The Analysis of the Immigration Politicization Issue in France Based on the Issue Evolution Theory

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Abstract. The growing number of immigrants in Europe and the eruption of the recent refugee crisis in 2015 raised several questions related to the issue of the integration of migrants. The scholarly attention remains, however, limited when examining whether or not there is any mechanical link between these questions and the impact of extreme right-wing parties on partisan change in party competition. Exploring recent elections in certain European countries, mainly France, was clear that the topic of immigration was brought to electoral debate. The present paper aims to examine the phenomenon of issue entrepreneurship and how the topic of immigration was invested in party competition while using France as an example to study the dynamics of issue competition within French elections. The research was conducted based on analyzing the issue evolution theory to study the behavior of party change in past elections. What can be concluded from this study is that the mobilization of an issue of crucial importance resulted in adopting a policy position that is substantially different from the mainstream status quo. Thus immigration transformed into a politicized topic that attracts voters. Therefore, this research can assist in the field of political science and can contribute to the area of immigration policies.

Keywords: Immigration, Politicization, French Election, Party Competition.

1   Introduction

Migration is a topic that is gaining attention due to its transcendent nature. This is especially true in the case of Europe, which is getting to know international migration. One of these heated discussions is the impact of the social phenomenon of transnational migration on state sovereignty and the protection of European culture and identity. This raised the question of the impact of immigration on multiparty competition and the impact of the issue of entrepreneurship on radical right populist parties that seek to politicize immigration issues in the electoral arena. As a strategy that is based on the use of problems, the concept of issue entrepreneurship, have been mostly disregarded in party rivalry. However, it was seen as dangerous as it raises problems that may generate internal party instability, alienate certain voters, and imperil future coalition negotiations. The issue of issue entrepreneurship was also linked to causing internal party instability, alienating voters, and endangering upcoming coalition negotiations. It also has the capacity to change the political landscape and lead to electoral victory[1]. On the other hand, the dynamics of issue entrepreneurship are much more complicated than

that. The rise of questions like which political party is more likely to politicize immigration, the impact of salient public events like refugee crises on the engagement level and the impact of the politicization of immigration on mainstream parties are still considered controversial topics. As researchers have argued, since the 1970s, party and electoral struggles have been more defined by a diversity of policy issues rather than long-established social cleavages[2]. By evaluating which parties are the agents in the politicization of problems, The research objective of this paper is to investigate the dynamics of issue competitiveness through the theory of issue evolution, in order to comprehend how party competition functions in multiparty systems. Choosing the issue evolution theory is that the concept of this theory emphasizes that the electorate is always undergoing changes that, for several decades, may have significant repercussions for the party system. The emergence of new issues is perceived as the catalyst for partisan change, and the ongoing replacement of the electorate is seen as the mechanism for change. This is seen when everyday there are new voters who are joining the eligible electorate and more and older voters leave. For the simple reason that young voters are relatively unrestrained by the strong anchor of established political predispositions, the "streams of attitudes" characteristic of those going out are not likely to be matched by the attitudes of those coming in [3].The same applies on the topic of immigration in the electoral system. The electoral competitiveness and the divergent opinions on this topic effects both the electorate and the dynamics within the partisan system.

1.1   Theoretical explanations: The theory of issue evolution

To deal with the complexities of understanding issue evolution and issue entrepreneurship, it is important to review the existing literature on these topics. The work of Carmines and Stimson (1986, 1989, 1993) and William Riker (1982, 1986, 1996) provides a solid foundation for comprehending how issues evolve and how political elites strategically manipulate them [4]. Carmines and Stimson, as well as Riker, emphasize the role of strategic politicians in initiating electoral and party system changes. Their theoretical frameworks define issue evolution as the conflict between competing parties or candidates over which problems should be prioritized in the political sphere. They highlight the role of strategic politicians in identifying and prioritizing issues that resonate with voters, aiming to gain a competitive advantage. By strategically framing and emphasizing specific issues, politicians seek to mobilize support and shape public opinion. Their research emphasizes that parties and candidates adapt their positions on issues to align with the changing preferences of voters. This adaptation is driven by the electoral calculus of gaining electoral support and maintaining a competitive edge. As a result, the issues that receive the most attention and become salient in multiparty competition are those that resonate with the concerns and preferences of the electorate. In other words, it focuses on the process of determining which issues gain prominence and become central in political discourse. However, another perspective, represented by some theorists [5], suggests that mass party realignments can occur when there is a redistribution of party support resulting from the replacement of one political conflict with another. This perspective acknowledges that party realignments can happen when certain issues gain importance and alter the political landscape.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that not all policy debates or issues have a lasting impact or receive significant attention from the electorate. Some issues may be hotly debated momentarily but do not cause substantial changes in underlying partisan affiliations. These fleeting issues may influence voting choices in the short term but have minimal long-term effects on the relationship between citizens and political parties. In fact, certain factors can reinforce the existing party alignment and maintain the status quo, rather than causing a shift in the party system. This implies that not all issues are equally likely to influence the party system. To determine which issues are more likely to impact the party system, the theory of issue evolution provides guidance. According to this theory, issues that bring about observable changes in the partisan composition of the electorate share specific characteristics. These characteristics: include the significance of issue preferences (how important the issue is to voters), the visibility differences in positions on the issue (how clearly the parties' stances are communicated to the public), and the significant amount of political attention devoted to the issue. By considering these characteristics, the theory of issue evolution helps identify which issues have the potential to shape the party system by mobilizing voters and altering their partisan affiliations. It provides a framework for understanding how certain issues become salient and have a lasting impact on the political landscape.

