



Right-Wing Media Coverage of the 2024 French Right-Wing Political Party

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Abstract

The 2024 European Parliament election marks the 10th such election and the first post-Brexit, spurring active campaigns from political parties across all member states, including France. This study investigates the support preferences of French right-wing media in their coverage of right-wing political party campaigns. Using Le Querler's (1994) theory on sentence structure and function, the study reveals that Le Figaro and L'Express predominantly use simple sentence structures, indicating an intent to produce news that is accessible and that can easily capture the audience's attention. Applying Entman's (1993) framing theory, the analysis of headlines and framing strategies shows that both media outlets tend to favor Rassemblement National (RN) over the other right-wing parties. While Le Figaro delivers extensive coverage supported by effective video content, L'Express utilizes striking word choices in both its headlines and content. This conclusion underscores the importance of considering each media's background and strategies. Although both media share ideological alignment with the three right-wing parties, they show a noticeable preference for RN in their coverage.

Extrait

L'élection du Parlement européen de 2024 marque la 10^e élection de ce type et la première après le Brexit, ce qui a entraîné des campagnes actives des parties politiques dans tous les États membres, y compris en France. Cette étude examine le soutien préférentiel des médias français de droite dans leur couverture des campagnes des parties politiques de droite. En utilisant la théorie de Le Querler (1994) sur la structure et la fonction des phrases, l'étude révèle que Le Figaro et L'Express emploient principalement des structures de phrases simples, ce qui indique une intention de produire des informations accessibles et d'attirer l'attention du public. En appliquant la théorie du cadrage d'Entman (1993), l'analyse des titres et des stratégies de cadrage montre que les deux médias ont tendance à favoriser Rassemblement National (RN) par rapport aux autres parties de droite. Le Figaro offre une couverture extensive soutenue par des contenus vidéo efficaces, tandis que L'Express utilise des choix de mots frappants dans ses titres et contenus. Cette conclusion souligne l'importance de prendre en compte l'arrière-plan et les stratégies de chaque média. Bien que les deux médias partagent une orientation idéologique avec les trois partis de droite, ils démontrent une préférence notable pour RN dans leur couverture.

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INTRODUCTION

Over four days, from June 6 to 9, 2024, citizens of the European Union member states cast their votes in the European Parliament elections to elect 720 politicians who will serve for the next five years (Politico, 2024). This election marks the 10th European Parliament election since it was first held in 1979 and is the first post-Brexit (Tjong, 2024). In response to this, Jones (2024) reported that enthusiasm for the 2024 European Parliament elections increased significantly, with surveys showing a shift to the right. This report is supported by Cunningham et al. (2024) for the European Council on Foreign Relations, which noted that right-wing parties are becoming increasingly dominant across various EU countries.

In recent decades, far-right political movements have gained significant traction in Western politics, often characterized by xenophobic and racist sentiments toward migrants and refugees (Leon, 2021). Key drivers of this rise include economic inequality, democratic erosion, immigration, multiculturalism, and opposition to the European Union (Xiong, 2023). In France, according to Ivaldi & Pineau (2022), far-right movements are notably represented by parties such as Rassemblement National (RN) and Reconquête, while the center-right is embodied by Les Républicains (LR).

The media has played a critical role in shaping public perceptions of these movements. Two influential outlets in French media, *Le Figaro* and *L'Express*, exemplify how media outlets can affect the political landscape. Quoting the Dassault website, it is known that since 2004, *Le Figaro* has been owned by the Dassault Group, a company with strong connections to right-wing politics, particularly under the leadership of Serge Dassault, a businessman and politician affiliated with the UMP Party (now Les Républicains) and close ally to former President Nicolas Sarkozy. Following Serge's political legacy, his son Olivier Dassault also became involved in politics and the family business (RFI, 2021). Under the editorship of Alexis Brézet, *Le Figaro* shifted its editorial stance to adopt a more critical approach to government policies, signalling broader alignment with right-wing politics (Baudriller, 2012).

On the other hand, *L'Express* represents a center-right perspective (Dassonville & Cassini, 2021). According to Britannica (2024), *L'Express* was founded in 1953 during a politically charged era, the publication has been a key player in French media, contributing to political discourse. With a distinct center-right outlook, it holds a different political and editorial history compared to *Le Figaro* (Valentini & Alcaraz, 2021). Together, these outlets contribute to shaping the narrative around right-wing movements in France.

Among these right-wing movements, Rassemblement National (RN) stands out as a major far-right political force in the country. Originally known as the Front National, the party was founded in 1972 by François Duprat and François Brigneau. It became closely associated with Jean-Marie Le Pen, who led the party from its establishment until 2011, when his daughter, Marine Le Pen (MLP), took over. Under MLP's leadership, the party rebranded itself in 2018 as Rassemblement National to shed its controversial image of anti-Semitism and Islamophobia and present a more moderate face to the public (Ray, 2024; Zakharova, 2020). Reconquête, another far-right party, was founded in December 2021 by Éric Zemmour. Although relatively new, Reconquête quickly gained attention for its strong nationalist rhetoric and its stance on identity politics.

Les Républicains (LR), on the contrary, represents the center-right in French politics and has a different origin and trajectory. Initially formed as l'Union pour un Mouvement Populaire (l'UMP) in 2002 by former President Jacques Chirac, the party brought together several center-right factions, creating a conservative coalition (Boucek, 2021). In 2015, under the leadership of former President Nicolas Sarkozy, the party underwent a controversial rebranding to Les Républicains. This move drew criticism from left-wing groups, who argued that the term "*Républicain*" symbolizes a shared French identity and should not be used exclusively by a single political party. Despite these objections, the courts upheld the rebranding, allowing Les Républicains to retain the term (Williamson, 2015).

