



**Regional politics, migrants and social
cohesion**

**Advancing Community Cohesion Conference
Danielle Wood, Grattan Institute
22 November 2017**

The rise of (regional) protest politics

Non-traditional parties are rising around the developed world

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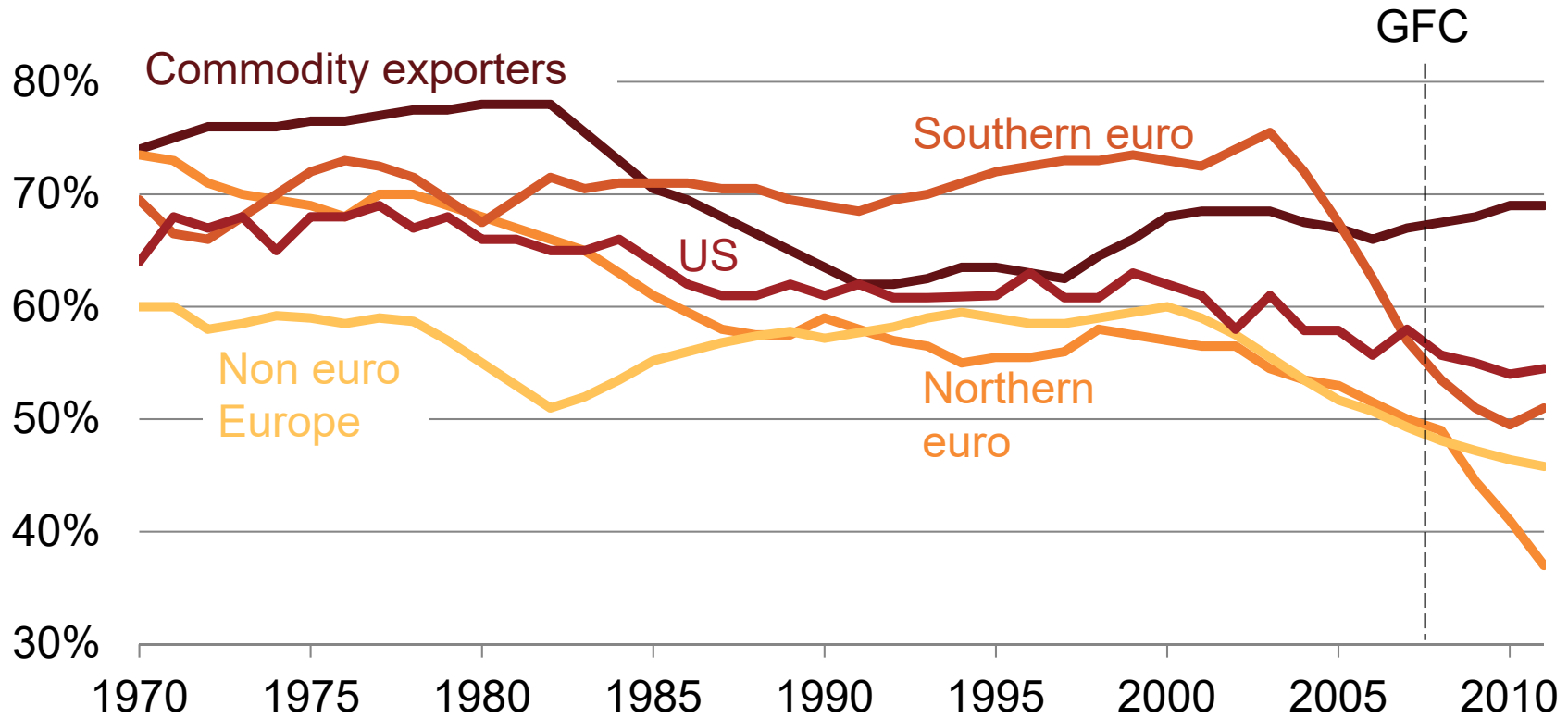
Governments should embrace a “responsible nationalism”

- Focus on contribution of migrants to core national values
- Tone down rhetoric on national security

Politics has been fracturing around the world particularly since the GFC

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Centre-right and centre-left party vote share

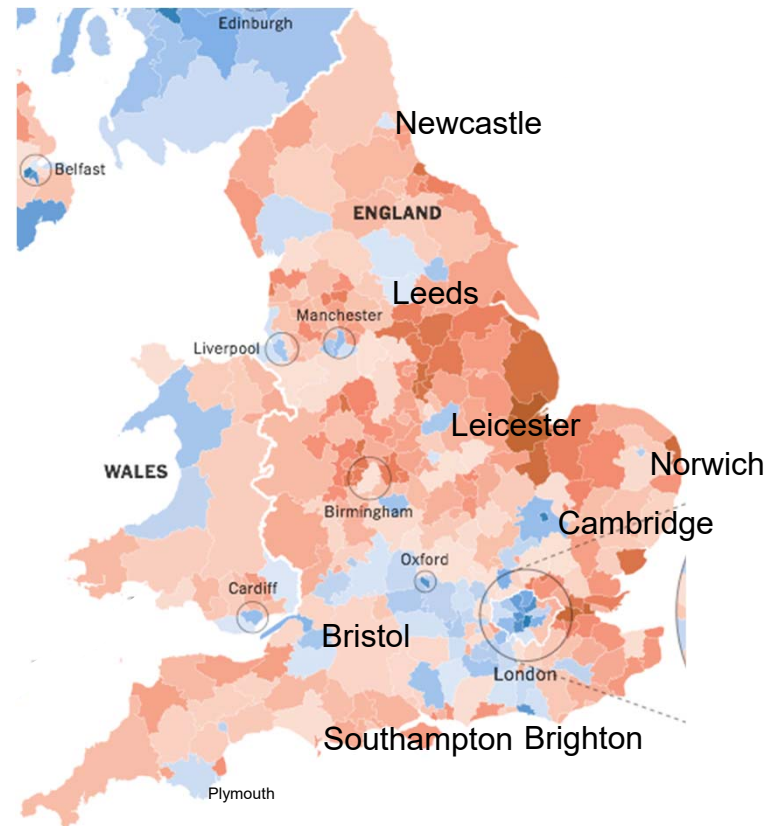
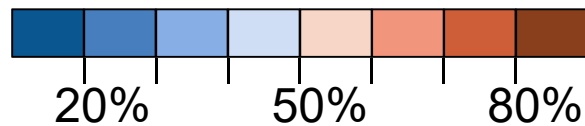


Source: Barclays, *The politics of rage*

A city-regions divides between “nationalists” and “globalists” drove Brexit

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Brexit vote

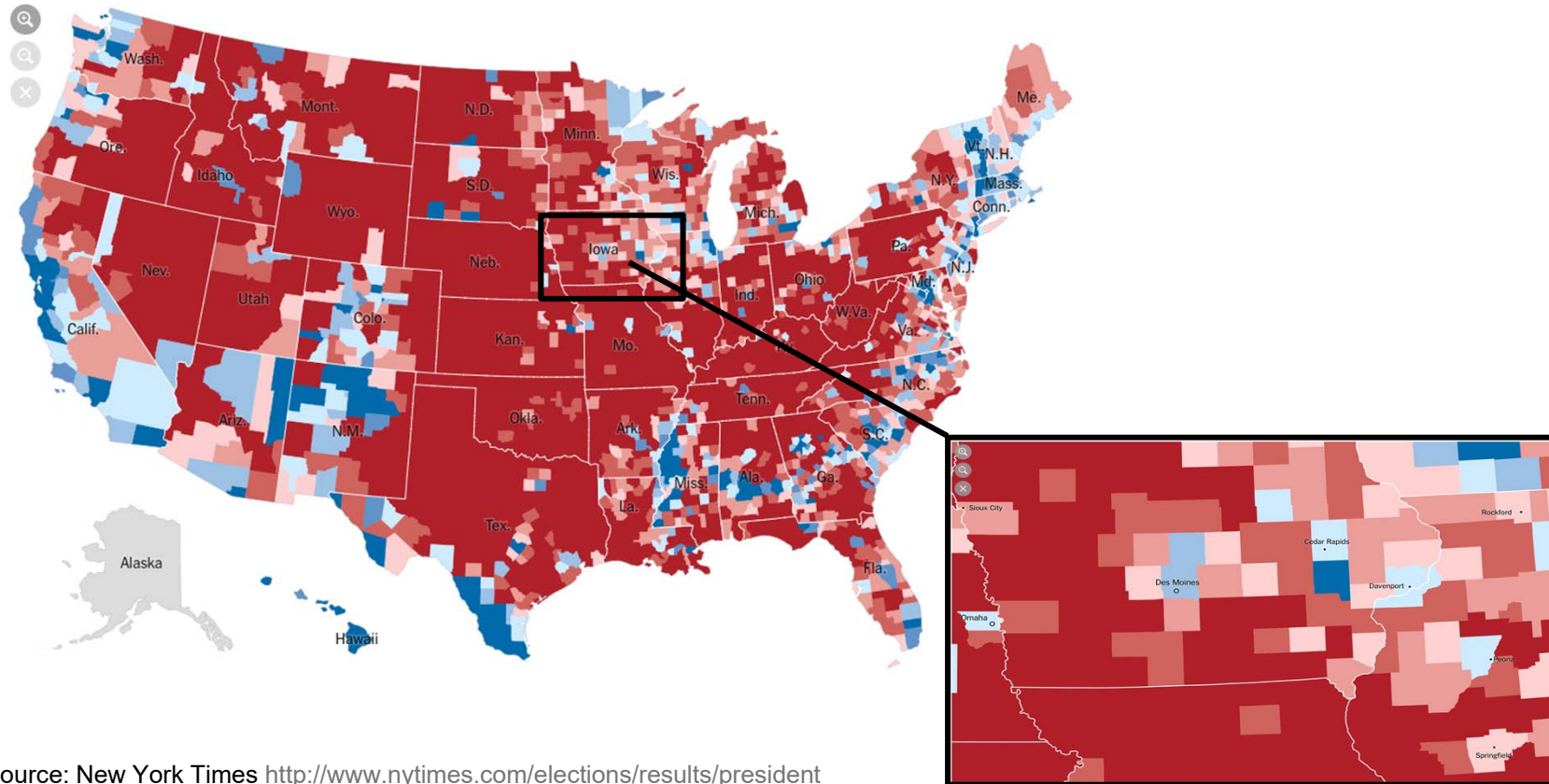


Source: New York Times, based on BBC,
British Office of National Statistics, <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/06/24/world/europe/how-britain-voted-brexit-referendum.html>

