

Le Pen and the FN:  
An analysis of France's changing populism

By

Marlene Kathryn Lee Pierce  
B.A., Northwest University, 2016

A THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Communication Studies  
College of Arts and Sciences

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY  
Manhattan, Kansas

2019

Approved by:  
Major Professor  
Heather Woods

# **Copyright**

© Marlene Pierce 2019.

## **Abstract**

After her defeat in 2016 French presidential election, Marine Le Pen would not back down from the political spotlight. Instead, Le Pen would utilize the momentum she gained during the election to solidify herself as a formidable political figure and take her party to the next level. Nearly a year after her defeat she would give a speech in Lyon, France that establishes her place in the political milieu by rebranding her party from the Front National to Rassemblement National, or translated, National Rally. This thesis examines Marine Le Pen's Lyonnaise address.

Using a mixed method of Leff's rhetorical reading, ideological criticism, and elements of visual and presidential rhetorical methods, this thesis examines two main themes in Le Pen's Lyonnaise address: 1) a shift in focus from Jean-Marie to Marine Le Pen utilizing the persona of each and 2) an internationalizing of the previously nationalistic Front National. This analysis thus offers a detailed depiction of how populism is defined and redefined. As well, it clarifies the contours of populism encapsulated by the FN the thesis then looks at the history of the FN party in context of how the persona of its leaders shaped the party's advocacy. Finally, the last thing that is examined is the ways in which this speech indicates an internationalizing FN and then the thesis offers broader implications and conclusions.

This work offers important insight to how populist parties, which are notoriously volatile in their support, can stabilize and grow. It also highlights an increasing shift in isolated populist groups shifting their scope and operating on an international level. This research can add to existing literature and offer a unique look into a previously untranslated artifact.

**KEY WORDS:** Populism, Marine Le Pen, Transnational Populism, Persona, Rhetorical Reading

# Table of Contents

List of Figures .....	vi
Acknowledgments.....	vii
Dedication .....	ix
Chapter 1 - Introduction and Method.....	1
Artifact .....	5
Research Approach.....	11
Method .....	12
Research Questions .....	22
Chapter 2 - Literature Review.....	26
Populism: What It is and Where It Comes From.....	26
Subcategories of Populism.....	31
The Front National.....	38
The FN's Populist History.....	41
Chapter 3 - Le Pens Influence.....	45
The FN's Relationship to the Le Pens.....	46
Jean-Marie's Legacy .....	47
Marine in Modern Times .....	52
A New Era .....	56
Le Pen's White Legacy.....	58
Lyonnaise address as reifying a specific brand of Whiteness.....	61
Chapter 4 - An Internationalizing FN .....	66
Intro.....	66
Context: Starting with a Bannon.....	68
Nationalism to Transnationalism .....	73
Internationalizing Devices at Play .....	77
An Ode to Other Countries .....	78
A Word On the Logo .....	85
Whiteness as a unifier .....	90
France's Historic Ties to Racialized Politics .....	92

Chapter 5 - Conclusions.....	97
The Journey to International.....	98
Implications .....	108
Real World Changes .....	108
Contributions and Importance .....	112
Limitations .....	115
Further Study .....	117
Final Conclusions .....	119
Bibliography .....	120
Appendix A - French Speech Transcription .....	150
Appendix B - English Speech Translation.....	157

## List of Figures

Figure 4-1 The Front National Logo.....	86
Figure 4-2 The Rassemblement National's Logo.....	87
Figure 4-3 The European Union Flag .....	88

## Acknowledgments

This thesis is a culmination of countless hours of work and over nineteen years of schooling. Throughout the years I've been blessed with mentors and professors who helped cultivate my talents and research interests. Jacob Witt, Colene Lind, Lenae Nofziger, Jeremiah Webster, and my committee, thank you for the support in the education process that led me to this moment. Without taking your classes I would not have continued through this process to the completion of my MA. They say it takes a village and you are mine in Academia.

I'd like to specifically thank my advisor and committee for their input and guidance in this process as well. My advisor and committee chair, Heather Woods, went above and beyond in every stage of this process. Throughout this process Dr. Woods and I spent many meetings in her office working on completing this document. It would not be the high-quality caliber of research that it is today without her pushing me to be my best. My committee members, Alexander McVey and Nathaniel Birkhead, went above and beyond in their willingness to workshop chapters with me. All three of these individuals were compassionate and understanding as unforeseen medical and family issues delayed the creation and defense of this work. Additionally, I'd like to thank Raphaël Pinson, who helped me translate or confirm some of the more difficult sections of the speech.

To my family, I can't express enough how much your understanding and grace throughout this process was essential in finishing this thesis. I love you all unconditionally. Thank you for the check ins, letting me read you things to make sure they make sense, and being understanding of my time constraints with activities. I'd especially like to thank my mom and sister. They are my rock and safe place when I feel overwhelmed and my loudest cheerleaders

when I am in the midst of a hard time. I wouldn't be the person I am today without your influence.

I'd also like to thank my friends, without support and willingness to show up to impromptu board game breaks, I would not have been able to get through this process. In particular, Calvin and Michelle, I couldn't have done it without you. Grad school can be a rough time for mental health and these two created a space for me to vent, a sounding board for me to throw ideas off of, and a quiet place to relax for a moment amidst the chaos. You made Kansas a home for me. To Crista and John, I love you both and appreciate your long-distance support, late night Skype sessions, and correspondences. You helped keep me sane. To Anita and Kindsi, thank you for your prayers and long conversations, you keep me accountable and kindred spirits in more ways than one.

## **Dedication**

This thesis is dedicated to my father, Russell Pierce. My dad always pushed me to be the best and seek out perfection in whatever I put my mind to. Despite his disdain for all things French, I know he would be proud of me. I love you Papa. Rest in peace.

And hedgehogs, because they give me hope.

## Chapter 1 - Introduction and Method

In 2016, the populist candidate Marine Le Pen and her moderate opposition Emmanuel Macron would face off in a historic presidential election in France. After a hard-fought battle, Macron captured the presidency. While Macron was president in name, the political power structures did not shift immediately. Le Pen's political influence persisted, regardless of her lack of title. Despite only gaining 34% of the votes, Le Pen's far-right party, the Front National (FN), was primed for a state of political power unprecedented in the party's history (Igounet and Jarousseau 88, Herszenhorn par. 2). Although Macron had secured a significant majority - some 66% of the vote - the FN retained influence, leaving "territorial differences in voting patterns and significant challenges for the new president" (Sykes and Desjardins 325). The FN's reach was so palpable that the Macron presidency immediately made concessions; during his victory rally he would directly ask his supporters to make those who favored the FN feel welcome, as to not push them towards the "clarion call of populism" (325). Macron's incorporation of FN supporters was rhetorically appropriate given the cultural and political landscape in France. Although he won a sizable majority, the newly elected president's victory wasn't holistic in that a large contingent of the country remained vocally opposed to both Macron and his policies (Oliver and Aries par. 1). Ultimately, FN supporters served as a threat that demanded the new administration's attention and, on occasion, admissions. Adding insult to injury, in the months following this election, the FN would secure a seat in parliament for their party leader, Le Pen. This seat, along with a small but trenchantly vocal minority of FN supporters, would mean that Marine Le Pen would not fade into obscurity after her loss to Macron. Rather, Le Pen would continue to gather power by actively involving herself, her party, and their ideologies in the parliamentary coalitions necessary for political influence in France.

Despite a loss at the polls, then, Marine Le Pen would still be a prominent voice shaping French policy, mobilizing far-right ideologies to continue to rally and speak up for what they believe in, namely, overthrowing the powers that be to improve life for the common, or rather, the common man as her party defines it. While the FN presents themselves as supporting the average everyday citizen, in practice they are only fighting for the ethnically French citizen. The party's advocacy, in other words, is limited along ethnic lines. Despite this, in the years following her loss Le Pen would maintain a position in the French political sphere. Her party would be bolstered by the attention and would maintain strong poll numbers in the years following the presidential loss, gaining parliament seats and notoriety as the FN's numbers grew (Ipsos 4). In 2019, the party would have its strongest showing yet, beating out President Macron's centrist party in what she claims is "the new nationalist-globalist division in France and beyond" (Hamond par. 1). Indeed, more anti EU parties won seats in the 2019 EU parliament elections than ever before.

Shortly after the defeat of Le Pen in the presidential election, she would address the parties' supporters who attended the 16<sup>th</sup> National Front Congress held in southern Lille. The conference was held on March 11<sup>th</sup>, 2018, a mere ten months after the May 2017 loss. In the months leading up to the meeting, Marine Le Pen had spent her time maintaining and growing the political clout that she had gained during the previous year's presidential election cycle. This speech also signified a new and momentous happening in the FN political strategy: it represented the expansion of the FN and its potential unification with far-right parties internationally.

Utilizing her newfound support, she partnered with foreign far-right parties in ways unprecedented by the FN and invited Steve Bannon, a trusted member of President Trump's inner circle, to speak to the party at the Lille conference (Toppo par.1). In the past, the party

maintained its French-centric focus and didn't invite in outsiders to speak at their yearly conference, which explains why Bannon speaking alongside Marine made headlines (Toppo; Stan; Mulholland and Samuel). This isn't the first time, however, that the Trump administration had tried to align themselves with the French far-right. During the French election cycle the Trump administration had reached out and attempted to support Le Pen as she vied for the presidency (Blake par. 2). During the cycle Trump repeatedly tweeted in support of the FN's leader and encouraged his supporters to do so as well. Their efforts, however, went largely ignored. In fact, Marine rejected the advances of all forces outside of France who attempted to support her (Scot par. 2). Keeping custom with their mannerisms over the decades, the FN wasn't interested in the opinions of people outside their country. That would all change when they lost the election.

Following her defeat, Le Pen (and by extension the FN) made it clear they plan to continue their vocal and strong political presence in France, and, indeed, nation-wide (Vincour; Wadham; Chrisafise), but with a twist to their typical *modus operandi*. Le Pen's speech in Lille would set the tone and tenor for her political agenda, foreshadowing a larger address that was forthcoming. Within this address, Marine Le Pen makes moves to separate her reign at the head of the FN from her fathers as well as to bring the nationalistic FN into a more international sphere. Within her speech she begins to recognize the similarities between the FN and other populist parties in Europe explicitly and for the first time begins to welcome in the idea of pairing with them for political purposes (Le Pen). For a party that was rather insular, these moves foreshadow potential international coalitions for populist parties with the FN leading the charge.

In this master's thesis, I analyze Le Pen's Lyonnaise address. My primary interest is to uncover how the speech frames the FN rebranding and its populist content. I chose this speech

because its rhetorical rebranding signals a new era for the FN and has implications for populist parties in all Western Europe. Ultimately, my goal is to identify potential broader rhetorical impacts this speech has on far-right parties.

In this thesis, the research proceeds as follows. First, I describe the speech in detail in the latter half of this chapter. I then utilize the second chapter to offer a review of the FN party, its history, and ties to populism. Then, in chapter 3, I analyze how the Le Pen family's personas (both Jean-Marie and Marine) have shaped the party's history. Finally, I look at the ways in which this speech brings the FN's brand of populism from the nationalistic realm to the international realm. Within this analysis, I use a variety of approaches.

I deploy a mixed method of rhetorical criticism, a Leffian close reading, ideological criticism, and political rhetorical analysis to explore these subject areas and identify their impacts (Cohen; Leff, *Things Made*; Foss; Zarefsky, Croteau and Hoynes). All these methods focus on unpacking how certain phrases, ideologies, and speeches create and implement effects in society, meaning they are well suited to unpacking a speech such as the one Le Pen delivered. Additionally, these methods combined allow for a comprehensive approach that can look at Le Pen herself, the words she is wielding, and the ideologies from which she is drawing from. This allows a better chance for the full impact of this speech to be unpacked.

My research questions focus on the way populism is constituted and reconstituted in this speech. To explore the ways that populism shifts in the rebranding of the FN, I focus on the following research questions 1) How does the persona of Marine Le Pen effect this speech? 2) In what ways does this speech represent a shift in the FN party from domestic to international? The first question looks at the ways in which Marine Le Pen and her predecessor, Jean-Marie Le Pen, craft a rhetorical persona. Rhetorical personas are the constructed ways in which people build

their identity and present themselves (Ware and Linkugel 50). Both Le Pen's personas influence how the rhetors communicate the meaning and value of the FN in the Lyonnaise speech. In particular, the way they present their ideology, affluence, and racial privilege are analyzed as it promulgates in this address. Both Le Pens were head of a leader-centric party, which means these elements as they are presented in each individuals persona also effect the party itself. The second question delves into the rebrand itself, identifying a shift in focus from national to international as the most significant departure from the FN's typical rally speech and platform (McDonnell; Sims; Karaian). In particular, Le Pen's rhetorical statecraft shifts from a fiercely nationalistic orientation to populism to seeking out of allies from other countries. To make sense of the rebranding efforts, Le Pen also proposes a logo shift that redesigns the FN classic three-pronged flame symbol to a slender, feminized two prong flame encapsulated in a circle. This speech warrants analysis because of how it interacts not only with rising far-right tendencies in France, but also populist popularity internationally. My findings potentially add to the literature base on populism as an ideology and the rhetorical understanding of far-right parties and can help explain the populists shifts happening in the 2019 European election cycle.

Additionally, this speech shows the ways in which a fairly insular party like the FN can shift to become a larger political force on the international scale. This growth changes the way geopolitics functions as well as approach politicians use when dealing with populist parties. If the FN is set to influence other populist elections, understanding their advocacy and modus operandi is essential to understanding geopolitical moves amongst populist parties writ large.

### **Artifact**

This thesis analyzes the speech Marine Le Pen gave in Lyon, France on June 1<sup>st</sup>, 2018. Le Pen's Lyonnaise speech is important because it bridges FN's history with its future. From start to

finish, this speech is a tribute to all the FN has accomplished in its history and a promise of continued successes in the future, should Le Pen be able to guide it there. The fifteen-minute-long speech is presented teleologically and follows the party leader as she discusses the history of the FN, how it has become a national actor, its ties to other populist parties abroad, and finally proposes a change in its name to reflect its new status as a power player in French politics. Le Pen herself builds the importance of the moment as she opens by telling her audience, “this is a historic moment for our country and our movement” (Le Pen). Importantly, Le Pen positions herself as both the FN’s history keeper and harbinger of FN’s future.

Before she would give the speech in Lyon, Le Pen would give a very similar speech solely to party members at the FN’s annual conference in Lille. The secretive nature of this speech would make some impact on news outlets and French papers as they reported on the FN conference (see: Bremner; Caurraud; Galthie; Guo; Herszenhorn; Lee; and Mulholland and Samuel). This secrecy brought even more attention to the rebrand, as the populace had questions and not enough of an information stream to answer them. The snippets that were reported on acted as a political amuse-bouche for the larger rebrand speech in Lyon. These reports contained fragmented snippets of the speech, focusing on the parties rebrand rhetoric and speculating what a new identity for the FN meant and how it would impact the lives of the average French citizen. These speculations ranged from journalists dismissing the rebrand as being a farce at changing the FN’s less than stellar history with immigrants that would fool no one to seeing the rebrand as the exigence for unprecedented populist support in the country.

Approximately one month after the conference Le Pen would give a refined version of the speech a second time in Lyon to a broader French audience. This time, the speech would be recorded and broadcast to the whole of France (Le Pen). Many of the snippets that were reported

on from the FN conference in Lille made a verbatim appearance in this broader cast address. While the rhetoric surrounding the actual name change was similar to the Lille version, the Lyonnaise address was different in that it addressed all of the French citizens (not just the party's supporters). Moreover, the speech seemed to be a more polished and pointed version of the one given at the FN Conference. In this Lyonnaise version, Le Pen would recap the parties failed presidential run and ideals before proposing a name change from the longstanding Front National to Rassemblement National (Bock 20). Over the course of fifteen minutes and thirty-six seconds, this speech would cover the history of the FN and its impact on France, its recent rise to prominence under Le Pen's leadership, and the potential for its future as a major coalition in France under a new name. Le Pen's address would prove important for both Le Pen and the FN as it promised a departure from controversial platforms of the past, offered a new (and more successful) vision of what the FN could be, and showed the world the FN was now not only a major player in France but internationally as well. Ultimately, the speech would spark significant attention from the press, with responses both domestically and abroad (see: Melander and Caurraud; McAuley; Rydgren; Sapin; and Stevenson; Sulzer; Touati; and Willsher). The French media sphere excitedly debated Le Pen's speech, analyzing how it might affect polling, policy, and potential presidential campaigning by Le Pen in future election cycles.

This speech was broadcast in a nationwide news network. While the Lille speech was limited in its media presence, this speech was not only broadcast on major news networks, but a comprehensive and unedited video of the speech was published online to allow continued access to the Lyonnaise Address. The speech itself is fifteen minutes long and follows Le Pen as she discusses the history of the FN party, how it has become a national actor, and finally proposes a change in its name to reflect its new status as a power player in French politics. Le Pen herself

builds the importance of the moment as she opens by telling her audience, “this is a historic moment for our country and our movement” (Le Pen). Throughout the speech there are pauses and audible moments of applause from the crowd. As a speaker, Le Pen is refined and well spoken, her tone commanding and inflecting words with confidence.

The first quarter of the speech covers how the FN arrived at this point, covering the reasoning behind its conception. In this way, the focus is upon the loyalty of the party’s members. Le Pen imbues this portion of the speech with her persona, a common tactic amongst politicians (Cali), to remind the listeners of her success at the helm of the FN. She urges them to “bring [their] heart into the fight. To unite us in action once again” (Le Pen). She then utilizes the elements of her persona such as references to the self, praise, inspirational talk, spatial terms, tenacity, and blame to make her point (Waisanen 30). Within this passage she calls for her constituents to recognize the long battle they have fought throughout the decades is continuing and that they are needed. Importantly, she begins to transition from the age-old struggle to hope for winning what she characterizes as fighting oppression. Namely, she states, “this moment we are among the first ones at the dawn of the new century” (Le Pen). For those who have historically been supporters of the FN, this section is empowering and promises to bring the party success in the near future.

The speech then transitions from the historical struggles of the FN to the mechanism through which Le Pen seems to argue they will find favorable outcomes. This happens in painting the French struggle as the party characterizes it as part of a broader swath of populist movements that arise out of “the tyranny of totalitarianism” (Le Pen). This section is the largest of the speech. Le Pen here references the Prague Spring, Italian populist gains, Greek

government, Austria and Hungarian relations, and a handful of other movements as she paints a tapestry of oppression and conflict across Europe through which parties like the FN arise.

Within this section, Le Pen shows the populist undertones embodied by the FN. Namely, this shows as both nationalistic populism which focuses on mainly the French concerns about immigration and a more international populism that looks at how the governmental structures of the EU harm the sovereignty of the nation states. She references the “intolerable” effect of “the quiet dispersion of thousands of migrants across Paris and Ile-de-France” (Le Pen). Any person not ethnically French is made out to be an enemy in this speech. Foreign goods are implied to have poisoned or malnourished French children, streets are declared unsafe, and worker’s jobs are lost at the hands of the immigrant other. Here Le Pen teases out the lines between whose struggle is legitimate and who this speech is attempting to reach. She empowers the French supporters of the party while giving them an identity as a part of broader movements against oppressive governments across Europe.

Finally, the speech transitions into the actual announcement of the name change. Coming in the last three minutes, the placement of this change feels peculiar. The lion’s share of the speech has focused on the ways in which the FN is at a precipice and is set to gain unprecedented international support. Surprisingly, very little (aside from a snippet in the opening paragraph) even mentions that the purpose of the speech is to change the name. When that time does come, it is characterized as a liberation of the party psychologically. She tells the crowd:

We had a very large majority adopt a modification of the statutes which allows us in all legality, without undergoing the malicious and mischievous censorship of judges or disposing of too much democracy, consult our members at the Front National. (Le Pen)

The name change isn’t just because of the changes to the party, but also a step of self-actualizing in the way the change is characterized. She follows up the announcement with descriptions of

how the voting proceeded and again a focus on the party of old as it relates to what she dubs as “a new era” of the Front, now Rassemblement, National (Le Pen).

In the final moments of the speech, there is a call to action. Focusing on the operative words of the party’s new name, Marine calls for people to literally rally (*rassemblement*). She characterizes the party as exciting and opportunistic for anyone who cares about their country. She tells them is an endeavor for “all who want to be adventurous, who wish to associate this conquest of the power as we engage in changing France and Europe” (Le Pen). Through this, she ties it to the visuals of how the party’s logo is shifting to reflect such a change. After recapping the ethos of the newly renamed group, she pauses, scans the crowd, and cries into the microphone “Long live France!” before stepping of the podium to thunderous applause (Le Pen).

A main theme in the speech, fittingly, is to link the historical FN with an FN of the present. In all the major movements of the speech, Le Pen defines the party as it was in contrast with how it is now. She discusses how her father’s rhetoric was frowned upon by the public of his time and emphasizes her platforms success in 2017. She emphasizes the 45-year gap between her presidency and the party as it was when it was first created. She thematically discusses the economy, working conditions, and the ability for the French to govern their country sovereignly. She questions the current administrations ability to secure these things and emphasizes the need for belief in a holistic European change. The majority of the speech, in fact, builds the change in Europe as a whole before inserting the FN name change as imperative to that change succeeding.

Additionally, there is a theme of rising up against regimes. In all the aforementioned references to countries other than France, Le Pen paints the respective governments as “totalitarian” and “oligarchical” (Le Pen). In every metaphor and description of the status quo, her and her fellows are victimized by these entities socially, economically, and politically. She

tells the crowd that the reason she wants them to join is because “helping one another, we start to build a safer world than history has given us” (Le Pen). Le Pen conceptualizes the world as one that she and her party were not complicit in building, but a hand they were dealt that the party and its supporters must adapt to. Throughout the speech, the agency is valanced in this manner.

Overall, this speech does serve as the turning point for not only the FN, but also the French political landscape. Understanding how this speech functions can help inform how populism arises as well as what makes it palatable across so many contexts. Additionally, since populism is on the rise globally, understanding the development of the ideology and how it interacts across borders is becoming relevant to more and more people (Jost et al. 343). In a mere matter of minutes, Le Pen changes the game for the FN. Le Pen uses the Lyonnaise address to expand the FN's ideologies and advocacy from insular to France to encompassing all of Europe. The parties rally cry of France for the Frenchman becomes Europe for the European (Le Pen). The implications of this speech, then, reach far further than just France.

### **Research Approach**

This section elaborates on the methodological approach of the thesis. First, a word on translation. The original speech was issued in French, and thus presents a linguistic barrier to English speakers. In order to analyze the speech, it is necessary to translate it. It is important to note that all translation of the speech will be done by the author, Marlene Pierce. Pierce has a certification for B2 level French, which is considered the level where a speaker reaches fluency and confidence in the language according to French Language Standards (France-Langue). The research that this thesis draws from is accordingly from both French and English sources. Titles used in the original French keep their native title where English translated or texts that were originally in English are represented accordingly in the references. Transcriptions of the speech

to French and subsequent translation to English can be found in an appendix after the reference section of this speech. Pierce consulted with her colleague, Raphaël Pinson, for any outside confirmation of a translation or interpretation. Pinson is a native French speaker working in the infrastructure and public development field in Lausanne, Switzerland. If any outside confirmation of a word or phrase was required, it is noted in the translated copies of this speech found in the appendices.

## **Method**

The evaluation of political speech has a long and storied history with the field of rhetoric. Early rhetors often explored the connections between everyday society and political representation (Norbrook 9). In particular, the field of presidential rhetoric, under the umbrella of public address, is a major intersection where political science and rhetoric crossover. This area of research can help scholars to understand the influence of a president's words and the effects that the phrases have on the public (Cohen 87). While not as common of a method in modern times, given political sciences switch to a more quantitative style of analysis, rhetoric still informs the body of politics on a deep level. While this is not a method in and of itself, tying in this thesis with such umbrella terminology points to the type of research that has been done.

First it is important to define this paper's approach to rhetoric. Given that rhetoric looks at the various devices at play within a speech, this paper deploys interpretive methods. Moreover, this thesis draws upon a number of rhetorical approaches that comprise the rhetorical toolbox that loosely guide my examination of the text at hand. As Leff (1992) puts it, "On reflection, I have discovered— much to my own surprise—that this distinction is theoretically motivated, and that my work does not simply promote a direct encounter with rhetorical texts, but that it involves something very like a 'theory' of rhetorical reading" (224). This method in

and of itself is a close textual analysis, popularized by Leff, of Marine Le Pen's Lyonnaise address.

Rhetorical reading is different from a lay or casual reading of the text in a few key ways. Where in a casual reading a reader looks at a text and gets information tacitly from the work, a rhetorical reading looks not only at the information but also at the other elements that went into the text. These elements include things such as the situation surrounding the work's creation, the speaker's biographical history, and how it is framed. Coined by scholars Haas and Flower in the late 80s (as cited by Warren), this form of analysis challenges the author to recognize that a text is not autonomous, but rather part of a rhetorical moment (393). The speech is more than isolated content, but an extension of the speaker, effected by the audience and contextual surroundings, and was made with an intent and purpose. These elements cannot be ignored for a dry reading of the oration's content. This type of reading "focuses not just on what the author is saying but also on how the author is saying it" and pushes the reader to analyze texts as more than just "bodies of information or collections of facts, rather, as complex social and rhetorical acts" (Lamb 44). In this way, this thesis approaches Marine Le Pen's address comprehensively.

The speech is a rhetorical artifact that, while only fifteen minutes in length, represents a culminating moment for the FN and Marine Le Pen that encompasses more than just the content within its words. The Leffian approach will follow other works that draw on Michael Leff's work. This method, close textual analysis, "works to understand the internal workings of a speaker's speech act" (Starkey 51). This essentially means the rhetorical critic, when following this type of analysis, will look at rhetorical acts within a speech, often identifying and isolating them, and then interpret their function and effect. For example, in Le Pen's speech, this manifests by first identifying the different rhetorical shifts made throughout the Lyonnaise

address. In this thesis, I identify two: the deployment of Marine Le Pen's populist persona into the party's future and a subsequent shift to an international scope. Within those two movements, I examine the method in which each one is making its appeal and how that connects to the social context the speech exists in. This means I examine what is being said, how is it being said, how this information seeks to change the FN, and whether or not it fulfills that function.

This thesis is not an endorsement or support of Le Pen, but rather an inquiry into the persona shift and internationalizing moves she is making, how she is making them, and what the implication of her words have for society. As Leff (*Textual Criticism*) puts it:

the history of this exercise in textual criticism reveals the formidable number of elements involved in the enterprise: the close reading and rereading of the text, the analysis of the historical and biographical circumstances that generate and frame its composition, the recognition of basic conceptions that establish the co-ordinates of the text, and an appreciation of the very way these concepts interact within the text and help determine its temporal movement (360).

In other words, the speech guides the rhetor to certain concepts that demand to be unpacked. This thesis is driven not solely by the author's interest but prompted by the artifact itself. In translating and reading the speech, the themes and their functions emerged. After discovering these themes, theoretical backing that were fitting to analyze the threads were constructed, which consequently is an identifying factor of rhetorical reading (Warren 393). Like all methods, interpretive approaches feature strengths and weaknesses.

That is, this rhetorical method is often faulted for being open to "intentional fallacy" wherein a critic or reader searches for the intent in distracting or problematic ways, such as misattributing an author's purpose or ignoring it completely for one that "go[es] beyond the material" (Lamb 44). Intent, since it is implicit and not explicit, can never be fully known. Therefore a method reliant on looking at the text through the lens of authorial intent could be seen as flawed. This is not, however, a wholly fair critique given that in a Leffian rhetorical

reading the goal is not to attribute an intent but look for contextual clues within the body of the artifact that points toward the likely intent of the author (Starkey 52).

While there is indeed room for misrepresentation, it is not a guaranteed mismanagement of the research. To mitigate the intentional fallacy, I look at events that surround the speech, commentary from Marine Le Pen, and back up any analysis of intent with evidence showing the text was intended to be interpreted in that fashion. Additionally, I allowed the speech to guide my expectations. Instead of choosing the artifact to prove any initial ideas, I read and re-read the Lyonnaise address multiple times and used the content to form the core ideas presented within these pages. A close textual analysis like Leff's rhetorical reading (Leff "Textual Criticism") is apt for approaching such a complex and multifaceted artifact such as the one being examined within this thesis and these steps help mitigate any concerns regarding potential drawbacks.

With the context of how Leff influences the method described, this thesis now addresses the role of the critic within this work. This approach would say that "in any instance of rhetorical criticism, there are two sources (the original rhetor and the critic), two audiences (the original audience and the critic's readers), and two texts (the original message and the criticism itself)" (Warnick 232). This means that the speech itself is a form of criticism and through analyzing it a separate body of work, this thesis becomes a part of the rhetorical conversation of Marine Le Pen's Lyonnaise Address. The rhetor seeks to "unpackage" the work at hand (235). This approach is doxastic, meaning it will deal with beliefs and intangible elements of the speech (Feldman 84), not just the phrases in isolation. In essence, that means "rather than focusing on questions of 'truth' or 'falsity,' a view of rhetoric as doxastic allows the focus to shift to how symbols come to possess power—what they 'do' in society as contrasted to what they 'are'" (Warnick 236). This process being doxastic, then, makes sense as this form of rhetoric involves

the rhetor directly as an agent in the analysis, as opposed to a more removed method of quantitative analysis.

This thesis draws on methods and insights from both rhetorical and political science traditions. As previously stated, the primary foundation for approaching this speech is rooted in the body of work on public address (PA). This approach includes methods that look at political speeches not for the immediate rhetorical moves made within an artifact (examples of rhetorical moves might include an attempt to rebrand, trying to garner votes, or spur a nation to support a cause). Rather, this method foreground analysis of the rhetorical capabilities politicians have in regard to changing people's minds and influencing certain decisions to fall in their favor (Stuckey and Hoffman 70). In Le Pen's instance, it isn't enough to simply identify what she is saying, but it is also necessary to discuss the potential impacts of the speech and how it was received. The speech, per the rhetorical reading framework, is not an isolated event, but one factor in a rhetorical moment. Speeches have both short term and long-term effects that need to be discussed. The words are given to an audience and people respond to the message in the moment and then have a potential change in long term belief or behavior that is mediated by their consumption of the speech.

The rhetorical moment is complex and encompasses a variety of factors that hold significance when evaluating an artifact. This concept is best explained by Zarefsky who writes:

the rhetor (speaker or writer) makes choices, with an audience in mind, about the best way to achieve his or her goals in the context of a specific situation. Those choices—about such matters as argument selection, framing, phrasing, evidence, organization, and style, as well as about staging, choreography, and other aspects of the presidential performance—are embodied in the text that the rhetor composes and the context in which it is delivered. An audience, also influenced by context, perceives this text, interprets it, participates thereby in determining what it means, and is affected by it (609-610).

The speech is a moving part in a moment of performance. In analyzing a speech, looking at a transcription of the words as data ignores large swaths of information that effect the oration's efficacy and richness. A public address frame with rhetorical reading looks at these elements comprehensively. This is particularly important since Marine Le Pen is a political figure with significant power. The interpretation of presidential rhetoric defines political reality (611). The speeches content is not empiric, but rather a process of persuasion and rhetoric.

In the past, this approach has been used as a means of looking at constructed community building and attempt at social change. In 2013, Jason Edward Black, a scholar in the field of public address, wanted to see how various First Nations Peoples identified their communities and advocated for their needs via pressure for legislative change (21). He used a similar method that looked closely at an artifact and drew on identified themes and structures throughout communications to conduct his research. Other scholars look at social movements like Black Lives Matter and then compare prominent speeches on the subject of equality as a means to see how speeches by major political figures (like Martin Luther King Jr.) interplay with lasting social change (A. Johnson 145). These examples all show how this field's range, approaches, and frames can help to handle a social shift like the one Le Pen is attempting with her Lyonnaise address. Essentially Le Pen constitutes her ideation of what a French political sphere looks like and then convinces the audience to enact her brand of populism.

Le Pen spends large swaths of her speech attempting to realign herself as a leader of both the FN and France. To wit, her speech attempts to define her constituents and then enact a social change based upon that identity. This means she often is framing a speech in order to pursue policy, which PA addresses by looking at how political figures form arguments about policy to increase social acceptance (Fucilla 56). From a practical standpoint, this means that Le Pen's

speech outlines her intents and develops a context that very much falls under the sphere of PA in that Le Pen is a political figure who explicitly utilizes her power to try and enact policies via a populace accepting and ratifying them. The focus of this analysis is also fairly similar to other works within this body of literature. This then supplies a theory underneath PA that can help this thesis to tackle Le Pen's speech: presidential rhetoric (PrA).

Scholars who investigate PrA routinely look at those in political power and how they use their words to enact change in society. The focus on political leaders is apt given that the individuals who hold office are often representative of large constituencies, in a position to make policies that effect daily life, and the face of a country or particular political party. One individual encapsulates a significant part of a country's culture. Typically attempts by political figures happen through televised addresses that the general public then consumes. Scholar Kathryn Starkey says it best, "the public comes to understand the powers of the president through media interpretations of presidential actions and through various forms of presidential address" (1). What political figures in power say affects societies interpretation of the world. This is further backed by Zarefsky, who writes, "presidential definition has altered the rhetorical landscape by changing the terms in which people think about an issue" (618). While Marine is not the President, her status as a member of parliament and active voice in the French political system does warrant some crossover to the field if her populist prose is poised to affect the average citizens worldview. Given that common themes in this method of analysis are "relying on idealistic and pragmatic arguments, shifting the frame of the discussion, and promoting presidential leadership as the encapsulation of bolstered rhetorical power," the tenor and content of Marine Le Pen's Lyonnaise address certainly does fall underneath this category (4). She displays these qualities throughout.

