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Translated from French by Caroline Lorriaux and Michael Scott

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INTRODUCTION

ANTISEMITISM IN FRENCH PUBLIC OPINION

NEW INSIGHTS

By Dominique Reynié

Executive Director of the Fondation de l'innovation politique and professor at Sciences Po Paris

In his report of October 2004 entitled *Chantier sur la lutte contre le racisme et l'antisémitisme* [Review on the fight against racism and antisemitism], Jean-Christophe Rufin noted that far-right involvement in antisemitic attacks was decreasing, while a minority of young people from immigrant backgrounds were increasingly responsible for this violence.

Is this still the case today? To find out, we embarked on an unprecedented project including two opinion polls conducted by Ifop, one of which was administered online with a representative sample of 1,005 individuals aged 16 and over. The other was conducted face-to-face with a sample of 575 individuals who stated that they had been born into French or non-French Muslim families, lived in France and were aged 16 and above.

Ten years after the 'Rufin report', regular surveys commissioned by the French National Consultative Committee on Human Rights (CNCDH) reported a decline in antisemitic prejudice in public opinion. However, data collected by the Kantor Center show that the number of violent antisemitic incidents was three times higher between 2004 and 2013 than in the decade from 1994 to 2004. Even if we accept the theory that prejudice is declining, there has been a clear increase in violence towards Jews. Moreover, there has been a resurgence of racist language towards figures such as French Justice Minister Ms. Christiane Taubira and Ms. Cécile Kyenge, the Italian Minister for Integration.

The issue of antisemitism, xenophobia and racism is once again rearing its head in democracies, both in Europe and in France. It is sad to note that this is actually nothing new. However, we must focus our concerns and action on the resurgence observed since the early 1990s. This resurgence can probably be attributed primarily to globalisation and the way it has

affected democratic societies in tangible and cultural terms, which is described by some as an 'identitarian' phenomenon. It moreover reflects the overthrow of the old order by a new order of emerging countries and, in France, the vague feeling of a world that, if not hostile, is certainly less benign. Added to this are the consequences of migratory phenomena that were triggered decades ago but whose effects, it seems, are suddenly being felt in terms of the entrenchment of a *de facto* multicultural society contributing to the destabilisation of western countries in general and European countries in particular. Population ageing appears to be a further factor prompting fear and insularity. Moreover, in some countries including France, unease has increased as a result of the public authorities' fiscal crisis, not only from an economic and social perspective, but also in political and cultural terms, with the notion of governments incapable of action and social and state paralysis gaining credence¹.

1. With regard to this context and its political consequences, I take the liberty of referring to the new supplemented edition of my book *Les Nouveaux Populismes*, Fayard/Pluriel, 2013.



Finally, in order to understand this new wave of hostile attitudes, we must look to the major influence exerted by a new player, the Web, which has rapidly taken on a key role both with regard to news and also political engagement, rallying of activists, and the expression of ideas in general and protest in particular. The Web's strength is amplified by its apparent and partly genuine virtues including egalitarianism, spontaneity, authenticity, immediacy and universality. However, this new public space is substantially underpinned by the unique possibility of issuing, receiving and sharing messages and opinions without necessarily having to provide one's identity and thus take responsibility for them. This is an unprecedented situation in the entire history of press freedom and freedom of opinion. These tools provide those expressing antisemitic or racist views with extraterritorial status, and ultimately *de facto* impunity, whereby states governed by the rule of law are no longer able to defend humanist values or punish those guilty of infringing them. In contrast,

authoritarian regimes are still able to impose total censorship in their countries, while also enjoying an unprecedented ability to encourage the dissemination of devastating messages around the world.

The Dieudonné affair² in France provided a condensed version of this new set-up, revealing activism among networks and groups that – let us not forget – constituted a very small minority, yet were capable of generating and spreading views of an undisputedly antisemitic nature on a large scale. This controversy revealed two sides of the public space. On one side was the formal, institutional and official public space represented by the traditional media. On the other was its mirror image, the Web, a sort of informal, anomic, unofficial, underground public space, made up of social media, discussion forums, and video sharing sites.

2. Translator's note: Dieudonné M'bala M'bala is a French comedian and activist whose antisemitic comments prompted the French government to ban his shows and political gatherings in early 2014.

What was considered an emerging phenomenon by the Rufin report in 2004 took hold towards the end of the decade. Although there is more to the Web than this, it has nevertheless become a formidable means of spreading antisemitic, xenophobic and racist views. This was all condensed in the Dieudonné affair, whose outbreak was no accident, but rather the sign of more profound change. It manifested an attempt to redefine norms, conventions, and perhaps even values, customs, history and lessons learned from the past. An initially improvised media initiative, the controversy prompted such remarks and such a response, both positive and negative, that it is impossible not to view it as a reflection of our times.

There is a big difference between opinions and violence. In France, the number of antisemitic incidents has not fallen below the threshold of 400 per year since the early 2000s, with 2014 seeing a dramatic rise (+ 91%). Indeed, 527 antisemitic incidents were reported between January and July 2014 compared to 276 in the same period of 2013. Half of all racist incidents target Jews, who probably represent less than 1% of the population. Unfettered antisemitism has taken hold on the Web. In the summer of 2014, during demonstrations against Israeli intervention in the Gaza Strip, cries of 'Death to the Jews!' were heard in the Place de la République in Paris. In Sarcelles, this led to Jewish-owned shops being ransacked and an attack on a synagogue.

Recent atrocities are part of the same trend with the killing of Ilan Halimi by Youssef Fofana's gang in 2006, the murder of Jonathan Sandler and the children Gabriel Sandler, Arieh Sandler and Myriam Monsonogo in 2012 by Mohammed Merah, who also killed the unfortunate Imad Ibn Ziaten, Mohamed Legouad and Abel Chennouf, and finally the Brussels massacre perpetrated by Mehdi Nemmouche in 2014. It would be a mistake to view these tragedies as causeless acts. They reflect our times and as such inevitably tell us something about their essence.

It is now important to determine how democratic governments can continue to teach, promote and defend the values upon which they are founded and thus survive. In these terms, the fight against racism and antisemitism responds not just to a need to protect individuals and groups who suffer as a result of these phenomena, but also the absolute necessity of ensuring the existence of the democratic order in the new century. The findings of this study substantiate or clarify certain initial assumptions while contradicting others. Overall, a picture emerges of a society in which antisemitic feeling is high in pockets that, although currently relatively small, may reasonably be expected to grow.

The study also reveals a society that believes that most of the groups that constitute it are the victims of prejudice and racism including Jews, Muslims, North Africans, black people and white people. Some findings are encouraging and even reassuring while others are concerning and even very worrying. On the whole though, the survey provides compelling arguments for immediate collective action both from the government, and to a greater extent from civil society, with a view to bringing all sides together and everyone making an effort to acknowledge and understand one another.

Finally, I would like to point out that these two studies are a contribution from the *Fondation pour l'innovation politique* to work building on the antisemitism seminar held on 16 October 2014. We organised this event jointly with the American Jewish Committee and *Fondation Jean-Jaurès*. It also involved a significant partnership between the right-leaning *Figaro* and left-leaning *Libération* daily newspapers. The seminar was moderated by Simone Rodan-Benzaquen for the American Jewish Committee, Gilles Finchelstein for the *Fondation Jean-Jaurès* and Dominique Reynié for the *Fondation pour l'innovation politique*. Of the thirty attendees, four parliamentary representatives were actively involved in this work – two members of the National Assembly, Claude Goasguen and François Pupponi, and two senators, David Assouline and Chantal Jouanno – as well as a local elected representative, Camille Bedin. *Le Figaro* was represented by Vincent Trémolet de Villers and *Libération* by Annette Lévy-Willard. Following this first seminar, three articles were published in *Le Figaro*³ on 23 October and significantly, three others were published in *Libération*⁴ on the same day. This seminar will be continued to examine forms, drivers, and means of tackling antisemitism in greater depth. We took a joint decision to extend the scope of this seminar to include hostility towards Islam and racism. The same approach, methods and resources will be adopted while also extending the circle of experts, politicians and stakeholders in government, state education, police and justice. Any heads of social, educational, cultural and religious organizations who may wish to join us will also be included.

3. Gilles Finchelstein, Dominique Reynié and Simone Rodan-Benzaquen 'Nos démocraties sont menacées'; Camille Bedin 'L'antisémitisme au quotidien'; and François Pupponi, 'Sarcelles après l'émeute', *Le Figaro*, 23 October 2014 [these articles can be accessed online at: www.fondapol.org/category/debats/dans-les-medias/]

4. Gilles Finchelstein, Dominique Reynié and Simone Rodan-Benzaquen, 'La lutte contre l'antisémitisme est une lutte pour la République'; Annette Lévy-Willard 'L'antisémitisme, une spécificité française?'; and Nonna Mayer, 'L'opinion française n'est pas antisémite' *Libération*, 23 October 2014 [the first article can be accessed online at: www.fondapol.org/category/debats/dans-les-medias/]

METHODOLOGY

The *Fondation pour l'innovation politique* conducted two surveys with Ifop. The first survey was carried out with a sample of 1,005 people representative of French people aged 16 and above. Sample representativeness was ensured by quota sampling (respondent gender, age and occupation) following stratification by region and geographical setting (municipality size). Interviews were conducted using online self-administered questionnaires between 26 and 30 September 2014.

