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Dominique REYNIÉ

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Traduction en Anglais
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Simone Rodan Benzaquen is the Director of AJC Paris.

INTRODUCTION

ANTI-SEMITISM IN FRANCE : FACING REALITY

Op-ed by Dominique Reynié, General Director of the Foundation for Political Innovation and Professor at Sciences Po Paris, and Simone Rodan-Benzaquen, Director of AJC Paris, in *Huffington Post* published on 11/18/2014 – English

For more than 10 years, the Jews of France have been living in a state of anxiety. They no longer recognize France, the Republic they love, the country of human rights and of universalism. They see the resurgence of a dark side of the French experience that they had thought was eradicated forever.

Anti-semitism is again showing its violent face. Over the course of the past decade France had never had less than 400 anti-Semitic acts a year, including the brutal murder of Ilan Halimi by the "gang of Barbarians" in 2006 and the massacre at the Ozar Hatorah school in Toulouse in 2012. And then there was the outrage in May in neighboring Belgium, where yet another Frenchman, Mehdi Nemmouche, committed atrocious murders.

Anti-semitic speech is taking more and more space in the public sphere, as sadly revealed by the "Dieudonné affair." This anti-Semitic "stand up comedian" expresses and widely disseminates insulting and hurtful remarks to incite hatred.

In France, Jewish community leaders and concerned politicians had to work hard to get the reality of anti-semitic violence recognized. But today, the warning signals are on everywhere in Europe. To simply admit the problem is not enough anymore.

It is time to break out of the defensive mode and act. In order to do so effectively we must identify the sources of anti-semitism in France. Political action in the battle against anti-semitism cannot be solely based on assumptions.

With this in mind, the American Jewish Committee, the Jean Jaurès Foundation, and the Foundation for Political Innovation (Fondapol) held a seminar on the


topic to gain a better understanding of the sources of anti-Semitism in France and to develop clear policy recommendations. Afterward, Fondapol with the survey institute IFOP, conducted two unprecedented opinion surveys of French attitudes toward Jews. The first was an online, self-administered survey of 1,005 people, and the second consisted of face-to-face interviews with 575 people over age 16 who said they were born to a Muslim family.

The results give cause for grave concern. One-quarter of French people think that Jews have too much power in the economy and in finance; 22 percent say that Jews have too much power in the media; 35 percent are of the opinion that Jews use their status as victims of the Holocaust in their own interest; and 16 percent think there is a global Zionist conspiracy. Even worse, 14 percent of French people consider the attacks against the Jewish community that took place during the summer --including the targeting of synagogues and Jewish-owned shops, and the shouting of vile anti-Semitic slogans during anti-Israel demonstrations -- understandable.

Hostile opinions towards Jews are more prevalent among people who distrust political institutions and the media. Anti-parliamentarianism, rejection of Europe, distrust of the state and of traditional media, animosity toward globalization and toward foreigners tend to go together with anti-Semitic views.

Furthermore, anti-Semitic attitudes tend to be most prevalent in three specific subgroups of the

French population: the extreme right, the radical left, and the Muslim community -- itself the object of considerable animosity in France.



Fully half of the supporters of the extreme-right National Front believe that Jews have too much economic power, and 51 percent say Jews have too much power in the media. And while 16 percent of the entire sample said that French Jews are not really French, 39 percent of the National Front supporters think so.

Among those respondents who support the Left Front, 51 percent believe that Jews use their status as victims of Nazi genocide in their own interest. And 24 percent of these Left Front sympathizers think there are "too many in France," as compared to 16 percent of the entire sample.

Muslim respondents were two and even three times more anti-Jewish than French people as a whole. Thus, for example, 19 percent of the entire French sample adhered to the idea that Jews have "too much" political power, but the rate was 51 percent for all Muslim respondents. While there were no significant differences in Muslim responses on the basis of age, education or social status, anti-Semitic views tended to correlate with the intensity of Muslim religiosity: 37 percent of those

born in a Muslim family without religious involvement thought Jews had too much political power, but 49 percent of Muslim believers thought so, and 63 percent of believing and practicing Muslims.

The data also showed the effect of social media on anti-Semitism. Those respondents who say they receive their information on social networks, forums and online videos (such as YouTube) have a much higher degree of anti-Semitism. Indeed, the anti-Semitic comedian Dieudonné and "intellectual" Alain Soral are the main sources for anti-Semitic discourse on the internet and in the broader public domain. Now the two of them are in the process of creating a political party to have another tool at their hand to unite all anti-Semites.

We cannot let the anti-Semitic demagogues exploit our society's problems for their political ambitions. The good news from this survey is the broad consensus it reveals in French society on the need to fight anti-Semitism and racism. All of us have to ensure France remains true to itself, a land of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

ANTI-SEMITIC ATTITUDES IN FRANCE

NEW INSIGHTS

By **Dominique Reynié**

General Director of the Foundation for Political Innovation and Professor at Sciences Po Paris

For more than a decade, there has been rising anxiety about anti-Semitism in France. There have been more than 400 anti-Semitic incidents per year, some of them fatal, including the brutal murder of Ilan Halimi in 2006 and the massacre at the Ozar Hatorah school in Toulouse in 2012. Anti-Semitic speech has become increasingly common, most notably in the public performances of the "comedian" Dieudonné. From January through July 2014, there were 527 anti-Semitic incidents, as compared to 276 over the same period in 2013. Half of all racist acts were acts against Jews, who represent less than 1% of the population. The summer of 2014 brought a heightened level of anti-Jewish activity as demonstrations favoring Hamas in its military confrontation with Israel sometimes spilled over into anti-Semitic rhetoric, such as "Death to the Jews," and attacks on synagogues and Jewish-owned shops. French Jews worry about their future in the country, and a growing number have either emigrated or are considering that path.

This survey of French opinion had its origins in a seminar on French anti-Semitism held on October 16, 2014, co-organized by the American Jewish Committee (AJC), the Jean Jaurès Foundation, and the Foundation for Political Innovation (Fondapol). Two daily newspapers, *Le Figaro* and *Liberation*, also participated. The seminar was led by Simone Rodan-Benzaquen of AJC, Gilles Finchelstein of the Jean-Jaurès Foundation, and Dominique Reynié of the Foundation for Political Innovation. Thirty people attended the seminar, including four members of Parliament. Future seminar meetings are planned that will probe more deeply into the problem of anti-Semitism and seek ways to combat it through concrete policy recommendations.

Fondapol subsequently arranged with the survey institute Ifop (French Institute of Public Opinion) to conduct two unprecedented surveys of French attitudes toward Jews. The first was an online, self-administered survey of 1,005 people, and the second consisted of face-to-face interviews with 575 people over age 16 who said they were born to a Muslim family.

This is not, of course, the first attempt to study the phenomenon of anti-Semitism in France. In 2004, the government issued a report on the fight against racism and anti-Semitism, prepared by Jean-Christophe Rufin. It noted a decrease in the extreme right's role in anti-Semitism and an increase in the role of young people from immigrant backgrounds. The CNCDH (National Consultative Council of Human Rights) study of public opinion found a decline in anti-Semitic prejudice. However, data collected by the Kantor Center show that the number of violent anti-Semitic incidents was three times higher during the 2004-13 period than from 1994 to 2004. Whether or not there has been a decline in prejudice, the rise in violence against Jews is clear.

The related issues of anti-Semitism, xenophobia, and racism are not just French problems; they are resurfacing in many European democracies as globalization threatens traditional worldviews, large-scale immigration raises fears that a multicultural society will bring loss of identity, and an ageing of the population encourages pessimism about change and reinforces a tendency to withdraw into oneself. Also, the economic downturn and the seeming inability of government to cope with it adds to a sense that society and state are paralyzed.

A new actor, the Internet—and the social media more broadly—have become central to the dissemination of anti-Semitism. Websites and other forms of online communication spread ideas in ways that appear egalitarian, spontaneous, authentic, immediate, and universal. This unprecedented mode of expression also allows for anonymity and hence total impunity, enabling anti-Semites and racists a kind of extraterritorial status to spread their poison with little fear of retaliation.

The first step toward addressing the problem is determining the facts. This report, presenting the findings of the surveys, helps us to gauge the level of anti-Semitism in the country and pinpoint those sectors of society that are most prone to espouse it.



METHODOLOGY

Ifop conducted two surveys on French anti-Semitism for the Foundation for Political Innovation. The first was based on responses to self-administered online questionnaires by a sample of 1,005 people over age 16 representative of the French population. The sample's representativeness was ensured by the quota method (gender, age, and occupation of the interviewee), after stratification by region and size of the town the person came from. The online interviews were conducted September 26-30, 2014.