1.2   The significance of issue preferences

In line with the issue evolution theory, a strong preference is required to create partisan change. Preference for one policy option over another is inadequate to alter the electorate's composition. In order to mobilize the less-than-political masses, intense emotion is required, and that magnitude necessitates an appeal to powerful symbols. The issue must have reached public consciousness to an unusual degree, or else it will have too little impact to be considered even in the long run. This is because the relationships that govern political parties' selection of the issues that comprise their policies and campaigns are central to the representation process, and they are directly related to party competition. A number of studies have examined the growing influence of political issues on voting behavior. Similarly, other scholarship has shown how parties have reacted to such shifts with their platforms dedicating more space to issues unrelated to traditional dimensions of party competition in recent elections, given the increasing success of new, nonmainstream parties that often focus on a narrow range of issues. However, until now, there has been little knowledge of the subjects that should be emphasized by a political party during a campaign. By spotlighting campaign topics based on two strategic considerations, the issue yield model aimed to focus on what makes a certain issue more relevant or significant to a political party. The first is if a policy position on the topic is connected with the party (both substantively and statistically), and the second is whether such a position is widely shared by the broader population.

1.3   The visibility differences of positions on the issue

No matter how important a specific policy conflict is, partisan evolution is unlikely if competing parties and candidates cannot manage to distinguish themselves based on

the issue. It implies that partisan evolution requires a clear distinction between competing parties and candidates based on specific policy issues. The statement acknowledges that not all policy conflicts are equally important. However, regardless of the importance of a specific policy conflict, if parties and candidates fail to differentiate themselves on that issue, partisan evolution becomes unlikely. In other words, if competing parties have similar or distinct positions on an issue, voters do not have a clear choice, and thus partisan evolution is less likely. Political parties' differing positions on major issues are viewed as a critical factor in shaping public opinion. When opposing parties take opposing positions or when one party chooses to ignore an issue while the other takes a strong stance, a space for issue debate is created. This debate enables voters to assess and prioritize policy concerns before choosing the party that best represents their policy priorities. As a result, the degree of objective party difference on major issues is regarded as crucial in shaping public opinion and allowing the partisan evolution of political issues. In summary, the statement contends that in order for partisan evolution to take place, there must be clear distinctions between parties and candidates on major policy issues. It contends that issue debate is critical in allowing voters to make informed decisions based on their policy preferences, and that the level of objective party difference on major issues is critical to influencing public opinion and bringing about partisan evolution.

1.4   The significant amount of political time on the issue

A fast party shift is improbable under all but the most catastrophic social and economic conditions due to a plethora of frictional variables at work. One constraint is that parties are limited in their ability to quickly adopt new issue perspectives due to the limited turnover of party elites and, as a result, of party elite attitudes. Turnover is slow, resulting in a mix of parties and conflicting issue cues. In situations where the stimuli are diverse and take longer to develop, the mass response must be far more diverse and slower. Finally, because many established party members will selectively detect party issue cues, the majority of partisan change will occur via the recruitment of new identities. Reorientation by generational replacement will require a time-consuming procedure. The question here is why the politicization of immigration is being tested as a political change issue. This topic has almost completed its evolutionary cycle, began as political obscurity and progressed to spectacular significance in the 1990s, then becoming controversial again in the early 2000s until today. Furthermore, it is a contentious issue, especially when linked to other sensitive issues such as race, religion, and xenophobia. Higher electoral support for a variety of political parties labeled as "radical," "far," or "populist" right in Western Europe, particularly France, calls this topic into question [6]. Therefore, to study how applicable the theory of evolution properties on the French case, this study will follow the general evolutionary model and test whether or not the politicization of the immigration topic by far-right parties follows these main characteristics of partisan change.