The second survey was conducted with 575 individuals of Muslim origin, i.e. people stating that they were born into a Muslim family and were aged 16 and above. No statistics are available to create a genuine quota-based sample for this group. After stratification by region and geographical setting (municipality size), Ifop determined guideline quotas (gender, age, occupation) based on INSEE¹ statistics on immigration in France and empirical data on the Muslim-origin population from its national surveys. During fieldwork, individuals aged 16 to 17 were overrepresented to ensure sufficient numbers and subsequently reduced to their actual weighting for statistical analysis of the study. In this second survey, questionnaires were administered face-to-face on the street between 4 and 9 October 2014.

The purpose of the second survey is to test the hypothesis that a new form of antisemitism has emerged. This was put forward almost fifteen years ago by Pierre André Taguieff and cited by Jean Christophe Rufin in his 2004 report. It seeks to determine whether Muslims living in France are more or less likely than the mean for the national population to exhibit prejudice towards Jews and even develop an antisemitic outlook. Generally, in a sample of 1,000 individuals, the proportion of Muslims is not sufficiently high to enable a significant analysis of the data collected. We therefore also decided to ask Ifop to interview a sample consisting solely of individuals of Muslim origin, i.e. people stating that they had been

born into a Muslim family. These individuals could be either French or non-French nationals. We hope that this initial survey will pave the way for a series of new social science surveys. This will help us to better understand our society and ourselves, thus increasing our chances of taking appropriate action in everyone's interests.

The formulation of an antisemitism indicator

The aim of this survey is not only to ascertain the percentage of respondents exhibiting one anti-Jewish prejudice, but also the percentage exhibiting several such prejudices in order to shed light on the profile of respondents whose value system combines several prejudices towards Jews and who therefore demonstrate an antisemitic outlook whose level is considered by this study to increase as the number of prejudices rises on a scale of 1 for the group of respondents that exhibit one antisemitic prejudice to 6 for those who exhibit them all.

When the questionnaire was drafted, the following list of six opinions regarding Jews was used to create the indicator: 'Jews currently use their status as victims of the Nazi genocide during the Second World War to their own ends' (35%); 'Jews have too much power in the economic and financial sector' (25%); 'Jews have too much power in the media' (22%); 'Jews have too much power in politics' (19%); 'A global Zionist conspiracy is taking place' (16%); 'Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis' (6%). Just over half of

1. Translator's note: French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies

the respondent sample (53%) stated that they did not share any of these six prejudices, while 3% shared all six prejudices.

The data presented in this analysis are taken from the results of the two surveys. Survey data relating to

the 575 individuals stating that they were born into a Muslim family are accompanied by a note to that effect. Other data relate to the sample of 1,005 individuals who are representative of French people aged 16 and above.

Antisemitism indicator (entire sample, 16 years and above, in %)	Entire Sample
• Yes to none of the 6 tested anti-Semitic statements	53
• Yes to 1 of the 6 statements	18
• Yes to 2 of the 6 statements	9
• Yes to 3 of the 6 statements	5
• Yes to 4 of the 6 statements	6
• Yes to 5 of the 6 statements	6
• Yes to all 6 statements	3

Source : Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

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PART ONE:

ASSESSING THE SEVERITY OF ANTISEMITIC PREJUDICE IN FRENCH SOCIETY

1. ANTISEMITIC OPINIONS IN A SOCIETY THAT IS NOT ANTISEMITIC

Trends for antisemitic views run through French society as a whole. Their severity must be assessed based not only on the number of people who share them, but also by considering the degree of violence they embody. The most widespread prejudice against the Jews (35%) is that 'Jews currently use their status as victims of the Nazi genocide during the Second World War to their own ends'.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

% agreement

	Entire Sample
Jews currently use their status as victims of the Nazi genocide during the Second World War to their own ends	35
Jews have too much power in the economic and financial sector	25
Jews have too much power in the media	22
Jews have too much power in politics	19
A global Zionist conspiracy is taking place	16
Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	6

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Over a fifth of respondents (22%) state that their colleagues, friends or family 'often or occasionally' 'criticize Jewish people'.

Do your colleagues, friends or family often, occasionally, rarely or never criticize Jewish people? (%)

	Entire Sample
TOTAL Often/occasionally	22
• Often	3
• Occasionally	19
TOTAL Rarely/never	78
• Rarely	40
• Never	38
TOTAL	100

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

While the questions relating to Zionism meant nothing to a large proportion of respondents (between 42% and 46%), they revealed robust criticism from a section of society towards Israel's policies and also the strength of one of the most widespread antisemitic opinions: 25% of respondents believe that Zionism is 'an international organisation seeking to influence the world and society in the interests of the Jews.'

Do you personally agree or disagree with the following statements? Zionism is ... (%)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know
• An ideology advocating the Jews' right to their own state in the lands of their ancestors	46	12	42
• An ideology used by Israel to justify its policy of occupying and colonising Palestinian territories	37	19	44
• An international organisation seeking to influence the world and society in the interests of the Jews	25	28	47
• A racist ideology	23	31	46

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Moreover, the notion of electing a Jewish French president is rejected by a fifth (21%) of respondents. We note that ten years earlier, this proposition was rejected by fewer respondents (17%). We also note that 6% of respondents state that they would rather not have 'a Jewish neighbour'. This demonstrates the difficulty of analysing the types of results we obtain from a survey on this issue – while in abstract terms, 6% is a low proportion of the population, in concrete terms, the desire to avoid having a 'Jewish neighbour' reflects a very high level of hostility. In this type of questionnaire, we must not only take account of percentages, but also the intensity of opinions.

If it were only up to you, would you seek, avoid or be completely unconcerned about the following situations?

Trend for 'avoid' (%)

	Ifop September 1966	Louis Harris 1977	Ifop 1978	Ifop 1985	TNS Sofres May 2005	Fondapol September 2014
• Having a Jewish French president	50	29	24	NP	17	21
• Voting for a Jewish mayor	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	14
• Having a Jewish bank manager	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	10
• Having a Jewish boss	32	21	13	11	6	10
• Having a Jewish doctor	16	12	7	7	3	8
• Having a Jewish neighbour	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	6

NP = Scenario not put to respondents

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

It is apparent that where the questions prompt respondents to talk about their perceptions not just of Jews in general but of Jews in reality, their responses show a reduction in antisemitic prejudice.

In general, when you are told that someone you know is Jewish, how do you react? (%)

	Entire Sample
• I like it	3
• I don't like it	3
• I don't react in any particular way	91
• No comment	3

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

And in your opinion, generally, when French people find out that someone they know is Jewish, how do they react? (%)

	Entire Sample
• They like it	1
• They don't like it	15
• They don't react in any particular way	65
• No comment	19

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Moreover, most respondents (84%) believe that 'French Jews' are 'just as French as any other French person'.

In public opinion, French Jews are viewed as being just as French as any other French person. In your opinion, are people from the Alsace just as French as any other French person or people from Brittany, etc.?

Trend for 'yes' (%)

	Ifop 1946	1966 September	Louis Harris 1977	Ifop 1978	Louis Harris October 1987	TNS Sofres May 2005	Fondapol September 2014
• People from Brittany	83	94	94	93	99	98	97
• People from Alsace	65	82	90	88	96	96	96
• People from Corsica	75	75	84	82	95	89	88
• French Jews	37 (*)	60 (*)	65 (*)	83 (*)	94 (**)	92	84
• French Muslims	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	79	65
• French people of immigrant origin	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	64

(*) Response options worded as 'French people of Jewish origin'. (**) Response option worded as 'Jews'

NP: Scenario not put to respondents

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

2. TACKLING ANTISEMITISM AND TEACHING ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST ARE WIDELY ENDORSED OBJECTIVES

The study needs to be supplemented with questions relating to the fight against antisemitism and racism, portrayals of the past, and the role that history could play in citizenship education policies. However, it is nevertheless apparent that respondents overwhelmingly subscribe to the idea that teaching about the Holocaust should be incorporated into schemes aimed at tackling antisemitism and racism.

The massacre of the Jews by the Nazis is also known as the 'Holocaust'. Some people believe that antisemitism and racism must be tackled to prevent a tragedy like the Holocaust from happening again. Do you ... ?

Strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with this statement? (%)

	Entire Sample
TOTAL agree	85
• Strongly agree	58
• Agree	27
TOTAL disagree	6
• Disagree	4
• Strongly disagree	2
• No comment	9

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

The idea of teaching about the Holocaust to fight racism and antisemitism is very widely supported.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

It is important to teach about the Holocaust (the genocide of the Jews during the Second World War) to young people to ensure it does not happen again. (%)

	Entire Sample
• Agree	77
• Disagree	12
• No comment	11

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Moreover, the notion of Holocaust denial is non-existent in French public opinion.

Approximately 6 million Jews were killed by the Nazis in the Second World War.