The second survey was of 575 people who said they were born into a Muslim family, aged 16 and over. Its purpose was to test the hypothesis, suggested almost 15 years ago by Pierre-André Taguieff and mentioned by Jean-Christophe Rufin in his 2004 report, that there was a "new" anti-Semitism in the French Muslim community. It is therefore a question of whether Muslims living in France are more or less likely to share prejudices against Jews than the national population. Strictly speaking, there are no statistics upon which to build a quota sample of French Muslims. But INSEE statistics on immigration to France as well as empirical data that national surveys have reported about the Muslim population enabled Ifop to determine indicative quotas (gender, age, occupation) after stratification by region and size of town. Sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds were overrepresented in order to obtain sufficient numbers, and their responses were then recalculated to conform with their actual demographic size. For this second survey, interviews were conducted by face-to-face questionnaires administered on the street, October 4-9, 2014.

Since in a sample of 1 000 people, the proportion of Muslims will not be large enough to allow a meaningful analysis of the data, we asked Ifop to interview a sample composed exclusively of people of Muslim origin—that is, people claiming to be born into a Muslim family, who may or may not be of French nationality.

We expect that the data we uncovered will not only help us understand our own society better, but will also encourage further investigations into the attitudes and values of the French people.

The construction of an indicator of anti-Semitism

Another purpose of this survey is to identify those sectors of society that tend to share multiple anti-Jewish prejudices, thereby highlighting the profile of respondents who can be called "virulent" anti-Semites. To accomplish this we constructed a scale ranging from 1, denoting those who have one anti-Semitic prejudice, to 6, for those who share all of them.

In preparing the questionnaire, six opinions about Jews were selected for the construction of the scale: "Jews today use their status as victims of Nazi genocide during World War II in their own interest" (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 the political domain" (19%), "There is a worldwide Zionist conspiracy" (16%), and "Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis" (6%). The data presented below are taken from the results of the two surveys.

Indicator of anti-Semitism (overall population, 16 years and older, in %)	Together
• None yes for 6 anti-Semitic tested items	53
• Yes to 1 item of 6	18
• Yes to 2 items of 6	9
• Yes to 3 items of 6	5
• Yes to 4 items of 6	6
• Yes to 5 items of 6	6
• Yes to the 6 items	3

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIGG (2014).

PART ONE

PUBLIC OPINION
ABOUT JEWS IN FRENCH SOCIETY

1. ANTI-SEMITIC VIEWS IN A SOCIETY THAT IS NOT ANTI-SEMITIC

Overall, French society is criss-crossed by currents of anti-Semitic views whose weight must be evaluated not only by the proposal of people who share it but also considering the level of violence they contain. The most common prejudice against Jews (held by 35% of the sample) is that "Jews today use their status as victims of Nazi genocide during World War II in their own interest".

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements ?

Total "agree" [%]

	Together
Jews today use their status as victims of Nazi genocide during World War II in their own interest	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 the political domain	19
There is a worldwide Zionist conspiracy	16
Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	6

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

More than a fifth of respondents (22%) report that they "often" or "from time to time" hear their family, friends or business associates say bad things about Jews.

Do you often/from time to time/rarely or never hear your family, friends or business associates say bad things about Jews? [%]

	Together
Often / from time to time	22
• Often	3
• From time to time	19
Rarely / Never	78
• Rarely	40
• Never	38
TOTAL	100

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

Questions about Zionism are meaningless for a significant portion of respondents (between 42% and 46%), who said they knew nothing about it. But other responses reveal high criticism of Israel by a part of French society and a strong anti-Semitic view: a quarter of the sample believes Zionism is "an international organization that aims to influence the world and society in favor of the Jews".

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

	Agree	Disagree	Do not know
• is an ideology which claims the right of Jews to have their own state on the lands of their ancestors	46	12	42
• is an ideology used to justify Israel's policy of occupation and colonization of Palestinian territories	37	19	44
• is an international organization that aims to influence the world and society in favor of the Jews	25	28	47
• is a racist ideology	23	31	46

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

Similarly, 21% of respondents would not like having a Jewish president, 4 percentage points higher than ten years ago. 6% say they would want to avoid having a Jewish neighbor. While this is a low proportion, the objection to having a Jewish neighbor is a concrete expression of a particularly strong hostility. Clearly, not only the percentages but also the intensity of opinions deserve our attention. The results of earlier surveys are also included.

If it were up to you, would you look for/avoid/not care about the following situations ?

"Avoid" (%)

	Ifop Sept. 1966	Louis Harris 1977	Ifop 1978	Ifop 1985	TNS Sofres May 2005	Fondapol Sept. 2014
• Having a Jewish President	50	29	24	NA	17	21
• Having a Jewish mayor	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	14
• Having a Jewish banker	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	10
• Having a Jewish boss	32	21	13	11	6	10
• Having a Jewish doctor	16	12	7	7	3	8
• Having a Jewish neighbor	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	6

NA: The item was not asked

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

When the questions were about actual Jews, there was a marked decrease in anti-Semitic responses.

In general, when you find out that someone you know is Jewish, what reaction do you have? (%)

	Together
• I like it	3
• I do not like it	3
• I do not care	91
• No opinion	3

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

And in your opinion, when French people find out that someone they know is Jewish, what reaction do they have ? (%)

	Together
• They like it	1
• They do not like it	15
• They do not care	65
• No opinion	19

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

Similarly, the great majority of respondents (84%) believe that a "French Jew" is "as French as any other French person". Results of previous surveys are also included.

In your opinion, are these people as French as other French people?

"As French as an other French people" (%)

	Ifop 1946	Ifop Sept. 1966	Louis Harris 1977	Ifop 1978	Louis Harris October 1987	TNS Sofres May 2005	Fondapol Sept. 2014
• A Breton	83	94	94	93	99	98	97
• An Alsatian	65	82	90	88	96	96	96
• A Corsican	75	75	84	82	95	89	88
• A French Jew	37(*)	60(*)	65(*)	83(*)	94(**)	92	84
• A French Muslim	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	79	65
• A French person of immigrant origins	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	64

(*) The wording of the survey was "A French person of Jewish origin" - (**) The wording of the question was "A Jew"

NA: Item not asked

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

2. FIGHTING AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM AND TEACHING ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST ARE WIDELY-SHARED GOALS

The study should be completed by questions on the fight against anti-Semitism and racism, on the representations of the past and the role that history can play in citizenship education policies. Now, we see here that respondents massively embrace the idea that we must include the Holocaust education in devices for the fight against anti-Semitism and racism.

The great majority of respondents embrace steps to combat racism and anti-Semitism.

Some people say we should fight against anti-Semitism and racism to avoid anything like the Holocaust from happening again.

Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with this statement? (%)

	Together
Agree	85
• Strongly agree	58
• Slightly agree	27
Disagree	6
• Slightly disagree	4
• Strongly disagree	2
No opinion	9

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

The great majority also embraces Holocaust education.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? It is important to teach about the Holocaust to younger generations in order to prevent anything like it from happening again. (%)

	Together
• Agree	77
• Disagree	12
• No opinion	11

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

Moreover, Holocaust denial is virtually absent in France.

Approximately six million Jews were killed by the Nazis during the World War II. Do you consider it...? (%)

	Together
• A monstrous crime	63
• One tragedy among others in a war that claimed many victims	29
• An exaggeration: there were deaths, but much fewer than assumed	2
• An invention: this never happened	1
- No opinion	5

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

Only 16% of respondents said they agreed with the statement that in France, "anti-Semitism is a greater problem than racism," while 59% of people said the opposite. This is contrary to the evidence on anti-Semitic attacks, which constitute 50% of all racist acts even though Jews make up less than 1% of the country's population. Clearly, the anti-Semitic attacks do not arouse the degree of public attention that the facts would warrant.

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

	Agree	Disagree	No Opinion
• In France, we fight more against anti-Semitism than against racism	35	41	24
• In France, anti-Semitism is a greater problem than racism	16	59	25

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

3. THE "DIEUDONNÉ CASE" AND THE CRISIS OF SUMMER 2014

Two recent events demonstrated provided an opportunity to measure anti-Jewish feeling—reaction to the government's ban on performances by the anti-Semitism stand-up comedian Dieudonné, and the anti-Semitism evident on French streets during the summer 2014 fighting between Israel and Hamas.

