to Immigration Nick Rollason, Partner, Head of Immigration,

Kingsley Napley LLP

Populism-A definition

Populism-A threat to liberal democracy?

Populism-Cultural or Economic?

Populism-Attitudes to Immigration

Populism: How do we respond?



"an **ideology** that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people' versus **'the corrupt elite'**, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the volonté générale (general will) of the people" (Mudde, 2004)

"As a thin-centred ideology, populism can be easily combined with very different (...) other ideologies, including communism, ecologism, nationalism or socialism. Populism is moralistic rather than programmatic" (Mudde, 2004)

- Idea of "host" ideology-populist parties combine Populism with another ideology
- FPO=Nativism +Populist/ Syriza=Socialism + Populist, mostly secondary to host ideology



Structural reasons:

1.Rise of undemocratic liberalism

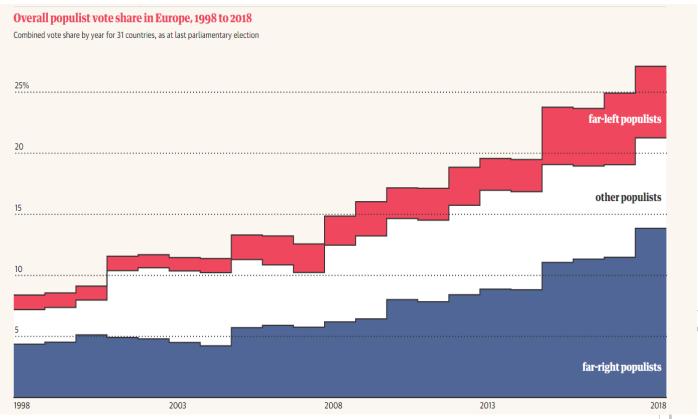
- "Liberal" policies and ideas -privatisation, immigration, EU integration, death penalty are now legal not political issues in the hands of experts/technocrats
- "Tacit" agreement-Democratic in process but not in spirit

2.Democratisation of Representation

- Separation of political class-homogenous (white, University educated, uppermiddle class)
- "Cognitive mobilization"-emancipation of citizens.
- 3. Media independence and commercialization.
- State/Party media>Privatised media>Social media



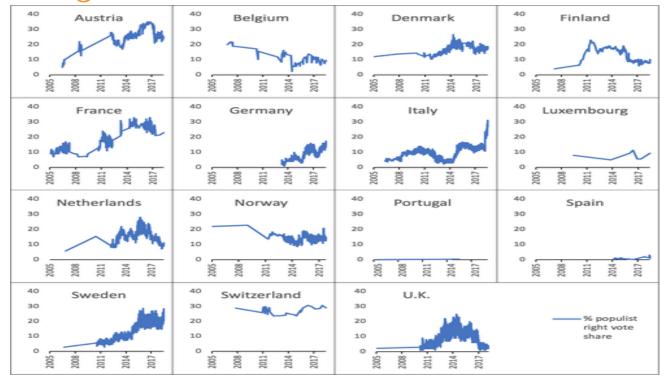
The Rise of Populism





Vote share for populist right parties 2005-2018





Source: Geddes A and Dennison J (2018) A Rising Tide? The Salience of Immigration and the Rise of Anti-Immigration Political Parties in Western

Populism and "Post Politics"

Kingsley Napley

"The characteristic pattern of stable western democracies in the mid 20th Century is that of a **post politics** phase-there is little difference between the democratic left and right"

(Seymour Martin Lipset, 1959)



Kingsley Napley

"Trump, Brexit, and the rise of Populism: Economic have-nots and cultural backlash" (Inglehart & Norris 2016):

2 "demand-side" explanations

1. Economic Shock/ Inequality Perspective

2. "Cultural Backlash" Thesis



Cultural Backlash Thesis (Inglehart and Norris, 2016)

► Argument:

The classic economic Left-Right cleavage in party competition is overlaid today by a new cultural cleavage: Populists vs. Cosmopolitan Liberalism

► Study:

- Identification of ideological location of 268 political parties in 31 European countries. Comparison of European party competition at national-level, along with evidence of changes over time;
- evidence at individual level for the impact of economic insecurity and cultural values as predictors of contemporary voting for populist parties.



