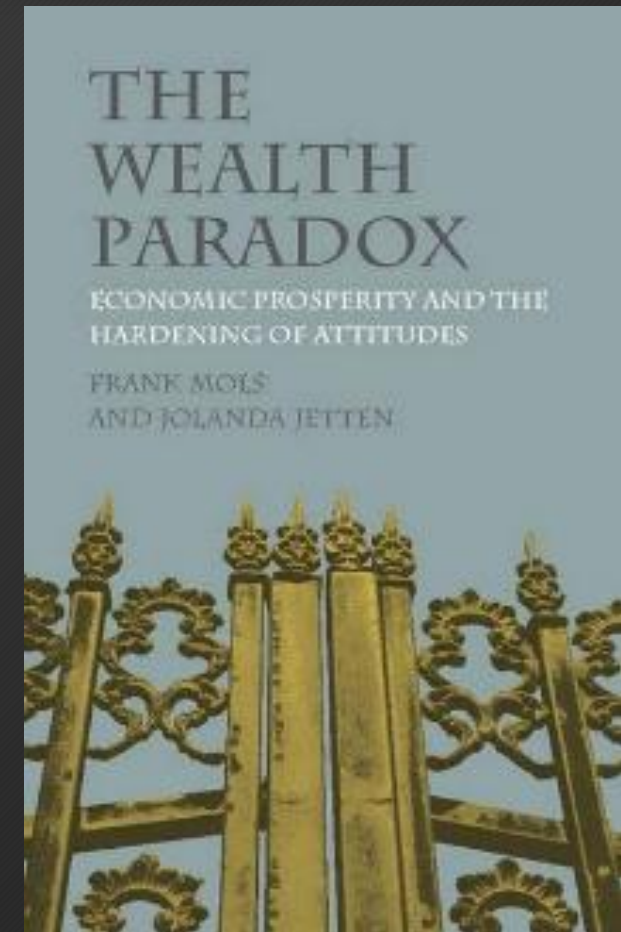


# Attitudes towards immigrants and populism

Prof. Jolanda Jetten & Dr. Frank Mols  
(University of Queensland)



**Table 20: 'What do you think of the number of immigrants accepted into Australia at present? Would you say it is...', 2007-2018 RDD (percentage)**

	Too high	About right	Too low	About right + Too low	No opinion/ Don't know
2007	36	41	12	53	11
2009	37	46	10	55	7
2010	47	36	10	46	7
2011	39	40	14	55	7
2012	38	42	14	56	7
2013	42	38	13	51	7
2014	35	42	17	58	8
2015	35	41	19	60	5
2016	34	40	19	59	7
2017	37	40	16	56	7
2018	43*	35*	17	52	5*

\*Change between 2017 and 2018 statistically significant at  $p < .05$

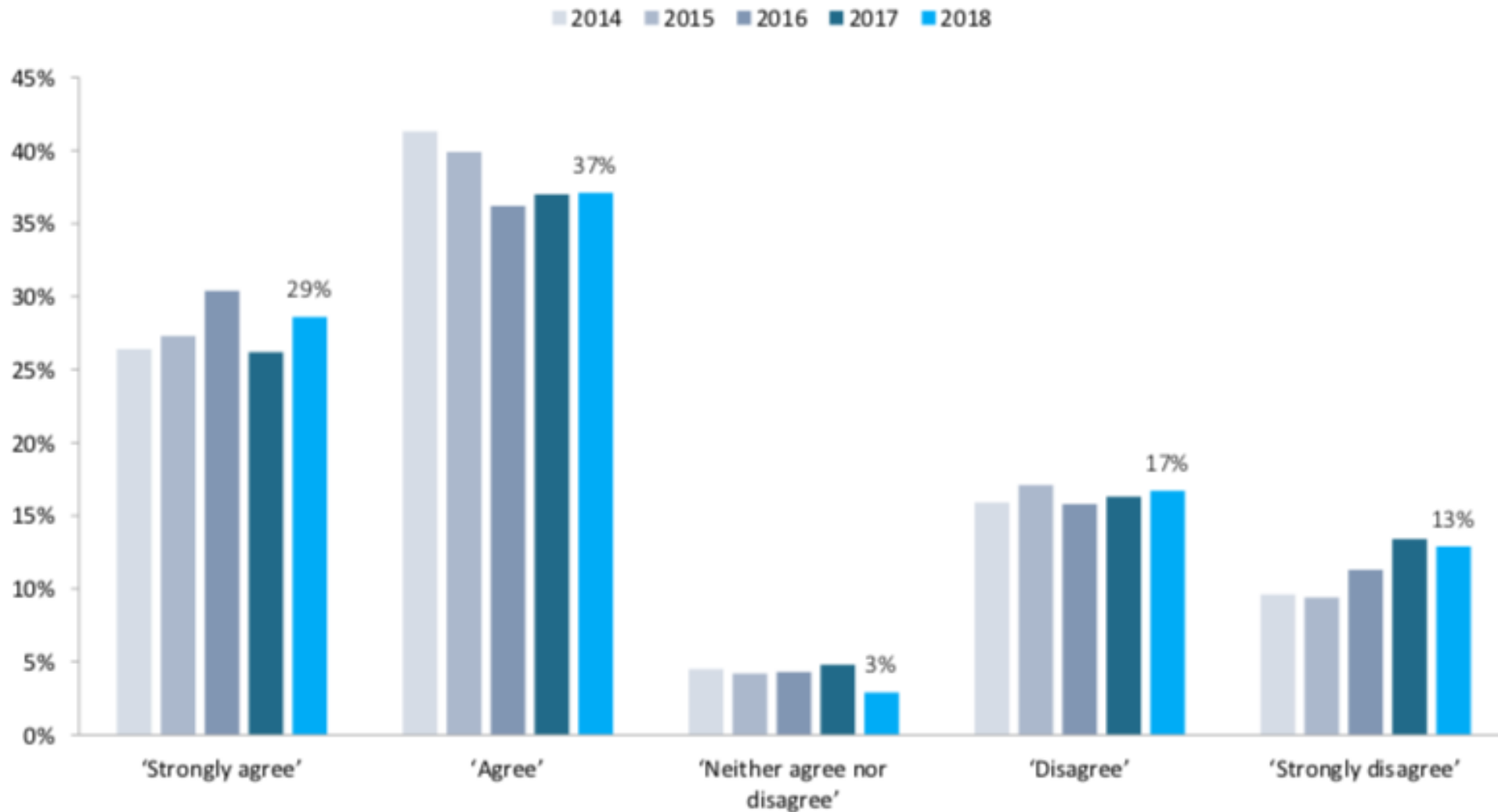
# Australians growing more concerned over immigration - Guardian Essential poll

