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Identity and Antisemitism in Flux: The Psychology of Religious Recognition in France

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Abstract

How do individuals contend with conflicting components of identity? This thesis was a qualitative exploration of identity formation among Jews in France in a time of pronounced antisemitism. Participants included 12 French Jews interviewed in Paris, ranging in age from 23 to 78 years old. An interview protocol was devised that investigated Jewish identity, French national identity, and reactions to antisemitism. Because of the unstable nature of the political situation for Jews in France, no initial hypotheses were formulated. The interviews were transcribed and then translated into English. An in depth, bottom up analysis was conducted of each interview to identify common themes and patterns regarding identity. Four themes were identified that were common to each participant: historical legacy; association between Judaism and social ties, politicization of religion, and awareness of French relations to the Maghreb. Multiple readings of the data aided in honing these themes into three of the four identity configurations guided by Schachter's (2004) theoretical framework. Case studies of the suppression of identity, assimilation of two identities, and a confederacy of identities were presented. The discussion reviews the implications of these findings for a dynamic understanding of bicultural identity, as well as a more nuanced understanding of French Jewish identity in light of increased discrimination.

Keywords: identity formation, bicultural identity, prejudice, Judaism, France

Acknowledgments

"First they came for the Socialists, and I did not speak out—
Because I was not a Socialist.
Then they came for the Trade Unionists, and I did not speak out—
Because I was not a Trade Unionist.
Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out—
Because I was not a Jew.
Then they came for me—and there was no one left to speak for me"

- Martin Niemöller

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On January 9th, 2015, a patron shopping at Hypercasher, a Kosher supermarket in Paris, faced what has become the signature nightmare of the 21st century. "People were buying things when a man came in with a rifle and started shooting in all directions," he reported. "I ran out. The shooting continued for several seconds" (Buchanan & Litchfield, 2015, para. 9). This customer witnessed the besieging of Hypercasher's Porte de Vincenne's Paris location, during which four Jews were killed and several others were held hostage. The attack occurred two days after Islamic terrorists killed eleven people at the offices of Charlie Hebdo, a weekly French satirical newspaper also based in Paris. The gunmen in both attacks identified themselves as belonging to terrorists groups aligned with ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria). The frequency with which France faces terrorist attacks is indicative of the tensions among the Arab, Jewish, and traditionally French communities living in France today. The siege at Hypercasher in particular, however, sheds light on a growing trend of antisemitism in France.

Although hearing the words "antisemitism" and "France" in the same sentence may evoke images of World War II, French antisemitism has evolved since the collapse of the Third Reich. In 1980, the first deadly attack since the end of World War II was launched on the Rue Copernic Synagogue during the Jewish holiday of Simchat Torah, killing four and injuring over 40 people. This attack was a catalyst for a rise in post WWII French antisemitism that continues to the present day. In 2014, France had a record of 851 antisemitic acts, up 101% from the previous year (Service de Protection de la Communauté Juive, 2014).

This thesis sought to examine how the recent rise in antisemitism psychologically affects Jews living in Paris today. It examined how French citizens balance two identities (French and

Jewish) that, in many ways, are in conflict. How does their conception of their religion affect their conception of French identity, and how does their conception of their French national identity affect their religious beliefs, practices, and attitudes? Furthermore, how has current antisemitism affected their sense of self and their identity formation as Jews? To understand these questions, it is necessary to first consider the history of Jews in France.

History of Jews in France

There are between 350,000 and 500,000 Jews living on French soil today (Les juifs de France émigrent en masse, 2014). As a nation, France has the third largest Jewish population in the world behind Israel and the United States respectively. Despite their large numbers, French Jews have contended with significant waves of antisemitism since the Middle Ages.

There is evidence of Jews in France during the Roman Period (Weiner, 2015). However, it was not until the time of the Middle Ages that widespread persecution began. The first key political player in French antisemitism was King Robert II. Robert was nicknamed *le pieux* or "Robert the Pious," owing to his devout Catholicism. Robert the Pious became the king of France in 996, and is described as having "a benevolent temper, warm, generous affections, and a remarkable simplicity of character," (Jervis, 1827, p. 106). Despite history's benign characterization of him, Robert the Pious' reign catalyzed seven centuries of turmoil for the Jews in France. The beginning of Robert the Pious's reign occurred during an important time in Christian history. Due to a misreading of a passage in apocalyptic literature that was popular amongst Christians at the time, it was widely believed that the end of the world was in sight. This ominous prediction drove the French people closer to the church, and many bequeathed their money, land, and homes with the belief that monetary sacrifice would prevent their world from

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ending. This zeal for the church lasted throughout Robert the Pious's rule with negative implications for all Jews living in France (Jervis, 1862, as cited in Weiner, 2015).

The French people's frenzy of devotion coincided with news that the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem had been destroyed by Hakim, the Fatimite caliph of Egypt. It was believed in France that the Jews secretly encouraged infidels to perpetrate this crime, igniting a period of ruthless persecution against the Jewish people. They experienced extortion, banishment, torture, imprisonment and massacre as a direct result of the perception that they supported the events in Jerusalem. The Jews tried to escape this persecution by traveling together to Sens, a city built during the first century BC in North-central France. There, Robert the Pious directed the brutal hunting and murdering of these Jewish runaways (Jervis, 1862, as cited in Weiner, 2015).

During the second crusade, from 1145 until 1149, persecution of the Jews intensified. "Opposition to the Jews became more earthly and real; it moved from a perception of the Jews as historical opponents of Christianity to more tangible signs of concern at their involvement in financial dealings, blasphemy against Christianity and its symbols, and violence towards Christian people" (Phillips, 2008, p. 85). This pervasive antisemitic sentiment sparked several other waves of violent massacres.

Despite the frequent expulsion of and attacks on Jews during the Middle Ages, Jewish immigrants continued to come to France from various parts of the world. This sparked tensions between Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews in France that are still visible today. In the mid-1500s, large numbers of Sephardic Jews came from Portugal and settled in Southern France. This group of Jews was able to avoid antisemitism by assimilating to traditional French culture, attending

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Catholic mass, and restricting their Jewish rituals to the home. Meanwhile, groups of Ashkenazi Jews from Germany had settled in the Northeastern regions of Alsace and Lorraine. Less willing to assimilate to traditional French culture, these Jews experienced more pronounced antisemitism. For example, they were subjected to one of France's most humiliating laws, the *Péage corporelle,* which likened the Jews to livestock. Because they were considered to be in the same category as animals, Jews had to pay a special tax that gentile French citizens did not have to pay. This antisemitism did not end until the later part of the 18th century when "revolution fever" started to grow in France (Necheles, 1971).

By the late summer of 1789, the Declaration of Rights of Man had been published, which states in its first article that "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights" and in its second article that "No one may be disturbed for his opinions, even religious ones, provided that their manifestation does not trouble the public order established by the law" (The Avalon Project, 2008). This document, an important steppingstone in the French Revolution, initially did not apply to the Jews. At first, the Jews were considered resident aliens, a status that excluded them from the rights proffered by this document. As the revolution progressed, French citizenship started to be defined less by territorial region and more by a common language, culture, and religion. Ashkenazi Jews living in France at the time did not speak French, were not Christian, and had cultures largely rooted in Eastern Europe. Revolutionary spirit and nationalism were tightly interwoven in French culture. This spirit was not something in which French Jews could participate, spurring further antisemitism against this group of people.

Abbé Gregoire, a key player in Jewish liberation during the French revolution, did not agree with this nationalist emphasis. Gregoire grew up in Lorraine, a region that was under

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German rule until he turned 16. He contemplated the definition of "France" and "Frenchness" in more welcoming terms: "Regarding the nation as an instrument for educating citizens and introducing reforms, he thought that it must first integrate aliens into its society before expecting them to adopt the customs of the majority" (Necheles, 1971, p. 131). In response to his frustration with the assembly's definition of nationhood, Abbé Gregoire published one of his most famous works, *Motion en faveur des juifs,* which argued for Jews' citizenship: "As creatures of god, he said, their rights were determined by a higher, eternal immutable law which distinguished right from wrong in political as well as personal affairs" (Necheles, 1979, p. 131). Finally, on September 27th, 1791, all French Jews were officially granted full legal equality and citizenship (Whyte, 2008).

Jewish citizenship saw further changes under Napoleon Bonaparte, who declared himself emperor of France in 1804. Bonaparte initiated a program that involved administrative, cultural, and educational reform, one aspect of which was promotion of Jewish assimilation through intermarriage. In 1806, he started his program by organizing *l'assemblée des notables*, an assembly of important French citizens, that included 111 Jewish representatives from France and Northern Italy. This assembly discussed equal citizenship and the question of intermarriage. Later, in March of 1808, Bonaparte created the *consistoires*, or representative bodies. Every department of France that had over 200 Jewish citizens had to have one of these *consistoires* to enforce resolutions, such as making sure Jews participated in industrial trades, making sure military service was fulfilled, and preventing further immigration into the Alsace region (Weiner, 2015; Whyte, 2008).

Another turning point in French Jewish history occurred at the other end of the 19th century- the Dreyfus affair of 1894.   Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish captain in the French Army, was accused of providing state secrets to the German government during the Franco-Prussian War. France's evidence against Dreyfus was minimal. Papers found in a German trashcan in the office of a German military attaché suggested a French military officer was doing spy work. Because antisemitism was widespread in the French army, Dreyfus was scapegoated with the charge of treason. He was convicted and sentenced to a lifetime in imprisonment on Devil's Island, off of the coast of South America. In the meantime, Lieutenant Colonel Georges Picquart, who had been appointed to chief of army intelligence, came to Dreyfus's defense. After scrutinizing the evidence in greater detail, Picquart discovered that the real perpetrator of the crime was not Dreyfus, but an officer named Walsin Esterhazy. When he brought this up to the French government, however, they refused to change Dreyfus's status due to concern about French national image (Rothstein, 2007; Weiner, 2015).

In 1898, the novelist Emile Zola lambasted the French government's wrongdoings in an open letter entitled *J'accuse*, published in the French daily newspaper, *L'aurore*. Zola was convicted for disrespect toward the French government, and fled to England. Meanwhile, public fervor over the case continued to grow. Eventually, in September of 1899, Dreyfus was pardoned by Emile Loubet, the President at the time, making it possible for him to return to Paris (Weiner, 2015). The Dreyfus affair marks the most prominent event in French Jewish history until the Holocaust.

Prior to the German invasion of France in May of 1940, an estimated 300,000 Jews lived on French soil. During this time, the WWI hero, Marshal Philippe Pétaine, led the French Vichy

Regime. The Vichy Regime collaborated with Nazi Germany and several anti-Jewish measures

were installed. Free negotiation of Jewish-owned capital was forbidden; Jewish owned radios

were confiscated; curfews were established for Jews; and all Jews had to wear a yellow badge

identifying their Jewry and prohibiting access to most public arenas. In March of 1942, 1,112

French Jews were sent to concentration camps in Poland and in Germany. Between 1942 and

July of 1944, approximately 23,000 French Jews were deported to concentration camps. There

were also several transit camps located in France, the most well-known being Drancy, which is

located just outside of Paris. Drancy was designed for 700 people, and at its peak housed more

than 7,000 people (Weiner, 2015; Wieviorka & Rosset, 1994).

In addition to these transit camps, actual concentration camps were also built in France.

Gurs, located in the Basque Region of Southwestern France was originally built in 1939 as a

detention camp for political refugees. In 1940, Gurs was handed over to the Vichy government

and it was used as a concentration camp for both French and foreign Jews. Conditions in the

camp were brutal, and an estimated 800 detainees died from contagious diseases between the

years 1940 and 1941 (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum). A total of 26,641 Jews of

German, Polish, and Austrian descent passed through Gurs, as well as 1470 of French descent

(Herreros, n.d.). It is estimated that 25% of French Jews were killed by the end of the Holocaust

(Weiner, 2015).