Kingsley Napley



State management Economic redistribution Welfare state Collectivism

POPULISM

Anti-establishment Strong leader/popular will Nationalism |

Traditional values

ECONOMIC RIGHT

Free Market/Small state Deregulation Low taxation

Individualism

COSMOPOLITAN LIBERALISM

Pluralistic democracy Tolerant multiculturalism Multilateralism

Progressive values



Populism in Europe (Inglehart and Norris, 2016)

- Populist support in Europe stronger among older generation, men, the less educated, the religious, and ethnic majorities.
- Evidence for economic insecurity thesis mixed and inconsistent.
- "all of the five cultural value scales proved consistent predictors of voting support for populist parties and pointed in the expected direction" (Inglehart and Norris, 2016)



Populism in Europe (Inglehart and Norris, 2016)

Main conclusions:

- Populist voters = citizens who do not identify with progressive cultural change of recent decades: older (white) men, religious, and less educated sectors of society.
- "Older white men with traditional values (...) have seen their predominance and privilege eroded. The silent revolution of the 1970s appears to have spawned an angry and resentful counter-revolutionary backlash today" (Inglehart and Norris, 2016)



Populism in Europe: Globalization and Brexit (Colantone & Stanig 2016)

Study:

 How are voters' attitudes towards Brexit related to immigration and globalization?

Main Findings:

- globalization-induced shock to British manufacturing increased support for Brexit.
- immigration rates (stock of immigrants in region, inflow of new immigrants) not associated with variation in support for Brexit.
- perceptions and attitudes about immigration are correlated with globalization shock and support for Brexit.

Variation in policy success: radical right populism and migration policy (Lutz 2018)

- systematic analysis of the direct and indirect effects of radical right anti-immigration parties on migration policy reforms in 17 West European countries from 1990 to 2014.
- Findings:
- immigration policies have become more liberal despite the electoral success of the radical right,
- when the radical right is in government office it enacts more restrictions in integration policies.
- = anti-immigrant mobilisation is more likely to influence immigrants' rights than their actual numbers.



The European Mainstream and the Populist Radical Right (Odmalm and Hepburn 2017)

- "Lack of choice" thesis
- intersection of policy positions
- the disappearance of any significant distinction between populist radical right parties and mainstream parties?
- Asks: is a mainstream choice available for voters seeking policy positions similar to populist radical right parties, such as restrictive outcomes on immigration?



The European Mainstream and the Populist Radical Right (Odmalm and Hepburn 2017)

Kingsley Napley

Analyses positional differences between mainstream and populist radical right parties over 3 elections between 2002 and 2015 in Western Europe.

Systematically code manifestos for 17 mainstream and 6 populist radical right parties via positional differences on four different immigration issues:

- labour migration,
- family reunification,
- asylum and refugees
- integration.



- Mainstream party responses on multiculturalism may have blocked FRPP parties to some extent
- FRPP have moved to more extreme positions
- Distance between mainstream and FRPP has increased over time



Public Attitudes to Immigration (Hainmuller and Hopkins 2014)

"Consistently, immigration attitudes show little evidence of being strongly correlated with personal economic circumstances. Instead, research finds that immigration attitudes are shaped by sociotropic concerns about its cultural impacts—and to a lesser extent its economic impacts—on the nation as a whole."



