MEDIA, POPULISM, AND SURPRISE ELECTIONS:

THE UNITED STATES 2016 AND FRANCE 2002 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

AN HONORS THESIS

SUBMITTED ON THE 12th DAY OF MAY, 2020

TO THE DEPARTMENTS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND COMMUNICATION

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

OF THE HONORS PROGRAM

OF NEWCOMB-TULANE COLLEGE

TULANE UNIVERSITY

FOR THE DEGREE OF

BACHELOR OF ARTS

WITH HONORS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND COMMUNICATION

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Abstract

In 2002, people around the world were shocked and confused when Jean-Marie Le Pen, who had previously polled at fifth or sixth, beat Lionel Jospin, established politician and incumbent Prime Minister, for a spot in the second round of the French presidential election. Years later, in 2016, a similar electoral surprise occurred in the United States. While many assumed that Hillary Clinton would be the next President, Donald Trump won the Electoral College vote, and therefore the presidency. There is a trend in these cases that unexpected candidates can have common successes. This project examines how and why the symbiosis of populism and media coverage contributed to these electoral surprises. While news media outlets outwardly discounted and spoke negatively about Le Pen and Trump, promoting the assumption they had no chance of winning, their focus on issues these candidates held strong positions on, such as insecurity and economics, as well as the large volume of coverage they gave these candidates, contributed to these candidates' successes. Though it is not common, every once in a while, it appears that news media, without any input from the candidates, can have a real impact on election results through their symbiosis with populist movements, specifically through outwardly saying one thing about the candidates while having a different effect on them. This thesis labels these situations as "pop-elections." Through a mix of content analysis of 25 news articles from each case and discourse analysis of other key texts, this project examines the U.S. 2016 presidential election and France 2002 presidential election as case studies for how the news media's coverage of the populist candidates' controversial statements and policies amplified their messages and helped them be seen by voters as valid candidates they should consider voting for.

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Introduction

In 2002, many French people, as well as much of the world, were shocked and confused when Jean-Marie Le Pen, who had previously polled at fifth or sixth, beat Lionel Jospin, established politician and incumbent Prime Minister, for a spot in the second round of the presidential election. How could someone so controversial and inexperienced, who barely made it onto the ballot, make it so far in the race for President? Many scholars agree that during the French presidential election of 2002, the major surprise was that Le Pen, a far-Right populist candidate, beat the established and politically experienced Jospin and moved on to the second round of the election.[1]

Years later, in 2016, a similar electoral surprise hit the United States. While many people assumed that Hillary Clinton would be the next President, Donald Trump, a businessman with far-right views on immigration, national security, and other key issues, won the Electoral College vote. Unlike the France 2002 case, this election gave Trump the presidency.[2] In the U.S., political scientists argue that presidential election results are typically predictable based on factors such as public opinion, the state of the economy, and the incumbent party.[3] None of these typical factors worked in favor of Donald Trump, so how did he win?

There is a trend in these cases of unexpected candidates having common success. This project examines how media and populism contributed to these electoral surprises, through encouraging candidates' larger-than-life, controversial personalities, spreading and contributing to discourses surrounding insecurity, such as crime, immigration, and

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[1] Maarek, "Introduction," 5-9.
[2] Warner and Bystrom, "Introduction," 1-2.
[3] Campbell, "The Fundamentals in US Presidential Elections," 73-74.

terrorism, as well as economic issues, and sharing predictions that these candidates had no chance of winning. Though it is not common, every once in a while, it appears that the media, without any input from the candidates, are able to have a real impact on the presidential election results through their symbiosis with populist movements. This thesis will label these elections as "pop-elections," acknowledging the element of surprise that many voters may have felt because of the controversies and populist discourses that the news media were so attracted to, as well as popular culture connotations that this phrase includes. While some people may assume that Trump and Le Pen did well in their respective elections just because they were able to connect with working-class people or persuade voters that their outrageous policies were actually doable, this is not necessarily the case, and this paper will explore the more detailed dynamics that appear to have taken place during these elections. This project will specifically examine the U.S. 2016 presidential election and France 2002 presidential election as case studies to explore how media coverage combined with populist candidates and discourses contributed to election results that many voters found surprising in these elections. Ultimately, it will argue that the media's coverage of the populist candidates' controversial statements and policies amplified their messages and helped them be seen by voters as valid candidates, even when the media coverage was negative or critical.

Defining Populism

Before discussing the background information and literature about each of these two cases, it is necessary to define what exactly populism refers to in this paper, as well as what its role was in these two presidential elections. This project defines populism as a political movement through which politicians appeal to ordinary people and convince

them that they can best address their needs and values. Populism allows democracy to "return to the people" through focusing on the issues that politicians believe people should care most about or are concerned about. Both left and right-wing populism exists around the world, and while all populism focuses on bringing together the people and pitting them against an enemy, there are distinguishing factors between these two different branches of populism.[4] This "enemy" that is set up as being harmful to "the people" is the main difference between left and right populists. Right populists describe the enemy as something that weakens the nation, such as groups of outsiders like terrorists and immigrants or the "establishment," which includes corrupt politicians and big corporations. Left populists typically consider the enemy to be the structures and institutions that prevent self-determination.[5]

Both Donald Trump and Jean-Marie Le Pen fall into the category of right-wing populists. During their respective elections, both candidates appealed to ordinary people and their needs while also pitting them against an enemy. These candidates convinced many voters that they should be concerned about the issues they specialized in and therefore that they were the best choice for President. They focused on policies related to issues of insecurity, such as immigration, terrorism, crime, and economics, through which they appealed to the people. Furthermore, these candidates labeled "enemies," including immigrants, terrorists, corrupt government members, and more. They convinced ordinary people that they could save them from these enemies and provide them with a more successful and secure nation. More information about what scholars say about different theories and types of populism will be discussed in the literature review section, though

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[4] Zabala, "The Difference between Right and Left-Wing Populism."
[5] Gandesha, "Understanding Right and Left Populisms."

this definition of populism is what this project's study and analysis will primarily focus on. Additionally, the role of populism in the U.S. 2016 and France 2002 elections, as well as how the populist discourses were amplified by the media coverage of the elections, will continue to be explored throughout the analysis of the study.

Background Information

In order to understand how these two cases evolved and why they caused so much surprise, it is important to discuss the electoral systems and role of news media and populism in each country, as well as what scholars cite as having influenced these two electoral surprises.

The electoral processes and roles of the Presidents in France and the United States both compare and contrast, and between 2002 and 2016, the media landscape significantly changed, which generally affected political communications. In France, about 60 candidates typically run for President in the first round, which is then narrowed down to two candidates in the second round. On the other hand, in the U.S., far fewer people run for the position.[6] In the United States, the Republican and Democratic candidates typically share nearly 100% of the vote, while in France, a greater number of parties and candidates causes votes to be more dispersed among candidates. Every political party on the spectrum, from the extreme left to the extreme right, is represented as an option for the voters in the first round. The idea of "major candidates" and "third-party candidates" does not exist. In the United States, however, voters are realistically limited to two candidates (which are much more similar and moderate in policies than the French candidates typically are), even though the election only consists of one round.[7]

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[6] *How France's Presidential Contest Compares to U.S.,* National Public Radio.
[7] Durand et al., "Review: The Polls in the 2002 French Presidential Election," 604.

This is why Pierce argues that partisanship is more relevant in the United States than in France. In France, voters have more options and can choose someone who represents them the best at the time of the election. Overall, voters in each country have different priorities when it comes to policy issues and what they look for in a candidate.[8]

In addition to the difference in location and therefore policies regarding media and politics, these two cases take place at different times (2002 and 2016). Though these years are relatively close, many global changes occurred between them, notably the expansion of the Internet. According to Lilleker and Jackson, the Internet has been relevant to the study of political campaigns since 1992 and has become more influential since 2005 and the beginning of Web 2.0. Though it affected communication during the 2002 French election, in the 2016 U.S. election, it had more of an opportunity to make a larger impact, as a larger number of people had access to the Internet and were able to actively consume news media coverage through websites and social media.[9] Time and location will continue to be two dimensions that must be recognized as this literature review discusses these two cases.

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[8] Pierce, *Choosing the Chief*, 39.
[9] Lilleker and Jackson, *Political Campaigning, Elections and the Internet*, 1.

Literature Review

As seen through the background information, there are significant differences between the France 2002 presidential election and the U.S. 2016 presidential election, based on their different countries and time periods, which is likely why literature has only ever discussed them separately. Therefore, this literature review also addresses them separately. This literature review will discuss what scholars say about the element of surprise in each election and what may have influenced these results, including media and populism in particular.

The France 2002 Presidential Election

The literature related to the French presidential election of 2002 explains the results of each round of the election, how people reacted to these results, and potential reasons for Le Pen's unforeseen success. During the French presidential election of 2002, the major shock for many people was that Le Pen, a far-right candidate, beat the established and experienced Lionel Jospin and moved on to the second round.

No academics, pollsters, or commentators correctly predicted this election's results, which made it a dramatic global event. Cole labels Le Pen as "the uninvited guest," as people clearly did not expect him to beat Jospin and compete in the second round.[10] Lewis-Beck et al. also agree with this standpoint about the element of surprise in this election, adding that no "politicians, pollsters or pundits" saw this as "even a remote possibility."[11] Mayer and Cautrès label this situation an "electoral mess" and the election

[10] Cole, "A Strange Affair," 328.
[11] Lewis-Beck et al., *The French Voter,* 1.

day, April 21, 2002, an "earthquake" because of Le Pen's unforeseen success and the resulting global shock.[12]

Scholars offer many different potential causes of the surprising result, particularly in the case of Le Pen's success. Bréchon suggests a crisis of confidence in the electorate that shifted many people's support away from the moderate, traditional candidates, such as Jospin and Chirac. Some people may have voted for Le Pen because his populist discourses and new, different ideas appealed to their frustration with the norm.[13] Cole recognizes this rise of "anti-system" candidates during this election as well. Many candidates on both the left and right did not have traditional priorities or policies.[14] Cole also discusses an increase in xenophobic attitudes and the discourse of insecurity or "l'insécurité" as two reasons why voters may have supported a more drastic candidate.[15] Low voter turnout also contributed to the election's results, according to both of these sources. Young people in particular did not vote in this election, likely because based on the information they were consuming from the media and everyday conversations, they assumed that the final two candidates would be Chirac and Jospin and they did not need to vote to produce this result.[16] Cole suggests that Jospin and Chirac, as well as their voters, felt overconfident and assumed that they would win the first round. Both had weak campaigns, viewing this round as a mere formality before they would compete in the second round.[17] Across most sources, the media's coverage of this election is also cited as having contributed to this outcome.

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[12] Mayer and Cautrès, "Introduction," 17.
[13] Bréchon, "Crise De Confiance Dans Les Élites Politiques," 48.
[14] Cole, "A Strange Affair," 326.
[15] Cole, "A Strange Affair," 323-325.
[16] Héran, "Voter Toujours, Parfais... Ou Jamais," 359.
[17] Cole, "A Strange Affair," 322.

Media and the 2002 Presidential Election in France

"Media" is a broad term, generally associated with the communication of information to the public through a variety of sources. This section will discuss what literature says about news media's possible effects on this election.

First, literature suggests that the news media's focus on image and personality during this election was a major way in which they helped shape voters' behaviors during the France 2002 election, and specifically, discourage voters from voting for Jospin, who had previously been seen as a safe and predictable choice. According to Kuhn, Jospin was honest and established, but the public saw him more as cold, unfriendly, and therefore unpresidential, based on his media coverage.[18] Jospin labelled himself as "not a socialist" but rather more central, assuming that this strategy would ensure his victory once he made it to the second round. This made him appear insincere to his supporters, therefore weakening his image. Cole also explains that Jospin's choice to publicly criticize Chirac for his old age was a major problem for him, as the media publicized this as yet another part of his unpresidential brand. Chirac, on the other hand, was more charismatic and outgoing, which may have helped him pull ahead of Jospin, as well as Le Pen.[19] Beyond his official campaign, Jospin had a number of other issues with his candidacy. Because he was Prime Minister while the President, Chirac, was from another party, his powers in this position were lessened and he was unable to accomplish much. This made him appear less capable than other candidates.[20] Additionally, he spent insufficient time campaigning, as he continued running the government, therefore

[18] Kuhn, "The Media and the Elections," 88.
[19] Cole, "A Strange Affair," 323.
[20] Bell, "Presidential Competition," 16-32.

weakening the media coverage that he could control, as well as the amount of media coverage he was given.[21]

Agenda-setting is another argument for how news media helped shape what major issues were discussed and even valued by voters during this election. This theory emphasizes that though the media cannot always persuade voters, they can be effective in changing what they care and think about through commonly reporting about a theme or policy.[22] A major theme in this election that the news media emphasized was "l'insécurité," or the insecurity people felt France was facing because of the threat of terror, immigration, crime, etc. caused by outsiders entering the nation. Much of Le Pen's campaign was related to immigration and anti-terrorism, which appealed to people who were afraid of the possibility of a terrorist attack or frustrated by the success of immigrants in France. Chirac was receptive to this issue and adjusted his campaign to include it, but it was not nearly as strong as Le Pen's. Many people voted based on a combination of the candidate's image and their platform on this issue, as this is what the news media typically focused on. While Le Pen based much of his campaign on anti-terrorism and Chirac also addressed this subject, Jospin did not include major policies related to insecurity as part of his campaign.[23]

Polls conducted and published by news outlets were another major cause of the election's results. News media outlets consistently labeled Chirac and Jospin as the top two contenders, with Le Pen falling far behind, typically in fifth or sixth place. According to Durand, no poll predicted that Le Pen's position as a finalist was possible. They

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[21] Clift, "Lionel Jospin's Campaign and the Socialist Left," 150.
[22] Sides, et al., *Campaigns and Elections*, 242.
[23] Cole, "A Strange Affair," 323-324.

correctly predicted two of the top three candidates, but Le Pen was rarely mentioned.[24] Even before they declared their intent to run, polls labeled Chirac and Jospin as the two who would be in the second round.[25] Because most media sources consistently predicted that Chirac and Jospin would move to the second round, both these candidates and many of their voters felt there was no suspense and made the assumption they would win. Because of this, these candidates provided weak and rushed campaigns. Many of their supporters felt like voting was just a formality and they were not directly implicated. They chose not to vote at all, resulting in the low turnout mentioned earlier.[26] Lewis-Beck and Wahnich also agree that the forecasting of the election through polls that did not correctly predict the results majorly impacted the way in which people voted, or, rather why they decided not to vote.[27]

After the first round and the announcement that Chirac and Le Pen would progress to the second round, the media reacted by continuing to shift public opinion and election results. Kuhn expresses how media outlets mobilized against Le Pen, as newspapers published a variety of creative front pages, while other outlets broadcasted videos of protests against Le Pen and supporters of Jospin in tears.[28] According to Wahnich, the media expressed an obligation not only for citizens to show up and vote in the second round, but also to vote for Chirac to save French democracy.[29] Different sources have cited a number of key ways in which the media involved itself during this

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[24] Durand et al., "Review: The Polls in the 2002 French Presidential Election," 602.
[25] Cole, "A Strange Affair," 321.
[26] Cole, "A Strange Affair," 322.
[27] Wahnich, "Les Sondages Électoraux Et Leur Médiatisation," 46.
[28] Kuhn, "The Media and the Elections," 98-102.
[29] Wahnich, "Les Sondages Électoraux Et Leur Médiatisation," 56.

election, though this study will focus on the media coverage of the first round of the election.

Populism and the France 2002 Election

Another key explanation for how Jean-Marie Le Pen made it to the second round of the France 2002 presidential election is that he was a populist candidate and used this to his advantage to get the support of people who may have voted for a more traditional candidate otherwise. In 2002, Le Pen was the leader of the National Front party, a far-right political party with major focuses on French nationalism, security, and sovereignty.[30] These issues, as well as the dissatisfaction of the people with traditional political parties, such as those led by candidates Chirac and Jospin, allowed Le Pen to gain support from many voters.