Do you consider this to be ... ? (%)

	Entire Sample
• A monstrous crime	63
• One tragedy among others in a war that claimed many lives	29
• An exaggeration – people died but much fewer than were reported	2
• A fabrication – it never happened	1
• No comment	5

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Of all the information provided by this survey, one of the most striking points is the fact that only 16% of respondents state that they agree with the statement that in France, 'there are more problems with antisemitism than with racism'. In other words, 59% believe the contrary despite the unequivocal picture provided by data on antisemitic attacks. In France, antisemitic acts account for 50% of all racist acts although the Jewish community represents less than 1% of the national population. It should therefore be noted that from a public perspective, antisemitic attacks are not as resonant or memorable as we might expect given the nature and seriousness of these incidents.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (%)

	Agree	Disagree	No comment
In France, more is done to tackle antisemitism than racism	35	41	24
In France, there are more problems with antisemitism than with racism	16	59	25

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

3. TWO ANTISEMITIC CRISES IN FRANCE – THE DIEUDONNÉ AFFAIR AND THE SUMMER 2014 DEMONSTRATIONS IN PARIS AND SARCELLES

Between 2013 and 2014, two crises revealed that pockets of antisemitism exist in French public opinion. The decision to ban Dieudonné's shows following the comedian's repeated outrages and vile comments was considered 'justified' by 64% of respondents and 'unjustified' by a quarter of respondents (26%)¹.

You are no doubt aware that in January the government banned a show by the comedian Dieudonné M'bala M'bala known as Dieudonné due to comments that were considered antisemitic. Do you think the government's reaction to the Dieudonné affair was ... ?

Completely justified, justified, unjustified or completely unjustified?

	Entire Sample
TOTAL Justified	64
• Completely justified	34
• Justified	30
TOTAL Unjustified	26
• Unjustified	16
• Completely unjustified	10
• No comment	10

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Although respondents were fully aware of the reasons why these shows were banned, a fifth (21%) still claim that they believe it was down to the 'influence of the Jewish community'.

In your view, what were the main reasons that Dieudonné's show was banned? Can you rank these first and second?

Total reasons cited (%) *

	Entire Sample
• He made comments that were considered antisemitic	69
• He made comments that were offensive to some people	51
• The potential threat to public order	36
• The influence of the Jewish community	21
• None. Other reason.	6
• No comment	9

(*) Total higher than 100 as respondents were allowed two answers.

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

The table should be read as follows: 36% of respondents cited the potential threat to public order in first or second place as one of the main reasons Dieudonné's show was banned.

1. Although the author should point out that he would have responded that he did not consider the pre-emptive ban of a show justified.

By asking the sample whether they approve or disapprove of the comments made by Dieudonné in his shows or online, we were able to ascertain the reality of antisemitic views, which, although in the minority, are shared by a significant proportion of respondents. For instance, 16% state that they share some of the opinions expressed by Dieudonné including: 'A global Zionist conspiracy is taking place' (16%).

Do you personally believe that Dieudonné is mostly right or mostly wrong when he says that ... ?

'Mostly right' responses (%)

	Entire Sample
The enslavement of black people (African slave trade) is insufficiently discussed	46
Jews control the media	23
The Holocaust and the extermination of the Jews during the Second World War is excessively discussed	23
A global Zionist conspiracy is taking place	16

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

In the summer of 2014, during the military operation conducted by Israel in the Gaza Strip, over 400 demonstrations were organised in France as a sign of support for the Palestinians. In Paris and its suburbs, these gatherings gave rise to slogans hostile to Jews. This threatening language ultimately culminated in violence that was undisputedly antisemitic in nature. A very large proportion of respondents stated that such actions are 'unacceptable' (73%), a further sign of French society's relatively sound principles.

It could be argued that the wording of the question, which offers a choice between 'unacceptable' and 'understandable' does not allow an accurate assessment to be made of public opinion on this issue. Indeed, it is possible to both 'understand', i.e. identify a system of causality, and consider 'unacceptable' the attack on a synagogue or the ransacking of shops on the grounds of them being owned by Jewish people, due to the policy pursued by Israel. However, if we look at responses given to the questionnaire by those who chose the 'understandable' option, there can be no further doubt that this option was favoured by respondents who are most inclined to express antisemitic views.

You are no doubt aware that this summer, during the conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, demonstrations took place in support of the Palestinians in various French cities. Slogans hostile to Jews were heard at some of these demonstrations and synagogues and shops were attacked in Paris and Sarcelles. Do you personally think these slogans and acts are ... ?

Completely unacceptable, unacceptable, understandable, completely understandable? (%)

	Entire Sample
TOTAL Unacceptable	73
• Completely unacceptable	58
• Unacceptable	15
TOTAL Understandable	14
• Understandable	11
• Completely understandable	3
• No comment	13

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

PART TWO:

PINPOINTING ANTISEMITISM
IN FRENCH PUBLIC OPINION

1. FRONT NATIONAL SUPPORTERS AND THOSE WHO VOTED FOR MARINE LE PEN

If the far-right *Front National* is not an antisemitic party, it is at very least a party of antisemites. According to our survey, of all the political parties and supporters who rally round these parties, supporters of the Front National and people who voted for Marine Le Pen in the 2012 French presidential election are the political and partisan group that express by far the most antisemitic and xenophobic views. *FN* supporters and voters reflect the views of the party's founder, Jean-Marie Le Pen, more than the more controlled rhetoric that its new leader, Marine Le Pen, seeks to present.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

'Agree' responses (%)

	Whole Sample	Front National supporters	Marine Le Pen Voters in 2012
Jews currently use their status as victims of the Nazi genocide during the Second World War to their own ends	35	62	56
Jews have too much power in the economic and financial sector	25	50	46
Jews have too much power in the media	22	51	48
Jews have too much power in politics	19	41	39
Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	6	13	14
A global Zionist conspiracy is taking place	16	37	38

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Do you personally agree or disagree with the following statements? Zionism is ... (%)

'Agree' responses (%)

	Whole Sample	Front National supporters	Marine Le Pen Voters in 2012
• An ideology advocating the Jews' right to their own state in the lands of their ancestors	46	37	37
• An ideology used by Israel to justify its policy of occupying and colonising Palestinian territories	37	36	37
• An international organisation seeking to influence the world and society in the interests of the Jews	25	32	30
• A racist ideology	23	23	23

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

While a mean of 21% of respondents state that they would prefer not to have a Jewish French president, 53% of *FN* supporters and 49% of people who voted for Marine Le Pen in 2012 share this view. A very high proportion (22%) of *FN* supporters state that they would prefer not to have 'a Jewish neighbour', while the percentage of Marine Le Pen voters sharing this view is not much lower (18%).

If it were only up to you, would you seek, avoid or be completely unconcerned about the following situations?

Trend for 'avoid' (%)

	Whole Sample	Front National supporters	Marine Le Pen Voters in 2012
• Having a Jewish French president	21	53	49
• Voting for a Jewish mayor	14	40	34
• Having a Jewish bank manager	10	32	25
• Having a Jewish boss	10	30	25
• Having a Jewish doctor	8	28	24
• Having a Jewish neighbour	6	22	18

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

What is particularly striking is that *FN* supporters and Marine Le Pen voters are even more divergent from other respondents on the issue of teaching about the Holocaust – twice as many of them than the mean state that they do not agree with 'teaching about the Holocaust to young people to ensure it does not happen again'.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

It is important to teach about the Holocaust (the genocide of the Jews during the Second World War) to young people to ensure it does not happen again. (%)

	Whole Sample	Front National supporters	Marine Le Pen Voters in 2012
• Agree	77	61	62
• Disagree	12	29	29
• No comment	11	10	9

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

FN supporters and Marine Le Pen voters are by far the most likely to dispute the fact that the Holocaust is a special case. Once again, the comments made by its founder, Jean-Marie Le Pen, in 1988 left more than just memories, and have indeed provided the equivalent of a doctrine open to Holocaust denial.

Approximately 6 million Jews were killed by the Nazis in the Second World War.

Do you consider this to be ... ? (%)

	Whole Sample	Front National supporters	Marine Le Pen Voters in 2012
• A monstrous crime	63	45	49
• One tragedy among others in a war that claimed many lives	29	40	37
• An exaggeration – people died but much fewer than were reported	2	6	7
• A fabrication – it never happened	1	3	2
• No comment	5	6	5

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Three times more *FN* supporters and Marine Le Pen voters than the mean disagreed with the idea that it is necessary to tackle racism and antisemitism to ‘prevent the Holocaust from happening again’.

The massacre of the Jews by the Nazis is also known as the ‘Holocaust’. Some people believe that antisemitism and racism must be tackled to prevent a tragedy like the Holocaust from happening again. Do you ... ?

Strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with this statement? (%)

	Whole Sample	Front National supporters	Marine Le Pen Voters in 2012
TOTAL agree	85	68	70
TOTAL disagree	6	22	19
- No comment	9	10	11

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Among them, more than the mean believe that the slogans and acts seen during the crisis of summer 2014 are ‘understandable’. In light of their responses to other questions, this ‘understanding’ can under no circumstances be viewed as ‘sociological understanding’.

You are no doubt aware that this summer, during the conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, pro-Palestinian demonstrations took place in various French cities. Slogans hostile to Jews were heard at some of these demonstrations and synagogues and shops were attacked in Paris and Sarcelles. Do you personally think these slogans and acts are ... ?

Total unacceptable, total understandable (%)

	Whole Sample	Front National supporters	Marine Le Pen Voters in 2012
TOTAL Unacceptable	73	68	62
TOTAL Understandable	14	20	23
• No comment	13	12	15

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Of all the respondent categories, the *Front National* supporters (39%) and Marine Le Pen voters (37%) most frequently stated that ‘French Jews are not just as French as any other French person’ versus a mean of 16%. Three-quarters of *Front National* supporters (77%) and Marine Le Pen voters (70%) took the view that ‘French Muslims are not just as French as any other French person’ versus a mean of 35%. Moreover, 75% of *Front National* supporters and 71% of Marine Le Pen voters believe that ‘French people of immigrant origin are not just as French as any other French person’, versus a mean of 36%.