Kingsley Napley

- 130+ meetings with citizens/stakeholders in 60 locations across the UK
- ICM polling
- open online survey.
- 19,951 people took part

Findings:

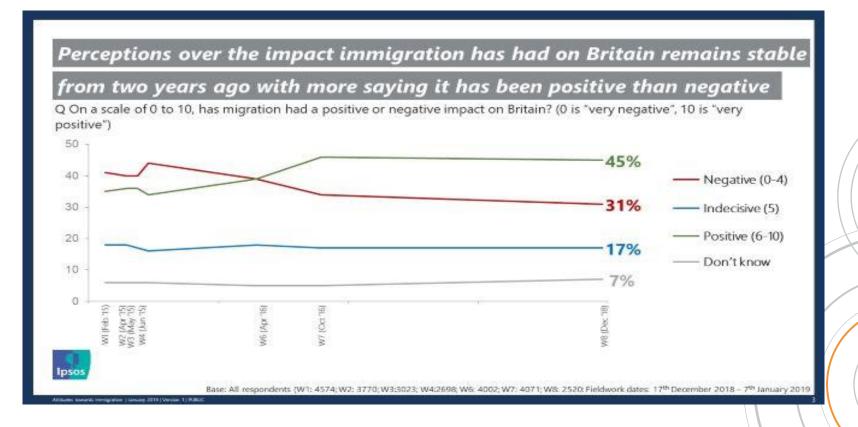
- Only 15% of people feel the Government has managed immigration competently and fairly;
- Only 13% of people think MPs tell the truth about immigration;
- Just 17% trust the Government to tell the truth about immigration.



Attitudes to Immigration: The UK -ICM Poll for The National Conversation on Immigration 2018

- 65% say migrants bring valuable skills for the economy and public services such as the NHS
- 52% of respondents say that **public services are under strain** as a result of immigration
- 59% believe that diversity is a good thing for British culture
- 52% believe that migrants are willing to work for less, putting jobs at risk and lowering wages
- 61% of the public agrees that "the Government's performance on migration should be reviewed every year, through an annual migration day in Parliament which should involve consulting members of the public."
- 74% agree that businesses should be required to take more responsibility for integration
- 61%: "It is better when migrants commit to stay in Britain, put down roots and integrate"

Attitudes to Immigration: Softening in the UK?



Attitudes to Immigration: YouGov-Cambridge Globalism Survey, May 2019

Kingsley Napley

British people are more persuaded of the benefits of immigration than any other major European nation

- almost half of Britons think immigrants are either positive or neutral for the country.
- 28% of Britons believed the benefits of immigration outweighed the costs, compared with
 - 24% in Germany,
 - 21% in France and
 - 19% in Denmark.



Kingsley Napley

Attitudes to Immigration: YouGov-Cambridge Globalism Survey, May 2019

37% of Britons feel the costs of immigration outweigh the benefits

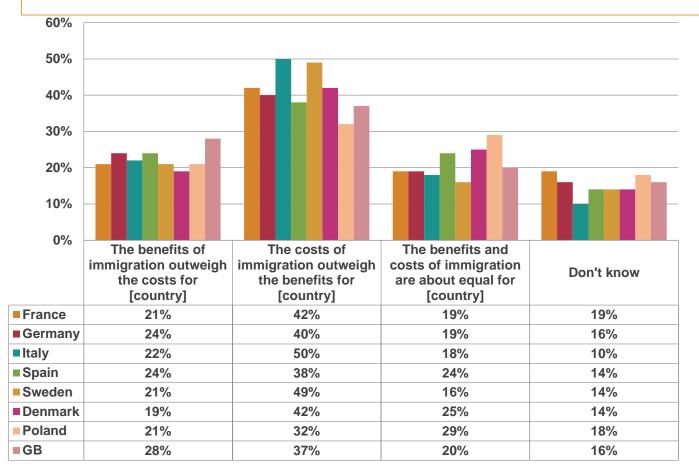
- lower than in any other big European country apart from Poland

