

2017

Xenophobia, Populism, and the Rise of the Far-Right in France and Germany

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Recommended Citation

Beltran, Veda Elizabeth, "Xenophobia, Populism, and the Rise of the Far-Right in France and Germany" (2017). *CMC Senior Theses*. 1478.
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Xenophobia, Populism, and the Rise of the Far-Right in France and Germany

submitted to
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by
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for
Senior Thesis
Fall 2016
December 5, 2016

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to express my sincerest appreciation and gratitude to Professor Appel for her patience, understanding, and support through my academic endeavors. When the time came to pick a thesis advisor, I had no doubt in my mind that I wanted to work with Professor Appel. It has been an extremely rewarding experience to work with such an intelligent individual.

I would also like to give thanks to my mother for all her support and love through this time.- And for always offering to buy me Starbuck's drinks when I needed it the most.

Also, a big thank you to my dear friend Clara for providing me with comedic relief as well as the much needed edits and feedback on my thesis drafts.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to further examine the populist wave that has struck the West, with specific regards to France and Germany. The growing anti-immigrant sentiment, the discontent with “establishment” politics, and fear-mongering tactics has given rise to far-right political parties such as the National Front and the Alternative for Germany. These political parties prove threatening to the democratic institutions in place, for they wish to limit the liberties of those who seem too different. Through delving into the core values of these countries and specific events revolving around foreigners, I explain how xenophobic ideology has been allowed to permeate through France and Germany’s society and has increased the legitimacy of political leaders like Marine Le Pen and Frauke Petry.

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

Since the word *xenophobia* has been declared the 2016 Word of the Year, it seems fitting that we start on breaking down its meaning.¹ Being defined as the “fear or hatred of foreigners”, we can analyze the events of 2016 to see the new meaning and heightened sense of Xenophobia throughout the United States and Western Europe.

One major world event that increased the search of the word *xenophobia* can be the dramatic upsurge in the influx of Syrian refugees to Western countries. For 2016 alone, “one-in-every-two of those crossing the Mediterranean...were Syrians escaping the conflict in their country”.² This means that nearly half a million people were fleeing and seeking refuge in other parts of the world, creating a sense of “otherness” wherever they went. Otherness meaning “the quality or state of being perceived or treated as different, foreign, strange, etc.”³ Usually, in a wave of populist ideals, “others” are often associated as “minorities such as migrants” and supposedly favored by those who are considered the political elite.⁴ This idea was reinforced when the general response from the political leaders of the world, from Canada to Germany, was to help those in need throughout this humanitarian crisis.⁵

¹ "Dictionary.com's 2016 Word of the Year: Xenophobia | Dictionary.com Blog." Dictionary Blog. 2016. Accessed November 05, 2016. <http://blog.dictionary.com/xenophobia/>.

² "Syria's Refugee Crisis in Numbers." Syria's Refugee Crisis in Numbers. Accessed November 15, 2016. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/02/syrias-refugee-crisis-in-numbers/>.

³ "Dictionary.com's 2016 Word of the Year: Xenophobia | Dictionary.com Blog." Dictionary Blog. 2016. Accessed November 05, 2016. <http://blog.dictionary.com/xenophobia/>.

⁴ Greven, Thomas. "The Rise of Right-Wing Populism in Europe and the United States." *Freidrich Ebert Stiftung*, May 01, 2016. http://www.fesdc.org/fileadmin/user_upload/publications/RightwingPopulism.pdf.

⁵ "Note to World Leaders: This Is How to Welcome Refugees." Al Jazeera English. Accessed December 01, 2016. <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2015/12/note-world-leaders-refugees-trudeau-canada-syria-151214051232043.html>.

As the West started to deal with the influx of refugees, the ideas associated with the “others” started to gain momentum. As Thomas Greven suggests, right-wing populism is “based on a definition of the people as culturally homogenous” and the immigrants attempting integration in these western countries threaten the sense of “identity and common interests” of the people.⁶ As these immigrants are fleeing from underdeveloped countries that are stricken with violence, it is very easy for Westerners to see themselves as superior. As the West, we can often provide relief, help, or protection with numerous resources at our disposal. However, this also leads to an intensified belief in ethnocentrism amongst Westerners, which is believed to further “the xenophobic positioning against ‘the other’”.⁷ With ethnocentrism, xenophobic ideology is much easier to incite. Some examples can be seen in the rise and acceptance of Donald Trump in the United States. In his initial announcement for the U.S. presidency, Trump claimed that “When Mexico sends its people, they’re not sending their best...They’re sending people that have lots of problems, and they’re bringing those problems with us. They’re bringing drugs. They’re bringing crime. They’re rapists”.⁸ Furthermore, Trump called “for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States”.⁹ Such statements indicate little foresight or understanding of the “others”, as well as little to no willingness to comprehend or attempt further familiarization with the “others”. These comments prove to quickly alienate the “others”, and make a good portion

⁶ Greven, Thomas. "The Rise of Right-Wing Populism in Europe and the United States." *Freidrich Ebert Stiftung*, May 01, 2016.
http://www.fesdc.org/fileadmin/user_upload/publications/RightwingPopulism.pdf.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ "What Donald Trump Has Said about Mexico." CNN. Accessed December 01, 2016.
<http://www.cnn.com/2016/08/31/politics/donald-trump-mexico-statements/>.

⁹ "Press Statement on Preventing Muslim Immigration." Donald J Trump for President. Accessed November 30, 2016. <https://www.donaldjtrump.com/press-releases/donald-j.-trump-statement-on-preventing-muslim-immigration>.

of Americans feel as if they are superior to these minorities. Donald Trump's comments are a clear example of how perpetuating ethnocentrism leads to xenophobic sentiments. Notably, the word searches for *xenophobia* saw a dramatic spike the day after the U.S. presidential election.¹⁰

Another example from the West that has added to the upsurge in interest xenophobia is the United Kingdom's referendum on exiting the European Union. A leading figure in promoting the idea of 'Brexit' was Nigel Farage. While Nigel Farage has been a long-time advocate for the United Kingdom to leave the European Union, he credits the success of Brexit on the issues of immigration. Claiming that he no longer heard English voices on the streets anymore, Farage insisted that "their quality of life [was] deteriorating due to mass migration".¹¹ The sense and alienation of the "others" is quite clear and transparent here. The suggestion that *the* quality of life in the United Kingdom was declining due to migrants alone shows the explicit xenophobia being planted and bolstered amongst the British citizens. Not only does such rhetoric give rise to further divisions, but also to "intolerant political discourses focusing on immigration" which "contribute[s] to an increase in xenophobic sentiment".¹² Clearly, this rhetoric and ideology worked as the United Kingdom officially voted to exit the European Union in June 2016.¹³ Just

¹⁰ "Dictionary.com's 2016 Word of the Year: Xenophobia | Dictionary.com Blog." Dictionary Blog. 2016. Accessed November 05, 2016. <http://blog.dictionary.com/xenophobia/>.

¹¹ Gutteridge, Nick. "'People in My Street Don't Speak English' Farage Says Immigration Was Key to Brexit Vote." Express.co.uk. 2016. Accessed December 01, 2016. <http://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/703541/Nigel-Farage-UKIP-immigration-Brexit-vote-Donald-Trump-Jackson-Mississippi-US-President>.

¹² "Brexit Vote Has Led to Noticeable Rise in Xenophobia." The Independent. Accessed December 01, 2016. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/brexit-vote-has-led-to-noticeable-rise-in-uk-xenophobia-watchdog-warns-a7343646.html>.

¹³ Cassidy, John. "Brexit Vote Throws Britain and Europe Into Turmoil." The New Yorker. 2016. Accessed November 24, 2016. <http://www.newyorker.com/news/john-cassidy/brexit-vote-throws-britain-and-europe-into-turmoil>.

like Donald Trump's election, Brexit caused a notable rise in searches for the word *xenophobia* the day after.

A meaningful event that occurred within 2016 was France's attempt in passing legislation that banned Burkinis. This move appeared to be in response "to [the] growing terror concerns and heightened tensions after a series of terror attacks" in France.¹⁴ Overall, this response seems to be symptomatic of the Islamophobia being perpetuated by far-right political actors, such as Marine Le Pen and the National Front. While Le Pen called the Burkini "one of the multiple symptoms of the rise of fundamentalist Islam in France", former French President Sarkozy vowed to enforce all burqa and burkini bans as France's "identity is under threat when [they] accept an immigration policy that makes no sense".¹⁵ Again, here we see the division that was created between "the others" and the citizens of a country, as well as the idea that our identities are at risk when immigrants or migrants enter a Western country.

Western Europe and the United States are often hailed as the shining pearls of democracy and are proud to reference their progressive advances over the years. Whether it's the implementation of universal health care, legalization of same sex marriage, protecting a women's right to choose, or setting up a plan to combat climate change, these Western superpowers hold the image of working every day to expand upon people's rights, and definitely not restricting them. However, what can be said when these Western powers fall into the hands of a populist wave full

¹⁴ "French Court Suspends Burkini Ban." CNN. Accessed November 30, 2016. <http://www.cnn.com/2016/08/26/europe/france-burkini-ban-court-ruling/>.