Le Pen and the National Front's original policy focus was anti-immigration, but Le Pen expanded this to discuss other forms of insecurity as well. Kaya discusses how the issue of immigration is "inseparable from national identity" and that the rise of Islam and the use of illegal drugs also made people feel like their national identity was in danger.[31] Le Pen's campaign emphasized the decline of France under globalization and a strong Europe, which included issues such as unemployment, crime, terrorism, and the decline of French sovereignty as a result of increased immigration and multiculturalism in France. This discourse of insecurity and economic crisis is relevant to the discussion of populism because through expanding his policies, Le Pen resonated with a greater number of voters and was able to make the issues he specialized in seem relatable and

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[30] Berezin, *Illiberal Politics in Neoliberal Times: Culture, Security and Populism in the New Europe*, 134-135.
[31] Kaya, *Populism and Heritage in Europe: Lost in Diversity and Unity*.

emotional, as well as important to fix as soon as possible.[32] This is an example of exclusionary nationalism, as economic transformations and other social issues have caused many groups to experience a "profound crisis of identity"[33] that causes them to vote for whoever can best address their major concerns at the time. Le Pen not only addressed all of these issues thoroughly with populist discourses about insecurity in his campaign, but he also used his campaign to refocus the political debate. He convinced the people that these were the most crucial issues to address and therefore that they should vote for him over other candidates.

This situation is frequently included as part of the larger trend of the rise of the radical right in Europe and a potential end to traditional politics. According to Mouffe, Europe is experiencing a widespread dissatisfaction with their politics and political parties. Mouffe refers to two groups of scholars that attempt to explain the rise of the far right in France: while some scholars recognize the increase in a middle-class with weak ideological affiliations that "has been created through the homogenizing influence of the media," others, such as Emmanuel Todd, believe there is a "popular" class made up of the "people" that is typically underrepresented in politics yet makes up about 50 percent of the overall population in France. Todd's argument of populism in France can be seen through the 2002 presidential election, as there was surprisingly strong support for "anti-establishment" candidates such as Le Pen, suggesting the discontentment with traditional political parties. Additionally, the majority of Le Pen's support was from a young, popular sector of the electorate, meaning that people who typically felt unrepresented by

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[32] Berezin, *Illiberal Politics in Neoliberal Times: Culture, Security and Populism in the New Europe*, 132-135.
[33] Mouffe, "The End of Politics and the Rise of the Radical Right," 501.

traditional main parties thought Le Pen was their best option in this election because he seemed to address more of the important issues.[34] Populism presents itself as outside of the usual and more likely to address the concerns of everyday people better than traditional politicians that are often perceived as corrupt, which is why people felt connected to Le Pen's personality and policies. Le Pen further expressed through his populist discourses that his issues should be seen as the most pressing in order to garner support. It is clear from the discussion of the literature that both media and populism contributed to Le Pen's success in this election, so this project will now discuss the similar implications of these factors on Donald Trump's success in the U.S. 2016 presidential election as well in order to see how this example of a pop-election is not an isolated case.

The United States 2016 Presidential Election

The 2016 presidential election in the United States gave many people a similar feeling of shock after the winner was announced. Though Hillary Clinton won the popular vote, Donald Trump won the Electoral College vote,[35] and therefore, he became the new President. This section of the literature review will examine why scholars consider Trump's win to be a surprising result, and this is followed by a discussion of literature regarding what scholars consider to be the impacts of media and populism in this election.

Sautter labels the U.S. 2016 election as "one of the strangest, most polarizing and unpredictable" recent elections and claims that it represents a larger crisis of intense partisanship and election administration. He reminds readers that though surprises have

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[34] Mouffe, "The End of Politics and the Rise of the Radical Right," 498-501.
[35] "Presidential Election Process," *USAGov.*

happened in previous American elections, this was the first of its intensity in the televised era.[36] Warner and Bystrom agree that many people were surprised by Trump's success, though they also make the argument that the unprecedented nature of this election is more related to the two major candidates and their campaigns than the actual results. Clinton was the first female nominee of a major political party, Trump was the first President who had never served in public office or the military, and both of their campaigns broke from the norms of typical U.S. presidential campaigns.[37] Thurber and Nelson suggest that the major shock of the election was specifically that Trump won swing states such as Florida, North Carolina, Ohio, and Iowa.[38] There were a variety of factors that distinguish this election as unique and surprising to many voters. This being said, Aldrich et al. argue that it is common for people to argue that elections are "historic" or "transformative," and that this election was not necessarily an example of realignment, but rather a continuation of typical American electoral politics, just with different candidates and key policy issues.[39] This is a matter of perspective, and as discussed above, many other scholars do argue that the results of the election were surprising to many voters, as well as the rest of the world.

When looking at possible reasons for the unforeseen election results, there are a number of important aspects to consider. Trump's relationship with people of color and minorities is one element. According to Sautter, he consciously attempted to increase the white voter turnout by regularly emphasizing fears regarding immigration and terrorism, which are subjects often associated with race, and Trump's campaign also worked to

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[36] Sautter, "U.S. Elections on the Brink," 136.
[37] Warner and Bystrom, "Introduction," 2-6.
[38] Thurber and Nelson, "Elections in a Polarised America," 1.
[39] Aldrich, et al., *Change and Continuity in the 2016 Elections*, 5-9.

decrease the black support for Clinton.[40] Aldrich et al. discuss how voters with issues with the current state of the economy, foreign affairs, etc. were more likely to vote for Trump in hopes that a change in party would result in more policy changes.[41] Foreign interference from Russia, criticisms and attacks directed at Trump's opponents (Clinton, as well as the news media), and voting equipment failures are other elements of this situation discussed in this source.[42] Additionally, in a number of ways, the effects of news media was a key variable that many scholars cite as impacting the results of the election.

Media and the 2016 Presidential Election in the United States

Literature about the 2016 presidential election in the United States discusses a wide range of ways in which the media affected the election and its results. In this case, it analyzes how media may have helped Trump win the electoral vote, and eventually the presidency, as well as hurting his opponents, particularly Clinton.

Similar to the French case, the news media overstated image and personality during the U.S. 2016 election, therefore framing how many voters viewed the candidates. For both Clinton and Trump, personal scandals were very impactful in this election, and news media outlets capitalized on these dramatic situations. Kennedy, Thurber and Nelson, and Valenzano all refer to the ways in which news media reacted to scandals. According to Thurber and Nelson, Clinton particularly struggled with improving her likability after facing public scandals because Trump, as well as many media sources, labeled her as a typical, corrupt politician who "exemplified everything that was wrong

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[40] Sautter, "U.S. Elections on the Brink," 141.
[41] Aldrich, et al., *Change and Continuity in the 2016 Elections*, 197-207.
[42] Sautter, "U.S. Elections on the Brink," 149-155.

with Washington" and was too politically correct to be trusted.[43] Kennedy recognizes Trump's celebrity status and access to media coverage as an advantage he had to help his popularity during the election. Voters who were frustrated by traditional, corrupt politicians saw Trump as an outsider candidate with different ideas.[44] He gave the news media plenty of "drama and conflict" like they want from candidates in order to produce entertaining and often controversial coverage that is always changing. This allowed news outlets to have a constant stream of engaging, interesting stories, and therefore, voters who consumed this media coverage were constantly exposed to Trump's policies and ideas.[45]

Trump's rejection of norms and discussion of fantasy ideas allowed the news media to shape him into someone larger than life. According to Rowland, voters who had lost confidence in traditional candidates and ideas turned to Trump, a populist candidate who was framed as interested in doing something new and different. Not only was he a businessman rather than a politician before the election, but he also offered voters a blunt, relatable persona. The news media emphasized his "strongman" persona and confidence, which made people more willing to trust his radically different ideas.[46] These fantasy-themes provided new ideas, attracting voters who wanted to break from the norm. By saying anything strange, controversial, or ridiculous that fit into this "different" and "outsider" persona, Trump received media coverage about himself almost instantly, therefore spreading the word about his campaign.[47]

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[43] Thurber and Nelson, "Elections in a Polarised America," 7.
[44] Kennedy, "How the Media Blew the 2016 Campaign."
[45] Sides, et al., *Campaigns and Elections*, 237.
[46] Rowland, "Donald Trump and the Rejection of the Norms," 189-202.
[47] Besant and Perry, "Fantasy-Themes in Donald Trump's Presidential Campaign," 211-226.

Social media also played an important role in this election. Thurber and Nelson label Trump's notorious use of Twitter as a form of earned media coverage, as Trump did not pay for this media coverage but could easily create it for himself.[48] Through social media and typical news coverage, Trump received an estimated $6 billion in earned media coverage during his campaign and election, compared to the $3 billion that Clinton received.[49] Jones discussed how using social media allowed Trump to be more authentic and casual. Though some people saw this as inappropriate and unprofessional, many of his voters ultimately responded well to this method, as they saw Trump as authentic and genuinely interested in their needs.[50] In addition to Trump's use of Twitter, Bramlett et al. discuss the impact of viewer engagement through live-tweeting debates. They note that this is a more thoughtful and productive way to watch the debates and that other social media users, who may not pay attention to politics otherwise, can engage with the event through the media.[51] Because Trump's social media use is not a major form of news media coverage but rather is a form of media coverage that he produced himself, this will not be considered a major part of this project, though it is important to understand the background of various forms of media's influence on this election.

While these are the major themes of media's involvement with this election that many sources address, there are many other potential ways in which the news media interfered with voters' perceptions of the election. Scholars discuss televised debates and how the media disseminated information through both outside commentary and speech from the candidates themselves, which often included controversial or even incorrect

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[48] Thurber and Nelson, "Elections in a Polarised America," 2.
[49] O'Keefe, "From Radio to Twitter," 242.
[50] Jones, "We Are Not Amused," 197.
[51] Bramlett et al., "Processing the Political," 184.

information.[52] Endorsements by various news outlets is recognized as another important piece of this election, as voters turned to newspapers and television channels for more information about who they should vote for.[53] Polling is also cited as a way in which the media may have led voters astray from the decisions they would typically make, as national polls published by *Washington Post*, *Fox News*, and other major news media outlets predicted that Clinton would win the election by at least 3 to 4 percent.[54] In a number of ways, it is clear that media played a role in securing Trump's surprising win over Clinton in this election, and similar to the France 2002 case, the effects of the news media were strengthened by Donald Trump's role as a populist candidate.

Populism and the 2016 Presidential Election in the United States

Donald Trump's candidacy and winning of the U.S. presidency is another example of the rise of the populist far-right, and his policies, discourses, and personality are similar to those of other successful populist candidates such as Jean-Marie Le Pen. In this election, Trump represented a challenge to the establishment. His personality and agenda were untraditional, he was nationalist and anti-global, and he criticized the establishment for being corrupt and not prioritizing the people's interests.[55] When people who make up the popular in the United States think about the "establishment," they often think not only of the government but also the aspirational liberals and the wealthy.[56] The American establishment aimed to represent the people's interests through social, economic, and political programs, but this has also resulted in what some people consider

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[52] Kennedy, "How the Media Blew the 2016 Campaign."
[53] Becktel and Sweetser, "Depends on Who Is Asking," 105-112.
[54] Skibba, "Pollsters struggle to explain failures," 339.
[55] Rosefielde, *Trump's Populist America*, xv-xvii.
[56] Peck, *Fox Populism*, 12.

to be overregulation, over taxation, and unnecessary open immigration. Both poor immigrants and entitled wealthy people are often seen as detracting from the common people's experience in the United States, and populist candidates such as Donald Trump stress to voters that they are willing to fight against this system and better represent the people's interests.[57]

The issues that Trump focused on in his campaign are strongly tied to the idea that he represented the interests of "the people" rather than "the establishment" and that he was an unusual politician not only in his background of being a businessman, but that he was willing to be honest and blunt, two characteristics than many typical American politicians appeared to lack. Trump expressed that the establishment and outsiders were two major enemies that combined to create, which Trump's presidency would be able to address head-on.[58] A major part of his campaign was immigration; Trump's limits to immigration and creation of the border wall resonated with voters who agreed that immigrants were limiting their job opportunities and overall economic prosperity, as well as the idea Trump stressed that immigration directly resulted in higher amounts of terrorist and criminal activity, another major cultural fear.[59] Other issues of insecurity that Trump focused on include terrorism, America's declining position in global affairs, and financial crises.[60] Rosefielde also emphasizes the economic issues that were integral to Trump's policy agenda, including protectionism, national sovereignty, and inclusive economic growth through cutting taxes and spending savings.[61] As a populist candidate,

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[57] Rosefielde, *Trump's Populist America*, 3-5.
[58] Parker et al., "Left, Right, But No In-Between," 113-114.
[59] Rosefielde, *Trump's Populist America*, 25.
[60] Shobert, "Insecurity over Our Place in the World," 107.
[61] Rosefielde, *Trump's Populist America*, 33-69.

Trump framed himself as someone who would represent the people's interests and keep them safe from their enemy, whether they considered the "enemy" to be intrusive government, immigrants, large corporations, etc.

Similar to Mouffe's argument about French populism, Herman and Muldoon argue that Populist Radical Right (PRR) candidates, including Donald Trump, combine a "populist discourse" of coming together as the popular and defying the establishment with a strong sense of nationalism and authoritarianism. Because of the rise of the PRR, these authors also argue that mainstream politics has been "trumped" by populist candidates like Trump who can win national elections when many consider them to not be valid candidates.[62] In America specifically, according to Parker et al. populism, tends to exist as a struggle for hegemony between "the people" and "the elites," and early examples include farmers advocating for economic reform as part of the Populist Party of the 1890s and Senator Huey Long's speeches about financial reform and equal opportunity in the 1930s. Because of this history, as well as the unique situation of the 2016 presidential election, these scholars believe that a three-part model best explains Trump's success. Some people voted for Trump because of their issues with an out-group in the U.S. such as Muslims, immigrants, etc. and the fact that Trump claimed that he represented "the people" rather than these other groups, while other voted for him because of their issues with the elite class or their ideological or party identification, and this ultimately gave Trump enough Electoral College votes to win the presidency.[63]

Overall, it appears that through his populist discourses, Trump was able to convince voters that the policies he specialized in were most important and therefore that

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[62] Herman, "Introduction," 1.
[63] Parker et al., "Left, Right, But No In-Between," 114-118.

he would be able to address their needs better than other candidates. There are many similarities between the candidacies of Trump and Le Pen because both are far-right populists, and though far-left populism also exists, as discussed in the introduction, it involves different enemies and discourses than those that are apparent in these two cases. To conclude this section, as well as the literature review, the information that scholars have written about these cases makes it evident that something unusual happened in both of these two presidential elections. The following chapters of this thesis will continue the discussion of ways in which media and populism combined to impact these elections and why the successes of Donald Trump and Jean-Marie Le Pen surprised many people.

Methodology

In order to address the question of how media combined with populist discourses to produce "pop-elections" in the U.S. 2016 and France 2002 elections, this thesis primarily uses content analysis as its method. Content analysis quantifies patterns in media, and for this project, it specifically looks at patterns that appear through an analysis of newspaper articles from each country about their respective election.

Through a search on Lexis Nexis with key terms such as "election" and "president" and other clarifications including region (U.S. for the U.S. 2016 case and France for the France 2002 case) and language (English for the U.S. 2016 case and French for the France 2002 case), hundreds of news articles were compiled for each case about their respective election during the preceding months. These were narrowed down smaller time frames in order to have fewer than 1,000 articles representing each case and therefore be able to download the document compiling them. For the France 2002 case, 795 articles were found from during the time period of March 20-April 20, 2002, because the first round of the election occurred on April 21, 2002, and for the U.S. 2016 case, 602 articles were found from during the time period of August 7-November 7, 2016, as the election took place on November 8, 2016.

