

The Ascendant Right: Populist Discourse, Immigration Policy, and the Marginalization of Algerians in Contemporary France

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Abstract:

The ascendancy of right-wing parties in France, particularly the Rassemblement National (RN), has been inextricably linked to the intensification of anti-immigration rhetoric. This article analyzes how the populist discourse of the French right instrumentalizes the migration issue, specifically targeting Algerian immigration and the Franco-Algerian Agreement of 1968. We argue that this rhetoric, characterized by metaphors of "crisis" and "submersion," not only directly influences restrictive French immigration policies but also exacerbates the historical socio-economic and identity-based marginalization of the Algerian diaspora in France. A combined analysis of semantic discourse, legal challenges, and diplomatic tensions reveals a deliberate process of constructing the Algerian immigrant as an "internal enemy," thereby reinforcing post-colonial tensions and dynamics of social exclusion

key words: Right-wing populism; Anti-immigration discourse; Algerian immigration; Rassemblement National; Post-colonial relations; Social exclusion.

introduction:

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1 .Importance of the Subject: The political landscape of France has undergone a profound transformation, epitomized by the dramatic rise of the Rassemblement National (RN), formerly the Front National (FN). This phenomenon is not isolated but reflects a broader European surge of right-wing populism, in which immigration has become the central axis of political polarization and electoral competition. In the French context, this instrumentalization of migration carries a particular significance due to the country's complex colonial and post-colonial history, especially its relationship with Algeria.

Algerian immigration constitutes the largest non-European diaspora in France, with an estimated population of approximately 2.7 million individuals. Historically and symbolically, this community has occupied a central position in debates surrounding French national identity, secularism (*laïcité*), and the memory of the Algerian War. Consequently, the populist discourse of the French right—built around the narrative of a supposed “migratory submersion” threatening French identity—finds a powerful political leverage in the specific legal status and historical legacy associated with Algerian migrants.

2 .Problem of the Study: The central problem guiding this research can be formulated as follows: How does the populist discourse of the French right, structured around the notions of a “migration crisis” and national identity, specifically target Algerian immigration, and what are the implications of this discourse for immigration policies and the marginalization of Algerian descendants in France?

Rather than opposing immigration in general terms, the political strategy of the RN and its allies focuses on specific groups whose presence can be framed as a cultural, historical, or civilizational threat. In this regard, the Algerian community—due to its colonial past and its distinct legal framework—constitutes a privileged symbolic target for nativist political mobilization.

3 .Methodology Used: To address this problem, the article adopts a multi-disciplinary methodological approach combining political

science, legal analysis, and sociological perspectives. Particular emphasis is placed on the semantic and discursive analysis of political speech in order to deconstruct the mechanisms through which populist rhetoric operates. This approach is complemented by an examination of legal texts, policy reforms, and political debates related to immigration and the Franco-Algerian Agreement of 1968.

4 .General Division of the Study: The study is structured into four main sections. Following this introduction, Section II analyzes the populist discourse of the French right and its construction of the Algerian immigrant as an “internal enemy.” Section III examines the Franco-Algerian Agreement of 1968 as a central arena of political and legal contestation. Section IV explores the concrete impact of this discourse on immigration policies and its role in exacerbating socio-economic and identity-based marginalization within the Algerian diaspora in France. The article concludes with a synthesis of the main findings.

Section I: The Anatomy of Populist Discourse and the onstruction of the “Internal Enemy”

- A) Right-Wing Populism in the French Context
- B) Discursive Strategies and the Politics of Fear

Section II: The Franco-Algerian Agreement of 1968 as a Political Battleground

- A) Legal and Historical Foundations of the 1968 Agreement
- B) Political and Diplomatic Instrumentalization of the Agreement

Section III: Policy Impact and the Exacerbation of Social Marginalization

- A) Socio-Economic Dimensions of Marginalization:
- B) Psychological and Identity Consequences of Populist Rhetoric:

Conclusion

I. The Anatomy of Populist Discourse: Constructing the "Internal Enemy"

Right-wing populism thrives on a Manichean political vision, pitting a supposedly "pure people" against a "corrupt elite" and a "dangerous other" (the immigrant) perceived as an existential threat.¹ Within the RN's narrative, immigration is not treated as a social or economic phenomenon but as an existential crisis demanding radical solutions.