This approach can help scholars understand and negotiate the everchanging sociopolitical landscape, to which both Le Pen and the FN are beholden. Clinton's rhetorical appeals to expansionism, for example, were crafted very differently than Obama's appeals to globalized partnerships (Medhurst 174). In Europe, where Euroscepticism (or a distrust or lack of belief in the unionized state of the EU) is rising, this flexibility and space to look at how frames are operating allows for a speech like Le Pen's to be analyzed. In fact, the shift in European politics mirrors America's own shift to the far right (Stoller 138). Trump's rhetoric reflects the populist ideals Le Pen and the FN ran on in the French election cycle. In both cases, the far-right candidates lacked civic ethics and shocked the audiences who heard their speeches (Anderson 498). This is dealt with in the PrA theory by looking at "racial presidentialities" which essentially looks at how political speakers construct ideas about race and national identity (490). This aspect of national pride and the other is present in the artifact this thesis exams and is thusly benefitted from this approach. Given the potential gaps created by a PrA approach when Le Pen is not a president in name, this methodical approach used in this analysis pairs nicely with Leff's close textual analysis.

Given that the bulk of the speech discusses French culture and Le Pen's vision on how it should change in the future, PrA and public address alone are not completely equipped to best analyze the many moves made throughout this oration. Thus, this thesis also draws from theories of ideological criticism (IC). Ideological criticism is defined by how it examines the way in which an idea is developed and presented, especially when it does so by opposing or devaluing the opposing point of view. The goal of IC is to find commonalities in rhetoric that build a framework for a viewpoint as well as to identify how they distinguish and exclude themselves (McKenzie 17). Deploying IC allows the paper to rely on a more established method as it

analyzes this speech since it is a more established and in-depth framework (Price-Thomas and Turnbull 210). For this paper, comparing the pre- and post-rebranded FN party can be helpful to track what, if anything, is actually changing with the party. Specifically, IC allows analysis of “how [ideologies] are constructed, how they change over time, and when they are being challenged” (Croteau and Hoynes 155). Again, this helps to build a ‘fuller’ idea of what populism represents. Ideology is power (Haijing 100) and populism is an ideology. This research method is extremely important because it allows for an inquiry into the ways Le Pen spreads her populist ideology, cultivating her power.

IC is one of the most apt methods for the artifact given that populism itself is an ideology. Its past work is vast in scope, but a large portion of papers are reminiscent of the type of research this thesis seeks to conduct. One such study looked at state building in the Philippines post the Philippine-American War, focusing on the conflict between the Filipino’s nationalistic pride and the Americans attempt to assimilate the islanders into their culture (Bunker 1). This paper would look at how states rhetorically constitute themselves as well as how transitions of statehood happen politically. Other IC papers seek to explain how historical instances can be recharacterized or revisited to cast the events in a different light. A 2014 paper by Marouf Hasian would critique the controversial trial of Nazi John Demjanjuk. Portions of this paper focused on how different sides and motives could cast Demjanjuk in the right or the wrong depending on how the message was framed (437). This is similar to how Le Pen wishes to recharacterize the FN and this body of work can be helpful in approaching the rhetoric she is using to distance her party from the unpopular opinions of its past.

Given this thesis’ interest in how populism gains support, IC is very useful. After analyzing the rhetoric of the speech, IC dictates the researcher to compare it to the cultural

context that the words reside in (Nichols 85). In the case of Le Pen's Lyonnaise address, understanding the cultural context requires background knowledge of French politics and the players within, namely Jean-Marie and Marine Le Pen in this case. This knowledge allows for an understanding of not only the French populism itself and the culture it is residing in, but also potential sources for how it garners support. In order to accomplish these goals, the paper follows the traditional structure of looking at first the political rhetoric, second the social interplay, and finally the cultural context (Poulakos 39). Given that this speech distinctly exists in all three realms, the two pair nicely. Le Pen inherently builds the FN's ideology with her words, the venue and media coverage create a natural societal interplay with the speech, and the international component engages not only French cultural standards but international coverage as well.

Finally, this paper requires some visual rhetorical strategies since a part of this name change is the new logo for the FN. This logo is a visual artifact and thus requires a specific set of scholarly instruments. Specifically, Foss is used to conduct any analysis of physical symbols as necessitated in the analysis sections. This thesis will employ the method of visual rhetoric developed by Sonja Foss in 2004 that contains three elements: nature, function, and evaluation (307). Furthermore, the criterion of what must be present in an image (symbolism, human intervention, and presented to an audience as a means of communicating) is employed (304). This mostly means that when looking at the FN's new logo, it is contextualized within the context of the speech and the logos stated function and purpose as opposed to just visual in isolation.

These approaches combined cover the main rhetorical shifts that Le Pen presents in this particular speech: a shift from an FN based around her father's persona to a new era centered around hers and an internationalizing of then FN's rhetoric. The rebrand focuses on image,

ideology, and inviting the audience to experience the change at hand which is covered by an approach that looks at what the meanings in the Lyonnaise address are in conjunction with the way those meanings are established (Wells 72), the ways in which the political persona come into play and effect the message (Cali 35), and how the speech itself guides the meaning through these aforementioned elements (Browne 682). All of these are elements of my chosen methods and they work in conjunction with Leff's strategy of a close reading. Together, they help inform the rhetorical reading by expanding the scope of what is being looked at. As Leff puts it, "I want to enlarge this perspective so that the critic can respond not just to the technical artistry in the text but also to the ethical and political concerns that animate it" (Leff "Cicero's" 81). A rhetorical reading is more than just looking at the content; it is evaluating that content and situating it in biographical, historical, and informed context.

The logo, as it is described in the speech, seems to represent a culmination of what and how the FN is changing. This approach is thusly to images what Leff is to words. Just as Leff's rhetorical reading expands the scope of how the text is viewed, Foss expands the implications that images have in regard to their meaning. This mix of approaches allows this thesis to explore Marine Le Pen's identity in regards to the Lyonnaise speech's message and how it is shifting, triangulating the way in which research is conducted.

### **Research Questions**

This speech is used as the focal point to answer two important questions: 1) How does Marine Le Pen's perform a populist persona? And, how/to what end does this persona performance effect this speech? 2) In what ways does this speech represent a shift in the FN party from domestic to international? These two questions serve as a means to guide critical reflection on the state of populism in France and as an ideology. These questions are important

for a few reasons. Firstly, the success (or failure) of this rebrand could have far reaching effects on how other populist parties' campaign and interact with their own respective cultures. Given that the FN is a longtime far-right party that seems to be going international, analyzing its rebranding narrative can offer insight to the effect of populist branding writ large. Additionally, Le Pen is still a voting member of the European parliament, which means she is in a position to not only gain information that can help her craft her party to react to EU policy but that she also has an ability to enact change beyond the borders of France.

Both sections look at the overall rebranding and analyze the language used to propose the change as well as the rhetorical implications of the change itself. This research question seeks to understand social environment that surrounds the change since Le Pen is building her case for a name change off of the historical operations within French politics. This section is pertinent in this paper's analysis because it represents not only a proposed physical makeover of the FN's image, but any philosophical shifts should any exist. Le Pen, when giving the speech, emphasized this change as "the opening of a new chapter, a better chapter than the one opened 45 years ago" (Le Pen). She then goes on to say this rebranding is necessary for her on a personal level and the party if it wishes to remain relevant to France. Given these changes are viewed as necessities if the FN wishes to remain prominent in the French political realm, they also speak to the current state of politics in that region as viewed by Le Pen. The party's second in command, Louis Aliot, backed this view, telling the press that, "the FN name ha[d] become a psychological barrier to French voters" (Willsher par. 17). The party seemed to agree as well, given the initial giving of this speech was met with cheers of "on est chez nous" or, "this is our home" (par. 15).

The change itself doesn't seem to match the magnitude of reaction that Le Pen proposes. The only actual change that is really being discussed in this speech is a changing of the name from Front National to National Rally. In fact, Le Pen is often criticized for saying things have changed when the stance is the same, simply reframed. The party remains anti-Europe and advocating for strict immigration laws (Mulholland and Samuel par. 7). Le Pen's speech emphasizes that the party has shifted and is significantly different from 45 years ago, but never does the leg work to explicitly say how. Analyzing the rhetoric and (in conjunction with the other research questions) looking at how it has been received can help clarify what changes she is trying to claim and if the FN is really moving beyond its historic stances. This thesis will look at how populism is at work within the Lyonnaise address and what exactly has shifted in the FN party history.

The first question looks at not only the populist ideals within Le Pen's speech itself, but how race specifically influences the shifts and rhetoric seen within this speech. This analysis is done by looking at Le Pen's persona. Persona, in the context of this paper, looks at how a person comprises and presents themselves through choices, words, and leveraging of physical characteristics. For Le Pen, this encompasses the ways in which she describes her race, actions, ideologies, and privilege. Throughout her descriptions, Le Pen calls on the ethnically French to "take back France for the Frenchman" and band together against immigrant threats. In the same breath, she rhetorically ties herself to other populist parties in Italy and America. The unspoken but important elephant in the room is the way in which race, and specifically whiteness, play into this speech's rhetorical strategies. This section explores the ways in which this is represented in the speech as well as what it implies for an internationalizing party.

The second inquiry looks at the elements of the speech that indicate the FN is internationalizing as a party. This question explores the broader move for a united populist front across Europe. One of the main components of the speech explicitly ties the populist win in Italy to this name change, as Le Pen builds this idea that the populist parties, together, can change the geopolitical structure of Europe. American personality Steve Bannon (who has explicit ties to the Trump administration) would also take note of this and affirm the FN party's efforts, saying, "[they] are a part of a worldwide movement that is bigger than France, bigger than Italy, bigger than Hungary – Bigger than all of it. And history is on our side" (Toppo par. 1). The fact that the shift and rhetoric of Le Pen's speech is affirmed through a foreign ally is significant. This speech serves as a catalyst for what used to be implicit ties amongst populist parties becoming explicit.

These underlying inquiries drive the analysis of the speech. Each question has interplay with the other, as these components (the rhetoric of the change, success of the change, and populist nature of the party) build upon one another. The issue then becomes how best to approach two very different concepts. Given that there are a variety of components ranging from the rhetorical implications of the words Le Pen uses to the international reactions to the speech itself, it is important to find a method that allows for a multifaceted approach to this artifact.

## **Chapter 2 - Literature Review**

This chapter will look at the literature surrounding the history of the FN and where it is situated amongst populist parties. First, I will offer a conceptualization of what a populist ideology is and where it arises. This information serves as the background to the founding of the FN and the party's current political platforms. Populism as a term is used to cover a wide variety of parties on both side of the aisle, so much of this chapter will then be used to narrow down the broader conception of populism to the subcategories that define the FN. Throughout, this chapter details the historical and political circumstances in which the FN was founded.

### **Populism: What It is and Where It Comes From**

Populism can be difficult to define due to how vast its various iterations can be. Researcher Canovan dubs this ideology “the many-headed monster” and elaborates that while the term populism should be used to describe movements that position the people against the establishment, of which there are many, it also is used as a “catch all” phrase to generate buzz in situations it doesn't necessarily apply to (242-243). The term in and of itself has a definitional core but is frequently used in ways that complicate a reader or listener's conception of the term. Stavrakakis et al. elaborates that:

populism typically involves the activity of political agents (movements, parties, leaders, etc.) claiming to express popular interests and to represent associated identities and demands (the true will of the ‘people’) against an establishment (4).

In other words, at its core populism is about the people and how politicians weaponize their constituents needs and wants against an administration. Populism begins to take shape as anti-establishment ideologies that utilize the populace to enact change. Expert on populist ideologies Chantal Mouffe agrees with this definition but goes a step further to differentiate populist ideology in its non-consensual or forced nature (50). A populist ideology mandates action and

definitionally encapsulates the entirety of the citizenry of a country, whether they ascribe to the ideology or not. That is to say that populism asserts that the people must rise against the government and shatters the choice a voter has since the party itself masquerades as “the voice of the people” (51). Even with these characteristics serving as central theme, however, there are a variety of subcategories beneath the umbrella term of populism that will be elaborated upon later in this chapter.

If populism is fundamentally defined by a people-first, anti-establishment ideology, how it is enacted is up for debate. It is typically agreed upon that populism is present in all political systems and goes through ebbs and flows (Farte 101). Frequently, however, what defines populism is subject to contradiction, controversy, and change. An exemplar of this debate amongst scholars is whether populism is considered a “thin” or “full ideology”. The thin mindset views the ideology “as unable to stand alone as a political ideology: it lacks the capacity to put forward a wide-ranging and coherent program for the solution to crucial political questions” (Stanley 95). This view focuses on the fractured nature of many populist rhetorical moves, finding the lack of apparent cohesion problematic to academic pursuits. Particularly, citations of these inconsistencies focus on the spectrum the ideology holds on elitism and pluralism as well as its lack of apparent opposite (Aslanidis, *ideology* 91). On the other side of the coin, the conception of a full ideology doesn’t rule out the possibility of cohesion across populist groups. Rather, it states that “the lack of acknowledged theory is not the same as the lack of an ideology: the absence of a common history, program and social base, whilst attesting to populism’s ‘thin’ nature, does not warrant the conclusion that there is no coherence to the collections of concepts that comprise populist ideology” (Stanley 100). In other words, populism may not have as defined borders as other political movements but that is not indicative that it is not developed

enough to be analyzed. Regardless of the different iterations of this ideology, scholars find a cohesive platform and stance ripe for analysis.

From this vantage point, populism's lack of internal coherence is not damning, but rather constitutive. While there are variations, all populist parties are common citizens (self-proclaimed or otherwise) who rally against the established structures as oppressive. When defining the FN, it is important to remember that it isn't that populism has no cohesive core, but rather that its core is complex and thus is not readily obvious. This conceptualization allows for the building up of a common set of concepts used amongst the candidates and countries covered in the scope of this essay. One might liken it to a flock of starlings murmurations, though there are many moving parts that shift there is a coalesced form with an, albeit loose, central shape.

Now that the conception of populism as an ideology in the context of this essay is clear, the climates in which it exists can be examined. Scholars have advanced a number of theories regarding possible outside forces that contribute to populism's prominence in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Panayotu; Pipes; Buzalka; Chauvin; Delteil and Kirov). Of these theories, three are most prominently in the literature. First, scholars suggest that technology and its influence on the media amplify populism's reach and impact. Second, scholars suggest that migrant populations and volatile job markets contribute to this ideology's prominence. Third, and finally, some scholars note that an increasingly homogenizing Europe makes wide-spread populism even more likely. Each of these themes will be taken in turn.

More so than ever before, political parties are turning to venues of mass media to convey their political identity to the public. This is especially true of populist candidates, whose extreme stances not only make for good entertainment, but also create the perception that their beliefs (largely anti-establishment) are authoritarian and solving a problem (Bos, Van Der Brug, and De

Vreese 188). This appeal typically creates a cyclical effect, in which the media is consumed and then distributed word of mouth by the viewers or readers who then send others to the same source. Broadcasted, livestreamed, and even live-tweeted, public debates have become more widely publicized. These media augment the ways in which publics can engage with populist rhetorics (Littler and Feldman 511). In fact, the FN parties' success can be attributed in some ways to their widespread dissemination of public debate via commercialized media (Rooduijn 728). Put simply, additional venues to reach increasing numbers of people can make far-right populist rhetoric more accessible and wider spread. It isn't that the ideals that garner populist candidates their backing have changed, it's that more people are interacting with them than ever before (Wodak and Krzyzanowski 472). When looking at the German support for the far-right party Alternative for Germany (AfD), for example, one can track the party's growth through Facebook posts on the parties page entitles "identitare Bewegung," a space that promotes populist rhetorical ideals such as banners that read "defend Europe" and pictures of protestors supporting "youth people without migrant backgrounds" (Simpson 39). The latter shows an intersection between the parties use of social media and the second contributing factor to the agar that serves as the culture for far-right populist ideologies: migrant citizens. This rhetoric is very reminiscent of the language found in Le Pen's address as well.

Dwindling tradition and perceived loss of solidarity in France and other countries with rising populist parties may contribute to populist ideologies. The rise of populism has historically corresponded with destruction of solid, predictable class systems and a newfound recognition of inequalities (and calls to equalize them) between the affluent in society and those below the poverty line further contributes to populism's increasing reach (Buzalka 766). Downward economic shifts in both local and national markets may influence the spread of populism.

Resentment about the low amount of available jobs and increasing number of foreign nationals in European countries may influence whether and why people support nationalist policies. In France, for example, the early 2000s saw a sharp influx of naturalized migrant workers (around 30,000 or so) that took up jobs in physically intensive fields who then experienced discrimination as economic crisis made the French labor market increasingly more vulnerable (Chauvin 122). This deepens barriers to full social integration that decrease native residents' propensity to accept or support the presence of a foreign worker within their country's borders (127). Enter populism, which "has a tendency to equate 'the people' with 'the nation'" and the scene is set for a candidate to rest their platform on this ideology and capitalize on the growing unrest amongst workers (Rydgren 488). The stance characterizes the populace as monolithic, pushing out minority representation to appeal to a homogenous voice. Unsurprisingly given its status as a populist party, studies have shown that supporters of the FN are right in line with this ideology and support isolationist policy and framework (Pettigrew 110).

It is one of populism's ironic contradictions, then, that one of the very appeals populist candidates often make is one of the reasons for its very existence. As a whole, the concept of a one-identity Europe is growing (Delteil and Kirov 788). The process of this phenomenon, dubbed Europeanization, takes place when countries begin to adopt similar laws, economic structures, and social norms (789). One way to think about this concept is to compare it to Westernization (Tyulenev 42-44). In the same way Westernization was coined to describe when a country began to take on influence from a Western Liberal Democracy (say adoption of a constitution based on relations with the US), Europeanization is used to describe when an individual country begins to abandon its unique identity and traditions to adhere to the federal view of what it means to be European. Often, this process creates backlash to varying degrees in

the respective countries it occurs in. Towards populists, this looks like the administration and populace decrying the values as extremist or exclusionary. From populists, there is often an alienization of anyone who doesn't fit their particular ideology. Given that one definition necessitates that for the process to occur there must be a certain degree of incompatibility between the country and the larger EU structure being implemented, this is hardly a surprise (Zartaloudis 1147). This cycle continues and forms tension in the populace. Oftentimes this tension arises from a clash of identities amongst the general population.

Such identity-based tension is often compounded by either a preexisting or reactionary distrust of the integration into the broader European structure. This distrust is called Euroscepticism. It often leads to the rise of countries inability to come to a solution on multinational conflicts. In recent years, the levels of Euroscepticism have reached the point where European countries are stalemating at the UN and resolutions are ending in back and forth debate rather than a plan of action (Smith 632). This conflict again compounds the tensions between nation-states and the broader governing structure of the European Union. Given the anti-establishment nature of populist candidates, Eurosceptic rhetoric then often ekes its way into party platforms and advocacy (FitzGibbon and Guerra 276). When the two happen in conjunction, a complex game of "What homogeneity is wanted and what is a threat?" begins. Now that I've offered the background to what populism broadly is conceived as and the political situations in which it arises, I will elaborate on the contours of populism and its subcategories that define the FN.

### **Subcategories of Populism**

Populism is an umbrella term that covers a wide berth of parties and ideologies on the political spectrum. Populism as a term has a history ranging from "nineteenth-century English

Chartism to Russian Narodniks and from the US People's Party of the 1890s to Latin American regimes such of those of Juan Peron and Hugo Chavez" (Canovan 243). It is a vast and varied range, though many have attempted to construct borders. Populism, then, is an often-ambiguous term that takes on a variety of faces throughout different contexts. As a result, defining populism has been cited as difficult throughout political scholarship (see: Canovan; Naxera and Krcal; Thirkell-White; Richards; D. Johnson; Stavrakakis, Katsambekis, Nikisianis, Kioupkolis, and Siomos). Scholar Hugh Gusterson describes it as "a little like pornography in Supreme Court Justice Potter Steward's famous characterization: it's hard to define, but one knows it when one sees it" (209). And yet, what is often defined as the main advocacy of one populist party (see Bernie Sanders campaign) is often the polar opposite of an opposing populist party (see Donald Trump's campaign).

Populism is intriguing in that it does not have a singular orientation, rather, it can exist on both the left, right, and center of the political spectrum. This section offers a broad overview of the defining characteristics between left- and right-wing populists in particular. While there may be some similarities between the two that will be explored in later chapters, the differences are key to note the shifts that have happened from when the FN developed its political identity and advocacy to Marine Le Pens takeover of the party. These characterizations, often shown in the reasoning behind each parties' advocacy, often serve as foils to more traditional political stances within each respective country. As such, I offer here an overview of left-wing populism before explaining how right-wing populism differs and delve into the subcategories in which the FN lies.

## **Left-Wing Populism**

On the left wing of the political spectrum, populism is largely concerned with economic based policies (see: Otjes and Louwse; March; Jenson and Papillon; Decker and Hartleb). Populists on this end of the spectrum often “claim that the political elite only look after the interests of the business elite and neglect the interests of the common working man” (Ojes and Louwse 62). It’s still a positioning of the common populace against the establishment, but the focus is economic in nature. To get a better sense of what this means that is more concrete than in the abstract, look no further than how populism has presented itself in modern day Germany. Scholars Decker and Hartleb look at the success of left-wing populism (which is markedly more successful) in contrast with right-wing populist parties (435). The majority of right-wing movement in Germany form out of a feeling of exclusion and focused on the feelings of the people and a want for a government more likely to enforce laws that improve the quality of life for Germans while decreasing immigration (442). The left-wing populist movement quickly gained popularity by focusing on labor marketing reforms to increase jobs, raise wages, and decrease governmental taxes on goods (449). The right achieved these in the abstract (by advocating for policies that would lead to an increased economic burden) and the left focused on the laws that directly affected the material wealth of the German society.

Left-wing populism is further exemplified in movements like Occupy and Syriza that share “certain characteristics, [like] opposing economic inequality and the dismantling of social welfare, while being supportive of gender equality as well as the rights of sexual minorities and migrants” (Kompatsiaris 69). The source of a countries problems to the left-wing populist originate in the poor policies that destabilize the region. Occupy is an American movement that arose from the economic crises of the 2000’s and the rising mortgage rates for American

homeowners in America. Citizens took to the streets, pitching tents to literally occupy space outside of areas associated with Wall Street. Syriza, operating out of Greece, is a populist group that arose out of various far left-parties coming together after the Greek economic crisis in 2004. The group gained popularity as the country's debt sparked internationally enforced austerity measures. Syriza's main advocacy was for more lenient and fair economic policies for the Greek citizens who were suffering at the hands of an, as they believed, incompetent administration. This holds true for many instances of populism in Latin America as well. In countries like Bolivia and Venezuela, economic destabilization leads to a surge of populist support (De La Torre 66). This side of the spectrum sees the solutions as being based more in materiality, seeking often to redistribute or have more equitable ways of distributing wealth.

### **Right-Wing Populism**

On the right, populism presents itself under a slightly different valence, focusing less on policies that govern the populace being corrupt and instead claiming the make-up of the populace itself is the problem. Where the left wings of populism are more broadly economic in nature, the right tends to be more focused on culture shifts and issues like immigration (Pipes 31). The parties are motivated by a perceived societal threat that is combatted with policy focused towards the other. Look, for example, to Italy's League or the FPO in the Netherlands. The League's platform is completely based on the fact that they are anti-immigration and their advocacy is nearly entirely focused on reducing (and even attempting to reverse) immigration in the country (31). They mostly focus on ethnic minorities who immigrated to Italy from Muslim or African countries, claiming these groups to be "the least assimilable" and claiming that Italian societies issues arise from the inherent difference in culture (31). The FPO similarly focuses on immigration, using polling information to try and show that Islamic and Muslim people often

vote against the policies they want and are therefore dangerous (32). Right-wing populists use the fear of the foreign population to further their cause.

Following that logic, a large concern for these parties is the ability of their natural born citizens to self-actualize their wants and needs without threat of government intervention or immigration influx harming their opportunities. Unfortunately, this advocacy often comes at the expense of immigrant or minority populations that reside within these respective countries. In Poland, the right-wing populism shows itself in social campaigns that paint the government as oppressive and is marked by anti-establishment rhetorics (Lepinski and Stepinska 71). While they still had a fear of “Islamification,” their main advocacy was to focus on social expectations the government wasn’t meeting and advocate for increasing agency of the Polish by decreasing governmental powers (72). They catered their message to the youth with great success, claiming they were the future and would be better suited to make decisions than the government, who clearly cared more for foreigners than the hard-working Polish (75). Foreign citizens may have been the cause, but the problem is lack of autonomy for the citizen. These are the underlying characteristics of the far-right wing of populism. While they are anti-establishment like their left-wing counterparts, they blame the issues in society on the establishments handling of foreign citizens and lack of accountability to native citizens. Accordingly, parties on this side of the spectrum cast themselves as victims standing up to the bullies that are the administration to fight for the common man’s rights (Pajnik 22). In doing so, they often create social groups that consist of national citizens vs immigrants as a way to appeal to their constituents. Here is where we begin to find the first category the FN is a part of.

After reviewing a few of the iterations of populism, the question remains as to how such a broad field of research can be synthesized. The answer lies in the ways in which this term is

often broken up. Taking on the whole of populist ideology in one work would be near impossible. Instead, this thesis looks to narrow down the type of populism that is focused on by offering a clear subset that can more narrowly be localized to the FN. In this upcoming section, I attempt to define the populist camp the FN is in not only by what it is, but by clarifying what it is not. Given populism's broad scope, there are a multitude of 'camps' that arise within this ideology. These camps allow scholars to focus on more specific iterations of populism within politics.

### **New Populism**

New Populism is one of these so-called camps. Defined as "a collection of movements, broadly on the right of the political spectrum, that have emerged in many established liberal democracies, challenging the existing parties and mainstream policies" (Canovan 242), New Populism groups together a specific brand of political movements to allow scholars a better chance at researching these groups. This brand of populism thrives on "tak[ing] local democracy seriously, it insists that ordinary people 'can get things done'" (Richards 265). Note here that often times the mobilization of ordinary people described in such literature is often done by a wealthy elite like Marine Le Pen or Donald Trump, and yet, the party line remains the same: France for the Frenchman, Make America Great Again.

### **Nationalistic Populism**

New populist movements have a few defining characteristics in addition to being anti-establishment and focused on social policies like immigration. While most political movements aptly focus on gaining the support of 'the people,' New Populist movements take a bit of a different approach. Instead of just focusing on an appeal to the masses, New Populists also make steps convince the audience that they have been long neglected and forgotten until now

(Canovan 242). Their conceptualization of “the people” is based on this idea they haven’t previously been represented. Additionally, they incorporate themselves into this conception of “the people,” attempting to decrease the distance between the politician and the average citizen whose vote they are trying to gain by “stretch[ing] and shap[ing]” the “Anglophone ambiguity that comes with the meaning of ‘people’” (248). The people have the power, and the party and the people are one and the same.

Within New Populism, this paper focuses on one subset in particular: nationalistic populism. In nationalistic populism there are certain ties between varying iterations of the ideology. Knight (as cited by Gusterson) elaborates on these ties, saying similarities are often present in the following:

hostility toward (at least some) immigrants and ethnic others, especially Muslims (Evans 2012a; Mokovicky; Shoshan); a claim to speak for working people, whose interests are no longer well represented by traditional parties of the Left (Evans 2017b, Makovicky; Shoshan); an insistence that established government institutions have become corrupt or unresponsive to ordinary people (Balthazar; Knight; Koch; Mikus; Mollona; Smithe); an attack on transnational organizations such as the European Union, NATO, the United Nations, and the World Trade Organization (Eriksen; Shore); a disparagement of cosmopolitan elites; and a call for a return to (an invented) “tradition” (210).

These characteristics begin to carve out the lay of the nationalistic populist land. This form of populism, then, thrives on creating an illusion that the government and the people born within the country are diametrically opposed along the laid-out lines. Nationalistic movements focus on ethnicity in their definitions of who gets to be defined as “ordinary people.” Anyone outside that definition, in this case foreign born citizens or immigrants, distract governments from properly taking care of their nationals. While there are some exceptions to the rule, broadly these characteristics remain a solid identification of the nationalistic populism examined within this thesis.

Additionally, a hallmark of these movements is present in the “‘us’ versus ‘them’ dichotomization” (Naxera and Krcal 196) employed by leaders of the group. These characteristics help build a specific picture of what nationalistic populism is. It isn’t just that the government is has been ill-equipped to serve the populace, but there is a second antagonistic group amongst the crowd: foreigners. The establishment must be opposed and those outside the nativists definition of a citizen must be opposed. Coincidentally, they are also characterizations that apply to the FN. The FN is one of the longest reigning populist parties in Europe (Canovan 242) and is a good exemplar for looking deeper into this specific brand of populist rhetoric.

### **The Front National**

The FN has been a French political group for roughly 47 years<sup>1</sup>. In 2019, the Front National is a major party in France that capitalizes on French citizens distrust and disillusionment with the current governmental structure (Ignounet and Jarousseau 88). Distrust in the government has long been an organizing principle for the FN and that shows in the party’s current presentation in speeches and publications. Present day rallies and speeches, like the one given in Lyon, decry the elitist current administration, focusing on the lay person and their right to a France untouched by broader influence (Chrisafis; Willsher; Wolin)). Demographically, the party is dominated by men, followed by the less educated, and religious people (mainly of the Catholic faith). Ideologically, the FN attracts people who have negative views towards lenient immigration laws and ethnic minorities within France (Wike par. 4-6). They currently hold significant voting power in parliament, and in November of 2018 (post-name change) are polling

---

<sup>1</sup> The FN has officially been a party for 45 years. 47 is used here since this thesis examines the two years before the party’s ratification where Jean-Marie Le Pen was forming his identity as a politician. The speech given in Lyon speaks only to the year after the party was ratified, hence the discrepancy.

ahead of President Macron's coalition in polls of voting intentions for 2019 (Platiau par. 1). This success showed itself to be a foreshadowing of the FN's success in the 2019 European Parliament election as well.

In the most recent election for the EU Parliament, the recently rebranded party beat out President Macron's candidate to gain a seat on the EU parliament. As a party, they have shown that they are successful and active on an international scale. Of note is the other populist candidates who have also gained seats on this ruling body. The populist coalitions of Europe won 324 seats in their respective elections, a large number for groups from this ideology (Charlegmane par. 4). Since the rebranding of the FN, a movement started by the Lyonnaise address examined in this thesis, Le Pen herself has become a recognized influencer of this group, with other leaders, like Italy's populist head Matteo Salvini recognizing Le Pen as a populist icon, praising her for inspiring this move (Nogier par. 18).

Although the FN was founded over 40 years ago in a very different political context, they are a modern populist party. That means that while they are very much anti-immigrant and even xenophobic, the groups they label threats and posture themselves against is very much rooted in more modern crises (such as the European migrant crisis caused by economic hardships in the region). Additionally, modern populist parties often use terrorism, like the Paris bombings of 2015, as proof their ideology regarding foreigners is valid and just. The ethos is largely unchanged, but the actual presentation of populism becomes contextualized. This label shapes not only the way that rhetoric from the group must be approached, but also informs how citizens interact and approach the party. Populism can be hard to define, but for the current iteration of the FN the three most common elements they share with other parties are: 1) anti-elitism, 2) people-centrism, and 3) the upholding of popular sovereignty (Fernandez-Garcia and Luengo 61-

62). Essentially, the FN is a part of the nationalist groups that focus on the people as the most important element of a country's identity. Currently, populist ideologies are on the rise in Europe (Mayer 162). Across the collective countries that form the EU, far-right groups are gaining more support and parliament seats, not unlike the FN's own unprecedented support (see: Buzalka; Farte; Delteil and Kirov; Smith; and Wodak and Krzyzanowski). As a result, the FN embraces this label, as it gives them clout, and praises other populist party's successes like the UKIP Brexit vote (Nowak and Branford par. 5).

On the spectrum of populist parties, the FN is considered a far-right populist party. "Far-right" is a category of meaning that distinguishes the party from broader conceptions of populist parties or movements in a few key ways. First, as a far-right party, the FN draws on anti-immigrant and xenophobic rhetorics. As Longo notes, far-right populist parties are likely to "constitute the people through xenophobic or 'national' rhetoric (especially against immigrants)" (par. 4). Xenophobic rhetorics can influence policies and approaches to state-craft. Far-right parties, like the FN tend to support isolationist tendencies. In the 2017 election, for instance, Le Pen herself ran on a platform of tightening immigration and reducing France's involvement with effort to take in refugee's and migrant populations (Chrisafis 2015 par. 5). She advocated that incidents like the 2015 Charlie Hebdo tragedy were a result of France being too open and too lax with immigration (par. 1). Some scholars suggest that far-right or right-wing populism is a political norm across Europe (Self and Hicken 5). In most European countries, populism brings forth the name of the far-right nationalist party in whatever respective country you are in (6). These parties tend to mobilize voters by creating an air of elitism that unifies an ethnic base against what is viewed as a weaker or more decentralized 'other' (10). This often leads to right

wing parties claiming that multiculturalism is dangerous for the native residents of a country (Fernandez-Garcia and Luengo 68).

