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TRENDS IN AUSTRALIAN POLITICAL OPINION

Results from the Australian Election Study, 1987–2025

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November, 2025



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australianelectionstudy.org

- > Access complete data files and documentation to conduct your own analysis
- > Explore interactive charts to examine differences in political attitudes by age, gender, education level and vote
- > Download Australian Election Study reports

We acknowledge the Traditional Custodians of Country throughout Australia and pay our respect to Elders past and present.

INTRODUCTION

The 2025 Australian federal election was a resounding win for the Australian Labor Party. Labor won 94 seats in the House of Representatives and a commanding majority. The Liberal-National Coalition was reduced to just 43 seats in the House of Representatives, more than 30 seats short of a majority and the lowest seat share on record for the combined Coalition parties. Independent candidates maintained the success they achieved in the preceding election, winning 10 lower house seats, while the Greens lost three of their four lower house seats. The Liberal and Greens' party leaders lost their seats in parliament. The election took place amidst ongoing concerns about the cost of living and a less secure international context. This report situates the 2025 federal election in long-term comparison, drawing upon the results of the Australian Election Study.

The Australian Election Study (AES) provides the most sophisticated and comprehensive source of evidence ever collected on political attitudes and behaviour in Australia. The AES has surveyed a representative sample of voters after every federal election since 1987. The 2025 AES is the 14th in the series. The survey asks a range of questions to understand what shaped voters' choices at the ballot box — including considerations in the vote decision, the importance of different policy issues, and attitudes towards the political parties and leaders. This provides a wealth of information to understand voter behaviour in Australian federal elections.

This monograph presents the long-term trends in voter attitudes and behaviour in Australia. Situating the 2025 election in longer-term perspective highlights unique factors in the 2025 election. For the first time in the history of the study, voters indicated that they prefer Labor over the Coalition as the party to manage the economy (p. 34). The Coalition was led by a historically unpopular leader (p. 92). Trends of partisan dealignment have continued, with the highest number of voters on record reporting that they do not feel close to any political party (p. 28). The proportion of voters who always vote the same way, at 34 per cent, reached its lowest level on record (p. 21). These are indicators of a more volatile electorate who are no longer attached to the two major parties. One of the most dramatic shifts since 2022, has been a decline in confidence in Australia's relationship with the United States (p. 151).

In many cases, the trends run from 1987 until 2025. In some cases, the same questions have been asked in surveys conducted in 1967, 1969 and 1979, allowing us to extend the time series back another two decades. The 1987 to 2025 trends are based on the Australian Election Study (AES) surveys, comprehensive post-election surveys of political opinion that have asked many of the same questions using a probability-based sampling methodology, to facilitate comparison over time. The appendix provides an overview of the methodology. The 1967, 1969 and 1979 surveys are also comprehensive academic surveys of political opinion conducted by Don Aitkin, who pioneered the use of mass public opinion surveys in the academic study of politics in Australia.

Further details on the dynamics shaping the 2025 election are provided in our accompanying report, *The 2025 Australian Federal Election: Results from the Australian Election Study*. These reports and a range of other resources including data, codebooks, technical reports and an interactive tool to explore the data online, are available on the AES website: www.australianelectionstudy.org

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Juliet Pietsch

November 2025

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Australian Election Study (AES) is a major collaborative project and we would like to thank all those who have contributed to the study. The Principal Investigators on the 1987 to 2025 AES surveys include: Clive Bean, Sarah Cameron, David Denemark, Rachel Gibson, David Gow, Simon Jackman, Roger Jones, Toni Makkai, Ian McAllister, Anthony Mughan, Juliet Pietsch, and Jill Sheppard. The 1967 to 1979 data, where incorporated, were collected by Don Aitkin.

The 2025 AES is funded by an Australian Research Council Discovery Project (DP210101517), together with the Australian National University and Griffith University. At the Australian National University we would like to acknowledge and extend particular thanks to: Matthew Gray, Director of POLIS: The Centre for Social Policy Research; Nicholas Biddle, Head of the School of Politics and International Relations; Christian Barry; Perri Chapman; Cathie Gough; Dylan Wang; and Jessica Fagan and her team. At Griffith University we acknowledge and thank the School of Government and International Relations Research Support Scheme as well as the following individuals: Huiyun Feng, Deputy Head of School; Max Grömping, Research Director; and Ben Dobson and his team.

The Social Research Centre fielded the 2025 survey, with thanks to Anna Lethborg, Simran Kothiyal and Natasha Vickers on project management, as well as their broader team contributing to the project. The Australian Data Archive prepare the data for public release, support the Integrated Time Series Data, and provide web support, with thanks to Ryan Perry, Weifan Jiang, and Marina McGale. Christie Fearn led graphic design on this report. Small Multiples and Jack Zhao have supported data visualisation for the report series. Ron Woods has contributed to the report series design.

This research is made possible by the thousands of Australians who completed the Australian Election Study surveys and shared their opinions as captured in this report.

The election campaign

Voting and partisanship

Election issues

The economy

Politics and political parties

The left-right dimension

The political leaders

Democracy and institutions

Trade unions, business and wealth

Social issues

Defence and foreign affairs

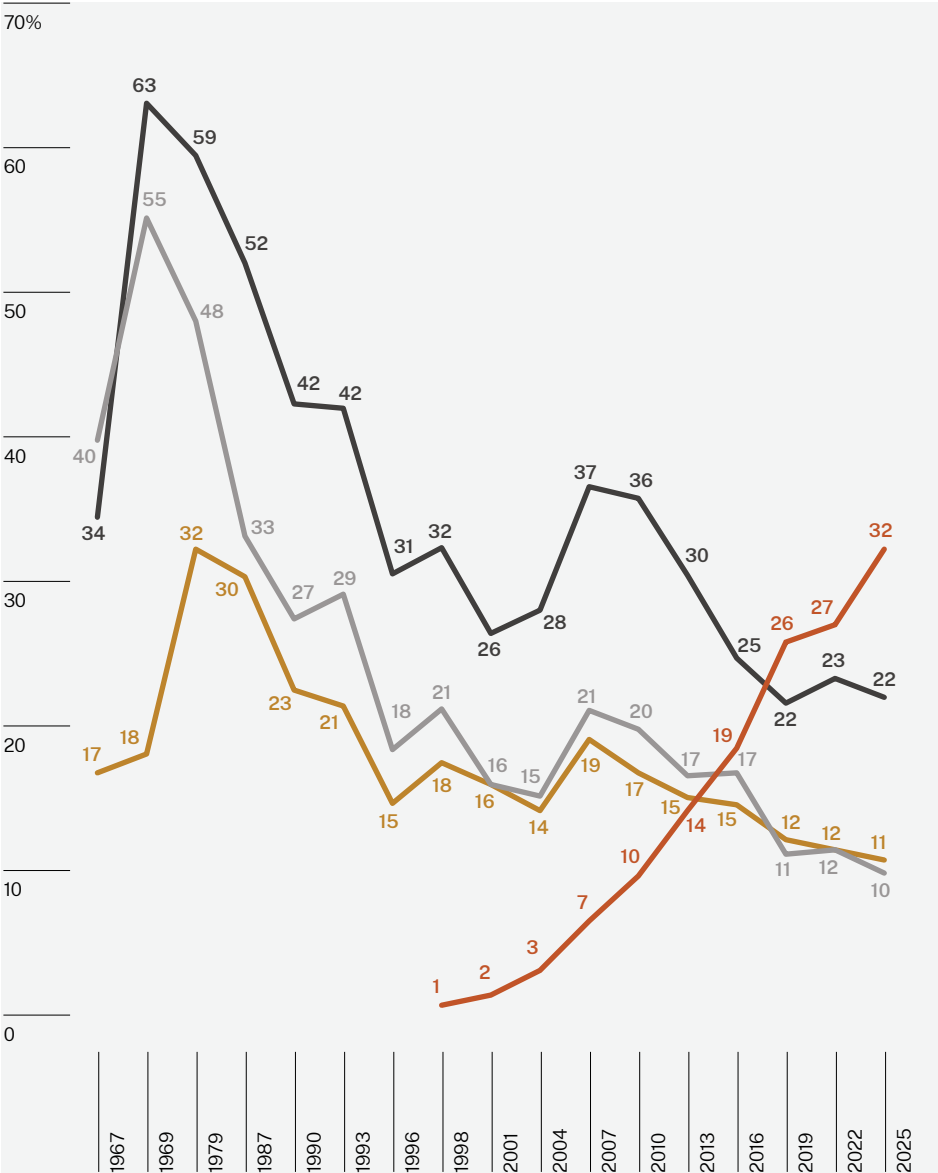
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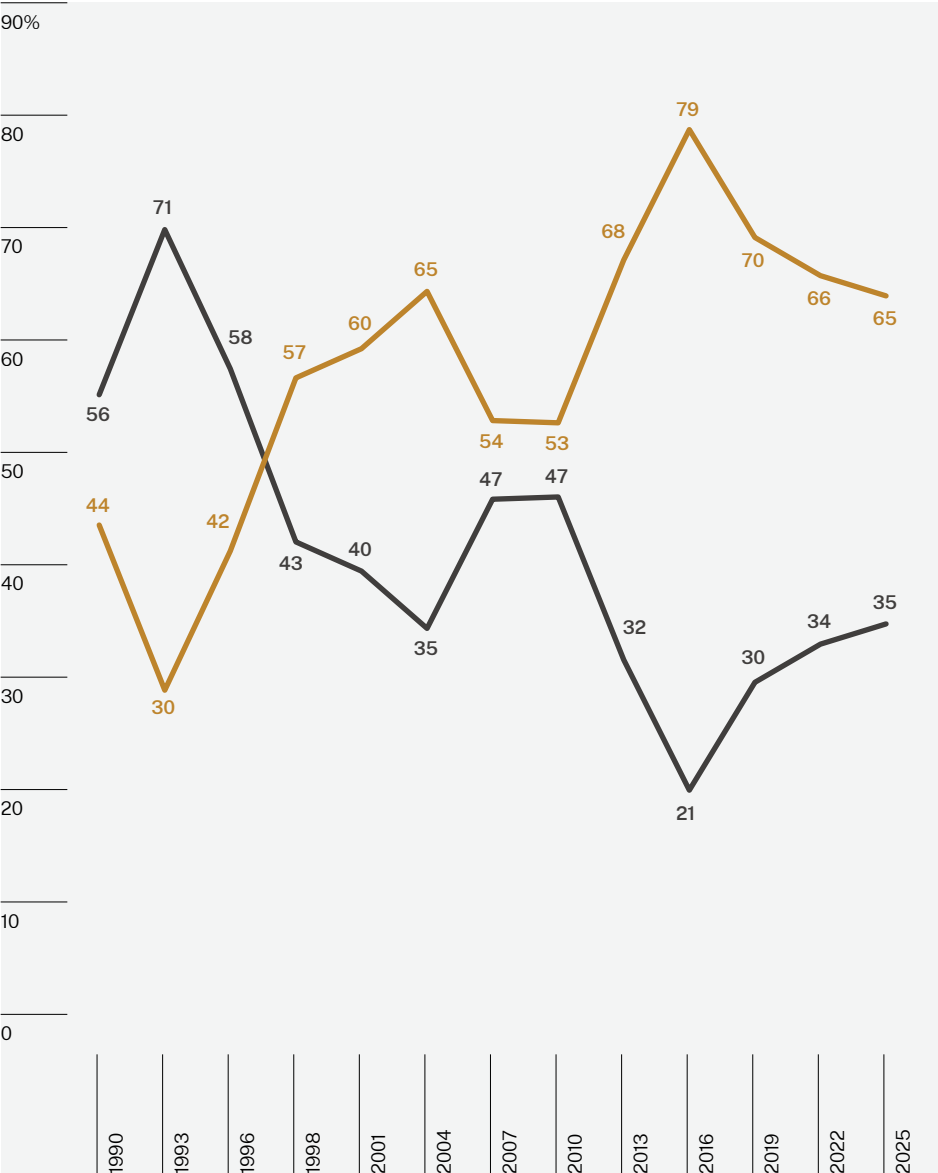
Followed the election in the mass media

- Television
- Radio
- Newspapers
- Internet



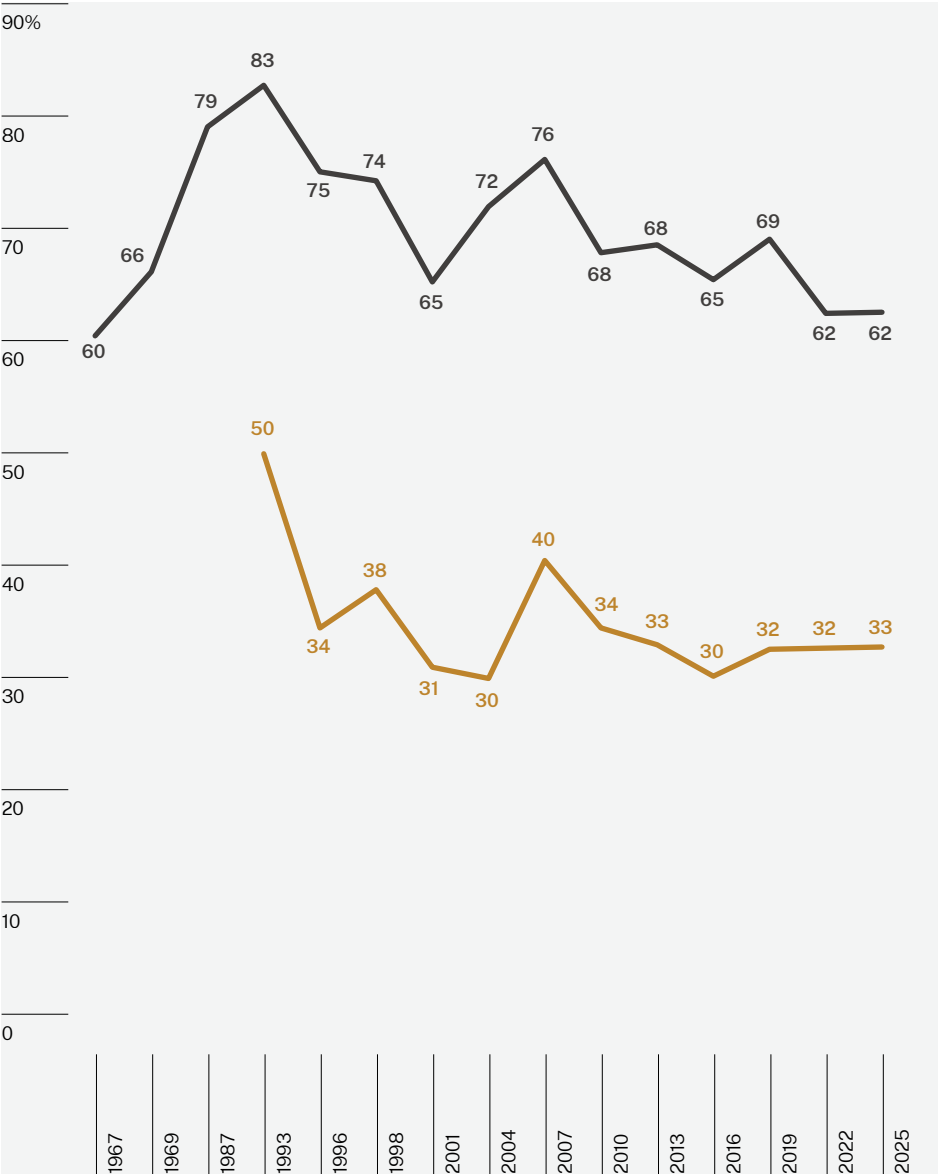
Watched the leaders' debates

- Watched debate
- Did not watch debate



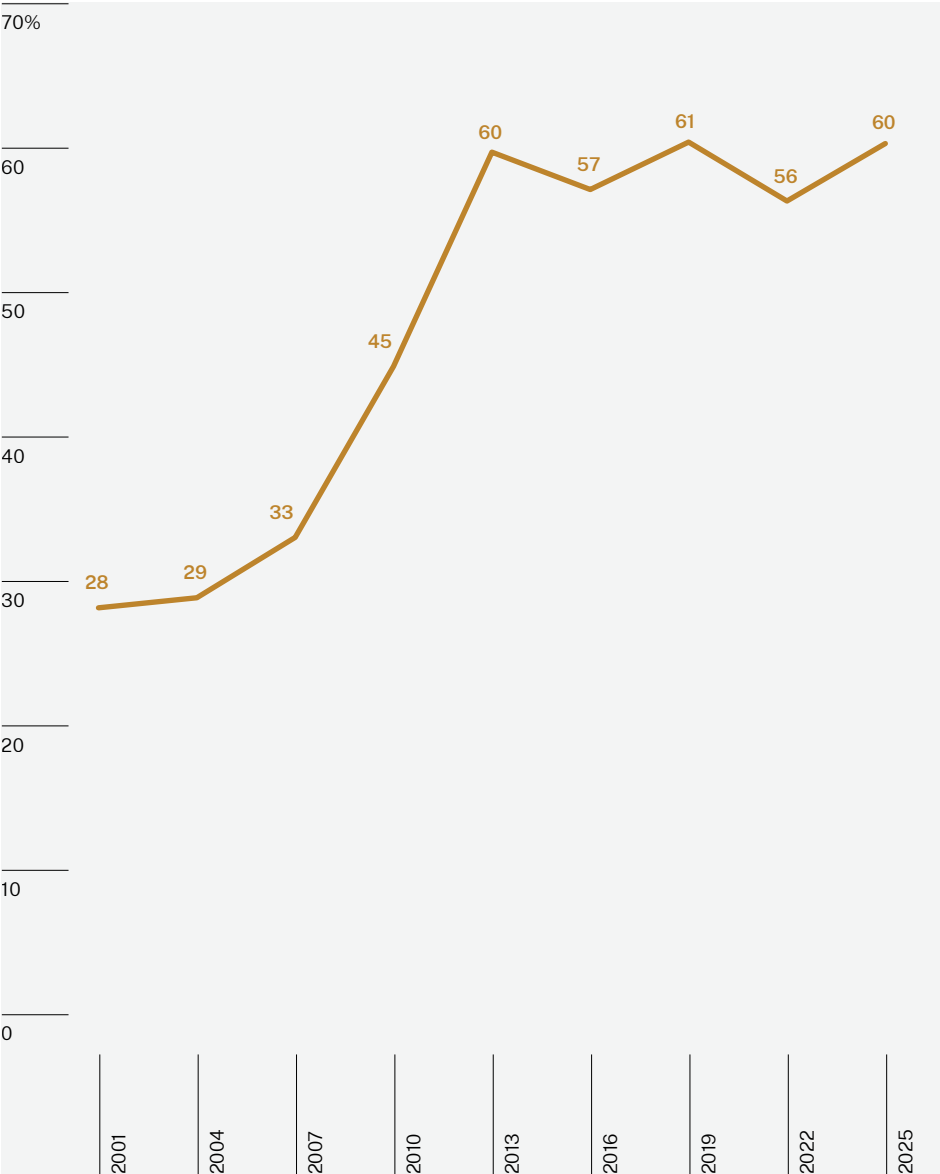
Interest in the election

- Care a good deal who wins the election
- A good deal of interest in the election



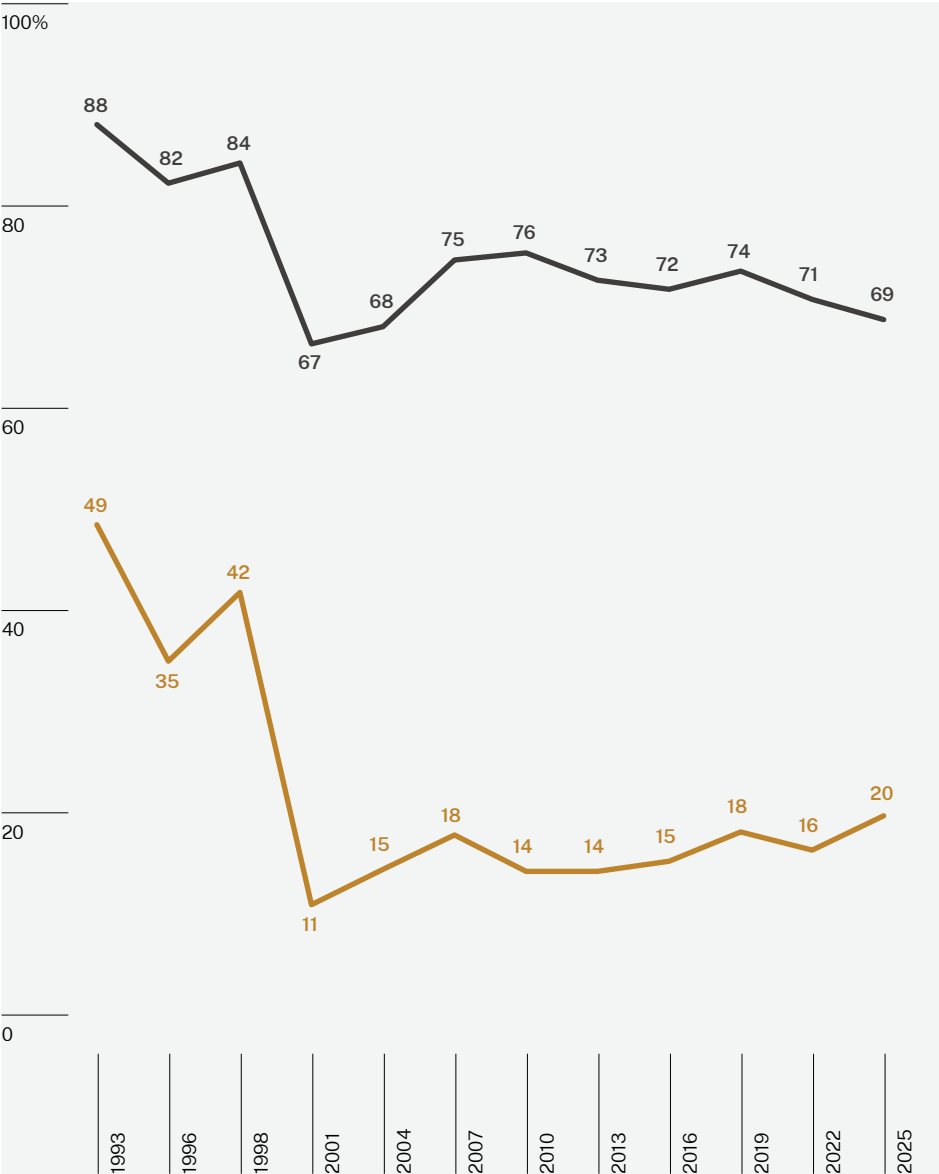
Contacted by candidate or political party

— Contacted by a party during the campaign



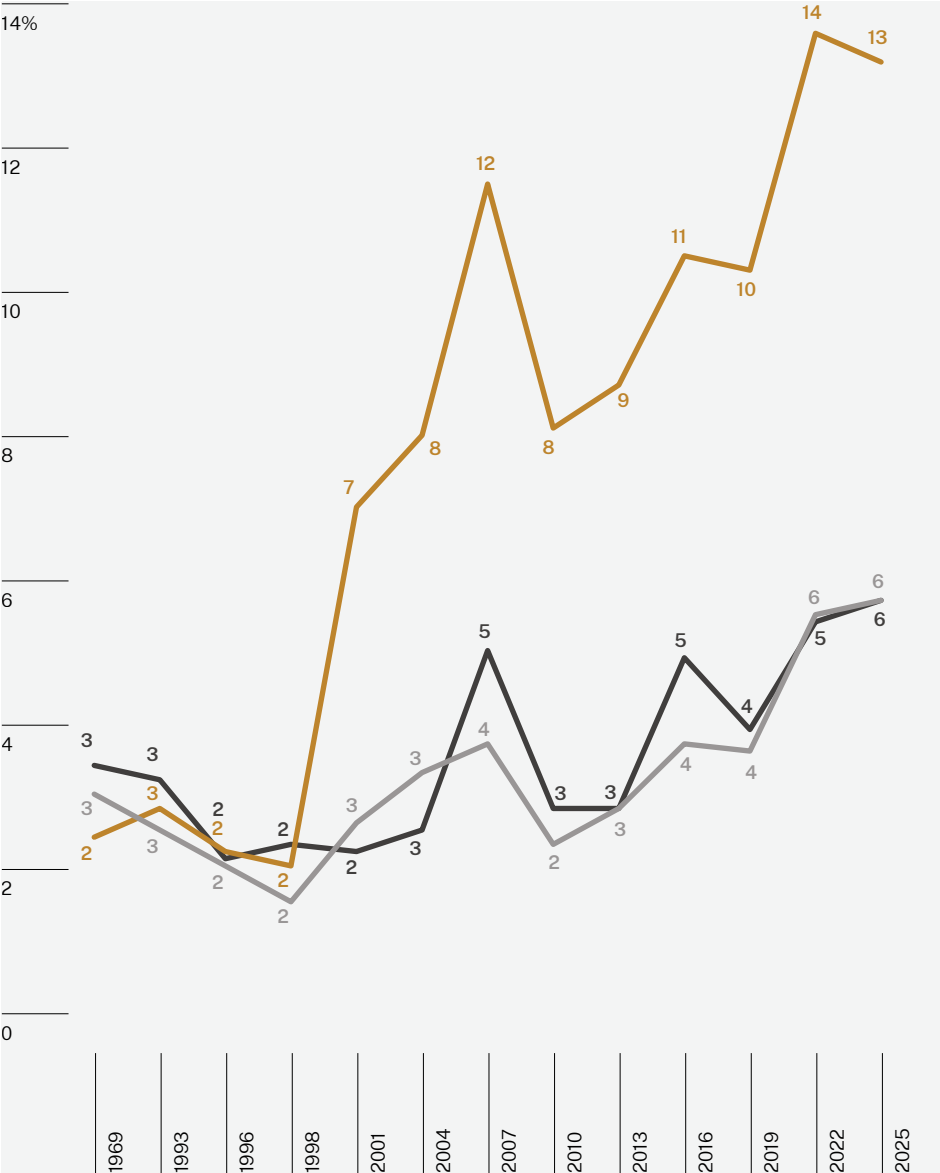
Discussing the election campaign with others