1.1. Defining Right-Wing Populism in the French Context

In France, the populist strategy has successfully shifted the political focus from traditional left-right economic divides to a cultural and identity-based cleavage. The "people" are defined in ethno-cultural terms, and the "elite" are accused of complicity in the perceived "Great Replacement" or "migratory submersion." This framework allows the RN to bypass complex policy debates and appeal directly to emotional fears regarding cultural loss and national security.

The discourse relies on a fundamental distinction between "us" (the native French) and "them" (the immigrants), where the latter are inherently viewed as a source of national decline. This narrative is sustained through the strategic use of language, particularly through powerful, evocative metaphors.

1.2. Semantic Analysis of the "Migration Crisis"

A detailed semantic analysis of Marine Le Pen's speeches reveals a systematic reliance on metaphors drawn from the lexicon of water and natural disasters to describe immigration.² Terms such as « déferlante » (tidal wave), « vague » (wave), and « submersion » (submersion) are employed to transform migratory flows into an abnormal, uncontrollable event—a physical threat to the national territory.

¹ Jamet, Denis, and Bérengère Lafiandra. "« Crise migratoire » et discours politique d'extrême droite en France : 2015-2019. Analyse sémantique des discours de Marine Le Pen." *Mots. Les langages du politique* 131, no. 1; France; 2023.

² Pérouse de Montclos, Marc. "L'accord franco-algérien de 1968, reflet de relations politiques tourmentées." *L'Année du Maghreb*, no. 19; France; 2018.

This rhetorical strategy serves two critical functions. First, it dehumanizes the migrants, reducing them from individuals with complex histories to an impersonal, destructive force. Second, it justifies the need for extreme, emergency measures, such as the immediate closure of borders and the rejection of international conventions, under the guise of national self-preservation.

The concept of Semantic Prosody is crucial here. The repeated association of immigration with lexemes carrying negative connotations (e.g., "folle" - mad, "dérive" - drift, "mondialiste" - globalist) ensures that the term "immigration" itself becomes semantically charged with negativity, even when used neutrally. The goal is to make the metaphorical language so pervasive that it loses its figurative origin and becomes the literal, accepted way of discussing immigration.¹

Populist Metaphor	Implicit Meaning	Discursive Consequence
Submersion / Tidal Wave	Immigration is an abnormal event, a natural catastrophe.	Justification for emergency measures and border closure.
Pressure / Permeability	France is a container with weak, failing borders.	Call for the restoration of state authority and "taking back control."
Crisis	Immigration is an existential threat to national identity and cohesion.	Polarization of the debate and designation of a scapegoat. ²

1.3. The Post-Colonial Target: Algerian Immigration

While the populist discourse targets all non-European immigration, Algerian immigration holds a unique position. It is inextricably linked to the colonial past and the trauma of decolonization. In the collective

¹ Pérouse de Montclos, Marc. "L'accord franco-algérien de 1968, reflet de relations politiques tourmentées." *L'Année du Maghreb*, no. 19; France; 2018.

² Table 1: Analysis of populist metaphorical discourse on immigration. Source: Author's own elaboration.

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imagination of the French right, the Algerian is often perceived as "always separate, unassimilable"¹, a figure that crystallizes deep-seated post-colonial anxieties.