¹⁵ Engineer, Cyrus. "'No Other Religion Is Causing Problems' Le Pen Continues to Back Burkini Ban." Express.co.uk. 2016. Accessed November 25, 2016. <http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/706232/Marine-Le-Pen-burkini-ban>.

of xenophobic ideology? Do these nations only work to protect its citizens and not incoming outsiders who want to become residents or are seeking asylum?

2016 has given rise to a number of populist and extremist political actors that threaten the liberal democracy the West has worked so incredibly hard to establish. From overcoming various obstacles such as racial segregation in the United States and anti-Semitism in Europe, the West has undeniably had its dark days. Yet the growing acceptance of such hateful ideology looms in the horizon to threaten the liberal democracies in the West.

Specifically, this study will further examine two different cases within Western Europe: France and Germany. While France faces presidential elections in 2017, Marine Le Pen and the National Front's anti-immigrant and outwardly xenophobic rhetoric threatens France's beliefs in "Liberté, égalité" and "fraternité".¹⁶ At the same time, the emergence of Frauke Petry and the Alternative for Germany has given Germany an avenue to express hateful, divisive, and bigoted ideas that proves immensely alarming when looking at their nation's past. Within my research, I delve into how the prolonged alienation of "the others", their method of intensifying the fear brought on by terrorist attacks or immigrant crimes, and the reinforcement of the apprehension felt by the public towards their government has given these far-right political parties an opening in advancing their xenophobic agendas.

¹⁶ Embassy of France in the United States, Washington, D.C. "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." France in the United States / Embassy of France in Washington, D.C. Accessed November 30, 2016. <http://franceintheus.org/spip.php?article620>.

CHAPTER TWO: THE REFUGEE CRISIS

Immigration, an extremely serious and controversial issue, has allowed for xenophobic rhetoric to permeate through Western Europe's society. The world has seen the issue of immigration gradually worsen and take on a bigger role as the situation in Syria and its neighboring countries continue to unravel. For years, millions of North Africans and Middle Easterners have been making their way to Europe, however an extremely dramatic increase of immigration was seen starting in January 2015.¹⁷ It was at this time that the number of refugees dramatically increased. The groups of migrants came from all different backgrounds, but mostly all are of Syrian, Afghan, and Iraqi descent.¹⁸ The refugee crisis has brought out the best and the worst in various European nations. While some have stepped up to the challenge, others have rejected many possible compromises and plans to help with the redistribution of migrants. A reason for such tumultuous reactions could be the European Union's lack of specific policy to deal with what they would consider: "irregular immigration" which is defined as "a person who comes to the EU without a proper visa or permit or who overstays their visa."¹⁹

Two countries that have dealt with the refugee crisis with sharp contrasts amongst them are Germany and France. From my analysis, we will find that there is a great distinction in the style of integration and implementation of refugees, with Germany taking on a bigger burden of the crisis. In addition, pushback and backlash from citizens of both countries are proving to be

¹⁷ "Migrant Crisis: Migration to Europe Explained in Seven Charts - BBC News." BBC News. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>.

¹⁸ Kingsley, Patrick. "Refugee Crisis: Apart from Syrians, Who Is Travelling to Europe?" The Guardian. 2015. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/10/refugee-crisis-apart-from-syrians-who-else-is-travelling-to-europe>.

¹⁹ *Immigration Policy*. Report. Fact Sheets on the European Union, European Parliament. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU_5.12.3.html

obstacles in the mission to aid those in need which has allowed the rise of xenophobic values to spread.

FRANCE

While a mass amount of immigrants and refugees are fleeing to resettle in Germany, many have avoided finding refuge in France.²⁰ There are a number of reasons that France has proved to be an inhospitable place for refugees. Excessive red tape, lack of adequate housing, prolonged unemployment, hollow promises, and the growing acceptance of xenophobic rhetoric are some of the reasons why refugees are trying their best to steer clear of France.²¹

The emergence of new regulations and rules appear disheartening for their purpose is to delay and prevent anything from getting done. The red tape issues prove controversial because this is what has delayed refugee papers to be processed. With a usual wait time of nine months to two years, France's immigration office "has vowed" a wait time of 15 days that would secure refugee's residency status. The process, however, has not proved to be that simple.²² This is then added to the list of empty promises made by French officials; sitting next to the promise of allowing family members of these refugees to join those in France already. There is also the fact there is a lessened availability of employment opportunities for the incoming refugees. With an unemployment rate of 10.5%, unemployment amongst the new settlers is prominent.²³ Amidst these obstacles, it appears there are few chances for refugees to actually secure a job and start a

²⁰ "Migrant Crisis: Migration to Europe Explained in Seven Charts - BBC News." BBC News. Accessed September 26, 2016.

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>.

²¹ Samuel, Henry. "Refugees Shun France, Land of Red Tape, Unemployment and Poor Housing." The Telegraph. Accessed October 05, 2016.
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11880391/Refugees-shun-France-land-of-red-tape-unemployment-and-poor-housing.html>.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

new life where they can support themselves. With such circumstances, these asylum seekers are growing restless.

In addition, the housing conditions offered to refugees in France are horrid. At one point, approximately 30,000 beds were made available for 60,000 possible refugees.²⁴ This raises issues of overcrowding and the creation of makeshift camps, such as the one that sprung up in Calais, France, which sits near the border to Britain. About 1,000 migrants inhabited that area, which grew concern from French and British officials. In fact, some French official claimed that these living proved to be “undignified conditions and give Calais an image that isn’t dignified either”.²⁵ Eventually, French officials decided the solution to these “undignified conditions” was to completely demolish the makeshift camp housing around 1,000 individuals. The French government has claimed a “relocation of migrants to reception centers”, but specific details of these plans are hard to find.²⁶ The neglect and slow pace to respond and fix immigration issues display not only the government’s inefficiency in dealing with these issues, but also the level of priority these immigrants have.

Another sensitive topic that adds to the unappealing French environment is its atmosphere itself. France’s stance towards newcomers is that they should quickly assimilate into the French culture. The sooner they assimilate, the sooner will they be accepted into the French society. A true testament to such beliefs can be seen through the French government’s implementation of bans on burqas and foulards. Such outerwear was so foreign and so symbolic of the “others” that

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ "France to Evict 1,000 Refugees from 'Jungle' Camp." Al Jazeera English. Accessed October 05, 2016. <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/02/france-evict-1000-refugees-calais-jungle-camp-160212193008377.html>.

²⁶ "Migrant Crisis: Migration to Europe Explained in Seven Charts - BBC News." BBC News. Accessed September 26, 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>.

it was perceived as something that could not and would not be part of the French culture. Thus, laws and legislation to ban the religious apparel were implemented. Though France claimed that this was in line with their standard of *laïcité*, many saw this as discrimination since French individuals are allowed to wear small rosaries in school or at work. The French government walks a dangerous path through this implemented legislation for it can be, and has been, used to help bolster radicalization efforts by extremist groups. Extremist groups have been able to garner support and increase their following by exclaiming that France is stripping people of “their roots”, and unfortunately this has proven successful in some individuals embracing extreme jihadist ideals.²⁷ However, the actions and reactions of the French government proves to be in line with their traditional ideology and culture.

France has been known to follow citizenship guidelines based off *jus soli*, or right of soil. If you are born in the country, then you shall enjoy and reap all the benefits of being a French citizen. As Roger Brubaker states “the unique expansiveness of citizenship law provoked a strong campaign to restrict immigrants’ access to citizenship”.²⁸ So while some nations (like Germany) may have laxer laws or regulations surrounding their citizenship, the French holds strong convictions in protecting their citizenship based of the premise of *jus soli*. This is not to look down upon France or denounce their way of life, but rather give further insight as to why these refugees will always face a hard time settling in a nation like France. For the French, the rite of passage comes from being born in the nation, and they take great pride in protecting and upholding such traditions. While this helps to explain why the French holds strong apprehension in foreigners settling into their nation, France does hold a formal process for expediting

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Brubaker, Rogers. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992. P 179.

citizenship/naturalization to refugees. The system in place grants citizenship to refugees (bypassing the usual five year waiting period) as long as the refugee displays “good moral conduct and behavior”, no criminal record, demonstration that he/she has integrated into “French society”, and that they hold “sufficient knowledge of the French language, history, culture, and values”.²⁹ While the system holds these requirements to grant citizenship to their refugees, there is no real mention of how a refugee’s level of integration into society or knowledge is measured. Additionally, the system implemented was created to help a few asylum seekers at a time, not 20,000. The refugee crisis has caused France to be “overwhelmed, belatedly scrambling to plug the gaping holes in their asylum system and contain what has become a full-blown humanitarian emergency”.³⁰

Lastly, the rise and growth of xenophobic ideals has contributed to France’s inhospitable environment for incoming refugees, specifically fostered by the political party, the National Front. Their political activity and extremely xenophobic rhetoric caught the United Nation’s attention. In fact, the United Nations formally addressed the rise of such aggressive activity by asserting how they are “concerned by the recrudescence of hate and xenophobic speech in certain political circles”.³¹ This was in response to the changing demeanor and attitudes towards

²⁹ "Refugee Law and Policy: France." Refugee Law and Policy: France. Accessed November 10, 2016. <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/refugee-law/france.php>.