More than half say rate of population growth is too high but majority still support multiculturalism

● **The Guardian Essential Report**



Figure 14: 'Accepting immigrants from many different countries makes Australia stronger', 2014-2018 (percentage)





**Table 24: What do you think is the most important problem facing Australia today?', 2013-2018 (percentage)**

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018 RDD	2018 LinA
Immigration/ population growth (concern)	3	3	3	5	6	7	7
Immigration/population – too low/ need more people (supportive)	1	0	0	1	1	1	0

**Table 25: Perceptions of immigrant impact, ANUpoll April 2015 and Scanlon Foundation 2018 (percentage)**

	ANUpoll 2015	Scanlon 2018
'Immigrants improve Australian society by bringing new ideas and cultures' – 'strongly agree', 'agree'	86	82
'Immigrants are generally good for Australia's economy' – 'strongly agree', 'agree'	83	80
'Immigrants take jobs away' – 'strongly disagree', 'disagree'	68	64
'Immigrants increase crime rates' – 'strongly disagree', 'disagree'	67	57
N (unweighted)	1,200	1,500

Figure 25: 'Multiculturalism has been good for Australia', 2013-2018

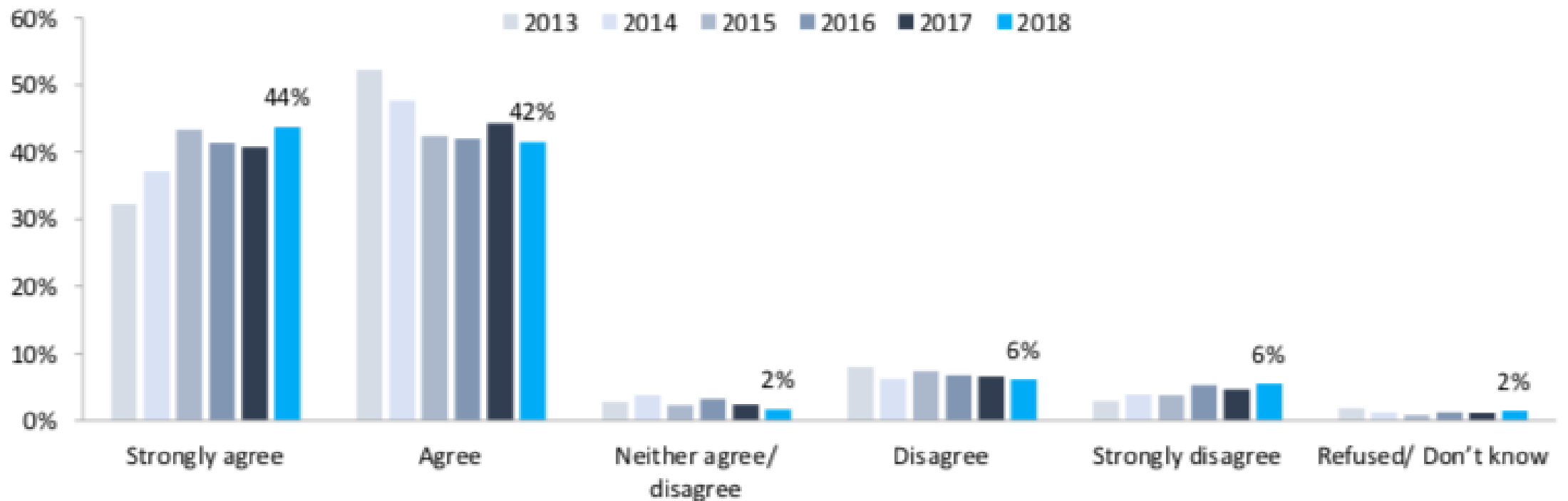
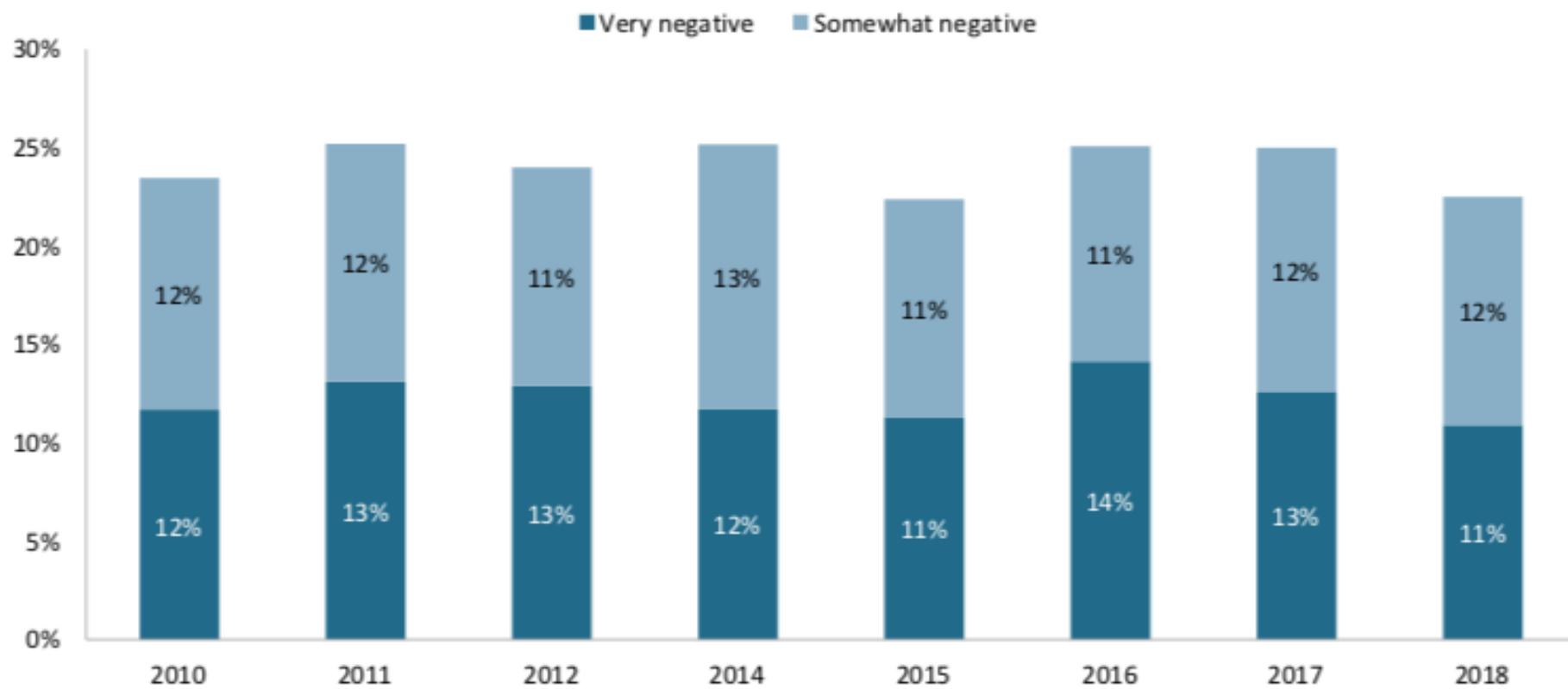
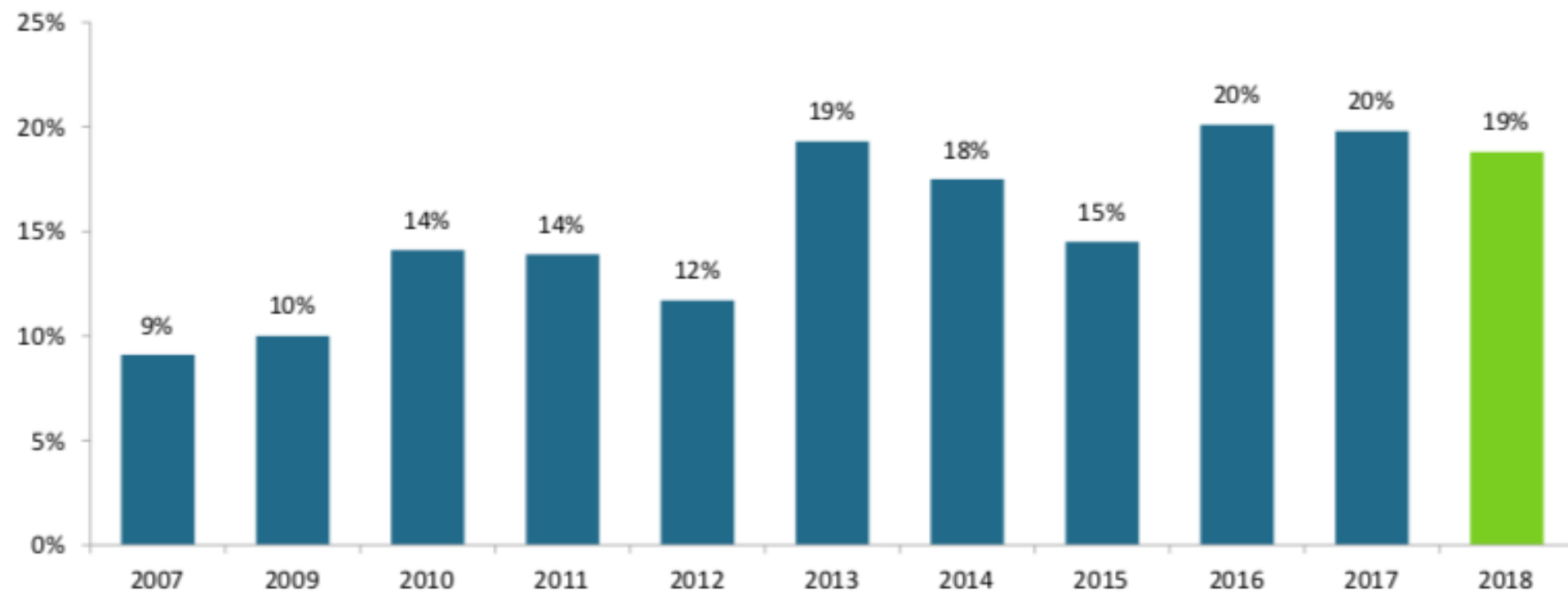