In order to produce a random sample that could best represent the media coverage of each election, a random number generator was used for each case. For both the set of articles found for the France 2002 case and the set found for the U.S. 2016 case, 75 numbers from the original sample were randomly chosen, and the first 25 articles on the compilation that Lexis Nexus provided that were not repeats were analyzed through a content analysis study. For the France 2002 case, quite a few of the articles chosen were

unable to download, saying that they were no longer accessible through the database, so these were also skipped and replaced by the next randomly chosen news article. Appendices A and B, which are found at the end of this paper, show a visualization of how the 25 news articles were chosen for each case. These tables also explain why certain articles were not included in the study (they were unavailable to download, they were unrelated to the election in discussion, or they were a repeat of a previously chosen article).

These 50 articles (25 for the France election and 25 for the U.S. election) were coded based on the major policies they discussed, whether they focused on the candidates' personalities or policies, which candidates were mentioned and whether or not they were described as valid competitors, and factors that may have contributed to an element of surprise. Each chapter of this thesis include quantitative data from this content analysis study, which was created from coding qualitative aspects of the texts in order to make the trends more apparent. These chapters begin with a discussion of the keywords and other criteria that were used in the production of the data during the study, as it was important to use these specific criteria in order to eliminate bias. In addition to the data and visualizations of this data shown in a variety of graphs and charts, discourses and qualitative examples of will also be discussed throughout the chapters in order to demonstrate to readers what news media coverage said about the candidates and how this had an impact on the election. This will be compared to the themes discussed earlier about the role of populism in each election in order to show how media and populism combined in these elections, sometimes without voters, or news media outlets, even realizing what was happening. The final chapter of this thesis, about the element of

surprise in each election, will include data produced through the content analysis study as well as polls and the final results from each election to discuss what makes these cases different from other elections in which media and populism impact the results, and specifically, how these elements combined to produce results that many people found surprising in both cases. It will include information from the preceding chapters to demonstrate why is appears that the media's coverage of the Trump and Le Pen's controversial statements and policies amplified their messages and help them be seen by voters as respectable candidates, even when the media coverage was negative.

Content analysis was chosen as the method for this study because it is unobtrusive and able to document historical cases. There is no issue of creating contact with participants, as no human subjects are involved, and content analysis can easily be replicated by other researchers since all texts are stable. This makes it a reliable method. It is important to note, however, that validity is often an issue with content analysis, as it is difficult to produce the exact same results repeatedly when sorting through qualitative data and awarding qualitative characteristics a number on a point system. This study attempts to reduce the issues with validity through conducting the analysis over the period of just a few days and using the same standards and coding techniques to judge each article (these criteria are discussed in each chapter about its respective data). Timing can also be an issue with content analysis, as it takes a large amount of time to read over 50 newspaper articles, especially when some are in English and some are in French. This was not an issue for the researcher, but other researchers would also need to be bilingual in English and French in order to properly conduct this study. Additionally, because not all media texts are readily available and able to be analyzed, this study focuses solely on

newspaper articles, which means that radio, television, and other outlets that may commonly fall into the realm of “media” are not represented. This being said, it still appears that this is the best possible mode of analysis for this study and that this method shares a great deal about trends in content and discourses of news media during these elections. This project hopes to combine quantitative and qualitative analyses to discuss potential explanations for what made these cases feel so unique and surprising when the election results were announced. Specifically, it looks at the independent variables of populist candidates and discourses and news media coverage of these candidates to see how this impacted the element of surprise.

Chapter 1: Insecurity in Immigration, Terrorism, and Crime

As seen through the literature review, issues of insecurity were major themes in both the France 2002 and U.S. 2016 presidential elections because of the agendas of populist candidates Donald Trump and Jean-Marie Le Pen.[64] Through a content analysis of news articles from each case, it is apparent that news media outlets also contributed to this sense of insecurity to a certain extent. The literature discussed earlier cites the policies of the candidates and ways in which themes immigration, terrorism, and crime impacted their strategies, notably that both populist candidates emphasized these issues and garnered support through discussing issues that "the people" cared about because these put them in a situation of insecurity.[65] This analysis of data from the content analysis of news articles will show that media also played a major role in the discussion of insecurity in these elections, therefore adding to the impact of populism and creating a sense of fear and dissatisfaction with the norm. This populist momentum was created through the symbiosis of untraditional candidates with policies and personalities. They targeted what "the people" wanted and an active news media discussed issues these candidates held strong stances on, such as insecurity. This helped lead to the "surprise" or "shock" that literature discussed earlier attributes to the France 2002 and U.S. 2016 presidential election results, despite the fact that media frequently explicitly criticized and discounted these candidates, as will be discussed in the final chapter of this project. This chapter will begin the conversation of this project's argument through a discussion of the emphasis news media placed on issues related to insecurity, notably terrorism, crime,

[64] Cole, "A Strange Affair," 323-325; Shobert, "Insecurity over Our Place in the World," 107.
[65] Cole, "A Strange Affair," 323-325; Shobert, "Insecurity over Our Place in the World," 107.

immigration, and general security issues, in the coverage of the presidential elections in the weeks preceding election day.

To begin, it is important to look at the data from each case. One piece of the content analysis study that was completed for this project was coding news articles based on how many times they used keywords related to policy issues to determine which were the most discussed in the media in the overall coverage of each election. For insecurity, the following keywords were used for the coding of articles from the U.S. 2016 case: Terror, Terrorist, Islamic State, ISIS, Taliban, Muslim (in reference to a Muslim ban), Immigrant, Immigration, Mexico, Mexican, Border, Crime, Criminal, Drug, and Security. Similarly, the following keywords were used for the coding of articles from the France 2002 case: Terreur, Terrorisme, Terroriste, Effroi, Immigré, Immigrant, Immigration, Frontièr, Sans-papiers, Crime, Criminel, Drogue, Delictueux, Sécurité, and Insécurité. In addition, each example of a crime, terrorist attack, etc. from each case was counted as one mention in its respective category. First, this paper will discuss just how much these subjects were discussed in the news media as compared to other policy issues, and then the category of "Insecurity" will be broken into subcategories to see which were most prominent in this discussion. This chapter will analyze how much insecurity mattered to the news media coverage of the U.S. 2016 and France 2002 elections and how much of an impact this made on the election results.

Insecurity in the U.S. 2016 Case

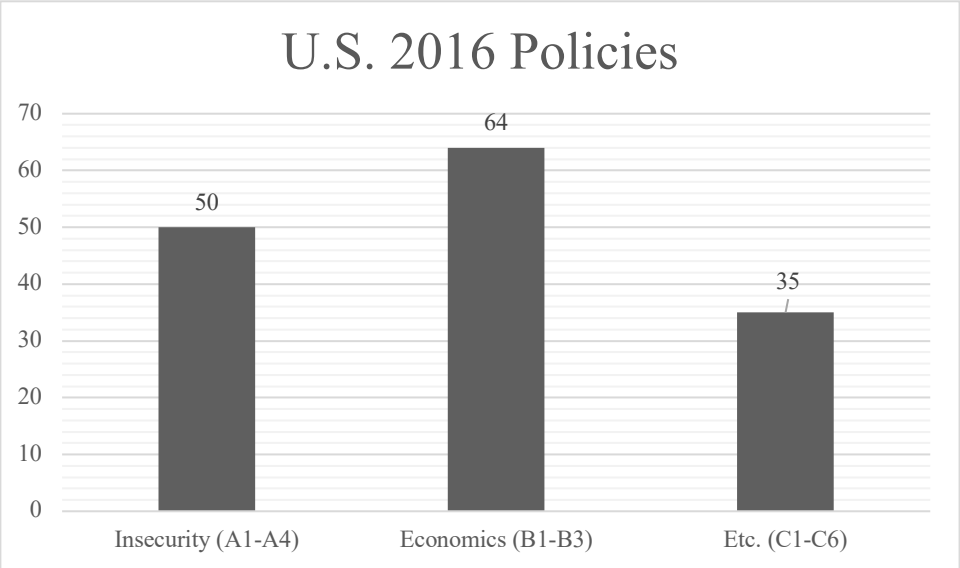

Figure 1: U.S. 2016 Policies

As seen through this graph, insecurity issues including terrorism, crime, and immigration were a substantial part of the news coverage of the U.S. 2016 presidential election, as there were 50 mentions of keywords related to insecurity in the 25 articles analyzed in this study. Though economic issues were discussed more, it is clear that insecurity was also emphasized by U.S. publications during this time, which likely aided in the success of Donald Trump. His populist policies related to creating a wall on the Mexican border, setting up a "Muslim ban" that would not let Muslims into the country in fear of an influx of terrorists, etc. appealed to many people who feared people entering the country and participating in criminal activities, taking their jobs, etc., and because the news media coverage of the election that these voters viewed also emphasized these subjects as real and reasonable fears, Trump's position was strengthened. Additionally, as discussed earlier, the theory of agenda-setting suggests that when people hear or read about a topic in the news media, they think about it more and it becomes more prominent

on their list of policy priorities, sometimes without them realizing why.[66] Therefore, in discussing issues of economics and insecurity, media coverage fueled the support that was already apparent for populist candidate Donald Trump. This unique symbiosis of media and populism appears to make the difference between this case and other populist movements around the world, especially because the media both contributed to the success of these candidates while assuming they had no chance of winning. This project will now look more in-depth at how issues of insecurity were discussed by the news media during this time and which issues were most prominent and impactful during this discussion.

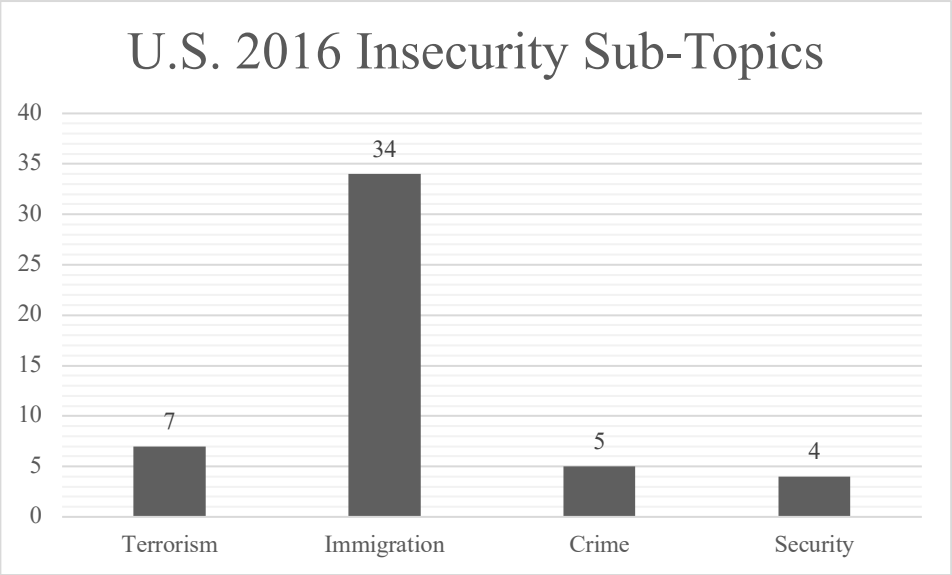

Figure 2: U.S. 2016 Insecurity Sub-Topics

When looking at the subtopics of insecurity that this project measures, namely terrorism, immigration, crime, and general security issues, there are some automatic observations of the data. In the case of the U.S. 2016 election, though the news media discussed each of these issues, it gave the most attention by far to issues of immigration.

[66] Sides, et al., *Campaigns and Elections*, 242.

This suggests that immigration is one of the primary issues not only associated with insecurity, but also with the election's major policies. Keywords related to the Immigration category received 34 mentions total from the 25 articles analyzed, while Terrorism accounted for seven mentions, Crime accounted for five, and general discussions of Security accounted for four.

One reason this high number of mentions related to immigration may have occurred is that a few articles in particular, such as "Testing Federal Power Over Immigration" and "Five Reasons Hillary Could be Blowing it" focused far more on immigration than any of the other policy issues studied in this project (these articles contained 14 and 11 mentions of terms related to immigration, respectively). While some articles during the period before the U.S. 2016 election criticized Trump's stances on immigration, calling these "offensive positions,"[67] others recognized that his decisive limits on immigration and promise to "make America great again"[68] appealed to feelings among many voters about the fear of the unworthy immigrants making the American experience worse for U.S. citizens. An article by *USA Today* that is used in the sample for this study discusses how Trump received so much support from the people, saying, "He said many undocumented immigrants from Mexico were criminals and rapists; promised to force Mexico to pay for a giant wall he'd build along the Southern border; complained that Americans 'don't have victories anymore,' especially in trade negotiations."[69]

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[67] Terrell, "Libertarian Candidate Johnson Gaining Allies from N.M. GOP."
[68] Malott, "Pence Rallies Trump Supporters in Newton."
[69] Hampson, "Clues to Campaign Came Early; The Road to the White House has had many Twists, Turns, but Signs Were There."

Not only does this reflect the scare tactics used by Trump to garner support from voters who may not typically vote for someone so radical and far-right, but it also serves as an example of how news media outlets spread his ideas. Therefore, whether or not the articles included positive sentiments regarding Trump's immigration policies, they did promote the policies through talking about them so much. It seems like media outlets were able to impact this election because of their focus on issues of insecurity, especially immigration, which appealed to voters looking for a populist candidate who could represent their own fears and opinions about these issues. Ultimately, the fact that media outlets discussed issues of insecurity, especially immigration, appears to have contributed to Trump's success in the U.S. 2016 election more than if news media outlets had chosen to discuss other key policy issues instead.

Insecurity in the France 2002 Case

Similar to the U.S. 2016 case, as discussed in the literature review, insecurity was also an important theme in the France 2002 presidential election. That being said, because this case occurred in a different time period and a different country, the context, and therefore the data, is very different. It is necessary to look at ways in which the data from this case regarding policy issues and insecurity in particular is similar and different from the U.S. case to evaluate how and to what extent the media coverage and populist discourses surrounding insecurity made an impact in these, and possibly other, pop-elections.

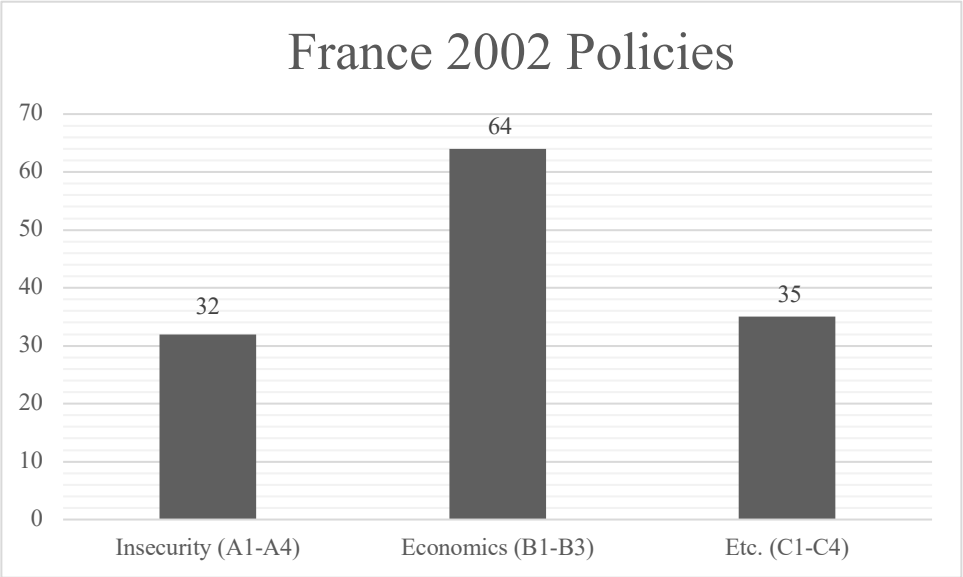

Figure 3: France 2002 Policies

As seen through this graph, while insecurity was definitely discussed by the news media industry in the period approaching the France 2002 presidential election, it actually ranks in third in this study out of the major policy issues discussed, after issues related to economics and the "Etc." category, which includes the following sub-topics for this case: Health, Environment, Education, Reforms, and Bioethics. Despite there being fewer sub-topics in this "Etc." category than there are for the U.S. case, there are the same number of mentions (35) related to the included sub-topics. There is also the same number of mentions as the U.S. case received of keywords related to economic issues (64 mentions), so it is really the insecurity section that makes the results of these two cases different. While there were 50 mentions of keywords related to insecurity in the news articles chosen from the U.S. 2016 case, there was only a total of 32 mentions in the 25 articles that represent the France 2002 case. Insecurity was clearly still a topic of concern, however, and this subject relates directly to the populist movement that occurred during this election in favor of Le Pen and his party, the National Front, so its sub-topics will be evaluated here and compared to those in the U.S. 2016 case.