- Discuss politics
- Persuade others how to vote



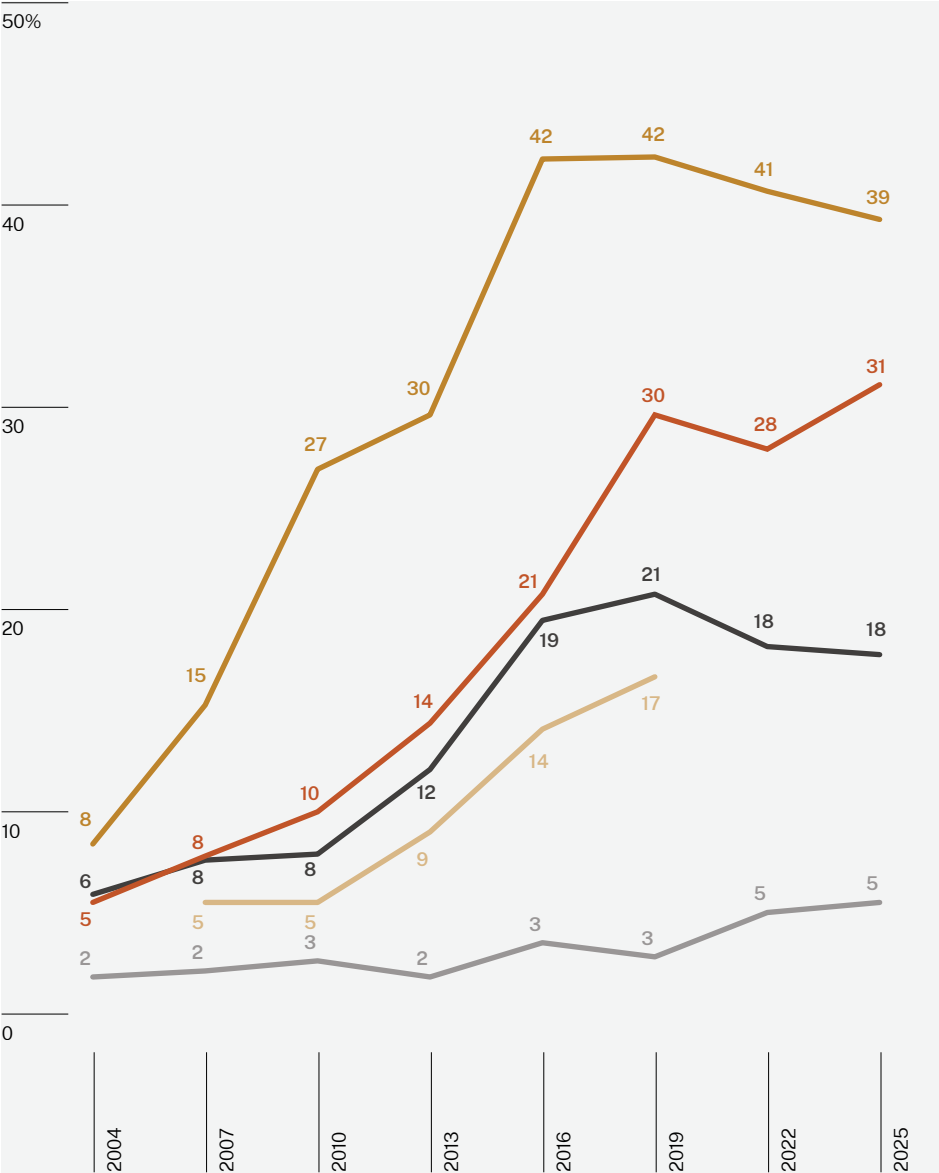
Involvement in the election campaign

- Attend meeting or rally
- Work for party or candidate
- Contribute money to a political party or election candidate



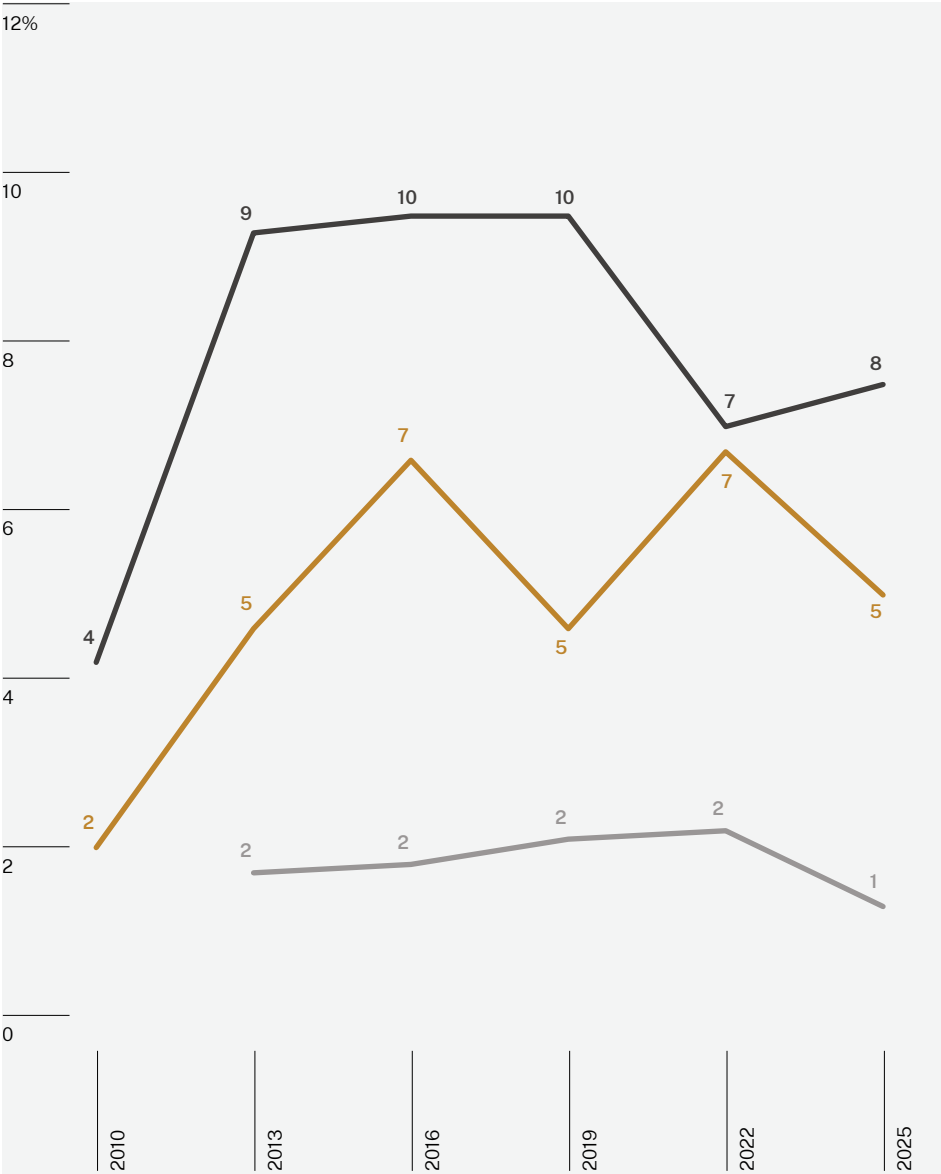
Websites accessed during the election campaign

- Party or candidate campaign sites
- Mainstream news media
- Federal Parliament
- Australian Electoral Commission
- Unofficial online videos



Online activity during the election campaign

- Shared unofficial political content online
- Signed up to receive information from a party or candidate
- Joined a political group on a social networking site



Notes

Followed the election in the mass media

Response categories for television, radio and newspapers are: (1967-1979) 'yes'; (1987-1990) 'often'; (1993-2025) 'a good deal'. Response categories for internet are: (1998-2004) 'many times'; (2007-2025) 'a good deal'.

Watched the leaders' debate

Watched debate includes respondents who watched one or more of the debates in the election campaign. Elections 1990 and 1998-2016 each had one leaders' debate; in 1993 and 1996 there were two debates; in 2019 and 2022 there were three debates; and in 2025 there were four debates.

Contacted by candidate or political party

For contacted by a party during the campaign, the response categories are: (2001-2007) 'Yes'; (2010-2025) 'Yes, by telephone'; (2010-2025) 'Yes, by mail'; (2010-2025) 'Yes, face-to-face'; (2010) 'Yes, by email or through the web'; (2013-2025) 'Yes, by email'; (2013-2025) 'Yes, by text message or SMS'; (2013-2022) 'Yes, by social network site or other web-based method', and (2025) 'Yes, by social media'.

Discussing the election campaign with others

For 2001-2025 estimates combine 'frequently' and 'occasionally'.

Involvement in the election campaign

For attend meeting or rally, the response categories are: (1969) 'yes'; (1993-2025) 'go to any political meetings or rallies'. For work for a party or candidate, the response categories are: (1969) 'yes'; (1993-1998) 'do any work for a political party or election candidate'; (2001-2025) 'show your support for a particular party or candidate by, e.g. attending a meeting, putting up a poster, or in some other way'. For contribute money to a political party or election candidate, the response categories are: (1969) 'yes'; (1993-2007, 2013-2025) 'contribute money to a political party or election candidate'; (2010) combined responses to 'contribute money to a political party or election candidate by mail or phone' and 'contribute money to a political party or election candidate using the internet'. For 2001-2025 all estimates combine 'frequently' and 'occasionally'.

Websites accessed during the election campaign

For party or candidate campaign sites the response categories are: (2004-2007) 'party site', 'your own MP's site', 'individual candidate site in your electorate' and 'other candidate/MPs sites outside your electorate'; (2010-2013) 'party or candidate campaign sites'; (2016) 'official party or candidate campaign sites'; (2019) 'official party or candidate campaign sites (e.g. home pages, blogs, official Facebook profiles, official YouTube channels)'; (2022-2025) 'party or campaign websites'. For unofficial online videos, the response categories are (2007) 'YouTube'; (2010-2013) 'unofficial online videos'; (2016) 'unofficial online content (i.e. non-party produced campaign material (e.g. YouTube))'; and (2019) 'unofficial online content (i.e. non-party campaign material e.g. YouTube)'.

Online activity during the election campaign

For 'signed up to receive information from a party or candidate' this includes registering as their follower/friend/supporter on social media.

The election campaign

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Social issues

Defence and foreign affairs

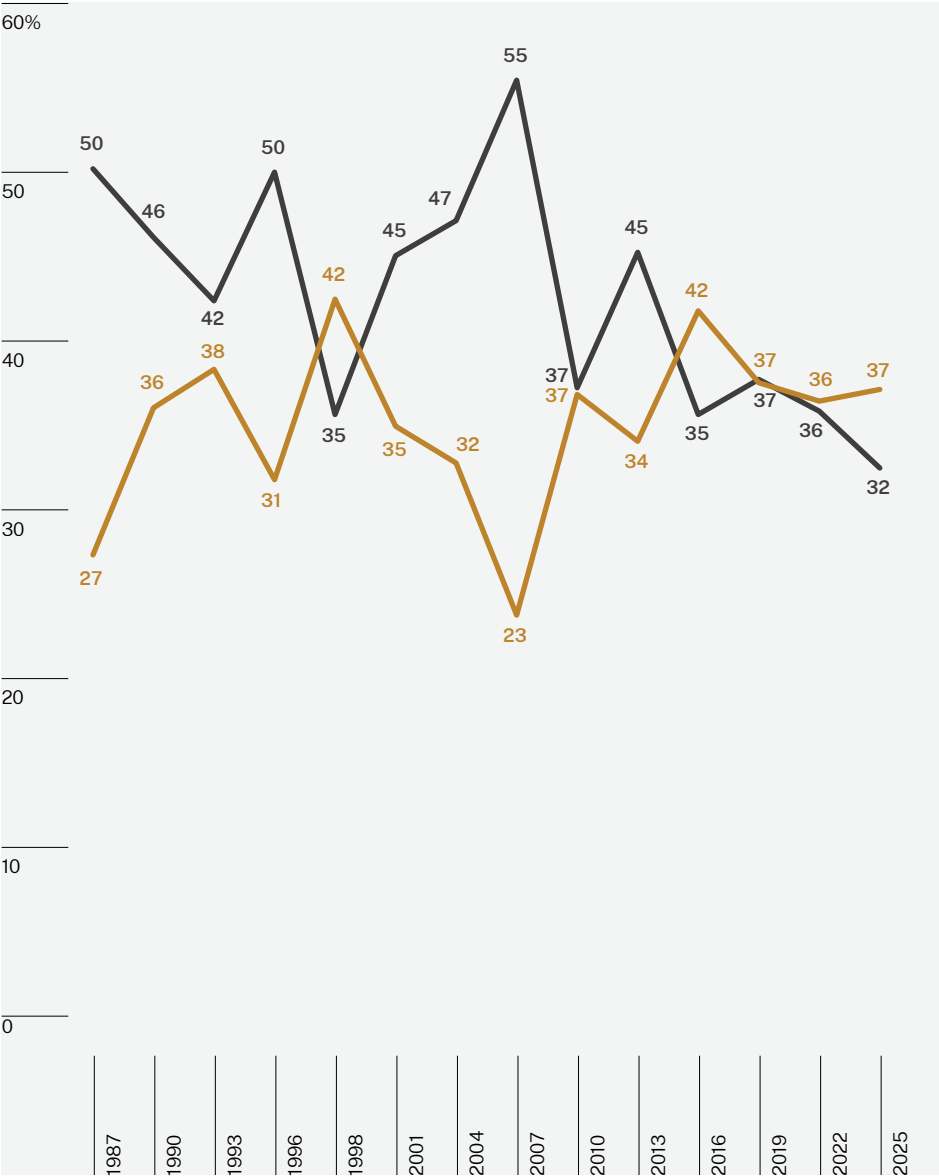
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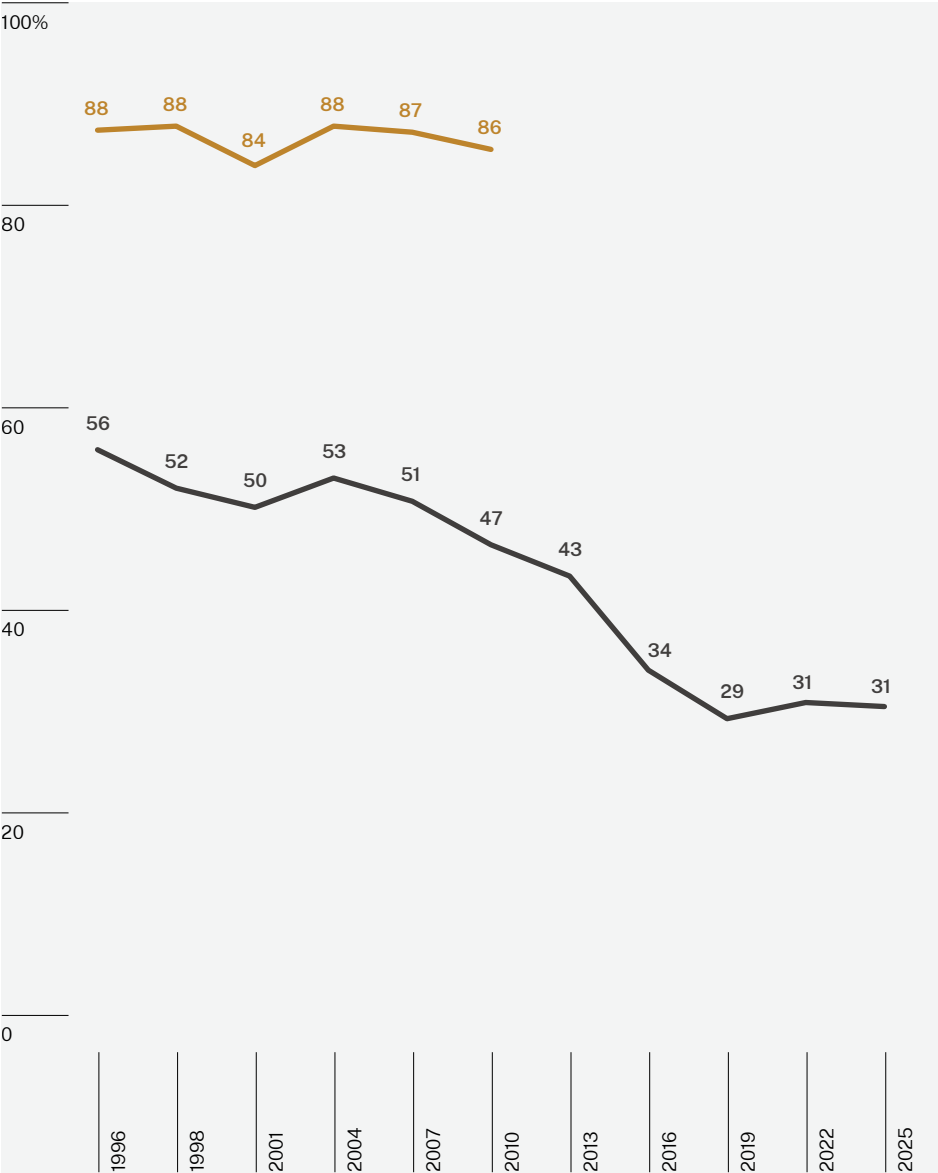
Timing of the voting decision

- A long time ago
- During the election campaign



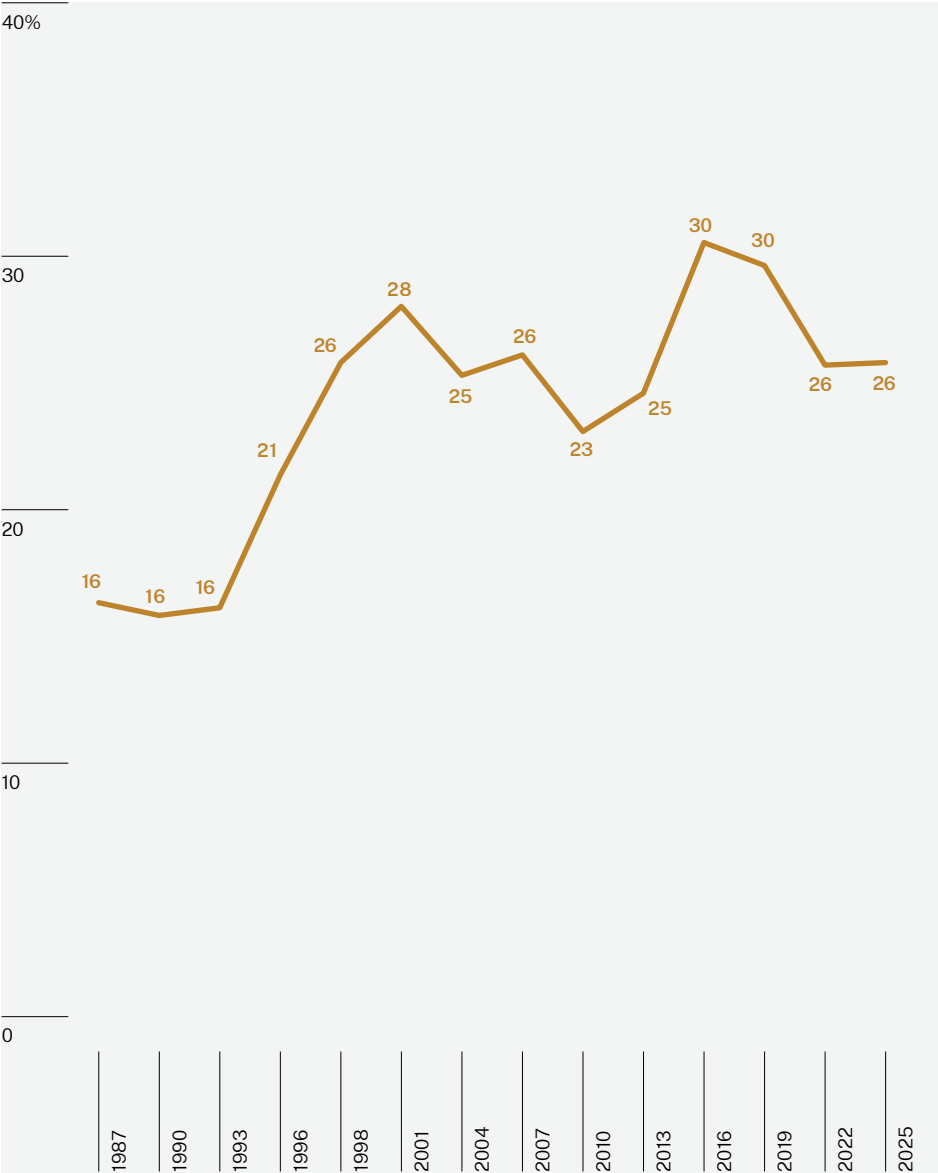
The use of voter prompts on polling day

- Followed 'How to Vote' card for House of Representatives
- Voted above the line for Senate



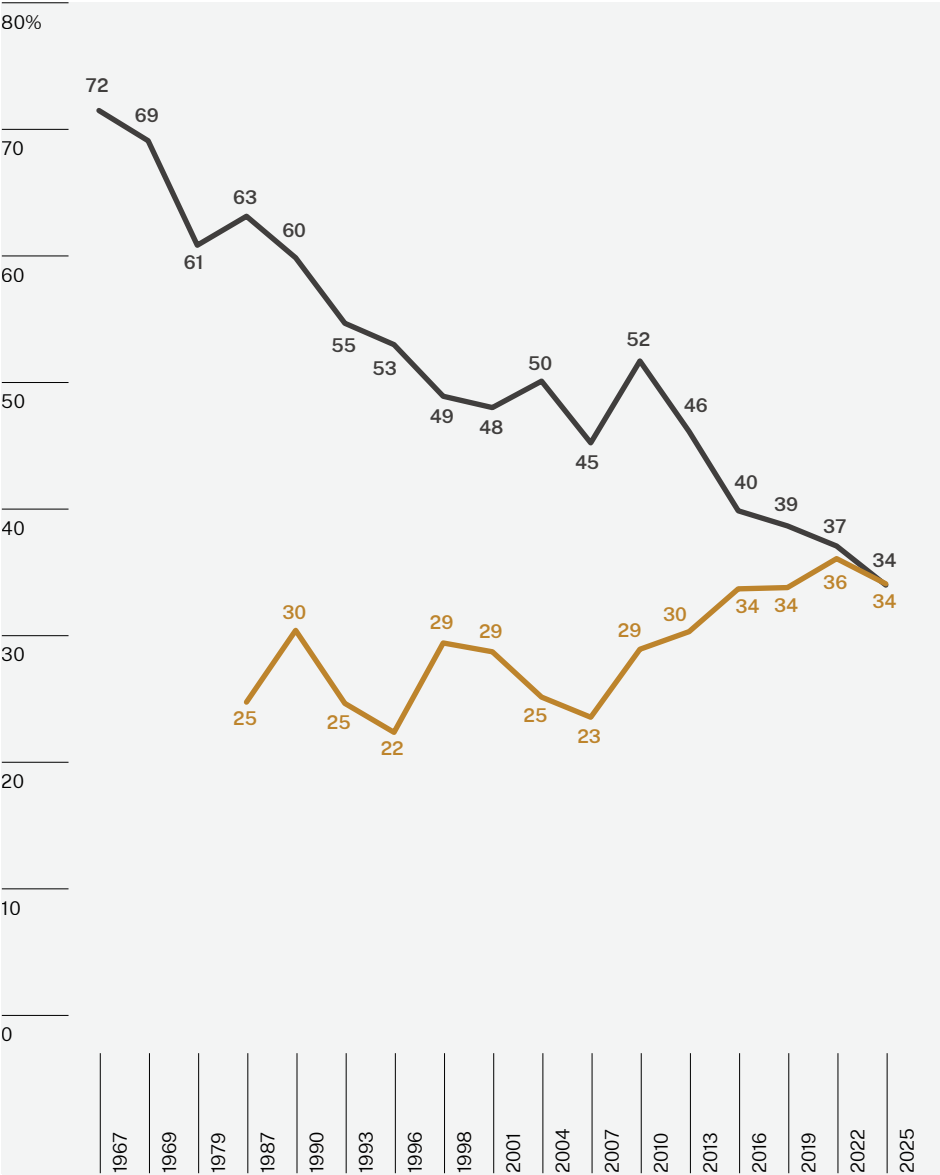
Split ticket voting — cast different vote in House of Representatives and Senate