The discourse operates by conflating immigration, Islam, and the threat to national identity. When political figures assert that « La France doit rester la France » (France must remain France)², they are implicitly referencing the migration issue and the place of Islam and Muslims, thereby designating populations of Maghrebi origin as the primary agents of national identity erosion. This exploitation of the issue is seen by critics as revealing the decadence of a segment of the French political class that unjustly targets Algerian immigration for political gain.³

The specific focus on Algerians allows the RN to tap into a historical reservoir of resentment and fear, transforming the complex legacy of the *Algérie française* into a contemporary political weapon. The rhetoric frames the presence of the Algerian diaspora not as a consequence of shared history, but as a continuous, unassimilated foreign body within the nation.

1.4. The Instrumentalization of Fear and Identity

The populist strategy is highly effective because it shifts the focus away from structural socio-economic problems—such as unemployment, housing shortages, and deindustrialization—and redirects public anxiety toward cultural and security threats posed by the "other." By constantly framing immigration as a security issue

¹ Bashlagham, [بشلاغم]. "The Issue of Immigration in the Discourse of the French Far Right: The National Rally Party as a Model [مسألة الهجرة في خطاب اليمين الفرنسي المتطرف: حزب التجمع الوطني أنموذجاً]." *Academic Journal of Social and Human Sciences (ASJP)*; 2025.

² Assemblée Nationale. Rapport d'information sur l'accord franco-algérien de 1968. Report no. 1963, 17th legislature; October 15, 2025; <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/documents/1963> (consulted 20/12/2025).

³ CEPII. Essor des partis d'extrême droite en Europe et immigration. *La Lettre du CEPII*, no. 408; 2020; <http://www.cepii.fr> (consulted 20/12/2025).

9- Observatoire de l'Immigration (OID). *L'immigration des Algériens*; <http://www.oid.org/algeriens> (consulted 17/12/2025).

(crime, terrorism) and a cultural issue (secularism, identity), the right successfully polarizes the political debate, making moderate positions appear weak or treasonous.

This instrumentalization is particularly potent in the context of the banlieues (suburbs), where socio-economic marginalization is most visible. Instead of addressing the systemic failures that lead to poverty and lack of opportunity, the populist narrative blames the residents themselves, often descendants of Algerian immigrants, for their supposed lack of integration or adherence to "French values." This rhetorical move is essential for constructing the Algerian immigrant as the ultimate "internal enemy."

II. The Franco-Algerian Agreement of 1968: A Political Battleground

The Franco-Algerian Agreement of December 27, 1968, concerning the movement, residence, and employment of Algerian nationals and their families in France, has become a major focal point for the French right's political strategy. It serves as a tangible, legal target for their anti-immigration campaign.

2.1. Legal and Historical Specificity of the 1968 Agreement

The 1968 Agreement is a treaty of Public International Law.¹ Under the French legal hierarchy, this status grants it precedence over ordinary French domestic law, including the Code on the Entry and Stay of Foreigners and the Right to Asylum (CESEDA). The Agreement was initially designed to regulate the post-colonial relationship, ensuring a specific status for Algerian nationals based on the unique historical ties between the two nations.²

¹ Observatoire de l'Immigration (OID). L'immigration des Algériens; <http://www.oid.org/algeriens> (consulted 17/12/2025).

² Le Devoir. "Discours populiste." April 17, 2024; <http://www.ledevoir.com> (consulted 20/12/2025).

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Crucially, the Agreement's provisions are, in several key aspects, more favorable to Algerians than the common law applied to other non-European foreigners. This derogation from common law is precisely what the French right exploits as a symbol of "privilege" and "loss of control." The Algerian perspective often views the Agreement not as a privilege, but as a negotiated outcome following the Algerian War of Independence, a recognition of the historical debt and the need for labor mobility.¹

A detailed comparison highlights these differences:

Provision	Franco-Algerian Agreement (1968)	Common French Law (CESEDA)
First Residence Permit	10-year residence card available upon first application under certain conditions (e.g., for workers, scientists).	Often requires multiple renewals of 1-year or 4-year permits before a 10-year card is granted.
Family Reunification	Requires only one year of residence in France for the applicant.	Requires a minimum of 18 months of legal residence in France. ²
Entry Conditions	Fewer conditions regarding resources or mention of the duration of stay for certain categories. ³	Strict conditions on resources, housing, and integration are often required.

