

## *The steps that led to the present-day museum and memorial in Drancy*

Drancy is a working-class city in the northern suburb of Paris. Its population consisted of 43 000 inhabitants on the eve of WWII and is today of 72 000. Between 1941 and 1944, it hosted an internment camp which served as a transit camp for 67 000 among the 76 000 Jews from France deported to the German death camps. Suffice to say that the memory of that camp is inscribed in the core of the Shoah Memory in France. To look at the stages in its memorialization and its musealization induces one to question from a micro-historical perspective the mechanisms of memory operating on the national scale.

Let us begin with a reminder: the city of Drancy hosted in 1931 the innovative urbanistic project of the Cité de la Muette, intended to be a response to the precarity of working-class housing. This project remained non completed, in 1938, when the existing buildings were rented to the military authorities, which accommodated their gendarmerie units. At the beginning of WWII, the intention was to host their possible German prisoners of war. But the reverse situation was created when the German army conquered a large part of France in May–June 1940: a camp for French, British and Canadian prisoners of war was improvised. In August 1941, after the second round up of Jews in Paris, the camp in Drancy became an internment camp for the thousands of arrested civilians. After this period of internment began in July 1942 the period of the transit camp before the deportation. During that period, the camp was first administered by the French authorities, under the control of the Germans, until July 1943 when the latter took in their own hands the direction of the camp, up to the retreat of the Wehrmacht in August 1944.

What evolutions has the site come through since that date? Until the beginning of 1946, the camp received temporarily thousands of persons suspected of collaboration with the German occupier, well-known figures of the arts or of the intellectual elite among them: for instance, the playwright Sacha Guitry, the actress Marie Marquet, the writers Alfred Fabre-Luce and Bernard Faÿs. One could even find, during the first weeks after the Liberation, some Jews who had not been released because they were German or Austrian citizens. In the neighbouring towers, American soldiers cohabited for some time with the French gendarmes. In 1947, it was decided to return the Cité de la Muette to its vocation for working-class housing: it implied the completion of various aspects of the buildings, in a context of continued pressure of the demand for housing in the suburbs of Paris. From then on and until now, generations of Dranceans have lived in the very buildings where Jews had been parked; from those very buildings' buses had brought the Jews to the neighbouring stations of Le Bourget, and later Bobigny, points of departure of the trains leading to Auschwitz.

As soon as in September 1944, a first *pilgrimage* to Drancy was organized by the Central Consistory, the main Jewish religious authority. The date was chosen between the Jewish New Year (Rosh Hashanah) and the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur), according to the traditional reading of the names of the dead during the most solemn celebrations of the Hebrew calendar. Two other pilgrimages were organized in September 1946 and September 1947, which were later substituted by a ceremony in the main Parisian synagogue, on La Victoire Street. Many other memorial practices were implemented. Since 13 000 Jews who were interned in Drancy, indeed in trying conditions, were not deported, their experience is to be distinguished from the one of those who survived deportation after a stay in Drancy, which may have lasted days, weeks or even months: for them, the horrors of Auschwitz were clearly the determining factor of connivance with other survivors.

In 1945, France saw the creation of

- an Association of deportees to Auschwitz including those, Jewish or not, who had been deported as Resistance fighters as well as those who were victims of the racial persecution;
- an Association of yiddish-speaking Jewish deportees with their particularist identity.

The former non deported internees of Drancy also created, in 1945, two associations:

- the Confederation of the interned victims of racism;
- the Fraternity of the internees of Drancy.

The first one also addressed the internees of other French internment camps for Jews like Compiègne, Pithiviers, Beaune-la Rolande, Gurs. It was soon amalgamated with the Fraternity. Paradoxically, all the four associations were strongly influenced by Communist activists, in the framework of the powerful National Federation of Patriot and Resistant Deportees and Internees (FNDIRP). The nature and intensity of their relation to Jewish identity were varying: until the 1970s, in Drancy like in most of the world – except in Israel – a comprehensive condemnation of Nazism, or rather of Fascism, leaved little room for an evocation of the specific fate of the Jews during what was not yet called the Shoah.

Interestingly, the Fraternity was chaired during the 1950s by a non-Jew, architect Henri Muratet, who had been arrested in June 1942 and interned during three months in Drancy because he had worn a Yellow Badge with the word *Auvergnat* (inhabitant of that region of Central France) instead of the word *Jewish*. The Fraternity devoted itself to charitable actions aimed at needy families of internees, by means of rather impressive galas and balls. It was poorly associated to the trial in March 1947 of the gendarmes who had abused Jewish internees. It was somehow more efficient in March 1949 during the trial of the Special Police for Jewish Affairs.

