

### The Media and the Far Right in Western Europe

This book examines the fascinating interplay of party and media behavior to explain one of the most important phenomena in Western Europe: the rise of Far Right parties. To account for the divergent electoral fortunes of these parties, this book examines how political parties and the mass media have dealt with growing public concerns over national identity. Mainstream politicians chose to "play the nationalist card," creating opportunities for the entry of Far Right parties into the political system. In some cases, the media gave outsized exposure to such parties, allowing them to capitalize on these opportunities; in other cases, they ignored them, blocking their entry into the political system. Using elite interviews, content analysis, and primary documents to trace identity politics since the 1980s, this book presents an original interpretation of identity politics and media behavior in Austria, Germany, Greece, and France since the 1980s.

Antonis A. Ellinas is an assistant professor of political science at the College of the Holy Cross. He received his Ph.D. from Princeton University and his B.A. from Hamilton College. His articles have appeared in various journals, including *Comparative Politics* and the *Journal of European Public Policy*. He has been a postdoctoral Fellow at the Reuters Institute and at Nuffield College of Oxford University and a Fulbright Scholar.



# The Media and the Far Right in Western Europe

Playing the Nationalist Card

**ANTONIS A. ELLINAS** 

College of the Holy Cross





#### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521116954

© Antonis Ellinas 2010

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2010

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Ellinas, Antonis A., 1975-

The media and the far right in western Europe : playing the nationalist card / Antonis Ellinas.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-11695-4 (hardback)

1. Political parties – Europe, Western. 2. Right-wing extremists –

Europe, Western. 3. Mass media – Political aspects – Europe,

Western. 4. Nationalism – Europe, Western. 5. Europe, Western – Politics and government – 1989– 1. Title.

JN50.E55 2010

324.2´13094-dc22 2009044264

ISBN 978-0-521-11695-4 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



## **Contents**

Lis	st of Figures	page vii
Lis	st of Tables	ix
Ac	knowledgments	xi
Ac	ronyms and Abbreviations	xiii
I	Introduction	I
2	Explaining Far Right Trajectories	21
3	Party and Media Politics in Austria: The Rise of the FPÖ	41
4	Competing over German Identity: Conservatives and the Nonvisible Far Right	76
5	Greek Nationalists: From Mainstream to the Margins?	125
6	The Growth, Persistence, and Fall of the French National Front	167
_		,
7	Conclusion	199
Bibliography		229
Index		247

 $\mathbf{v}$ 



# List of Figures

I.I	Far Right Support in Western Europe, 1980–2006	page 5
3.1	Number of References to Haider after Reder Affair Broke Out	51
3.2	References to FPÖ as Percentage of Total References to All Political Parties in <i>Profil</i> and <i>NKZ</i> , 1983–1999	56
	,	,
3.3	FPÖ Membership, 1956–2004	59
3.4	Number of References to Main Party Candidates in Politik section of <i>NKZ</i> , 1983–1999	62
3.5	References to Each Main Political Party as Percentage of Total Party-Related References in <i>Profil</i> , 1983–1999	73
4.I	Foreign Population in Germany, 1970-2005	83
4.2	NPD Membership, 1975–2005	95
4.3	REP: Down with the Wall	105
6.1	Inflow of Permanent Alien Workers in France,	
	1947-2005	173
6.2	Recruitment Rate of FN Delegates, 1972–1990	179

vii



# List of Tables

2.1	Pride in Nationality	page 23
2.2	Profile of Far Right Voters, 1999	24
2.3	Periods of Intense Partisan Competition over National Identity	39
3.1	Results in Austrian Parliamentary Elections, 1945–2008	47
3.2	Analysis of <i>Profil</i> 's Coverage of the FPÖ, 1983–1999	57
3.3	Political Orientations: Readers of Daily Prestige and Tabloid Newspapers	64
3.4	Issue Competence of the FPÖ, 1990–1998	66
<b>4.</b> I	Results in German Parliamentary Elections, 1949-2009	79
4.2	Television Exposure of German Politicians, 1994	112
4.3	Party Television Appearances in Election Programs, 1998	122
5.1	Results in Greek Parliamentary Elections, 1974–2007	129
5.2	Newspaper Coverage of "Greater Athens"	
	2002 Elections	157
5.3	Television Airtime of Greek Parties	159
5.4	LAOS: Exposure on Major Television Channels,	
	2005-2006	161
6.1	FN Electoral Results, 1973–2007	184

