



ANALYSIS OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN FRANCE 2024 EDITION

By Dominique Reynié (Professor at Sciences Po
and Managing Director of Fondapol),

Simone Rodan-Benzaguen (Director, AJC Europe),

Anne-Sophie Sebban-Bécache (Director, AJC Paris),

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December 2024

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DIRECTION

Fondapol :

Dominique Reynié, University Professor at Sciences Po
and Managing Director of Fondapol

AJC :

Simone Rodan-Benzaquen, Director AJC Europe
Anne-Sophie Sebban-Bécache, Director AJC Paris

PRODUCTION

Fondapol :

Clément De Caro, Anne Flambert, Léo Major, Dominique Reynié

AJC :

Sarah Perez-Pariente, Anne-Sophie Sebban-Bécache

COMMUNICATION

AJC:

Valérie Maupas, AJC Paris Communications Director

DESIGN AND PRODUCTION

Julien Rémy

Survey designed by Fondapol and the American Jewish Committee



The survey was conducted by IFOP

Within the Opinion and Corporate Strategies division

Frédéric Dabi, Managing Director, IFOP

François Legrand, Research Director, IFOP

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SOME OF THE KEY FINDINGS

OF THE 2024 EDITION OF OUR STUDY ON ANTI-SEMITISM IN FRANCE

- 1.** The survey confirms a feeling of loneliness among French people of the Jewish faith following the events of October 7 and the impact they had in France. 80% of respondents expressed such a feeling, and more than half (53%) felt it strongly.
- 2.** Similarly, 86% of Jews say that “since the October 7 attack in Israel,” they fear being the victim of an anti-Semitic act.
- 3.** 25% of French people of the Jewish faith report having been the victim of an anti-Semitic act, with 12% experiencing it “several times.”
- 4.** We observe a reaffirmation of identity: 71% of French people of the Jewish faith say that the attack on October 7, 2023, reinforced their “Jewish identity.”
- 5.** 29% of respondents who say they are close to La France Insoumise (LFI) believe that “the creation of Israel is the result of a racist endeavor,” compared with 16% of French people overall.
- 6.** Three-quarters (76%) of French people believe that anti-Semitism is “widespread in France,” up 12 points from 2022.
- 7.** More than half (52%) of French people think that Jews are “the ethnic or religious group most widely victimized by violent acts in France.” In contrast, 34% of 18–24-year-olds place Muslims ahead of Jews (27%) as “the ethnic or religious group most widely victimized by violent acts in France.”
- 8.** Three-quarters (76%) of French people think that “anti-Semitism is a problem that concerns society as a whole,” compared with 9% who say that “anti-Semitism is a problem that concerns only Jews and does not concern society as a whole.”
- 9.** More than a third (36%) of French people feel that not enough is being said about the problem of anti-Semitism, an increase of 10 points from 2022.
- 10.** 40% of those under 35 believe that Israel behaves toward the Palestinians as the Nazis behaved toward the Jews, compared with 32% of French people overall. This figure rises to 67% among French people of Muslim faith and 65% among French people of Muslim faith under 35.
- 11.** Among those under 35, 29% believe that “the creation of Israel is the result of a racist endeavor,” compared with 16% of French people overall and 12% of those aged 65 or over. This figure rises to 45% among French people of Muslim faith and 46% among French people of Muslim faith under 35.
- 12.** The terrorist organization Hamas attracts the sympathy of 6% of French respondents, rising to 14% among the under-35s, 22% among French people of Muslim faith, and 27% among French people of Muslim faith under 35.
- 13.** For 6% of those under 35, the Holocaust is considered an invention, compared with 2% of the general population and 0% of those aged 65 and over.

INTRODUCTION

THE OCTOBER 7 ATTACK REVEALED A FRENCH SOCIETY THREATENED BY ANTI-SEMITISM

By Dominique Reynié,
University professor at Sciences Po, Managing Director
of Fondapol.

With the collapse of Nazism, the discovery of the Holocaust, and the shock of the first Nuremberg Trials, anti-Semitism was, at the very least, forced underground. The Nuremberg Trials marked a moment of profound political and moral significance in history.

The historical divide created by the Nuremberg Trials

The trials marked a dividing line between two distinct eras. The first, an ageless period, was one in which states could massacre and persecute populations without ever imagining they would be held accountable in a court of law. The second era, ushered in by the Nuremberg Trials, was one in which criminal accountability, while not guaranteed, became a reality. This new era gradually impressed upon the global public a universal condemnation of those responsible for persecuting and massacring civilian populations. Political persecution formally became a matter for denouncing state power. For generations born into this new era, anti-Semitism came to symbolize this unacceptable abuse of state authority. Given the role of the Holocaust in bringing about this global awareness, anti-Semitism is now recognized as a form of hatred that fosters some of the most destructive prejudices and behaviors. Monitoring the spread of anti-Semitism is essential, as its resurgence signals a potential return of the most extreme forms of violence. This was the warning issued by Frantz Fanon—often quoted, yet rarely fully understood in its implications¹.

The Nuremberg Trials marked a profound shift in public consciousness and sparked a substantial collective effort. We owe this to the dedication of schools, curricula, and teachers; to political parties and foundations; and, particularly in France, to the Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah. This collective effort is also owed to the worlds of television, radio, cinema, publishing, social science research, and, above all, historians. The commitment to remembrance and reflection has persisted over the years, with schools and teachers continuing to impart historical knowledge and raising awareness of its essential importance. It is crucial to understand that, since October 7, 2023, the achievements of this era are now under threat².

October 7 as an Attack on the Legacy of the Nuremberg Trials

The latest edition of our analysis of anti-Semitism confirms this and shows that, in France, younger generations are increasingly susceptible to anti-Semitic prejudice, showing a growing tolerance for anti-Semitic slurs, vandalism, and even violence. Among the many causes of this troubling trend, which remain to be fully understood, is globalization—particularly the digital transformation of public spaces, where anti-Semitic propaganda flourishes on platforms that shape how reality is perceived. This trend is compounded by the demographic growth of generations shaped by a culture in which the Muslim religion holds a prominent place.

1. "When you hear bad things being said about the Jews, prick up your ears, they're talking about you.", Frantz Fanon, *Peau noire et masques blancs* (1952), Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 2015.

2. See the collective book, edited by Bruno Karsenti, *La fin d'une illusion - Israël et l'Occident après le 7 octobre* (*The end of an illusion - Israel and the West after October 7*), Paris, PUF, 2024, composed of texts which, for the most part, gave rise to a first version in the online journal, remarkable in every respect: *K., Jews, l'Europe, le xx^e siècle*.

We demonstrated the emergence of this phenomenon in the first edition of our analysis ten years ago¹. We noted then, with reference to France and based on the data collected: “the overall picture reveals a society in which anti-Semitic opinions reach a high level of intensity in relatively limited universes, but the expansion of which is a reasonable hypothesis”. We confirmed this trend in our subsequent work, and especially in this new study.

In this new socio-historical context, we must try to understand the significance of October 7, 2023—the first ever anti-Semitic massacre in the heart of Israel. This is a test of the solidity of memory. However, the response has been the unleashing of anti-Semitism worldwide, including in France. In our democratic, educated and informed societies, we have seen the insensitivity of certain sociological and political segments to the fate of the victims of October 7, to the atrocious conditions in which they were murdered, to the rapes to which the women were subjected, to the acts of torture, the executions of children and the elderly, the kidnappings, the destruction of entire families – all scenes that unquestionably bring us back to the level reached by Nazi violence, and therefore to its very roots, a violence whose memory we were determined to preserve so that it would never return. Tragically, the last survivors of the Holocaust, on the threshold of their lives as survivors, are once again witnessing the return of the anti-Semitism they did everything to prevent.

Without a reaction from the public authorities, French society will be overtaken by anti-Semitism.

As our survey shows, French society as a whole is not anti-Semitic. In fact, the French are particularly concerned about the rise in anti-Semitism. It is important to note that three quarters (76%) of those questioned believe that “anti-Semitism is a problem that concerns society as a whole”, compared with 9% who see it as “a problem that only concerns Jews and does not concern society as a whole”. The French are calling for stricter policies to combat anti-Semitism, with 80% believing that the justice system does not punish perpetrators of anti-Semitic acts severely enough.

However, despite these figures, which testify to the French people’s attachment to the fundamental values of the Republic, today we are also showing that part of French society has been won over by anti-Semitism. This is particularly true among young people in general and even more so among young French people of Muslim faith or cultural background. This trend is often attributed to the worsening Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Skepticism is called for, however, if we are to observe that Israel is the only country in the world to provoke the stigmatization, aggression and even murder of French people of Jewish faith or culture.

In reality, anti-Semitism is already present. It is culturally anchored in part of French society, and particularly among young people of Muslim faith or culture. It’s an anti-Semitism that’s “already there”, set in motion by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and which believes that Israeli policy justifies its actions. It is a cultural anti-Semitism that ignores history, refuses to acknowledge it, or even rejects knowing it, to the point of sharing the outrageous, revisionist judgments that are abundant on social networks: 40% of the under-35s we surveyed say that Israel behaves towards the Palestinians as the Nazis behaved towards the Jews, compared with 32% of French people as a whole and 31% of the under-65s, but this figure rises to 67% among French people of the Muslim faith and 65% among French people of the Muslim faith under 35; similarly, 29% of the young people surveyed think that “the creation of Israel is the fruit of a racist endeavor”, compared with 16% of French people and 12% of those aged 65 or over. This figure rises to 45% among French people of Muslim faith and 46% among the under-35s. The corollary of this detestation of Israel is a growing complacency towards Hamas, the Palestinian Islamist terrorist organization. While 2% of those aged 65 and over say they have sympathy for this terrorist group, the figure rises to 14% among those under 35. This figure rises to 22% among French people of the Muslim faith and 27% among those under 35.

1. Dominique Reynié and Simone Rodan-Benzaquen (dir.), *Anti-Semitism in French public opinion. New lighting*, Fondapol/AJC, November 2014. In October 2004, in his report entitled *Work on the fight against racism and anti-Semitism*, Jean-Christophe Rufin noted a reduction in the role of the extreme right in the responsibility for anti-Semitic violence but an increase in anti-Semitism carried by a segment of young people from immigrant backgrounds. We then spoke of a “new anti-Semitism”. Ten years later, in 2014, we showed the reality of the return of anti-Semitism in France, the decline of far-right anti-Semitism, the rise of Muslim anti-Semitism and in part of the left, the role pernicious of digital technologies, not only social networks but also video game forums. Our study (immediately doubted, with the usual hint of arrogance, including in part of the social sciences) concluded that the rise of anti-Semitism could no longer be contested in good faith. Our subsequent studies and above all reality itself have confirmed this formidable trend.

Anti-Semitism is rapidly gaining ground in French society, particularly among young people of Muslim faith or culture. Without swift action—a comprehensive and immediate plan that combines education, information, prevention, and sanctions and mobilizes all political parties, unions, universities, businesses, and civic organizations—France risks being dominated by anti-Semitic prejudice before the end of this century, to a degree not seen since the emancipation of Jews during the French Revolution.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

BAROMETRIC LOGIC

The *Radiographie de l'antisémitisme en France*, 2024 edition, continues the work begun by the American Jewish Committee (AJC) and Fondapol, in partnership with Ifop since 2014. Most questions administered in the 2022 edition were repeated to track any changes in behaviors and opinions.

A MIRROR SURVEY

We administered a series of identical questions to a control sample of 2,003 individuals representative of the overall French population, as well as to a sample of 527 people of Muslim faith or culture living in France. Jewish respondents (a sample of 500) were asked about their direct experiences of anti-Semitism, while the other two groups were questioned about their observations of anti-Semitic acts. Questions concerning prejudice toward Jews, as well as perceptions of Israel and the Holocaust, were posed to representative samples of the French population and Muslims in France. To ensure comparability between the three samples, we standardized the timing of the surveys. The representativeness of the combined sample was achieved through the quota method (considering gender, age, and profession), with stratification by region and urban area category. Given the sensitive nature of the topics addressed, we decided it would be appropriate to conduct online, self-administered surveys among French people of Jewish faith to minimize any social-desirability bias¹.

SAMPLING METHOD FOR RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

Respondents of Jewish faith or culture:

Due to the ban on collecting “religious” data in metropolitan France (with the last official census on religion dating back to 1872), public statistics agencies (Insee, Ined) do not provide socio-demographic data specific to people of the Jewish faith. To address this gap, Ifop isolated a sub-sample of 500 self-identified Jewish individuals from a cumulative national sample totaling 33,200 people, which represents the French population aged 18 and over. The representativeness of this combined sample was ensured by the quota method (gender, age, profession), following stratification by region and urban area.

Respondents of Muslim faith or culture :

Due to the absence of official statistical data enabling quota and/or adjustment variables to be established for people of the Muslim religion, Ifop determined these quotas on the basis of the Ifop-Institut Montaigne survey conducted by telephone from April 13 to May 23, 2016 among a nationally representative sample of 15,459 people aged 15 and over living in mainland France. The representativeness of this national sample of 15,459 people was ensured by the quota method, taking into account socio-demographic (gender, age), socio-professional (profession), geographic (administrative region, urban unit size, proportion of immigrants in the commune or neighborhood), and civic (nationality) criteria.

1. Social-desirability bias refers to the tendency of respondents to under-report certain opinions deemed contrary to prevailing morality.

ANTI-SEMITISM PENETRATION INDEX

To assess the extent of anti-Semitic sentiment across different socio-professional categories in the French population, Fondapol created an “anti-Semitism penetration index.” This index is derived from responses to 24 selected items within 22 survey questions, focusing on responses that clearly convey anti-Semitic views.

For each item selected, the percentage of positive responses is calculated across various categories such as age, gender, religion, education level, and political affiliation. For instance, 2% of respondents over 65 express sympathy for Hamas, while this figure rises to

14% for those under 35 and 7% among men. Another example shows that 6% of French people express “some antipathy toward Jews,” increasing to 12% among those under 35, 3% among those 65 and older, 8% of men, and 13% among respondents identifying with LFI (La France Insoumise).

Based on responses for each of the 24 selected items, an average can be calculated to represent the level of anti-Semitism within each socio-professional category. This approach identifies the parts of population where anti-Semitic sentiment is most prevalent.

Items used for the anti-Semitism penetration index

Questions	Selected items
Which of these two opinions do you feel closer to?	Anti-Semitism is only a problem for Jews and not for society as a whole
For each of the following behaviours, would you describe it as acceptable, not acceptable but understandable or never acceptable?	Tagging a synagogue or Jewish business to show opposition to Israel
Do you personally feel sympathy, antipathy or neither sympathy nor antipathy for Israel?	Antipathy
Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about Israel and Zionism...?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Israel behaves towards the Palestinians as the Nazis behaved towards the Jews ; - French Jews are more loyal to Israel than to France. - The Holocaust was used by the Jews to justify the creation of the State of Israel. - The creation of Israel is the fruit of a racist endeavor - French Jews are responsible for Israel's policies
French Jews are taken to task for their real or supposed support for the Israeli government. How would you describe this behavior?	Justified
For each of these categories or groups of people, please tell me whether you feel sympathy, antipathy or neither sympathy nor antipathy?	Jews: antipathy
Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Jews are richer than the average French person. - Jews today use their status as victims of Nazi genocide during the Second World War to their own advantage. - Jews have too much power in economics and finance - Jews have too much power in the media - Jews have too much power in politics - Jews are responsible for many economic crises
Around six million Jews were killed by the Nazis during the Second World War. Do you see this as a tragedy?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - As just another tragedy - As an exaggeration - there were deaths, but far fewer than claimed - As an invention - it never happened

ANALYSIS

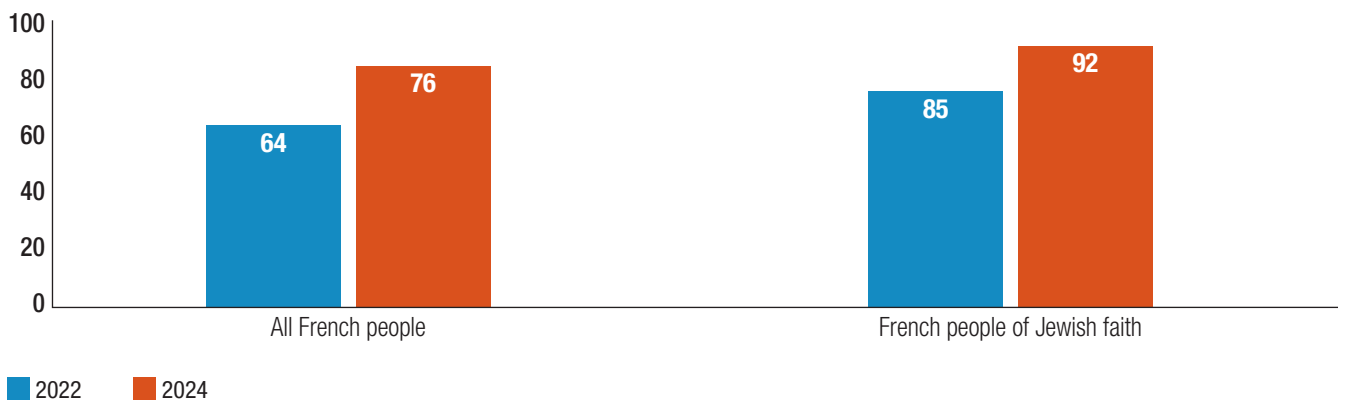
I. SINCE OCTOBER 7: A GROWING CONCERN FOR THE FRENCH

October 7 marked an unprecedented surge in violence and hate speech targeting France's Jewish community. This alarming escalation concerns not only French citizens of Jewish faith but also the wider French population. In the current climate, anti-Semitism is seen not only as a persistent issue but as an increasing

threat. 76% of French people now believe anti-Semitism is widespread in France, reflecting a 12-point increase since 2022. This view, already held by 85% of French Jews in the previous survey, is now acknowledged by 92% (+7 points).