The FN's Populist History In its conception, the FN was founded to be an anti-establishment party that challenged France's governmental structures (Betz 414). Founded in 1972, the FN drew in voters who perceived themselves to be outcast. As Shields notes, "its earliest members, numbered in the hundreds, were political outsiders and residual supporters of lost causes—monarchism, fundamentalist Catholicism, wartime collaborationism, Poujadism, colonialism—with no respectable political home under the Fifth Republic" (493). As the party developed into the late 80's its identity as a nationalist party continued to grow. During this decade, fringe, reactionary, and marginalized voices cohered into the FN. That is, supporters of the FN converged from various political ideologies into one populist voter base, focusing on anti-immigration active opposition to the socialist parties that ruled that era of French politics (see: Marcus 14; Shields 493; Wolin 40; and Mondon 345). Around 1985, scholars note that FN's identity calcified around populist ideologies and the party branded themselves conclusively as such (Marcus 14). According to Shields, the party's populist ideologies were made apparent as the FN expressed its interest in preserving and promoting 'l'identite nationale' (Shields 495). In other words, the FN defined national identity by foregrounding a French ethnic identity. The FN's national identity helped calcify its platform and supported policies leading to the often-xenophobic anti-immigration and refugee stances the party would become known for (496).

That is, the early FN focused on preserving national identity solely for the ethnically French, or those who were born from Frenchmen on French soil. They touted a fear that the biologically French citizens would lose rights if France continued to allow immigrants and

foreign-born citizens a say in the votes (Marcus 7). Jean-Marie Le Pen, the party's head at the time, often used xenophobic fear-mongering in speeches, campaigning with lines such as:

“the flourishing of nations is best accomplished on their own territory in their own country. It's a bit like an apartment, one doesn't just let anyone in. For family life to remain stable, it needs a nucleus, a father, a mother, children and grandparents. And there are friends who one opens the door from time to time. Then there are the bandits, against whom one bolts the doors and shutters because they are a threat” (8).

The characterization of a family here is very nuclear, it implies blood relations and ties. This shows how the FN focuses not on how people are ideologically, religiously, or morally bound, but rather preferences the tangible DNA ties people have to one another (or in a broader sense the region their DNA is from). The foreign populace is characterized as two different entities: friends and bandits. The latter is automatically a threat. The “bandits” are viewed as outside the described genetic bonded group, which is implied to be preferable for unspoken reasons. The image of a burglar fear mongers, is aggressive, and casts doubt on the “other.” Even the former characterization of friend still otherizes those not of French descent. Furthermore, this metaphor is telling in that it gives no method to distinguish friend from bandit, each is just as likely a possibility as the next when dealing with a foreigner.

With such rhetoric in the FN founders' speeches, it is unsurprising that immigration became a core focus of the party. Jean-Marie would become famous (if not infamous) for his metaphor likening foreign immigrants to bandits. This comment amplifies a statement made by Jean-Marie's second in command, Bruno Megret, just two years earlier, in which Megret argued that immigration would lead to “the disappearance of human races by general inter-breeding,” implying that French power and pride was lessened by multi-ethnic bloodlines (Dwyer par. 17). This rhetoric further deepened the divide between the French FN and foreign born or mixed-race

citizens. The only safe and just citizens, in the FN's eyes, were the French who had been there for centuries.

The conception of the FN as xenophobic and nationalistic would further cohere in the 1980s as outsiders observed the party dynamics. As the party's identity coalesced along national lines, the party gained both adherents and detractors (Singer 173). Essentially, while they had an influx of people supporting party the extreme degree to which the party promoted their ideals was off-putting. In the 1993 election cycle, the FN would garner less than ten percent of the vote and secure zero seats in parliament (Marcus 6). In the years that followed, up until Marine succeeded her father, the FN would run on platforms that "advocated [for] more controversial policies, including the enforced isolation of people with AIDS, and once claimed the French national football team had too many black players to represent French society" (Roberts par. 15). By the time Marine Le Pen would inherit her father's position as head of the party, the FN was all but synonymous with radical nationalism at the expense of refugees and disenfranchised groups. Here is where the FN steps in and argues that, France is for the Frenchman, calling for the party to rally and "take back" the nation.

Historically, the FN espoused isolationist rhetoric, defining itself as the French-led party defending France from the rest of the world. Yet, in 2017, Marine Le Pen showed the party was now willing to make international allies. Le Pen's move to include international populist allies was not only a rebranding technique, rather, it was an opportunity to align the French with powerful entities throughout the globe. The idea that the FN is now a party that seeks foreign allies was immediately reinforced by the follow up to Le Pen's announcement at the Lille congress, an address by Steve Bannon. Prior to the rebranding message and for the entirety of the campaign, many other far-right parties had reached out in solidarity of the female candidate with

little to no public acknowledgement (Scot par. 2). Among them, the president elect Donald J. Trump was vocally tweeting his support, encouraging his followers and others to support her strong anti-immigration stance (Blake par. 2). The closer populist supporters in the United Kingdom also endorsed Le Pen's vision for the FN and France, apparently believing the Brexit would run more smoothly with a like-minded politician in charge (Rothwell and Samuel par. 1). This support, however, was not welcomed or reciprocated during the election cycle. In fact, scholars would show the support, which was a grass roots movement by foreign nationals mostly on social media, would do little to influence the election (Scott par. 4). It was only after Marine failed to secure the presidency that the party opened its doors to those who were so obviously reaching out as potential political partners.

After the election an international support network of populists for populism began to form (Landler par. 8). Growing international support was evidenced by the speech Bannon gave after Marine Le Pen left the stage (which is further addressed in chapter 4). In it, he would tell the crowd, "Let them call you racists, let them call you xenophobes, let them call you nativists. Wear it as a badge of honor. Because every day we get stronger and they get weaker" (Bannon, as cited in Stevenson par. 7). Here, we see Bannon affirm a xenophobic, nationalist paradigm that is inherently congruent to the FN's stated mission. Bannon's rhetoric further exemplifies that the shift surrounding the platform of the FN is not necessarily changing in terms of content, but rather the party's approach and mental framework surrounding their message was what was shifting. The international ties further solidified the political clout the party had gained and increased the interest of local parliament coalitions in forming an alliance (par. 17). Major shift or not, the rebranding clearly impacts not only the FN party itself, but populist candidates in a larger sense as well.

### Chapter 3 - Le Pens Influence

This analysis chapter looks at the ways in which Jean-Marie and Marine Le Pen's personal and political history influence the Lyonnaise address via their personas. The way Marine Le Pen discusses herself and her father as somewhat synonymous in nature has wide-reaching implications about the goals and rhetoric of the FN as a whole. Namely, that Marine is integral to the FN's success as a party in the future and that Jean-Marie's influence is a thing of the past. Throughout this chapter this thesis first looks at the history of the Le Pen family as key to understanding the FN, then how Marine specifically effects the modern-day FN, and finally on what the Le Pen's racial identity means for the speech in question. In particular, this analysis shows how Marine Le Pen uses this speech to rebrand not only the party, but herself. Conversely, the Lyonnaise address also highlights the ways in which she utilizes her past political gains in the rebranding of the party as well. Understanding the Le Pen's history proves to be integral to understanding the moves made within this speech.

This section also speaks to Leff's approach of rhetorical reading. One of the major components of this approach is "the analysis of the historical and biographical circumstances that generate and frame [the artifacts] composition" (360). This chapter focuses on the persona of both Jean-Marie and Marine Le Pen as it effects the crafting of the Lyonnaise address. These two figures have both served as the head of the FN and have been at the helm for over forty years. The Le Pen's history create what Leffian scholars refer to as the "situatedness of [the] text" (Condit 330). This context not only effects the content, but also serves as guidance for the reader. The actions of the Le Pens, and knowledge of them, effects the way in which Marine's words in Lyon might be perceived by the audience and myself as the investigator of this text. Given Leff's

allowance for how these personal histories play with the interpretation of the text, this knowledge frames the Lyonaise address.

In order to conduct this analysis, this chapter will observe the rhetorical persona that both Jean-Marie and Marine create. A rhetorical persona looks at the ways in which a person symbolically constructs their identity and presents themselves as well as how they are perceived (Ware and Linkugel 50). Essentially, both Jean-Marie and Marine construct themselves as politicians, specifically crafting their personas to be populist. The work they put in to define influences the FN and how its policy will be received. In both Le Pen's lives, this is presented in how they form their advocacy and discuss themselves. This is in line with rhetorical persona, where "rhetors create personae to advance their views and causes" (Waisanen 25). The moves that Jean-Marie and Marine make are intentional and effect the French politisphere.

These personas serve as the context for the speech. From a close textual analysis standpoint, this means that how the Le Pen's present themselves and the actions they take are an important part of the narrative that led to Marine Le Pen giving her address in Lyon. The speech, which is an attempt to rebrand the FN party, adds a chapter to the Le Pen narrative. Furthermore, Marine Le Pen being the speaker means her persona is a part of the speech as well, or rather, the speech serves as a construct in building her persona. Given her ties with her father, both will be looked at and examined.

### **The FNs Relationship to the Le Pens**

The Front National party and the Le Pen family are intertwined. From the founding of the party up until modern day, the connections between the Le Pens have shaped the party and as they served as its leader. As a result, oftentimes the media portrays the success of the party as synonymous with the success of the Le Pens or vice versa. When the FN achieves something, it

is never just the party that is credited, but one of the Le Pen's is heralded in the same breath (Schultheis; Mandhai and Amraoui; Williams). For this reason, Jean-Marie will be examined in addition to Marine, the actual giver of the Lyonnaise address. Since this section of the analysis will contain discussion of the female Le Pen and her father, Jean-Marie Le Pen, I refer to each by their first names for the sake of clarity.

In many ways, the Le Pens are the heart and soul of the party, if not the undeniable face of it. Jean-Marie founded the party and was even present in their early slogans which read, "Le Pen, The People," (Stockemer and Amengay 370). He was the stand in for the FN. In the same way, Marine would be centric in her parties' campaigns. The FN would create a slogan that cried out for Frenchmen to "Rally the Blue for Marine," literally implying the party mobilized on her behalf (Alduy par. 5). The Le Pen's thoughts and leadership drive the FN's advocacy. They are, in many ways, extensions of the party. The rhetorical persona of both Marine Le Pen and her father influence the FN as it develops and moves forward into the future.

### **Jean-Marie's Legacy**

The Le Pen family has a long and storied history with the FN. Marine references this history throughout her speech, though not in great detail. To the French political enthusiast, the FN's history may be common knowledge that likely effects the reception of the Lyonnaise address. For those unfamiliar with the Le Pen legacy, this chapter will detail the pertinent biographical information that is situated around the Lyonnaise address. For the purposes of this speech, I unpack the implications that come in Marine's numerous references to that family history as it is intertwined with the party. The family was integral to founding the party, namely, Jean-Marie Le Pen was the driving force in creating the Front National.

In abstract, Jean-Marie appears to play the role of an antagonist in his work as a politician. Specifically, he focused his political career on mobilizing French citizens to fight the administration, an inherently populist venture. After sustaining damage to his right eye in a 1958 brawl (it is unclear if the eye was completely lost or if it was merely rendered sightless), the rotund man chose to don an eye patch that would become a signature look for the burgeoning politician (Singer 172). He would win his first political seat, the first of many. Jean-Marie often had platforms that largely rested on xenophobic economic policies. He often blamed things like unemployment rates on immigrants and foreigners, saying things like, “2 million immigrants = 2 million unemployed Frenchman” (173). He also, somewhat infamously, He would often claim to “only say out loud what other people are thinking,” often lambasting immigrants (Muslims in particular) and anyone who he deemed as not upholding traditional French culture. Over the years, Jean-Marie would coin the term “silent invasion” as a reference to immigrants coming into France and naturalizing (Byrne 45). He would further explain his conception of foreigners as dangerous through language that invoked disaster and infestation, saying, “the migration phenomenon is a tsunami. They have a fertility rate three times ours” (Nossiter par. 4). Whatever the advocacy, immigrants and non-Frenchmen were at the root of the cause. This narrative would prove persistent and long lasting, as evidenced by the speech analysis in this chapter.

The man, however, was undeniably charismatic. His impassioned speaking style consistently shifted poll numbers to the FN's favor and viewership of his speeches drew in larger television audiences than his opponents (Eatwell 12). Regardless of content, by the time the FN began gaining popularity in the mid 70's “[Jean-Marie] Le Pen had become a personality, the public face of the FN,” albeit a rather racist one (Eatwell 12). The party was coming into its own,

but only because Le Pen was. He gained the followers that grew the party. He had the *je ne sais quoi* that garnered attention for the FN's advocacy.

Part of the charisma came from his constructed persona as a self-made man. Jean-Marie's story spoke to the masses. He was a son of a fisherman who was orphaned young in life. This meant that growing up he had very little access to money and material wealth. This lack of capital inspired Jean Marie to make a change for himself (Nossiter par. 13). Through perseverance of poverty (via a military career), he eventually made it to Paris to study law. In many ways, he embodied the disenfranchised masses the FN catered their message to, France's working class. His journey up to this point was one of overcoming economic inequality and very much gave him clout when he spoke out against the policies he viewed as responsible for his rough childhood. After his law degree was acquired, he decided to take on a larger role within the political system in order to try and enact change.

He would find success in this endeavor, getting elected to parliament with an anti-establishment party at the age of 26 (Singer 172). This party would help shape his political identity. Under the tutelage of Jean-Louis Tixier-Vignancour, Le Pen would become immersed in far-right politics (Jamin 175). He would quickly gain more responsibility and help the party to (relative) success. This success was the springboard for Jean-Marie's political career and in many eyes the start of his political career. In the years following his election, his notoriety would continue to grow and he would soon capitalize on his relative popularity and form his own party.

Eventually in 1972, Le Pen would found the Front National as a variety of far-right coalitions merged into the lasting political entity that persists today (Singer 173). These coalitions, unsurprisingly, were mostly comprised of fringe extremist and anti-establishment parties. Most were similar in ethos to the party that Jean-Marie found his beginnings in.

There were, however, a large number of alt-right and Nazi affiliated parties that were also a part of the new party (Stockemer and Amengay 372). These associations, however, quickly proved detrimental to the FN's persona and Jean-Marie would eventually take steps to distance the party and himself from the fascist individuals who supported him. This was key in finding a successful advocacy for the FN to advance without being associated with the Nazi agenda.

At this point in time, the focus of the party was mostly based in economics. While immigrants were often cited as the cause [of?] by Jean-Marie, the end goal was always job creation for the native Frenchman or increased capital in the pockets of the common man by means of stricter immigration and fiscal policy (Byrne; Singer; Stockemer and Amengay). Jean-Marie's personal history played a big role in that advocacy. The party capitalized on his roots and campaigned with the slogan, "Le Pen, Le Peuple" (Stockemer and Amengay 373). Literally their slogan implied that by electing Jean-Marie the common man would be represented by one of their own. Jean-Marie knew the struggle intimately and that created a trust that he would be equipped to handle the problem (174).

In 1977, his financial status would change. A wealthy heir of the Lambert cement company would die prematurely and leave Jean-Marie the lion's share of his wealth, supposedly based on a desire to see the type of France Jean-Marie painted in his speeches come to fruition (Singer 173). The amount was significant enough that the FN leader would never need to worry about finances again. Surprisingly, however, Jean-Marie's sudden increase in wealth did not negatively affect his appeals to the working man. Although the appeal of Jean-Marie had been in his tenacity to overachieve his orphan past and in his understanding of the blue-collar worker had led to his initial success, his sudden wealth didn't seem to affect that narrative. (173). He

continued to speak to the supporters of the FN from the perspective of white-collar workers despite his new status as wealthy.

As a result of Le Pens dichotomous identity as both a now wealthy man and a former son of an industry worker, the voting bloc of the FN had support from every economic level of society and a variety of backgrounds that can be directly attributed to the personality of Jean-Marie (Byrne 42). Both the wealthy and the impoverished identified with the FN's advocacy, albeit for various reasons. The wide range of support would remain as Jean-Marie began to refocus from strictly economic policy. Over the next twenty years or so, he would focus his rhetoric on anti-immigration (almost always through the lens of economic policy) to varying degrees of success (Eatwell 13-14). He would never win a significant portion of the vote but represented a sizable minority and gave them a voice. This diverse support is still present in the FN's modern voter base and is evident in the Lyonnaise address Marine gives.

While her father may have had a reputation (however true) of being a self-made man, Marine would be born into a different family structure than her father. She would inherit her position from her father in 2011 (Samuel par. 9). Given that she was born into a political family and in many ways took over her father's position as a legacy nomination, the appointment was understood, correctly, as a nepotistic move (Galthie par. 6). Marine first got involved with the FN on a professional level in the late 80s at the age of 18 and for nearly 20 years was mentored by her father and his advisors (Beardsley par. 10).

The young female politician, however, found this to be stifling and grew to resent the heavy hand her father had over her political career. She would later tell journalists "her last name was a burden," furthering the narrative she found her family connections to be a barrier to her career (par. 12). To the public eye, in fact, the two were explicitly linked, with the media often

calling them “Jean-Marine Le Pen” (Boudillion par. 30). Their close proximity (both in the familial and political) early on in Marine’s career tied them together in the eyes of the media (see: Alduy; Beardsley; Brechon; Bock; Boudillon; Eatwell; Goodliffe; and Igounet and Jarousseau). It wasn’t until recently that Marine, after two decades of being a tool of the party, would distance herself from her family (quite literally) and begin to attempt to shift the rhetoric surrounding the name Le Pen.

In early 2014, Marine moved on both politically and physically. She moved out of her family’s mansion, which she had been sharing with her father, and made moves within the FN to oust him from a position of power (Beardsley par. 21). In particular, she highlighted some particularly problematic comments in which Jean-Marie denied the existence of gas chamber in the holocaust (Nossiter par. 17). This is not only a crime in France, which has outlawed Holocaust denial, but reflects negatively on the party as a whole given how integrated the Le Pen persona is in the party advocacy. The nation began to take note and separate “Jean-Marine Le Pen” (Boudillion par. 30) into two separate entities. Months after her split from the family, a French poll found 83% of citizens saw Jean-Marie as a handicap for Marine, with the numbers rising to 86% amongst FN members (Samuel par. 16). Using this information, Marine made her move and called an emergency meeting to take the parties support from her father, citing his immoral stance on immigration and the Holocaust (par. 10). She would succeed in more ways than one.

### **Marine in Modern Times**

Marine would quickly take the FN party from a fringe group gaining minimal votes to a force to be reckoned with. Prior to her coming into her own as a politician, Marine’s persona was less a construct of her own, but an extension of her fathers. For example, her father once used the

term “Le Pen, Le Peuple” as a slogan and influenced her to take on the cry, “Rassemblement le bleu pour Marine” when she was up for election (Alduy par. 5). These two slogans are essentially semantically the same in French. It wasn’t until after 2017, following the takeover of the FN party from her father, that she began to intentionally craft a persona that was holistically her own. Marine would then go on to have the most successful run at the presidency in FN history, beating out her previous voter turnout from 2012 (Mayer 164). In the first round of primaries, Le Pen had over 300% more support in 2017 compared to 2012 (Ipsos 4-12). In 2012, Marine’s campaign focused more on economic policy (Shields 181) than her 2017 platform. It was in this most recent platform she shifted back to the more people-centered populist ideals that her support base began to grow and solidify (179). While the rhetoric of the most recent presidential attempt was highly linked to some of the more hardline stances the FN traditionally stood for, Marine’s repackaging of the content (her being the vessel through which the rhetoric was communicated) had a broader appeal to the French voting base (Almeida 251). This election was also historic in that both the final two members came from minority parties, the first occurrence of that happening in decades (Guo par. 3). Truly Marine had risen from the relative obscurity of FN’s past to the forefront of the national election by building out a persona that allowed her to do so. She was able to intentionally present herself in a way that allowed political success without the influence of her father’s persona holding her down.

Despite the historic turnout for the FN, Marine would ultimately lose the election to her opponent, Emmanuel Macron. The loss, however, would not impede her ability to share her agenda. Marine’s populist message resonated and she was able to get a seat on the parliament, a long-time goal of hers (Melander and Irish par. 1). As well, her party continued to enjoy a great deal of political support. The FN’s popularity was at an all-time high with the 2017 election cycle

where the party won 33.9% (Landler par. 8), the highest number of votes since Jean-Marie eked out a meager 18% in 2002 (Jamin 176). Despite the loss, the FN ultimately gained support over the course of the election.

Despite not being elected, Marine is riding the wave of prominence. She wasn't fazed by the loss of the presidency and didn't allow the party to lose momentum following her defeat. Instead, she channeled her energy into rebranding the FN (and her own persona in the process) and leading them into the future, saying, "It's after a loss that you see who is a real leader: [they] need to be able to take the folks who are crying by the shoulders and tell them, 'Now stop, we're going back into the ring'" (Alduy par. 20). This attitude allowed Le Pen and the party she represents to gain an enormous amount of political clout compared to previous years (Mayer 164). Her tenacity and drive showed she was a politician through and through, not just for the election cycle. Scholars tracking the FN's popularity since Marine took over in 2011 have found a steady increase in support (measured via percentage of votes) with this past election cycle cresting the wave (Goodliffe 127). In fact, when the party gained over 17% of the votes in the May 2014 municipal election, the 2016 success was predicted the FN would be able to "break out of the political ghetto to which it has been confined since its founding in 1972" (142). The political clout of the FN and the support for Le Pen shows that the FN has indeed broken out of the "political ghetto" and landed firmly in the mainstream.

Marine's influence grew as she settled into her parliamentary role. In fact, in 2016 Le Pen was listed amongst the top 5 most important members of the European parliament. He for being the leader of the anti-immigration populist wave in France (Heath "2016"). She was mentioned again in 2017 for being an anti-EU supporter who is seeking to change the harsh legacy of her family (Heath "2017"). It seems the transition to having a unique persona is

complete. While she was once just a cog in the Le Pen family dynasty, she is now an independent entity. Her persona is clear: populist, nationalist, and based on an embrace of whiteness.

In many ways, Marine's personal goal of gaining political prominence is reflected in the FN as well, as Le Pen and her party parallel one another; the support for Le Pen carries over into the support for her party. A 2017 study found that Le Pen had accomplished two goals in changing the perception of the FN, making the party more populist and reframing their motivations behind their immigration stance (Stockemer and Barisione 105). They tracked content changes on social media since the female Le Pen took over and tracked a net increase of likes amongst supporters for Marine's brand of rhetoric (109). In essence, the political gains are mirrored for her across social and informal platforms as she develops her persona into not just a populist politician, but an independent leader. Capitalizing on this newfound support and prominence, this speech marks the catalyst for whatever the FN party is to become.

Marine Le Pen's Lyonnaise address is contextualized by the political and biographical histories aforementioned. She gave this speech amidst social pressures from the rising populist waves that sought to bring the FN into their fold and public scorn from her father as she moved away from his vision. In many ways, this speech is her answer to the tensions that are created by the pull between being a lone wolf party and taking on international allies, by the desire to maintain the party's strength but also usher in a new and modern era, and by the conflicting rhetoric of being more successful than ever before while also facing a crushing defeat in the presidency. This speech, in many ways, serves as Marine navigating a crossroads for her party as they seek to define themselves amidst outside factors that influence the party.

## A New Era

This background information is referenced throughout Marine Le Pen's Lyonnaise address. The address itself is roughly fifteen minutes long. Within it, Marine covers the history of the FN party, her political successes while leading the FN, the FN's position geopolitically, and then her ideas for the future of the party. The first five minutes of the speech are dedicated to discussion of her father's era and her subsequent take over. This section of the chapter focuses on those moves. This portion of the speech, while admittedly small compared to the rest of the body, is filled with singular sentences that reference decades of political strategy and personas. This information, found in previous sections un this chapter, is the basis for the Lyonnaise address.

Even though Marine has now departed from her father's stances, the previous leader's beliefs often serve as the basis of comparison for discussing her policies (such as the ones mentioned in her Lyonnaise address) and how the FN has evolved over time. In this speech, as Marine attempts to sever that connection and emphasizes that the legacy of the FN is obsolete. Not even two minutes into the speech and she is promising the listeners that "this moment marks the starting point of a new adventure, of the new political century that is upsetting an ancient world that disappears before our eyes" (Le Pen). In essence, Le Pen makes it clear that the FN (now RN) exists in two eras: Jean-Marie and Marine.

Marine explicitly makes sure there is a distinctiveness between her current leadership of the FN and her father's past influence. She then goes on to mention the "history of the movement" which has been "changing over the past 45 years," emphasizing her place as the leader of that change (Le Pen). This is where the close textual analysis of the Le Pen's biographical history truly comes into play. Marine founds her speech on the departure from the

FNs past, a past that is linked to Jean-Marie's legacy. The history of the movement encompasses Jean-Marie's xenophobic advocacy, the FN's ties to fascism, and the dry fiscal focused policy of her father. She mentions how the party, under her leadership, was "buil[t] together" with her constituents "in the face of adversity" (Le Pen). She references her departure from the family and bombastic portrayals that Jean-Marie gave as head of the FN. Though succinct in the speech, her words call upon the French populace's knowledge of a 42-year-old party.

The opener of the speech, then, makes one thing clear: Jean-Marie's negative influence is a thing of the past and the FN will now succeed under Marine's positive influence. Marine is keen to shift the focus from the FN's past to its future. She formally recognizes that her father is perceived as a burden to her (Samuel par 16) and moves forward in her career without him. She goes so far as literally claim "it is time now to open another chapter" (Le Pen). In this transition, she abandons the Jean-Marie led FN and begins to remind her supporters of what her time at the helm has brought the party. Again, this is done in vague references that require foreknowledge of what Marine has done since taking over the party from her father.

There are numerous references to the Marine era FN gains throughout the Lyonaise address. She dotes on her supporters, calling them "determined" and "resilient" as she congratulates them on "establishing a number of movements" in the months prior to the speech (Le Pen). With this, she is reminding the party's supporters (and the broader French audience) about how far the FN made it in the past election. She builds her success out to also be their success. More than just the recent political success, she reminds them that this success came with the appointment, as she time and time again she emphasizes leaving behind the FN's past. She then goes on to promise future growth, saying, "I would like to tell you how proud I am of you. Your teamwork and the forward movement we have every day as we build together" (Le Pen).

With this she infuses her persona as synonymous with her supporters. It's a group effort and they are active participants.

In fact, Marine ties herself in with the masses. In the Lyonnaise address she steps back from identity centric politics her father created and tries for a more inclusive approach. While she still infuses her persona into the party, she also invites her listeners to “bring [their] heart into the fight to unite us in action” (Le Pen). She intentionally utilizes the inclusive we, switching only to first person pronouns a handful of times. The rare instance where she does use ‘I’ language is typically in service of distancing herself from potential negative views. She promises these moves “do not stem from personal ambition,” using a singular pronoun only to say she isn't doing this for herself. The bulk of the speech is done in “we” language. “We are among the first ones at the dawn of the new century,” she promises (Le Pen). “We must wake up and leave old federalism and oligarchy,” she urges (Le Pen). “We are at the starting point of a new adventure,” she informs (Le Pen). The speech goes from Marine speaking on her views to Marine voicing the groups successes and trials.

While the latter half of this speech focuses on international ties and a literal rebrand of the party, the first half is more of a social rebrand for Marine. She inserts her persona and then folds it into the FN's milieu. She takes further steps away from her father by “closing the chapter” and “ending the era” all while shifting into a more comprehensive group. Jean-Marie often focused his rhetoric on exclusion of the other, while Marine invites people together. In a few short sentences, Marine abandons her father's legacy and begins to forge a new era of her own.

### **Le Pen's White Legacy**

Given that Marine literally constructs a new “we” within this address, her race and socioeconomic status serve as mediating factors to the persona she creates. While she makes

intentional moves within the speech, there are other less explicit implications that effect the way those moves are read. Within the close textual analysis and ideological criticism, this thesis would be remiss to ignore these factors. The racial factor must be examined in the same way that the Le Pen's political histories are. Both serve as the background for this speech.

Throughout this thesis, Marine Le Pen's position within France and the party has been discussed at length, but there has been an oversight to an undeniable context that effects every action she takes and word that she speaks: her positionality as a white woman in politics. She explicitly ties herself and her achievements as integral to the party's success and achievements, this means to some extent the FN itself is tied to Marine Le Pen's race, whiteness. Critics even say that "when Le Pen talks about 'France for the French', the notion of 'sameness' appears, being French can be understood as meaning white" (Juge and Perez 199). Her words indicate all of French citizenry is her audience, but her descriptions of immigrants and naturalized citizens with multinational ancestry prove otherwise. In fact, in her Lyonnaise address Marine describes areas of Paris where French Muslims live and indicates the entire borough to be dangerous, saying even food imported from countries (ones that happen to be predominately brown) are poisonous to the native Frenchmen (Le Pen). Race, both explicitly and implicitly, influences the wording and themes of the speech.

This embracing of her race and rejection of other races adds to Marine's rhetorical persona. The construction of race is a choice within her presentation of herself. While the explicit discussion of immigrants would be enough to incorporate this analysis into the scope of the Lyonnaise address, there is also a precedent within the scholarship for examining personas. Imminence of a persona refers to how the face-value perception of similar things effects overall

interpretation of said object (Ware and Linkugel 51). In Le Pen's instance, this means her visual status as white does indeed affect the presentation of what she says.

When Le Pen discusses what she views as French within her Lyonnaise address, it is integral to that narrative that the audience remember she constructs Frenchness in a white arena. Prior to the Lyonnaise address, Le Pen crafts a narrative that immigrants are problematic, but she does so along race based lines, as evidenced in this chapter. Juge and Perez lay the foundation for why a construction of national pride paired with the FN's politics then becomes particularly problematic:

The French assimilation perspective leaves no room for difference. You have to be born French or become it. The political discourse does not celebrate differences but rather condemns, criminalizes those who refuse French 'sameness.' Through the implicit promotion of 'sameness', the 'other' is intrinsically denounced and condemned, as opposed to being truly integrated. (199).

This personalized history as it contributes to the party's worldview begins to suss out exactly how the FN might have arrived at the ideals it holds today. French nationalism as constructed by a white family then results in a monolithic conception that to be like the Le Pen's is to be French, ignoring the diaspora of nationalities within the country's borders today.

Scholars affirm the Le Pen's equivocation of Frenchness and whiteness time and time again. This is true in her history, which contextualizes the speech, as well as in the speech itself. They say that "non-white individuals are continually seen as non-European" and that "this is not unlike the desire to maintain France for particular French individuals, as articulated by the Front National, France's Far Right political party" (Beaman 6). The Le Pens are not alone in the bias of whiteness as legitimizing a Frenchman. In fact, they are simply weavers in the tapestry that allowed this worldview to rise. In the late 1950s and early 1960s France had an aversion to the word "race" and its use as they were worried that focus on such divisive lines could lead to a

repeat of WW2 that they banned the word from being used in literature (Moschel 204). The governing bodies and notable scientific figures agreed that race was a social construction that shouldn't have a space in the countries psyche post war. Unfortunately, this refusal to discuss race led to a "lack of acknowledgment of the discrimination and the day-to-day reality which visible minorities face[d]" (205). With these lacks of distinctions or awareness, right wing political bodies began to conceptualize Frenchness based on experience and other minority entities that had a longstanding presence in the country, like the French-Algerians who had immigrated in the late 1800s, found themselves losing their status as a French citizen based on their visible differences from their neighbors (Cohen and Lacroix 7). Subjectivity in a world lacking objective facts on race began to shift certain political entities towards the French populist trend that led to Marine Le Pen addressing the French populace in Lyon in the manner that she did.

### **Lyonnaise Address as Reifying a Specific Brand of Whiteness**

When looking at the rhetoric housed within the speech, these contextual claims that race is affecting the framing of the FN's transition to a new party identity are affirmed. Even in the call of "France for the French" (Le Pen) implicitly is a racialized statement because of Marine's constructed persona. Additionally from an IC standpoint, it is critical to not only look at what is being said, but also what is intentionally being left out. Le Pen is explicit in her otherizing of refugees and immigrants, saying:

we no longer want our children to eat suspicious products that put their health at risk, nor do we want to see our continent, our country, our village, our villages, and our roads overwhelmed by a migratory surge that the current administration even now pursues with our money (Le Pen).

Marine paints immigrants as a literal threat to physical safety. The generalized other permeates the rhetoric and metaphor is even utilized to compare incoming foreigners as a “surge,” likening them to the dangerous flood waters of a tsunami. Even ignoring the fact that most foreign grocery stores cater to naturalized French citizens with a multi-ethnic background, with no real basis or facts the Lyonnaise address begins to paint a picture that to be different is to be dangerous. There is no elaboration on the what the unifying factors are beyond this repeated call of “France for the French” and a building up of exotic foods as somehow tied to danger Frenchman face from immigration. This continual harping on the increase in immigration as a security threat throughout the speech begins to show that while it may claim not to see color, France still sees black and white. The historical phraseology and word choice from both Marine and her father Jean-Marie add to this perception that the FN isn’t just xenophobic in their handling of what it means to be French, but potentially racist as well.

This is unsurprising given that whiteness as a racial ideology is often viewed as invisible. If you look to Yancy’s work “Look, a White!” a narrative of white is the assumed norm in most societies. Yancy cites Sara Ahmed to describe this, saying, “it has become commonplace for whiteness to be represented as invisible, as the unseen or the unmarked, as non-colour, the absent presence or hidden referent, against which all other colors are measures as a form of deviance” (6). In some countries in Western Europe, this results as whiteness being the default baseline for assuming one is ethnically from that country. Indeed, scholars found that in predominately white countries like Poland, Germany, Switzerland, France, and the Netherlands that non-whites are often assumed to be foreigners (Beaman 6). While it may seem like a leap to apply this analysis to the Lyonnaise speech, there is actually precedence for French claiming colorblindness until white citizens are affected.