Split tickets



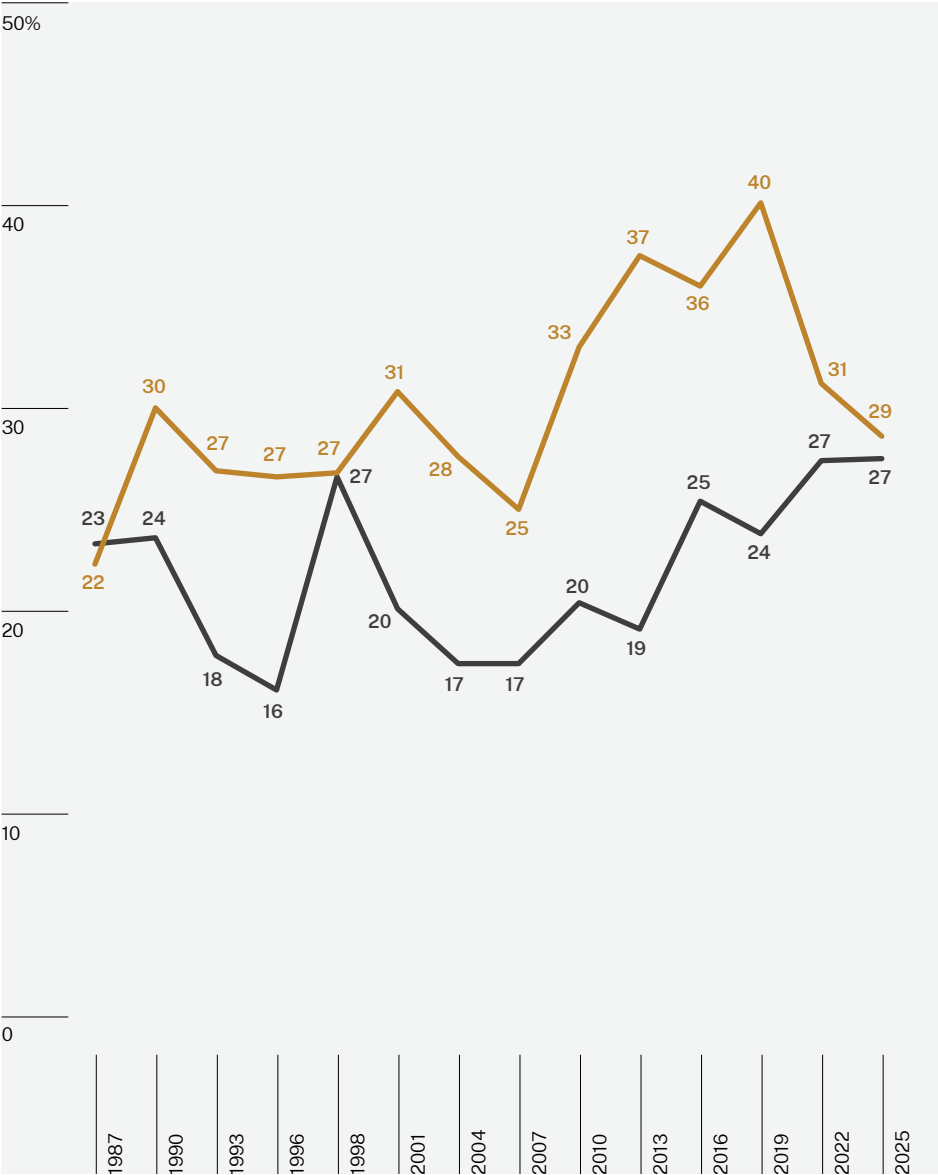
The extent of voting volatility

- Always voted for same party
- Considered voting for another party



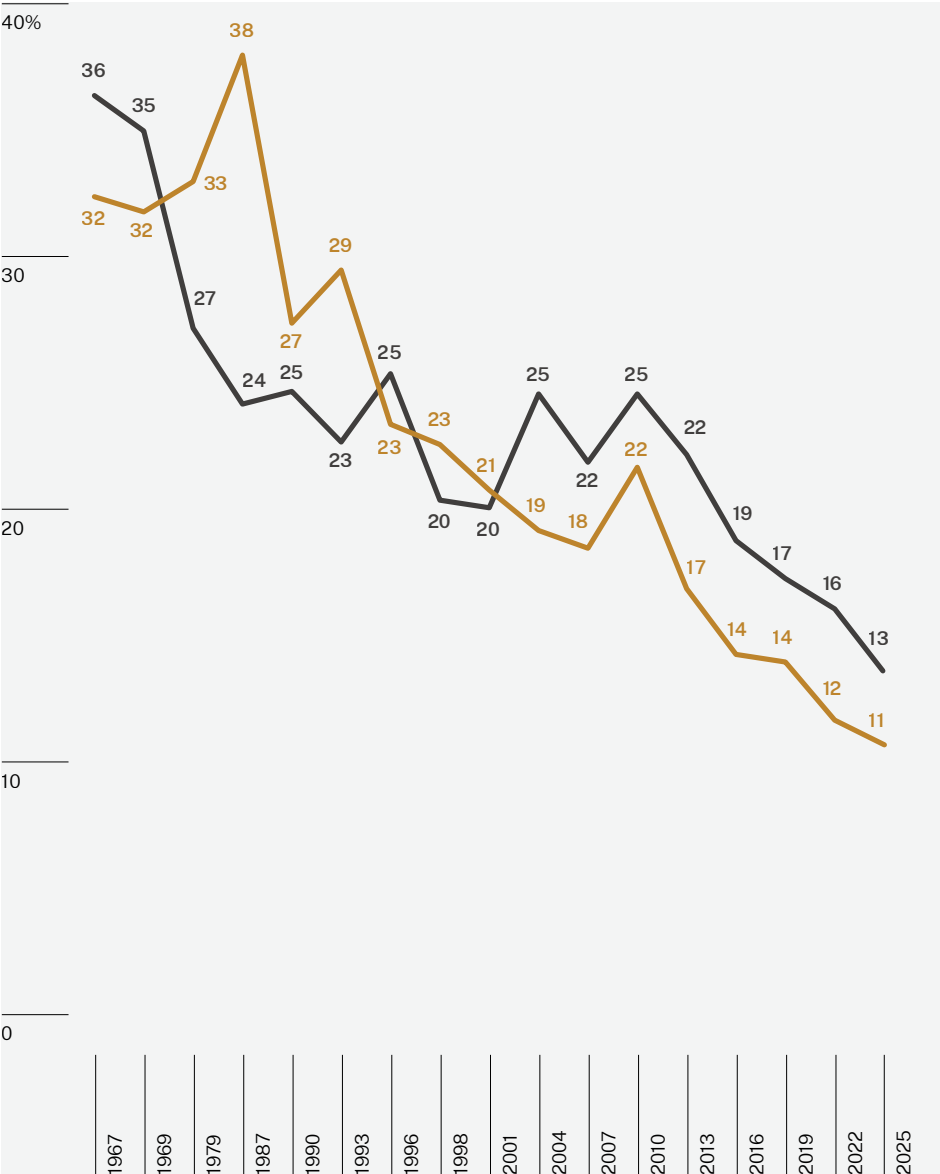
Considered changing vote during campaign

- Liberal-National voters
- Labor voters



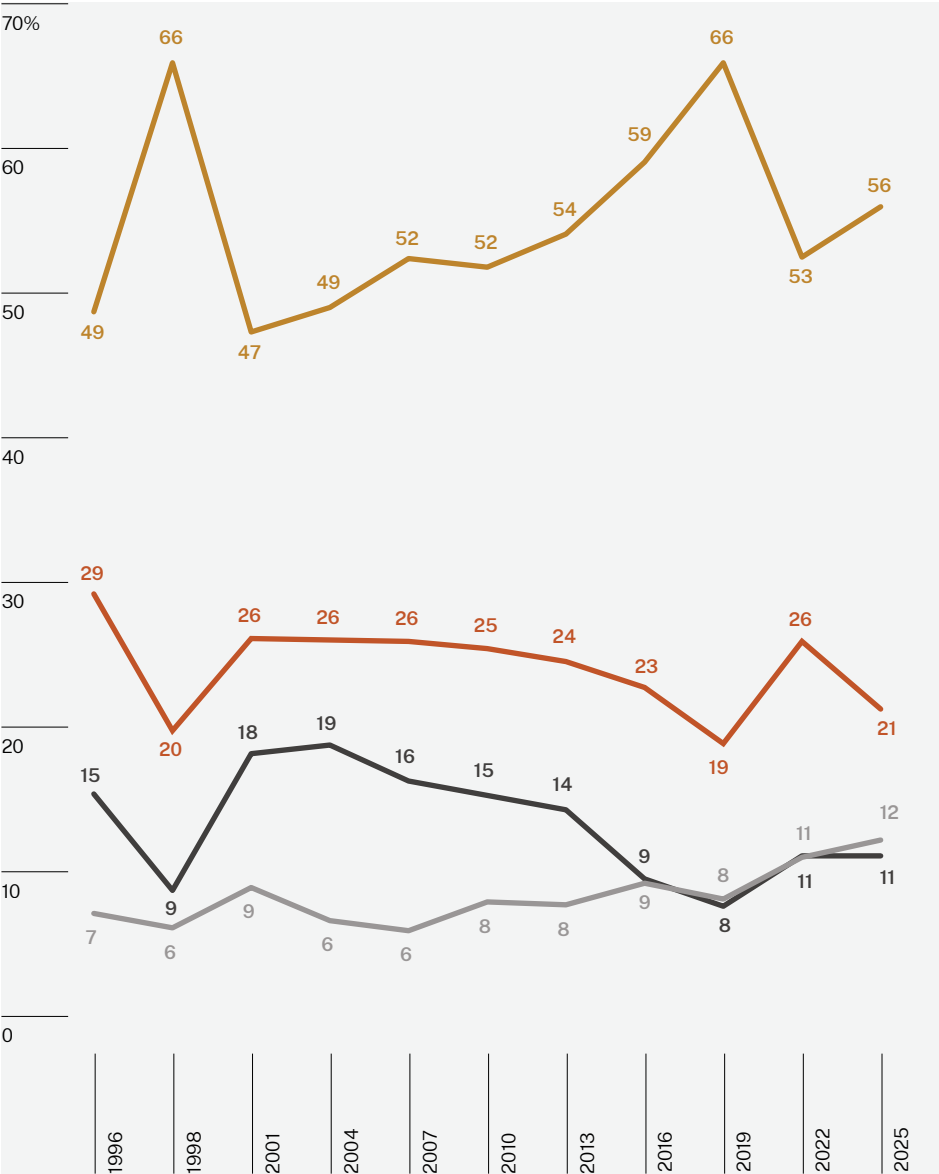
Lifetime voting

- Stable Liberal-National
- Stable Labor



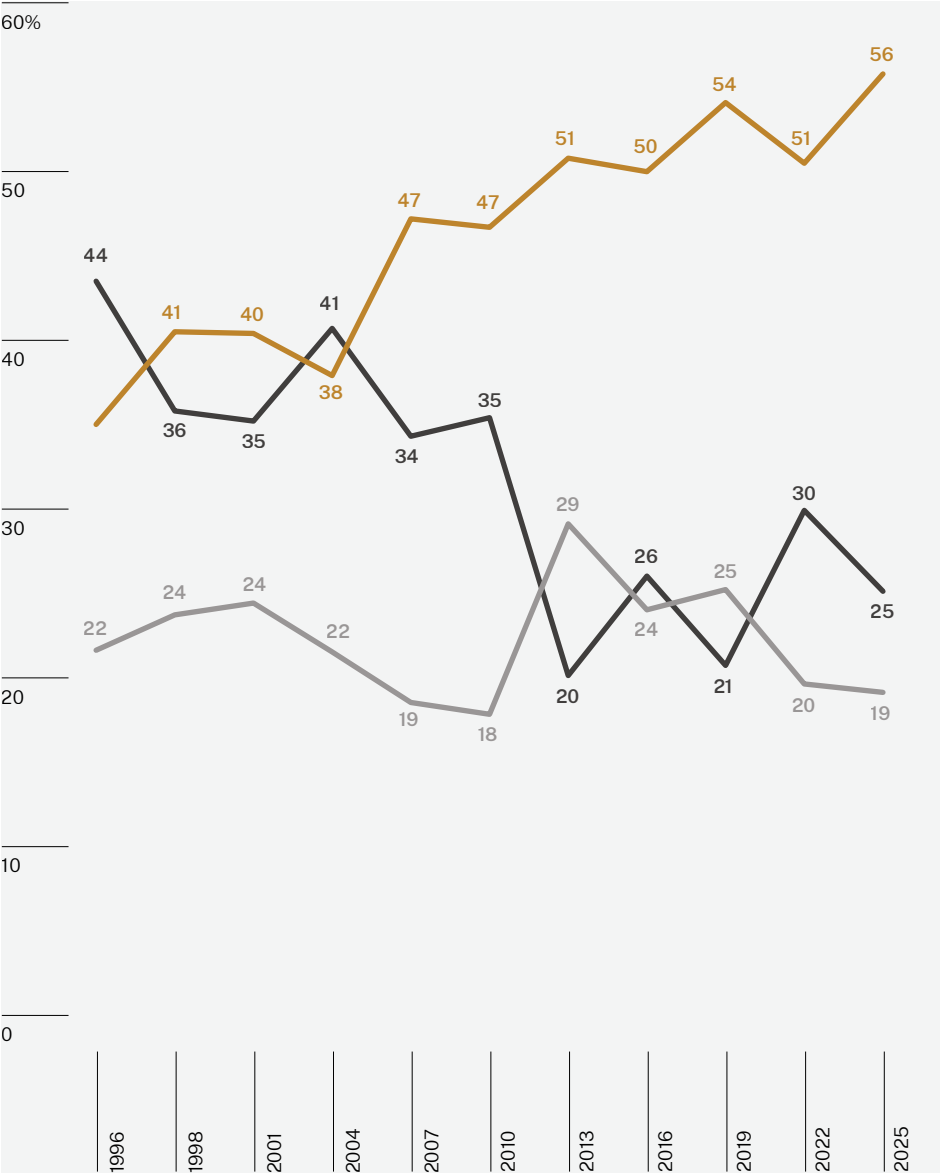
Considerations in the voting decision

- Party leaders
- Policy issues
- Candidates in your electorate
- Parties taken as a whole



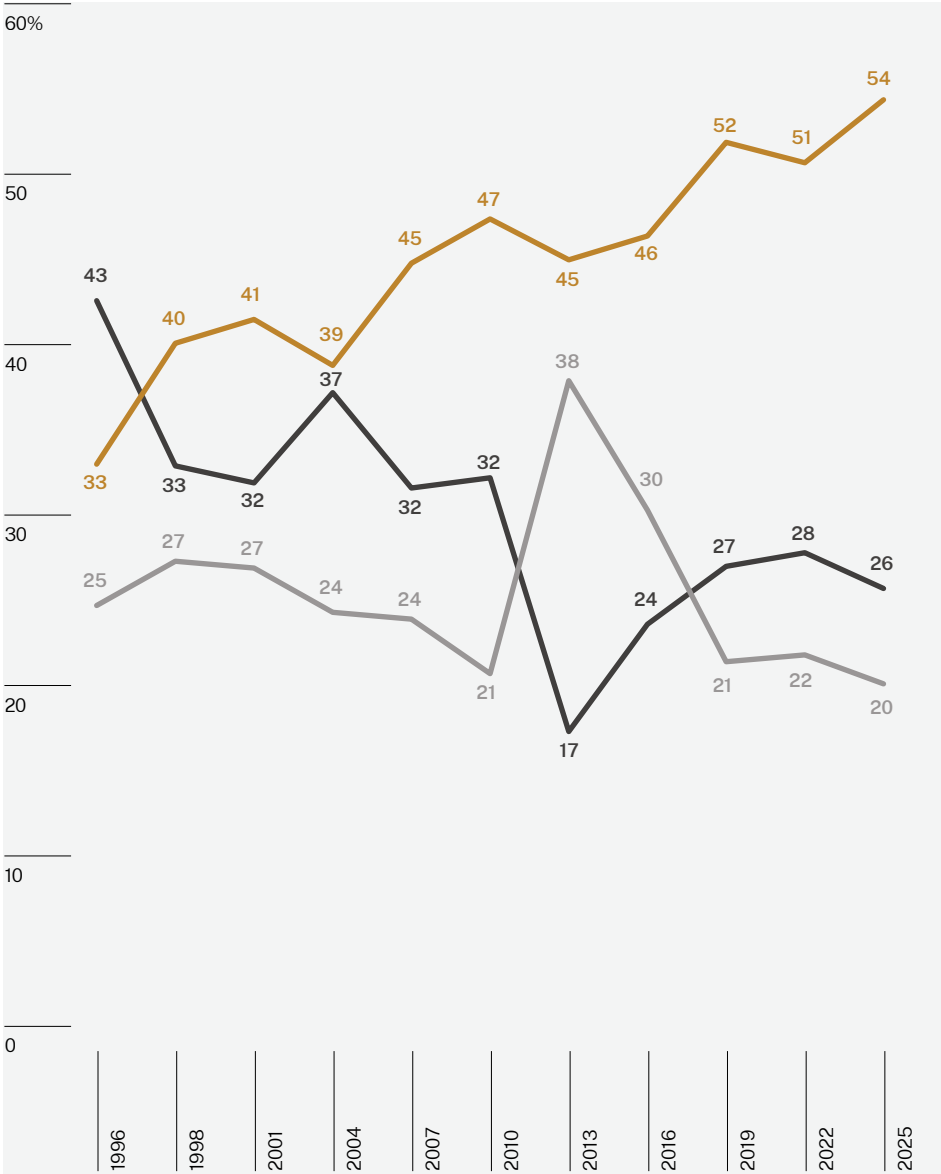
Destination of minor party votes in the House of Representatives

- Liberal-National
- Labor
- Not sure / don't know



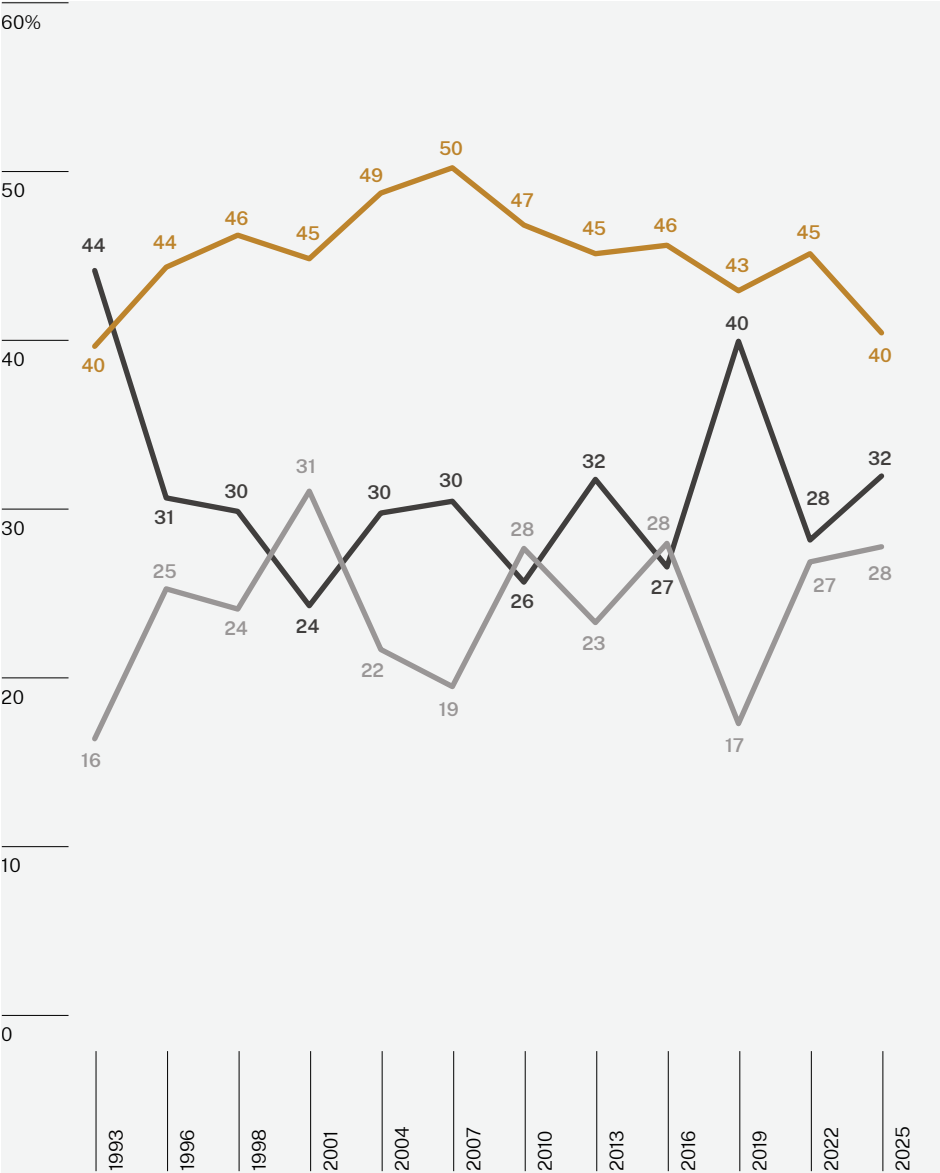
Destination of minor party votes in the Senate

- Liberal-National
- Labor
- Not sure / don't know



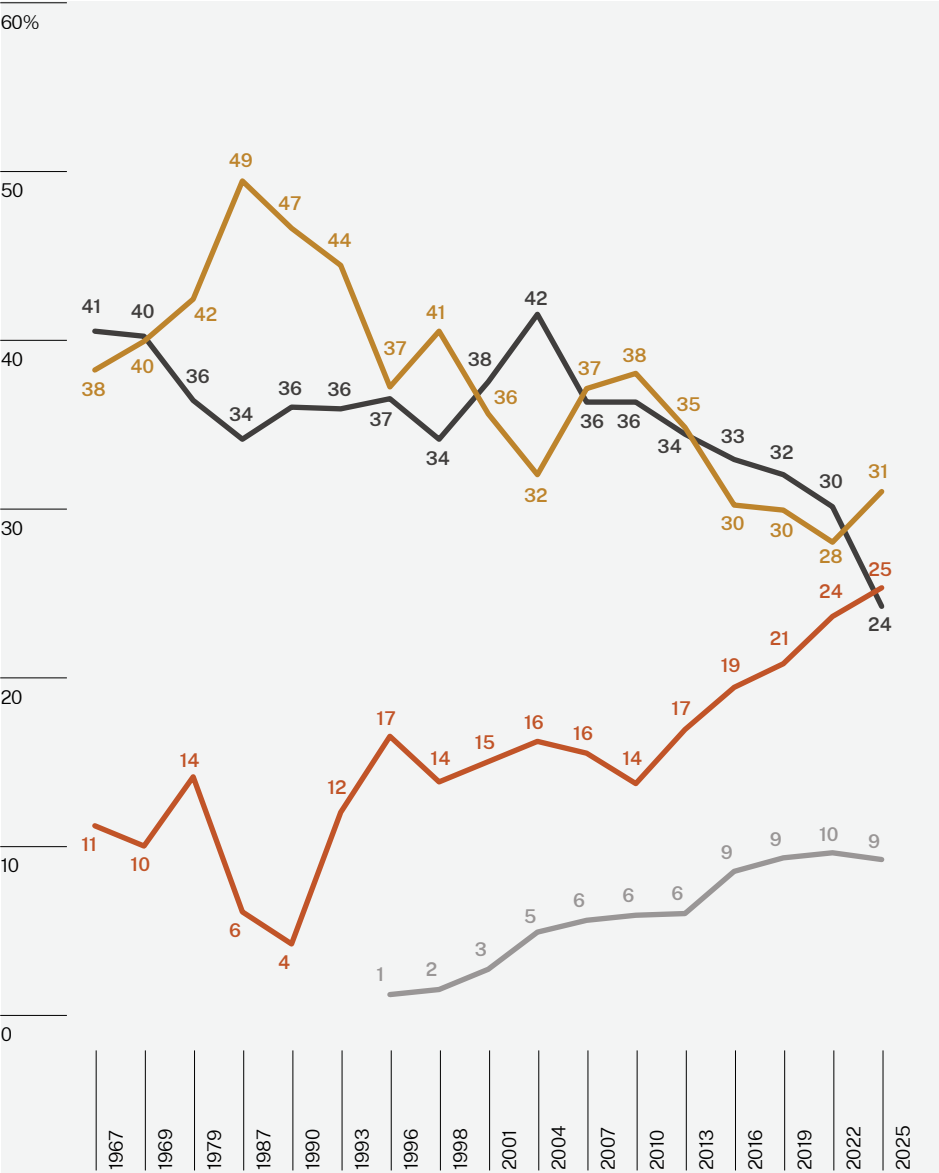
Difference between the parties

- Good deal of difference
- Some difference
- Not much / no difference



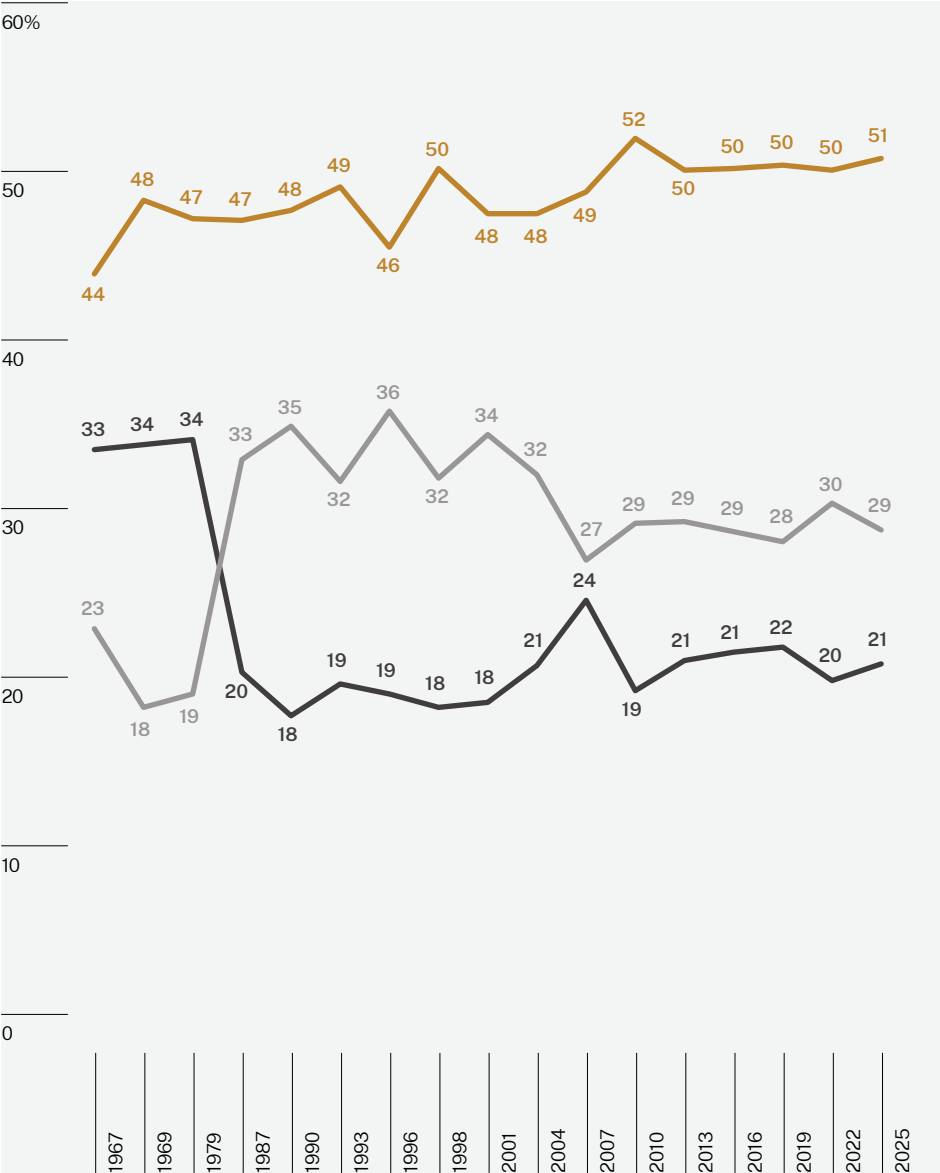
Direction of political partisanship

- Liberal
- Labor
- Greens
- None



Strength of political partisanship

- Very strong
- Fairly strong
- Not very strong



Notes

Timing of the voting decision

For 1990-2025 during the election campaign combines 'in the first few weeks of the campaign', 'a few days before election day' and 'on election day'.