Despite the antisemitic events of WWII, Jews continued to immigrate to France in the

second half of the twentieth century. Between the years of 1944 and 1979, 240,000 Jews came to

France. More than half of these immigrants were from Algeria, and the rest were from Tunisia

and Morocco (Mandel, 2014). This influx of Jews reflects the former colonization by France of

regions in Northern Africa and occurred simultaneously with the migration of Muslims from

these same North African countries. Today, outside of Israel, France houses the largest

population of Jews and Muslims living on the same soil. Although the two groups of people

shared countries of origin and country of destination, their immigration narratives are different.

Despite their common origin, in many North African countries, Jews were perceived by French

officials to be more capable of assimilation than Muslims, easing their transition into France. In

Algeria, all Jews were granted French citizenship in 1870, elevating them from their non-Jewish

Algerian counterparts. This is not to say, however, that being a Jewish immigrant in France did

not come without challenges.

Throughout the rest of the twentieth century, Jews continued to face discrimination. In

1980, *L'union libérale israèlite de France,* the first "liberal" synagogue in France, was bombed.

This synagogue was located on Rue Copernic in Paris, and thus the event became known as

L'affaire Copernic or in English, the Rue Copernic attack. Four people died, and over forty

people were injured. This was the first deadly attack since in the end of WWII, and was received

rather lightly by the French government at the time. Then Prime Minister, Raymond Barre,

claimed, "This attack was intended to hit Jews attending a synagogue and hit innocent French

people crossing Rue Copernic" (Wasserstein, 2015). His language is quite revealing in making

the distinction between "French" and "Jewish."

During the 21st century, antisemitic violence continued to occur in France. In March of

2012, Toulouse, a city that is home to about 20,000 French Jews experienced the next tragedy in

French Jewish history (Sayare & Erlanger, 2012). A gunman entered a Jewish elementary school

and shot a teacher and three children, leaving all of them dead. That year, France saw a 58%

increase in antisemitic attacks from the previous year (*Service de Protection de la Communauté Juive*).

On January 9th, 2015, the most recent instance of antisemitic violence occurred in France. Two days following the attacks on the offices of Charlie Hebdo, a Paris-based satirical newspaper, customers at a nearby Kosher supermarket were held hostage. Amedy Coulibaly, who had perpetrated attacks against French policemen two days earlier, led the siege. Coulibaly had pledged allegiance to the Islamic State. Four patrons died during the siege, and several others were held hostage. The rising trend of antisemitism in France, exemplified by the hostage siege, also emerged in popular culture and on social media.

Perhaps the most noteworthy French cultural icon perpetrating antisemitism is Dieudonné. This French comedian is known for both mocking racial stereotypes and also employing them in his humor. Initially, he started out with a Jewish partner, Élie Semoun. Reciprocal insults made up the majority of their acts, tempering antisemitic comments. For example, Dieudonné is quoted telling his partner "The Germans should have finished the job in 1945" (Stille, 2014, para. 6). Although Dieudonne and his partner split in 1997, his antisemitic jokes have continued. In 2003, he appeared on television dressed as an orthodox Jew performing the Nazi salute. He has invited Holocaust-denying intellectuals and politicians onto his show, including Jean-Marie Le Pen, founder of the French National Front. Le Pen once referred to the Holocaust as merely "a detail of history," demonstrating his dismissive attitude toward the tragedy. At a comedy club, Dieudonné stated his opinions on Jewish journalist Patrick Cohen: "When I hear him speak, Patrick Cohen, I say to myself, you see, the gas chambers … too bad." (Stille, 2014, para 10). Dieudonné's performances and their reception demonstrate the

pervasiveness of antisemitism in French culture today. This pervasiveness is not limited to

cultural figures, but also manifests itself in everyday instances with the general public.

These instances of antisemitism are best documented by *Service de Protection de la*

Communautié Juive (SPCJ), or Jewish Community Security Service. The SPCJ was founded in

1980 in response to the Rue Copernic attack. Every year, the SPCJ distributes an official report

documenting all antisemitic attacks in France. The incidents have been divided into two

categories, actions (general attacks, homicides, violence, arson, vandalism) and threats (oral

threats, flyers, hate-mail, and graffiti). The report provides a monthly breakdown of each

antisemitic act, and a brief description of the act. For example, on Monday, July 21, 2014 in

Lyon:

> An individual holding a knife entered a subway car, threatened Jews and made incoherent
>
> comments about Israel. He then lashed out at a young man, calling him 'dirty Jew,' and
>
> tried to stab him with his knife, but failed. A complaint was filed (Service de Protection
>
> de la Communauté Juive, 2014, p. 45).

These accounts are followed by short descriptions of the court cases and penal actions

that followed. The most recent SPCJ report states that in 2014, 851 antisemitic acts were

recorded. This represents a 101% increase from the previous year, when 423 acts were recorded.

It also reports that antisemitic acts made up 51% of all racist attacks in 2014, yet Jews make up

less than 1% of the country's population (Service de Protection de la Communauté Juive, 2014).

The preceding historical account functions to demonstrate that antisemitism has been

institutionalized in France since the Middle Ages. Laws have been passed that discriminate

against Jews, politicians have made statements that belittle violent acts of antisemitism, and

popular culture that disparages Jews has been permitted by the government. The rest of this study

will examine the ways in which this institutionalized anti-Semitism influences identities of Jews

living in France.

Identity Development

How does antisemitism inform the identity of French Jews today? Erik Erikson (1968),

father of the field of identity research, described the fifth of eight stages of identity development

as "identity vs role confusion." It is during this stage that individuals explore the various roles

they hold in an effort to integrate each role into a coherent identity. Erikson (1963) referred to

the act of "triple bookkeeping," which describes one's ability to balance biological,

psychological, and social needs in order to maintain one cohesive identity. According to Erikson,

individuals choose to accept and reject childhood identifications so that these three needs can

exist harmoniously. This ideal of integration does not account, however, for co-existing

unresolved tensions among these three pillars of identity. For example, if a child in France is

born into a Jewish family, he is considered biologically Jewish. However, living in an antisemitic

environment discourages the ease with which he can form this identification.

Erikson (1968) responded to this dilemma by introducing the concept of "configuration."

According to Erikson, individuals engage in the process of configuration, which bridges the gaps

among each pillar of identity. There are three steps involved in configuration. First, individuals

undergo selective repudiation, during which certain identities are rejected or suppressed.

Consider the example of Jacques, a French Jewish adolescent who enjoys playing basketball may

decide to suppress his Jewish identity on the court in order to fit in with non-Jewish players.

When Jacques goes home, however, he may reclaim his Jewish identity with his family. The next

step in configuration is mutual assimilation, during which individuals synthesize two or more

identities into one. For example, Jacques may synthesize his Jewishness at home and his non-

Jewishness on the court as two components of one cohesive identity. During absorption, the final

stage, these different identities exist simultaneously. In other words, Jacques is no longer

synthesizing the two components of his identity; they exist harmoniously in the form of one

identity- he is a French Jewish basketball player.

As research in identity theory has developed, psychologists have considered that one

cohesive identity may not be possible when different components of identity may be opposing.

Schachter (2004) conducted a study in which he interviewed thirty Jewish modern orthodox

young adults about their religious and sexual development, two aspects of identity that could

potentially be conflictual. Schachter introduced four new types of identity configurations, which

unlike those of Erikson, do not necessarily move the individual in the direction of an ultimate

cohesive synthesis. According to Schachter, there is a configuration based on choice and

suppression, a configuration based on assimilating and synthesizing, a confederacy of

identifications, and a configuration based on the thrill of dissonance.

In the configuration based on choice and suppression, individuals choose one

identification over the other and construct their lives based on the needs of this one

identification. The other identification is rejected. Jacques may completely decide to reject his

Jewishness and refuse to participate in matters relating to his religion in order to be able to fully

claim his identity as a basketball player. In the configuration based on assimilating and

synthesizing, individuals create a framework in which identifications cease to be viewed as

conflicting. Jacques may say to himself, "I don't need to choose between basketball and

Judaism," and decide to embrace his Judaism at home, yet choose not to express it while with his friends on the basketball court. He would not view his behavior shift as inauthentic, but rather a way to allow his two identifications to exist in harmony. In the confederacy of identifications, individuals refuse to reject or modulate any identification because doing so is seen as rejection or modulation of the self. Instead, they hold on to each identification despite the difficulties that may fuel. Jacques would neither modulate his identification as a Jew on the basketball court, nor would he modulate his identification as a basketball player when engaging in Jewish traditions at home. Rather, he would accept the challenges that come with his two conflicting identifications. Finally, in the configuration based on the thrill of dissonance, the inharmoniousness of conflicting identifications provides a thrill that allows the identifications to exist side by side, even if this fuels conflict. Jacques may find it exciting to have to defend his Jewishness on the court and his passion for basketball at home. This excitement would allow these two identifications to exist in a creative tension.

The role of culture itself appears frequently in recent literature regarding identity formation. According to Vedder and Phinney (2013, p. 336), "Each individual is an agent in the construction of his or her cultural identity; nevertheless, the process is strongly shaped by the attitudes, values, and practices of the cultural setting in which the individual resides." In other words, there are too many factors at play for one concrete identity to be possible. Phinney (1989) introduced a model of ethnic identity development that consists of three stages. The first stage, unexamined ethnic identity, involves a lack of awareness of the relevance of an individual's identity. The second stage, ethnic identity search, involves the exploration of what it means to

belong to a certain ethnic group. The third stage, achieved ethnic identity occurs when individuals have clarified what it means to belong to a certain group.

Cultures are always in the process of changing, which presents another challenge in one's ability to develop a single cohesive cultural identity. Hall (1993) claims that identity is "a matter of 'becoming,' as well as of 'being'" (p. 225). In other words, because culture does not resist time, identity cannot either. For example, the identities of Jews in France would not be the same before and after significant cultural events, such as the attacks on Hyper Cacher. For example, in their chapter "Identity Formation in Bicultural Youth," Vedder and Phinney (2013) cite Arjough and Kusow (2007) who demonstrated the fluid nature of identity in a sample of white Lebanese women. As white passing women, the ways in which these women perceive themselves and are perceived by others is largely dependent on time and place. They can pass as white in public, but if they want to wear a Hijab at any given moment, their identity will immediately be steered by the fact that they are Muslim. This demonstrates that identity is not stagnant, but rather is mediated by time, place, and situation.

Hammack (2011) comments on the intersection between culture and identity. In agreement with Hall, Hammack asserts that identity "embraces complexity, fluidity, and hybridity" (p. 31). In other words, identity is always in flux, just as culture is always in flux. In this way, identity must be studied in a cultural context. After completing an in depth investigation of the identities of Israeli and Palestinian adolescents, Hammack also found that investigating identity has an important political function. To understand political challenges and disputes across the world, social identity and individual identity cannot be viewed as separate entities. It is by studying the convergence between social and individual identity that social and

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political changes can be achieved, "…for identity is a central organizing concept that unites

thinkers, activists, and cultural participants" (p. 28). Because all individuals have an identity,

regardless of race, religion, sexual orientation, or country of origin, identity can be used as a

medium through which individuals, who may otherwise be in dispute, are united. In his own

study of adolescent Palestinian and Israeli identity, Hammack (2011) introduced the idea of a

master narrative, an umbrella term used to describe the cultural framework that guides individual

and group identities. For example, Hammack asserts that existential insecurity is one aspect of

the Israeli master narrative because of the country's history of being displaced. The term master

narrative suggests that identity is not entirely self-determined and has a profound cultural

foundation.