Last January, the government banned the performance of a show by comedian Dieudonne M'Bala M'Bala because of words he used that are considered anti-Semitic. Do you think the reaction of the government in this case...

Strongly justified/somewhat justified/somewhat unjustified/not justified at all? (%)

	Together
Justified	64
• Strongly justified	34
• Somewhat justified	30
Unjustified	26
• Somewhat unjustified	16
• Not justified at all	10
- No reply	10

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIG (2014).

A fifth of respondents (21%) claim that the ban was due to "the influence of the Jewish community".

What do you think were the two main reasons for the ban on Dieudonné's show?

"In first, in second" (%)

	Total of quotes
• The use of words considered anti-Semitic	69
• The use of insulting words against some people	51
• The risk of threat to public order	36
• The influence of the Jewish community	21
• None, or another cause.	6
- No opinion	9

(*) Total exceeding 100, since interviewees could give two answers

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIG (2014).

The table should be read as follows: 36% of respondents mentioned in the first or second response, the risk of a threat to public order as one of the main reasons for the ban on Dieudonné's show

Interrogating the sample on approval or disapproval of comments by Dieudonné in his shows or on the web reveals the reality of anti-Semitic views, which is a minority but concern a significant part of the respondents. In addition, significant minorities say they share some opinions expressed by Dieudonné, for example 16% agreeing with him that "There is a worldwide Zionist conspiracy".

Do you think that Dieudonné is right or wrong when he says that...?

Total "agree" (%)

	Together
We do not talk enough about slavery suffered by black people (i.e. the slave trade)	46
Jews control the media	23
We talk too much about the Holocaust and the extermination of Jews during World War II	23
There is a worldwide Zionist conspiracy	16

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

During Israel’s military operation in the Gaza Strip during the summer of 2014, over 400 demonstrations were held in France in support of the Palestinians. In Paris and its suburbs, several of them included the shouting of anti-Semitic slogans, some leading to violence. These threatening comments finally resulted in clearly anti-Semitic violent actions. And, indeed, an another sign of good behavior in French society, almost three-quarters of respondents (73%) considered such actions "unacceptable".

We may think here that the wording of the question, offering the choice between "unacceptable" and "understandable", can not give a correct measurement of public opinion on this point. Indeed, it is possible to "understand", that is to say, to identify a causal system while holding "unacceptable" the fact of linking the policy conducted by Israel and the attack of a synagogue or a shop because it is owned by Jews. However, if we consider the questionnaire responses made by those who have chosen the "understandable" option, there is no doubt about the fact that this option was preferred by respondents who are most likely to express anti-Semitic views.

This summer, during the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, demonstrations in support of the Palestinians took place several French cities. Slogans against the Jews were heard at some of these events, and synagogues and shops were attacked in Paris and Sarcelles.

Do you think that these slogans and acts are...? (%)

	Together
Unacceptable	73
• Completely unacceptable	58
• Somewhat unacceptable	15
Understandable	14
• Somewhat understandable	11
• Completely understandable	3
- No opinion	13

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

PART TWO:

IDENTIFYING ANTI-SEMITISM
IN FRENCH PUBLIC OPINION

1. THE NATIONAL FRONT MAY NOT BE AN ANTI-SEMITIC PARTY, BUT IT CONTAINS MANY ANTI-SEMITES

This survey found that out of all the political parties, the far-right National Front (FN), led by Marine Le Pen, is the political universe where anti-Semitic and xenophobic views are most popular. Those who voted for her for president in 2012 are somewhat more extreme, though more anti-Semitic and xenophobic than the population as a whole.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

"agree" (%)

	Together	National Front Supporters	Le Pen Voters, 2012
Jews today use their status as victims of Nazi genocide during World War II in their own interest	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 the political domain	19	41	39
Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	6	13	14
There is a worldwide Zionist conspiracy	16	37	38

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

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

"Total agree" (%)

	Together	National Front Supporters	Le Pen Voters, 2012
• is an ideology which claims the right of Jews to have their own state on the lands of their ancestors	46	37	37
• is an ideology used to justify Israel's policy of occupation and colonization of Palestinian territories	37	36	37
• is an international organization that aims to influence the world and society in favor of the Jews	25	32	30
• is a racist ideology	23	23	23

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

If, on average, 21% of respondents would not like having a Jewish president, 53% of FN supporters and 49 % of Le Pen voters in 2012 would not like either. A significant part (22%) of FN supporters say they would want to avoid having a Jewish neighbor. Marine Le Pen voters are barely fewer to give this answer (18%).

If it were up to you, would you look for/avoid/do not care at all about the following situations?

Evolution of the "Avoid" (%)

	Together	National Front Supporters	Le Pen Voters, 2012
• Having a Jewish President	21	53	49
• Having a Jewish mayor	14	40	34
• Having a Jewish banker	10	32	25
• Having a Jewish boss	10	30	25
• Having a Jewish doctor	8	28	24
• Having a Jewish neighbor	6	22	18

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

This difference between FN supporters and Le Pen voters, on the one hand, and other French citizens, on the other, is clear even when it comes to teach about the Holocaust.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? It is important to teach about the Holocaust to younger generations in order to prevent anything like it from happening again. [%]

	Together	National Front Supporters	Le Pen Voters, 2012
• Agree	77	61	62
• Disagree	12	29	29
- No opinion	11	10	9

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

The FN supporters and Le Pen voters are, by far, the sector of the French public most likely to contest the singularity of the Holocaust. Again, the words that Jean-Marie Le Pen, the founding father, has pronounced in 1988, left more than memories, the equivalent of a doctrine open to negationism.

Approximately six million Jews were killed by the Nazis during the World War II. Do you consider it...? [%]

	Ensemble	National Front Supporters	Le Pen Voters, 2012
• A monstrous crime	63	45	49
• One event among others that claimed many victims	29	40	37
• An exaggeration: there were deaths, but much fewer than thought	2	6	7
• An invention: it never happened	1	3	2
- No opinion	5	6	5

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

FN supporters and Le Pen voters are three times more likely than the entire sample to disagree with the idea that it is necessary to fight racism and anti-Semitism.

Some people say we should fight anti-Semitism and racism to prevent anything like the Holocaust from happening again. **Do you agree or disagree with this statement? (%)**

	Together	National Front Supporters	Le Pen Voters, 2012
Agree	85	68	70
Disagree	6	22	19
No opinion	9	10	11

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIG (2014).

They are also more likely than other French people to view as "understandable" the anti-Semitic slogans and incidents uttered and perpetrated during the summer of 2014.

This summer, during the conflict between Israelis and Gaza Palestinians, there were pro-Palestinian demonstrations in several French cities. Some of these featured anti-Jewish slogans, and synagogues and shops were attacked in Paris and Sarcelles. **Do you find these manifestations...? (%)**

	Together	National Front Supporters	Le Pen Voters, 2012
Unacceptable	73	68	62
Understandable	14	20	23
No opinion	13	12	15

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIG (2014).

In all categories of respondents, FN supporters (39%) and Marine Le Pen voters (37%) consider the most that "a French Jew is not as another French French", against 16% on average. For three quarters of the National Front supporters (77%) and Marine Le Pen voters (70%) "Muslim French is not so French that another French", against 35% on average. Similarly, for the supporters of the National Front (75%) and Marine Le Pen voters (71%), "a French immigrant origin is not as French as another French", against 36% on average.

Are these categories of people living in France "as French as any other French person?" (%)

	As French as any other			Not as French as any other		
	Together	National Front Supporters	Le Pen Voters, 2012	Together	National Front Supporters	Le Pen Voters, 2012
• A Breton	97	98	96	3	2	4
• An Alsatian	96	96	94	4	4	6
• A Corsican	88	89	87	12	11	13
• A French Jew	84	61	63	16	39	37
• A French Muslim	65	23	30	35	77	70
• A French person of immigrant origins	64	25	29	36	75	71

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIG (2014).

When the average of respondents (26%) believe that the prohibition of Dieudonné's show is "unjustified", the figure is 57% among supporters of the FN and 54% among voters of Marine Le Pen. So, FN supporters and Le Pen voters are more than twice as likely as others to consider the ban on Dieudonné's show as "unjustified". Again, it is unlikely that we can explain it by the liberal argument.

Last January, the government banned the French comedian Dieudonné's show because of his use of anti-Semitic language. In your opinion, was the government's response justified or not? [%]

	Together	National Front Supporters	Le Pen Voters, 2012
Justified	64	35	38
Not justified	26	57	54
- No opinion	10	8	8

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

39% of respondents who are FN supporters and 42% of those who say they voted for Marine Le Pen in 2012 attributed the ban of Dieudonné's show to "the influence of the Jewish community."