Split ticket voting

Estimates are based on voters preferring a different party in the House of Representatives and the Senate. The Liberal and National parties are treated as a single group.

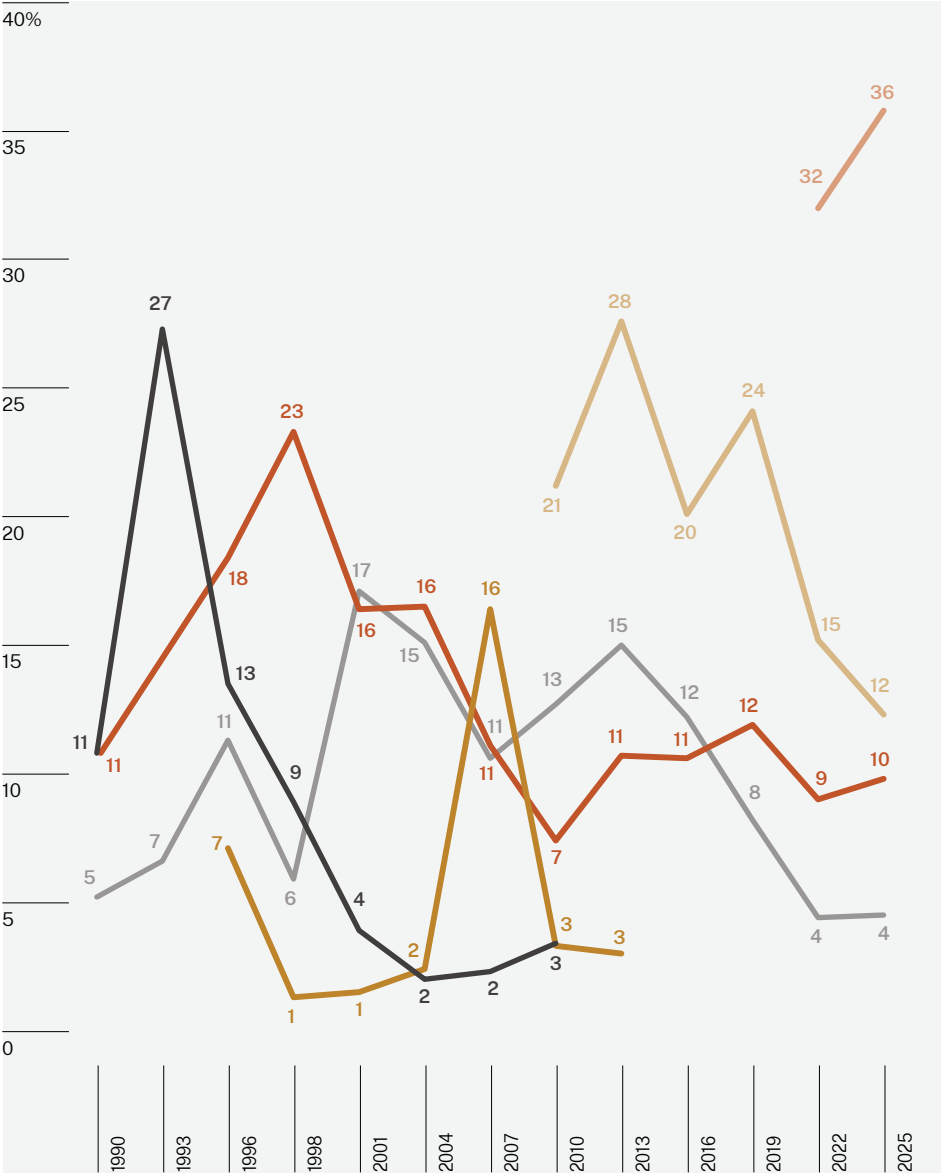
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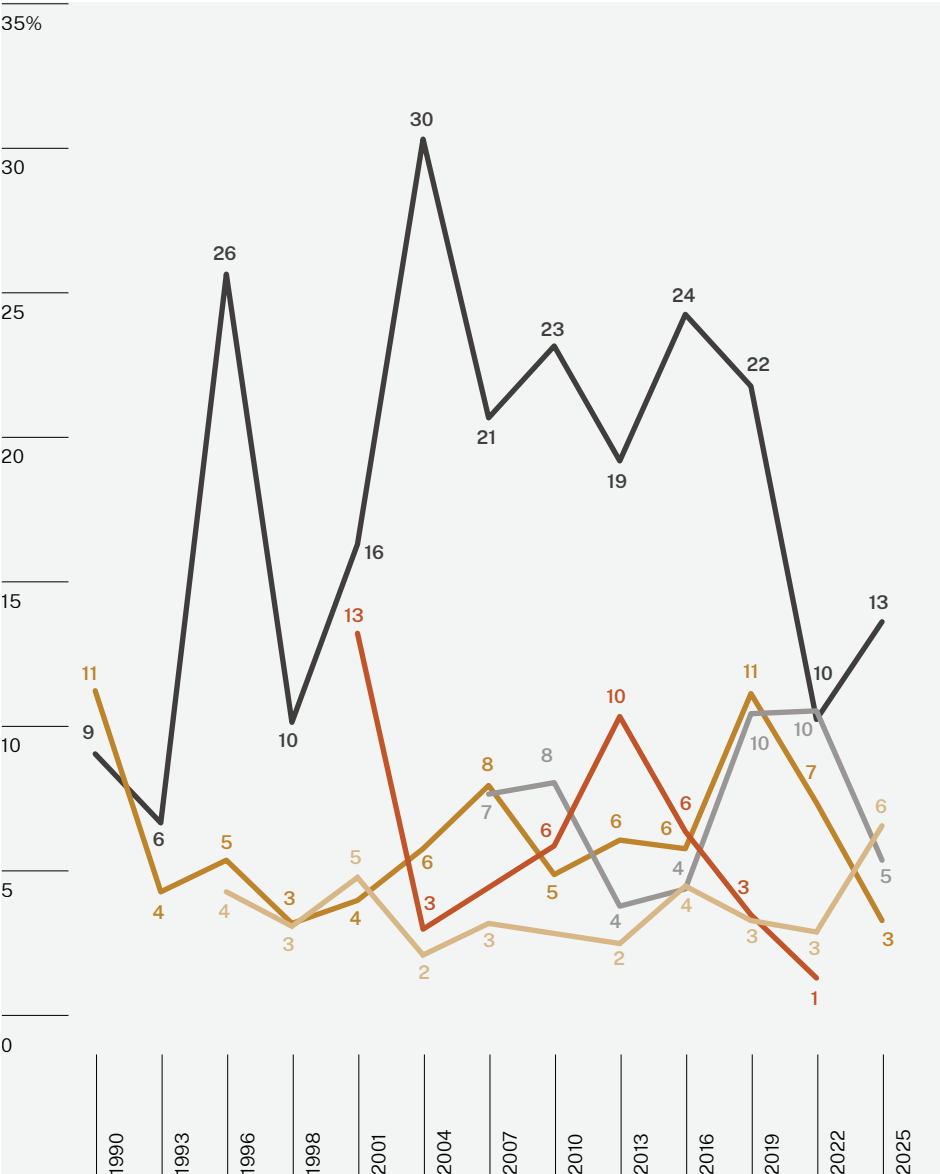
Most important economic election issues

- Unemployment
- Industrial relations
- Education
- Taxation
- Management of the economy
- Cost of living



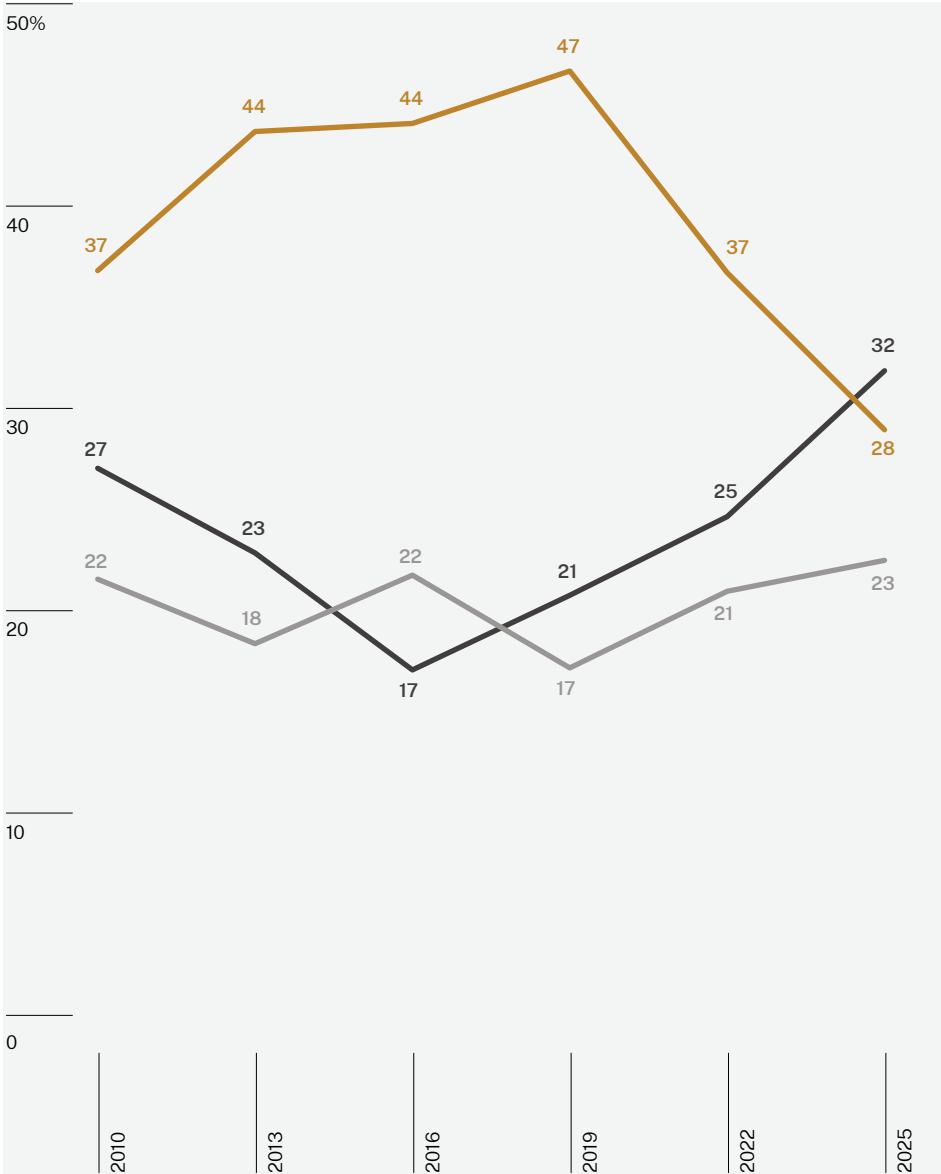
Most important non-economic election issues

- Health
- Environment
- Climate change
- Refugees and asylum seekers
- Immigration



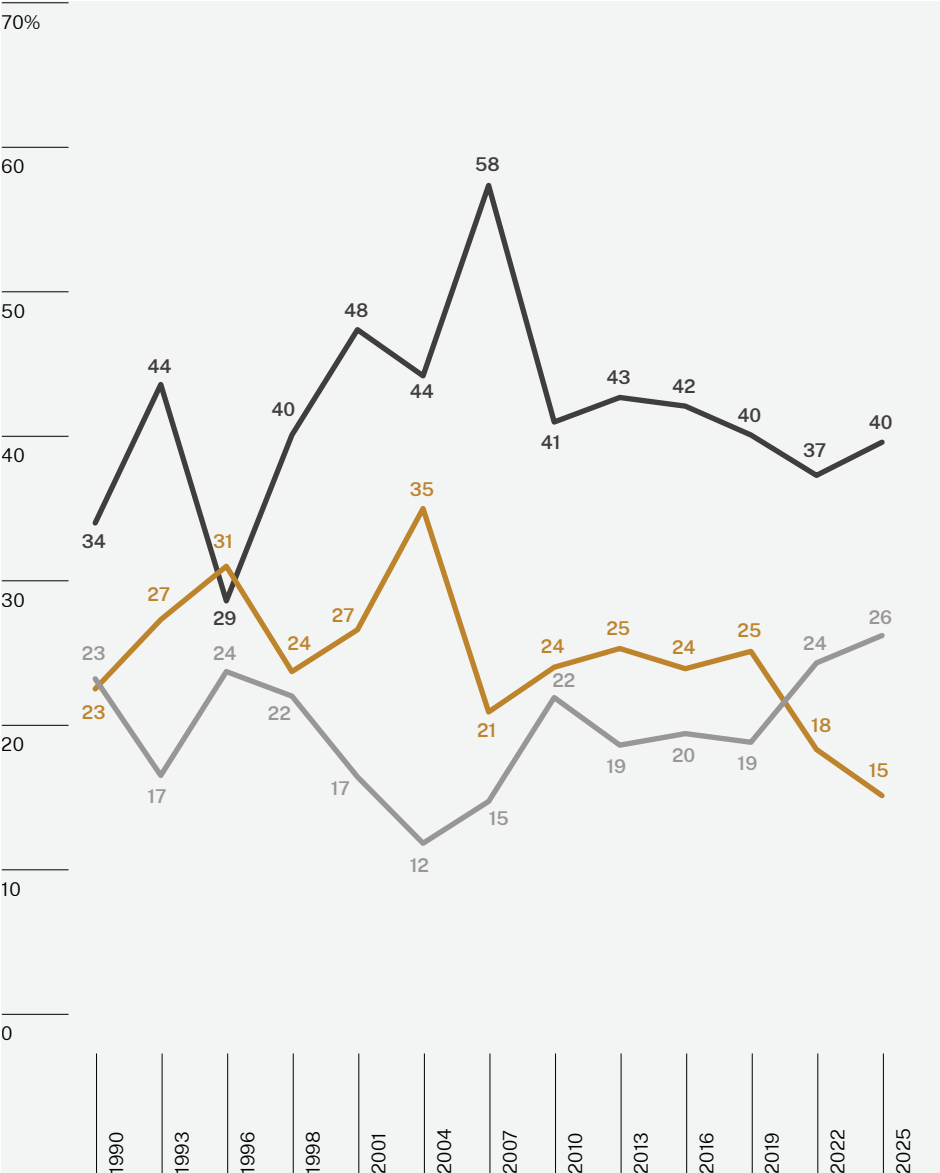
Preferred party policy on management of the economy

- ALP
- Coalition
- No difference



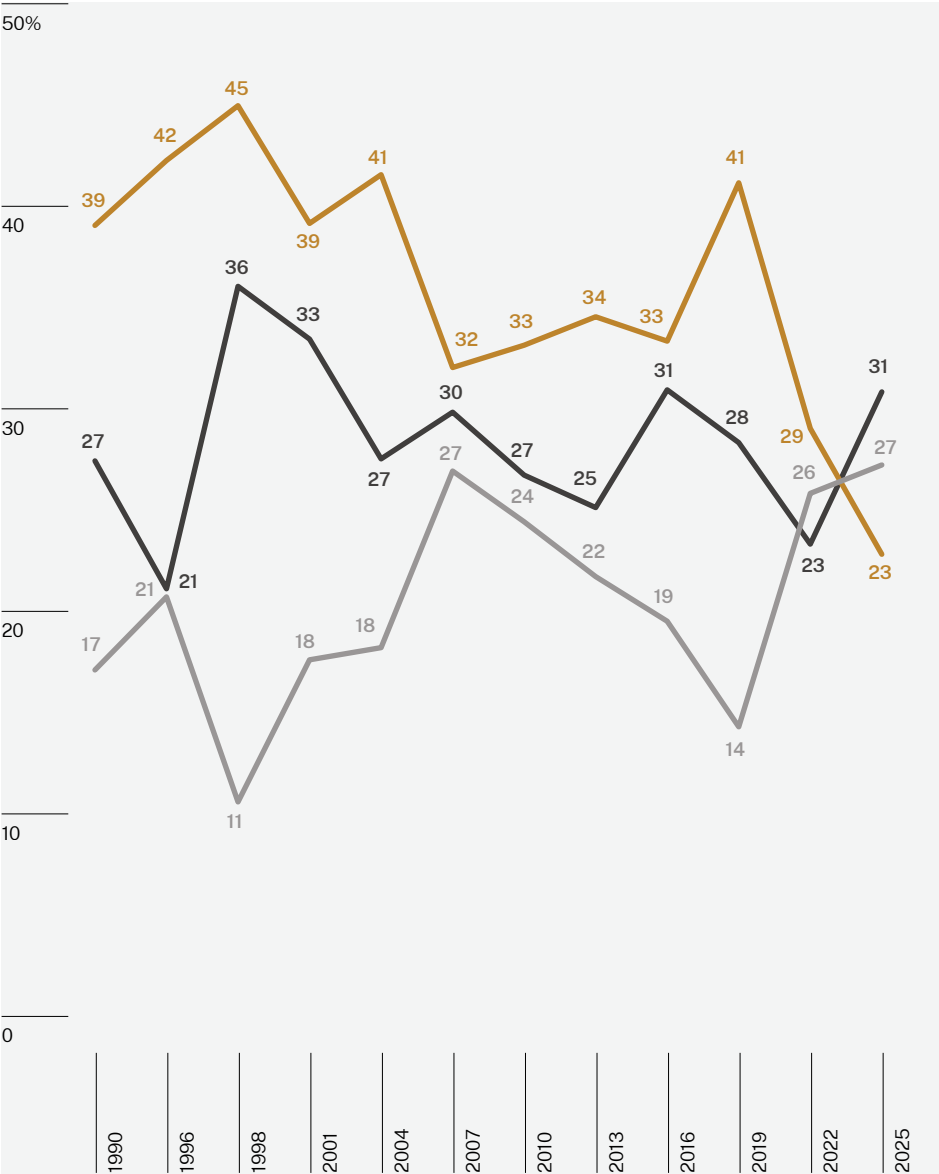
Preferred party policy on education

- ALP
- Coalition
- No difference



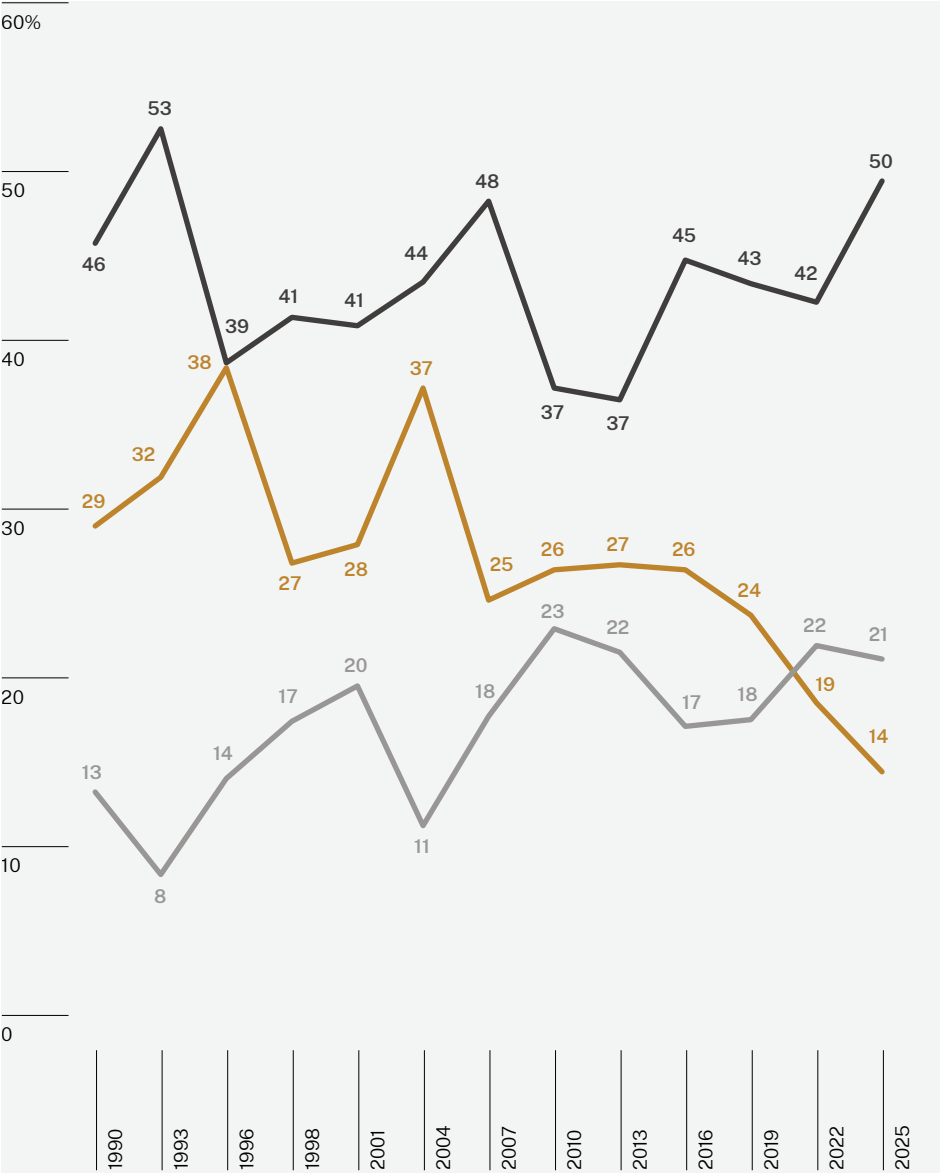
Preferred party policy on taxation

- ALP
- Coalition
- No difference



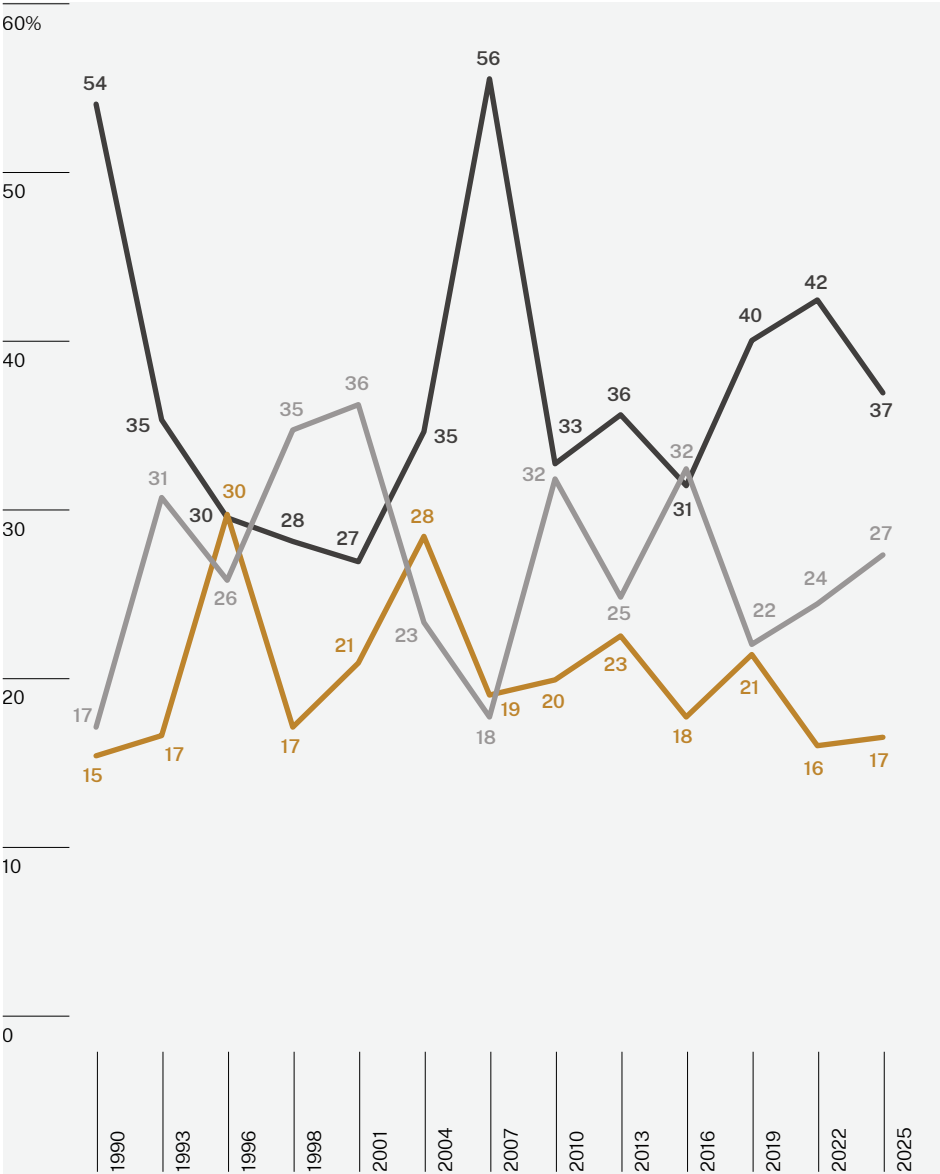
Preferred party policy on health

- ALP
- Coalition
- No difference



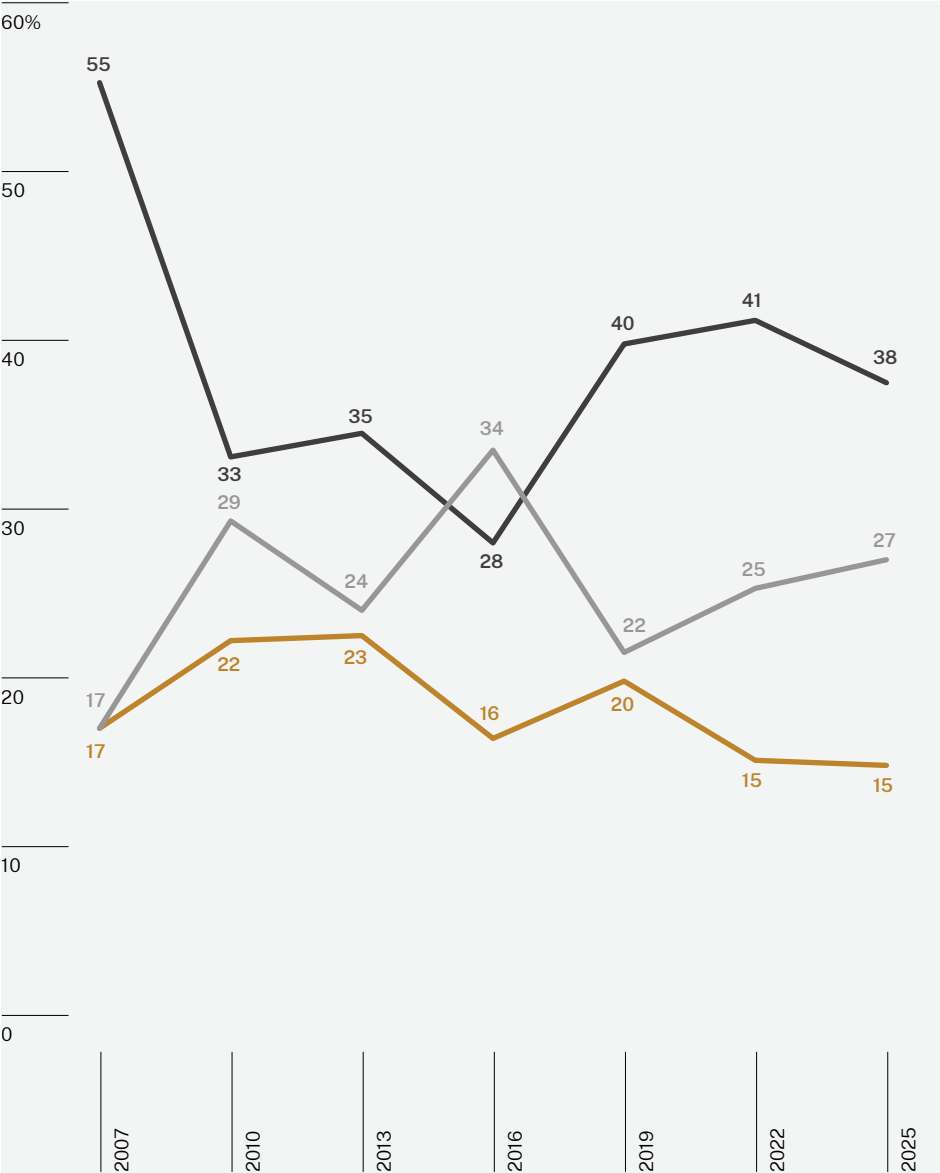
Preferred party policy on the environment