In your opinion, is anti-Semitism a phenomenon in France today...?

Answer: Widespread

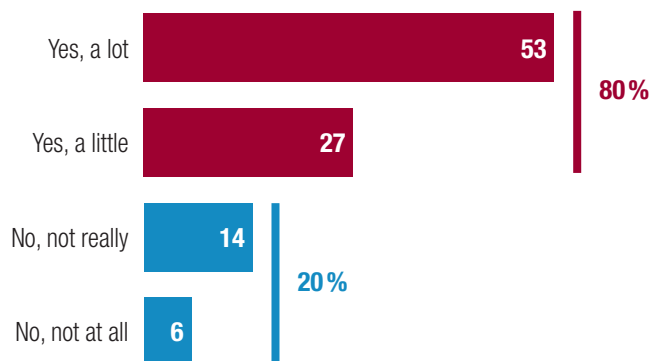


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This widespread awareness within French society contrasts sharply with the sense of isolation felt by

4 Jews out of 5 in response to the events of October 7.

Have you, as a French Jew, felt a sense of isolation due to the reaction you've received or because of French society's lack of response to the events of October 7 and their repercussions in France?

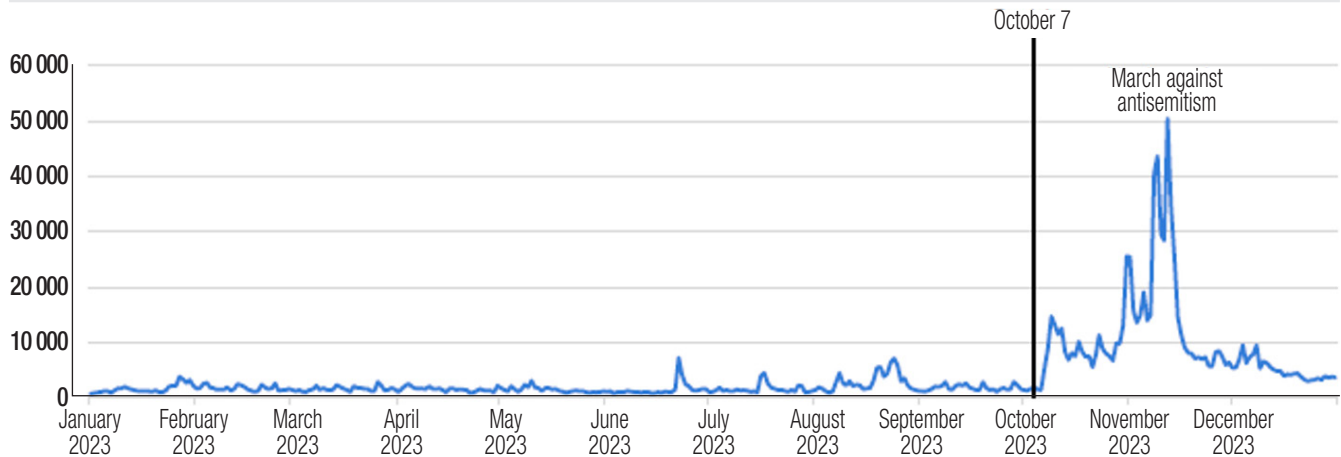


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These results emerge amid a notable increase in anti-Semitic acts, alongside extensive media coverage and significant political mobilization on the issue. Analysis of social media mentions reveals that the terms “anti-Semite” and “anti-Semitism” appeared 1,030,438 times

in 2023, averaging 2,823 mentions per day. Over half of these mentions (53%) occurred in the period following October 7, within less than three months, with a peak during the organization of the anti-Semitism march.

Change in volume of mentions of anti-Semitism and/or anti-Zionism

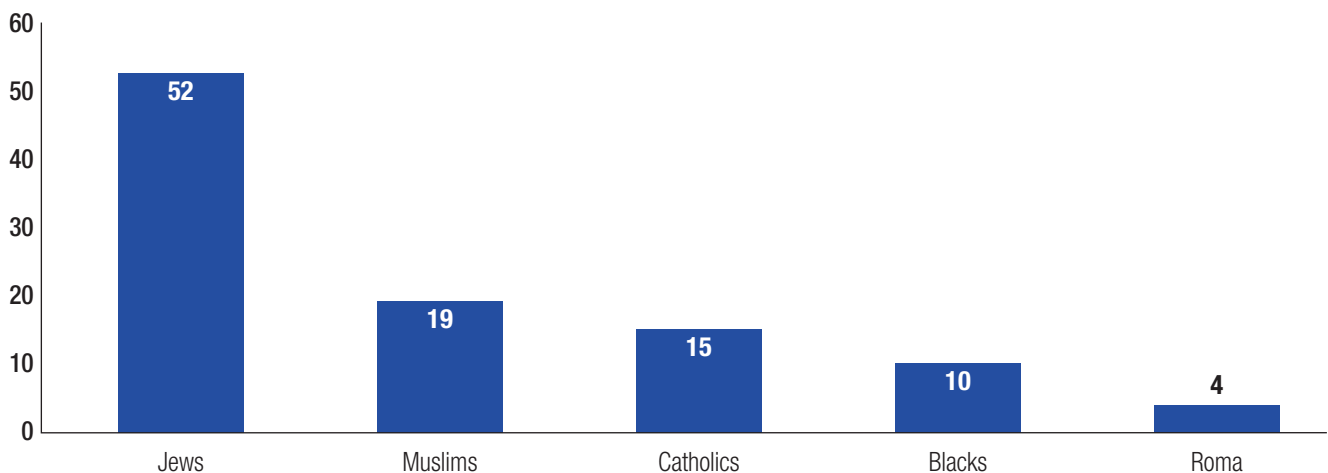


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As part of this study, respondents were asked which ethnic or religious group they perceived as the most frequent target of violent acts in France. The results show that 52% identified Jews as the primary victims, followed by Muslims (19%), Catholics (15%), Blacks (10%),

and Roma (4%). A closer analysis reveals a significant generational divide: while 76% of respondents over age 75 pointed to Jews, only 27% of those under 25 did, with the perception of Jews as the primary victims decreasing steadily with younger age groups.

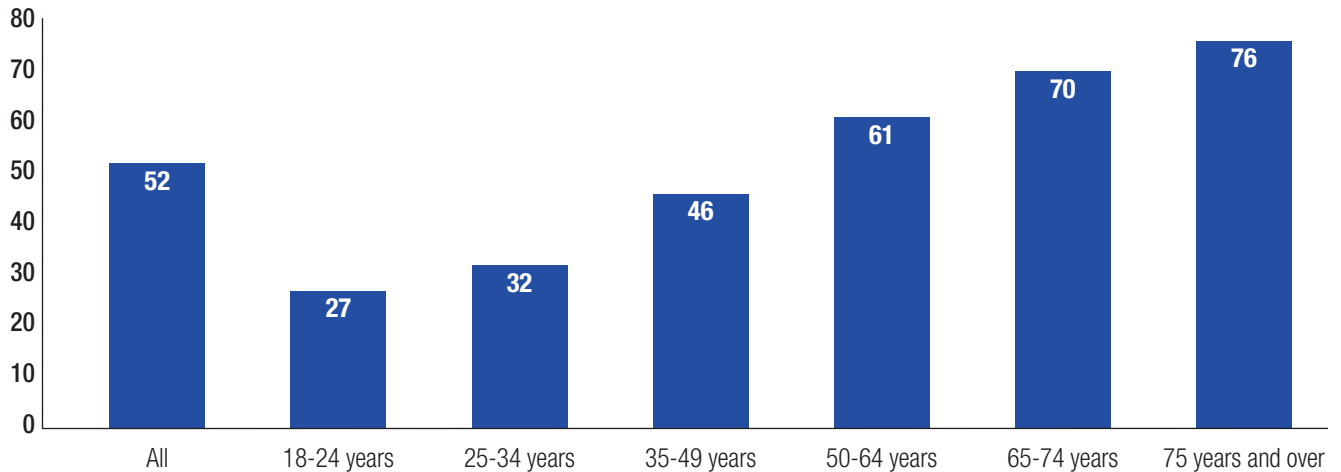
Which ethnic or religious group do you believe is the most often victim of violent acts in France?



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Which ethnic or religious group do you believe is most often targeted by violent acts in France?

Answer: The Jews



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II. DIVERGENT ANALYSES OF THE CAUSES OF RISING ANTI-SEMITISM

When French people were asked about the reasons for the rise in anti-Semitism, different groups pointed to different causes. Indeed, while all three groups – French people as a whole (57%), French people of the Jewish faith (73%) and French people of the Muslim faith (57%) – put forward “rejection and hatred of Israel” as the cause of anti-Semitism, they diverge on the other drivers. “Islamist ideas” is another reason given by French people of Jewish faith (56%) and French people as a whole (45%), while only a minority of French people of Muslim faith (17%) put forward this cause. Among

French people of the Jewish faith, 42% highlight the effect of “extreme left-wing ideas” on the development of anti-Semitism, while only 14% of French people of the Muslim faith and 16% of all French people see this as a cause of anti-Semitism. As for La France insoumise, 92% of French people of the Jewish faith believe it contributes to the rise in anti-Semitism, compared with 53% in the population as a whole. On the other hand, French people as a whole and French people of Muslim faith emphasize conspiracy (35% and 44% respectively) and extreme right-wing ideas (33% and 47%), unlike French people of Jewish faith. 16% consider conspiracy to be a cause of anti-Semitism, and 10% for far-right ideas.

What do you think are the main causes of anti-Semitism?

List of the top 3 answers for each sample

All French people	All French people of Muslim faith	All French people of Jewish faith
57% Rejection and hatred of Israel	57% Rejection and hatred of Israel	73% Rejection and hatred of Israel
45% Islamist ideas	47% Far-right ideas	56% Islamist ideas
35% Conspiracy theories	44% Conspiracy theories	42% Extreme left-wing ideas

Partisan proximity also influences perceptions of the drivers of anti-Semitism. 49% of French people close to the Rassemblement national believe that Islamist ideas fuel anti-Semitism, compared with 9% of French people

close to the France insoumise party. The latter tend to mention far-right ideas at 40%, compared with just 3% among French people close to the Rassemblement national.

What do you think are the main causes of anti-Semitism?

List of the first 3 answers for each partisan proximity (first)

French close to the Rassemblement National

- 49%** Islamist ideas
- 29%** Rejection and hatred of Israel
- 10%** Conspiracy theories

French close to La France insoumise

- 40%** Far-right ideas
- 28%** Rejection and hatred of Israel
- 15%** Conspiracy theories

The analysis of anti-Semitism's causes varies significantly by religion and political affiliation. French people of Jewish faith emphasize the increasing influence of Islamist and far-left ideologies in explaining anti-Semitism, a view echoed by those close to the Rassemblement National, who also underscore the

role of Islamist ideas. Conversely, French people of Muslim faith and the general French population take a more traditional perspective, focusing on the impact of far-right ideologies and conspiracy theories as primary sources of anti-Semitism.

III. ANTI-SEMITIC PREJUDICE: LIMITED RISE OVERALL, BUT SIGNIFICANT SPREAD AMONG FRENCH PEOPLE OF MUSLIM FAITH

Our January 2022 "Analysis of Anti-Semitism" revealed significant anti-Semitic prejudice among the French population, with "between a quarter and a third" of respondents endorsing various stereotypes. Our latest survey indicates that these prejudices have stagnated, suggesting that they are becoming entrenched within a portion of the population.

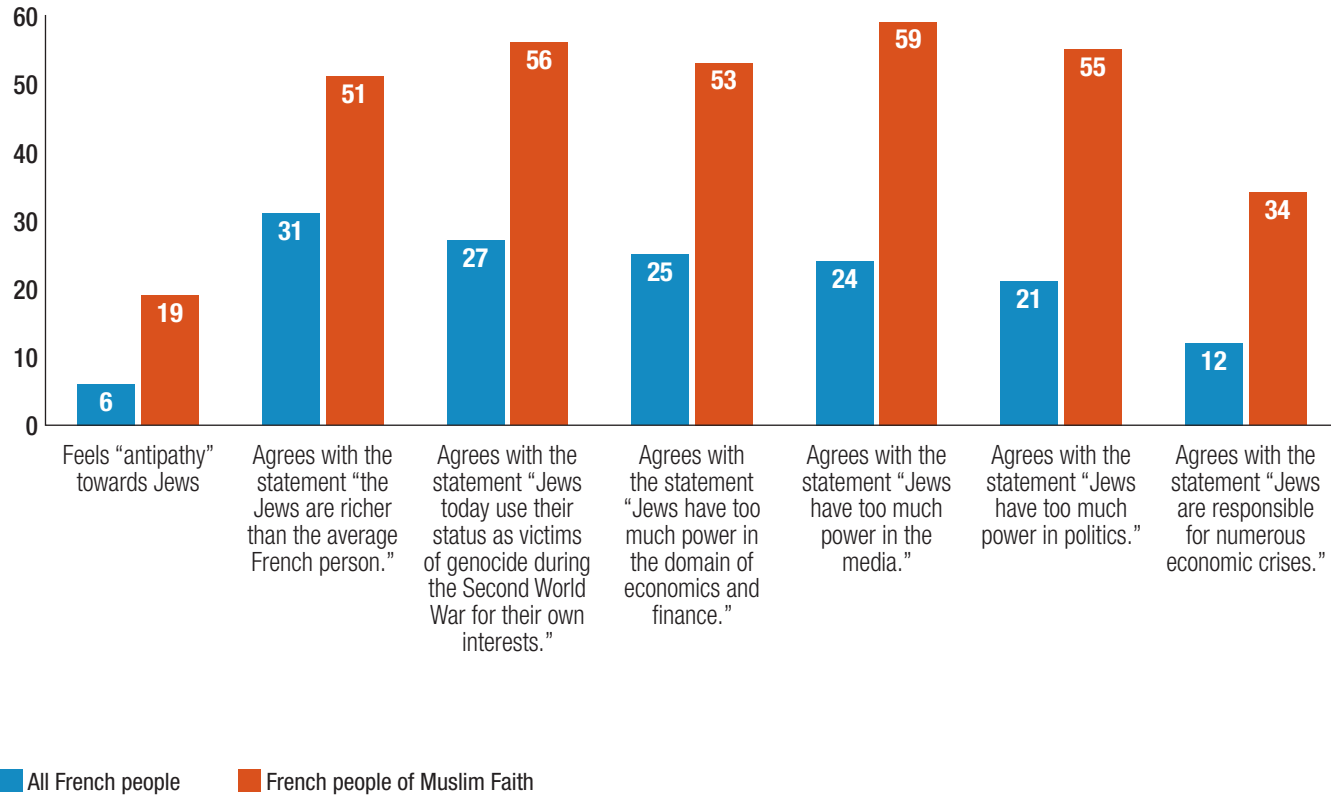
For instance, 31% of respondents now believe that "Jews are richer than the average French person" (up from 30% in 2022), while 69% agree that "Jews are very close-knit" (down from 72%), and 25% feel that "Jews have too much power in the economic and financial spheres" (26% in 2022).