Of course, the way in which culture influences one's identity is dependent on the degree

to which he or she identifies with his or her culture. Tajfel and Turner (1979) introduced social

identity theory, which claims that an individual's sense of self depends not only on his or her

personal accomplishments, but also on the status and accomplishments or the group to which he

or she belongs. McCoy and Major (2003) conducted a study in which 12 Latino men and 24

Latina women who had high in-group identification were assigned to read an article that

described severe and pervasive prejudice against Latino/Latinas in the United States and against

an unfamiliar group, the Inuit in Canada. Self-evaluative emotions (depression and self-esteem),

hostile emotions, appraisals of personal threat, group identification, and collective self-esteem

were then assessed. Ethnic-identification and depressed emotions were positively correlated

when participants read about in-group persecution but negatively correlated when participants

read about outgroup persecution, suggesting that people who identify strongly with a particular

group react to criticism of the group as though it were criticism of the self. In other words, cultural identity is internalized as a component of one's sense of self.

Particular attention has been given to those for whom religion is a key factor in bicultural identity. Verkuyten and Yildiz (2007) investigated the intersection between national identification and ethnic and religious identity among Muslim Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands. The researchers found strong positive correlations between Turkish and Muslim identities, and negative correlations of each identity with Dutch identification. Not surprisingly, the study also demonstrated that participants with high in-group Muslim identification were more likely to reject being Dutch. This suggests the validity of Hall's (1993), Vedder and Phinney's (2013), and Hammack's (2001) claims that one cohesive identity is difficult to achieve in a globalized world, because individuals are often contending with conflicting components of their selves.

The role of discrimination against a specific culture also presents a particular challenge in developing one cohesive identity. Tajfel and Turner (1986) introduced a model that demonstrates the three strategies individuals belonging to a devalued group employ: a) individual mobility: when individuals chose to leave their group, either physically or psychologically b) social creativity: when the group redefines itself to appear superior to the outgroup c) social competition: when the group as a whole fights against an institution that deems its group inferior to other groups.

Additional theory and research on discrimination point to its impact on identity formation. Cooley (1922) introduced the concept of the "looking glass self," which suggests that persecuted individuals internalize the negative opinions of those who persecute them in the

process of identity formation. Since the time of Cooley, psychologists have argued that

discrimination may not have an exclusively harmful effect on identity formation. Branscombe,

Schmitt, and Harvey (1999) introduced the Rejection-Identification Model, which proposes that

people choose to identify more strongly as a member of their group as a response to

discrimination. This model suggests that discrimination may lead to stronger in-group

identification.

Other psychologists, however, consider the Rejection-Identification Model to be too

simplistic. According to Operario and Fiske (2001), the relationship between perceived

discrimination and identity formation is cyclic: individuals who identify strongly with their

cultures are more likely to attribute negative personal experiences to persecution, which in turn

causes them to identify more strongly with their cultures.

The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) was developed (Sellers et al.,

1998) in response to this cycle. The MMRI proposes four dimensions of racial identity: salience,

centrality, regard, and ideology. Salience refers to the role that ethnicity, race, behavioral

characteristics, or appearance plays in identity formation. Salience is time and situation specific,

meaning that as time and situations change, salience does as well. Centrality, on the other hand,

refers to the extent to which ethnicity, race, behaviors, or appearance are normatively a part of

one's identity over time. Regard refers to both private regard (whether an individual feels

positive or negative towards his or her group) and public regard (whether the individual feels that

others are positive or negative about his or her group). Finally, ideology refers to the individuals'

beliefs toward how their group is "supposed to" live, behave, and interact with other groups or

society at large. These four dimensions inform the relationship between cultural identity and

perceived discrimination. This model was implemented in an investigation of African American young adults' identities (Sellers et al., 2003). The direct and indirect relationships among racial identity, racial discrimination, perceived stress, and psychological stress were examined in 555 African American young adults. The results demonstrated a direct relationship between racial centrality and psychological distress and an indirect relationship between centrality and public regard as influenced by racial discrimination and perceived stress. These findings demonstrate the social implications of identity theory and the MMRI.

The MMRI measures racial identity through use of quantitative scales. Qualitative analysis can also be useful in measuring the extent to which one's culture influences his or her identity. McAdams (2001) introduced the term *narrative identity,* which postulates that individuals internalize their life stories, making purpose out of the reconstructed past and imagined future to form their identities. Life stories provide information about identity that cannot be captured in a questionnaire. Qualitative research, like that of McAdams, is especially pertinent when studying race, ethnicity, and religion. Cohen and Eisen (2000) captured this paradigm succinctly in their book, *The Jew Within: Self, Family, and Community in America,* by claiming that "Quantitative methods alone cannot grasp the ways in which contemporary American Jews follow and depart from the attitudes, behaviors, and conflicts that they witnessed as children" (Cohen & Eisen, 2000, p. 2). In other words, the especially nuanced nature of race, ethnicity, and religion necessitate more than just quantitative methods. In addition, as Hall (1993) points out, identity is dynamic. As cultures evolve, identities evolve as well. Although quantitative measures may capture static qualities, such as fixed attitudes and dispositional traits,

qualitative methods have the unique ability of capturing the changing tensions between culture and identity.

This is true for studying the identities of Jews in France, whose situation has a highly nuanced sociopolitical background. As mentioned in the history section of this study, Jews in France have faced extreme discrimination since the Middle Ages and continue to face discrimination today. As recently as the 1980s, thousands of Jews from regions in Northern Africa immigrated to France. Since the beginning of 2015, however, over 6,000 French Jews have emigrated from France to Israel (Times of Israel, 2015). In what way does this rise of immigrants interact with France's deep sense of nationalism that has been present since the time of the French Revolution? How do individuals in a nationalistic society grapple with a nation that largely rejects a key component of their identities? The identity formation of Jews in France must be contextualized in this sociopolitical framework.

The Present Study

Although there is extensive research on antisemitism in France from a historical and political lens, the literature lacks psychological research on identity processes. Schachter's (2004) model of configurations provides a lens through which identity can be studied that accounts for conflicting forces. This study aimed to further Schachter's framework by applying it to the situation for Jews in modern-day France. Through doing so, a more nuanced understanding of the role of discrimination in the context of identity formation was hoped to be formed.

To address the intersection between identity formation and religious discrimination among Jews currently living in France, 12 Jews living in Paris were extensively interviewed as part of a qualitative study. Several questions were examined by doing so:

- What are the main factors that influence the identities of Jews in France?

- How does antisemitism interact with these factors?

- How does the Israeli-Palestinian conflict influence the identity formation of Jews in France?

- To what extent does French immigration policy impact the identity formation of Jews?

Due to unstable nature of situations affecting the Jewish population in France, and the exploratory quality of the study, no initial hypotheses were advanced.

Method

Research Design

This is a grounded analysis of qualitative interviews. Upon completion, each interview was transcribed for the purpose of examining them for potential themes and patterns. After the transcriptions were complete, the sections of the interviews that were deemed significant were translated from French into English.

The themes and patterns were then shared with a research colleague, along with the translated sections of the interviews that had been deemed important. The research colleague read the translations to ensure inter-rater reliability. Ultimately, a conceptualization formed from the overlap in patterns observed by myself and the research assistant. In order to prevent my own biases as an American citizen from influencing this conceptualization, I engaged in a self-questioning process, which is detailed in the later section "qualitative concerns."

Participants

In conjunction with l'Alliance Israèlite Universelle , a Paris-based Jewish human rights organization, 12 French Jews (age range: 23 years to 78 years) were recruited. Among these 12 participants are employees at l'Alliance Israèlite Universelle, friends of employees, and my own personal connections from having lived in Paris for 6 months prior to the start of the study. To participate in the study, participants had to identify as Jewish and have been living in France for most of their lives. Brief descriptions of the participants (identified using pseudonyms) are identified in table 1.

Table 1

Descriptive Data about the 12 Participants

Participant (*N*=12)	Age	Subgroup	Profession
Nadine	57	Ashkenazi	Sociologist and Photographer
Arthur	60	Sephardic	AIU Archivist
Jacob	48	Ashkenazi	AIU Archivist
Camille	55	Messianic	AIU Graphic Designer
Jean	33	Ashkenazi	AIU Historian
Belle	56	Ashkenazi	AIU Secretary
Rebekkah	68	Sephardic	Retired
Benjamin	75	Sephardic	Retired
Lilah	23	Ashkenazi	Student
Sarah	73	Ashkenazi	Retired
Elliot	38	Ashkenazi	Engineer and Life Coach
Vince	40	Ashkenazi	Video Editor

Procedure

As mentioned, participants were recruited from three different sources. I recruited employees of the AIU, friends of these employees, and my own personal connections from having lived in Paris for 6 months prior to the start of the study. Each of the participants, regardless of their recruitment category, received the same message. Either through email or a printed out handout, I communicated the following text with each participant:

"You are receiving this message because you are a friend or partner of L'alliance Israelite Universelle. I am working with the L'alliance as a summer intern and am currently an undergraduate student enrolled at Connecticut College in New London, Connecticut, USA. As part of my honors thesis for Connecticut College, I am conducting a study of the effects of antisemitism on Jews in France. I would like to invite you to participate in a study that explores psychological reactions to current antisemitic events in France. The study will require you to participate in a 30 minute long interview in which you will share your experiences. If you decide you would like to participate and contribute to research on antisemitism in France, please write back with your agreement and we can set up an interview time. I look forward to hearing from you."

"J'espère que vous allez bien. Je m'appelle Joanna Marks et je suis stagiaire américaine à l'Alliance Israélite Universelle, une organisation juive à Paris. Je suis en France pour l'été pour mener une recherche afin d'écrire mon mémoire sur les réactions psychologiques concernant l'antisémitisme en France.

Un aspect essentiel de cette recherche réside dans les entretiens avec des personnes de la communauté juive en France. Je voudrais conduire des enquêtes à propos des expériences en

tant que Juif ou Juive en France, et comment ces expériences ont pu avoir des implications psychologiques. Les entretiens dureront environ 30 minutes. Je vous écris donc pour vous demander si vous sériez intéressées par ce projet.

Il existe beaucoup de livres politiques et sociologiques sur l'antisémitisme en France. Cependant, les recherches psychologiques manquent encore à la littérature scientifique sur le sujet. J'ai bon espoir que ce projet contribuera à la lutte contre l'antisémitisme. Si vous vous intéressez à ce projet ou si vous connaissez quelqu'un qui serait interessé , merci de bien vouloir me répondre par mail à jmarks2@conncoll.edu ou par téléphone: 06 71 84 63 35. N'hésitez pas aussi si vous avez des questions."

If the participants responded that they were interested in the study, we set up a date, time, and place to conduct the interview. Most of the interviews took place at the AIU headquarters, located at 45 rue la Bruyère in Paris or at the AIU's multimedia center, located at 6bis rue Michel Ange in Paris. Three of the interviews were conducted at the participants's homes. As soon as I met the participant, I handed him or her an informed consent document (see appendix A). This document informed the participant that the interview would be recorded. After setting up the recording equipment, the interview began.

I had devised an interview protocol (see appendix B) that was meant to take around 30 minutes. I began the interviews by asking questions that aimed to gain a general sense of the way in which Judaism manifested itself in the participant's life (i.e. what do you like about being Jewish? What do you dislike?) I then asked questions regarding the role of antisemitism in each participant's life (i.e. do you feel a sense of responsibility to address current antisemitism in France?) Finally, I asked questions that addressed identity (i.e. do you feel more Jewish or more

French?) I made every attempt to keep the interviews roughly the same length, however each participant deviated from the questions in his or her own specific way. Because of these deviations, the interviews lasted from 21 minutes to 48 minutes. The mean interview time was 34 minutes.