Furthermore, it wouldn't be the first time the FN used a strategy of calling out 'white suffrage' by creating a fictionalized other. In 2002, Jean-Marie did just that, capitalizing on the fact that a suburb of Paris that was predominately populated by immigrants of African descent and their French born children, the FN leader used this group as a means to point out potential economic harms that could come from "areas like that" as a means to further his economic policy in the elections (Bertossi 436). He would make it to the second round of the presidential election and contribute to a growing divide that would ultimately result in riots led by French-Africans in 2005 as a resistance to low employment rates the protesters viewed as a direct result of poorly constructed anti-discrimination policy and a failure on the government to properly deal with the racial divide (436). In the Lyonnais address, Marine references this strategy. She recalls the narrative that her 'Papa' (Jean-Marie) fought against, "a dilution of Europe" (Le Pen). Once again, as it had in the 80s, the FN leveraged ambiguous rhetoric to call out the visible otherness of minority groups in France to further their agenda.

Le Pen paints the picture for a revolution against the dangers of immigration. She says:

in 2019 we see a lead up to a real European revolution for the first time since the introduction of universal suffrage, we see it will be possible to change Europe for Europe. And when we liberate Europe, we liberate France. Next spring they say we will have a minority majority in the country, but we want each country to have a system that is governed solely by that country (Le Pen).

The countries she mentions as part of this call (Poland, Italy, Germany) are also majority white areas. Given the aforementioned research into the country's conception of race (or attempted colorblindness in the face of race), it can be assumed when Le Pen says the ethnically French need to take back France, she is essentially calling on a white France to remain so. This shows that, "part of Europe's silence about race and racism is also a silence about whiteness" (Beaman 5), especially in the French conception of race and the FN's conception of their country.

Le Pen fear mongers on the basis of race. Through this strategy, “France links its citizenship and French nationality to the concept of ‘sameness’” (Juge and Perez 199). The problem then arises in the lack of definition as to what it means to be French. It is possible even the French do not know. In a disjointed effort to move past race, leftist France maintains its color blinders while the right (Republican) side has figures like Marine constantly reminding the citizens of the division. Beth Epstein discusses the effect speeches like Le Pen’s Lyonnaise address has on the psyche of non-whites in France:

Aggressive integration practices work to mark and obliterate difference at the same time: others are marked as different the better that they may, over time, be ‘made French.’ This has moved some to remark on the impossible ‘double bind’ of the French integration project that obliges others to lose their specificity while reminding them of how very Other they really are. Yet, because republicanism refuses the very determinism that fixes such notions as ‘French’ and Other in objective terms, it is a continually moving target. What does it mean, after all, to ‘be French’? (175).

Given this is the case, it is not surprising that the FN’s base is predominately (if not exclusively) white. Rhetoric like the strategies discussed here truly show “that the marginalization of peoples is not only a reality in France, but is inherently rooted in the political and historical construction of the nation” (Juge and Perez 187).

This marginalization is especially egregious when one realizes that many of the people Le Pen casts as suspicious and foreign within her speech have been longstanding citizens of France itself. A large part of her persona relies on her Frenchness, so it isn’t surprising that her party focuses on Frenchness. The fact that they ostracize naturalized French citizens who have darker skin colors due to being descended from multiethnic lines, however, is concerning. The persona that Marine crafted, then, also seems to be tied to her whiteness. This is further exemplified about halfway through her speech when Marine discusses the subsidies of certain low-income housing areas by saying:

the organization knowingly subsidizes these areas with our money. We have now surveilled these past years with quiet dispersion of thousands of migrants of Paris all in the Ile-de-France district. For thirty years operations of this nature have gone on and in the last three years it is more intolerable than ever (Le Pen).

This is not an accurate picture of what is happening in France, rather a tactic that draws upon multi-ethnic peoples in the French populace. While there are refugee and immigrants in this area, a huge amount are naturalized French citizens or French born youth with immigrated parents (Fougere and Safi 88). Again, visualized differences become an assumed otherness.

One of the most fascinating moments in the speech, therefore, comes when Marine begins to describe the logic behind the name change in her speech:

Those words [Rassemblement National] open and welcome all within it. It's a new face, welcoming new talents. A rallying cry of all those French who do not want to resign themselves to the slow drip of the decline of the country, who do not want to remain the viewers of their own downgrading, their own erasure (Le Pen).

After nearly twelve minutes of white focused rhetoric that sought to other ethnic and Muslim minorities, Marine is implying that somehow the new name is inclusive of these groups.

This is backed by homages to Jean-Marie era policies as they crop up throughout the entirety of the fifteen-minute oration. Frequent call backs to her father's era and the origins of the Le Pens are peppered throughout as she references economic policy of old and the push back the French government experienced 50 years ago (the origins of when the FN was founded). These call backs are used to develop Marine's persona in such a way that it is: 1) distinct from her fathers and 2) conducive to her new aspirations as the singular leader of the FN. More prominent, however, are the ties to Marine herself. Truly, this speech is as much about the Le Pen's as it is the FN party.

## Chapter 4 - An Internationalizing FN

### Intro

So far this thesis has looked at the ways in which Le Pen rhetorically positions herself by her constructed persona within the party and now it shifts to the changes in rhetorical strategy that Le Pen proposes, namely, an internationalization of the FN. The internationalization of the FN is accomplished in the Lyonnaise address in a number of ways: inviting Steve Bannon to speak alongside Marine Le Pen, a characterization of populist parties as tied together ideologically, and a redesign of the logo. The speech itself spends roughly 60% of its time (about nine solid minutes) on tying the FN rhetorically to other nationalist parties across Europe (Le Pen). Of this time, about 10% is spent on describing the RN's new logo. Given that these two subject areas dominate the bulk of the speech, this chapter focuses on unpacking the rhetorical shifts contained within each. This speech represents a turning point in the FN from isolationist to open to international allies and from a nationalism focused on France to an international approach to populism.

This chapter follows the speech thematically and chronologically, focusing on first the context in which it was given, then the ties to other populist parties in Europe and abroad, and then on the symbol the FN crafted to represent these shifts. The speech then begins with Le Pen interweaving herself into the fabric of the FN, making her identity integral to the party rhetorically. This was explored in chapter three of this thesis. Next, Le Pen focuses on other countries' populist struggle, often comparing their histories with French oppression from the state. This, again, is atypical of the party's strategies. The FN is typically highly isolationist and rejects foreign ties, instead focusing on an all French campaign and support base. Finally, there is

a literal visual shift in the rebranding effort that carries strong implications for the FN's future: they will no longer be a nationalistic populist party.

Throughout the speech, there are two rhetorical themes present: unity and growth. Le Pen often invokes the royal we, leaving the scope of the we ambiguous as she weaves between French focused issues and international issues multiple countries face as a result of the EU structure. She begins this section by saying, “bring your heart into the fight to unite us in action once again” (Le Pen). This is then played out on two levels: locally and internationally. She discusses how France has “grown lazy” and has become “a country with a round bottom,” explicitly blaming the current administration for policies that stagnated the economy and created a “tyranny of totalitarianism” (Le Pen). She then analogizes this with other countries. This continues for the bulk of the speech before she shifts to discussing how the symbol of the party is to be rebranded. This call for a broader European movement inherently conflicts with the idea that the FN is a longstanding nationalistic party. By calling on other countries within her positioning of populism, Le Pen breaks out of that label. This chapter explores how unity and growth is positioned relative to the apparently isolationist policies articulated within the speech.

Finally, this chapter addresses the fundamental inconsistencies between Le Pen's rhetoric and the ideology history of the FN. The Lyonaise address is riddled with seeming contradictions. A party claiming to be French focused suddenly has an interest in conflicts outside its borders. In the past, both Marine and Jean-Marie were solely focused on French policy and rarely mentioned (or seemingly cared) about other political entities. Their rally cries were about taking back France for the French, Europe be damned. Those contradictions, while seemingly diametrically opposed, are not as disparate as they first appear when looked at from a stance of transnational populism. Transnational populism is a term often used to describe a

populistic movement that has the ability to grow and move across international borders (Moffitt; Mammone, Godin, and Jenkins; Panayotu; Bandy). It is often contrasted with nationalistic populism, which is localized to one specific area or people group. Prior to the Lyonnaise address, the FN presented itself as a nationalistic populist group, as evidenced in chapter two of this thesis. Their advocacy and concerns were strictly about France and the native-born citizens who lived there. The speech examined in this chapter indicates a shift, however, in the scope of the FN's advocacy. While the ability for a nationalistic group to go international is definitionally impossible, the ability for the group to shift its category into a broader form of populism is, in theory, simple.

### **Context: Starting with a Bannon**

On the first of June, Marine Le Pen gave a fifteen-minute, livestreamed speech that would change the future of the FN party (Bremner par. 3). Within this speech she would not only rebrand her own persona from a purely French focused politician to an internationally minded leader, but go on to rebrand the whole of the party as well. The first portion of the speech focuses on the two eras of the FN's history: Jean-Marie and Marine's respective reigns as head of the party. The latter half of the speech, which is the subject of this chapter, focuses on bringing the FN into an international discussion instead of one localized to France. Within it, Le Pen constructs other countries as allies and invites coalitions on a broader scale than the party has ever aspired to. Finally, the speech actually rebrands the party by proposing a name and logo change.

The Lyonnaise Address is unprecedentedly international for the FN. Throughout this speech there are mentions to foreign far-right parties, which is an element that was absent in past iterations of the FN's platforms and stances. Rather, the speech represents a new era in far-right populism for the FN, one that is repackaged and allied but ideologically fundamentally the same

as the FN's past. Despite claiming that there is "a new era" (Le Pen), the speech is full of xenophobic rhetoric similar to the days of Jean-Marie Le Pen. Additionally, the party remains anti-establishment and concerned with fiscal policies, although they do take a backseat to the aforementioned advocacies. The targeted change is similar in theme but internationalized to go beyond the borders of France. This is unprecedented.

The speech is novel in three ways. Firstly, it signals one of the premier addresses of Le Pen as she attempts to rebrand her party after being elected for a third term as president. This speech would define not only how she handled the loss of the presidency, but also serve as the platform for the party's future, should it have one. Second, it sparked a mass response in media, which helped maintain a media spotlight on the FN. Le Pen, in her words and media, would make sure that the loss of the presidency was not the loss of the FN's new political momentum. Finally, and most importantly, it brings the FN into an explicitly international front. The Lyonnaise address is also unique contextually. Historically, the convention in which the first version of this speech took place was exclusively for members of the FN Congress (Le Congres). This year, however, the tone of the convention, and thus the speech, was distinctly different. Le Pen's ideology shifting words come in conjunction with a speech given by Steve Bannon, a champion of the Trump administration. Throughout the 2016 election cycle, the American populist leader had attempted to support Le Pen, although the party didn't explicitly associate with then president elect Trump.

From before the first word of the Lyonnaise address is given, the context is history making. Steve Bannon, a foreign representative of the Trump administration, is present and gives a speech. This is unprecedented in the history of the FN. The *kairos* of this sets a tone for the way in which the audience interprets Le Pen's words. This particular representative, Bannon,

also shows that the FN is recognized by other right-wing populists as a potential ally. Steve Bannon has two ties to the far-right: he is a former aid for the Trump administration and former chairman of the far-right news site Breitbart (Toppo par. 1-7). Internationally, he is well known for his right of center, some might even say extremely far right, advocacy and bombastic nature. His mere presence at the rally indicates that there is a connection to the growing American populist movement.

Within his speech, Bannon calls for the FN to embrace its populist nature. [evidence?] He also invites the FN into an international sphere. He tells the party members that they are “part of a worldwide movement that is bigger than France, bigger than Italy, bigger than Hungary — bigger than all of it. And history is on our side” (Toppo par. 1). He builds up the idea that this particular moment in history is a turning point for parties like the FN. He hypes the idea of international allies and spurs more populist movement. Part of this movement happens by minimizing the criticism traditionally placed on far-right rhetoric by saying, “You fight for your country and they call you racist, but the days when those kind of insults work are over” (Willsher par. 8). He placates any potential concerns the party might have with his suggested actions and goes a step further to say, “The establishment media are the dogs of the system. Every day, we become stronger and they become weaker” (par. 8). The FN are characterized as noble and persevering to get their message out. Rhetorically he plays on their ethos and pathos. He validates the frustration citizens feel and strengthens their credibility by backing their advocacy with another established group.

Bannon’s mannerisms throughout this speech can be described as nothing less than aggressive. Press present at the speech said Bannon was “dressed in his trademark disheveled canvas coat and several layers of dark clothing” as he “denounced central banks, central

governments and ‘crony capitalists’” (Toppo par. 3). He paces back and forth, oftentimes delivering his message in loud, long winded rants. He cries out to the FN listeners, “Let them call you racists, let them call you xenophobes, let them call you nativists. Wear it as a badge of honor. Because every day we get stronger and they get weaker” (Stevenson par. 7). Where Le Pen’s address is a more refined approach to racist and racialized rhetoric, Bannon bashes his audience over the head with it.

Bannon’s address is a signal at how populist movements are beginning to coalesce into one larger movement. His speech to the FN is one of many he gave to populist groups across Europe (Toppo par. 5). It isn’t just that similar advocacies are naturally forming into one international populist supergroup, but there are active voices pushing for the integration of these movements. Given the focus on internationalizing within the latter half of Marine Le Pen’s Lyonnaise address, this speech preps the ground for hers. The context of Bannon inviting the FN to join these other voices sets Marine up for a successful address. When she begins to make her moves transitioning the FN from nationalistic to transnational, the crowd knows there is a willing market waiting to embrace them with open arms. They are primed to be receptive to the idea. He even ends his speech with a resounding, “God bless America and Vive Le France” (Willsher par. 5). Rhetorically pairing the two slogans from each country again strengthens the call for a populist coalition.

This international melding of far-right political parties has been an effort of Breitbart and the Trump administration in recent years. Even just a few years earlier Le Pen had rejected Trump’s support for her presidential bid, preferring to keep French politics within the border of France. Researcher John Slocum expands on Bannon’s vested interest in the French, writing:

A case in point is the international expansion of the Breitbart News Network, the “alt-right” media company formerly headed by current White House advisor Steve Bannon. As of early 2017, Breitbart has added French and German services to its existing US and UK websites. This and other media outlets seem intent on reaping advertising profits and greater exposure through promoting and amplifying their anti-globalist, anti-elite message across borders (17).

The Bannon move to speak at the FN, then, seems less coincidental and more intentional. The lines between the American and French far-right parties, which were previously distinct, were melded with purpose. Previously insular groups are seeking one another out and forming ties. Bannon’s tour is not a spur of the moment gambit to rally populists, but part of a longstanding effort to unite these parties. Given his presence at the FN rally, the effort appears to be working. Rhetorically, this strengthens the shifts Le Pen proceeds to make.

This pairing signals a new willingness to forge international alliances, which is game changing for French populism. Le Pen uses Bannon’s presence as a springboard, capitalizing on a movement slowly gaining momentum internationally and attempting to position herself at the heart of it. Towards the end of the speech, there is a literal call for a “coalition of forces” with her at the helm (Le Pen). This opens the door for multinational partners with other populist parties welcomes in not only the US, but other European parties that share similar ideologies. This may be long coming, as all throughout the presidential campaign parties like the British UKIP supported Le Pen and wanted closer ties (Rothwell and Samuel par. 1). In fact, in September of 2016, Le Pen commented that the rising far right internationally could only benefit the FN in the long run, hinting at this shift in alliances (Chrisafis 2016 par. 7). The cross-borders solidarity between populist candidates not only needs analysis for the context of France’s political realm, but broader European structures as well.

In many ways, Bannon’s speech sets the stage for Le Pen’s internationalizing moves in the Lyonaise address. Within her fifteen-minute presentation, she extends a hand to other

populist parties within Europe to become allies in the struggle against the European Union, promising that together “it is possible to change Europe for Europe” (Le Pen). Again, she couches the local within the bigger picture change she envisions saying, “when we liberate Europe, we liberate France” (Le Pen). The French struggle is still highlighted, but the scope of change the party seeks to enact has dramatically increased.

### **Nationalism to Transnationalism**

This speech marks the start of something that on face seems to undermine its own advocacy: an internationalizing of national populism. The FN's brand of populism, nationalistic, at its core tends to focus on the country at hand, characterized by a “rejection of the other parties and international community” (Gherghina, Miscoiu, and Soare 26). In the FN's past advocacy the rejection of foreign parties is a constant. The FN rejected the establishment and actively rejected support from other populist entities in Europe and America (Blake; Rothwell and Samuel; Scott). The party's sole concern was how to better France and France alone. Definitionally, this makes it a nationalistic populist party. Yet, despite this history, the Lyonnais address begins to shift away from a solely French advocacy.

The phenomenon of an increasingly global populism is referred to by scholars to as transnational populism. Though there are a few citations circa 2012 (Robinson; Bandy; Mammone), there is a sharp influx of the term being used in published papers in the last two or three years (Moffitt; Mammone, Godin, and Jenkins; Panayotu; Bandy). Transnational populism essentially is any populism that has an advocacy that expands beyond a country's geographical borders. When it first inclusive nature of protest and the familiar patterns that emerged transnationally have drawn the deserve [the] curiosity of the academic community” (Aslanidis, *transnational* 459). More and more, the:

populist frame emerges as the master frame of the cycle, encapsulating the adversarial discourse of the dominant dichotomy of a noble ‘people’ and a corrupt ‘elite’ that resonated strongly with mobilized individuals and allowed movement entrepreneurs to construct a transnationally shared collective identity across populations of widely diverging social, political, and economic backgrounds (443).

Wherein nationalism roots the definitions to local events only, populism focuses on global undercurrents that allow global understandings of oppression and people.

The interconnectedness of governmental structures of oppression is extremely prevalent in the speech Le Pen constructs. When she discusses why the FN must rebrand, she claims it to be an exemplar for all other populist movements. She says, “We are now in the position to draft a common charter that will serve as a basis for a list of nationals and sovereigntists in the same way” (Le Pen). She gives the moment in time (the rebrand) an air of significance as she sets her party up to be the one leading the charge.

She later iterates in her speech that standing with France is standing with Europe. In this way, she embraces the transnational aspect populism allots for. She recognizes the nationalistic ties the FN was founded on, by focusing on a few French policy concerns as she discusses migrant populations in Paris, fiscal policies, and Macrons allies but then goes a step further and ties the concerns she has with the government to the larger body of the EU. She says, “We must wake up and leave the old federalism and oligarchy that crushes our country to fight tyranny” while tying that tyranny to the overarching structures that rule over the EU (Le Pen). She calls for a broader conception of where the oppressing structures are coming from. This section of the address seems to paint a picture that the advocacy of the FN as anti-government is the right one, but the conception of that government was too small in scope.

This international shift, however, could be seen as a result of “thinning borders and thickening identities” (Berezin 216). Essentially, though the populist parties themselves are

strengthening in numbers and how they present themselves, the physical spaces they operate in are inherently mixed together. In Europe, the close proximity of countries paired with the open borders of the Schengen Zone (Europe's free travel area) and high influx of immigration forces contact with other political identities. In fact, this ability to transcend the physical borders of the nation state is a characteristic that separates populism from the closely related nationalism. While it is true "populism and nationalism are often articulated together in empirical claims to represent 'the people,' they are not one and the same, and indeed, do not need to occur together" (De Cleen, Moffitt, Panayotu, and Stravrakakis 2). Often times the existence of populism on the state level is an assumed one. To be fair, most iterations of populism do inherently focus on a geographic issue that do tie the movements to a particular region or advocacy. This is not, however, expected to be the norm as more and more iterations of populism transcend and grow to include vaster regions and advocacies.

The Lyonnaise address shows how easily a nationalistic group like the FN can transform themselves into a transnational movement. While the analysis of the Le Pen speech attempting to internationalize a local effort initially seems contradictory, the underlying populist advocacy that allows her to make the shift in the way that she does. While a purely nationalistic standpoint would force a French against the world mentality, populism (even a nationalistic populism as the FN was) allows for an expansion of how that oppression (and who constitutes the oppressor) is seen. Essentially, populism in its "transnational form transcends to international collaboration in that it constructs the people in truly transnational terms: As a post-national, marginalized subject, mobilized against exploitative and hegemonic transnational elites" (Blokker 345). What was French citizens in old FN rhetoric become European citizens. What was the ruling French party

of the day (be it Macron or any of his predecessors) becomes the European Union and its many subdivisions.

In making this shift, Le Pen expands her influence. Her work of integrating her persona into the Lyonnaise address offers her personal gain but is cast as party gain. Prior to the address in Lyon, Le Pen built her persona into her 'Frenchness' and her ties to the French people. After the address, she uses the populist gains and widespread unrest in Europe to expand her built persona to appeal not just to the French, but to the broader European community. She is able to discuss the issues of the EU to her benefit using a metaphor of a sinking ship:

The European Union appears more than ever as a plane in distress. A ship that is drowning on all sides and that heads towards the reefs of the European elections. In the lead up to June 2019, we will see a real European revolution (Le Pen).

This quote parallels how she discusses the issues with the French administration and this parallel helps her expand her advocacy. Additionally, she uses the *Kairos* of the state of politics in Europe to insert herself as a player in the 'upcoming revolution.' This momentous occasion of European uprising, as it is built out to be, serves as the context in which Le Pen proposes her rebrand.

Even in this rebrand she focuses on the gains of the shift to international. It isn't just her getting power to potentially win in France's future election cycle, but the ability to get elected to EU parliament. This is referenced by the mention of June 2019, which is the next election cycle for the European Parliament. Furthermore, this moment shows preliminary coalitional building as she calls for a European revolution. The work in the Lyonnaise address then becomes clear: populists banding together can result in enough support to get political power and overthrow the very structures that gave them that power.

Overall, the shift from French-centric to Europe-centric still operates like nationalism, but on a larger scale. Instead of citizens of a country, Le Pen reimagines the age-old advocacy of the FN to be citizens of the EU fighting against the EU council and governing body. The end goals are eerily similar. She builds the work of the previous 45 years into a larger scale battle cry. She promises through this international move amongst populists “that the pacifistic and democratic political revolution will lead us to power” (Le Pen). Individually, populist parties are minorities in the EU. Throughout the region, they are a formidable force should they band together.

Before the Lyonaise address, international support didn’t impact the FN party. Now, the RN is able to capitalize on other political movements and gain international notoriety. France becomes redefined as Europe. The supporters of the RN party expand to include members of populist parties in countries like Prague, Italy, Britain, and other areas where far-right populists have fomented support. In this fashion, other movements in these countries starts to benefit the French far right. Populist gains across Europe become gains for the RN and, by extension, Marine Le Pen. The party is set up, as Le Pen puts it in her speech, “to come together and forge a cooperation of nations who believe that the voice of Europe and support our want to dilute the greater globalist forces.” Her brand of nationalism in this cooperation across borders shifts from nationalistic to transnational.

### **Internationalizing Devices at Play**

Marine Le Pen makes several moves that support the idea of an internationalizing FN within her Lyonaise address. In this section, I will explore three different ways in which the Lyonaise address shows the FNs change in scope, reifying their transition from a national populist entity to transnational populist group. The first is in the way Le Pen references other

countries throughout her speech. The second is in the rebranding of the FN's logo. The third is how she utilizes race to bring together various political entities. While the buildup in Le Pen's rebrand do indicate a massive shift, it is not an ideological one. Benjamin Grivaux, a spokesman for the French government describes the FN prior to the Lyonnaise address, saying, "you can change the name, the logo, the wallpaper, but in the end it is a little family enterprise which serves the Le Pen family for 50 years now. Basically, nothing changes" (Preval par. 10). This speech effectively corporatizes the family business into a chain operation, allowing the FN (and Marine) to access a wider consumer base with more capitol.

### *An Ode to Other Countries*

The change, then, proposed by Le Pen does not extend to the party's ideological paradigm but in the expansion of ally-ship. This is evidenced in how the speech also references other governments outside the French electorate base. In particular, she references Italy's populist party, saying the Italian Pope tried to interfere with the election, but he failed and now the Italians have a government that will represent Italians. She immediately congratulates "our friends in the League," with the League being Italy's far right populist group (Le Pen). Le Pen thanks the head of that party for his support and then immediately transitions into the idea of change writ large. She uses the metaphor of the ocean to describe how these parties all effect change. "The water at hand rises towards the reef of European elections coming in May and June of 2019," she says, "and [they] will culminate in a true European revolution for the first time since the introduction of universal suffrage in European elections. It is possible now to change Europe for Europe. And when we liberate Europe, we liberate France" (Le Pen). She builds this view of a free France, and then, after a buildup of 11 minutes, introduces the proposed name change.

She emphasizes that this change comes on this rising tide of populist gains. “The name must change because so have we,” she says, “We are on the precipice of a new Europe, and before we make this change we must amend for our people” (Le Pen). Note here she also mentions being on the precipice of a new Europe, not just a new France. The name change, then, becomes tied rhetorically with the aforementioned success. She claims this change as necessary and the new name, Rassemblement National (translated to National Rally) profoundly inspirational to the hearts of the French. The rest of the speech focuses on the gains that could be made with this name.

Even as Le Pen characterizes her successes, she does so in an explicitly internationalizing fashion. She lumps in her gains with other countries successes. In a laundry list of congratulations (situated shortly after a discussion of her own electoral triumphs), Marine uses the royal we to “join together with all movements and personalities that share our [the FN’s] desire” (Le Pen). Earlier in her speech, she made a shift from first person to we, incorporating herself into the broader FN conglomerate. In the same way, she begins to fold the FN as a group into a larger ‘we’ that encompasses populist movements across Europe. In her word choice, she expands the agency of who she is talking about and to. Namely, she addresses other populist parties in Europe and average European citizens.

The unprecedented shift to international focused advocacy in this speech would spark conversation across multiple French news outlets (see: Sulzer; Touati; Sapin; Simon), and international news sources (see: Lee; Herszenhorn; Samuel; Alduy). There were mixed reactions to the news across the board. Given the parties status as a disrupting force, this is par for the course. These reactions serve to help build the nature and content of the speech. From this analysis, it is clear that this speech is ripe with contentious claims that need sufficient unpacking

and analysis. As the FN is now a member of a voting bloc in parliament and a nationally recognized political force (Melander and Irish par. 1).

For some, the name change and its implications are celebrated. While the FN didn't win the presidency in 2017, they did secure over 11 million votes, or 1 in 3 voters, and are currently on the radar of more people than ever before (Touati par. 4). This means that if a rebrand was going to be successful, now is the most likely time since the party can use its momentum to bring its new base into the fold (par. 7). In fact, Senator of the Bouches-du-Rhone region Stephane Ravier believes the change will make the party appear "more open" and explains, "there will be a change of name and a lot of structures and instances of the party. That's good" (Sapin par. 6). With this opening, French politicians outside the FN are hopeful the party might be more amenable to outside alliances in parliament (par. 7). This would not only position the FN to have more power, but open up doors for coalitional pairing in and beyond France.

Not everyone appreciated Marine's proposed name change. In fact, some critics actually fear the name change could indicate a dark future for the FN (Lee; Samuel; Herzenhorn; Sapin). Most of the criticism to this speech comes from two sources: the chosen name and the decision to rebrand in and of itself. The proposed name, Rassemblement National, closely resembles a wartime party called Rassemblement National Populaire (RNP), a party that associated and supported the Nazi's in WW2 (Lee par. 3). This is problematic given the intent of shifting away from the parties past, as declared by Le Pen herself (Le Pen). Remember, even Jean-Marie made sure to distance the party from its Nazi sympathizers in the founding of the FN (Stockemer and Amengay 372). A return to anything remotely linking the FN to fascism could seem to be a backwards move.

The latter reason for dissent comes from a variety of mindsets. One is that the party itself may not be ready for such a change. Even when Marine declares in her address that the name change has “unwavering support” by the FN administrators, she is stretching the truth. Despite favorable polling of a portion of the FN, only a slim majority (earning 52% of the vote with 48% turnout) showed support (Sulzer par. 2). In reality, Le Pen only had approval from just over a slim majority of those who voted, hardly enough delegates to make quorum. Even if Le Pen manages to make the switch, it might fracture a party already in flux. A few voices, including her father’s, are staunchly against the shift (Lee; Herszenhorn; Bock; Caurraud). Despite Le Pen’s intent, it may simply be the wrong name and the wrong time to effectively make the switch.

Some critics operated in a greyer zone, praising the attempt at a rebrand but questioning the moves efficacy. *Politico*’s David Herszenhorn likened the change to other French fringe groups who attempted a rebranding, recalling to how the Union for Popular Movement attempted to shift its name to Les Republicains in 2015 after Nicolas Sarkozy failed to gain the presidential seat (par. 5). In essence, it was a valiant effort that failed to change anything for the party moving forward. The party’s latest candidate, Francois Fillion, came in third place after last year’s election (par. 7). In the same article, however, Herszenhorn praises Le Pen’s efforts to move away from “the taint of racial hatred and anti-Semitism” attached to the party’s history (par. 4). While some may say the move brings the party closer to anti-Semitism (given the aforementioned link to the RNP), an analysis of the history of party names reveals that it is likely just an unfortunate coincidence. When a study was done looking at common words as they relate to party names in the middle, left, and right, “Rassemblement” was found to be much more center-right than right extremist (Simon par. 8). This is a shift in public perception from “Front” and “National,” both of which lie on the far-right side of the chart. Since it was given, this

speech continues to be at the forefront of discussion as the FN continues down the path of rebranding and all that is associated with it. Given the content and the speeches far reaching response, it is a worthy artifact to engage not only the interplay of populism within the party, but a metric for which to gauge how the party is fairing post their 2017 election loss.

The explicit ties to internationalizing all take place within a broader context of European populism. In an interview with a handful of political scholars, they explained the reasonings behind this widespread support for populisms largely attributed to the working white classes reactions to immigration where they feel outnumbered, external from government proceedings, and discriminated against by virtue of resource allocation (Djurica par. 21). These factors play into the advocacy already examined in previous chapters of this thesis. In essence, Le Pen is able to fold the FN into this broader wave of support across Europe. In doing so, she legitimizes her rhetoric and broadens the numbers she has behind her.

Like populism itself, Le Pen's rendition of FN is filled with contradictions. As told by Le Pen, the FN party transition is built up to be a major overhaul, but in actuality is marginal. Despite the rhetoric involved in the announcement speech, all that is really being shifted is the name. The party's platform remains. When Le Pen talks about "a new era" and how they are moving past the 45 years of the FN's past, she never talks about how other than the internationalizing factors and a shift to infusing her persona as opposed to that of her father (Le Pen). So, too does the essence of the logo. In fact, a logo shift was originally proposed but after Le Pen got feedback from the party it was decided that the bleu, blanc, et rouge flame that serves as the party's symbol would remain as a "concession to the old guard" (Caurraud par. 5). Le Pen herself acknowledges this and calls the rebranding a battle in the "psychological war" against the FN, stating that the name itself has turned toxic (Bremner par. 3). That isn't to say the logo

wouldn't be revised. Despite the nixing of a total overhaul, Marine would have the logo reworked and modernized to reflect how far the party has come. That being said, the party's ideals seem to largely go untouched by the rebrand. If anything, the change comes in the party's willingness to expand the scope of their ideals through creating political allies. Le Pen exemplifies this by stating, "The National Front has changed in nature. The name change will mark the start of a new chapter, that of a party suited to being in power and striking alliances" (par 5). The formerly far fringe party verbally states its willingness to make ties to major parties, albeit this time as the power player.

France, interestingly enough, has an integral role in the language being used to describe this latest wave of populism. A novel written by Tamir Bar-on entitled *nouvelle droit* (or the new right) explains the titular phrase to mean an emerging sect of far-right parties in Europe that disseminate European-wide messages and offer support for "Europe for Europeans" (Simpson 34). This multinational movement, although not explicitly one group, seeks to create a normalization of extremist ideas (49). Le Pen's speech plays into that goal. In the posturing of the FN amongst other nationalistic populist groups, the populist parties are always the victims. The League gets sympathy, Prague is oppressed, and Greece watches from afar for inspiration. In many ways this ties back to the conception of transnational populism. Given the terms relatively recent emergence, it is possible the French "nouvelle droit" is referring to the same concept.

This is move, while a departure from the FN's norms, is unsurprising given the common threads that tie this brand of populism together. These leaders in modern times all capitalize on a belief their constituents have that immigration will ultimately become a danger to the country, whether it be the "Islamification" of Germany or the flood of immigrants Trump hopes to stop with his wall (D. Johnson 34). Across country borders the actors and subjects of rhetoric may be

different, but the movement of a country to oppose outsiders and an oppressive administration remains the same. There is, however, another unifying factor in the iterations of these parties. Namely, they are localized around a person.

Currently these parties are leader-centric in that they have tend to have a central face that leads the charge against the oppressive government. The FN is no exception. While this may seem counter intuitive to being anti-establishment, it is important here to remember that populist leaders are often claiming to be one of the average citizens who is stepping up and taking one for the team by advocating for their fellows (Stavrakakis 4). In the opening of the speech and throughout her argumentation Marine equivocates her success with the party success. In early iterations of populism movements existed in bursts and short waves of support that would die out as social contexts changed or leaders switched. That is no longer necessarily true. Across Europe populist parties are undergoing shifts in leaders and seeing increased support and voters (McDonnel 29). In the past, a change in administration often meant the death of a party or a complete shift in its rhetoric. Now, these parties are showing they have some lasting power (see: McDonnel; Yilmaz; Zakaria; Salutin; Hammond). The ability to remain a stable political entity makes international coalition building more worthwhile and less risky of a gambit.