The October 7 attack and the intensifying Israeli-Palestinian conflict have highlighted the persistence of older prejudices, such as the accusation of "dual allegiance," with 26% agreeing that French people of Jewish faith are more loyal to Israel than to France.

The key finding of our new survey confirms what we first documented in 2014: adherence to anti-Semitic prejudice is particularly widespread among French people of Muslim faith: 24% of French people aged 18 and over believe that "Jews have too much power in the media", while this prejudice is shared by 59% of French people of Muslim faith.

Above all, our survey reveals a worrying increase in these prejudices among people of Muslim faith or culture. In January 2022, 40% of respondents already considered that Jews use the memory of the Holocaust for their own benefit; today, the figure has risen to 56% (versus 27% among the general population).

Anti-Semitism particularly widespread among French people of Muslim faith

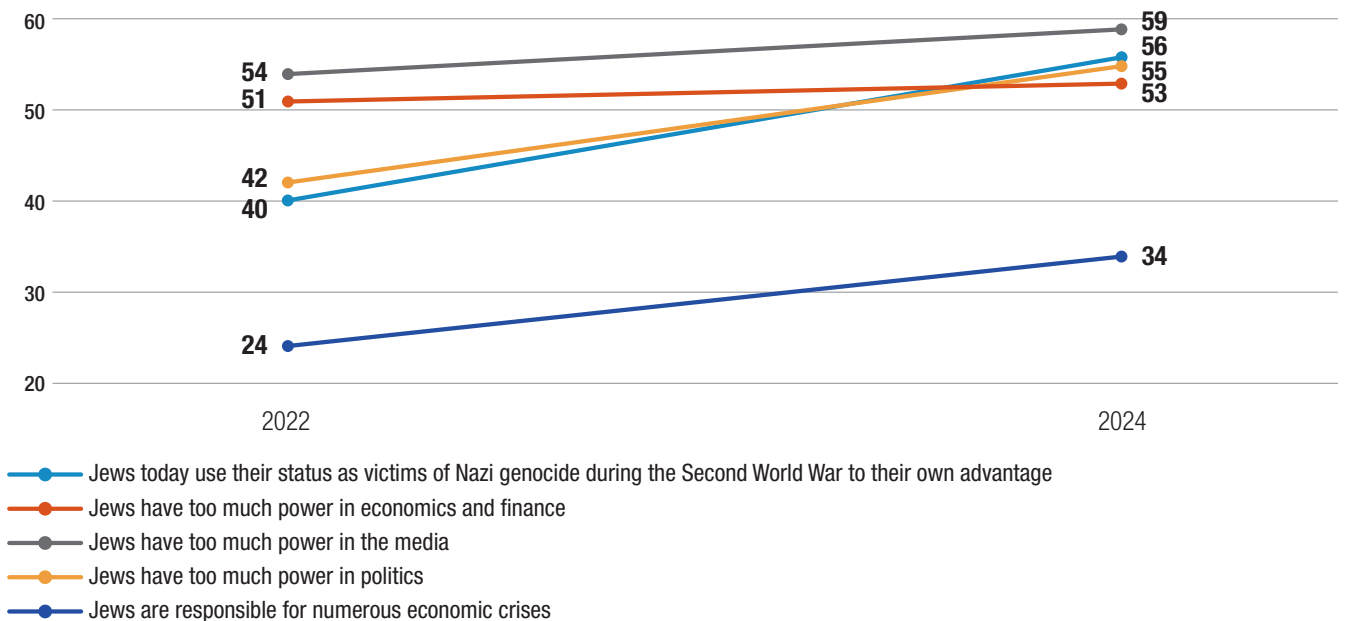


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Evolution of the support of French people of Muslim faith for anti-Semitic statements, since January 2022

Question: Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Answers: Strongly agree, somewhat agree

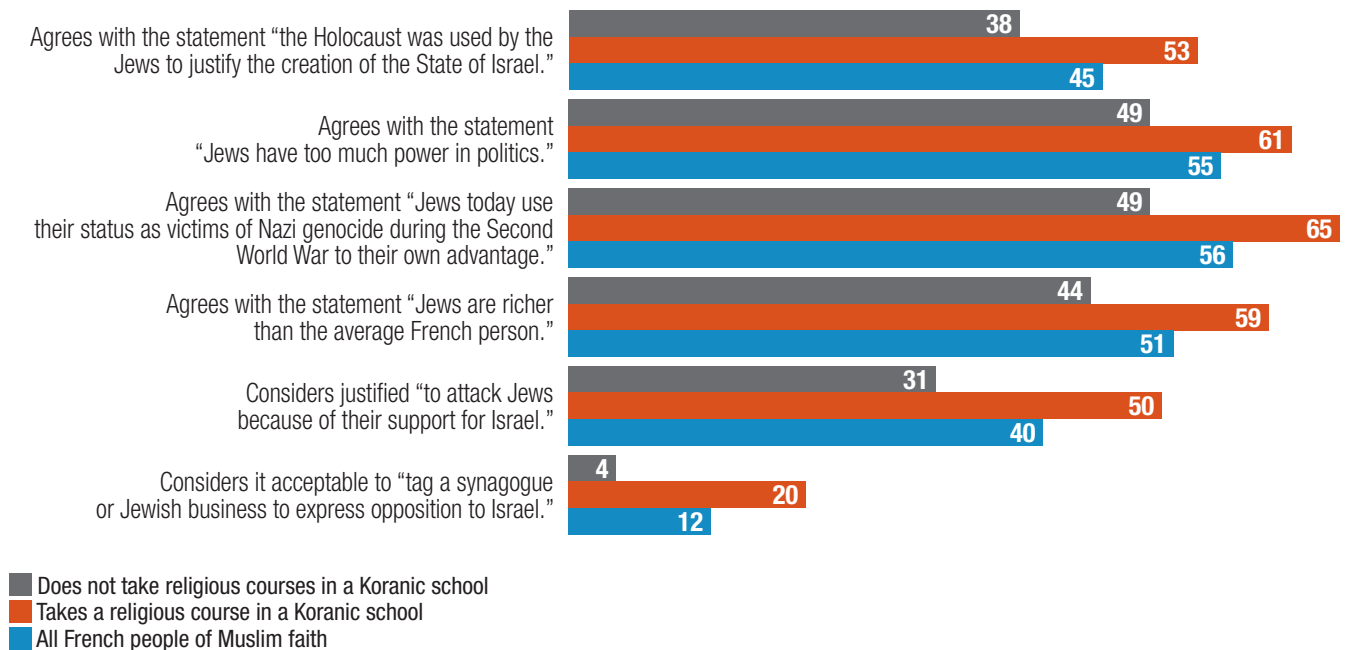


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The degree of religiosity and the intensity of practices have a decisive effect on the sharing and dissemination of anti-Semitic prejudices. More than half (53%) of French people of Muslim faith who take a religious course in a Koranic school say that the Holocaust was used by the Jews to justify the creation of the State of

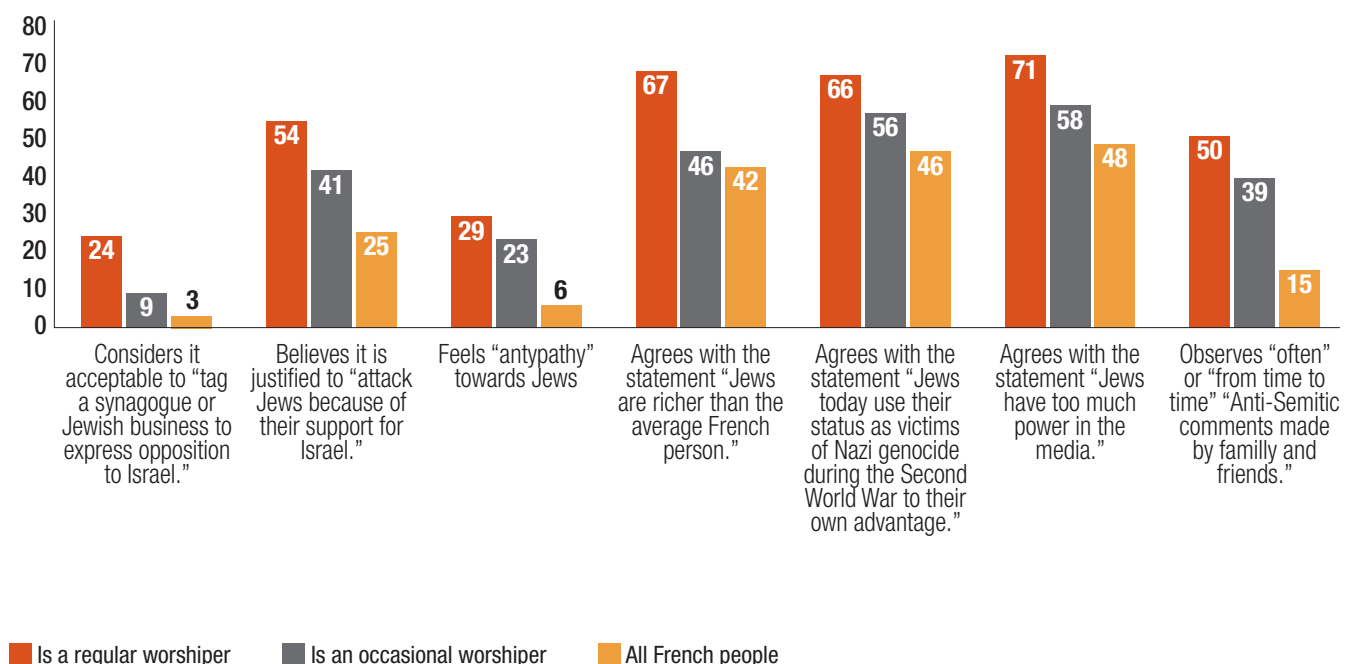
Israel, compared with 38% of those who have not taken such a course. Similarly, 50% of “regular” worshipers say that they have heard bad things about Jews in their circle of acquaintances; this percentage, which remains very high, is 39% among “occasional” worshiper, and 15% among non-believers.

Adherence to anti-Semitic ideas, feelings and prejudices among French people of the Muslim faith, according to attendance of religious courses in a Koranic school



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Adherence to anti-Semitic ideas, feelings and prejudices among French people of the Muslim faith, by frequency of religious practice

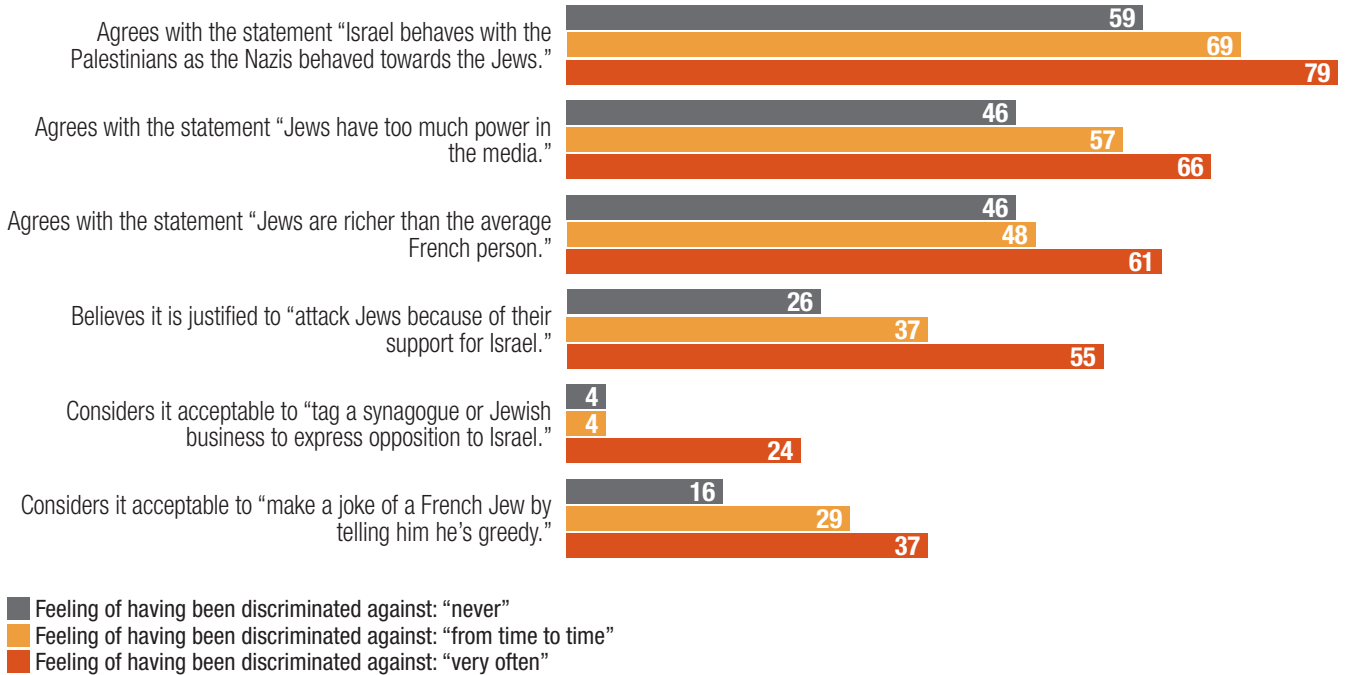


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Finally, there is a link between the experience or feeling of discrimination and anti-Semitic prejudice. For example, 80% of French people of Muslim faith who feel they are “very often” discriminated against believe that commemorating the Holocaust prevents consideration

of other historical tragedies, such as the slave trade, the genocide in Rwanda, or the Algerian War. In contrast, among those who report being “never” discriminated against, this percentage drops to almost half (43%), although this figure remains significant.