After the interview was over, I asked each participant if he or she had anything else that he or she would like to share. In most cases, the participants used this space to address something that he or she had forgotten to previously address during the interview. I then handed the participant a debriefing document (see Appendix C).

Qualitative Concerns

It is important to note that I was an American doing research with a population of French citizens. English is my native language, but all of my interviews were conducted in French, my second language. Although I speak French at an advanced level, the degree to which I perceive nuance in French conversations is most likely less than the degree to which I perceive nuance in English conversations. Although several of my participants did speak English, it was important that I conduct the interviews in French so that they could feel as comfortable as possible while answering my questions. It is possible, however, that my own language skills may have interfered with the quality of the interviews. My questions could have been interpreted in a slightly different fashion than was intended. I may have analyzed responses differently due to my language skills.

I took certain steps in order to account for the potential dilemmas associated with French being my second language. First, during my interview process I made sure to tell each participant to ask me to repeat myself if he or she had difficulty understanding me, and most of them did so

at certain points. If I had difficulty understanding his or her answers, or did not know the

meaning of a certain word, I always made sure to ask for clarification. Following the completion

of my interviews, I transcribed each one into French. I then translated the most important

sections of each interview into English. To confirm that my own translations aligned with those

of a native French speaker, a French speaking research colleague performed back-translation, a

process in which a native speaker takes a translated document and translates it back to the

original language. These back translations were closely aligned with my own translations,

indicating validity to the texts that I had generated.

Edward Said (1979) discusses the risks involved with doing research on groups of people

that do not belong to one's culture. He claims that researchers often evaluate other cultures

within the context of their own cultural framework. For example, an American psychologist may

travel to Israel hoping to explore identity among Israelis. When he arrives in Israel, he will

expect to experience violence several times throughout his trip because Israel is portrayed as

violent and dangerous in American media. These expectations, though heavily American and not

relevant to the prevailing Israeli cultural experience, will influence his ultimate findings.

Said (1979) points out ways in which one can avoid cultural biases from influencing

research: "The more one is able to leave one's cultural home, the more easily is one able to judge

it, and the whole world as well, with the spiritual detachment and generosity necessary for true

vision. The more easily, too, does one assess oneself and alien cultures with the same

combination of intimacy and distance" (p. 289). Putting this theory into practice, I immersed

myself in French culture, and the Jewish community in particular, for six months before the start

of the study. I lived with a French host family, attended French university, and babysat a French

child. I went to Shabbat dinners, spent ample free-time in Jewish neighborhoods of Paris, and worked for a Jewish organization for the entirety of the summer. These steps allowed me to "leave my cultural home" and have a more comprehensive understanding of both French Jewish culture and French culture as a whole. Although these steps certainly made me more aware of subtleties in French culture, I cannot assume that they entirely erased the biases I have as an American.

Said (1979) uses the term "orientalism" to describe the ways in Western researchers patronize, exoticize, and romanticize the East. According to Said, all Western researchers are guilty of orientalizing the East. Although my research took place in France, another Western country, three out of eleven participants are Sephardic Jews, implying that they have recent Eastern ancestry. Additionally, much of modern day antisemitism in France is associated with trends of immigration from Northern African countries and volatile political situations in the Middle East. Therefore, it is possible that my findings could have been influenced by my own preconceived assumptions of the East as a Westerner.

It is also important to contextualize this project within the framework of my own personal interests and motivations. My own identity as a both a Jew and a Francophile largely contributed to my interest in conducting this study. Given that my Judaism and my passion for French culture both play important roles in my sense of self, I sought to examine how these two entities could be in conflict with one another during a time in which antisemitism is present in France. Therefore, this project is a personal exploration just as much as an intellectual and academic exploration. Throughout the interview process, I was aware that my own interests may influence the ways in which I approach the questions asked. I did my best to avoid projecting any

preconceived opinions I had about both Jewish and French identity onto my participants. It is possible, however, that my own biases may have influenced both the responses of the participants as well as my analysis of the results. Alcoff (1991) points out that "a speaker's location (which I take here to refer to her social location or social identity) has an epistemically significant impact on that speaker's claims, and can serve either to authorize or dis-authorize one's speech" (p. 2). Therefore, my own position as a Jewish-American Francophile cannot be left unmentioned throughout the course of this study.

Despite the aforementioned challenges involved in the interview process, it was still important that I used qualitative methodology to conduct this project. I might have chosen to administer surveys and looked at identity through a quantitative lens. However, cultures and identities are always in the process of changing. Therefore, a more dynamic and nuanced methodology may be able to capture these changes. Throughout the course of my interview process, France underwent several major events that had implications relating to my project. In addition, several major events in French history have occurred since the proposal for this project. I initially proposed an investigation of Jewish identity in France in the fall of 2014. Since that time, the attacks of Charlie Hebdo and Hypercasher, as well as the November 2015 attacks have occurred. Each of these events influence the relationships that French Jews have with their nation, religion, and identity. Additionally, by choosing not to administer surveys and questionnaires and opting to let my participants speak for themselves, their personal experiences and understanding of multicultural identities could emerge on its own.

Analytic Strategy

Each interview was transcribed and then deeply analyzed. Due to the unstable nature of the political situation for Jews in France, no initial hypotheses were asserted. An in depth, bottom up analysis was conducted of each interview to identify common themes and patterns regarding identity. Four themes were identified that were common to each participant: historical legacy; politicization of religion, awareness of French relations to the Maghreb, and importance of social ties. Multiple readings of the data aided in honing these themes into four identity configurations guided by Schachter's (2004) theoretical framework. After determining these themes, I shared them with my research colleague conducted her own in-depth analysis of the transcriptions. She confirmed the presence of the five overarching themes and also provided helpful commentary and feedback that enhanced the analysis of the findings.

Findings

Historical Legacy

As is evident in the introduction, antisemitism has been a common theme in France's political history since the Middle Ages. Historical events that demonstrate institutionalized antisemitism have profoundly influenced the ways in which French Jews configure their French and Jewish identities. Given its magnitude and its relatively recent timeframe, the Holocaust is perhaps the most important historical event. Every participant had some personal relation to the Holocaust that shaped his or her Jewish identity. Through investigating historical legacy and its impact on identity, it became evident that despite negative associations with history's treatment of Jews, ethnic identity is something that individuals are unable to escape.

Jacob (48):

"For example, yesterday I was at the "fête de la musique" [large music festival for summer solstice all around Paris] and a friend and I went to the memorial section of the city because there were concerts there. And it's true that often, Jewish music….traditional Jewish music...it brings me back right away to the concentration camp. Everything in Yiddish, I don't like, but we'll see. And so at the concert there was a group called "Brutch", it's a group, they were 2 yesterday but normally they're 4 or 5. They mix a lot of music from the east, Yiddish, Manoush, and other languages. And at the same time they're modern. I really like it because of the Jewish component. And the fact that isn't a bit hidden, because of the modern aspect. It was very, very good. So in the beginning it was just the music, but it's true that after the Jewish side came out, I felt things. I thought of my mom, my grandfather, of several people. And then of the family. I could have cried. Yeah, it's strong. All of my family who experienced the holocaust. It's something that's carried on from generation to generation. And as its pretty close...and then there's my mother...my grandfather was deported…."

It is apparent that Jacob's (48) conceptualization of what it means to be a French Jew is embedded in his family's experiences with the Holocaust. When seeing a Jewish band, Jacob was reminded not only of his individual Jewishness, but his family's collective experience of being Jewish within a historical context. It is also important to note that while Jacob experienced something "traditionally French," he was unable to avoid confronting the historical component of his Judaism. Fête de la Musique is a national French event that was initiated by Jack Lange, French minister of culture, in 1982. On Fête de la Musique's website, it claims that "*la Fête sera gratuite, ouverte à toutes les musiques « sans hiérarchie de genres et de pratiques » et à tous les Français*," meaning "the festival will be free, open to all types of music, without hierarchy,

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available to all French people" (http://fetedelamusique.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/). This

statement by the French government attempts to depoliticize the experience of attending a

French cultural event. However, Jacob's statement demonstrates that even an event that is

explicitly not political has the power to make history emerge in his conception of identity. Jacob

goes onto explain the profound impact that the Holocaust has on his identity and conception of

the human condition.

"I think I was touched...what I already said, transformed. I have to think of the fact that

my grandfather had been deported and only he knows exactly what happened. Afterward, there's

my mother, she had a lot of problems in relation to all of that. It's normal, she was already

transformed with her anxieties. Afterward, she transmitted them to me. And also we have to

transform something we don't really know. Even if we've seen images and movies. It's something

we must not forget. We have to always remind ourselves of it. But we also can't fixate on that.

And we aren't the only ones. Our ancestors also had massacres, the Chinese, the Gypsies. A lot

of people. Often the Jews are massacred. We, the Jewish people, exterminated. It's something

relatively unique, the fact that millions and millions of people are dead in 3, 4 years. But we're

not the only ones. Unfortunately it continues. It's something about human insanity."

Jacob repeatedly uses the word "transform" and "transmit" in his discussion of the

Holocaust. The repetition of these words further implies the significance of historical events,

such as the Holocaust. Reviewing Erikson's (1963) theory of triple bookkeeping, one can

consider that the social component of Jacob's identity is largely associated with his family's

history. In order to obtain one cohesive identity in relation to his Judaism, Jacob has to reckon

with significant events from the past. This sheds light on the association that historical legacy has

within the family history. The Holocaust plays a significant role in Jacob's identity because his family has been impacted by the Holocaust. The association between historical legacy and the importance of family is further demonstrated in the case of Nadine, a sociologist and photographer.

Nadine (57):

"I am Jewish without being Jewish. It's true that my dad, who is Russian, has a side of his family who died in a concentration camp. So we really were immersed in our Jewish history from a young age [...] well this may seem completely crazy to you, but the nickname my father gave me was "flower of the ghetto". That's heavy, isn't it? I don't know, I had a really thin face, big black hair, curly hair. I don't know, I had to have the physical attributes of a little Jewish Russian girl. I don't know. It was my nickname, and I remember very well, one time I was on the street, and I started to say "I am a flower of the ghetto!" because I didn't know what that meant. And my father strongly grasped me and said "never say that outside the home!" So yeah, it's details like that make me feel there is "something" without really knowing what."

Similar to Jacob, the association between the Holocaust and family has had a prime role in shaping Nadine's Jewish identity. From a young age, she knew not only that she was Jewish, but more importantly, that her Judaism came with significant historical implications. The anecdote concerning her father's nickname "flower of the ghetto" demonstrates that these historical implications infiltrate not just the parts of her life that are "traditionally Jewish," such as going to synagogue or celebrating Jewish holidays : history is omnipresent.

Nadine's narrative also hints at the way in which Jewish identity is inescapable. She begins her answer by saying that she is "Jewish without being Jewish," and then goes on to

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describe the ways in which she's been discouraged from religious expression. Despite

discouragement from others and an internal uncertainty about her faith, she ends her comments

on a similar note as her introduction, by saying "So yeah, it's details like that that make me feel

there is 'something' without really knowing what." She is unable to evade the core presence that

Judaism has in her identity.

It is also noteworthy that historical legacy does not have to be strictly associated with

only negative events such as the Holocaust. Consider the case of Rebekkah, a Sephardic Jew

whom I met at a conference on Judeo-Spanish culture.

Rebekkah

"What I like, it's my history. It's completely related to my history, the history of my

family. The fact that we spoke Judeo-Spanish in our home. And that it's completely linked to my

life history. My dad who was born in Macedonia practically didn't know his family. I searched a

bit for his roots to try to understand a bit who his family was, and in fact all of his family was

deported to Treblinka by the Bulgars who collaborated on a horrible thing with the Germans in

order to try to reclaim Macedonia. So it's a whole story. It's not just a family thing, it plays a

role in my identity, and it's very strong."