... and the story is similar with Trump in the US

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Presidential vote share 2016

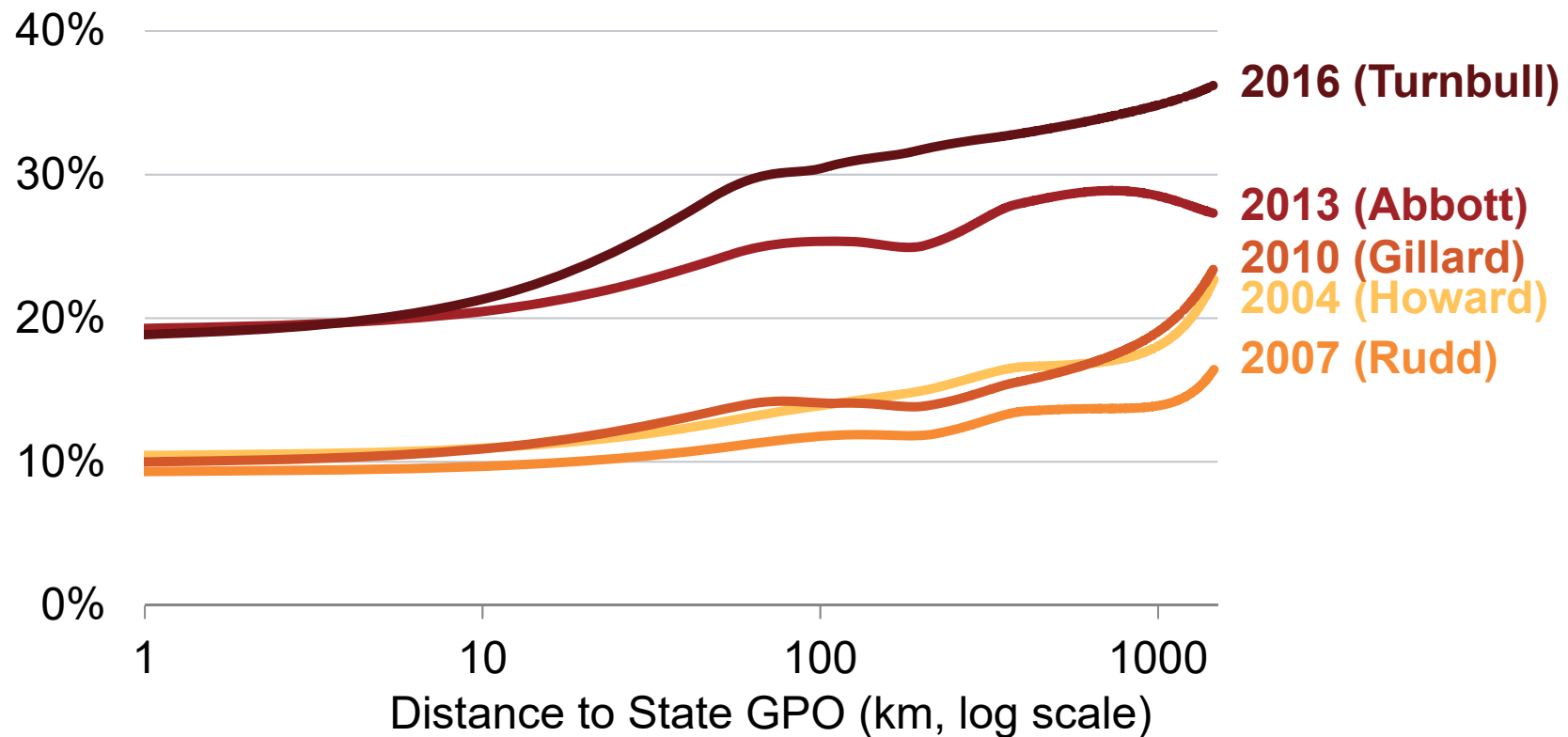


Source: New York Times <http://www.nytimes.com/elections/results/president>

Minor party votes are growing, particularly in the regions

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1st preference Senate votes to minor parties (not LNP, Labor, Greens)

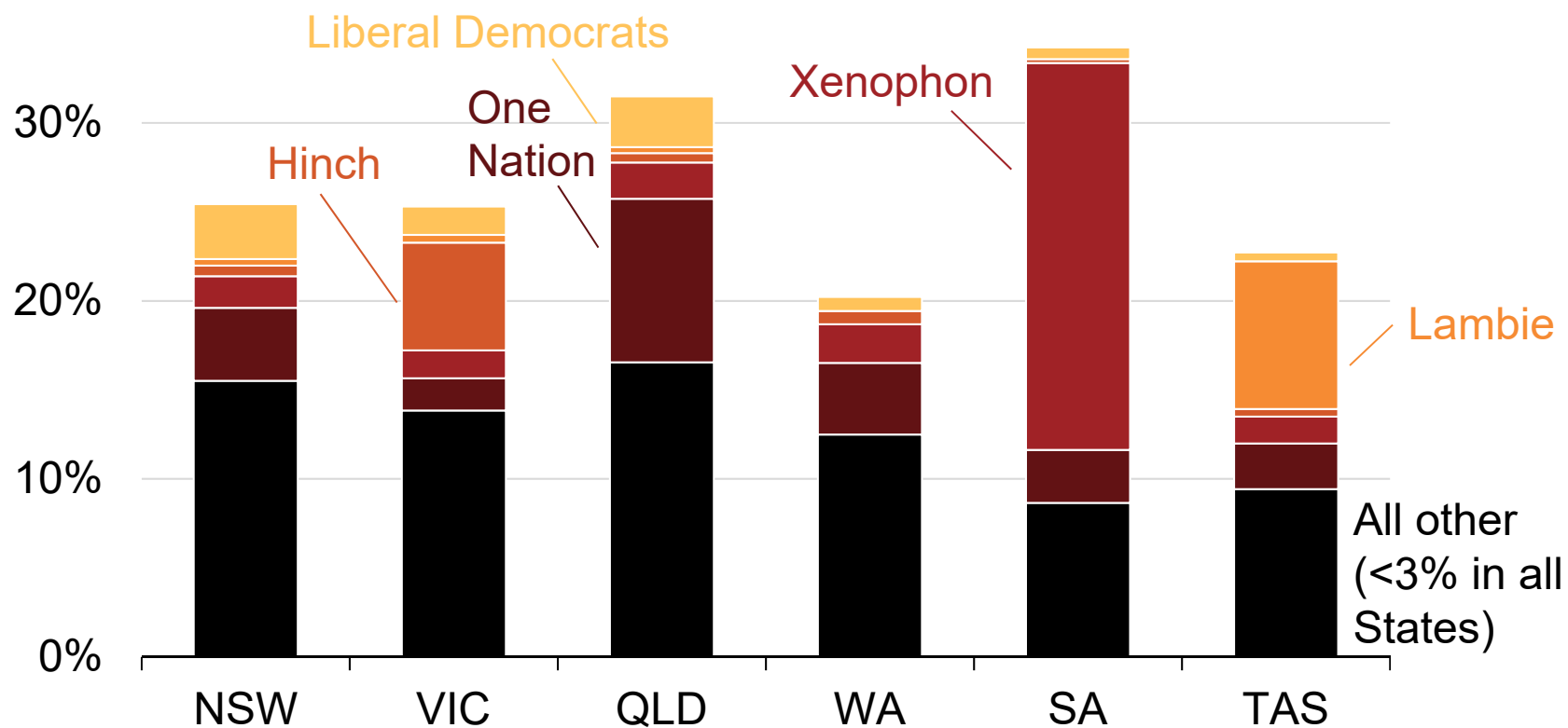


Source: AEC, Grattan Institute analysis

The minor party vote is fragmented, and partly driven by State-based personalities

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First preference Senate vote share, minor parties (not LNP, Labor, Greens), 2016



