

The Impact of the Migration Crisis on Empowerment of the National Front

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ABSTRACT: *The widespread migration of Muslims to the eurozone due to the crisis in the Middle East as well as the economic hardship of these countries has created a widespread wave of Islamophobia and anti-Islamism in European countries. Meanwhile, the right-wing parties in these countries, relying on this crisis and highlighting this issue, see immigrants as the main cause of economic problems and even the reason for the increase in crime in these countries, and so they are expanding their position among the poor and disadvantaged classes of society. Given the history of radicalism and alienated nationalist ideas in Western European countries including France, Italy, Austria and Belgium, the electoral successes of the radical right parties and their move from the margin of the political scene to the center of the political scene, make it possible to repeat fascism again. The return of fascism to the Europe political scene and the empowerment of radical right parties can have significant consequences. In terms of domestic politics, the empowerment of the radical right parties on the one hand puts more pressure on immigrants, especially Muslims, and on the other hand, the creation of this public space against Muslims, fosters Islamic extremism among first-generation immigrants, and especially second-generation immigrants. As such, the gap between these communities and immigrants will deepen; as a result the social security of European societies will be considerably decreased. It is therefore important to examine the historical course and function of these radical right parties. The main purpose of this study is to examine the impact of the immigration crisis on empowerment of National Front.*

KEYWORDS: Migration crisis; National Front; France; European Union

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I. INTRODUCTION

The widespread Middle East crises have sent a huge flood of populations to European countries, which is unprecedented in its kind. This wave of migration has created movements of support and opposition to the entrance of immigrants to these countries, and sometimes some European countries have prevented large numbers of immigrants from entering their countries, many of whom are Muslims. The European Union is therefore facing a serious refugee crisis, Europe's extremist and populist parties, which have so far not been on the political scene, are increasingly empowered in the EU member states through emphasizing on the immigration crisis. With the fading of fascism era memories, and as new developments such as globalization and the influx of immigrants to European countries began, new parties emerged in Europe from the 1980s. With a populist approach, these parties see themselves as the main voice of the people and the silent majority and the ruling parties, both left and right. Extremist right-wing parties are present in a variety of ways and in almost all European countries and, by raising issues such as defending national values and identity, criticize the policy of multiculturalism and cleverly dispense with traditional fascism and racism. By placing these parties in a disorganized position and increasing distrust of official institutions and dissatisfaction with the ruling parties, many voters are attracted to these parties even without ideological affiliation. Although some of these extreme right parties are youth parties, they emerged in three separate waves after the end of World War II: The first wave came shortly after the end of World War II, in which the fascist and neo-Nazi parties, like the Socialist Reich Party, began to pursue political ideas and ideas during World War II. The second wave, which began in the 1970s, emerged mainly in the Scandinavian countries, where the parties first began to oppose their governments' tax policies. The third wave begins in the 1980s, with widespread support for these parties; the wave, which coincided with the start of a new phase of migration to Europe (over 30 million), led to the emergence of successful parties such as the National Front in France.

Important features of the far right parties are: Opposition to the ruling structure and mainstream parties; populism; opposition to representative democracy; opposition to the European Union and European integration; opposition to globalization; opposition to democracy and the attempt to create an authoritarian government; opposition to multiculturalism and emphasis on national culture and values; hate the present as a period of

decline and a sense of nostalgia for the golden age of the past; nativism; xenophobia; anti-Islam, anti-Semitism and gypsy phobia and widespread opposition to immigration (Ayoubi & Nourbakhsh, 2013: 81-84). European citizens' support for European integration has diminished in recent decades as the level of support for far-right parties has increased. Sociologists and political scientists have provided more or less similar and sometimes different responses to the origins of radical right parties, that some of their most important origins are: Expanding economic globalization; immigration and rising unemployment; the spreading of multiculturalism and threatening cultural identity; reducing of welfare measures; spreading of terrorism and crime (mostly from immigrants and refugees) (Sardarniya, 2007: 187-2001). Radical right campaigning is strongly fueled by political attitudes, namely, negative perceptions of immigration, political distrust, opposition to income redistribution, and political satisfaction (Zhirkov, 2013: 286-296). It is clear that the debate about Islam and Muslim immigrants is moving towards becoming the center of European political debate. The increasing volume of publications on Islam in the social, cultural and political spheres shows that Islam is currently a major political issue that is often linked to the discussion of terrorism and security. The shift in focus should be understood as a result of the hegemonic change going back to the mid-1980s, when the populist extreme right intervened in the debate on European immigration. The far-right not only identified immigration as a cultural threat to European countries, but also managed to move immigration to the forefront of political debate. The transition was made through successive right-wing political interventions defining Muslim immigrants as an ontologically incompatible class based on culture and also as an imminent threat to our shared achievements (Yilmaz, 2012: 368-381).