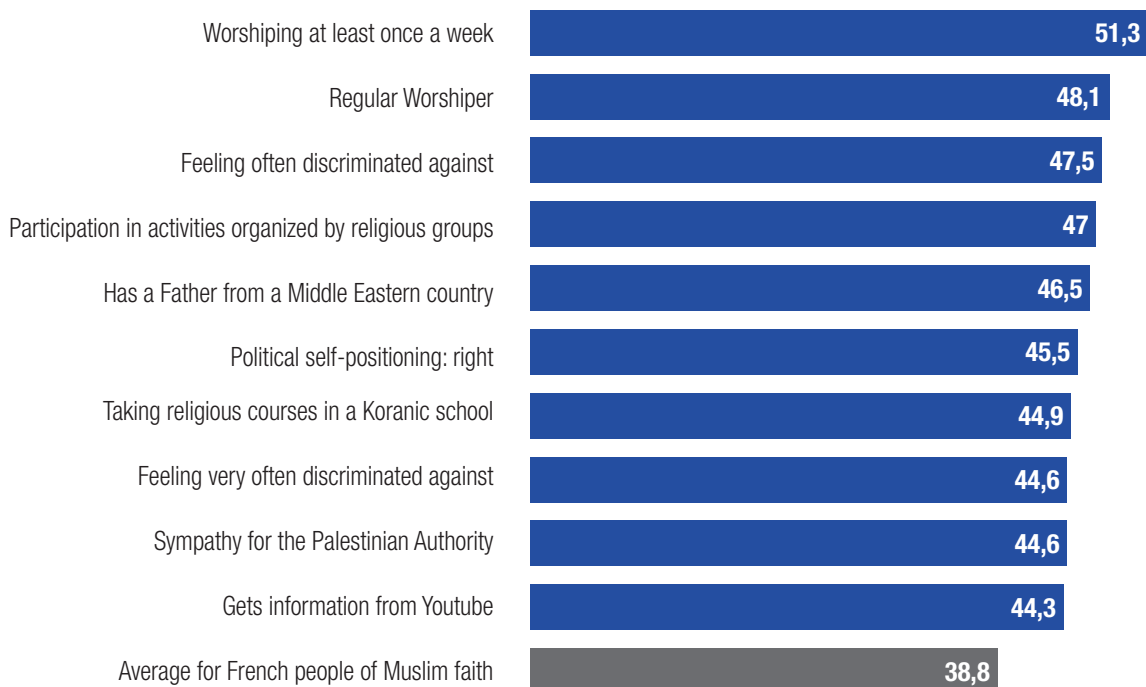
Adherence to Various Anti-Semitic Ideas and Statements Among French people of Muslim faith, Based on Feelings of Discrimination



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anti-Semitism penetration index: top 10 categories

French people of Muslim faith



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IV. FRENCH YOUTH: THE MOST VULNERABLE GROUP TO ANTI-SEMITIC PREJUDICE AND VIOLENCE

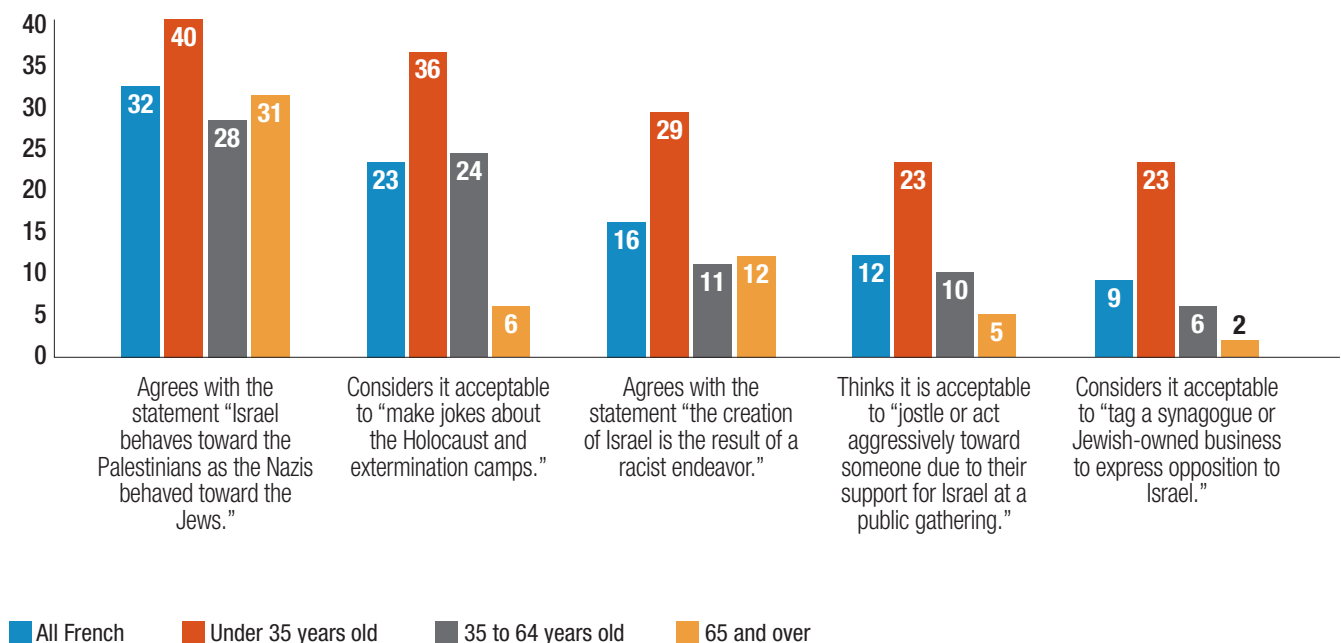
Our survey highlights a significant finding: in France, young people are more likely to share anti-Semitic prejudices than the rest of the population. Several factors contribute to this trend.

Firstly, the results indicate that French youth are immersed in an environment where anti-Semitism is more prevalent or more frequently expressed. For instance, 31% of individuals under 35 report having witnessed “verbal aggression directed against a person of Jewish faith or culture because of their identity or religion” at some point in their lives, compared to 20% of the overall French population and just 15% of those aged 65 and over. A similar gap exists concerning “physical aggression”: 23% of under-35s say they have encountered such acts at least once in their lives, in contrast to 11% of the general population and only 3% of those aged 65 or older.

It is concerning that encountering anti-Semitic acts more frequently and hearing or reading anti-Semitic statements may be leading some younger generations to a form of habituation or even acceptance. This shift seems to benefit Muslims (29%), who are perceived as more frequent victims of violent acts than Jews. Among under 25's, Muslims (34%) are even cited more often than Jews.

Additionally, young people under 35 tend to be more optimistic about the evolution of anti-Semitism over the past decade: 41% believe that anti-Semitism has declined during this period, compared to 22% of the general population and just 9% of those aged 65 and over. However, the reality tells a different story: anti-Semitism is indeed on the rise, as our survey confirms.

Support for Anti-Semitic Ideas, Sentiments, and Prejudices by Age Group

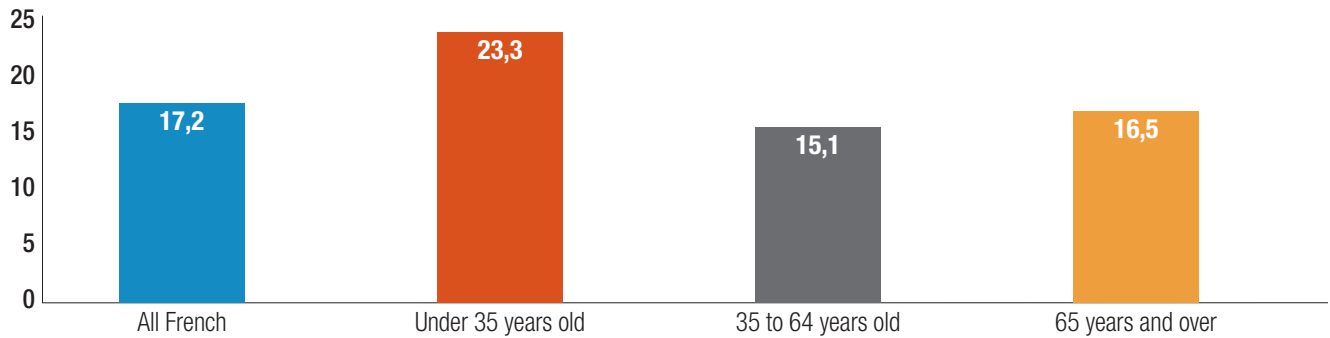


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This trend in opinion shows that anti-Semitism is most prevalent among young people under 35. With a

penetration index of 23.3%, compared with 15.1% for the 35–54 age group, and 16.5% for those aged 65 and over.

Anti-Semitism penetration index: by age group



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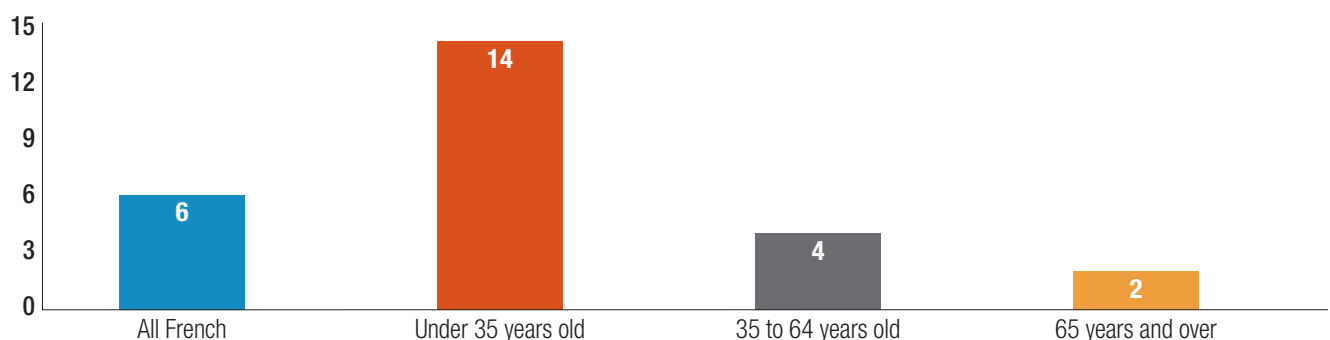
Anti-Semitism among younger generations in France appears more prevalent than in older age groups, with striking contrasts in attitudes. For instance, while only 5% of those aged 65 and over find it “acceptable” or “understandable” to joke about the Holocaust, over a third (36%) of those under 35 express no objection. Similarly, 23% of people under 35 find it “acceptable” or “understandable” to vandalize a synagogue or Jewish business to express opposition to Israel, compared to 9% of the general French population and only 2% of those 65 and older. Alarming, 6% of young people under 35 believe the Holocaust is “an invention.”

The prevalence of anti-Semitism among young people today is regularly interpreted as a consequence of the worsening Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Yet the rise in anti-Semitism among young people in general, and among young French people of Muslim faith or culture in particular, has been observed for the past three decades. Moreover, we can see that Israel is the only country in the world to arouse such radical opposition, to the point of leading to the stigmatization, aggression and even murder of French people of Jewish faith or culture. In reality, anti-Semitism is already present,

culturally anchored in part of French society, even more so among the younger generations, and even more so among young people of Muslim faith or culture; it’s an anti-Semitism that’s “already there” and that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is triggering; it’s an anti-Semitism of prejudice that has taken root – rather than being imported – and that sees Israeli policy as justification for aggressive anti-Semitism. It’s a cultural anti-Semitism that overlooks history, either because it refuses to understand it or because it rejects it to the point of sharing the outrageous and revisionist judgments that are abundant on social media: 40% of those under 35 believe that Israel behaves towards the Palestinians as the Nazis behaved towards the Jews (32% of French people as a whole, 31% of those under 65); similarly, 29% of young people surveyed believe that “the creation of Israel is the result of a racist enterprise”, compared with 16% of French people and 12% of those aged 65 or over. The corollary of this hatred of Israel is a growing complacency towards Hamas, the Palestinian Islamist terrorist organization. While 2% of those aged 65 and over say they have sympathy for this terrorist group, the figure rises to 14% among those under 35.

Personally, do you feel sympathy, antipathy or neither sympathy nor antipathy for...?

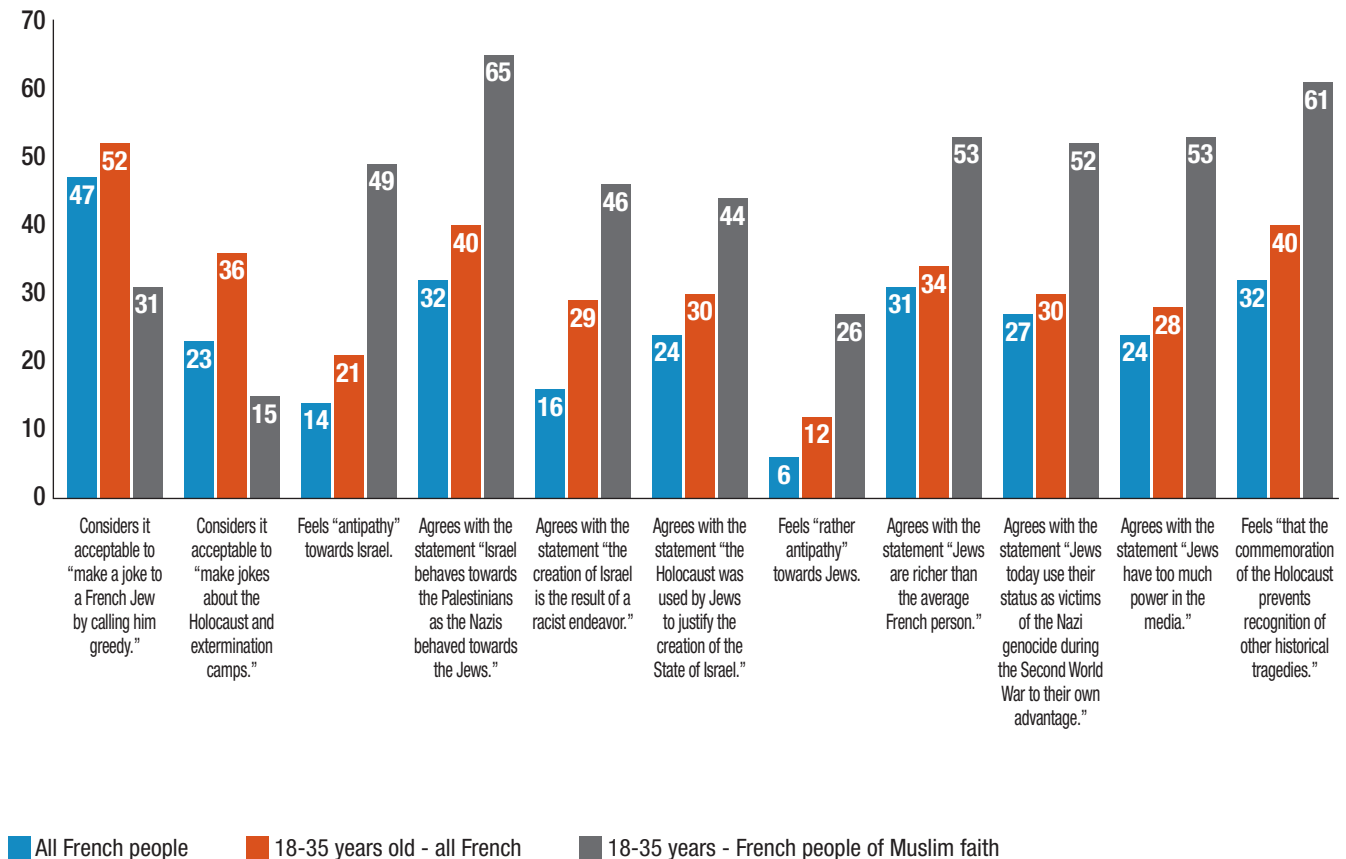
Answer: Sympathy for Hamas



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People under 35 are more likely than other age groups to hold prejudiced views about Jews

Question: Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?



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This dislike of Israel is notably strong among young French people of Muslim faith. As shown in the graph above, they are more likely than their non-Muslim peers to hold anti-Israel and anti-Semitic views.

For example, while 21% of French people aged 18 to 35 feel "antipathy" toward Israel, this figure rises to 49% among young French people of Muslim faith. They are also more likely to believe that "the creation of Israel is the result of a racist endeavor" (46% versus 29% of the overall French population under 35) and that "Israel behaves toward the Palestinians as the Nazis behaved toward the Jews" (65% versus 40%). This hostility toward Israel, along with a lack of historical understanding, contributes to the expression of anti-Semitic views.

For instance, 26% of Muslims aged 18 to 35 report feeling "rather antipathy" toward Jews, compared with 12% of

their age group as a whole. The graph further illustrates the strength and specificity of anti-Semitic ideas among young French people of Muslim faith. Over half (53%) believe "Jews are richer than the average French person" (compared to 34% among young French people overall); 53% feel that "Jews have too much power in the media" (versus an average of 28%); and 52% agree with the statement "Jews today use their status as victims of the Nazi genocide during the Second World War to their own advantage" (compared to 30%).