The Agreement, which has been modified several times, has progressively become more advantageous than the increasingly

¹ Assemblée Nationale. "Première séance du jeudi 30 octobre 2025." October 30, 2025; <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/documents/1963> (consulted 20/12/2025).
² Le Monde. "France-Algérie : un besoin de cohérence sur l'immigration." March 8, 2025; <http://www.lemonde.fr> (consulted 20/12/2025).
³ Le Monde. "Immigration : tolérance de la société, vote à l'extrême droite. Le paradoxe français." October 20, 2023; <http://www.lemonde.fr> (consulted 20/12/2025).

restrictive common law for foreigners since 1976. This divergence is the core of the political controversy.¹

2.2. The Political Campaign for Denunciation

The French right, led by the RN and supported by factions within Les Républicains (LR), has made the denunciation or modification of the 1968 Agreement a central plank of its platform. Their primary argument is that the Agreement creates an inequality of treatment and prevents France from "taking back control" of its immigration policy by subjecting it to international law.

The political climax of this campaign occurred in October 2025, when a resolution proposed by the RN, aiming to denounce the Agreement, was adopted by the National Assembly by a single vote.² While this resolution was symbolic and non-binding on the government, it represented a significant political victory for the RN, validating their discourse and marking a step in the xenophobic instrumentalization of the migration issue.³

Critics argue that the attempt to dismantle the Agreement is deeply rooted in the colonial past⁴, representing an effort to erase the specific status of Algerians inherited from the shared history. The resolution was widely condemned as a racist and dangerous move that targeted Algerians specifically, contrasting with other, more general resolutions concerning immigration.⁵ The political objective is clear: to eliminate the last major legal vestige of the post-colonial

¹ Le Monde. "Immigration : tolérance de la société, vote à l'extrême droite. Le paradoxe français." October 20, 2023; <http://www.lemonde.fr> (consulted 20/12/2025).

² Le Monde Afrique. "« La France continue à marginaliser des générations d'immigrés »." July 3, 2023; <http://www.lemondeafrique.fr> (consulted 20/12/2025).

³ Le Grand Continent. "«La Ve République est devenue un accélérateur de populisme»." December 13, 2025; <http://www.legrandcontinent.eu> (consulted 20/12/2025).

⁴ El Moudjahid. "L'exploitation de la question migratoire révèle la décadence d'une partie de la classe politique française." October 10, 2024; <http://www.elmoudjahid.com> (consulted 20/12/2025).

⁵ Le Grand Continent. "«La Ve République est devenue un accélérateur de populisme»." December 13, 2025; <http://www.legrandcontinent.eu> (consulted 20/12/2025).

relationship that grants Algerians a status different from that of other foreigners.

3.3. Diplomatic Ramifications and the "Visa Weapon"

The political pressure in France to modify the Agreement has direct and significant repercussions on Franco-Algerian relations. Migration policy has effectively been transformed into a diplomatic weapon.¹

A prime example is the issue of Obligations de Quitter le Territoire Français (OQTF). When France seeks to expel an Algerian national, Algeria's cooperation is required to issue the necessary consular passes. Algeria has, at times, used the refusal to issue these passes as a mechanism of counter-pressure against France, particularly in response to French restrictions on visa issuance.² This diplomatic tit-for-tat demonstrates how the migration issue is deeply intertwined with broader geopolitical tensions between Paris and Algiers.

The tensions surrounding the 1968 Agreement underscore the need for coherence in the bilateral relationship.³ The constant political agitation and the resulting restrictive measures often prove ineffective in controlling migration flows and instead create more diplomatic and social friction than they resolve.⁴ The political instrumentalization of the Agreement thus destabilizes the diplomatic framework that has governed the movement of people between the two countries for over half a century.