³⁰ Faiola, Anthony. "A Global Surge in Refugees Leaves Europe Struggling to Cope." https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/new-migration-crisis-overwhelms-european-refugee-system/2015/04/21/3ab83470-e45c-11e4-ae0f-f8c46aa8c3a4_story.html?utm_term=.27d30dee33a1. April 21, 2015. Accessed November 10, 2016.

³¹ Lane, Oliver JJ. "United Nations Tells France: 'You Have a Racism Problem' - Breitbart." Breitbart. 2015. Accessed November 10, 2016. <http://www.breitbart.com/london/2015/05/17/united-nations-tells-france-you-have-a-racism-problem/>.

minorities, such as incoming refugees and the Muslim current population in the country. After the Charlie Hebdo and the Paris attacks both in the same year, anti-immigration sentiments have skyrocketed. The National Front managed to feed off these sentiments, further fuel its xenophobic ideals, and win the first round of regional elections in nearly half of France's regions.³² This proved evident of the growing resistance to France taking in more refugees. Even though they have only permitted entry to a small number of refugees (at least when compared to Germany and Sweden), the anti-refugee sentiment has manifested itself into an immensely strong and influential factor that the National Front has been taking advantage of. Additionally, such gains for the National Front have proved monumental because they have never held leadership in any French region in the past.³³ Their success at the polls helps to fuel their desire to pursue further victories and help push their agenda.

Overall, the issue of immigration and the specific event of the Refugee Crisis, has highlighted France's resistant stance in accommodating incoming refugees, and has given an opening for xenophobic ideals to thrive.

GERMANY

Germany has indeed proven to have a tremendously different approach concerning immigration, specifically with the refugee crisis. Reasons why Germany is often most preferable to refugees include: Angela Merkel's initial welcoming stance, the amount of job opportunities,

³² Chrisafis, Angelique. "Front National Wins Opening round in France's Regional Elections." The Guardian. Accessed October 26, 2016. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/06/front-national-wins-opening-round-in-frances-regional-elections>.

³³ Ibid.

and adequate accommodations for housing. It is obviously one of the most popular European destinations for refugees, as they have managed to accommodate over 1 million refugees.

To begin, Angela Merkel has been a determinant factor in the number of refugees making their way into Germany. She has made public comments where she claimed that Europe has a duty to help with this humanitarian crisis, and that Germany will lead the way.³⁴ Merkel has made her welcoming stance extremely public, and it has made waves over various audiences. As a result, thousands of refugees have flocked to Germany due to this attitude given off by the Chancellor. However, many critics have also come out against Angel Merkel, claiming that this move is a big mistake. Specifically, Chancellor Merkel's welcoming stance gave rise to a political party that is currently surpassing her party at the polls. To her benefit though, Germany's economy has the capacity for these high numbers of incoming refugees and could greatly benefit. Chancellor Merkel and German Labor Minister have claimed that profit is possible, and that immigration is needed.³⁵ Their economy has the capacity to integrate a reasonable amount of refugees, for there are job opportunities readily available. Another reason for the welcoming stance towards refugees comes down to German demographics. While most of the population in Germany lies in the older-age bracket, they also hold a low birth-rate. This illustrates a shrinking population every day that passes. Thus, their workforce has plenty of positions opening up every day, which refugees can eagerly fill.³⁶

³⁴ Peev, Gerri. "Don't Be Cold-hearted to Our 1.1million Refugees: Merkel Begg Germans after Her Popularity Drops over Open Door Policy." Daily Mail Online. December 31, 2015. Accessed October 26, 2016. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3380747/Don-t-cold-hearted-1-1-million-refugees-Merkel-begs-Germans-popularity-drops-open-door-policy.html>.

³⁵ Groden, Claire. "Here's Why Germany Is Welcoming Migrants with Open Arms." Fortune: Here's Why Germany Is Welcoming Migrants with Open Arms Comments. 2015. <http://fortune.com/2015/09/08/germany-migrant-crisis/>.

³⁶ Ibid.

When it concerns housing accommodations, Germany has specifically allocated money for the constructions of homes annually, and for the upkeep of current housing situations.³⁷ Currently, refugees are placed in shelters, apartment buildings (sometimes referred to as the “projects”), airports, and other available facilities.³⁸ Though there are concerns for the need of more housing, the fact that Germany has already specified funds for the amount of homes that need to be built each year shows incredible foresight. They are anticipating more refugees making their way to Germany in the years to come and are preparing themselves for such. At first, Germany seemed appealing to refugees for culture and traditions seemed to be a factor that was less scrutinized in comparison to France. Unlike France’s social attitude, the questioning and criticism of refugees and their culture seemed minimal. Initially, refugees were just allowed to do their own thing and went about their lifestyles as they pleased.³⁹ This attitude gradually evolved as more refugees started to make their way to Germany. This then called the question about isolation, and the possibility of assimilation never happening. However, as time went on, behavioral challenges came up. For instance, evidence to this can be seen by the attack of many women in Cologne, Germany at a New Year’s Eve celebration, where reports described

³⁷ "German States to Spend around 17 Billion Euros on Refugees in 2016." Reuters. 2015. Accessed October 10, 2016. <http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-europe-migrants-germany-costs-idUKKBN0UC02820151229>.

³⁸ "Germany Is Housing Refugees in Communist Ghost Towns." Foreign Policy Germany Is Housing Refugees in Communist Ghost Towns Comments. 2015. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/01/06/building-a-new-life-in-communisms-ghost-towns-east-germany-migrant-refugee-crisis/>.

³⁹ "Refugee Crisis: Germany's 'welcome Culture' Fades as Thousands Continue to Arrive." The Independent. October 7, 2015. Accessed November 10, 2016. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugee-crisis-germanys-welcome-culture-fades-as-thousands-continue-to-arrive-a6685361.html>.

the perpetrators as "Arabs of North African" origin.⁴⁰ After this situation, tremendous backlash grew against the integration of refugees; many claiming that integration isn't possible and that immigration should be halted.⁴¹ From these issues, some Germans took it upon themselves to attempt educating the refugees on acceptable cultural behavior.⁴² Individuals circulated online brochures in attempts to help refugees through the culture shock they were experiencing and facilitate adapting to the German way of life.⁴³ These actions display the division in sentiments amongst the German citizens themselves, from wanting to halt immigration entirely to wanting to help those present in Germany to assimilate.

Another important aspect that truly highlights the differences between France and Germany can also be found in their history. While France has long followed *jus soli* in matters regarding citizenship, Germany has followed *jus sanguinis*, or right of blood. So many German citizens today are only citizens because they had ancestors before them who were born in the country. For Germans, the ties to their country are traced through their blood, and not from where they were born. Brubaker sheds further light by claiming that Germany "has acknowledged the anomaly of settlers without citizenship and [have] eased naturalization rules...".⁴⁴ This insight leads us to further understand why Germany has had (at least initially) a much more "welcoming" or "approachable" presence and reputation in matters regarding these incoming

⁴⁰ "Germany Shocked by Cologne New Year Gang Assaults on Women." BBC News. Accessed September 11, 2016.

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35231046>.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² "Wary of Culture Clash, Germans Teach Refugees Their Rules." The Big Story. January 29, 2016. Accessed November 10, 2016.

<http://bigstory.ap.org/article/b0f86bc150f949129318b4872aab3ecc/wary-culture-clash-germans-teach-refugees-their-rules>.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Brubaker, Rogers. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992. P 180.

refugees. Their system in place allowed those who were literal foreigners to Germany, with ties through relatives, to become citizens. Specifically, the process by which refugees go through to become residents or citizens is called “discretionary naturalization”.⁴⁵ A refugee has the ability “to obtain citizenship after six years of legal residence”, as opposed to the usual eight year waiting period, if they meet a variety of requirements such as: possessing no criminal record, attaining “adequate German-language skills”, “knowledge of the legal and social systems”, and a couple more.⁴⁶ Like in France, there are no real tools for how a refugee’s knowledge or integration is measured, and this proves even more alarming knowing that there is an overwhelming amount of refugees entering the system at the moment.

Though a lot of progress has been made by Germany concerning the refugee crisis along with the integration of these individuals, a lot of pushback and resentful sentiment has been equally growing. For example, an arson attack to a hotel serving as a refugee center in Bautzen shows the actual manifestation of these resentful sentiments.⁴⁷ News outlets in Germany claim that attacks like this have become “increasingly common”.⁴⁸ Similar to France where the anti-immigration sentiment strengthened the National Front’s party, the German political party of an Alternative for Germany has recently come into newfound popularity and success.⁴⁹ In the first round elections, they managed to defeated Angela Merkel in two out of three states that held

⁴⁵ "Refugee Law and Policy: Germany." Library of Congress. Accessed November 10, 2016. https://www.loc.gov/law/help/refugee-law/germany.php#_ftnref82.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Hill, Jenny. "Migrant Attacks Reveal Dark Side of Germany." BBC News. 2015. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35633318>.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ "'Germany Needs Our Party as New Alternative' – AfD Chairwoman to RT." RT International. March 14, 2016. Accessed November 11, 2016. <https://www.rt.com/news/335527-frauke-petry-germany-elections/>.

elections. Their party leader, Frauke Petry has made herself well known by making extreme and provocative comments to the public and media. The rapid increase in the popularity of a political party that was hardly on the political radar in the past is illustrative of how the ongoing issues of immigration and refugees have helped further exacerbate xenophobic ideology. Furthermore, such issues have also produced a growing acceptance of these values being pushed by new players in the political world, such as Frauke Petry.