Figure 24: 'Is your personal attitude positive, negative or neutral towards Muslims?', 2010-2018



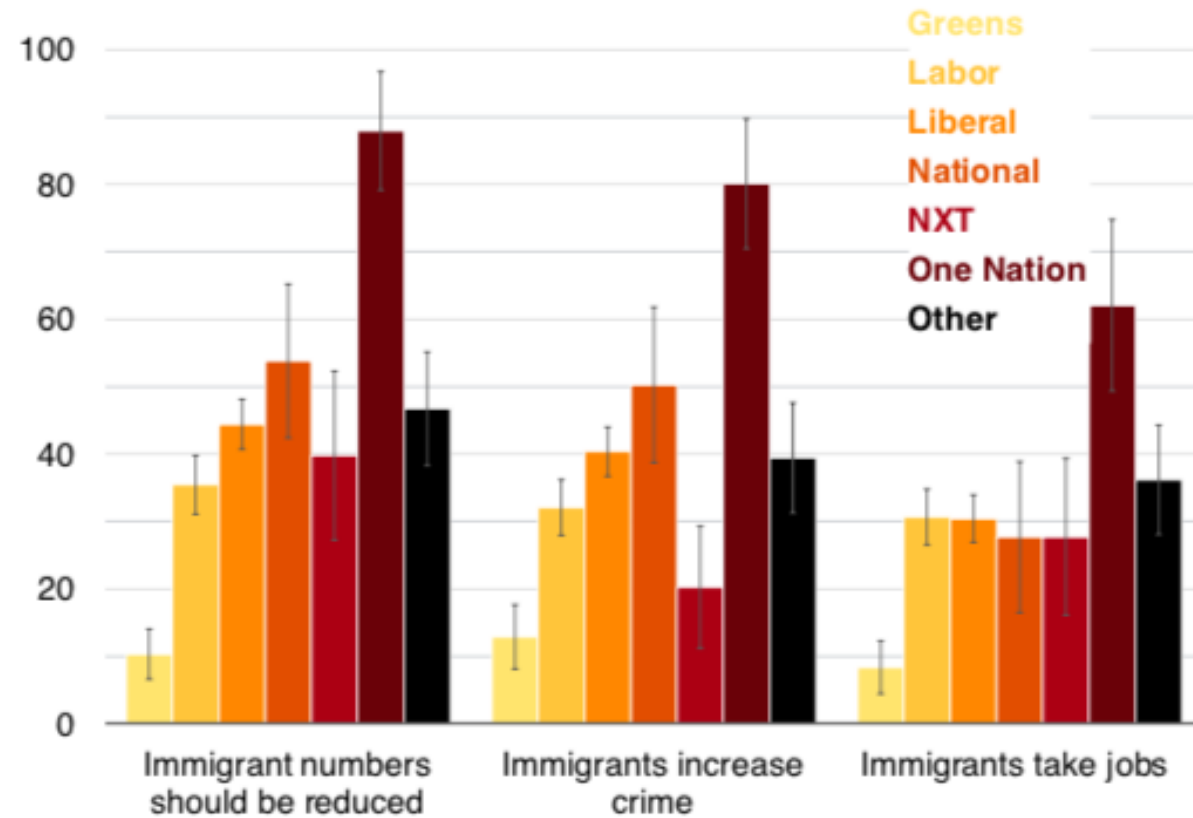


**Figure 27: 'Have you experienced discrimination in the last twelve months because of your skin colour, ethnic origin or religion?' Response: 'yes', 2007-2018**