In your opinion, are people from the Alsace just as French as any other French person or people from Brittany, etc.? (%)

	Just as French as any other French person			Not just as French as any other French person		
	Whole Sample	Front National supporters	Marine Le Pen Voters in 2012	Whole Sample	National Front	Marine Le Pen Voters in 2012
• People from Brittany	97	98	96	3	2	4
• People from Alsace	96	96	94	4	4	6
• People from Corsica	88	89	87	12	11	13
• French Jews	84	61	63	16	39	37
• French Muslims	65	23	30	35	77	70
• French people of immigrant origin	64	25	29	36	75	71

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

While a mean of 26% of respondents believe that the ban on Dieudonné's show was 'unjustified', this rises to 57% among *FN* supporters and 54% among Marine Le Pen voters. Here again, it is unlikely that this can be explained by their liberal attitudes.

You are no doubt aware that in January, the government banned a show by the comedian Dieudonné M'bala M'bala known as Dieudonné due to comments that were considered antisemitic. Do you think the government's reaction to the Dieudonné affair was ... ?

Completely justified, justified, unjustified or completely unjustified? (%)

	Whole Sample	Front National supporters	Marine Le Pen Voters in 2012
TOTAL Justified	64	35	38
TOTAL Unjustified	26	57	54
• No comment	10	8	8

39% of the *FN* supporters and 42% of respondents who stated that they voted for Marine Le Pen in 2012 ascribe the ban on Dieudonné shows to the 'influence of the Jewish community'.

In your view, what were the main reasons that Dieudonné's show was banned? Can you rank these first and second?

Total reasons cited (%) *

	Whole Sample	Front National supporters	Marine Le Pen Voters in 2012
• He made comments that were considered antisemitic	69	59	59
• He made comments that were offensive to some people	51	43	47
• The potential threat to public order	36	28	27
• The influence of the Jewish community	21	39	42
• None. Other reason.	6	13	12
• No comment	9	9	7

(*) Total higher than 100 as respondents were allowed two answers.

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

The table should be read as follows: 69% of respondents cited 'he made comments that were considered antisemitic' in first or second place as one of the main reasons Dieudonné's show was banned. 59% of the *Front National* supporting respondents gave the same response.

More *FN* supporters and Marine Le Pen voters also believe Dieudonné was right to express antisemitic prejudice. However, their level of approval for the opinion that ‘the enslavement of black people (African slave trade) is insufficiently discussed’ is lower, this time, than the mean score.

Do you personally believe that Dieudonné is mostly right or mostly wrong when he says that ... ?

‘Mostly right’ responses (%)

	Whole Sample	<i>Front National</i> supporters	Marine Le Pen Voters in 2012
The enslavement of black people (African slave trade) is insufficiently discussed	46	37	38
Jews control the media	23	47	47
The Holocaust and the extermination of the Jews during the Second World War is excessively discussed	23	46	45
A global Zionist conspiracy is taking place	16	37	38

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

FN supporters and Marine Le Pen voters generally express a level of xenophobia towards North Africans, black Africans, Muslims and ‘foreigners in general’ that is impossible to overlook. It is apparent from these findings that the *Front National* in 2014 is still the same party founded by Jean-Marie Le Pen in 1972 and whose leadership passed to his daughter Marine Le Pen in 2011. Marine Le Pen is in fact not the leader of her own party but that of Jean-Marie Le Pen.

Tell me if you think there are too many of each of these categories of people in France?

‘Yes’ responses (%)

	Whole Sample	<i>Front National</i> supporters	Marine Le Pen Voters in 2012
• North Africans	51	96	91
• Muslims	51	99	95
• Foreigners in general	40	83	75
• Black Africans	36	83	79
• Asians	20	38	39
• Jews	16	38	37
• Protestants	7	16	14

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

It should be noted that the list of *FN* priorities includes greater freedom from government for companies. This combination of political authoritarianism, xenophobia and economic liberalism fits perfectly with the *Front National* agenda and, once again, not that of the party currently led by Marine Le Pen, but the one founded and led by Jean-Marie Le Pen for such a long time that it has remained true to his vision.

For each of the following opinions, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree?

Total 'agree' (%)

	Whole Sample	Jewish people have too much power in politics	Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	A global Zionist conspiracy is taking place
• It is sometimes said nowadays that there is insufficient respect for authority	92	92	91	92
• We need a true leader in France to restore order	85	93	94	93
• The government should give companies greater freedom	72	81	81	78
• Wherever I go, I don't feel safe	61	73	82	75
• It is right that homosexual couples should be able to marry and adopt children	55	41	39	46
• The death penalty should be brought back in France	44	58	80	63

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

The table should be read as follows: a mean of 61% of respondents believe that wherever I go, I don't feel safe. Of those who believe that 'Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis', 82% believe that wherever I go, I don't feel safe.

2. A SIGNIFICANT PROPORTION OF THE MUSLIM GROUP

Two to three times more Muslim respondents than the mean exhibit prejudices towards Jews. This proportion rises as respondents' stated commitment to their religion increases. Thus, while 19% of all respondents state that they endorse the idea that 'Jews have too much power in politics', this figure rises to 51% for the Muslim group as a whole. This question demonstrates the effects of respondents' degree of religiosity on their support for antisemitic statements – indeed support for the above statement is 37% among people who state that they are of 'Muslim origin', 49% among 'Muslim believers', and 63% among 'Muslims who believe and practise'.

Antisemitism indicator and Muslims' degree of religiosity (%)							
	No (yes to none of the statements)	Yes to 1 statement	Yes to 2 statements	Yes to 3 statements	Yes to 4 statements	Yes to 5 statements	Yes to 6 statements
OVERALL Muslims	17	13	11	13	17	23	6
Muslims who practise and believe	13	8	8	11	21	32	7
Muslim believers	14	16	9	18	16	21	6
Muslim origin	27	15	19	9	12	14	4

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

How would you describe yourself? (%)

	1989	1994	2001	2007	2011	Muslims October 2014
• Muslim who believes and practises	37	27	36	33	41	42
• Muslim believer	38	42	42	38	34	34
• Of Muslim origin	20	24	16	25	22	21
• A follower of a different religion	1	2	1	1	-	-
• Not religious	4	5	5	3	3	3
• No comment	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

'Agree' responses (%)

	Whole Sample	All Muslims	Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Muslims who believe and practise
• Jews have too much power in the economic and financial sector	25	67	52	69	74
• Jews have too much power in the media	22	61	49	58	73
• Jews currently use their status as victims of the Nazi genocide during the Second World War to their own ends	35	56	43	59	62
• Jews have too much power in politics	19	51	37	49	63
• Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	6	13	12	14	14
• Jewish people are unfairly criticised when things go wrong	46	34	36	37	33

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

The Dieudonné affair highlights the genuine existence of a major division between Muslims and the rest of society. This is reflected among other things by the fact that the majority of Muslim respondents (53%) consider the ban on the show to be 'unjustified' compared to a quarter (26%) of the total sample aged 16 and above.

You are no doubt aware that in January the government banned a show by the comedian Dieudonné M'bala M'bala known as Dieudonné due to comments that were considered antisemitic. Do you think the government's reaction to the Dieudonné affair was ... ?

Completely justified, justified, unjustified or completely unjustified? (%)

	Whole Sample	All Muslims	Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Muslims who believe and practise
TOTAL justified	64	31	43	26	26
• Completely justified	34	11	23	5	6
• Justified	30	20	20	21	20
TOTAL unjustified	26	53	44	55	60
• Unjustified	16	21	18	23	23
• Completely unjustified	10	32	26	32	37
• No comment	10	16	13	19	14

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Moreover, almost half of Muslim respondents (45%) believe that 'the influence of the Jewish community' is the main cause of the ban, which is double the mean score (21%).

In your view, what were the main reasons that Dieudonné's show was banned? Can you rank these first and second?

Total reasons cited (%) *

	Whole Sample	All Muslims	Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Muslims who believe and practise
• He made comments that were considered antisemitic	69	60	60	61	57
• The influence of the Jewish community	21	45	35	50	49
• He made comments that were offensive to some people	51	37	45	31	37
• The potential threat to public order	36	29	37	27	29
• No comment	9	12	9	13	13

(*) Total higher than 100 as respondents were allowed two answers.

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

The proportion of Muslims who state that they share Dieudonné's views is considerably higher than the mean. This declared support may lead some respondents to express the most characteristic forms of prejudice. For instance, the idea that Zionism 'is an international organisation seeking to influence the world', which is so typical of the antisemitic mindset, is endorsed by high numbers of Muslim respondents (44%) compared to a mean of 16% for the group aged 16 and above. Here again, the percentage rises in step with respondents' level of religious involvement. The existence of a Zionist conspiracy is given credence by 30% of those who describe themselves as being 'of Muslim origin', 42% of 'Muslim believers' and 56% of 'Muslims who believe and practise'.

Do you personally believe that Dieudonné is mostly right or mostly wrong when he says that ... ?