Since the current Chancellor is in real jeopardy of losing her seat, Angela Merkel has addressed her citizens and “has admitted that her approach to the refugee crisis is hurting Germany in the short term”.⁵⁰ However, she claims that she will continue on with her proposed plans concerning the refugee crisis. She is also asking for Europe to step up as united front to be able to find a solution to the crisis that will not prove detrimental to the countries that take on a bigger burden.⁵¹

Undoubtedly, the fact that Germany has accommodated over one million refugees displays their pivotal role in this refugee crisis. While Germany has allocated funds for housing, attempted educating refugees on German culture, and holds plenty of job opportunities, citizens in Germany are unhappy. Resentment and dissatisfaction is growing, and pushback is starting to trump Angela Merkel’s humanitarian goals. The Alternative for Germany is gaining momentum, and attacks against refugees are occurring so often, it is being considered common. It is clear that Angela Merkel faces a difficult road, but also that she needs to make some important decisions

⁵⁰ "Angela Merkel Stands by Her Guns on Refugee Crisis - but Admits Her Solution Is Hurting Germany." The Independent. Accessed September 15, 2016.

<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/germany-election-angela-merkel-refugee-crisis-afd-cdu-a6930096.html>.

⁵¹ Ibid.

and alterations to future legislation concerning refugees and her citizens. Brubaker has given a clear insight into the background of Germany and why their ideals of *jus sanguinis* has helped Germany be the welcoming country that it is today.

On the other hand, there's France. Its style of integration that includes the wait time for processing applications, housing accommodations, prolonged unemployment, red tape legislation, and strict culture laws has helped create their unappealing environment to refugees. While the refugee crisis and terrorist attacks have caused a surge in momentum and popularity for the National Front, we now face the question: "can they sustain such momentum until the presidential election?". Any further refugee or minority implications could further advance the agendas of jihadist organizations, and that is something France should prioritize. Furthermore, this is a time when France's history of long standing traditions will be put up to the test and will be constantly challenged.

Overall, the issue of immigration has displayed Germany and France's weak and strong points, while also providing an opening for xenophobic parties to gain success and popularity. Additionally, the fact the European Union cannot seem to pass legislation to cohesively ameliorate the situation also adds to the increased success of these political parties. These political parties reassure their followers by giving them an actual plan to tackle these issues in their home countries, and make the European Union look limited in decision making in comparison. The recent Refugee Crisis has only exacerbated these sentiments, and home citizens are growing more and more resistant to accepting outsiders. The National Front and the Alternative for Germany have been able to feed off this momentum, garnering increased support, and posing a real challenge at the polls. Now that Brexit is happening and Donald Trump has

been elected President of the United States, the chances of Marine Le Pen and Frauke Petry ascending to higher office in their respective countries are very real.

CHAPTER THREE: FAR-RIGHT LEADERSHIP

The National Front is France's far-right conservative political party that centers its platform around French nationalism, protectionist regulations for trade, islamophobia, and anti-immigration. The National Front has never sent a candidate to the presidency, but has been around enough to acquire seats in various regions of France. While the party has undergone some serious restructuring, it has done so under the leadership of Marine Le Pen. She has truly become an important figure in French politics and continues to take her party to new heights. The National Front has achieved newfound success at the polls and after the election of Donald Trump in the United States, Marine Le Pen believes she has a real chance of becoming France's next President. What is interesting about the National Front and Marine Le Pen's convictions is that they are not against various social and progressive advances that have been made around the West. In fact, Marine Le Pen is described as "a pro-choice, gay-friendly, economically interventionist, with a populist streak".⁵² The National Front has been able to advance its political agenda by the opening left behind when terrorism strikes in France or any European Union country. Along with Terrorism is the issue of immigration, which the Front National is strongly against. These are the matters that have allowed Marine Le Pen and the National Front to increase their credibility and popularity amongst France's population.

To begin to analyze how Marine Le Pen came to be such a prominent political figure in France, we can begin by looking at the National Front's history. Around the early 1970's, the National Front entered the political party arena and was led by Jean-Marie Le Pen. Often referred to as "*le diable*" by the French press and media, Jean-Marie Le Pen held controversial and highly

⁵² Alduy, Cecile. "The Devil's Daughter." The Atlantic. October 2013. Accessed November 11, 2016. <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2013/10/the-devils-daughter/309467/>.

nationalistic views that his party championed. He believed in “limiting immigration” and even went as far as calling the Nazi gas chambers of the Holocaust “a detail of World War Two”.⁵³ ⁵⁴ He certainly attempted every avenue to spread and increase the acceptance of xenophobic rhetoric amongst France’s population, but did so at the National Front’s expense. In 1995, the National Front did well in mayoral elections in “Toulon, Orange, Marignane” and in Nice, where a National Front candidate was elected mayor.⁵⁵ Their momentum was so strong that Jean-Marie Le Pen even qualified as a candidate in the first round of presidential elections in 2002. However, as Jean-Marie Le Pen continued with his controversial behavior, the success and image of his party dwindled. In fact, since France has laws in place against the denial of the Holocaust, Jean-Marie Le Pen was charged with various fines and faced suspension. Clearly, Jean-Marie was hurting the National Front’s image by spewing such hateful and extremely xenophobic rhetoric and reform was needed if the party hoped to ascend in the polls again. This is exactly what set the stage for Marine Le Pen to step in.

In an effort to reform her party and bring it to the front lines of France’s politics, Marine had a strategy to “de-demonize” the National Front. In order to “de-demonize” her party, Marine had to demonize others. This, in fact, is a very common tactic for rightwing populism across the world. The concept of “us versus them” and the constant scapegoating of “others” helps drive the success of these political parties. With the growing success and continued efforts of

⁵³ Kaufman, Sarah, and Jishai Evers. "A Brief History Of France's Far-Right National Front Party." *Vocativ*. 2015. Accessed November 11, 2016. <http://www.vocativ.com/258433/a-brief-history-of-the-national-front-party/>.

⁵⁴ "France: Le Pen Fined over Holocaust Remarks." *BBC News*. April 06, 2016. Accessed November 12, 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35979522>.

⁵⁵ "National Front." *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*. Accessed November 12, 2016. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/National-Front-political-party-France>.

globalization, Marine Le Pen has been able to successfully implement this ideology to her party's advantage. In France's case, the "others" are "minorities such as migrants, which are supposedly favored by the (corrupt) elites".⁵⁶ With the ongoing influx of immigrants seeking refuge in the European Union, the current leaders in power have been undoubtedly public in their commitment to helping the "others" who are seeking asylum. In 2015, current French President François Hollande announced that France would take in 24,000 refugees over a two-year period.⁵⁷ This only added fuel to Marine Le Pen's momentum, insisting that "mass immigration and multiculturalism are the children of the EU."⁵⁸ The fear striking France that these immigrants are stripping their country of its culture and taking their jobs and furthering terrorist attacks comes from the fact that many actually believe there are too many immigrants in the country. Without ever citing any real statistics or numbers, Marine Le Pen has been able to incite fear and worry amongst her followers. In fact, due to the German Marshall Fund of the United States, a survey found that in France when citizens were asked if there were too many immigrants in their country without given an actual percentage, the citizen was most likely to answer "yes".⁵⁹ However, when a respondent was given an actual percentage of the number of

⁵⁶ Greven, Thomas. "The Rise of Right-Wing Populism in Europe and the United States." *Freidrich Ebert Stiftung*, May 01, 2016.

http://www.fesdc.org/fileadmin/user_upload/publications/RightwingPopulism.pdf.

⁵⁷ Briançon, Pierre. "Hollande's Refugee Policy Divides French Right." *POLITICO*. 2015. Accessed November 15, 2016. <http://www.politico.eu/article/europe-refugee-crisis-hollande-refugee-policy-divides-french-right-paris/>.

⁵⁸ Mowat, Laura. "Marine Le Pen Blasts: EU to Blame for Mass Migration and Brexit Has Inspired Frexit Fight." *Express.co.uk*. September 21, 2016. Accessed November 23, 2016. <http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/712727/Marine-Le-Pen-EU-blame-mass-migration-Brexit-inspired-Frexit>.

⁵⁹ "TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS: MOBILITY, MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION." *The German Marshall Fund of the United States*. P9. Accessed November 23, 2016. www.gmfus.org/file/3482/download.

immigrants in their country, the number of people responding “yes” was nearly cut in half: 29% to 15%.⁶⁰ From these numbers, one can infer that inciting fear is definitely a successful tactic when the general public is misinformed.

As noted earlier, the National Front’s image was salvaged by Marine Le Pen after her father constantly made outlandish and contentious comments. An interesting move by Marine Le Pen during this presidential election is her decision to move forward campaigning by dropping her last name on campaign materials and propaganda. Her official campaign website is “Marine2017.fr” and other campaign materials similarly display “Marine2017” as well.⁶¹ This move shows an attempt by Marine Le Pen to distance herself from the Le Pen name, for it is commonly associated with hateful, fear-mongering, and xenophobic rhetoric. However, Marine Le Pen appears to show very little room for distancing herself from the same controversy that her father brought to the party. For instance, in 2010 Marine Le Pen compared Muslims praying in the streets to the Nazi occupation. Such comments have led her to go to court in Lyon on the charges “of inciting racial hatred”.⁶² So while Marine Le Pen has set out on a quest to “demonize” the National Front “and distance” the party and herself “from accusations of racism and anti-Semitism”, it seems the party’s focus has now shifted to attacking Muslims.⁶³ Her efforts to reform the party have come a long way, but the party and the Le Pen’s still have an xenophobic image attached.