**Figure 5.7: One Nation voters are particularly averse to migration**

Respondents who 'agree' or 'strongly agree', selected statements, by party voted for in the Senate, 2016, per cent

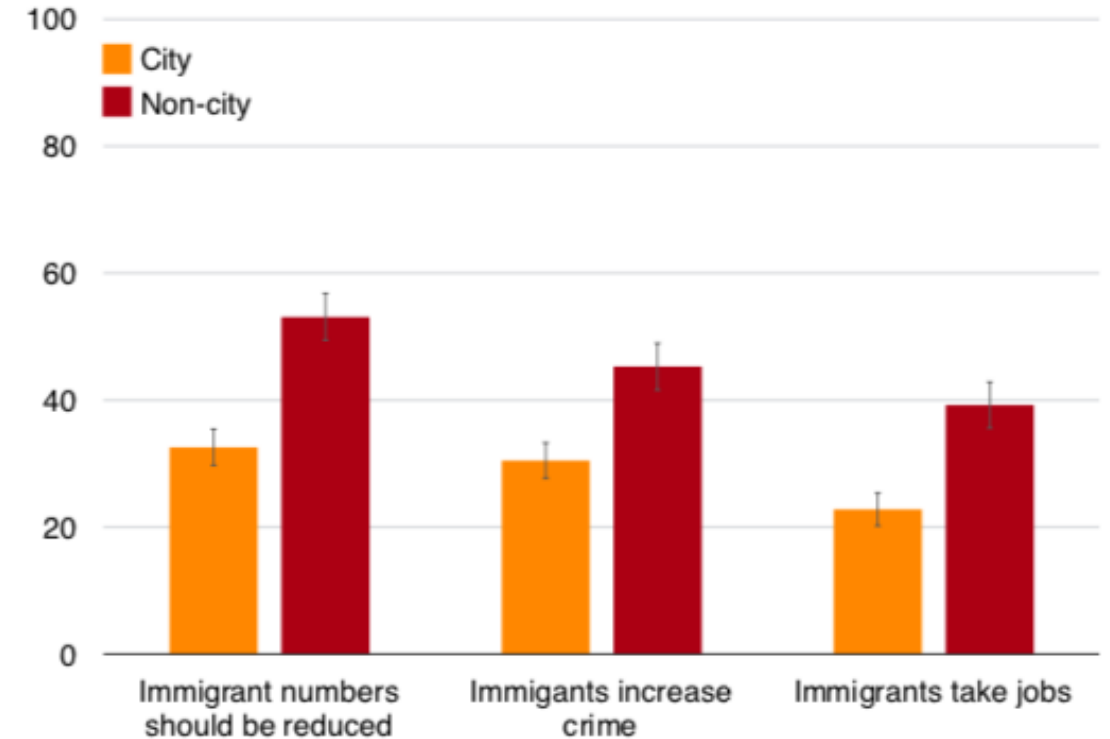


Notes: Error bars provide 95 per cent confidence interval of the estimated mean. See Appendix A for survey methodology.

Sources: Grattan analysis of AES (2016).

**Figure 5.11: Negative attitudes towards immigration set the regions apart from the cities**

Respondents who 'agree' or 'strongly agree', selected statements, 2016, per cent



Note: Location is self-reported based on population. 'Regional' combines all towns and areas with a population of less than 100,000. Error bars provide 95 per cent confidence interval of the estimated mean. See Appendix A for survey methodology.

Source: Grattan analysis of AES (2016).

## Assumptions about populist success

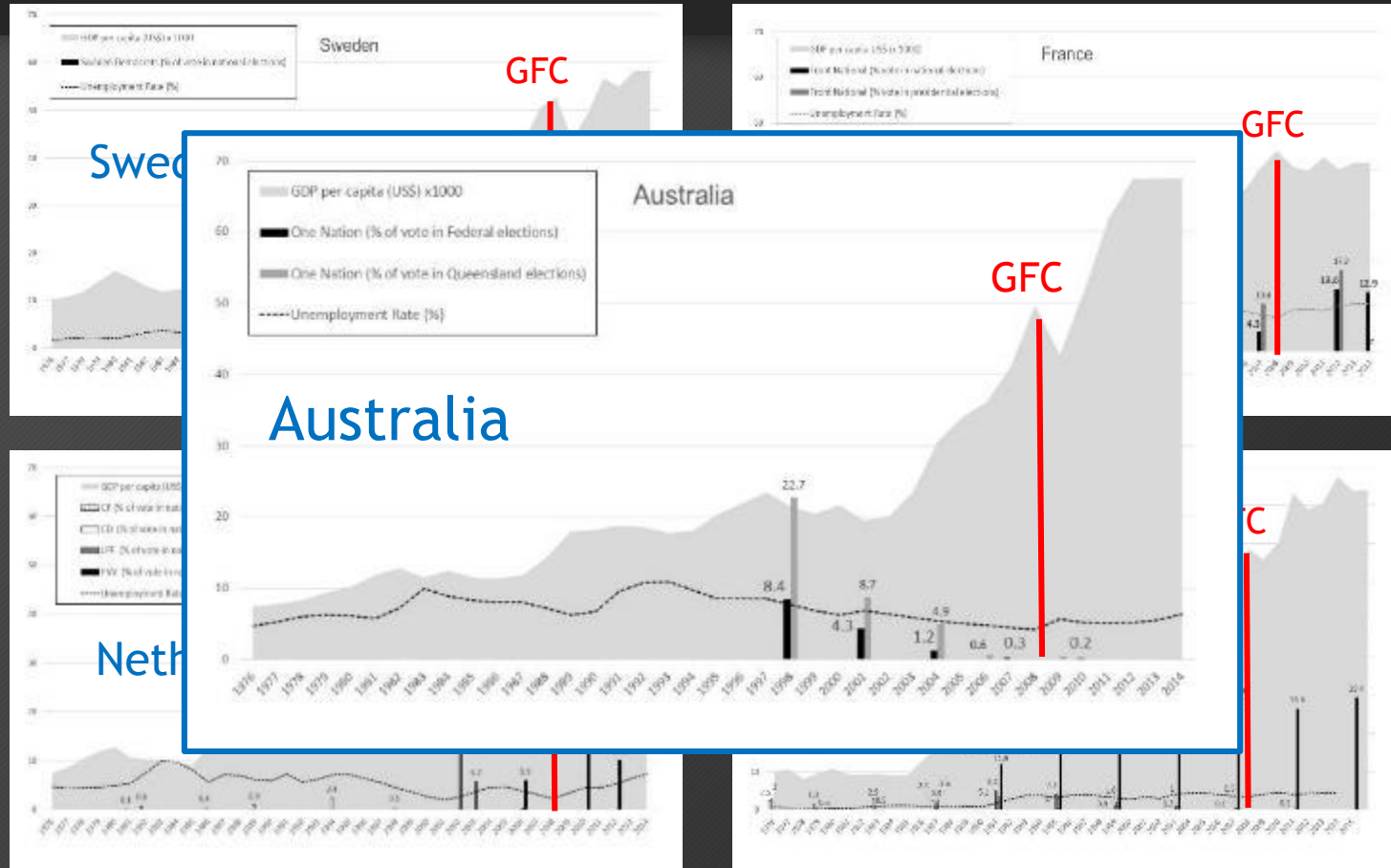
**When?** Economic crisis or downturn

**Where?** Areas most affected by economic downturn

**Who?** Blue collar workers

**Why?** Relative deprivation/ realistic conflict

# When?



Etc.