The debate on immigration to European countries began after World War II. The heterogeneity in the migration experience across countries has been a major factor in this era. Countries vary in the type, origin and composition of the immigrant population (Dustmann & Frattini, 2012:7-9). Immigration As one of the most important sociological phenomena of the 20th century, post-Cold War and era of globalization has gained new dimensions and is marked by differences with traditional patterns. The term "age of migration" describes the new era. Europe, where people have migrated to other parts of the world in the past centuries has witnessed significant leaps and bounds during the 20th century and has become one of the most popular areas for immigration in the world. In the post-World War II era, Europe has shown considerable interest in attracting foreign immigrants, especially from southern European countries, the Mediterranean and Asia, to rebuild its economic and industrial position and restore its position in the international system. During this period, the economic dimension and the need for a foreign labor force constituted the dominant part of the European migration process (Molayee, 2009:41). The new wave of immigration, mostly from Asian countries, especially Western Asia, such as Syria and Iraq, is due to the war in Syria as well as the rise of the ISIS in the Middle East, the actions of the group in Iraq and in a large part of Syria have led to a large movement of humanitarian groups from both countries to the European countries and often to Western European countries. The massive flood of migrants to the gates of the European Union, often Greece and Hungary, has created chaos in these countries, which have closed their borders on immigrants to prevent the unauthorized entry of EU migrants, which became a crisis. Eastern Europe and the Balkans have experienced an unprecedented influx of refugees and IDPs from other parts of Europe, and these refugees often flee Syria and Iraq to Europe to save their lives and their children from the threat of ISIS. The number of immigrants has grown to such an extent that European countries have been building border walls one after the other to prevent them from entering. Using the sea route is one of the most widely used routes for immigrants to Europe. Most traffickers send migrants from Turkey to the Greek coast and then travel to Bulgaria and Serbia to Hungary.

II. SOCIETAL SECURITY THEORY

The root cause of the new wave of migration to Europe is the political instability and security crises in the Middle East that have led to the spread of the "migration for survival" phenomenon; That is, at least the rights that immigrants in their own countries enjoy. This trend can be seen as the most significant consequence of US and European support for Syrian opposition, which has resulted in the continuation of the Syrian civil war and its spread to Iraq and the creation of dire conditions for refugees. Generally, it can be said that there has always been a direct relationship between political and security disruptions in Asian and African countries and the spread of immigration to Europe (Mohammadniya, 2016: 60). Most immigration theories have focused on internal migration (village to city) and none have the ability to explain the issue, namely the impact of the migration crisis on empowerment of the national front; therefore, applying the Copenhagen School Security theory can be a good theoretical framework for explaining this issue. Security pushes politics beyond the established rules and turns the issue into a special kind of politics or something beyond politics; so securitizing issues can be seen as a much sharper form of politicizing issues. Theoretically, any public issue can be accommodated on a spectrum ranging from non-political (which the government has nothing to do with it and in no way is the subject of public debate), political (which is part of public policy, that requires decision-making or resource allocation by the government or, to a lesser extent, requires some other form of collective oversight),

