

Daniel Stockemer

The Front National in France

Continuity and Change Under
Jean-Marie Le Pen and Marine Le Pen



Springer

Contents

1	Introduction	1
2	The History of the <i>Front National</i>	7
2.1	The Extreme Right in France, 1945–1972	7
2.2	The Foundation of the FN	10
2.3	Years of Marginality	12
2.4	From the Fringes to Party Politics	13
2.5	The FN in the 1980s and the 1990s	16
2.6	Crisis and Renewed Success	21
2.7	The FN Under Marine Le Pen	24
3	The FN's Ideology Under Jean-Marie Le Pen and Marine Le Pen	27
3.1	The FN's Ideology Under Jean-Marie Le Pen	28
3.1.1	Immigration	28
3.1.2	Other Features of the FN Programme	31
3.2	The FN's Ideology Under Marine Le Pen	32
3.2.1	The FN Ideology in Its Press Releases	35
3.2.2	The FN Ideology by Regional FN Chapters and the FNJ	37
3.2.3	Quo Vadis Dédiabolisation?	38
3.2.4	The FN in 2015: Radical Right with a Softened Image	40
4	The FN's Leadership and Elites Under Jean-Marie Le Pen and Marine Le Pen	43
4.1	Leadership: Jean-Marie Le Pen Versus Marine Le Pen	44
4.1.1	Jean-Marie Le Pen	44
4.1.2	Marine Le Pen	46
4.2	The Party Elites Under Jean-Marie Le Pen and Marine Le Pen	48
4.2.1	Jean-Marie Le Pen	48
4.2.2	Marine Le Pen	50

4.3	The FN's Relationship with the Media Under Jean-Marie Le Pen and Marine Le Pen	52
4.3.1	Jean-Marie Le Pen	52
4.3.2	Marine Le Pen	54
4.4	The Leadership Styles of Jean-Marie and of Marine Le Pen: A Synopsis	56
5	The FN Membership Under Jean-Marie Le Pen and Marine Le Pen	57
5.1	Method and Interview Sample	58
5.2	Activists Under Jean-Marie Le Pen and Marine Le Pen	62
5.2.1	Activists' Socio-Economic Background	62
5.2.2	Activists' Political Socialization	62
5.3	The Activists' Political Values	67
5.4	The Activists' Personal Values	71
5.5	The Activists' Motivations for Engagement	72
5.6	Engagement Trajectory	75
5.7	Changes in Membership Under Marine Le Pen: A Synopsis	76
6	The FN Voters Under Jean-Marie Le Pen and Marine Le Pen	79
6.1	Predictors of the FN Electoral Success	80
6.1.1	Demographics	81
6.1.2	Socio-economic Factors	82
6.1.3	Attitudinal Factors	84
6.2	Data	85
6.3	Method	86
6.4	Results	86
6.5	Discussion	90
7	Conclusion	93
	Appendix A: The Interviews	99
	References	101
	Index	111