Similarly to Nadine and Jacob, Rebekkah's Jewish identity is heavily influenced by her

family's experience with the Holocaust. She is unable to extricate her own identity from the lived

experience of her family, very much influenced by a national narrative. For both participants, the

past cannot be extracted from the present. However, her pride in speaking Judeo-Spanish also

reflects the ways in which this deep historical legacy can stimulate more positive feelings as

well.

Association between Judaism and Social Ties

Another theme that was consistent among each participant was the association between one's sense of Judaism and one's social network. For each participant, social ties were a medium through which Jewish identity was both maintained and expressed. Judaism and social ties had an interdependent relationship with regard to identity formation. The presence of Judaism in one's identity encourages French Jews to enhance their relationships with family and friends, and family and friends encourage Jews to become closer to their Jewish identity. Similarly to historical legacy, social ties also support the notion that ethnic identity is inescapable. Individuals cannot break free from their family or friends, and therefore they also cannot break free from their Judaism. Other themes manifested themselves in a range of ways among participants, but family consistently encouraged people to grow closer to their Jewish practices and Jewish identity.

Camille (55)

Well, lots of things. The familial aspect especially, which I haven't experienced yet. That's the difference between me and people who have really experienced Judaism, I imagine. I guess I only associate positive things with Judaism. For example, I would love to construct a Sukkah, but I don't have a family [with whom I can build one].

When asked what she likes about being Jewish, Camille states that she admires the fact that Judaism is largely embedded in family. However, her lack of a family prevents her from fully engaging in her religion. As with other cultural identities, family plays a large role in Jewish identity construction. One can again interject Camille's yearning for family as part of her need to balance the biological, psychological, and social parts of herself. Without a Jewish social

network or family, it is difficult for her to account for the social component of her Jewish identity. The theme of family goes further than simply having a family. For other participants, the idea of transmitting Judaism to their kin was a profound component of Jewish identity.

Belle (57)

Judaism, it's really important, very important, when it comes to transmitting it to the children I teach, my own children, and my grandchildren for when they're older, yes, it's something extremely important. Of course I am also French, but my Judaism, it's present...well not always in that which I respect or what I do, but for me, a way to be respectful, tolerant, and open to others.

Belle expresses that when she contemplates Judaism, it has particular importance when it comes to passing it along to those younger than she is. Not only is Belle a secretary, but she also has a side job teaching Sunday school and also teaching classes on Judaism to children of other religions as part of an interfaith program. Her commitment to such an endeavor demonstrates that for Belle Judaism is a way of making transgenerational connections. It is also noteworthy that she mentions "I am French," but then does not continue to talk about her French national identity. Her juxtaposition of the two statements suggests that although she includes her French nationality as a part of her identity, it is overpowered by the components of her identity that have to do with Judaism.

Nadine

I know that I travel a lot in Eastern Europe. And every time I go, the people with whom I connect are nine times out of ten Jewish. I don't do it on purpose, I don't know beforehand. They don't know either. But I want to mention it, and there you have it. We talk and we discover we're

both Jewish. For example, when I was at St. Petersburg, since I am from a Jewish family, I

absolutely wanted to go to the Jewish cemetery at St. Petersburg. We spent an afternoon there

and it was really great.

For Nadine, both friends and family infuse her sense of Jewish identity. She points out

that without even making an effort to associate with other Jewish people, she naturally finds

herself developing friendships with other Jews. Similarly to historical legacy, this demonstrates

an aspect of Jewish identity that seems implicit and received, rather than chosen. Earlier, when

discussing her Jewish identity in relation to historical legacy, Nadine had said, "I am Jewish

without being Jewish." This concept emerges again through the lens of social ties. She is

socially Jewish without trying to be socially Jewish. The notion of being unable to escape one's

Jewish identity will be further explored in the Discussion.

Politicization of Religion

The association between identity formation among French Jews and antisemitism in

France cannot be addressed without first confronting the political situation in Israel. Amongst

participants, there was a conflicted sense of both pride and distaste for the political situation in

Israel. Hammack (2011) discusses the idea of a master narrative that shapes the ways in which

identity is impacted by political situations. France's master narrative is largely influenced by

Laicité, a French policy originating in the late 19th century that promotes political secularism as

well as a cultural aversion to religion. This cultural aversion informs the way French citizens

conceptualize the political situation in Israel- as compounded by religion, and markedly the

Jewish religion. Under the French master narrative, Jewishness is viewed through an Israeli lens.

In other words, participants demonstrated ways in which the government politicizes their

Judaism. Interestingly, participants self-politicized their own Jewishness in response to the government. Consider the case of Jean, a 33 year year old historian.

Jean

"You realize that in general, in France people are very against Israel. They don't make the distinction between Israel and Jews, and they become antisemitic. I think that there is always an antisemitic sentiment….but among Jews there's an anti-Arab sentiment as well, the same way that Arabs can be racist against Jews. The big problem is to know when it goes too far. [...] So there was the example in college...during the same period. It was the Second Intifada. In Israel, buses were exploding every morning, Israeli people killed. And so I was in a lecture hall with 900 people, a history class. I was the only Jew. At the time, Jews were criticized for Israeli politics, and so I couldn't exit the lecture hall. People prevented me leaving, and tried to hit me."

Jean serves as an effective introduction to this theme, because he presents the French master narrative concerning Jews in France. He states that French people, in general, tend not to differentiate among Judaism, Jewish people, and the political situation in Israel. According to Jean, this generalization is a catalyst for antisemitic attitudes among French people. Cultural identity, which is not inherently political, becomes linked with (if not synonymous to) a political reality in Israel. Jean recognizes the problematic nature of this paradigm on an intellectual level, but also notes the ways in which it has affected him personally. When asked about his experiences with antisemitism, Jean recounts a story from college. Similarly to Nadine being unable to escape her historical legacy, Jean is unable to escape the political situation in Israel: it

has acute implications for his daily life. Being a resident of France conflicts with the importance of Israel in Jean's life. Regarding this importance, Jean claims:

The problem, in fact, is that I have a job I really love. So I don't really want to leave to go to Israel, but that's only because I work in the Jewish community. It's really interesting what I do here. But I think if I had kids, I would absolutely make my Aliyah [to Israel]. On the other hand, it's difficult because I spend my time in both countries now anyway. I go to Israel at least four or five times a year. I speak Hebrew. At work, I often collaborate with Israelis and we have projects in Israel. I know that's necessary for me. If I was completely closed off [from Israel], I don't think I could handle it.

In this quotation, the importance of Israel in Jean's identity emerges. This importance sheds light on why Jean's internalization of France's master narrative towards Israel has an especially profound effect on his identity. Although at this time he would not consider leaving France for Israel, it is clear that this is due to the nature of his job and its focus on Israeli events. In order for Jean to maintain the French element of his identity, he needs to surround himself with Israeli affairs in several spheres of life. In other words, he has "found Israel" in France, making it possible for him to stay.

It also important to note that he has reflected on possible decisions regarding Israel when he has children. It is acceptable for him to stay in France now when he does not yet have to worry about transmitting a sense of Jewishness to his children. However, when the time comes for him to raise a family, he might consider moving to Israel. This decision demonstrates that France is not an environment in which all aspects of Judaism can be expressed. Given the

aforementioned importance of family and social ties, Jean's decision to move once he has children is particularly significant.

Rebekkah (68)

"Well, the main problem in fact...the big, big problem that I have with my group of friends. It's that....integration of my Judaism and Israel. Israel is very, very badly received in France, it's true. Maybe more in France than elsewhere. I think that more here than elsewhere because of our tradition of social justice or of, you know....the French strike for nothing, the French are always rebelling. And there is an extreme-left that is very aggressive. And sometimes it links to the extreme right. Well, not directly, but in the end...for the fact that...they never accepted the creation of the Israeli state, not now and not ever. And now there are colonized territories, they react right away. And they react against the Jews. That means they lump me together with Israel. They say, yeah, you're Jewish, you mess up the Middle East. You see... [...] There is more now, and it's directly related to Israel. There is confusion, ignorance, and also...I'm not at all a proponent of the politics of the state of Israel."

Rebekkah also makes note of the French master narrative concerning the situation in Israel. She recognizes that this narrative assumes that her religion necessitates her political beliefs, which is not the case. Similarly to Jean, this idea infiltrates into daily life. In fact, later in the interview, Rebekkah mentions specific friends who assume her views regarding Israel based on her religion, and mentions that this interferes with her friendship. In order to come to terms with her identity as a Jew, she must take the political situation in Israel, and the French attitude toward this situation, into consideration. This poses a particular challenge for Rebekkah because although she is not in accordance with Israeli politics, she must frame her identity based on Israel

nonetheless. This tension is similar for the participants who feel a conflicted attitude towards affairs in Israel.

Belle

"*It's true that it's really complicated today. Personally, after...I...well, I don't always agree with certain decisions, especially certain administrative decisions having to do with colonies built in response to many larger questions. But obviously with what happened last year, where there were terrible protests in Paris criticizing Israel....everything that happened...it's terrible the way in which Israel is treated in the media. People don't understand that it's a people's right to exist on their land..."*

Camille

For me, Israel is my country and the country of Jews in general. So I have a strong connection to it. I wanted to learn Hebrew because I considered it the language of my people. So I know it...well I've forgotten half of it because I don't live there...but I learned a bit and it's true that it plays a large role in my identity. It's a "future identity," meaning that well, I used to consider moving to Israel, but I never went because I don't really agree with its politics, and it would be too much of a hassle. But that doesn't prevent me from feeling like it's my country.

Similarly to Rebekkah, Belle and Camille both state that they are not in undivided accordance with Israeli politics. This ambivalence, however, does not prevent them from feeling a sense of attachment (or in Belle's case, justification) towards Israel. Furthermore, this does not prevent them from defending Israel from France's hostile treatment. Their attachment to their religion has fueled their stance on what should happen in Israel. Therefore both Camille and Jean are also politicizing their own religion. Paradoxically, the French master narrative politicizes

Judaism by associating it with events in Israel. At the same time, by stating that *"Israel is my country and the country of Jews in general."* Camille also politicizes the Jewish religion. She says that Israel should belong to her people for due to religion justification. There is a mutual politicization of religion.

When examining the role of politicization of religion in identity formation among Jews in France, it is helpful to review the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) (Sellers et al., 2003). Salience, which refers to the role that ethnicity, race, behavioral characteristics, or appearance plays in identity formation, is not time or situation specific. Rather, it evolves as situations evolve. This component of the MMRI is particularly relevant when dealing with political events in Israel, as they too are always changing. Participants refer to events in history- such as the second intifada and anti-Israel riots- to signify that their Jewish identities evolve as these situations evolve. Given the presence of politicization of religion, salience accounts for the impossibility for an ethnic identity to be stagnant in a time when political events are constantly in flux. Salience is especially important in this case, because it has the unique ability to balance out other components of the MMRI that are not time or situation specific.

Awareness of French Relations to the Maghreb

Another important element of France's master narrative is the reaction to increased immigration from the Maghreb, a region in Northwest Africa. As mentioned in the introduction, 250,000 Jews came to France following the creation of the state of Israel in 1948. This wave of immigrants reconfigured the standards one had to meet to fit the French prototype, and prompted the question "Might someone who is not born in France be considered French?" Furthermore, this trend encouraged reconsideration of whether someone who has a minority religious identity

can be tolerated under the French master narrative. All participants, regardless of whether or not they had emigrated from another country or had family in France for centuries, explored these questions. Consider the case of Arthur who was born in Tunisia and moved to France as a young adult.