There are several right-wing political parties in France that participated in the 2024 European Parliament elections. However, the focus of this study is on the campaign coverage of three parties: RN, LR, and Reconquête. According to Aubert et al. (2024) regarding the 2024 European Parliament election results, Rassemblement National ranked first among the parties in France with the most votes at 15.7%, Les Républicains ranked second among right-wing parties with 7.2%, and Reconquête ranked third among right-wing parties with 5.5%. These results demonstrate that Rassemblement National (RN), Les Républicains (LR), and Reconquête significantly influence French politics, particularly in the context of elections. This study focuses on the political campaign coverage of these

three parties, analyzing the linguistic structures using Le Querler's (1994) theory of sentence structure and function.

According to Le Querler (1994), a sequence of words that functions together within a sentence is defined as a *syntagme*. Meanwhile, sentence constituents can be categorized into two types: *fonction primaire* (primary function) and *fonction secondaire* (secondary function). Words with primary functions connect to the verb (*pivot*), while those with secondary functions do not. In addition, Le Querler (1994) introduces the concept of *tête du syntagme* (head of the phrase), which refers to the main word in a phrase. Along with phrases, there are also *propositions* (clauses) that ensure the sentence holds together. Le Querler (1994) identifies three types of clauses: *proposition principale* (the main clause in a complex sentence), *proposition indépendante* (a clause that can stand alone), and *proposition subordonnée* (a dependent clause). Moreover, Le Querler mentions that French sentences are classified into two categories: *les phrases simples* (simple sentences) and *les phrases complexes* (complex sentences). Both types of sentences are essential for delivering information more effectively (Ibrahim & Laksman-Huntley, 2023).

As the only EU institution directly elected by voters in 27 member countries, the European Parliament gives voters the opportunity to send messages to their national governments (Gozzi & Kirby, 2024). In this context, the media bridges the gap between political elites and the public, delivering information while influencing how parties compete; either by publishing or limiting news about these politicians (Schmidt, 2020). When covering events, especially if the issue aligns with their ideology, the media will implicitly show bias by publishing supportive news (Dwiputri & Laksman-Huntley, 2020). As highlighted by Entman (2010), media framing notably influences public opinion in the context of elections. Building on this linguistic foundation, Entman's (1993) framing theory introduces a critical layer of analysis by focusing on how media framing shapes public perception. Entman outlines four key elements of framing: defining problems (identifying issues), cause diagnosis (explaining the origins of the issue), moral judgment (offering moral assessments to support a particular viewpoint), and treatment recommendation (suggesting actions to address the problem).

Many studies have been conducted on media framing, including by Dwiputri & Laksman-Huntley (2020), Snipes & Mudde (2020), and Araújo (2021). Dwiputri & Laksman-Huntley (2020), which focused on how French right and left-wing media framed the Yellow Vest Movement in France by using Entman's (2007) framing theory. Their analysis revealed significant differences in narrative and portrayal between how the French right and left-wing media framed the protest movement. Then, Snipes & Mudde (2020) compared the coverage of radical right-wing politician Marine Le Pen (MLP) by French (Le Figaro and Le Monde) and American (New York Times and Wall Street Journal) media. Their findings indicated that Le Figaro showed greater support for MLP, aligning with the newspaper's political ideology. Furthermore, Araújo (2021) explored how international media, including The Guardian, Público, Le Monde, Libération, and New York Times, framed political narratives related to Jair Bolsonaro's 2018 presidential campaign in Brazil using media framing.

Further studies on French political issues include Gattinara (2020), who examined how far-right groups like Les Identitaires in France and CasaPound Italia in Italy utilized media to solidify their identities and increase their recognition. Using semi-structured interviews and an ethnographic approach, Gattinara concluded that media served both as a communication tool and a means to strengthen group ideologies. Meanwhile, Ribera & Díaz (2020) analyzed the discourse surrounding the 2017 French presidential election by studying interviews among political rivals, employing discourse and framing analysis, although without referencing a specific analytical framework. Subsequently, Ivaldi (2023) followed suit by examining the competition between MLP and Éric Zemmour during the 2022 presidential race, highlighting their differences.

Previous research on sentence structure and function in a political aspect, according to Le Querler (1994), has been studied by Ibrahim & Laksman-Huntley (2023). Their study found that the complex sentence structures used in MLP's speeches played a significant role in conveying her propaganda, which helped boost her electability in the 2022 election. In addition, Mondon (2024) argues that elites in liberal democracies help promote the rise of the far-right by using the media to focus heavily on figures like Éric Zemmour and Marine Le Pen. This makes the far-right seem like the only alternative to the current system, even though it's largely a narrative shaped by elites, not a "true" grassroots movement. By doing this, elites avoid addressing deeper political problems and make far-right ideas seem normal. Therefore, the media plays a key role in normalizing far-right ideologies, while simultaneously framing these movements as popular uprisings.

Previous research on French political issues indicates that many studies have examined media coverage of right-wing figures, such as Marine Le Pen (MLP). For instance, Snipes and Mudde (2020)

compared how the ideologically distinct newspapers *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* portrayed MLP, while Ivaldi (2023) analyzed news coverage of both MLP and Éric Zemmour. However, Ivaldi's research focused solely on their competition and did not apply framing theory. Although some studies have analyzed headlines related to right-wing political party campaigns, none have combined the analysis of both headlines and videos published by right-wing media about these parties. This leaves a gap to explore in how right-wing media's preferences are seen in their coverage of these political parties.