Another method that Marine Le Pen has been able to utilize is the idea that she represents an “anti-establishment” or unconventional alternative compared to those who currently hold

⁶⁰ Ibid, 9.

⁶¹ "Marine 2017." Marine 2017. Accessed November 23, 2016. <https://www.marine2017.fr/>.

⁶² "France: Marine Le Pen Goes on Trial over Muslim Remarks." BBC News. October 20, 2015. Accessed November 25, 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34580169>.

⁶³ Ibid.

office. This new wave of populism is centered against the “political class, elite, [or] establishment” as populist leaders, like Marine Le Pen, who vouch to be “the sole authentic voice” for “the people”.⁶⁴ This appeal pushes the concept that “citizens have been shut out of power by corrupt politicians and an unrepresented elite”.⁶⁵ Examples of Marine Le Pen using this appeal can be seen through the various speeches she gives, but specifically one in Frejus, France in September 2016. Marine Le Pen keeps referencing “*le peuple*” or “the people” that have been left “defenseless in the face of economic liberalism and multiculturalism imposed from abroad” and stresses the idea that people have to rally against the elite to change this.⁶⁶ Moreover, Marine Le Pen has carried the focus of “the people” and has incorporated it into her campaign slogan, “*au nom du peuple*” which translates into “for the people”.⁶⁷ This slogan illustrates Marine Le Pen’s attempt of to paint herself as the “direct voice of the people”, and has successfully used this appeal of “constructing an ‘us versus them’” to create a social divide that has helped her momentum.⁶⁸ Additionally, many world leaders reacted to the American election results where Marine Le Pen seemed to display great satisfaction with Donald Trump winning the presidency. In fact, on an interview with BBC, Marine Le Pen called Donald Trump’s

⁶⁴ Greven, Thomas. "The Rise of Right-Wing Populism in Europe and the United States." *Freidrich Ebert Stiftung*, May 01, 2016.

http://www.fesdc.org/fileadmin/user_upload/publications/RightwingPopulism.pdf.

⁶⁵ Barr, Robert R. "POPULISTS, OUTSIDERS AND ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT POLITICS." *SAGE Publications*. P31. <http://ppq.sagepub.com/content/15/1/29.full.pdf>.

⁶⁶ Marine Le Pen - A L'issue Des Estivales De Fréjus, Marine... | Facebook. Accessed November 27, 2016. <https://www.facebook.com/MarineLePen/videos/1466142073402112/>.

⁶⁷ Albertini, Dominique. "Marine Le Pen En Campagne «au Nom Du Peuple» Contre «l'individu Absolu»." *Libération.fr*. September 18, 2016. Accessed November 24, 2016. http://www.liberation.fr/france/2016/09/18/marine-le-pen-en-campagne-au-nom-du-peuple-contre-l-individu-absolu_1501838.

⁶⁸ Barr, Robert R. "POPULISTS, OUTSIDERS AND ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT POLITICS." *SAGE Publications*. P32. <http://ppq.sagepub.com/content/15/1/29.full.pdf>.

election a “victory of the people against the elite” and gave claim that such results could make her chances at the French presidency much more possible.⁶⁹

Overall, Marine Le Pen has managed to win over voters who appear “frustrated by government impotence in dealing with a perceived influx of immigrants, frightened by terrorist threats and thoroughly disgusted with conventional politics”.⁷⁰ While she has attempted to take the National Front’s image in a friendlier and more approachable direction, her comments against Muslims and her aggressive stance against immigration illustrates the same xenophobic patterns seen in Jean-Marie’s National Front. Regardless, her leadership has proven successful in a time where pushback against various progressive issues across the West are at an all-time high. Marine Le Pen has been able to master her “personal charisma...in attracting supporters” which has been critical as the presidential primaries and elections in France are approaching. In fact, the upset defeat of former President Sarkozy in the preliminary primaries of the French republican party places Marine Le Pen in a relatively favorable position. Many critics have doubted Marine Le Pen’s ability to become France’s next president, but after the referendum in favor of Brexit and the election of Donald Trump in the United States, the impossible proves possible.

⁶⁹ "French Far-right Leader Marine Le Pen Hails Trump Win." BBC One. November 13, 2016. Accessed November 30, 2016. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p04g55nb>.

⁷⁰ Bremmer, Ian. "Le Pen's Success in France Is One More Sign of a Scared Electorate." December 7, 2015. Accessed November 30, 2016. <http://time.com/4139441/france-marine-le-pen-regional-elections/>.

GERMANY

Germany has often stayed away from promoting ideals of German nationalism due to their highly controversial history, but the populist wave has certainly struck Germany as well. A relatively new party has emerged, the Alternative for Germany. This political party was founded in 2013 and based most of its platform on Euroscepticism, which is a strong movement in opposition of the European Union. As time progressed and issues with immigration and terrorism exacerbated across Western Europe, this political party started to shift its focus. As a result, it currently holds a very xenophobic and nationalistic stance, and has recently gained newfound success with Frauke Petry. As Germany has taken a major role in the Refugee Crisis by accepting more than one million migrants, many German citizens have grown discontent with current Chancellor Angela Merkel.⁷¹ Though Germany possesses a strong economy and the capacity for these refugees, the growing resistance to the Chancellor's decision has given Frauke Petry and the Alternative for Germany an opening to expand their populist ideology and advance their xenophobic agenda. Through similar tactics to Marine Le Pen in France, Frauke Petry has utilized party reform, anti-establishment stances, and fear mongering tactics, to help better position the Alternative for Germany for success at the polls.

As mentioned earlier, the Alternative for Germany came in to the public spectrum in the year 2013. As Europe was recovering from the sovereign debt crisis of 2009, the Alternative for Germany emerged championing against the European Union.⁷² At the time, this political party

⁷¹ Peev, Gerri. "Don't Be Cold-hearted to Our 1.1million Refugees: Merkel Begg Germans after Her Popularity Drops over Open Door Policy." Daily Mail Online. December 31, 2015. Accessed October 26, 2016. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3380747/Don-t-cold-hearted-1-1million-refugees-Merkel-begs-Germans-popularity-drops-open-door-policy.html>.

⁷² Horn, Heather. "The Voters Who Want Islam Out of Germany." The Atlantic. May 27, 2016. Accessed November 30, 2016. <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/05/afd-germany-anti-immigration/484700/>.

called “for the dissolution of the euro” and “tap[ped] into growing German discontent over the costs of bailing out southern Europe”.⁷³ While this was the focus of the party, the growing anti-immigrant and anti-Islam sentiments allowed Frauke Petry to unseat the former chairperson, Bernd Lucke.⁷⁴ After he announced his departure from the party, he also acknowledged the party’s shift in ideology and “condemned the party’s turn to xenophobia and populism”.⁷⁵ Moreover, as the refugee crisis started to further unravel, Chancellor Angela Merkel announced her desire “to keep Germany and Europe open to welcome legitimate asylum seekers in common humanity”.⁷⁶ Frauke Petry credits this announcement for the Alternative for Germany’s rise in popularity, and in fact refers to herself and the rest of the members of the party as “Merkel’s children”.⁷⁷ The rise of anti-immigrant and anti-Islamic beliefs have been able to further the Alternative for Germany’s rise to power, but also their party leadership has proven themselves as a legitimate competitor to Chancellor Merkel and her political party, the Christian Democratic Union of Germany. It is evident that the reach of the Alternative for Germany ranges far for they have been able to “attract swing voters from all political parties”, “mobilize traditional non-

⁷³ Vasagar, Jeevan. "1,000 Germans Abandon Angela Merkel for Eurosceptic Party." The Telegraph. April 2013. Accessed November 30, 2016. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/9993390/1000-Germans-abandon-Angela-Merkel-for-Eurosceptic-party.html>.

⁷⁴ "AfD Ditches Lucke as Party Swings to Right." The Local. July 05, 2015. Accessed November 30, 2016. <http://www.thelocal.de/20150705/germanys-afd-heads-right-with-new-leader>.

⁷⁵ Early, Nick R. "This Is The Anti-Refugee Party That Won A Big Victory In Germany." March 14, 2016. Accessed November 30, 2016. This Is The Anti-Refugee Party That Won A Big Victory In Germany.

⁷⁶ Hutton, Will. "Angela Merkel's Humane Stance on Immigration Is a Lesson to Us All | Will Hutton." August 29, 2015. Accessed November 30, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/aug/30/immigration-asylumseekers-refugees-migrants-angela-merkel>.