Arthur (60)

"[Regarding antisemitism] during my childhood we didn't have it at all. I didn't hear anything. There was absolutely no antisemitism during my childhood. I was even in school with people from the Maghreb and there weren't any problems. There were Jews;, there were North Africans; nobody bothered each other. But then the political situation caused certain North Africans to come to France, and they rebuilt France. The problem was their grandchildren...."

It is important to note that for Arthur, the root of antisemitism in France is not the coexistence of Arabs and Jews, but rather the coexistence of Arabs and Jews in the French context. He is able to look back fondly on a childhood that involved little antisemitism due to the fact that it did not take place in France. Here, the French master narrative emerges again: Jews are associated with Israel, Israel is assumed to be inherently anti-Arab, and thus Jews are placed into a category that opposes all that is Arab. This passage demonstrates that Arthur has internalized this narrative and therefore associates antisemitism in France with conflicts between Arabs and Jews.

Rebekkah

"One thing that bothers me greatly, is that many antisemitic Muslims...how do I say it...don't accept that on Muslim land, there can be other people...that is, Jewish people. Whereas sometimes there are other minorities on their territories that they "accept", but still are treated

differently. So they consider themselves superior. And many Muslims just can't accept that Jews

can be free on their land."

Here, the distinction and consequential tension between Arabs and Jews on French soil

are increasingly apparent. Rebekkah used the word "Muslim" to refer to immigrants who have

come from the Maghreb and are not of Jewish descent. She uses this space to express anger

related to Arab attitudes towards Israel and ways in which they are generalized with Jews in

general. However, she does not acknowledge that this generalization is not exclusive to Arabs in

France, but is a component of the entire French master narrative. Therefore, it is evident that

tensions between Arabs and Jews muddle her ability to integrate the French master narrative into

her identity.

Jacob (48)

"Um, I think sometimes, like for example, if there is a person who wears a Kippah or

something like that, and there are Arabs that see him on the metro...it's true that, well, there's a

lot of tension between the two. I've experienced it. It's true that this type of thing...you don't see

every day, but you see it relatively often. On TV, for a few years now. There is a lot of tension

between Jews and Arabs. "

Camille (55)

So I know that the problem in Israel is a pretext [for antisemitism]. There are also just

generally antisemitic people, but there are people who are antisemitic because of the problem

[in Israel] and that is extremely annoying. It's not because there is a problem in Israel between

the Palestinians and the Israelis that the Jews will harm Arabs in France. And well, it just isn't

reciprocal. Muslims beat up Jews, or commit attacks, or I don't know…"

Here, generalizing language is also apparent. Similarly to Arthur, Jacob and Camille associate antisemitism in France with the tensions between Arabs and Jews. Unlike Arthur, however, Jacob does not implement the French component into his analysis of French antisemitism. He uses blaming language to address antisemitism in France. This tension will be further reviewed in the discussion section.

Identity Configurations

The preceding themes emerged in all participants. However, the ways in which these themes influenced identity formation among participants differed. Schachter (2004) identified four different identity configurations that may describe individuals who are contending with conflicting components of their identities. There is a configuration based on choice and suppression, in which one component of identity is favored over the other. There is a configuration based on assimilating and synthesizing, in which the individual is able to balance the two different identities in harmony. There is a confederacy of identifications, in which neither identity is prioritized over the other. Unlike the configuration based on assimilating and synthesizing, however, the two identities do not exist in harmony. Rather, the individual faces challenges based on the differences in each identity. Finally, there is the thrill of dissonance. In this configuration, the lack of harmony between conflicting identifications provides a thrill that allows the identifications to exist side by side, even if this fuels conflict. Each of the participants responded differently to France's treatment of Jews, and configured their identities accordingly. In the following section, I provide a case study for 3 of the 4 configurations.

Choice and Suppression

Jean (33)

In the beginning of the interview, when questioned about his religious upbringing, Jean made it clear that Judaism played a preponderant role in his upbringing and continues to dominate the way in which he considers himself. He noted that his grandfather was the chief rabbi of France, a title that denotes the recognized leader of the Jewish community for the entire country. He attended a Jewish day school for his secondary education and wrote his master's thesis on the relationship between Jews in France and Israel. He observes the Sabbath weekly and eats an entirely kosher diet. Given the large influence of Judaism in his daily life, it is not surprising that Jean suppresses the French component of his identity and chooses the Jewish component.

"It's really personal, but the way I act around others. A certain moral rigor that makes sure I always respect the people around me. There are a lot of Orthodox Jews who only consider their relationship with God, and not their relationships with other people. And so for me, Judaism is also there to make sure we know we can't control everything in the world. Whether it's humans, animals, and the environment. For me Judaism is a response to all questions...not only religious questions. I'm not only a Jew on Friday nights during Shabbat. I try to be Jewish all day, no matter what I am doing."

For Jean, it is clear that Judaism is not merely religious texts, but affects virtually every component of his everyday life. Ironically, what allows Jean's Judaism to take command over the French component of his identity is the non-religious nature of his ethnic identity. Jean claims that his Judaism does not manifest itself exclusively during times of his life that are intended to be Jewish. Rather, it infiltrates every single part of his daily life. It is clear that Jewish identity has provided Jean with a moral framework that French national identity has not.

[Regarding Jewish identity] "It completely dominates. It's what allows me to define myself and who I am. There are often debates in France regarding French Jews. Are we first Jewish, or are we first French? Me, I am Jewish. After that, I could be French, American, Israeli, Swiss, but above all else I am Jewish."

Here, Jean makes it very clear that nationality is of little importance to him. However, it is significant to note that at first, irrelevance of his French-ness has little to do with France, and more to do with being Jewish. Jean could be a citizen of any country- even Israel, a country in which the majority is Jewish- and his ethnic identity would still take precedence over his national identity. His sense of Jewishness is strong enough to dominate any sense of nationality. Initially, this attitude could be seen as a defense of France and its current political situation. However, when further asked about his experiences with antisemitism, Jean clarified that modern antisemitism that is specific to France may have an influence on his choice to suppress his French identity and choose Jewish identity.

"I'm not so French, in the sense that my mother was born in France but to foreign parents. And my father was born and raised in Morocco. So in the end, yes I am first generation French, really to be born and raised in Paris. I don't think I'll finish my life in France. I'm not even sure if the day I have kids, if I'll choose to raise them in France. I am happy in France, I love French culture. There's no problem there. But I don't want to raise my children in the France we live in today."

Although earlier Jean had suggested that his ethnic identity would outperform his national identity regardless of what country he lived in, this citation demonstrates that this is especially true in France, given its treatment of Jews. He reminds us that his family was not

French at the time that France defined its core values, which may contribute to him not sharing

the rest of France's strong sense of national identity. He also continues to defend the country he

lives in by asserting that he is happy in France and loves his culture. However, satisfaction with

everyday life and culture does not prevent him from recognizing that modern day France is not

an environment in which his ethnic identity can flourish. It is for this reason that he is able to

suppress something he admits to admiring- his national identity- and choose the most critical

aspect of his identity, Jewishness.

Assimilating and Synthesizing

Benjamin (75) is representative of the assimilating and synthesizing configuration.

Similar to Jean, Judaism played a powerful role in Benjamin's everyday life. On his father's side,

he has rabbinic lineage. He was raised in a Jewish household with parents he describes as being

very religious. He eats strictly a kosher diet and observes all Jewish holidays. In the past, he has

served as the vice president of the executive board of his synagogue. He has raised three Zionist

children, each of whom moved to Israel after having finished their studies in France. Regarding

his Judaism, Benjamin claims, *"I hold onto it. Maybe I'm not at the synagogue every day, but I*

live it [Judaism] every day." This citation, along with Benjamin's description of his religious

upbringing make it clear that Judaism has a salient role in his identity. However, unlike in Jean's

case, Benjamin does not allow this sense of Jewishness to interfere with his French national

identity.

"For me, personally, the two are equal. Well, they are two different things. French, that's

a nationality. You are American. Jewish, that's more private. I am a citizen just like everyone

else. The only difference is that I don't have the same religion confession as my neighbor who is

Muslim or my neighbor who is Buddhist or my neighbor who is Catholic. That's all. I have my

voter card, I vote like everyone else. I fought in the army like everyone else. I partook in the war.

For me, personally, they're equal. They're two totally different things. I was always raised as a

citizen, and the Jewish component was always private. We respected the Jewish laws, yes we

obeyed. But it wasn't the principal part of our lives, it was just a part of everything else. It's

something very peculiar. Nowadays it's different. You have people who are completely secular

and you have people who have no national identity and only their religion. And that's good, too.

They never really controlled me.…well my social life...I never had to hide it but I also never

made it my priority. When you grow up...you are who you are."

For Benjamin, national identity and ethnic identity cannot compete with each other. He

first explains that which makes him French, such as voting in elections and defending France in

war. He then goes on to describe that which makes him Jewish, such as obeying Jewish laws.

However, these two components of his life exist harmoniously with one another. This is not to

say that Benjamin is not influenced by antisemitism that is especially flagrant in France. Later in

the interview, he expressed discontent at France's behavior towards Jews. He questioned why

France's master narrative was particularly disparaging of Israel, a Jewish state, when massacres

exist all over the world. He views this in and of itself as an act of antisemitism. He also

expressed that he is not certain he will end his life in France. Unlike other participants, however,

Benjamin provided the unique answer of wanting to retire in Bali, Indonesia. When I questioned

his reasoning for Bali, he responded jokingly with, "Because the weather is nice there." This

answer depoliticizes his desire to move. Overall, it is evident that Benjamin maintains a strong

sense of Jewish identity, perhaps even stronger than his sense of French identity. However, this does not prevent the two from existing in harmony.

It would be difficult to claim that this sense of Jewish identity is any less strong than that of Jean's. However, for those who embody the assimilating and synthesizing configuration, strength of each individual component of identity has little relevance in comparison to the individual's ability to balance each component of identity in a way that provides harmony. Benjamin demonstrates poignantly that these two potentially conflicting components exist in harmony by saying "*For me, personally, the two are equal*," which suggests that one does not try to compete with the other. It is important to note that Benjamin's ability to assimilate and synthesize his ethnic identity with his national identity may be associated with his age. He recognizes that he grew up during a different time period, and at the present time individuals may have a different reaction to the relationship between Judaism and French-ness. This hints at the temporality of both culture and identity, a theme that will be further investigated in the discussion section. It is also important to distinguish that Jacob begins his claim with the word "personally."

His inclusion of this word suggests that there is no single narrative for what it means to be a French Jew. Although certain themes may be shared among all participants, these themes do not interact with the numerous other components of their identities in an identical fashion. Therefore, when studying identity, it is important to not speak in generalizing language.

Confederacy of Identities

Sarah (73) exemplifies the confederacy of identities. I had originally been referred to Sarah from her sister, Rebekkah. During Rebekkah's interview, she mentioned that her sister

would have much to say about the political situation for Jews in France today. For Sarah, Judaism very much surfaces through family. As she has aged and family has become more important to her, her Judaism has as well. As this sense of Judaism has increased in significance, she has started to become hesitant about her sense of French identity and the implications surrounding it. Similar to Benjamin, Sarah does balance a sense of Jewishness and French-ness and does not consider moving to Israel. Contrary to Benjamin, however, these two components of her identity do not exist in harmony, but rather they create conflicts with which she must contend.

"In reality, when I really think about it...it's funny because when I was a younger woman, one day someone asked me, if you had to define yourself, would you put "I am Jewish" or "I am a human being" first, and I said human being. I felt very French for a long time, and then I realized that France had disappointed me. Despite everything, there is a warmth to religion, specifically in the Jewish religion that you don't experience elsewhere. I went to Catholic schools too. The word "religion," it means to reconnect people. That's what it was made for. And I know that for example, when we're having Shabbat at my daughter-in-law's or wherever, it's a pleasure because I feel close to my grandchildren, to my children, and then to my daughter--in law who has joined the family. I feel that it's true that when we're at her home and we do religious things, it's really the word "reconnect."