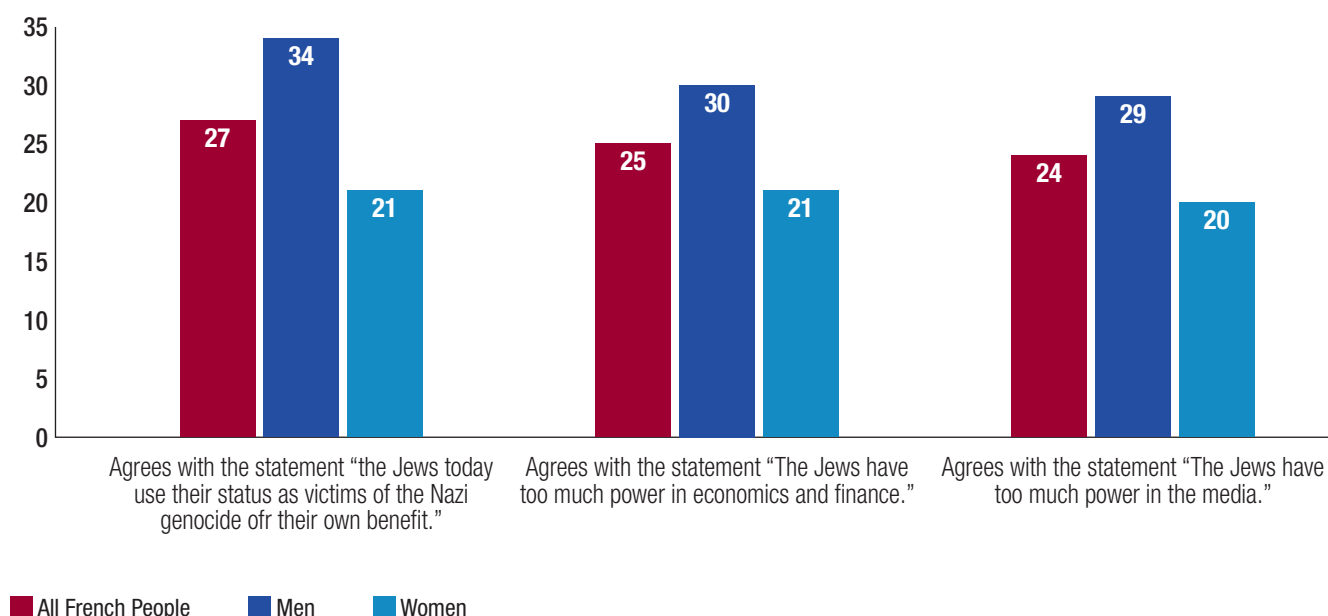
Because young Muslims are deeply engaged with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict due to cultural and identity reasons, their anti-Semitism often merges with intense hostility toward Israel. Consequently, they are less likely than their non-Muslim peers to endorse some of the stereotypes associated with more traditional, European forms of anti-Semitism.

For instance, while half (52%) of young French people under 35 feel it's acceptable to "make a joke about a French Jew by calling him greedy," only 31% of young Muslims in the same age range agree. Similarly, only 15% of Muslims find it acceptable to "make a joke about the Holocaust or extermination camps," compared with 36% of young French people overall.

V. MEN'S GREATER SUSCEPTIBILITY TO ANTI-SEMITIC IDEAS AND PREJUDICE COMPARED TO WOMEN

There is a notable difference between men and women across most of the questions asked of respondents, which is also reflected in the anti-Semitism penetration index. In the "general public" sample, the average index for all respondents is 17.2%; however, it reaches 20.5% for men, compared with 13.8% for women.

Support for different assertions according to the gender of the interviewee



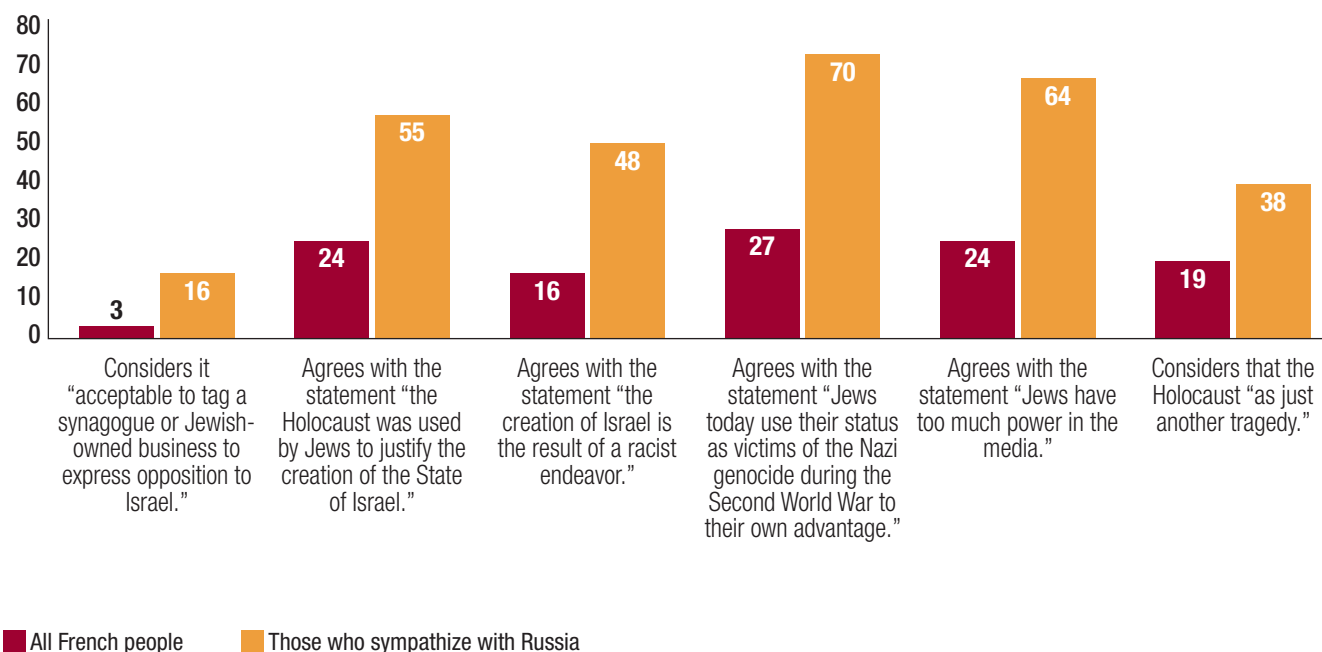
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This "masculinization" of anti-Semitism is evident in men's stronger endorsement of various prejudices: 34% of men agree that "Jews today use their status as victims of the Nazi genocide during the Second World War for their own benefit"; 30% believe that "Jews have too much power in economics and finance," and 29% think they have "too much power in the media." For each of these prejudices, the proportion of women in agreement is significantly lower, as shown in the graph above.

VI. PRO-RUSSIAN FRENCH: MORE LIKELY TO HOLD ANTI-SEMITIC PREJUDICES THAN THE GENERAL POPULATION

It should be noted that respondents who feel sympathy for Russia (4% of the population) are systematically more likely than the rest of the sample to adhere to anti-Semitic prejudices.

Respondents who are sympathetic toward Russia and their positions on anti-Semitism



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For instance, 58% of respondents agree with the statement that "French people of the Jewish faith are more loyal to Israel than to France," compared to 26% of the general French population. Additionally, 48% agree that "the creation of Israel is the fruit of a racist endeavor," while only 16% of all French people share this view. Furthermore, 70% of respondents believe that "Jews today use their status as victims of the Nazi genocide during the Second World War to their own advantage," in contrast to 27% of the broader French population.

This evidence suggests that anti-Semitic prejudices exist within a shared political and social context, characterized by populist, anti-system, and conspiracy-driven attitudes that are formed, disseminated, and intensified through social media. In this regard, there is a significant connection between pro-Russian sentiment and the acceptance of anti-Semitic views.

VII. YOUTUBE AND SOCIAL NETWORKS: PUBLIC SPACES FOR ANTI-SEMITES

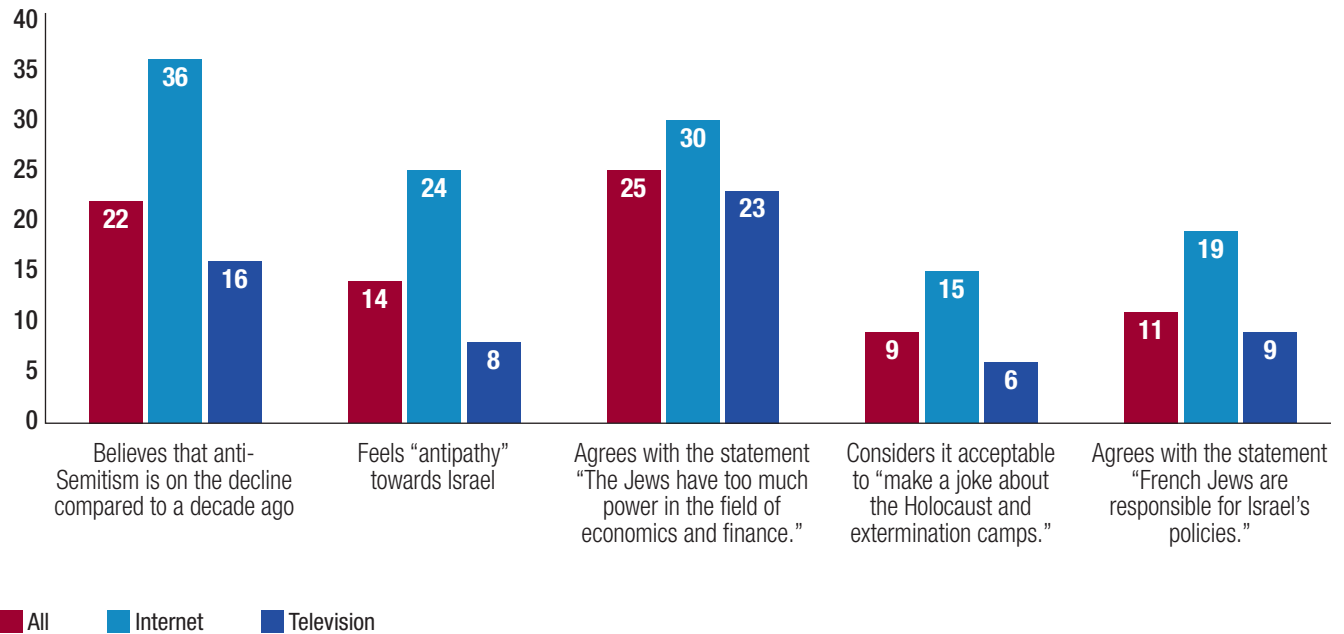
The new survey also indicates that anti-Semitism is more prevalent among respondents who obtain their information from the internet (YouTube and social media).

The comparative graph below highlights this trend clearly. For instance, 24% of respondents express antipathy towards Israel, with that figure rising to 31% among those who use YouTube and 22% among social media users, compared to only 8% of those who rely on television for news (11% from major TV channels and 7% from all-news channels). Additionally, 40% of French people who get their news from YouTube agree with the statement that "Jews have too much power in the field of economics and finance," which is double the percentage of those who get their news from all-news channels (20%).

In recent years, 24-hour news channels have faced criticism for undermining the quality of democratic debate. However, the results of our survey reveal that individuals who receive their news from all-news channels (Cnews, LCI, BFM TV, France Info TV) are better informed about the reality of anti-Semitism, in stark contrast to those who primarily use YouTube. In fact, 41% of YouTube users believe that anti-Semitism is declining, while only 15% of those who rely on all-news channels share this belief.

This effect can also be seen in our anti-Semitism penetration index, which stands at 27.5% for YouTube (17.2% for the French as a whole), versus 15.1% for all-news channels.

Support for Various Anti-Semitic Ideas by Main Source of Information



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VIII. ANTI-ISRAEL SENTIMENT OVERLAPS WITH ANTI-SEMITIC PREJUDICES

Among the responses to our survey, one stands out as particularly significant: when asked, "Do you personally feel sympathy, antipathy, or neither for Israel?" a number of respondents indicated that they felt antipathy. The profile of the French individual expressing this antipathy tends to be men (18%), under 35 years old (21%), those who hold a university degree (23%), have a higher-than-average income (27%), are aligned with La France insoumise (30%), primarily gather information from the Internet (24%), and identify as Muslim (43%). This antipathy towards Israel serves as a vector for anti-Semitism, with a penetration index of 38.2% among those who express this viewpoint, compared to 17.2% in the general population.

This animosity towards Israel contributes to increased support for the Palestinian Authority and Hamas. For instance, 24% of individuals under 35 and 54% of French people of Muslim faith express sympathy for the Palestinian Authority, in stark contrast to just 6% of the overall population. Even more concerning, 14% of those under 35 and 22% of French people of Muslim faith express sympathy for Hamas.

	Antipathy towards Israel	Sympathy for Palestinian Authority	Sympathy for Hamas
All	14 %	14 %	6 %
Men	18 %	16 %	7 %
Under 35 year olds	21 %	24 %	14 %
Higher education graduate	23 %	18 %	5 %
High income	27 %	14 %	5 %
Close to LFI	30 %	34 %	13 %
Internet information	24 %	19 %	11 %
Muslim faith	43 %	54 %	22 %

This profile is similar to that of those who agree with the statement that “French people of the Jewish faith are responsible for Israel’s policies.” While 11% of the general French population see no problem with this statement, certain groups are over-represented: men (15%), young people under 35 (21%), leftists (17%), and individuals in executive and higher intellectual professions (15%). Similarly, 24% of those who primarily get their information from YouTube and 17% of those who get it from social networks believe that French people of the Jewish faith are responsible for Israel’s policies.

The same segments of the population support the idea that “the Holocaust was used by the Jews to justify the creation of the State of Israel.” While almost a quarter of the French population (24%) supports this idea, higher percentages are found among those under 35 (30%), men (30%), university graduates (30%), left-wing individuals (30%), and people of the Muslim faith (45%).

The same profile applies to respondents declaring antipathy toward Jews: 6% of the total sample in the “general public” section and 32% of the sample in the Muslim section. This group tends to be younger

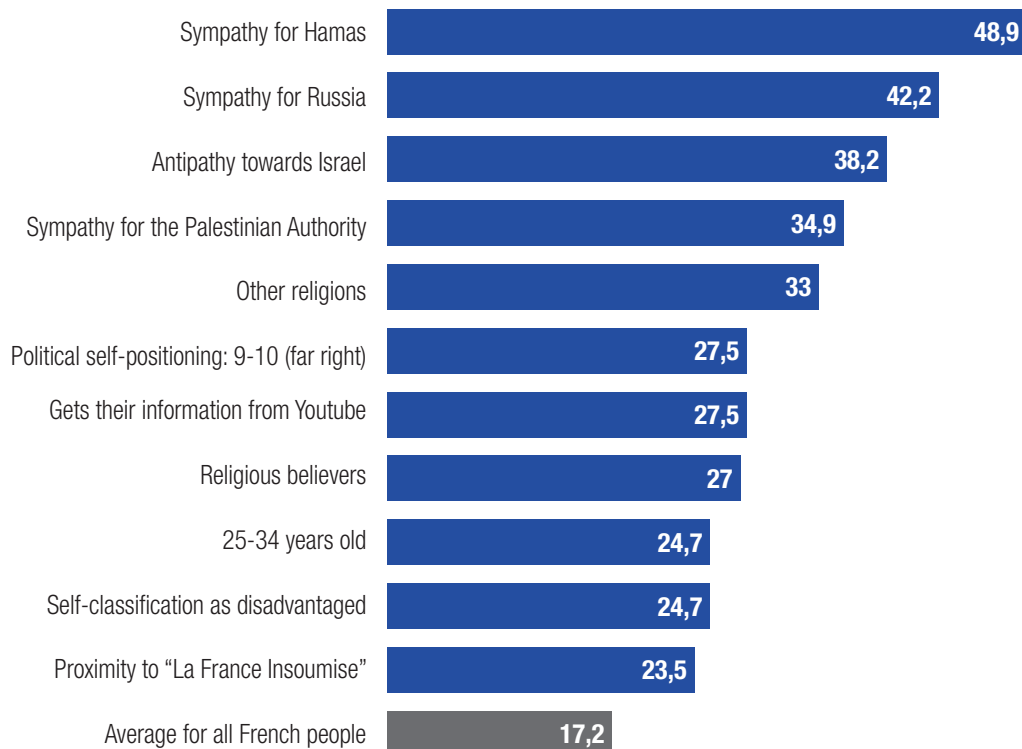
(12% of those under 35), politically aligned with La France insoumise (13%), primarily informed by the internet (14% among those using YouTube and 10% among those using social networks), and sympathetic toward Russia (23%).

However, there is a notable difference: while those who feel antipathy toward Israel tend to be more educated and socially advantaged, French individuals who declare antipathy toward Jews are more prevalent among blue-collar workers (12%), those classified as “poor” based on income (11%), and individuals with no diploma, a CEP, or a BEPC (8%). One plausible explanation for this disparity is that among wealthier respondents with greater cultural capital, anti-Semitism manifests in a falsely intellectualized and sophisticated form through anti-Zionism.

