



uOttawa

L'Université canadienne
Canada's university

**FACULTÉ DES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES
ET POSTDOCTORALES**



**FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND
POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES**

Diana Cohen Reis

AUTEUR DE LA THÈSE / AUTHOR OF THESIS

M.A. (Sociology)

GRADE / DEGREE

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

FACULTÉ, ÉCOLE, DÉPARTEMENT / FACULTY, SCHOOL, DEPARTMENT

**The Immigration of Jews from France to Montréal:
An Investigation of the Changes in a Complex Jewish Identity**

TITRE DE LA THÈSE / TITLE OF THESIS

Ann Denis

DIRECTEUR (DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS SUPERVISOR

CO-DIRECTEUR (CO-DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS CO-SUPERVISOR

EXAMINATEURS (EXAMINATRICES) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS EXAMINERS

Philippe Couton

Linda Pietrantonio

Gary W. Slater

Le Doyen de la Faculté des études supérieures et postdoctorales / Dean of the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies

**The Immigration of Jews from France to Montréal: An Investigation of the Changes in a
Complex Jewish Identity**

By Diana Cohen Reis

**Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies at the University of
Ottawa**

In partial fulfillment of the Master's Program in Sociology

©Diana Cohen Reis

Ottawa, September 26, 2008



Library and
Archives Canada

Published Heritage
Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque et
Archives Canada

Direction du
Patrimoine de l'édition

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

ISBN: 978-0-494-46471-7

Our file Notre référence

ISBN: 978-0-494-46471-7

NOTICE:

The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

AVIS:

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protègent cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Abstract	ii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: Identity	
1.1 Theories of Identity	6
1.2 Jews and Jewish Identity in France	8
Chapter 2: French Jews and their History	
2.1 The French Revolution	12
2.2 The Holocaust	14
2.3 The Post-Holocaust Era	15
2.4 The Present Day Jewish Community in France	16
2.5 Anti-Semitism in France Today	17
2.6 The New Anti-Semitism in France.....	20
Chapter 3: Methodology	
3.1 Why a Qualitative Approach in this Exploratory Study?	25
3.2 Choice of Individual Semi-Structured Interviewing	28
3.3 Sampling and Ethical Information	29
3.4 Interviews	33
3.5 Reflexivity within the Research Project	36

Chapter 4: Findings and Analysis

4.1	Participant Profiles	40
4.2	Ethnic Identity in Context: Jews in France from Montréal, a Complex Religious, Nationalistic, and Ethnic Identity	44
4.3	Definitions of Ethnic Identity	45
4.4	Self-Identification	51
4.5	A Common Culture	51
4.6	Language, Immigration, and French Jewish Identity	52
4.7	“Outsiders Within”	56
4.8	Religiosity and French Jews in Montréal	57
4.9	Common Historical Memories	61
4.10	Anti-Semitism in France: An attack on Jews of the Republic	62
4.11	Israel: A common Homeland	67
4.12	The Holocaust and the Expulsion of Jews from North Africa in French Jewish Identity	68
	Conclusion	72
	Bibliography	77
	Appendix 1: Ethics Approval	89
	Appendix 2: Copy of Recruitment Script	91
	Appendix 3: Copy of Consent Form	93
	Appendix 4: Interview Guide	95

List of Tables

Table 2.1: Évolution annuelle du nombre d'actes antisémites	18
---	----

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to my thesis supervisor, Professor Ann Denis, for all her support throughout this process, and for reading through the many drafts, because without her, this thesis would not have been possible. As well, I would like to express my gratitude towards my other committee members, Professors Philippe Couton, and Linda Pietrantonio who provided excellent criticism and feedback during our time together. There are also many friends and family members I wish to thank who also provided their love and support. In addition, special thanks also goes out to Professor Pierre Birnbaum, Professor Robert Kenedy, and Daniel Pipes, who were never too busy to help me in the completion of the theoretical components on Jewish identity and anti-Semitism of this thesis, and whose unwavering support of this project helped lead towards its completion. Thank you also to the Centre de Civilisation Franco-Canadienne at the University of Ottawa for a generous research scholarship and also to the Jewish organizations in Montréal who aided in the recruitment of participants, and in the funding of my research project. Lastly, most of all, I wish to extend my sincere admiration and thanks to all the participants of this thesis for their time and bravery in agreeing to be interviewed for this study, and for sharing their experiences and their stories. Without you, none of this would have been possible. Your unwavering support and admiration made this thesis possible. Thank you for the responsibility you gave me of telling your stories, and of sharing your experiences

Abstract

This thesis is an exploratory examination of Jewish identity among recent Jewish immigrants from France in Montréal Québec. It examines the relationship and the role that Jewish identity has played in the immigration of these Jews from France to Montréal and their integration. It also examines other factors, which may have led these Jews to immigrate to Montréal. In order to investigate and analyze their Jewish identity, various theories of identity and other components of “Jewishness¹” are presented in this analysis.

It was hypothesized that Jewish identity was one of the factors that led these Jews to leave France. In the analysis of the interviews with these participants, it was considered that not only had their Jewish identity or “Jewishness” led them to immigrate, but also that threats to their “Jewishness” and loved ones were among the main reasons why they immigrated from France to Montréal. All the participants’ Jewish identities had also strengthened as a result of the immigration process: they now considered themselves to be “even more Jewish” than before their immigration. This analysis allowed me to conclude that Jewish identity did indeed play a role in the immigration of these Jewish immigrants from France, and that, as a result of their immigration, this identity was reinforced and strengthened within the Montréal Jewish community.

¹ “Jewishness” refers to specific qualities or characteristics of being Jewish.

I decided to devote my life to telling the story of the Jews because I felt that having survived I owe something to the dead and anyone who does not remember betrays them again.

(Elie Wiesel, 1980).

I marvel at the resilience of the Jewish people. Their best characteristic is their desire to remember.

No other people have such an obsession with memory.

(Elie Wiesel, 1980)

Introduction

Jews from France in Montréal

While the migration to Canada of different Jews from various countries of origin has been studied, little to no attention has been paid to the recent trends of the migration of Jews from France to Québec. On this subject, Carol Orr, a CBC journalist directed a documentary which was aired on the CBC in 2005 entitled *One is too Many: Anti-Semitism on the Rise in Europe*, documenting how anti-Semitism is again on the rise in Europe, particularly in France. In this film, she highlighted how many French Jews were leaving France bound not only for Israel, and the United States, but also for Montréal, Québec.

This influx of immigration led to the creation of *Frequence France*, an organization of French Jews that help to welcome new French Jewish immigrants to Montréal. Working in partnership with *Jewish Immigrant Aid Services of Montréal* (JIAS) and *La Communauté Sépharade du Québec*, this organization has started to provide specialized services for French Jews from France and also educational opportunities for them. According to Frederic Saadoun, President of *Frequence France*, the majority of these individuals, coming from France, being professionals and speaking both English and French, can readily fill the gaps in the present day employment markets in Québec and Canada in all sectors, since the lack of bilingual professional individuals with a university education has always been a problem (Personal Communication with Frederic Saadoun, July 15, 2007). Many of these Jewish immigrants also mention that their Jewish identity has had a large influence on their decision to immigrate, as high rates of anti-Semitism have endangered the

existence of Judaism and Jews in France, especially within the Paris region where the majority of France's Jewish community dwells.

According to Saadoun, as many recent French Jewish immigrants in Montréal were arriving with families to settle in a predominantly Anglophone Jewish community, a group of French Jews took it upon themselves and created a group called *Frequence France*, in order to connect French Jews with each other in Montréal. This group not only helps with these new immigrants with employment leads, but also acts as a conduit to connect these Jews to the Jewish community in Montréal (Personal Communication with Frederic Saadoun, July, 17, 2007). In fact, the demand for immigration to Canada has been so great among the Jewish population of France that members of JIAS regularly hold classes in France from Montréal, on immigrating to Québec and the immigration process. There is also a direct telephone from Paris that French Jews can call in order to contact JIAS in Montréal. Since the majority of Jews emigrating from France are Sephardim, they present a fascinating addition to the largely Ashkenazy Anglophone, and very traditional older Sephardic community of Montréal.

The immigration of Jews from France to Montréal presents an interesting phenomenon in contemporary studies of immigration and ethnic studies, and also within the field of Jewish studies as France's Jews have long been held to be the most loyal citizens of the republic, in light of their complex and troubled history with France (Birnbaum, 2000). The anti-Semitic attacks taking place from 2001-2006 have frightened some members of France's Jewish community into thinking that that these violent attacks foretell a second coming of the Shoah (Holocaust) or genocide against

Sephardic Jews, as it occurred in Francophone North Africa from the 1950s to the 1970s (Personal Communication with Pierre Birnbaum, May 29, 2007).

The choice of this particular topic of research for my Masters thesis came about as a result of witnessing the violent attacks against Jews in France as a university student there from 1999-2002. I was appalled by the senseless violence that was occurring against the Jewish population: although I had spent part of my childhood in France, I had never seen such acts of violence in my life. It was only after being a victim of a horrific near rape and other catastrophic events, such as the death of loved ones and friends, especially the horrific kidnapping, torture, and murder of my friend Ilan Halimi in 2006, that I knew that I had to research this topic further. Frustrated by the lack of knowledge and literature surrounding these violent attacks occurring against the Jewish population of France and their subsequent immigration from France to North America and Israel, I decided to study this as my Master's thesis upon my arrival in Ottawa in 2005. I consider this thesis to be of utmost importance in light of these catastrophic events occurring against the Jewish population of France, and still continuing today.

This thesis is an exploratory examination of Jewish identity, and the changes that have occurred in this identity as a result of the immigration by French Jews to Montréal from 1999 to 2007. It also examines the reasons for immigration by this particular group of Jews, and the immigration and settlement patterns that may exist. It will specifically examine to what extent religious, cultural, and ethnic factors are key components in the identity makeup of these Jewish immigrants from France. Its specific objectives are:

1. To explore the identity of Jews from France who have immigrated to Montréal since 1999.
2. To explore the relationship between these diverging Jewish identities, the reasons for immigration, and the extent that anti-Semitism in France played a role in the decision to immigrate.
3. To examine the changes in this ethnic and religious identity that may have occurred as a result of the immigration and integration process in Montréal.

As Jewish identity is a key variable, a clear definition of it and its components is needed. Jewish identity has been the subject of much discourse, which has achieved neither consensus nor closure. That it is a complex and controversial phenomenon is attested to by both academic and popular discourse (Weinfeld, 2001; Birnbaum, 2000; Gordis and Ben-Horin, 1991; Rubin-Dorsky and Fishkin, 1996).

Being Jewish is not just a religious affiliation: it is more (and sometimes other) than believing in or performing Jewish rituals or having a particular set of religious beliefs. It also involves an ethnic dimension, a sense of belonging and affiliation with the Jewish people, feeling a sense of “we-ness” with other Jews, and especially with Israel. This is sometimes manifest by formal or informal association, and a differentiation from non-Jews. Lipset and Raab (1995) refer to this as “tribalism”. This sense of “we-ness” is fostered by close interpersonal interaction between Jews, friendships and other social networks, participation in formal Jewish organizations and segregated residential patterns. There is also an awareness of a shared history, distinctive communication and/or educational channels, a distinctive language (usage of the revived Hebrew, the Ladino language among Sephardim or the revival of the Yiddish language for instance), observing Kosher,

understanding a certain sense of humour, eating Jewish foods, or paying acute attention to certain items in the news. In short, there is a diverse set of elements which are all part of a common culture. These elements of religiosity, a shared history, culture, and identification with the nation of Israel combine in different degrees, resulting in a wide variation in individual Jewish identities. It is these elements of Jewish identity which will be examined in this thesis.

This thesis will begin with a theoretical examination of theories of identity and Jewish identity, followed by a brief history of the Jews in France, and different theories of anti-Semitism. Next, a discussion of the methodology will be presented, followed by a presentation of the participants, and finally the analysis and concluding section.

Chapter I: Identity

1.1 Theories of Identity

Theories of identity have tended to conceptualize the self as a social construct (Mead, 1934; McCall and Simmons, 1978; Turner, 1978). More specifically, Stryker and Burke (2000) proposed that we have distinct components of our “selves” for each of the role positions that we occupy in society. The self is, therefore, according to Stryker and Burke (2000) conceived as a collection of identities that reflects the statuses that a person occupies within the social structures of society.

Central to identity theory is also the view that to understand the self, the links between the self and social structures must also be understood. As well as being influenced by the wider social structure, the self is conceived “as an active creator of social behaviour” (Stryker and Burke, 2000: 385). This means that we can define ourselves either in terms of what makes us unique compared to other individuals who constitutes a personal identity, or in terms of our membership in social groups which then constitutes a social identity. Moreover, we clearly belong to a variety of social groups that are differentially relevant to us in different conditions and structures within society.

Bauman (1993:16) has argued that in the contemporary postmodern era, people seek to escape binding identities and as a result, their identities change according to their circumstances. He then argues that identity must be fluid in order to accommodate these life changes. He argues that they can be compared to pilgrims, seeking new identities, while discarding others (Bauman, 1993:18-

20). In this instance, Ira Silver (1996:3) discusses the notion of “self-identity” that he defines as “...the individual’s subjective sense of his or her biography being continuous, coherent and unique”.

This notion of self-identity has the possibility of being ever-changing as the events occurring in each person’s life can directly influence and change the self-identity of the individual. Gilroy (1997:301) explains that self-identity “...provides a way of understanding the interplay between our subjective experience of the world and cultural and historical settings in which that fragile subjectivity is formed”. He maintains that identity can be formed on the basis of “racial, ethnic, regional [and] local” ties, “...and yet self- identity is always particular, as much about difference as about shared belonging” (Gilroy, 1997: 301).

In short, a new social setting and a shift in personal circumstances may influence one’s identity as well as their views and how they define a situation. In this context, the concept of self-identity becomes almost a reflexive project, an endeavour that we continuously work and reflect on throughout the course of our individual biographies. We create, maintain, and revise a set of biographical narratives, the story of who we are, how we came to be, and where we are now. Anthony Giddens (1991:37) speaks of this when he states, “The identity of the self, in contrast to the self as a generic phenomenon, presumes reflexive awareness. It is what the individual is conscious of in the term “self- consciousnesses. ” Self-identity, in other words, is something that has to be routinely created and sustained in the reflexive activities of the individual.

Hall (1997) presents an analytical framework which theorizes a push and pull of identity. Identity, according to Hall (1997:5), is constructed at the point of intersection (“suture”) between external discourses and practices and the internal psychic processes that produce subjectivities. They are simply “points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us” (Hall, 1997:6). In this respect, identities are ever changing and not fixed. This notion of self-identity and ethnic identities being ever-changing can also be applied to the case of these French Jewish immigrants who are immigrating from one Jewish community often to join another in Montréal.

While theories of identity can provide a basis in understanding the fluidity and elasticity of this particular group’s identity, also the fact of being an Ashkenazy or Sephardic Jew may have an impact on Jews and their Jewish identity. The next section will discuss the differences in identity among Jews in France.

1.2 Jews and Jewish Identity in France

Jews are divided according to their beliefs and practices and according to their racial or ethnic origins, as either having roots in Germany and Eastern Europe (Ashkenazy Jews) or Spain and the Middle East (Sephardic Jews). Sephardic Jews are the Jews of Spain, Portugal, North Africa and the Middle East and their descendants (Birnbaum, 2000). Although Jews are divided along these two lines in France, the Jewish community in France is not divided into these two groups as is often the case in North American Jewish communities (Birnbaum, 2000: Pinto, 2003). Apart from Orthodox Jews in France, other Jews are relegated into “regular synagogues” (Birnbaum, 2000).

Being Sephardic or Ashkenazy contributes to a historical or personal cultural identity for Jews in France (Birnbaum, 2000).

It is important to note that Jewish identity in France before the French Revolution was based on the fusion of two elements, both a religious and also an ethnic element as Jews were both a people and a religion (Birnbaum, 1996; 2000). The French Revolution split this fused identity into its components. In France, full civil rights were bestowed on French Jews before any other European nation (Birnbaum, 1996). Jews became citizens of the French state, members of the French nation as individuals, not as a group. Religion became a private matter, a question of individual conscience, a voluntary act of self-identification (Birnbaum, 1996). Jews were now Frenchmen and French women of the Jewish religion, similar to fellow Frenchmen who may be Roman Catholics or Protestants. The ethnic identity of French Jews was deemphasized and was supposed to wither away (Birnbaum, 1996; Birnbaum, 2000).

According to Pierre Birnbaum (2000: 52), French Jewish identity is composed of a strong national identity, the Holocaust, a shared religiosity, a shared history and the nation of Israel. The difference between the identity of Jews in France and North America according to Birnbaum (2000) is the strong national element, which is a central component in Jewish identity in France, but is a weaker element within North American Jewry, especially within Canadian Jewry.

Open-ended, in constant flux, and ultimately dependent upon each individual, French Jewish identity forms a “kaleidoscope,” its shapes and patterns ever turning and shifting in colorful and dramatic ways (Pinto, 2003; Birnbaum, 2000), making it very much a changing, fluid identity, that

has been reformed and recently reconstructed after the Shoah (Holocaust) in France, instilling a more humanistic approach in both practice and belief (Birnbaum, 2000; Pinto, 2003). This was due in large part to the arrival of Jews, above all from Francophone North Africa during the 1950's-1970s, instilling a multicultural facet to France's stagnating Ashkenazy population, which at the time was dependant on morbid pre-Shoah, Holocaust identities (Pinto, 2003; Birnbaum, 2000; Wettstein, 2002).