Source: AEC

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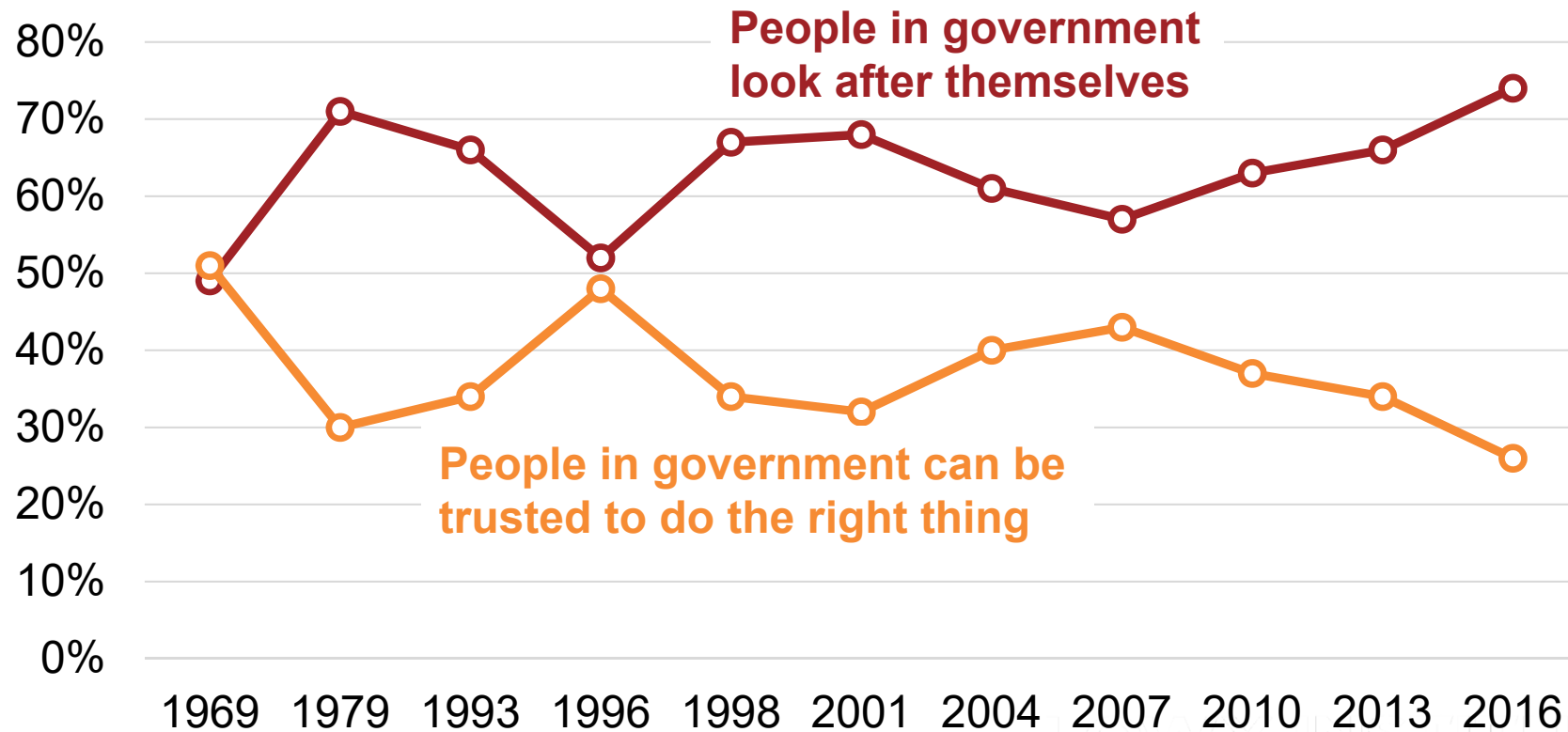
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Trust in government is the lowest on record

Trust in government, percent

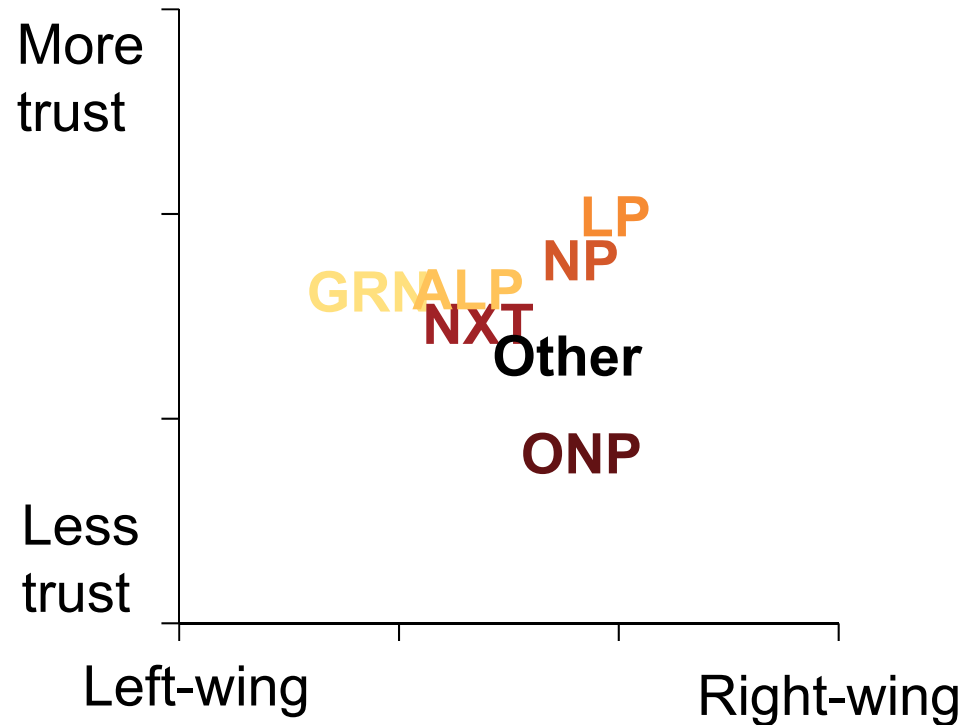


Minor party voters are different in terms of their lack of trust, not their left-right views

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Index of trust in government and big business and index of left-right views, 2016

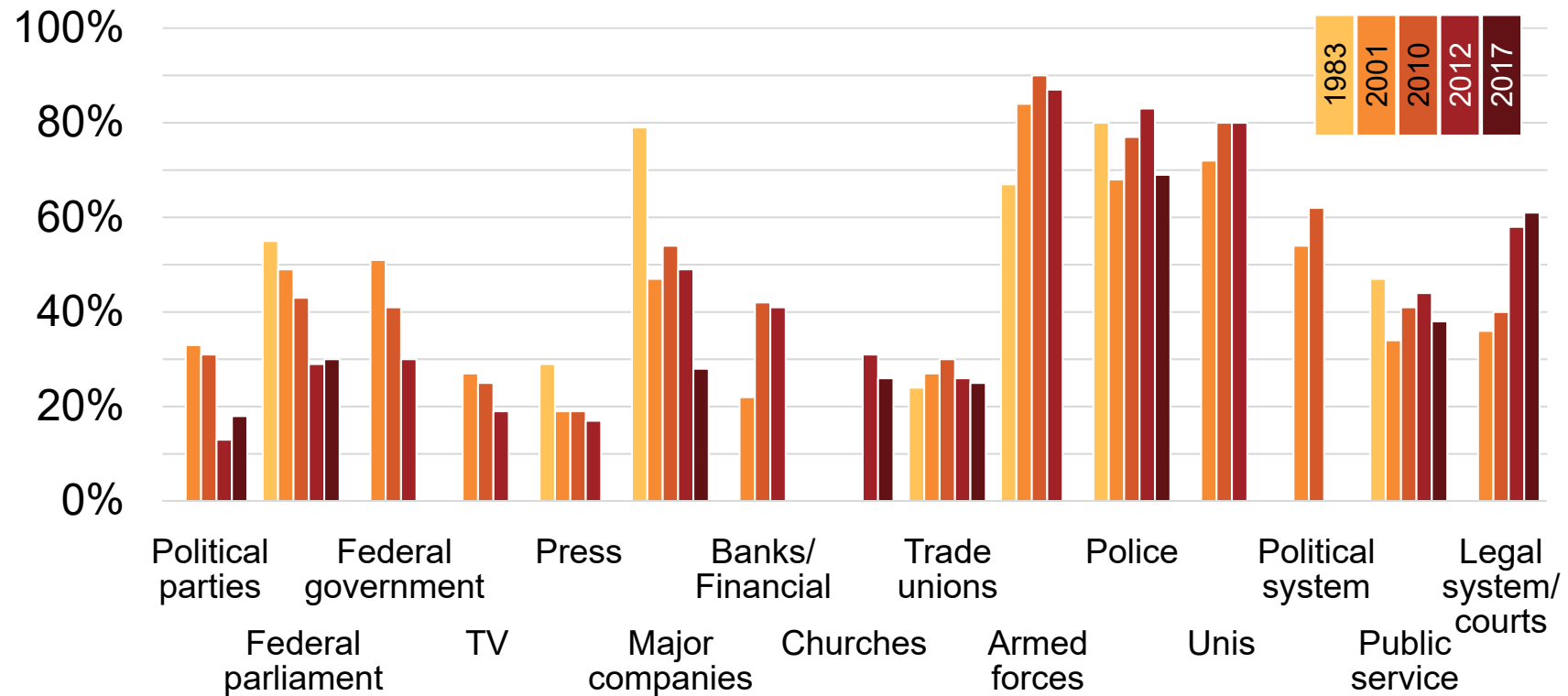
“Ordinary Australians do have a common enemy, but it is not Aborigines, Asians, or people of any particular colour, race or creed. Our common oppressors are a class of raceless, placeless cosmopolitan elites who are exercising almost absolute power over us.”
Pauline Hanson, *The Truth* (1997)



Source: Grattan analysis of AES 2016

Trust in parliamentarians is falling; trust in executive and courts is rising

Confidence in institutions, per cent



Note: trends indicative only as poll questions and methodologies not consistent
Source: Lowy Institute; AES; Essential Media

What might explain falling trust in government?