⁷⁷ Meaney, Thomas. "The New Star of Germany’s Far Right." The New Yorker. October 3, 2016. Accessed November 22, 2016. <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/10/03/the-new-star-of-germanys-far-right>.

voters”, and even spark the interests of those who are considered “poorly skilled and educated”.⁷⁸ In certain regional elections across Germany this year, the Alternative for Germany managed to surpass the Christian Democratic Union. A specific example can be seen by taking a further look at the region of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, which is Chancellor Merkel’s home district. The Alternative for Germany earned 20.9% of the vote, putting it in second place, while the Christian Democratic Union received 19% of the vote.⁷⁹ While both the Alternative for Germany and the Christian Democratic Union didn’t place first, the results were surprising yet reconfirming of the growing acceptance of xenophobic and populist ideologies. Beyond this region, the Alternative for Germany did exceedingly well and now holds representatives in nine different state parliaments.⁸⁰

So while the shift in the Alternative for Germany’s party platform was instrumental in their newfound success and popularity, Frauke Petry’s leadership has been an essential key as well. Similar to Marine Le Pen and the National Front, Frauke Petry has utilized an anti-establishment stance to further garner support and position herself as a champion of the people. With such success at the polls, Frauke Petry’s mandate to achieve new heights has advanced and even exclaimed that the results at the polls were a sign that “the people no longer trust the old establishment parties”.⁸¹ In fact, Frauke Petry directly challenged “the establishment” when she publically called for Chancellor Angela Merkel to step down at a public rally in Hanover,

⁷⁸ "Poland's Ministers in Britain to Discuss Safety of Poles." New Europe. 2016. Accessed November 30, 2016. <https://www.neweurope.eu/article/polands-ministers-britain-discuss-safety-poles/>.

⁷⁹ Oltermann, Philip. "Angela Merkel's Party Beaten by Rightwing Populists in German Elections." The Guardian. September 06, 2016. Accessed November 30, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/04/mecklenburg-vorpommern-german-anti-immigrant-party-strong-regional-election-exit-polls-merkel>.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

Germany.⁸² One can say that Frauke Petry has managed to authenticate the cleavages between her following and those who are currently in power. Frauke Petry seeks to show her supporters that she holds “solutions to break the elite’s hold on power” by constantly illustrating the divide between herself and other politicians. In some regards, Frauke Petry is able to better take advantage of the anti-establishment position because she “has come late to politics and relishes her outsider status”.⁸³ She has been able to emphasize and capitalize on the divide between the “political elite” and herself by conveying to her followers that they are “treated as a manipulable mass rather than a reasoning public” by the current government.⁸⁴ Additionally, with the growing triumph of the Alternative for Germany, Petry has claimed that it is now their “responsibility to make politics for the people”.⁸⁵ This again exhibits the concentration of the populist movement, and what has allowed these outwardly xenophobic parties to progress. The Alternative for Germany has been successful in rallying people and empowering them to strive for a political transformation by emphasizing their anti-establishment role, but also by instilling fear in their followers.

Similar to Marine Le Pen, Frauke Petry was quick to congratulate Donald Trump in winning the U.S. Presidential Election and stated that “Americans have chosen a new beginning

⁸² Nasr, Joseph. "Leader of German Anti-immigrant Party Calls on Merkel to Resign." November 28, 2016. Accessed November 30, 2016. <https://www.yahoo.com/news/leader-german-anti-immigrant-party-calls-merkel-resign-154353872--business.html?ref=gs>.

⁸³ Meaney, Thomas. "The New Star of Germany’s Far Right." *The New Yorker*. October 3, 2016. Accessed November 22, 2016. <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/10/03/the-new-star-of-germanys-far-right>.

⁸⁴ Barr, Robert R. "POPULISTS, OUTSIDERS AND ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT POLITICS." *SAGE Publications*. P38. <http://ppq.sagepub.com/content/15/1/29.full.pdf>.

⁸⁵ Oltermann, Philip. "Angela Merkel's Party Beaten by Rightwing Populists in German Elections." *The Guardian*. September 06, 2016. Accessed November 30, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/04/mecklenburg-vorpommern-german-anti-immigrant-party-strong-regional-election-exit-polls-merkel>.

free of corruption and sleaze. This is a historic chance.”⁸⁶ Both Petry and Le Pen praising Trump’s victory and making references to the “elite” and the “corrupt” display how they are all in alignment in ideology and looking for one another’s success. Moreover, both Petry and Le Pen have made claims of how Trump’s victory abroad could signify great achievements for their own parties at home.

The fact that Germany accepted over one million refugees is a huge catalyst for the Alternative for Germany’s rise to power. While there has long been resistance for a German nationalistic party to enter the stage, the Alternative for Germany was able to capture an audience by playing off the growing anti-immigrant sentiments. Such sentiments can be portrayed by looking at immigration surveys conducted by the German Marshall Fund of the United States. The most recent numbers provided come from the year 2014, and in that year 51% of German citizens disapproved of the government’s handling of immigration.⁸⁷ Additionally, 51% of German citizens responded positively about having concerns about immigration from outside the European Union.⁸⁸ These numbers certainly display the uneasiness Germans had in their government and in the grand influx of refugees. This has allowed the Alternative for Germany and Frauke Petry to instill fear amongst their followers. While “stopping the flow of refugees” has been an important pillar in Frauke Petry’s platform, there has also been a shift in

⁸⁶ Petry, Frauke. "Die Amerikaner Haben Sich Für Den Politischen Neuanfang Und Gegen Filz/Korruption Entschieden - Diese Chance Ist Historisch.#Trump *." Twitter. November 09, 2016. Accessed November 29, 2016.

<https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/796284599760486400>.

⁸⁷ "TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS: MOBILITY, MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION." *The German Marshall Fund of the United States*. P38. Accessed November 23, 2016.

www.gmfus.org/file/3482/download.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 39.

“stopping the “Islamification” of Germany”.⁸⁹ Her xenophobic ideology is clearly displayed when she asserts that “Islam does not belong in Germany” and suggests the usage of “firearms if necessary...to prevent illegal border crossings” by those seeking asylum.⁹⁰ Petry’s “insults and daily islamophobia” as well as the usage of “the refugee crisis to foment a propaganda of fear” is believed to be linked to an upsurge in violence against migrants.⁹¹ The German Interior Ministry recorded “a large increase in the broader category of ‘hate crimes’”: from 5,858 in 2015 to 10, 373 in 2016.⁹² In this case, Frauke Petry’s fear tactics have created a hostile and dangerous environment for refugees and have legitimately highlighted the flourishing xenophobia in Germany.

In a country with such an ignominious and contemptible history, the rise and growing success of Frauke Petry and the Alternative for Germany illuminates the danger present in the dispersion of xenophobic dialogue.

⁸⁹ Dalor, Brenna. "Frauke 'Adolfina' Petry: The Anti-immigrant, Anti-Islam Threat to Merkel." France 24. September 05, 2016. Accessed November 27, 2016. <http://www.france24.com/en/20160905-germany-afd-frauke-petry-right-immigrant-election-merkel>.

⁹⁰ Meaney, Thomas. "The New Star of Germany’s Far Right." The New Yorker. October 3, 2016. Accessed November 22, 2016. <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/10/03/the-new-star-of-germanys-far-right>.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² "Rightwing Violence Surges in Germany." The Guardian. May 23, 2016. Accessed November 29, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/23/germany-rightwing-violence-surges-asylum-seekers>.

CHAPTER 4: TERRORISM IN FRANCE

Unfortunately, the rise of ISIS has certainly allowed political actors such as the National Front and Marine Le Pen to further their credibility. While France has committed to admitting only 30,000 refugees over the next two years, the rate of terrorist activities has definitely increased over recent years.⁹³ With the increase of terrorist activity, the National Front and Marine Le Pen have seized the opportunity to advance their fear tactics and xenophobic rhetoric. After each terrorist attack that has occurred, the National Front has received higher favorable ratings at the polls. This has encouraged Marine Le Pen to continue using the same strategy surrounding her campaign.

In a survey taken by Sputnik Polls in February 2016, French citizens were asked this question: Would you say that the presence of refugees from Africa and the Middle East in France is a significant cause of delinquency?

Only 8% responded with "I don't know", 28% said "No", while 64% claimed "Yes".⁹⁴

These results display how apprehensive the general French population feels in regards to refugees in their country, which can easily explain why xenophobic rhetoric spewed by Marine Le Pen and the National Front is proving effective. Additionally, this can also be the reason why Marine Le Pen has never missed an opportunity to make a statement in the aftermath of a terrorist attack in France.

⁹³ Ahmed, Beenish. "After Attacks, France Increases Its Commitment To Refugees." Think Progress. November 18, 2015. Accessed November 29, 2016. <https://thinkprogress.org/after-attacks-france-increases-its-commitment-to-refugees-3f2fce1df023#.pj4kwz22p>.

⁹⁴ "Most French Citizens Consider Migrants Main Factor in Increased Crime Rate." Sputnik International. March 17, 2016. Accessed November 29, 2016. <https://sputniknews.com/infographics/201604261038610454-most-french-citizens-consider-migrants-main-factor-in-increased-crime-rate/>.