2   Method

According to the theory of issue evolution, political issues change and evolve over time, and this study uses that theory to examine how immigration issues have evolved in France. The process tracing research method is a qualitative method that examines specific cases to understand how causal processes work. The researcher will use case studies in this study to examine the causal dynamics that have led to the evolution of immigration issues, as well as their effect on partisan change and immigration politicization. To collect data, the study employs a variety of qualitative research methods.

To gain a better understanding of the relationship between immigration and extreme voting, qualitative observations will be conducted. Non-numerical data can be gathered using qualitative data collection techniques such as interviews or focus groups, enabling more in-depth information and insights. Furthermore, the study may employ quantitative research methods, which entail the analysis of numerical data. However, the passage does not go into detail about the quantitative methods that will be used. The researcher intends to use secondary sources obtained from other researchers to select data. Websites, books, journal articles, academic magazines, library databases, prior dissertations, research projects, newspapers, radio and television programs, and other relevant sources are among these. The study intends to provide insight into the research question and build on the knowledge already available on the topic by relying on existing findings and results. France was chosen as a case study because of the historical and social ties that exist between France as a former colonial power and the North African diaspora in France. France has a history of immigration, and the country has long been a destination for immigrants from around the world. On the other hand, the country has experienced a series of terrorist attacks in recent years, many of which were carried out by individuals with ties to Islamist extremism. These attacks have heightened concerns about immigration and security in France, and have contributed to the politicization of the issue and using it as a winning card during elections. The rise of far-right political parties in France, such as the National Rally, has also contributed to the politicization of immigration. These parties have made immigration a central issue in their political platforms, and have been successful in tapping into ant immigrant sentiment among some segments of the French population. In addition, economic concerns, such as unemployment and competition for jobs, have contributed to the politicization of immigration, as some people view immigrants as a threat to their economic well-being. The politicization of immigration in France has had a number of effects on French politics and society. It has led to the adoption of more restrictive immigration policies and has contributed to the rise of nationalist and anti-immigrant sentiment in the country. Overall, this study integrates issue evolution theory, the process tracing research method, and a combination of qualitative and quantitative research approaches to analyze the evolution of immigration issues in France, as well as their impact on partisan change and the politicization of immigration. France was chosen as a case study because of its historical and social ties to immigration.

3   Result and Discussion

3.1   Presenting results

The significance of issue preferences. According to the issue evolution theory, for creating a partisan change, a strong preference is required. Preference for one policy option over another is insufficient to change the composition of the electorate. Intense emotion is necessary and that intensity necessitates an appeal to powerful symbols in order to mobilize the less-than-political masses. The issue must have penetrated public consciousness to an unusual degree, or it will have too little impact to be worth considering even in the long-term. This is due to the fact that dynamics that govern political parties' selection of the issues that comprise their agendas and campaigns are at the heart of the representation process, and they have a direct relationship to party competition. However, what has been missing until now is an understanding of the issues that should be prioritized by a political party during a campaign. The issue yield model attempted to focus on what makes a specific issue more relevant or significant to a political party by highlighting campaign issues based on two strategic considerations. The first is whether a policy position on the issue is positively associated with the party (both substantively and statistically), and the second is whether such position is widely shared by the general electorate.

While numerous issues have crowded onto the political agenda and competed for public attention, political analysts have singled out the issue of immigration as having the greatest realigning potential especially in France [1]. It has also been an issue on which the parties have taken relatively clear and distinct stands. The FN, like most populists, accuses the elites of prioritizing internationalism over nationalism, as well as their own narrow self-interests and various 'special interests' over those of the people [4]. This has seen by scholarship as a strategy of how the radical right-wing parties managed to mobilize ordinary people as a political force on a variety of hot topics such as immigration. This creates one pillar of the issue evolution theory that considers the significance of the issue on the electorate a necessity as the problem has to penetrate the public consciousness in order to be later on politicized.