The affixing of discreet memorial plates proceeded very slowly and cautiously. The municipality of Drancy has been Communist from 1935 until 2001, belonging to the legendary *Red Belt* around Paris whose political balance changed only after 2000. Mayor Maurice Niles, who was elected in 1959, and remained in charge until 1997, organized in 1963 the twinning of Drancy with the city of Eisenhüttenstadt in the German Democratic Republic. The Fraternity, whose chairman was then Attorney Yves Jouffa, known for his Socialist militancy, expressed its opposition of that twinning.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, during that same year, the mayor moved his Municipal Council to adopt the project of a commemorative monument with a Jewish dimension.

It took sixteen years to implement the projected erection of the monument. The foundation stone was laid on 26 October 1969. On 25 December 1970, a committee of fund-raising was created, with a large role devoted to Jewish institutions and donors. In 1973, a jury selected, among 62 projects, Shlomo Selinger's one. He was a Polish Jew who had survived many camps and had become an Israeli citizen. The monument, inaugurated on 9 May 1976, is located on the very spot from which the internees got on the buses, in the core of the Cité de la Muette. It evokes various symbols taken from the Jewish tradition: *tefilins* (the phylacteries born during the morning prayer), *minyan* (group of ten adults required for specific prayers), biblical quotations, and the use of Hebrew characters for Hebrew and Yiddish inscriptions.<sup>2</sup>

One should remember that in Warsaw, the Muranow district, where the Nazis had located the ghetto, was a deprived neighbourhood where a huge commemorative monument has been erected already in April 1948, delivering a strong Jewish message. Afterwards, many precautions were taken in order to make the local inhabitants sensitive to the past of the site – an approach which turns out to be successful since the creation in 2013 of the Polin Museum, whose volume largely exceeds that of the monument built by Nathan Rapoport.<sup>3</sup> The same problem arose in Drancy, first with the erection of the monument, then with the building of

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1 Richier 2010.

2 Selinger s. d.

3 Young 1989.

the museum inaugurated in 2012.

Before that date, experiences of memorial practices were numerous. The 1980s are the years of an effective insertion of the Shoah in French collective memory, including as far as the Vichy collaborationist government's share in the responsibility is concerned. Every episode of polemics relating to the various trials held during that period induced a new impulsion in the efforts of pedagogy aimed at the new generations. (One must admit that previously there was very little pedagogy). The municipality inaugurated in 1988 a *witness-car*, similar to those used for the deportation, a gift of the National Society of French Railways (SNCF), in which an exhibition was presented.

Here again, the pedagogic activities are the lot of two associations that were created parallelly. The Historical Conservatory of the camp of Drancy, was created in 1989 by a doctor and a pharmacist, Richard Hadad and Raphael Chemouni, both Jews immigrated from North Africa in the 1960s – which is today the majority profile in French Jewish families. On the other hand, the AFMA, Association for an Auschwitz Foundation, is linked with the FNDIRP. It became the Association for an Auschwitz Fund because it did not obtain the statute of a Foundation. The Fraternity maintained its connection with the families. Those three activist associations organized publications, events, trips to Auschwitz, using premises they had been granted in the Cité de la Muette.

On 30 September 1997, in Drancy, the bishops of the dioceses where French internment camps had been located read a Statement of repentance for the insufficient solidarity manifested by the Catholic Church during the years of the Shoah.<sup>4</sup> Another significant moment was the discovery of graffiti written by the interned before their deportation. American photographer William Betsch drew attention on them in 1999. The necessity arouses to arbitrate between the need to renovate the housing in order to improve the comfort of the inhabitants, and the preservation of the traces of the camp. The Cité de la Muette obtained in 2000 the protective statute of classified monument.<sup>5</sup> Photographs of the graffiti were shown in an exhibition, then an exhibition showed the graffiti themselves; an erudite publication reconstituted the itinerary of some of the concerned internees. The National Archives, whose premises are located in Pierrefitte, not far from Drancy, are now in possession of the plasters bearing the graffiti.<sup>6</sup> The classified statute also applies to the tunnel dug by a team of internees intending to escape: that tunnel was uncovered by the Gestapo in 1944, then rediscovered in 1980 during construction works for a gymnasium. A stele is now indicating the location of the tunnel, allowing for significant explanations about a concrete example of Jewish Resistance.<sup>7</sup>

An interesting development has been the rediscovery of the three camps in the very midst of Paris that were annexed to the camp in Drancy: interned Jews of categories that were exempted from deportation (those married to non-Jews, or children of mixed marriages, or spouses of prisoners of war) were sent there to sort the immense quantity of Jewish looted possessions that were to be transferred to Germany. Well known at the end of the war, the camps of the Levitan store, Bassano Street and the Austerlitz station had a least memorial impact due to the comparison with the experience of deportation to the camps in Poland. An Association called Amicale Austerlitz-Lévitan-Bassano was created in 1998.<sup>8</sup> And a remarkable exhibition, *Retour sur les lieux* (Return to the scene), was presented in 2007 by the Euroos RSCG advertising agency, which had chosen the former Levitan store to be its new premises.