No evidence of a correlation between economic conditions and populist voting!!!


# When?

Table 22: Time series, trend of unemployment and view that immigration is 'too high', 1974-2018



“The increase in negative sentiment over the last two years does not appear to be linked to economic concerns.”





“The vote share of minor parties has been rising since 2007. The minor party vote is mostly a protest vote against the major parties: a vote for ‘anyone but them’.

“Economics alone is less important. The largest increase in support for minor parties in Australia came during a period of strong wages growth and stable inequality.”

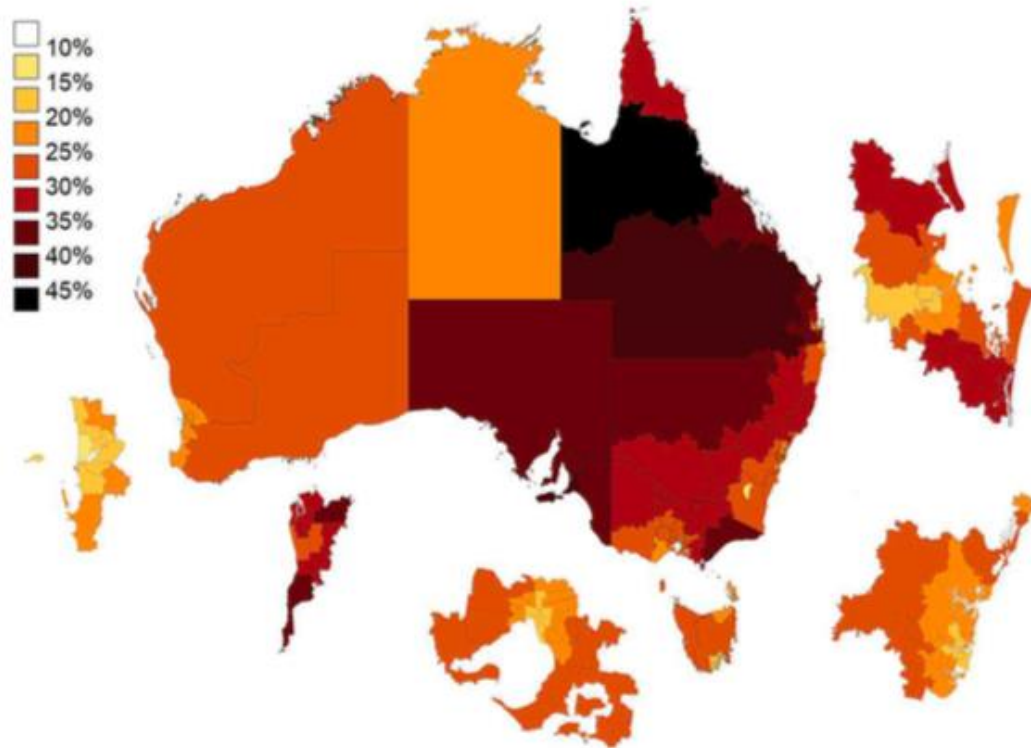
Grattan report, 2018

# Where?: Most affected by crisis



**Figure 2.4: The vote for minor parties increases further from the capital cities**

First-preference Senate vote to minor parties by electoral district, 2016

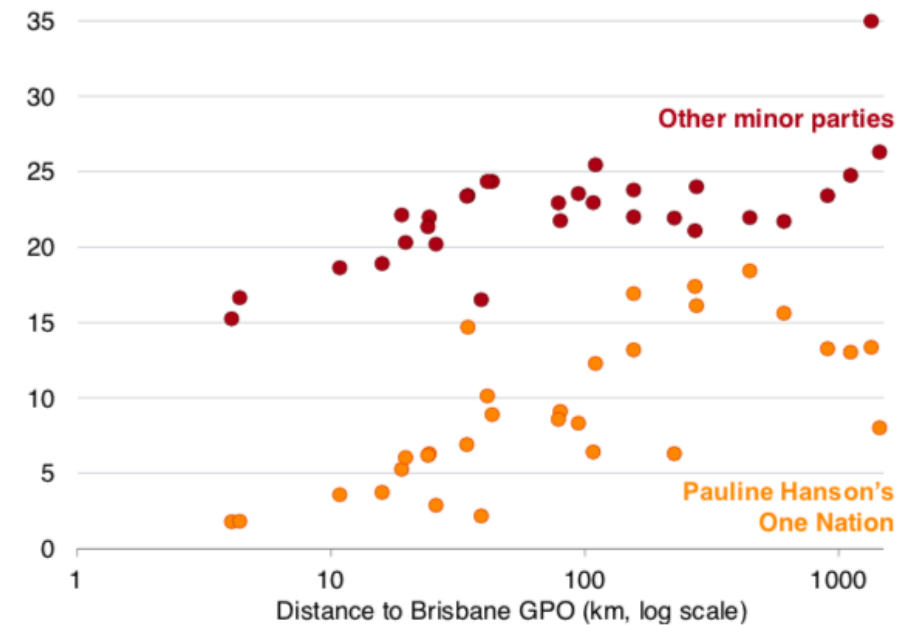


Notes: Hume is not included in the Greater Sydney cut-out. City cut-outs are not to scale.

Sources: Grattan analysis of AEC (2016a).

