

Regional politics, migrants and social cohesion

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

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The rise of (regional) protest politics

Non-traditional parties are rising around the developed world

- It is less a "pro-Hanson" vote, and more an "anti-them" vote
- Minor party vote is rising particularly fast in regions

Trust in politicians is falling

- Distrust drives the minor party vote everywhere
- Trust in other institutions (e.g. police, courts) is holding up

The cultural gap between cities and regions is growing

- Population (particularly migration) is growing in cities but not regions
- Those left in regions are doing reasonably well economically
- The divide is *not* about social issues (SSM, criminal law, etc)
- Regions distrust migrants more (mainly because they don't know any)

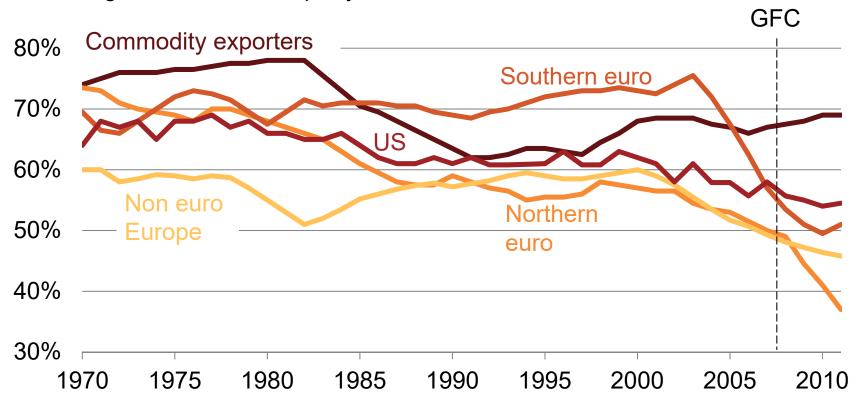
Governments should embrace a "responsible nationalism"