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4 Déclaration de repentance des évêques de France.

5 Dolff-Bonekämper 2001.

6 Curdy 2012; Pouvreau-Curdy-Peschanski-Zimmer 2014; Pouvreau 2021; Pouvreau 2023.

7 Thorpe 2004.

8 Dreyfus-Gensburger 2003; Gensburger 2005.

## A TURNING POINT

For a long time, the activists of the associations were interacting with the municipality (which has become right wing since 2001); with the Seine Saint-Denis Département (French administrative subdivision of a region), which also had a Communist president until 2008, and has now a Socialist one; with the Ile-de-France region and with the government, whose political colours were also changing; also, with the central institutions of the Jewish community. The intervention of the Parisian Shoah Memorial modified the institutional landscape. Heir of the Jewish Historical Documentation Center (CDJC) created in the underground in 1943 by Isaac Schneersohn, the “Memorial for the Unknown Jewish Martyr” was inaugurated in 1956 in the centre of Paris, in a location which is not significant for the history of the Shoah. It is known that Shoah museums are usually located in cities where an important population is likely to visit them, while Shoah memorials are located in the sites of the historical events, which are often remote.

The “Memorial of the Unknown Jewish Martyr” could be renovated and become the Shoah Memorial thanks to the financial means allocated to it by the Shoah Memorial Foundation. The latter was itself created in 2000 following the historical speech delivered by President Jacques Chirac on 16 July 1995, acknowledging the responsibility of the French Republic towards the actions of the collaborationist Vichy government. A mission lead by Jean Matteoli was mandated in 1997 to evaluate the extent of the spoliation of the Jews of France between 1940 and 1944, and to estimate the volume of the unclaimed assets that were never restituted. The new Foundation was charged with the management of an equivalent capital, whose interests would allow for a large-scale financing of pedagogic projects devoted to the Shoah.

This is the reason for the launching in 2009 of the project of erecting a memorial in Drancy, not in the Cité de la Muette itself but just in front of it. This functional building, sober in its conception in order not to clash with its modest environment, has been inaugurated on 21 September 2012 by President François Hollande.<sup>9</sup> A permanent exhibition tells the detailed story of the camp in Drancy, while other spaces may host temporary exhibitions. The visitors may see the historical site through the large bay windows. Then they go through it by feet, paying attention notably to the Selinger monument and to the numerous steles and plaques accumulated by the passage of time. The pedagogical approach of the Paris Memorial also prevails here: the Shoah is connected to the other genocides of the 20th century; conspiracy theories and mechanisms of prejudice are deconstructed. Drancy is 21 km away from Paris, in a densely populated area, so that it is an uneasy destination both for public transportation and for private vehicles. Visitors from Paris may benefit from a free shuttle starting from the Paris Memorial on the days of events. But it is the neighbouring public of the Seine Saint-Denis which is the main target.

One must say that the 93, the registration number which is the familiar name of that Département, is considered in contrasted ways. It has the reputation having a low level of income, a low middle age, and the highest proportion of Muslim population in the country. This standard description is the source of stereotypes, sometimes perceived as *stigmatizations*. Anyway, the Drancy Memorial has hosted, since its inception, an average of 35 000 visitors a year, which included, in 2023, 591 classes of pupils. 45 000 is the targeted figure for 2024. The vast majority of the visitors are pupils accompanied by their teachers. They come at the three ages when the Shoah is part of the French school curriculum – at 10, at 14 and at 16–17 – more or less in equal proportions.

60% of those groups request a two-hour visit of the museum and of the site. 20% of the groups request a pedagogic workshop. The last 20% register for a testimony of a former hidden child or Resistance fighter, for a screening, followed by a debate, or a theatrical performance. Visits may be coupled with that of the Paris Memorial, or of another institution. One option is to continue in the former Bobigny station, where a memorial has been inaugurated on 18 July 2023.

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9 Déclaration de M. François Hollande.

A cultural event is targeting the adult public every Sunday, the most propitious day for that public. A very particular partnership is the one with the Schools of Architecture, which want to have their students know more about the avant-garde project that was the Cité de la Muette. Jean Prouvé, for instance, a prestigious architect, is the author of the woodworks where some of the graffitis were discovered. The temporary exhibitions in the Drancy Memorial are of a more modest scale than those in the Paris Memorial, for reasons of space. Some of them are created specifically with original objects and photographs:

- *Juifs dans la Résistance – Photographies d’Amal Buziarist*, in 2018.
- *Drancy, au seuil de l’enfer – dessins de Georges Horan-Koiransky*, in 2018, on the occasion of a new publication of precious drawings preserved from the camp, and accompanied by the author’s diary.<sup>10</sup>
- *Les gratte-ciels oubliés de la cité de la Muette (1931–1976) – cinq tours symboles de la cité puis du camp de Drancy*, also in 2018, analysing the modernist skyscrapers that were hosting the gendarmes of the camp, demolished in 1976, the very year of the erection of the Selinger monument.<sup>11</sup>
- *“C’est demain que nous partons”. Lettres des camps français – 1942*, in 2022, presenting letters sent from the French internment camps on the eve of deportations.
- A future one is projected dealing with the situation of the Jews in Seine Saint-Denis during WWII.