By addressing gaps in previous research, this study explores how French right-wing media may cover the campaigns of these parties differently, despite their shared ideology. Through this exploration, it seeks to deepen the understanding of the intersections between media, politics, and public perception in the context of the 2024 European Parliament elections.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study uses Creswell's (2018) qualitative method to analyze news articles and videos from two right-wing French media outlets, *Le Figaro* and *L'Express*. The scope of the study includes six non-paid articles, three from each outlet, published between February and April 2024. The analysis focuses on the political campaigns of *Rassemblement National* (RN), *Les Républicains* (LR), and *Reconquête*. Both written and video articles were selected based on its relevance to these campaigns.

To understand the impact of media on politics, this study applies two theoretical frameworks: Le Querler's (1994) sentence structure and function theory and Entman's (1993) framing theory. Through this combined approach, this study aims to uncover media support patterns and biases for each political party, despite the shared right-wing ideology of both media outlets and the parties they cover.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Media Coverage on French Right-Wing Political Parties

The structure and function of sentences play a crucial role in understanding and analyzing language in the media. According to Le Querler (1994), this involves breaking down sentence components based on word classes and their functions. The data shows that all six news headlines—both written and video content—from *Le Figaro* and *L'Express* consist of simple sentences (*les phrases simples*). Additionally, Entman's (1993) framing approach applied to analyzing the headlines and content, reveals how these outlets present right-wing political parties in France.

Subtle Support for Rassemblement National (RN)

Every media outlet has the power to shape the message its creators wish to convey (Hall, 1980). As a prominent far-right party in France, *Rassemblement National* is often covered by media like *Le Figaro* and *L'Express*. To understand how these right-wing outlets support RN, this study will examine the structure and function of headlines from articles published on March 3, 2024, followed by the framing analysis. Below is the RN campaign headline analysis from *Le Figaro*.

“Européennes : à Marseille, Jordan Bardella et Marine Le Pen affichent leur unité contre Emmanuel Macron”
(European Elections: In Marseille, Jordan Bardella and Marine Le Pen Display Their Unity Against Emmanuel Macron)

Table 1. Le Figaro’s News Headline Structure published on March 3, 2024

<i>Européennes</i>	:	<i>à</i>	<i>Marseille</i>	<i>Jordan Bardella</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>Marine Le Pen</i>	<i>affichent</i>	<i>leur</i>	<i>unité</i>	<i>contre</i>	<i>Emmanuel Macron</i>
<i>Nom</i>	:	<i>Prép.</i>	<i>Nom</i>	<i>Nom</i>	<i>Conj.</i>	<i>Nom</i>	<i>Verbe</i>	<i>Adj. Possesif</i>	<i>Nom</i>	<i>Prép.</i>	<i>Nom</i>
<i>Syntaxme nominal</i>	:	<i>Syntaxme nominal prépositionnel</i>		<i>Syntaxme nominal</i>			<i>Syntaxme verbal</i>	<i>Syntaxme nominal</i>		<i>Syntaxme nominal prépositionnel</i>	
<i>CC du but</i>		<i>CC de lieu</i>		<i>Sujet</i>			<i>Pivot</i>	<i>COD</i>		<i>Expansion du nom</i>	

Based on the table above, the sentence is a *phrase simple* (simple sentence) since it stands alone as a complete proposition. The word “*Européennes*” functions as a *complément circonstanciel du but* (indicating the European elections as the event’s goal). Meanwhile, the phrase “*à Marseille*” (in Marseille) acts as a *complément circonstanciel de lieu* (complement of place), specifying the location. Then, “*Jordan Bardella et Marine Le Pen*” are the *sujet* (subjects) performing the action, which is meant to display their unity. However, the action is expressed through the plural form of the transitive verb “*afficher*” (to display), which is “*affichent*” (display) that acts as a *pivot*. Also, “*leur unité*” (their unity) is the *complément d’objet direct/COD* (direct object). Lastly, “*Emmanuel Macron*” serves as additional context, representing opposition to their unity.

Le Figaro provides comprehensive coverage of the campaign in a detailed way, including text and three short videos featuring speeches by Marine Le Pen and Jordan Bardella, which can be accessed at <https://www.lefigaro.fr/politique/europeennes-a-marseille-jordan-bardella-et-marine-le-pen-affichent-leur-unite-contre-emmanuel-macron-20240303>. Le Pen’s video lasts 2 minutes and 9 seconds, while Bardella’s are 2 minutes and 12 seconds and 1 minute, respectively. To determine if these videos are effective, additional context about human attention-span is needed. Given that the optimal video length for audience engagement is around 2.7 minutes (Hayes, 2023), Le Figaro’s videos are considered effective. This careful selection enhances the audience’s understanding and response to the news.

Following that, according to Entman’s (1993) framing analysis, Le Figaro’s coverage extends beyond the headline to emphasize Jordan Bardella’s optimism in winning the 2024 European Parliament election. Bardella criticizes Emmanuel Macron as a national divider and views the campaign launch as a crucial step toward victory. Le Figaro underscores the unity between Bardella and Marine Le Pen, positioning them as the main figures, while Macron is portrayed as a lesser opponent. This framing may reflect Le Figaro’s right-wing perspective.