After the Charlie Hebdo attacks in January 2015 where 11 satirical artists and one police officer were shot to death, Marine Le Pen issued a public statement where she made various references to Islam being a “murderous ideology” and how “this attack” must “free [the] speech about Islamic fundamentalism”.⁹⁵ Additionally, Le Pen claimed that “this [was] a terrorist attack carried out in the name of radical Islam”.⁹⁶ Furthermore, when trying to access Marine Le Pen’s speech on YouTube, the site itself gives a notice that “the YouTube community” found this video “potentially inappropriate”.⁹⁷ A warning like this depicts the rhetoric being used as decisive and controversial. Moreover, when Marine Le Pen’s speech is compared to Prime Minister Manuel Vall’s speech, there is a clear and sharp contrast displayed. In fact, in a study dedicated to “decoding Marine Le Pen’s rhetoric” by Stanford University researchers, it was found that Le Pen’s speech was heavily centered on “Islamism, fundamentalism” and constantly used words such as “radical, terrorist, fundamentalist” and “jihadist”. Also, Le Pen does not make a clear distinction amongst terrorists and the immigrants, but rather seems to guilt them all by association.⁹⁸ In comparison, Prime Minister Manuel Vall’s speech “puts forward the unity of the nation”, and emphasizes the French values of “laïcité, liberté” and “démocratie”.⁹⁹ In direct

⁹⁵ Watt, Holly. "Marine Le Pen Condemns 'murderous Ideology' in the Aftermath of Charlie Hebdo Shooting." The Telegraph. Accessed November 29, 2016. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/11331595/Marine-Le-Pen-condemns-murderous-ideology-in-the-aftermath-of-Charlie-Hebdo-shooting.html>.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Déclaration De Marine Le Pen Suite Aux Attentats De Charlie Hebdo." Accessed November 29, 2016. https://www.youtube.com/verify_controversy?next_url=/watch?v=RwbS_6GR7U4.

⁹⁸ "Comparative Analysis: How to Speak about Charlie Hebdo (Valls and Le Pen)." Comparative Analysis: How to Speak about Charlie Hebdo (Valls and Le Pen) | Decoding Marine Le Pen's Rhetoric. Accessed November 29, 2016.

<https://decodingmarinelepen.stanford.edu/comparative-analysis-how-speak-about-charlie-hebdo-valls-and-le-pen>.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

contrast to Le Pen's "network of guilt by association", Prime Minister Manuel Valls "mentions the attackers but does not confuse them with immigration or Islam at large".¹⁰⁰

In November 2015, the terrorist attack that left 130 people dead and a total of 352 injured proved to be a pivotal event for the National Front and Marine Le Pen. Such as Marine Le Pen issued a statement after the Charlie Hebdo attacks, she did the same for the Paris Attacks of November. Within this speech, Le Pen's discourse and specific diction appeared to be significantly more audacious and had a clear intention of furthering the fear the French citizens felt after the attack, as opposed to emphasizing unity and strength. Identical to how Donald Trump vowed to "make America great again", Marine claimed that she would make France safe again because at the moment "France and the French [were] no longer safe".¹⁰¹ Marine even stated that France has to "determine who are its allies and who are its enemies" and went as far as accusing "unnamed countries of having benevolent relationships with radical Islam and ambiguous ties with terrorist groups".¹⁰² From this statement, she set up the idea that France has unsafe relationships with certain countries, giving her supporters another thing to worry about and foster their suspicion towards the government's credibility. The rhetoric used here surely has positive waves on Marine's followers for already 52% of French citizens claim to disapprove of their own government.¹⁰³ Marine Le Pen also called for France to "ban Islamist organizations, close radical mosques, and kick out foreigners who are preaching hatred...as well as illegal

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Breeden, Aurellen. "Le Pen: 'The French Are No Longer Safe'." November 14, 2015. Accessed November 29, 2016. <http://www.nytimes.com/live/paris-attacks-live-updates/le-pen-the-french-are-no-longer-safe/>.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ "TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS: MOBILITY, MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION." *The German Marshall Fund of the United States*. P19. Accessed November 23, 2016. www.gmfus.org/file/3482/download.

immigrants who have nothing to do” in France. Again, Marine Le Pen extends the idea of “guilt by association” by declaring that “people who are members of Islamist movements and who have dual citizenship...should have their French citizenship taken away and should be banned from French territory”.¹⁰⁴ From these comments, one can witness the extreme turn Marine Le Pen’s rhetoric has taken. She has now become more forward and direct in her xenophobic tone and demands, and it seems that the French people are gradually becoming more accepting of such rhetoric being used. In fact, after the November Paris attacks the National Front did exceptionally well in regional elections the month after. While they were only the first round of regional elections, “the exit polls...predicted that the FN had won 30.8% of the vote” while the Republicans took 27.2%, and Socialists took 22.7%.¹⁰⁵ These results depict that the xenophobic and hateful rhetoric tone being used is successful, and thus there is no motivation to change or alter the current method being employed by Marine Le Pen.

The next major terrorist attack that helped propel Marine Le Pen and the National Front forward occurred in July 2016. 85 people were killed as they celebrated Bastille Day on the streets of Nice. After this specific attack, Marine Le Pen accused the French government of severe inaction and claimed they were complacent “in the face of terror”.¹⁰⁶ She condemned the fact that France allowed “ISIL and their murderous ideology” to develop in their country for she

¹⁰⁴ Breeden, Aurellen. "Le Pen: 'The French Are No Longer Safe'." November 14, 2015. Accessed November 29, 2016. <http://www.nytimes.com/live/paris-attacks-live-updates/le-pen-the-french-are-no-longer-safe/>.

¹⁰⁵ "France Elections: National Front Leads in Regional Polls." BBC News. December 06, 2015. Accessed November 29, 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35018849>.

¹⁰⁶ Plucinska, Joanna. "Marine Le Pen: Nice Attacks Proof of Islamic Fundamentalism’s Rise." POLITICO. July 31, 2016. Accessed November 29, 2016. <http://www.politico.eu/article/marine-le-pen-bastille-day-nice-attacks-proof-of-islamic-fundamentalisms-rise/>.

considers that “the root cause of the wave of terror attacks France has endured”.¹⁰⁷ Time and time again, Marine Le Pen references Islamic Fundamentalism and after this attack explicitly called for “the fight against” it to start.¹⁰⁸ This type of speech assuredly allows the spread of islamophobia to prevail and resonate with the French. Marine Le Pen’s popularity rating rising three percentage points to 27 percent is a clear indicator of this.¹⁰⁹ Any future terrorist attacks that may occur will allow Marine Le Pen to become far more aggressive in her xenophobic tone, and her support amongst her followers will increase. Instead of promoting a strong France that will overcome any evil, Marine Le Pen has chosen to arouse the fear the public experiences each time a terrorist attack transpires. So far, this method has proven effective every time for either Marine Le Pen’s ratings go up, or the National Front receives higher numbers at the polls.

Inclusive of all the terrorist attacks that have occurred across France and the rest of the European Union, one can see that these events have allowed Marine Le Pen to advance her legitimacy and her ratings at the polls. She has absolutely taken the National Front to new heights, and has taken advantage of every opportunity to further her xenophobic beliefs and ideology. As a matter of fact, a recent poll taken in November saw that approximately 31% of French people believe Marine Le Pen’s “hardline stance on radical Islam would help make France a safer place and put an end to the war on terror”.¹¹⁰ Interestingly enough though, when

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Le Pen, Marine. "A Nouveau La France Plongée Dans L'horreur. Pensées Pour Les Victimes. La Lutte Contre Le Fondamentalisme Islamiste Doit Démarrer MLP #Nice." Twitter. July 15, 2016. Accessed November 29, 2016. https://twitter.com/MLP_officiel/status/753808548627308544.

¹⁰⁹ "French President's Approval Rating Inches up despite Nice Attack: Polls." Reuters. July 24, 2016. Accessed November 29, 2016. <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-politics-idUSKCN1030TI>.

¹¹⁰McGuinness, Romina. "Shock Poll Shows One Third of French Think Right-winger Marine Le Pen Would save Country." Express.co.uk. November 03, 2016. Accessed November 29, 2016.

the same group of people were asked what they believed was France's biggest problem, 72% of them responded with "immigration", as opposed to "terrorism".¹¹¹ This proves striking for it portrays how powerful Marine Le Pen has been in using the fear brought on by terrorism to advance herself and the National Front. As France is in a continued state of emergency until late January of 2017, Marine Le Pen will continue to utilize fear tactics and fear mongering to wedge the National Front and herself as an important political actor in French and European politics.¹¹²

<http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/728925/Marine-le-pen-french-national-poll-immigrants>.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² "Temporary Reintroduction of Border Control." Migration and Home Affairs. Accessed November 28, 2016. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/borders-and-visas/schengen/reintroduction-border-control/index_en.htm.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE COLONGE ATTACK AND THE MEDIA IN GERMANY

While Germany has not experienced the terrorist attacks that France has, certain events involving their refugees has led to an increased backlash that the Alternative for Germany and Frauke Petry have been able to use at their advantage. Frauke Petry and her political party are adamantly against the welcoming of these refugees because it is within their beliefs that they threaten German values, they will refuse to assimilate, and they will work to spread the religion of Islam into Germany. Furthermore, Frauke Petry's tactics go beyond targeting refugees. In fact, she has admitted to making provocative statements for the media, and has even gone after well-known figures to increase her publicity.