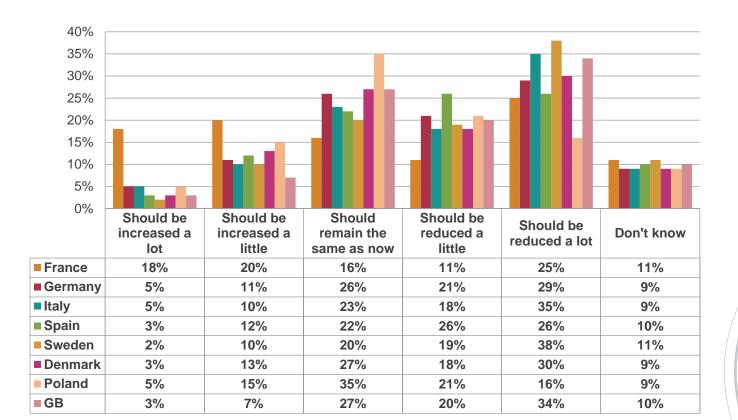
Net impact of immigration is negative:

- 50% of Italians
- 49% of Swedes
- 42% of French
- 40% of Germans.



Do you think the benefits of immigration outweigh the costs, or do the costs of immigration outweigh the benefits? (YouGov/Cambridge)

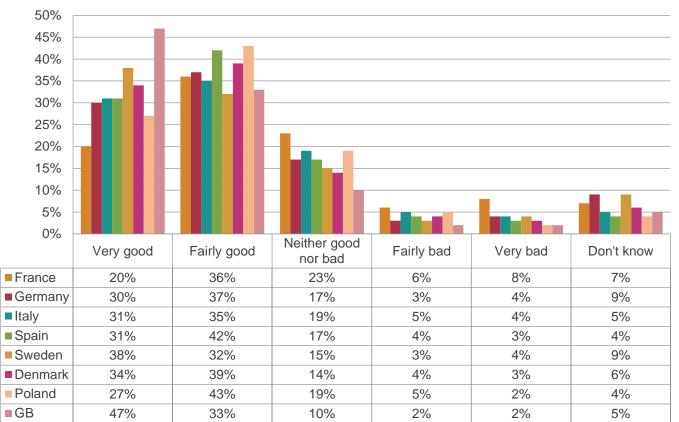






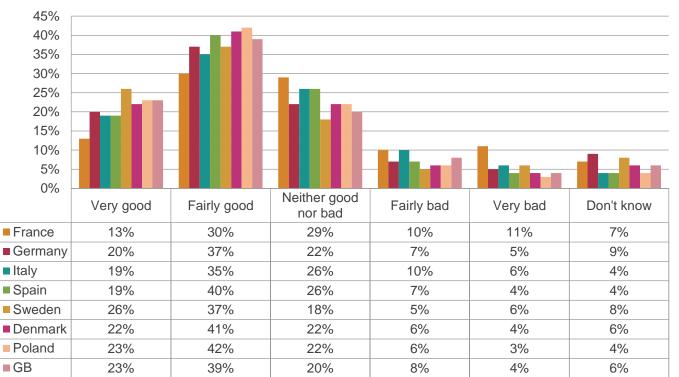
Kingsley Napley

Qualified professionals coming here with a job offer



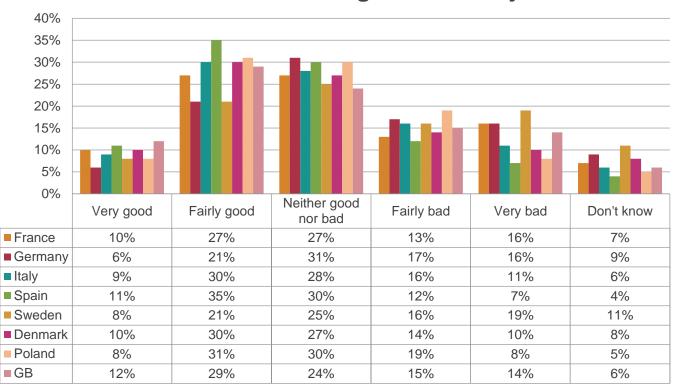


Qualified professionals coming here to search for work





Unskilled labourers coming here with a job offer

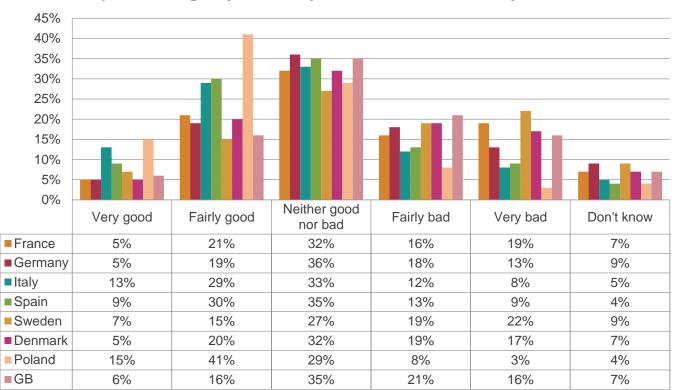