These new Sephardic Jews, largely assimilated in French colonial Africa, came to France and were "French and Jewish, never forgetting their national identity, being true to the republic" (Wettstein, 2002:45). These new Jews asserted their French identity quite freely, basing their Jewish identity on historical, community, and Zionist principles (Wettstein, 2002; Birnbaum, 2000). They largely assimilated into French culture, and became contributing members in all fields and all professions, asking nothing else, but to be French, Zionist and Jewish (Birnbaum, 2000; Wettstein, 2002). The French Republic and all it embodies is a central theme in French Jewish identity (Birnbaum, 2000).

Despite the anti-Israel stances of the French government in the 1980s to present, many Jews in France persisted in their unwavering loyalty to the French republic, until the mounting waves of anti-Semitism in the late 1990s to present day. Some Jews closed their eyes until the anti-Semitic acts became so violent they could not be ignored (Birnbaum, 2000; Musicaint, 2003). The failure of France to protect its Jewish citizens has come as a virtual "slap in the face" today for many Jews in France (Musicaint, 2003:4). As this shared history and the Holocaust are such crucial elements in French Jewish identity, then the violent resurgence of anti-Semitic attacks, have led many Jews

to equate these incidents to a second coming of the Shoah (Holocaust), or the genocide that occurred against Jews in North Africa, that prompted many of their parents to head for France.

Many Jews, especially those with families, have fled France to avoid such a disaster, as Jews are constantly attacked for any outward sign of “Jewishness”, for example wearing a kippah¹, having a long beard, wearing a Star of David, wearing head coverings or long skirts for women, or other outwardly visible religious symbols (Musicaint, 2003; Pinto, 2003). Although French Jewish identity is both fluid, and difficult to define, this is in part due to the difficulties in defining Jewish identity, even within a Canadian context, as Jewish identity fluctuates between cultural, historical, religious, and ethnic factors. These historical components will be covered in the next chapter.

¹ A kippah refers to the religious head covering usually worn by Jewish males.

Chapter 2: French Jews and their History

To fully comprehend the importance of studying this recent Diaspora of Jews from France, it is historically significant to note that France was the only European country whose Jewish population had a large growth spurt after the Holocaust (Wasserstein, 1997: III); and is now estimated between 550,000 and 600,000 (Dreyfus and Laurence, 2002). The history of French Jews dates back over 2,000 years. Despite the death of a quarter of the population of all French Jews during the Holocaust, France currently has the largest Jewish population in Europe (Wolf, 2004; Pozanski, 2001). The following sections will review some of the highlights of this complex history between France and its Jews.

2.1 The French Revolution

After the French Revolution, citizenship was finally granted to the Jews of France. The Sephardim received citizenship in September 1790 and the Ashkenazy received it about six months later. Jews were given civic rights as individuals. During the Reign of Terror from 1793-94, synagogues and communal organizations were closed down, along with other religious institutions (Wolf, 2004; Pozanski, 2001).

Napoleon considered the Jews, “a nation with a nation” and he decided to create a Jewish communal structure sanctioned by the state (Wolf, 2004: 156). In 1806, he ordered the convening of a Grand Sanhedrin, composed of 45 rabbis and 26 laymen. The Grand Sanhedrin paved the way for the formation of the consistorial system, which were religious bodies established in every

department of France (Wolf, 2004; Pozanski, 2001). The consistorial system made Judaism a recognized religion and placed it under government control. Despite the new found freedoms, anti-Jewish measures were passed in 1808. Napoleon declared all debts with Jews annulled, reduced or postponed, which caused the near ruin of the Jewish community. Restrictions were also placed on where Jews could live in an effort to assimilate them into French society (Wolf, 2004; Pozanski, 2001). After this period with the restoration of the monarchy, things seemed to be progressing well for France's Jews until the Dreyfus affair.

Captain Alfred Dreyfus was arrested on October 15, 1894, for spying for Germany. He received a life sentence on Devil's Island off the coast of South America. The government chose to repress evidence, which came to light through the writings of Emile Zola and Jean Jaures. Ten years later, the French government fell and Dreyfus was declared innocent. The Dreyfus case shocked Jewry worldwide and motivated Theodor Herzl to write the book, *The Jewish State: A Modern Solution to the Jewish Question*, in 1896. The Dreyfus case also led to the French law in 1905 separating church and state (Wolf, 2004; Pozanski, 2001). After this period, the Holocaust or "Shoah" proved to be another example of the deep rooted anti-Semitism in French society.

2.2 The Holocaust

The Germans invaded France on May 10, 1940, and Paris fell on June 14th. Two weeks later the armistice was signed and France was divided into unoccupied and occupied zones, and Alsace-Lorraine was annexed to the Reich. A Vichy government was set up in France (Wolf, 2004; Pozanski, 2001; Birnbaum, 1996). By 1940, an estimated 300,000 Jews lived in France. Between September 1940 and June 1942, a number of anti-Jewish measures were passed, including expanding the category of who was considered a Jew, forbidding free negotiation of Jewish-owned capital, confiscating radios in Jewish possession, executing and deporting Jewish members of the resistance movement, establishing a curfew, forbidding a change of residence, ordering all Jews to wear a yellow badge and prohibiting access to public areas (Wolf, 2004; Pozanski, 2001; Birnbaum, 1996). The Vichy government established a Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives in April 1941, which worked with German authorities to “organize” Jewish businesses in the occupied zones (Wolf, 2004; Pozanski, 2001). French Jewry was represented in the Union Général des Israélites de France (UGIF) during the occupation. Non-French Jews living in France were treated differently than French Jews during this period. Whereas, non-French Jews were rounded up for deportation by the French police, French Jews were rounded up by the Gestapo, who did not trust the French authorities to do so (Wolf, 2004; Pozanski, 2001).

In March 1942, the first convoy of 1,112 Jews was deported to concentration camps in Poland and Germany. A notable roundup took place on July 16-17, 1942, when 12,884 people from Paris and its suburbs were arrested. Another notorious round-up occurred on August 15, 1942, when 7,000

foreign Jews were arrested and handed over to the Germans (Wolf, 2004; Pozanski, 2001).

Between 1942 and July 1944, nearly 76,000 Jews were deported to concentration camps in the East via French transit camps designed specifically for Jews and other prisoners of war. Only 2,500 Jews returned to France after the Shoah. Of those deported, 23,000 had French nationality, the rest were “stateless” (Wolf, 2004; Pozanski, 2001).

2.3 The Post-Holocaust Era

France became a haven for postwar refugees and within 25 years its Jewish population tripled. In 1945, 180,000 Jews were living in France, and, by 1951, the population reached 250,000 (Wolf, 2004; Pozanski, 2001). An influx of North African Jews immigrated to France in the 1950's due to the decline of the French empire. Subsequent waves of immigration followed the Six-Day War, when another 16,000 Moroccan and Tunisian Jews settled in France (Wolf, 2004; Pozanski, 2001). By 1968, Sephardic Jews were the majority in France, and continue to be the majority today. These new immigrants were already culturally French and needed little time to adjust to French society (Wolf, 2004; Pozanski, 2001; Birnbaum, 1996).

Today more than 600,000 Jews live in France, 375,000 live in Paris. There are 230 Jewish communities, including Paris, Marseilles (70,000), Lyons (25,000), Toulouse, Nice and Strasbourg (Wolf, 2004; Pozanski, 2001; Birnbaum, 2000).

2.4 The Present Day Jewish Community in France

Before World War II, the central Jewish community agency was the Consistoire Central Israelite de France et d'Algérie. This agency reopened following the Second World War. The Consistoire is responsible for training and appointing rabbis, religious instruction for youth, kashrut supervision² and the application of Jewish law in personal matters (Wolf, 2004; Pozanski, 2001). The Consistoire mainly represents Orthodox synagogues and so a number of synagogues fall outside its jurisdiction. The other major organization, the Conseil Représentatif des Juifs de France (CRIF) was founded in 1944 and today it is comprised of 27 Jewish organizations, from Zionist to socialist.

Since 1945, it has played a significant role in the fight against anti-Semitism (Benbassa, 1999). Unlike in North America, the Jewish community in France has no specific designation such as Reform or Conservative. The cultural designations of Ashkenazy and Sephardim are not as distinctive as they are in North America (Birnbbaum, 2000), apart from the Orthodoxy. The major Jewish community organization is the Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU), which was founded in 1949. It is involved in social, cultural and educational enterprises, as well as fundraising (Wolf, 2004; Pozanski, 2001; Benbassa, 1999).

² Kashrut supervision refers to the agency responsible for the labeling and maintenance of kosher food in France, what food is considered kosher, and what is not.

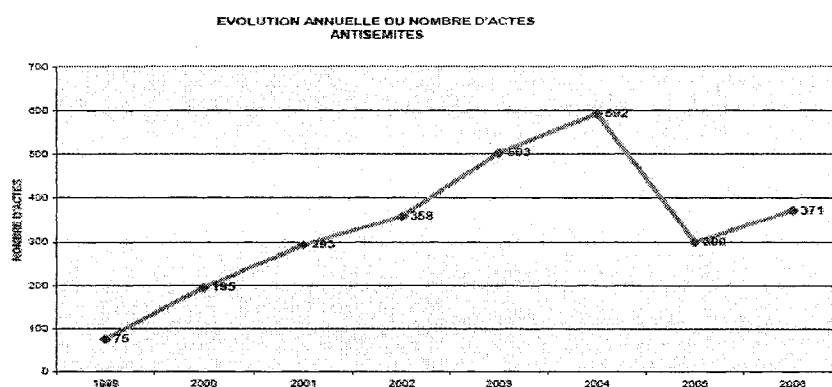
The FSJU's community centers played a large role in the absorption process of new Jewish immigrants. Only 40 percent of French Jewry is associated with one of these community bodies (Wolf, 2004; Pozanski, 2001). It is also estimated that only 15 percent of French Jews go to synagogue, still Jewish life and culture is flourishing (Wolf, 2004; Pozanski, 2001). There are over 40 Jewish weekly and monthly publications, as well as numerous Jewish youth movements and organizations (Wolf, 2004). Most French Jews send their children to public schools, although there is increased attendance in Hebrew day schools; close to 25% of school-age children attend full-time Jewish school and in Paris alone, there are 20 Jewish schools in the day school system. Hebrew is also being offered as a foreign language in many state high schools (Benbassa, 1999; Birnbaum, 2000).

2.5 Anti-Semitism in France Today

Since 2000, the Diasporic movement of Jews leaving France is seen as being closely related to "...the growing number of verbal and physical attacks on Jews not only in France, but also in Britain, Belgium and elsewhere in Europe" (Bénédicte and Dreyfus, 2004:1). One of the most horrific deaths "...[o]n February 13, 2006 [involved] Ilan Halimi, a 23 year old French Jew...who was tormented and ultimately killed...because he was a Jew" (Lewis, 2006: 1). French police "confirmed the anti-Semitic nature of the crime" (Lewis, 2006: 1). While some cite more traditional sources of anti-Semitism in France such as the recent rise of the extreme-right expressing anti-Semitic and anti-Israel attitudes (Musicaint, 2003), others focus on "the changing nature of French society" (Dreyfus and Laurence, 2002: 1). More specifically, anti-Semitism is often linked to "...the growing tension between the large Jewish and Muslim communities in

France and the growing frustration of the economically disenfranchised Maghrebin (North African) youth” (Musicaint, 2003:2). The level of anti-Semitic violence in France remained high in 2000-2004. Moreover, 50 percent of all incidents in 2003 were directed against Jewish youngsters under the age of 18 (Ibid). Fears of “anti-Semitism” (Wasserstein, 1997) have been growing steadily in Europe, and particularly in France, where attacks against the Jewish community have dramatically increased since 2000 (Bénédicte and Dreyfus, 2004).

Table 2.1



Source: Rapport sur l'Antisémitisme en France 2006- Service de la Protection de la Communauté Juive en France (CRIF).³

The table above shows the high and low occurrences of anti-Semitic events in France since 1999. While there was a drop in 2005, the year of 2006 was especially violent with a high number of events and the torture and murder of Ilan Halimi, a Jewish youth from the Paris region. But despite a lower number of attacks, what remains troubling for Jews in France is the persistent number of attacks against them. Elisabeth Cohen-Tannoudji of the CRIF states in this regard “Le début de l’année 2006 a été dramatiquement marqué par l’assassinat d’Ilan Halimi....Le dernier trimestre de l’année 2006 indique une baisse de 21% des actes. Cette tendance à la baisse s’est maintenue en janvier 2007. Les nombreux aléas qui pèsent sur l’actualité rendent l’avenir incertain et la vigilance

³ Obtained and used with special authorization from the CRIF Paris region.

head elsewhere, among other places to Israel and the United States, and not surprisingly, Montréal, Québec.

Anti-Semitism has been present throughout France's post-war history. After the Six Day War in 1967, anti-Israel stances were taken by de Gaulle and his government. Anti-Israel propaganda was published in May 1968 by the New Left and supporters of Palestinian terrorism; a number of physical clashes broke out between Jews and Arabs in certain quarters of Paris. This atmosphere led to increased aliyah (return to Israel) of many French, Moroccan, and Algerian Jews in the late 1960's (Wolf, 2004; Pozanski, 2001). In the late 70's, a spate of racist and anti-Semitic attacks was carried out against Jewish monuments and cemeteries. On October 3, 1980, a bomb exploded outside a Paris synagogue, killing four people. Terrorism and anti-Semitism continued to be a problem in 1999-2005, as many synagogues, cemeteries and restaurants were vandalized and desecrated (Birnbaum, 1996). Few of the perpetrators have been apprehended.

In the late 1990's, Jews were concerned about the rise to power of the National Front political party, which espoused anti-immigration and anti-Semitic views (Wolf, 2004; Pozanski, 2001). While Rosenberg (2004) discusses the re-emergence of anti-Semitism in Europe, Phillips (2004) specifically points out the problems in France. She argues that there is a "new" anti-Semitism that, for example, vilifies Jews in France and excludes them "...from public debate if they challenged the lies being told about Israel" (Phillips, 2004: 255). In order to fully comprehend this new phenomenon, the following section will introduce the concept of a new form of anti-Semitism

2.6 The New Anti-Semitism in France

Anti-Semitism in France historically had its roots in the Vatican and the libel of the greedy Jew as Christ killer (Wettstein, 2002; Birnbaum 2000). It had fueled the crowds howling “Death to the Jews!” in the streets near L’École Militaire during the Dreyfus Affair in 1895 and seethed through Vichy with the deportation of 76,000 French Jews to the death camps (Birnbaum, 2000).

The new form of anti-Semitism is very different: it comes from the left, part of the movement known in France as le néo-gauchisme, and it is connected to the country’s socialist politics and the difficulties of assimilating the large French Muslim population. It is often camouflaged as anti-Israel politics, but the issue was immense and complex (Birnbaum, 1996; Birnbaum, 2000; Wettstein, 2002). This new anti-Semitism is a concept of a new 21st-century form of anti-Semitism emanating simultaneously from the left, and radical Islam, and tending to manifest itself as opposition to Zionism and the State of Israel (Birnbaum, 2000; Wettstein, 2002; Wasserstein, 1997). The term has entered common usage to refer to what some writers describe as a new wave of anti-Semitism that escalated, particularly in Western Europe, after the Second Intifada in 2000, the failure of the Oslo accords, and the September 11, 2001 attacks (Birnbaum, 2000; Pinto 2003; Wasserstein, 1997; Wettstein, 2002).

The concept of a “new anti-Semitism” rooted in anti-Zionism was discussed in France during the aftermath of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. The French philosopher Pierre-André Tanguieff cites a number of works written on the subject in his *La Nouvelle Judéophobie* (2002), including 1968 and

calls the “nouvelle Judéophobie” of this period was centred in the Arab-Muslim world and the Soviet empire, and was marked by anti-Jewish themes centred on “demonical figures of Israel” and the idea of a “fantasy-world “Zionism” that Jews plot together, seek to conquer the world, and are imperialistic and bloodthirsty (Tanguieff, 2002).

Because the concept of new anti-Semitism is a relatively recent one, and due to its extreme nature, there are no indices of measurement, according to Irwin Cotler, Professor of Law at McGill University and Canada's former Justice Minister (Weinfeld, 2001). Cotler defines classical anti-Semitism as “the discrimination against, or denial of, the right of Jews to live as equal members of a free society,” the focus of which is discrimination against Jews as individuals (Weinfeld, 2001:151). He argues that the new anti-Semitism, by contrast, “involves the discrimination against the right of the Jewish people to live as an equal member of the family of nations”, that is, discrimination against Jews as a people and that it has expanded from hatred of Jews (classical anti-Semitism) to hatred of Jewish national aspirations (new anti-Semitism) (Weinfeld, 2001:153). The latter is harder to measure because the usual indices used by governments to detect discrimination — standard of living, housing, health, and employment — are useful only in measuring discrimination against individuals. Because it is difficult to measure, Cotler argues, it is difficult to show convincingly that the concept is a valid one (Weinfeld, 2001:155).