and to security affairs (which poses an existential threat that requires emergency action and justifies taking action outside the normal bounds of the political process). In essence, the position of an issue on this spectrum is not fixed: depending on the circumstances, any subject can fit into any part of the spectrum. In practice, the position of each subject varies greatly from state to state (and also over time) (Buzan & Waever, 1998: 58-59). Barry Buzan in 1983 in the book *People, States and Fear*, in a vast and valuable theoretical effort, attempted to classify threats into five general groups - military, political, economic, social, and environmental – and he attempted to define the concept of security in a new way. Buzan believed that thinking about security from the perspective of national approach led to the emergence of a vision that considered only military issues with the same security. While in the real world of human life, people are exposed to threats from the political, economic, social and environmental spheres. Thus, Buzan argued that in today's world, must pay attention to national security in the sense of a systemic security that everyone, state, and system play a role in it. Also, economic, social and environmental factors are as important as political and military factors. The remarkable point is that these five sections do not work apart. Each of these sections defines a focal point for emphasis and analysis and a method for classifying priorities, but they are inevitably interdependent and interact in many ways (Buzan, 1983: 42-49). In his early works, Buzan defended the authority of the government in security studies and identified economic, military, cultural, social, and environmental security as pillars of national security; but in 1993, about a decade after the publication of *People, States and Fear*, he mentioned "the security of social groups in preserving their heritage and culture" as another source of security (alongside government security). According to Buzan and Waever's explanations, it is clear that in the early 1990s, following the bloody ethnic wars on the Balkan Peninsula and as the wave of large-scale migration to Europe (especially the Scandinavian countries) began; the issue of identity removed from the socio-political sphere and rose in the field of security (Nasri, 2012: 116). In the EU today, immigration as a social issue has become a security issue in the context of political and social change; it is also referred to as the "Security - Migration" link, which illustrates the profound relationship between immigration and security in contemporary Europe. This relationship has been exacerbated by the spread of the identity crisis and radicalism among immigrants, affecting people's real lives. According to the Copenhagen school's approaches, migration is a security phenomenon that threatens Europe's military, political, economic, social and environmental dimensions.

III. NATIONAL FRONT

France, after World War II, faced the crisis of Algerian independence in 1954. Small groups formed during this period who opposed de Gaulle's policy of granting independence to Algeria. Among these groups, the New Order group (the French extreme right and nationalist movement between 1969 and 1973) united with the remnants of the Vichy government (the French government at the time of Nazi Germany's occupation of France from 1940 to 1944) and the rest of Algeria's opposition. Three thousand people attended the official declaration of the movement on March 9, 1971. The Second Congress of the New Order, held in June 1972, adopted the strategy of forming a party called the National Front. Jean Marie Le pen was elected leader of the movement and on October 5, 1972, he became president of the National Front for French Unity. The party's main goal was to put nationalism at the heart of the campaign and to gain political supporters from the right hand. The first united political movement in the French extreme right was created in the Fifth Republic. Jean Marie Le pen mainly used the theories of Francois Duprat as a party ideologist and also used his idioms. For example, Duprat's famous phrase "one million unemployed in France, the same one million immigrants" represents the party's high level of racism by opposing immigration to France. The Party has always been an opposition to immigration and has sometimes succeeded in attracting French public opinion. On June 1, the French National Front far-right party, led by Marine Le pen, changed its name to "National Rally" with 53% votes of its members. This renaming is an arrangement for the far-right National Front party to merge similar French conservative groups for future election campaigns.

In the presidential campaign in 1995, the election motto of Jean Marie Le pen was to communicate with France and the French people. Other three key concepts of the slogans of the National Front were priority, protection and unity of the country. The goal of priority and protection was only for the people of France (not immigrants) to unite the nation; therefore, immigration policies had great importance in the party's election campaign. During the presidential nomination in 1988, Le pen declared: French people are in danger of destruction, looting and slavery. He spoke of the failure of French institutions and political parties to resist against the oligarchs, and condemning the issue and also saying that internal and external factions and lobbies had plunged the country into crisis. He pointed to the demographic crisis, immigration, unemployment, insecurity, moral decline. The National Rally has always identified the left movements and Immigrants as the main cause of France's social and economic problems. Following Marine Le pen's coming to power as party leader since 2011, like party former leaders, he also, with a more populist tone, saw immigration as a major factor in the problems and problems of French society and thereby increased support for the party. We can see this support very well in the results the party has obtained in various elections. In particular, the results that