- ALP
- Coalition
- No difference



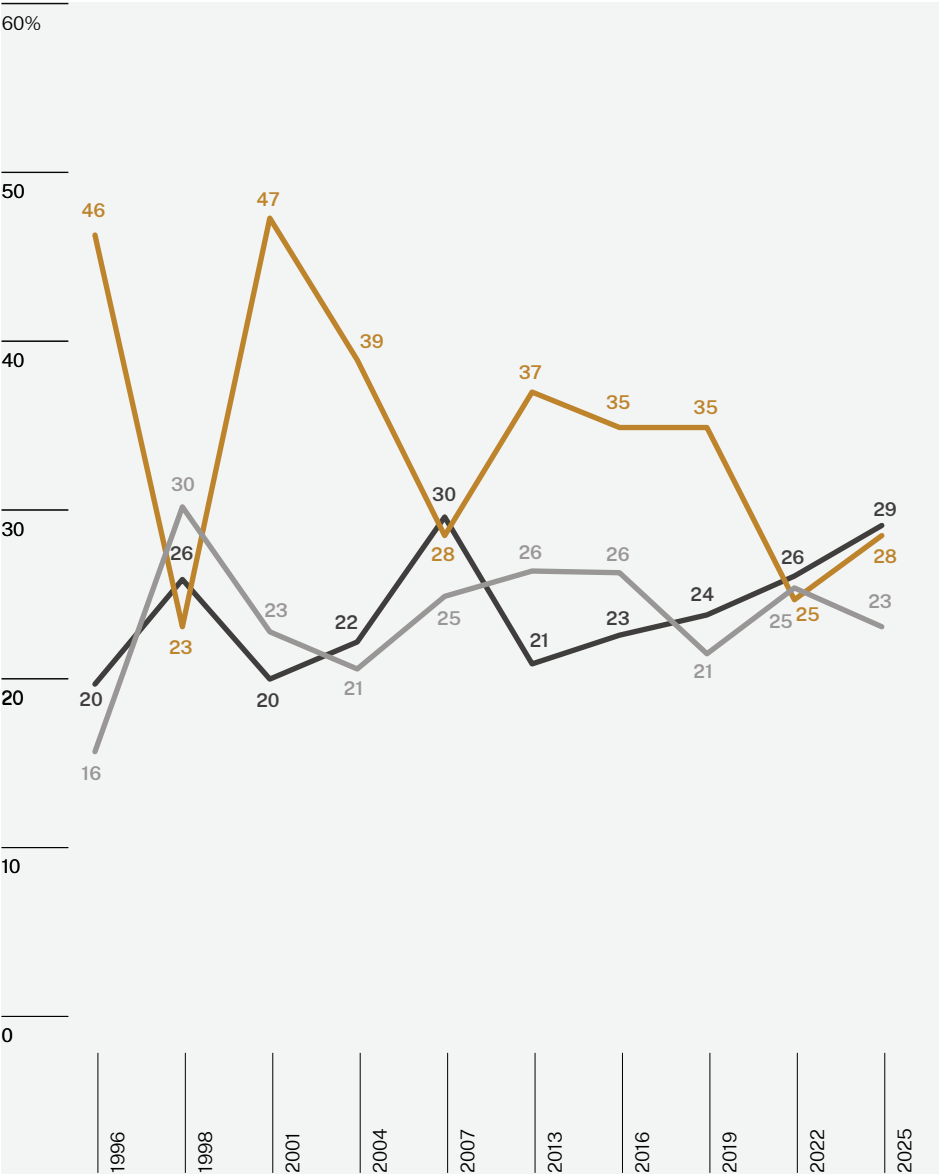
Preferred party policy on climate change

- ALP
- Coalition
- No difference



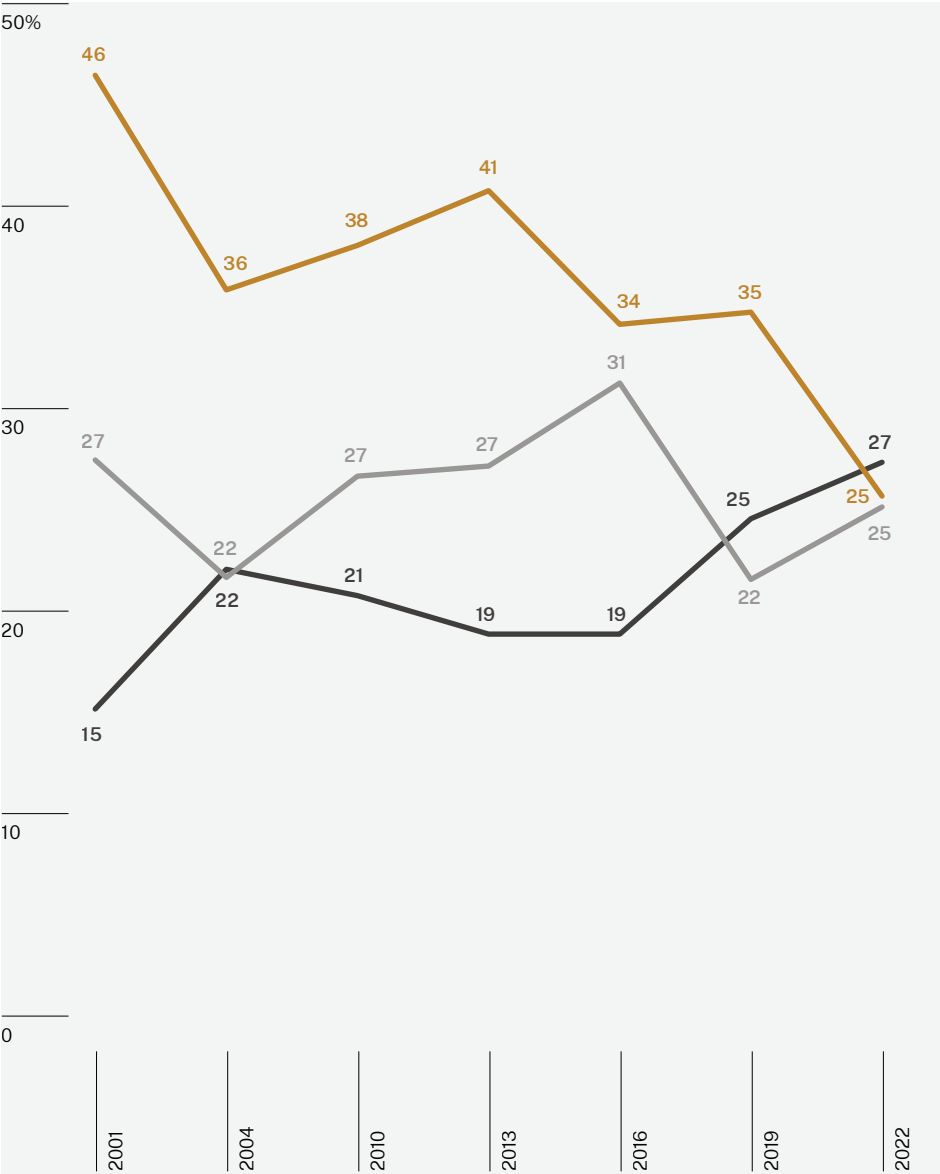
Preferred party policy on immigration

- ALP
- Coalition
- No difference



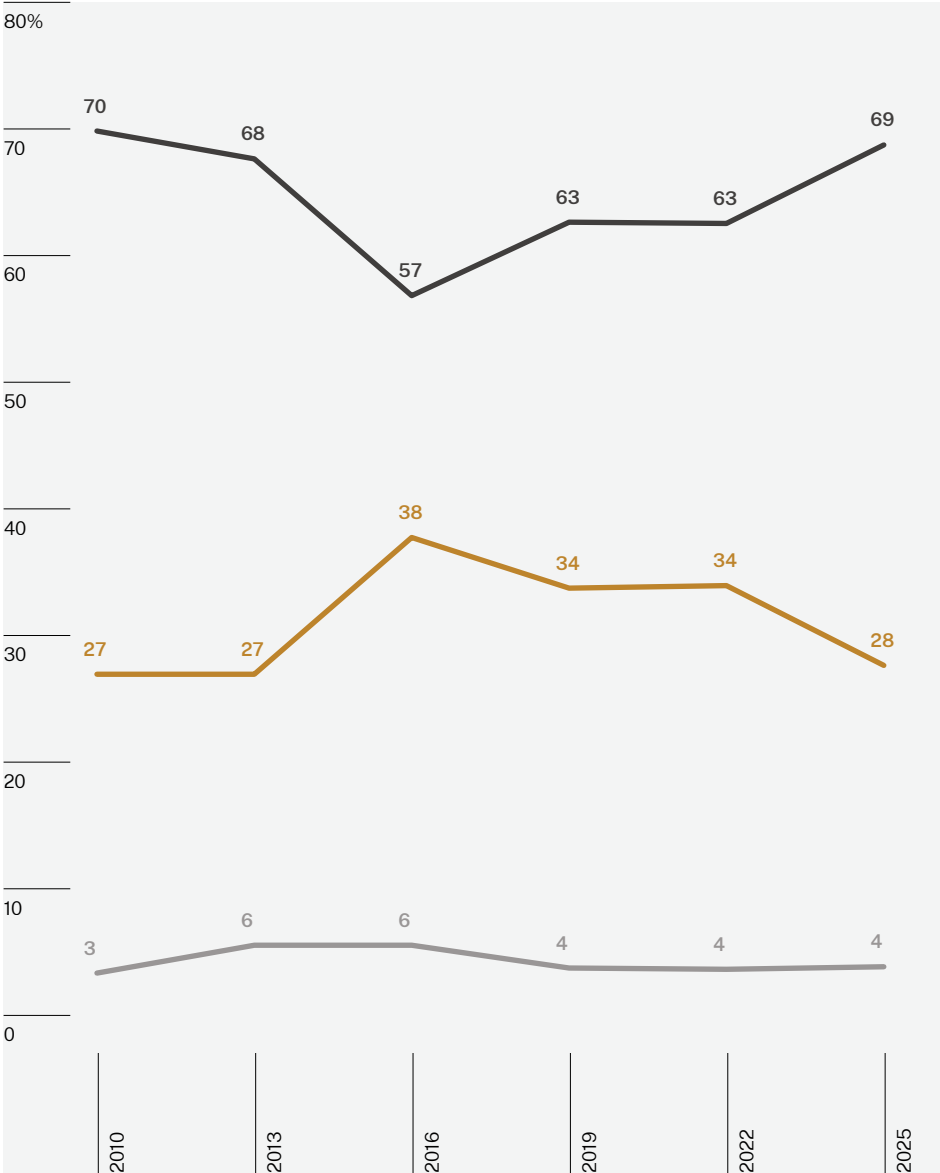
Preferred party policy on refugees and asylum seekers

- ALP
- Coalition
- No difference



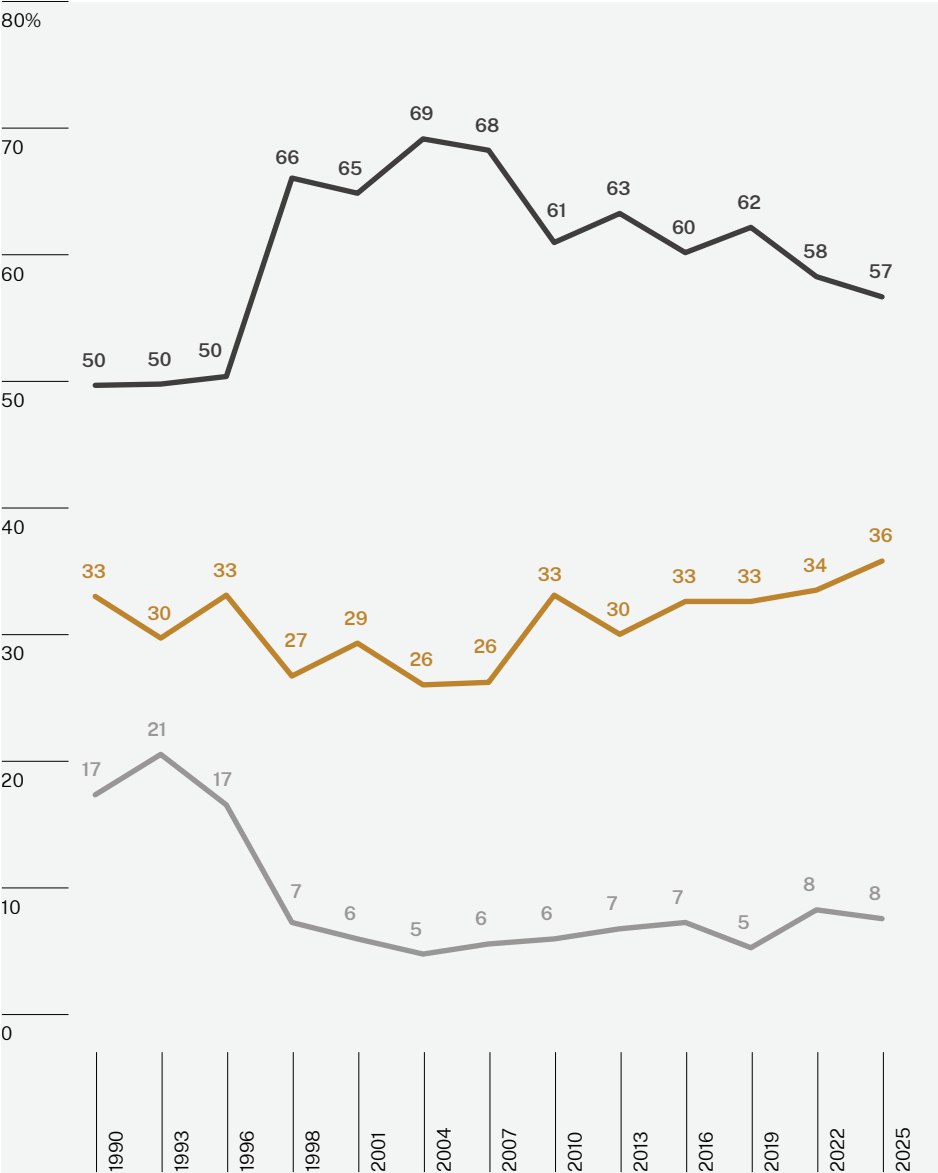
Importance of management of the economy in vote decision

- Extremely important
- Quite important
- Not very important



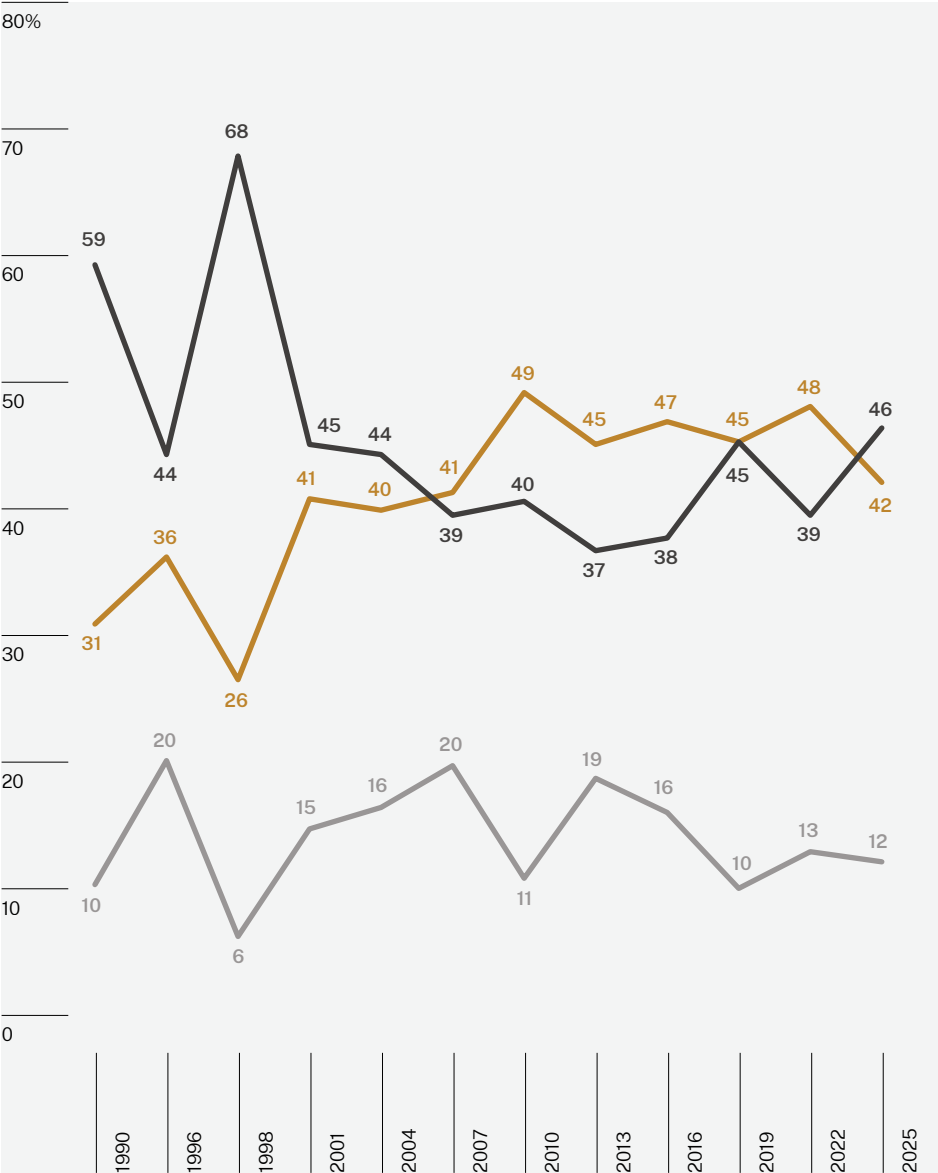
Importance of education in vote decision