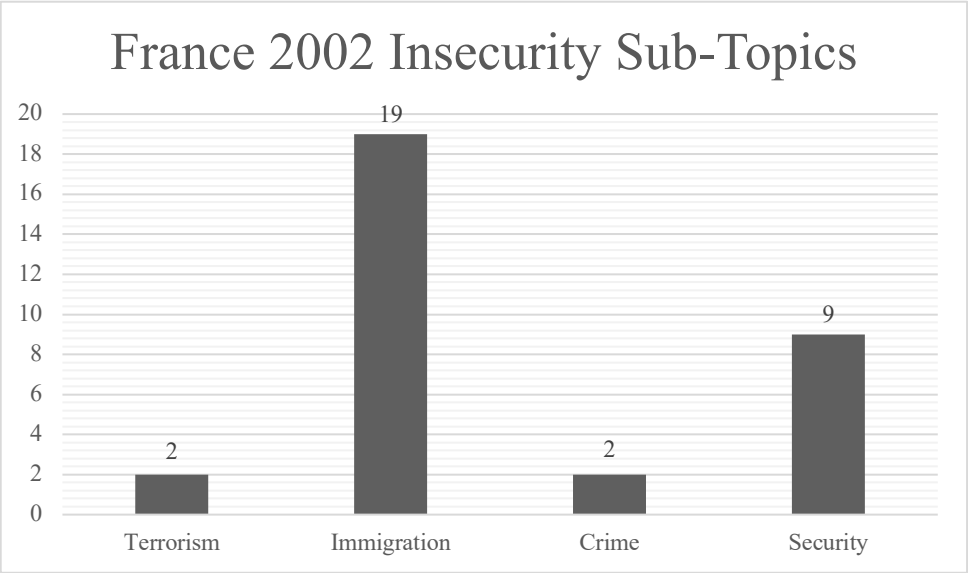

Figure 4: France 2002 Insecurity Sub-Topics

Once again, clear assumptions can be made upon looking at the data from the France 2002 Insecurity Sub-Topics graph. Similar to the U.S. 2016 case, there were far more mentions of keywords related to Immigration (19) than any of the other sub-topics, as Terrorism and Crime each received two mentions and General Security Issues category received nine keyword mentions. This is especially interesting because literature suggests that the resurgence of insecurity issues in the media was somewhat of a result of the 9/11 terrorist attacks,[70] but according to this data, there was far more of a discussion about immigration than terrorism, so even though insecurity was a topic of concern, it was not necessarily in ways in which scholars assumed it was. Though there was less of a discussion about issues related to insecurity in the media coverage of the France 2002 election than the U.S. 2016 election, it was still able to add to the success of Le Pen.

[70] Kaya, *Populism and Heritage in Europe: Lost in Diversity and Unity*.

A few articles definitely stick out as contributing to the high number of mentions for immigration as opposed to the other sub-topics. One article published by *Le Monde* consists of each major candidate's policy platform related to immigration, including how to regulate immigrants' rights, how to acclimate them to French culture, and how to react to immigration within the European Union. According to this article, Le Pen's policy about immigration is translated into the following paragraph:

> Reinstatement of border controls and identity checks throughout the territory. National preference for employment and social assistance housing. A foreigner can only become French by naturalization. Stop religious practice contrary to hygiene and respect for public health. Stop the proliferation of mosques. Organize the return of immigrants: inversion of family reunification removal of the ten-year residence permits tacitly available.[71]

When this statement is compared to those of the other candidates featured in this article, it is clear that Le Pen's policies related to immigration are more drastic than those of the other candidates, with the exception of Bruno Mégret, another populist far-right candidate. Through giving French citizens preference for jobs and government programs, Le Pen is appealing to the popular, as many of average people are worried about non-citizens taking away their opportunities and he claims to be the candidate who can help them with this issue. Additionally, through discussing the "proliferation of mosques" in a negative fashion, this appealed to people who felt negatively about Muslims in particular because they feared Islam's ability to change the French nationality, as well as the idea that another branch of insecurity, terrorism, is related to the increased immigration of

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[71] "9 - L'Immigration." *Le Monde.*

Muslim people to France. Though these are generally opinions that people do not announce in public because of their controversial nature, those who hold these positions were made comfortable by Le Pen and his normalizing of these feelings.

Overall, as media spread Le Pen's platform about immigration and other forms of insecurity, this legitimized his policies that people may have liked because of their own biases in regard to immigrants or people of different religions. This media coverage of issues that Le Pen focused on also spread these populist discourses to people who may not have felt this way before. Through discussing issues of insecurity in general, especially immigration, this further disseminated these messages that appealed to the popular, which ultimately contributed to Le Pen gaining an unprecedented number of votes in the first round of the France 2002 election and making it to the second round, even though the mainstream news media outlets causing these results may not have even realized that they were helping his candidacy in this way.

Conclusions About Insecurity

From the discussion in this chapter, it is evident that insecurity was a topic of concern of the news media during the coverage of both the U.S. 2016 and France 2002 presidential elections, though this subject may not have had as large an impact as some scholars assume. In both cases, according to the content analysis that was completed for a random selection of 25 news articles about each election, "Immigration" was discussed the most out of the three sub-topics related to insecurity. All issues related to insecurity are relevant in the populist discourses that candidates Trump and Le Pen often used during these elections, and therefore the media attention may have resulted agenda-setting that legitimized their often-controversial policies in response to issues of

immigration, terrorism, crime, etc. Specifically, the immigration issues that the news media discussed helped Trump and Le Pen, as these candidates' issues and policies gained attention without paying for or sponsoring this coverage. Even though the coverage of these issues is mixed, and some articles responded in a positive way while others reflect a more negative sentiment, every article containing the keywords promoted these issues of insecurity as valid problems. These were problems that candidates Trump and Le Pen had clear plans for and answers to; even though their policies were often controversial, they frequently still appealed to a number of people, as well as those who were willing to reconsider their feelings about these plans because they found insecurity issues to be so pressing. Therefore, this media coverage of issues related to insecurity inevitably contributed to the populist discourses that Trump and Le Pen took part in surrounding these issues, and ultimately, it contributed to their candidacies and successes in their elections as well.

Additionally, it is important to note that from the charts about overall coverage of policies in these two cases (Figures 1 and 2), though issues of insecurity did make an impact on the media coverage of these elections, in both cases, the coverage of issues concerning economics surpassed this, and therefore, the news media coverage that focused on economics may have also had a similar result of agenda-setting, as well as legitimizing populist candidates' controversial policies. Because of this, the next chapter of this project will look more in-depth at issues of economics. This will be entitled "Concerns and Insecurity through the Lens of Economic Issues" because even though issues such as low wages, unemployment, and problems with taxes do not fit in with the traditional interpretation of insecurity, people interpreted them in this way because they

had a similar frightening effect on their lives that crime, immigration, and terrorism also caused them. The next chapter will evaluate the extent to which issues of economic insecurity were apparent in the media coverage, as well as populist discourses, in these two cases and how this may have impacted the electoral surprises and emergence of "pop-elections" in these two cases.

Chapter 2: Concerns and Insecurity through the Lens of Economic Issues

As seen through the discussion of policy issues in the last chapter, not only were economic issues discussed in the media coverage of the U.S. 2016 and France 2002 presidential elections, but they were discussed quite a bit, as this category accounted for the highest number of keyword mentions out of the categories "Insecurity," "Economics," and "Etc." in both of these cases' studies. This is an interesting result because insecurity is commonly said to be the most important policy issue in both the U.S. 2016 and France 2002 presidential elections, but according to this data, economic issues may have been even more important. This may be because economics can actually be considered to be a type of insecurity as well, because if you fear losing your job or earning a lower income, this may lead to feelings of insecurity. Economics is also linked to issues of insecurity because personal economic issues often spark some of these larger fears and feelings of discomfort. For example, someone who lost their job may blame it on the increasing number of immigrants coming to the U.S. or France looking for jobs, and therefore they feel insecure about their economic situation as well as the country's immigration policies.

The following keywords were used to code the U.S. articles from the content analysis study as fitting with the "Economics" category: Economic, Economy, Job (in reference to the economy), Fiscal, Financial, Middle-class, Welfare, Social Security, and Tax. Similarly, the following keywords were used for the articles written about the France 2002 case: Économique, Économie, Emploi (in reference to the economy), Allocation, Impôt, Taxe, Fiscale, and Fiscalité. These keywords were divided into the sub-topics of "General Economic Issues," "Social Security," and "Taxes," and since the

breakdown of how many articles fit into the general categories of Insecurity, Economics, and Etc. can be found in the previous chapter (Figures 1 and 2), this chapter will now move into a discussion of the sub-topics within the category of "Economics" and how these relate to media, populism, and surprising election results in these two cases.

Economic Concerns in the U.S. 2016 Case

As discussed in the previous section, the majority of the keywords related to policy issues found through the content analysis of articles about the U.S. 2016 presidential election are about economics. This can be attributed to a number of factors. A few of the articles randomly chosen for this study are primarily about economic issues, for example, "Clinton Focuses on Jobs, Tax Plans in Toledo Stop" and "S&P Proposes Using Corporate Tax Reform to Fund Infrastructure." This being said, not all of the points tallied for this category come from these articles, as 13 of the 25 articles contained at least one keyword that contributed to this. This suggests that issues with economics were not limited to a few articles that happened to be chosen for this study, but rather much of the media coverage discussed these issues and therefore the public was frequently exposed to information about economic issues as they decided who they would vote for.

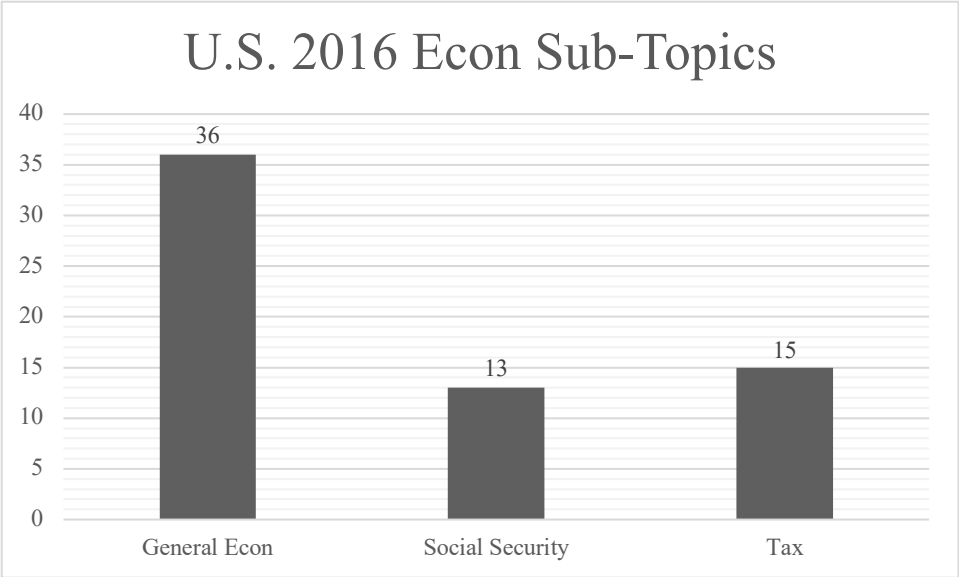

Figure 5: U.S. 2016 Econ Sub-Topics

According to Figure 5, during the content analysis of 25 news articles about the U.S. 2016 presidential election, 36 of the keywords related to economic concerns fit into the category of "General Economic Issues," while 13 were coded as related to social security and 15 were coded as related to taxes. This means that the "General Economic Issues" category accounts for the majority of the media coverage about economics as related to this election. This category includes the following keywords: Economic, Economy, Job (in reference to the economy), Fiscal, Financial, and Middle-class, so it encompasses many of the issues that voters, and especially the voters who voted for Trump, were concerned about before and during this election.

Though issues related to economics were widespread in the content that was analyzed through this study, some articles were definitely more related to these issues than others. "Clinton Focuses on Jobs, Tax Plans in Toledo Stop," published by *The Blade* in Toledo, Ohio is one example of an article related to this election that is primarily focused on economic issues, as it includes 15 mentions of keywords related to economics. While this article discusses Clinton's economic policies, it does not mention

many of Trump's policies. Though quotations from Clinton in this article question Trump's personal economic situation by discussing his failure to pay taxes and the harm is large business may have caused small businesses, this article makes a shift toward supporting Trump by including quotations from his economic advisors that question how helpful Clinton's policies would really be and encourage readers to choose Trump instead.[72] Similarly, the article "S&P Proposes Using Corporate Tax Reform to Fund Infrastructure," published in *The Bond Buyer*, is one of the most economically-focused articles in this study, as it contains 19 mentions of keywords related to this category, and it also ultimately suggests that Trump would better improve the U.S.'s economic situation. When discussing the two major candidates' interest in financing infrastructure projects, it reminds readers that "Trump said in August that if elected president he would 'at least double' the $275 billions of additional federal investment in infrastructure over five years pledged by Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton."[73] This statement makes it appear that even though both candidates had solid plans for addressing this important issue, Trump was more invested in it and therefore would budget his finances appropriately to help the economic situations of both the country and the average American citizen.

Through agenda-setting, these news articles published not long before the U.S. 2016 election reminded voters that economics should be a prominent issue they consider when choosing who to vote for. Trump's economic policies focused much more on the needs and wants of "the people," such as through creating new jobs that would keep them economically stable, even when the country was experiencing what some considered an

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[72] Troy and McCray, "Clinton focuses on jobs, tax plans in Toledo stop."
[73] Watts, "S&P Proposes Using Corporate Tax Reform to Fund Infrastructure."

immigration crisis as a result of immigrants taking jobs that could otherwise be worked by U.S. citizens. Even when news media coverage focused on Clinton's economic policies, this helped Trump, because voters were reminded to consider economic issues, and for many of them, Trump's populist policies better represented what they wanted out of a presidential candidate. Essentially, the media coverage that focused on economic issues, especially those in the "General Economic Issues" sub-topic aided Trump in getting voters to choose him based on his economic policies that would keep the people economically secure.

Economic Concerns in the France 2002 Case

Similar to the U.S. 2016 case, the "Economics" category accounted for the highest number of points in the content analysis of articles representing news media coverage of the France 2002 election. In fact, "Economics" received a score of 64 keyword mentions, while there were only 32 related to "Insecurity" and 35 that fell into the "Etc." category. This means that economic issues overall, as well as the news coverage of these issues, were clearly important to this election. This section will give a breakdown of the sub-topics within "Economics" to discuss their relevance to the discussion of how media and populism may have combined to produce surprising results in this case, as well as that of the U.S. 2016 presidential election, despite their differences.