'Mostly right' responses (%)

	Whole Sample	All Muslims	Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Muslims who believe and practise
The enslavement of black people (African slave trade) is insufficiently discussed	46	75	65	77	79
Jews control the media	23	61	50	59	70
The Holocaust and the extermination of the Jews during the Second World War is excessively discussed	23	52	37	55	58
A global Zionist conspiracy is taking place	16	44	30	42	56

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

By testing respondents' approval or rejection of opinions attributed to Dieudonné, we discover that the hypothesis of support for the view that a conspiracy is taking place, one of the chief components of the antisemitic mindset, is corroborated. Over half of Muslim respondents (57%) believe that Dieudonné is 'mostly right' when he says that Zionism 'is an international organisation seeking to influence the world and society in the interests of the Jews'. This proportion rises to 64% among Muslims who believe and practise.

Do you personally agree or disagree with the following statements? Zionism is ... [%]

'Agree' responses [%]

	Whole Sample	All Muslims	Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Muslims who believe and practise
• An ideology used by Israel to justify its policy of occupying and colonising Palestinian territories	37	66	52	66	75
• An international organisation seeking to influence the world and society in the interests of the Jews	25	57	44	57	64
• An ideology advocating the Jews' right to their own state in the lands of their ancestors	46	51	56	52	47
• A racist ideology	23	46	33	49	52

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

A third of Muslim respondents (33%) state that they would prefer not to have a 'Jewish French president'. We have already seen that the level of rejection for this proposition is considerably higher among *FN* supporters (53%) and Marine Le Pen voters (49%).

If it were only up to you, would you seek, avoid or be completely unconcerned about the following situations?

'Avoid' responses [%]

	Whole Sample	All Muslims	Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Muslims who believe and practise
• Having a Jewish French president	21	33	19	34	43
• Voting for a Jewish mayor	14	26	15	27	33
• Having a Jewish bank manager	10	22	10	22	30
• Having a Jewish boss	10	18	9	18	23
• Having a Jewish doctor	8	13	5	14	18
• Having a Jewish neighbour	6	9	2	7	14

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

A certain degree of dissatisfaction is reflected in the fact that twice as many Muslim respondents than the mean believe that more is done in France to tackle antisemitism than racism.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [%]

'Agree' responses [%]

	Whole Sample	All Muslims	Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Muslims who believe and practise
• In France, more is done to tackle antisemitism than racism	35	65	54	65	72
• In France, there are more problems with antisemitism than with racism	16	20	16	20	22

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Respondents' attitudes to past tragedies (in this case the Holocaust) prompt very different responses to those provided thus far. It could even be said that these responses are unexpected given the findings reported above. Indeed, most Muslim respondents approve of the idea that it is important to teach young people about the Holocaust in order to prevent it from happening again.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

It is important to teach about the Holocaust (the genocide of the Jews during the Second World War) to young people to ensure it does not happen again. (%)

	Whole Sample	All Muslims	Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Muslims who believe and practise
• Agree	77	67	77	69	61
• Disagree	12	24	19	22	28
• No comment	11	9	4	9	11

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

The view of the Holocaust as an exaggeration or fabrication does not resonate among Muslim respondents. This study suggests that the notion of Holocaust denial is expressed to no greater extent in Muslim opinion than in national opinion in general.

Approximately 6 million Jews were killed by the Nazis in the Second World War.

Do you consider this to be ...? (%)

	Whole Sample	All Muslims	Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Muslims who believe and practise
• A monstrous crime	63	58	67	61	50
• One tragedy among others in a war that claimed many lives	29	35	28	37	39
• An exaggeration – people died but much fewer than were reported	2	5	3	2	8
• A fabrication – it never happened	1	-	-	-	1
• No comment	5	2	2	-	2

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Contrary to these findings, more Muslims (34%) than the mean (22%) respond that their colleagues, friends or family 'often' or 'occasionally' criticise Jewish people.

Do your colleagues, friends or family often, occasionally, rarely or never criticize Jewish people? (%)

	Whole Sample	All Muslims	Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Muslims who believe and practise
TOTAL Often/occasionally	22	34	32	39	33
• Often	3	6	6	8	5
• Occasionally	19	28	26	31	28
TOTAL Rarely/never	78	63	65	59	64
• Rarely	40	31	29	34	28
• Never	38	32	36	25	36
• No comment	-	3	3	2	3

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

85% also state that they do not react ‘in any particular way’ when they find out that someone they know is Jewish.

In general, when you are told that someone you know is Jewish, how do you react? (%)

	Whole Sample	All Muslims	Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Muslims who believe and practise
• I like it	3	8	11	9	5
• I don't like it	3	5	1	6	7
• I don't react in any particular way	91	85	86	85	86
• No comment	3	2	2	-	2

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

In terms of respondent groups, considerably higher numbers of Muslims than *FN* supporters and Marine Le Pen voters view ‘French Jews’ as ‘just as French as any other French person’.

In your opinion, are people from the Alsace just as French as any other French person or people from Brittany, etc.?

‘Yes’ responses (%)

	French respondents			Muslim respondents			
	Whole Sample	Front National supporters	Marine Le Pen Voters in 2012	All Muslims	Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Muslims who believe and practise
• People from Brittany	97	98	96	98	98	99	98
• People from Alsace	96	96	64	97	98	97	96
• People from Corsica	88	89	87	93	95	95	89
• French Jews	84	61	63	91	92	91	90
• French Muslims	65	23	30	89	89	91	89
• French people of immigrant origin	64	25	29	85	83	87	85

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Based on all the data collected, it is nevertheless apparent that only 17% of Muslim respondents share none of the prejudices towards Jewish people versus 53% for all respondents.

Antisemitism indicator (comparison of the Muslim sample with the entire sample aged 16 years and above, in %)

	All people of Muslim origin	Entire sample
• No (yes to none of these statements)	17	53
• Yes to 1 statement	13	18
• Yes to 2 statements	11	9
• Yes to 3 statements	13	5
• Yes to 4 statements	17	6
• Yes to 5 statements	23	6
• Yes to 6 statements	6	3

The notion that it is necessary to tackle antisemitism and racism to prevent a tragedy like the Holocaust from happening again is however more widely endorsed among Muslim respondents (89%) than the entire sample (85%).

The massacre of the Jews by the Nazis is also known as the 'Holocaust'. Some people believe that antisemitism and racism must be tackled to prevent a tragedy like the Holocaust from happening again. Do you ... ?

Strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with this statement? (%)

	Entire Sample	All Muslims	Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Muslims who believe and practise
TOTAL agree	85	89	90	93	85
• Strongly agree	58	56	67	61	45
• Agree	27	33	23	32	40
TOTAL disagree	6	6	8	4	7
• Disagree	4	4	6	2	4
• Strongly disagree	2	2	2	2	3
• No comment	9	5	2	3	8

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Muslims' perceptions of racism are affected by their feeling that they are victims of it. Accordingly, two-thirds (68%) of Muslim respondents believe that 'racism against Muslims' exists in France and a third (31%) believe that 'racism against Jews' exists.

In France, would you say there is a lot of, some, or no ...

'A lot of' responses (%)

	Entire Sample	All Muslims	Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Muslims who believe and practise
• Racism against Muslims	56	68	54	67	75
• Racism against black people	35	48	44	42	55
• Racism against Jews	36	31	31	30	32
• Racism against white people	33	11	16	10	10

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

3. SUPPORTERS OF THE FRONT DE GAUCHE AND PEOPLE WHO VOTED FOR JEAN-LUC MÉLENCHON

On the political right, respondents describing themselves as *FN* supporters give almost the same responses as respondents who stated that they voted for Marine Le Pen in the 2012 French presidential election. It could even be said that consistency between these two groups is striking. In contrast, on the political left, the opinions of respondents describing themselves as supporters of the *Front de Gauche*² differ from those of respondents who stated that they voted for Jean-Luc Mélenchon in 2012. In both groups, negative views of Jewish people are more widespread than in society as a whole. However, these views are significantly more prevalent among *Front de Gauche* supporters than Jean-Luc Mélenchon voters, thus widening the gap with the national mean.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

'Agree' responses (%)

	Whole Sample	<i>Front de Gauche</i> supporters	Jean-Luc Mélenchon voters in 2012
Jews currently use their status as victims of the Nazi genocide during the Second World War to their own ends	35	51	39
Jews have too much power in the economic and financial sector	25	33	29
Jews have too much power in the media	22	28	23
Jews have too much power in politics	19	27	24
Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	6	19	11
A global Zionist conspiracy is taking place	16	17	18

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Anti-Jewish prejudice is more widespread within the *Front de Gauche* movement than in French society as a whole. It is nevertheless less prevalent than in the *Front National* party.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

'Agree' responses (%)

	Whole Sample	<i>Front de Gauche</i> supporters	Jean-Luc Mélenchon voters in 2012	<i>Front National</i> supporters	Marine Le Pen Voters in 2012
Jews currently use their status as victims of the Nazi genocide during the Second World War to their own ends	35	51	39	62	56
Jews have too much power in the economic and financial sector	25	33	29	50	46
Jews have too much power in the media	22	28	23	51	48
Jews have too much power in politics	19	27	24	41	39
Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	6	19	11	13	14
A global Zionist conspiracy is taking place	16	17	18	37	38

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

2. Translator's Note: The *Front de Gauche* or 'Left Front' is a left-wing political movement formed in 2009. Jean-Luc Mélenchon was its candidate in the 2012 presidential election.

The Dieudonné affair reveals hostility towards Jews among *Front de Gauche* supporters and those who voted for Jean-Luc Mélenchon. Higher numbers in this category of respondents (31%) than in the whole sample (21%) view the Jewish community as one of the main causes of the ban on the shows in question.