ix



## Acknowledgments

This book began as a doctoral dissertation at Princeton University, and I am most grateful to Nancy Bermeo, Jonas Pontusson, and Ezra Suleiman for their constant support, critical insights, and wise advice throughout this period.

I was fortunate to get an opportunity to rework the manuscript at the Reuters Institute of Oxford University, and I am thankful to the Reuters Foundation for a generous fellowship that permitted this as well as to the Department of Political Science and its chair, Neil MacFarlane, for their unwavering encouragement. Nuffield College also provided a fellowship as well as an ideal working environment on the many rainy days when the Institute seemed too far to walk to. The European Studies Centre at St. Antony's College and SEESOX granted a useful forum for the presentation of my ideas, and Othon Anastasakis and Kalypso Nicolaides were wonderful hosts. Giovanni Capoccia provided good advice at critical phases of the project, and the Oxford Center for the Study of Inequality and Democracy was an exceptional source of insights.

On my return to the United States, at the College of the Holy Cross, I found an excellent working environment that facilitated the completion of this book.

For comments on parts or the entire book I am grateful to David Art, Mark Beissinger, Sheri Berman, Denise Demetriou, Erik Kuhonta, Jennifer Lieb, Kristine Mitchell, and the anonymous reviewers of Cambridge University Press. I would also like to acknowledge the

xi



xii

Acknowledgments

excellent research assistance of Bénédicte Williams and Kris-Stella Trump. My editor at Cambridge University Press, Eric Crahan, deserves special thanks for his interest in the project as well as for the superb cooperation.

The Graduate School, the Hellenic Studies Program, the Program in European Politics and Society, and the French Studies Program at Princeton University have been particularly supportive throughout the various phases of the project.

I am also grateful for the assistance I got at the Austrian and French National Libraries, the Berlin State Library, the Constantine Karamanlis Democracy Institute, the Archive of the German Parliament, the Benakios Library, Nuffield College's Library, and, of course, Princeton's own Firestone Library.

I am deeply indebted to my mentors and good friends at Hamilton College, Alan Cafruny and Cheng Li, who sparked my interest in political science and have pushed me to think critically about important political questions.

My deepest gratitude goes to my parents, Andreas and Irene, for investing all the rewards from their hard work in the education of their three children.

Daphne Charalambidou has lived the dreams, hopes, and anxieties of this project from the very first day and has patiently awaited its completion. The book is dedicated to her.



## Acronyms and Abbreviations

BZÖ Alliance for the Future of Austria

CD Center Democrats

CDU Christian Democratic Union

CNCL National Commission for Communication and Freedom

**CP** Center Party

CSA High Council for Broadcasting

CSU Christian Social Union DVU German People's Union

FAZ Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (German newspaper)

FDP Free Democratic Party

FN National Front

FPÖ Freedom Party of Austria

FYROM Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

LAOS Popular Orthodox Rally
LN The Northern League
LPF Pim Fortuyn List

MNR Republican National Movement

MP Member of ParliamentMPF Movement for FranceMSI Italian Social Movement

ND New Democracy

NKZ Neue Kronen Zeitung (Austrian newspaper)NPD National Democratic Party of Germany

ÖVP Austrian People's Party

xiii



xiv

#### Acronyms and Abbreviations

PASOK Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement

PCF French Communist Party
PFN Party of New Forces
PS Political Spring
PVV Party of Freedom
REP Republikaner

RPR Rally for the Republic

SPD Social Democratic Party of Germany
SPÖ Social Democratic Party of Austria
UDF Union for French Democracy
UMP Union for a Popular Movement
VdU Federation of Independents
VVD Party for Freedom and Democracy

WJC World Jewish Congress