Increasing scepticism

- Information more available (often low quality)
- Poor quality work exposed faster

Great expectations raised – and dashed

- Housing affordability, jobs, budget repair, regional population increase

Un-representative democracy

- Party members fewer and less representative (average Vic Lib 62 yo; only 15% of workers unionised)
- Politics increasingly a job for life

Appearance (sometimes reality) of decisions for vested interests

- Political donations – *appearance* of conflict; reluctant disclosure regime
- Lobbying spending up, and influencing decisions (eg pokies)
- Political entitlements – weak reform
- More post-politics lobbying jobs

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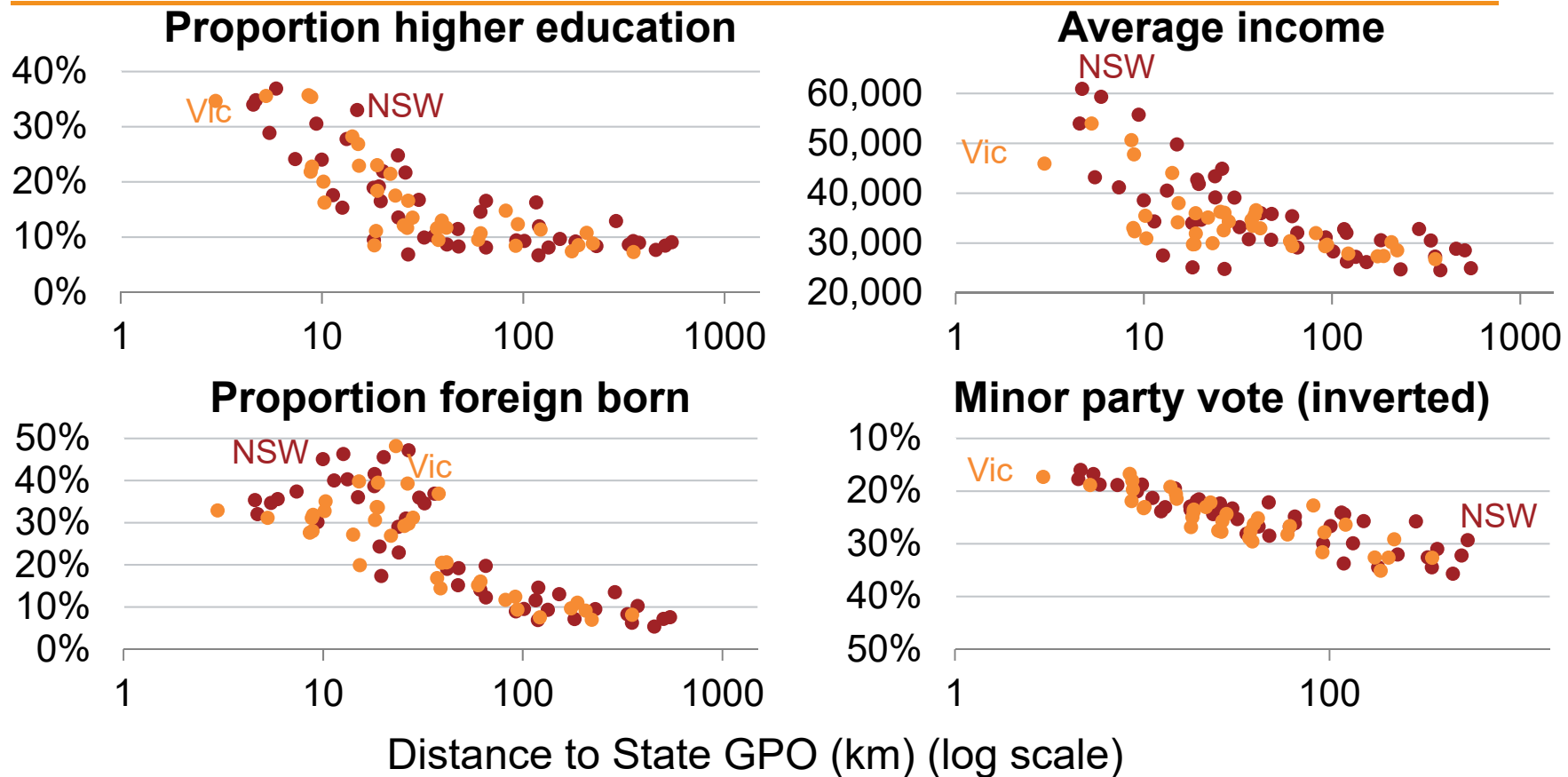
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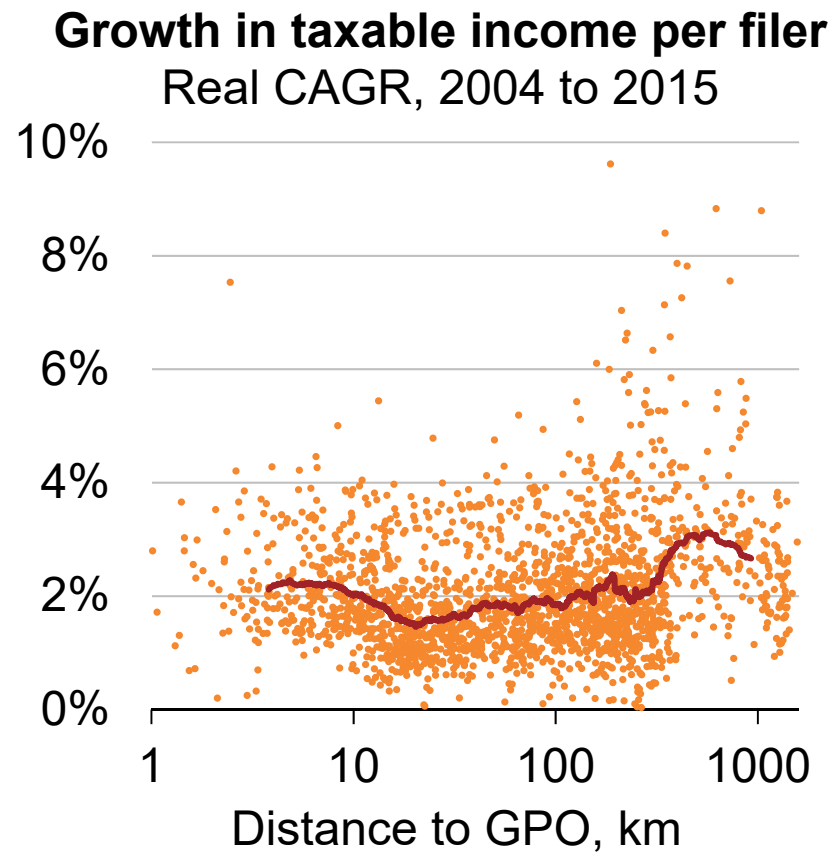
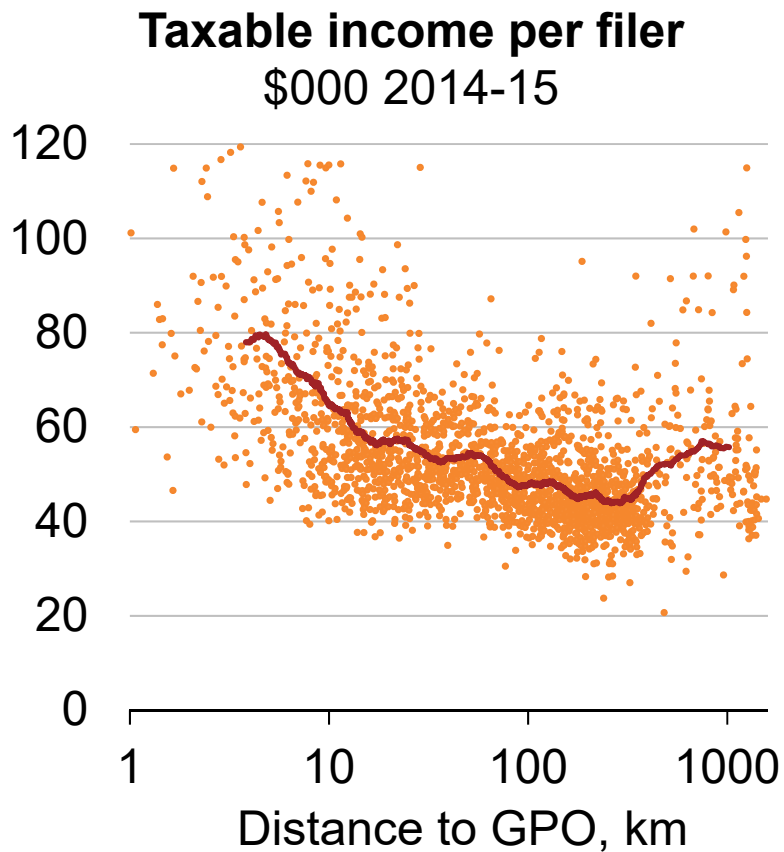
Inner and middle rings of cities are very different to outer suburbs and regions