Others are marking commemorations of the genocides against the Armenians, in 2017, and the Tutsis, in 2019; or presenting the itinerant exhibitions that are circulating in the various regions, some of them illustrating the pedagogic projects of the Education Ministry on the return of the deportees (2021–2022) and the Resistance actions in schools (2023–2024).

A division of labour between the Drancy Memorial and the one in Paris, with its efficient services, facilitates the questions of reservation and those of external communication. Paper programs are printed for teachers and others for the general public; newsletters are sent to the teachers; and, of course, messages are circulated on the social networks; the Drancy Memorial has its own Internet site, with a link to the Parisian one; a promotional video is supposed to be associated soon with a specific *visual identity* represented on a placard. This communication is completed by the information relayed on municipal billboards, or else by the Department’s tourism office and the *Pass Culture* platform for youngsters of the Ministry of Culture. All the activities are offered for free, in a logic of public interest and not of profitability.

Abundant resources are now available to cultivate the memory of the camp in Drancy.

- Scientific works include the synthesis of Wiewiorka and Lafitte<sup>12</sup> and the one of Peschanski, Poznanski and Pouvreau,<sup>13</sup> the study by Lehr of the deaths that occurred in the camp,<sup>14</sup> the thesis of Chiara Becattini comparing two memorial sites in Italy with two ones in France, including Drancy.<sup>15</sup>
- Numerous testimonies published after the war were reissued, to be completed by the pages on Drancy in the very numerous testimonies of surviving deportees.
- Journalistic books of unequal value,<sup>16</sup> documentary and fictional movies...

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10 Horan-Koiransky 2017.

11 Pouvreau-Taïeb 2022.

12 Laffite-Wiewiorka 2012.

13 Pouvreau-Curdy-Peschanski-Zimmer 2015.

14 Lehr 2019.

15 Becattini 2022; Becattini 2017.

16 Chatain 1991; Rajsfus 1991; Thorpe 2004.

For the 80th anniversary of the liberation of the camp, on 21 and 22 October 2024, a scientific seminary has been devoted to the triple theme of historical research, memory and transmission. Introduced by Serge Klarsfeld, who has been a key actor in the foundation of the present memorial, it has presented a rich information about the archival sources in the Parisian Memorial, but also in the archives of the Préfecture de police, which are today completely open. The abundant photographic patrimony was also described, with particular reference to photographs taken by a German photographer during the Occupation, recovered in Warsaw after meticulous inquiries. An attempt at evaluating the pedagogical experiences in Shoah Memorials both in Drancy and in Rivesaltes (a former internment camp in the South of France) emphasized the necessity to inscribe the issue of the Shoah in larger universalist perspectives.<sup>17</sup>

The Historical Conservatory of the camp of Drancy has transmitted its role to the Memorial, but the AFMA and the Fraternity are pursuing their activities, including with their own Internet sites. In order to conclude one must evoke the Network of Shoah Memorials in France, which was created in 2015 and is coordinated by the Paris Memorial.<sup>18</sup> Some of those institutions remain completely independent, while others have chosen to become affiliates of the Paris Memorial. This is the case, for instance, of the CERCIL, in Orléans, which tells the story of the French camps in the Département of Loiret, South of Paris, where Jews were interned already in May 1941: the majority of those internees later went through Drancy in the itinerary that led them to Auschwitz. The station in Pithiviers, where one of the camps in the Loiret was located, has been transformed into a memorial of its own, inaugurated by President Emmanuel Macron on 17 July 2023.<sup>19</sup> The choice of the affiliation to the Paris Memorial may result from the dynamism of the institution, but also from its financial stability, pledged on the assets of the victims: in sum, a fair return of things?

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18 <https://www.memorialdelashoah.org/> (last access: 10 July 2025).

19 Commémoration des 80 ans de la rafle du Vel d'Hiv.

Déclaration de M. François Hollande, Président de la République, en hommage aux victimes de la Shoah, à Drancy le 21 septembre 2012. Élysée (<https://www.elysee.fr/francois-hollande/2012/09/21/declaration-de-m-francois-hollande-president-de-la-republique-en-hommage-aux-victimes-de-la-shoah-a-drancy-le-21-septembre-2012>; last access: 10 July 2025).

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