In contrast, L’Express uses provocative language, calling Macron “*grand effaceur de la France*” (great eraser of France), stirring more intense reactions from readers. The analysis of the L’Express headline is as follows.

“Européennes: Bardella lance sa campagne en ciblant Macron, “grand effaceur” de la France”
 (European Elections: Bardella launches his campaign targeting Macron, the 'great eraser' of France)

Table 2. L'Express' News Headline Structure published on March 3, 2024

<i>Européennes</i>	:	<i>Bardella</i>	<i>lance</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>campagne</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>ciblant</i>	<i>Macron</i>
<i>Nom</i>	:	<i>Nom</i>	<i>Verbe</i>	<i>Adj. démonstratif</i>	<i>Nom</i>	<i>Prép.</i>	<i>Verbe</i>	<i>Nom</i>
<i>Syntaxme nominal</i>	:	<i>Syntaxme nominal</i>	<i>Syntaxme verbal</i>	<i>Syntaxme nominal</i>		<i>Syntaxme verbal prépositionnel</i>		
<i>CC du but</i>		<i>Sujet</i>	<i>Pivot</i>	<i>COD</i>		<i>CC de manière</i>		

<i>“grand</i>	<i>effaceur”</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>France</i>
<i>Adj.</i>	<i>Nom</i>	<i>Article déf.</i>	<i>Nom</i>	
<i>Syntaxme nominal</i>				
<i>Expansion du nom</i>				

The headline from L'Express is also a simple sentence (*phrase simple*). In terms of structure and function, the word “Européennes” at the beginning indicates the context and functions as a *complément circonstanciel du but* (complement of purpose), when referring to the European Parliament elections. Then, “Bardella” functions as the *sujet* (subject), identifying who performs the action. The verb “lance” (launches) is transitive, which according to Le Querler (1994) requires a *COD* (direct object) that in this case is fulfilled by “sa campagne” (his campaign). Furthermore, the phrase “en ciblant Macron” (by targeting Macron) acts as a *CC de manière* (complement of action), explaining how the campaign is conducted. Lastly, “grand effaceur de la France” (great eraser of France) as *expansion du nom* serves as an apposition to “Macron,” highlighting how Macron is portrayed in the RN campaign.

When comparing the two right-wing media outlets, Le Figaro presents a clear positive impression of the RN campaign launch, showing overt support. In contrast, while L'Express takes a different approach, it still supports the campaign through its use of striking language in both the headline and content, making the coverage more engaging. Thus, despite their differing styles, both show their support for the RN campaign. Le Figaro's comprehensive coverage, including effective short videos demonstrates its further support by the editorial direction of Alexis Brézet, who has shifted the outlet's support. Prior to his leadership, Le Figaro tended to support Sarkozy. However, under Brézet, its political alignment has changed. Therefore, Le Figaro has the potential to support other parties, including Rassemblement National. Meanwhile, L'Express reflects its support through provocative language that captures the reader's attention.

This analysis aligns with Snipes & Mudde's (2020) findings, which show that Le Figaro's support for Marine Le Pen, an RN politician, is more apparent compared to Le Monde's. This is due to Le Figaro's ideological alignment with Le Pen. While Snipes & Mudde's research contrasts right-wing Le Figaro with left-wing Le Monde, this study focuses on two right-wing outlets, Le Figaro and L'Express, both of which support the RN, with Le Figaro showing more overt backing.

Supporting or Criticizing Les Républicains?

When analyzing media coverage of the Les Républicains (LR) campaign, notable differences emerge between Le Figaro and L'Express. Both outlets provide written coverage, but their accessibility varies. Le Figaro requires a subscription to access its March 23, 2024, LR campaign coverage, limiting it to readers that are likely aligned with the party. In contrast, L'Express offers free access. Regarding headlines, they are crafted to be concise and easy to read (Dwiputri & Laksman-Huntley, 2020). Below

is the analysis of the structure and function for Le Figaro's coverage of the LR campaign video from March 23, 2024.

“Élections européennes: suivez en direct le lancement de la campagne des Républicains”
(European Elections: Follow the Launch of the Républicains Live Campaign)

Table 3. Le Figaro's Video Headline Structure published on March 23, 2024

<i>Élections européennes</i>	:	<i>suivez</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>direct</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>lancement</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>campagne</i>	<i>des</i>	<i>Républicains</i>
<i>Nom</i>	:	<i>Verbe</i>	<i>Pronom</i>	<i>Nom</i>	<i>Article déf.</i>	<i>Nom</i>	<i>Article déf.</i>		<i>Nom</i>	<i>Article déf.</i>	<i>Nom</i>
<i>Syntagme nominal</i>	:	<i>Syntagme verbal</i>			<i>Syntagme nominal</i>						
<i>Expansion du nom</i>	:	<i>Pivot</i>	<i>CC de manière</i>		<i>COD</i>						

Based on the table above, the sentence is a *phrase simple* (simple sentence), yet a compelling imperative one. The verb "suivez" (follow) serves as the *pivot* in its imperative form, while the phrase "en direct" (live) acts as a *complément circonstanciel de manière* (complement of action) explaining how the action is performed, which combine as "following live". Then, the phrase "le lancement de la campagne des Républicains" acts as the *COD* (direct object), referring to the campaign launch. Meanwhile "Élections européennes" functions as an *expansion du nom*, broadening the context by linking the live broadcast to the European Parliament election campaign.