Yehuda Bauer, Professor of Holocaust Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, states that there have been three waves of anti-Semitism since 1945 — 1958-60; 1968-1972; and 1987-1992 — and that we are now experiencing the fourth, which he estimates started in 1999 or 2000 (Bauer, 2003). Each wave has had different causes, some of them to do with economic downturns,

(Bauer, 2003). Each wave has had different causes, some of them to do with economic downturns, though the common ground has been "an underlying latency of anti-Semitism that waits to explode when aroused by some outside crisis." (Bauer, 2003:4-5). He describes the fourth wave as an upper-middle class, intellectual phenomenon, "widespread in the media, in universities, and in well-manicured circles" (Bauer, 2003:7).

Although the Arab-Israeli conflict has produced real tragedy for Palestinians, Bauer (2003:12) suggests that Western latent anti-Semitism has fastened onto that tragedy in order to brand the Jews as mass murderers and Nazis as a way of solving the West's own psychological problems caused by the Holocaust. He argues that facts do not matter arguing that the number of Palestinians killed between the beginning of the Second Intifada in 2000 and 2003 was around 2,000, which is one sixth of the daily number of Jews shipped to Auschwitz from Hungary in the spring of 1944. Bearing these figures in mind, "any kind of simplistic comparison becomes totally ridiculous" (Bauer, 2003:14).

He regards this wave of anti-Semitism as dangerous because of the rise of radical Islam. He identifies radical Islam as one of three major ideologies to have emerged during the 20th century, alongside Soviet Communism and National Socialism, and argues that all three saw or see the Jews as a main enemy (Bauer, 2003: 15). The language used about Jews by the Muslim media is, he says, "clearly and unmistakably genocidal," the ideology of Nazism "in a different dress." (Bauer, 2003:15-16). He cites a television program broadcast on May 2, 2002 on the Egyptian television station IQRAA, during which a three-year-old girl was asked whether she knew who the Jews were and whether she liked them. She replied that she did not like them, because "they are monkeys and

(2003:16) writes that 1.2 billion Muslims are being exposed to these teachings, making this fourth wave of anti-Semitism a “genocidal threat to the Jewish people.”

In France, former Interior Minister Dominique de Villepin commissioned a report on racism and anti-Semitism from Jean-Christophe Rufin, president of Action Against Hunger and former vice-president of Médecins Sans Frontières, in which Rufin challenged the perception that the new anti-Semitism in France comes exclusively from North African immigrant communities and the far left (Bauer, 2003; Lewis, 2006; Pinto, 2003).

Reporting in October 2004, Rufin states that “the new anti-Semitism appears more heterogeneous,” (Lewis, 2006), and identified what he calls a new and “subtle” form of anti-Semitism in “radical anti-Zionism” as expressed by far-left and anti-globalization groups, in which criticism of Jews and Israel is used as a pretext to “legitimize the armed Palestinian conflict and attacks on Jews, Jewish institutions and Jewish symbols in France” (Lewis, 2006). Rufin recommended that French law be changed to “make it possible to punish those who would make unfounded charges of racism against groups, institutions or States, or would make unjustified comparisons with apartheid or Nazism about them”(Lewis, 2006). Although Rufin recommended these changes in 2004, it was not until the murder of Ilan Halimi, a Jewish youth, in 2006 that such a law came into effect in the French Republic (Lewis, 2006). This blatant refusal by French authorities to recognize the danger of the seriousness of these attacks “has led to a strong presence of anti-Semitism and anti-Semitic attacks against Jews” (Musicaint, 2003).

These attacks have become more violent in nature, and have led many Jews to feel unsafe. Pierre Saadoun (2007) says in this instance “It is impossible to be Jewish in France. Those who have left know that they must seek their ‘Jewishness’ or Jewish identity elsewhere which is why Montréal and the US are providing safe havens for these immigrants, where in already established communities, you are free to wear a kippah⁴, go to synagogue and be Jewish, without being attacked or killed”. The seriousness of these attacks according to Saadoun has led many French Jews to flee especially to North America, making Montréal a prime destination for French Jews because of its francophone population. The next chapter will outline the research methodology and qualitative approach throughout the research process of this thesis.

⁴ Kippah refers to the religious head covering worn by Jewish males.

Chapter III: Methodology

This thesis gathers and analyzes qualitative data on Jewish identity and Jewish immigration from vFrance to Montréal. In this chapter I will explain the research methodology, the choice of a semi-structured interview schedule, the recruitment process, the sample, and the reasons why participants were selected and the number of participants analyzed and interviewed. Lastly, I will discuss how the analysis process was carried out and present the operationalization process of Jewish identity.

3.1 Why a Qualitative Approach in this Exploratory Study?

As there exists no research at this time on the immigration experiences of French Jewish immigrants from France in other countries, except an ongoing study by Professor Erik Cohen, of Hebrew University in Jerusalem, a qualitative approach was selected in order to fully comprehend and explore this research phenomenon. I consider that a qualitative approach is the most appropriate method for research on French Jews in Montréal as the object of the research is to provide a clear understanding of the identity of Jews from France and the changes that have occurred in their own Jewish identity, as a result of immigration. The interview format will aid in the understanding of what constitutes this identity as well what impact the situation in France and their immigration to Québec have had on their identity.

Qualitative research aims to address questions concerned with developing an understanding of the meaning and experience dimensions of humans' lives and social worlds. Central to good qualitative research is whether the research participants' subjective meanings, actions and social contexts, as understood by them, are illuminated (Denzin, 2004). Qualitative research

methodologies are designed to provide the researcher with the perspective of target audience members through immersion in a culture or situation and direct interaction with the people under study. The advantage of using qualitative methods is that they generate rich, detailed data that leave the participant's perspectives intact and provide a context for exploratory study (Morse, 1994). The focus upon processes and "reasons why" differs from that of quantitative research, which addresses correlations between variables. A disadvantage is that data collection and analysis may be labour intensive and time-consuming. In addition, these methods are not yet totally accepted by mainstream academics and qualitative researchers may find their results challenged as invalid by those outside the field of qualitative research (Morse, 1994; Layder, 1998).

An exploratory qualitative analysis such as this is composed of the following key elements: first, such an analysis is informed by knowledge and understanding of pertinent social circumstances – both theoretical and factual – from sources other than the interview material, second, it continuously carries out "recontextualisation" so that the research and each interview is presented both in its own terms and in relation to other related material (Morse, 1994). Third, it aims ultimately to establish, conceptually/theoretically, points of contact (adhesion or friction, as the case may be) between individual experience/action and the social context. In the course of such research, then, in addition to the interview material and its existing disciplinary/conceptual background, a new entity is persuaded to come to light as a third force in the proceedings – the emergent theoretical frame (Layder, 1998: 170) which eventually envelops the "findings" of the research.

This research approach dates back to the guidelines of analytic induction (Robinson, 1951; Turner, 1953; Znaniecki, 1963; Jones, 1979; Crouch and Manderson, 1993) where the investigator researches the material within a spiral of conceptual development, rather than across a plane of data. Rather than looking for enduring structures in a particular field or system “uniformities of coexistence” (Mitchell, 2003: 531), the researcher seeks to uncover dynamic patterns (Mitchell, 2003). The analysis and interpretation processes fluctuate between individual cases and sociocultural circumstances in an effort to weave together these contrasting threads into a sociologically meaningful pattern. The best way then to explain this interweaving C. Wright Mills’ concept of ‘sociological imagination’ where throughout this process the researcher is attempting to “grasp history and biography, and the relation of the two within society” (Mills, 1959: 6).

Qualitative research methods have origins within diverse disciplines, including anthropology, sociology and psychology. Whatever the focus, qualitative research should be concerned with interpretation of subjective meaning, and the description of social context. Qualitative research questions focus chiefly on three areas: language as a means to explore processes of communication and patterns of interaction within particular social groups; description and interpretation of subjective meanings attributed to situations and actions; and theory-building through discovering patterns and connections in qualitative data (Hertz, 1997; Denzin, 2004). Relatively broad questions, rather than specific hypotheses to be tested, identify the initial focus of inquiry. These questions reflect the aim, which is to achieve depth of understanding. To achieve this, as the research data is gathered and informs the broad questions with which the researcher began, these questions may be refined.

The refined, or more specific questions thus generated then lead to more focused sampling and information-gathering as the study progresses. In this sense, qualitative research is designed to be flexible and responsive to context, characteristically being described as emergent. This means the research questions asked in a particular study evolve in response to the setting, data and its analysis. So, sampling, data collection, analysis and interpretation are related to each other (Denzin, 2004; Field and Morse, 1985).

Qualitative research is particularly useful for studying “phenomenon or event[s] about which little is known” (Field and Morse 1985) as the approach focuses on individuals' experiences and can provide rich and detailed descriptions of previously unexplored phenomena (Morse, 1994). This will be particularly useful in exploring the identity changes and immigration experiences of French Jews in Montréal because of the limitations of the data available. In this study the exploratory qualitative data will serve as a “...catalyst for conceptualization and understanding” (Knafl and Howard, 1984).

3.2 Choice of Individual Semi-Structured Interviewing

Semi-structured interviews will be used in this study. These are conducted on the basis of a loose structure consisting of open ended questions that define the area to be explored, at least initially, and from which the interviewer or interviewee may diverge in order to pursue an idea in more detail (Denzin, 2004; Hertz, 1997). The researcher has a list of questions or fairly specific topics to be covered, often referred to as an interview guide, but the interviewee has a great deal of leeway in how to reply. Questions may not follow on exactly in the way outlined on the schedule. Questions that are not included in the guide may be asked as they pick up on things said by

interviewers. But all of the questions will be asked and a similar wording will be used from participant to participant in this study. An interview guide of general topic areas serves as a checklist for the interviewer to cover in his own words (Lofland and Lofland, 1984). This loose structure should relieve the subject's anxiety over what the interviewer is looking for and provide comparable information across respondents, while the ability to probe areas of pertinence is maintained (Whyte, 1984: 97). A middle ground is taken between the danger of stifling interviewees with predetermined ideas and the danger of producing aimless discussions (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939: 271). Semi-structured interviewing tries to strike a balance between the parties' interests, unlike the interviewer-driven oral survey and the subject-driven nondirective interview. Both parties can learn from one another in a symbiotic interaction. No precise professional guidelines exist for defining the formation of an interviewing relationship. Serious differences of opinion prevail within the academic community over both the need for, and the appropriate composition of, a consent procedure (Denzin, 2004). Hence, controversies abound over subjects like the ethics of concealing information from participants, or actually deceiving them, to get "natural" results, and conducting uninvited studies from both within and outside organizations (Akeroyd, 1984: 145).

3.3 Sampling and Ethical Information

Qualitative sampling is concerned with information richness for which two key considerations should guide the sampling methods: appropriateness and adequacy (Denzin, 2004:16). In other words, qualitative sampling requires identification of appropriate participants, being those who can best inform the study. It also requires adequate sampling of information sources (i.e. people,

places, events, types of data) so as to address the research question and to develop a full description of the phenomenon being studied (Denzin, 2004 ; Akeroyd, 1984). Qualitative sampling is described as purposive (or purposeful) when it aims to select appropriate information sources to explore meanings, and theoretical when its aim is the selection of people, situations or processes on theoretical grounds to explore emerging ideas and build theory as data analysis progresses. In either case, sampling is ongoing through the course of a study and intimately linked with the emergent nature of the research process, previously noted.

Qualitative sampling may involve small numbers of participants, while the amount of data gathered can be large, with many hours of participant interviews, or multiple data sources related to one setting including interviews, observation-based field notes and written documents. No fixed minimum number of participants is necessary to conduct sound qualitative research; however, sufficient depth of information needs to be gathered to fully describe the phenomena being studied. For example, detailed information-gathering with one person may be both appropriate and adequate to describe that person's life history, whereas one person's account would be insufficient if a study's aim were to understand and describe the immigration of a particular group.

Therefore, sampling in qualitative research continues until themes emerging from the research are fully developed, in the sense that diverse instances have been explored, and further sampling is redundant. In other words, patterns are recurring or no new information emerges, a situation sometimes referred to as 'saturation' (Denzin, 2004:24). To enhance the appropriateness of sampling and adequacy of information gathered, different sampling strategies may be used. For

example, a purposive sampling strategy designed to maximize representation of a range of perspectives on an issue will help to challenge or permeate the researcher's own views (Denzin, 2004). No one sampling technique is superior to the others, but the trustworthiness of qualitative research findings is affected by the soundness of choices among them. In this thesis, the different sampling techniques used were availability, purposive and snowball sampling. This ensured that a variety of participants were recruited and that both males and females were recruited in the same numbers for this research.

Criteria for evaluating the quality of qualitative research include criteria concerned with good practice in the conduct of the research (methodological rigour) as well as criteria related to the trustworthiness of interpretations made. It should be noted that not all interpretations are equally important, or applicable, in every qualitative research project, given the differing philosophical and social science traditions that inform qualitative inquiry (Denzin, 2004; Lofland and Lofland, 1984). Consistent with paradigms concerned with socially constructed and contested meanings, what makes for 'good' qualitative research also is contested.

Qualitative research aims to give privilege to the perspectives of research participants and to illuminate the subjective meaning, actions and context of those being researched. Thus, central to the quality of qualitative research is: whether participants' perspectives have been authentically represented in the research process and the interpretations made from information gathered (authenticity); and whether the findings are coherent in the sense that they 'fit' the data and social context from which they were derived (Denzin, 2004). The importance of the power relations between the researcher and researched, and the need for transparency (openness and

honesty) of data collection, analysis, and presentation implied here highlight the extent to which criteria for quality profoundly interact with standards for ethics in qualitative research (Denzin, 2004:23).

Ethical considerations are paramount in all research from its design to conclusion. The differences between paradigms also suggest different ethical issues may become relevant depending on the researcher's position. While the ethical principles of informed consent and minimizing harm apply to all research, how they are interpreted and infiltrate the research process may differ (Denzin, 2004).

All sociological research that involves humans requires their "informed consent." This term stands for the conditions that are necessary for an individual's decision to be truly self-determined: (1) competence to make decisions about one's future, (2) receipt of full and complete information about possible effects, (3) comprehension of information, and (4) a situation that allows a voluntary choice (Reynolds, 1979). All human decisions are made with only partial information. Even if full information were available, it would probably be too overwhelming to comprehend. Since participants can be expected to continue to rely on partial information, they assume only partial responsibility, and the researcher remains responsible for protecting their welfare to the best of his or her ability throughout the process.

Instead of condescendingly defining participants as "subjects," the researcher can be open to their theories, and let them take part in the interpretation process by reviewing manuscripts (Denzin, 2004:31). Informed consent was gained from all participants in this study by their

signing a consent form that was available in French (see appendix 3). This project was also approved by the Ethics Committee at the University of Ottawa (see appendix 1). All of the participants in this study were allowed to define roles they felt comfortable with throughout the interview process.

3.4 Interviews

Qualitative research interviews aim to elicit participants' views of their lives, as portrayed in their stories, and so to gain access to their experiences, feelings and social worlds. They may be unstructured or semi-structured. Unstructured interviews are usually conducted in an everyday conversational style, in which participants take the lead, to a greater extent, in telling their stories, rather than the researcher directing the interview. Semi-structured interviews are used to facilitate more focused exploration of a specific topic, using an interview guide. Interview guides usually contain a list of questions and prompts designed to guide the interview in a focused, yet flexible and conversational, manner. This approach to data collection is advantageous in ensuring sensitivity to participants' language and privileging their knowledge. Semi-structured interviews have a further use to follow up on specific ideas or issues, which emerged from initial unstructured interviews, during subsequent data collection.

In the summer of 2007, twenty semi-structured individual interviews were conducted using both English and French with Jewish immigrants from France who have settled in Montréal, in order to understand the overall identity of French Jews and the changes that have occurred in this identity as a result of immigration. Since the interviews took place between the summer months of late June-July, 2007, the number of potential participants was greatly reduced as many French Jews

were on vacation. Although a total of 20 French Jewish immigrants were interviewed, ten of these interviews were with students who did not reside in Montréal all year, but only for their studies. The other five men and five women had immigrated to Montréal and were residents of Montréal year round. It is the interviews with these five men and five women that were chosen for this analysis.

A semi-structured interview schedule (see appendix 4) was used, composed of different elements such as participants' lives in France (including time spent in France and reasons for immigration, as well as levels of personal safety in France), and levels of religiosity (comparing the level of religiosity felt by participants before and after migration, what being Jewish meant to them, and how they expressed this). Also, the effect of religiosity was explored through questions examining whether their levels of "Jewishness" had an effect on their particular decision to immigrate. Other questions regarding security, and safety were posed, as well as questions regarding a potential return to France or further immigration to another country or place. Socio-demographic questions were also posed in order to obtain a more comprehensive portrait of each participant in the analysis process. These interviews were analyzed and used as an exploratory tool in the analysis of the immigration experiences of French Jews from France in Montréal since no research exists at this time that has specifically explored the identity of this particular group of Jews and their immigration to Montréal.