- 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

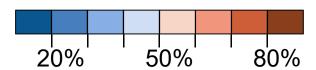


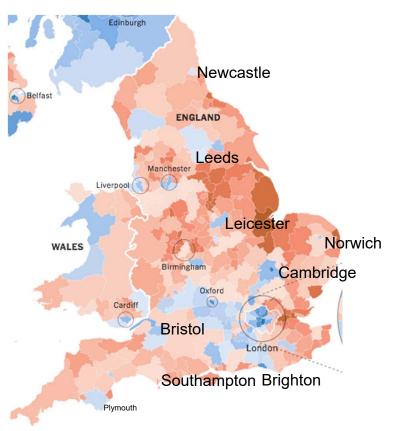
Source: Barclays, The politics of rage

A city-regions divides between "nationalists" and "globalists" drove Brexit

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Brexit vote





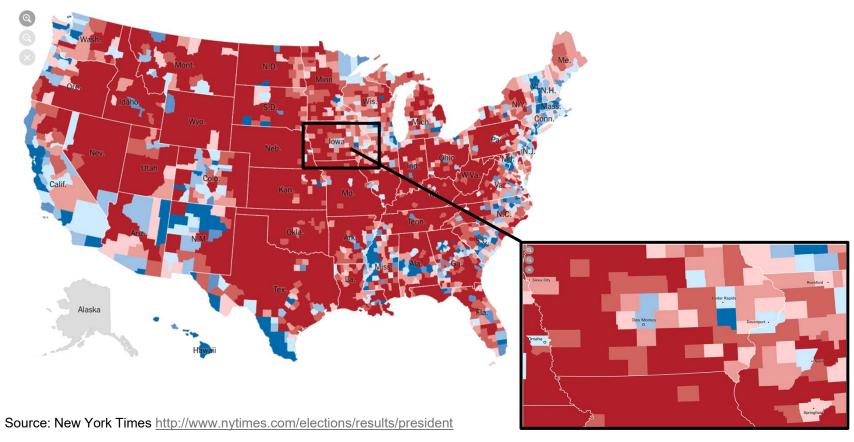
Source: New York Times, based on BBC,

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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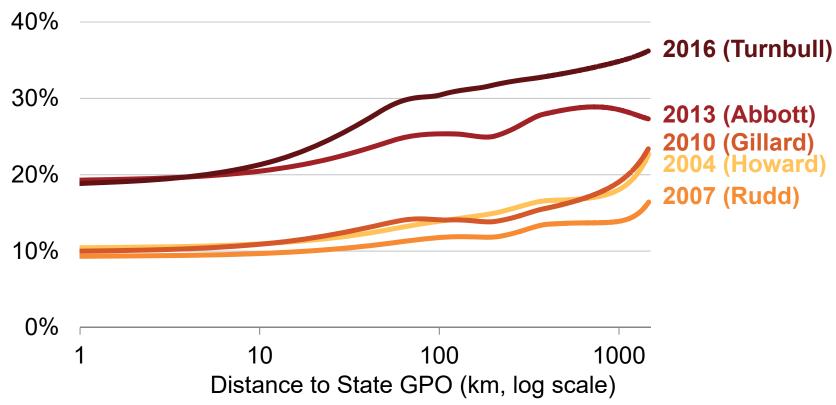
Presidential vote share 2016



Minor party votes are growing, particularly in the regions

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

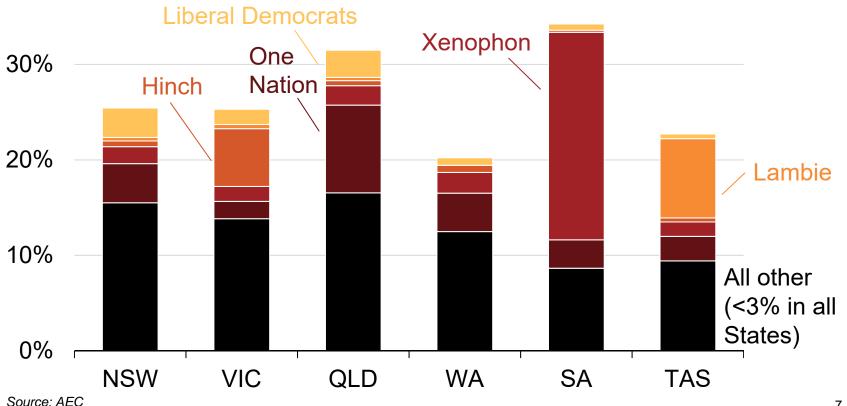


Source: AEC, Grattan Institute analysis

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



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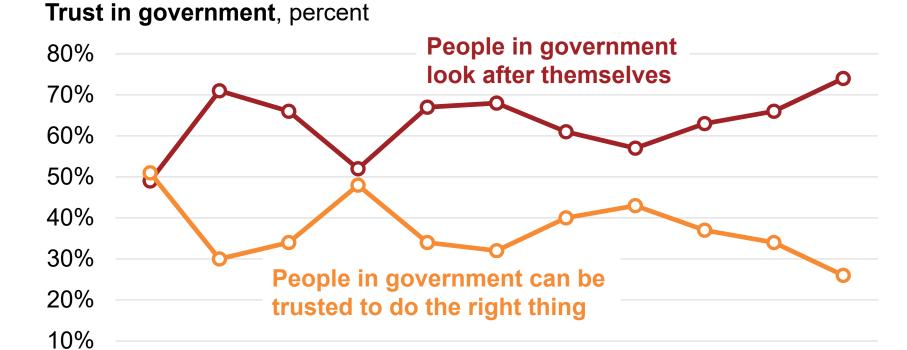
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Governments should embrace a "responsible nationalism"

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Trust in government is the lowest on record





1969 1979 1993 1996 1998 2001 2004 2007 2010 2013 2016

Australian Election Study, 2016

0%

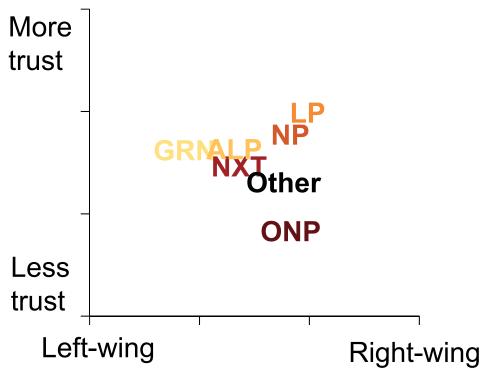
Minor party voters are different in terms of their lack of trust, not their left-right views