The first event that has caused public backlash on the incoming refugees from many Germans is the attacks on multiple women in Cologne, Germany on New Year's Eve 2015.¹¹³ Allegedly, "about a thousand men, described by police as mainly migrants of north African or Arab origin" began "harassing, groping" and "stripping" over 600 women.¹¹⁴ This massive attack called into question the idea of refugees and immigrants assimilating into the European/German society. Chancellor Angela Merkel responded by displaying "indignation about these repulsive offenses and sexual attacks" and vowed that everything would be done to "find those responsible as quickly as possible... and to punish them regardless of their origin or background".¹¹⁵ To many, this was an opportunity to condemn and criticize Chancellor Merkel

¹¹³ "Germany Shocked by Cologne New Year Gang Assaults on Women." BBC News. January 05, 2016. Accessed November 28, 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35231046>.

¹¹⁴ "Cologne's Aftershocks." The Economist. January 16, 2016. Accessed November 28, 2016. <http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21688418-ultimate-victim-sexual-assaults-migrants-could-be-angela-merkels-liberal-refugee>.

¹¹⁵ Burchard, Hans Von Der. "Merkel Demands Firm Response to Mass Attacks on Women." POLITICO. January 05, 2016. Accessed November 28, 2016. <http://www.politico.eu/article/merkel-demands-firm-response-to-mass-attacks-women-scandal-cologne/>.

for her decision to welcome so many refugees into Germany. Frauke Petry quickly took to Twitter to ask “After the wave of crimes and sexual attacks, is Germany ‘colorful and cosmopolitan’ enough for you, Frau Merkel?”¹¹⁶ Adding fuel to her anti-immigrant campaign, Petry followed up by saying the attacks were the “appalling consequences of catastrophic asylum and migration policies on Germany’s everyday reality”.¹¹⁷ This specific event proved to be a pivotal turning event for the Alternative for Germany as it finally put it on the political party radar. For instance, in a poll conducted by INSA (Germany’s Institute for New Social Answers), the Alternative for Germany’s approval ratings went up from 1.0% to 12.5%, while the Christian Democratic Union’s approval ratings fell to 32.5%, which was considered “an all-time low”.¹¹⁸ While Frauke Petry’s statements on the events were minimal, huge numbers of people felt their government had failed them. Specifically, one German citizen (who is also an Editor of the German magazine, *Tagesspiegel*) claimed that “all the parties in parliament are for refugees, but at least half of the population consists of enraged citizens who feel they have no political representation”.¹¹⁹ So as Frauke Petry and her political party started to take an even more

¹¹⁶ Petry, Frauke. "Frau #Merkel Stellen Sie D.Sicherheit&Ordnung in Deutschland Wieder Her!<https://t.co/MtYHTbWuXQG>Grenzen Schließen! Pic.twitter.com/kYOqkoDuW7." Twitter. 2016. Accessed January 29, 2016.

<https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/684310461819523072>.

¹¹⁷ Cole, Deborah. "Mass Sexual Assaults in Cologne Test German Openness to Refugees." The Times of Israel. January 06, 2016. Accessed November 29, 2016. <http://www.timesofisrael.com/german-openness-to-refugees-tested-by-mass-sexual-assaults-in-cologne/>.

¹¹⁸ "Union Sackt Auf Allzeittief – AfD Mit Neuem Rekord." January 16, 2016. Accessed November 29, 2016. <https://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article151170018/Union-sackt-auf-Allzeittief-AfD-mit-neuem-Rekord.html>.

¹¹⁹ Heilbrunn, Jacob. "Germany's Refugee Crisis Turns It Ominously to the Right." Los Angeles Times. January 16, 2016. Accessed November 29, 2016. <http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-heilbrunn-germany-turns-to-the-right-20160117-story.html>.

aggressive stance in their anti-immigration and xenophobic rhetoric, more people started to feel that they would be accurately represented by them.

Another example of Frauke Petry using situations to advance herself and her political agenda could be seen when she publically went after a German soccer player with a Muslim faith. Mesut Ozil, considered a “football star”, was heavily criticized for not singing Germany’s national anthem. Additionally, Frauke Petry went as far as saying that Ozil was “peddling a political Islamic agenda” in his decision to not sing the national anthem, and for his trips to Mecca.¹²⁰ Though this move did not do much to benefit the Alternative for Germany or Frauke Petry at the polls, Petry has admitted to making outrageous and offensive comments “in order to be heard”.¹²¹ Petry argues that during the party’s early days they “tried very hard...to be heard with lots of very sensible thinking and arguments”, but this method didn’t let the party “get through to anyone”.¹²² Similar to the United States with Donald Trump, Frauke Petry quickly caught on that bad publicity is still publicity. Thus, while she “castigates the media for liberal bias”, Frauke Petry and the Alternative for Germany still “thrive on media attention”.¹²³ Further proof to Frauke Petry’s resistant stance towards the media is her interview on Conflict Zone with Tim Sebastian. When asked about her comments about “shooting refugees on the border as a last resort”, Petry consistently denied making such statements.¹²⁴ The climactic

¹²⁰ "German Populist Party Slams Muslim Soccer Player Ozil." The Local. June 05, 2016. Accessed November 29, 2016. <http://www.thelocal.de/20160605/german-populist-party-slams-muslim-soccer-player-ozil>.

¹²¹ Meaney, Thomas. "The New Star of Germany’s Far Right." The New Yorker. October 3, 2016. Accessed November 22, 2016. <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/10/03/the-new-star-of-germanys-far-right>.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ "Transcript: Tim Sebastian Interviews Frauke Petry." March 21, 2016. Accessed November 29, 2016. <http://www.dw.com/en/transcript-tim-sebastian-interviews-frauke-petry/a-19152089>.

moment in the interview occurred when an irritated Frauke Petry requested Tim Sebastian to ask her questions about how her party wants to change Germany and European Politics, as opposed to facing questions over her controversial comments. Tim Sebastian responded that he's going to continue "to ask the questions" that he wants because "that's what a free press does".¹²⁵ This helped fuel Frauke Petry's biased media belief to her followers claiming that the Alternative for Germany is "not looked at in a neutral way".¹²⁶

Frauke Petry has managed to use many circumstances involving refugees and the media to increase her legitimacy amongst her followers, and increase the Alternative for Germany's credibility and stance on the political radar. Through the continual alienation of immigrants, her provocative statements, and her belief that the media is biased, Frauke Petry continues to increase the acceptance of her xenophobic agenda.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Xenophobia has made great strides in the countries of France and Germany because strong political leaders have been able to carefully foster its acceptance. Through major world events like the refugee crisis and terrorist attacks, the National Front has come into great political power and influence unlike before within France and the European Union, while allowing Germany to give birth to the rise of extreme far-right political actors. While the current leaders of France and Germany still encourage the importance of unity and strength within their nations, the fear-mongering, the push for the anti-establishment and unconventional politics, and the major political reform from the far-right has proven to be a major roadblock in these ideals.

An interesting fact to make note of is that the faces of this new populist xenophobic wave full of intolerance throughout France and Germany are of women. Very often those in the political world are men, and globally “only 22.8% of all national parliamentarians” are women.¹²⁷ This evidently puts women in the minority in the political world, so it is really thought-provoking and striking to see women leaders spreading such intolerant and exclusionary outlooks in regards to incoming immigrants. Marine Le Pen and Frauke Petry have become extremely prominent figures who are now associated with disdainful, biased, and bigoted rhetoric targeted at those who are from marginalized communities. It is a sad reality to see these strong and intelligent women using their power towards creating divisions and promoting fear amongst their citizens. Not only is their rhetoric ill-natured and unacceptable, it proves extremely dangerous to the liberal democracies currently in place. With the promotion of ideas like Islam

¹²⁷ "Facts and Figures: Leadership and Political Participation." UN Women. Accessed December 1, 2016. <http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/leadership-and-political-participation/facts-and-figures>.

not belonging in Europe, or the insinuation that using firearms to stop incoming immigrants is okay, the expansion and protection of rights amongst people are at risk.

France and Germany face an interesting yet difficult road ahead. It is clear that this populist wave has hit not only the United States, France, and Germany, but many other Western European countries as well.¹²⁸ It is evident that the success and acceptance of xenophobic ideology in one country, leads to an increase in momentum for many other countries. The election of Donald Trump in the United States appeared to make the National Front and the Alternative for Germany feel better about their own chances of achievement which reinforces the concept that such hateful rhetoric is acceptable.

Combatting these theories and principles seems difficult, but it is necessary. As mentioned before, a huge aspect of this xenophobic and populist wave is the fear mongering tactic. With this tactic, the public is fed various inaccurate facts which can be fought by “dispelling myths about migrants” and by promoting “global action in support of non-discrimination”.¹²⁹ It is necessary to present roadblocks in the paths of these far-right agendas and not let them go unchecked for they can cause even greater harm than we are currently witnessing. The acceptance and total disregard of Marine Le Pen and Frauke Petry’s bigotry and racist ideology will allow them to ascend to greater political power if they continue to go unchecked.

The West has been a beacon of hope for many who are either seeking refuge or a greater quality of life where they can live freely knowing there is a government in place to protect their

¹²⁸ "Intolerance and Xenophobia on the Rise in Europe." United Nations Regional Information Centre for Western Europe. November 15, 2016. Accessed December 1, 2016.

<http://www.unric.org/en/latest-un-buzz/30377-intolerance-and-xenophobia-on-the-rise-in-europe>.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

newly acquired rights. So much progression has been made in key issues, and the rights of various minority groups have been expanded upon. We must continue this streak. We must continue to push and fight for inclusion, justice, and equality. Xenophobia has no right influencing politics.

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