Potential participants were recruited through a snowball sampling method (Denzin, 2004). The first participants were identified through the social networks of individuals and organizations involved in Jewish immigration and resettlement services, specific Jewish agencies Montréal

Québec. The following organizations aided me in this process: JIAS (Jewish Immigrant Aid Services of Montréal), *Frequence France*, Centre Hillel (The francophone Jewish student Association in Montréal), and lastly, Hillel House, the Anglophone Jewish student organization in Montréal,

The following selection criteria applied in the recruitment of participants: they needed to be 18 years or older and must have emigrated since 1999 from France to Québec. The reason for the specific age was to avoid issues dealing with minors, as 18 is the age of majority in Québec. The year of 1999 was used as this was the year when Jewish immigration from France started to Montréal (Personal Communication with Frederic Saadoun, July 16, 2007). A letter was created to recruit participants and given to the established contacts within these Montréal Jewish community organizations (Please see Appendix 2). Participants were also recruited by word of mouth. Interviews were conducted in both English and French, as participants often responded in both languages.

All interviews took place in Montréal mostly at Jewish community centres, taking place at the Centre Hillel, Hillel House, the Jewish YMCA, and also at participant's homes and various cafés and coffee shops in Montréal. They lasted between 40-80 minutes depending on the length of answer provided by each participant. Each interview was recorded, and then transcribed for the purpose of facilitating analysis.

The analysis entailed an iterative process of identifying emerging themes and sub-themes and placing them into a hierarchical format. This helped to elucidate the relationships between variables related to identity, religiosity, immigration, perceived anti-Semitism, and other possible

The analysis entailed an iterative process of identifying emerging themes and sub-themes and placing them into a hierarchical format. This helped to elucidate the relationships between variables related to identity, religiosity, immigration, perceived anti-Semitism, and other possible identity issues. I also followed various levels of analysis and interpretation. First, based on the recorded individual interviews, I looked for relationships between variables, and any consensus or comparisons within the data. I then examined cultural meaning and perceptions related to Jewish identity, anti-Semitism, immigration, resettlement, as well as other personal or social experiences, and trends in the data. Quotes from the respondents were used and identified as “participant 1, 2,” etc. The emergent themes will be explored and expanded upon in the next chapter, after the presentation of participant profiles. I first conclude the present chapter, however, by discussing reflexivity in the research.

3.5 Reflexivity within the Research Project

Discussions of the use of reflexive methods in research methodology, generally beginning in the 1970s, were a response to critiques of classical, colonial ethnographic methods and initially emphasized the role of reflexivity in situating the researcher as non-exploitative and compassionate toward the research subjects (Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Rabinow, 1977). However, with the “interpretive turn” in the social sciences, that is, when the objectivity of research is brought into question and issues of power in research relations begin to be acknowledged, reflexivity takes on an even larger and more significant role in the production of research. For example, Thomas McCarthy (1994:7) situates the point of rupture and contrast between traditional and critical theory as “the reflexivity . . . of social inquiry.” In his explanation of the role and importance of reflexivity

in this shift, McCarthy (1994:15) notes how traditionally the social sciences were dependent upon offering a “view from nowhere’ with all of its rights and privileges” while critical theory challenged the “privileged non-position of social-scientific knowledge by analyzing the modes of its production, the roles it played in society, the interests it served, and the historical processes through which it came to power”. To be reflexive, then, not only contributes to producing knowledge that aids in understanding and gaining insight into the workings of our social world but also provides insight on how this knowledge is produced. When objectivity became open to question, the researcher’s subjectivity also became open to scrutiny.

Thus, reflexivity, as Rosanna Hertz (1997:viii) notes, has also focused upon the “what I know” and “how I know it” and entails “an ongoing conversation about experience while simultaneously living in the moment”. This focus requires the researcher to be critically conscious through personal accounting of how the researcher’s self-location (across for example, gender, race, class, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality), position, and interests influence all stages of the research process. Reflexivity then “becomes a continuing mode of self-analysis and political awareness” (Callaway, 1992: 33). The result of all of this reflexivity is to produce research that questions its own interpretations and is reflexive about its own knowledge production towards the goal of producing better, less distorted research accounts (Hertz, 1997). Reflexivity thus is often understood as involving an ongoing self-awareness during the research process which aids in making visible the practice and construction of knowledge within research in order to produce more accurate analyses of our research. As Charlotte Davies (1999:4) states, “reflexivity, broadly defined, means a turning back on oneself, a process of self-reference. In the context of social research, reflexivity at its most

immediately obvious level refers to the way in which the products of research are affected by the personnel and process of doing research”.

Feminist theory and feminist researchers have furthered discussions of reflexivity by situating reflexivity as primary to feminist research and methodology (Clough, 1992; Fonow and Cook, 1991). Reflexivity under feminism is not only about investigating the power embedded in one's research but is also about doing research differently. The need to do research differently arises from the ethical and political problems and questions raised by feminists about traditional research methods (Oakley, 1981). These questions include: How can one be a non-exploitative researcher? How does one produce research that is useful and empowering to women? How do we make research that is linked with political action? How would our research practices be different if we were reflective at each step of the research process (i.e., from forming our research questions, gaining access, conducting interviews, to analyzing data)? Feminist research points out that there are multiple places for reflexivity to work and work differently in the research process.

Within this project, reflexivity became an issue within itself. Many of the participants pointed out that as I myself was a French Jew, and had experienced the same discrimination they had, they felt much more comfortable speaking with me. All participants informed me, in fact, that, had I not been a French Jew, they would not have participated in my interviews because they felt it was important that I was “one of them”.

The difficulties I experienced being an “outside within” as a researcher were very difficult. I found it very difficult many times to put aside my personal feelings and experiences during this research

level of emotional difficulty present within the interviews. In the end, it was necessary for me to receive counseling in order to overcome these anxieties. My experience as a researcher who was an “outsider within” profoundly changed my life to the point of no return. I gained a better appreciation and sense of my own Judaism, and also for the plight of French Jews and the difficulties they faced.

Chapter IV: Findings and Analysis

4.1 Participant Profiles

In this section, I will provide a brief introduction to each participant used in the analysis of this thesis in order to provide a better picture of each interviewee.

Participant #1 (PM#1)

Participant number one is currently a French teacher at a Jewish high school in Montréal. He was born in France to Polish Jewish parents who immigrated to France after World War II. He lived in Paris all his life before his immigration and attended university in Paris and obtained a Masters degree in education, and also one in French language and literature. He is 53 years of age, and is married to a Sephardic Jewish woman who emigrated from Morocco, to Paris, France in 1965. He is the father of three children, a girl aged nine years of age and two boys aged 17 and 19, and all of his children attend Jewish school. He, his wife and children immigrated to Montréal in 2003. In France, he was the Director of Education in the largest board of education in the Paris arrondissements and his wife was employed as a tailor for an haute couture fashion house. She now is a French language tutor in Montréal.

Participant #2 (PF1)

Participant number 2 is currently seeking recertification as a doctor in Montréal. She was born in Algiers, Algeria and arrived in Paris, France in 1960, where she completed her education and

medical training. She and her husband are Sephardic Jews. After her immigration from Algeria, she lived in Paris until her family (herself, her husband, and her two sons) immigrated to Montréal in 2005. She is 43 years old and was employed as a surgeon in Paris. Her husband is employed as an Information Technology specialist in Paris, is now employed in the same position at a Montréal hospital. She is the mother of two boys aged 16, and 14.

Participant #3 (PM2)

Participant #3 is married to Participant #2. He is currently employed as an I.T. specialist in Montréal, and was employed in the same profession in Paris, France. He and his wife are both Sephardic Jews. His parents, native Jews of Algeria, immigrated to France shortly after the Algerian War. He is university educated, having obtained a Masters degree in information technology from a Paris university. His wife, a surgeon in Paris, is currently seeking recertification as a doctor in Montréal. He immigrated with his family to Montréal in 2005, after having lived in Paris since his immigration from Algeria.

Participant #4 (PF2)

Participant #4 is currently working in the Information Technology field. She occupies the same position she did in France, in the same field. Her parents arrived from Algeria to Paris, France in 1961, and she was born in Paris, in 1962, where she lived until she and her family immigrated to Montréal in 2002. She is a Sephardic Jew, as is her husband who was also born in Paris to Tunisian Jews. She and her husband attended university where they both obtained a Masters in I.T. studies.

They met at university in Paris and married there. She is a mother of two children a boy and a girl, aged six and eight. She immigrated with her family to Montréal in 2005. She did not require recertification in her profession to work in Montréal and is currently employed by a small firm in Montréal, where she provides technical support. In Paris, she had worked in a major bank where she also provided technical support to customers.

Participant #5 (PM3)

Participant #5 is married to Participant #4. He too currently works in the I.T. field for a major corporate firm, just as he did in Paris, as does his wife. He was born to Tunisian Jewish parents in 1962, which fled to Paris in 1958, after the persecution of Jews in French North Africa. He is from a Sephardic background, as is his wife, and also obtained a Masters degree in I.T. studies. Before his immigration to Montréal, he always lived in Paris.

Participant #6 (PF3)

Participant #6 is currently working as an interior designer in Montréal. She was born in 1960 in Aix-en Provence, to Tunisian Jewish parents who immigrated to France in 1958. She is a Sephardic Jew, while her present husband is non-Jewish. She had two daughters, one aged 18 and one aged 15. She obtained a Masters degree in accounting and art from the University of Nice. In France, she was employed as an accountant for a major department store in Aix-en- Provence, while her present husband was the manager for the store. She immigrated to Montréal to join her daughter in 2006.

Participant #7 (PM4)

Participant #7 is currently a medical researcher at a major hospital in Montréal. In Paris, he was employed as a surgeon and a medical researcher at a major hospital. Differing from all other participants, he was recruited by this institution, and came to Montréal alone, before his family. He is of Sephardic Jewish background, as is his wife and was born in 1963 in Paris, to Algerian Jewish parents. He currently occupies the same position he did in France, and is married and has three children, two boys and a girl who are aged, 4, 8, and 12. His wife was employed as an optician in Paris, and is currently pursuing studies for a psychology degree at McGill University.

Participant #8 (PF4)

Participant #8 is married to Participant #7. She is also Sephardic from the Paris region, having lived there all her life. Her parents are originally from Morocco, come to Paris in 1965, shortly after the Jews were thrown out of Morocco after the 60 day War in Israel. She was born in 1966 in Paris. As stated above, both she and her husband are of Sephardic descent and they have three children. She was trained as an optician in France, but unfortunately, as her education degrees did not transfer, she has not been able to find stable employment in Montréal and is currently pursuing a psychology degree at McGill University. She was educated in Paris and has spent all her life there before her immigration to Montréal in 2006.

Participant #9 (PM5)

Participant #9 came to Montréal in 2003, to pursue law studies at a Montréal university. He was born in 1978 in Paris of Algerian Jewish parents who immigrated to France in 1965. He was a law student in Paris until 2003, when he immigrated to Montréal. He is a Sephardic Jew, and his current girlfriend is also a Sephardic Jew but of Persian descent. Her parents immigrated to Paris, then Montréal in 2005. He is currently pursuing a Masters degree in law.

Participant#10 (PF5)

Participant #10 is a French Jewish woman who emigrated from Paris in 2005. She is of Sephardic background and was born in 1967 in Paris. Her parents immigrated from Algeria to France in 1966. She is single, lived in Paris all her life, and held a position as an administrative assistant in France until her immigration to Montréal. She is currently looking to pursue law studies at a Montréal university.

This section has briefly introduced each participant and a bit about their lives. It is also important to reintroduce the key concepts of analysis in thesis, as well as presenting the findings and analysis of this project. The next section will introduce the concept of ethnic identity and reintroduce the components of Jewish identity. Subsequent sections will present the findings and analysis of this project.

**4.2 Ethnic Identity in Context: Jews from France in Montréal, a Complex Religious,
National, and Ethnic Identity**

The question of Jewish identity forms the basis and starting point of the discussion of my findings. The premise here, based on the review of the literature, is that there is likely little consensus on what it means to be Jewish. Many will say that religious belief is not the basis for feeling Jewish. At the same time, however, conceiving Jewish identity as an ethnic identity is not entirely appropriate either, as there are different types of “ethnic Jews” (i.e., Ashkenazy, Sephardic, etc). For these reasons then, it is clear that a one-dimensional definition of Jewish identity cannot capture all the encompassing aspects. The participants conceptualized the meaning of Jewishness in a number of different ways. One such way was a feeling of having a special relationship to God, and of having sacred texts and rituals. In the interviews, several participants expressed this sentiment of Jewishness as a religious, cultural, and ethnic identity.

However, there are many participants who believed that a religious definition does not capture the meaning of Jewish identity in all its facets. The feeling that a Jewish identity was as cultural as it is religious is also similar to what Bruckser (2000) found in his research of Danish Jews, where their cultural traits encompass a tradition of rituals, foods, and patterns of thought and behavior that has been handed down by the living community of their ancestors. To be Jewish was to live out this culture, to preserve it and pass it on to future generations. All of the 10 participants mentioned that to be Jewish for them, involved a combination of ethnic, religious, and cultural factors. Cultural aspects, as well as religious aspects, were the main components of their Jewish identities. Ethnic identities were also embedded into these cultural and religious components for all participants.

4.3 Definitions of ethnic identity

Definitions of ethnic identity vary according to the underlying theory embraced by researchers and scholars intent on resolving its conceptual meanings. The fact that there is no widely agreed upon

definition of ethnic identity is indicative of the confusion surrounding the topic. Typically, ethnic identity is an affiliative construct, where an individual is viewed by themselves and by others as belonging to a particular ethnic or cultural group. An individual can choose to associate with a group especially if other choices are available (i.e., the person is of mixed ethnic or racial heritage). Affiliation can be influenced by racial, natal, symbolic, and cultural factors (Cheung, 1993). Racial factors involve the use of physical characteristics, natal factors refer to “homeland” (ancestral home) or origins of individuals, their parents and kin, and symbolic factors include those factors that typify or exemplify an ethnic group (e.g., holidays, foods, clothing, artifacts, etc.). Symbolic ethnic identity usually implies that individuals choose their identity, however to some extent the cultural elements of the ethnic or racial group have a modest influence on their behaviour (Kivisto and Nefzger, 1993).

In this respect, Yuet Cheung (1993:1216) defines ethnic identification as “the psychological attachment to an ethnic group or heritage” and centres this debate in the domain of self-perception. Sociologist, Sawiti Saharso (1989), extends the definition to include social processes that involve one's choice of friends, selection of a future partner, perception of their life-chances, and the reactions of others in one's social environment. Both definitions involve boundaries where one makes a distinction between “self” and “other.” Saharso's definition extends the “others” boundary to include an attribution component. An individual may strongly identify psychologically with an ethnic group, however, the strength and authenticity of their identity is contingent upon the acceptance and acknowledgment by “in-group” and “out-group” members. Saharso's definition is consistent with the writings of the sociologist, Fredrik Barth (1969), who argued that ethnic identity was a means to create boundaries that enabled groups to distance themselves from one

another. Barth was quite forceful about his position as he strongly maintained that ethnic boundaries define a group and not the “cultural stuff that encloses it” (Sollars, 1996: xxii).

Psychologist, Jean Phinney (1990:500), notes that there are “widely discrepant definitions and measures of ethnic identity, which makes generalizations and comparisons across studies difficult and ambiguous”. Currently, one of the most widely used definitions is the one developed by Phinney (1990; 2000; 2003). She maintains, that, “ethnic identity is a dynamic, multidimensional construct that refers to one’s identity, or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group” (2003: 63). From her perspective one claims a common identity within the context of a subgroup that claims a common ancestry and shares at least a similar culture, race, religion, language, kinship, or place of origin. She goes on to add that, “Ethnic identity is not a fixed categorization, but rather is a fluid and dynamic understanding of self and ethnic background. Ethnic identity is constructed and modified as individuals become aware of their ethnicity, within the large (sociocultural) setting” (Phinney, 2003: 63).

Phinney (1990; 2000) views subjective identity as a starting point that eventually leads to the development of a social identity based on ethnic group membership. The cross-cultural psychologist Peter Weinreich (1986) not only views self-identity as a starting point, he believes that identity formation and development refers to different identity states where different social contexts will influence the identity state and one’s actions. He asserts that “one's identity as situated in a specific social context is defined as that part of the totality of one's self-construal in which how one construes oneself in the situated present expresses the continuity between how one

construes oneself as one was in the past and how one construes oneself as one aspires to be in the future” (Weinreich, 1986:23).

Moreover, Weinreich maintains that ethnic identity is not a static process but one that changes and varies according to particular social contexts. Individuals, for example, may avoid situations where their identity is challenged, threatened, humiliated, and castigated; and seek out and sustain whenever possible settings that favor the identity state. Self-expression, maintenance of ethnic identity, and situated identities offer promise for understanding the complexities and dynamics of ethnic orientations through Weinreich's theory of Identity Structure Analysis (Weinreich and Saunderson, 2003).

As ethnic communities in settlement countries exist in a context, these new communities are both a reflection of the individuals who comprise them and are shaped by the framework and values of the surrounding society. Raymond Breton's observations regarding ethnic communities in Québec apply generally to this idea as “the environment of an ethnic community consists of the multiplicity of attitudes, perceptions, and behaviours of members of other groups and of institutional agents, it includes laws, practices and regulations in industry, government and schools and other societal institutions” (Breton, 1991:43). He then goes on to insist that the more “institutionally complete” an ethnic group was, the more likely immigrants would be to integrate first into the ethnic community (Breton, 1991:46). In very general terms, the most common shortcoming in defining ethnic identity is that the objective and the subjective dimensions of ethnicity are not analytically differentiated (Isajiw, 1974).