In terms of framing, Le Figaro offers a full 2-hour video of the LR campaign, accessible at <https://video.lefigaro.fr/figaro/video/elections-europeennes-suivez-en-direct-lancement-de-la-campagne-des-republicains>. The video features four key LR figures. First, party leader Éric Ciotti delivers a 21-minute speech (09:22-30:43), urging voters to "return" and stay united for France. Next, Céline Imart, an LR representative and farmer, speaks for 13 minutes (37:02-50:35), calling the current head of state a "specialist in massive deception". Military officer Christophe Gomart follows with a 15-minute speech (52:19-1:07:04), discussing his 36-year military career and addressing European issues like violence, terrorism, and illegal immigration. Lastly, François-Xavier Bellamy delivers a 1-hour and 5-minute speech (1:10:41-2:05:11) as the main LR representative.

The video is accompanied by a brief description: "À la peine dans les sondages, Les Républicains lancent leur campagne européenne ce samedi avec un premier grand meeting à Paris" (In trouble in the polls, Les Républicains launch their European campaign this Saturday with a first major meeting in Paris). Le Figaro's choice to begin with "À la peine dans les sondages" highlights LR's difficult polling position. However, neither the title nor the description names the politicians who spoke, making the coverage lack detail. Facing polling challenges can affect LR's electability, but the campaign video shows their commitment to overcoming political difficulties. For instance, Gomart proposes solutions for peace through stronger defense. By publishing the uncut live video, Le Figaro portrays LR's efforts to enhance their political image ahead of the 2024 European Parliament elections.

Despite being available for free, the video's 2-hour length is less effective at capturing audience attention, given declining average attention-span (Microsoft Corp, 2015; Velho, 2020). Non-subscribers must watch the full video to access and fully grasp the campaign, meaning nothing is particularly highlighted in Le Figaro's coverage of LR.

Nevertheless, Le Figaro's use of an imperative headline creates an immediate appeal. However, the overall coverage lacks explicit information of the campaign itself. Consequently, the audience must invest two hours to understand the LR campaign content. In contrast, the following analysis explores L'Express' perspective on the party.

"Européennes: Les Républicains entrent en campagne contre Macron"
(European Elections: The Républicains Begin Their Campaign Against Macron)

Table 4. L'Express' News Headline Structure published on March 23, 2024

<i>Européennes</i>	:	<i>Les</i>	<i>Républicains</i>	<i>entrent</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>Campagne</i>	<i>contre</i>	<i>Macron</i>
<i>Nom</i>	:	<i>Article déf.</i>	<i>Nom</i>	<i>Verbe</i>	<i>Prép.</i>	<i>Nom</i>	<i>Prép.</i>	<i>Nom</i>
<i>Syntagme nominal</i>	:	<i>Syntagme nominal</i>		<i>Syntagme verbal</i>			<i>Syntagme nominal prépositionnel</i>	
<i>CC du but</i>	:	<i>Sujet</i>		<i>Pivot</i>	<i>Locatif</i>		<i>Expansion du nom</i>	

The sentence above is a *phrase simple* (simple sentence). The word “*Européennes*” functions as a *CC du but* (complement of purpose), providing context about the campaign in relation to the European Parliament elections. Meanwhile, “*Les Républicains*” serves as the subject, indicating the party conducting the action, stated by the verb “*entrent*” (begin). This verb, “*entrent*,” is the present tense form of the intransitive verb “*entrer*,” which does not require a direct object, unlike transitive verbs. The phrase “*en campagne*” acts as a *locatif*; omitting it would change the overall meaning of the title. The phrase “*contre Macron*” (against Macron) is an *expansion du nom*, clarifying the direction of the campaign and identifying the opponent. Thus, the title by L'Express clearly conveys information about the LR campaign and the party's views about Emmanuel Macron.

As for the framing, the article highlights the stagnation and potential decline in support for the LR party in the European Parliament elections, with only 7% to 8% support, putting their representation at risk due to the minimum threshold of 5%. Since the 2017 elections, internal divisions within the right-wing bloc have led to diminished voter support. The article criticizes Macron's government for policies deemed harmful to France and presents a treatment recommendation for LR to appeal to right-wing voters to return in the 2024 elections. LR is committed to changing leadership and strategy to resolve internal disputes and boost public support, including maintaining coalitions with right-wing and centrist parties and developing effective policies for the European elections.

In this way, Le Figaro's title for the LR campaign is straightforward and to the point. In contrast, the title for RN was more complex, featuring *CC de manière* (complement of action) and *expansion du nom* as additional information. Furthermore, the difference in coverage is also reflected in the structure of the news content. The RN coverage included written news supported by three short videos providing additional context. For the LR, a weakness of Le Figaro is the lack of introduction about the party's politicians featured in the campaign, both in the title and video description. As a result, viewers must watch the live broadcast to know who the Les Républicains figures are who appeared and gave speeches.

While Le Figaro's title for the LR campaign is straightforward, the title for RN is more intricate, providing additional context through *CC de manière* (complement of action) and *expansion du nom* (noun expansion). This difference is also evident in the news structure, as RN coverage includes written news supported by three short videos for added context. In contrast, a weakness of Le Figaro's coverage of LR is the lack of introduction for the party's politicians in both the title and video description. Hence, viewers must watch the live broadcast to identify the LR figures who appeared and spoke in the campaign.