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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)

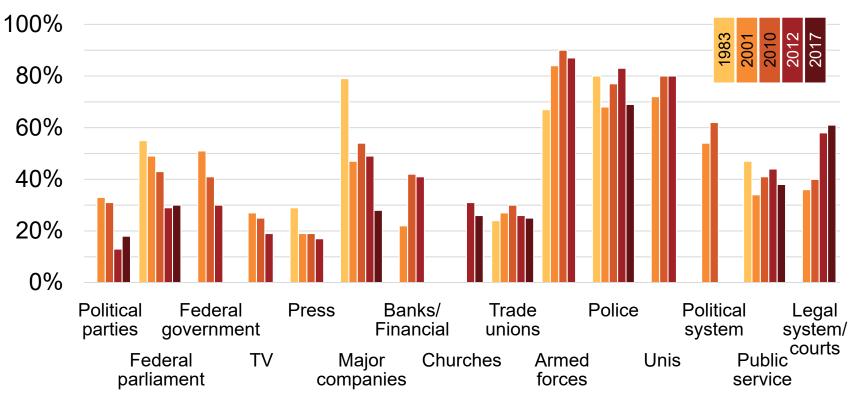


Source: Grattan analysis of AES 2016

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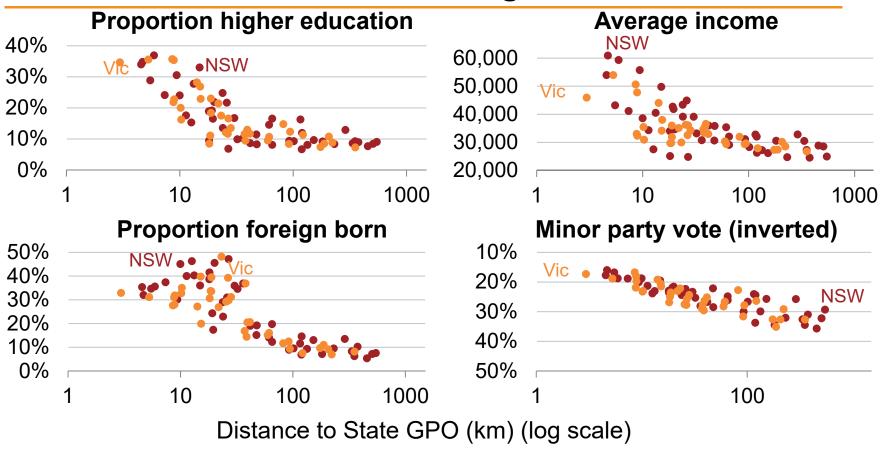
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Inner and middle rings of cities are very different to outer suburbs and regions

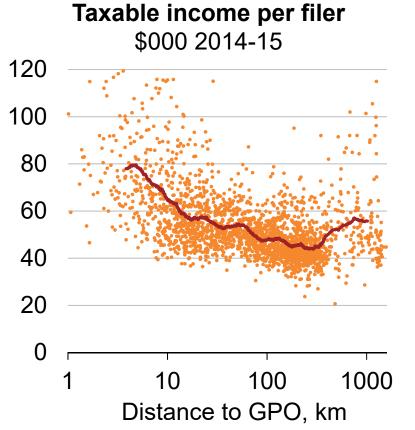




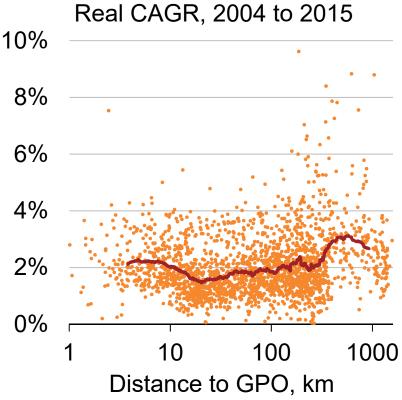
Source: AEC, Grattan Institute analysis

Regions have lower incomes, but their growth has kept up

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Growth in taxable income per filer