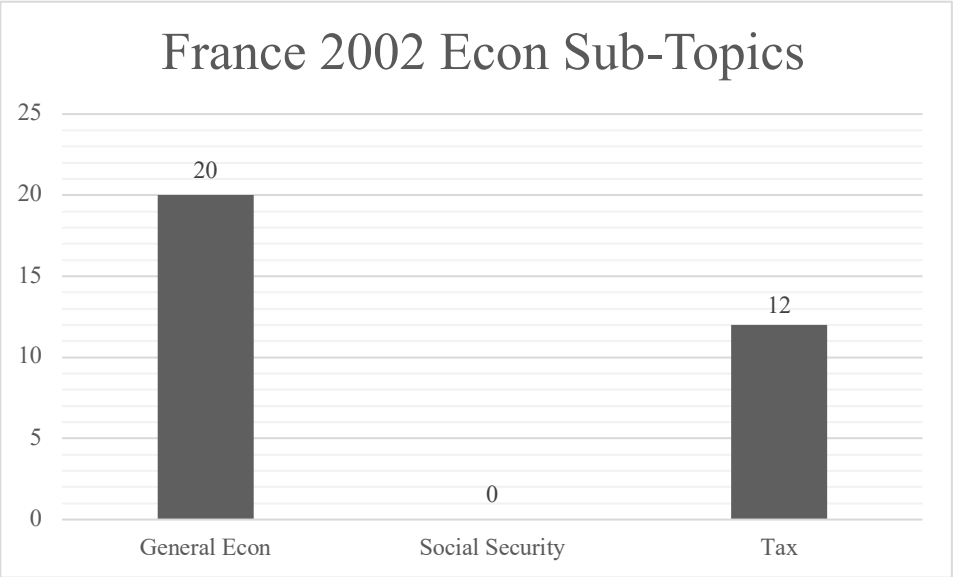

Figure 6: France 2002 Econ Sub-Topics

Immediately upon looking at this graph, it is apparent that no articles about the France 2002 election mentioned any keywords related to social security, meaning that it was not as important to the news media's coverage about this election, and therefore it likely did not affect voters' decisions as much as the other sub-topics may have, unlike with the U.S. case, which had almost as many mentions of keywords related to social security as taxes. There were 12 mentions of keywords related to taxes in this study, and there were 20 that fall into the "General Economic Issues" sub-topic. Similar to the U.S. 2016 case, this sub-topic includes the following keywords: Économique, Économie, and Emploi (in reference to the economy). Eight of the 25 articles randomly selected for this study included at least one mention related to the economy that, therefore, fell into one of these three categories about economic policy issues. This means that economic issues were not as widespread in the discussion of the France 2002 election, but rather a few articles accounted for all the mentions. This could have skewed the data toward seeming like issues related to the economy were more important to the election than they actually were; however, either way, this was still an important theme of the media coverage, and

economic issues are directly related to populist movements, so this is definitely relevant to this discussion.

Out of the 32 total mentions related to economic issues, while many of articles only provided a couple or a few mentions each, one actually accounted for 15 of the 32 mentions, and all of these were classified in the "General Econ" sub-topic. This article was published by *Les Echos* and its headline is translated into English as "The 1997-2002 Assessment: Four Years of Euphoria Before a Year of Relapse."[74] It discusses the issue of unemployment in France and how Jospin would likely use the drop in unemployment levels to his advantage in the election, claiming that he was responsible for this positive change. This being said, it also questions the official unemployment statistics, suggesting that things were not as good as they appeared and that even Chirac agreed that France was falling behind other countries in the economic sphere. Therefore, the overall sentiment of this article is that France had an insecure economic situation, and because voters tend to see the economy as a reflection on who is currently holding power in the government, this reflected poorly on Jospin (Prime Minister) and Chirac (President). Le Pen, on the other hand, made economic concerns, especially those that would contribute to French nationalism and success, one of his top priorities. Therefore, articles that news media outlets published like this one contributed both to the prominence of the economy as a major policy issue, through agenda-setting, as well as the overall feeling of the importance of insecurity issues. This ultimately benefitted Le Pen's populist agenda, and therefore his success in the election. Though this hypothesis is primarily based on one

[74] "Le Bilan 1997-2002 : Quatre Ans d'Euphorie Avant Un An de Rechute," *Les Echos.*

news article, many others suggested that economic issues were important as well, and this article was chosen as an example to illustrate this.

It is possible that all of mentions regarding economics fell into the General Economic Issues or Tax sub-topics because these issues have more of a result of feelings of insecurity, such as feeling as if you are paying more than your share of taxes or that you do not have a stable job with good pay. Le Pen blamed the high unemployment levels and other economic issues on immigrants, and therefore his plans to limit insecurity issues appealed to those voters who were concerned about economic issues as well. Because of this, the news media coverage that focused these issues likely benefited his populist policy platform and therefore his candidacy.

Conclusions About Economic Concerns and Insecurity

It is clear from this discussion that economic issues were seen as an important form of potential insecurity in the cases of these two elections, as they were the most discussed category of policy issues in both cases and therefore this reflected the necessity of considering issues related to economics when deciding which candidate to vote for. In particular, the content analysis of these 50 news articles shows that issues falling into the "General Economic Issues" sub-topic were most prominent in the media coverage of both the France 2002 and U.S. 2016 presidential elections. The coverage of economic concerns and insecurity by news media in these elections can be seen as having contributed to the populist support of candidates Donald Trump and Jean-Marie Le Pen because these candidates held strong economic policy platforms, and though some people may have seen them as controversial, in general, "the people" saw them as best reflecting their opinions during these elections. Therefore, the media coverage of these elections,

and in particular, the media's focus on economic insecurity, further encouraged people to vote for these candidates, which added to the effects of populism. This can be seen as similar to the contribution that media had to the success of Trump and Le Pen because of media outlets' coverage of issues of insecurity such as terrorism, crime, and security as discussed in the previous chapter. The coverage of economics, however, may have resulted in even more support for these candidates because it appears to have been discussed in news media coverage of these elections much more than insecurity was, according to the results of this content analysis study.

Chapter 3: Cycle of Controversy: Personality and Validity of Candidates

Though the preceding two chapters have made it clear that policies, specifically those related to insecurity and economic issues, were relevant to the media coverage and populist discourses in the U.S. 2016 and France 2002 presidential elections, this chapter will discuss an element that may have impacted the election even more than policies: media coverage of the candidates' personal characteristics and speculations about their abilities to succeed. Previous research about this discussed in the literature review section of this paper suggests that in both the U.S. 2016 presidential election[75] and the France 2002 presidential election,[76] the media's focus on candidates' personal characteristics, whether this be scandals, likeability, controversial interactions, or general attitude, impacted the coverage of their campaigns, and ultimately, the success of Trump and Le Pen. This chapter will discuss how true this assumption is for both cases and the extent to which the attention news media outlets gave to big personalities and dramatic new ideas indirectly supported these populist candidates. Ultimately, it will discuss the idea of a cycle of controversy; because Trump and Le Pen's populist styles and often controversial statements and actions attracted attention and interest, they were discussed more in the news media coverage of the election, and therefore this promoted them as interesting, legitimate candidates. Therefore, even if the intention of news media outlets was just to share a newsworthy story about one of these candidates, this act of sharing information may have ultimately contributed to these candidates' successes.

A number of different aspects were considered in the content analysis that serves as the foundation of this chapter. First, each article was coded as fitting into various

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[75] Thurber and Nelson, "Elections in a Polarised America," 7.
[76] Kuhn, "The Media and the Elections," 88.

categories representing the discussion of candidates' personalities and policies in order to see which was more prominent in the media coverage of each case. These larger categories of "Personality" and "Policies" were further broken down into the following subtopics: negative coverage related to the personalities of the populist candidates analyzed by this project (Trump and Le Pen), positive coverage related to the personalities of the populist candidates, negative coverage related to the personalities of the other candidates in the election, positive coverage related to the personalities of the other candidates in the election, coverage of policies related to the populist candidates, coverage of policies related to other candidates in the election, and general coverage of policies that are not attributed to a specific candidate. These subtopics will be analyzed to see not only whether there was more coverage related to personalities or policies, but also what type of coverage this was. Another piece of this study counted the number of times each candidate was mentioned in each article to see who was considered as more relevant to the news media. Additionally, each article was coded as expressing whether or not the populist candidate for the respective case (Trump or Le Pen) was a valid candidate or rather as representing this candidate as invalid or irrelevant. These statistics will be compared to general findings about the coverage of personality and policy issues in order to discuss whether or not media considered these populist candidates as serious possibilities and therefore whether the coverage of them was more sensational or actually implied that voters should consider the candidates as potential future Presidents.

U.S. 2016 Personality and Validity Coverage

In the United States 2016 election, as seen through the literature review, media coverage of personal aspects such as scandals, likability, and general personal

characteristics was very common.[77] This content analysis study compares the coverage of personality-related issues to policy-related issues during the period before this election. This sheds light not only on how much media coverage was related to personal issues rather than policy issues such as insecurity and economics as discussed in the previous chapters, but also on how much voters were exposed to this content and how much it mattered to them in their decision of who to vote for. This section will discuss how much issues related to personality were relevant to the coverage of this election and how this contributed to the success of Donald Trump.

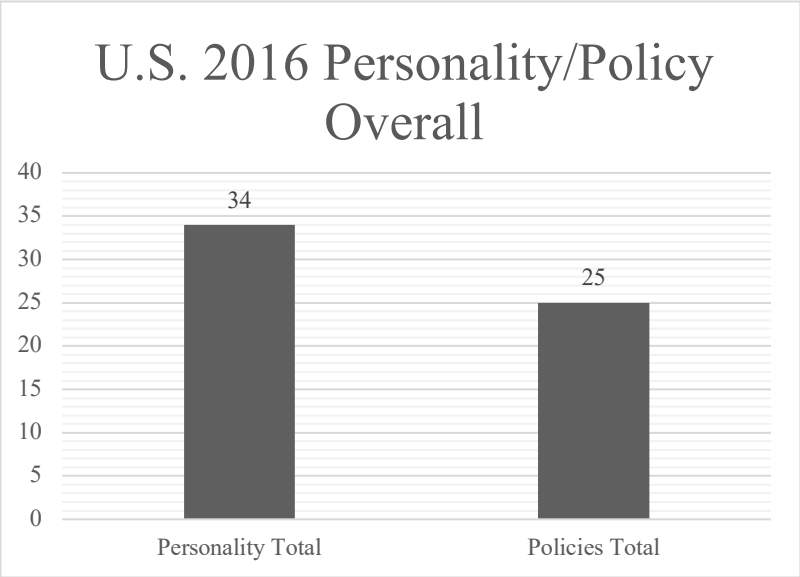

Figure 7: U.S. 2016 Personality/Policy Overall

This content analysis study looked at 25 news articles in the period before the U.S. 2016 presidential election and found that when analyzing the coverage of issues related to personality as compared to issues related to policies, there was more coverage on issues related to the personalities of the candidates. As seen in the graph above, there were 34 points given to "Personality" and 25 points given to "Policies." The fact that

[77] Thurber and Nelson, "Elections in a Polarised America," 7.

Trump's overall personal characteristics were discussed so much in the media coverage of this election, and therefore were a major piece of his candidacy, makes it clear that Trump's success in this election cannot completely be attributed to connecting with people based on his policies, but that his strong, blunt personality and often-controversial personal characteristics that media were so attracted to also played a role in his success.

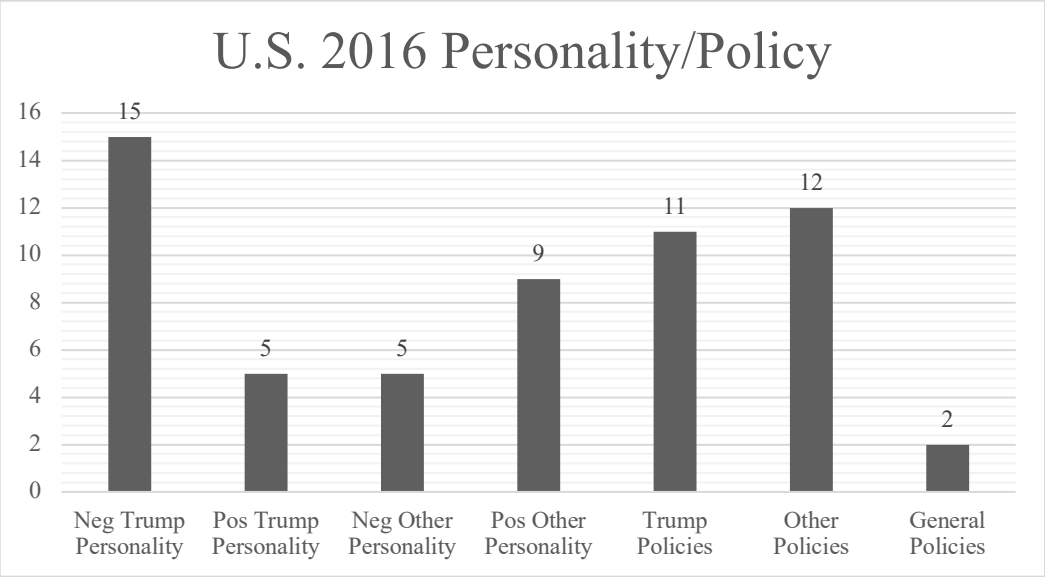

Figure 8: U.S. 2016 Personality/Policy

The graph above provides a more detailed look at the coverage related to personalities and policies of the candidates in the period approaching the U.S. 2016 presidential election. In 15 of the 25 news articles, there were negative comments made about Trump's personality, while only five of the articles included positive comments about Trump's personality. Five of the articles inlcuded negative comments about other candidates in the election, including Clinton, and nine articles inlcuded positive comments about these candidates. This adds up to 34, the total number of points awarded to issues related to personality in this study. On the policy side, there were 11 articles that included discussions of Trump's policies, while there were 12 that included discussions

of other candidates' policies and two articles that included general discussions of policy issues that were not attributed to a specific candidate.

Overall, it is clear that personal characteristics were discussed more than policy issues in this election, and when candidates' personalities were discussed, the coverage of Trump had more of a negative sentiment, while the coverage of other candidates had a more positive sentiment. These comments related to personality vary quite a bit in regards to their method of critiquing or supporting the candidate. For example, one article published by *Politico.com* discusses the future of Michelle Obama's beloved garden at the White House and includes a line about what Trump would do with it, saying, "'If Trump were elected president, he'd probably dig up Michelle Obama's vegetable garden in favor of a putting green.'"[78] This implies that Trump has lack of value for tradition and a preference for doing what makes him comfortable and supports his luxurious lifestyle. Another negative comment about Trump's personal characteristics is found in an article published by *The Santa Fe New Mexican*, which includes quotations from a former sheriff that Trump is "divisive" and represents "a detestable brand of politics."[79] These comments are vague but reflect that many voters did not find Trump likable, but rather saw him as unpredictable and even threatening. On the other hand, as the data implies, the personal coverage of other candidates in this election included more articles with positive comments about these candidates (9) rather than articles including negative comments (15). Because this sample was randomly chosen, it can be assumed that this reflects the overall media coverage and there was more negative coverage of Trump while there was more positive coverage of other candidates.

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[78] Evich, "Michelle Obama Sets Her Garden in Stone."
[79] Terrell, "Libertarian Candidate Johnson Gaining Allies from N.M. GOP."

