

**THE HON RICHARD MARLES MP
SHADOW MINISTER FOR DEFENCE
MEMBER FOR CORIO**

**E&OE TRANSCRIPT
SKY NEWS LIVE
PYNE & MARLES
FRIDAY, 17 NOVEMBER 2017**

SUBJECTS: Cyber security; same sex marriage postal survey; Government's citizenship crisis; Robert Mugabe; public announcements

CHRISTOPHER PYNE: Well good afternoon and welcome to *Pyne & Marles* here on Sky News Live. It's Friday 17 November, one o'clock Eastern Standard Time. I'm Christopher Pyne and I'm here in Adelaide, and my compatriot presenter is Richard Marles and he's in Melbourne this afternoon. Hello Richard, welcome to the show.

RICHARD MARLES: How are you Christopher? You've had a pretty unpleasant 36 hours. How is it travelling?

PYNE: Yes, I have been in the news it's fair to say. Well, obviously it's very annoying these things when they happen and it happened to Scott Morrison in 2016 and Julie Bishop in 2014, when people hack into your private Twitter account. Fortunately it's not Defence or government or Parliamentary related, and it reminds us all that we need to keep on changing our passwords, be aware of cyber security. We've obviously changed the passwords, changed our office protocols, deleted the offensive photograph and let Twitter know, so we've done all the appropriate things but I don't wish these things on anybody. It's there but for the grace of God go all of us, in some respects.

MARLES: I was going to say exactly that, because I'm not sure I'm the best password manager, and I really do think this is an occupational hazard for all of us and, you know, I feel for you because it is a really unpleasant experience that you've had to go through in the last 48 hours and, you know, certainly from a Labor point of view we've made clear we're not going to be supporting the resolution that's been put forward by Cory Bernardi which, frankly, I think says much more about him than it does about anything else, but I hope you're doing OK because this is not a nice thing to happen to anyone.

But let's get on with the show because it has been a really really big week in Australian politics. Of course, earlier in the week we had the result of the marriage

equality survey, which I actually think is a pretty significant moment in Australian social history and we're going to talk about that.

The citizenship issue continues to bubble on, so news this week: the major parties agreed on a process, we've had new Senators sworn in as the Senate has been sitting, and it got to a bit of a pointy end with the fight for Bennelong now up and running with Kristina Keneally announcing that she's running. We'll have a talk about all of that.

And we're going to move offshore because what's occurred in Zimbabwe in the last 48 hours has been a really seminal moment in the history of that country, and in fact the history of the African continent with what's now playing out in respect of Robert Mugabe. We'll talk about that.

Our guest today is Dr Liz Allen. Liz is a demographer from the Australian National University, and we're going to talk to Liz about what she thinks the significant take outs are from the marriage equality survey. Let's start with that issue. It was a huge day on Wednesday. Take a look at this.

DAVID KALISCH [CLIP]: For the national result, yes responses: 7,817,247 representing 61.6% of clear responses.

MALCOLM TURNBULL [CLIP]: They voted yes for love and now it is up to us.

LYLE SHELTON [CLIP]: Millions of Australians who still believe that marriage is between one man and one woman and that is a public good, and there may be a time in the future where we can persuade our fellow Australians to that position once again.

DEAN SMITH [CLIP]: I never believed the day would come when my relationship would be judged by my country to be as meaningful and valued as any other.

PENNT WONG [CLIP]: And I say to our beautiful daughters, Alexandra and Hannah, I work for and fight for the world I want for you.

MARLES: Christopher, both you and I have been supporters of the 'yes' case in this. We both will no doubt be supporting a bill in the next month around making marriage equality the law of the land, but what was your take out on the significance of the result that occurred this week?

PYNE: My takeout was that it was terrific that the Australian public got to be part of this decision. We don't often have plebiscites in Australia, I think the last one was in the 70s around the national anthem, so we haven't done it on a regular basis, not like the Swiss Cantons who make a lot of these decisions or California ask their public for votes on particular issue. So it was a very significant thing for us to do, and the good news is that every Australian has now had the chance to be part of this decision, and 61.6% of them have voted to encourage and to recognise their neighbours and friends and potentially family relationships as being legitimate, acknowledged and equal. So I think it's a wonderful, wonderful outcome and the

process now, of course, is that it will move to the Parliament to pass a private member's bill, which I'm sure you will be supporting.

MARLES: I will. What was the result in Sturt?

PYNE: 61.6%, it was exactly the national average, but I think you did a little better in Corio.