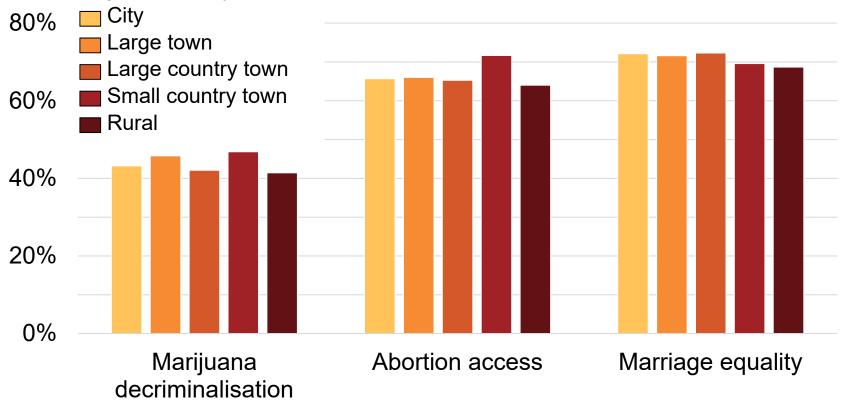


Source: Grattan analysis of ATO (2016)

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

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Percentage of survey respondents with positive view, 2016

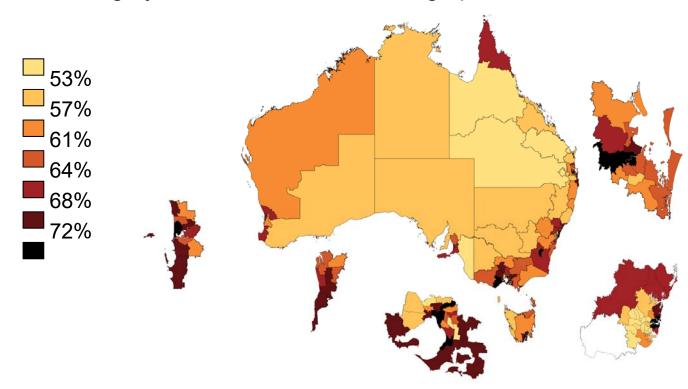


Source: Grattan analysis of AES data, 2016

Same-sex marriage has broad support in Australia

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

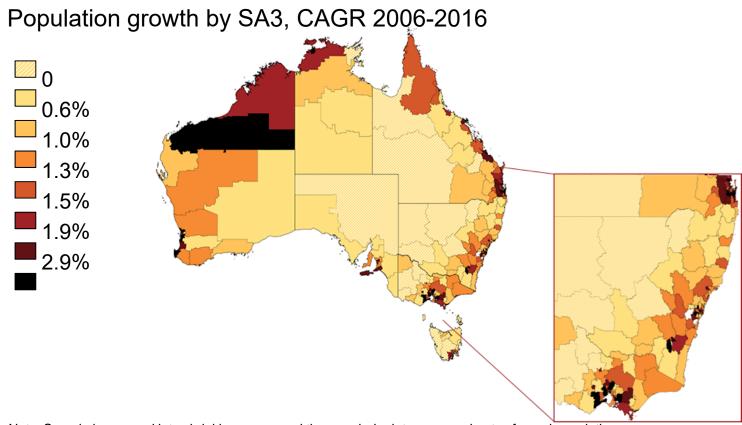


Note: Electorates are grouped by septiles

Source: ABS

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

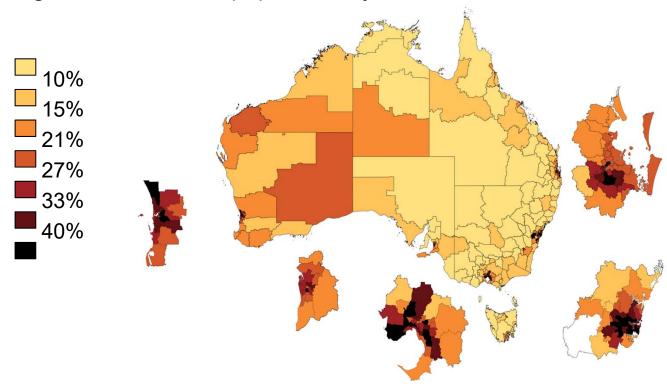
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Note: Sample is grouped into shrinking areas, and the remainder into seven subsets of equal population.