In contrast, a notable aspect of L'Express's coverage of the LR campaign is its shift in writing style for the title. For context, L'Express is known for its striking word choice in headlines, as seen in its coverage of RN. This time, the media employs more ordinary language. As a result, L'Express' coverage of LR conveys a more neutral and non-partisan impression. Although the structure of the campaign news for both parties is similar, the images below reveal that out of the seven “related article” sections, five focus predominantly on RN-related news. Thus, it can be inferred that L'Express supports RN more than LR.

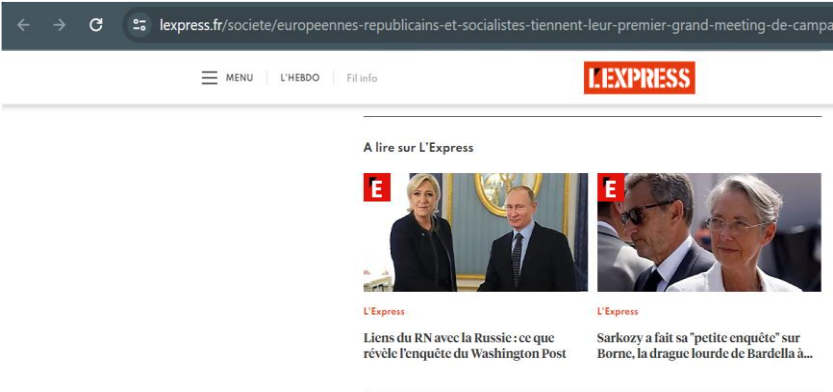


Figure 1. 'Related Articles' in L'Express' coverage of Les Républicains



Figure 2. 'Related Articles' in L'Express' coverage of Les Républicains

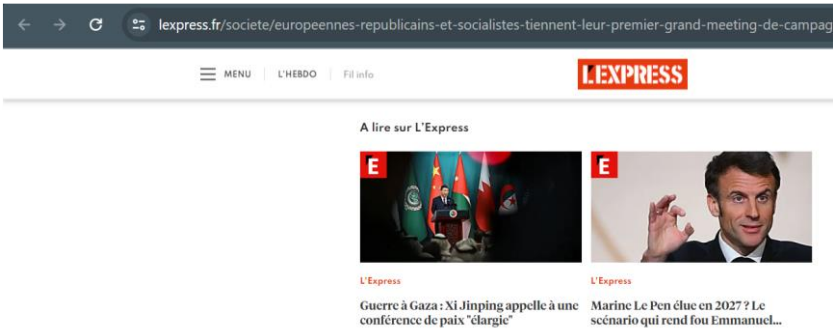


Figure 3. 'Related Articles' in L'Express' coverage of Les Républicains



Figure 4. 'Related Articles' in L'Express' coverage of Les Républicains

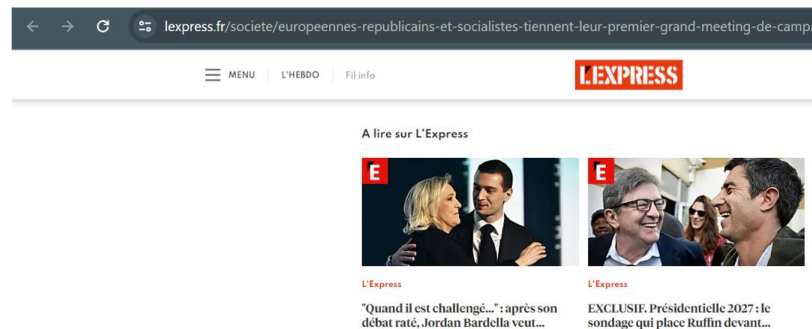


Figure 5. 'Related Articles' in L'Express' coverage of Les Républicains

Media Focus on the New Political Party

Le Figaro's coverage of Reconquête parallels its reporting on Les Républicains in that both offer free access only through video format. However, there is a notable difference in video duration: Le Figaro uploaded a live broadcast of the LR campaign lasting 2 hours, 6 minutes, and 12 seconds, while for Reconquête, there are two versions—a live video (2 hours, 20 minutes, and 14 seconds) available at (<https://video.lefigaro.fr/figaro/video/europeennes-suivez-le-meeting-de-reconquete-avec-eric-zemmour-et-marion-marechal/>) and a shorter version (45 seconds) accessible at (<https://video.lefigaro.fr/figaro/video/europeenne-zemmour-denonce-la-montee-de-lislamo-gauchisme-en-europe/>).

This study will focus on the shorter video, which highlights a key issue for the right, namely *Islamo-gauchisme*. The following analysis aims to reveal Le Figaro's emphasis on this emerging political party.

“Européenne : Zemmour dénonce la montée de «l'islamo-gauchisme» en Europe”
 (Européenne: Zemmour denounces the rise of 'Islamo-leftism' in Europe)

Table 5. Le Figaro's Video Headline Structure published on March 10, 2024

<i>Européenne</i>	:	<i>Zemmour</i>	<i>dénonce</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>montée</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>l'islamo-gauchisme</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>Europe</i>
<i>Nom</i>	:	<i>Nom</i>	<i>Verbe</i>	<i>Article def.</i>	<i>Adverbe</i>	<i>Prep.</i>	<i>Nom</i>	<i>Article def.</i>	<i>Adjectif</i>
<i>Syntagme nominal</i>	:	<i>Syntagme verbal</i>		<i>Syntagme nominal</i>					
<i>CC de cause</i>	:	<i>Sujet</i>	<i>Pivot</i>	<i>COD</i>				<i>Expansion du nom</i>	

Based on the table above, the word “*Européenne*” functions as *CC de cause* (complement of cause) providing context for the news. It clarifies the condemnation (*dénoncer*) expressed by Zemmour, the subject of the sentence. The pivot is “*dénonce*,” a transitive verb followed by its direct object (COD), “*la montée de l'islamo-gauchisme*”. According to Le Querler (1994), the sentence is syntactically correct, with the direct object appropriately placed after the verb. Additionally, the phrase “*en Europe*” acts as an expansion of the noun, indicating that the rise of Islamo-leftism occurs in Europe.