Trump's controversial nature attracted this media coverage of him, and even though many of the comments about his personality appear negative, this does not necessarily mean that this hurt his candidacy. Populists, including Trump, can use negative statements by the media about them to their advantage by claiming they are being attacked and that people are being too dishonest and "politically correct." Because of this, the negative media coverage of Trump may have helped him attract more voters who are skeptical of media. Additionally, populists commonly say things that shock people, and Trump was no exception to this. He made rash statements about banning Muslims from entering the country and refusing to release his tax reports, which not only attracted media coverage, therefore resulting in people hearing his name more often and therefore legitimizing him as a valid candidate, but his controversial decisions also appealed to many people who were frustrated by corrupt politicians who allowed immigrants to continue taking their jobs and sense of comfort and security. Therefore, even the critical coverage of Trump was not necessarily hurtful, as different readers read these comments differently and may have actually valued that Trump's "brand of politics" was not the same as traditional politicians.

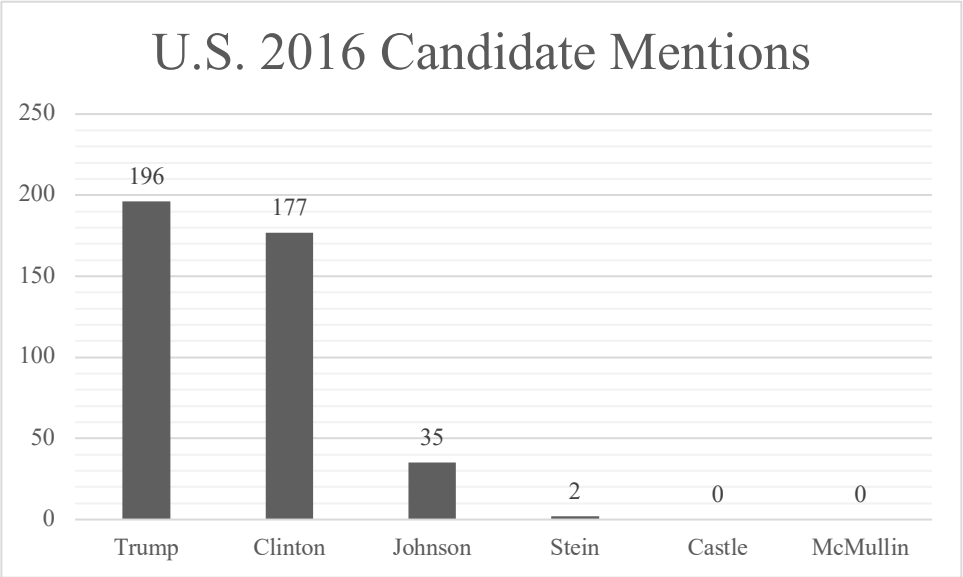

Figure 9: U.S. 2016 Candidate Mentions

Though the majority of coverage related to Trump's personality held a negative connotation and his personality was discussed far more than his policies, as seen from this graph, it is also important to note that overall, Trump was discussed the most out of all the candidates in the period before this election. There were 196 mentions of his name in the 25 articles included in this study, while Clinton received 177 mentions, Johnson received 35 mentions, and Stein received 2 mentions. This shows that even if the coverage of him was not the most positive, as discussed in the previous paragraph, this did not necessarily have a negative effect on his candidacy. Through discussing him so much, these news media outlets legitimized his candidacy and reminded voters that he was still relevant, therefore contributing to Trump's success. Outwardly, many news outlets did not say supportive things about Trump, but in discussing him at all, this indirectly seems to have helped him. Even articles that appear to be focused on Hillary Clinton often shifted the focus to Donald Trump, as he caused more controversies in this election and therefore news media outlets were able to create more newsworthy stories about him. For example, the article "Michelle Obama pitches Clinton: 'It's not about

voting for the perfect candidate'" published by *Politico.com* actually included five mentions of Trump's name and only four of Clinton's, as the point of the article was really why the public should not vote for Trump. This appears to be a common trend, as even though Clinton had her fair share of controversies attached to issues of her personality and policies, those related to Trump were accentuated more in the media coverage of the election.

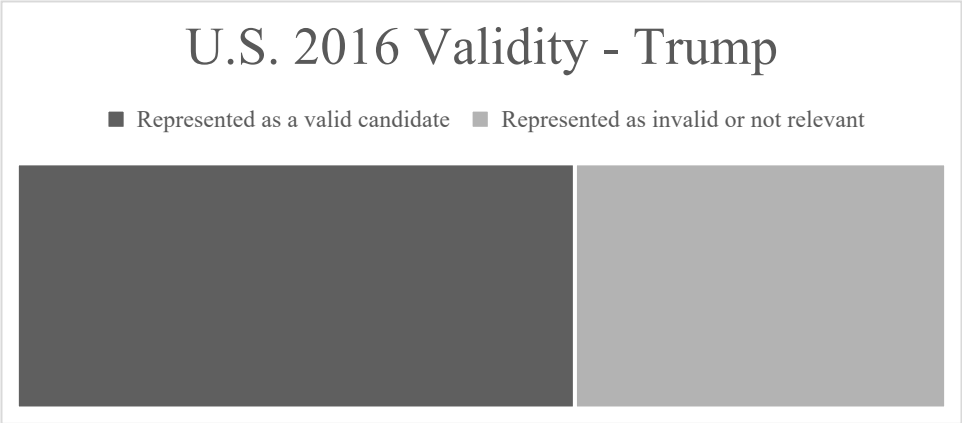

Figure 10: U.S. 2016 Validity - Trump

Continuing with this discussion of media coverage of the U.S. 2016 presidential election's candidates' personalities and policies, another element of this content analysis study judged whether the sentiment of each article expressed that Trump was a valid candidate, or whether it portrayed him as more irrelevant in the discussion of the election. Contrary to the argument that media companies did not consider Trump to have a chance of winning the election, the data actually shows that 15 of the 25 articles did express that he was a respectable candidate in this election. This is interesting considering that, as shown in the previous graphs, most of his news media coverage was fairly negative, though he seems to have been considered to be a valid threat. For example, an article published by *Pioneer Press Newspapers* does express the chance of Clinton losing to

Trump,[80] meaning that it assumed he was a reasonable candidate. This being said, there is not a large difference between these categories, as 10 of the 25 articles were coded as assuming Trump was not relevant to the discussion of who would win the election. One example of this is an article published by *Politico.com*, which says that Trump "waded into the realm of conspiracy theories."[81] He suggested that the election was rigged in favor of Clinton, and therefore even Trump assumed that he did not have a chance of winning and wanted to put the blame on someone else. Though there was a high amount of negative commentary about Trump's personal characteristics and overall candidacy in the media coverage of this election, the majority of the articles did include sentiments that Trump's candidacy was valid, which legitimized his candidacy even when news media outlets expressed negative critiques about him.

As discussed previously, news media are typically attracted to populist candidates because of their ability to cause controversy, therefore exciting and newsworthy events, that media outlets can use to gain more viewers and revenue.[82] This appears to be the reason why Trump was discussed so much in the media coverage of this election, even though the majority of the coverage was negative and not every source considered him to be a valid candidate in this election. Personality in particular played a role in the U.S. 2016 election coverage because candidates' personal characteristics were discussed more than the candidates' policies, and this is where much of the media coverage Trump received came from. This media coverage of Trump indirectly supported his policies by legitimizing him and his candidacy, even though much of the coverage was negative.

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[80] Johnson, "Park Ridge Preservation Group Talks Clinton Childhood Home."
[81] "Trump Calls for Congressional Term Limits," *Politico.com*.
[82] Sides, et al., *Campaigns and Elections*, 237.

Some voters, however, did not think less of him because of these critiques, and he even appealed to them more because of the ways in which liberal media sources claimed that Trump was so untraditional. While news media coverage related to personality can be seen as having hindered Trump's success through discussing him in a negative light, this did not hurt his campaign as much as people may have thought. Because Trump was discussed so much and considered to be a somewhat-valid candidate, this contributed to the success of his campaign and ultimately helped him win the presidency, even though news media may not have intended this to happen and many outlets were even very surprised by these results.

France 2002 Personality and Validity Coverage

The media coverage of candidates' personal characteristics and capacity to be a valid candidate in the France 2002 presidential election also proved relevant to the success of Jean-Marie Le Pen in making it to the second round of the election. The data from the content analysis of articles from this case, however, tells a different story of exactly how this impacted the election when compared to the case of the U.S. 2016 election. This section will analyze how important the news media coverage of personality and validity of candidates was in the France 2002 presidential election and discuss other ways in which coverage expressed positive and negative sentiments regarding his candidacy, ultimately leading to Le Pen's success in making it to the second round of the election, as well as the general sense of surprise and shock that resulted from this success.

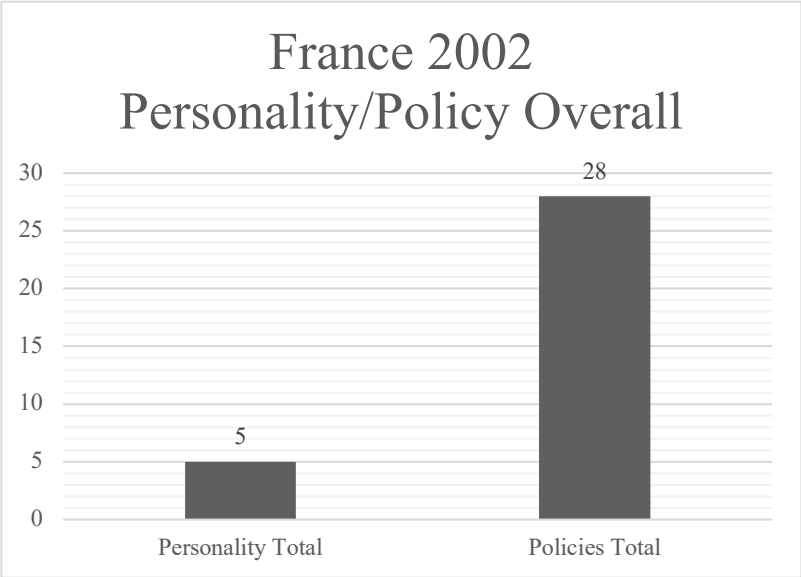

Figure 11: France 2002 Personality/Policy Overall

As seen from the graph above, there was actually far more coverage of candidates' policies in regard to this election than there was coverage of their personal characteristics. "Personality" received five mentions, while "Policies" received 28 mentions, which is very different from the results of this study for the U.S. 2016 presidential election, for which "Personality" received 34 mentions and "Policies" received only 25 mentions. This suggests that the coverage of candidates' personal characteristics played much less of a role in this election than in the U.S. 2016 election, though the remainder of this section will explore this hypothesis and suggest ways in which issues regarding personality may have also influenced this election despite the apparent differences between the coverage of this election and the U.S. 2016 presidential election.

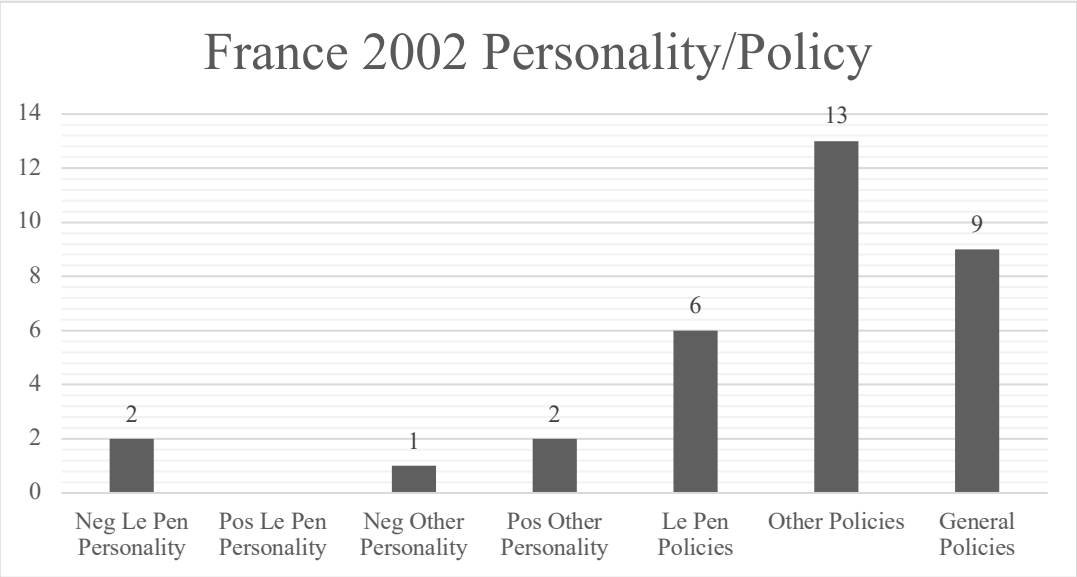

Figure 12: France 2002 Personality/Policy

The graph above provides a breakdown of, according to the content analysis study, what the media coverage of this election said in regard to the candidates' personalities and policies, and therefore how much voters were exposed to commentary about each of these categories. There were two instances of comments that were more negative about Le Pen's personality, while there were no comments that are considered positive in regard to his personality. One article included negative discussion of the personalities of other candidates in this election, while two articles reflected positively on these other candidates' personalities. Overall, there was much more of a discourse about policies in the media coverage of this election, as six articles included comments about Le Pen's policies, 13 articles included comments about other candidates' policies, and nine articles included information about policies that were not attributed to one candidate in particular but rather suggested that this was a theme voters should consider. There was far less of a discussion of candidates' personalities in the media coverage of this election, but similar to the U.S. 2016 presidential election, the major populist candidate being

examined (in this case, Le Pen) received more negative coverage regarding his personal characteristics than all of the other candidates combined.

Once again, this critical coverage of populist candidates suggests that news media outlets are attracted to controversy, which populist candidates are able to supply them with because of their policies, comments, and general beliefs that are often untraditional, and which many voters may consider to be offensive. This being said, other voters are increasingly attracted to these candidates because they feel like they better represent their needs. Right-wing populism appeals to the working class by blaming disconnected elites for allowing immigrants and other minority groups they find to be unworthy to make them insecure, both in the sense of national security and economics. The two instances of critical coverage of Le Pen that this study found were both published in articles by *Le Monde*. One article mentions that Le Pen was intimidating voters and that this pressure was unacceptable in a democracy,[83] and the other negative aspect of his personality that another news article mentioned was that the traditional dignity that other candidates hold is "foreign" to Le Pen.[84] Though these are negative accusations, one can see how voters frustrated by traditional politicians were willing to accept Le Pen's controversial opinions and personal characteristics because they felt like he would care about them more and better represent their needs than the other candidates in the election. Therefore, Le Pen's personal characteristics were still able to impact the way in which media coverage may have contributed to his success. Additionally, similar to Trump in the U.S. 2016 election, Le Pen may have also used negative coverage about him and his campaign to his advantage by blaming this on political correctness. Though Le Pen's policies were

[83] Elie, "La Grogne des Maires l'Angoisse des Candidats."
[84] Pierre, "La Dignité."

discussed much more often than Trump's, the coverage of his personality was primarily negative, and similar to Trump, many voters continued to support Le Pen despite this coverage. He may have even received more support because his controversial statements and actions resulted in more media coverage, which resulted in the news media legitimizing his candidacy, just like news media outlets did with candidate Trump in the U.S. 2016 presidential election.