Several conceptual approaches to ethnic identity emphasize an individual level of analysis where notions of identity formation and development are linked to one's self-concept. Much of the work in this area relies on the social psychologist Henri Tajfel's (1982) theory of social identity. Tajfel's maintains that one's social identity strongly influences self-perception and consequently should be the central locus of evaluation. The strength and weakness of the self is largely determined from our status with our reference groups and how we assess out-group members. When ethnicity and race form the belief of an in-group, then self-identity will be correspondingly influenced.

One's distinctive ethnic characteristics, however, can be restrictive as one may reject external judgments and opinions of their own ethnic group and in turn establish their own criterion to challenge and refute those of the dominant out-group. Other responses are possible: individuals might withdraw or choose to dissociate with the referent thereby creating added psychological complications for themselves. Tajfel's social identity theory has generated considerable influence on ethnic identity research; some prefer to carry out the work under the ethnic self-identification rubric.

Ethnic identity is usually contextual and situational because it derives from social negotiations where one declares an ethnic identity and then demonstrates acceptable and acknowledged ethnic group markers to others (Tajfel, 1982). One's ethnic declaration often is open to the scrutiny of others who may validate or invalidate the declaration. Ethnic declarations embody an ethnic consciousness that is closely aligned with the cultural elements of the ethnic group with which they affiliate. The ultimate form of one's ethnic consciousness is the genuine association of one's personal identification with a communal one. Thus, it is logical to assume that a relationship would

exist between personal identity and an outsider's sense of identity where the importance is placed on one's own categories and intention of self-identification. To promote the union between self and other, individuals often will use ethnological speech patterns and gestures to promote the authenticity of their claim.

If outward physical appearances do not mesh with the standard physical criteria or there is the sense that others doubt the identity claim, ethnic actors will tend to exaggerate and give emphasis to mannerisms and speech idiosyncrasies known to be particular and specific to the reference group. This ritual or stylistic emphasis frequently occurs, too, when ethnic group members meet or gather in geographic areas that differ from their homelands or communities of common origin. The distinctive ritual is a prime example of situational ethnicity and situated ethnic identity (Tajfel, 1982).

At an individual or societal level one may rely on labels to describe their ethnic affiliation and subsequently their identity. Labels assist in classifying and naming people. Thus, ethnic labeling has a socio-political value and function, especially for census and demographic studies. At a superficial level, where generalizations about distinct cultural orientations are not used, ethnic labels serve a useful function.

However, the use of a label is a small part of the identity process, as one is likely to expand the labeling to include other identifiers such as natal background, acculturation status, ego-involvement, and attitudes toward own and other groups; behavioural preferences such as language usage, friendship affiliations, music and food preferences, and participation in cultural and

religious activities may be included (Trimble, 2000). As French Jews are both an ethnicity and a religious group, their identities are multiple and ever-changing, containing elements of religiosity, a national identity, and also a strong religious component, combining all these elements.

4.4 Self-Identification

Within all the interviews in this project, all participants agreed that in France, they considered themselves to be both Jewish and French at the same time. As one participant noted : “En France, j’étais juive, et français en même temps ” (Interview with PF3). In the same light, PF2 noted, “En France, c’était tellement facile d’être juive et française, l’un n’est pas capable d’exister sans l’autre, ça n’a pas changé lors de mon immigration aussi. Je suis française dont la nourriture que je mange, dans la façon que je m’habille, dans le fond de mon cœur” (Interview with PF2). In this respect, all participants actively maintained a “French” and “Jewish” sense of self, even after their immigration to Montréal, where this national identity became even more pronounced. They defined themselves as always “French” (from France), separating them from a Franco- Québécois identity. The existence of these multiple identities within the host country also introduces the idea that French Jews in Montréal maintain multiple identities relating to the country of origin, the culture of origin, and also the religious aspects.

4.5 A Common Culture

Many Jews identify culturally as well as religiously or ethnically, and the Jewish culture was deemed to be very important to all participants, especially the Sephardic culture. All participants

felt that their Sephardic Jewish culture was an important aspect of their identities. As PF4 commented:

The customs that we hold onto, we don't hold onto them for only religious reasons, we hold onto them for cultural reasons, like keeping... having Friday night dinner and lighting the menorah, Hanukkah and those kinds of traditions... like celebrating those different types of holidays. They're not done only for religious reasons. In our home, they're done also for cultural reasons.

PM5 commented:

Our belief was always that... every Friday night in our family we would... be home and... you know, it was part and parcel of it; the lighting of the candle, the breaking of the bread, and then sitting down and discussing our weeks. But, I mean, Friday night was very important to us. And we still do it when, as a focus... it helps in our daily lives, knowing who we are as Jews.

Although there are many features of common culture in the Jewish community, language was further commented upon as another indicator of Jewish identity.

4.6 Language, Immigration, and French Jewish Identity

The role of language in identity is far from unambiguous (Liebkind 1989). Language represents a basic mode of collective identification, and can serve to tie members to the greater community (Shaffir 1993). For French Jews, the language tie, like identity, is somewhat more complicated. Hebrew might be a common language, but it is used mostly in the context of prayer and worship. Even though many of the participants were not completely fluent in Hebrew, many felt that it was

important for their children to learn the language to some degree, and that this played a central role in their Jewish identity. But also important to these Jews, who are predominantly Sephardic, is the use of the Ladino language, used often in conjunction with Hebrew in prayers and services (Birnbaum, 2000).

Also important were their ties to the French language, and French culture, because of their national ties to France. The fact that Montréal is francophone played a huge role in their decision to migrate to Québec. As identified by Isajiw (1974; 1997), Breton (1991), and Isajiw, Sev'er, and Driedger (1993), ethnic identity is both a situational and varying structure comprised of both subjective and objective dimensions.

The process by which French Jews establish subjective ties to one or more ethnic, cultural, and/or religious communities, and their corresponding shared cultural universe(s) (the subjective aspect of identity), are multiple as are the processes of socio-cultural integration where these same individuals become socially and culturally competent actors within one or more of the communities they identify with (Giddens, 1991; Breton, 1991). In this way, all participants agreed that the reason that they chose Montréal as a destination was not only due to a strong Jewish community, but also because of its history as a leading Francophone city.

As one participant noted “I was not able to speak Hebrew, not were my children, so Israel was out. Though I cannot stand the winter, we chose Montréal because people speak French here” (Transcript of Interview with PM5). This establishes an interesting connection to cultural and ethnic identities of these participants. Another participant stated “On a choisi Montréal car il y a des juifs ici, c’est Francophone et tout le monde vit en paix. Les enfants ont aimé Montréal et sont

pour eux qu'on a décidé d'immigrer" (Transcript of Interview with PM2). Still another commented: "Oui, j'ai choisi de venir à Montréal car tout le monde m'a dit qu'on vit bien ici en parlant français et qu'on peut aussi être juif facilement ici" (Transcript of Interview with PF5).

Language provides a way of marking out ethnic boundaries (Alba 1990), with the central linguistic element of French Jewish identity being comprised of classical ethnic languages, such as Hebrew, Ladino, and French (Weinfeld 2001; Birnbaum, 2000). All participants noted that they were not completely fluent in Hebrew or Ladino, yet identified these languages as "...the languages of the Jewish people" (Interview with PM3). In the purpose of this identity marking, however, fluency in the language may not be necessary, as was noted with Hebrew. It is enough for words and phrases from a mother tongue that "can remind others of a shared ethnic background" (Alba, 1990: 85), as Hebrew is frequently used in prayers, and services.

The participants' ability to speak French also helped to facilitate the integration process as "... we already spoke French, and this made things so much easier on so many levels (Transcript of Interview with PF1). In this respect, another participant noted "le fait que j'ai parlé français m'a aidé dans la société québécoise, mais pas dans la communauté juive qui est majoritairement anglophone" (Transcript of Interview with PM2). This suggests that the linguistic element played a role in the participants', decision to immigrate.

The multiple identities of French Jews in Montréal are also more pronounced on a national level, where all participants felt more "French" in Montréal, than they ever did in France. As one participant noted "...ici à Montréal, je me sens plus français que jamais. C'est drôle car en France, je ne me suis pas sentie française, pas du tout, mais ici à Montréal je me sens plus française que

jamais” (Transcript of interview with PF4). Similarly, another participant noted “En France, j’étais juive, et ici je suis française, et je me sens française... plus française que jamais, avec les juifs et aussi avec les Québécois” (Transcript from Interview with PF4). These statements outline the common theme voiced by all interview subjects, that while all participants felt too Jewish in France, and not French, after their immigration, they all felt more French than before their immigration, making their identities multiple and changing, depending on their biographies, or life circumstances (Giddens, 1991). In this respect, as voiced by the quotes above, the identity networks of French Jews in Montréal are multiple and complex at the same time, as they not only share a common language of French with the French, but the Jewish community is of an Anglophone majority. This means that their relationships and ethnic ties are complex with their migration and integration in Montréal (Fortin, 2002, Meintel and Fortin, 2002).

Danielle Juteau (1999) reminds us that minority groups’ external boundaries are always negotiated in relation to the majority group’s own self-definitions. But the language of their identity assertion process tends to echo the language in which the majority group’s own identity struggles and debates are encoded. As Jews from France in Montréal are French speaking, their migration and integration processes may not only occur within the Jewish community of Montréal, but also externally, within the larger French Canadian community, and other French speaking Jewish communities (Fortin, 2002, Meintel and Fortin, 2002). Not only is it then normal for all participants to retain their former identities in Montréal, but it is expected for them to retain this important sense of self from their former countries, as even if they share a common language in Montréal, their experiences as Jews in France differ remarkably from other Francophone Jews in Montréal, and other Francophone immigrants in Montréal (Fortin, 2002).

4.7 “Outsiders Within”

Collins’s (1991:222) “outsider within” conceptualization of power helps to explain the complexity of French Jewish identity and integration in Montréal. Although Montréal is francophone, these new immigrants are entering a primarily Anglophone, heavily Ashkenazy community. As the majority of these immigrants are Sephardic Jews, they are entering a new dominant discourse and society, a discourse whose construction has been dominated by an already established Ashkenazy and not Sephardic community. They are located as outsiders in a largely Anglophone Jewish community by their accent, cultural beliefs, and a misapprehension of their socioeconomic status. In this way, all participants cited having experienced some form of discrimination from the Montréal Jewish community through their use of community services, as they were French speaking, something that they never expected.

As the majority of Jews in France are Sephardim, and given the history between the Ashkenazy, and Sephardim communities in Montréal (Weinfeld, 2001), it may not be surprising that such tensions still exist. As one participant communicated “le fait que je ne suis pas russe ou argentinien a fait que la communauté s'enfoute de moi” (Transcript of interview with PM2 3). Another participant noted “...oui, on s’est débrouillé tout seul ici. JIAS ne nous a pas donné grand chose et JEM était pire” (Interview with PF2). All participants communicated after their interviews that, while on the surface the Montréal Jewish community seemed very welcoming, the reality was a completely different story.

As well, as Sephardic Jews they also found it difficult to integrate within the already established Sephardic community of Montréal. They frequently made this separation, citing the established community to be too "...old fashioned" (Interview with PM4) or "...practicing an out of date Judaism" (Interview with PF2). Also adding to this notion of outsiders is the idea that French Jews are outsiders within the Quebecois society, because of their French origins. Whether they pursue the creation of alternatives to the dominant discourse of Judaism and a Francophone identity and whether it is within the community or by the establishment of their own institutions is a deeper question about development of a self-developed consciousness and the possibility of further dialogue and coalition with others (Collins, 1991: 222).

In the case of French Jews in Montréal, as they felt abandoned by the Jewish community of Montréal, this led to the establishment of their own support group entitled "Frequence France". While these diverging ethnic and cultural identities are in constant movement within the lives of French Jews in Montréal, another important aspect of their identity is their conceptualization of religiosity which will be covered in the next section.

4.8 Religiosity and French Jews in Montréal

Johnson (2000:278) defines religiosity as "the quality of being religious." As such, the devoutness or "religiousness," being a characteristic or phenomenon in the lives of others, makes a direct impact on our identities, especially for French Jews who consider themselves both a religious and ethnic group. Religiosity is a multi-faceted concept with many implications, which makes

describing religion or religiosity extremely difficult and often subjective. For some, being religious means simply attending church, for others it includes specific beliefs and practices such as prayer, rituals, and accepting certain values and morals.

This ambiguity makes operationalizing religiosity difficult, even in this study. As a result, many narrowly define religiosity, or commitment to religion simply as church, mosque, or synagogue attendance. The most recent attempt to square the circle can be found in the work of Hervieu-Léger (1993), who endeavors to integrate the best of both emphases through the concept of religious memory. The specificity of religiosity lies in a particular mode of believing, in which the idea of a chain of memory is crucial.

Religiosity becomes therefore “the ideological, symbolic and social device by which the individual and collective awareness of belonging to a particular lineage of believers is created, maintained, developed and controlled” (Davie 1996:110). The aim is to include more than the beliefs and practices of universally acknowledged world faiths but to avoid widening the agenda so far that it is difficult to distinguish the specifically religious from any other meaning system. In Europe, the discussion relating to dimensions of religiosity takes a different form. The principal feature of the late twentieth century appears to be the persistence of the softer indicators of religious life (that is, those concerned with feelings, experience, and the more luminous religious beliefs) alongside the undeniable and at times dramatic drop in the hard indicators (those that measure religious orthodoxy, ritual participation, and institutional attachment). These are the findings of the European Values Study, a source of empirical information for a growing number of societies (Barker et al., 1992).

Currently, social scientists are in general agreement that religious commitment varies across all religions, and that religious commitment may manifest itself in different ways within the same religious tradition. Current research attempts are now being made to come to terms with belief, practice, and self-perception in determining the relative effect of “religiosity” on behavioural and attitudinal measures. In the case of French Jews in Montréal, this broad, all encompassing notion of religiosity comprising all the qualities listed above provides an excellent way by which to analyze their notion of Judaism, Jewish identity, and Jewish practice.

All participants agreed that their Jewish identities had been strengthened by their immigration to Montréal. This made them not only attend services more frequently, but also included their families growing closer as a result of their immigration, but this also was a result of why they initially picked Montréal as an immigration destination. All participants expressed that their Jewishness, or Jewish identity was in danger if they had stayed in France. As well, all participants experienced a higher level of religiosity, and “Jewishness” in Montréal, compared with their previous “Jewishness” in France. As Jewish identity can be cultural, ethnic, and religious in nature (Birnbaum, 2000; Pinto, 2003; Weinfeld, 2001), then the complex identity of French Jewish immigrants to Montréal is an embodiment of all those elements and more.

One participant noted “C’est plus facile d’être juif ici, en France on est agressé, attaqué, ici on porte le kippah, le tefillin, personne ne nous dérange pas” (Transcript from interview PM3). In this regard, all participants agreed that Canada’s reputation as a peaceful society also contributed to their decision to emigrate here. “Ici au Canada, on est en paix, tout le monde vit bien chez eux, on

est en sécurité, donc on peut pratiquer plus facilement” (Transcript from interview PF1). All participants attended synagogue more frequently, kept kosher, and agreed that they were far more religious in Montréal than in France; this was largely due to participants’ overall feelings of safety and security.

A sense of “Jewishness” was also important and noted throughout each interview. When asked what being Jewish meant to them, each participant responded similarly citing not only the importance of respecting the historical traditions and past of Judaism, but also the future, and the promise of Israel. As one participant noted, “Pour moi être juive signifie partager son enthousiasme et la fierté d’être juive, d’accomplir les commandements, les valeurs juives sont contagieux et aider profondément votre enfant à intégrer ses sentiments” (Interview with PF1). Another participant went on to add, “Je demeure juif parce que mes parents l’étaient. Réponse facile, mais, en même temps si compliquée... si un inconscient ose me traiter de sale Juif, je suis capable du pire car, à travers cette insulte, c’est tout mon passé, toute la lignée qui m’a précédée, connue ou inconnue, qu’il invective. Et les autres, tous mes frères depuis la nuit des temps” (Interview with PM3).

The last quote emphasizes another important aspect of Judaism, the myths of common origin. The myths of common origin are situated within the doctrine of Judaism. It is the idea that the Jews were a chosen people, elected by God to serve a distinct purpose (Shapiro, 1997). Although few Jewish people outside orthodoxy believe this, there is still a sense of “tribalism” within Jewish identity. Tribalism can be seen as the feeling of belonging to a small, intimate community with recognizable members (Weinfeld, 2001:22). Many of the participants felt that they could recognize

other Jewish people on sight. One participant used a code word for the identification, “FEUJ”, verlan for juif.

4.9 Common Historical Memories

Historically, Jews were markedly, even aggressively different, not only in matters of their dress, but in religion and language (Schlossberger and Hecker 1998), and these differences led to them being the targets of persecution. Participants in this study often made reference to the severe persecution that the Jewish community has faced over the centuries, as these events are part of their historical consciousness. PM2 made reference to the fact that these anti-Semitic events, along with the Holocaust were just simply the most recent events in a long history of persecution: “The Holocaust, it happened, that kind of persecution has happened to us so many times in history; the Spanish Inquisition, the Crusades... it's a common occurrence in Jewish history. This is our most recent experience of it” (Transcript of Interview with PM2).