If these leaders come together, a more stable union of populist parties means more (or no?) support and credence will be given to their respective parties. Marine realizes this and emphasizes it in her address. The repeated sympathies to other countries and their “struggles” against “tyranny” (Le Pen) support this theory. If Le Pen is in the same situation as so many other leaders, then she is not simply fabricating a movement in France, but has become a part of the greater collective fighting for rights that were stripped away (or are in danger of being take away She finds the common desire of the parties and plays entices them with it, saying, “Imagine

that the supporters of the European Union are a minority in the spring next and that all political systems are the ones the countries so desperately want” (Le Pen). Together, they can effect change in the EU. Separate, they will always be the minority. Given that the regimes within populism seem to be shifting from solely based on one leader to a more stable coalition of populist parties, it makes sense that like individuals would band together.

This call is nothing less than explicit. As Le Pen offers reasons to shift the FN brand from insular to international, she emphasizes how this shift is inspired by the changing times in Europe. Le Pen’s Lyonnaise address highlights “The truth that the world is changing and we too will have to change. Each one of us noticed it. It blows on the world and on Europe now, as it did once before” (Le Pen). Again, Le Pen references the founding of the party which, as explained earlier, was founded on a similar line of thought. The increase of immigration and globalization serve as an impetus for the party recruiting members. The difference with the Lyonnaise address is the expanding from just focusing on France to recruiting the whole of Europe. She urges various countries to, “come together and forge a cooperation of nations who believe that the voice of Europe and support our want to dilute the greater globalist forces” (Le Pen). Ironically, she advocates for the destruction of globalism via international coalitions.

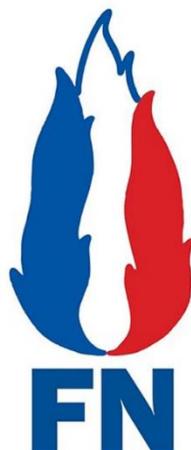
#### *A Word On the Logo*

Another element that speaks to the internationalizing factor of this speech is the logo. Before analyzing the new party logo and way in which Le Pen frames the new symbol, a bit of background on visual rhetoric is needed. This section will rely on Foss’s method of visual rhetoric, which involves three steps (305). The first looks at the nature of the symbol, in this case symbols on flags and the appearance of the RNs logo. The second then looks at the function of this particular artifact. Namely, what does Marine state she hopes to get out of the logo. The final

step is evaluating the symbol. In the RNs case, this requires evaluating whether or not the objects nature fulfills its function.

While it may seem secondary or unimportant at first, there is a precedent for symbols holding importance in movements. Studies have shown that “exposure to the national flag alters people’s behavior and political and intergroup judgments” (Gueguenm, Martin, and Stefan 539). The logo sets a tone and is usually full of symbolism as it is curated by a movement or ideal and draws upon histories of like symbols to have purpose. There is a meaning that gets associated with a symbol, particularly a political one like the FN since it is often placed on a flag or poster that serves as a literal rallying point. In fact, “visual rhetoric is related to the framing of a message” and is a “potent tool in the creation of meaning and in the shaping of cultures, identities, and behaviors” (Campelo, Aitken, and Gnoth 4). In other words, the content of a written or spoken message can have a mediating variable if paired with a visual symbol. The way something looks can change how someone interprets a message.

For purposes of clarity, in this section I call the new logo the RN logo and the old logo the FN logo. This is to differentiate the logo pre-rebranding when the party was the Front National and the logo post-rebranding with the party now being called Rassemblement National.



**Figure 4-1 The Front National  
Logo**

The logo makes a few major shifts. The FN logo featured a tricolor three-pronged flame, which historically stands for the past, present, and future successes of France (Elgenius 43).

The new version drops a flame line for a two-pronged fire. The FN flame was free standing, but the RN flag finds itself incapsulated in a white circle, save for a break in the lines where the titular abbreviation (RN) breaks the loop.



**Figure 4-2 The Rassemblement National's Logo**

One of the significant changes in this logo is the placement and hue of colors. The background shifts from white to blue. This blue is also a deeper shade than previous iterations of the FN color scheme (which historically called back to Marine’s “Rally the Blue<sup>2</sup>” and true heart of France colors). This blue, interestingly enough, is near identical in tone to the blue that backs the European Union’s (EU) flag. Similarly, the ring is reminiscent of the stars on the EU Union standard.

---

<sup>2</sup> Marine Le Pen’s early rally slogan was “Rally the Blue.” It played on the blue in the French flag, and the color blue was prominent at her campaign meetings.

The shift in symbol is significant enough that Le Pen feels obligated to address it within the speech itself, serving as the in-between from the championing of the name change and the call to action that ends the speech. This portion of the speech serves as the function portion of the visual rhetorical method being employed. She tells the crowd that they “wanted it to be less angular more feminine. Rounder and more unifying, too” (Le Pen). When justifying the design choices to change the positioning of the flame as open backed to enclosed in a circle, Le Pen offered the following:

We choose to represent our stylized flame in a circle. Open. It is not closed, so that symbolically the flame leads to the Rassmeblement National and visually is inviting. Images of fidelity affirm the goal of our project (Le Pen).

The logo is indeed more feminine. Slender, curvy, and not as robustly flamelike as its predecessor. The RN here literally softens its image as it calls for international and local allies to join its cause (Campbell par. 7). This, again, harkens to the feminine. In message and in image, the FN becomes more like Le Pen as she leads the party into international waters.



**Figure 4-3 The European Union Flag**

The heart of why this serves as an internationalizing facet for nationalism, however, comes in interpreting the actual appearance of the flag itself. Note here the color shift, reasoning, and encapsulation of the logo by a circle. When these three elements combine, the symbolism

behind the logo begins to emerge. The color, an EU shade of blue, now is at the background of the RNs symbol. This makes the circle take on a different appearance, as the darker tones of the EU flag calls forth a reminiscence to the stars that make up the EU flag itself. In this iteration, it would almost appear then as if the circle is being burned, breaking open as the letters RN emerge.

At first glance, this might seem like a coincidence and not intentional. The Lyonnaise address, however, invites such interpretations. Marine's emphasis on the "in-house team of graphic designers undertook [the redesign]" (Le Pen). The logo shift was researched and intentional. That being the case, such departures in color and the flame going from freestanding to encapsulated should be read as highly intentional. Le Pen further says that she discussed what the logo should represent with this team. Given the content of the speech, the placement of the discussion on the logo rebrand within the space, and explicit stating of how much thought went into the logo shift, Le Pen invites her audience to interpret the logo. The similarities to the EU standard are then viewed by the spectator as less consequential and more intentional in their usage.

The description of this logo comes after a call for all Europeans and Frenchman to join Marine and the RN as they "engage in changing France and Europe" in a spirit of "adventure" through a "conquest of power" (Le Pen). What initially looks to be nothing more than modernizing a nearly half century old logo appears to be a more literal symbol of the RNs new goal, mobilizing populists across Europe to 'rally' together and take down the tyrannical oppressor (in their eyes) that is the EU.

In this manner, evaluating the symbol is difficult. The use of Foss's method for looking at visual pieces of rhetoric helps as a guide through the various components of how to approach

symbol usage. Given the rebrand is so recent and the speech is limited in its narrative of the logo or depiction of how people have responded to the flag, it is impossible to say with certainty if the logo is effective. Given the possible interpretations that invoke a burning of the EU flag, the logo seems effective. That interpretation, however, is subjective. The combination of Le Pen's explanation and the provocative new flag is enough to deem the flag successful in rebranding the RN, even if the scope of its effectiveness is outside the scope of this thesis.

### **Whiteness as a Unifier**

The framing of the rebrand is filtered through the identity of Marine Le Pen and the ways in which her persona reifies whiteness as the norm (Monod 232). In many ways, that discussion serves as a foundation for this internationalizing shift. The countries mentioned in the Lyonaise address (Greece, Prague, Poland, Italy) are predominately white. The leaders in the past decade are all white presenting individuals. This banding together of white leaders in a form of "ethno-traditional nationalism" is sometimes referred to as "Whiteshift" (Kaufmann 134). Essentially, out of fear of becoming the minority, white leaders try to make ties to legitimize their stances and fears. In many ways, this is what is underlying the shift to internationalizing the FN's brand of populism. It isn't that the FN wants allies, but that in order to last as an ideology they need like-minded individuals.

Some of the imagery in the Lyonaise address is subtle, "from this event, our meeting today, we see a wink of fate signaling what the Greeks call *Kairos*. The former master of Brussels will learn that he does not force people to accept a yoke they do not want to bear" (Le Pen). There are two elements to unpack here: the Greeks and their coined term *Kairos*, and the mention of Brussels. The Greek reference of *Kairos* basically means the right, critical, or opportune moment to do something (Delehanty 273). This echoes the opening build of the

speech that creates a sense that the FN has never been in a position of more power than it is right now. Additionally, it references the SYRIZA party in Greece, which has similar threads of xenophobia throughout their populist party, even if they are on the Left (Stravrakakis et al. 422). Throughout the speech, implicit ties to other populist parties are made.

The Brussels mention refers to the European Parliament, which is currently housed in Brussels (Kalmar 412). This group is responsible for setting legislative agendas for the whole of the EU. In regards to populism, far-right nationalistic parties like the FN have long decried the “Brussels-based European Union elite” as the enemy allowing the outsiders like the Roma people and Muslim refugees into various EU countries (Norocel and Szabo 6). Without explicitly coming out and saying it, Le Pen is demonizing people of color, labeling them as the “yoke” that the country must bear.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the use of the term “master” here has other negative connotations for the type of whiteness the EU Le Pen wants to ally with. This is unsurprising given that the parliament seems to be doing the same thing, only in reverse. In January of 2017, the EU parliament made a new law that would fine any speaker for xenophobic speeches they deem as racist (Cook par. 5). The law was specifically made in service of populist seats in parliament like the ones held by the FN’s Marine Le Pen and the Netherland’s Geert Wilders (par. 4). Implicitly, the EU parliament has put themselves in the position of defending a multi-ethnic Europe, the very thing Marine has promised to oppose. In response, Le Pen labels them as “border transgressing” in their policies (Hellstrom 218) and seeks to align with other European figures that are on the outs from mainstream politicians in Europe.

---

<sup>3</sup> Le Pen here is referring to the immigration influx as a result of the increase immigration caps mandated by the EU Parliament as a result of migrant crises across the region. The term yoke represents increased immigration in France.

This shift from a French focus to a European one is momentous for the FN. Even if the platforms advocacy doesn't greatly shift, the expansion to international means that the FN's ideology will affect larger swaths of people. The Le Pen party and the FN in particular were always hyper-focused solely on what was happening within France's borders. It wasn't uncommon to thank their French supporters for taking the time to fight whatever establishment they were currently under, but it rarely if ever went further than that. This means when Marine Le Pen stands in front of a nationally broadcasted France and says, "Thank you Europe for your encouragement, warmth, and brotherhood" something significant has changed. The constituents she is trying to reach has expanded beyond just the Frenchman. Additionally, the use of the term brotherhood is culturally impactful. It hails back to France's motto of, "liberté, égalité, and fraternité" or "liberty, equality, and brotherhood" (Hornblower and Tuttle par. 1). But these three ideals may not be as universal as they seem. While these terms make their way into various western liberal democracies rhetoric, the French iterations of them are tied to nationalism. Even in their anthem, which calls to unite France, they sing, "Brothers to arms. May the blood of the impure soak our fields" (par. 1). Brotherhood, historically, only went so far as French blood did.

*France's Historic Ties to Racialized Politics*

The name chosen for the rebrand has racially problematic implications. In her speech, Le Pen says, "The National Front has changed in nature. The name change will mark the start of a new chapter, that of a party suited to being in power and striking alliances," but critics point out there is a lack of linkage between this idea and the change of the name (Bremner par. 3). Even in the rhetoric of rebranding, Le Pen only cites the name as what is changing, not necessarily the party's ideology itself, saying, "the National Front name has a glorious history, but it is for many French people a psychological obstacle" (Stevenson par. 7). Critics further point out

inconsistency in the motives to change the party, citing that the new proposed name, Rassemblement National, has rhetorically fascist undertones and actually emphasizes the very past party lines Marine Le Pen targets as the issue with (McAuley par. 5). Given these complications and tensions, this speech is crucial to understanding what exactly it is that Marine Le Pen thinks is changing with this rebrand. That is, Le Pen's speech outlines a more streamlined, mainstream version of old ideas; the same xenophobic principles in a shiny new package.

Le Pen's rhetoric then plays into the overall way France constructs race in its society. Namely, the country tries to actively reject racially divided lines. This formalized discussion of race in France started in 1978 when a "law specifically banned the collection and computerized storage of race-based data" (Bleich par. 4). While the stated ethos of the law was to avoid racial categorization akin to the Nazi collection of data that led to genocide of the Jewish people, for France, it sparked a bigger divide as to how race operates in French borders. This divide would only continue to expand in the late 1980s as a move towards a postcolonial France broadened immigration laws, allowing entire families to emigrate from their various origins and relocate to French cities. This caused some political strife as the number of immigrants within the countries doubled (Bertossi 432). Note here the correlation between the influx of immigration in an explicitly racialized France and the solidification of the FN party as far-right populist and xenophobic. Jean-Marie Le Pen's blatantly racist stances on foreign immigrants would earn the FN success at the local, parliamentary, and European levels (431). The party, then, began to correlate their idea of success around the rejection of immigrants, that is to say, white Frenchman rallied against the people of color within the country that had begun to move into France and

integrate into society. The exclusionary nature of their advocacy defined their nationalistic populist ideology.

Over the next decade, the country would be forced to recognize a growing amount of racism in the country. In response, the leftist France attempted to normalize racialized otherness and “ethnic and racial identities became ‘valuable,’ but the issue of including ethnic or racial categories in the census (*statistiques ethniques*) remained a highly disputed one” (Bertossi 435). For a while, there was a period of acceptance within France as the country returned to its root ideal of *égalité* (equality). Although on the political front it seemed that racial divides in France seemed to have quieted down during the 90s, the debate was reignited in the early 2000’s by none other than Jean-Marie Le Pen. Le Pen began to capitalize on the lack of reported ethnic data by casting certain neighborhoods as “Muslim” or “African” areas (Le Pen). These characterizations are especially salient in the French context since there is some objective data backing up these adjectives. While the law prohibits actual race data by the government, there are independent researchers who collect information on areas of origin or religion (Hargreaves 103). These independent studies often tie with the subjective rhetoric of politics to paint an area as “Muslim or “Arab” and despite the official colorblindness of the political system, these independent studies inform the discourse by governmental entities (or in this instance, Jean-Marie Le Pen) (104). This is particularly problematic given the lack of oversight by a more objective body.

This narrative ties the Le Pen’s into a broader history of France as “a nation that actualizes equality, justice, and colour-blindness” (Juge and Perez 189). This “colorblindness” has a few lasting effects. First, it allows a populace to maintain an air of superiority while avoiding the fact that the white nature of the country gains that superiority from a colonialist

mindset. Second, it allows politicians like the Le Pen's to use vague rhetorical strategies like the ones in the Lyonnaise address to further otherize people of color. Scholars Juge and Perez explain this strategy, saying:

The French could not blatantly claim superior intelligence over the immigrant populations, for such a racist ideology would be against the national spirit of defending human rights. Nevertheless, racist ideology is ingrained in the political discourses debating about the reform of French citizenship, and the implementation of laws regarding ID control. Consequently, the general population now absorbs the comments of the media and politicians at face value (198).

The race factor then becomes hidden, albeit engrained, in French politics, often lying in the background of what seems like innocuous phrases at the surface level. She utilizes the lack of data and plays into the idea that immigrants are the issue, just as Juge and Perez implicate. Colorblindness paints "racial discrimination as fundamentally un-French" (Marker 18), allowing the FN's xenophobia to camouflage itself. Marine can call out migrants with little to no explication of what those populaces do or look like because there is an assumed racial identity that the party can falsely claim is French.

One might also argue that this wave of success Marine Le Pen is facing is in and of itself an instance of history repeating itself. With the recent migrant crisis and economic pressures Europe is facing, in many ways this xenophobic rebranding can be likened to the party in the 1980s era as it doubled down on race lines in order to promote its populist rhetoric. Indeed, the similarities in anti-immigration stances from the past echo in the words of the FN as it transitions into the Rassemblement National (a name that in and of itself has ties to fascism).



## Chapter 5 - Conclusions

This thesis has investigated Marine Le Pen's Lyonnaise speech. In this speech, Le Pen attempts to rebrand the FN during a nationally broadcast speech that lasted fifteen minutes. The speech had three main parts: a persona-based discussion of the FN and its history, a section that focused on the similarities between the FN and other international populist parties, and then the rebrand of the party itself. The first move was short, at roughly three and a half minutes, and differentiated Marine Le Pen's time as head of the FN from her father's tenure at its helm. The middle, and largest, section of the speech's an ode to neighboring populists and an invitation for like-minded transnationalists to band together. The final section is only a few minutes long and denotes the party shifting from the Front National to Rassemblement National as well as an overhaul of the logo.

Marine Le Pen's Lyonnaise speech helped solidify her role in international politics while internationalizing a previously nationalistic group. All the while, Le Pen is able to maintain her party's central advocacy. In so doing, Le Pen contributed to a significant shift in representations of French Populism by showing that the group she leads is open to international collaboration for the first time in its history. Additionally, this address shows that the FN, previously a fringe party, has gained staying power and is now a major political force within the French arena. Capitalizing on Le Pen's support in the presidential election the year preceding this speech, the Lyonnaise address is truly a transformative moment for the FN.

On a broader scale, the FN's rebranding speech shows the ways in which nationalistic parties like the FN can grow and spread across borders. Le Pen's Lyonnaise address speech marks a shift in how France is operating in European geopolitics and hints at larger shifts happening in the region. Within her speech, Le Pen welcomes countries like Italy, Germany,

Poland, Britain, and other nations with populist representation as allies. In this move, she bolsters her party by accepting their support and strengthens their appeal in the process. The implication that is left at the end of the speech is that there is strength in numbers, and the populists have both. Marine Le Pen utilizes her speech in Lyon to change the game for French populism. However, Le Pen's influence is not limited to Europe. Rather, her orientation to French populism has an express influence on how populism is conceived worldwide.

### **The Journey to International**

This thesis employed a mixed approach drawing from the rhetorical study of presidential address, a Leffian rhetorical reading, ideological criticism, and visual rhetorical criticism. I used a triangulated approach of ideological criticism, presidential address, and rhetorical reading to allow concise exploration of the speech's themes. The utility of such a mixed-method approach is the ability to analyze the varied components presented by the Lyonnaise address. A rhetorical reading allowed me to look at the history and context surrounding the speech (Leff "Textual" 360) which enriched and deepened the impact the first section of the rebranding speech, which focused largely on Marine utilizing her and her father's persona and work with the FN to situate herself as important to the party's success. Driven by these approaches, my primary focus was on 1) how Marine Le Pen's deployed her populist persona as a rhetorical device and 2) how populism shifted from nationalistic to transnational within the speech. As evidenced by chapters two and three, my rhetorical reading of the FN's rebranding speech differed in a few key ways. Given that this speech was nearly fifteen minutes long, my rhetorical reading departed from a line by line approach advocated by Leff (Leff "Textual"; Leff "Things"; Warnick). I was convinced by Starkey that the practice of rhetorical reading influenced by the other fields ought to result in pull out quotes to highlight themes as the speech guides them (Starkey 51). Thus, I

stayed true of the spirit of the rhetorical reading method, pulling thematic and central quotes and looking at them holistically when it was advantageous to do so. unpacking the content in light of Marine Le Pen's status as a politician while paying note to the themes she puts forward.

Individually these approaches do not capture the full picture of the moves Le Pen makes in this speech, but the twisting of these strands allows for a more comprehensive view of how this speech operates and influences not only France but the global discussion on populism. This work was interpretive and unpacked a series of meanings contained within the speech along with rhetorical implications therein.

Within four chapters, I explored two main inquiries: 1) how Marine Le Pen's persona effects and is presented in her Lyonnais address and 2) the ways in which this speech serves as the FN's pivot from French nationalistic populism to being a transnational populist movement. These two areas were largely the focus of the speech. The first quarter of the speech served as an identity focused recap of the party while the latter three quarters focused on the international call and actual description of the rebranding. The speech was televised to all of France and Marine is speaking in front of a live crowd. In content, the speech appears to be nearly identical to the one she gave at the FN conference in Lille, where she announced the name change to the party members, save for some changes to the audience she addresses (Toppo par. 1). The initial speech was never recorded in its entirety, but various sections were publicized by different news outlets. The similarities in the messages are of note, however, as it shows the sustained and meditated nature of the Lyonnaise address.

Given the method's emphasis on the rhetorical situation (Warren 393), this thesis first looked at the circumstances in which Marine Le Pen came to give her Lyonnaise address. The speech, which was the national announcement of the FN's decision to change their name to

Rassemblement National, came off the heels of Le Pen suffering a crushing loss to now President Emmanuel Macron. Despite the loss, the FN and Le Pen had achieved a momentous win: their minority party had made it to the final two of the presidency for the first time in history. Additionally, it was the first time two minority party candidates (Macron is also not a mainstream politician) were the frontrunners in a French election (Guo par. 3). That in and of itself puts the FN in a scenario unique from previous election years. The fact that two minority parties were the frontrunners shows that the voters of France are looking for something outside the typical centrist government of old. And now, with the rebrand, the RN will have international backing moving forward. Despite their ultimate loss, they gained clout as a party and more supporters than any other moment in FN history.

Throughout the presidential campaign, other right-wing nationalistic populist parties had voiced their support for the FN but were largely ignored by the insular group. President Donald Trump and Brexit leader Theresa May had both indicated interest in helping Marine Le Pen reach her goals but were ignored by the French populist leader (Blake par. 2). Studies even indicated that the Twitter campaigns from foreign supporters had little to no impact on the outcome of the French elections themselves. While the tweets were engaged with, they were mostly being circulated outside of France and the candidate they were catered towards, Marine Le Pen, never acknowledged them. After the failure to secure the presidency, however, there was a distinct shift in party strategy: the FN no longer shunned its international supporters.

The welcoming of international support is significant given the type of populist party the FN seemed to be up until the Lyonnaise address. As with all populist parties, the FN is a political group that defines themselves as fighting for the people against the government (Stavrakakis 4). For the FN, this means that Le Pen actively demonizes the Macron presidency within her speech,

calling on the native Frenchman to oppose certain administration's policies like immigration and certain fiscal ideals. In addition, there are a few subcategories of populism that are applicable to the FN, namely: right-wing, New, and nationalistic. As a form of right-wing populism, the party has a focus on immigration and cultural concerns (Pipes 31). Unlike the left-wing of populism, which postures fiscal policy as the heart of problems in society (Kompatsiaris 69), the FN blames many of the issues Frenchmen face on immigrants. The New Populist element means the FN inserts themselves into their constituents, which is evidenced in the FN by Marine Le Pen's frequent use of the royal 'we' as she makes appeals (Canovan 248). Finally, prior to the speech in Lyon, the FN was nationalistic. This meant that their advocacy was filtered through a regional lens (Naxera and Krcal 196), making the establishment France's government and the people the French. These three labels paired together further separated the French into two categories: native French citizens and foreign-born citizens or immigrants.

The Lyonnaise address transitioned the final label, nationalistic, to transnationalistic. Transnational populist groups operate in a similar way to nationalists, but are not confined to geographical borders (Moffitt; Mammone, Godin, and Jenkins; Panayotu). In this way, the French versus foreigner mentality shifted to be a European versus foreigner conception. A large swath of the Lyonnaise address operated by making the FN not a solely French-centric group. Le Pen's speech emphasized the French ties to other international populist groups. She gave an ode to other populist movements in Prague, Italy, the UK and other groups she perceived to be like minded. She commended their actions and then likens their struggle to that of France. In these movements, she built up the EU as serving as an oppressor to these groups. She bound together her intended audience: the average European. She then called on them to work together to take

down the EU. This truly shows an embodiment of transnational populism and a now international FN.

The FN has always met the populist criterion of being anti-establishment and attempting to enact change through the French populace although the focus of their advocacy has shifted throughout the years. A major shift can be seen from the mainly economic based advocacy under Jean-Marie (which invoked a more left-wing feel to the party) to more social concerns under Marine. In its founding, early party members advocated primarily for more jobs for French born citizens (Singer 173). Their arguments were decidedly populist, but may be categorized according to fiscal, left-wing populistic as Jean-Marie was highly concerned with regulations on the job market and foreign goods (Eatwell 13-14). He built his persona around these ideals and that persona drove the first era, for lack of a better term, of the FN.

It isn't a shock that a party would shift over 45 years and a transition to a new leader. Jean-Marie Le Pen founded the FN under a very different political context than the one Marine Le Pen operates within. Jean-Marie started the party in a fairly economically strained post-war France that was just welcoming in larger amounts of immigrants (Bertossi 432). Additionally, he didn't have to concern himself being fact checked, as France had outlawed the keeping of race-based statistics or gathering race data (Hargreaves 103). The party was insular and these aforementioned factors allowed them to be. These elements contributed to how he constructed his persona and built up his legacy, as evidenced in chapter three. But, the era of Jean-Marie quite literally passed as Marine, nearly four decades after the parties founding, took over. In many ways, the influx of immigrants is something Marine deals with as well, but on a more global scale. The 2000s have saw a huge influx in naturalized migrant workers in France and Europe (Bertossi 432). The European migrant crisis brought thousands of immigrants into

Europe (France included) and allowed them free travel across Europe's Schengen zone (Berezin 216). This influx is referenced in the Lyonnaise address as Marine references, "the quiet dispersion of thousands of migrants from Paris and throughout the Ile-de-France." Le Pen blames Macron's poor policy choices on their presence. It's not surprising, then, that the modern party focusses on how immigration and the current administration are causing negative impacts on France (and now Europe) as a whole. Much of their advocacy seeks to expel these groups, immigrants and the current administrations both nationally and in the EU, from power and the geographic border (Boudillion; Alduy; Mayer; Shields).

Under Marine Le Pen, the embracing of transnational populism becomes explicit as it was set up in the shifts shown in the Lyonnaise address. The first was a transition from the age of Jean-Marie to Marine Le Pan and the second was a shift to the FN becoming focused on international politics. Over the course of fifteen minutes, Marine Le Pen invites the audience to join a cause that seeks to liberate oppressed Europeans from the structures the EU places upon them. As she does this, she places French problems at the heart of this movement, playing the line between nationalism and transnationalism.

One of the key claims of this thesis is that Marine Le Pen was uniquely positioned to undertake this rebranding effort. Chapter three, therefore, focused on the rhetorical persona of Le Pen and the FN's founder, Jean-Marie. Persona is the constructed identity that a person cultivates and utilizes along lines of biography, ideology, and how they are situating themselves in society (Ware and Linkugel 50). Jean-Marie Le Pen's personal history served as rhetorical scaffolding for a burgeoning FN. Early on in his career, he became known for being someone who pulled himself up by his bootstraps, escaping a life of poverty as an orphaned boy by getting a law degree (Nossiter par. 13). For the type of populist party the FN was at the time, this allowed him

to effectively resonate his message with the common people, who viewed him as one of their own. Specifically, this chapter built up the begins of the FN as an anti-establishment party largely focused on fiscal concerns under the persona of Jean-Marie, who utilized his own life story to focus party on the inadequacies of the French job market for impoverished Frenchmen (Singer 173). Jean-Marie was the guiding force for the FN. He built the party around his persona and the policies reflected that (Singer; Nossiter; Stockemer and Amengay; Byrne). It wasn't until Marine came along that the party began to shift from her father's bombastic nature to her more subtle and better received mannerisms via the agency her persona gave her.

In the Lyonnaise address, Marine Le Pen used her own persona to transition the FN from Jean-Marie centric to a version of the party that placed her in an integral role moving forward. Chapter three primarily served to elaborate on the vague references Marine makes to her father's legacy and show how she uses her identity as an *ethos*-based appeal within this address. The rebrand is an external signifier of the change she has done internally to the party. She literally referred to the time her father ruled and her reign as "eras" (Le Pen), implying that the two personas are not only literally divided along chronological lines, but that they cannot mutually exist. For one Le Pen to lead, the other must be left behind. In order to drive that point home, Marine builds up the difference between the two eras by constantly emphasizing how each is an epoch and distinctly different in nature (Le Pen). The difference is in the living persona behind the party, as evidenced by chapter three. This section of the speech relied on political savvy regarding the history of the party and Marine's political career.

Jean-Marie was instrumental in the founding of the FN and Marine readily acknowledged his time at the helm of what is now her party. She discussed how the era of the FN that was led by Jean-Marie is now obsolete and called her supporters to step into a new era. There is an

emphasis on the dawning of a new age and leaving the past behind (Le Pen). Marine herself then reminds the crowd of how she specifically is integral to the FN's future success. In many ways, this speech is a culmination of her takeover from her father. With the Lyonaise address, she completely departs from his version of the party to a literally new party. The FN is abandoned, and the RN is presented to the world.

Within this opposition to the current French administration, Le Pen builds a specific view of what it means to be French and who exactly she is calling upon: white identifying Frenchmen (Juge and Perez 199). Time and time again she characterizes immigration as a dangerous and negative thing that threatens French lifestyle. This is something that is compounded by the lack of objective demographic data that exists in France as outlined by chapter four. All mention of race was outlawed in the 1960s (Moschel 204). Given Le Pen's positionality as wealthy and status as a white female adds an underlying ethos to her words and brands the type of France the FN envisions. In fact, she utilizes these characteristics, mostly her ethnic whiteness, to form international ties across Europe.

In the latter half of the speech in Lyon, Le Pen begins describing her reasoning for why the party must rebrand and finally paints a picture as to what the rebrand looks like. She indicates two major shifts that this thesis unpacks: 1) a willingness and eagerness to seek international allies and 2) a replacement of the party's longstanding logo. She calls to many other nations and promises that the party is now "suited to being in power and striking alliances" (Bremner par. 3). Again, her advocacy is largely unchanged. The FN still is anti-establishment and anti-immigrant. The main difference is it is now immigration to Europe that is problematized and the establishment of the EU that is oppressive, not just Macron and his flunkies. She uses similar advocacy, but contextualizes it as an international issue, not a just a French one. This aids in the

FNs transition from nationalistic populism to transnational populism. In this move she positions the FN as integral to the multinational resistance within the EU structure.

The oration and shift are rhetorically made stronger by the presence of Steve Bannon at the FN's rally. The fact that an American with explicit ties to the Trump administration is present, let alone speaking, reifies the parties move to being an international political actor. Further this with the fact that Bannon has ties to a national news organization that is actively trying to spread far-right ideology across international borders (Slocum 17) and a distinctive picture begins to emerge: populists are seeking one another out. If the implication wasn't enough, Le Pen verbalizes it as she gives her Lyonnaise address. Chapter four of this thesis outlines those internationalizing moves and serves as further evidences these internationalizing movements. This implies that the change happening within the FN is not isolated, but rather that the FN could be one of many populist groups making the same move to the international.

One of the more intricate moves this speech comes in the logo for the FN. The description of the logo shift comes as a culminating moment, situated after the buildup of international ties and just before the new name itself is revealed. Here Le Pen emphasizes the many hours and experts that crafted the logo. She invites the audience to analyze it and indicates there is meaning to be unpacked from within its slender, curvaceous flames. The visual shift in many ways brings forward new implications to the FN standard. The color of the background deepens to a Prussian blue akin to the one used on the EU flag. The flame, previously borderless, is now nearly encompassed by a circle that is reminiscent, again, to the stars on the EU flag. The letters "RN" break the circle to the right of the frame. This image makes it seem like 1) France is at the center of the EU and 2) the RN flame will break through the oppressive EU borders. What

moves Le Pen makes verbally in previous sections of her speech are visually represented on the new flag logo.

While Le Pen had largely ignored the surrounding populist groups during her campaign, she rhetorically ties herself and her party to them in this speech. Throughout the speech she shifts the FN's longstanding call of "France for the Frenchman" to "Europe for the Europeans." She references other populist parties (like the League in Italy) throughout her speech and likens the French struggles to theirs. She decries the injustice that other countries have suffered, Italy in particular, and offers sympathy. The majority of her references, however, are to predominately white countries (Italy, Prague, Greece, etc.). This may not seem novel, given that Europe is predominately white, but the lack of sympathy and concern for displaced refugees is alarming. Le Pen begins to ally herself and her party, but in ways that are problematic to a unified Europe.

This shift shows the ways in which the FN speech moved beyond New Populism and a nationalistic identity to embrace its new transnational populist identity as the RN. This form of populism expands readily beyond a country's borders and focuses on broader themes of oppression from governmental structures (Blokker 345). In this case, Marine Le Pen's grievances with the French administration are rhetorically tied to similar situations across Europe and the definition of who the oppressor is expands to be the European Union structures itself. This rhetorical move calls on other leaders and citizens beyond France to recognize the "oligarchical" and "tyrannical" underpinnings of the geopolitics of Western Europe and ties Europeans together as one group (Le Pen).