Regarding the framing, Eric Zemmour identifies “*Islamo-gauchisme*” as a significant threat to Europe, describing the collaboration between Islamist groups and the political left. He criticizes the European Union (EU) for “betraying its mission,” claiming it has failed to protect and advance European interests.

In addition, there's a big difference between Le Figaro's coverage of LR and Reconquête, which is seen in the number and type of videos presented. Le Figaro uploaded a single live video for LR, lasting 2 hours 6 minutes and 12 seconds, accompanied by only a brief description. In contrast, this media features two versions for Reconquête: a live video (2 hours) and a short version (45 seconds). This study will focus on the short video, as it addresses the critical issue of Islamo-leftism. To understand its significance, it's essential to consider the broader context of rising Islamophobia in Europe.

Essentially, the EU is home to over 25 million Muslims, but the 9/11 attacks and other terrorist incidents have fueled anti-Muslim sentiment, leading to discrimination and Islamophobia, which has caused sporadic violence against Muslims that in turn could trigger larger social conflicts. According to the Institute for Economics & Peace (2024), the number of terrorist attacks decreased to 3,350 in 2023, a 23% reduction from 4,321 in 2022. However, deaths from terrorism rose to 8,352, a 22% increase from the previous year. This suggests that while attacks are less frequent, they have become more lethal, averaging 2.5 deaths per attack compared to 1.6 the year before. In response, the EU aims to address Islamophobia, an issue Éric Zemmour emphasizes to attract voters.

Regarding video duration, Hayes (2023) notes that the average human attention-span for videos is 2.7 minutes. Capturing viewer attention within the first 10 seconds is critical; failing to do so significantly reduces the likelihood of viewers watching the entire video (Bell, 2020). The 45-second Reconquête video is effective in this regard, starting with a bird's-eye view of the audience, followed by a clear introduction of Zemmour. However, its brevity limits the coverage of the issues in its campaign. Therefore, viewers must watch the 2-hour live version for a comprehensive understanding. Thus, while the short video effectively captures attention, it provides insufficient information, reflecting Le Figaro's tendency to still prefer the Rassemblement National party compared to the other two right-wing parties.

While Le Figaro presents the Reconquête's campaign through a video, L'Express offers written news coverage. The complete analysis is as follows.

“Européennes: à la peine dans les sondages, Maréchal reprend les fondamentaux zemmouristes”
(European Elections: Struggling in the Polls, Maréchal Returns to Zemmour's Fundamentals)

Table 6. L’Express’ News Headline Structure published on March 10, 2024

<i>Européennes</i>	:	<i>à</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>peine</i>	<i>dans</i>	<i>les</i>	<i>sondages</i>	,
<i>Nom</i>	:	<i>Prep.</i>	<i>Article def.</i>	<i>Nom</i>	<i>Prep.</i>	<i>Article def.</i>	<i>Nom</i>	,
<i>Syntaxme nominal</i>	:	<i>Syntaxme nominal</i>						,
<i>CC du but</i>	:	<i>CC de manière</i>						,

<i>Maréchal</i>	<i>reprend</i>	<i>les</i>	<i>fondamentaux</i>	<i>zemmouristes</i>
<i>Nom</i>	<i>Verbe</i>	<i>Article def.</i>	<i>Adjectif</i>	
<i>Syntaxme verbal</i>		<i>Syntaxme nominal</i>		
<i>Sujet</i>	<i>Pivot</i>	<i>COD</i>		

The table shows that the word “*Européennes*” as the *CC du but* (complement of purpose) is placed at the beginning, providing context for the news. Then, *CC de manière* (the complement of action) “*à la peine dans les sondages*” (struggling in the polls) adds further detail. In this case, “*Maréchal*” is the *sujet* (subject), while performing the action “*reprend*” (return) is a transitive verb which is always followed by a direct object (COD) “*les fondamentaux zemmouristes*” (Zemmour's fundamentals). This structure makes the sentence syntactically complete, as stated by Le Querler (1994).

L’Express’s coverage of Reconquête identifies a defining problem: Marion Maréchal's low polling numbers in the European Parliament elections. This suggests that Reconquête’s campaign struggles to attract enough voter support despite focusing on issues like Islamization, seen as a threat to France's national identity. Competition, especially from the more established RN party led by Marine Le Pen (MLP), complicates Maréchal's efforts, given RN’s similar stance on identity politics and opposition to Islamization. Maréchal highlights the need to preserve France’s national identity by opposing Islamization, part of her moral stance on the nation's future. As a solution, she seeks to align with MLP and Jordan Bardella from RN, emphasizing the importance of right-wing unity despite political rivalry.

L’Express’ headline accurately reflects Reconquête’s challenges, but the “related articles” section focuses predominantly on RN, reinforcing the idea that L’Express leans toward supporting RN.