Source: AEC, Grattan Institute analysis

Regions have lower incomes, but their growth has kept up

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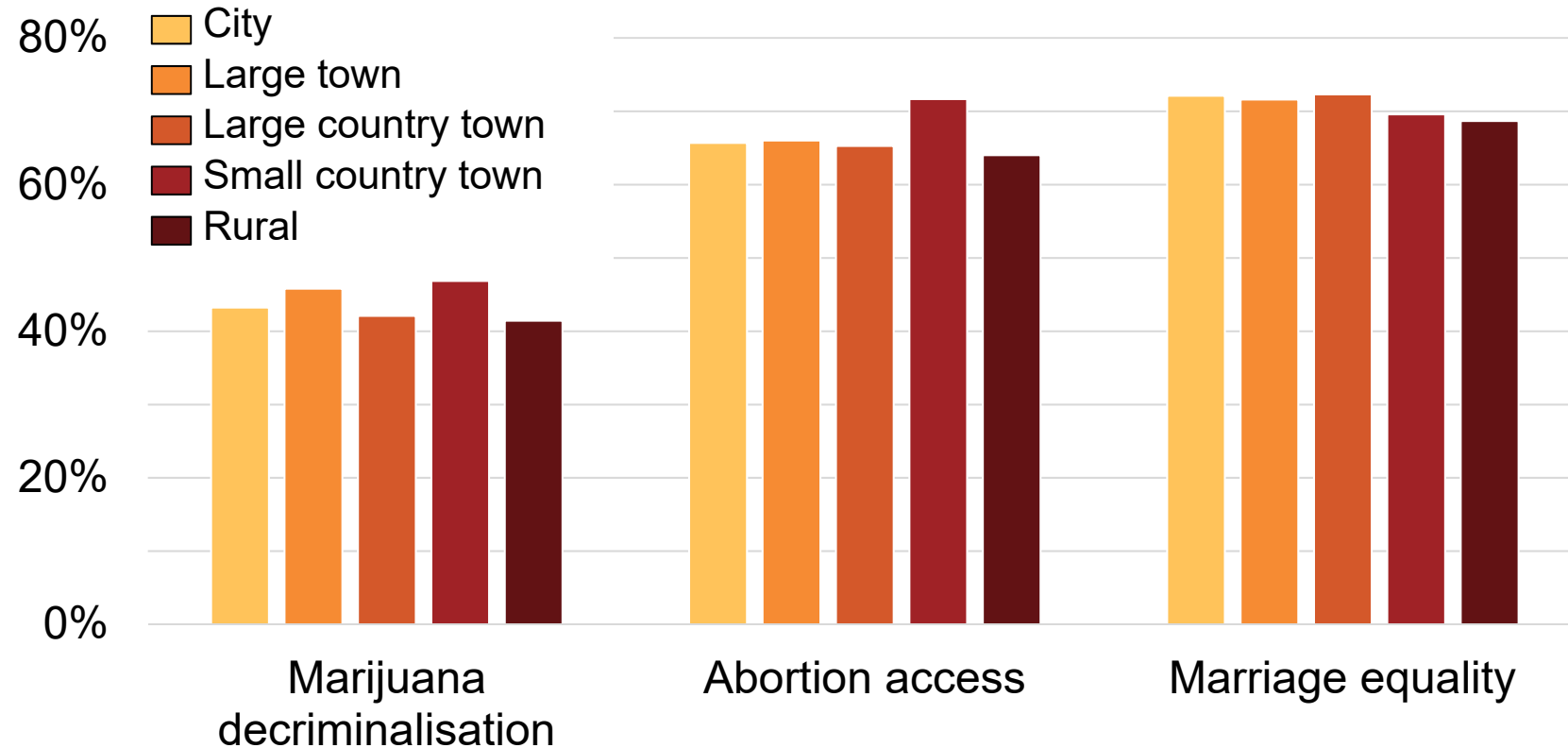


Source: Grattan analysis of ATO (2016)

Cities and regions don't differ much on social liberalism questions

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Percentage of survey respondents with positive view, 2016

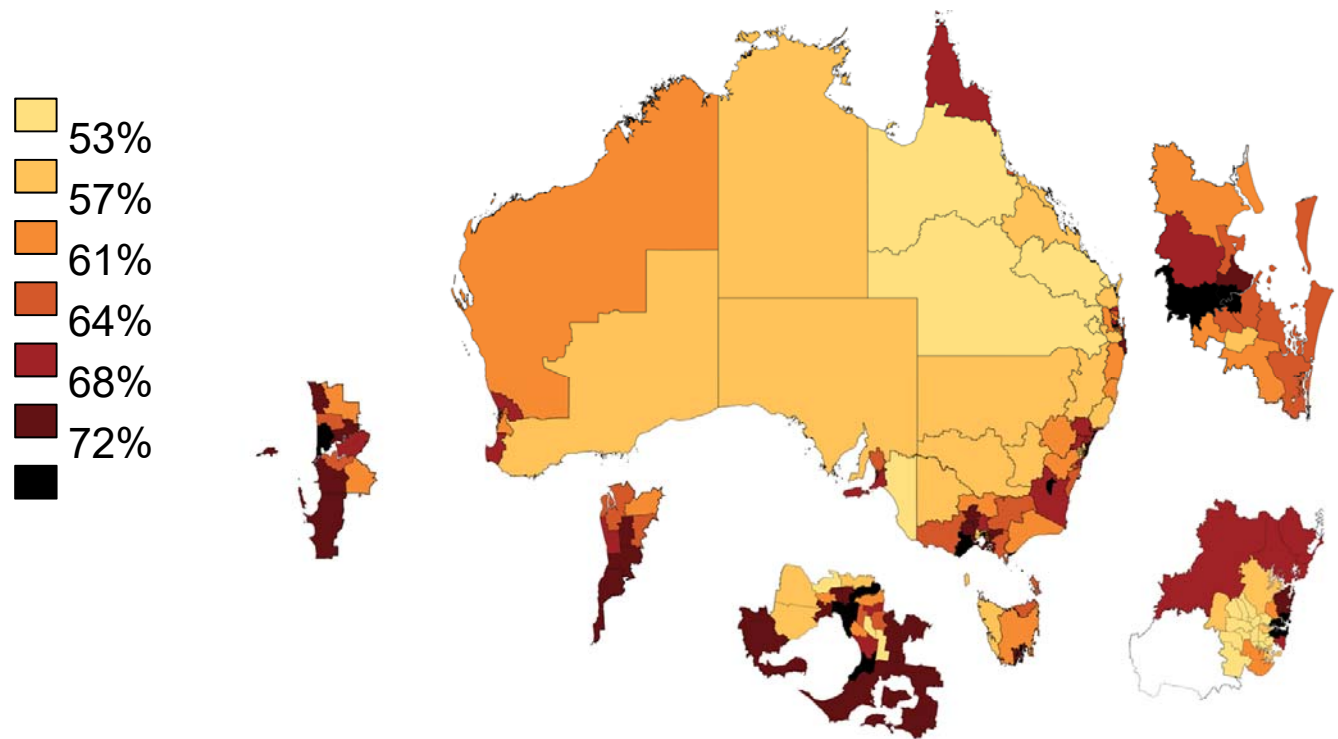


Source: Grattan analysis of AES data, 2016

Same-sex marriage has broad support in Australia

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Percentage yes vote, same-sex marriage postal ballot, 2017