In this way, the branding change from the FN as a French populist group to the RN as an international populist player is solidified. The FN becomes the RN and takes its message to a broader audience. Globalization and easier access borders which sought to unite a world result in

a culminating moment where populist parties seek to band together. Marine Le Pen's Lyonnaise address exemplifies the transnational change. In a short amount of time, the game is changed and it isn't just Macron who has to be worried by the popularity of France's far-right. One of the more insular political spheres, much like the circle in the RN logo, is busted wide open.

### **Implications**

Populism, at least as it exists in France, is changing. While the content of the FN's speeches and ideas don't seem to be experiencing a radical shift, the reception and delivery of said content has shifted. With the factors like rising immigration and economic downturns showing no signs of going anywhere, it is unlikely that Le Pen will not continue to posture herself as a solution to the problems that arise with each of these respective issues. The Lyonnaise address is the inciting moment for the modern era of the France's far-right party. It indicates the moment the FN ceased to exist and the RN took its place. Examining the words that shaped this change have implications beyond simply the moniker being used to discuss the party, showing potential motivations driving the party as it impacts a larger scope than ever before.

### **Real World Changes**

Domestically, the work Le Pen does in this speech to distinguish her persona from her father's allows her to truly come into her own as a politician. In news coverage and reports on the RN, Marine stands alone. Whereas she was once considered a puppet to the FN's old guard, to the point the press literally called her Jean-Marine (Boudillion par. 3), she is now just Marine Le Pen. Since the Lyonnaise address connects her personality as integral to the party, by rebranding the Front National to Rassemblement National she rebrands herself as well. She becomes her own person, a standalone politician. While there may be occasional mentions of her father, most articles recognize that the leader of the RN is the one calling the shots and don't mention Jean-

Marie (Tesson; Fouquet and Viscusi; Momatz and Kayali; McGuinness). The change in era she mentions in her address seemingly has begun.

This shift has also resulted in Marine Le Pen becoming a new and more credible threat to the current administration, Emmanuel Macron. Macron and Le Pen's parties faced off to secure a seat in the 2019 elections for European Parliament. Whereas the last time Le Pen and Macron faced off her party won by nearly 30%, the RN won the EU seat by only 1% (Hamond par. 3). The FN was a small threat, the RN is now an equal. The party is neck and neck with the ruling administration and is now prompting Macron to make changes. French Prime Minister Edouard Philippe even acknowledges that Le Pen can no longer be ignored, saying:

Election after election [the RN] becomes more deeply rooted in the French political landscape, to the point of becoming one of the main political forces...It is not enough to speak of anger, rejection or crisis. The extreme right is consolidating its position, and many of our compatriots have the impression it is time to turn inward and adopt extreme solutions (Marlowe par. 8).

French leaders recognize that the RN is now a contender. Le Pen's promises in the Lyonnaise address that the rebranding will allow them to finally take on the structures that supposedly oppress them seemingly are happening.

More than just rebranding the party, the Lyonnaise address also in many ways rebrands populism as conceptualized by the FN. Since its founding by Jean-Marie, the party was hyper nationalistic. The party focused on French advocacy and solely French concerns. Marine Le Pen, initially, seemed to keep in that vein, rejecting the advances of other populist parties who wanted to offer their support. This speech, however, shows Marine expand the scope of her populist ideals.

This address shows the globalizing move of populism in the transformation where the French focus shifts to become European focused. This enlargement oddly doesn't change the

type of rhetorical moves Le Pen uses within her address. She almost seamlessly replaces a French-centric term with an internationally focused one for similar moves, but larger scales. For example, early on in the Lyonnaise address Marine discusses Macron's fiscal policy saying, "in history we have seen a people finances diminish from the Presidents own submersion, to now experience impoverishment" (Le Pen). Later she makes almost the same argument but instead of referencing Macron she references the EU administrators of Brussel's and instead of a French focused policy she inserts the current stance of the European Union on immigration (Le Pen). Even her shift of taking back "France for France" effortlessly expands into "Europe for Europe."

The FN, an exemplar for nationalistic populism, shifting to a transnational group so effortlessly shows the potential for a major shift in global geopolitics. In the past, a lot of populist groups rarely influenced political elections outside their home countries, but recently there has been an increasing shift to internationally minded populist groups. The shift in how these populist groups are operating is so great that the term transnationalism was coined to refer to such a phenomenon (Moffitt; Mammone, Godin, and Jenkins; Panayotu; Bandy). The Lyonnaise address shows how mechanistically populism's core ideologies can be rescaled by politicians to great effect. The surrounding context of the address, Bannon's speech, also shows that Le Pen is not the only one who has realized this move. Breitbart, Bannon's former company, intentionally began translating websites and catering to far-right foreign markets in an attempt to "amplify their anti-globalist, anti-elite message" (Slocum 17). Whether or not this latest shift has anything to do with their efforts, it is evident that insular groups are beginning to ascend to larger scale discussions.

The idea of an internationalizing nationalism is furthered by the fact that other countries that Le Pen calls out in this speech are also responding to the French call for an anti-EU coalition

amongst nationalist parties. After the RNs strong showing in the EU parliament elections 2019, where they beat out President Macrons party for a seat (Hamond par. 1), other country leaders spoke out about Le Pen in ways that mirror this speeches rhetoric. Matteo Salvini, leader of the Italian League who was given a shout out by Le Pen in her Lyonnaise address, commends Le Pens leaderships and expresses a confidence that Eurosceptic parties will unite to be a force to be reckoned with in the next five years (Nogier par. 18). This is especially significant given that the populist alliance, which has dubbed themselves “the European Alliance of Nations” has branded themselves with the cry of “saving Europe from Europe,” directly ripping this phrase (amongst others) from Le Pen’s Lyonnaise address (Momatz par. 3). This shows that the Lyonnaise address not only was a spark for a growing populist movement in France, but is still impacting the geopolitics of the region today.

In this position, Le Pen’s party will get a direct say in EU policy that is enacted for the next two years. As the Lyonnaise address indicates a willingness to aid and partner with other populist groups, this could affect the negotiations between the British administration and the EU governing groups as they negotiate a Brexit. In fact, the term Frexit, referring to a French exit a la Britain, has been used aggressively alongside Marine’s sustained notoriety following this speech (Langfitt; McGrath; Mortimer; Bet). The majority of articles containing the term Frexit highlight Macron’s low polling ratings and explicit fear of a call for France exiting the EU. In all of them the RNs success as a party and Marine Le Pen’s popularity is at the forefront of the discussion.

Le Pen’s rhetorical prowess has earned her notoriety beyond Europe. Other entities and populist leaders are recognizing her and looking to her as an example of a successful populist leader. One reporter even dubs her “the Donald Trump of France” (Valat par. 1). The US

president is often called the leader of the free world and holds a huge amount of influence. For Le Pen to be compared to such a figure implies she too has far reaching influence. Additionally, the comparison to this particular president is notable in that President Trump is a controversial figure who make waves internationally. The willingness to make international allies creates a likeness of Le Pen being a personality larger than just a French politician. She is recognized as having, often controversial, influence (Stan; Alduy; Bremmer; Langfitt). In many ways, this notoriety and the articles recognizing her are markedly after the Lyonais address. The speech serves as a catapult that launches the party and politician from France to the international sphere. This is harkened in the quotes that the media pulls from Le Pen's speeches, which tend to highlight her power, stances, and bold assertions.

Luckily for Macron, it would seem that so far Marine Le Pen is holding true to her Lyonaise address and is not calling for a Frexit, but rather, a banding together of far-right parties (Adler; Bremmer; Stan). The rhetorical moves she makes within the address seem to be coming into fruition. After the election of 2019, leaders she gave shout outs to publicly acknowledged her. The inclusion of Bannon gave her clout beyond the EU borders, even though she did distance herself after the relationship had served its purpose (Stan par. 3). She now finds herself leading a coalition of populist members as they infiltrate EU politics and seek to take down the European government from within. Truly, in the months following the Lyonaise address Le Pen has begun her work of changing Europe for Europe. Her moves within the speech are coming to fruition.

### **Contributions and Importance**

This research is novel in that it looks at a very recent campaign that only exists in French and brings the subject matter into a comprehensible package for English-speaking audiences.

The translation of the speech is original work that can allow future scholarship based off of its transcription. Texts and artifacts like the one examined in this paper need to be examined through a wider variety of lenses and this work is only possible if a scholar can first access the text in a language they can understand. Given the international and racial implications, this is a contribution that can help fill gaps in literature surrounding French politics.

While doing so, this thesis also offers insight into the geopolitics of Europe as it pertains to populism. This is especially important as the populist wave in Europe not only effects US allies, but the US itself. The fact that Bannon was invited to speak to the members of the FN should not go unnoticed. The many calls to other leaders within Europe indicate a growing movement that is almost unprecedented in non-wartime scenarios. Populism has always existed in ebbing and flowing waves but rarely has it shown this sort of lasting power for sustained political movements in such a transnational fashion. Le Pen's Lyonnaise address serves as the trumpets calling attention to the populist shifts that may exist elsewhere—including in the United States.

Additionally, given how recently the rebrand occurred, this speech helps update the growing body of literature on French populism. The FN party has been around for quite some time and a plethora of articles exist on Jean-Marie Le Pen, but research on Marine Le Pen's work in politics remains paltry in comparison. This may be because she only recently came into her own and academia moves slowly in matters of publishing. Regardless, this paper adds a new chapter to the novel that is the FN as it transitions into a new entity.

Aside from the changes to the RN that I elaborated on, this research also reveals a coalescing of far-right movements in Europe. Le Pen's transition shows how nationalistic parties shifting to a more national stance can empower their movement. The legitimacy the RN gains

with this speech allows them to take bolder stances but have support. Instead of being disregarded for xenophobia, they have thousands of other populists with similar beliefs that allow them to have a platform. One, again, that is making waves within France and throughout Europe (Nogier; Hamond; Marlowe). Examining how the RN did this could inspire other populist parties to follow or be a visible instance of how the far right might continue to rise as more and more populist narratives crop up globally.

Ideologically, this thesis examines how views like those the RN holds can grow in popularity and reach. In becoming transnationalistic, the focus of the party is on the failings of the EU. The hate-filled rhetoric that these parties tend to espouse becomes stabilized. This network that is created gives individuals that might otherwise hide their xenophobic or nationalistic ideals a space to be seen, heard, or even radicalized. In fact, in 2019, more people globally than ever before are accessing populist content (Fletcher par 12). The boundaries of where people get their information is expanding. A country by country analysis found that more European countries are turning to spaces like social media and consuming this type of content (Antheaume, Fletcher, Kalogeropoulos, Nielson, and Newman). This allows the effect of stabilization as isolated populists individuals are able to access a network of support and grow their ideology. With this information and the RNs exemplar, there is a potential for extreme populist growth.

In many ways, the election of Donald Trump in America also holds implications for the effect this shift could produce. It is theorized that Trump didn't win a huge number of existing voters, but rather mobilized voters who were previously not represented by candidates (Malone par. 2). Similarly, the Brexit vote was a gambit by then PM David Cameron who never expected the referendum to pass, but saw the polls flooded with a large number of people who normally

don't vote (Shaw, Smith and Scully 1021). As populism grows and stabilizes, the ability to get voters who feel disenfranchised to go to the polls also grows. The likelihood of their support does as well as the optics of international populist coalitions show widespread support. This is shown by how elected populists like Trump (or ones with increased popularity like Le Pen) are now actively reaching out and trying to support one another.

Research like this one can help academics understand and mitigate these ideologies. Even the terminology used to describe populist movements that transcends borders, transnationalism, is new and developing. Without inquiries like the one this thesis conducts with the Lyonnaise address, it is very possible that populist candidates continue to gain seats and power. Given the ideologies these groups embody, this could be detrimental to the well-being of foreign-born citizens, refugees, and asylum seekers. Understanding how they are spreading (as well as what they are spreading) is necessary for combatting them.

### **Limitations**

This thesis is limited in a variety of ways. First, rhetorical readings are inherently interpretive in nature. This means there is an element of authorial influence in the findings of Leff's rhetorical reading is more prominent than in a more objective form of research (Lamb 44). That doesn't mean, however, that this thesis' findings are incorrect. Rather they represent one interpretation of the speech, of which there are many. A different author may read the Lyonnaise address and be guided to different elements based on their background and write a thesis with an entirely different focus.

Additionally, there is a cultural divide between the researcher and the speech in question. Marine Le Pen is first and foremost a French woman who for the majority of her career focused solely on the needs of her fellow Frenchmen for the majority of her career. As such, certain

colloquial terms and references could have more nuance that could escape the researcher. Many of the references in this speech are reliant on knowledge of what is happening in the French legislature or relies on history of French politics. To someone who did not grow up learning about those histories, analysis of this speech is complicated. The researcher for this thesis took steps to prevent those gaps by conducting extensive research beyond the scope of the speech, as is mandated by Leff's rhetorical reading. Steps were taken to make sure that the party's history, recent political stances, and affiliations were addressed in background literature reviews to provide the most accurate depiction of the party.

In this vein, there is an additional barrier in the language. Translation work always requires decisions on wording and grammar to convey content. Since the researcher is the one who did the translation work, there is a potential for slightly different interpretations. In a close rhetorical reading this could be a significant change to the findings. The fluency level of the author of this thesis helps mitigate this harm, but further research by bilingual scholars backing this thesis findings is necessary. Preferably, local scholar's native in French are needed to avoid any limitations in understanding for the Lyonnaise address.

Furthermore, this speech only looked at the Lyonnaise address as opposed to a longer span of time and speeches. A more comprehensive approach might expand the scope of research to include other speeches and rallies to look at consistency across messages or how the message was received. This limitation is in part due to how difficult it is to find comprehensive recordings of the FN rallies and speeches. Additionally, there are barriers in access as most transcribed recordings still need to be translated or are behind paywalls.

## Further Study

This thesis does warrant further research into the populist wave that exists across Europe as a unified, but complex, front. While there are plenty of country specific case studies in the literature and cited throughout the arguments made within this endeavor, few scholars look at the various populist movements as interconnected. More often than not, scholars write that there is a populist wave that is happening and then fail to describe the nuances or implications of such a wave. More research into a broader conception of populism as a multi-national effort are needed to see how different geographic groups may or may not be contributing to a larger multinational movement.

Given that this thesis indicates the FN is looking to form allegiances with other countries across Europe, this is an especially important focus for future papers. Additionally, in the literature review section show that populist parties all around the world are seeking out support from one another in ways that could be novel. The implications of media as it pertains to populism as a unifying factor across national borders has yet to be fully unpacked by rhetorical and political scholars alike. It is possible that the rise in prominence of technology has created a way for populism, which historically has not done well in democratic elections, to sway and enrapture audiences unlike any other point in history. More research is needed to determine the correlation or causation of technology and the spread of populist ideology.

A further look into New Populism would also be indicated by the literature, especially in regard to technology. While there is a solid basis for what threads together the different groups that fall underneath this category, there is again gaps on how these groups are interconnected. The internet could very well be the mechanism through which populism trends towards the transnational. The internet allows an open platform through which ideologies can spread.

Explanations to how the same brand of populism can be found across very different cultural contexts needs to be researched and developed to help aid in conceptions of how this ideology manifests.

Another potential area for future study lies in the ways in which media and specifically the increase of technology might contribute to the rhetorical situation regarding far-right populist parties. As indicated by the literature review and analysis of this thesis, social media is playing an increasing role transnationally to connect extremist ideologies (Littler and Feldman 511). The internet allows access to these groups nearly instantaneously. There is a potential influence on political followings when groups like the FN or Brexit supporters are able to create online spaces to 1) spread ideology and 2) support one another. This shift is a growing one and while there are researchers exploring the implications of technology on politics, specific inquiry into the ways in which media is tying populist parties in Europe together specifically is lacking.

It is very possible that this increase in technology mediates not only the success of the rhetorical shift within the Lyonnaise Address as it plays out, but also the trend of nationalistic parties becoming transnational populist parties (Littler and Feldman 511). This is indicated by the prominence of leaders taking to social media and campaigning for foreign politicians (Milner; Macafee; McClurg). Technology is a uniting factor that allows likeminded individuals to enter into an online conversation that spans beyond their respective countries' borders. Looking at how media played a role in this speech or the parties rebrand could be a ripe area of analysis for future scholars. This also indicates a need for a broader scope of analysis regarding the audience.

The rise of access to such technology creates a situation where the FN may be more likely to internationalize because their voter base is becoming increasingly more global. This

thesis focuses on the speaker, but there is something to be said about an audience's receptivity being influenced by what they are seeing online as well. A study on the FN supporters' reactions to Marine Le Pen's speech could be worth investigating. Especially as technology allows for a global echo chamber, there could be implications for voting blocks that span far beyond the reach of France.

### **Final Conclusions**

All in all, the Front National (now Rassemblement National) is primed to have more effect on the international world than ever before. The group has seen unprecedented support locally and seems to be expanding their reach in order to posture themselves as an international political player. With similar support for populist groups across the globe, it is important to understand the ways in which populism functions and shifts. Although this thesis was focused on one moment within the FN's rebranding, it still holds valuable insight as to what the future of French politics might look like and, to an extent, the surrounding regions. The speech Marine Le Pen delivered in Lyon was only fifteen minutes long but it changed the momentum of a party nearly 50 years in the making.

As nationalistic, populist parties begin to shift to more international based forms of advocacy, awareness of what foreign politicians are advocating for is increasingly important. Already there are changes happening in the way that elections are being discussed and campaigned for. As Marine Le Pen continues to rise to prominence and buddy up with Bannon and other leaders her power will only continue to grow.

## Bibliography

- Adler, David. "Will the Radical Right Break the EU?" *The New Republic*, 23 May. 2019.  
<https://newrepublic.com/article/153964/will-radical-right-break-eu>. Accessed 18 Jun. 2019.
- Alduy, Cecile. "The Future of France's National Front: Marine Le Pen is Down but Not Out." *Foreign Affairs*, 01 Feb. 2018. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/france/2018-02-01/future-frances-national-front>. Accessed 18, Oct. 2018.
- Almeida, Dimitri. "Exclusionary Secularism: The Front national and the Reinvention of Laicite." *Modern & Contemporary France*, vol. 25, no. 3, 2017, pp. 249-263. doi: 10.1080/09639489.2016.1272561.
- Anderson, Karrin Vasby. "Forum on the 2016 Presidential Primary: Rhetoric, Identity, and Presidentiality in the Post-Obama Era [Special Section]." *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, vol. 20, no. 3, 2017, pp. 489-555.  
[search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=mzh&AN=2017874299&site=ehost-live](http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=mzh&AN=2017874299&site=ehost-live).
- Antheaume, Alice, Richard Fletcher, Antonis Kalogeropoulos, Rasmus Kleis Nielson, and Nic Newman. "Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2019." *Reuters*, 2019, pp. 5-153.  
[https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2019-06/DNR\\_2019\\_FINAL\\_1.pdf](https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2019-06/DNR_2019_FINAL_1.pdf). Accessed 20 Jun. 2019.
- Aslanidis, Paris. "Is Populism an Ideology? A Refutation and a New Perspective." *Political Studies*, vol. 64, 2016, pp. 88-104. doi:10.1111/1467-9248.12224.
- Aslanidis, Paris. "Populism as a Collective Action Master Frame for Transnational Mobilization." *Sociological Forum*, vol. 33, no. 2, 2018, pp.443-464. doi: 10.1111/socf.12424.

- Balthazar, Ana Carolina. "Made in Britain: Brexit, Teacups, and the Materiality of the Nation." *American Ethnologist*, vol. 44, no. 2, 2017, pp. 220–240. doi: /abs/10.1111/amet.12471.
- Bandy, Joe. "Reterritorializing Borders: Transnational Environmental Justice Movements on the U.S./Mexico Border." *Race, Gender & Class*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1997, pp. 80-103. [https://www.jstor.org/stable/41674850?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/41674850?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents).
- Beaman, Jean. "Are French People White? Towards an Understanding of Whiteness in Republican France." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, November 2018, pp. 1-17. doi: 10.1080/1070289X.2018.1543831.
- Beardsley, Eleanor. "Marine Le Pen's 'Brutal' Upbringing Shaped Her Worldview." *NPR*. 21 Apr. 2017. <https://www.npr.org/2017/04/21/525110143/marine-le-pens-brutal-upbringing-shaped-her-worldview>. Accessed 11 Oct. 2018.
- Bertossi, Christophe. "The Performativity of Colour Blindness: Race Politics and Immigrant Integration in France, 1980–2012." *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 46, no. 5, 2012, pp. 427–444. doi: 10.1080/0031322X.2012.718163.
- Berezin, Mabel. *Illiberal Politics in Neoliberal Times: Culture, Security and Populism in the New Europe*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Press, 2009.
- Bet, Martina. "End of EU: Could FREXIT Happen in 3 Years With Marine Le Pen?" *Express*, 9 Apr. 2019. <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1111867/eu-news-news-france-frexit-emmanuel-macron-marine-le-pen-european-parliament-elections-spt>. Accessed 18 Jun. 2019.
- Betz, Hans-George. "The New Politics of Resentment: Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe." *Comparative Politics*, vol. 25, no. 4, 1993, pp. 413-427. doi: 10.2307/422034.

- Black, Jason Edward. "Indigenizing the Rhetoric and Public Address Classroom: Memory as a Native American Discursive Tactic." *Communication Teacher*, vol. 27, no. 1, 2013, pp. 21–28. doi:10.1080/17404622.2012.737923.
- Blake, Aaron. "Trump is Now Supporting Far-Right French Candidate Marine Le Pen, for All Intents and Purposes." *The Washington Post*, 21 Apr. 2017.  
[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/04/21/trump-is-now-supporting-far-right-french-candidate-marine-le-pen-for-all-intents-and-purposes/?utm\\_term=.e8cc9b921b2e](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/04/21/trump-is-now-supporting-far-right-french-candidate-marine-le-pen-for-all-intents-and-purposes/?utm_term=.e8cc9b921b2e). Accessed 05 Dec. 2018.
- Bleich, Erik. "Race Policy in France." *Brookings*, 01 May. 2001.  
<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/race-policy-in-france/>. Accessed 24 Feb. 2019.
- Blokker, Paul. "Varieties of Populist Constitutionalism: The Transnational Dimension." *German Law Journal*, vol. 20, 2019, pp. 332-350. doi: 10.1017/glj.2019.19.
- Brechon, Pierre and Subrata Kumar Mitra. "The National Front in France: The Emergence of an Extreme Right Protest Movement." *Comparative Politics*, vol. 25, no. 1, Oct 1992, pp. 63-82. doi: 10.2307/422097.
- Bremmer, Ian. "These 5 Countries Show How the European Far-Right is Growing in Power." *Time*, 13 Sept. 2018. <https://time.com/5395444/europe-far-right-italy-salvini-sweden-france-germany/>. Accessed 18 Jun. 2019.
- Bremner, Charles. "Le Pen's Ailing Party Gets a Rebrand to Banish Past." *Times, The (United Kingdom)*, 2018, p. 43.  
[search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=n5h&AN=7EH135393062&site=ehost-live](https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=n5h&AN=7EH135393062&site=ehost-live). Accessed 18 Jun. 2019.
- Bock, Pauline. "Marine Le Pen's New Disguise." *New Statesman*, vol. 147, no. 5410, Mar. 2018,

p. 20. [search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=lfh&AN=128546754&site=ehost-live](http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=lfh&AN=128546754&site=ehost-live).

Bos, Linda, et al. "How the Media Shape Perceptions of Right-Wing Populist Leaders." *Political Communication*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2011, pp. 182-206. doi:10.1080/10584609.2011.564605.

Boudillon, Julie. "Une Femme D'Extrême Droite dans les Médias. Le cas de Marine Le Pen." *Mots. Les langages du politique*, vol. 78, no. 2, 2005, pp 79-896.  
[mots.revues.org/392#text](http://mots.revues.org/392#text).

Browne, Stephen Howard. "Michael Leff and the Return of the Rhetorical Text" *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, vol. 13, no. 4, 2010, pp. 679-687. doi: 10.1353/rap.2010.0205.

Bunker, James. "Imperialistic Ideology and the Construction of Agamben's State of Exception in the Philippine-American War." *Conference Papers -- National Communication Association*, Nov. 2007, p. 1. *EBSCOhost*,  
[search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ufh&AN=35506466&site=ehost-live](http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ufh&AN=35506466&site=ehost-live).

Buzalka, Juraj. "Europeanisation and Post-Peasant Populism in Eastern Europe." *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 60, no. 5, July 2008, pp. 757-771. doi:10.1080/09668130802085141.

Byrne, Madeleine. "Hate." *Social Alternatives*, vol. 19, no. 2, May 2000, p. 41. *EBSCOhost*,  
[search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=f5h&AN=3357225&site=ehost-live](http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=f5h&AN=3357225&site=ehost-live).

Cali, Dennis. "'Persona' in the 2012 Presidential Campaign." *Studies of Communication in the 2012 Presidential Election*, edited by Robert Denton Jr., Lexington Books: London, UK, 2014, pp. 45-74.

Campbell, James. "Marine Le Pen: A Campaign Analysis." *The Circular*, 20 Apr. 2017.  
<http://thecircular.org/marine-le-pen-a-campaign-analysis/>. Accessed 03 Apr. 2019.

- Campelo, Adriana, Robert Aitken, and Jeurgen Gnoth. "Visual Rhetoric and Ethics in Marketing of Destinations." *Journal of Travel Research*, vol. 3, no. 14, 2011. doi: 10.1177/0047287510362777.
- Canovan, Margaret. "Populism for Political Theorists?" *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 9, no. 3, Oct. 2004, pp. 241–252. doi:10.1080/1356931042000263500.
- Caurraud, Simon. "Le Pen wants France's National Front to be renamed 'National Rally.'" *Reuters*. 11 March, 2018. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-politics-lepen/le-pen-wants-frances-national-front-to-be-renamed-national-rally-idUSKCN1GN0L7>. Accessed 28 Nov. 2018.
- Chauvin, Sébastien, Vianca Garces-Mascarenas, and Albert Kraler. "Working for Legality: Employment and Migrant Regularization in Europe." *International Migration*, vol. 51, no. 6, Dec. 2013, pp. 118-131. doi:10.1111/imig.12109.
- Chrisafis, Angelique. "Marine Le Pen's Front National Makes Political Gains After Paris Attacks." *The Guardian*. 1 Dec. 2015. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/01/marine-le-pen-front-national-political-gains-paris-attacks> . Accessed 6 Jan. 2019.
- Chrisafis, Angelique. "'The Nation State is Back': Front National's Marine Le Pen Rides on Global Mood." *The Guardian*. 12 Sep. 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/18/nation-state-marine-le-pen-global-mood-france-brex-it-trump-front-national>. Accessed 1 Oct. 2018.
- Chrisafise, Angelique. "Marine Le Pen Defeated but France's Far Right is Far from Finished." *The Guardian*, 07 May. 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/07/marine-le-pen-defeated-front-national-far-from-finished>. Accessed 03 Apr. 2019.

- Cohen, Jeffrey. "Presidential Rhetoric and the Public Agenda." *Midwest Political Science Association*, vol. 39, no. 1, Feb. 1995, pp. 87-107. Retrieved from:  
[www.jstor.org/stable/2111759](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2111759).
- Cohen, M., & Lacroix, A. "Entre Algérie et France : Écrire une Histoire Sociale des Algériens au Vingtième Siècle." *French Politics, Culture & Society*, no. 34, vol. 2, 2016, pp. 1–10.  
[www.berghahnjournals.com/downloadpdf/journals/fpcs/34/2/fpcs340201.xml](http://www.berghahnjournals.com/downloadpdf/journals/fpcs/34/2/fpcs340201.xml).
- Cook, Lorne Associated Press. "EU Lawmakers, in Unusual Move, Pull the Plug on Racist Talk." *AP Top News Package*, 26 Feb. 2017. *EBSCOhost*,  
[search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=n5h&AN=APba6390f058c749309039cb a9a4b88ecf&site=ehost-live](http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=n5h&AN=APba6390f058c749309039cb a9a4b88ecf&site=ehost-live). Accessed 02 Mar. 2019.
- Condit, Celeste. "Rhetorical Criticism and Audiences: The Extremes of McGee and Leff." *Western Journal of Speech Communication*, vol. 54, no. 3, 1990, pp. 330-345. doi:  
10.1080/10570319009374346.
- Condor, Susan, Cristian Tileaga, and Michael Billig. "Political Rhetoric." *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, edited by Huddy, L., Sears, D.O., and Levy, J.S. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 262-300.
- Croteau, David R. and William D. Hoynes. *Media/Society: Industries, images, and audiences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2014.
- DeClair, Edward. *Politics on the Fringe: The People, Policies, and Organization of the French National Front*. London: Duke University Press, 1999.
- De Cleen, Benjamin, Benjamin Moffitt, Panos Panayotu, and Yannis Stavrakakis. "The Potentials and Difficulties of Transnational Populism: The Case of the Democracy in

Europe Movement 2025 (DiEM25).” *Political Studies*, vol. 20, 2019, pp. 32-64. doi: 10.1177/0032321719847576.

Decker, Frank, and Florian Hartleb. “Populism on Difficult Terrain: The Right- and Left-Wing Challenger Parties in the Federal Republic of Germany.” *German Politics*, vol. 16, no. 4, Dec. 2007, pp. 434–454. doi:10.1080/09644000701652466.

De La Torre, Carlos. “Left-Wing Populism: Inclusion and Authoritarianism in Venezuela, Bolivia, and Ecuador.” *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, vol. 23, no. 1, Fall/Winter 2016 2016, pp. 61–76. <http://bjwa.brown.edu/23-1/left-wing-populism-inclusion-and-authoritarianism-in-venezuela-bolivia-and-ecuador/>.

Delehanty, Ann T. “Kairos and the Pascalian Model of Time and History.” *Romanic Review*, vol. 105, no. 3/4, May 2014, pp. 273–291. <http://www.questia.com/library/journal/1G1-444913281/kairos-and-the-pascalian-model-of-time-and-history>.

Delteil, Violaine and Vassil Kirov. “Européanisation Versus Déseuropéanisation Sociale: Le Sort Des Économies Périphériques Bulgare Et Roumaine.” *Relations Industrielles*, vol. 72, no. 4, Fall 2017, pp. 785-807. [search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=buh&AN=126784465&site=ehost-live](http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=buh&AN=126784465&site=ehost-live).

Djurica, Marko. “The Rise of Global Populism.” *Foreign Affairs*, 30 Oct. 2018. <https://www.cfr.org/event/rise-global-populism>. Accessed 4 Mar. 2019.

Dwyer, Katherine. “France’s New Nazis: The Resistible Rise of Jean-Marie Le Pen” *International Socialist Review*, vol. 2, 1997. <http://www.isreview.org/issues/02/LePen.shtml>

- Eatwell, Roger. "The Rebirth of Right-Wing Charisma? The Cases of Jean-Marie Le Pen and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy." *Totalitarian Movements & Political Religions*, vol. 3, no. 3, Winter 2002, p. 1. doi:10.1080/714005489.
- Elgenius, Gabriella. *Symbols of Nations and Nationalism: Celebrating Nationhood*. Palgrave McMillan: Hampshire, England, 2011.
- Epstein, Beth S. "Redemptive Politics: Racial Reasoning in Contemporary France." *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 50, no. 2, May 2016, pp. 168–187. doi:10.1080/0031322X.2016.1164434.
- Evans, Gillian. "'The Aboriginal People of England': The Culture of Class Politics in Contemporary Britain." *Focaal*, no. 62, March 2012, pp. 17–29. doi: 10.3167/fcl.2012.620102.
- "Brexit Britain: Why We Are All Postindustrial Now" *American Ethnologist*, vol. 44, no. 2, 2017, pp. 215-219. doi: 10.1111/amet.12470.
- Farte, Gheorghe-Ilie. "On the Integration of Populism into the Democratic Public Sphere." *Argumentum: Journal the Seminar of Discursive Logic, Argumentation Theory & Rhetoric*, vol. 15, no. 2, July 2017, pp. 87-109. [search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ufh&AN=124788577&site=ehost-live](http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ufh&AN=124788577&site=ehost-live).
- Feldman, Richard. "Voluntary Belief and Epistemic Evaluation." *Knowledge, Truth, and Duty: Essays on Epistemic Justification, Responsibility, and Virtue*, edited by Matthias Steup, Oxford University Press USA-OSO, 2001.
- Fernández-García, Belén, and Óscar G. Luengo. "Populist Parties in Western Europe. An Analysis of the Three Core Elements of Populism." *Communication & Society*, vol. 31, no. 3, July 2018, pp. 57–76. doi:10.15581/003.31.3.57-76.

- Finlayson, Alan. "From Beliefs to Arguments: Interpretive Methodology and Rhetorical Political Analysis." *Political Studies*, vol. 9, no. 3, 2007, pp. 545-563. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-856x.2007.00269.x.
- Finlayson, Alan. "Rhetoric and the Political Theory of Ideologies." *Political Studies*, vol. 60, no. 1, 2012, pp. 751-767. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9248.2012.00948.x.
- FitzGibbon, John and Simona Guerra. "Not Just Europeanization, Not Necessarily Populism: Potential Factors Underlying the Mobilization of Populism in Ireland and Poland." *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 11, no. 3, 2010, pp. 273-291. doi: 10.1080/15705854.2010.503033.
- Fletcher, Richard. "The Rise of Populism and the Consequences for News and Media Use." *Reuters*, Jun. 2019. <http://www.digitalnewsreport.org/survey/2019/the-rise-of-populism-and-the-consequences-for-news-and-media-use/> Accessed 20 Jun. 2019.
- Fouquet, Helene and Gregory Viscusi. "Macron Chastened as French Voters Hand Narrow Victory to Le Pen." *Bloomberg*, 26 May. 2019. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-05-26/macron-humbled-by-french-voters-as-exit-polls-show-le-pen-wins> Accessed 19 Jun. 2019.
- Foss, Sonja K. "Framing the Study of Visual Rhetoric: Toward a Transformation of Rhetorical Theory." *Defining Visual Rhetorics*, edited by Charles Hill and Marguerite Helmers, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004, pp. 303-313. [people.uncw.edu/atkinsa/496/Framing%20the%20Study%20of%20Visual%20Rhetoric.pdf](http://people.uncw.edu/atkinsa/496/Framing%20the%20Study%20of%20Visual%20Rhetoric.pdf)
- Fougere, Denis and Mirna Safi. "Naturalization and employment of immigrants in France." *International Journal of Manpower*, vol. 39, no. 8, pp 83-96. <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.517.2863&rep=rep1&type=pdf>.