Marine Le pen gained during her leadership on the National Front show the party's dramatic growth and progress. Some of the most important electoral advancements of the National Front are as follows: Earn 13.6% of French National Assembly first round votes and run for second round and winning two seats in 2012; obtain 13.2% of the vote in the first round of the 2017 election and run for the second round and win 8 seats in the French parliament. In the 2012 presidential election, Le pen won 17.9% of the vote. But in the 2017 election with a big leap and a surprising breakthrough, in the first round of elections, Le pen obtained 21.3% of the vote and was able to run in the second round and become the rival of Emmanuel Macron; Although Macron defeated Le pen in the second round, Lupine won 33.9 percent of the vote with unprecedented leap. It was a historic and great victory for Le pen and the National Front, which consolidated previous electoral successes. In the first round with 27.7% of the votes went to the second round; and in the second round, with a similar result to the first round, it won 27.1 percent of the vote and became the third party in the election. In the European Parliament elections, the first election led by Marin Le pen in 2014 was the party's best result in the European Parliament elections; with a big leap over previous periods, the party won 24.9 percent of the vote and in an unprecedented event it won 24 of the 74 seats in the European Parliament and topped the list. The French people welcome the National Front in the various elections and the increase in the number of open and secret members of the party indicates the acceptance of the security issue by the audience. In 2014, the flow of the National Front continued to rise. In municipal elections, the party won in 12 cities and had 1534 elected representatives; this is the best result of the National Front at the national level. In the European Parliament elections in May 2014, the National Front's success was even greater; with 25% of the votes, the National Front became the first party in France, UPM came in second with 20.8% of votes and PS with 14% % of votes became third. Altogether, the National Front sent 24 delegates to Brussels and Strasbourg, which not only made it the strongest party in France but also the most successful right-wing party in Europe. National Front won six regions of the thirteen French districts, in 2015 regional council election. The percentage of party votes in this election was more than double that of the previous election (27.1%). Although in the European Parliament elections in 2019 the percentage of the party's votes dropped by less than 2%, but it took first place.

IV. FACTORS INFLUENCING ON NATIONAL FRONT EMPOWERMENT

Populism: Populism is a form of mass politics. As its etymology indicates, the term is derived from the word populous (popular or mass). Its main idea is to claim representation or act on behalf of the people such as ordinary people or the general population, the majority or the masses, and to oppose the elites, privileged people or groups with special interests, established organizations or power blocs. In recent years, academics - as well as observers in the press and public policy - have repeatedly argued that we are living in a political era dominated by "populism as the spirit of the time". The recent success of right-wing populists in Europe, left-wing populists in Latin America, and the Tea Party of the United States actually shows that populism is prevalent in contemporary political discourse; populist discourse has moved from the periphery to the center of the political spectrum. Populist policies play an important role in creating political alignments in which ethical boundaries between groups are reconstructed and the category of "us" and "them" emerges (Gidron & Bonikowski, 2013: 10-13). Populism is a prominent feature of far-right parties in today's Europe. The return of populism to the political arena of Western European countries in the context of far-right movements, rooted in the failure of traditional parties to appropriate response to issues such as the globalization of the economy and culture, the pace and path of EU integration, migration crisis, the decline of the importance of ideologies, class politics, and the corruption of the ruling political elite (Nazari, Aliashraf and Salimi, Borhan, 2016: 159). The populist title for these parties is because they have the support of a wide range of semi-skilled workers, unskilled workers, the lower classes, nationalists, proponents of cultural authenticity and national identity, retailers, farmers, the middle class, the small capital owners and the manufacturing industries inside. The final discussion of populism involves the three major sub-categories of nationalism, arousing cultural pride, and the dual of "us" and "other"; by examining the slogans and remarks of the current leader of the National Front, Marine Le pen, and her father, Jean-Marie Le pen, who was a co-founder and former leader of the party, one can see their populist approach to dealing with the issue of the migration crisis and how they have exploited it to enhance the power of the party. Undoubtedly the character of Jean-Marie Le pen has been a key element in the development of the National Front in recent decades; a face with elements of strong charisma and populist speech. The new party leader since 2011, Marine Le pen, who now leads the National Front and belongs to a new generation of party political activists, has inherited her father's characteristics including charisma, a populist approach and a covert ideology spoken in popular terms. The main focus of the political discourse of the party is people or nation of France. The National Front has always identified the left parties and immigrant as the main cause of France's social and economic problems. The positions of Marin Lupine and other members of the French National Front have become more widely heard among the French after the November 13, 2015 terrorist attacks. The French National Front was able to exploit, in the best possible way, the public fear and anger stemming from the issue of immigration among the French people. During the presidential election campaign, Marine Le pen's populist