**Figure 2.5: In Queensland, Pauline Hanson's vote is strongly regional; other minor parties less so**

Minor party first-preference Senate vote share by electoral division, Queensland, 2016, per cent



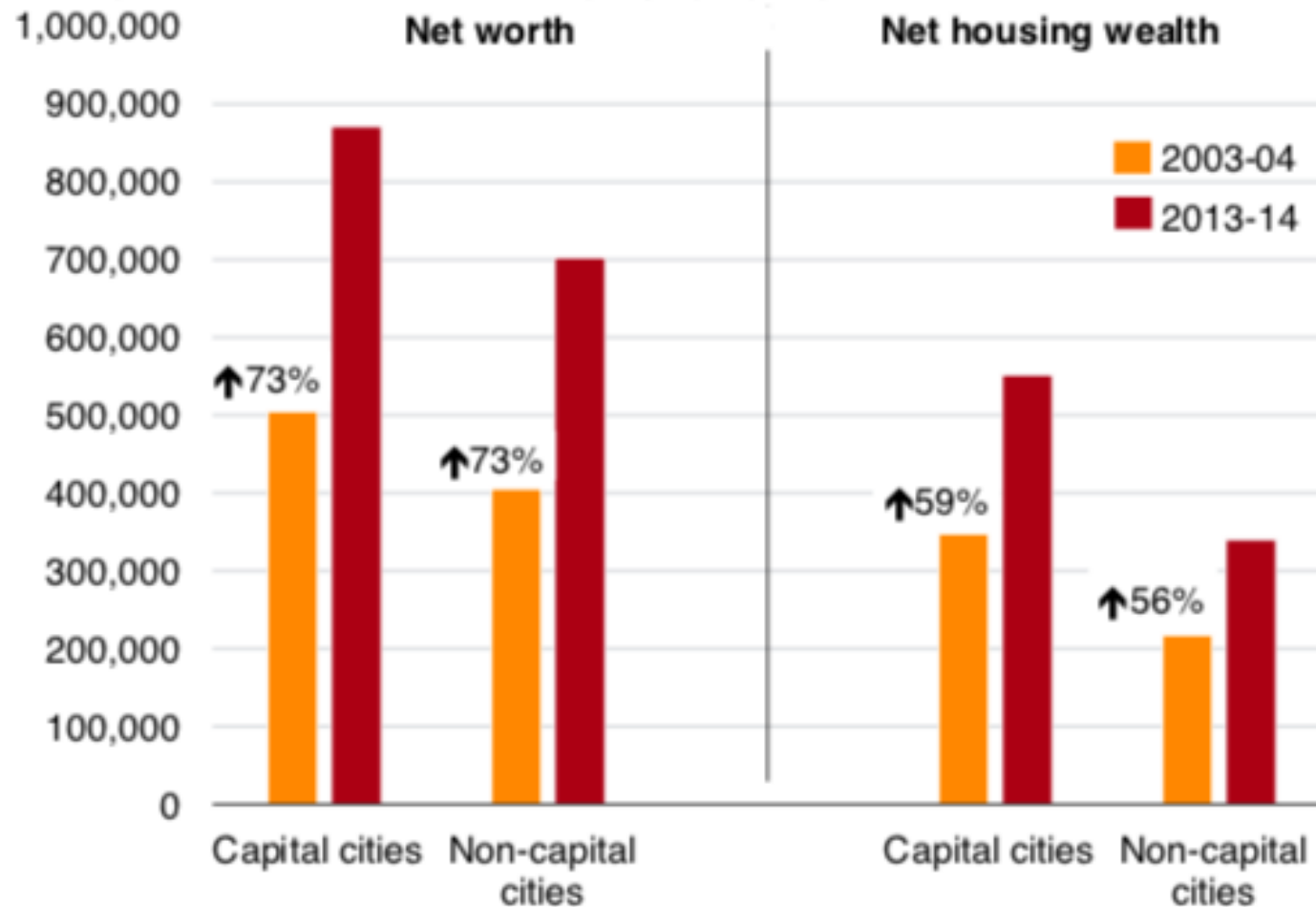
Note: Katter's Australian Party also has a strongly regional vote. See Appendix A.1 on page 90 for more details on data and methodology.

Sources: Grattan analysis of AEC (2016a).



