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2011 Scott Kloeck-Jenson Pre-Dissertation Travel Fellowship Report

With generous support from the Scott Kloeck-Jenson (SKJ) Pre-Dissertation Travel Fellowship, I was able to spend nearly two months in Paris, France doing pre-dissertation research on public defections from political commitments in a high-risk context. Specifically, My dissertation explores how Catholic bishops in Vichy France decided to ally with Jews and protect them, despite supporting the Vichy regime's anti-Jewish policies in the past. The French bishops' dissent spurred Catholics in France to deviate from the Church's endorsement of Vichy's anti-Jewish legislation-- they sheltered and defended Jews, which was rare prior to the bishops' protest. And yet, bishops who protested faced retribution such as arrest and deportation for speaking in defense of Jews. These bishops put their own lives at risk as well as their ecclesiastic authority, but many resisted anyway. *Why?*

Understanding why bishops deviated from church policy matters because their actions shaped the evolution of the Holocaust in France. It also matters because studying the bishops' defection within the larger context of their organizational membership in the Church can help shed light on an oft-neglected dimension of genocide: the significance of authoritative dissent for resistance. Research indicates that when religious leaders encourage dissent, they undermine state actors who promote genocide (McDougall 2007). In the Holocaust, Catholic bishops in Denmark, Bulgaria, Greece, and Norway publicly denounced the Final Solution in their countries and helped save Jews (Phayer 2000). In Rwanda, authorities in Giti commune protested violence and prevented genocide from occurring; in Gitarama and Butare, authorities stalled genocide until they were killed and replaced with pro-genocide hardliners (Des Forges 1999).

Support from the SKJ enabled me to put my research experience in Rwanda to use in a new context. I was not familiar with the archives in France, but the eight weeks I spent in Paris enabled me to work in two separate branches of the *Archives Nationales* as well as the *Shoah Memorial* archives, testing to what extent data was available for my research project and pursuing leads that helped me establish preliminary hypotheses. It was fascinating to find correspondence between French bishops who deviated from the Church's official position toward Jews during the Holocaust and the Grand Rabbis of France, and it was equally fascinating to find letters from the Nazi SS to the French Chief of State, Marshal Pétain, complaining about the bishops' protests and calling for their arrest.

In addition, support from the SKJ allowed me to make preliminary contacts with diocesan archivists throughout France to confirm that there is, indeed, a story to be told and a puzzle to be explored by studying the case of French bishops' protests. Much historical research in sociology depends on access to data and the existence of necessary resources. For me, this means researching the backgrounds of Church authorities who protested Jewish deportations, finding notes, letters, diaries and accounts written by bishops who deviated immediately after events that were significant to them, and gathering other important accounts produced by these actors-- public as well as private-- to trace whom they were corresponding with, how their networks

shifted or transformed throughout the course of their decisions to defect, and what problems they encountered along the way. With help from the SKJ, I was able to confirm that this data is available and accessible for my dissertation research.

Furthermore, my trip to France helped me unearth important historical details that facilitated my development of preliminary hypotheses, which I plan to test in future work. Historians such as Michael Marrus and Robert Paxton (1995) have long suspected that the bishops' changed their stances as a result of moral outrage; as the context unfolded, so did their perspectives on antisemitism and Vichy's anti-Jewish policies. However, my preliminary research in French archives, thanks to the SKJ, allowed me to hypothesize that perhaps in addition to the context, it was the bishops' networks and pre-existing ideological commitments that informed their decision to dissent.

Last, my preliminary research pointed me in the directions of Lyon, Toulouse, Montauban, Nice, and Marseille, in addition to Paris, for future work. I learned through my preliminary research that these locations were home to some of the most outspoken bishops against Jewish deportations, who originally supported Vichy's antisemitic policies toward Jews. I look forward to continuing this research, none of which would have been possible without the generous donation of Scott Kloeck-Jensen's family and the inspiration I gained through his work.

My dissertation project aims to explain when and why dominant actors deviate from policies that support genocide and instead decide to protest. By studying what motivated Catholic bishops to defect from the Church in Vichy France, I hope to contribute to understandings of intra-organizational deviance and how religious protest against genocide matters for trajectories of state violence. The French case is ideal for researching the phenomenon of intra-organizational deviance in high-risk contexts because in France, compared to elsewhere in Europe that bishops protested the Holocaust, the Catholic Church formally endorsed anti-Jewish policies prior to the bishops' dissent. French bishops played a crucial role mitigating the Holocaust in France; understanding how they did so is vital for work on genocide intervention everywhere that state violence occurs.