approach to her campaign speeches had led mainstream politicians to imitated some of her key policy proposals rather than reject her ideas. Most prominent politicians had embraced all the solutions to Lupine's agenda: They (like Le pen) promised tough legal solutions and order; they were constantly talking about "national identity"; they defended the "values of the republic (France) which is under the threat of Islam"; and they propagated the unique and non-discriminatory kind of secularism; also these main parties also insisted on restricting immigration, which has been the main subject of the National Front Party since the 1980s. In October 2015 poll, 67% of the French population said that housing subsidies should only apply to EU immigrants, and 61% asked the government to seize medical aid of illegal immigrants (Marliere, 2019). For example, Marine Le pen said in her speeches, "France and French" no longer have security; borders must be closed; security without closing the border is impossible" (Le Pen, 2015). As mentioned, the main focus of the political discourse of the party is the people or the nation. The National Front Party has made immigration (which is a social phenomenon) a security issue by using a populist and deceptive approach, arousing ethnic nationalist sentiment and cultural pride and also highlighting the difference between "us" and the "other"; in this way, the party has been able to convince the audience that a particular issue is threatening the security of the country. In fact, an actor (National Front) argues that the existence and survival of a particular issue (immigration) threatens national security.

Anti-Islam / Islamophobia: It is estimated that about 6-8% of France's 67 million populations are Muslim; this percentage of the Muslim population is higher than in all EU countries. Migration and consequently the interplay of cultures and the ideology of political Islam are reasons for Islamophobia (Murshidizad & Ghaffari, 2008: 126). The high volume of National Front leader's words signifies widespread Islamophobia, which has made immigration a security phenomenon by linking immigration and Islamophobia; immigration is therefore a political, social and cultural security threat to France. Islam and Muslim immigrants have always been a threat to identity because of cultural, identity and linguistic incompatibility with French society. With the widespread terrorist attacks by extremist Islamists and the rise of Islamic radicalism in European countries as well as France, this identity threat has intensified and become a security issue. Taking advantage of the situation, the National Front is trying to win the votes of French citizens by instilling the idea that French identity and nationality is at stake.

Social Security: Societal security in the Copenhagen school has a central concept and that is identity. Whenever a group feels that its socio-cultural beliefs and practices are denied, restrained or manipulated, they feel insecure. This may be a real feeling of insecurity, such as the migration from zone A to zone B and a reduction in the number and concentration of residents in zone B, and it may also be an unreal sense of insecurity, that is, in the aftermath of Group A's normal activities, Group B may feel insecure and lead to unrealistic guesses of actual insecurity. The community's attempt to assert identity is a deliberate act of self-expression and another rejection. As governments take up arms as soon as they suspect a threat to their sovereignty, societies also express themselves when they feel their identity is in danger (Nasri, 2012: 109). Social security is one of the most developed interpretations of the concept of security and its main focus is to examine the security of social identities in comparison to other identity groups and institutions within a government. The concept of social security criticizes the realistic approach to the concept of security in at least two ways: First, security and insecurity find meaning and identity not only among governments but also within communities; Secondly, the military is not the best means of security, but rather the emergence of various forms of security and insecurity, also the ways in which security is provided are variable. Cases that threaten social security are fundamentally rooted in identity. In this respect, culture, language, race, religion or any other form of "self-expression" can be the root of any security or social insecurity. Generally, the constituent components around which collective identities and possible social insecurity are formed can be classified into five categories: Ethnic / territorial; religious / cultural; social / economic; political / legal and political / military. The Copenhagen school not only considers social security a matter of identity groups within societies but also analyzes the relationships of these groups with the government within the context of this concept (Ghavam & Kiani, 2009: 111-113). The National Front Party's emphasis is on the issue of identity on which social security is based. The words of the leader of the party, which has always emphasized French culture, identity, values, language and laws, is an attempt to defend French social security against the security threat of immigration. The huge flood of immigrants, mostly from the Middle East and unable to digest French identity, creates social distinctions and even racial and ethnic divisions in French society. Undoubtedly, the rapid growth of the phenomenon of immigration in European societies is itself a major obstacle to the process of European common identity, which has contributed to the development of social insecurity in the European Union. On the whole, one of the major concerns of European authorities is the presence and activity of immigrants or ethnic diasporas in their countries. Diasporas are often groups that refuse to fully integrate into the host community and tend to retain their roots and interests with their native lands.