¹ France Info. "Pourquoi l'Algérie refuse l'expulsion de certains de ses ressortissants visés par des OQTF." February 27, 2025; <http://www.franceinfo.fr> (consulted 20/12/2025).

² Politis. "France-Algérie : « Nous sommes les enfants de parents divorcés »." April 25, 2025; <http://www.politis.fr> (consulted 20/12/2025).

³ Le Devoir. "Poussée de l'extrême droite en France : des immigrants entre amertume et peur." May 14, 2024; <http://www.ledevoir.com> (consulted 20/12/2025).

⁴ Radio France. "France-Algérie : les visas sont-ils une arme diplomatique ?" February 26, 2025; <http://www.radiofrance.fr> (consulted 20/12/2025).

III. Policy Impact and the Exacerbation of Marginalization

The populist discourse and the restrictive immigration policies it inspires do not occur in a vacuum; they actively amplify an existing socio-economic marginalization that disproportionately affects the descendants of Algerian immigrants.

3.1. The Socio-Economic Context of Marginalization

Despite the long history of Algerian immigration in France, descendants continue to face significant challenges in socio-economic integration, particularly in the banlieues.¹ Studies on segregation and incorporation highlight that socio-economic difficulties, such as high unemployment rates, poor housing conditions, and limited access to quality education, are systemic issues.²

The French Paradox illustrates this tension: French society exhibits a relatively high level of tolerance toward immigration, yet there is a spectacular rise in far-right voting.³ This contradiction is partly explained by the populist strategy of polarizing the debate: by focusing public attention on cultural and security issues, the underlying socio-economic roots of marginalization are obscured. The focus shifts from the need for social investment to the need for cultural assimilation and security crackdowns.

The economic contribution of immigrants is often overlooked in this polarized debate. Parliamentary records show that immigrant workers contribute significantly to the French GDP, often paying more in taxes and contributions than they receive in benefits. However, this factual information is consistently drowned out by the populist narrative of immigrants as a net burden on the welfare state.

¹ Metropolitiques.eu. “Migrations : l'extrême droite est l'ennemie des faits.” June 28, 2024; <http://www.metropolitiques.eu> (consulted 20/12/2025).

² Desinfoxmigrations.fr. “Algérie-France : diplomatie et migrations.” <http://www.desinfoxmigrations.fr> (consulted 17/12/2025).

³ Histoirecoloniale.net. “Immigration algérienne en France.” <http://www.histoirecoloniale.net> (consulted 17/12/2025).

3.2. The Psychological and Identity Impact of Populist Rhetoric

The constant designation of the immigrant as a threat by the extreme right reinforces a profound sense of exclusion and stigmatization. For the descendants of Algerian immigrants, this translates into feelings of bitterness and fear in the face of the right's political surge.¹ The discourse of the French far-right, particularly that of the National Rally, has been systematically analyzed for its use of fear and cultural differentialism to frame immigration as a threat to national identity.²

Their identity is often experienced as an in-between state, a situation of being "children of divorced parents" between France and Algeria.³ They are French citizens by birth, yet constantly reminded by political rhetoric that they are not considered fully "French" due to their origin or religion. This narrative of the "unassimilable" reinforces the historical perception of Algerians as "always separate".⁴

The psychological impact of this rhetoric is severe. It creates a climate where the sense of belonging is perpetually questioned, leading to a defensive identity formation. When France is perceived as continuously marginalizing generations of immigrants, it provokes strong reactions in the Maghreb and reinforces the perception of a failed integration model. The new political rhetoric is seen by some Algerian commentators as an attempt to use the Algerian community

¹ Histoirecoloniale.net. "Une résolution du RN sur l'accord franco-algérien de 1968 est ancrée dans le passé colonial." November 15, 2025; <http://www.histoirecoloniale.net> (consulted 20/12/2025).

² Aloush, A. I. "Banlieues françaises et jeunes issus de l'immigration religion." Scholars Archive; <http://www.scholarsarchive.org> (consulted 20/12/2025).