Sharing common historical memories is also an important aspect of what constitutes Jewish identity. The kinds of stories children hear, the kinds of historical heroes they learn to identify with, are all important aspects of being a part of a minority group (Webber 1997). The historical consciousness of a group is nurtured in folk tales, monuments, and symposiums about different and more ominous times. Perhaps more importantly, the myths of the community are conveyed to all children by parents who see themselves as members in that community (Ostow 1995). In the end, historic group myths end up being congruent with individual myths. In many ways, the specific historical memories of Jewish people are monumental, and great importance is placed on teaching younger generations of past persecution. Jewish prayers command that they remember the tragic

episodes and victims of the past (Rosenman and Handelsman 1990). Many participants felt that Jewish history played an important part in their individuality and as Jews who exist within the Jewish community.

This ability to recognize other Jewish people is perhaps more than just visual cues, but language cues as well (e.g., content, inflection, and kinesics), referred to by one participant as “Jewdar” (Interview with PF4). Connected to this sense of tribalism is the sense of solidarity. This sense came out quite strongly in a “the world versus us” kind of framework. The participants also discussed aspects of comfort and how being with other Jewish people at times felt more “natural” than with non-Jewish people. One participant stated to this effect: “Avec les Juifs français on se sent chez nous, on se comprend bien” (Interview with PM2).

The idea that the world is against Jewish people came up throughout the course of the interviews with various levels of intensity, especially when citing anti-Semitic events when participants were victims of anti-Semitic events. There was a prevalent idea held by participants that the French and also North African Muslim population of France were highly anti-Semitic. This feeling is not imaginary, given the prevalence of anti-Semitism throughout France. As a consequence there was a strong feeling of solidarity amongst the participants that originates from the feeling of “Jewish people versus everyone else” (Interview with PF2).

4.10 Anti-Semitism in France: An Attack on Jews of the Republic

The anti-Semitism present in France was the main reason provided by all participants as the primary reason for leaving France. One participant stated in this regard, “L'antisémitisme n'a jamais disparu en France. Il est plus élaboré et plus discret à ce jour ... Il renvoie à une idéologie

bien identifiée, au départ celle de l'extrême droite et gauche, se déclinant ensuite sous de multiples formes en transcendant l'ensemble des courants politiques français” (Interview with PF4).

Another participant remarked on these community tensions by stating, “ En France le nouvel antisémitisme est principalement alimenté par l'immigration magrébine et africaine. Mais personne n'ose le dire ou regarder les chiffres qui dérangent les droites de la gauche...” (Transcript from interview with PM2).

In order to assess this current situation, all participants pointed to the inability of the French government, especially the Left, to deal with immigration-related issues, leading to a deterioration that paved the way for the extreme right-wing. Arab Muslims in France are victims of a very difficult absorption process (Birnbaum, 2000; Pinto, 2003).

This difficulty stems from a lack of economic perspective in the long run and from the lack of means to implement a decent absorption policy for these immigrants. Can these immigrants be held responsible for the attacks they have launched against the Jewish community of France? This is question which no one has yet dared to answer according to both participants and scholars, because of the fears arising from all these violent attacks (Birnbaum, 2000, Pinto, 2003).

In searching for the causes of this anti-Semitism, all participants pointed to the extreme left and right-wing political groups in France who served as hothouses in the Sixties and Seventies for today's leading writers in the French media (Birnbaum, 2000; 1996). In this regard, Birnbaum (2000:112) cites Pascal Boniface, a French academic and an advisor to the Socialist Party, who made the Socialist leaders aware of French Political Arithmetic 101: “political decisions should be

made according to simple accountancy rules; Arab votes outnumber Jewish votes by ten to one in France”.

All participants also pointed to the media for being responsible for the “vilification” of Israel and Jewish politics, resulting in increased attacks during the Intifada period. One participant stated in this regard : “Les medias français sont le pire. Les juifs sont tous les vilains, nous sommes tous des Nazis, les sionistes” (Transcript from interview PF4). As stated above in the chapter focusing on Anti-Semitism, the French media contributed largely to the deterioration of the image of Israel in the eye of the French public opinion (Birnbaum, 2000, Musicaint, 2003). In this regard, the young people of North African origin in France are in a schizophrenic psychological state. Even though they were born in France, they do not know what their identity is: Algerian or French, religious or secular. The French government has given carte blanche to extremist imams to practice their extreme form of Islam within these lawless areas into which police are not allowed to go into. What these North African youth see on television is how the Palestinians are suffering; they immediately identify with them and see them as a role model. What is happening to the Jews in France these days is definitely a problem of French society, and of the Islamist extremists, which have been allowed carte blanche in France. The attacks on Jews during the past years are indicative of a profound crisis between France and two of its major communities: the Muslims and the Jews (Musicaint, 2003).

Most of the anger among the descendants of Muslim immigrants has exploded in the peripheral cities and the poor neighborhoods throughout the country that are home to millions of immigrants. It is an open secret that incautious entry into Muslim neighborhoods could end in a violent incident

(Musicaint, 2003). Even the police hesitate to enter these neighborhoods (Musicaint, 2003). It has only been with the recent election of Nicolas Sarkozy that the police have received any help at all. “Ils (les gauchistes et les arabes) disent que Sarkozy est contre les arabes. Moi, je vous dis non, Sarkozy est pour la loi et pour la France. Il est le seul qui a aidé la police” (Transcript of Interview with PM2).

All participants arrived between the years of 2003-2007, marking these years at the height of the immigration of Jews from France to Montréal as the years where the majority of bombings and attacks are occurring. This immigration of Jews, so radically different from other current Jewish immigrants to Montréal, given not only their high socio-economic status in France, but also the fact that they are Jews fleeing a Westernized country, presents an interesting addition to the established Anglophone Montréal Jewish community (Interview with Frederic Saadoun, June 20, 2006). In this way, many participants arrived in Montréal, “not expecting handouts from the Jewish community, but more information, as to how to obtain employment, obtain education equivalencies, find a home” (Transcript from Interview with PM2). These events in France for the past 10 years “...have been sounding the alarm which the world has continued to ignore, that of history repeating itself, and of the expulsion of Jews from France” (Transcript from Interview with PM3). All participants stated that the main reason why they immigrated was because of the high rates of anti-Semitic attacks against Jews in France. One participant states “We left because of our children, the attacks are so dangerous, stone throwing, cries of sal juif or sal juive. Why should we live in fear for being Jewish? We came not for us, but for our children...” (Interview with PF3). Another participant went on to explain “Why should we be afraid to be Jews in our own country?

We came because we cannot be Jewish in France any more. France has abandoned us...’’

(Interview with PF4).

All participants expressed that they had left France because of these anti-Semitic attacks and because of the general lack of security present in the country. They had a general sense of “abandonment”, because of the lack of support given by the French authorities in denouncing the anti-Semitic attacks against the Jews. As explained by one participant “...les seuls pays qui restent pour les Juifs sont le Canada, les Etats Unis, et l’Israël’’ (Interview with PM4). The draw of the established Jewish community in Montréal was another main reason that led all participants to immigrate. As one stated, “The fact that there was such a large community here of Jews, that there were so many schools, synagogues and people lived in peace, that was why we came’’ (Interview with PM2). Another participant stated, “To feel safe, that was what we wanted. We could not go to Israel with the children, and the economic and success of the Jewish community of Montréal, as well as all the Jewish schools and large community, was what also helped us to come here’’ (Interview with PF3).

The increasing identification by French Jews with Israel, especially since the outbreak of the Intifada, has made near-enemies of allies (Birnbaum, 2000; Pinto, 2003). Before they became established, the largely Sephardic Jewish immigrants lived in harmony with their Arab neighbors in the suburbs. They had immigrated to France from the same North African countries, they spoke the same language, they experienced together the pangs of uprooting to a new country, and imported common customs and values from the lands of their birth (Birnbaum, 2000).

4.11 Israel: A Common Homeland

The place of Israel within Jewish identity has been crucially important over the last fifty years (Charme 1996). Being a Jew implies a commitment to the fate and fortune of Israel and to a community of like-minded souls (Horowitz 1998). Cohen's (1983) research revealed that four-fifths of the Jewish people surveyed felt that the destruction of Israel would be one of the greatest tragedies of their lives. Among Jews Israel is considered, in both large and small communities, to be their historic homeland, and its existence both sustains Jewish identity and contributes to the communities' social cohesion (Arnold 1981; Vigod, 1984; Medjuck, 1993: 371-372; Taras and Weinfeld, 1993). All participants felt special ties to Israel. For example PF2 felt that Israel was so crucial that she could not imagine any Jewish person not feeling strongly toward it: "I do not think if you talk to anyone who identifies themselves as a French Jew, and has some sort of traditions and practices in their own mind, whatever they want to do, and you ask them about Israel, I would be very shocked to find out if people do not feel the same way. It's our homeland. "

The attachment to "Eretz Israel" (our homeland Israel) is strong wherever Jewish people may find themselves and as such, is also an important aspect of Jewish identity and which "...must be defended at all costs" (Interview with PM1), according to all participants. From a people who have always wandered, Israel for the Jews represents a sacred place, a homeland that is finally theirs (Weinfeld, 2001). According to Birnbaum (2000:125), this is what has led to many problems within France, as French Jews are highly Zionist, and this contributes to a large part of their identity. But as strong as the attachment is to Israel, so too is the attachment mentioned to the

Holocaust or Shoah, and also to the memory of the expulsion of Jews from the North African countries

4.12 The Holocaust and Expulsion of Jews from North Africa in French Jewish Identity

The Holocaust is the most important historical event for world Jewry in the twentieth century. Holocaust testimonies are invested with a sacred aura, and its awareness defines what it means to be Jewish. Weinfeld suggests that while few North American Jews were survivors in the literal sense, “the notion that every Jew living in the post-Holocaust age was a kind of survivor gained more and more acceptance” (Weinfeld, 2001: 40). The Holocaust has paramount significance for Jewish populations around the world. For many Jews there is a sense of guilt and a sense that “one must live for the six million, that nothing one does is for oneself alone” (Schlossberger and Hecker 1998: 133).

This event brackets the 1940s and defines Jewish parameters in the current century. Awareness of the Holocaust has been a central pillar in Jewish identity in the last generation, and perhaps even in the generations to follow (Charme, 1996). PF5 describes this to be the case, “I don't know if I can imagine (being Jewish) without it... the Holocaust and the expulsion of Jews from North Africa are really central to Jewish identity in France. They are the things that stop us from melting away” (Individual interview with PF5).

The Holocaust is the most powerful collective historical memory that modern Jewish people share. Holocaust studies in Canada have been prevalent (Draper and Menkis 1996) and much recent sociological research has examined survivors and children of survivors in terms of knowledge and political socialization and inter-generational effects (Giberovitch, 1994; Weinfeld and Sigal, 1986;

Weinfeld, 1986; Bar-On et al., 1998). The Holocaust is a central cultural theme of Jewish life in the Diaspora including Canada (Weinfeld, 2001: 212-18) and additionally can be conceptualized as traumatic in a collective sense.

Recent theorizing by Eyerman on the formation of African-American identity has focused on the notion of cultural trauma. For Eyerman cultural trauma, as opposed to psychological or physical trauma, involves an experience of great emotional anguish that results in a tearing of a people's social fabric (2001:2). In this context the Holocaust was a form of cultural trauma. Thus, analogous to slavery for African Americans, it can be argued that the event of the Holocaust contributes to the formation of Jewish identity today. As the majority of French Jews are Sephardic, then their cultural trauma could be two fold as in the case of most participants, their parents and families were also expelled from North Africa during the 1960s-1970s for being Jewish. The cultural trauma of the Holocaust and the memories of terror of fleeing Algeria, Morocco or Tunisia, serve as a collective memory, and remembering this contributes to the grounding of a Jewish sense of identity. Hence the role of collective memory (including its generational aspects) is critical for the manifestation of cultural trauma.

Although not all Jews are survivors of the Holocaust in the literal sense, especially for French Jews there is the notion that every Jew living in the post-Holocaust age is a kind of survivor through its collective memory as being cultural trauma (Birnbaum, 2000). One participant, (PM3) made a comment that what bound Jewish people together was the fact that they "...went through a lot, and all survived it." Younger generation Jews know more about the Holocaust than they do any other period in Jewish history. One participant spoke of the connection he felt to this memory and of the pain he feels still when he hears testimonies:

I think it's when I went to an event at my children's school, and they had a Holocaust victim there talking about it, I felt that I connected more with the story that they're telling... I've gone to talks put on by the Holocaust survivors, and I feel the pain, and how lucky I am to be here because of them (Interview with PM2).

The collective memory of the Holocaust showed itself to be a powerful force among the participants interviewed. Almost all of the participants felt that it was their duty, and the community's duty, to ensure that the memory of the Holocaust was kept alive. Another participant added:

You know, you can't... especially the past, you can't forget the past. Like, we can't let that happen. You can't let the Holocaust be forgotten, out of people's memories too long...or our expulsion from North Africa, the killing that went on and the genocide of the Jews in North Africa. We can never forget... (Interview with PF3).

The collective historical memories of the Jewish people are powerful ones, and these memories seemed to, on some level, impact the actions and feelings of the participants in their everyday experiences. These quotes suggest that being Jewish embodies more than just synagogue attendance for all participants. The religiosity or religious identity was of paramount importance for French Jews inheritors of not only the history of the Shoah, the genocide against Jews in North Africa, but also a complex history of anti-Semitism within France. For all participants, the restrictions by which they were bound in France, in regards to practicing and being Jewish, and also the attacks and high rates of anti-Semitism against Jews, led to their immigration to Montréal. As noted above the pull of the Montréal Jewish community was an important factor in deciding to

leave France. As well, the aspect of Montréal being a francophone city also drew participants to immigrate there.

All these components present the multiplicity of Jewish identity encompassing ethnic, cultural, and religious factors that are the elements that seemed to comprise the identity of these participants.

The danger posed in France to this identity or “Jewishness” to both participants and their children by the high rates of Anti-Semitism, was the one of the other main reasons cited by participants to immigrate to Montréal.

Conclusion

This thesis contextualizes French Jews and French Jewish identity, going well beyond the traditional measures of Jewish identity. This provides an alternative to the debate over the conflicting labels of Jews as being an ethnic versus a religious versus a cultural group. In using these participants as an example, it is clear that French Jews have difficulty in using any single term to define themselves. By using different theories of identity and religiosity as a conceptual framework for French Jews, the special circumstances of their history and multiple experiences of persecution can be incorporated into their notion of Jewish identity. Past common history and collective memory have played enormous roles in defining this modern Jewish community.

Thus, the incorporation of the various aspects of Jewish culture, religion, history, and territory into French Jewish identity allows for a comprehensive and multidimensional understanding of the factors that comprise this modern “Jewishness”. This creates a framework for those who are not Jewish to gain a greater comprehension of what it means to be Jewish and of the issues and struggles facing Jews today.

The main objectives that guided this thesis were: to explore the identity of Jews from France who have immigrated to Montréal since 1999; to explore the relationship between this diverse Jewish identity, the reasons for immigration, and the relationship of Anti-Semitism in France as a reason for immigration; and lastly to examine the changes in all forms of this ethnic and religious identity that may have occurred as a result of the immigration and integration process in Montréal. I have posited that Jewish identity and a new form of Anti-Semitism do indeed play a role in the decision

of Jews from France to immigrate to Québec and that as a result their immigration, their identities were strengthened, or changed in positive ways.

While my past chapters have presented not only the historical and current situations of the Jewish communities in both France, and Montréal, providing an introduction to these two communities, I have also presented an introduction to the complex identity of Jews in France, as well as Jewish identity and the rise of a New Anti-Semitism. I have in addition incorporated other aspects of theories of identity, religiosity, and ethnic communities in Québec.

In order to consider the theoretical contributions and implications of the present research in relation to the main research objectives, it is also important to consider the exploratory nature of this topic. In relation to the investigation of Jewish identity among Jews in France, we can indeed assert that French Jews articulate a Jewish identity different from that of other Jews in Montréal because of their historical and national identity constructions. The fluctuations of these identities, combined with a strong sense of religiosity, affirm that the variables of ethnic identity and religiosity are blended and combined, along with a national and linguistic component, in the case of French Jews who have immigrated to Montréal.

The citing by all participants of anti-Semitic attacks and/or the danger to a Jewish identity as the primary reasons for immigration establishes within this study that current trends of Anti-Semitism in France, and the violent attacks within the French Jewish community have indeed played a crucial role in the decision to migrate. The establishment of a more religious Jewish identity, and the changes in this religious identity were also established by all participants. Past theoretical

contributions of Jewish identity have limited it to five or six components, which has contributed to a closed conceptualization of Jewish identity. This demonstrates, however, that it is only in applying the components of Jewish identity and combining them with other identity markers and theories of ethnicity and religiosity, that Jewish identity be evaluated and studied.

The difficulty of documenting and conceptualizing the new and radical form of anti-Semitism attacking Jews in France has also been established within this thesis. Current measures of anti-Semitism fail to encompass the severity and violence of this new form. It is only through more research that better measures can be established in order to document and perhaps explain this dangerous phenomenon.

My research findings are based on 10 semi-structured qualitative interviews with five men and five women who emigrated from France to Montréal. All respondents had emigrated from France to Montréal in the past five years, and given the exploratory nature of this study, many interesting results were established in the analysis, worthy of further consideration in future research. I strongly believe that additional attention and research is immediately warranted on the immigration of Jews from France to North America.

