constraint and dissimulation have been their lot. What force has robbed them of, ruse returned to them; they had recourse to all the resources of their charms, and the most irreproachable persons did not resist them. Poison and the sword were both subject to them; they commanded in crime as in fortune. The French government, especially, depended throughout the centuries on the nocturnal administrations of women; the cabinet kept no secret from their indiscretion; ambassadorial post, command, ministry, presidency, pontificate, college of cardinals; finally, anything which characterizes the folly of men, profane and sacred, all have been subject to the cupidity and ambition of this sex, formerly contemptible and respected, and since the revolution, respectable and scorned.

In this sort of contradictory situation, what remarks could I not make! I have but a moment to make them, but this moment will fix the attention of the remotest posterity. Under the Old Regime, all was vicious, all was guilty; but could not the amelioration of conditions be perceived even in the substance of vices? A woman only had to be beautiful or amiable; when she possessed these two advantaged, she saw a hundred fortunes at her feet. If she did not profit from them, she had a bizarre character or a rare philosophy which made her scorn wealth; then she was deemed to be like a crazy woman; the most indecent made herself respected with gold; commerce in women was a kind of industry in the first class [of society], which, henceforth, will have no more credit. If it still had it, the revolution would be lost, and under the new relationships we would always be corrupted; however, reason can always be deceived [into believing] that any other road to fortune is closed to the woman whom a man buys, like the slave on the African coasts. The difference is great; that is known. The slave is commanded by the master; but if the master gives her liberty without recompense, and at an age when the slave has lost all her charms, what will become of this unfortunate woman? the victim of scorn, even the doors of charity are closed to her; she is poor and old, they say; why did she not know how to make her fortune? Reason finds other examples that are even more touching. A young, inexperienced woman, seduced by a man whom she loves, will abandon her parents to follow him; the ingrate will leave her after a few years, and the older she has become with him, the more inhuman is his inconstancy; is she has children, he will likewise abandon them. If he is rich, he will consider himself excused from sharing his fortune with his noble victims. If some involvement binds him to his duties, he will deny them, trusting that the laws will support him. If he is married, any other obligation loses its rights. Then what laws remain to extirpate vice all the way to its root? The law of dividing wealth and public administration between men and women. It can easily be seen that one who is born into a rich family gains very much from such equal sharing. But the one born into a poor family with merit and virtue - what is her lot? Poverty and opprobrium. If she does not precisely excel in music or painting, she cannot be admitted to any public function when she has all the capacity for it. I do not want to give only a sketch of things; I will go more deeply into this in the new edition of all my political writings, with notes, which I propose to give to the public in a few days.
I take up my text again on the subject of morals. Marriage is the tomb of trust and love. The married woman can with impunity give bastards to her husband, and also give them the wealth which does not belong to them. The woman who is unmarried has only one feeble right; ancient and inhuman laws refuse to her for her children the right to the name and the wealth of their father; no new laws have been made in this matter. If it is considered a paradox and an impossibility on my part to try to give my sex an honorable and just consistency, I leave it to men to attain glory for dealing with this matter; but while we wait, the way can be prepared through national education, the restoration of morals, and conjugal conventions.

Form for a Social Contract Between Man and Woman

We, ________ and _________, moved by our own will, unite ourselves for the duration of our lives, and for the duration of our mutual inclinations, under the following conditions: We intend and wish to make our wealth communal, meanwhile reserving to ourselves the right to divide it in favor of our children and of those toward whom we might have a particular inclination, mutually recognizing that our property belongs directly to our children, from whatever bed they come, and that all of them without distinction have the right to bear the name of the fathers and mothers who have acknowledged them, and we are charged to subscribe to the law which punished the renunciation of one's own blood. We likewise obligate ourselves, in case of separation, to divide our wealth and to set aside in advance the portion the law indicates for our children, and in the event of a perfect union, the one who dies will divest himself of half his property in his children's favor, and if one dies childless, the survivor will inherit by right, unless the dying person has disposed of half the common property in favor of one who he judged deserving.

That is approximately the formula for the marriage act I propose for execution. Upon reading this strange document, I see rising up against me the hypocrites, the prudes, the clergy, and the whole infernal sequence. But how is [my proposal] offers to the wise the moral means of achieving the perfection of a happy government! I am going to give in a few words the physical proof of it. The rich, childless Epicurean finds it very good to go to his poor neighbor to augment his family. When there is a law authorizing a poor man's wife to have a rich one adopt their children, the bonds of society will be strengthened and morals will be purer. This law will perhaps save the community's wealth and hold back the disorder which drives so many victims to the almshouses of shame, to a low station, and into degenerate human principles where nature has groaned for so long. May the detractors of wise philosophy then cease to cry out against primitive morals, or may they lose their point in the source of their citations.