These characteristics, combined with pro-Russian sentiment, help us illustrate the landscape of anti-Semitism in France using our anti-Semitism penetration index. Indeed, individuals who express sympathy for Hamas (48.9%) and Russia (42.2%) are the most likely to hold anti-Semitic views.

Anti-Semitism penetration index: top 10 categories

All French people



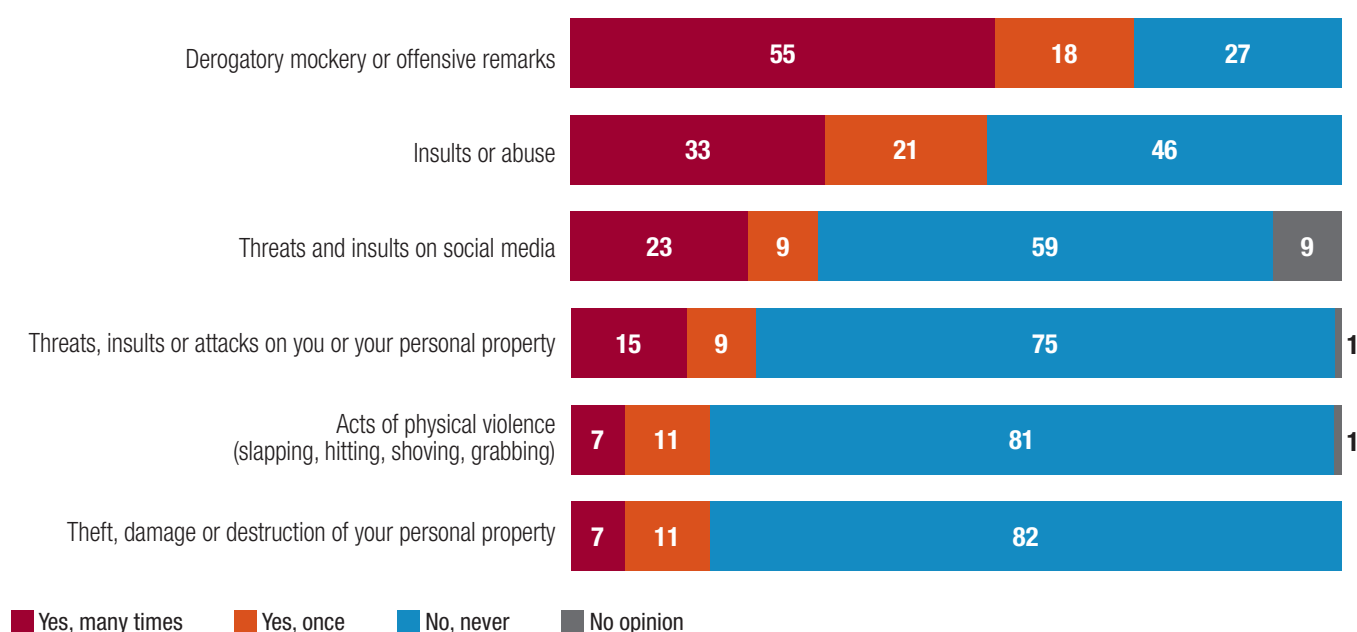
IX. INCREASED EXPOSURE OF FRENCH PEOPLE OF JEWISH FAITH TO ANTI-SEMITIC ACTS SINCE OCTOBER 7

Three-quarters of French people of the Jewish faith questioned in our survey have already been the objects of anti-Semitic mockery (73%). More than half (54%) report having been insulted because of their Jewishness, and 32% have been threatened on social media. Consistently since 2019, almost one in

five respondents (18%) say they have been physically assaulted. Individuals wearing distinctive religious symbols are more exposed, but those with “non-visible” identities are not spared either, particularly in schools and workplaces, where their religious affiliation may become known.

Types of anti-Semitic acts experienced by French people of the Jewish faith

Question: In the course of your life, have you, because you are Jewish, been personally subjected to...?



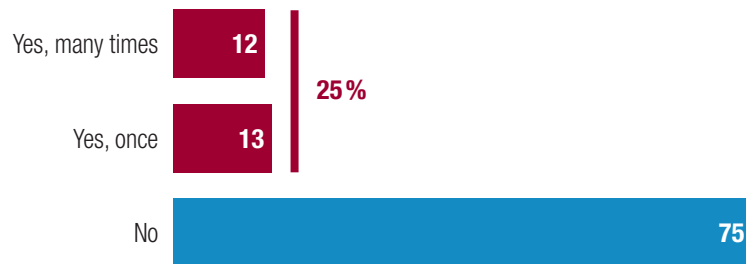
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Twenty-five percent of French people of the Jewish faith report being victims of anti-Semitic acts since October 7, with 12% of them experiencing such incidents multiple times. This figure rises to 36% among those who systematically or regularly wear distinctive religious symbols and to 37% among individuals under 25. The data includes a range of incidents, from derogatory comments on social media to physical assaults. Although

based on self-reporting, which can be subjective, these figures suggest that actual anti-Semitic acts exceed the 1,676 incidents recorded by the Ministry of the Interior's SPCJ. In our survey, among those who had experienced anti-Semitic acts in their lifetime—83% of our sample of French people of Jewish faith—only 14% filed a complaint.

Since October 7, one in four French people of Jewish faith has been victim of an anti-Semitic act

Question: Since the attack in Israel on October 7, have you been the victim of an anti-Semitic act (mockery, insult, physical aggression, tagging, etc.)?



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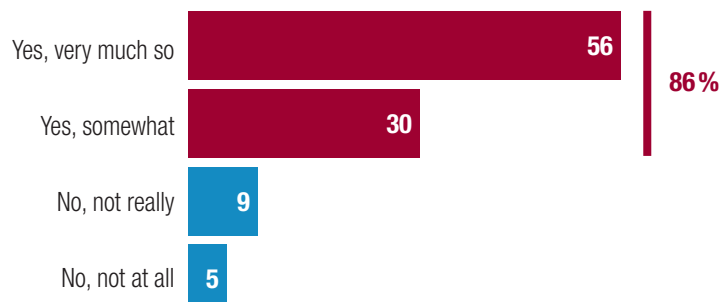
As we already mentioned in the 2019 edition of our survey, schools are the primary site of exposure to anti-Semitic acts. In 2024, 62% of victims reported experiencing insults, threats, or physical violence at school, with 42% stating this has happened on multiple occasions. This issue is not new; for the past twenty years, many Jewish families have chosen to send their children to private schools. In our sample, 43% of parents reported having at least one child in a Jewish school, 16% in a Catholic school, and 4% in a secular private school. Overall, 61% of families opted for private schooling, a significant phenomenon compared to the general population, where the figure is only 18%. While the choice of denominational schools is often influenced by religious factors (34% of parents cite this reason first, and 50% overall), safety is also a primary concern for parents. In fact, over a third (37%) of parents cite safety as their main reason for choosing private education, and 69% consider it overall.

X. BETWEEN INVISIBILITY AND RESILIENCE: THE EXPERIENCE OF FRENCH PEOPLE OF JEWISH FAITH WITH ANTI-SEMITISM AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Against a backdrop of increasing anti-Semitic acts, French people of the Jewish faith are living in fear: almost all those questioned (86%) are more afraid of becoming the victim of an anti-Semitic act since October 7, and 56% feel this fear very strongly. Faced with this threat, some people prefer to conceal their identity: 44% of people wearing distinctive religious symbols have stopped wearing them in public spaces, one in five has removed the *mezuzah* from their door and 16% have changed their name on delivery apps for fear of being identified.

Fear of anti-Semitism since the attack on October 7

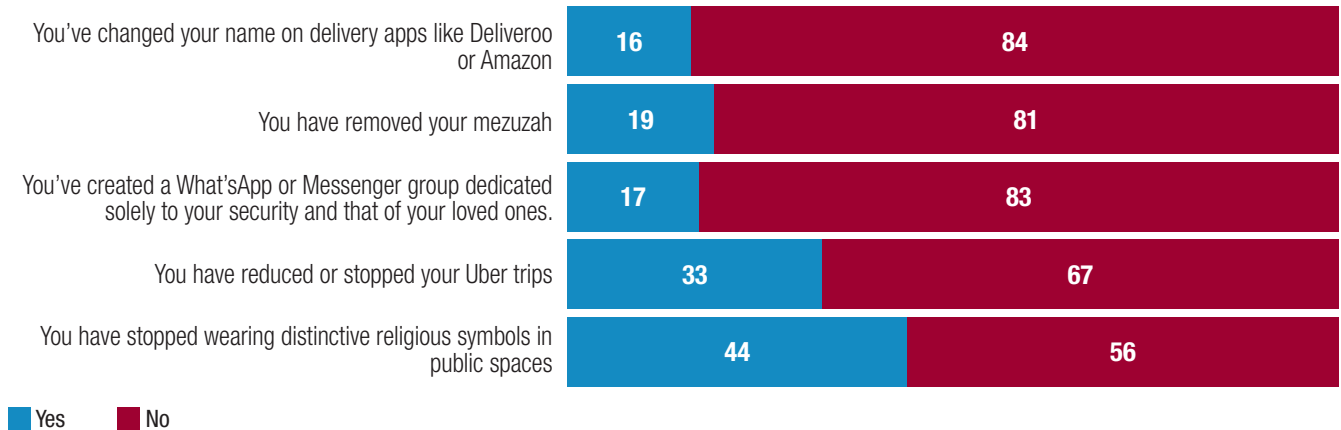
Question: Since the October 7 attack in Israel, would you say that you are more afraid of being the victim of an anti-Semitic act in France (mockery, insult, physical aggression, tagging...)?



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The adoption of concealment behaviors since October 7

Question: Since the attack in Israel on October 7, have you done any of the following?



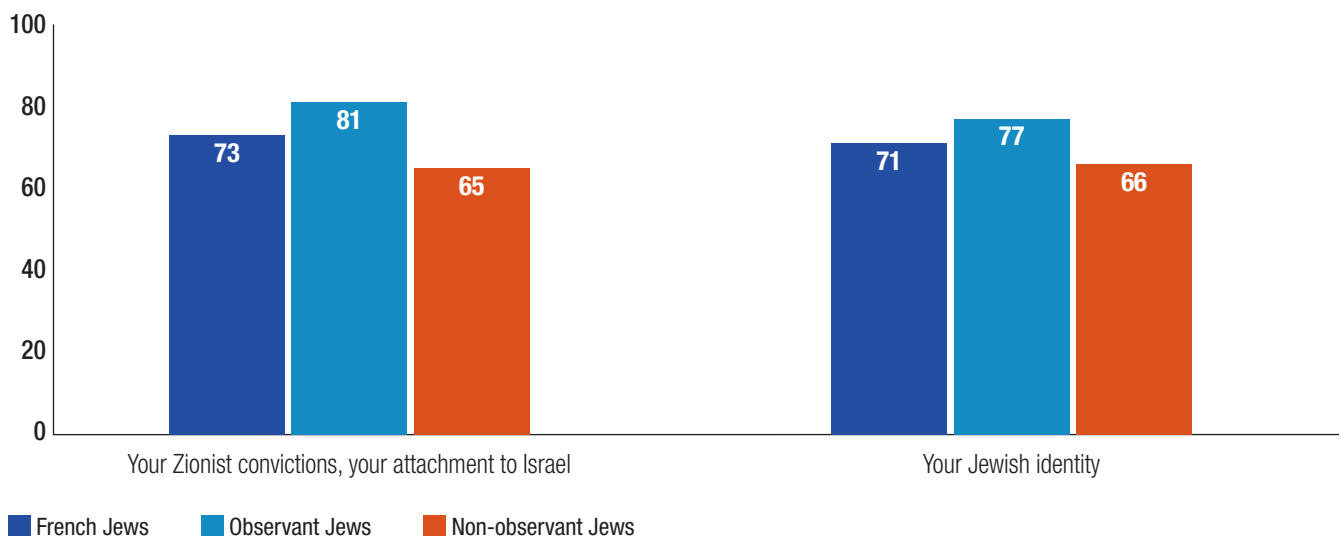
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However, we can see another phenomenon emerging: a reaffirmation of identity. Nearly 73% of respondents indicated that the October 7 pogrom had strengthened their Zionist convictions, and 71% reported a deepened sense of Jewish identity. This phenomenon, well documented in social psychology, suggests that in the

face of threat, individuals often reinforce their group identity. This response is evident among both observant Jews (77%) and those who are more secular (66%). Israel's revealed vulnerability has rekindled a sense of connection to Israel across all age groups.

Has the October 7 attack strengthened...?

Answers: A lot, a little



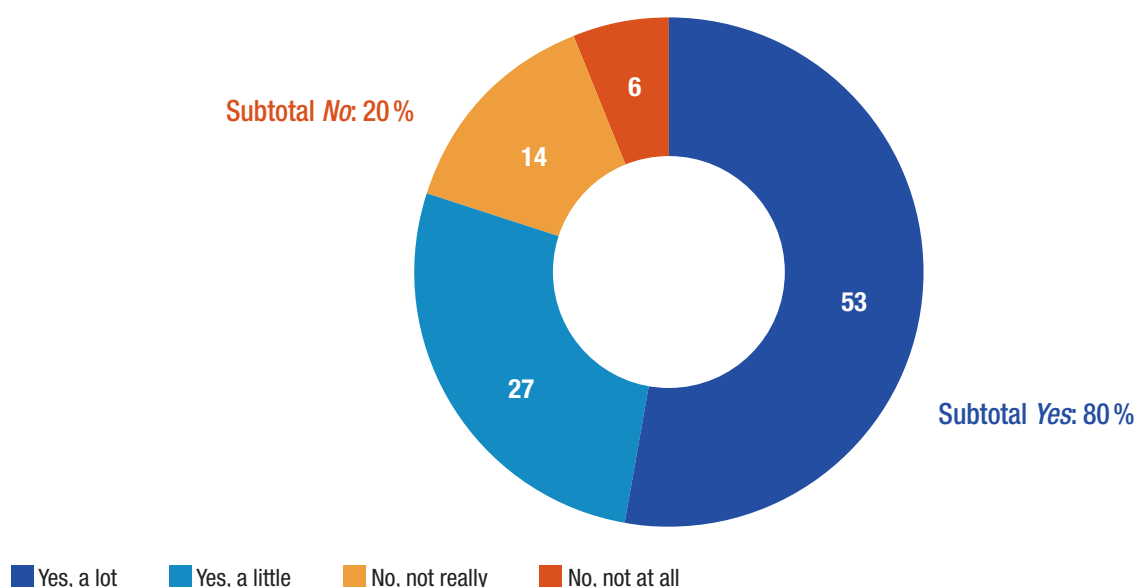
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As for the idea of leaving France, the proportion of French people of Jewish faith considering such a move remains stable at 52%. Israel remains the top choice for 58% of potential emigrants, despite the current conflict, followed by the USA (15%), Canada (9%), the UK (1%), and other countries (16% in total).

The survey also reveals a sense of isolation felt by 80% of French people of Jewish faith following the events of

October 7 and their repercussions in France; 53% felt this very strongly. This feeling can be explained by the hesitation of certain segments of the population and a segment of the political class to unequivocally condemn Hamas's brutal acts. This hesitation compounds the distress of French people of Jewish faith, who believed they were secure in France yet now face a surge of hostility, to the point of fearing a return to the darkest chapters of history.

Have you felt isolated as a French Jew because of French society's reaction or lack of reaction to the events of October 7 and their repercussions in France?



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XI. SINCE OCTOBER 7, ANTI-SEMITISM AS A GROWING CONCERN FOR THE FRENCH

In previous editions of our analysis, it became clear year after year that anti-Semitic prejudice was disproportionately prevalent among certain groups within French society, particularly among sympathizers of far-right political parties (such as Rassemblement National and Reconquête) and far-left parties (such as La France Insoumise). This year, in the context of electoral stakes and the ongoing war in the Middle East, this observation has been confirmed with even greater intensity.