- Extremely important
- Quite important
- Not very important



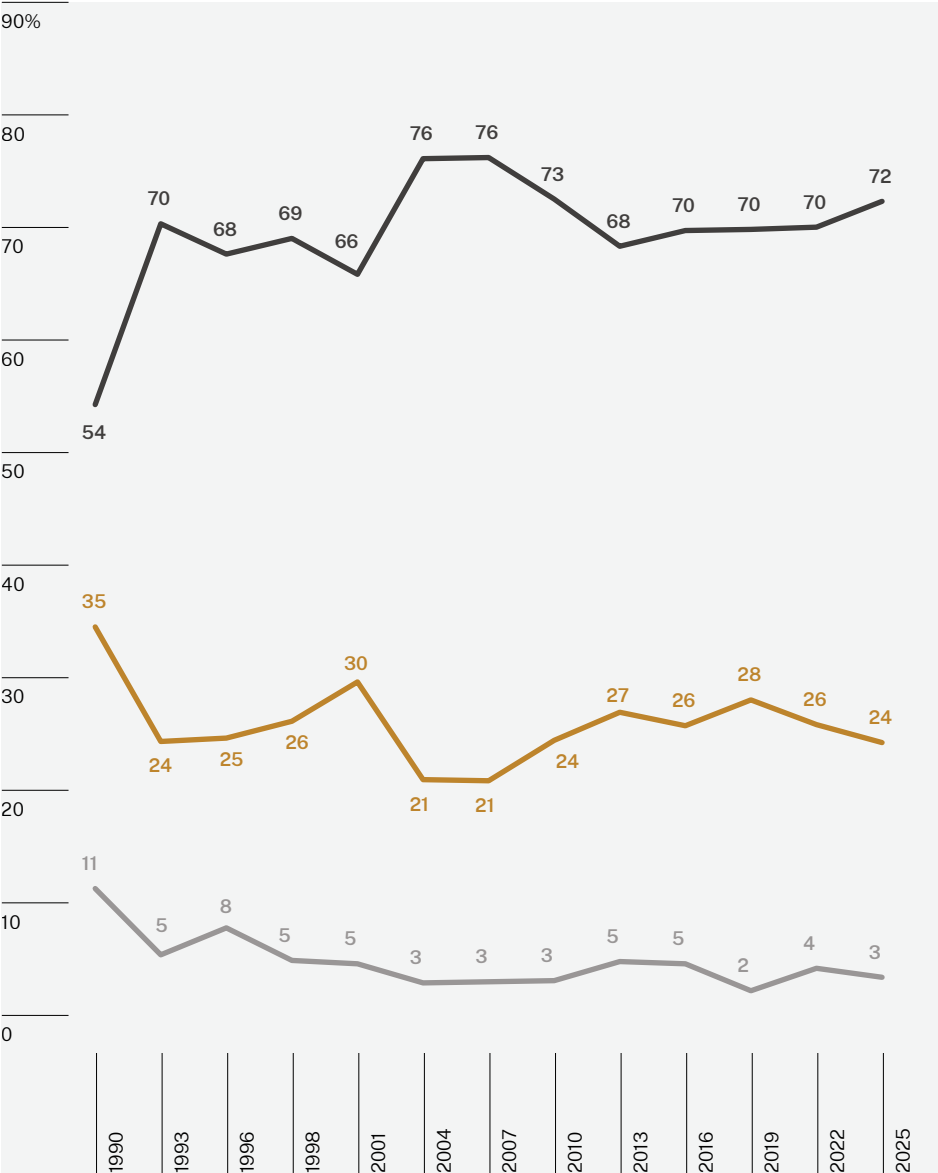
Importance of taxation in vote decision

- Extremely important
- Quite important
- Not very important



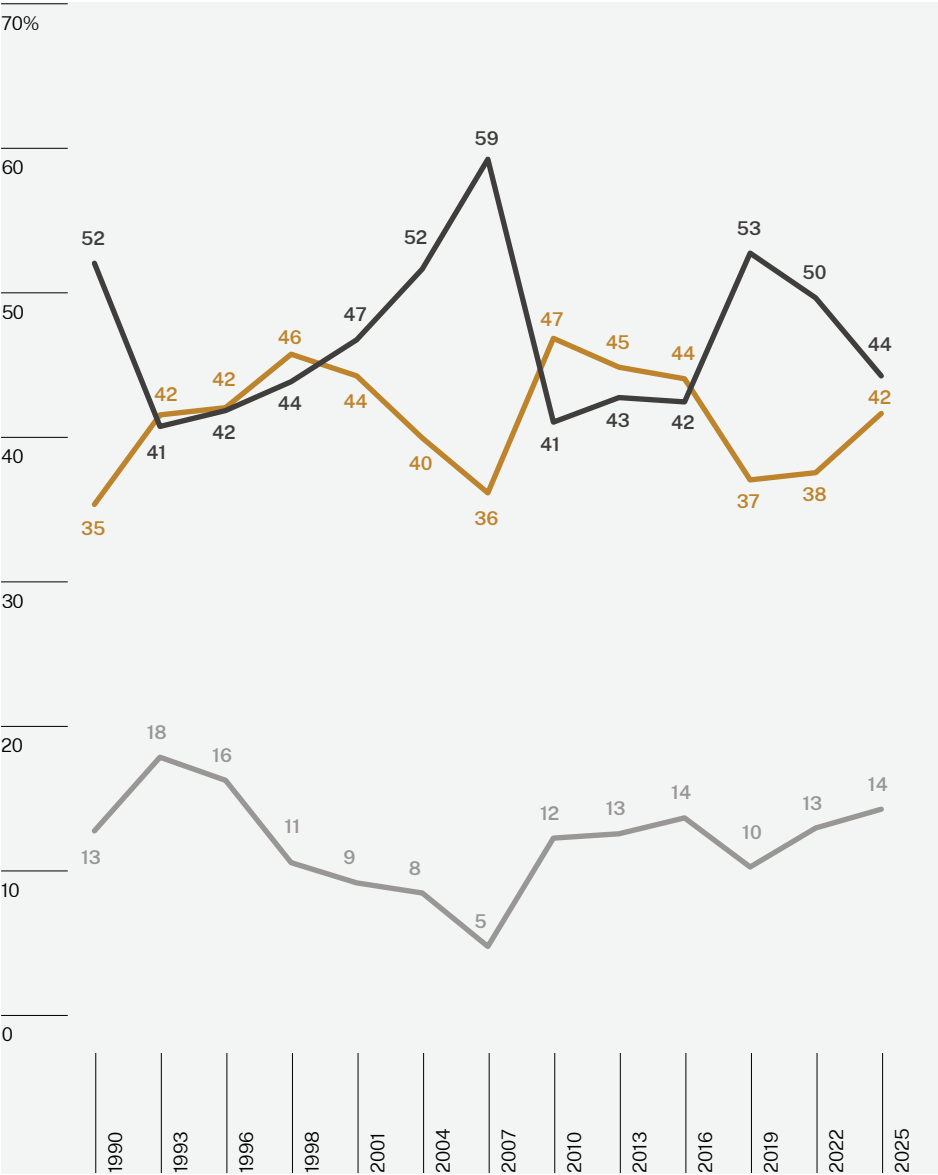
Importance of health in vote decision

- Extremely important
- Quite important
- Not very important



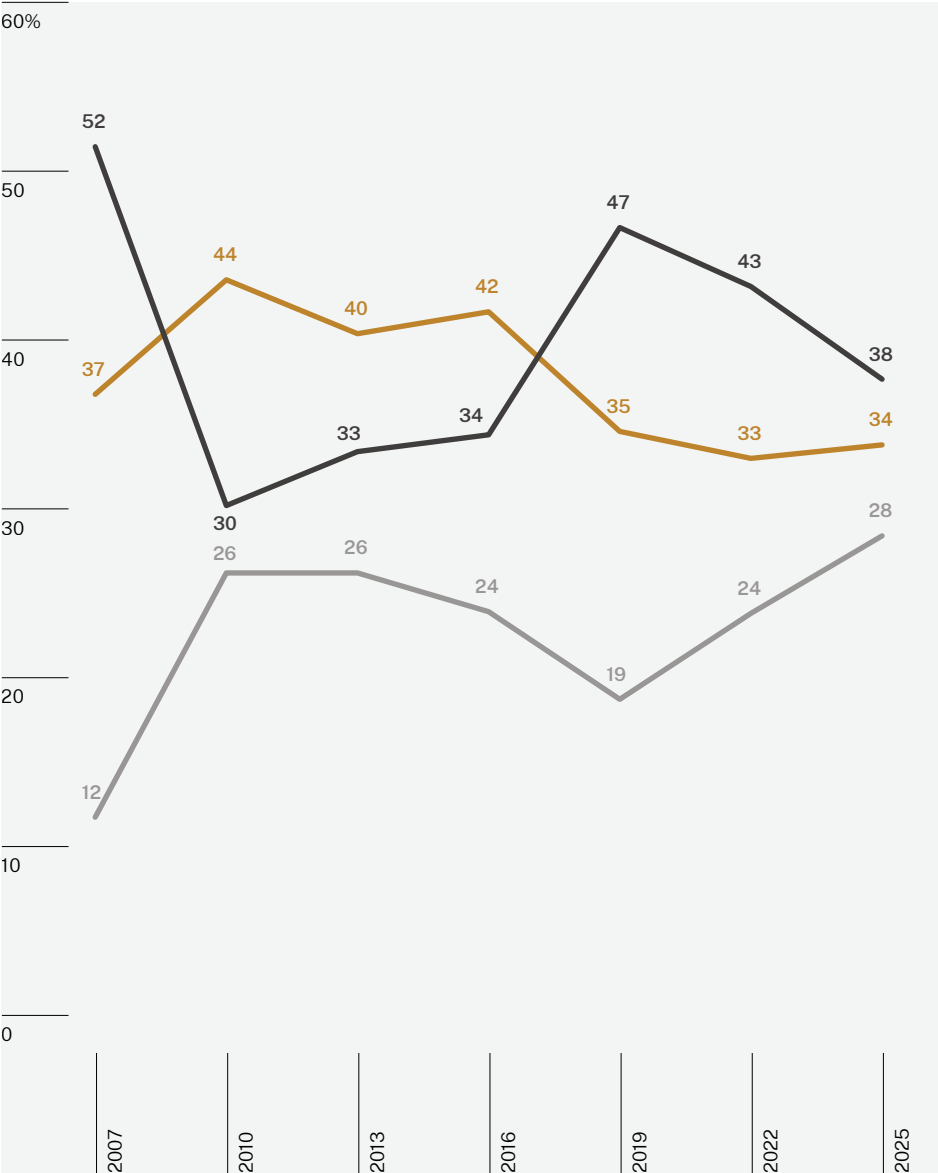
Importance of the environment in vote decision

- Extremely important
- Quite important
- Not very important



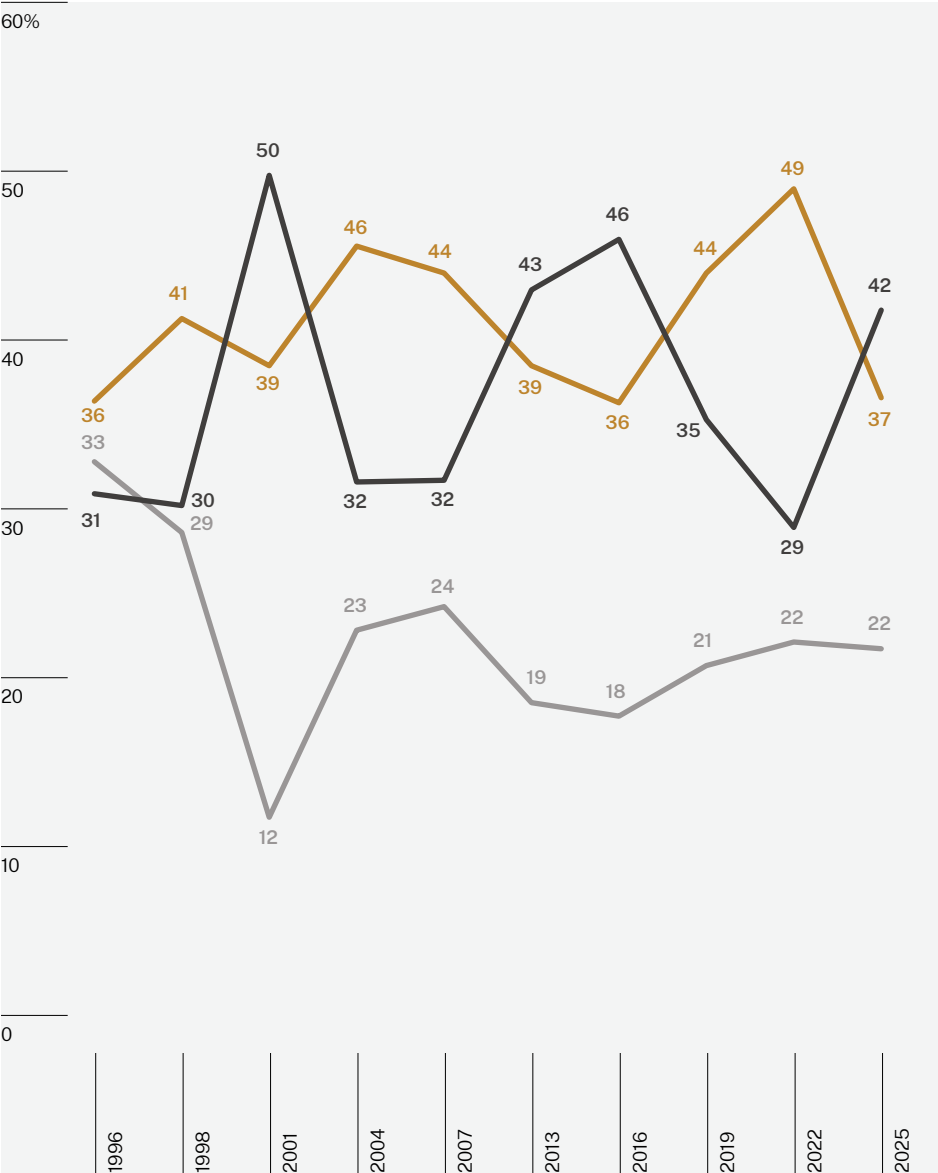
Importance of climate change in vote decision

- Extremely important
- Quite important
- Not very important



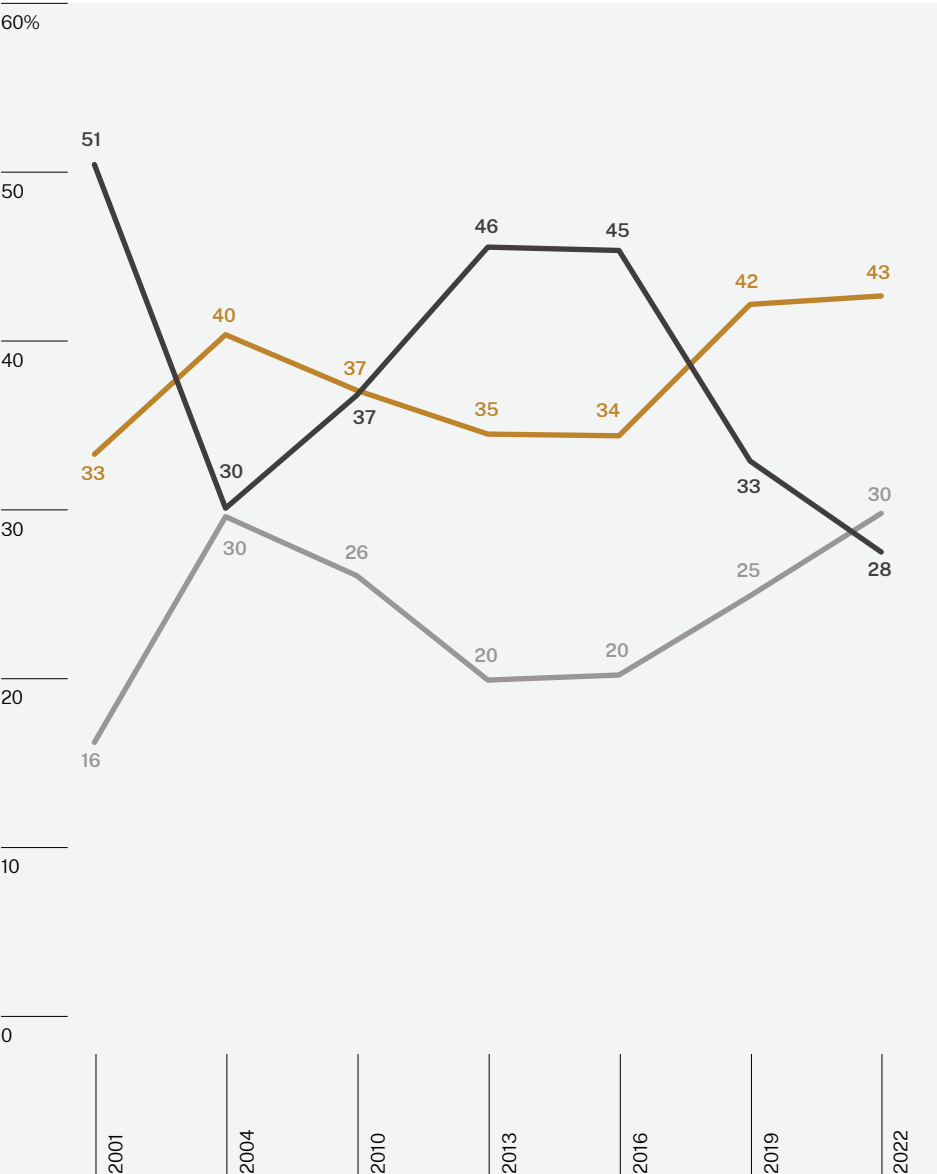
Importance of immigration in vote decision

- Extremely important
- Quite important
- Not very important



Importance of refugees and asylum seekers in vote decision

- Extremely important
- Quite important
- Not very important



Notes

Most important economic election issues

'Taxation' was not included in 1993.

Most important non-economic election issues

In 1996-2025 estimates for health are for 'Health and Medicare'. 'Refugees and asylum seekers' was not included in 2007.

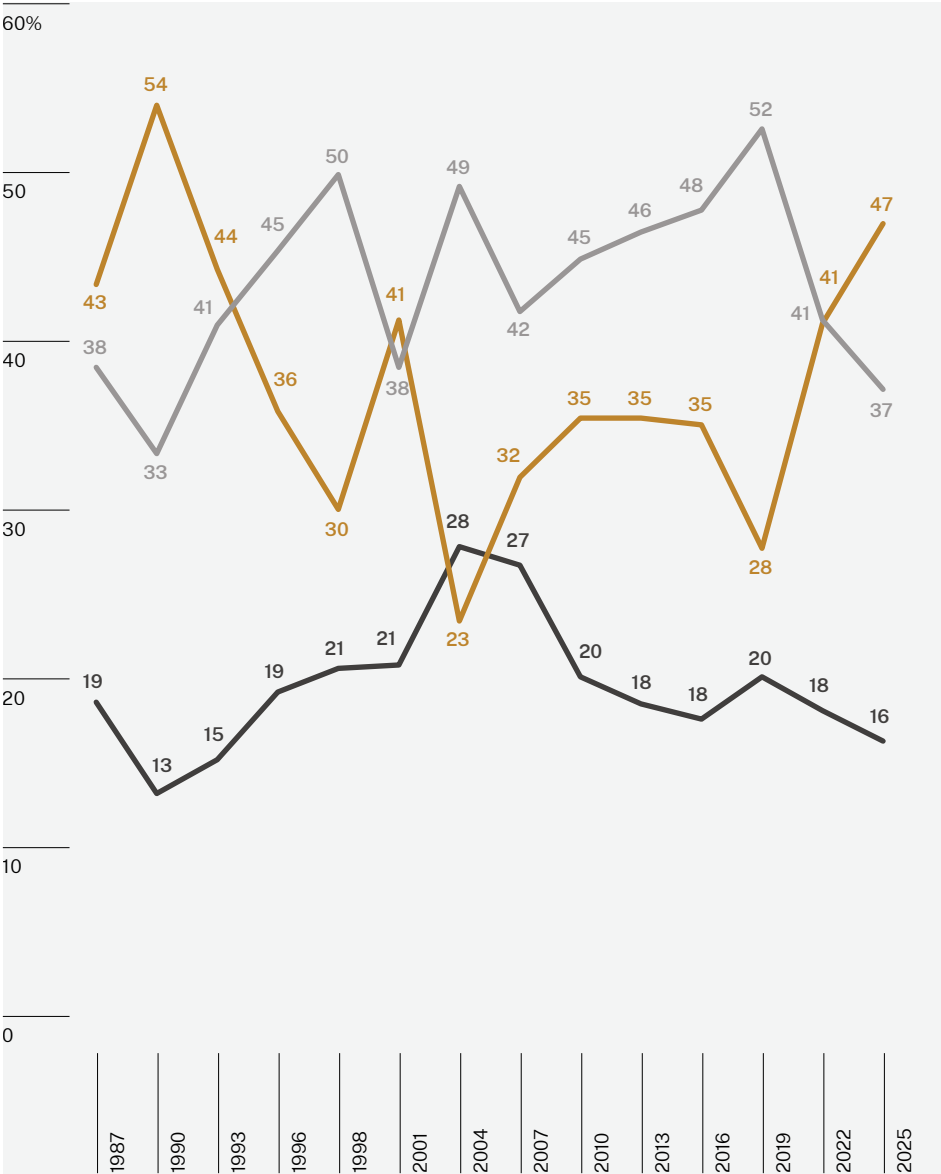
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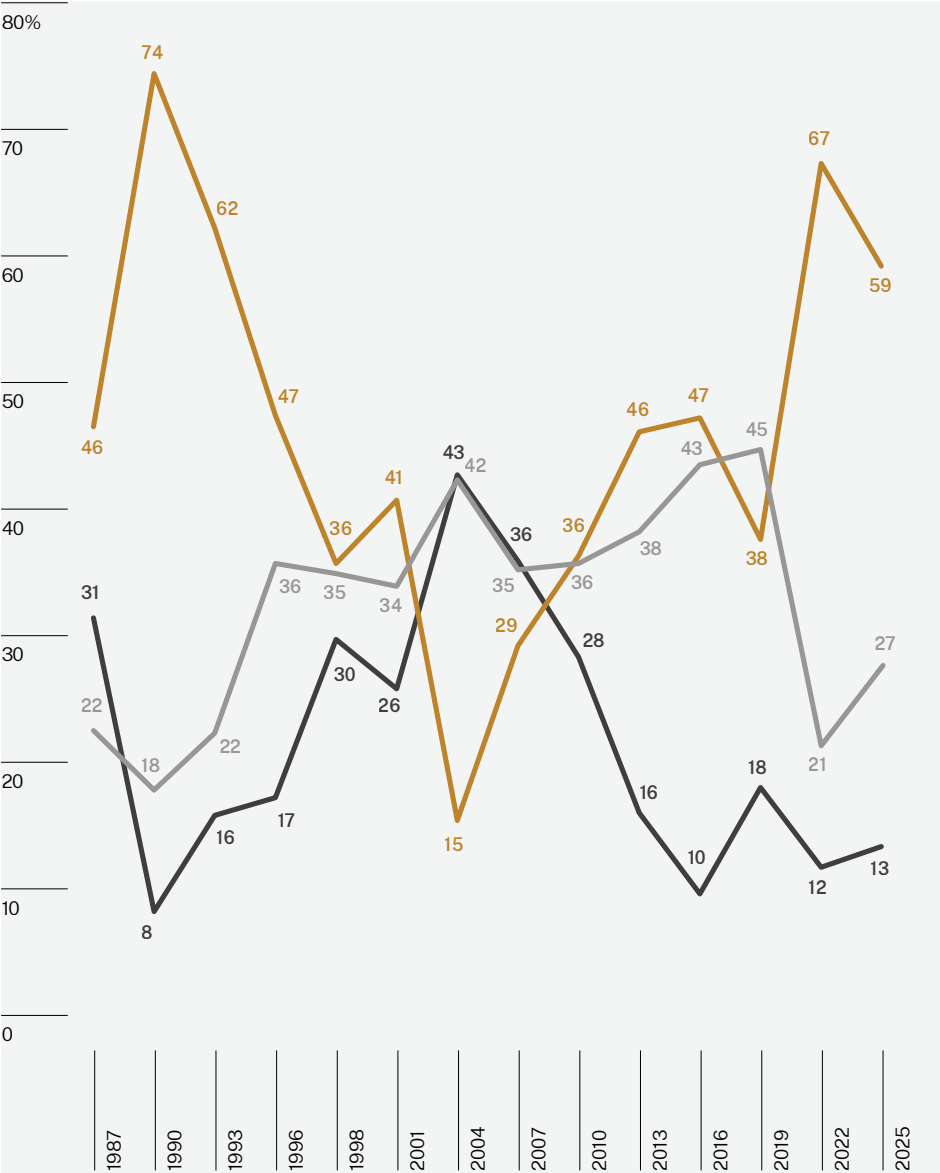
Financial situation of household over past year

- Become better
- Become worse
- About the same



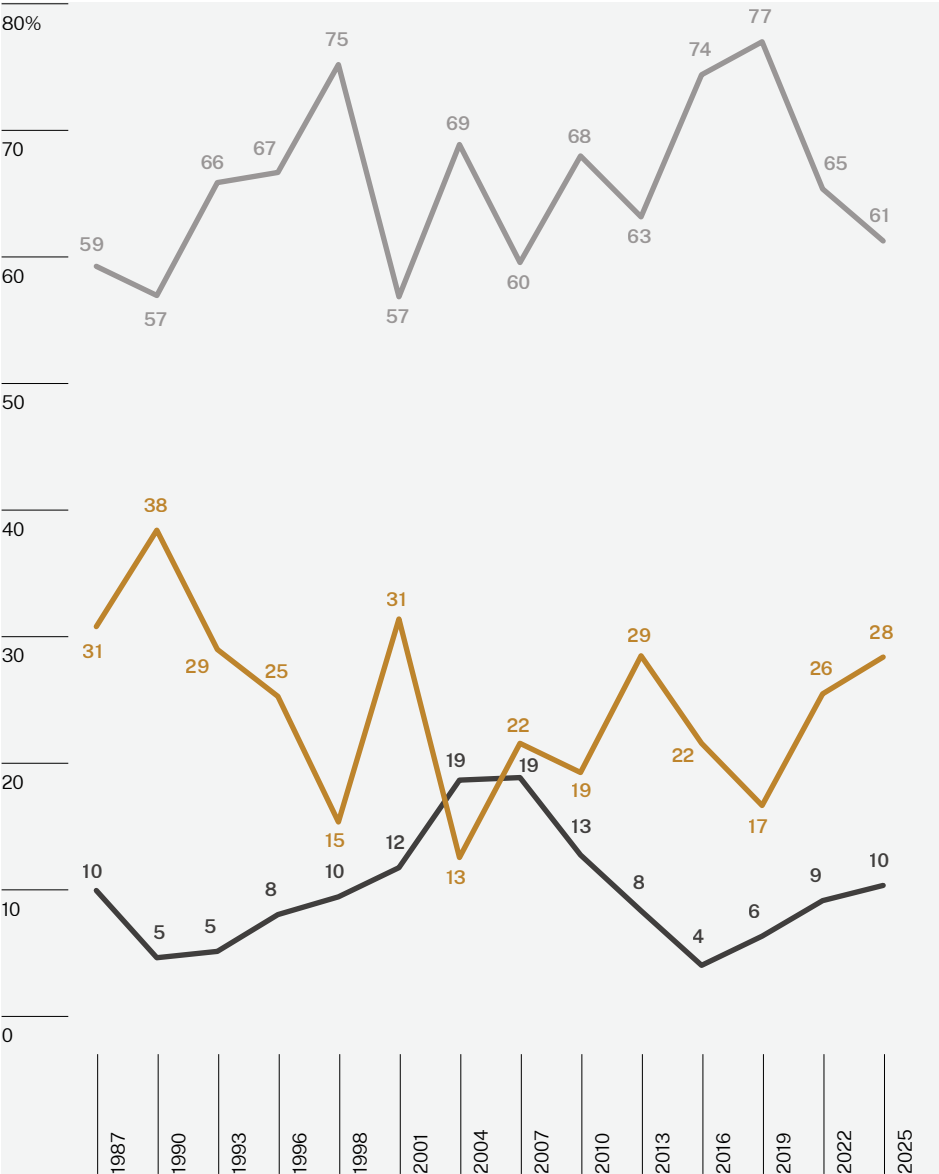
Financial situation of country over past year

- Become better
- Become worse
- About the same



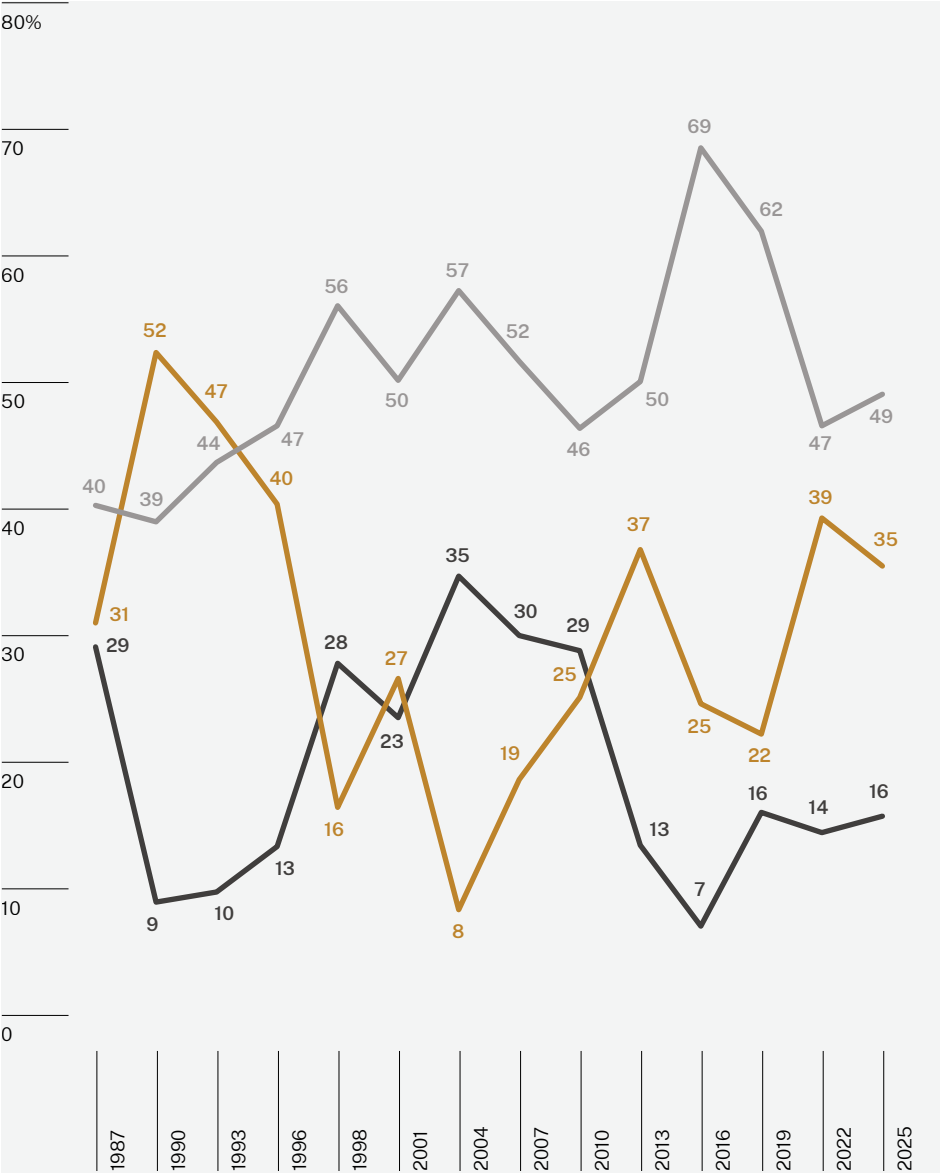
Government effect on household finances over past year