Certain factors clearly contribute to the identity of French Jews. Their history of persecution and genocide shows itself to be crucial in any discussion of Jewish identity. The unique history of French Jews was often mentioned by those interviewed as an integral part of Jewish identity and, because of this, many of the participants mentioned the general uncertainty or the acknowledgement that things could change in France for the Jewish people. All participants felt

historical consciousness and collective memory played a large part in their Jewish identification. It is for this reason that common historical and collective memories and a common homeland are essential components of any examination of Jewish identity. In addition to these characteristics, there are other characteristics that the participants seemed to share. There are indeed myths of common descent, as several participants felt that they could identify other “members of the tribe” (Weinfeld, 2001). The idea of “tribalness” was something that the participants felt strongly about, and many really believed that they could identify other Jewish people on sight. In addition, there is the common binding factor of language. Hebrew and Ladino are liturgical languages, and all Sephardic Jew use them while reciting prayers or during certain ceremonies (Weinfeld, 2001).

The participants I spoke to all suggested that attacks against Jews in France would not end any time soon. Future research investigating the migration of Jews from France to Israel, and North America should be completed in order to fully assess the situation leading to the immigration of these particular Jews. While there are overall sample limitations in my study, as well as other theoretical limitations, this research does suggest a relationship between Jewish immigration from France, Jewish identity, and a New Anti-Semitism which is very alarming. While it may be possible to suggest that the immigration of French Jews to Montréal may be a limited phenomenon, the comments and conversations that took place throughout these interviews suggest that this trend is just beginning, and will continue for years to come. Will France continue to lose more of its Jews through immigration because of the rising tide of radical Islam and violent anti-Semitic attacks?

Only time will tell, but as history is prone to repeat itself, time and time again, many Jews from France seem unwilling to wait and see, while putting their own security at risk. While a danger to Jewish identity had once seemed to have a great influence on the decision of French Jews to immigrate to France, it may also serve as an alarm for the danger of what may come to Jews in France, and elsewhere.

Bibliography

Akeroyd, A. V. (1984). "Ethics in relation to informants, the profession and governments". In R. F. Ellen (Ed.) *Ethnographic Research: A Guide to General Conduct* (pp. 133–154). London: Academic Press.

Alba, R.D. (1990). *Ethnic Identity: Transformation of White America*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Arnold, A. (1981). "The Mystique of Western Jewry." In *The Canadian Jewish Mosaic in Canada*, ed. M. Weinfeld, W. Shaffir, and I. Cotler, 259-72. Toronto: John Wiley.

Barker, D.; L. Halman; and A. Vloet. (1992). *The European values study 1981–1990*. Aberdeen: Gordon Cook Foundation.

Bar-On, D., J. Eland, R. Kleber, R. Kxell, Y. Moore, A. Sagi, E. Soriano, P. Suedfeld, P. van der Velden, and M. van Ijzendoorn. (1998). "Multigenerational Perspectives on Coping with the Holocaust Experience: An Attachment Perspective for Understanding the Developmental Sequel of Trauma Across Generations." *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 22 (2): 315-38.

Barth, F. (1969). *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture difference*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co.

Bauer, Y. (2003). "Problems of Contemporary Antisemitism", Bauer Lecture online: <http://humwww.ucsc.edu/jewishstudies/docs/YYBauerLecture.pdf>.

- Bauman, Z. (1993). *Postmodern Ethics*. London: Blackwell
- Bénédicte, S. and Dreyfus, J. (2004). *Muslim and Jews in France: Communal Conflict in a Secular State*. The Brookings Institute: Washington, DC.
- Benbassa, E. (1999). *The Jews of France : a history from antiquity to the present*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Birnbaum, P. (1996). *The Jews of the Republic : a political history of state Jews in France from Gambetta to Vichy*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Birnbaum, P. (2000). *Jewish Destinies: Citizen, State, and Community in Modern France*. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Breton, R. (1991). *The Governance of Ethnic Communities: Political Structures and Processes in Canada*. Toronto: Greenwood Press.
- Callaway, H. (1992). Ethnography and experience: gender implications in fieldwork and texts. In J. Okely & H. Callaway (eds), *Anthropology and autobiography* (pp. 29–49). New York: Routledge.
- Charme, S.Z. (1996). "The Varieties of Modern and Post-Modern Jewish Identity." *Religious Studies Review*, 22: 215-22.
- Cheung, Y. W. (1993). "Approaches to ethnicity: Clearing roadblocks in the study of ethnicity and substance abuse". *International Journal of Addictions*, 28 (12): 1209-1226.

Clifford, J., & Marcus, G. (Eds.). (1986). *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Clough, P. T. (1992). *The end(s) of ethnography: From realism to social criticism*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Collins, P. H. (1991). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. New York: Routledge.

CRIF-Rapport sur l'Antisémitisme en France (2006). Service de la Protection de la Communauté Juive en France (CRIF).

Crouch, M. and Manderson, L. (1993). *New Motherhood: Personal and Cultural Transitions in the 1980s*. Yverton, Switzerland: Gordon and Breach .

Davie, G. (1996). "Croire sans appartenir: le cas britannique", in G. Davie and D. Hervieu-Léger (eds) *Identités religieuses en Europe*. Paris: Editions de la Découverte.

Davies, C. A. (1999). *Reflexive ethnography: A guide to researching selves and others*. Routledge: New York.

Denzin, N. (2004). "Introduction" (pp. 1-32). in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research (3rd ed.)* N. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (eds). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Draper, P., and R. Menkis. (1996). Eds. "New Perspectives on Canada, the Holocaust and Survivors." *Canadian Jewish Studies*: 4-5.

Dreyfus, J.M. and J. Lawrence. (2002). "Anti-Semitism in France." Online Paper published by the Brookings Institute, Washington DC:

<http://www.brookings.edu/fp/cusss/analysis/dreyfus.pdf>. Consulted May 27, 2005

Eyerman, R. (2001). *Cultural Trauma: Slavery and the Formation of African American Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Field, A. P. and J.M. Morse. (1985). *Nursing Research The Application of Qualitative Approaches*. London: Croom Helm.

Fonow, M. M. & Cook, J. (1991). Back to the future: A look at the second wave of feminist epistemology and methodology. In M. M. Fonow & J. Cook (Eds.), *Beyond methodology: Feminist scholarship as lived research* (pp. 1–15). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Fortin, S. (2002). "Social Ties and Settlement Processes. French and North African Migrants in Montréal", *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études canadiennes ethniques*, XXXIV (3): 76-98.

Giberovitch, M. (1994). "The Contributions of Holocaust Survivors to Montréal Jewish Communal Life." *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études ethniques au Canada*, 26 (1): 74-85.

Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity. Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Polity Press: London.

Gilroy, P. (1997). "Diaspora and the detours of identity". (pp.299-343). In K. Woodward (ed). *Identity and difference*. London: Sage Publications, London.

Gordis D.M. and Y. Ben-Horin. (1991). *Jewish identity in America*. Newton Centre, MA: Wilstein Institute, Hebrew College.

Hall, S. (1997). "Cultural identity and diaspora". (pp.51-59). In K. Woodward (ed). *Identity and difference* London: Sage Publications.

Hertz, R. (1997). "Introduction: Reflexivity and voice". In R. Hertz (Ed.), *Reflexivity and voice* (pp. xii-xviii). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hervieu-Léger, D. (1993). *La Religion pour mémoire*. Paris: Cerf .

Horowitz, I.L. (1998). "Israel and the Diaspora at 50." *Judaism*, 47:131-45

Isajiw, W.W. (1974). "Definitions of Ethnicity." *Ethnicity*, 1:111-124.

Isajiw, W.W. (ed.) .(1977). *Identities: The Impact of Ethnicity on Canadian Society*. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates.

Isajiw, W.W. (1997). *Multiculturalism in North America and Europe*. Toronto; Canadian Scholar's Press.

Isajiw, W. W., A.Sev'er., and L. Driedger. (1993). "Ethnic identity and social mobility: A test of the "drawback model"." *Ethnicity*, 18: 179-98.

Isajiw, W.W. (1999). *Understanding Diversity: Ethnicity and Race in Canadian Society*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing.

Johnson, A.G. (2000). *The Blackwell Dictionary of Sociology*. London: Blackwell.

Jones, W. L. (1979). "The Investigation of Counter-predictive Research Outcomes through the Method of Analytic Induction", in J. A. Martin (ed.) *Counter-predictive Research Outcomes*, (pp. 18-35). Canberra: Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University .

Juteau, D. (1999). *L'ethnicité et ses frontières*. Montréal : Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, Collection Trajectoires sociales.

Kivisto, P., and Nefzger, B. (1993). "Symbolic ethnicity and American Jews: The relationship of ethnic identity to behavior and group affiliation". *Social Science Journal*, 30: 1-12.

Knafl, K. S. and Howard, M. J. (1984). "Interpreting and reporting qualitative research" *Research in Nursing and Health*. 7: 17-24.

Layder, D. (1998). *Sociological Practice: Linking Theory and Social Research*. London: Sage .

Lewis, B. (2006). "The New Anti-Semitism", *American Scholar*, 75 (1): 25-36.

Liebkind, K. (1989). "The Identity of a Minority." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 10 (1): 47-57.

Lipset, S.M. and E. Raab. (1995). *Jews and the New American Scene*. Cambridge, M.A: Harvard University Press.

- Lofland, J., and L. H. Lofland. (1984). *Analyzing social settings: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis*. 2nd edition. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- McCarthy, T. (1994). On the idea of a critical theory and its relation to philosophy. In D. Couzens Hoy and T. McCarthy, *Critical theory* (pp. 7–30). Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- McCall, G.J and J.L. Simmons. (1978). *Identities and interactions: An examination of human associations in everyday life* (revised ed). New York: The Free Press.
- Mead, G.H. (1934). *Mind, Self and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Medjuck, S. (1993). "Jewish Survival in Small Communities in Canada." In *The Jews in Canada*, ed. R. Brym, W. Shaffir, and M. Weinfeld. (pp.363-78). Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Meintel, D. and S. Fortin. (2002). "The New French Fact", *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études canadiennes ethniques*, 34 (3): 1-4.
- Mitchell, J. (2003) "Epistemology of Measurement: the Relevance of its History for Quantification in the Social Sciences", *Social Science Information*, 42 (4): 515-534.
- Mills, C. Wright. (1959). [1976]. *The Sociological Imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Morse, J. (1994) "Emerging from the Data: the Cognitive Processes of Analysis in Cognitive Inquiry", in J. Morse (ed.) *Critical Issues in Qualitative Research*, (pp. 22-43). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Musicaint, H. (2003). "Anti-Semitism in France, A general Assessment". Anti-Defamation League. Retrieved, August 2005: http://www.adl.org/Anti_semitism/as_francee.asp

Oakley, A. (1981). "Interviewing women: A contradiction in terms?" In H. Roberts (Ed.), *Doing feminist research* (pp. 30–61). New York: Routledge.

Ostow, M. (1995). "The Sources and Signs of Jewish Identity." *Israeli Journal of Psychiatry Related Science*, 32 (4): 229-36.

Phillips, M. (2004). "The New Anti-Semitism in Europe" (pp. 251-257). in *Those who Forget the Past: The Question of Anti-Semitism*. Rosenbaum, R.(ed) New York: Random House.

Phinney, J. S. (1990). "Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research." *Psychological Bulletin*, 108: 499-514.

Phinney, J. (2000). "Ethnic identity". In A. E. Kazdin (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of psychology*, volume 3. (pp. 254-259). New York: Oxford University Press.

Phinney, J. (2003). "Ethnic identity and acculturation." In K. Chun, P. B. Organista, and G. Marin (Eds.), *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research* (pp.63-81). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Pinto, D. (2003). "French and German Jewries in the New Europe: Convergent Itineraries?" in *Jewish emancipation reconsidered : the French and German models* , eds. Brenner, M; Caron, V and U.R Kaufmann, Tübingen : Mohr Siebeck.

Pozanski, R. (2001). *Jews in France during World War II*. Waltham, Mass: Brandeis University Press.

Rabinow, P. (1977). *Reflections on fieldwork in Morocco*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Reynolds, P. D. (1979). *Ethical dilemmas and social science research: an analysis of moral issues confronting investigators in research using human participants*. San Francisco; Jossey-Bass.

Robinson, W. S. (1951). "The Logical Structure of Analytic Induction", *American Sociological Review*, 16: 812-818 .

Roethlisberger, F. J. and W. J. Dickson. (1939). *Management and the Worker*. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

Rosenberg, J. (2004). *A Vicious, Anti-Semitic Film Produced by Syria, not Mel Gibson*.
<http://www.nationalreview.com/comment/rosenberg2004052250838.asp>

Rosenman, S. and I. Handelsman. (1990). "The Collective Past, Group Psychology and Personal Narrative: Shaping Jewish Identity by Memoirs of the Holocaust." *Jewish Studies*, 50 (2): 151-70.

Rubin-Dorsky, J. and S.F. Fishkin, (eds). (1996). *People of the Book: Thirty Scholars Reflect on Their Jewish Identity*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Saadoun, F. (2006). Background Interview with Frederic Saadoun, June 20, 2006.

Saadoun, F. (2007) Correspondence and Notes from Second Interview with Frederic Saadoun, July 15, 2007.

Saharso, S. (1989). "Ethnic identity and the paradox of equality". In J. P. Van Oudenhoven and T. M. Willemsen (Eds.), *Ethnic minorities: Social psychological perspectives* (pp. 97-114). Berwyn, PA: Swets North America.

Schlossberger, E.S., and L.L. Hecker. (1998). "Reflections on Jewishness and its Implications for Family Therapy." *American Journal of Family Therapy*, 26 (2):129-47.

Shaffir, W. (1993). "Culture: Introduction." In *The Jews in Canada*, (eds). R. Brym, W. Shaffir, and M. Weinfeld (pp.121-25). Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Silver, I. (1996). "Role Transitions, Objects, and Identity", *Symbolic Interaction*, 19 (1):1-20.

Sollars, W. (1996). *Theories of ethnicity: A classical reader*. New York: New York University Press.

Stryker, S. and P.J. Burke (2000). "The past, present and future of identity theory". *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 63:284-297.

Taguieff, P.A. (2002). *La nouvelle Judéophobie*. Paris: Fayard - Mille et Une Nuits.

Tajfel, H. (1982). *Social identity and intergroup behavior*.

Taras, D., and M. Weinfeld. (1993). "Continuity and Criticism: North American Jews and Israel." In *The Jews in Canada*, (eds). R. Brym, W. Shaffir, and M. Weinfeld. (pp. 293-310). Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Trimble, J. E. (2000). "Social psychological perspectives on changing self-identification among American Indians and Alaska Natives." In R. H. Dana (Ed.), *Handbook of Cross-Cultural and Multicultural Personality Assessment*, (pp. 197-222). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Turner, J. C. (1978). "Social comparison, similarity and in- group favouritism". In H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 235-250). London: Academic Press.

Turner, R. H. (1953). "The Quest for Universals in Sociological Research" , *American Sociological Review*, 18: 604-611 .

Vigod, B. (1984). *The Jews in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association.

Wasserstein, Bernard. (1997). *Vanishing diaspora : the Jews in Europe since 1945*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Webber, J. (1997). "Jews and Judaism in Contemporary Europe: Religion or Ethnic Group? " *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 20 : 257-79.

Weinfeld, M. (1986). "The Effect of the Holocaust on Selected Socio-Political Attitudes of Adult Children of Survivors." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 23 (3):365-82.

Weinfeld, M. (2001). *Like Everyone Else... But Different*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Weinfeld, M., and J. Sigal. (1986) "Knowledge of the Holocaust Among Adult Children of Survivors." *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études ethniques au Canada*, 18: 67-78.

Weinreich, P. (1986). "The operationalization of identity theory in racial and ethnic relations". In J. Rex and D. Mason (Eds.), *Theories of race and ethnic relations*. (pp. 299-320). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Weinreich, P., and W. Saunderson. (Eds.). (2003). *Analyzing identity: Cross-cultural, societal and clinical contexts*. New York: Routledge.

Wettstein, H. (2002). *Diasporas and Exiles: Varieties of Jewish Identities*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Whyte, W. F. (1984). *Learning from the Field: A Guide from Experience*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage.

Wolf, J.B. (2004). *Harnessing the Holocaust: the politics of Memory in France*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Znaniecki, F. (1963). *Cultural Sciences: their Origin and Development*. Urbana, IL: Illinois University Press.

Appendix 1: Ethics Approval



Université d'Ottawa University of Ottawa

Service de subventions de recherche et d'éthique / Research Grants and Ethics Services

February 26, 2007

Ann Denis
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
University of Ottawa
Tabaret Hall (384)
INTRA

Diane Reis

Re: A Changing Identity: An Exploratory Look at the Changes in Identity among
Recent Jewish Immigrants from France in Montreal (File # 11-06-02)

Dear Professor Denis and Ms. Reis,

Thank you for your response to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board (SSH REB)'s questions. These have been approved. You will therefore find enclosed the Certification for your research project.

During the course of the study, any modifications to the protocol or forms may not be initiated without prior written approval from the REB. You must also promptly notify the REB of any adverse events that may occur.

This certificate of ethical clearance is valid until February 26, 2008. Please submit an annual status report to the Protocol Officer in February 2008 to either close the file or request a renewal of ethics approval. This document can be found at:
http://www.rges.uottawa.ca/ethics/application_dcn.asp

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at extension 1787.