Parties and candidates must take up visibly different positions on the issue. No matter how important a given policy conflict may be, if competing parties and candidates cannot be distinguished based on the topic, it is unlikely for a partisan evolution to take place. This divergence may result from the parties' taking positions that are somewhat at odds with one another, with one party choosing to overlook the issue while the other takes a strong stance. The crucial point is that issue debate is likely to accompany political evolution because it allows voters the chance to choose parties based on policy considerations. Parties are prone to seek out new members with diverse issue perspectives in these circumstances. The process is reciprocal and interactive; issue distinctiveness enables parties to choose which new identifiers to use, which then results in further party divergence on the subject. According to [5], the degree of objective party differentiation on significant issues is extremely critical in the molding of public opinion and is also important for the partisan evolution of political issues.

For instance, the discourse initiated by politicians became more radicalized by putting immigration on the political agenda for the first time in the Fifth Republic in 1981. For the Front National voters, immigration has always been first on their list when asked to explain their party choice and electoral studies regularly show that anti-immigrant attitudes are a key factor in predicting who will vote for the party. The politicization of immigration, which increased popular xenophobia, became a distinct position for the radical right-wing parties, which also clearly created a favorable situation for them. Marine le Pen's party perceive identity, citizenship, French suburbs, and laicity as republican symbols that are in danger from immigrants. What FN party succeeded to do is to follow a political discourse based on the evocation of latent grievances and to tap their resentment feelings to be politically exploited. Using the feelings of resentment in this case became a slogan special to the party and an identity speech for it. It goes beyond the mere sentiment of injustice and oppressive sense of inferiority to reach the personal outrage and the attribution of blame. One of the reasons for the success of today's radical right-wing parties is that they have positioned themselves as effective vehicles for the expression of popular frustration, forcing on the political establishment to listen to their demands.

In a multi-party system where merely the radical right precisely opposes immigration, other parties ought to hold to their previous positions in order to achieve political differentiation within the political scene[6]. Some of left supports assimilation, which it describes as a universalist approach. This approach supports the idea that immigrants and their descendants should always adopted French customs, until blending in with the natives. Multiculturalists of the left, on the other hand, believe that cultural diversity is a valuable asset, instead of assimilation, which they considered it as a social standardization process that has no place in an open world. Accordingly, to find unity, France does not need to erase its differences.

The topic must take up a significant amount of political time. Due to a multitude of frictional forces at play, a rapid partisan shift is unlikely in any but the direst social and economic circumstances. One constraining factor is that parties are constrained in their capacity to quickly adopt new issue views due to the limited turnover of party elites and, consequently, of party elite attitudes. Turnover is sluggish, which results in varied parties and mixed party issue cues. Where the stimuli are diverse and take time to develop, the mass response needs to be much more diverse and slower. Finally, the majority of partisan change will occur through the recruitment of new identities because many established party members would selectively perceive party issue cues. Reorientation through generational replacement must be a lengthy process [3]. The question that arises here is why choosing the politicization of immigration is to be tested as an issue of political change. This topic has almost gone through its entire evolutionary cycle, starting as political obscurity and moving through spectacular significance in the 1990s, and then again controversial during the early 2000s until today. The increased electoral support for a variety of political parties, which have been variably described as "radical," "far," or "populist" right in Western Europe and specifically France also puts this topic in question [7]. The developments of the idea of politicizing immigration in the far right political discourse had a significant amount of time to elaborated as it

took shape between 1981 and 1984, when immigration, law and order, and multiculturalism became issues, leading to in an adjustment involving significant voter changes between the established left and right parties, as well as the Front National's breakthrough [8]. The rise of the far right wing, particularly the Front National, is widely attributed to excluding community conceptions and fears of diversity, as well as an opposition to the New Left [9].

4   Discussion

After applying the issue evolution theory, the results elaborated that the far-right politicization process of immigration follows the general evolutionary model and thus this political party contribute to partisan change in the French political scene through its issue entrepreneurship strategy. We tested this theory by studying the dynamics of immigration politicization by the far-right parties in the French party system over the years. Focusing on each of the three characteristics of the issue evolution theory, the analysis was based on looking back on the history and attitude of the far-right parties towards the issue of immigration and its interaction with its opponent parties. The results provide strong support for the model. Three key findings emerge from the empirical analysis.