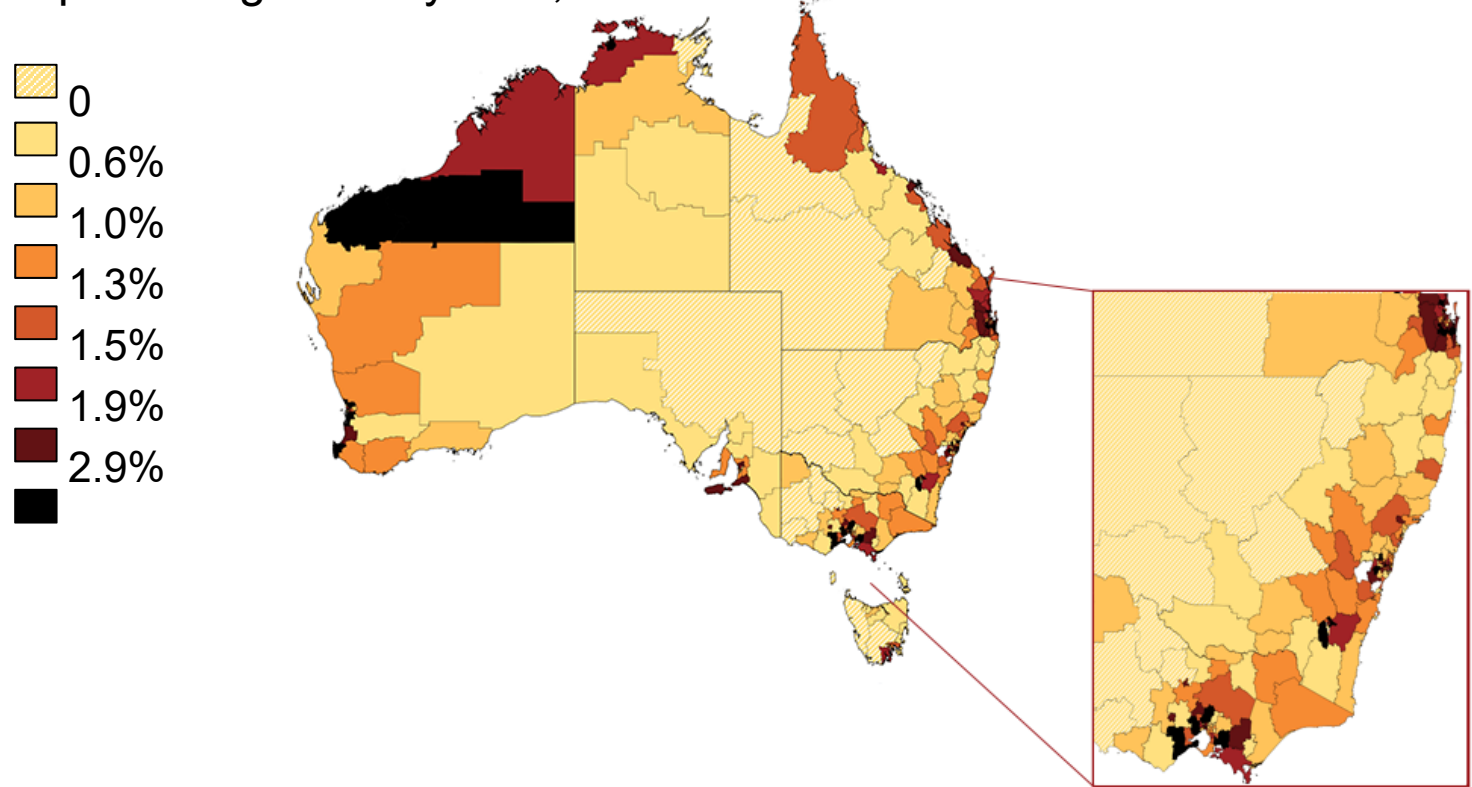


Note: Electorates are grouped by septiles
Source: ABS

But the shape of Australia is changing: population growth is focused on cities

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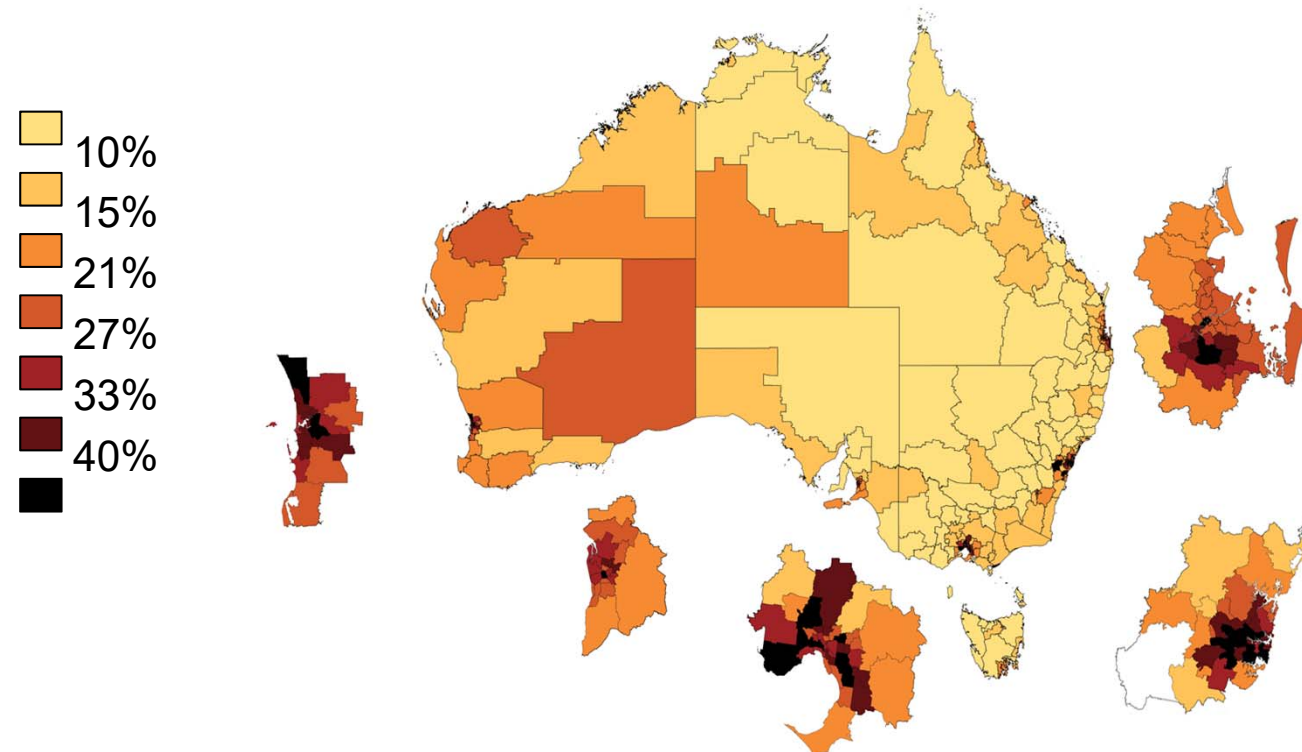
Population growth by SA3, CAGR 2006-2016



Note: Sample is grouped into shrinking areas, and the remainder into seven subsets of equal population.
Source: ABS, Census

Migrants are concentrated in the cities

Migrants as share of population by SA 3, 2016

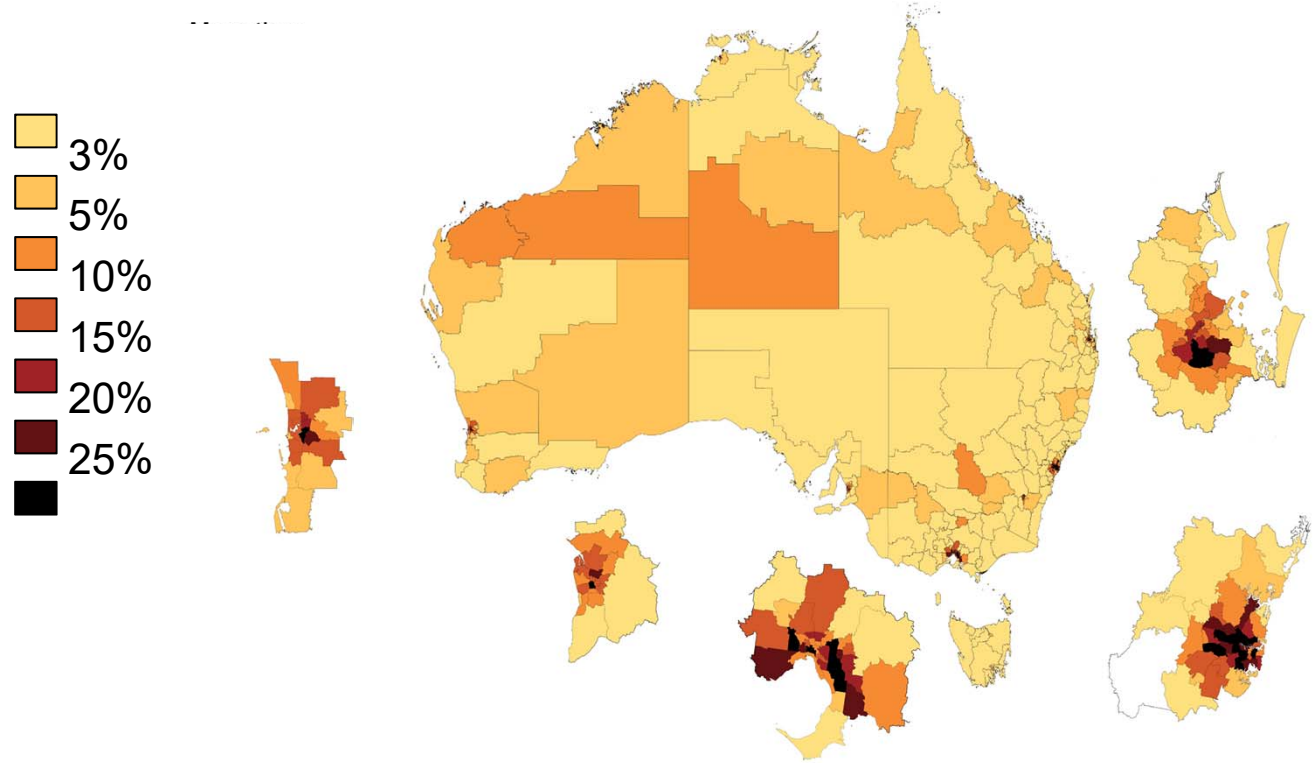


*Note: Sample is grouped into seven subsets of equal population.
Source: ABS, Census*

Asian migrants are particularly concentrated in capital cities ...