Migrants are concentrated in the cities

Migrants as share of population by SA 3, 2016

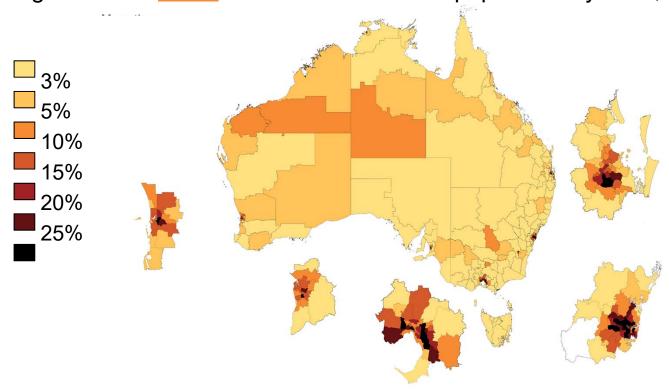


Note: Sample is grouped into seven subsets of equal population.

Asian migrants are particularly concentrated in capital cities ...

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

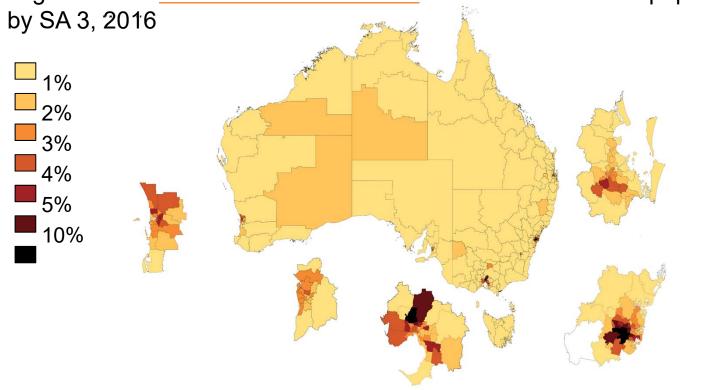


Note: Sample is grouped into seven subsets of equal population.

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

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Migrants from African and Middle East countries as share of population

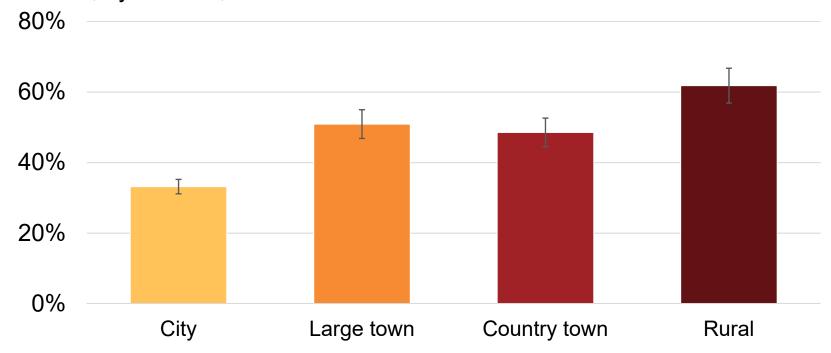


Note: Sample is grouped into seven subsets of equal population.

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

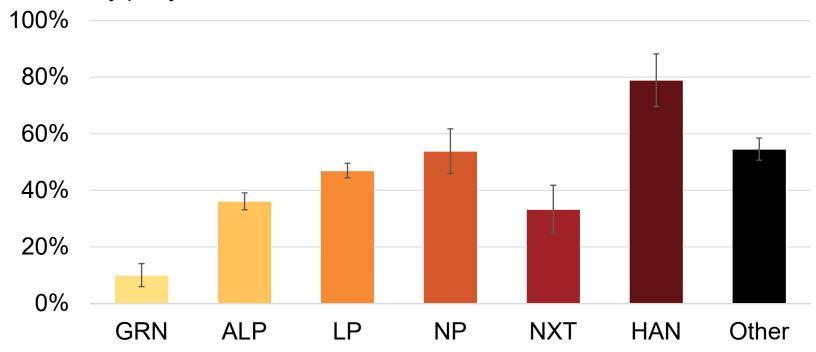


Source: Grattan analysis of AES 2016

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

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Australia's culture is visibly changing