MARLES: Yeah, Corio was 67.7%, and across the river in Geelong in Corangamite I think it was around 71%, so it was a remarkable result. Look, I think when we are a country where people embrace those who are different to themselves, who think about a bigger vision of who we are. That's Australia at its best and I was really hopeful that that was how it would turn out on Wednesday, and the fact that it did, I think, is a really great moment for the country.

I think we were voting on the question of marriage, but there's something bigger at work here. I mean, we now have people who are gay who are running ASX top 100 companies, who are playing a significant role in political life, who are sports stars, and it's now, their sexuality is completely unremarkable to what they do-

PYNE: -Exactly.

MARLES: -and the contribution that they are asking in Australia, and I think in a sense this vote was an embracing and acknowledgement of Australia's gay community and I really do think it was a wonderful moment in that sense.

PYNE: Yeah, and we were one of the last western countries where the shoe dropped on this issue, and I'm sorry it took quite so long quite frankly, we should've been here many years ago. The other thing that I was really pleased about was a lot of young people voted, a lot of the commentators, first the commentators said we wouldn't even get 50% turnout, well it was closer to 80%, secondly they said that older people would vote and young people wouldn't, in fact, every single age group was over 70%, and there were as many 18 and 19 year olds voting as there was older Australians, so everybody had a say which was good news.

MARLES: That's absolutely right, but we should move on. Citizenship's been a big issue this week as well, Christopher.

PYNE: Yes, the High Court has certainly made some decisions that have been described, I think I described them as a curve ball, I'm not sure how I describe the decision around Hollie Hughes this week, which we'll talk about in a second, but first let's take a look at how that unfolded.

CRAIG KELLY [CLIP]: I'm shocked at that, that's a very tough black letter decision of the High Court.

JULIE BISHOP [CLIP]: The High Court has clarified its interpretation and we now have to work out how the Senate ticket will work.

GEORGE BRANDIS [CLIP]: The High Court has not published its reasons for judgement.

COLLINS [CLIP]: Is the first law officer of Australia as confident about the eligibility of the rest of the New South Wales Coalition Senate ticket as he was about Ms Hughes?

PYNE: Richard it was a very tough decision in the Hollie Hughes case. What did you make of that?

MARLES: Well I do think that the High Court has taken a very literalist attitude to the constitution and I'm not sure I'm particularly comfortable with that, but it is as it is and it's now a matter of dealing with that. In that sense I think the Government could have done a better job from the outset in terms of how this has been dealt with, but it is a good thing that we now have an agreed process between the major parties about dealing with the citizenship question.

I want to say this: it got to a pointy moment. We now have a genuine fight in Bennelong with Kristina Keneally contesting that seat. That is what's going to be the political focus which comes out of this between now and Christmas.

PYNE: Well we've got a process between now and 7 December to clarify all of our parents and grandparents birth dates and places of birth. I'm not sure everyone will find it quite so easy to do that, but obviously they've got a bit of work to do, but at least we have a process to move forward. And Hollie Hughes' case, it's a pretty tough decision, the High Court said, from what I can understand, that because Fiona Nash was never eligibly elected that meant that Hollie Hughes was actually the Senator but not in place so therefore she couldn't work for the Administrative Appeals Tribunal, but as Hollie Hughes didn't know that she was a Senator she couldn't really have done much about that, so it's pretty tough but they're the High Court, they make the decision, they're the umpire and it looks like Jim Molan will be joining us in the Senate. And I think John Alexander's contest with Kristina Keneally will be an interesting one, I've seen celebrity candidates come and go before, Bert van Manen beat Peter Beatty and John Alexander, of course, is a very good candidate, an excellent local member, liked in his community, and of course through no fault of his own is facing a bi-election, so it'll be an interesting contest.

MARLES: Yeah, I think there is some fault in terms of how people have done their paper work. Are you feeling nervous?

PYNE: No actually, I'm fifth generation on both sides of my family, so I should know by now.

MARLES: No, not about you, are you feeling nervous about Bennelong?

PYNE: Oh I see! Well, I think John Alexander is a very good local member and I think the issues will be around the local issue in the electorate and I think John Alexander will get elected, but you know, I wouldn't want to pre-empt the decision of the voters of Bennelong.

But we should move on to Zimbabwe, because I think we're the only people who are talking about it right now, but it's an important issue.

MARLES: It is an important issue

UNKNOWN [CLIP]: We wish to assure the nation that His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, comrade RG Mugabe and his family are safe and sound and that their security is guaranteed.

UNKNOWN [CLIP]: What this defence force is doing is to pacify a degenerating political social and economic situation in our country.