Unskilled labourers coming here to search for work



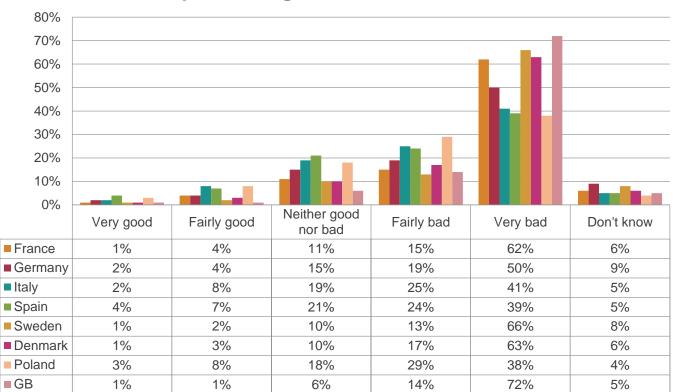
People coming to join family members who already live here





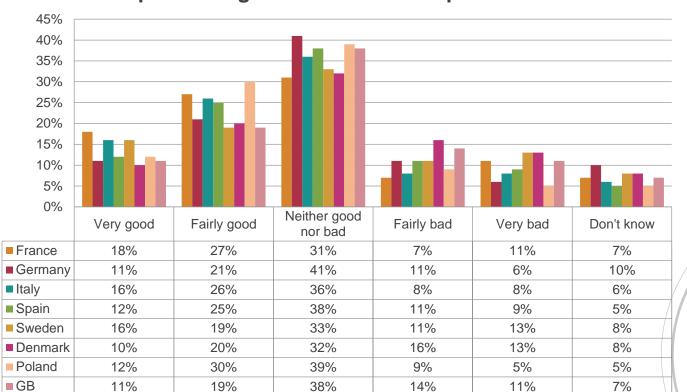
Kingsley Napley

People coming here to claim benefits





People coming here to flee war or persecution





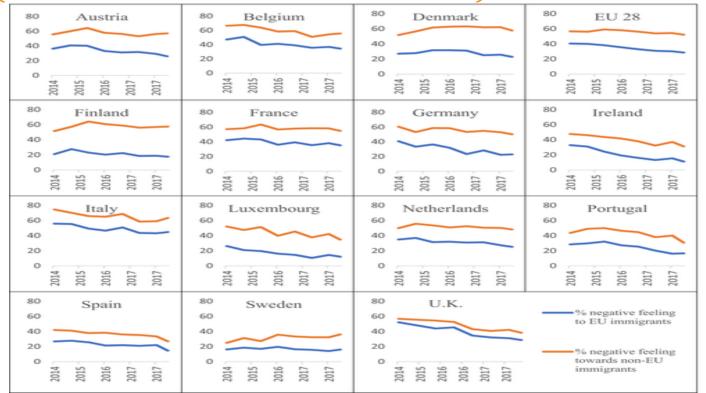
Do attitudes to immigration change over time?

"We found immigration attitudes are deeply embedded, resistant to change, and that immigration is framed as a problem, sometimes a threat and something that politicians should be dealing with. This was despite recognition of the economic benefits of EU migration."