What do you think were the two main reasons for the ban on the show? [%]

	Together	National Front Supporters	Le Pen Voters, 2012
• The use of words considered anti-Semitic	69	59	59
• The use of words that insult some people	51	43	47
• The risk of threat to public order	36	28	27
• The influence of the Jewish community	21	39	42
• Another cause, or none	6	13	12
- No opinion	9	9	7

[*] Total exceeding 100, since interviewees could give two answers

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

The table should be read as follows: 69% of respondents quoted, in their first or second answer, anti-Semitic speech as one of the main causes of the prohibition of Dieudonné's show. Among those who are close to the FN, they are 59% to say that.

FN supporters and Le Pen voters are also more likely than others to agree with Dieudonné's opinions about Jews, the Holocaust and Zionism, but less likely than others to agree with him that "we do not talk enough about slavery suffered by the black population".

Do you think that Dieudonné is right or wrong when he says that... ?

Total "right" (%)

	Ensemble	National Front Supporters	Le Pen Voters, 2012
We do not talk enough about slavery suffered by black people (i.e. the slave trade)	46	37	38
Jews control the media	23	47	47
We talk too much about the Holocaust and the extermination of Jews during World War II	23	46	45
There is a worldwide Zionist conspiracy	16	37	38

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

In general, FN supporters and Marine Le Pen voters express such a high level of xenophobia for North Africans, Black Africans, Muslims and "foreigners in general" that it is impossible to exceed. We see here that the FN in 2014 is still the party founded by Jean-Marie Le Pen in 1972 and whose daughter, Marine Le Pen, took the lead in 2011. In fact, Marine Le Pen does not chair her party, but the one of Jean-Marie Le Pen.

Are there too many of each of these categories of people in France?

Answer "yes" (%)

	Together	National Front Supporters	Le Pen Voters, 2012
• Maghrebians	51	96	91
• Muslims	51	99	95
• Foreigners in general	40	83	75
• Blacks from Africa	36	83	79
• Asians	20	38	39
• Jews	16	38	37
• Protestants	7	16	14

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

The following cross tabulation shows the correlation between opinions about Jewish political and economic power and more general opinions about political and social issues in French life

Do you agree or disagree with each of the following?

Total agree (%)

	Total	Jews have too much power in the politic domain	Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	There is a worldwide zionist conspiracy
• It is sometimes said that authority is not respected enough today	92	92	91	92
• We need a real leader in France to restore order	85	93	94	93
• The state needs to give more freedom to companies	72	81	81	78
• We feel safe anywhere	61	73	82	75
• It is normal that homosexual couples are free to marry and adopt children	55	41	39	46
• We need to restore the death penalty in France	44	58	80	63

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

The table should be read as follows: On average, 61% of respondents do not feel safe anywhere. Among those who think that "Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis," 82% say they feel safe anywhere.

2. THE PROPORTION OF MUSLIM RESPONDENTS WITH ANTI-JEWISH VIEWS IS TWO TO THREE TIMES HIGHER THAN THE FRENCH AVERAGE, AND EVEN HIGHER IF THE MUSLIM RESPONDENT HAS A STRONG RELIGIOUS INVOLVEMENT.

So when 19% of all respondents indicated that they are ok with the sentence "Jews have too much power in the field of politics," the rate rises to 51% for all Muslims. This question is used to illustrate the effects of religious practice on adherence to anti-Semitic items: indeed, adherence to this item is 37% among those who reported a "Muslim origin," 49% among "Muslim believers" and 63% among practicing Muslim believers."

The following table combines responses for all the items:

Muslim anti-Jewish opinions by level of religious involvement (%)							
	No on all items	Yes to only 1 item	Yes to 2 items	Yes to 3 items	Yes to 4 items	Yes to 5 items	Yes to 6 items
Total Muslims	17	13	11	13	17	23	6
<i>Practicing Muslim Believers</i>	13	8	8	11	21	32	7
<i>Muslim Believers</i>	14	16	9	18	16	21	6
<i>Of Muslim Origin</i>	27	15	19	9	12	14	4

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

Would you say that you are yourself? (%)

	Rappel 1989	Rappel 1994	Rappel 2001	Rappel 2007	Rappel 2011	Musulmans octobre 2014
• Practicing Muslim believers	37	27	36	33	41	42
• Muslim believers	38	42	42	38	34	34
• Of Muslim origin	20	24	16	25	22	21
• Of another religion	1	2	1	1	–	–
• Of another religion	4	5	5	3	3	3
- No opinions	–	–	–	–	–	–

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIG (2014).

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

"Agree" (%)

	Total	Total Muslims	Of Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Practicing Muslim believers
• 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 use their status as victims of Nazi genocide during World War II in their own interest	35	56	43	59	62
• Jews have too much power in the political domain	19	51	37	49	63
• Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	6	13	12	14	14
• Jews are unjustly attacked when things go wrong	46	34	36	37	33

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIG (2014).

The Dieudonné case highlights a major division of opinion between Muslims and the rest of French society. A majority of Muslims surveyed (53%) considers the ban on his show unjustified, a view shared by only 26% of the entire sample.

Last January, the government banned the French comedian Dieudonné's show because of the use of anti-Semitic language. In your opinion, was the government's response...? (%)

	Together	Total Muslims	Of Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Practicing Muslim believers
Justified	64	31	43	26	26
• Strongly justified	34	11	23	5	6
• Somewhat justified	30	20	20	21	20
Not justified	26	53	44	55	60
• Somewhat not justified	16	21	18	23	23
• Not justified at all	10	32	26	32	37
- No opinion	10	16	13	19	14

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIG (2014).

Similarly, the percentage of Muslim respondents who attributed the ban to "the influence of the Jewish community" was more than twice as high as other respondents.

What do you think were the two main reasons for the prohibition of Dieudonné's show? (%)

	Together	Total Muslims	Of Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Practicing Muslim believers
• The use of words considered anti-Semitic	69	60	60	61	57
• The influence of the Jewish community	21	45	35	50	49
• The use of words that insulted some people	51	37	45	31	37
• The risk of threat to public order	36	29	37	27	29
• No opinion	9	12	9	13	13

(*) Total exceeding 100, since interviewees could give two answers

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIGF (2014).

A much higher percentage of Muslims than others say they share Dieudonné's views. This declared adherence can lead some respondents to the expression of the most characteristic prejudices. Thus, the idea that Zionism "is an international organization that aims to influence the world and society in favor of the Jews" so typical of the anti-Semitic vision, creates a high level of approval among Muslims surveyed (44%), against 16% in average of the population aged 16 and over. Here again, we see that the proportion increases by degree of religious involvement. The existence of a Zionist conspiracy is 30% among those who have a "Muslim origin," 42% of "Muslim believers" and 56% "practicing Muslim believers."

Do you think that Dieudonné is right or wrong when he says that...?

"right" (%)

	Together	Total Muslims	Of Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Practicing Muslim believers
We do not talk enough about slavery suffered by black people (i.e. the slave trade)	46	75	65	77	79
Jews control the media	23	61	50	59	70
We talk too much about the Holocaust and the extermination of Jews during World War II	23	52	37	55	58
There is a worldwide Zionist conspiracy	16	44	30	42	56

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIGF (2014).

The same is true of the views Muslim respondents hold about Zionism.

By testing the approval or rejection of opinions presented as expressed by Dieudonné, we see that the accession to the conspiracy theory is confirmed, and this is precisely one of the strongest anti-Semitic view components. More than half of the Muslims surveyed (57%) consider that Dieudonné "quite right" when he says that Zionism "is an international organization that seeks to influence the world and society in favor of the Jews." The proportion even reached 64% among practicing Muslim believers.

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

Comparison on the "Agree" response (%)

	Together	Total Muslims	Of Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Practicing Muslim believers
• is an ideology used to justify Israel's policy of occupation and colonization of Palestinian territories	37	66	52	66	75
• is an international organization that aims to influence the world and society in favor of the Jews	25	57	44	57	64
• is an ideology which claims the right of Jews to have their own state on the lands of their ancestors	46	51	56	52	47
• is a racist ideology	23	46	33	49	52

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIG (2014).

Nevertheless, one-third of Muslims surveyed say they would not like to have a Jewish president, a far lower percentage than among FN supporters (53%) and Le Pen voters (49%).