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Migrants from Asian countries as share of population by SA 3, 2016

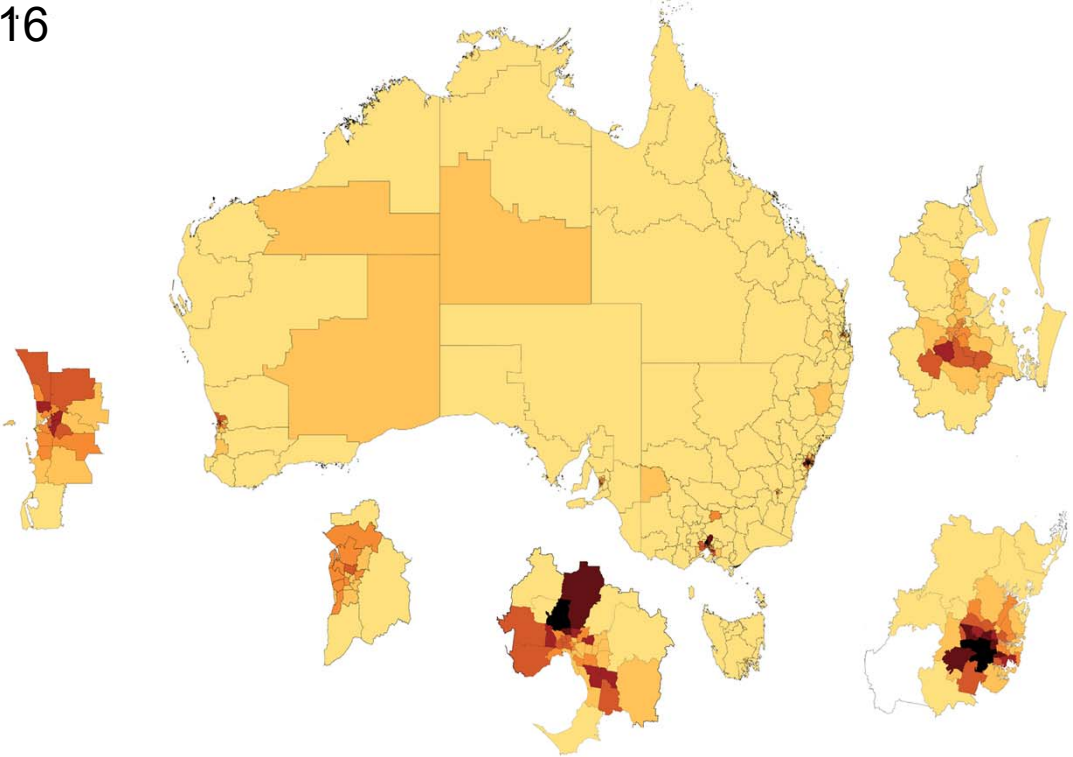
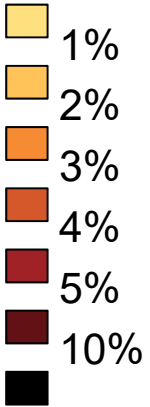


Note: Sample is grouped into seven subsets of equal population.
Source: ABS, Census

... as are migrants from Africa and the Middle East

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Migrants from African and Middle East countries as share of population by SA 3, 2016

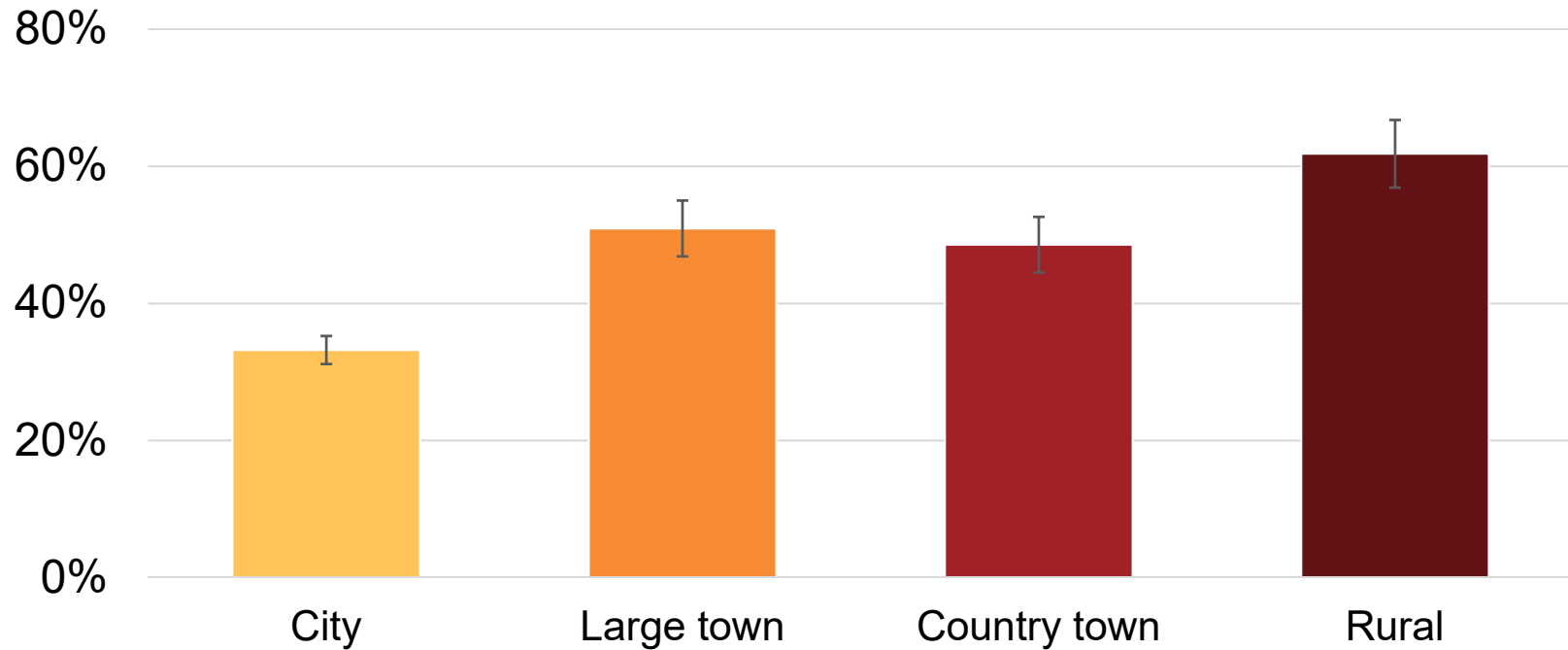


Note: Sample is grouped into seven subsets of equal population.
Source: ABS, Census

Regional voters believe that immigrant numbers should be reduced

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Percentage of respondents who agree that immigrant numbers should be reduced, by location, 2016

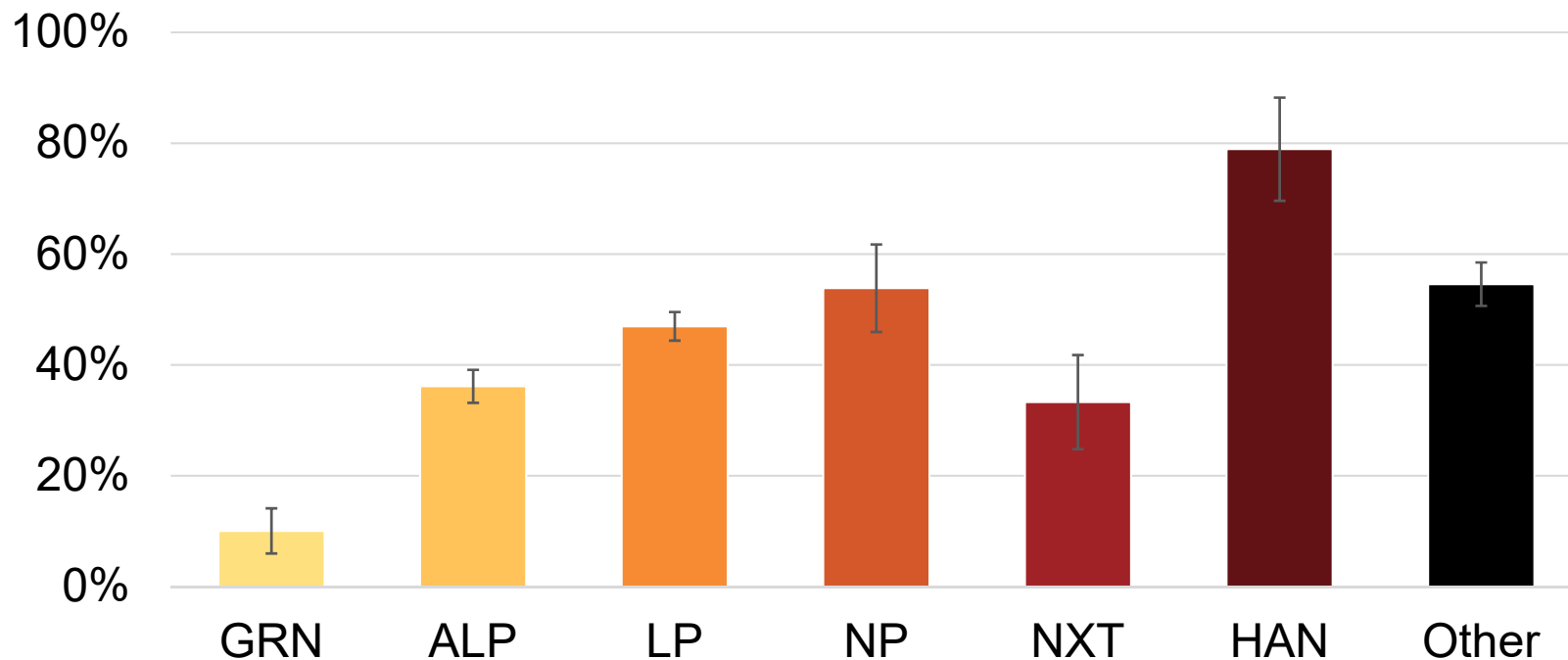


Source: Grattan analysis of AES 2016

Hanson voters are much more opposed to immigration than other voters

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Percentage of respondents who agree that immigrant numbers should be reduced, by party voted for in the Senate, 2016