First, the high salience of the immigration issue and the significance of this subject were present from the late 70s. Several other actors such as the government, the NGOs and mainly the far-right parties politicized the topic, as they would not promote a previously ignored issue, especially since they already occupy a marginal position on the existing dimension. Second, the far-right parties in France were mainly visible through the topic of immigration. The strategy of these parties brought the implementation of fervent nationalism, opposition to immigration, and populist hostility to the political establishment. Third, the political change of this topic developed and elaborated throughout several decades and was affected by the new migratory tendencies. Therefore, we demonstrate that the dimensional basis of party competition is never in a stable equilibrium, but is always under pressure. This can be confirmed by different theories that state that the process of globalization creates a new structural dispute that prevents those who benefit from the process from those who tend to lose in the course of events [10]. As a result, the emergence of social groups with divergent interests as a result of their social framework generates political opportunities for political actors to politicize a new antagonism between 'integration' and 'demarcation'. To the point that established or new political parties convey this new conflict by connecting it to concrete political issues, such as anti-immigrant sentiment in this case. The electoral competition structure will change, and realignment processes will begin. There are several scenarios for how parties could capitalize on the new political prospects, and the outcome will be determined by both the developed parties' strategic responses to the issues and the tactical setting created by the electoral system. In this case, my findings support previous research on the critical role of radical right parties in the politicization of immigration. Radical right parties are important driving forces because they directly contribute to the politicization of the issue and provoke other parties to engage with it as well. This

opens, however, speculations on the role of politicization in creating systematic positional shifts among mainstream parties in reaction to the politicization of immigration in election campaigns. Researchers stated that mainstream reaction could be divided in three ways [11]. Certain assumed that Mainstream parties could ignore the competition and remain passive, they could accommodate the challenger's position, moving closer to it, or they could take an adversarial stance.

5   Conclusion

This study presents a theory of issue evolution in multiparty systems, which models when and why parties put previously ignored issues onto the political agenda. Examining radical-right parties, which are classic challengers, through the evolutionary model demonstrates that the influence of the politicization of immigration of these parties does not affect individuals' concern on the issue only but affects also the partisan change in a political system. This applies through three different levels. The first is the amount of influence the issue of choice has, the different approaches each party follows regarding that specific issue and the amount of time to achieve a certain political change. The mobilization of immigration issues by the far-right wing, in this case, fits to the three levels as promoting previously ignored issues serves in gaining electoral leverage and demonstrate policy unity. This also shows that Parties compete by emphasizing different issues rather than fighting over the same ones. This is especially significant given that the empirical focus on party manifestos is likely to boost the theory's predictive power. Nonetheless, it appears that direct policy confrontation is the dominant pattern of party competition in France. In a nutshell, this study applies this intuition to a multiparty setting, where party issue strategies influence the likelihood of future coalition formation and the potential mitigation of other political parties to the politicization process.

On the other hand, this theory does not lead to provide no evidence on the mainstream party accommodation of radical-right party immigration positions. The lack of evidence on mainstream party accommodation of radical-right party immigration positions within the framework of these theories could be attributed to a number of factors. It is possible that these theories were not intended to specifically address or clarify the phenomenon of mainstream party accommodation in immigration politics. Alternatively, the available data or empirical research at the time of these studies may have been limited in preserving this particular aspect of political dynamics. This raises new questions about the nature of party competition and the response of mainstream parties to the politicization of the immigration issue by the far right. Several theories and frameworks have been proposed to address the topic of mainstream party adaptation to radical-right party immigration positions. One of these theories is the "Contagion" Theory holds that the adaptation of mainstream parties to radical-right party immigration positions occurs because of ideological contagion. It implies that the rise and success of radical-right parties can put pressure on mainstream parties to take similar positions in order to counter the radical right's electoral challenge. Mainstream parties may take these positions to avoid losing voters to the radical right, or to co-opt the radical right's

agenda and undermine the radical right's electoral appeal. The "Mainstreaming" Theory is also another theory that can explain this aspect of research. According to this theory, mainstream parties adopt or adjust to some of the radical-right parties' policy positions, such as those on immigration, as a way attract potential voters and prevent the radical right from losing support. The reasoning behind mainstreaming is that by adopting certain elements of the radical-right agenda, mainstream parties might neutralize the radical right's appeal and regain the support of voters concerned about immigration or other radical-right issues. This theory holds that mainstream parties respond strategically to the radical right's electoral threat. The understanding of right-wing activism in various fields of involvement remains mildly limited and social movement dynamics are still largely ignored in research on the extreme right, leading Jens Rydgren (2007) to claim that there is "a very rigorous division of labor between scholars investigating the new social movements and scholars studying the new radical right"[12]. With a few notable exceptions, the current upsurge in far-right street politics has not been matched by a growth in academic interest in grassroots politics [13], which gives rise to important avenues for future research.

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