It is interesting to note that in her discussion of Jewish identity, Sarah incorporates an extensive exploration of her own values. It is clear that for Sarah, Judaism is not merely a religion. Judaism shapes her values - such as family -, and the strength of her Jewish identity is in turn shaped by her values. Benjamin's Judaism was not discussed in the context of his values.

It was merely an accepted part of his being, which perhaps contributed to its seeming compatibility with his state of French-ness. For Sarah, on the other hand, Judaism is less static. This lack of stability may contribute to her difficulty in finding a cohesive balance between the two competing parts of her identity.

It is clear that for Sarah, Judaism conflicts with being French. In this way, she is not dissimilar to Jean. However, unlike Jean, she is unable to reject her French identity. Instead of claiming that her ethnic identity prohibits the possibility of her national identity, she simply says that France has disappointed her. Later, when referring to an experience with antisemitism in which a group of young women had used the word "Jew" as an insult, she displays further discontent with France: *"I was born in France, so I always felt French. And the day after this happened, I had the feeling I had regressed."* It is apparent that the state of antisemitism in France creates a conflict within Sarah's identity. Nevertheless, she hesitates to choose one identity or suppress the other.

It is also important to note that when asked if she had ever considered moving to Israel in response to antisemitism in France, Sarah claimed that she was too old to move and jokingly responded that maybe she would choose to go to Florida instead. That she hesitates to move to Israel to address her concerns with France also shows an attempt at balancing the two identities despite the challenges this causes her to face. Her comment that she was too old to move also has implications regarding the role of age in bicultural identity formation. As mentioned, this theme will be further explored in the discussion section.

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Discussion

This study explored the way in which identity manifests itself among French Jews given recent antisemitism. Although there has been considerable research done on the relationship between persecution and bicultural identity, the association between antisemitism and identity formation in France has been understudied. Therefore, this project attempted to answer several questions: what factors influence the role of Judaism in French Jew's lives? How does antisemitism interact with these factors? Given the simultaneous existence of modern antisemitism and a strong sense of French nationalism, how do French citizens balance two seemingly conflicting components of their identities? Although there are similarities among the ways in which all forms of oppression impact identity, there are also important differences that must be studied. This thesis scrutinized what it means to be French and what it means to be Jewish in order to answer these questions. Extensive interviews were conducted with 12 French Jews. A grounded analysis of these interviews demonstrated several themes that were apparent among all participants, despite differences in the way they configured their bicultural identities. These themes were consistent across the sample, but were expressed differently, as evidenced by the application of Schechter's (2004) bicultural identity framework.

The themes were as followed: historical legacy, association between Judaism and social ties, politicization of religion, and awareness of French relations to the Maghreb. Each of these themes demonstrated subthemes. One subtheme that became apparent throughout the analysis was the role of age. The impact of social ties and historical legacy was largely dependent on the participant's age. The mean age of the participants was 52 years old. Considering Erikson's (1968) stage theory of psychosocial identity, every participant either fell into Stage 6, early

adulthood (intimacy vs isolation) or Stage 7 (generativity vs stagnation). More importantly, everyone had finished stage 5, or adolescence (identity vs role confusion). During Stage 5, individuals usually contend with the choice of what vocational and interpersonal roles they would like to fill. Therefore, it can be postulated that participants did not weigh heavily on these decisions when examining Judaism, antisemitism, French nationalism, and bicultural identity.

Let us revisit, however, that the mean age (52) falls into Stage 7, during which individuals are trying to figure out how to make their lives purposeful. One way to make a life is purposeful is through spreading one's ideals to younger generations. Therefore, it is not surprising that several of the participants noted the importance of transmission in their formation of Jewish identity. Every participant who had children reported some sense of responsibility to pass Judaism onto their children. Additionally, some participants reported their Judaism to be meaningful because it had been meaningful to their parents, grandparents, and other older relatives. This subtheme demonstrates the importance of situating familial transmission within Erikson's stage theory of psychosocial identity.

Another one of these subthemes was the inescapability of Jewish identity. It was not uncommon for participants to deny the religious role of Judaism in their lives, and two participants even identified as both atheist and Jewish. That these participants deny the presence of religion in their lives, yet still demonstrate that Judaism is a core component of their identity, suggests that Jewish identity is inescapable. By denying religion in their lives, participants may have been engaging in bad faith as a way to cope with a culture that denies Jewish freedom. The concept of *bad faith*, discussed by French existential philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre (1956),

describes the denial of one's oppressed state. It is based on the idea that it is easier to deny one's oppression than to live in it.

This project demonstrated a combination of factors embedded in the French Master narrative that may cause participants to engage in bad faith and deny the presence of religion in their lives: a Laicité culture that considers religion to be toxic to the republic; rampant antisemitism of the 21st century; and association between negatively portrayed Israeli politics and Jewish religious beliefs. An in depth analysis of the interviews, however, demonstrated that despite all efforts to deny Judaism, it ended up being an inescapable component of identity. This can be explained by another Sartrian philosophy- that the oppressed cannot truly engage in bad faith because "man is condemned to be free" (Sartre, 1946, p. 29). The French master narrative may cause Jews to engage in bad faith as a coping mechanism for their oppression. Ultimately, however, they are condemned to confront this component of their identity despite the challenges this creates, as identity is inescapable.

The inescapability of ethnic identity is caused in part by the role of historical legacy, as explored in the results section. However, the way in which historical events interact with recent events must also not be ignored.   Each of the subthemes were also amplified by recent events in French history. As mentioned, this project was designed in the fall of 2014, before the attacks on Charlie Hebdo and Hypercahser supermarket, as well as the attacks of November, 2015. It must be noted that current French-Jewish identity was taking form around these events. Even when they were not directly asked about these events, participants still shared anecdotes that demonstrated the events' importance in advancing identity formation.

For example, Jacob said, *"I don't know, after all of the attacks, which was largely related to the Muslims...and in regard to all of that, what can i say, I want peace. And when you reflect on it, Jews and Muslims are brothers! The language is rather close, anyway. I consider it a ridiculous war….well, all wars are ridiculous. At this point, the problem really has to do with those who are extremely religious and abuse their regions."* One may recall that earlier, Jacob shared a moving anecdote about his relationship with the Holocaust. It became clear from the earlier citation that history has a strong impact on his relationship with Judaism. It is noteworthy, then, that Jacob refers to the recent events (which were the attacks on Charlie Hebdo and on Hypercasher supermarket) to an equal extent. His refers to these events to unify several of the previously mentioned themes at stake. When Jacob says, *"Jews and Muslims are brothers!"* it becomes clear that the events help to strengthen Jacob's recognition of the importance of social ties. It also becomes evident that the events enhance his conception of relations between the Maghreb and France in a way he wouldn't have otherwise expressed. Jacob's situation demonstrates that recent political events amplify the ways in which already existing themes influence French Jewish identity. Historical legacy and recent events are mutually dependent in influencing the identity of French Jews today.

Belle had different remarks about recent events. When asked if she experiences antisemitism, she says, *"Directly, no. When I go to synagogue, I pay close attention to not seem like someone going to synagogue because then people give me some strange looks. But very, very recently, this year, in the last few months since the attacks or maybe a bit before, the people who look at me don't say anything. It had to do with that [the attacks]."* Belle presents a shift in the way others view her Judaism after the attacks. She suggests that she receives less attention for

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her Judaism on the streets after the attacks because they brought awareness to the issue of antisemitism in France. The transition that she describes exemplifies an important quality of identity of Jews in France: it is perpetually in flux.

This project illustrated that it is not unusual for oppression to be fought with oppression. Participants often answered questions regarding current antisemitism with language that blamed the other. An in-depth exploration of the history of Jews in France demonstrated that antisemitism has recurred throughout French history. However, not one participant looked at antisemitism (both historically and in the present) as an institutionalized issue, but rather accused individual groups of being at fault. The "other" was typically not those of French descent, but rather anyone with an Arab identity.

These reactions, which appear problematic and contradictory, are mentioned not to negate the experiences of French Jews, but to demonstrate that Jews are not the only group of people facing discrimination due to France's master narrative. In addition, Jews possess a form of power that other minority groups in France do not, due to typically being white or white passing. In his text, *Black Skin, White Masks,* a psychological and philosophical exploration of racism, Frantz Fanon (1986) discussed the differences between a Jew who faces discrimination and other colonized individuals who face discrimination: "All the same, the Jew can be unknown in his Jewishness. He is not wholly what he is. One hopes, one waits. His actions, his behavior are the final determinant. He is a white man, and, apart from some rather debatable characteristics, he can sometimes go unnoticed" (p. 87). Fanon points out that religion is a less publicly visible component of one's identity than is race. A Jew can perform measures that, to some extent, prevent his or her discrimination. Some of these measures that were described by

participants were not wearing Kippot in public, not "dressing like a Jew," and not discussing Judaism with non-Jewish friends. It can't be denied that these strategies are problematic and should not have to be performed. However, some minorities do not have the power to shield their identities from the public at all, increasing the precariousness of their existence.

As mentioned in the introduction, Hall (1993) stated that "Identity is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'" (p. 225). The change that Belle describes exemplifies Hall's position. As history progresses, identity progresses along with it. Using qualitative methods aided in demonstrating the dynamic nature of identity formation among French Jews. The stories that participants recounted ultimately demonstrated much more nuance in identity formation than a more static quantitative measure. When participants were probed to dig deeply to find how Judaism impacts every component of their everyday lives, the fluctuating nature of identity emerged.

When considering the results of the study, it is pertinent to remain aware of the limitations. As mentioned, there was potential bias due to my position as an American doing research in a country and culture that is not my own. Although I made every possible effort to assimilate to French Jewish culture, it is possible that previous assumptions may have influenced my analysis of the interviews. French is also not my first language. Therefore, although every effort was made to prevent this, it is impossible that some information was lost in translation. In addition, given that I am from the West and was dealing with issues pertaining to the East, it is possible that I was Orientalizing in some of my analyses. I originally had intended to administer quantitative measures to supplement the interviews. However, when discussing my project with a French supervisor at the organization at which I worked, he advised me that quantitative surveys

were not typical in French psychological research and may be anxiety provoking for some

participants. Therefore, for the sake of cultural sensitivity, I used exclusively qualitative

measures. It is possible, however, that the study could have been enhanced by having

quantitative data. For example, when asked whether he feels closer to his French identity or his

Jewish identity, Jacob responded, *"Um, well. I feel more French. But there's still this sense of*

self that, well, I'm still working on it. It's not always present, it's hidden. But I can't really work

hard to bring it out because it's associated with too much suffering…" This citation certainly

sheds light on the way in which Jacob contends with the French component of his identity and

the Jewish component of his identity. However, perhaps if Jacob and the other had taken a

survey that measured Bicultural Identity Integration (BII,) the way in which he does this would

have been more succinctly compared with the ways in which other participants did so.

Another limitation was the sample size. Because of time constraints, I interviewed 12

participants. The sample included 3 Sephardic Jews and 9 Ashkenazi Jews, which is not an

accurate representation of Jews in France overall, given that Sephardic Jews make up 70% of

France's Jewish population (Beardsley, 2015). In addition, I was referred to most of my

participants through the Jewish organization for which I worked. The participants' connection to

this organization may have made them particularly inclined to discuss matters related to Judaism

and antisemitism. This inclination may not be the case for all Jews in France. It also cannot be

ignored that all of the participants were either middle or upper class. A future study involving a

higher number of participants who represent a more diverse sample (from a socioeconomic,

racial, and generational perspective) would enhance the quality of this project. This study aimed

to explore the identity of one ethnic group involved in a larger political dilemma. This

investigation could be enhanced by also exploring the identities of other minority ethnic groups in France. For example, how do Arab-French citizens configure their identities in a time of increasing Islamophobia? This information would help to provide a better contextual framework around which Jewish identity could be understood.