1979, 1981, 1982, 1984

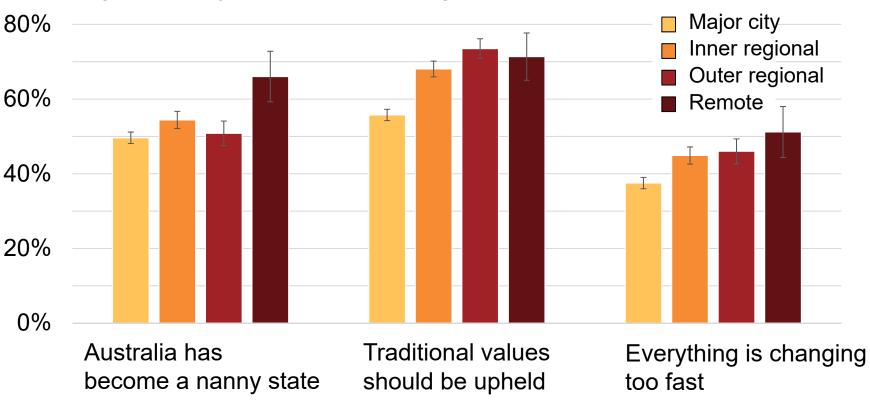


2016

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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- Tone down rhetoric on national security

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

Jonanthan 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

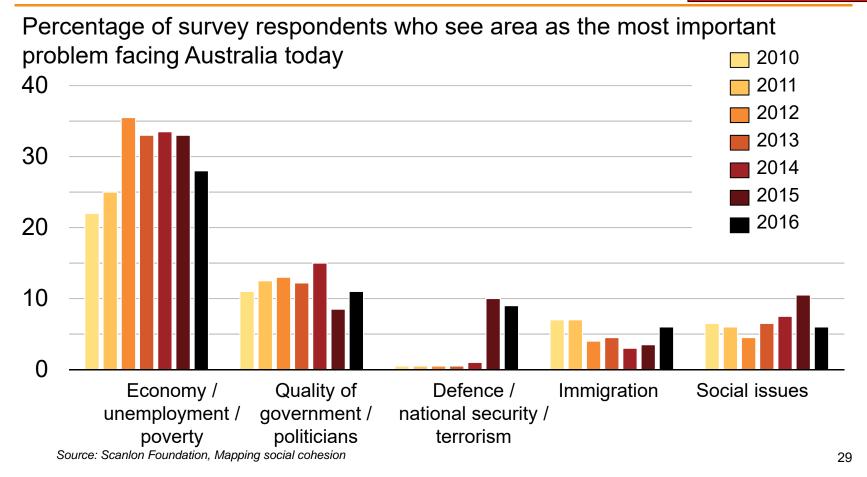


This illustrates yet again that as far as the Daesh death cult is concerned, it's coming after us

Tony Abbott
News Conference, June 27 2015

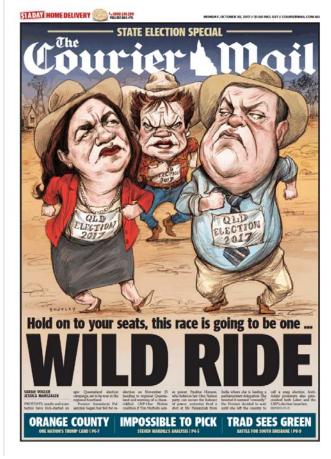
Language matters: security concerns increased significantly in 2015

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Media matters: coverage gives credibility (and free advertising)







CCUP ELECTIONLIVE WITH COURSERMAIL COMAN JObs on track with \$150m Maryborough train deal

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For more ...





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Analysis of Australian domestic public policy

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