Would you like/not like/not care about the following situations?

comparison on the "not like" response (%)

	Together	Total Muslims	Of Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Practicing Muslim believers
• Having a Jewish President	21	33	19	34	43
• Having a Jewish mayor	14	26	15	27	33
• Having a Jewish boss	10	22	10	22	30
• Having a Jewish banker	10	18	9	18	23
• Having a Jewish doctor	8	13	5	14	18
• Having a Jewish neighbor	6	9	2	7	14

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIG (2014).

Muslim respondents are twice as likely as all French people to believe that in France we fight more against anti-Semitism than against racism.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

(comparison on the "Agree" response (%))

	Together	Total Muslims	Of Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Practicing Muslim believers
• In France, we fight more against anti-Semitism than against racism	35	65	54	65	72
• In France, there are more problems of anti-Semitism than problems of racism	16	20	16	20	22

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIG (2014).

The relationship to the tragedies of the past – here, the Holocaust - causes very different responses from those the ones previously recorded or even unexpected given the elements we just noted. Thus, Muslim respondents tend to agree that it is important to teach about the Holocaust to young people to prevent it from happening again.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? It is important to teach about the Holocaust to younger generations in order to prevent anything like it from happening again [%]

	Together	Total Muslims	Of Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Practicing Muslim believers
• Agree	77	67	77	69	61
• Not agree	12	24	19	22	28
- No opinion	11	9	4	9	11

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

The idea that the Holocaust is an exaggeration or an outright invention finds no echo among the Muslims interviewed.

Approximately six million Jews were killed by the Nazis during the World War II. Do you consider it ...? [%]

	Together	Total Muslims	Of Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Practicing Muslim believers
• A monstrous crime	63	58	67	61	50
• One tragedy among others during a war that claimed many victims	29	35	28	37	39
• An exaggeration: there were deaths, but much fewer than alleged	2	5	3	2	8
• An invention: this never happened	1	–	–	–	1
- No opinion	5	2	2	–	2

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

It is noted that Muslims are more numerous (34%) than average (22%) to answer that they hear "often" or "sometimes" around them people saying bad things about the Jews.

Do you hear often/from time to time/rarely/ or never bad things about Jews from family, friends or business associates? [%]

	Together	Total Muslims	Of Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Practicing Muslim believers
TOTAL Often and from time to time	22	34	32	39	33
• Often	3	6	6	8	5
• From time to time	19	28	26	31	28
TOTAL Rarely and never	78	63	65	59	64
• Rarely	40	31	29	34	28
• Never	38	32	36	25	36
• No opinion	–	3	3	2	3

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

85% of them declare that they do not care if they learn that someone they know is Jewish.

In general, what reaction do you have when you find out that someone you know is Jewish? [%]

	Together	Total Muslims	Of Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Practicing Muslim believers
• I like it	3	8	11	9	5
• I do not like it	3	5	1	6	7
• I do not care	91	85	86	85	86
• No opinion	3	2	2	–	2

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIG (2014).

Muslims are far more likely than FN supporters and Le Pen voters to consider a French Jew to be like any other French person.

Are the people listed below, in your opinion, as French as any other French person? [%]

	All respondents			All Muslim respondents			
	Together	National Front supporters	Voters for Le Pen, 2012	All Muslims	Of Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Practicing Muslim believers
• A Breton	97	98	96	98	98	99	98
• An Alsatian	96	96	94	97	98	97	96
• A Corsican	88	89	87	93	95	95	89
• A French Jew	84	61	63	91	92	91	90
• A French Muslim	65	23	30	89	89	91	89
• A French of immigrant origins	64	25	29	85	83	87	85

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIG (2014).

The following table, which combines "yes" responses on six indicators of anti-Semitism, shows that only 17% of Muslims surveyed do not share any prejudices against Jews, as compared to 53% of all respondents.

Indicators of anti-Semitism (comparison of the Muslim population with the overall population, 16 and over, in%)		
	All Muslim respondents	All respondents
- No (None of these items)	17	53
• Yes to only one item	13	18
• Yes to 2 items	11	9
• Yes to 3 items	13	5
• Yes to 4 items	17	6
• Yes to 5 items	23	6
• Yes to 6 items	6	3

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIG (2014).

The idea that it is necessary to fight anti-Semitism and racism to prevent a tragedy like the Holocaust from happening again is more widespread among Muslims surveyed (89%) than in the entire population (85%).

Some people say we should fight against anti-Semitism and racism to avoid a tragedy like the Holocaust from happening again.

Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with this statement? (%)

	Together	Together Muslims	Muslim origin	Muslims believers	Muslims believers and practicing
AGREE	85	89	90	93	85
• Strongly agree	58	56	67	61	45
• Somewhat agree	27	33	23	32	40
NOT AGREE	6	6	8	4	7
• Somewhat disagree	4	4	6	2	4
• Strongly disagree	2	2	2	2	3
- No opinion	9	5	2	3	8

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

The view of Muslims about racism is marked by the feeling of being the victim. More than two-thirds of Muslim respondents (68%) believe that there is "a lot of" anti-Muslim racism in France, and roughly a third (31%) believe that there is "a lot of" anti-Jewish racism.

Would you say that, in France, there is...?

"A lot" (%)

	Together	Total Muslims	Of Muslim origin	Muslim believers	Practicing Muslim believers
• Anti-Muslim racism	56	68	54	67	75
• Anti-black racism	35	48	44	42	55
• Anti-jewish racism	36	31	31	30	32
• Anti-white racism	33	11	16	10	10

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

3. LEFT FRONT SUPPORTERS AND THOSE WHO VOTED FOR ITS CANDIDATE, JEAN-LUC MÉLENCHON, FOR PRESIDENT IN 2012 CONSTITUTE A THIRD SUBGROUP OF THE FRENCH POPULATION THAT IS MORE HOSTILE TOWARD JEWS THAN THE GENERAL POPULATION.

On the far left, while both Left Front supporters and Mélenchon voters have more negative views about Jews than French people as a whole, the former show greater anti-Jewish tendencies than the latter. In this they differ from their counterparts on the far right, as FN supporters and Le Pen voters appear to be almost equally anti-Jewish. Yet anti-Semitism in the Left Front, while more common than in the general population, is not as pervasive as it is in the National Front.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Total "Disagree" (%)

	Together	Left Front Supporters	Mélenchon Voters, 2012
Jews today use their status as victims of Nazi genocide during World War II in their own interest	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 the political domain	19	27	24
Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	6	19	11
There is a worldwide Zionist conspiracy	16	17	18

The following table compares levels of anti-Jewish prejudice among all respondents, far leftists, and far rightists.

Do you agree or disagree with the followings statements?

Total "Agree" (%)

	Together	Left Front supporters	Mélenchon voters, 2012	National Front supporters	Le Pen voters, 2012
Jews are using their status as victims of Nazi genocide during World War II for their own purposes	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 the political domain	19	27	24	41	39
Jews are responsible for the financial crisis	6	19	11	13	14
There exists a worldwide Zionist plot	16	17	18	37	38

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIGG (2014).

Responses to questions on the Dieudonné case reveal a big hostility toward Jews on the far left and among Jean-Luc Mélenchon voter. They are more (31%) than among the general population (21%) to think that the Jewish community as one of the main causes of the ban of Dieudonné's shows.

What do you think were the two main reasons for the prohibition of the Dieudonné show? (%) *

	Together	Left Front supporters	Mélenchon voters, 2012
The use of words considered anti-Semitic	69	66	65
The use of words insulting to some people	51	51	46
The risk of threat to public order	36	48	42
The influence of the Jewish community	21	31	31
• None, or some other cause	6	4	3
- No opinion	9	–	7

(* Total exceeding 100, since interviewees could give two answers

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

A higher percentage on the far left than in the general population endorses Dieudonné's views.

Do you agree or disagree with Dieudonné when he says that...?

Total "agree" (%)

	Together	Left Front supporters	Mélenchon
We do not talk enough about slavery suffered by black people (i.e. the slave trade)	46	66	65
Jews control the media	23	38	30
We talk too much about the Holocaust and the extermination of Jews during World War II	23	38	28
There is a worldwide Zionist conspiracy	16	17	18

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

Almost half of Left Front supporters and Mélenchon voters believe that we fight more against anti-Semitism than against racism in France, a view shared by just 35% of the French population.

Do you agree or disagree with the followings statements?

Total "agree" (%)

	Together	Left Front Supporters	Mélenchon Voters, 2012	Not agree	Left Front Supporters	Mélenchon Voters, 2012
In France, we fight more against anti-Semitism than against racism	35	48	49	41	40	37
In France, anti-Semitism is a greater problem than racism	16	11	16	59	76	69

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

Nevertheless, 87% of Left Front supporters and 84% of those who say they voted for Mélenchon consider it important to teach about the Holocaust, as compared to 77 % of the national sample.