Lack of Muslim identity cohesion in European culture: One of the most important reasons for European governments' negative attitude towards Muslim immigrants is their lack of coherence in European culture; for this reason, Europe is more susceptible to terrorist attacks by Islamic extremists than the United States. Majority

of Muslims in Europe are not well integrated into European society and are not integrated into the culture of these societies. On how to deal with immigrants (Muslims) in Europe, there are two major approaches to multiculturalism (in UK) and integration-oriented (in France). In France, where the integrationist approach is pursued, this approach calls for the granting of citizenship to religious minorities, including Muslims, and their Europeanization. In fact, this approach seeks to integrate Muslims into the mental and objective structures of European civilization. Within this framework, efforts are being made to support moderate Muslims and to educate their religious leaders on national values in order to conform to European values. The creation of the "Council of Islam" in France is an example of the policy of Muslim integration in European societies. The French model of integration of immigrants is based on the term "Laïcité", which means secularism in politics, so every citizen must first introduce himself French and place his religious and racial characteristics in the second stage. In France, the issue of the integration of Muslims into European culture is called "adherence to the values of the republic". European Muslim immigrants from France to Germany and Belgium have created "virtual communities" in European countries. The deprivation of these virtual communities to the natives has made them susceptible to membership in extremist Salafi-Takfiri terrorists and groups. The shift to Islamic radicalism by some extremist Muslims in Europe (European-born or new immigrants) and joining terrorist groups can be seen as one of the most important consequences of heterogeneity and identity cohesion, which put Europe at greater risk of serious security risks. Today, the number of people who have migrated from Europe to Syria and Iraq to join the ISIS terrorist group is much higher than in the United States today; this means that Europe will face serious threats regarding domestic terrorism, especially when these terrorists return to their countries in Europe (Mohammadniya, 2016, 73-75). The phenomenon of Islamophobia in France is rooted in the failure of large sections of French society to accept French Muslims into French society, not in the failure of Muslims to integrate. It is resistance to integration that causes a variety of social problems that are deliberately interpreted as the apparent failure of Muslims to integrate (Hamad, 2017).

Demographic Balance Change: Migration is one of the four main causes of population change, and because of its nature in addition of long-term effects it can create short-term effects on population size and structure (Zanjani, 2001: 12). Concerns about Europe's demographic balance as a result of the migration of new Muslims to the continent began in the 1970s and are still one of the major issues of identity and security in the European Union. According to some statistics, more than half of Muslims in Europe are natives and the other half are immigrants. According to Pew Research Center statistics, the number of Muslims in continental Europe rose from 29.6 million in 1990 (4.1 percent of the total European population) to 44.1 million (6 percent of the total European population) in 2010 (the EU's Muslim population is also projected to 19 million). The center has projected that the number of Muslims in Europe will rise to 58 million by 2030 (8% of Europe's population). According to Pew Research Center statistics, by 2050 the number of EU Muslims will increase to 10.2% of Europe's population. The presence of Muslims in European countries is such that often the word immigrant and Muslim are considered equivalent. Right-wing groups have always warned of the dominance of the Muslim population in Europe in the coming decades and regard it as a danger to the church. The threat to Germany's population balance is more palpable than in other European countries. With the spread of terrorism and civil wars in the Middle East and North Africa, including Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya, the process of migration to Europe and asylum applications has been increasing, and this issue increasingly threatening the continent's European identity by disrupting its population balance (Mohammadniya, 2016:75-77).