In your view, what were the main reasons that Dieudonné's show was banned? Can you rank these first and second?

Total reasons cited (%) *

	Entire Sample	<i>Front de Gauche</i> supporters	Jean-Luc Mélenchon voters in 2012
• He made comments that were considered antisemitic	69	66	65
• He made comments that were offensive to some people	51	51	46
• The potential threat to public order	36	48	42
• The influence of the Jewish community	21	31	31
• None. Other reason.	6	4	3
• No comment	9	-	7

[*] Total higher than 100 as respondents were allowed two answers.

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Generally speaking, it is evident that the proportions of *Front de Gauche* supporters and Jean-Luc Mélenchon voters who approve of the opinions expressed by Dieudonné that we tested are significantly higher than the overall mean.

Do you personally believe that Dieudonné is mostly right or mostly wrong when he says that ... ?

'Mostly right' responses (%)

	Whole Sample	<i>Front de Gauche</i> supporters	Jean-Luc Mélenchon voters in 2012
The enslavement of black people (African slave trade) is insufficiently discussed	46	66	65
Jews control the media	23	38	30
The Holocaust and the extermination of the Jews during the Second World War is excessively discussed	23	38	28
A global Zionist conspiracy is taking place	16	17	18

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Finally, it should be noted that almost half of *Front de Gauche* supporters (48%) and Jean-Luc Mélenchon voters (49%) believe that more is done in France to tackle antisemitism than racism.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (%)

	Agree	<i>Front de Gauche</i> supporters	Jean-Luc Mélenchon voters in 2012	Disagree	<i>Front de Gauche</i> supporters	Jean-Luc Mélenchon voters in 2012
In France, more is done to tackle antisemitism than racism	35	48	49	41	40	37
In France, there are more problems with antisemitism than with racism	16	11	16	59	76	69

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Despite this, 87% of respondents describing themselves as *Front de Gauche* supporters and 84% of those who state that they voted for Jean-Luc Mélenchon in 2012 believe that it is important to teach about the Holocaust (versus an overall mean score of 77%).

Responses to questions regarding Zionism reflect the stance taken by the *Front de Gauche* on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. On this issue, *Front de Gauche* supporters diverge more from the national mean than Jean-Luc Mélenchon voters. This can probably be explained by the fact that the category of ‘*Front de Gauche* supporters’ also includes respondents who consider themselves to be supporters of the French Communist Party or small far-left parties (*Lutte Ouvrière*, *Nouveau Parti Anticapitaliste*, etc.), which were not provided as options due to their limited influence in French society and among the electorate in particular, hence their very poor results in the 2012 presidential election.

Do you personally agree or disagree with the following statements? Zionism is ...

‘Agree’ responses (%)

	Whole Sample	<i>Front de Gauche</i> supporters	Jean-Luc Mélenchon voters in 2012	<i>Europe Écologie Les Verts</i>
• An ideology advocating the Jews’ right to their own state in the lands of their ancestors	46	60	48	52
• An ideology used by Israel to justify its occupation and colonisation of Palestinian territories	37	63	49	48
• An international organisation seeking to influence the world and society in the interests of the Jews	25	28	28	31
• A racist ideology	23	44	40	24

Source: Fondation pour l’innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

A second major difference between respondents who support the *Front de Gauche* or those who voted for Jean-Luc Mélenchon in 2012 on one hand, and respondents who support the *Front National* or those who voted for Marine Le Pen in 2012, is the fact that the former group do not consider individuals to be more or less French based on their origins or religion. This reflects the ideology espoused by the *Front de Gauche* and Jean-Luc Mélenchon, which is deeply rooted in republican ideology. It is also perhaps symptomatic of their pro-Third World legacy, which is further evidence that the *Front National* and Marine Le Pen voters constitute a special case.

In your opinion, are people from the Alsace just as French as any other French person or people from Brittany, etc.?

‘Yes’ responses (%)

	Just as French as any other French person		
	Whole Sample	<i>Front de Gauche</i> supporters	Jean-Luc Mélenchon voters in 2012
• French Jews	84	85	92
• French Muslims	65	84	83
• French people of immigrant origin	64	81	80

Source: Fondation pour l’innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Front de Gauche supporters and even Jean-Luc Mélenchon voters are more likely than the average respondent to dispute the fact that the Holocaust is a special case. Unlike *Front National* supporters, they do not doubt that the Holocaust genuinely occurred and therefore cannot be described as Holocaust deniers. However, more respondents in this category view it in the same terms as other World War II tragedies, thus detracting from its special status. Most *Front de Gauche* supporters and Jean-Luc Mélenchon voters do not endorse the view that the Holocaust is a special case.

Approximately 6 million Jews were killed by the Nazis in the Second World War.

Do you consider this to be ... ? (%)

	Entire Sample	<i>Front de Gauche</i> supporters	Jean-Luc Mélenchon voters in 2012
• A monstrous crime	63	46	54
• One tragedy among others in a war that claimed many lives	29	50	39
• An exaggeration – people died but much fewer than were reported	2	2	3
• A fabrication – it never happened	1	2	-
• No comment	5	0	4

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

4. SOCIAL MEDIA, DISCUSSION FORUMS AND VIDEO SHARING WEBSITES

Political organisations and elected officials are not alone in suffering the effects of a crisis of confidence in representative institutions. The traditional media is also met with distrust. At the same time, the emergence and subsequent establishment of universally accessible digital media have given rise to a sort of parallel media environment infused with an underground protestor culture easily given to conspiracy theories regarding past and current events.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

'Agree' responses and respondents' stated trusted information sources (%)

	Whole Sample	Social Media	Video sharing websites	Discussion forums	News websites
Jews currently use their status as victims of the Nazi genocide during the Second World War to their own ends	35	46	67	51	36
Jews have too much power in the economic and financial sector	25	35	42	28	27
Jews have too much power in the media	22	37	59	31	26
Jews have too much power in politics	19	27	47	27	21
Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	6	9	12	7	5

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

The table should be read as follows: a mean of 22% respondents believe that Jews have too much power in the media. Of those who trust social media as a source of information, 37% believe that Jews have too much power in the media.

Our study suggests that views expressed by news website users are comparable to those of individuals who use traditional media (press, radio and television). As such, news websites are no more associated with the generation and dissemination of antisemitic messages and opinions than traditional media.

In contrast, the trio of social media, discussion forums and video sharing forums constitute a media environment that is particularly conducive to the emergence and spread of antisemitic opinions.

A comparative analysis of views on the Dieudonné affair shows that the sample as a whole is much less inclined to express antisemitic prejudice than individuals using social media, discussion forums and video sharing websites. Consequently, while a mean of 25% of respondents believe that the ban on Dieudonné shows was ‘unjustified’, this proportion exceeds 40% among social media and discussion forum users, and reaches 60% among video sharing website users.

You are no doubt aware that in January the government banned a show by the comedian Dieudonné M'bala M'bala known as Dieudonné due to comments that were considered antisemitic. Do you think the government's reaction to the Dieudonné affair was ... ?

Completely justified, justified, unjustified or completely unjustified and respondents' stated trusted information sources (%)

	Entire Sample	Social Media	Video sharing websites	Discussion forums	News websites
TOTAL Justified	64	44	31	51	63
TOTAL Unjustified	26	41	60	40	29
• No comment	10	15	9	9	8

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

The table should be read as follows: a mean of 64% of respondents believe that the government's reaction to the Dieudonné affair was justified. Of those who trust news websites as a source of information, 63% believe that the government's reaction to the Dieudonné affair was justified

Moreover, while 21% of respondents aged 16 and above believe that ‘the influence of the Jewish community’ was behind the decision to ban these shows, this proportion rises to 58% among users of video sharing websites.

In your view, what were the main reasons that Dieudonné's show was banned? Can you rank these first and second?

Total reasons cited and respondents' stated trusted information sources (%) *

	Entire Sample	Social Media	Video sharing websites	Discussion forums	News websites
• He made comments that were considered antisemitic	69	64	46	56	70
• He made comments that were offensive to some people	51	37	34	48	50
• The potential threat to public order	36	36	36	39	37
• The influence of the Jewish community	21	31	58	36	24
• None. Other reason.	6	10	14	5	7
• No comment	9	11	7	8	6

(*) Total higher than 100 as respondents were allowed two answers.

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

The table should be read as follows: a mean of 36% of respondents cited the potential threat to public order in first or second place as one of the main reasons Dieudonné's show was banned. Of those who trust discussion forums as a source of information, 39% cite this potential threat in first or second place.

Users of video sharing websites are more likely than any other category to personally endorse Dieudonné's comments. A majority of these respondents believe that he is right to state that 'Jews control the media' (57%) or that 'a global Zionist conspiracy is taking place' (54%).

Do you personally believe that Dieudonné is mostly right or mostly wrong when he says that ... ?

'Mostly right' responses and respondents' stated trusted information sources (%)

	Entire Sample	Social Media	Video sharing websites	Discussion forums	News websites
The enslavement of black people (African slave trade) is insufficiently discussed	46	52	51	49	46
Jews control the media	23	37	57	33	25
The Holocaust and the extermination of the Jews during the Second World War is excessively discussed	23	30	50	38	26
A global Zionist conspiracy is taking place	16	27	54	25	17

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

The table should be read as follows: a mean of 23% of respondents believe that Dieudonné is mostly right when he says that Jews control the media. Of those who trust video sharing websites as a source of information, 57% believe that Dieudonné is mostly right when he says that Jews control the media.