JULIE BISHOP [CLIP]: Our advice to those thinking of travelling to Zimbabwe is to reconsider your need to travel. There is a certain level of political volatility there. It's obviously a very uncertain situation with the military on the street.

MARLES: This is a big moment. Robert Mugabe came to power back in 1980, so he's been the head of that country for the better part of four decades. When he came to power it was something of a global celebration, I think in those days our Prime Minister was Malcolm Fraser and it was an event that was welcomed by the Fraser government, but in some respects I think the story of Robert Mugabe is a story of power corrupts and absolutely power corrupts absolutely. This is a country which has gone backwards in that time, life expectancy has gone backwards, and we've got to a point now where whatever the future holds it is certainly the case in my view at least that Zimbabwe relieved of the yolk of Robert Mugabe would be a good thing.

There is complexity in all this. You don't like to see militaries involved in government in quite the way we're seeing there, but I really hope that we do see a future for Zimbabwe which doesn't involve Robert Mugabe, but also a future for Zimbabwe which is one based on democracy.

PYNE: Yes it's a good point Richard about, you don't want to see the military involved in the change of government but in lots of countries, and obviously in Zimbabwe, there didn't seem to be any democratic process to change the government, which every time Robert Mugabe's been threatened in an election, of course, they have cracked down, it's been violent and particularly unlikely to be declared as free and fair as our own elections, so it's an interesting conundrum. We don't want to forget, of course, by the way, just because Robert Mugabe is 93 and seems to be a grand old gentleman as some people are trying to describe him, he's lead a very bloody regime, in 1982 20,000 people were killed in Matabeleland when he ousted Joshua Nkomo as a shared ruler of that country as the Minister for the Interior. So it's time for the Mugabe regime to come to an end and hopefully whatever replaces it will be a much better country for the people themselves.

MARLES: That's right, and for a long time Zimbabwe was a prosperous agricultural country providing-

PYNE: -The most prosperous.

MARLES: -a lot of the resources, yeah indeed, in southern Africa. Under the Mugabe regime it's become one of the poorest countries in the world, so this is a really significant moment in Africa's history and indeed we hope in its future and we will be looking at this very closely. I've got to say, Africa matters to us and we ought to pay it more attention.

But we've come to the time for the break. Join us afterwards when we're going to have a chat with Dr Liz Allen.

[AD BREAK]

PYNE: Welcome back to *Pyne & Marles* here on Sky News Live. Our guest this afternoon to talk to us about the plebiscite that was handed down on Wednesday, she's a demographer from the Australian National University and welcome to the show Dr Liz Allen.

DR LIZ ALLEN: Good afternoon.

PYNE: Thanks very much for being with us Liz. Obviously the result of the plebiscite was a stunning result for the 'Yes' campaign, 61.6% nationally. As a demographer you probably looked at this result differently to most people, what was the standout thing for you as a demographer that you'd like to comment on this afternoon that we wouldn't necessarily have noticed?

ALLEN: What's quite fascinating from my point of view is that the results for those that participated, and where their survey results were unclear, that's quite low. I was expecting between 2 to 5% of responses would be invalid due to inappropriate pics on the side or writing on the survey paper itself, so that was a standout for me. The other standout for me was that this result was truly representative of what Australians want, I was concerned leading up to this process that this type of mode of surveying favoured the 'No' supporters because of the known support based on age distribution and the known participation, again based on age. So for me, despite all the flaws and the mishaps and the misadventures throughout this process, this is a truly representative survey on what Australians want for marriage equality.

MARLES: So Liz, one of the observations that was being made leading into this, and you alluded to it, was that this is an issue which has a very distinctive generational divide, that older Australians, so it was thought, were more likely to be voting 'no' whereas the overwhelming majority of younger Australians would vote 'yes'. Can we now make that conclusion from the results as you look at them?

ALLEN: So here's the tricky one, despite us having a wealth of data, and the ABS has done a top job in delivering these results, we're still unclear about the way people voted. We don't know how, in accordance with age and personal characteristics people have voted or been surveyed. So take, for example, the commentary around the western suburbs electorates which have delivered a 'no' result, a lot has been said about those characteristics of those areas, we actually can't say much, we can say particular aspects and characteristics are associated with a particular outcome, but we don't actually know how people voted. That is, how people, say aged 18-20, whether they said yes or no and whether someone in that

age group, based on a particular background characteristic, for example, parents born overseas or the level of religiosity or whether they believe in a particular religion. So while we know much about it there is still much that we don't know, but survey data, fortunately, we've got at least a decade of survey data either in opinion polls or in truly nationally representative surveys that tell us much about the characteristics of people that support, or otherwise, marriage equality.