- Good effect
- Bad effect
- Not much difference



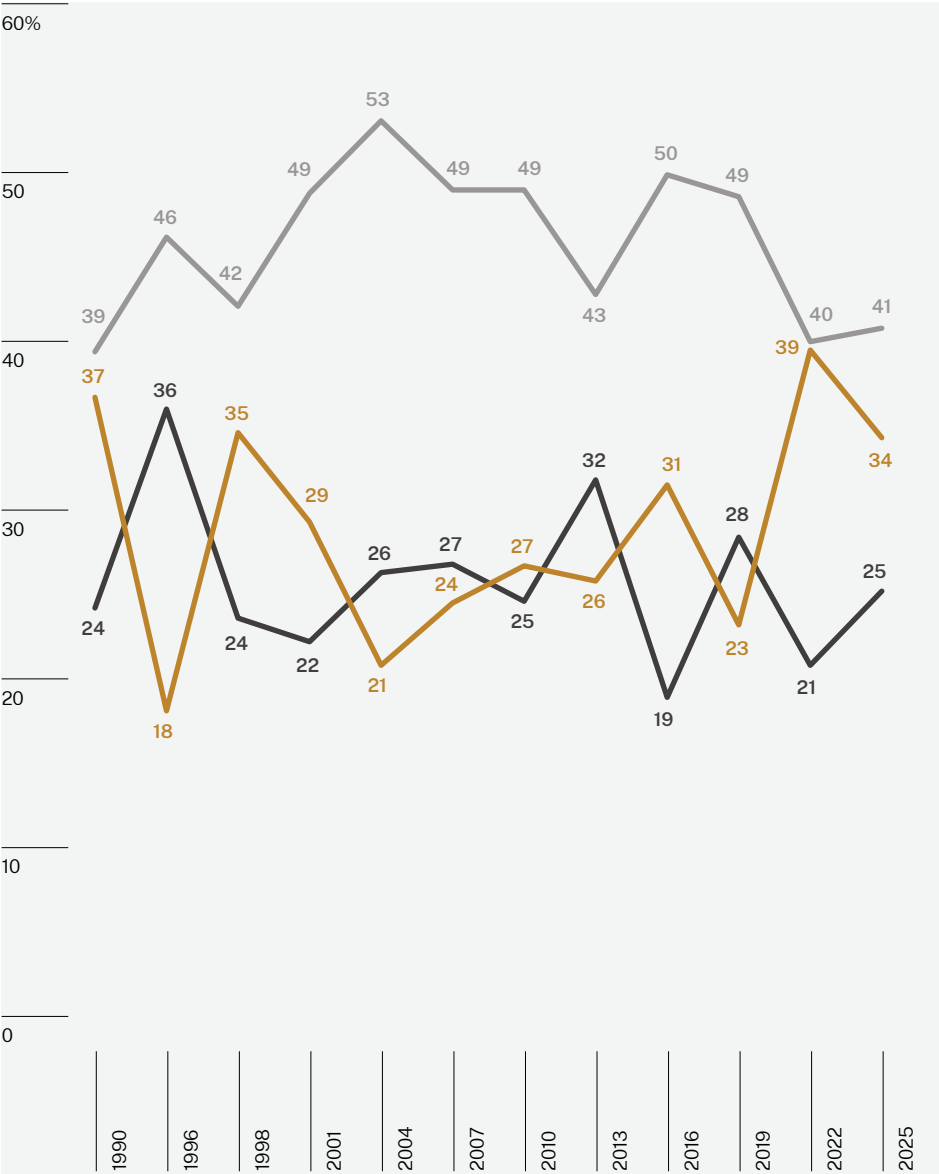
Government effect on country's finances over past year

- Good effect
- Bad effect
- Not much difference



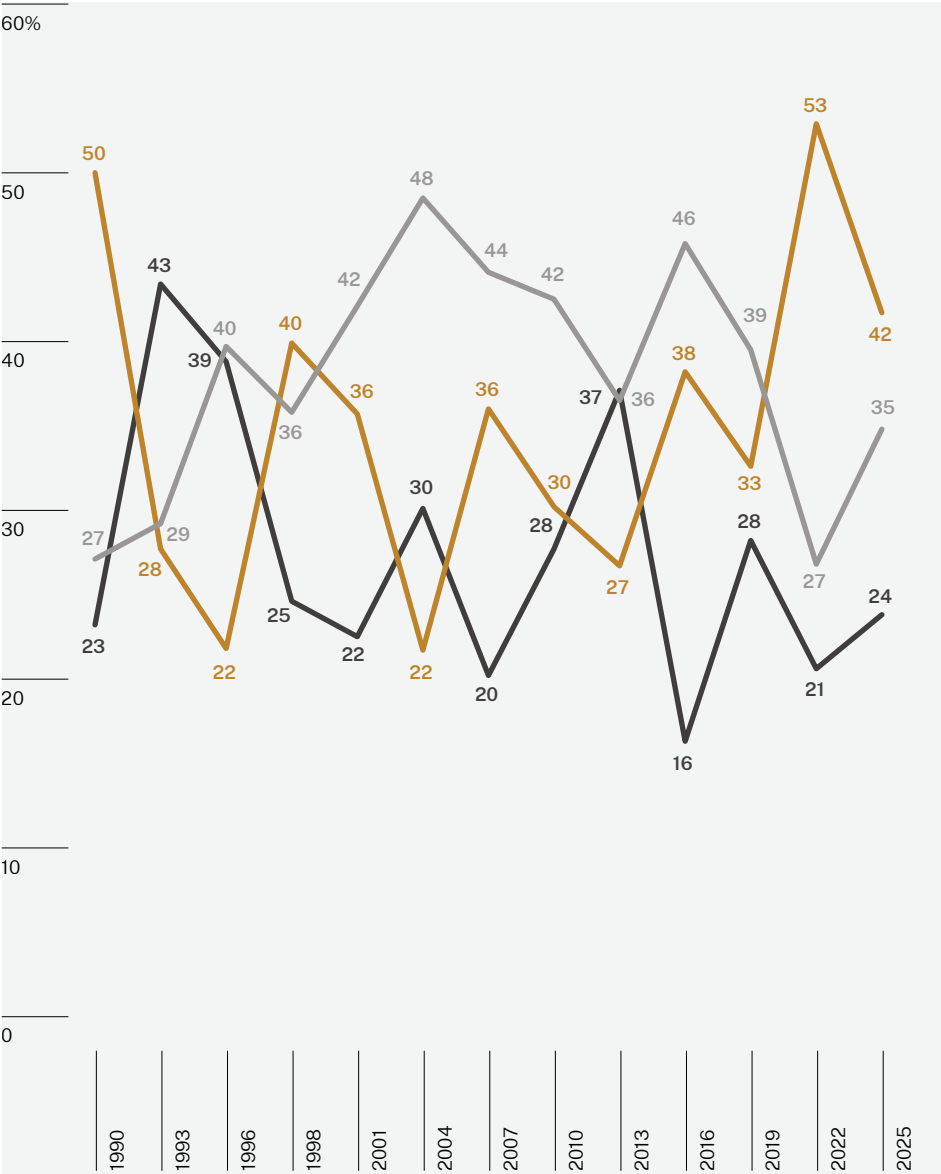
Financial situation of household in a year's time

- Will be better
- Will be worse
- About the same



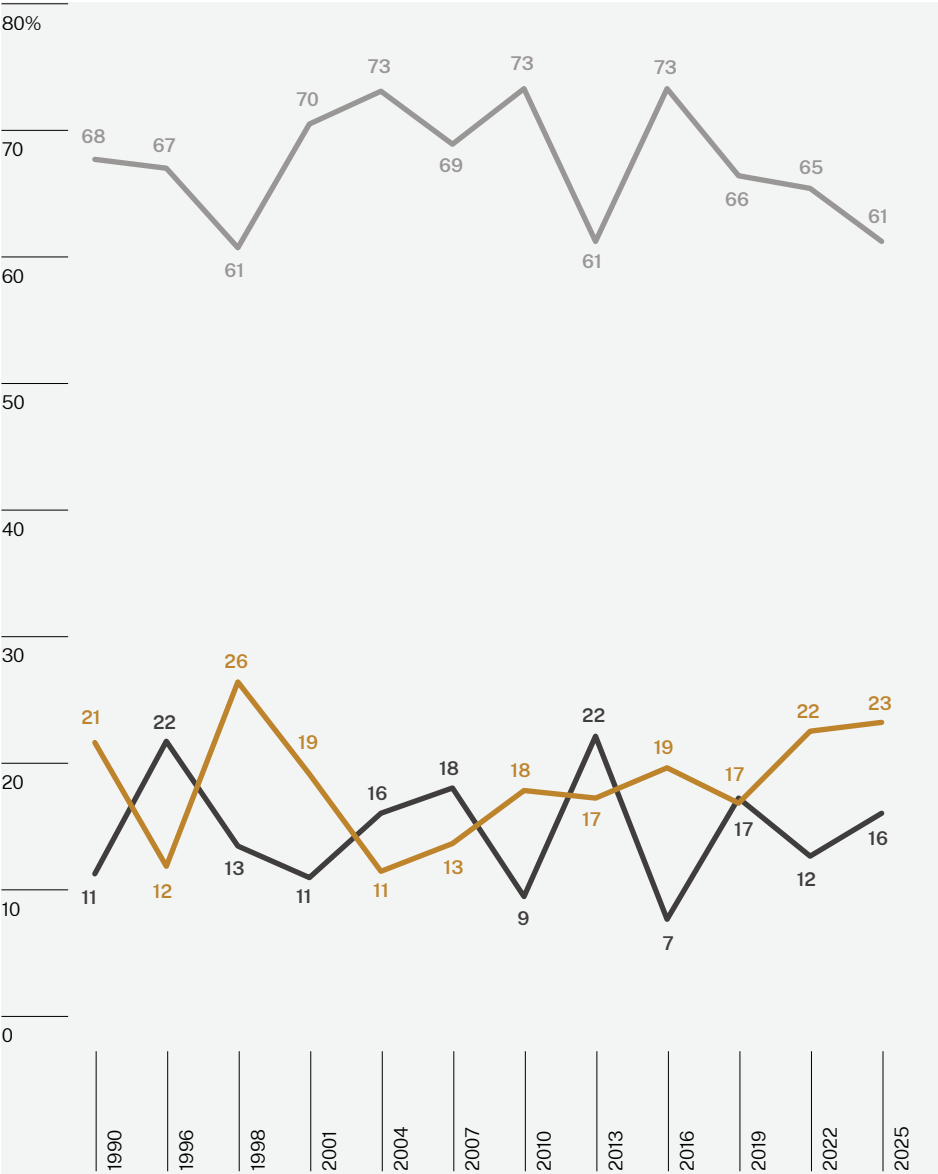
Financial situation of country in a year's time

- Will be better
- Will be worse
- About the same



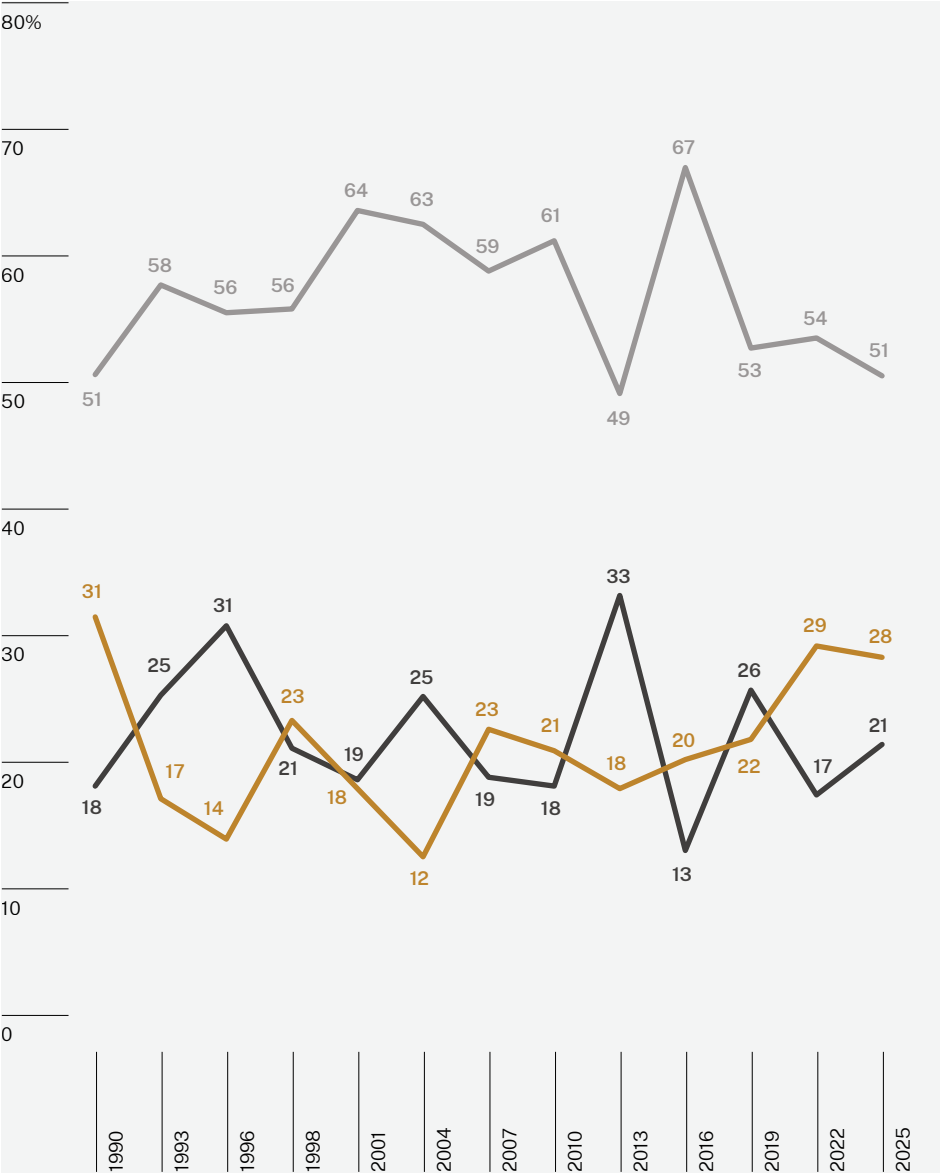
Government effect on household finances in a year's time

- Good effect
- Bad effect
- Not much difference



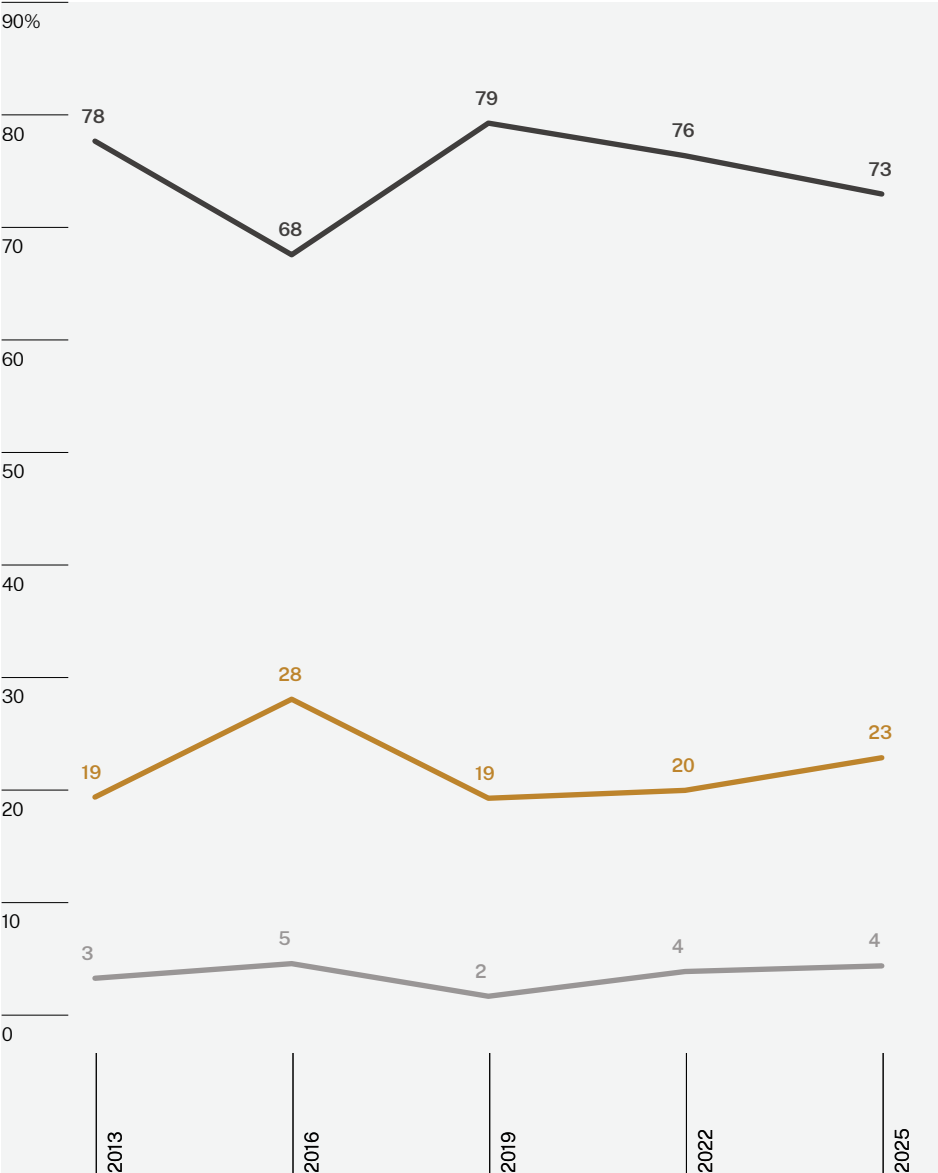
Government effect on country's economy in a year's time

- Good effect
- Bad effect
- Not much difference



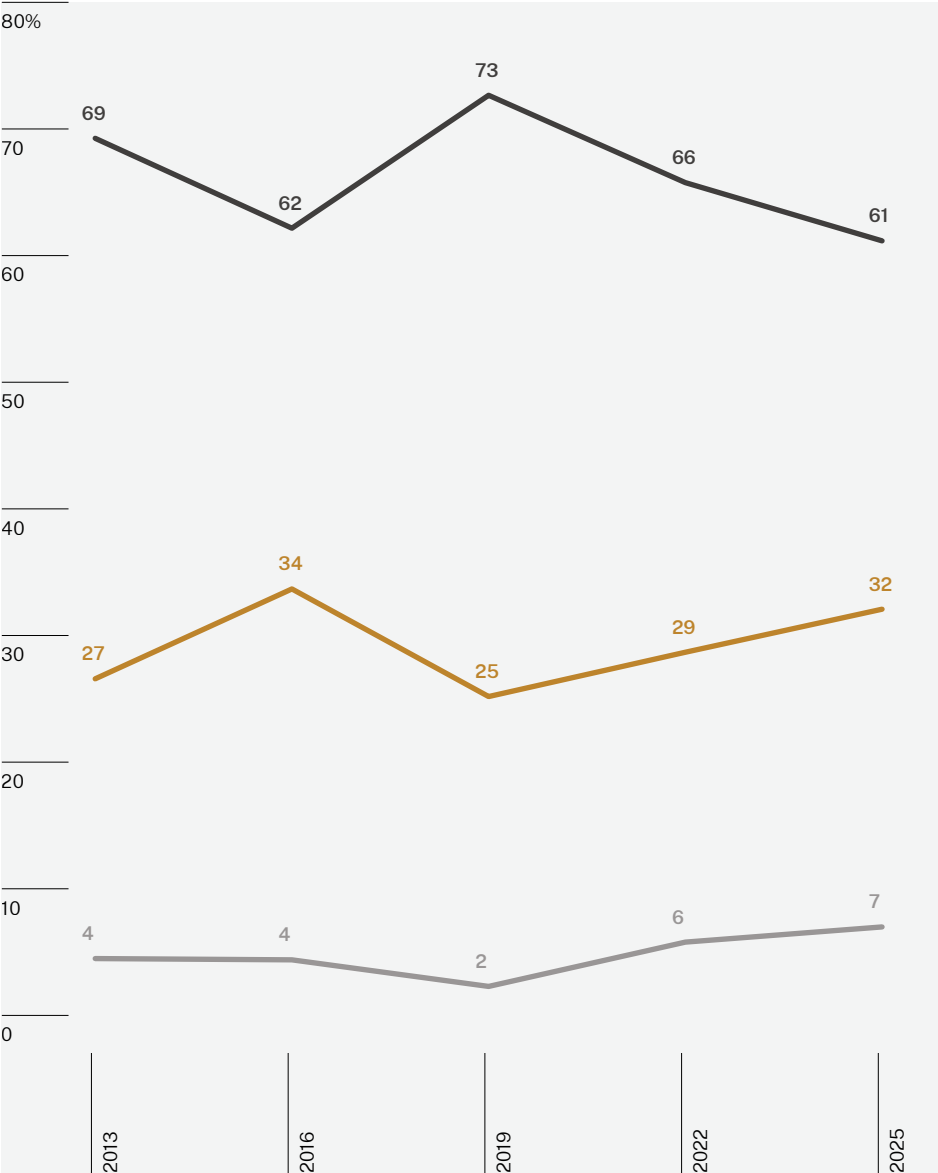
Government spending on health

- More than now
- The same as now
- Less than now



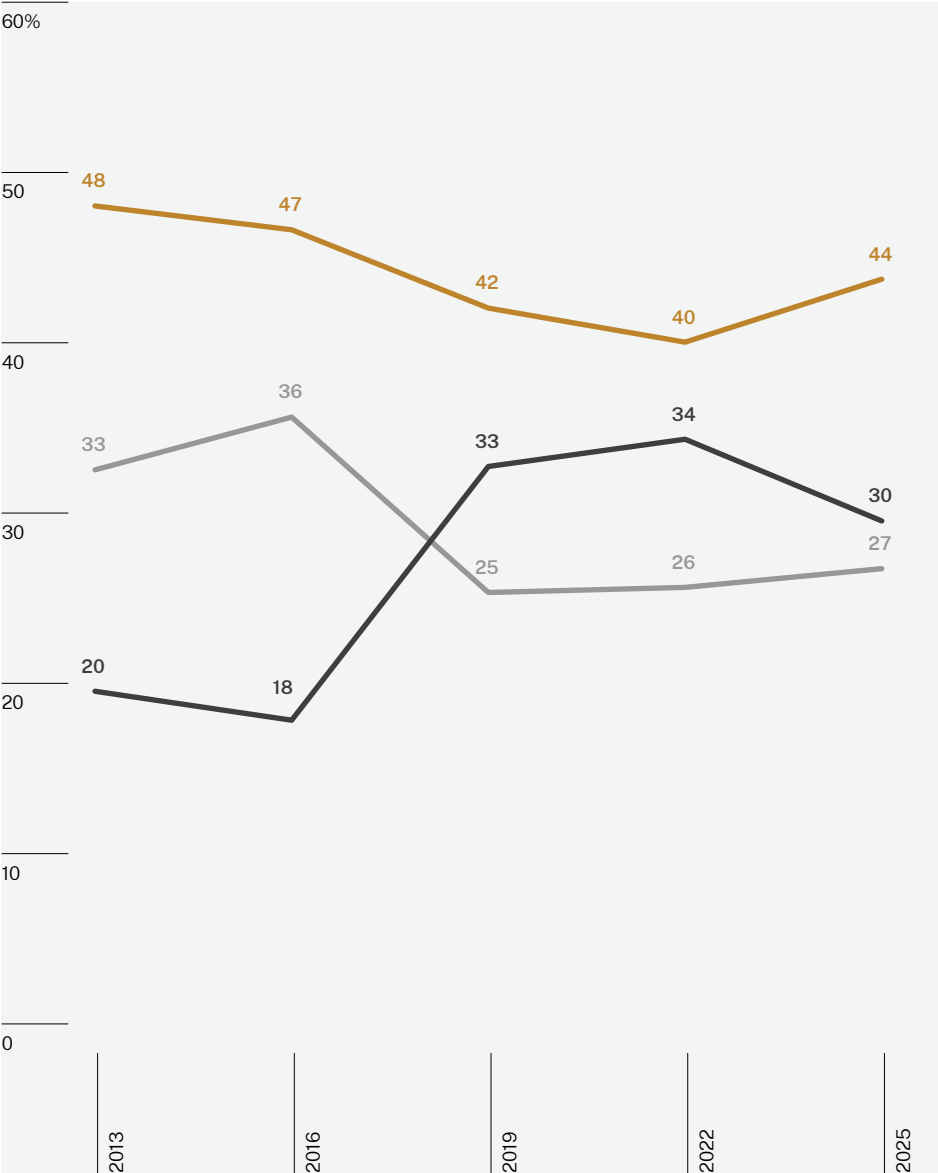
Government spending on education

- More than now
- The same as now
- Less than now



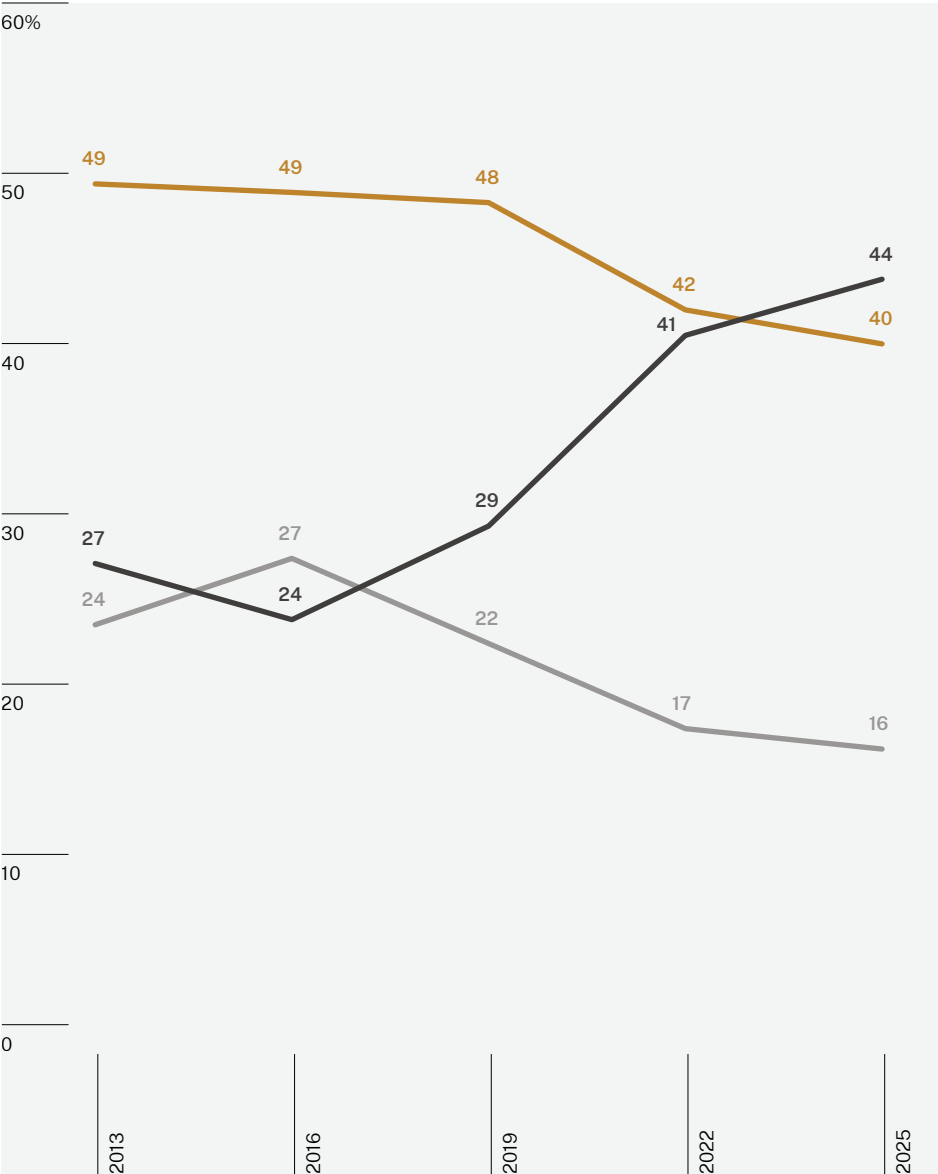
Government spending on unemployment benefits