PART THREE:

DRIVERS AND INSTRUMENTS OF ANTISEMITISM IN FRENCH SOCIETY

The findings of our survey suggest that although age, qualifications and income are possible factors in individuals' expression or approval of antisemitic views, these opinions are much more consistently linked to a set of interconnected perceptions and political views. Indeed, antisemitism is largely associated with a section of society in which distrust and rejection are widespread and which is dominated by an authoritarian culture hostile to immigrants and the world (except in the case of Muslim respondents) as well as to diversity in all its forms.

1. POLITICISATION, A FACTOR IN ANTISEMITIC VIEWS

Politicisation, or, for the purpose of this study, respondents' declared support for any political party, appears to be a factor increasing prejudice towards Jews. Indeed, while a mean of 53% of respondents state that they do not share any of the six prejudices considered for the antisemitism indicator, this percentage rises to 63% among respondents who do not consider themselves supporters of any political party.

Antisemitism indicator and political alignment (%)	No (yes to none of these statements)	Yes to 1 statement	Yes to 2 statements	Yes to 3 statements	Yes to 4 statements	Yes to 5 statements	Yes to 6 statements
ENTIRE SAMPLE	53	18	9	5	6	6	3
Left	52	19	9	6	5	6	3
<i>Front de Gauche</i>	36	27	9	6	8	4	10
<i>Parti Socialiste</i>	58	15	10	6	5	5	1
<i>Europe Écologie Les Verts</i>	62	18	4	4	-	12	-
<i>MoDem</i>	47	26	6	7	7	7	-
Right	44	18	10	7	9	8	4
<i>UDI (*)</i>	45	19	10	16	10	-	-
<i>UMP</i>	58	19	10	4	6	2	1
<i>Front National</i>	25	16	12	9	10	19	9
No political party	63	17	7	2	6	3	2

(*) Less than 40 individuals questioned – these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low number of respondents.

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Politicisation, in its minimal sense indicated above, has the same impact on individuals' likelihood to express xenophobic and even racist views, which is indicated by them stating the belief that there are 'too many' of a given group in France. A mean of 51% of respondents believe that there are too many North Africans compared to 43% among respondents who do not consider themselves to be supporters of any political party. Moreover, 51% believe there are 'too many' Muslims compared to 42% among those with no political affiliation. 36% believe that there are 'too many' black Africans compared to 27% among those who do not consider themselves to be supporters of any political party.

If we eliminate *Front National* supporters temporarily from our analysis, higher numbers of *UMP*, *UDI* and *MoDem* supporters than *Front de Gauche*, *Parti Socialiste* and *Europe Écologie Les Verts* supporters believe that there are ‘too many’ North Africans, Muslims, black Africans and ‘foreigners in general’ in France.

Conversely, more supporters of left-wing parties than right-wing parties endorse the view that there are ‘too many Jews in France’, based again on the proviso that *Front National* supporters are not taken into account.

Tell me if you think there are too many of each of these categories of people in France?

‘Yes’ responses (%)

	Whole Sample	<i>Front de Gauche</i>	<i>Parti Socialiste</i>	<i>Europe Écologie Les Verts</i>	No political party
North Africans	51	34	34	31	43
Muslims	51	28	34	38	42
Foreigners in general	40	21	24	34	39
Black Africans	36	21	23	18	27
Asians	20	12	15	18	19
Jews	16	24	8	19	16
Protestants	7	10	3	8	8

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Tell me if you think there are too many of each of these categories of people in France?

‘Yes’ responses (%)

	Whole Sample	<i>MoDem</i>	<i>UDI</i>	<i>UMP</i>	No political party
North Africans	51	39	51	70	43
Muslims	51	38	48	68	42
Foreigners in general	40	25	34	48	39
Black Africans	36	26	30	51	27
Asians	20	14	23	20	19
Jews	16	9	5	13	16
Protestants	7	3	2	5	8

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

On some topics, respondents describing themselves as *UDI* or *MoDem* supporters share prejudices towards Jews in proportions that are higher than the mean. For instance, 16% of *UDI* supporters state that they would rather not have a Jewish boss (compared to a mean of 10%). Moreover, 38% of *UDI* supporters state that they share the view that ‘Jews have too much power in the economic and financial sector’, which is considerably higher than the percentage for French people as a whole (25%). A third (35%) of *MoDem* supporters perceive Zionism as ‘an international organisation seeking to influence the world and society in the Jews’ interests’, compared to 25% of French people as a whole. Moreover, considerably higher numbers (36%) of *MoDem* supporters than the mean (23%) view Zionism as ‘a racist ideology’.

2. TRUST IN RELIGIOUS AUTHORITIES AND DISTRUST OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS – TWO FACTORS IN ANTISEMITIC VIEWS

Of those stating that they ‘mostly trust’ the religious authorities, two-thirds (67%) share at least one antisemitic opinion. By comparison, in the entire sample of respondents, 47% share at least one antisemitic opinion.

The study moreover corroborates this by revealing that a very small minority of practising Catholics are perpetuating a trend for people of this faith to share certain antisemitic prejudices. For instance, 22% of them state that there are too many Jews in France (compared to 16% for the entire respondent sample). Moreover, 10% of practising Catholics state that when they find out that someone is Jewish they ‘do not like it’ (compared to a mean of 3%). Again, more practising Catholic respondents than the mean state that they would prefer not to have a Jewish French president (37% compared to 21% overall), a Jewish mayor (29% compared to 14%) or a Jewish boss (17% compared to 10%). More of them (42%) also believe that the Jews use the Holocaust to their own ends (compared to 35% for French people as a whole). Conversely, the percentage of practising Catholics who endorse the idea that the Jewish community influenced the decision to cancel Dieudonné’s shows (6%) is lower than the mean (11%).

We should add that two-thirds of these practising Catholics (67%) also believe that there are ‘too many’ North Africans in France (compared to a mean of 51%). Moreover, 50% of practising Catholics believe that there are too many ‘foreigners in general’ (compared to a mean of 40%).

Antisemitism indicator and trust in various stakeholders		
	Trust	Do not trust
ENTIRE SAMPLE	33	67
• No [yes to none of these statements]	33	67
• Yes to 1 statement	32	68
• Yes to 2 statements	37	63
• Yes to 3 statements	37	63
• Yes to 4 statements	31	69
• Yes to 5 statements	41	59
• Yes to 6 statements [*]	23	77

[*] Less than 40 individuals questioned – these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low number of respondents.

Source: Fondation pour l’innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

The antisemitism indicator may be correlated with trust in the religious authorities. This link is evident among Muslim respondents.

Antisemitism indicator and degree of religiosity (%)							
	No [yes to none of the statements]	Yes to 1 statement	Yes to 2 statements	Yes to 3 statements	Yes to 4 statements	Yes to 5 statements	Yes to 6 statements
OVERALL Muslims	17	13	11	13	17	23	6
<i>Muslims who believe and practise</i>	13	8	8	11	21	32	7
<i>Muslim believers</i>	14	16	9	18	16	21	6
<i>Muslim origin</i>	27	15	19	9	12	14	4

Source: Fondation pour l’innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Therefore, the fact that Muslim respondents are more likely than the average respondent to declare their trust in the religious authorities should be seen as one of the drivers of antisemitic opinions. At the same time, Muslims exhibit a generally higher level of trust towards all types of institutions and authorities. Distrust towards institutions should therefore not be viewed as an adequate determining factor.

Do you trust or distrust ... ?

'Trust' responses (%)

	Entire Sample	All Muslims	Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Muslims who believe and practise
• Your family	97	97	98	96	97
• Your friends	94	89	92	91	87
• School/teachers	67	74	79	74	72
• Mayors	59	61	62	55	65
• Company managers	45	47	44	47	49
• Trade unions	27	46	48	40	50
• Religious authorities	33	44	26	43	59
• The European Union	32	41	51	40	38
• Parliament	24	36	45	36	32
• The media	32	36	48	33	35
• The government	24	35	34	38	33
• Political parties	8	11	8	10	14

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

However, if we isolate distrust towards political institutions and democracy in particular, it is apparent that the tendency to share antisemitic opinions is linked to the belief that 'democracy does not work well'.

Would you say that in France, democracy works very well, quite well, not very well or not at all well?

Total 'well' and total 'not well' (%)

	Whole Sample	Jews have too much power in politics	Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	A global Zionist conspiracy is taking place
Democracy works well	32	24	21	19
Democracy does not work well	68	76	79	81

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

The table should be read as follows: a mean of 32% of respondents believe that democracy works well. 21% of those think that 'Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis' believe that democracy works well.

Of those who do not endorse any of the six proposed antisemitic statements, 38% believe that democracy ‘works well’, which is 6 points higher than the national mean (32%). From a different perspective, this table shows that of those who share at least two antisemitic prejudices, 73% believe that democracy does not work well, which is 5 points higher than the mean level recorded (68%). Although this relationship does not appear to be linear, it reveals a clear tendency for dissatisfaction with the way democracy works to increase as the number of antisemitic opinions rises.

Antisemitism indicator and perception of the way democracy works in France [%]		
	TOTAL well	TOTAL not well
ENTIRE SAMPLE	32	68
• No [yes to none of these statements]	38	62
• Yes to 1 statement	32	68
• Yes to 2 statements	27	73
• Yes to 3 statements	26	74
• Yes to 4 statements	9	91
• Yes to 5 statements	31	69
• Yes to 6 statements (*)	12	88

(*) Less than 40 individuals questioned – these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low number of respondents.