France-Langue. "French Levels of CEFR." n.d. [www.france-langue.com/french-levels/](http://www.france-langue.com/french-levels/).

Accessed 31 Dec. 2018.

Fucilla, L., & Engbers, T. A. "Sounding Presidential: Frame Creation in the Obama Administration." *Congress & the Presidency*, vol. 42, no.1, 2015, pp. 50–78.

[search.ebscohost.com.er.lib.k-](http://search.ebscohost.com.er.lib.k-state.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=khh&AN=101068484&site=ehost-live)

[state.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=khh&AN=101068484&site=ehost-live](http://search.ebscohost.com.er.lib.k-state.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=khh&AN=101068484&site=ehost-live)

Galthie, Pierre. "March of the 'Populists': How Two Insiders Are Set to Redefine French

Politics." *The Courant*, 6 Mar. 2017. [https://www.thecourant.org/single-](https://www.thecourant.org/single-post/2017/04/21/March-of-the-%E2%80%9CPopulists%E2%80%9D-How-two-insiders-are-set-to-redefine-French-Politics)

[post/2017/04/21/March-of-the-%E2%80%9CPopulists%E2%80%9D-How-two-insiders-are-set-to-redefine-French-Politics](https://www.thecourant.org/single-post/2017/04/21/March-of-the-%E2%80%9CPopulists%E2%80%9D-How-two-insiders-are-set-to-redefine-French-Politics). Accessed 10 Oct. 2018.

Goodliffe, Gabriel. "From Political Fringe to Political Mainstream: The Front National and the

2014 Municipal Elections in France." *French Politics, Culture & Society*, vol. 34, no. 3,

Winter 2016, pp. 126–147. doi:10.3167/fpcs.2016.340307.

Geugeun, Nicolas, Angelique Martin, and Jordy Stefan. "Holding Your Flag: The Effects of

Exposure to a Regional Symbol on People's Behavior." *European Journal of Social*

*Psychology*, vol. 47, no. 5, 2017, pp. 539-552. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.2239.

Gherghina, Sergiu, Sergiu Miscoiu, and Sorina Soare. *Contemporary Populism: A Controversial*

*Concept and Its Diverse Forms*. New Castle, UK: Cambridge Press, 2013.

Guo, Yvonne. "French Elections: The Effect of Party Primaries, and Redefining the Left and

Right." *The Straits Times*, 17 May. 2017. [http://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/french-](http://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/french-elections-the-effect-of-party-primaries-and-redefining-the-left-and-right)

[elections-the-effect-of-party-primaries-and-redefining-the-left-and-right](http://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/french-elections-the-effect-of-party-primaries-and-redefining-the-left-and-right). Accessed 12 Oct. 2018.

Gusterson, Hugh. "From Brexit to Trump: Anthropology and the Rise of Nationalist Populism."

*Journal of the American Ethnological Society*, vol. 44, no. 2, 2017, pp. 209-214. doi:

10.1111/amet.12469.

Haijing, Tu. "From The Good Wife to Hot Mom!: An Ideological Analysis of American and

Chinese Motherhood on TV." *Intercultural Communication Studies*, vol. 25, no. 2, Sept.

2016, pp. 99 -110.

[search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ufh&AN=118972199&site=ehost-live](http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ufh&AN=118972199&site=ehost-live).

Hammond, Aron. "Emmanuelle Macron could be Europe's Antidote to the Threat of Far-Right

Populism." *Independent*, 20 Feb. 2017. [www.independent.co.uk/voices/munich-](http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/munich-conference-emmanuel-macron-french-elections-marine-le-pen-a7588181.html)

[conference-emmanuel-macron-french-elections-marine-le-pen-a7588181.html](http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/munich-conference-emmanuel-macron-french-elections-marine-le-pen-a7588181.html). Accessed

01 Mar. 2019.

Hamond, Clive. "European Elections: Macron and EU on Brink as Anti-Europe Le Pen

Dominates in France." *Express*, 27 May. 2019.

[https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1132453/European-elections-latest-Brexit-news-](https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1132453/European-elections-latest-Brexit-news-2019-france-marine-le-pen-emmanuel-macron)

[2019-france-marine-le-pen-emmanuel-macron](https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1132453/European-elections-latest-Brexit-news-2019-france-marine-le-pen-emmanuel-macron). Accessed 06 Jun. 2019.

Hargreaves, Alec G. "Empty promises? Public policy against racial and ethnic discrimination in

France." *French Politics, Culture & Society*, vol. 33, no. 3, 2015, pp. 95–115. doi:

10.3167/fpcs.2015.330305.

Hasian, Marouf. "Vectors of Traumatic Memories and Mass-Mediated Representations of the

'Last' Nazi Trial of John Demjanjuk." *Contemporary Justice Review*, vol. 17, no. 4, Dec.

2014, pp. 434–454. *EBSCOhost*, doi:10.1080/10282580.2014.980964.

Heath, Ryan. "The 40 MEPs Who Actually Matter in 2016." *Politico*, 2016.

<https://www.politico.eu/list/the-40-meps-who-actually-matter-european-parliament-mep/>.

Accessed 30 Sept. 2018.

-- "The 40 MEPs Who Actually Matter in 2017." *Politico*, 2017. [www.politico.eu/list/the-40-meps-who-matter-in-2017-the-ranking-ep40/](http://www.politico.eu/list/the-40-meps-who-matter-in-2017-the-ranking-ep40/). Accessed 30 Sept. 2018.

Hellstrom, Anders. "Brussels and Populism 1." *European Legacy*, vol. 10, no. 2, Apr. 2005, p. 217. doi:10.1080/1084877052000330729.

Herszenhorn, David M. "Marine Le Pen's National Front Rallies Behind New Name." *Politico*, 6 Feb 2018. [www.politico.eu/article/national-rassemblement-marine-le-pens-national-front-rallies-behind-new-name/](http://www.politico.eu/article/national-rassemblement-marine-le-pens-national-front-rallies-behind-new-name/). Accessed 30 Sept. 2018.

Hornblower, Margot, and Alexandra Tuttle. "France Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite? 200 Years Later, the French Are Still Quarreling about the Revolution." *Time*, vol. 133, no. 18 May. 1989, p. 48. [content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,957565,00.html](http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,957565,00.html). Accessed 03 Mar. 2019.

Igounet, Valérie, and Vincent Jarousseau. "France's Front National in Power." *Dissent*, vol. 64, no. 2, Spring 2017, p. 88.

[search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=f5h&AN=122029189&site=ehost-live](http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=f5h&AN=122029189&site=ehost-live).

Ipsos. "1er Tour Présidentielle 2017: Sociologie de L'Electorat." *Ipsos France*. 23 Apr. 2017. [www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/files-fr-fr/doc\\_associe/ipsos-sopra-steria\\_sociologie-des-electorats\\_23-avril-2017-21h.pdf](http://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/files-fr-fr/doc_associe/ipsos-sopra-steria_sociologie-des-electorats_23-avril-2017-21h.pdf). Accessed 6 Jan. 2019.

Jamin, Jerome. *L'Imaginaire du Complot : Discours d'extrême droite en France et aux Etats-Unis*. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2009.

- Jenson, Jane and Martin Papillon. "Canada: The Difficult Legacies of Left-Wing Populism." *Dissent*, vol. 45, no. 2, 1998, pp. 25-27. [www.dissentmagazine.org/article/canada-the-difficult-legacies-of-left-wing-populism](http://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/canada-the-difficult-legacies-of-left-wing-populism). Accessed 04 Jun. 2019.
- Johnson, Andre E. "Dislocations and Shutdowns: MLK, BLM and the Rhetoric of Confrontation." *Journal of Contemporary Rhetoric*, vol. 8, no. 3, July 2018, pp. 137–145. [www.researchgate.net/publication/326128525\\_Dislocations\\_and\\_Shutdowns\\_MLK\\_BLM\\_and\\_the\\_Rhetoric\\_of\\_Confrontation](http://www.researchgate.net/publication/326128525_Dislocations_and_Shutdowns_MLK_BLM_and_the_Rhetoric_of_Confrontation).
- Johnson, Daniel. "Transatlantic Misunderstandings about Populism." *New Criterion*, vol. 36, no. 5, Jan. 2018, pp. 33–37. [www.newcriterion.com/issues/2018/1/transatlantic-misunderstandings-about-populism](http://www.newcriterion.com/issues/2018/1/transatlantic-misunderstandings-about-populism).
- Jost, John T., Chadly Stern, Nicholas Rule, and Joanna Sterling. "The Politics of Fear: Is There an Ideological Asymmetry in Existential Motivation?" *Social Cognition*, vol. 35, no. 4, 2017, pp. 324-353. <https://doi.org/10.1521/soco.2017.35.4.324>.
- Juge, Tony S. and Perez, Michal P. "The Modern Colonial Politics of Citizenship and Whiteness in France." *Social Identities*, vol. 12, no. 2, March 2006, pp. 187-212. [web.b.ebscohost.com.er.lib.k-state.edu/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=1&sid=4c0cbbfb-ef3e-4e44-bdeb-b40fb559d34e%40sessionmgr102](http://web.b.ebscohost.com.er.lib.k-state.edu/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=1&sid=4c0cbbfb-ef3e-4e44-bdeb-b40fb559d34e%40sessionmgr102).
- Kalmar, Ivan. "The Battlefield is in Brussels': Islamophobia in the Visegrad Four in its Global Context." *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 52, no. 5, December 2018, pp. 406-419. doi: 10.1080/0031322X.2018.1512473.
- Karaian, Jason. "The Rise of France's Far-Right From the 1980's to Today, Charted." *Quartz*, 7 Dec. 2015. <https://qz.com/567247/the-rise-of-frances-far-right-from-the-1980s-to-today-charted/>. Accessed 12 Jun. 2019.

- Kaufmann, Erik. "Whiteshift: Populism, Immigration, and the Future of White Majorities." *Publishers Weekly*, vol. 265, no. 52, Dec. 2018, pp. 134–135. [www.publishersweekly.com/978-1-4683-1697-1](http://www.publishersweekly.com/978-1-4683-1697-1).
- Knight, Daniel M. "Anxiety and Cosmopolitan Futures: Brexit and Scotland." *American Ethnologist*, vol. 44, no. 2, 2017, pp. 237–42. [research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/handle/10023/10327](http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/handle/10023/10327).
- Koch, Insa. "Bread-and-Butter Politics: Democratic Disenchantment and Everyday Politics on an English Council Estate." *American Ethnologist*, vol. 43, no. 2, 2016, pp. 282–94. doi:10.1111/amet.12305.
- Kompatsiaris, Panos. "Contemporary Art and Left-Wing Populism: The Artist Taxi Driver as Working-Class Ideology." *Journal of Visual Art Practice*, vol. 17, no. 1, Mar. 2018, pp. 67–80. doi:10.1080/14702029.2017.1381008.
- Landler, Mark. "France Poses Biggest Test Yet For Trump's Brand of Nationalism." *New York Times*. 21 Apr. 2017, [www.nytimes.com/2017/04/21/world/europe/france-election-trump-marine-le-pen.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/21/world/europe/france-election-trump-marine-le-pen.html). Accessed 11 Dec. 2017.
- Lanfitt, Frank. "Here's Why Brexit Wasn't Followed by Frexit, Swexit, or Nexit." *NPR*, 26 Apr. 2019. [www.npr.org/2019/04/26/715926169/heres-why-brexit-wasnt-followed-by-frexit-swexit-or-nexit](http://www.npr.org/2019/04/26/715926169/heres-why-brexit-wasnt-followed-by-frexit-swexit-or-nexit) Accessed 18 Jun. 2019.
- Lamb, Mary. "Teaching Nonfiction Through Rhetorical Reading." *English Journal*, vol. 99, no. 4, 2010, p.43-49. [www.jstor.org/stable/27807165](http://www.jstor.org/stable/27807165).
- Lee, Katy. "Le Pen's Rebranding of Far-Right Party Off to Rocky Start." *The Times of Israel*, 13 Mar. 2018. [www.timesofisrael.com/le-pens-rebranding-of-far-right-party-off-to-rocky-start/](http://www.timesofisrael.com/le-pens-rebranding-of-far-right-party-off-to-rocky-start/) Accessed 18 Oct. 2018.

- Leff, Michael. "Cicero's *Pro Murena* and the Strong Case for Rhetoric," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, vol. 1, 1998, pp. 61-88. [www.jstor.org/stable/41939431](http://www.jstor.org/stable/41939431).
- Leff, Michael. "Things Made by Words: Reflections on Textual Criticism." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, vol. 78, 1992, pp. 223-231. [cpb-us-e1.wpmucdn.com/blog.umd.edu/dist/6/47/files/2012/08/Leff-11.pdf](http://cpb-us-e1.wpmucdn.com/blog.umd.edu/dist/6/47/files/2012/08/Leff-11.pdf).
- Leff, Michael. "Textual Criticism: The Legacy of G. P. Mohrmann." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* vol. 72, 1986, pp. 377-389. doi: 10.1080/00335638609383783.
- Le Congres. "Rassemblement National" <https://www.rassemblementnational.fr/le-congres/>. Accessed 30 Sept. 2018.
- Le Pen, Marine. "Changement de Nom du FN: le Discours de Marine Le Pen" *BFMTV.com*. [www.bfmtv.com/mediaplayer/video/changement-de-nom-du-fn-le-discours-de-marine-le-pen-1080192.html](http://www.bfmtv.com/mediaplayer/video/changement-de-nom-du-fn-le-discours-de-marine-le-pen-1080192.html). Accessed 17 Oct. 2018.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael and Glenn Mitchell. "French Electoral Theory: The National Front Test." *Electoral Studies*, vol. 12, no. 2, June 1993, pp 112-127. doi: [https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-3794\(93\)90013-A](https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-3794(93)90013-A). Accessed 18, Oct. 2018.
- Lipiński, Artur, and Agnieszka Stępińska. "Polish Right-Wing Populism in the Era of Social Media." *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 66, no. 1, Jan. 2019, pp. 71–82. doi:10.1080/10758216.2018.1484667.
- Littler, Mark, and Matthew Feldman. "Social Media and the Cordon Sanitaire: Populist Politics, the Online Space, and a Relationship That Just Isn't There." *Journal of Language & Politics*, vol. 16, no. 4, July 2017, pp. 510–522. doi:10.1075/jlp.17029.lit.

- Longo, Matthew. "Book Review: For a Left Populism by Chantal Mouffe." *LSE Review of Books*, 29 Aug. 2018. [blogs.lse.ac.uk/lsereviewofbooks/2018/08/29/book-review-for-a-left-populism-by-chantal-mouffe/](https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/lsereviewofbooks/2018/08/29/book-review-for-a-left-populism-by-chantal-mouffe/). Accessed 13 Oct. 2018.
- Macafee, Timothy. "The Interplay between Social Media Politics and Offline Political Participation." *American Communication Journal*, vol. 20, no. 1, Winter 2018, pp. 19–30. [search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ufh&AN=133823102&site=ehost-live](https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ufh&AN=133823102&site=ehost-live). Accessed 15 Jun. 2019.
- MacShane, David. "Europe's New Politics of Fear." *Newsweek*, vol. 155, no. 17, p. 17. <https://www.newsweek.com/europes-new-politics-fear-70291>. Accessed 04 Mar. 2019.
- Makovicky, Nicolette. "'Work Pays': Slovak Neoliberalism as Authoritarian Populism." *Focaal*, no. 67, December 2013, pp. 77–90. [www.researchgate.net/publication/272212476\\_Work\\_pays\\_Slovak\\_neoliberalism\\_as\\_authoritarian\\_populism](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/272212476_Work_pays_Slovak_neoliberalism_as_authoritarian_populism).
- Malone, Clare. "Trump's Campaign Focused on Attracting Unlikely Voters, A Memo Shows." *FiveThirtyEight* 5 Aug. 2016. [fivethirtyeight.com/features/trump-campaign-memo-unlikely-voters/](https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/trump-campaign-memo-unlikely-voters/). Accessed 15 Jul. 2019.
- Mammone, Andrea. *Transnational Neofascism in France and Italy*. Cambridge University Press, New York: NY, 2015.
- Mammone, Andrea, Emmanuel Godin, and Brian Jenkins. *Mapping the Extreme Right in Contemporary Europe: From Local to Transnational*. Routledge. New York: NY, 2012.
- Mandhai, Shafik and Ahmed El Amraoui. "Why Does Le Pen Get So Much Support from Young Voters?" *Al Jazeera* 20 Apr. 2017. [www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/04/le-pen-support-young-voters-170415161404170.html](https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/04/le-pen-support-young-voters-170415161404170.html). Accessed 14 Jun. 2019.

- March, Luke. "From Vanguard of the Proletariat to Vox Populi: Left-Populism as a "Shadow" of Contemporary Socialism." *SAIS Review*, vol. 27 no. 1, 2007, pp. 63–77. Accessed 04 Jun. 2019. [muse.jhu.edu/article/212477](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/212477).
- Marcus, Jonathan. *The National Front and French Politics: The Resistible Rise of Jean-Marie Le Pen*. New York University, New York: NY, 1995.
- Marker, Emily. "Obscuring Race: Franco-African Conversations About Colonial Reform and Racism After World War II and the Making of Colorblind France. 1945-1950." *French Politics, Culture & Society*, vol. 33, no. 3, 2015, 1–23. [www.jstor.org/stable/26378241](http://www.jstor.org/stable/26378241).
- Marlowe, Lara. "Macron Loses EU Elections to Marine Le Pen's Far-Right Party." *The Irish Times*, 26 May. 2019. <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/europe/macron-loses-eu-elections-to-marine-le-pen-s-far-right-party-1.3905215>. Accessed 19 Jun. 2019.
- Mayer, Nonna. "From Jean-Marie to Marine Le Pen: Electoral Change on the Far Right." *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 66, no. 1, 2013, pp. 160-178. [academic-oup-com.er.lib.k-state.edu/pa/article-lookup/doi/10.1093/pa/gss071](http://academic-oup-com.er.lib.k-state.edu/pa/article-lookup/doi/10.1093/pa/gss071).
- McAuley, James. "National Front's New Name Has Nazi Ring." *Toronto Star (Canada)*, 17 Mar. 2018. [search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=n5h&AN=6FPTS2018031745332486&site=ehost-live](http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=n5h&AN=6FPTS2018031745332486&site=ehost-live). Accessed 1 Oct. 2018.
- McClurg, Scott. "Social Networks and Political Participation: The Role of Social Interaction in Explaining Political Participation." *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 56, no. 4, 2003, pp. 449-464. doi: 10.1177/106591290305600407.
- McDonnel, Hugh. "How the National Front Changed France." *Jacobin*, 23 Nov. 2015. [www.jacobinmag.com/2015/11/marine-jean-marie-le-pen-national-front-immigration-elections/](http://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/11/marine-jean-marie-le-pen-national-front-immigration-elections/). Accessed 15 Jun. 2019.

McDonnell, Duncan. "Populist Leadership." *Social Alternatives*, vol. 36, no. 3, July 2017, p. 26-30. [search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=f5h&AN=126781593&site=ehost-live](http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=f5h&AN=126781593&site=ehost-live).

McGrath, Ciaran. "'We Love Your Brexit!' French Welcomed UK Leaving EU and Now Pushing for Frexit." *Express*, 11 May. 2019. [www.express.co.uk/news/world/1125595/Brexit-news-France-Frexit-Emmanuel-Macron-UK-EU-withdrawal-deal-latest-news](http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1125595/Brexit-news-France-Frexit-Emmanuel-Macron-UK-EU-withdrawal-deal-latest-news). Accessed 18 Jun. 2019.

McGuinness, Romina. "Emmanuel Macron Torn Apart by Le Pen's Deputy- 'Divide Between Patriots and Globalists.'" *Express*, 19 Jun. 2019. [www.express.co.uk/news/world/1142745/emmanuel-macron-france-news-marine-le-pen](http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1142745/emmanuel-macron-france-news-marine-le-pen). Accessed 20 Jun. 2019.

McKenzie, Paula. "An Ideological Criticism of Mary McLeod Bethune's 'Democracy' Speech." *Florida Communication Journal*, vol. 40, no. 2, Fall 2012, pp. 13–22. [search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ufh&AN=83268310&site=ehost-live](http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ufh&AN=83268310&site=ehost-live). Accessed 1 Oct. 2018.

Medhurst, Martin J. "The Text(Ure) of the World in Presidential Rhetoric." *Vital Speeches of the Day*, vol. 78, no. 6, June 2012, pp. 171–175.

[search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=khh&AN=76125479&site=ehost-live](http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=khh&AN=76125479&site=ehost-live).

Melander, Ingrid and John Irish. "France's Le Pen Wins Parliamentary Seat, Faces Turbulent Times." *Reuters*, 19 Jun. 2017. [www.reuters.com/article/us-france-election-le-pen/frances-le-pen-wins-parliamentary-seat-faces-turbulent-times-idUSKBN1990VK](http://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-election-le-pen/frances-le-pen-wins-parliamentary-seat-faces-turbulent-times-idUSKBN1990VK). Accessed 10 Oct. 2018.

- Melander, Ingrid and Simon Carraud. "National Front's Jean-Marie Le Pen Says Party Name Change is 'Suicide.'" *Reuters*, 28 Feb, 2018. [www.reuters.com/article/us-france-politics-lepen-memoirs/national-fronts-jean-marie-le-pen-says-party-name-change-is-suicide-idUSKCN1GC1VP](http://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-politics-lepen-memoirs/national-fronts-jean-marie-le-pen-says-party-name-change-is-suicide-idUSKCN1GC1VP). Accessed 23 Oct. 2018.
- Mikus, Marek. "The Justice of Neoliberalism: Moral Ideology and Redistributive Politics of Public-Sector Retrenchment in Serbia." *Social Anthropology*, vol. 24, no. 2, 2016, pp. 211–27. doi: 10.1111/1469-8676.12267.
- Milner, Henry. "Social Media Politics." *Inroads*, vol. 32, Winter 2013, pp 32-38. <https://search-proquest-com.er.lib.k-state.edu/docview/1281856983/fulltextPDF/1EBA9A103E1B4CEDPQ/1?accountid=11789>. Accessed 16 Jun. 2019.
- Mitra, Subrata. "The National Front in France – A Single Issue Movement?" *West European Politics*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1988, pp. 47-64. doi: 10.1080/01402388808424681. Accessed 15 Oct. 2018.
- Moffitt, Benjamin. "Transnational Populism? Representative Claims, Media and the Difficulty of Constructing a Transnational 'People.'" *Journal of the European Institute for Communication and Culture*, vol. 24, no. 4, 2017, pp. 409-425. doi: 10.1080/13183222.2017.1330086#.XQv5jIj0IPY.
- Mollona, Massimiliano. *Made in Sheffield: An Ethnography of Industrial Work and Politics*. New York: Berghahn, 2009.
- Momatz, Rem. "France's Far-Right Wants to Scrap European Commission." *Politico*, 19 Mar. 2019. [www.politico.eu/article/marine-le-pen-national-rally-french-far-right-wants-to-scrap-european-commission/amp/](http://www.politico.eu/article/marine-le-pen-national-rally-french-far-right-wants-to-scrap-european-commission/amp/). Accessed 15 May. 2019.

- Momatz, Rym and Laura Kayali. "Le Pen Defeats Macron Amidst Green Party Surge." *Politico*, 28 May. 2019. [www.politico.eu/article/france-far-right-beats-emmanuel-macron-green-surge/](http://www.politico.eu/article/france-far-right-beats-emmanuel-macron-green-surge/) Accessed 19 Jun. 2019.
- Mondon, Aurelien. "The Front National in the Twenty-First Century: From Pariah to Republican Democratic Contender?" *Modern & Contemporary France*, vol. 22, no. 3, July 2014, pp. 301–320. doi:10.1080/09639489.2013.872093.
- Monod, Jean C. "What is Populism?" *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, vol. 18. No. 2, 2017. [www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/21567689.2017.1328026?scroll=top&needAccess=true](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/21567689.2017.1328026?scroll=top&needAccess=true). Accessed 8 Dec. 2017.
- Mortimer, Gavin. "Emmanuel Macron's Fear of Frexit is Bad News for Britain." *The Spectator*, 18 Jan. 2019. <https://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2019/01/emmanuel-macrons-fear-of-frexit-is-bad-news-for-britain/> Accessed 18 Jun. 2019.
- Möschel, Mathias. "Race Judicata: The Ban on the Use of Ethnic and Racial Statistics in France." *European Constitutional Law Review*, vol. 5, no. 2, 2009, pp. 197–217. doi:10.1017/S1574019609001977.
- Mulholland, Rory and Henry Samuel. "Steve Bannon Endorses Front National as Far-Right Party Attempts to Rebrand." *The Telegraph*, 10 Mar. 2018. [www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/03/10/steve-bannon-speak-front-national-conference-far-right-party/](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/03/10/steve-bannon-speak-front-national-conference-far-right-party/). Accessed 23 Oct. 2018.
- Naxera, Vladimír, and Petr Krčál. "'This Is a Controlled Invasion': The Czech President Miloš Zeman's Populist Perception of Islam and Immigration as Security Threats." *Journal of Nationalism, Memory & Language Politics*, vol. 12, no. 2, 2018, pp. 192–215. doi:10.2478/jnmlp-2018-0008.

Nichols, Bill. "Ideological and Marxist Criticism: Towards a Metahermeneutics." *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, vol. 19, no. 1, Spring 1986, p.

83. [search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=6884524&site=ehost-live](http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=6884524&site=ehost-live).

Nogier, Sebastien. "France's Far-Right Boy Wonder" *Politico*, 22 Mar. 2019.

[hwww.politico.eu/article/france-french-far-rights-boy-wonder-leads-european-charge-jordan-bardella-marine-le-pen-national-rally/](http://hwww.politico.eu/article/france-french-far-rights-boy-wonder-leads-european-charge-jordan-bardella-marine-le-pen-national-rally/). Accessed 03 Jun. 2019.

Norbrook, David. *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric, and Politics, 1627-1660*.

Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: UK, 2000.

Norocel, Ov Cristian, and Gabriella Szabó. "Special Issue: Mapping the Discursive

Opportunities for Radical-Right Populist Politics across Eastern Europe." *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 66, no. 1, Jan. 2019, pp. 1–7.

doi:10.1080/10758216.2019.1537040.

Nossiter, Adam. "Approaching 90, and Still the 'Devil of the Republic.'" *The New York Times*,

16 Mar. 2018. [www.nytimes.com/2018/03/16/world/europe/lepen-memoir-france-national-front.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/16/world/europe/lepen-memoir-france-national-front.html) Accessed 09 Jul. 2019.

Nowak, Marysia and Becky Branford. "France Elections: What Makes Marine Le Pen Far

Right?" *BBC*, 10, Feb. 2017. [www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-38321401](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-38321401). Accessed 30, Dec. 2018.

Oliver, Christian and Quentin Aries. "Emmanuel Macron Stresses National Unity in Victory

Speech." *Politico*, 07 May. 2017. [www.politico.eu/article/emmanuel-macron-national-unity-victory-speech/](http://www.politico.eu/article/emmanuel-macron-national-unity-victory-speech/). Accessed 09 Jan. 2019.

- Otjes, Simon, and Tom Louwarse. "Populists in Parliament: Comparing Left-Wing and Right-Wing Populism in the Netherlands." *Political Studies*, vol. 63, no. 1, 2015, pp. 60–79. doi:10.1111/1467-9248.12089.
- Pajnik, Mojca. "Media Populism on the Example of Right-Wing Political Parties' Communication in Slovenia." *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 66, no. 1, Jan. 2019, pp. 21–32. doi:10.1080/10758216.2018.1540275.
- Panayotu, Panos. "Towards a Transnational Populism: A Chance for European Democracy." *Populismus*, vol. 5, 2017, pp. 3-26. [www.populismus.gr/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/panayotu-final-upload.pdf](http://www.populismus.gr/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/panayotu-final-upload.pdf).
- Pettigrew, Thomas F. "Social Psychological Perspectives on Trump Supporters." *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, vol. 5, no 1, 2017. <file:///Users/MarMar/Downloads/750-4457-2-PB.pdf>. Accessed 29 Sept. 2018.
- Pipes, Daniel. "Europe's Civilizationalist Parties: Don't Shun the Populists; Work with and Learn from Them." *Commentary*, vol. 146, no. 4, Nov. 2018, p. 30. [www.danielpipes.org/18545/europe-civilizationist-parties](http://www.danielpipes.org/18545/europe-civilizationist-parties).
- Platiau, Charles. "French Far-Right Overtakes Macron in EU Parliament Election Poll." *Reuters*, 4 Nov. 2018. [www.cnbc.com/2018/11/04/french-far-right-overtakes-macron-in-eu-parliament-election-poll.html](http://www.cnbc.com/2018/11/04/french-far-right-overtakes-macron-in-eu-parliament-election-poll.html). Accessed 31 Dec. 2018.
- Poulakos, Takis. "Recovering the Voices of the Text: Rhetorical Criticism as Ideological Critique." *Conference Proceedings -- National Communication Association/American Forensic Association (Alta Conference on Argumentation)*, 1987, pp. 39–44. [search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ufh&AN=20748999&site=ehost-live](http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ufh&AN=20748999&site=ehost-live). Accessed 1 Oct. 2018.

- Price-Thomas, Gareth and Nick Turnbull. "Thickening Rhetorical Political Analysis with a Theory of Distance: Negotiating the Greek Episode of the Eurozone Crisis." *Political Studies*, vol. 66, no. 1, pp. 209-225. doi: 10.1177/0032321717708764.
- Rank, Hugh. "Analyzing Political Rhetoric." *The English Journal*, vol. 69, no. 9, 1980, pp. 38–43. [www.jstor.org/stable/816378](http://www.jstor.org/stable/816378). Accessed 17 Sept. 2018.
- Richards, John. "The New Populism." *Labour / Le Travail*, vol. 23, Spring 1989, pp. 263–267. doi:10.2307/25143147.
- Roberts, Rachel. "Jean-Marie Le Pen Charged Over Alleged Antisemitic Remarks." *The Independent*, 13 Feb. 2017. [www.independent.co.uk/news/world/jean-marie-le-pen-charged-antisemitic-remarks-marine-le-pen-front-national-french-presidential-a7576151.html](http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/jean-marie-le-pen-charged-antisemitic-remarks-marine-le-pen-front-national-french-presidential-a7576151.html) Accessed: 1 Jan. 2019.
- Robinson, William. "Social Theory and Globalization: The Rise of a Transnational State." *Theory and Society*, vol. 30, no. 2, 2001, pp. 157-200. doi: 10.1023%2FA%3A1011077330455.
- Rooduijn, Matthijs. "The Mesmerising Message: The Diffusion of Populism in Public Debates in Western European Media." *Political Studies*, vol. 62, no. 4, Dec. 2014, pp. 726-744. doi:10.1111/1467-9248.12074.
- Rothwell, James and Henry Samuel. "When is the French Presidential Election 2017, how does it work and who are the candidates?" *The Telegraph*, 22 Apr. 2017. [www.telegraph.co.uk/news/0/french-presidential-election-2017-does-work-candidates/](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/0/french-presidential-election-2017-does-work-candidates/). Accessed 29 Sept. 2018.

- Rydgren, Jens. "Radical Right-Wing Parties in Europe: What's Populism Got to Do with It?." *Journal of Language & Politics*, vol. 16, no. 4, July 2017, pp. 485-496.  
doi:10.1075/jlp.17024.ryd.
- Salutin, Rick. "What are Left-Wing Populism's Prospects?" *Toronto Star*, 01 Jul. 2016.  
www.thestar.com/opinion/commentary/2016/07/01/what-are-the-prospects-of-a-left-wing-populism-salutin.html. Accessed 27 Feb. 2019.
- Samuel, Paris Henry. "Marine Le Pen Openly 'Opposes' Father Jean-Marie in Major Front National Rift." *The Telegraph*, 08 Apr. 2015.  
www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11521658/Marine-Le-Pen-openly-opposes-father-Jean-Marie-in-major-Front-National-rift.html Accessed: 17 Oct. 2018.
- Sapin, Charles. "Marine Le Pen Veut Changer le Nom de Son Parti." *Le Figaro*, 01 Jul. 2018.  
www.lefigaro.fr/politique/2018/01/07/01002-20180107ARTFIG00130-le-pen-veut-changer-le-nom-de-son-parti.php. Accessed: 18 Oct. 2018.
- Schultheis, Emily. "Marine Le Pen's Real Victory." *The Atlantic*, 07 May. 2017.  
www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/05/le-pen-national-front-macron-france-election/525759/. Accessed 17 Jun. 2019.
- Scott, Mark. "In French Elections, Alt-Right Messages and Memes Don't Translate." *The New York Times*, 4 May. 2017. www.nytimes.com/2017/05/04/technology/french-elections-alt-right-fake-news-le-pen-macron.html. Accessed 30 Nov. 2018.
- Self, Darin and Allen Hicken. "Why Populism? How Parties Shape the Electoral Fortune of Populists." *V-Dem Institute*, vol. 78, Sept. 2018, pp 1-31. www.v-dem.net/media/filer\_public/d8/eb/d8ebc26f-733e-4fa9-b48a-e50a4833c9a7/v-dem\_working\_paper\_2018\_76.pdf.