The growth of multiculturalism: The far right strongly opposes the idea that foreign cultures are a source of cultural richness and that multiculturalism can lead to the creation of a multicultural society. From the extreme right perspective, multiculturalism destroys individual cultures and ends in a cultural degeneration process. The far right extends the notion of a nation that foreigners not only haven't any place in this definition, but also they are a threat to the life and health of the nation. On the extreme right perspective, it is not ontologically possible to integrate foreigners into European societies. This view is well reflected in Le pen's remarks: "France's biggest threat is loss of independence for the sake of EU and identity loss for immigration. We are overwhelmed by the flood of immigrants who are destroying everything before it. This is not the way France is when I become President of France. If we continue to do so, France will become a giant area without movement. A multicultural society is a society with multiple contradictions" (Joseph, 2017). The Moving away from biological racism, the far right has focused on cultural issues and they seek ideological and philosophical influence by creating a concept such as "the right to cultural differentiation". The far right claims that trying to create a unified cultural model is genuine racism; because it seeks to eliminate differences and their view of full respect for and preservation of differences is a genuine anti-racist view. In fact, cultural nativism seeks to strengthen the nation by unifying its ethnicity, restoring traditional values and removing threatening groups from society. Since biological racism is not socially acceptable to Europeans, immigrants and minorities are presented as cultural threats rather than as racial threats that can be addressed better and easier in the context of Western values. The far right seeks to revive "white Europe" and find a transboundary nature (Ahmadi Lafouraki, 2013:47-48).

Economic security: Economic security is the promotion of a people's lifestyle by providing goods and services, both domestically and internationally. Migration can jeopardize the infrastructure of the country's economy and target the level of prosperity and economic power of the country. Measurements show that, on average, a 10% increase in international immigrants in each country's population will result in a 2.1% reduction in the share of people's livelihood, about \$ 1 per person per day. Creating economic costs, reducing welfare services, raising taxes and reducing job opportunities for immigrants, in addition to endangering economic security, provokes anger in the host nation (Zarghani & Mousavi, 2013:21). The final issue of economic security consists of two major categories of welfare and unemployment reduction. The leader of the National Front, like other issues, has also linked French economic problems to immigration and identifies immigrants as the perpetrators of these problems: "If you come to our country, do not expect to receive free treatment and education for your children" (Le Pen, 2016). "Widespread unemployment is exacerbated by immigration" (Nossiter, 2015).

V. CONCLUSION

From 2007 onwards, with the EU immigration crisis escalating in 2015, we are witnessing the empowerment of right-wing parties, especially the National Front in France. The French presidential election in 2017 showed that the party's victories and successes are not only coincidental but also indicative of the party's long-term plans. The party has won significant victories in the various elections since Marine Le pen's leadership. The process in which not only the National Front Party as one of the representatives of the radical right parties in the European Union is not moving towards instability, it is also moving towards stability and consolidation in French political space. High volume of current National Front leader Marine Le pene's remarks include the threat of immigration to France in various cultural, social, security and economic dimensions. Prioritizing the issue of immigration in their speeches, slogans, principles of work and their populist tone, the National Front leaders have identified this as an existential threat to French identity, nationality and cohesion and considered it more important than anything else. The security issue of immigration can be seen in the nation-centered discourse of the National Front which considers the French people a priority. In fact, it can be argued that the French National Front has been able to bridge the link between security and immigration as a phenomenon that has threatened France in economic, cultural, social and even environmental terms; in this way, the National Front has been able to convince its audience that their common identity is at stake. The relationship between immigration and security has grown with the spread of the identity crisis as well as radical Islamism among immigrants.

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