Responses to the question on Zionism reflect the anti-Israel position of the Left Front on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Here, supporters of the Left Front are more clearly distinguishable from the national average of Jean-Luc Mélenchon voters. Probably because in the category "supporters of the Left Front" there are also respondents who consider themselves as supporters of the French Communist Party and small far-left parties (LO, NPA) which were not offered, given their low weight in French society and at least in the electorate where they were missing during the 2012 presidential election.

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

Agree (%)

	Together	Left Front supporters	Mélenchon voters, 2012	Europe Ecologie (The Greens)
• is an ideology that claims the right of Jews to have their own state on the lands of their ancestors	46	60	48	52
• is an ideology used to justify Israel's policy of occupation and colonization of Palestinian territories	37	63	49	48
• is an international organization that aims to influence the world and society in favor of the Jews	25	28	28	31
• is a racist ideology	23	44	40	24

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIG (2014).

The far left is much more likely than the far right, and more likely than the general public, to view distinctive French subgroups as French people just like any other.

This is a second important difference between, on one hand, supporters of the Left Front or Jean Luc Mélenchon voters in 2012 and, on the other hand, supporters of the National Front and Marine Le Pen voters in 2012. Here we find the effects of the Republican ideological anchor and maybe also the "pro-Third World" legacy of the left Front and Jean-Luc Mélenchon, which further underlines the specificity of the FN and Marine Le Pen voters.

In your opinion, are the following people as French as other French people? (%)

Answer "yes" (%)

	As French as other French people		
	Together	Left Front supporters	Mélenchon voters, 2012
• A French Jew	84	85	92
• A French Muslim	65	84	83
• A French person of immigrant origins	64	81	80

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIG (2014).

Supporters of the Left Front and even Mélenchon voters are more likely than the average respondent to contest the singularity of the Holocaust. The Left Front does not express doubt about the facts of the Holocaust, as many on the Far Right do, but contests its singularity, placing it on the same level as other World War II tragedies. Most supporters of the Left Front and voters of Jean-Luc Mélenchon do not share the view of the singularity of the Holocaust.

The Nazis killed approximately six million Jews during World War II. Do you consider it ...? (%)

	Together	Left Front supporters	Mélenchon voters, 2012
• A monstrous crime	63	46	54
• A tragedy among others in this war that claimed many victims	29	50	39
• An exaggeration: there were deaths, but much fewer than thought	2	2	3
• An invention: this never happened	1	2	–
- No opinion	5	–	4

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

4. THE WORLD OF SOCIAL NETWORKING, DISCUSSION FORUMS, AND VIDEO-SHARING WEBSITES

The crisis of confidence in representative institutions does not affect only political organizations and elective offices. This mistrust also affects traditional media. At the same time, the appearance and the installation of digital media open to all, gave birth to a kind of parallel media world, crossed by a protester and underground culture, which easily believes in conspiracy theories concerning history and current events.

Do you agree or not agree with the following statements?

"Agree" %

	Together	Social Networks	Videos-sharing websites	Internet Discussion forums	News websites
Jews are using, their status as victims of Nazi genocide during World War II for their own interest	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 the political domain	19	27	47	27	21
Jews are responsible for the financial crisis	6	9	12	7	5

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

The table should be read as follows: In the total sample, 22% of respondents say that Jews have too much power in the media. Among those who trust in social networks as a vehicle for information, 37% say that.

Our study indicates that the views emanating from users of information sites are comparable to those using traditional media (press, radio and television). And news sites are not more connected than traditional media production and dissemination of messages and anti-Semitic views. However, the trio formed by social networks, discussion forums and video-sharing sites represent a media world particularly favorable to the emergence and spread of anti-Semitic views. The comparative analysis of judgments on Dieudonné case helps to show that the views of all respondents are much less willing to express anti-Semitic prejudices than people using social networks, discussion forums and videos-sharing sites. Thus, where on average 25% of respondents consider that the ban of Dieudonné shows was "not justified", this proportion exceeds 40% for users of social networks and forums, to 60% among users of video-sharing sites.

Last January, the government banned the French comedian Dieudonné's show because it used anti-Semitic language. Was the government's response justified or unjustified? [%]

	Together	Social Networks	Video-sharing websites	Internet discussion forums	News websites
Justified	64	44	31	51	63
Unjustified	26	41	60	40	29
- No opinion	10	15	9	9	8

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

The table should be read as follows: 64% of all respondents felt that the government's response was justified. Among those who rely on social networks for information, 44% considered it justified.

While 21% of the entire sample believe they see "the influence of the Jewish community" in the decision to ban the show, the proportion rises to 58% among users of video-sharing sites.

In your opinion, what were the two major causes of the ban on Dieudonné's show? [%]

	Together	Social Networks	Videos-sharing websites	Internet discussion forums	News websites
• The use of anti-Semitic language	69	64	46	56	70
• The use of insults	51	37	34	48	50
• The risk of a threat to public order	36	36	36	39	37
• The influence of the Jewish community	21	31	58	36	24
• None / Other cause	6	10	14	5	7
- No opinion	9	11	7	8	6

(*) Total exceeding 100, since interviewees could give two answers

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

The table should be read as follows: 36% of all respondents cited, as a first or second answer, the risk of a threat to public order as a main cause of the ban. Among those who rely on discussion forums for their information, 39% cite this threat risk.

More than all, the users of video-sharing sites are willing to take the speech of Dieudonné in their own name. They are a majority to consider that it is right to say that "Jews control the media" (57%) or that "there is a worldwide Zionist conspiracy" (54%).

Do you agree or disagree with Dieudonne when he says that...?

Total "agree" (%)

	Together	Social Networks	Video-Sharing Websites	Internet Discussion Forums	News Websites
We do not talk enough about slavery suffered by black people (i.e. the slave trade)	46	52	51	49	46
Jews control the media	23	37	57	33	25
We talk too much about the Holocaust and the extermination of Jews during World War II	23	30	50	38	26
There is a worldwide Zionist conspiracy	16	27	54	25	17

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

The table should be read as follows: On average, 23% of all respondents agree with believe that Dieudonné that is quite right when he says that Jews control the media. Among those who rely on trust in the video-sharing for their information, 57% agree with him.

PART THREE

THE MOTIVATIONS AND RELAYS
OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN FRENCH SOCIETY

According to the results of our investigation, as to whether age, level of education or income can determine the expression or endorsement of anti-Semitic views, it is shown that these result much more systematically from a set of connected representations and political opinions. Anti-Semitism is also primarily based on a world of mistrust and rejection, dominated by an authoritarian culture hostile to immigrants and to the world, except in the case of the Muslims surveyed, as well as differences in whatever form they take.

1. POLITICIZATION, FACTOR IN ANTI-SEMITIC OPINIONS

Politicization, or in other words the declaration of support for a political party, of any kind, appears to be a factor in promoting prejudice against Jews. Indeed, while on average 53% of respondents say they agree with none of the six prejudices contained in the anti-Semitism indicator, this proportion reaches 63% among respondents who do not consider themselves supporters of any political party.

Anti-Semitism and political proximity indicator (%)	No (no to all of these items)	Yes to 1 single item	Yes to 2 items	Yes to 3 items	Yes to 4 items	Yes to 5 items	Yes to 6 items
OVERALL POLITICAL PROXIMITY	53	18	9	5	6	6	3
Left	52	19	9	6	5	6	3
Left Front	36	27	9	6	8	4	10
<i>Socialist Party</i>	58	15	10	6	5	5	1
<i>Europe Ecology Greens</i>	62	18	4	4	–	12	–
MoDem (Democratic Movement)	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>National Front</i>	25	16	12	9	10	19	9
No political party	63	17	7	2	6	3	2

(*) Sample less than 40 persons: these results should be interpreted with caution because of the small numbers.

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIGG (2014).

Politicization, understood in the most basic manner indicated here, produces the same effects on the expression of xenophobic or even racist opinions, measured by means of estimating whether in France "there are too many" of a particular category. On average, 51% of respondents consider that there are too many North Africans, versus 43% of respondents who do not consider themselves supporters of any political party; equally 51% believe that Muslims are "too numerous", versus 42% who are not supporters of a party; 36% believe there are too many Black Africans versus 27% who do not consider themselves supporters of any political party.

If we leave aside here the supporters of the National Front, respondents who feel that "there are too many" North Africans, Muslims, Black Africans and "foreigners in general" in France, feature more among supporters of the UMP, the UDI and the Democratic Movement (MoDem) than among supporters of Left Front, the Socialist Party or the Europe Ecology Greens.