**Figure 4.11: Wealth has also grown strongly in the regions**

Average net worth and net housing equity, by region, 2004 to 2014, \$

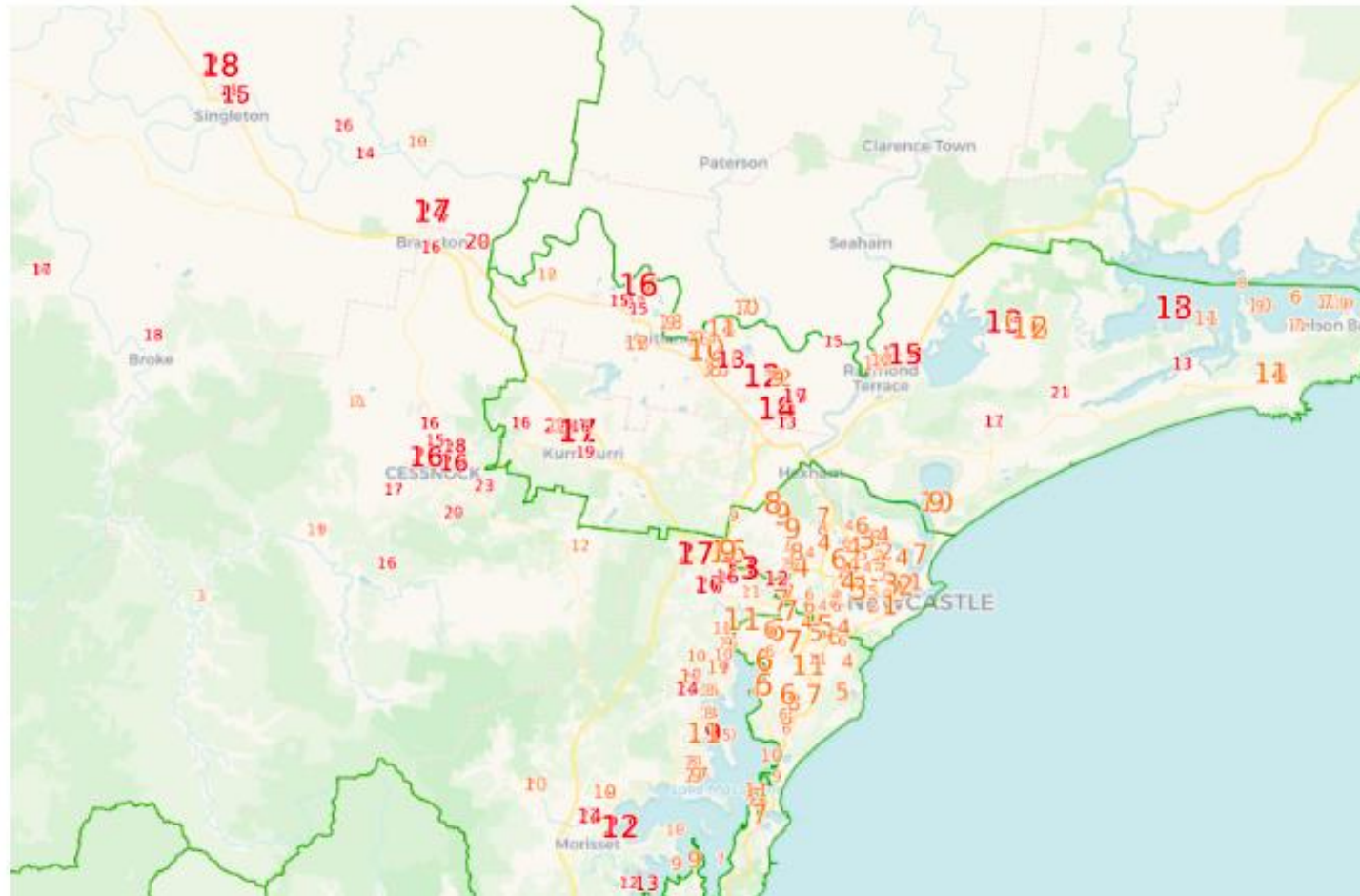


*Notes: 'Net worth' is the self-reported value of assets minus liabilities. 'Net housing wealth' is based on self-reported value of properties owned and value of mortgages on those properties. Average net housing wealth is calculated for home-owners only.*

*Source: Grattan analysis of ABS (2015).*

# One Nation's big vote in the Hunter

By Ben Raue - May 27, 2019



It is one of nation's strongest regional economies, thanks to natural resources such as coal, as well as tourism, drawing around **9.5 million visitors annually**, making it one of the most visited regions in Australia outside of Sydney.



# Who?

- **Some evidence**

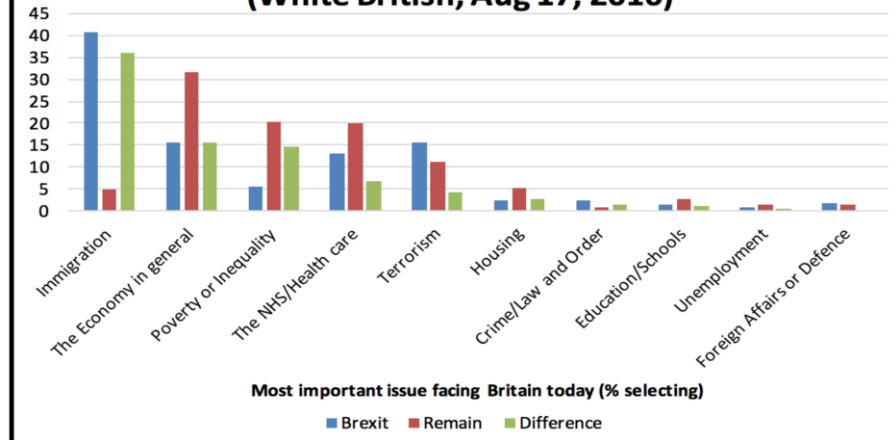
- At times we see over-representation of white, male, uneducated, blue collar voters
- Some studies revealed a link between unemployment and populist/nativist voting
- Some parties (e.g. Republikaner, Lega) began as blue-collar movements (Betz, 1993)

# Who voted for Brexit?



- Dorlingen (2016): two-thirds of those turning out to vote were middle-class.

**Brexit Support: It's Immigration, not Inequality**  
(White British, Aug 17, 2016)



- Of those two-thirds voted 'Leave'.

# Who voted for Trump?



## White and wealthy voters gave victory to Donald Trump, exit polls show

Most white voters of both sexes and almost all ages and education levels backed the Republican

▶ [Become a Guardian supporter or make a contribution](#)



## US election: above all, this is a middle-class economic revolt



Donald Trump's election represents a social and political earthquake. Picture: AP Photo/Win Cheung

## Blame Trump's Victory on College-Educated Whites, Not the Working Class

Reporters seeking to understand his voters should head to the suburbs.

By ERIC SASSON | November 10, 2016

The antipathies of Hillary Clinton's loss in last week's election [keep pouring in](#), and the cause of death is nearly unanimous: The white, rural, working class voter did it.

Townhall's Matt Vespa [called](#) it "the revenge of the white working class," Politico the "[Revenge of the rural voter](#)." Clinton, according to CNN contributor and historian [Stephanie Conroy](#), "was simply unable to present herself as a forceful defender of everyone who has been left behind by the march of globalization, professionalization and the emergence of a new just-in-time, winner-take-all economy." And Cracked's David Wong, in an article with nearly ten million views, explains why rural voters came out so strongly for Trump: "To those ignored, suffering people, Donald Trump is a brick chucked through the window of the elites. 'Are you assholes listening now?'"

### MOST POPULAR

- 1 Trump and the Republicans Are on a Suicide Mission Together
- 2 Trump Ignored All of Obama's Advice—and Now He's in a World of Trouble
- 3 America's New Opposition
- 4 The Democratic Response to Gerrit's Is Easy: Just Say No
- 5 That Lefty Needs to Get



## WHY?: Rapid social change

- “A more powerful explanation for the rise in the minor party vote is that some voters want to ‘take back control’ in a world where the direction and pace of change aren’t to their liking. The pervasive sentiment is that ‘things aren’t what they used to be’. Minor party voters identify with the norms, values, and ways of life of ‘traditional Australia’. These sentiments are more prevalent in regional Australia.”
- “Some minor parties have been effective in tapping into these sentiments, particularly concerns that immigration is a threat to the Australian way of life and that regional Australia is being left behind.”
- (Grattan Institute, 2018)

## WHY?: Rapid social change

- **Brexit slogan:** “Take back control”
- **Trump slogan:** “Make America great *again*”
- (Grattan Institute, 2018)