Moreover, I would like a law which would assist widows and young girls deceived by the false promises of a man to whom they were attached; I would like, I say, this law to force an inconstant man to hold to his obligation or at least
[to pay] an indemnity equal to his wealth. Again, I would like this law to be rigorous against women, at least those who have the effrontery to have recourse to a law which they themselves had violated by their misconduct, if proof of that were given. At the same time, as I showed in Le Bonheur primitif de l'homme, in 1788, that prostitutes should be placed in designated quarters. It is not prostitutes who contribute most to the depravity of morals, it is the women of society. In regenerating the latter, the former are changed. This link of fraternal union will first bring disorder, but in consequence it will produce at the end a perfect harmony.

I offer a foolproof way to elevate the soul of women; it is to join them to all the activities of man; if man persists in finding this way impractical, let him share his fortune with woman, not at his caprice, but by the wisdom of laws. Prejudice falls, morals are purified, and nature regains all her rights. Add to this the marriage of priests and the strengthening of the king on his throne, and the French government cannot fail.

It would be very necessary to say a few words on the troubles which are said to be caused by the decree in favor of colored men in our islands. There is where nature shudders with horror; there is where reason and humanity have still not touched callous souls; there, especially, is where division and discord stir up their inhabitants. It is not difficult to divine the instigators of these incendiary fermentations; they are even in the midst of the National Assembly; they ignite the fire in Europe which must inflame America. Colonists make a claim to reign as despots over the men whose fathers and brothers they are; and, disowning the rights of nature, they trace the source of [their rule] to the scantiest tint of their blood. These inhuman colonists say: our blood flows in their veins, but we will shed it all if necessary to glut our greed or our blind ambition. It is in these places nearest to nature where the father scorns the son; deaf to the cries of blood, they stifle all its attraction; what can be hoped from the resistance opposed to them? To constrain [blood] violently is to render it terrible; to leave [blood] still enchained is to direct all calamities towards America. A divine hand seems to spread liberty abroad throughout the realms of man; only the law has the right to curb this liberty if it degenerates into license, but it must be equal for all; liberty must hold the National Assembly to its decree dictated by prudence and justice. May it act the same way for the state of France and render her as attentive to new abuses as she was to the ancient ones which each day become more dreadful. My opinion would be to reconcile the executive and legislative power, for it seems to me that the one is everything ad the other is nothing - whence comes, unfortunately perhaps, the loss of the French Empire. I think that these two powers, like man and woman, should be united but equal in force and virtue to make a good household. . . .
Address to Those Who Believe Themselves “Normal”


You don’t feel that you are oppressors. You screw like everybody else; it’s not your fault if there are psychos and criminals. You have nothing to do with it, say you, since you are tolerant. Your society – because if you screw like everybody, it’s certainly yours – treats us as a social plague afflicting the State, a contemptible object for real men, a fright to mothers. The same words that are used to describe us are your worst insults.

Have you every thought about how we feel when you string together these word: “bastard bugger, sissy, fag”? When you say to a girl: “dirty dyke”? You keep your daughters and sons away from us as if we were lepers.

You are individually responsible for the ignoble mutilation you have subjected us to by blaming us for our desires.

You who want the revolution, you have wanted to impose your repression on us. You were fighting for black rights and calling cops punks [*enculés*] as if there were no worse insult.

You, admirers of the Proletariat, have done everything in your power to maintain the image of the virile worker, you said that the revolution would be made by a rugged [*bourru*] male proletariat, with a loud voice, muscular and swaggering.

Do you know what it’s like, for a young worker, to be homosexual and in hiding? Do you, who believe in the formative virtues of the factory, know what it’s like to be called a queer [*pédale*] by your work buddies?

We know it because we know each other, because we alone, can know it. We, along with women, are the moral rug on which you wipe your conscience.

We say here that we’ve had enough, that you will no longer bash us, because we will defend ourselves, that we will hunt you down for your racism even as far as in your language.

We say more: we will not be content just to defend ourselves we are going to attack.

We have nothing against “normal” people, but we’re against “normal” society. You ask: “What can we do for you?” You can do nothing for us as long as you remain, each of you, the representative of normal society, as long as you refuse to recognize your secret desires which you have repressed.

You can do nothing for us as long as you do nothing for yourselves.