When it comes to whether "there are too many Jews in France", those who say yes, conversely, feature more in the supporters of the leftist parties than among supporters of right-wing parties, always leaving aside supporters of the National Front.

For each of these categories of people, tell me if you think there are too many in France.

Answer "Yes" (%)

	Together	Left Front	Socialist Party	Europe Ecology Greens	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: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

For each of these categories of people, tell me if you think there are too many in France.

Answer "Yes" (%)

	Together	MoDem	UDI	UMP	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: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

On certain matters, respondents who say they are supporters of the UDI or the MoDem share prejudices against Jews to a larger extent than average. And of the UDI supporters, 16% state they would try to avoid having a Jewish boss (against 10% on average). Similarly 38% of UDI sympathizers say they agree with the view that "Jews have too much power in the economic and financial sector", well above the French total (25%). Among supporters of the MoDem, a third (35%) consider Zionism to be "an international organization that seeks to influence the world and society to the benefit of the Jews", against 25% overall. Similarly, many more supporters of the MoDem (36%), as opposed to the average (23%) see a "racist ideology" in Zionism.

2. TRUST IN RELIGIOUS AUTHORITIES AND DISTRUST OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS: TWO FACTORS IN ANTI-SEMITIC VIEWS

Among those who say they "reasonably trust" the religious authorities, two-thirds (67%) partake of at least one anti-Semitic opinion. By comparison, in the total population surveyed, 47% of respondents have at least one anti-Semitic opinion.

The study also confirms, in the light of continuing Catholic influence, some anti-Semitic prejudices among a minority of practicing Catholics. 22% of them state that there are too many Jews in France (against 16% for all respondents); similarly, 10% of practicing Catholics say that when they learn that someone is Jewish, they "do not like them" (against 3% on average). More respondents who are practicing Catholics would prefer not to have a Jewish president (37% against 21% for all), a Jewish mayor (29% against 14%), a Jewish boss (17% against 10%). They are also more likely (42%) to believe that Jews use the Holocaust for their own interests (against 35% for the overall sample). In counterpoint, with regard to the perception of the cancellation of performances of Dieudonné, the percentage of practicing Catholics that agree with the idea that the Jewish community influenced the decision (6%) is lower than the average (11%).

Additionally two-thirds of those practicing Catholics (67%) also believe that there are "too many" North Africans in France (against 51% on average). Similarly, 50% of practicing Catholics believe that there are too many "foreigners in general" (against 40% on average).

The anti-Semitism indicator can be correlated to the trust expressed in the religious authorities. We find this connection in the Muslim population interviewed.

Trust placed in different players - Religious authorities (%)		
	Reasonable trust	Not much trust
TOGETHER	33	67
- No (no to all these items)	33	67
• Yes to a single item	32	68
• Yes to 2 items	37	63
• Yes to 3 items	37	63
• Yes to 4 items	31	69
• Yes to 5 items	41	59
• Yes to 6 items (*)	23	77

(*) Sample less than 40 persons: these results should be interpreted with caution because of the small numbers.

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIGG (2014).

The anti-Semitism indicator can be correlated with the confidence in religion authorities. We find this link in the interviewed Muslim population.

Anti-Semitism indicator and level of religious integration (%)							
	No (no to all these items)	Yes to a single item	Yes to 2 items	Yes to 3 items	Yes to 4 items	Yes to 5 items	Yes to 6 items
TOTAL Muslim	17	13	11	13	17	23	6
<i>Believing and practicing Muslim</i>	13	8	8	11	21	32	7
<i>Muslim believer</i>	14	16	9	18	16	21	6
<i>Muslim origin</i>	27	15	19	9	12	14	4

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIGG (2014).

We must therefore consider the fact that the Muslims surveyed state they are more likely than the average person to trust in religious authorities, one of the motivations of anti-Semitic views. At the same time, Muslims are characterized by a generally higher level of confidence in any form of institution or authority. One cannot therefore consider distrust of institutions as a key point.

Do you tend to trust or not trust in...?

Responses "Reasonably trust" (%)

	Together	Muslims overall	Muslim origin	Muslim believer	Believing and practicing Muslims
• 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
• Entrepreneurs	45	47	44	47	49
• 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
• Media	32	36	48	33	35
• The State	24	35	34	38	33
• Political parties	8	11	8	10	14

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

However, if one isolates the expression of distrust towards political institutions and especially to democracy, we see that the propensity to share anti-Semitic views is related to the belief that "democracy does not work well".

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

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

	Together	Jews have too much power in the field of politics	The Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	There is a worldwide Zionist plot
Democracy works well	32	24	21	19
Democracy does not work well	68	76	79	81

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

The table shows: On average, 32% of respondents find that democracy works well. Among those who think that "Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis", they are 21% to find that democracy works well.

Of those who do not subscribe to any of the six proposed anti-Semitic items, 38% consider that democracy "works well", 6 points higher than the national average (32%). Read from the other side, this table shows that among those who share at least two anti-Semitic prejudices, 73% believe that democracy does not work well, or 5 points above the survey average (68%). The relationship does not appear linear, but it shows a visible tendency toward even more increasing dissatisfaction vis-à-vis the functioning of democracy and the increased sharing of anti-Semitic views.

Judgment on the functioning of democracy in France (%)		
	TOTAL Well	TOTAL Not well
TOTAL	32	68
- No (no to all these items)	38	62
• Yes to 1 item	32	68
• Yes to 2 items	27	73
• Yes to 3 items	26	74
• Yes to 4 items	9	91
• Yes to 5 items	31	69
• Yes to 6 items (*)	12	88

(*) Sample less than 40 persons: these results should be interpreted with caution because of the small numbers.

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

Similarly, in the overall population, those who have prejudices against Jews express a lower level of trust in institutions, and especially the State, the unions, the European Union and the Parliament.

Do you tend to trust or not trust in...?

Responses "Reasonably trust" (%)

	Together	Jews have too much power in the field of politics	The Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	Believing and practicing Muslims
• School/Teachers	67	58	57	55
• The European Union	32	24	14	20
• Media	32	30	33	30
• Unions	27	16	28	31
• Parliament	24	15	14	14
• The state	24	17	19	12
• Political parties	8	8	12	8

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

The table shows: On average, 24% of respondents say they tend to trust the state. Among those who believe that "there is a Zionist conspiracy worldwide", they are 12% to have rather confidence in the state.

Muslim respondents are an exception to this. Indeed, they are significantly less likely than the average to feel that democracy does "not work well."

Would you say that in France, democracy works very well, fairly well, not very well (%)

	Together	Muslims overall	Muslim origin	Muslim believer	Believing and practicing Muslims
TOTAL Well	32	58	68	58	54
TOTAL Not well	68	40	30	40	45
- Undecided	–	2	2	2	1

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

Similarly, in general, the Muslims surveyed declared an above average level of confidence in the institutions. The link between, on the one hand, distrust towards institutions or the view that democracy works badly and, on the other, anti-Semitic prejudice, could not be concluded for the Muslims who were interviewed.

3. CONTINUATION OF AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITY

The concept of "*authoritarian personality*" formulated by Adorno in 1950, in *The Authoritarian Personality*, remains a relevant psycho-sociological explanation to understand the emergence and circulation of anti-Semitic views. The anti-Semitism indicator that we built for this survey is particularly telling in this regard. The people more inclined to want to restore the death penalty are those who have the highest number of negative opinions about Jews.

For each of the following opinions, could you tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree?

Responses "agree" (%)

	TOTAL in agreement (%)	The Jews have too much power in the political domain	The Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	There is a worldwide Zionist plot
• It is sometimes said that today the authority is not sufficiently respected	92	92	91	92
• We need a real leader in France to restore order	85	93	94	93
• The State needs to give more freedom to companies	72	81	81	78
• One cannot feel safe anywhere	61	73	82	75
• It is normal that homosexual couples marry and adopt children	55	41	39	46
• We need to restore the death penalty in France	44	58	80	63

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

The table shows: On average, 61% of respondents felt that it was not possible to feel safe anywhere. Among those who think that "The Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis", 82% of them said it was not possible to feel safe anywhere.

Anti-Semitism indicator - The degree of agreement with different proposals
We must restore the death penalty in France. (%)

	TOTAL Agree	TOTAL Disagree
TOGETHER	44	56
- No (no to all these items)	38	62
• Yes to 1 item	39	61
• Yes to 2 items	43	57
• Yes to 3 items	48	52
• Yes to 4 items	66	34
• Yes to 5 items	73	27
• Yes to 6 items (*)	73	27

(*) Sample less than 40 persons: these results should be interpreted with caution because of the small numbers.