Source: Grattan analysis of AES 2016

Australia's culture is visibly changing

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1979, 1981, 1982, 1984

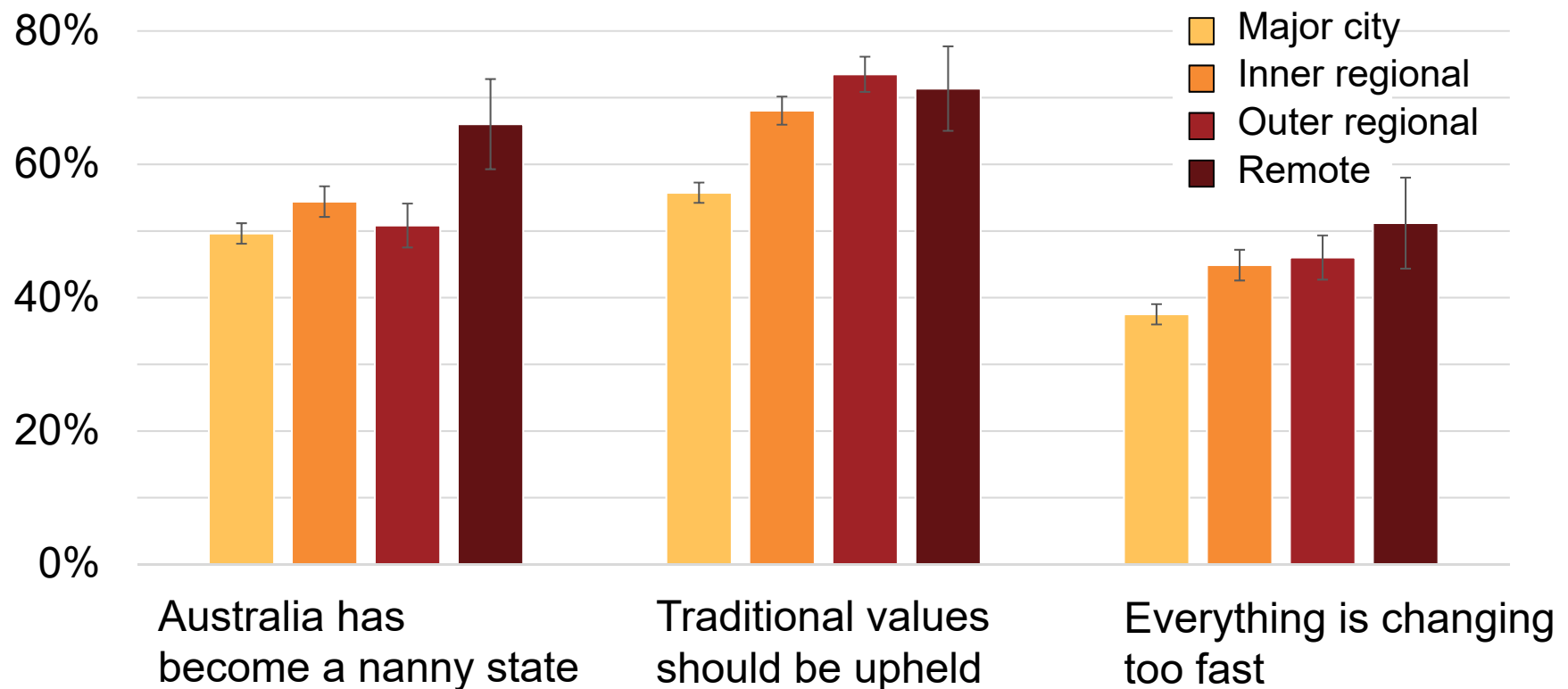


2016

Regional voters worry about how society is changing

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Percentage of survey respondents who agree with selected statements, 2017



Source: Grattan analysis of Sheppard. 2017. *The Political Persona Project*. ANU Social Research Centre.

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What does “responsible nationalism” look like?

It's not shades of skin colour that divide; its is the perception that people in other groups have different values, and behave in ways that violate our moral world-view

Jonathan Haidt
*The Ethics of Globalism, Nationalism
and Patriotism*
Minding Nature 9(3)

Focus on contribution of migrants to “core national values” and community

- Sport
- Serving the community – doctors/nurses/teachers
- Military service
- Small business owners/employers
- Volunteering

Toning down rhetoric on national security



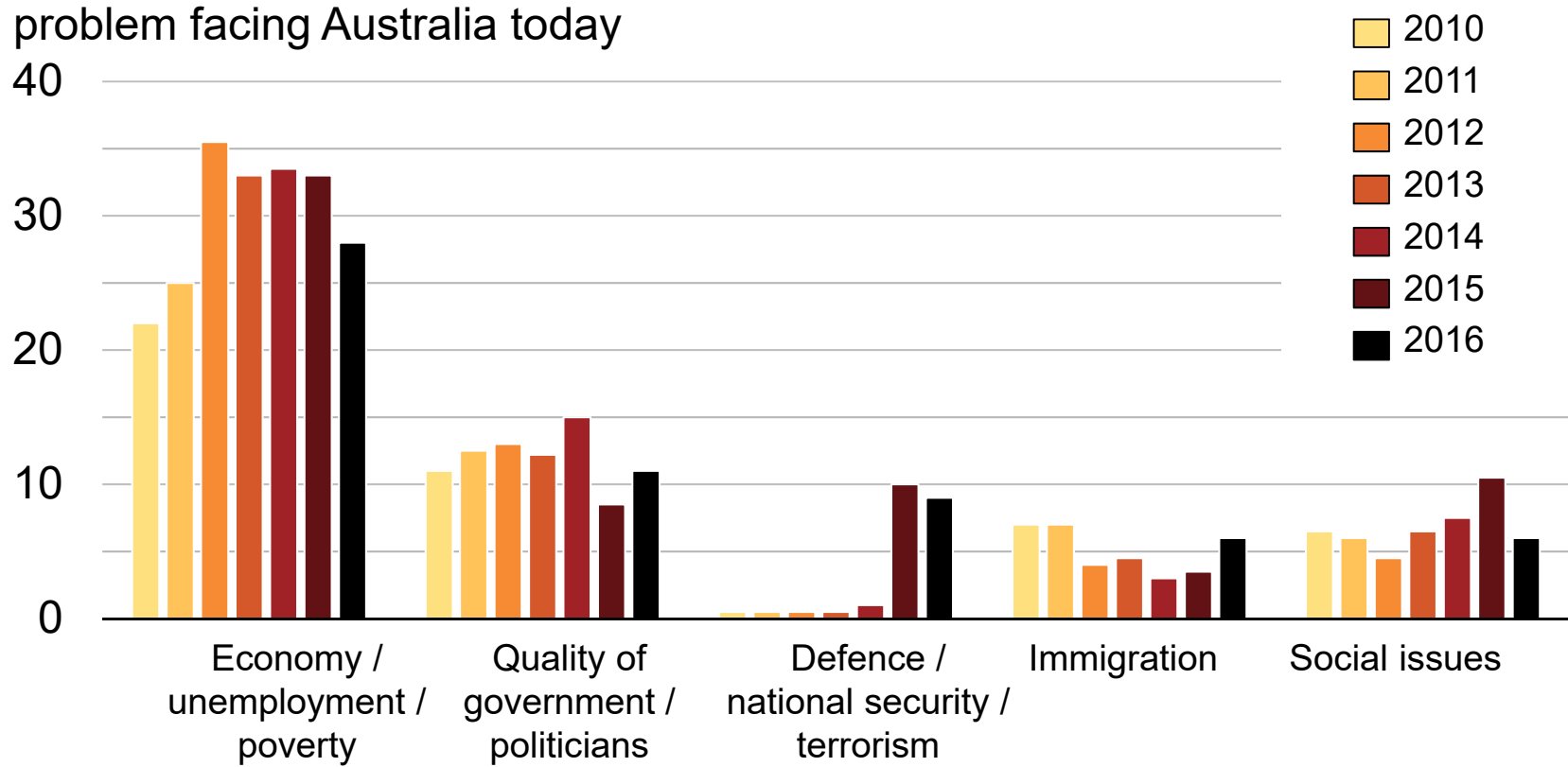
This illustrates yet again that as far as the Daesh death cult is concerned, it's coming after us

Tony Abbott
News Conference, June 27 2015

Language matters: security concerns increased significantly in 2015

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Percentage of survey respondents who see area as the most important problem facing Australia today



Source: Scanlon Foundation, Mapping social cohesion

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