- Shaw, Duncan, Chris Smith, and Judy Scully. "Why Did Brexit Happen? Using Causal Mapping to Analyse Secondary, Longitudinal Data." *European Journal of Operational Research*, vol. 263, no. 3, 2017, pp. 1019–1032. doi: 10.1016/j.ejor.2017.05.051.
- Shields, James. "The Front National: From Systematic Opposition to Systemic Integration?" *Modern & Contemporary France*, vol. 22, no. 4, Nov. 2014, pp. 491–511. doi:10.1080/09639489.2014.957964.
- Shore, Chris. "Brexit, Populism, and the Anthropology of Austerity." *Social Anthropology*, vol. 24, no. 4, 2016, pp. 489–90. hdl.handle.net/2292/38034.
- Shoshan, Nitzan. *The Management of Hate: Nation, Affect, and the Governance of Right-Wing Extremism in Germany*. Princeton University Press, Princeton: NJ, 2016.
- Simpson, Patricia A. "Mobilizing Meanings: Translocal Identities of the Far-Right Web." *German Politics & Society*, vol. 34, no. 4, Winter 2016, pp. 34-53. doi:10.3167/gps.2016.340403.
- Simon, Cyril. "Le FN Veut Changer de Nom: Commenter Rester Sous la Ve Republique." *Le Parisien*, 09 Mar. 2018. [www.leparisien.fr/politique/fn-changer-de-nom-ou-commenter-rester-a-la-page-sous-la-ve-republique-09-03-2018-7599735.php](http://www.leparisien.fr/politique/fn-changer-de-nom-ou-commenter-rester-a-la-page-sous-la-ve-republique-09-03-2018-7599735.php). Accessed 16 Oct. 2018.
- Sims, Alexandra. "Marine Le Pen Cleared of Inciting Hatred After Comparing Muslim Prayers in the Street to Nazi Occupation." *Independent*, 15 Dec. 2015. [www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/marine-le-pen-cleared-of-inciting-hatred-after-comparing-muslim-prayers-in-the-street-to-nazi-a6774126.html](http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/marine-le-pen-cleared-of-inciting-hatred-after-comparing-muslim-prayers-in-the-street-to-nazi-a6774126.html). Accessed 14 Jun. 2019.

- Singer, Daniel. "Rise of Jean-Marie Le Pen." *Nation*, vol. 241, no. 6, Sept. 1985, p. 172. [library.laredo.edu/eds?search=y&query=%22LE+Pen%2C+Jean-Marie%2C+1928-%22&type=DE&ff\[\]=ContentProvider:Legal%20Collection&searchfield=SU](http://library.laredo.edu/eds?search=y&query=%22LE+Pen%2C+Jean-Marie%2C+1928-%22&type=DE&ff[]=ContentProvider:Legal%20Collection&searchfield=SU).
- Slocum, John. "The Transnational Diffusion of Populism" *CIBOD*, special report, vol. 01, 2017, pp. 15-17. [www.cidob.org/en/articulos/cidob\\_report/n1\\_1/the\\_transnational\\_diffusion\\_of\\_populism](http://www.cidob.org/en/articulos/cidob_report/n1_1/the_transnational_diffusion_of_populism).
- Smith, Karen E. "EU Member States at the UN: A Case of Europeanization Arrested?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 55, no. 3, May 2017, pp. 628-644. doi:10.1111/jcms.12504.
- Smithe, Katherine. 2012. "Anxieties of Englishness and Participation in Democracy." *Focaal*, no. 62, March 2012, pp. 30-41. [www.berghahnjournals.com/view/journals/focaal/2012/62/focaal620103.xml](http://www.berghahnjournals.com/view/journals/focaal/2012/62/focaal620103.xml).
- Stan, Adele. "Le Pen, Salvini, and Europe's Far Right Increase Numbers in the European Parliament; Bannon Stays Close at Hand." *The American Rag*, 29 May. 2019. [prospect.org/article/le-pen-salvini-and-europes-far-right-increase-numbers-european-parliament-bannon-stays-close](http://prospect.org/article/le-pen-salvini-and-europes-far-right-increase-numbers-european-parliament-bannon-stays-close). Accessed 18 Jun. 2019.
- Stanley, Ben. "The Thin Ideology of Populism." *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 13, no. 1, Feb. 2008, pp. 95-110. doi:10.1080/13569310701822289.
- Starkey, Kathryn. *Obama's Conflict: A Close Textual Analysis of the President's Discourse on the 2011 Libyan Civil War*, Texas Tech University, 2013.
- Stevenson, Chris. "Le Pen Calls for Rebrand of French Far-Right with Name Change for National Front." *Independent (UK)*, 12 Mar. 2018.

search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=n5h&AN=4HGINDINMLMMGLSTRY  
000030247056&site=ehost-live. Accessed 1 Oct. 2018.

Stockemer, Daniel and Abdelkarim Amengay. "The Voters of the FN Under Jean-Marie Le Pen and Marine Le Pen: Continuity or Change?" *French Politics*, vol. 13, no. 4, 2015, pp. 370-390. doi:10.1057/fp.2015.16.

Stockemer, Daniel, and Mauro Barisione. "The 'New' Discourse of the Front National under Marine Le Pen: A Slight Change with a Big Impact." *European Journal of Communication*, vol. 32, no. 2, Apr. 2017, pp. 100–115. doi:10.1177/0267323116680132.

Stoller, Paul. "Resisting the Alternate Realities of Global Populism." *Economic Anthropology*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2018, pp. 138–140. doi: 10.1002/sea2.12109.

Stuckey, Mary, & Kate Hoffman. "Constituting "The People": National Identity Under William H. Taft and Richard M. Nixon." *Congress & the Presidency*, vol. 33, no 2, 2006, 69.

search.ebscohost.com.er.lib.kstate.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=f5h&AN=24840323&site=ehost-live.

Sulzer, Alexander. "Comment Marine Le Pen Veut Imposer un Changement du Nom au FN." *L'express*, 15 Jan. 2018. www.lexpress.fr/actualite/politique/fn/comment-marine-le-pen-veut-proceder-pour-imposer-un-changement-de-nom-au-fn\_1976280.html. Accessed 17 Oct. 2018.

Thirkell-White, Ben. "Dealing with the Banks: Populism and the Public Interest in the Global Financial Crisis." *International Affairs*, vol. 85, no. 4, July 2009, pp. 689–711. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2346.2009.00823.x.

- Toppo, Greg. “‘Let Them Call You Racists,’ Bannon Tells the Far-Right French Party.” *USA Today*, 10 Mar. 2018. [www.usatoday.com/story/news/2018/03/10/surprise-appearance-bannon-addresses-far-right-french-party/413727002/](http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2018/03/10/surprise-appearance-bannon-addresses-far-right-french-party/413727002/). Accessed 24 Oct. 2018.
- Touati, Nabil. “Les Arguments de Marine Le Pen Contre le Changement de Nom du FN N’ont Pas Pris Une Ride.” *Huffpost Politique*, 10 Mar. 2018. [www.huffingtonpost.fr/2018/03/10/les-arguments-de-marine-le-pen-contre-le-changement-de-nom-du-fn-nont-pas-pris-une-ride\\_a\\_23382090/](http://www.huffingtonpost.fr/2018/03/10/les-arguments-de-marine-le-pen-contre-le-changement-de-nom-du-fn-nont-pas-pris-une-ride_a_23382090/). Accessed 17 Oct. 2018.
- Tyulenev, Sergey. *Translation and the Westernization of Eighteenth-Century Russia a Social-Systemic Perspective*. Frank & Timme, 2012.
- Valat, Yoan. “Marine Le Pen, The Donald Trump of France, is Resurgent.” *Vanity Fair*, 5 Nov. 2018. <https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2018/11/marine-le-pen-the-donald-trump-of-france-is-resurgent>. Accessed 18 Jun. 2019.
- Vincour, Nicholas. “Marine Le Pen to Critics: I’m Not Going Anywhere.” *Politico*, 15 September, 2017. [www.politico.eu/article/marine-le-pen-to-critics-im-not-going-anywhere/](http://www.politico.eu/article/marine-le-pen-to-critics-im-not-going-anywhere/). Accessed 03 Apr. 2019.
- Wadham, Lucy. “Despite ‘Setback’ Marine Le Pen Isn’t Going Anywhere.” *Newsweek*, 23 March, 2019. [www.newsweek.com/2015/03/27/despite-setback-marine-le-pen-isnt-going-anywhere-315936.html](http://www.newsweek.com/2015/03/27/despite-setback-marine-le-pen-isnt-going-anywhere-315936.html). Accessed 03 Apr. 2019.
- Waisanen, Don. “Satirical Visions with Public Consequence? Dennis Miller’s Ranting Rhetorical Persona.” *American Communication Journal*, vol. 13, no. 1, 2011, pp. 24–44. [papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2536970](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2536970).
- Warnick, Barbara. “Leff in Context: What is the Critic’s Role?” *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, vol. 78, 1992, pp. 232-237. doi: [abs/10.1080/00335639209383992](https://doi.org/10.1080/00335639209383992).

- Ware, B. L., and Wil A. Linkugel. "The Rhetorical Persona : Marcus Garvey as Black Moses." *Communication Monographs*, vol. 49, no. 1, 1982, pp. 50–62. doi: 10.1080/03637758209376070.
- Warren, James E. "Rhetorical Reading as a Gateway to Disciplinary Literacy." *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy*, vol. 56, No. 5, 2013, pp. 391-399. [eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ1009198](http://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ1009198).
- Wells, Celeste C. "Diapers Full of ... Pampered, Hugged, and 'Loved' Babies: Teaching Ideological Criticism through Diapers." *Communication Teacher*, vol. 30, no. 2, 2016, pp. 72–76. doi: 10.1080/17404622.2016.114210.
- Wike, Richard. "5 Charts Showing Where France's National Front Draws its Support." *Pew Research Center*, 21 Apr. 2017. [www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/04/21/5-charts-showing-where-frances-national-front-draws-its-support/](http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/04/21/5-charts-showing-where-frances-national-front-draws-its-support/). Accessed 1 Jan. 2019.
- Williams, Michelle Hale. "A New Era for French Far Right Politics? Comparing the FN Under Two Le Pen's" *Analise Social*, vol. 46, no. 201, 2011, pp. 679-695. [www.jstor.org/stable/41494868](http://www.jstor.org/stable/41494868) Accessed 15 Jun. 2019.
- Willsher, Kim. "Marine Le Pen Marks Front National Leadership Win With Rebrand Proposal." *The Gaurdian*, 11 Mar. 2018. <https://www.bfmtv.com/mediaplayer/video/changement-de-nom-du-fn-le-discours-de-marine-le-pen-1080192.html>. Accessed 25 Oct. 2018.
- Wodak, Ruth and Michał Krzyżanowski. "Right-Wing Populism in Europe & USA: Contesting Politics & Discourse beyond 'Orbanism' and 'Trumpism'." *Journal of Language & Politics*, vol. 16, no. 4, July 2017, pp. 471-484. doi:10.1075/jlp.17042.krz.
- Wolin, Richard. "Words That Kill: Rhetoric and Reality in the Discourse of the Front National." *Impulso*, vol. 27, no. 69, Apr. 2017, pp. 37–47.

search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=zbh&AN=127711821&site=ehost-live.

Accessed 1 Jan. 2018.

Yancy, George. *Look, A White!* Temple University Press, Philadelphia, PA, 2012.

Zakaria, Fareed. "Is Europe About to be Swept up in Populist Wave?" *CNN*, n.d.

[www.cnn.com/shows/fareed-zakaria-gps](http://www.cnn.com/shows/fareed-zakaria-gps). Accessed 7 Jul. 2019.

Zarefsky, David. "Presidential Rhetoric and the Power of Definition." *Presidential Studies*

*Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 3, 2004, pp 607-619. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-5705.2004.00214.x.

Zartaloudis, Sotirios and Andreas Kornelakis. "Flexicurity between Europeanization and

Varieties of Capitalism? A Comparative Analysis of Employment Protection Reforms in

Portugal and Greece." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 55, no. 5, 2017, pp. 1144-

1161. doi:10.1111/jcms.12533.

## Appendix A - French Speech Transcription

Le mesieur, chere demi. Nouvelle ici dans cette belle ville de Lyon au couer de notre pays pour un moment important et mem historique de la vie de notre movement. Je voudrais vous exprimer ma gratitude pour votre constant votre esprit de resistance et votre determination. Elle n'a jamais defaut mais je sais que ces qualities ces grandes qualities, sont rares et qu'elle nous seront, necessaires dans Youtube et tape qui nous conduit au sommet au moment ou nous nous appretons a gravir les derniers metres de la montagne. Je voudrais vous dire combine je suis fier de vous. De vos equips et du movement que chaque jour nous construisons ensemble dans l'adversite. Que ce jour nous nous efforcons de rendre plus efficace, et auquele chaque jour nous demandons de se depasser nombre de foundation que nous avons entreprise des le lendemain, des legislatives, et que nous avons mene les ensembles pendant ces derniers mois. Se poursuit plus que jamais vous en apercevez tout le monde profonde qui touche le movement dans sons ensemble renovation se poursuivra jusqu'en decembre elle connait ici a Lyon une nouvele etape et pas des moindres puisqu'il s'agit du changement de denomination de notre movement.

Je vous donnerai tout a l'heure les resultats du vote des adherents vous verrez a quell point ils sont a la hauteur de ce que nous pouvons attendre et combine nos adherents nous accompagnent dans votre courage par leur indefectible soutien. C'est un moment emouvant evidemment que nous allons vivre un chapitre de l'histoire de notre movement national ouvert il y a un peu plus de 45 ans. C'est pour mieux en ouvrir un autre ouis je le crois ne sera pas moins glorieux.

Je te demande nous allons aussi mamen joyeux qui nous amene au couer avant que le combat nous reunissent a nouveau dans l'action et je le crois avec la victoire que je sais

ineluctable dans la joie. C'est une grande ambition de combiner le pouvoir. Je vous l'ai dit ne relève pas de l'ambition personnelle mais elle procède de l'art donc nécessite de faire notre devoir français de lardons de volonté d'engager le redressement du pays de remettre la France que l'histoire a pleine la grande nation a fond. Le moment c'est-à-dire parmi, les tout premiers à l'aube du nouveau siècle. Du nouveau siècle politique qui vient bouleverser un monde ancien qui disparaît sous nos yeux le moment que nous vivons marque le point de départ d'une nouvelle aventure l'aventure c'est celle des peuples européens qui se réveille contre une vieille oligarchie euro fédéraliste qui les écrase tous sont arrogants tyrannie. La tyrannie des assez directif comme celle des orgueilleux commissaire et plus largement la tyrannie du totalitarisme. Yaqa a 50 ans un empire qui se voyait contestée par un souffle de liberté envoyé ce soir sur un papier prix de liberté est-elle Printemps de Prague avec ce que les technocrates totalitaire soviétique ont appelé la normalization. 50 ans après un autre empire totalitaire et technocratique. A voulu ignorer la volonté démocratiquement exprimé du pape italien par une pitoyable tentative de coup d'état cette tentative déplorable a échoué et l'Italie connaît depuis cette nuit un gouvernement conforme au vote des Italiens

Nous nous félicitons et on félicite nos amis de la Ligue je veux voir dans la concomitance de cet événement avec notre réunion d'aujourd'hui un clin d'œil du destin signale que les Grecs appeler le kairós diamètre de Bruxelles vont apprendre qu'il ne pas forcer les peuples accepter le joug que ceux-ci veulent briser voici imposée à Bruxelles la volonté du peuple du pape italien et en soit un énorme motif de satisfaction et d'espérance c'est également une joie et de fierté toute particulière de savoir que notre partenaire est amis Matteo Salvini exercer les fonctions de ministre de l'Intérieur. De leur adresser nos encouragements chaleureux et fraternel mets sur des amis après le brexit qui fait un vote de rupture brutale à l'égard du

système européen. C'est après la déchéance démocratique exprimé par l'Autriche puis celle de la Hongrie sans oublier la session politique de la Pologne. Union européenne apparaît plus que jamais comme un avion en perdition un navire qui fait au de toute part et que là où la main vers les récifs des élections européennes rendez-vous demain juin 2019 et aboutir à une véritable révolution européenne.

Pour la première fois depuis l'instauration du suffrage universel aux élections européennes il est possible de changer l'Europe de l'Europe et parce que nous libérerons l'Europe nous libérerons la France. Imaginer que les partisans de l'Union européenne soit minoritaire au printemps prochain et c'est tous les systèmes politiques est derrière tous les systèmes politiques qui sont des payes veux. Une révolution politique de grande ampleur. Cette révolution européenne. Nous appelons de nous imaginez nous y prendrons. Notre part tout notre part nous ne voulons plus voir notre économie ruiné par la concurrence déloyale. Sia m'organiser pour nourrir la logique libre-échangiste mondiale à nos dépens nous ne voulons plus voir concurrencer passer à grande. Nous ne voulons plus que nos enfants mangent des produits suspects emporté, son contrôle au risque de leur santé nous ne voulons plus voir notre continent. Peu importe et son contrôle au risque de leur chanter. Nous ne voulons plus voir notre continent ne payees, nos villages, et notre rue submergé par un déferlement migratoire que la Commission encourager maintenant organize en est subventionné même avec notre argent.

Séjour dernier avec la dispersion tranquille de milliers de migrants de Paris dans toute l'Île-de-France. S'est la la 30e opération de cette nature depuis 3 ans ce n'est plus tolérable jamais. Dans l'histoire on a vu un peuple financer sa propre submersion son propre à Proville appauvrissement je vous dis la situation est très sérieuse. On le devine d'ailleurs dans la lucidité la sincérité bien tardive de certains de ses propos même le ministre de l'Intérieur sûrement avoir

confiance, mais je ne fais rien et bien la situation commande d'agir et de gagner. C'est pourquoi nous voulons se joindre à nous tous les mouvements et personnalité qui partage avec nous cette volonté de construire une autre robe. De la construire vite règle énergie de ceux qui ont leur payer au cœur qui croit que c'est toi fonder sur la livre coopération des nations qui croit que la voix de l'Europe et de nos dans la dilution dans un grand mondialiste. Qui crois que ce n'est pas au marché financier d'imposer au peuple de bien voter.

Nous sommes dans le position de rédiger une charte commune qui servira de base à une liste regroupant les nationaux et des souverainiste sous la même manière et qu'il soit susceptible d'accueillir tout ce qu'ils viennent de l'ancien robe de l'ancien sous d'ailleurs. onSdage montrent que l'addition des voies nous permettrait d'ores-et-déjà sans même considérer la puissante dynamique de campagne acier instauré de sortir en tête de l'élection européenne. Fraternities, que nous tendon à debout la France comme tous les autres mouvements ou personnalité souverainiste correspond à ce qu'attendent des millions de Français. Las des politiques politiciennes, des petits esprits de chapelle, ou des considérations subalternes d'appareil. La logique de liste ouverte à de multiples personnalités facilite cette fédération des énergies. Personne ne comprendrait que nous ne l'utilisions pas, dès lors que l'intérêt national est en jeu.<sup>4</sup>

La Commission européenne qui ne voient leur père et que comme des esclaves quand ils ne sont pas docilement a servi comme des ennemis connais en même temps un autre échec l'attentisme qui lui servait de guide pour ne pas dire de les sortes à la réalité d'une beaucoup décision ouvertement unilatéral menaçante et parfois erratique mais résolument déterminé à défendre ses intérêts on peut comme tous les autres lui en voiloir.

---

<sup>4</sup> This sentence was translated with the help of Raphaël Pinson

Je veux un monde où on peut décider nous aussi enfin de défendre les nôtres nos intérêts discrédités à l'intérieur par des peuples qui se dressent contre une oppression silencieuse et destructrice ramener publiquement un million de million de vassal à l'extérieur Union européenne progressivement broyé dans les mâchoires. De l'état des réalités contre les vampires qui ont cru pouvoir ont péri les perspectives qui s'ouvrent devant nous sont immenses au moment où nous nous engageons où nous engageons une grande mutation stratégique techniques et politiques.

J'avoue que les victoires ne savent pas parler fait du hasard mais qu'elle se construisent avec l'intelligence de cœur et l'énergie que tu fais là je crois nous ne manquons pas suivant sur la route nous indique notre devoir le marxiste code qui disait que les révolutions on ne fait pas elle se font même si nous savons que la révolution politique pacifistique et démocratique qui nous conduit au pouvoir. A démarrer donner un coup de main ce sera plus histoire nous a donné. Nous nous reposons pas sur nos lauriers nous cherchons mes amis à être plus audible plus performant plus convaincant.

Il y'a 3 mois lors de notre grand congrès de la rotation de l'île nous avons eu une très largement été adoptée une modification des statuts qui nous permet en toute légalité sans subir la malicieuse censure de juges à disposés par trop de démocratie au Front national de consultez nos adhérents comme. Je l'ai été engagé j'ai soumis au vote de nos adhérents le changement de nom de notre mouvement. Ce changement ne relève pas d'un effet de mode, puisque nous changeons de nom une fois que les 45 ans.

La vérité c'est que le monde change et nous aussi chacun aura remarqué il souffle sur le monde et sur l'Europe avant nouveau avant qui a pris une parenthèse tourmenté de libre-échange

debrider amène le retour des peuples qui étaient autour de la raison.<sup>5</sup> Par une remarquable faculté d'adaptation et peut-être par instinct de survie en français système est obligé de lutter pour survivre. Alors, il l'a fait avec un certain talent en faisant émerger en marche quelle est la coalition des forces du monde ancien dans le programme et durée de tenir de subsister. Peut tenir de subsister équivalent ce clarifie et commande le rassemblement des forces rassemblement s'impose pas seulement pour des raisons électorale, quoi que ce serait là après tu as motif suffisant et parce que dans la tourmente que vit notre pays.

Ta demande d'unité nationale correspond à une aspiration profonde. Composer seulement la stratégie du mot et aujourd'hui de s'ouvrir d'accueillir en son sein et à ses côtés de nouveaux talents. Aussi comme un cri de ralliement de tous ces Français qui ne veulent pas se résigner au goutte-à-goutte. Du déclin qui ne veulent pas rester les spectateurs de leurs propres déclassement de leurs propres effacement. Ce nom des adhérents du Front national non découvert lors du discours de clôture du Congrès chat en direct.

C'était un pari osé, pour l'admettre je savais, que je pouvais le prendre connaissant l'intelligence et la maturité politique de nos adhérents son exagéré en disant que l'ovation, de pas une minute pour réserver les militants à cette annonce, était le signe une adhésion à ce nouveau nom. J'en étais croyez-le infiniment ému pour celui qui fait la part entre la nostalgie bien sûr compréhensible et les n'essaie qui est le nôtre ce nom s'impose de toute évidence. Il s'impose tellement qu'il s'est largement imposé dans le cœur et dans l'esprit des adhérents puisque près de 53 % de nos adhérents ont participé à ce scrutin et qu'à la question, "voulez-vous que le Front national prenne le nom de Rassemblement National?" La réponse a été oui à 80,81 %.

---

<sup>5</sup> This sentence was translated with the help of Raphaël Pinson

Je veux proclamer maintenant, le 1er juin 2018 le Front national devient le rassemblement national et j'invite tous les cadres et les militants engagés sans attendre une grande campagne d'adhésion pour rallier à nous tous ceux qui veulent être de l'aventure qui souhaitent s'associer à cette conquête du pouvoir que nous engageons en France et en Europe

## **Appendix B - English Speech Translation**

Ladies and gentlemen, I bring you novel information in this beautiful city of Lyon in the heart of our country. It is an important moment and historical moment in our party history. I would like to express my gratitude for your constant spirit of resistance and determination. It has never been lacking but I know that these qualities, these great qualities, are rare and it will be necessary on tape and Youtube to codify these words as we prepare to climb the last meters of the mountain. I would like to tell you how proud I am of you. Your teamwork and the forward movement we have everyday as we build together in the face of adversity. Everyday we strive to be more effective, and everyday we ask to exceed ourselves in establishing the number of movements we undertook the day after the elections and that we have led together during these last months. This continues more than ever to profoundly effect the world, touching the movement as a whole as we renovate and continue to do so through December. I am here in Lyon on a new stage to announce a change in the denomination of our movement. This is a historic moment for our country and our movement.

In a moment I will give you the results of the vote of our members. You can see what to expect and how much they support us, accompany us in courage. This unwavering support is a touching moment, of course, that is the culmination of the history of our movement, which has been changing over the past 45 years. It is time now to open another chapter and I believe it will not be any less glorious.

I also ask you, mother to mother, to bring your heart into the fight to unite us in action once again. I believe with that, our victory and joy is inescapable. It's a great ambition born of the strength of the party. I tell you it does not stem from personal ambition, but it proceeds from the heart and a duty to our lazy fellows. We must initiate a recovery of the country and move on

from France as a history of a country with a round bottom. That is to say, this moment we are among the first ones at the dawn of the new century. This moment marks the starting point of a new adventure, of the new political century that is upsetting an ancient world that disappears before our eyes. The moment we are living in marks the starting point of a new adventure. The adventure. We must wake up and leave the old federalism and oligarchy that crushes our country to fight tyranny. The tyranny of the directives like that of the proud Commissioner and more broadly the tyranny of totalitarianism. 50 years ago an empire that was being challenged by a breath of freedom sent tonight on a paper price of freedom is it Prague Spring with what the totalitarian Soviet technocrats have called the normalization 50 years after another totalitarian and technocratic empire wanted to ignore the democratically expressed will of the Italian pope by a pitiful coup attempt failed. In Italy it has been a long time since the government was in line with the vote of Italians.

We welcome and congratulate our friends from the League. I want to see in the concomitance of this event with our meeting today. From this event, our meeting today, we see a wink of fate signaling what the Greeks call *Kairos*. The former master of Brussels will learn that he does not force people to accept a yoke they do not want to bear. The will of the people is imposed by Brussels in the same way of that of the Italian Pope. But we have a huge reason for satisfaction and hope. There is a joy and very special pride to know that our partner and friends Matteo Salvini now performs the duties of Minister of the Interior and his historic win for the League. I'd like to thank and send our friendly brothers encouragements after the Brexit, who voted for brutal rupture with regard to the European system. This comes after the decay of democracy and mistrust as expressed by Austria and then that Hungary. We cannot also forget the political sessions regarding Poland. The European Union appears more than ever as a plane

in distress. A ship that is drowning on all sides and that heads towards the reefs of the European elections. In the lead up to June 2019, we will see a real European revolution.

For the first time since the introduction of universal suffrage in the European elections it is possible to change Europe for Europe, and because we will liberate Europe we will liberate France. Imagine that the supporters of the European Union are a minority in the spring next and that all political systems are the ones the countries so desperately want. We will see a major political revolution, a European revolution. We call from you to imagine how we will take our share, all of our share. The global free trade logistics work at our expense. We do not want to see any more competing goods pass in our midst. We do not want our children to eat any more suspicious products, swept away at the risk of their health. We do not want to see our continent anymore taken advantage of. We do not want to see our economy ruined by the unfair competition. I feel the need to organize against his insatiable logic, his control, and sing my objections against it. we do not want to see our continent, our country, our villages, our roads overwhelmed by a migratory surge that the current administration even now pursues with our money.

We can no longer stay with the quiet dispersion of thousands of migrants from Paris throughout the Ile-de-France. This is the 30th operation of this nature in the past 3 years, and it is no longer tolerable. In history we have seen a people finances diminish from the Presidents own submersion, to now experience impoverishment. I tell you the situation is very serious. We can only guess it in the lucidity and sincerity of the very belated remarks of the President. Even the Minister of the Interior feels the same, saying surely he has confidence in me but I do not have the power to do anything. The situation commands us to act and win. That is why we want to join together with all the movements and personality that shares with us this desire to build one

another. To address to build up quickly, energize the rulers of those countries who have in them the heart of those who believe. It is up to you to come together and forge a cooperation of nations who believe that the voice of Europe and support our want to dilute the greater globalist forces. We believe that it should not be up to the financial market to force people to vote a certain way.

We are now in the position to draft a common charter that will serve as a basis for a list of nationals and sovereigntists in the same way. Additionally, we believe that it is likely to accommodate everything they come from the old dress of the old guard under elsewhere. Surveys show that the addition of the tracks would allow us already, without even considering the powerful dynamics of steel campaign, to be established and to emerge at the head of the European election. We tend to stand with France like all other movements and sovereignty personalities. Brothers, this is what is expected by millions of French, tired of politicized politicians, small chapel spirits, or alternate mechanistic considerations. The listed logic is open to multiple personalities facilitates this federation of energies. Nobody would understand that we do not use it, since the national interest is at stake.<sup>6</sup>

The European Commission who do not see their paternalistic ways and that we are as slaves. When they are not obediently served, we are seen as enemies. We know at the same time another failure is their wait-and-see attitude that served as a guide to avoid saying of sorts to the reality of a myriad of overtly unilateral decision threatening and sometimes erratic, yet they resolutely determined to defend its interests and blame all others not like them.

I want a world where we can finally decide also to defend ours interests that have discredited. We have allies who will stand up against a silent and destructive oppression bring

---

<sup>6</sup> This sentence was translated with the help of Raphaël Pinson

publicly over a million pushing to go outside the European Union, who gradually crush in the jaws of the vice. A reality that goes against the grips of the vampires who thought they could operate in perspectives that would lead us to believe our power has perished. The perspectives that are opening before us are immense as we embark on a journey where we engage a great strategic change, technical change, and political change.

I admit that these victories do not know how to talk about at this opportunity, but that they are built with the intelligence of heart and the energy of what you do. I hope we do not you're your following on the road of shared duty. The Marxist code that said revolutions we do not do it even if we know that the pacifistic and democratic political revolution will lead us to power. Now, giving us a hand, we start to build a safer world than history has given us. Although we are not resting on our laurels, we are looking for my friends to be more audible more powerful more convincing.

3 months ago, during our big congress that takes place in Lille, we had a very large majority adopt a modification of the statutes which allows us in all legality, without undergoing the malicious and mischievous censorship of judges or disposing of too much democracy, consult our members at the Front Nationals. I engaged the collective and I submitted to the vote of our members a change of name of our movement. This change is not an effect of fashion since we change our name once 45 years old.

The truth is that the world is changing and we too will have to change. Each one of us noticed it. It blows on the world and on Europe now, as it did once before. It took a tormented interlude of free trade and a decision to bring back the peoples who were surrounded by reason,

by a remarkable faculty of adaptation, and perhaps by instinct of survival.<sup>7</sup> In the French system one is forced to struggle to survive. But within that struggle, a certain talent is making an emergence. In March that is what the coalition of forces of the old world of our the program and duration to hold to subsist can hold to subsist equivalent. This clarifies and orders the gathering of the forces. Gathering is imperative not only for electoral reasons, though that would be sufficient reason, but because there is turmoil that lives in our country.

The request for national unity corresponds to a deep aspiration. It corresponds to a deep aspiration of all the hearts of the French, gathering of all the French, regardless of their origin, their religion. It is the heart of our commitment that is reflected in the Rassemblement National that I proposed to you. In it compose a strategy of words, and today those words open and welcome all within it. It's a new face, welcoming new talents. A rallying cry of all those French who do not want to resign themselves to the slow drip of the decline of the country, who do not want to remain the viewers of their own downgrading, their own erasure.

This name of the members of the National Front undiscovered during the closing speech of the Congress live chat. It was a daring gambit, I admit it. I knew that I could take on this challenge knowing the intelligence and political maturity of our members is not exaggerated. This was proven by the ovation, noted in our books as over a minute, as our activists welcomed in this announcement as a sign of adherence to this new name. I do believe they were infinitely moved. For some to make the distinction between nostalgia and necessity is difficult and is of course understandable, but the necessity of fighting for a name change is evident and obvious. It moved the party so much that it has largely imposed itself in the hearts and the minds of the

---

<sup>7</sup> This sentence was translated with the help of Raphaël Pinson

members. Nearly 53% of our members took part in this election and when the question, “Do you want the National Front to take the name Rassemblement National?” the answer was yes for 80.81%.

I am proud to proclaim, here and now, June 1, 2018 the National Front becomes the Rassemblement National and I invite all executives, people, and committed activist, without waiting for a large membership campaign, to rally to us. All who want to be adventurous, who wish to associate this conquest of the power as we engage in changing France and Europe. As for the new logo, I said to our executives we wanted it to be less angular more feminine. Rounder more unifying, too. That's what an in-house team of graphic designers undertook and I thank them for their work. We choose to represent our stylized flame in a circle. Open. It is not closed, so that symbolically the flame leads to the Rassemblement National and visually is inviting. Images of fidelity affirm the goal of our project.

I thank you all friends, elected executive of the movement, and through you, all our militant members for your supports. Which, by their confidence and their actions, open this new era for the Rassemblement National. My friends, let us move forward for new conquests, a tribute to the National Front keen to rally the nation (Rassemblement National). Long live France!