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIG (2014).

The same applies to the question of marriage and adoption by homosexual couples.

Anti-Semitism indicator
It is normal that homosexual couples can marry and adopt children (%)

	TOTAL Agree	TOTAL Disagree
TOGETHER	55	45
- No (no to all these items)	62	38
• Yes to 1 item	53	47
• Yes to 2 items	53	47
• Yes to 3 items	45	55
• Yes to 4 items	41	59
• Yes to 5 items	41	59
• Yes to 6 items (*)	27	73

(*) Sample less than 40 persons: these results should be interpreted with caution because of the small numbers.

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIG (2014).

It is the same with the expression of a preference for "a true leader in France", able to restore order.

Anti-Semitism indicator
We need a real leader in France to restore order. (%)

	TOTAL Agree	TOTAL Disagree
TOGETHER	85	15
- No (no to all these items)	81	19
• Yes to 1 item	85	15
• Yes to 2 items	86	14
• Yes to 3 items	87	13
• Yes to 4 items	97	3
• Yes to 5 items	98	2
• Yes to 6 items (*)	94	6

(*) Sample less than 40 persons: these results should be interpreted with caution because of the small numbers.

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIG (2014).

This combination of views is more common in men than in women.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Responses "Agree" (%)

	Together	Women	Men
The Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	6	3	8
The Jews have too much power in the political domain	19	15	23

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

There is a **gender gap**: 59% of women interviewed do not have anti-Semitic prejudice, versus 47% of men.

Anti-Semitism indicator according to gender of the interviewee (%)							
	No (no to all these items)	Yes to one single item	Yes to 2 items	Yes to 3 items	Yes to 4 items	Yes to 5 items	Yes to 6 items
TOGETHER	53	18	9	5	6	6	3
Men	47	18	9	7	9	6	4
Women	59	18	8	4	4	6	1

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

CONCLUSION

XENOPHOBIA, RACISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM, THE DISORDERS OF A MULTICULTURAL AND GLOBALIZED SOCIETY

If we use the data collected by Ifop since 1966, we can observe the evolution of opinion regarding whether "there are too many" North Africans, "foreigners in general", Black Africans, Jews or Protestants in France. In the 2014 study for our Foundation, Ifop added Muslims and Asians. We see that, in its opinion, the North Africans and "foreigners in general" generate less rejection, while Black Africans generate much more. A fifth of respondents consider "there are too many" Asians in France.

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

Evolution of the "Yes" (%)

	Ifop sept. 1966	Fondapol Together September 2014
• North Africans	62	51
• Muslims	NA	51
• Foreigners in general	51	40
• African Blacks	18	36
• Asians	NA	20
• Jews	13	16
• Protestants	3	7

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

France appears to be a multicultural society plagued by internal tensions and feelings that could translate into the rise of communitarian logic. Thus, it is striking to note that between a third and a half of respondents felt that there was "a lot of" anti-Muslim racism (56%), anti-Jewish racism (36%), anti-black racism (35%) and anti-white racism (33%).

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

	Lots	A little	Total "there is"
There is anti-Muslim racism	56	39	95
There is anti-Semitic racism	36	57	93
There is anti-black racism	35	58	93
There is anti-white racism	33	51	84

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

In this set of opinions and representations that more or less support anti-Semitic ideas, the preference for being "more open to the world" or, conversely, "more closed off from the world" is a determining factor. The desire to protect oneself from the world obviously implies a form of xenophobia that is predisposed to the sharing of anti-Semitic views.

Do you think that France should...? [%]

	Rappel April 2006	Rappel September 2010	Rappel February 2011	Rappel April 2012	Rappel May 2013	Fondapol September 2014
• be more open to the world	43	28	21	22	26	22
• be more closed to the world	31	37	59	60	52	44
• be neither one nor the other	26	35	20	18	22	34

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

The anti-Semitism indicator shows the relationship between the openness and closure to the world and the level of anti-Semitism in the individuals interviewed.

Anti-Semitism indicator Attitude towards globalization [%]			
	be more open to the world	be more closed to the world	neither one nor the other
TOTAL	22	44	34
- No [no to all these items]	25	37	38
• Yes to 1 seul item	21	40	39
• Yes to 2 items	18	57	25
• Yes to 3 items	19	53	28
• Yes to 4 items	25	55	20
• Yes to 5 items	18	62	20
• Yes to 6 items [*]	18	60	22

[*] Sample less than 40 persons: these results should be interpreted with caution because of the small numbers.

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIFG (2014).

However, in less than a decade, according to data from Ifop, French society has passed from one in which the relative majority is open to the world, in its opinion (2006), to one where the relative majority seeks protection vis-à-vis the world (2014), although this desire to withdraw is sharply down compared to 2013, 2012 and 2011, when it seems to have peaked.

The question of knowing where the request to withdraw arises is particularly important in observing and understanding the phenomenon of anti-Semitism, given that the link between the two types of opinion seems strong. If we consider more specifically the degree of rejection of foreigners, immigrants and more generally those of apparently different religions (Jews, Muslims, Protestants) or of different origin, despite their common French nationality, (North Africans, Muslims, Black Africans, Asians, "foreigners in general"), then the link with the anti-Semitic views are significant. This is a confirmation of what the social sciences have amply demonstrated: racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism are interlinked opinions which generate and reinforce each other, as seen here where, among people who think the Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis, a much higher than average proportion think that in France there are "too many" North Africans (86%), Muslims (79%), Jews (69%), Black Africans (68%), "foreigners in general" (59%), Asians (40%) and Protestants (24%).

For each of these categories of people, tell me if you find there are too many in France?

Answer "yes" (%)

	Together	Jews have too much power in the political domain	Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis	There is a worldwide Zionist plot
• North Africans	51	74	86	73
• Muslims	51	77	79	74
• Foreigners in general	40	60	59	56
• African Blacks	36	60	68	53
• Asians	20	31	40	36
• Jews	16	38	69	43
• Protestants	7	12	24	13

Source: Foundation for Political Innovation, with the FIGG (2014).

The table shows: On average, 20% of respondents consider that there are too much Asians in France. Among those who believe that "Jews have too much power in the political domain", they are 31% to consider that there are too much Asians in France.

Areas of research

Economic growth

Solutions to public debt, the competitiveness of businesses, innovation, philanthropy... these are just some of the issues that have been explored by the Fondation pour l'innovation politique over the last year. Globalisation, a major challenge for Europeans due to their unfavourable demographic situation and the shift of the centre of economic activity to the Asia-Pacific region, is also a priority theme of the organisation's work, as is France's integration into the new global economy.

Green Growth

Nowadays, nobody disputes the significance of environmental issues. Protection of the environment has become a permanent and fundamental political issue. But there are two approaches towards ecology: one is backward-looking and accusatory, even desperate; we support a more rational and progressive approach, one that aims to use positive incentives. Our aspiration is for society to convert to a post-carbon economy, relying on scientific innovation and green growth, achieved through redefined public actions and principles.

Values

Twenty years after the collapse of communism, the European left finds itself at a doctrinal dead-end. Economic globalisation and the ageing of the population have had a profound impact on the social-democratic model, which is now under threat of extinction. In order to improve the situation, those who set France's cultural agenda (and who seem to approach performance measurement with much reluctance) must accept the need for an overhaul of the French social model. Yet, however much the left stutters, the liberal right fails to make progress. Instead, we are witnessing a resurgence of anti-free market ideas and new nationalistic tensions, resulting in a crisis of identity for the European right that calls for a concerted period of intellectual rebuilding.

Digital issues

Digital tools offer outstanding potential to transform our social and political lives. They are already making it possible, at a low cost, to streamline administrative work and enable citizens to access data in the public domain, or even to participate in public decision-making. The Fondation pour l'innovation politique is striving to play an active part in research and analysis into the various applications that these new tools have made possible, and to assist in answering the questions raised as a result of their use.

Fondation pour l'innovation politique

A French think tank for European integration and free economy

The *Fondation pour l'innovation politique* offers a platform for expertise, deliberation and debate, striving to formulate and spread new ideas and proposals. It contributes to pluralist thought and a revival of public debate, from a pro-European, pro-free economy standpoint. The work of the foundation focuses on four key areas: economic growth, green growth, values and digital issues.

All of the foundation's work is made publicly available at www.fondapol.org.

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