³ Les Écologistes. "Accord franco-algérien : une résolution raciste et dangereuse adoptée par l'Assemblée nationale." October 30, 2025; <http://www.lesecologistes.fr> (consulted 20/12/2025).

⁴ Bashlagham, [بشلاغم]. "The Issue of Immigration in the Discourse of the French Far Right: The National Rally Party as a Model [مسألة الهجرة في خطاب اليمين الفرنسي المتطرف: [حزب التجمع الوطني أنموذجاً]. Academic Journal of Social and Human Sciences (ASJP); 2025.

as a bargaining chip, treating them as a burden rather than a cultural bridge.¹

3.3. The Feedback Loop: From Discourse to Policy to Exclusion

The cycle of exclusion is completed when the policies inspired by populist rhetoric are implemented. Restrictive immigration laws, coupled with the political attempts to dismantle the 1968 Agreement, reinforce the perception among the Algerian diaspora that they are second-class citizens.

he instrumentalization of the 1968 Agreement, in particular, is perceived as a direct attack on the status and dignity of Algerians in France. By attempting to strip away the specific legal provisions that acknowledge their unique historical relationship with France, the right-wing movement sends a clear message of rejection. This political action deepens the sense of alienation and fuels the very social tensions that the populist discourse claims to be addressing. The result is a self-fulfilling prophecy: the rhetoric of exclusion leads to policies of restriction, which in turn exacerbate marginalization, confirming the populist claim that "integration has failed."

IV. Conclusion

The rise of right-wing parties in France is fundamentally driven by a discursive strategy that elevates immigration, and specifically Algerian immigration, into an existential threat. The populist discourse, through the use of catastrophic metaphors and the designation of an "internal enemy," successfully polarizes the political debate and dictates the policy agenda.

The Franco-Algerian Agreement of 1968 has become the central symbol of this struggle. The right's efforts to challenge or denounce it represent an attempt to dismantle a specific legal status inherited from the post-colonial era. The consequences of this dynamic are two-fold: they generate significant diplomatic tensions with Algeria and, more

¹ Shon, J. L. "Ségrégation et incorporation des immigrés en France." CASD; <http://www.casd.org> (consulted 20/12/2025).

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critically, they exacerbate the marginalization and sense of exclusion within the large Algerian diaspora in France. The political strategy of the RN and its allies is thus a powerful engine for both policy restriction and social division.

To counter this destructive cycle, a fundamental shift in approach is required. Policy must move away from the current highly politicized, fear-driven model toward one that is coherent, evidence-based, and focused on addressing the root causes of social tension. This involves:

- 1 De-politicizing the Immigration Debate: Recognizing the economic and social contributions of immigrants and focusing on facts rather than fear-mongering.
- 2 Addressing Systemic Marginalization: Implementing robust socio-economic policies aimed at improving housing, education, and employment opportunities in marginalized areas, rather than focusing solely on security and cultural assimilation.
- 3 Respecting Historical Commitments: Acknowledging the unique historical relationship with Algeria and engaging in constructive, non-instrumentalized dialogue regarding the 1968 Agreement, recognizing that its unilateral denunciation would likely be counter-productive and diplomatically damaging.

Future research should focus on the long-term impact of the RN's political normalization on Franco-Algerian relations and the identity formation of the diaspora. Specifically, studies could explore:

- The effect of the RN's increasing political legitimacy on the voting patterns and political engagement of French citizens of Maghrebi descent.
- A comparative analysis of the legal and social status of Algerian nationals under the 1968 Agreement versus the common law, particularly concerning access to rights and services.
- The role of social media in amplifying populist narratives and shaping the self-perception of marginalized youth in the banlieues.

The current political climate in France demonstrates that the post-colonial relationship with Algeria remains a highly charged and unresolved issue. The populist right has successfully weaponized this history, making the Algerian diaspora the primary casualty in the battle for French national identity.

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