Because Le Pen's policies were discussed so much more than his personal characteristics, this coverage will also be discussed here. Many news articles regarding policies were less about a specific candidate and more about the overall issue, including the policies related to this issue held by many of the top candidates. For example, in the article about immigration published by *Le Monde* that was discussed in a previous chapter, 11 different candidates and their stances on immigration are discussed. Most of these candidates included some type of naturalization process for immigrants, as well as the ability for immigrants to get jobs and vote, but Le Pen's policy was much more harsh in comparison to these other candidates (with the exception of Bruno Mégret, another far-right populist candidate in this election).[85] Additionally, when compared to other candidates about their policies regarding prison reform in a different article published by *Le Monde*, the journalist mentions that Le Pen wanted to ensure that there are resources to imprison all convicted criminals, which is more drastic than the other candidates' perspectives discussed, despite there not being a clear divide between candidates on the left and right in their policies.[86] Overall, the coverage of Le Pen's personality was critical because of his controversial attitudes and values, and the coverage of his policies made it

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[85] "9 - L'Immigration." *Le Monde.*
[86] Alexandre, "Les Candidats Interrogés par l'Observatoire des Prisons sur le Sens de la Détention."

clear that many of his plans were very dramatic and different. In the case of Le Pen, there was a similar cycle of controversy as Trump experienced with his media coverage during the U.S. 2016 election, though for Le Pen, the controversy arose more from his policies. His untraditional stances made news media want to discuss him so much, and therefore this resulted in so many voters learning about Le Pen and his positions. This appealed to them because they were made to think that this is what would best support them and their senses of security and success. This volume of media coverage helped legitimize these populist candidates, despite the often-negative coverage they received.

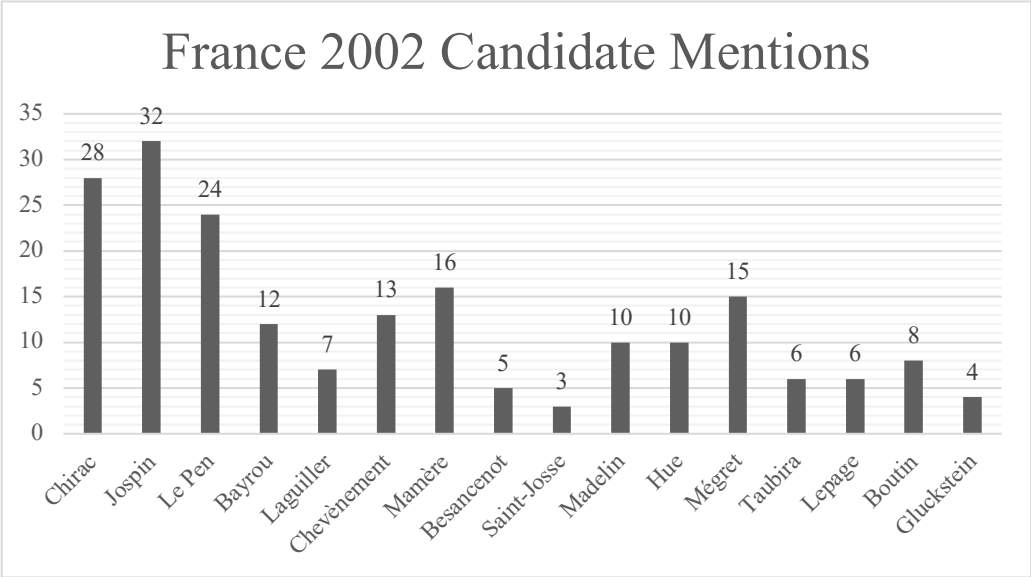

Figure 13: France 2002 Candidate Mentions

To compare this case to the U.S. 2016 presidential election, the element of the number of mentions each candidate received in the 25 articles randomly selected for content analysis is also included here. As seen in this graph, there were far more candidates in the France 2002 election, and the mentions were much more spread out than in the U.S. 2016 election, when Trump and Clinton accounted for nearly all of the mentions of candidates. This is because of the differences in electoral processes in these countries, as discussed in the introduction of this paper. In this election, Jospin received

the greatest number of mentions, as his name was mentioned a total of 32 times in the 25 articles. Chirac received 28 mentions, and Le Pen received 24 mentions. No other candidates surpassed a total of 16 mentions, so it is clear that these three candidates were discussed the most by media outlets in the period approaching this election. Though these were the top three candidates in the election, this order of the number of mentions does not reflect the order of who received. The highest number of votes correctly, as Chirac received the highest number of votes, Le Pen received the second highest, and Jospin came in third, which eliminated him from the race.[87] According to scholars who have researched this topic, very few people expected Le Pen to do as well as he did in the election, and many polls ranked him as fifth or sixth, so it is surprising based on that information that Le Pen was discussed so much by the news media, yet people assumed he would not do well in the election.[88] As this project has discussed, populist candidates often receive media coverage as a result of their controversial positions and statements, which is likely why Le Pen received so much media coverage despite people assuming he would not do well in the election. Similarly, the other far-right populist candidate in this election, Bruno Mégret, received 15 mentions from the articles analyzed in this study, despite polls before the election ranking him low and him only actually receiving 2.34 percent of the overall votes in the first round of the election.[89] This further supports this theory that media made Le Pen appear to be a more valid and respectable candidate through discussing him so much, even if much of the coverage was negative.

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[87] Cole, "A Strange Affair," 327.
[88] Cole, "A Strange Affair," 326.
[89] Cole, "A Strange Affair," 327.

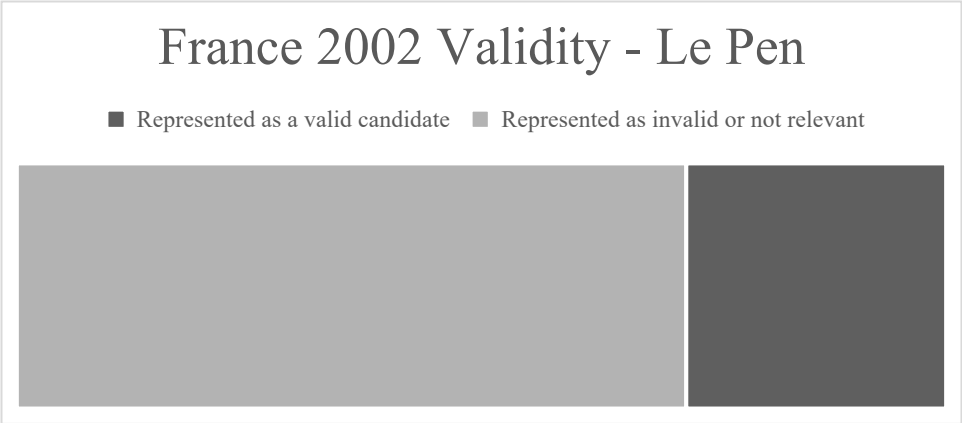

Figure 14: France 2002 Validity – Le Pen

Despite Le Pen's high amount of media coverage, much of it, as well as the overall coverage of the election, discounted his capacity to succeed as a respectable candidate. In the content analysis study, 18 of the 25 articles reflected sentiments of Le Pen being an invalid or not relevant candidate, meaning that voters did not need to take him seriously as a threat, while only seven of the 25 articles represented Le Pen as a valid candidate who had a chance to do well in the election. This means that Le Pen was not thought of as having a real chance of winning the election, neither through the polls published by media outlets[90] or the general sentiment of the media coverage, as seen through this study. Even those articles that considered Le Pen to be a valid competitor did not suggest that he had a real chance of winning, or even getting to the second round like he did, as seen through an article by *Le Monde*. It acknowledges that Le Pen was gaining support, though it reminds voters that he had still not surpassed 13 percent of the votes in the polls and that his possible success would still be a large surprise.[91] Even though news media outlets did not feel like Le Pen was a valid candidate, he clearly still received a great deal of media attention, which relates back to the idea of a cycle of controversy and

[90] Cole, "A Strange Affair," 326.
[91] Christiane, "M. Le Pen: J'Étais Gibier, Désormais Je Suis Chasseur."

his controversial policies and personal characteristics attracting media coverage, which ultimately publicized and legitimized his campaign more than if he had been an uncontroversial figure.

Overall Personality Coverage Conclusions

In both the U.S. 2016 and France 2002 presidential elections, the populist candidate analyzed in this paper (Donald Trump or Jean-Marie Le Pen) received a high amount of media coverage that did not reflect the low amount of support that polls assumed that he would have. Both the media coverage of Trump and Le Pen mostly reflected a negative, critical sentiment, though the media coverage of Trump was more about his personality and the coverage about Le Pen was more about his policies. In both cases, the candidate's controversial attitudes, actions, and decisions were exploited by media outlets to create entertaining media coverage, which only helped these candidates, despite the often-negative coverage of them. Even when the sentiment was negative, the coverage of the populist candidates helped them by spreading their message and reminding voters that they were still relevant. Additionally, some voters may have found the policies and personalities of these candidates that liberal newspapers mocked to actually be appealing, which further strengthened the candidacies of Trump and Le Pen. Overall, while news media companies outwardly critiqued Trump and Le Pen through negative comments about their personalities and policies and publishing speculations that they had no chance of doing well in their respective elections, through discussing them so much, as well as issues such as insecurity and economics that were so central to these populist candidates' campaigns, media contributed to voters giving more support to Trump and Le Pen.

Chapter 4: The Element of Surprise

It is clear that media and populism contributed to the successes of Trump and Le Pen in a unique way during their respective elections, and the final chapter of this project will continue this exploration of how and why these "pop-elections" occurred through discussing why many people who paid attention to news media were surprised by the results of these elections, and specifically, these populist candidates' successes. As previous chapters have discussed, in a variety of ways, media and populism combined to support Trump and Le Pen, however, this was not necessarily intentional. Outwardly, news media outlets frequently spoke negatively these populist candidates and claimed they had no chance of winning, yet at the same time, they supported Trump and Le Pen through talking about them and their policies so much and making it seem like voting against them was just a formality. This chapter will further explore these contrasting dynamics that took place during the France 2002 and U.S. 2016 presidential elections based on data discussed in the previous chapters, explaining why there was an element of surprise for many people and what sets these elections apart from other recent populist elections.

This chapter will first explore ways in which media outlets' actions contributed to the success of these candidates, as discussed throughout this paper. One way in which media seems to have aided populist candidates Trump and Le Pen is through discussing issues that they held strong positions and policies about. This includes both issues concerning insecurity and economic issues. As seen through Figures 1 and 3, media coverage of these elections seems to have focused the most on economics, and in the U.S., insecurity ranked second, while in the France 2002 case, the "etc." category ranked

before insecurity. Through focusing so much on economics and insecurity, agenda-setting likely took place, meaning that people who paid attention to this media coverage of the election cared more about these issues when deciding who to vote for. Because Trump and Le Pen held some of the strongest and most dramatic opinions about these issues, they appeared to be the ones who would address them the best. Even though some of these positions were controversial, those who felt threatened by losing their jobs to immigrants, being unemployed for too long, facing a terrorist attack, etc. felt like Trump and Le Pen had the best plans to address these important issues. If media had discussed other issues that other candidates in these elections had cared more about, such as healthcare, education, etc., then this media coverage may have supported other candidates instead of Trump and Le Pen. This was not the case, however; populist candidates Trump and Le Pen focused on the issues that the public generally found to be the most pervasive and threatening, and the news media coverage of this ultimately contributed to these candidates' successes in their respective elections.

Another way in which the news media coverage of these elections appears to have helped the candidacies of Trump and Le Pen in these elections is through paying so much attention to them and giving them so much free attention. In the U.S. 2016 presidential election, Trump frequently appeared to be lagging in the polls,[92] but according to the content analysis study that serves as the base of this project, he was mentioned in the media coverage of the election more than any other candidate (Figure 9). Most of the news media coverage about Trump was about his personality rather than his policies (Figure 7), and this coverage was primarily negative (Figure 8). A bit over half the news

[92] Byler, "Poll Position: Where Clinton, Trump Stand on Election Eve."

articles analyzed portrayed Trump as a valid candidate, while the others appeared to assume that he should not be considered as having a chance of winning (Figure 10). Trump was not discussed so much in the media coverage of this election because news outlets liked him and thought he would be the next President, but rather because he was interesting and controversial, and he was always able to provide them with a new story. Similarly, in the France 2002 presidential election, Le Pen was the third-most mentioned by media outlets (Figure 13), even though he typically ranked much lower in the polls. Almost all of the media coverage about Le Pen was about his policies rather than his personality (Figure 11), though his policies were sensationalized in a similar way to the personality coverage of Donald Trump. Much of the coverage of Le Pen held a negative sentiment (Figure 12), though this result was not as drastic as the result Trump received (Figure 8), but hardly any of the news articled included in this study considered Le Pen to be a valid candidate (Figure 14). Le Pen appeared to French media outlets and voters as having no possibility of doing well in the election, so the reason for his comparably high level of media mentions is also his controversial, sometimes unexpected decisions, statements, and actions. Through the analysis of these issues concerning coverage of personality and validity in these two elections, it is clear that there was a cycle of controversy. News media outlets found Trump and Le Pen to be interesting and newsworthy, so they talked more and more about them, which eventually legitimized their positions as candidates in the election. Some people even identified with these candidates even more after hearing coverage that mainstream media outlets may have intended to be critical, as they wanted a candidate who would not only pay attention to the people's needs, but would be honest and open with them, unlike many of the

traditional, corrupt politicians. Though news media outlets did not necessarily outwardly support their candidacies, and even often explicitly spoke negatively about them, media still contributed to the successes of these populist candidates through the volume and content of this media coverage. This is the foundation of the major argument of this project.

Through the analysis of these unique dynamics, it is clear that while news media often helped the campaigns of Trump and Le Pen, this is not necessarily what outlets appeared to be doing outwardly, or even what they intended to do. As discussed above, two major ways in which media appeared to be actively working against these candidates was through covering them in a negative or critical way (Figures 8, 12), as well as through describing them has having a low probability of success in the election (Figures 10, 14). While it is not clear whether the content or volume of the election coverage spread by the media was the central cause of surprise in these elections, it appears that both (discussing the candidates' strong policy issues and giving them more attention than other candidates) combined to help their campaigns. It is apparent that outwardly, news media outlets shared critical and discouraging information about Trump and Le Pen, though this did not actually hurt them, as media also promoted these populist candidates through the content and volume of the coverage, even if readers and news outlets themselves did not realize it, and this is what had the larger effect in the end.

It appears that everyday voters who consumed these candidates' media coverage saw ways in which media outlets actively worked against Trump and Le Pen, while not noticing the ways in which they were actually being helped by the media as well. Clearly, different news sources said different things about the candidates, especially because some

outlets are more conservative or liberal than others, but overall, according to the data that was collected through this content analysis study, there was a large amount of negativity produced by media outlets toward Trump and Le Pen, even though they also ultimately contributed to these candidates' successes as well. This is likely why many people were so surprised by these cases. Though media outlets seem to have helped these candidates, this was unseen by most people, who typically observed media outlets discounting and criticizing Trump and Le Pen instead. When Le Pen made it to the second round of his election and Trump won his election, so many voters were in shock, but if they had noticed the unique ways in which media and populism had combined to support these candidates throughout their campaigns, then they may not have been so surprised to learn of their success.

Though these are two important cases of populist candidates gaining support, there are also many other recent cases of populism around the world, including many instances of populists winning elections and few people being very surprised. Two recent populist candidates that have won elections, yet did not cause much surprise, are Jair Bolsonaro, President of Brazil (2018 election), and Boris Johnson, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (2019 election). Both Bolsonaro[93] and Johnson[94] are right-wing populists, and Brazil and the United Kingdom both have relatively free media systems (Brazil[95] has a score of 3/4 for free and independent media and the U.K.[96] has a score of 4/4). Therefore, media and populism both played roles in these elections. This being said, both of these candidates were often predicted to win their respective elections during

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[93] Stewart, "Right-Wing Populist Jair Bolsonaro Sworn in as President of Brazil."
[94] Boot, "Populist Nationalism Is on the March. No One Seems to Know How to Stop It."
[95] "Brazil," *Freedom House.*
[96] "United Kingdom," *Freedom House.*

their campaigns, and therefore few people were surprised by their success, which is obviously very different from the major cases discussed in this project. Bolsonaro had a "clear lead" over his opponent, Fernando Haddad, in the second round of this election, and he repeatedly received 55 to 60 percent of the vote in polls approaching the election.[97] Similarly, in the U.K., even though some sources claim that this was a close election and it was difficult to tell whether or not Boris Johnson would win,[98] most polls consistently predicted him as the winner, and therefore people were not very surprised when he won the election.[99] These elections were characterized by populism and media like the France 2002 and U.S. 2016 cases were, so the question at hand is what made people surprised by the populist candidates winning in two cases (France 2002, U.S. 2016), but not the other two cases (Brazil 2018, U.K. 2019).