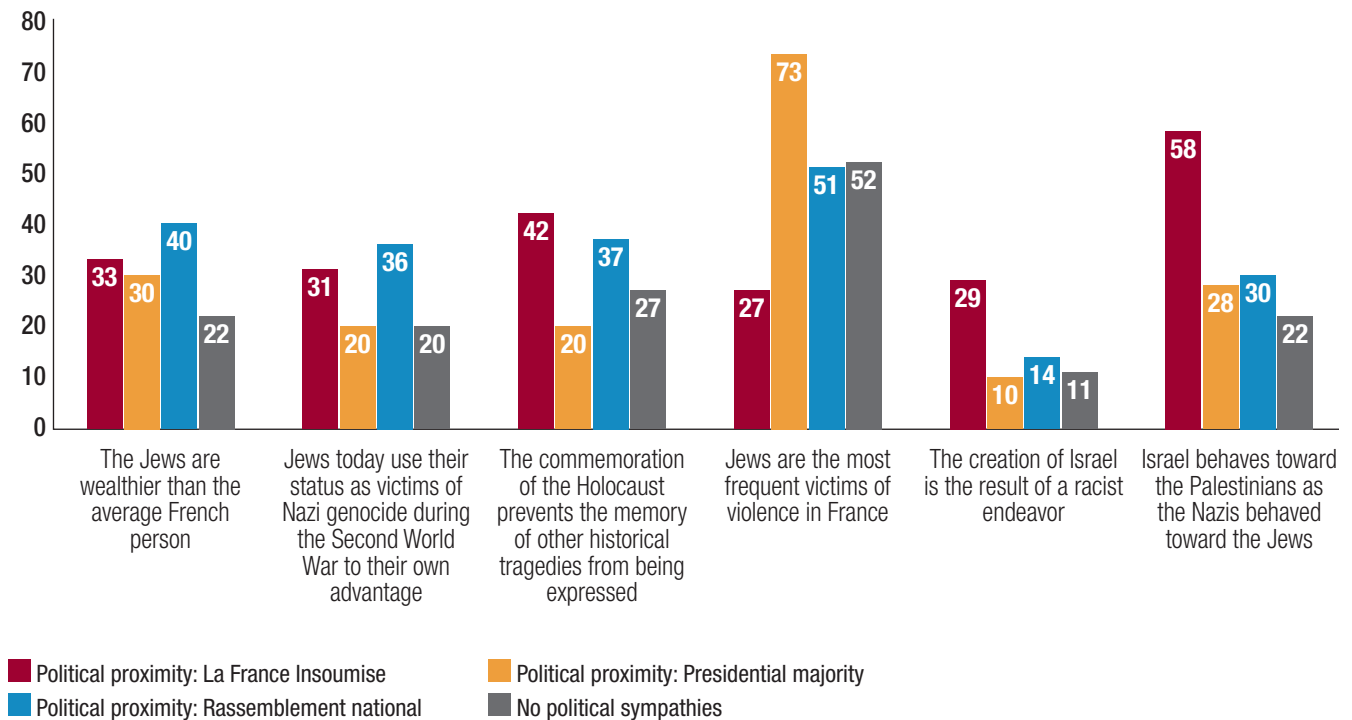
On the far right, there has been a decline in anti-Semitic prejudice over the past decade, which coincides with the party's 'normalization' process and the expansion of its electoral base. However, certain "classic" prejudices remain, such as the belief that Jews are wealthier (40% of RN sympathizers hold this view, compared to 31% of the general population) or that Jews exploit the Holocaust for their own benefit (36% of RN sympathizers believe this, versus 27% of the general population).

In the ranks of La France Insoumise (LFI), the motivations differ: competition for victimhood and distrust of Israel and Zionism are at play. Among LFI sympathizers, 42% believe that the commemoration of the Holocaust prevents recognition of other historical tragedies (compared to 32% of the general French population).

Unlike the majority of French people (52%), LFI supporters do not perceive French people of Jewish faith as the primary minority victims of racism, instead placing Muslims in that role (46%). Moreover, 29% of LFI sympathizers agree with the idea that “the creation of Israel is the result of a racist enterprise,” compared to 16% of the French population as a whole.

Additionally, twice as many LFI supporters feel sympathy for the Hamas terrorist organization compared to the general French population (14% vs. 6%). The majority (58%) also agree with the statement that “Israel is doing to the Palestinians what the Nazis did to the Jews” (compared to 32% of the French population).

Prevalence of anti-Semitic ideas by party affiliation (all French people)



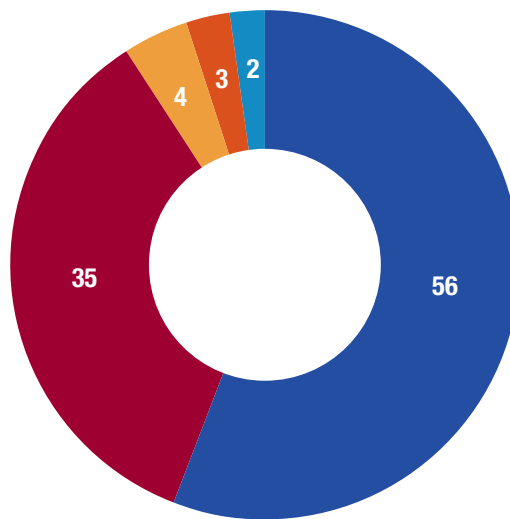
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Extreme left-wing sympathizers¹ (38%), RN (17%) and 18-24 year-olds (24%) are over-represented in the group prone to anti-Semitic violence, which comprises 10% of the general population.

Our analysis also incorporated a digital component this year, providing insights into the online mobilization of political groups regarding anti-Semitism, especially at the extremes. Network discussions reveal that individuals aligned with these two camps were the most vocal on the subject: 56% of the content originated from far-right sympathizers, 35% from those on the radical or extreme left, while only 4% came from the presidential majority, 3% from the left, and 2% from the traditional right.

1. Lutte ouvrière, Nouveau parti anticapitaliste, Parti communiste français and La France insoumise.

Distribution of the Weight of Statements by Elected Officials and Activists Identified as Part of a Political Group:



■ Far-right ■ Far-left ■ Renaissance/majority ■ Left ■ Right

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People close to the RN or Reconquête express their concern about the rise in anti-Semitism. A phenomenon they systematically link to Islamism. Political recuperation or sincere indignation? A legitimate question, given the party's history. On the other hand, those close to La France insoumise criticize what they perceive as an abusive use of the accusation of anti-Semitism, which they believe is aimed at muzzling criticism of the Israeli government.

For several years now, we have been observing a drift in Jean-Luc Mélenchon's comments. This has been confirmed by the outrageousness of his comments since October 7. At a time when Jeremy Corbyn's anti-Semitism was being denounced in Great Britain a few years ago¹, Jean-Luc Mélenchon, for his part, refused to give in to "genuflections" before the CRIF, evoking in his personal blog the "paralyzing radius of anti-Semitism"². Since October 7, the leader of La France Insoumise

(LFI) and several of his party's elected officials have ramped up their anti-Israel rhetoric, with a noticeable shift towards anti-Semitic sentiment occurring almost daily. Examples include inflammatory remarks directed at Yaël Braun-Pivet, President of the French National Assembly, and MP Meyer Habib; insinuations of imagined control by the CRIF (Representative Council of French Jewish Institutions) over French government policy on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; and references to "celestial dragons"³. This shift represents a significant breaking point for French people of Jewish faith, with 92% (compared to half of all French people) now viewing La France Insoumise as the political faction most responsible for the rise in anti-Semitism in France. LFI's unwillingness to unequivocally denounce Hamas's crimes has sparked widespread anger. As a result, 57% of French people of Jewish faith say they would consider leaving France if an LFI candidate won the next presidential election.

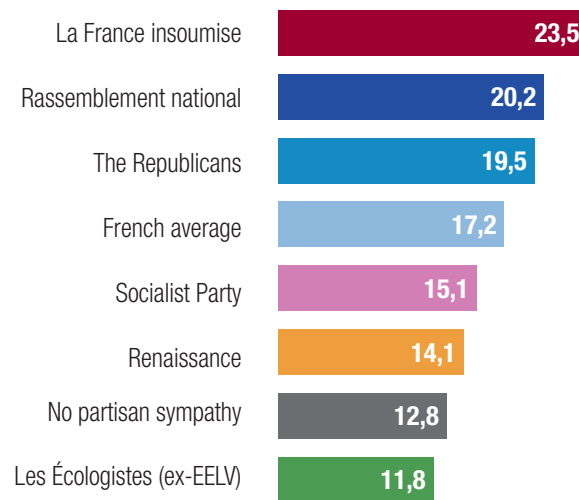
1. "In the UK, Jeremy Corbyn is caught up in suspicions of anti-Semitism within Labour", *Le Monde*, November 27, 2019 [online].

2. Sandra Cassini, "Anti-Semitism: how Jean-Luc Mélenchon cultivates ambiguity", *Le Monde*, January 5, 2024 [online].

3. Commenting on a video showing the rally organized by the Collectif national pour une paix juste et durable entre Palestiniens et Israéliens (National Collective for a just and lasting peace between Palestinians and Israelis) at Place de la République, Jean-Luc Mélenchon wrote: "This is France. Meanwhile, Mme Braun-Pivet is camping out in Tel Aviv to encourage the massacre. Not in the name of the French people!" June 2024 - LFI MP Sébastien Delogu publishes an anti-Semitic video containing a reference to crematoria. Meyer Habib is portrayed as a tentacled creature finished off by Rima Hassan.

October 2023 - In a message posted on X, Jean-Luc Mélenchon lashed out at the - Conseil représentatif des institutions juives de France (Representative Council of the Jewish Institutions of France), accusing it of having "isolated and prevented French solidarity with the desire for peace". January 2024 - LFI MP David Guiraud posts on X an image of "Celestial Dragons", characters from the manga "One Piece", a reference regularly hijacked by anti-Semitic circles.

Index of anti-Semitism penetration: by partisan proximity



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In summary, anti-Semitism is becoming a highly politicized issue, with increasing polarization across the political spectrum. The far-right's approach appears to be yielding electoral gains, while LFI's influence remains limited, despite its success in dominating online discourse and capturing media attention.

XII. SUPPORT FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM: REAL BUT UNEVEN

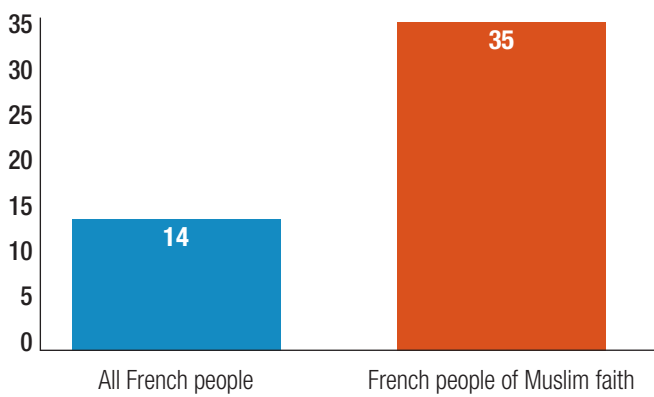
What if the political class was underestimating the will of the French people to fight against anti-Semitism? The survey results suggest that political leaders may be underestimating the French public's desire for a stronger response to anti-Semitism. An increasing number of French citizens feel that "not enough is being said about the problem of anti-Semitism"—up from 26% in 2019 to 36% today. Moreover, 80% of respondents believe that "the justice system does not punish the perpetrators of anti-Semitic acts severely enough," indicating a growing public expectation for authorities to take firmer action against anti-Semitism.

French people of Muslim faith stand out from the rest of the population when it comes to combating anti-Semitism. While 14% of the overall French population feels that there is too much talk of anti-Semitism in France, more than one in three French people of Muslim faith (35%) share this view. This discrepancy is also reflected in the perception of collective responsibility in the fight against anti-Semitism. While 76% of

French people believe that 'anti-Semitism is a problem that concerns society as a whole,' 9% think that 'anti-Semitism is only a problem for Jews and does not concern society as a whole.' Among French people of Muslim faith, 26% hold the view that anti-Semitism is only a Jewish problem—17 percentage points higher than the general population. This proportion rises to 34% among young Muslims (under 35).

In your opinion, is there too much, too little or not enough talk about anti-Semitism in France?

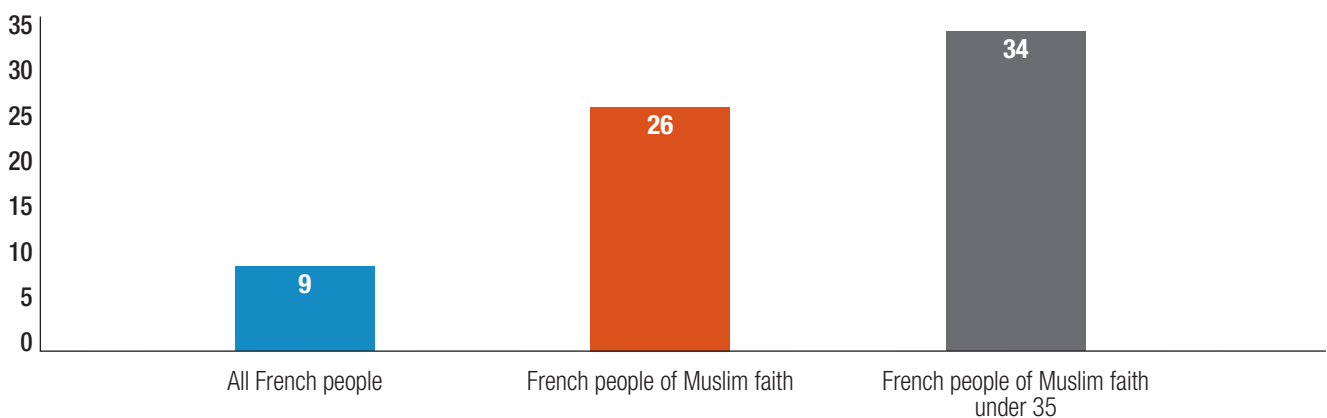
Answer: Too much



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Which of these two opinions do you feel closer to?

Answer: Anti-Semitism is only a problem for Jews, not for society as a whole



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These figures reveal two points. The first is that a very large majority of French people support the fight against anti-Semitism, and would like to see tougher condemnation of anti-Semitic acts. The second is that

a significant minority of French people of Muslim faith put the onus of combating anti-Semitism on the Jews, and believe that it is talked about too much in society.

XIII. PREJUDICED ANTISEMITISM VS AGGRESSIVE ANTISEMITISM

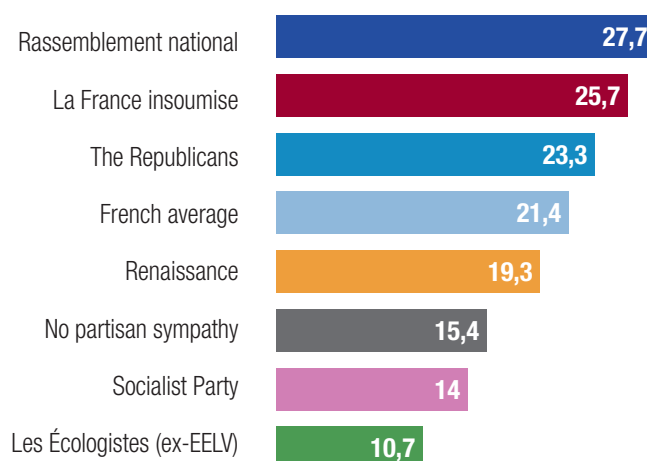
Two forms of anti-Semitism are evident in our study: anti-Semitism that we will refer to here as “prejudiced” anti-Semitism, and anti-Semitism that we will call “aggressive” anti-Semitism. The prejudiced anti-Semitism we measure is based on a set of negative, even accusatory stereotypes¹. It consists of opinions and representations, most of which are highly malicious. This type of anti-Semitism borders on aggressive anti-Semitism, which includes the prejudices mentioned in our study but also condones what we define as anti-Semitic “acting out.”

