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
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,
São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Cambridge University Press
32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

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

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog 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.
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– . Title.
JN50.E55 2010
324.2’.13094-dc22 2009044264


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

© in this web service Cambridge University Press
# Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronyms and Abbreviations</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Explaining Far Right Trajectories</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Party and Media Politics in Austria: The Rise of the FPÖ</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Competing over German Identity: Conservatives and the Nonvisible Far Right</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Greek Nationalists: From Mainstream to the Margins?</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 The Growth, Persistence, and Fall of the French National Front</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Conclusion</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Figures

1.1 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 Profil and NKZ, 1983–1999 .... 56
3.3 FPÖ Membership, 1956–2004 ............................................. 59
3.4 Number of References to Main Party Candidates in Politik section of NKZ, 1983–1999 ................................. 62
3.5 References to Each Main Political Party as Percentage of Total Party-Related References in Profil, 1983–1999 .... 73
4.1 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
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 Profil’s Coverage of the FPÖ, 1983–1999 ..................... 57
3.3 Political Orientations: Readers of Daily Prestige and Tabloid Newspapers ................ 64
4.1 Results in German Parliamentary Elections, 1949–2005 .................. 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
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
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 Parliament
MPF    Movement for France
MSI    Italian Social Movement
ND     New Democracy
NKZ    Neue Kronen Zeitung (Austrian newspaper)
NPD    National Democratic Party of Germany
ÖVP    Austrian People’s Party
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