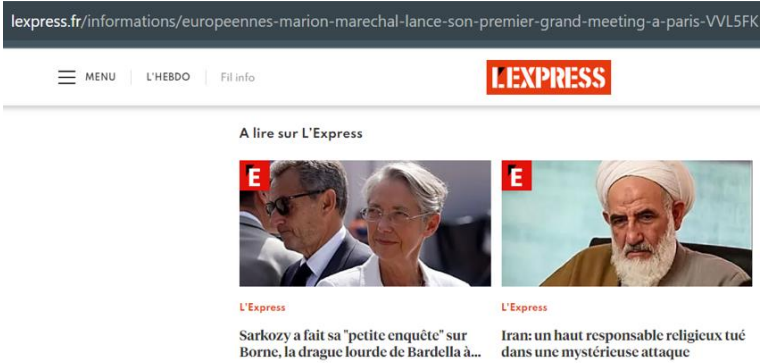


Figure 6. ‘Related Articles’ in L’Express's coverage of Reconquête

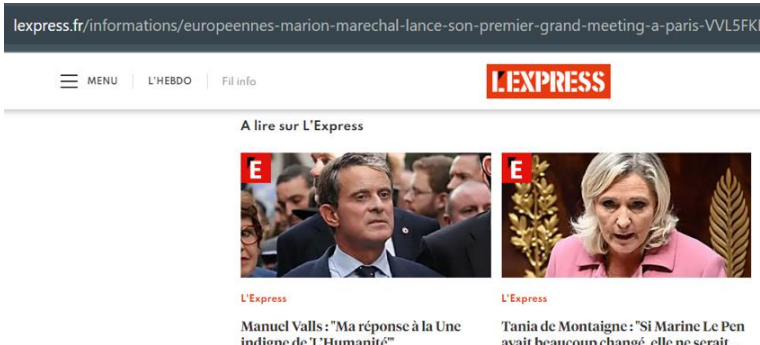


Figure 7. ‘Related Articles’ in L’Express's coverage of Reconquête



Figure 8. ‘Related Articles’ in L’Express's coverage of Reconquête



Figure 9. ‘Related Articles’ in L’Express's coverage of Reconquête

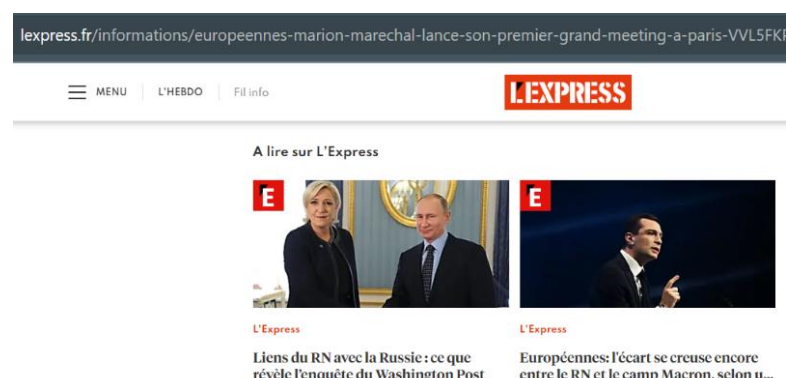


Figure 10. 'Related Articles' in L'Express's coverage of Reconquête

CONCLUSION

This study found that Le Figaro and L'Express utilize simple sentences in their headlines, making it easier for the audience to comprehend their campaign coverage. Both right-wing media outlets consistently begin their headlines with a circumstantial complement (*complement circonstanciel*) to provide context. Furthermore, they also often use a colon (:) after the complement, a characteristic feature of right-wing media headlines. In terms of framing, both emphasize problem-identification, making the headlines the primary entry point for readers to grasp key discussion points. Additionally, linguistic elements, such as the use of *expansion du nom*, adds detail that further encourages audience engagement.

Although both media align ideologically with the three political parties studied, differences in coverage reflect distinct writing strategies. For example, Le Figaro employs short video formats for Reconquête that effectively capture attention but focus solely on the issue of Islamo-leftism. In contrast, L'Express consistently suggests further reading on RN in the coverage of other right-wing parties, as evidenced by the related RN news featured in the "related articles" section. This observation supports Snipes and Mudde's (2020) findings that Le Figaro provides positive coverage of Marine Le Pen (MLP) and RN, revealing a preference for certain parties displaying ideological alignment to them. The findings of this study also underscore the complex relationship between linguistic elements and media framing, as highlighted by Dwiputri and Laksman-Huntley (2020).

Moreover, the implications of these findings are significant for public understanding of France's political landscape. Media preferences for specific political parties shape public perception; for instance, positive coverage of RN by Le Figaro can shift political power to the right, potentially altering policies under Emmanuel Macron's centrist government. Therefore, the way media coverage influences public attention, and its understanding is crucial. Furthermore, Mondon (2024) explains that by portraying far-right groups as acceptable political options, the media reinforces the existing liberal capitalist system and diverts attention away from deeper issues within the political system. This explains the findings of this study, showing that the way Le Figaro and L'Express frame their coverage not only reflects their own viewpoints but also contributes to normalizing far-right ideologies in public discussions. By portraying these parties positively, these media outlets limit political alternatives and reinforce the current power structures, making it more challenging for other political movements or ideologies to gain traction.

Lastly, this study focuses on written and video articles, highlighting the need for further analysis of factors such as video length, sequencing, and viewer attention. Additionally, a comprehensive understanding of the media backgrounds of the involved outlets is important for a thorough analysis. Consequently, future research should apply critical discourse analysis (CDA) to explore the underlying reasons for L'Express' preference for Rassemblement National over other right-wing parties.

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