We observe that prejudiced anti-Semitism is more prevalent on the right, while aggressive anti-Semitism is more common on the left, particularly within the circles of La France Insoumise (LFI). As a result, this political group has excessively instrumentalized the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, drawing to itself dogmatic, radical, and more violent factions made up of activists and demonstrators whose rhetoric conveys a threatening and dangerous form of anti-Semitism toward Jews. In our survey, the approval of acts that are, in fact, anti-Semitic attacks reveals the contours of a hatred that extends beyond prejudice and moves into a more active, harmful realm.

A gesture that is characteristic of anti-Semitism in general, and particularly of aggressive anti-Semitism, such as “tagging a synagogue or Jewish business to express opposition to Israel,” is considered acceptable or understandable by 9% of the French population, which is a notable figure. This approval is even higher among those close to La France Insoumise (18%). In contrast, a smaller proportion of those aligned with the Rassemblement national (8%) approve of such a gesture, though a greater number of them express negative prejudices against Jews.

Prejudiced anti-Semitism is present across all political affiliations. It is most widespread among those who lean towards the Rassemblement national (27.7%). Nearly a quarter of those aligned with La France Insoumise (25.7%) and The Republicans (25.3%) also hold such views. It is less prevalent among supporters of the Macronist camp (Renaissance at the time of the survey, 19.3%), the Socialist Party (14%), and Les Écologistes (10.7%) compared to the general population (21.4%). Younger people, especially those under 35, are more likely to share these prejudices (26.7%), a sentiment echoed by nearly half of French people of Muslim faith (47.9%). This proportion rises with the frequency of religious practice: among French people of Muslim faith who attend a mosque at least once a week, 64.3% share these anti-Semitic views.

Index of prejudiced anti-Semitism penetration: by partisan proximity



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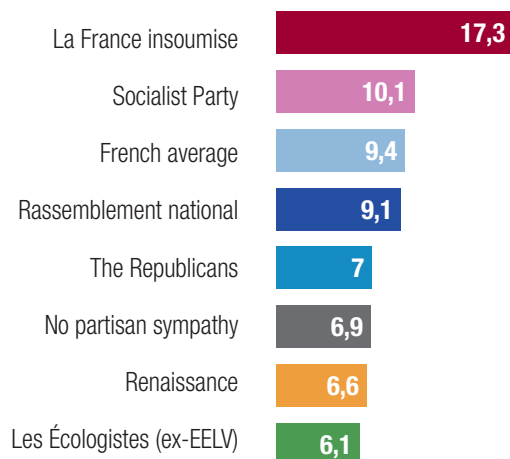
1. The data collected to measure aggressive anti-Semitism is based on the expression of agreement with the following statements:

- “Tagging a synagogue or Jewish business to show opposition to Israel.”
- “Threatening an individual on social networks because of their public support for Israel.”
- “Shoving or behaving physically aggressively towards an individual because of their support for Israel at a public gathering.”
- “It is ‘not anti-Semitic’ to ‘tag a synagogue or Jewish business to express opposition to Israel.’”
- “It is ‘not anti-Semitic’ to ‘jostle or behave physically aggressively towards an individual because of their support for Israel at a public gathering.’”
- “It is ‘not anti-Semitic’ to ‘threaten an individual on social media because of their public support for Israel.’”
- “It is justified to attack Jews because of their support for Israel.”

Aggressive anti-Semitism is characterized by the tolerance of anti-Semitic violence ¹. It is particularly prevalent among supporters of La France Insoumise (LFI). In fact, 17.3% of those close to LFI identify with aggressive anti-Semitism, while in other political groups, the prevalence of this form of anti-Semitism is closer to the national average of 9.4%. Generally speaking, it's the most politically radical segments of the French population who support aggressive anti-Semitism,

partially those on the extreme right, (13.7%) and the extreme left (13.1%). Once again, the under 35s are more likely than average to support aggressive anti-Semitism (15.9%), as are those who get their information from YouTube (19.6%). However, it's among French people of Muslim faith that aggressive anti-Semitism is most widespread: nearly a quarter (23.9%) support the use of violent action against Jews, and a third (31.7%) among Muslims that go to the Mosque at least once a week.

Index of aggressive anti-Semitism penetration: by partisan proximity



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As we have seen, opinion attributes a decisive role in the rise of anti-Semitism in France to France Insoumise. Among the French population as a whole, LFI is seen as the political formation that contributes most to the rise in anti-Semitism in France (53% of those questioned), ahead of the RN, at around the same level (51%). But among French people of Jewish faith or culture, LFI is cited as the political formation that contributes most to the rise in anti-Semitism by 92% of respondents, against 49% who cite the RN.

	Prejudiced anti-Semitism	Aggressive anti-Semitism
All	21,4%	9,4%
LFI sympathizers	25,7%	17,3%
RN sympathizers	27,7%	9,1%
Under 35	26,7%	15,9%
Sympathy for Hamas	61,7%	32%
Sympathy for Russia	56%	21,1%
French people of Muslim faith	47,9%	23,9%

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CONCLUSION

In the aftermath of October 7, our survey confirms a surge in anti-Semitism in France. In a climate where 61% of French citizens of the Jewish faith say they feel that they are sometimes held responsible for events in the Middle East, a quarter of them report having suffered an anti-Semitic act since October 7. Fear of aggression is widespread.

While young French people of the Jewish faith report being more frequently criticized for the policies of the Israeli government and more often being the victims of anti-Semitic acts, it is impossible to deny that there is a problem within certain schools. This is especially concerning, as data from the general population show that, against the backdrop of generational shifts in the relationship with Israel and the Jewish condition, young people are more inclined to find anti-Semitic acts acceptable.

Internal aliyah, the development of religious establishments, and departure for Israel: over the past 20 years, in the face of anti-Semitism and an increasingly fragmented society, some French people of the Jewish faith have unwittingly seceded. The results of this study give rise to fears that the current period could see a new retreat. This is the predictable response of a minority faced with threats and violence. It is also alarming to see how the issue of anti-Semitism has re-emerged as an object of political mobilization. In 2024, the republican ideal of a fraternal society united in diversity has never seemed so difficult to achieve.



RADIOGRAPHIE DE L'ANTISÉMITISME EN FRANCE ÉDITION 2024

Par Dominique Reymé (professeur des universités à Sciences Po
et directeur général de la Fondapol),

Simone Rodan-Benzaguen (directrice AJC Europe),

Anne-Sophie Sebban-Bécache (directrice AJC Paris) et

Sarah Perez-Pariente (directrice adjointe AJC Paris)

François Legrand (directeur d'études IFOP)

Octobre 2024

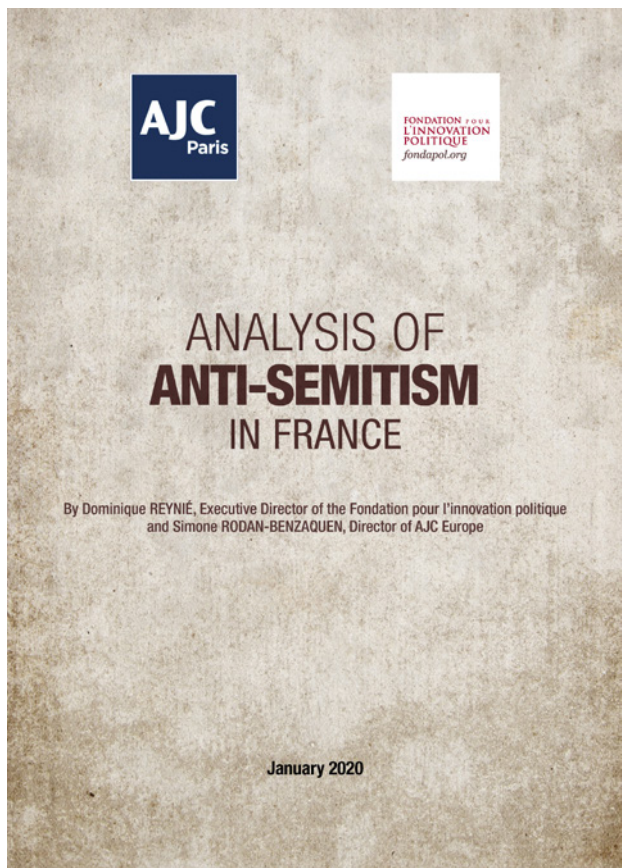
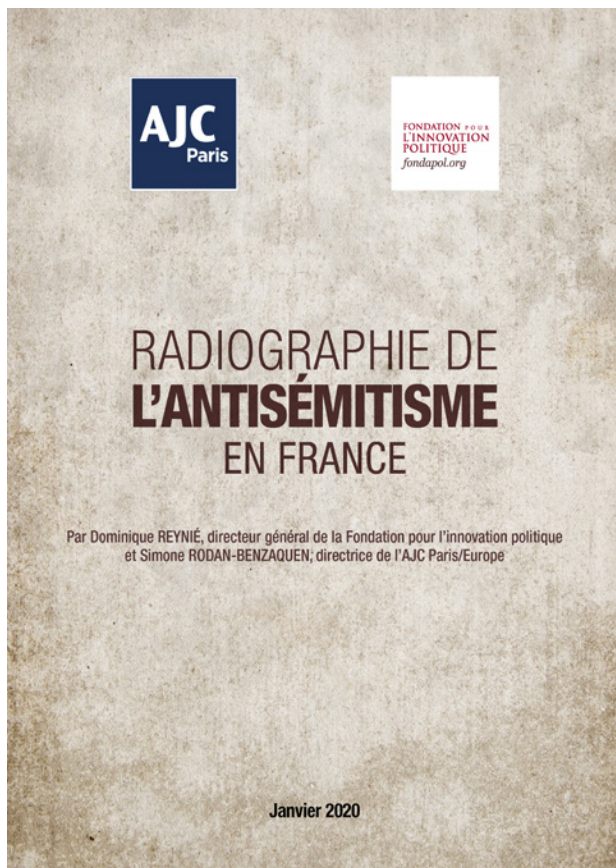
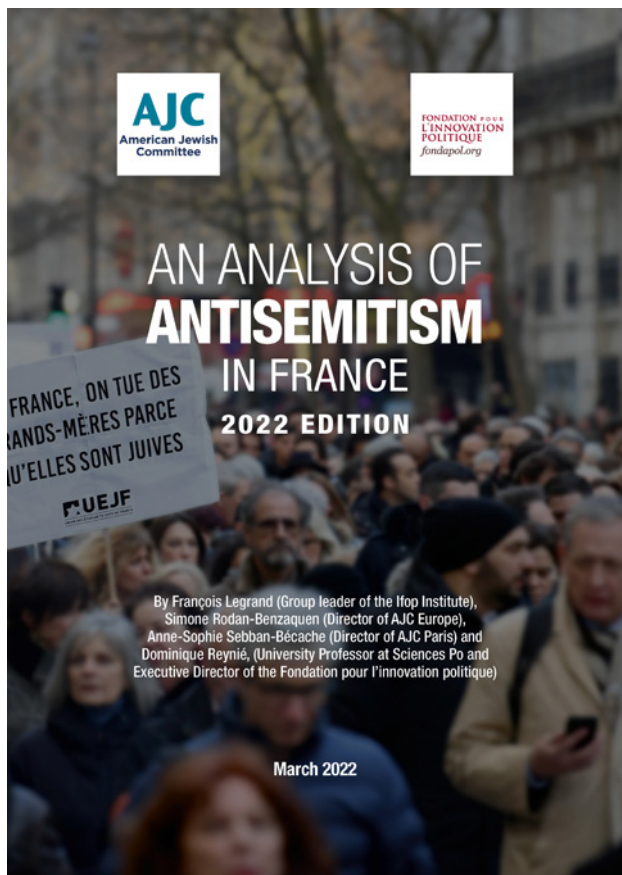


Georges BENSOUSSAN

POGROMS IN PALESTINE BEFORE THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL (1830-1948)

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L'ANTISÉMITISME DANS L'OPINION PUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE NOUVEAUX ÉCLAIRAGES

Dominique REYNIÉ

Novembre 2014

AJC
Paris

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Dominique REYNIÉ

Novembre 2014

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UNE ENQUÊTE SUR
LA MÉMOIRE DU XX^e SIÈCLE
auprès de 31 172 jeunes
de 16 à 29 ans, en 24 langues,
dans 31 pays.

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aged between 16 and 29,
carried out in 24 languages
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FRANCE : LES JUIFS VUS PAR LES MUSULMANS.

Entre stéréotypes et méconnaissances

Mehdi GHOUIRGATE
Iannis RODER
Dominique SCHNAPPER

Préfacé par
Dominique REYNIÉ, Directeur général de la Fondation pour l'innovation politique
et **Simone RODAN-BENZAQUEN**, Directrice de l'AJC Paris/Europe

AJC
Paris

Mars 2017

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VIOLENCE ANTISÉMITES EN EUROPE 2005-2015

(FRANCE, ALLEMAGNE, SUÈDE, NORVÈGE,
DANEMARK, RUSSIE ET ROYAUME-UNI)

Johannes DUE ENSTAD

Septembre 2017

The logo is contained within a thin black rectangular border. It features the text "FONDATION POUR L'INNOVATION POLITIQUE" in a bold, red, sans-serif font, stacked in four lines. Below this, the website "fondapol.org" is written in a smaller, black, sans-serif font.

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AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

IN A FEW WORDS

The American Jewish Committee (AJC) is America's largest international Jewish organization. Trans-political, it aims to defend human rights, democratic values and pluralism, promote transatlantic relations and combat racism, anti-Semitism and all forms of discrimination.

Its European branch, AJC Europe, is headed by Simone Rodan Benzaquen and is represented in France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Poland, the Czech Republic and Bulgaria. The French office, AJC Paris, is headed by Anne-Sophie Sebban-Bécache.

As our survey shows, French society as a whole is not anti-Semitic. In fact, the French are particularly concerned about the rise in anti-Semitism. Three-quarters (76%) of those surveyed believe that "anti-Semitism is a problem that concerns society as a whole," compared with 9% who see it as "a problem that concerns only Jews and does not concern society as a whole." The French are calling for a firmer policy in the fight against anti-Semitism, with 80% believing that the justice system does not punish the perpetrators of anti-Semitic acts severely enough.

However, despite these figures, which testify to the French people's attachment to the fundamental values of the Republic, we also show that part of French society has been won over by anti-Semitism. This is particularly true of young people in general, and even more specifically, young French people of Muslim faith or culture. This trend is often interpreted as a result of the worsening Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

In reality, anti-Semitism is already present, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has set it in motion, providing justification for the act.

It is a cultural anti-Semitism that ignores history, refuses to acknowledge it, or even rejects knowing it. This is evident in the widespread revisionist views found on social networks. For instance, 40% of the under-35s we surveyed believe that Israel behaves towards the Palestinians as the Nazis behaved towards the Jews, compared to 32% of the general French population and 31% of those aged 65 or over. The figure rises to 67% among French people of Muslim faith and 65% among French people of Muslim faith under 35. Similarly, 29% of the young people we surveyed think that "the creation of Israel is the fruit of a racist endeavor," compared with 16% of French people and just 12% of those aged 65 or over. This figure rises to 45% among French people of Muslim faith and 46% among the under-35s.

The corollary of this detestation of Israel is growing complacency towards Hamas, the Palestinian Islamist terrorist organization. While only 2% of those aged 65 and over express sympathy for this terrorist group, the figure rises to 14% among those under 35. This figure is even higher among French people of Muslim faith (22%) and under-35s (27%).

This study is the fourth edition of a barometer initiated in 2014 by the American Jewish Committee (AJC), Fondapol, and Ifop. This edition takes place against the backdrop of an upsurge in anti-Semitic acts since the October 7 attack. The survey was carried out on three samples: a representative sample of all French people; a sample of French people of Muslim faith; and a sample of French people of Jewish faith. French people of Jewish faith have been the subject of a victimization survey on their experience of anti-Semitism, particularly since October 7.

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Liraz Assulin
38-years-old
Israeli

Kidnappée à son
domicile par le Hamas

Le 7 octobre 2023, près de 200 civils innocents ont été enlevés depuis Israël vers la bande de Gaza. À ce jour, leur localisation reste inconnue.
Plus de 3000 femmes, hommes et enfants entre les âges de 3 mois à 85 ans ont été blessés, abattus, torturés, violés et brutalement enlevés par le Hamas.

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Tamir Adar
38-years-old
Israeli

Kidnappé à son
domicile par le Hamas

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