PYNE: So Liz, will you now do that work as a demographer out of the ANU, will you actually try and drill down with voters, in particular in areas like western Sydney, which obviously voted quite differently to the rest of the country. Will you actually do that work to find out about religiosity or ethnic background or age breakdown because a lot of people seem to have theories, but wouldn't it be good for us to know exactly what the truth was about that?

ALLEN: Indeed, look it would be terrific if we would be able to do these analyses using the survey data themselves, but we're limited, all we know are the characteristics of participants, we don't know how they voted, so we don't know how our characteristics truly align with a particular response at an individual level. We know at the aggregate level, and I can promise you that as the data dropped on Wednesday we were already on it, already doing those analyses all ready to go. The next step, of course, would be to look a little bit deeper and to look at associations between census data and the responses at a top level to this survey and then looking at ways that we can contextualise what's going on in particular areas at an electorate level to find out what are the social attitudes, opinions and desires in these areas. I would have at a guess that in a lot of these western suburb of Sydney electorates, where I grew up myself, that there are, perhaps, more salient issues going on there in relation to housing equality, job security, and I wonder whether there might be room for investigation there that would truly indicate to the Parliament, and certainly the elected officials, what is truly on the minds of people in those electorates.

MARLES: So just to follow that up, because for me when you looked at the map the degree to which the western suburbs of Sydney, particularly, stuck out, was very striking, and I thought that the comparison between Sydney and Brisbane was also striking because I think there might have been a sense that maybe Brisbane was going to walk down more of a 'no' line, but it absolutely didn't. When you describe the process of lining up associations, can you explain that? I take it at an aggregate level it's about looking at the particular demographic characteristics of each of these places and seeing whether you can find a trend?

ALLEN: Indeed, and that's exactly what would be undertaken, so we're very lucky, we've got population level data based on electorate, and this is freely available on the ABS website for the 2016 census. We can look at factors like religion, non-English speaking background of parents or of individuals in these areas, level of income and how that might differ to on average to the state or the nation's average, the type of housing and so on and so forth. We can look at these particular characteristics and whether or not they are statistically associated with those top level results, the yes or no, and based on that we can then give a level of significance and say that we're confident that at this level that these things are indeed associated or not, or the level of association they have. So indeed we've

seen some analysis done already that's been circulating on social media from people at the ANU, they've conducted these analyses. Religion is, indeed, associated, although slightly, but it is associated with the results that we've seen in terms of the 'yes' or 'no' binary.

MARLES: Well Liz, thanks for joining us today. It's very intriguing and I've got no doubt that yourself and others will be poring through this and conducting this analysis over time and we really look forward to seeing what comes from that, but thanks for joining us today.

ALLEN: Thank you.

MARLES: And that brings us to the question of the week, which was actually inspired by David Kalisch, Australia's Chief Statistician, and the question is: should preambles be banned from major announcements? So, Christopher, did we have a Rob Oakeshott moment earlier in the week?

PYNE: Well I've known David Kalisch for years, I used to work with him in the Health Department, he's a terrific guy, and I think he wanted to explain the process around the plebiscite, but I can't help but thinking that everybody else was doing what I was doing which was basically say to the television screen 'for God's sake David, what was the result?'

MARLES: Look I think it might be a little unfair to compare him to Rob Oakeshott, although these are definitely now called Oakeshott moments. I mean, that is the name of these moments going forward. All of us, when Rob Oakeshott had his five minutes of fame, were pulling our hair out. I actually didn't think David did such a bad job in terms of contextualising-

PYNE: -No he did a good job.

MARLES: -all of this. And I reckon you can go the other direction as well. I was reminded of Juan Antonio Samaranch, who announced Sydney as the winner of the 2000 Olympics-

PYNE: -With zero preamble.

MARLES: There was no preamble at all and it felt like the clout or moment that you would've expected there was denied us, don't you think?

PYNE: The greatest preambler of all time, if there's such a verb, is, of course, Bob Katter, and as you remember we've changed the standing orders to make his questions 45 seconds because, in spite of what everyone thinks of us, we're quite reasonable people in politics and he still can't get to 45 seconds, but we've got to go so you'd better wrap us up.

MARLES: Yes, indeed, and there was a moment I think in the last week where he was actually ruled out of order because he actually didn't get the question mark into his question.

PYNE: That's right.

MARLES: But we have run out of time. Great talking to you again today Christopher, look forward to doing so again next week and look forward to joining you, viewers, next week on Sky News for *Pyne & Marles* at one o'clock. We'll see you then.