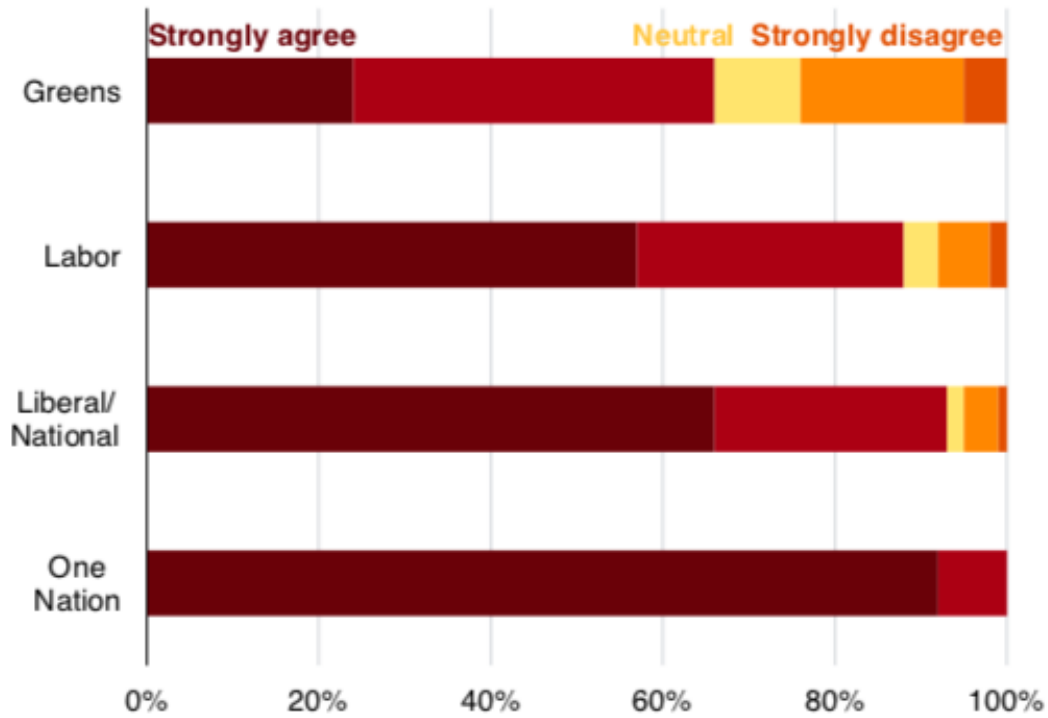


## WHY?: Rapid social change

- “One Nation voters are particularly pessimistic. A third of One Nation voters disagree with the statement that ‘Australia is a land of economic opportunity where in the long run hard work brings a better life’.
- A similar proportion are ‘very pessimistic’ about Australia’s future.”
- (Grattan Institute, 2018)

# WHY?: Rapid social change

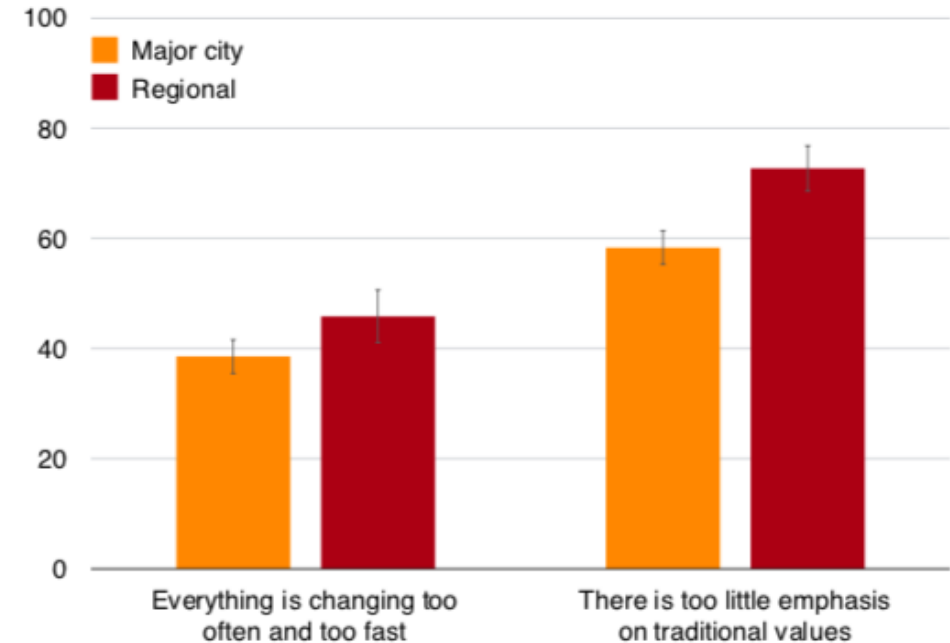
**Figure 5.6: One Nation voters are passionate about maintaining Australia's culture and way of life**  
Survey responses to the idea that 'maintaining an Australian way of life and culture is important', by party voted for, 2017



Note: See Appendix A for survey methodology.

Source: Markus (2016, p. 83).

**Figure 5.10: Regional Australians are more worried about the cultural impact of social and economic change**  
Respondents who 'agree' or 'strongly agree', selected statements, 2016, per cent

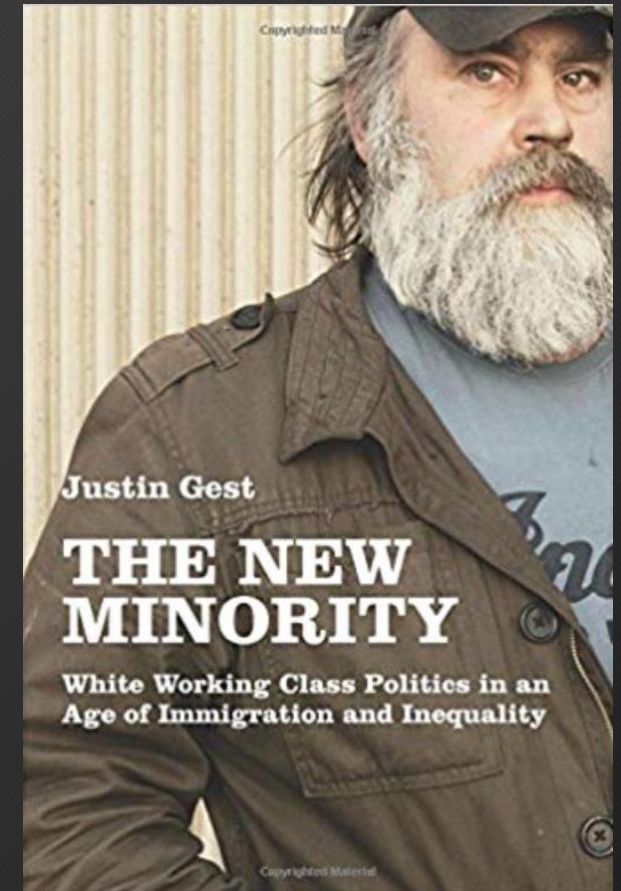


Notes: Location is categorised into ABS 2011 Remoteness Areas using respondent postcodes. 'Regional' combines all non-major city areas. Error bars provide 95 per cent confidence interval of the estimated mean. See Appendix A for survey methodology.

Source: Grattan analysis of Sheppard (2017), Fairfax Political Personas Project.

## WHY?: Rapid social change

“Across the postindustrial regions of Western Europe and North America, white working class people sense that they have been demoted from the center of their country’s consciousness to its fringe. And many feel powerless in their attempts to do something about it” (p. 139)



# What can policy makers/politicians do?

Be mindful of:

- Support for right wing populism may be found at **other times**, in **other places** and **among another segment of society** than were we expect it.
- Address concerns about loss of power and voice (economically, politically and culturally)