In summary, this project demonstrated that identity does not exist in a monolith. As the previous literature suggests, identity evolves alongside political situations. Despite this fluid interpretation of identity, it is important to consider that identity cannot be escaped. Regardless of negative or positive associations with the Jewish religion or attempts to evade their ethnic identity, nearly every participant demonstrated that Judaism played a vital role in their identities. This role was only increased by recent events in French history, such as the attacks on Charlie Hebdo and Hypercasher. As activists work to reduce the consequences of antisemitism and other forms of persecution, identity and its malleable nature must be taken into consideration.

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Appendix A

Informed Consent

I hereby consent to participate in a research study conducted by Joanna Marks as part of an honors thesis supervised by Professor Jefferson Singer in the psychology department at Connecticut College and in conjunction with her internship at L'alliance Israelite Universelle. I understand that this research will involve responding to an interview concerning my experiences with antisemitism as well as my Jewish identity and practices. Although I understand that the direct benefits of this research to society are not known, I have been told that I may learn more about the psychological effects of antisemitism in France.

I understand that my interview will be audio recorded to allow Joanna to reference the interview when analyzing her results. The recordings will be taken through use of the Garageband application, not by use of tapes. The digital recordings of my interview will be password protected and labeled with a unique ID number only.

I understand that I may decline to answer any questions as I see fit, and that I may withdraw from the study without penalty at any time. I understand that all information given to Joanna will be confidential, and that I as a participant will be identified with a pseudonym and NOT my name. I understand that while quotations from my interview may be used in published research, no uniquely identifying information will be used in order to maintain confidentiality. Every effort will be made to disguise any information that can be traceable back to a specific individual.

I have been told that Joanna Marks can be contacted at jmarks2@conncoll.edu if at any time I have questions about the purposes and procedures of the study. I understand that if any

anxiety or distress is raised from this study, I will contact a health professional. I can also access the website https://www.sos-amitie.com/ at any time in order to engage with a mental health professional online.

       I have been advised that I may contact the researcher who will answer any questions that I may have about the purposes and procedures of this study. I understand that this study is not meant to gather information about specific individuals but rather to identify patterns across people. I consent to publication of the study results as long as the identity of all participants is protected. I understand that this research has been approved by the Connecticut College Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (IRB). Concerns about any aspect of this study may be addressed to Jason Nier, Chairperson of the Connecticut College IRB (at janie@conncoll.edu).

       By signing my name, I acknowledge that I am at least 18 years of age, and that I have read these explanations and assurances, and voluntarily consent to participate in this research about psychological reactions to anti semitism in France.

Print Name: _____

Sign Name: _____

Date: _____

       I hereby consent to an audio recording of my interview with an understanding that this recording will be kept confidential and subsequently destroyed at the end of this research project.

Print Name: _____

Sign Name: _____

Date: _____

Formulaire de Consentement

Je donne mon consentement afin de participer à un projet concernant les réactions psychologiques de l'antisémitisme en France. L'on m'interrogera sur mon identité juive, la facon dont je pratique le judaïsme, ainsi que la facon dont j'ai éprouvé des experiences antisémites. Ce projet est en coopération avec l'Alliance Israélite Universelle et Professeur Jefferson Singer de Connecticut College aux Etats Unis.

Je consens à ce que l'entretien soit enregistré par le logiciel GarageBand. Les enregistrements seront protégés dans l'ordinateur par mot de passe. Mon enregistrement sera signalé par un chiffre et non par mon nom. Toute information me concernant recueillie pendant cet essai sera traitée de façon confidentielle. Seuls les responsables de l'étude ont accès à ces données. A l'exception de ces personnes -qui traiteront les informations dans le plus strict respect du secret-, mon anonymat sera préservé. La publication des résultats de l'étude ne comportera aucun résultat individuel. Si j'ai des questions pendant ma participation à cette étude, je pourrai contacter la chercheuse responsable de l'étude, Joanna Marks, par mail à jmarks2@conncoll.edu

Je suis libre d'accepter ou de refuser de participer à cette étude. Je peux également décider en cours d'étude d'arrêter ma participation sans avoir à me justifier. Si l'entretien soulève des angoisses je peux contacter un professionnel de la santé mentale. Le site web https://www.sos-amitie.com offre les services de professionnels vingt-quatre heures sur vingt-quatre, sept jours sur sept.

Je sais que cette recherche est approuvée par la comité d'évaluation éthique à
Connecticut College. Si j'ai des questions concernant cette recherche, je peux également
contacter le chef du comité d'évaluation éthique, Jason Nier, à Janie@conncoll.edu.

J'ai au moins 18 ans. Après en avoir discuté et avoir obtenu la réponse à toutes mes
questions, j'accepte librement et volontairement de participer à la recherche qui m'est proposée.

Fait à …………………,

le …………………

Nom et signature de l'investigateur   Signature du sujet

Je sais que mes reponses seraient engristrees par le logiciel "garageband". Après que
l'étude soit fini, les enregistrements seraient détruit.

Fait à …………………,

le …………………

Nom et signature de l'investigateur   Signature du sujet

Appendix B

Interview Protocol

- Were both of your parents Jewish? *(Est-ce que vos parents sont/étaient juifs ?)*

- Do you practice the Jewish religion in your home? *(Est-ce que vous pratiquez la religion juive chez vous ?)*

  ○ Maintain Kosher dietary rules *(Est-ce que vous mangez cachère ?)*

  ○ Observe the Sabbath *(Est-ce que vous observez le Sabbat ?)*

  ○ Observe Jewish holidays *(Est-ce que vous célébrez des fêtes juives ?)*

- Do you belong to a synagogue? *(Êtes-vous membre d'une cultuelle ?)*

- How frequently do you attend services? *(A quelle fréquence vous rendez-vous à la synagogue ?)*

- If you have children, do you plan to have them be bar or bat mitzvahs? If you have children above age 13, did they have Bar or Bat Mitzvahs? *(Si vous avez des enfants, comptez-vous leur faire faire la Bat/Bar Mitzvah? Si vos enfants ont plus de 13 ans, ont-ils fait leur Bar/Bat Mitzvahs?)*

- How much of / To what extent does Judaism play a role does Judaism play in your life? *(Quel rôle le judaïsme joue-t-il dans votre vie?)*

- What do you like about being Jewish? What do you dislike? *(Qu'aimez-vous dans le judaïsme ? Que n'y aimez-vous pas ?)*

- How do you think being Jewish has affected your sense of morality *(Quel est l'impact de la religion sur votre moralité?)*

- To what extent does being Jewish affect how you see yourself? *(Quel est l'impact de la religion sur la manière dont vous vous considérez?)*

- What is your opinion on Israel? Do you know anyone who has recently emigrated there? *(Que pensez-vous d'Israël? Connaissez-vous quelqu'un qui y a émigré dernièrement ?)*

- Do you feel a sense of responsibility to address current anti- semitism in France? *(Est-ce que vous tenez responsable vous-même de s'adresser l'antisémitisme actuelle en France?)*

- To what extent do you notice anti-semitism in everyday life? Do you think it is widespread in France at this time? Think back to when you were a child, do you think anti-semitism was worse or better then? Why? (*Est-ce que vous remarquez souvent l'antisémitisme en France? Est-ce que les évènements antisémites surviennent dans votre vie quotidienne? Est-ce plus ou moins courant que pendant votre jeunesse?)*

- Can you tell me about an anti- semitic experience you've had*? (Pourriez-vous me raconter une expérience antisémite qui vous est arrivée ?)*

- What emotions did this event inspire? *(Qu'en avez-vous ressenti ?)*

- How did you deal with the emotions attached to the experience? *(Comment avez-vous appréhendé les sentiments nés de cette expérience ?)*

- Would you ever consider leaving France to live in Israel? Have your attitudes about this question changed at all after the recent circumstances (such as the Charlie Hebdo attacks)? *(Est-ce que vous pensez à émigrer en Israël ? Vos attitudes à l'égard d'Israël ont-elles changé à cause des événements récents (comme des attentats de Charlie Hebedo ?)*

- Do you feel safe to speak out in your community about anti-semitism? (*Est-ce que vous vous sentez en sécurité en parlant de l'antisémitisme dans votre entourage ?*)

- Do you consider yourself more French or more Jewish? (Est-ce que vous vous considerez d'une maniére plus Français ou plus Juif?)

Appendix C

Debriefing Form

Thank you for participating in this research dealing with psychological reactions to anti semitism in France. As a Jewish American studying psychology in France, I am interested in seeing the ways in which being Jewish affects one's mental health during a time of increased anti semitism. There has been ample research on the relationship between practicing a religion and general well being, as well as the relationship between perceived racism and lack of well being. However, minimal research has been done that demonstrates the association between anti semitism in France and the well being of French Jews.

During this study you were asked to answer questions the role of Judaism and anti semitic events in your life, which may have caused some anxiety or distress. If you are feeling distressed, please contact a health professional or log onto the website https://www.sos-amitie.com/ for a 24 hour hotline.

If you are interested in this topic and want to read the literature in this area, please contact Joanna Marks (jmarks2@conncoll.edu) or Professor Jefferson Singer (jasin@conncoll.edu). Additionally, you can contact the chair of the Institutional Review Board, Jason Nier (janie@conncoll.edu), if you have any questions or concerns about the manner in which this study was conducted.

If you are interested in the relationship between anti semitism, identity, and mental health, you may consult the following sources:

McFadden, S. (2010). Religion and well-being in aging person's in an aging person's society. *Journal of Social Issues. 51(2),* 161-175

Peace, T. (2009). Un antisemitisme nouveau? the debate About a 'new anti semitism' in france. *Patterns of Prejudice, 43(2),* 103-121

Debriefing

Merci d'avoir participé à mon recherche concernant les réactions psychologiques à l'antisémitisme en France. En tant qu'une Américaine Juive qui étudie la psychologie en France, je m'intéresse à comment l'antisémitisme peut avoir des implications psychologiques pendant une période de l'antisémitisme augmenté. Il existe beaucoup de livres politiques et sociologiques sur l'antisémitisme en France. Cependant, les recherches psychologiques manquent encore à la littérature scientifique sur le sujet. J'ai bon espoir que ce projet contribuera à la lutte contre l'antisémitisme.

Pendant cette enquête vous avez répondu aux questions concernant le rôle du Judaïsme et de l'antisémitisme dans votre vie. Si vous vous sentiez angoissé par ces questions, je vous remercie de bien vouloir aller à https://www.sos-amitie.com/ pour un hotline avec des professionnels de la santé mentale.

Si vous vous intéressez à ce sujet vous pouvez contacter la chercheuse, Joanna Marks à jmarks2@conncoll.edu . Vous pourriez également aller à http://www.antisemitisme.fr/ pour apprendre plus sur l'antisémitisme en France. Si vous avez des questions concernant la façon dont l'étude était dirigé, vous pouvez contacter le conseiller de ce projet, Jefferson Singer à jasin@conncoll.edu ou le chef de la comité d'évaluation éthique, Jason Nier à Janie@conncoll.edu.

De plus, si la relation entre l'antisemitisme et la santé mentale ainsi que l'identité psychologique vous interessez, vous pourriez lire les articles suivants:

McFadden, S. (2010). Religion and well-being in aging person's in an aging person's society. *Journal of Social Issues. 51(2),* 161-175

Peace, T. (2009). Un antisemitisme nouveau? the debate About a 'new anti semitism' in france. *Patterns of Prejudice, 43(2),* 103-121