It appears that the major issue that caused the element of surprise in the U.S. 2016 and France 2002 elections was that media said negative things explicitly about Trump and Le Pen yet actually contributed to these candidates' successes without many people noticing. It is difficult to make this claim because a content analysis study has not been completed on the Brazil 2018 and U.K. 2019 elections in the same way it was done for the France 2002 and U.S. 2016 elections, but through reading that media outlets published polls in favor of Bolsonaro and Johnson, one can assume that the overall coverage of them was also more positive and hopeful of their successes than the media coverage was for Trump and Le Pen during their elections. Bolsonaro and Johnson likely experienced the same momentum from the combination of populism and media that

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[97] Boadle, "Brazil Election Poll Shows Bolsonaro Has 57 Percent vs Haddad 43 Percent."
[98] Schomberg, "Knife-Edge? UK's Johnson Ahead but Polls Suggest Majority Might Be Tough."
[99] Penny and Hutton, "Key Poll Predicts Majority of 28 for Boris Johnson in U.K. Election."

Trump and Le Pen benefited from, specifically more attention paid to their policy issues and the cycle of controversy providing them with more free media coverage; however, these candidates did not face explicit criticisms and negativity from mainstream media outlets in the same ways that Trump and Le Pen did, which is why voters and other people around the world were not surprised by their successes in their respective elections.

Therefore, according to this argument, the element of surprise in the U.S. 2016 and France 2002 presidential elections was caused by the unique way in which media and populism combined, and specifically, the fact that media outlets experienced an interesting dynamic of outwardly discounting Trump and Le Pen, while actually contributing to their successes through amplifying their populist messages and making them appear more legitimate to voters. In other elections with populist candidates, there is not this sense of surprise despite the same populist energy and role of the news media because it is more obvious that news media outlets are interested in the populist candidates' potentials and this is not masked by the same explicit statements of negativity or critique. Media outlets consistently portrayed Trump and Le Pen as dramatic and unexperienced underdogs, while they still contributed to their success, while it appears that in the elections of other populist candidates, media have not expressed this same explicit critique that makes it seem like the candidate has no chance of winning. Overall, the news media's coverage of Trump and Le Pen's controversial statements and policies amplifies their messages and helped them be seen as valid candidates, even when the media coverage was negative, and this unique situation did not occur in the cases of populist candidates Bolsonaro and Johnson. This difference is what appears to distinguish

a “pop-election” from any other election that involves populism and media, according to the content analysis study that was completed for this project as compared to observations about other elections involving similar populist candidates but lacking this element of surprise.

Conclusion

In both the France 2002 and U.S. 2016 presidential elections, there was a unique symbiosis of media and populist candidates and discourses that eventually resulted in an electoral surprise. As seen through the discussion about this element of surprise, it seems that the particular cause of these surprises was the way in which news media appeared to be critical of the populist candidates through negative coverage of them, while actually contributing to their success through the volume and content of much of the media coverage. In the France 2002 presidential election case, people around the world were shocked and confused when Jean-Marie Le Pen beat Lionel Jospin for a spot in the second round of the election, and even though Jacques Chirac won in a landslide, this situation caused French voters to be more cautious and thoughtful about political decisions. Similarly, in the U.S. 2016 presidential election case, while some people had predicted Donald Trump's win, most assumed that Hillary Clinton would win and were very surprised when Trump succeeded in winning the Electoral College vote, and therefore the presidency. These two cases on their own were major turning points in their countries' political histories, and when they are brought together as they are in this comparative content analysis study, this emphasizes these situations' global importance.

One major goal of this project was, in fact, to bring together international situations and make them seem more relevant. While many people in the U.S. have never heard of the France 2002 presidential election, once they do, they may recognize the larger trend of the spread of right-wing populism around the world. They may even notice that pop-elections, which seem so unique and random when they happen, are not isolated events, but rather cases with the unique combination of media and populism that

may happen in different locations and time periods. When the U.S. 2016 and France 2002 presidential elections are compared, it is clear that there are both similarities and differences, and overall, that foreign situations may be relevant to the study of cases that take place in another country as well. On an even more global scale, when exploring the differences between these pop-elections and other cases of populists winning elections around the world, it is obvious that while the success of a populist is sometimes a surprise, other times, it is not, and the situation really depends on a number of determining factors that this study has explored.

There is a lot to learn from this research, not only about cases that have happened in the past, but also their implications for the future. As has already been discussed, populism is not isolated to these cases, but rather can be found around the globe. Jean-Marie Le Pen and Donald Trump undoubtedly hold special roles within this larger movement of populism. Jean-Marie Le Pen's daughter, Marine Le Pen, took over the National Front party, and though she has attempted to rebrand the party and make it seem less anti-Semitic, she is still considered to be a far-right politician whose views and policies are shaped by the party and her father's histories and values.[100] Marine Le Pen competed against Emmanuel Macron in the second round of the France 2017 presidential election, and she received about 34 percent of the vote, which was even more than Jean-Marie Le Pen received in the 2002 election.[101] This confirms the idea that the France 2002 presidential election was not an isolated case and continues to be relevant today. The U.S. 2016 presidential election and success of Donald Trump may be even more relevant, as he is the Republican nominee who will compete for the presidency in the

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[100] Fouquet, "The Making of Marine Le Pen."
[101] Aisch

2020 presidential election.[102] His success will likely depend on whether or not people have learned from the results of the 2016 election, as well as their level of satisfaction with Trump's decisions and the current state of security, the economy, and other key issues. Just because this study is international and based on cases does not mean that it is not relevant, and in fact, these elements may even make it a more valuable tool from which we can learn about important dynamics between media and politics around the world.

Overall, this comparative content analysis study of the France 2002 and U.S. 2016 presidential elections has shown that voters should always aim to be more aware of ways in which forces like media and populism are acting, not only in elections, but throughout any political event. As this study has concluded, even when news media outwardly says and projects one thing, it may be acting in a different way. It is necessary that voters understand these dynamics in order to make better-informed political decisions. If we are able to be more conscious and thoughtful of these issues, then maybe, the next time the qualities of a pop-election come together in symbiosis, the element of surprise will actually be weak, or even nonexistent.

[102] Gray, "Trump Passes Threshold to Become Republican Nominee."

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Appendix A: France 2002 Election Article Selection

#	Original Number	Article Name	Date	Outlet	Comments if Invalid
	402	ECHOS DE CAMPAGNE;ECHOS DE CAMPAGNE			Unavailable
	347	Fabius laisse à son successeur un compte de privatisation en excédent			Unrelated
	410	Taxe d'habitation : le retour des hausses;IMPÔTS LOCAUX.			Unavailable
	438	Election présidentielle 2002. Lionel Jospin promet un référendum aux Corses.			Unavailable
1	791	Jean Saint-Josse dénonce cette société qui va dans le mur	4/20/02	Le Monde	
2	729	ECHOS DE CAMPAGNE	4/18/02	Le Monde	
3	258	Monsieur Jospin, que voulez-vous faire du Sénat?	3/28/02	Le Monde	
	350	AGENDA			Unavailable
	757	Un Français sur deux n'a pas PRESIDENTIELLE.			Unavailable
	17	La famille, tout le monde en parle, la droite comme la gauche			Unrelated
	581	Quatre-vingt-quatre élus ont parrainé un candidat;Présidentielles			Unavailable
	141	GERARD ARMAND, ancien député (RPR) de l'Ain			Unrelated
	437	Les Etudiants musulmans de France s'attachent à rassurer			Unrelated
	604	Jospin s'en prend à Arlette			Unavailable
4	524	Election présidentielle 2002. L'histoire.	4/11/02	La Croix	
	77	Les couloirs de bus victimes des sièges de campagne;Elections présidentielles			Unavailable
	94	Vers une nouvelle unité. Pierre Martinot-Lagarde			Unavailable
5	784	L'immense vote protestataire va constituer la nouvelle majorité	4/20/02	Le Monde	
6	115	La grogne des mairesl'angoisse des candidats	3/23/02	Le Monde	
	109	Saint-Josse cartonne à Cabourg;Campagne			Unavailable
7	239	La dignité	3/28/02	Le Monde	
	522	Election présidentielle 2002.			Unrelated
8	535	9 - L'IMMIGRATION	4/11/02	Le Monde	
	164	A nos cousins italiens			Unrelated
9	325	Le bilan 1997-2002 : quatre ans d'euphorie avant un an de rechute	4/2/02	Les Echos	
	436	Madagascar. "La France doit enjoindre Ratsiraka de partir". POLITIQUE.			Unrelated
10	220	EDITORIAL. Aux actifs, la France reconnaissante. SOCIETE.	3/27/02	La Croix	
11	615	Election présidentielle 2002. Les candidats s'engagent. Bioéthique. Famille	4/15/02	La Croix	
12	139	Desserrer la France	3/25/02	Le Monde	
	783	Les élus du Val d'Yerres menacent de manifester;Nuisances aériennes			Unavailable
13	450	Le déclin français, le vrai	4/8/02	Le Monde	
	109	Saint-Josse cartonne à Cabourg;Campagne			Repeat
14	120	L'Humeur des jours, la chronique de Bruno Frappat. L'avenir s'annonce radieux.	3/23/02	La Croix	
	182	La folle rumeur fait du juge un candidat;Législatives			Unavailable
	475	Les 16 candidatures vues par la presse européenne			Unrelated
	679	Pour un contrôle équilibré des concentrations à Bruxelles			Unrelated

	310	MICHEL RUFIN,			Unrelated
	171	Politique et entreprise : chassé-croisé des hommes			Unrelated
	149	Impôts : les Français sont mûrs pour une réforme;FISCALITÉ.			Unavailable
	498	Urgence mondiale			Unrelated
	13	Des intrus dégradent l'immeuble de Charles Pasqua;Neuilly-sur-Seine			Unavailable
15	742	Pas d'interdiction pour les spots de campagne du candidat du MNR	4/18/02	Le Monde	
	58	Yves Lecoq sait enfin imiter Jospin;SCENE.			Unavailable
	253	Deux militants basques espagnols mis en examen à Paris			Unrelated
	697	Le théorème de Hollande;ILS ONT DIT			Unavailable
	512	RENDEZ-VOUS DE CAMPAGNE;RENDEZ-VOUS DE CAMPAGNE			Unavailable
16	452	Verts : la campagne en dents de scie de Noël Mamère	4/8/02	Les Echos	
17	599	Les candidats interrogés par l'Observatoire des prisons	4/13/02	Le Monde	
18	416	Les candidats ne veulent pas bouleverser la vie locale	4/6/02	Le Monde	
	120	L'Humeur des jours, la chronique de Bruno Frappat. L'avenir s'annonce radieux.			Repeat
	724	Le parrain parle enfin;Corse			Unavailable
	131	Une fillette de 3 ans tuée sur la A 140			Unavailable
	112	MARINE LE PEN, fille du président...			Unavailable
19	720	Election présidentielle 2002. L'histoire. "Les limites de fiabilité des sondages"	4/18/02	La Croix	
20	521	Présidentielle: demandez le programme	4/11/02	Le Monde	
21	506	Face à l'extrême gauche, Robert Hue peine à défendre son rôle	4/10/02	Les Echos	
	501	EN BREF;EN BREF			Unavailable
22	530	M. Le Pen: J'étais gibier, désormais je suis chasseur	4/11/02	Le Monde	
	173	Tapie joue les prolongations;ENQUETE.			Unavailable
23	187	Une marche de sans-papiers est partie de Marseille	3/26/02	Le Monde	
24	147	22, les flics soutiennent la gauche	3/25/02	Le Monde	
25	696	France Télévisions a commencé sa mue technologique	4/17/02	Le Monde	

Appendix B: U.S. 2016 Election Article Selection

#	Original Number	Article Name	Date	Outlet	Comments if Invalid
1	**302**	Michelle Obama sets her garden in stone	10/5/16	Politico.com	
2	**561**	Election 2016 -- Race for president: State division likely in White House challenge	11/5/16	Jacksonville Journal-Courier (Illinois)	
3	**273**	Michelle Obama pitches Clinton: 'It's not about voting for the perfect candidate'	9/28/16	Politico.com	
	165	Rouhani Meter: Where Iranian president stands after 3 years?			Unrelated
4	**2**	Libertarian candidate Johnson gaining allies from N.M. GOP	8/7/16	The Santa Fe New Mexican (New Mexico)	
	341	EDITORIAL: Esther J. Cepeda: An unsung Latino voting-rights advocate			Unrelated
5	**57**	Stories from Slate	8/19/16	Slate Magazine	
6	**81**	Can Clinton Deliver Reg Relief to Small Banks? Don't Bet On It	8/24/16	American Banker	
7	**241**	Stories from Slate	9/22/16	Slate Magazine	
8	**391**	Democracy Depends on the Consent of the Losers	10/17/16	Atlantic Online	
	162	Teen of the Week: Southern High's Campbell took leadership reins at early age			Unrelated
	595	Rotary Auction planned for Election Day			Unrelated
9	**510**	Kaine encourages early voting, bashes Trump	11/1/16	Stanford Herald (North Carolina)	
10	**266**	Johnson: 'I'm not a protest vote';Libertarian Party nominee sees Clinton and Trump as dangerous, doesn't mind being the spoiler	9/26/16	USA Today	
	435	BRIEF: Libby mayor admits mistake during his appointment			Unrelated
	558	Gregory: Changes in taxes can help fund school			Unrelated
	432	Why the Fight Over Israeli Settlements Is Reaching a Boiling Point Now			Unrelated
11	**399**	Trump calls for congressional term limits	10/18/16	Politico.com	
12	**297**	Clinton focuses on jobs, tax plans in Toledo stop	10/4/16	The Blade (Ohio)	
13	**549**	Park Ridge preservation group talks Clinton childhood home	11/4/16	Pioneer Press Newspapers, Suburban Chicago	
14	**202**	EDITORIAL: In this day and age, personal info about candidates is vital	9/18/16	Lubbock Avalanche-Journal (Texas)	
	302	Michelle Obama sets her garden in stone			Repeat
	321	Shimon Peres: A Life Th at Made a Difference			Unrelated
15	**361**	In N.C., Obama Could Be Key to Clinton Victory	10/12/16	NBCNEWS.com	
	243	Who's In Charge of America After a Catastrophe? Who Knows?			Unrelated
16	507	Clues to campaign came early;The road to the White House has had many twists, turns but signs were there	11/1/16	USA Today	
17	360	Pence rallies Trump supporters in Newton	10/12/16	Newton Daily News, Iowa	
18	331	In Scranton event, McGinty criticizes Trump for lewd comments about women	10/8/16	The Times Leader (Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania)	
19	452	Testing Federal Power Over Immigration	10/24/16	Atlantic Online	
	254	The Last Taboo;Communities and synagogues struggle to pray or even talk about loved ones with mental illness.			Unrelated
20	301	American Elections: How Long Is Too Long?	10/5/16	Atlantic Online	
21	490	Blunt holds firm to decision against hearing for Garland	10/28/16	The Daily Star-Journal, Warrensburg, Mo	
22	400	Children choose Clinton in national mock election;Kids have been remarkably prescient in past contests	10/18/16	USA Today	

23	317	S&P Proposes Using Corporate Tax Reform to Fund Infrastructure	10/6/16	The Bond Buyer	
24	240	Democratic liberals, moderates feud over public option	9/22/16	Politico.com	
25	149	Five reasons Hillary could be blowing it	9/7/16	Politico.com	