Rolfe, H. et al (2018). Post-Brexit Immigration Policy: Reconciling Public Perceptions with Economic Evidence, National Institute of Economic and Social Research









Attitudes and salience of immigration

Kingsley Napley

https://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/Chart/getChart/themeKy/59/groupKy/279



Attitudes and salience of immigration (Dennison and Geddes 2018)

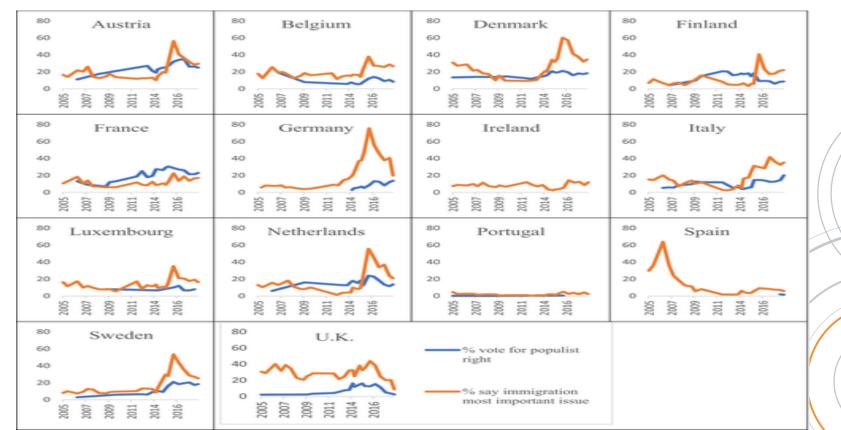
Could variations in "issue salience" be the necessary cognitive 'missing link' in existing explanations for the recent rise in electoral support for anti-immigration parties?

Salience=Higher concern is expected to have multiple effects on behaviour

- assigning significance to a topic should trigger and occupy an individual's feelings
 which are likely to be determined by or indeed determine their values and political
 attitudinal pre-dispositions.
- Issue Voting theory: parties endeavour not to change public attitudes—which tend to be stable—but to increase the salience of the issues that they 'own'.

Q: is the salience of immigration the most important, though probably not exclusive, issue salience predictor of national-level polling for anti-immigration parties?

Attitudes and salience of immigration (Dennison and Geddes 2018)



European Parliament elections May 2019

Kingsley Napley

Containment?

Fragmentation?



	D 4	2014 vote	2019 vote	2019-2014 vote	2014	2019	Seats
	Party	share	share	share variation	seats	seats	variation
	Freedom Party	19.7	17.2	-2.5	4	3	-1
	Flemish Interest	4.3	11.5	7.2	1	3	2
	Ataka	3.0	1.1	-1.9	0	0	0
	Volya	-	3.6	3.6	0	0	0
epublic	Dawn - National Coalition	3.1	9.2	6.0	0	2	2
	Danish People's Party	26.6	10.8	-15.8	4	1	-3
	Conservative People's Party	4.0	12.7	8.7	0	1	1
	Finns Party	12.9	13.8	0.9	2	2	0
	National Front / National Rally	24.9	23.3	-1.6	24	22	-2
	Alternative for Germany	7.1	11.0	3.9	7	11	4
	Independent Greeks	3.5	0.8	-2.7	1	0	-1
	Orthodox Rally	2.7	1.2	-1.5	0	0	0
	Greek Solution	-	4.2	4.2	0	1	1
	Jobbik	14.7	6.4	-8.3	3	1	-2
	Our Homeland Movement	-	3.3	3.3	0	0	0
	Brothers of Italy	3.7	6.5	2.8	0	5	5
	Lega	6.2	34.3	28.2	5	28	23
nds	Party for Freedom	13.3	3.5	-9.8	4	0	-4

How to Respond?

Kingsley Napley

Anti-populism and the politics of fear?

Stronger and more Liberal Democracy?

Engagement?

Evidence-based policy



www.kingsleynapley.co.uk | Kingsley Napley LLP is authorised and regulated by the Solicitors Regulation Authority