Sincerely yours,

Catherine Paquet
Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research
For Richard Clément, Chair of the SSH REB

SSH, rue Cumberland 593 Cumberland Street
Ottawa (Ontario) K1N 6N5 Canada Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5 Canada
tél: 613-561-5844 ext: 1787 ou 1787-8
paquet@uottawa.ca / research@uottawa.ca



Université d'Ottawa University of Ottawa

Service des subventions de recherche et d'éthologie Research Grants and Ethics Services

SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD

CERTIFICATION OF ETHICAL APPROVAL

This is to certify that the University of Ottawa Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board (REB) has examined the application for ethical approval for the research project **A Changing Identity: An Exploratory Look at the Changes in Identity among Recent Jewish Immigrants from France in Montreal (File # 11-06-02)** submitted by Diane Reis and supervised by Ann Denis of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. The members of the REB found that the research project met appropriate ethical standards as outlined in the Tri-Council Policy Statement and in the Procedures of the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Boards, and accordingly gave the research project a Category Ia (Approval).

This certification is valid for one year from the date indicated below.

Catherine Paquet
Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research
For the Chair of the Social Sciences and Humanities REB
Richard Clément

February 26, 2007
Date

350, rue Cumberland 350 Cumberland Street
Ottawa (Ontario) K1N 6N5 Canada Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5 Canada
(613) 562-5641 • Téléc./Fax (613) 562-5335
<http://www.uottawa.ca/services/research/rgt/index.html>

Appendix 2 : Copy of Recruitment Script

LA MIGRATION DES JUIFS FRANÇAIS DE LA FRANCE À MONTRÉAL : UNE INVESTIGATION D'IDENTITÉ JUIVE COMPLEXE

Texte de recrutement pour les immigrants concernant l'entrevue

Bonjour,

Mon nom est Diana Cohen Reis. Je suis étudiante de maîtrise au département de sociologie à l'Université d'Ottawa. Dans le cadre de ma thèse de maitrise, je mène une étude sur la migration des Juifs français de la France à Montréal qui fait partie d'une thèse de maîtrise. Le projet a reçu l'approbation du Comité de déontologie de l'Université d'Ottawa.

Je suis intéressée à savoir plus au sujet de vos expériences d'immigration, les raisons pour lesquelles vous avez quitté la France et comment vous trouvez votre vie à Montréal. Si vous avez 18 ans et plus et si vous avez immigré à Montréal depuis 1999, vous pouvez participer.

J'aimerais discuter avec vous au cours d'une entrevue qui durerait environ 60 à 90 minutes et, avec votre permission, celle-ci serait enregistrée.

La participation à n'importe quelle étape du projet est entièrement volontaire et vous pouvez vous retirer n'importe quand si vous le voulez. L'analyse des données et les rapports de recherche se feront en toute confidentialité.

Si vous seriez intéresser à participer ou si vous voulez plus de détails avant de décider, vous pouvez me contacter par courriel à dreis079@uottawa.ca ou par téléphone à 613-241-7515.

Merci,

Diana Reis

Étudiante à la maîtrise en sociologie,

Département de sociologie et anthropologie,

Université d'Ottawa

Appendix 3 : Consent Form

Formulaire de consentement

Titre du projet: L'immigration des Juifs français de la France à Montréal, une investigation des changements d'une identité juive complexe

Nom de la chercheuse : Diana Cohen Reis, étudiante de maîtrise en sociologie, Département de Sociologie et Anthropologie, Université d'Ottawa Courriel : dreis079 @uottawa.ca, Numéro de téléphone : 613-241-7515.

Nom de la superviseure: Professeure Ann Denis, Département de sociologie et anthropologie, Université d'Ottawa, 550 Cumberland Street Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5. Courriel : adenis@uottawa.ca. Numéro de téléphone : 613-562-5800, poste 1429.

Invitation à participer: Je suis invité(e) à participer à la recherche nommée ci haut qui est menée par Diana Reis.

But de l'étude: Le but de l'étude est d'identifier les raisons d'immigration des juifs (ves) de la France au Québec et aussi le changement d'identité à cause de cette immigration au Québec, s'il y a eu lieu. Ce projet constitue aussi un volet d'un projet plus large mené par les Professeurs Robert Kenedy de l'Université York, Ann Denis et Philippe Couton de l'Université d'Ottawa et Morton Weinfeld de l'Université McGill sur la Migration des Juifs Français de la France à Montréal, Québec.

Participation: Ma participation consistera essentiellement à participer à une entrevue de 60 à 90 minutes pendant laquelle je répondrai à des questions posées par Diana Reis sur les raisons de mon immigration de la France au Québec, mes expériences en France, ma vie à Montréal et les changements d'identité que j'ai eus à cause de mon immigration à Montréal (s'il y en a eu). Il y aura également quelques questions sociodémographiques. Il est également possible qu'un membre de l'équipe de recherche soit présent pendant l'entrevue.

Risques: Je comprends que ma participation à cette recherche implique qu'il est possible que je ressente de l'inconfort émotionnel et psychologique si je raconte des expériences difficiles que j'ai vécues. J'ai reçu l'assurance de la chercheuse que tout se fait en vue de minimiser cet inconfort possible et qu'on arrêtera l'entrevue à n'importe quel moment si je le veux. Si j'en ressens le besoin, je peux me prévaloir des services de counselling offertes gratuitement à tout les résidents juifs (ves) de Montréal par Services à la Famille Juive de l'Institut Baron de Hirsch, Carré Cumming, 5151 Chemin de la Côte-Ste-Catherine, suite 300, Montréal, QC H3W 1M6 Tel.: 514-342-0000 Fax: 514-342-2371.

Bienfaits: Ma participation à cette recherche aura pour effet d'avancer la connaissance des expériences d'immigration et d'intégration des Juifs français de la France au Québec.

Confidentialité et anonymat: J'ai l'assurance de la chercheuse que l'information que je partagerai avec elle restera strictement confidentielle. Je m'attends à ce que le contenu de l'entrevue ne soit utilisé que pour l'analyse des données et selon le respect de la confidentialité. Seules la chercheuse, sa superviseure, et les autres membres de l'équipe de recherche auront l'accès à mon entrevue. **L'anonymat** est garanti de la façon suivante : seule la chercheuse connaîtra mon identité. Je choisirai un pseudonyme avant l'entrevue qui sera utilisé dans la thèse de la chercheuse et toute autre publication où les données à mon sujet sont utilisées.

Conservation des données: Les données recueillies seront conservées de façon sécuritaire dans un lieu fermé et verrouillé, ainsi que les transcriptions de bandes sonores. Seules la chercheuse, sa superviseure et les autres chercheurs du projet auront accès aux données. Les données seront gardées pendant 10 ans de façon sécuritaire dans un lieu fermé. Après 10 ans, les transcriptions des entrevues seront déchirées et les bandes sonores seront effacées.

Participation volontaire: Ma participation à la recherche est volontaire et je suis libre de me retirer en tout temps, et/ou refuser de répondre à certaines questions, sans subir de conséquences négatives. Si je choisis de me retirer de l'étude, les données recueillies jusqu'à ce moment seront immédiatement détruites.

Acceptation: Je, _____ accepte de participer à cette recherche menée par Diana Cohen Reis du Département de Sociologie et Anthropologie, Faculté de Sciences Sociales, Université d'Ottawa, et supervisée par la Professeure Ann Denis.

Je, _____ accepte aussi que cette entrevue sera enregistrée.

Pour tout renseignement additionnel concernant cette étude, je peux communiquer avec la chercheuse ou sa superviseure.

Pour tout renseignement sur les aspects éthiques de cette recherche, je peux m'adresser au Responsable de l'éthique en recherche, Université d'Ottawa, Pavillon Tabaret, 550, rue Cumberland, pièce 159, (613) 562-5841 ou ethics@uottawa.ca.

Il y a deux copies du formulaire de consentement, dont une copie que je peux garder.

Signature du (de la) participant (e):

Date:

Signature de la chercheuse:

Date:

Appendix 4 : Interview Guide

Guide d'entrevue pour entrevues individuelles

L'immigration des Juifs français de la France à Montréal, une investigation des changements d'une identité juive complexe

Pendant l'heure suivante, je voudrais que vous parliez un peu de votre vie, vos expériences en France, et comment vous avez changé à cause de votre immigration et finalement de votre intégration à Montréal.

Votre vie :

Premièrement nous allons parler un peu de votre enfance et vie en France. Les questions suivantes portent sur votre famille et vos amis en France.

1) Est-ce que vous pouvez me parler un peu de votre enfance ?

Probes :

a) Est-ce que vous êtes né (e) en France ou dans un autre pays ? Lequel ?

b) Est-ce que vos parents étaient nés en France ?

c) Est-ce que vous avez toujours habité en France ?

2) Est-ce que vous pouvez me parler un peu de votre famille et de vos ami (e)s.

Probes :

a) Est-ce que vous êtes marié (e) ou avez-vous un (une) partenaire ?

b) Et votre partenaire, est-ce qu'il ou elle est né (e) en France ? Est-ce qu'il ou elle a toujours habité en France ?

- c) Avez-vous des enfants?
- d) Quels âges ont vos enfants?
- e) Parlant de vos ami (e) s en France est-ce que vos amis étaient pour la plupart juif (ve) s, français, les deux ou autre ?
- f) Et maintenant, est-ce que vos amis sont pour la plupart juif (ve) s, français, québécois, a la fois juif et francophone, (c'est à dire des français et des québécois qui sont juifs) ou autre ?

La question suivant vous invite à me parler un peu plus de vos croyances personnelles et ceux et celles de votre famille, en matière de religion et d'identité religieuse.

- 3) Est-ce que vous pouvez me parler un peu de vos croyances religieux ?

Probes:

- a) Quelle est votre religion? Est-ce que vous étiez toujours de cette religion ? Et maintenant ?
- b) Et votre partenaire, est-ce qu'il/elle était toujours de la même religion que vous?
- c) Pendant votre enfance, est-ce que vous avez reçu de l'éducation religieuse, par exemple est-ce que vous êtes allé à une école juive, avez-vous faites des études universitaires sur la religion juive, etc. (en France ou ailleurs) ?
- d) Avez-vous eu un bat mitzvah ou bar mitzvah ?
- e) Et votre partenaire, est-ce qu'il ou elle a reçu de l'éducation au sujet de la religion juive ou un bar ou bat mitzvah ?
- f) Et vos enfants, est-ce qu'ils ont reçu de l'éducation au sujet de la religion juive?
- g) Selon vous, est-ce que c'est important de recevoir une telle formation religieuse ?

Pourquoi ou pourquoi pas ?

- h) Est-ce que vous êtes d'origine Sépharade ou Ashkénaze ?**
- i) Maintenant à Montréal, est-ce que vous êtes de la même affiliation qu'en France ?**
- j) Étiez-vous membre d'une synagogue ou temple en France? (La quelle?)**
- k) Et maintenant êtes-vous membre d'une synagogue ou temple ? (Laquelle ?)**
- l) Quand est-ce que vous êtes allé (e) à la synagogue en France ? (e.g. tous les jours, chaque semaine, surtout pour les fêtes importantes)**
- m) Et maintenant quand est-ce que vous allez à la synagogue ?**
- n) Est-ce que vous diriez que vous allez plus souvent à la synagogue maintenant qu'en France, moins souvent, ou pas de différence ?**
- o) Qu'est-ce que être juif/ve signifie pour vous ?**
- p) Selon vous, est-ce que c'est important de suivre des pratiques religieuses juives?**

Pourquoi ?

Vie en France et à Montréal

Dans cette section on va parler un peu plus de votre vie en France et à Montréal, vos expériences, et votre immigration

- 4) Vous êtes arrivé (e) au Canada en quelle année ?**
- 5) Qu'est-ce que vous avez aimé le plus de votre vie en France? Le moins?**

Probes:

- a. Pourriez-vous m'expliquer ce que vous manquez maintenant de la France?**
- b. Est-ce qu'il y a des choses que vous avez seulement faites en France que vous ne faites pas à Montréal ?**

6) En France, est-ce que vous avez célébré des fêtes nationales ? Et maintenant, célébrez-vous les fêtes canadiennes ou québécoises?

Probe :

- a. **Comment est-ce que vous avez célébré ces jours en France?**
- b. **Et maintenant comment est-ce que vous célébrez ces jours ?**

Maintenant on va parler un peu de votre participation dans la communauté juive en France....

- 7) En France, est-ce que vous avez senti que vous faisiez partie de la communauté juive ?
 - a. **Pourquoi est-ce que vous dites cela?**
 - b. **Est-ce que vous étiez membre des organisations ou clubs de la communauté juive en France ? Lesquelles ?**
 - c. **Et maintenant est-ce que vous êtes membre des organisations ou clubs de la communauté juive de Montréal ? Lesquelles ?**

Nous abordons maintenant vos raisons pour quitter la France et des questions à propos de votre installation à Montréal.

8) Pourquoi avez vous quitté la France ?

Probes :

- a. **Est-ce que vous pouvez me dire d'avantage au sujet des raisons ?**
- b. **En termes de sécurité physique et bien-être personnel, avez-vous senti en sécurité dans votre voisinage, ou arrondissement c.-à-d., dans le secteur où vous avez vécu en**

France ? Et maintenant?

9) Est-ce qu'il y avait eu des occasions quand vous n'avez pas senti en sécurité en tant que juif (ve) en France ? Et maintenant ?

Probes :

a) Est-ce que vous pouvez m'en parler un peu plus?

9) Comment est-ce que vous vous identifiez en France ? Et maintenant ?

Par exemple : juif (ve) français (e)/québécois (e) ou autre ?

2) Juif (ve) québécois (e) 3) Autre chose

a. Selon vous est-ce qu'il y a des différences entre votre identification comme juif (ve) français (e) en France et juif (ve) français (e) à Montréal ?

10) Maintenant je vais vous poser des questions à propos de la discrimination

Probes :

a. Qu'est-ce que la discrimination signifie pour vous ?

b. Selon vous, est-ce que il y a beaucoup de discrimination contre le peuple juif en France ? Et à Montréal?

c. Est-ce que cette discrimination était toujours présente en France? Selon vous, est-ce que cela a augmenté ou diminué ?

d. Selon vous, qu'est-ce qui cause cette discrimination ?

e. Est-ce que vous-même ou vos proches ont été victime de la discrimination en France ? (*si oui) Est-ce que vous pouvez m'en raconter un peu plus ?

f. Est-ce que vous-même ou vos proches ont été victimes d'une forme de discrimination à Montréal ? ou des actes de discrimination ? (*si oui) Est-ce que vous pouvez m'en parler un peu plus?

g. Selon vous, comment est-ce que la France pourrait éliminer les actes de discrimination contre le peuple juif ?

Maintenant, nous parleront un peu plus de votre vie à Montréal....

11) Pourquoi est-ce que vous avez choisi d'immigrer à Montréal et non pas une autre ville au Canada ?

Probes :

a. Est-ce que le fait que vous soyez français de la France a empêché votre intégration à Montréal ?

12) Dans le cadre de votre installation à Montréal, est-ce que vous avez fait appel à des agences communautaires ?

a. Lesquelles ?

b. Comment évaluez-vous les services qu'elles vous ont offertes ?

13) Selon vous, comment est-ce que votre vie a changé depuis votre immigration au Québec ?

Probes :

a. Est-ce que vous avez plus ou moins de stress maintenant, comparé à votre vie en France ?

b. Est-ce que vous êtes plus heureux (euse) maintenant ?

14) Selon vous est-ce que c'est facile d'être juif (ve) à Montréal ?

Probes :

a. Est-ce que c'était plus facile d'être juif (ve) en France qu'à Montréal ou l'inverse? Pourquoi?

15) Selon vous, est-ce que votre immigration vous a beaucoup changé ?

Probes :

a. Pourquoi est-ce que vous dites cela ?

b. Comment, selon vous, avez-vous changé ou pas changé ?

16) Est-ce que vous prévoyez rester à Montréal ?

Probes :

a. Est-ce que vous espérez un jour retourner à la France pour vivre ou aller ailleurs?

Expliquez s.v.p.

Pour terminer, je vais vous poser quelques questions sociodémographiques.

17) Pouvez-vous me parler un peu de votre éducation en France et au Canada ?

Probes :

a. Quel était votre niveau de scolarité en France ?

b. Quel est votre niveau reconnu ici au Québec ? Est-ce que vos titres

professionnels sont reconnus ?

- c. Avez-vous suivi des cours de formation au Québec, reliées à votre formation antérieure?**
- d. En suivez-vous actuellement ?**
- e. Prévoyez-vous en suivre à l' avenir ?**
- f. Des examens de certification ?**
- g. Avez-vous suivi d'autres études dans un autre domaine ?**

18) Quelle est votre profession maintenant?

Probes :

- a. Avez-vous changé de travail, de profession depuis votre immigration au Québec ?**
- b. Pourquoi ou pourquoi pas ?**
- c. Est-ce que vous travaillez toujours dans le même domaine qu'en France?**

19) Est-ce que vous travaillez pour une entreprise juive maintenant ?

Probes :

- a. Laquelle ?**
- b. Et en France ?**

20) Quelle est votre date de naissance ?

21) Finalement, pouvez-vous me donner votre code postal ?

Merci beaucoup !