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Moreover, in the whole sample, respondents who exhibit prejudice towards Jews show less trust in institutions, in particular, the government, trade unions, EU and parliament.

Do you trust or distrust ... ?

‘Trust’ responses [%]

	Entire Sample	Jews have too much power in politics	Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	A global Zionist conspiracy is taking place
• School/teachers	67	58	57	55
• The European Union	32	24	14	20
• The media	32	30	33	30
• The trade unions	27	16	28	31
• Parliament	24	15	14	14
• The government	24	17	19	12
• Political parties	8	8	12	8

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

The table should be read as follows: a mean of 24% of respondents state that they trust the government. 12% of those who think that ‘a global Zionist conspiracy is taking place’ trust the government.

In these respects, Muslim respondents are an exception. Indeed, considerably fewer of these respondents than the mean believe that democracy 'does not work well'.

Would you say that in France, democracy works very well, quite well, not very well or not at all well?

Total 'well' and total 'not well' (%)

	Whole Sample	All Muslims	Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Muslims who believe and practise
TOTAL Well	32	58	68	58	54
TOTAL Not well	68	40	30	40	45
- No comment	-	2	2	2	1

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Moreover, Muslim respondents' stated level of trust in institutions is generally higher than the mean. Therefore, a link between distrust of institutions or the view that democracy does not work well, on one hand, and antisemitic prejudices on the other, is not apparent for Muslim respondents.

3. THE AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITY PERSISTS

The concept of an 'authoritarian personality' formulated by Adorno in his 1950 book of the same title provides a relevant psychosociological explanation of the emergence and spread of antisemitic opinions. The antisemitism indicator we have devised for this survey is particularly revealing in this respect. Indeed, the more inclined individuals are to support the restoration of the death penalty, the higher the number of negative opinions of Jews they share.

For each of the following opinions, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree?

Total 'agree' (%)

	Whole Sample	Jewish people have too much power in politics	Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	A global Zionist conspiracy is taking place
• It is sometimes said nowadays that there is insufficient respect for authority	92	92	91	92
• We need a true leader in France to restore order	85	93	94	93
• The government should give companies greater freedom	72	81	81	78
• Wherever I go, I don't feel safe	61	73	82	75
• It is right that homosexual couples should be able to marry and adopt children	55	41	39	46
• The death penalty should be brought back in France	44	58	80	63

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

The table should be read as follows: a mean of 61% of respondents believe that wherever I go, I don't feel safe. Of those who believe that 'Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis', 82% believe that wherever I go, I don't feel safe.

Antisemitism indicator and degree of support for various propositions.
The death penalty should be brought back in France. (%)

	TOTAL Agree	TOTAL Disagree
ENTIRE SAMPLE	44	56
• No (yes to none of these statements)	38	62
• Yes to 1 statement	39	61
• Yes to 2 statements	43	57
• Yes to 3 statements	48	52
• Yes to 4 statements	66	34
• Yes to 5 statements	73	27
• Yes to 6 statements (*)	73	27

(*) Less than 40 individuals questioned – these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low number of respondents.

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

The same applies to the issue of gay marriage and adoption.

Antisemitism indicator

It is right that homosexual couples should be able to marry and adopt children. (%)

	TOTAL Agree	TOTAL Disagree
ENTIRE SAMPLE	55	45
• No (yes to none of these statements)	62	38
• Yes to 1 statement	53	47
• Yes to 2 statements	53	47
• Yes to 3 statements	45	55
• Yes to 4 statements	41	59
• Yes to 5 statements	41	59
• Yes to 6 statements (*)	27	73

(*) Less than 40 individuals questioned – these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low number of respondents.

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

The same applies to the expression of support for a 'true leader in France' capable of restoring order.

Antisemitism indicator

We need a true leader in France to restore order. (%)

	TOTAL Agree	TOTAL Disagree
ENTIRE SAMPLE	85	15
• No (yes to none of these statements)	81	19
• Yes to 1 statement	85	15
• Yes to 2 statements	86	14
• Yes to 3 statements	87	13
• Yes to 4 statements	97	3
• Yes to 5 statements	98	2
• Yes to 6 statements (*)	94	6

(*) Less than 40 individuals questioned – these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low number of respondents.

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Finally, this complex of opinions is considerably more widespread among men than women.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

'Agree' responses (%)

	Whole Sample	Female	Male
Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	6	3	8
Jews have too much power in politics	19	15	23

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

A gender gap is evident since 59% of female respondents do not share any of the antisemitic prejudices compared to 47% of male respondents.

Antisemitism indicator and interviewee gender (%)							
	No (yes to none of the statements)	Yes to 1 statement	Yes to 2 statements	Yes to 3 statements	Yes to 4 statements	Yes to 5 statements	Yes to 6 statements
OVERALL	53	18	9	5	6	6	3
Men	47	18	9	7	9	6	4
Women	59	18	8	4	4	6	1

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

CONCLUSION

XENOPHOBIA, RACISM AND ANTISEMITISM – PROBLEMS AFFECTING A MULTICULTURAL AND GLOBALISED SOCIETY

Using data collected by Ifop since 1966, it is possible to observe trends regarding the view that there are ‘too many’ North Africans, ‘foreigners in general’, black Africans, Jews and Protestants in France. In this study, we added Muslims and Asians. It is apparent that North Africans and ‘foreigners in general’ are met with less hostility in public opinion while black Africans provoke much more hostility. A fifth of respondents believe that there are ‘too many Asians in France’.

Tell me if you think there are too many of each of these categories of people in France?

‘Yes’ trend (%)

	Ifop September 1966	Fondapol whole sample
September 2014		
• North Africans	62	51
• Muslims	NP	51
• Foreigners in general	51	40
• Black Africans	18	36
• Asians	NP	20
• Jews	13	16
• Protestants	3	7

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

France appears to be a multicultural society in the grip of internal tensions and perceptions that may reflect increasing insularity in the various communities. It is indeed striking that between a third and half of respondents believe that there is ‘a lot of’ racism against Muslims (56%), Jews (36%), black people (35%) and white people (33%).

Would you say that in France there is ... ? (%)

	A lot	Some	Total
• Racism against Muslims	56	39	95
• Racism against Jews	36	57	93
• Racism against black people	35	58	93
• Racism against white people	33	51	84

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

Support for 'greater openness to the world' or, on the contrary, 'greater protection from the world' is a key element in this set of opinions and perceptions that are, to varying degrees, conducive to antisemitic ideas. A form of xenophobia in the literal sense predisposing respondents to share antisemitic views is evidently inherent in the desire for protection from the world.

Do you think France should ... ? (%)

	April 2006	September 2010	February 2011	April 2012	May 2013	Fondapol September 2014
• Open up more to the world	43	28	21	22	26	22
• Protect itself more from the world	31	37	59	60	52	44
• Neither option	26	35	20	18	22	34

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

The antisemitism indicator clearly reveals the relationship between open and closed-minded attitudes towards the world and respondents' levels of antisemitism.

Antisemitism indicator and attitude towards globalisation (%)			
	Greater openness to the world	Greater protection from the world	Neither option
ENTIRE SAMPLE	22	44	34
- No (yes to none of these statements)	25	37	38
• Yes to 1 statement	21	40	39
• Yes to 2 statements	18	57	25
• Yes to 3 statements	19	53	28
• Yes to 4 statements	25	55	20
• Yes to 5 statements	18	62	20
• Yes to 6 statements (*)	18	60	22

(*) Less than 40 individuals questioned – these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the low number of respondents.

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

In under a decade, a switch has occurred in French society from a relative majority in public opinion favouring openness to the world (2006) to a relative majority demanding protection from the world (2014), despite this desire for insularity having significantly diminished since 2013, 2012 and 2011 when it appears to have peaked.

It is therefore extremely important to define the current situation with regard to this demand for insularity in order to observe and understand the phenomenon of antisemitism, as the link between these two types of opinions appears especially strong. If we focus on respondents' levels of hostility towards foreigners, immigrants, and more generally those who seem different due to their religion (Jews, Muslims, Protestants) or origin despite their French nationality (North Africans, Muslims, black Africans, Asians, 'foreigners in general'), the link with antisemitic views is striking. This confirms what has been largely proved by social science, namely that racism, xenophobia and antisemitism are interrelated opinions that mutually generate and reinforce one another. For instance, in this survey, a much higher proportion of those who believe that Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis than the mean think that there are 'too many' North Africans (86%), Muslims (79%), Jews (69%), black Africans (68%), 'foreigners in general' (59%), Asians (40%), and Protestants (24%) in France.

Tell me if you think there are too many of each of these categories of people in France?

'Yes' responses (%)

	Whole Sample	Jews have too much power in politics	Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	A global Zionist conspiracy is taking place
• North Africans	51	74	86	73
• Muslims	51	77	79	74
• Foreigners in general	40	60	59	56
• Black Africans	36	60	68	53
• Asians	20	31	40	36
• Jews	16	38	69	43
• Protestants	7	12	24	13

Source: Fondation pour l'innovation politique with Ifop (2014).

The table should be read as follows: a mean of 20% of respondents believe there are too many Asians in France. 31% of those who believe that 'Jews have too much power in politics' think that there are too many Asians in France.

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