- More than now
- The same as now
- Less than now



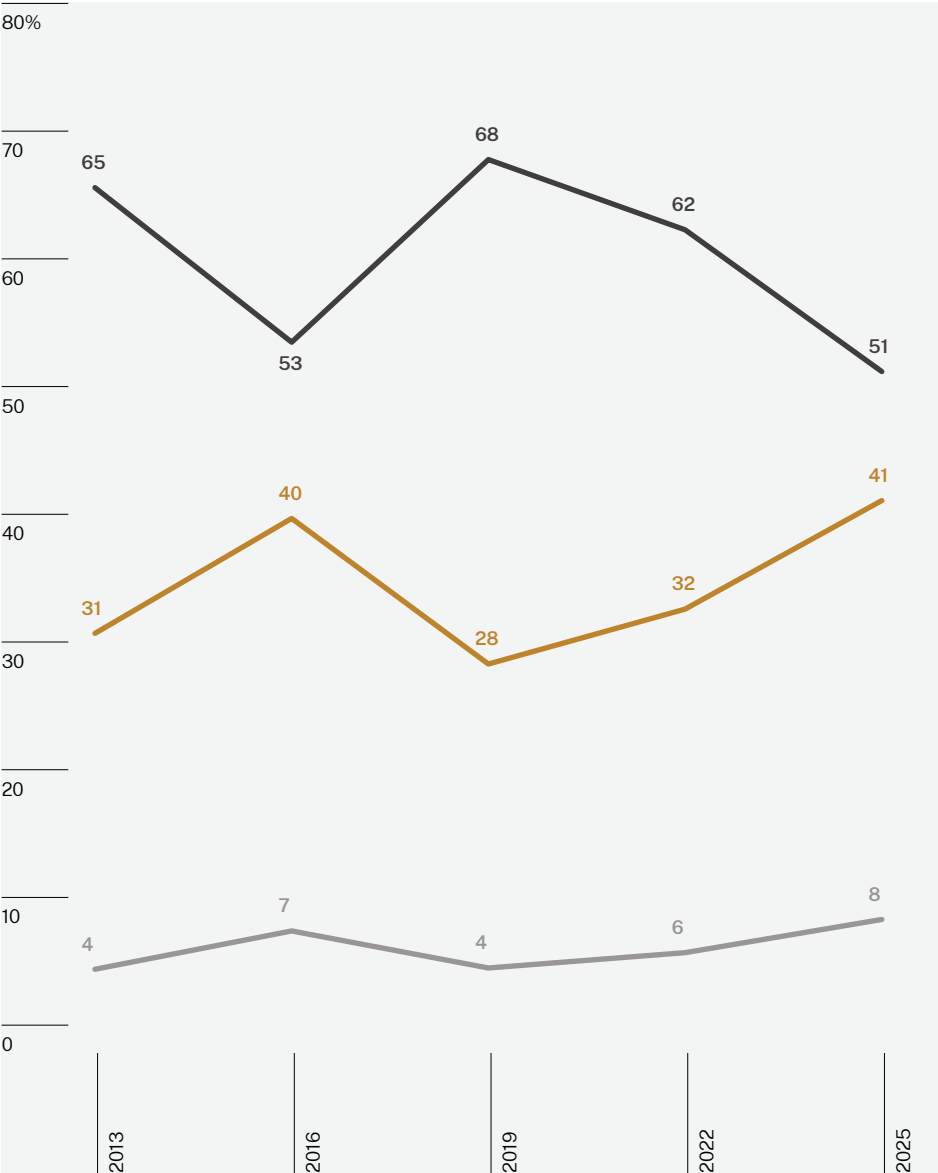
Government spending on defence

- More than now
- The same as now
- Less than now

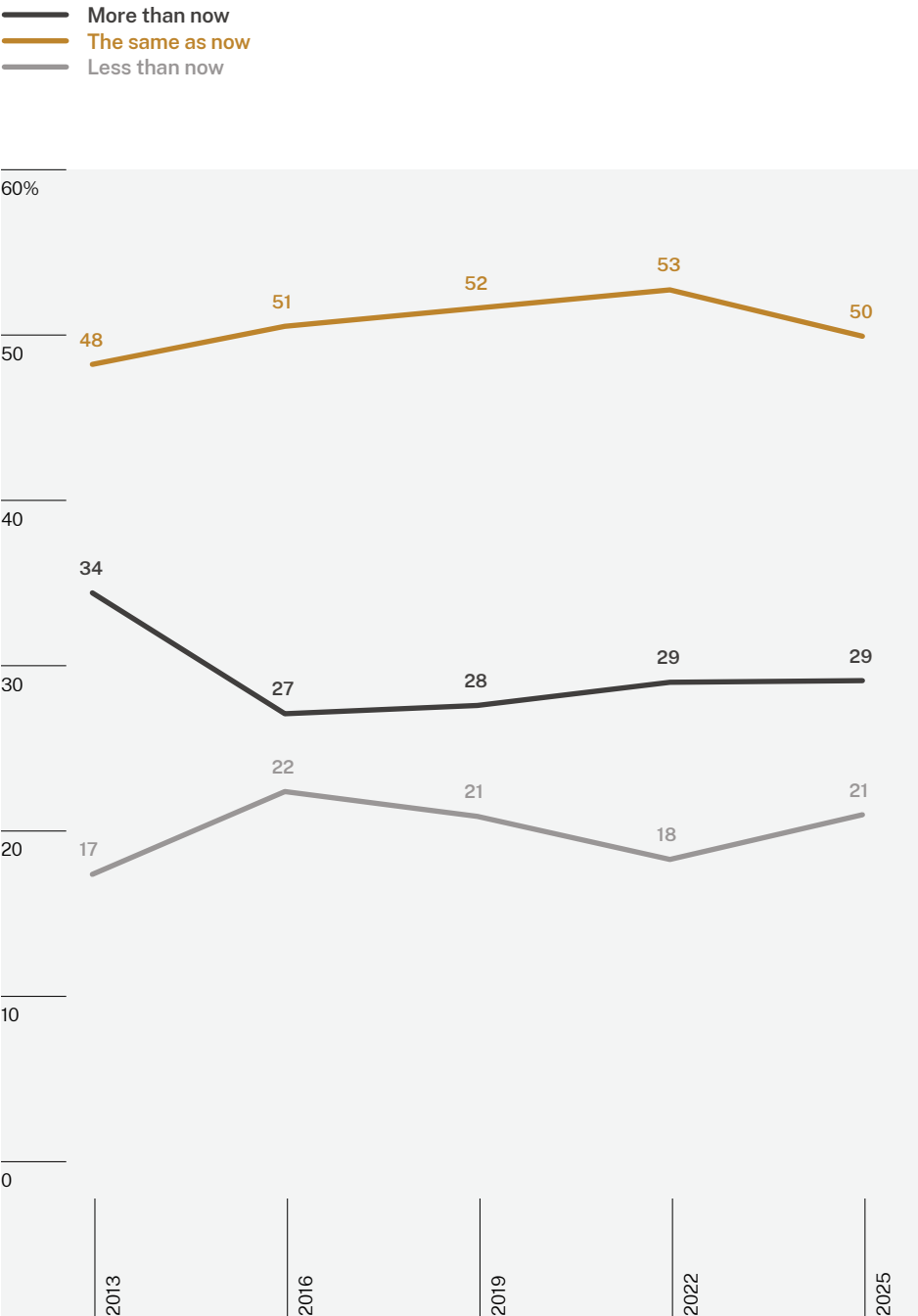


Government spending on old-age pensions

- More than now
- The same as now
- Less than now

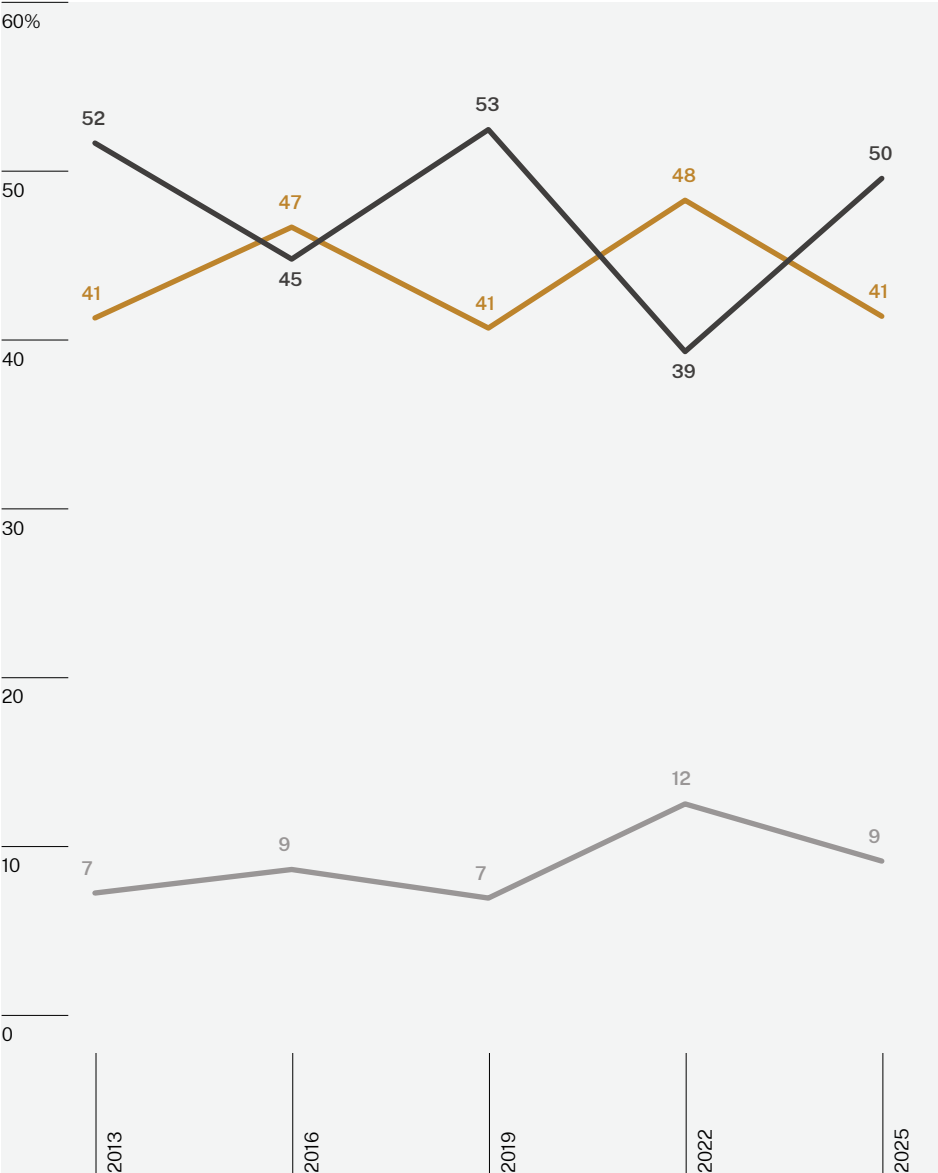


Government spending on business and industry



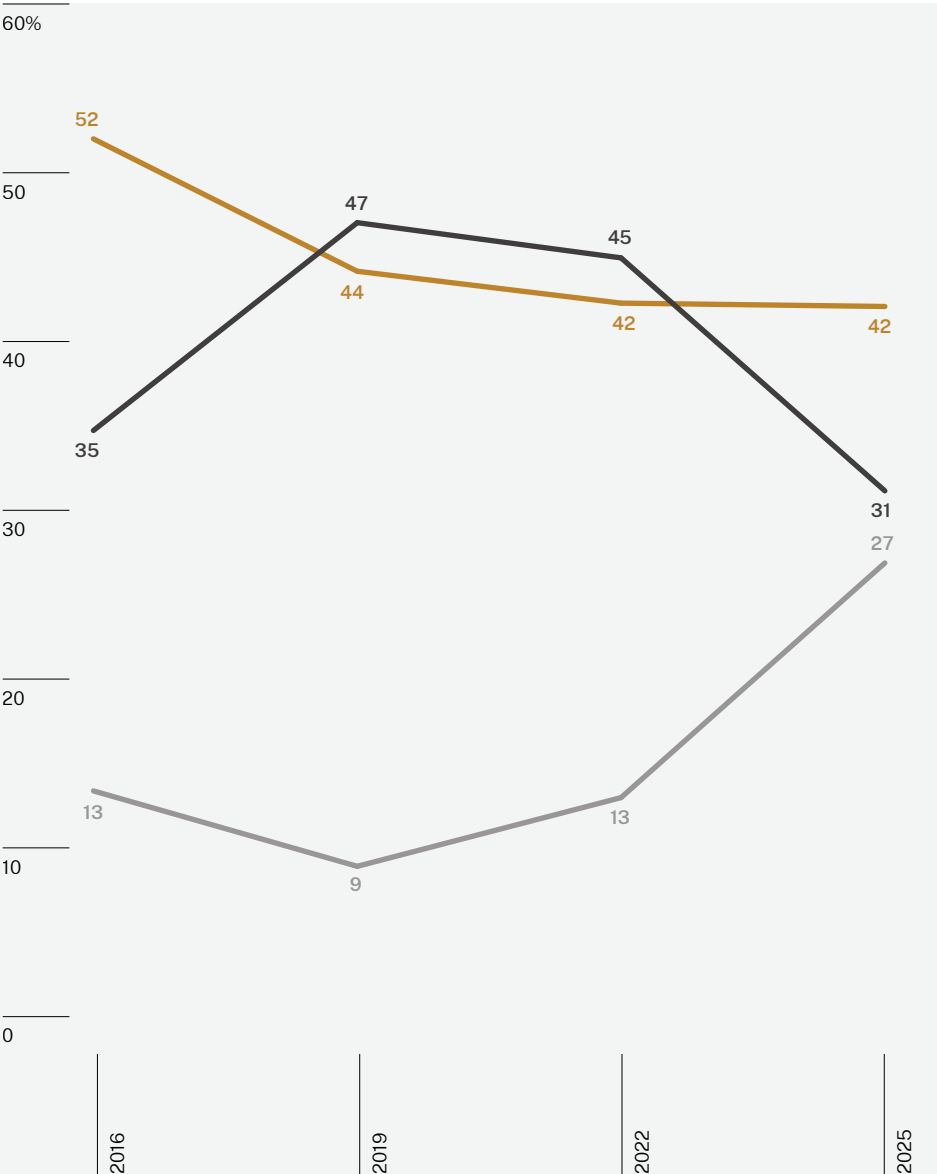
Government spending on police and law enforcement

- More than now
- The same as now
- Less than now



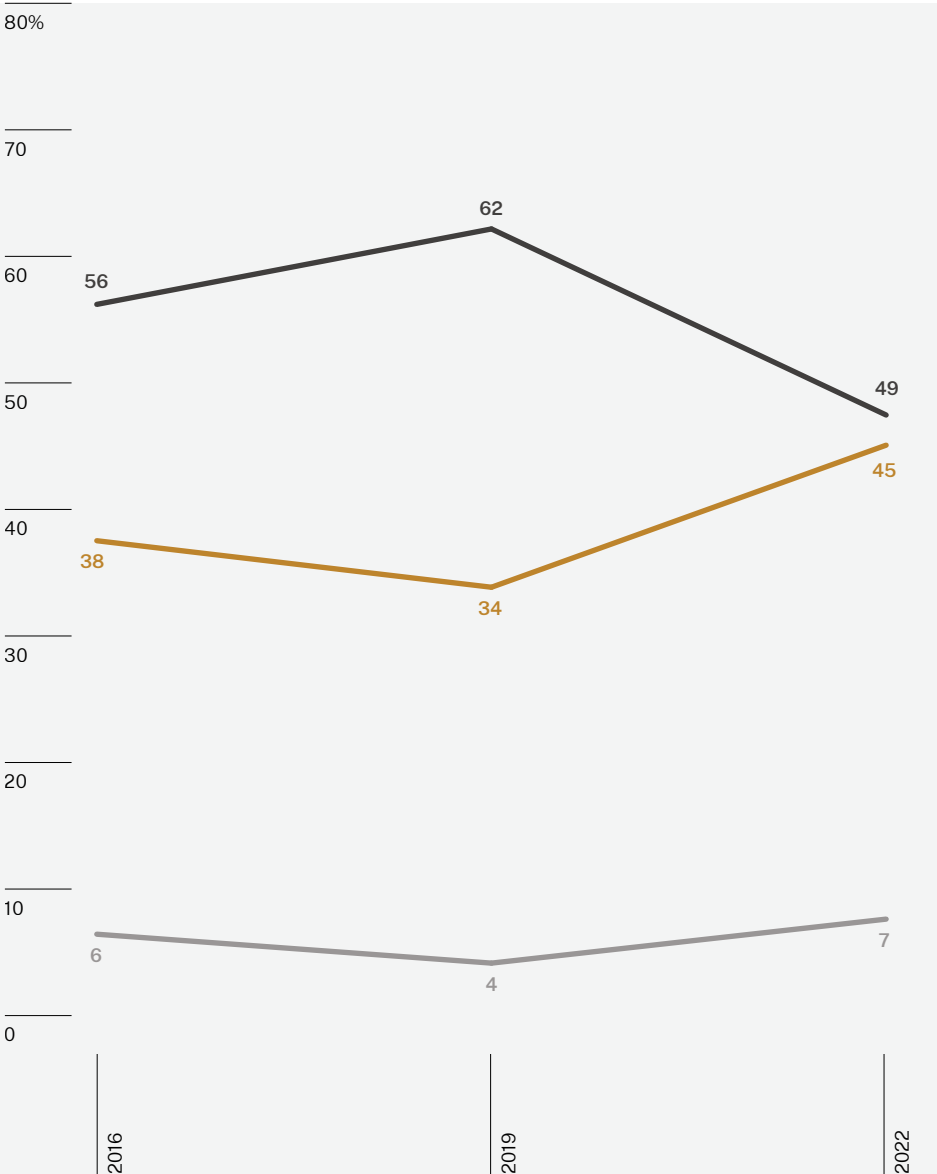
Government spending on the National Disability Insurance Scheme

- More than now
- The same as now
- Less than now



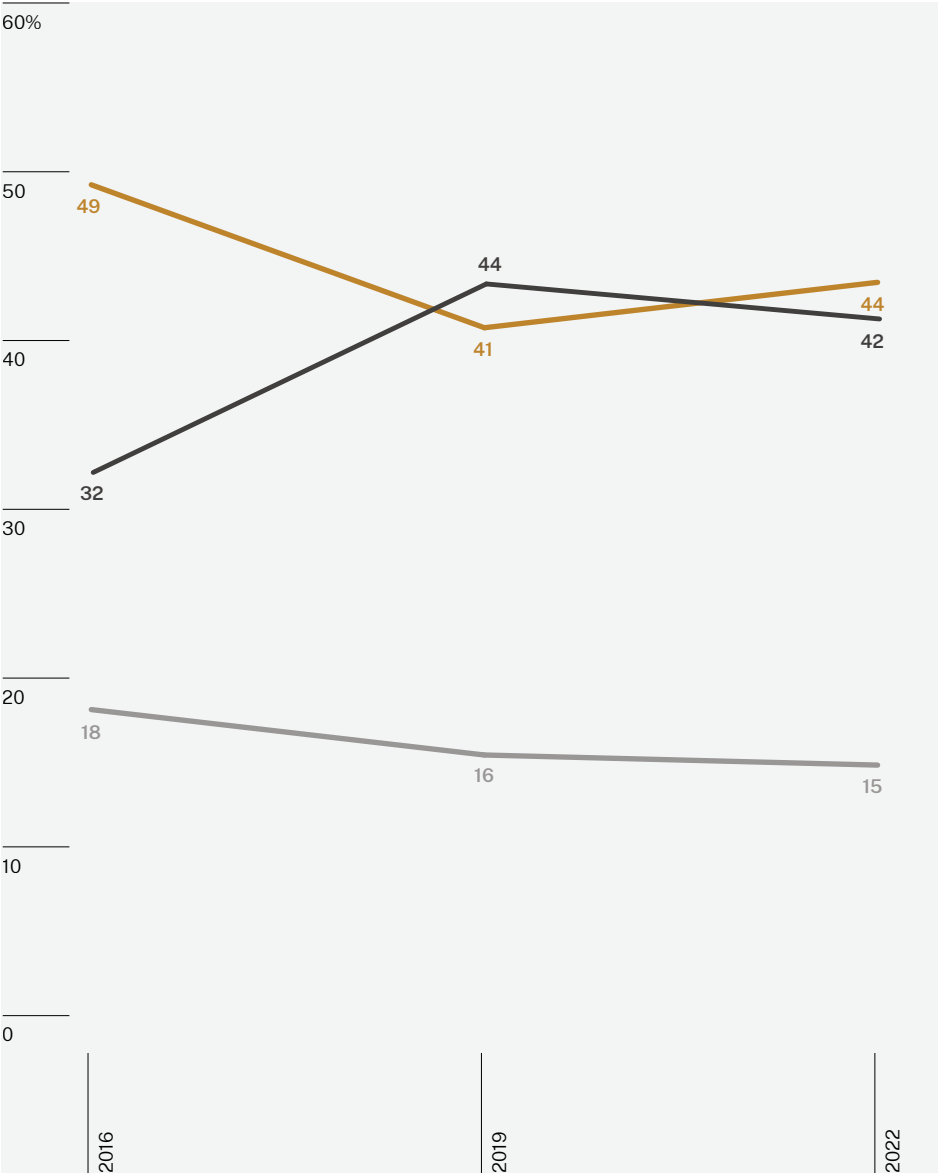
Government spending on public transport infrastructure

- More than now
- The same as now
- Less than now



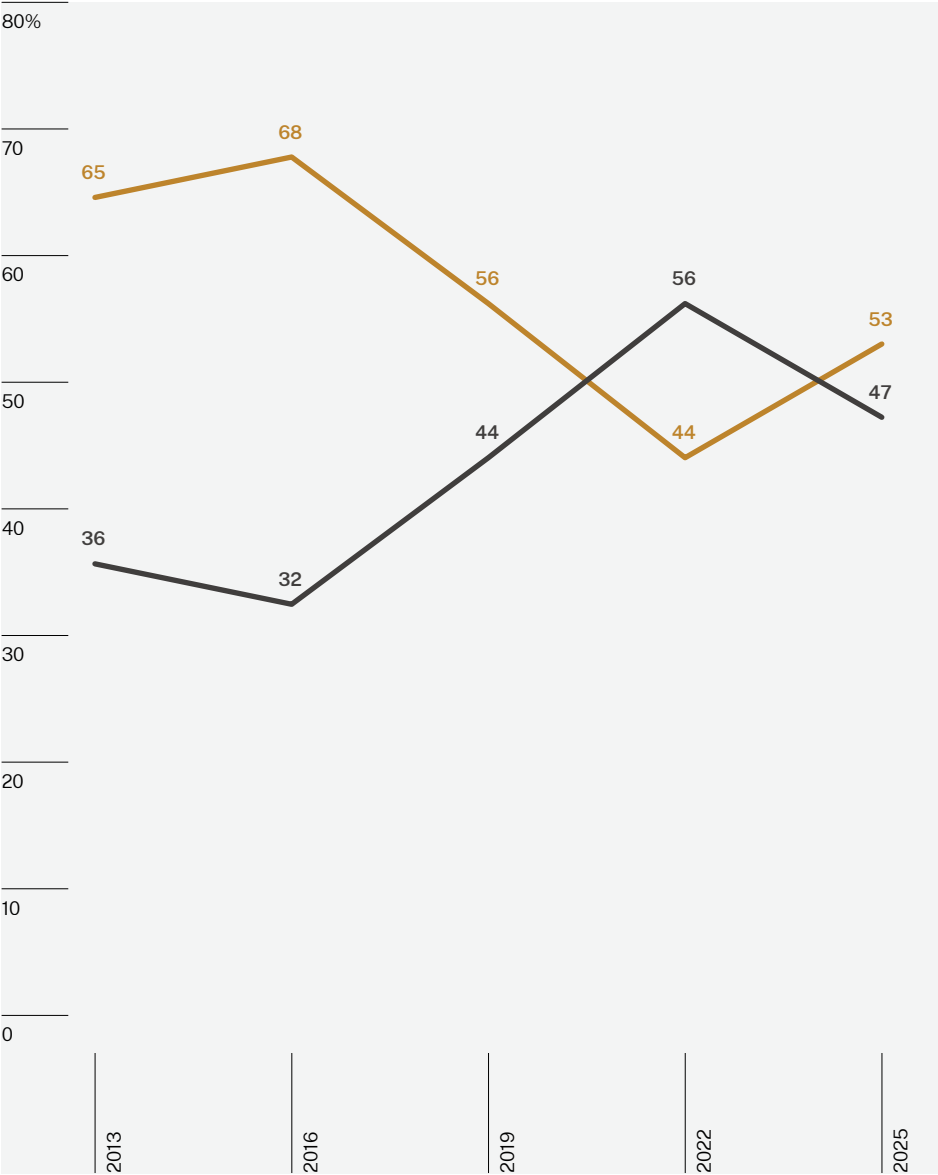
Government spending on child care

- More than now
- The same as now
- Less than now



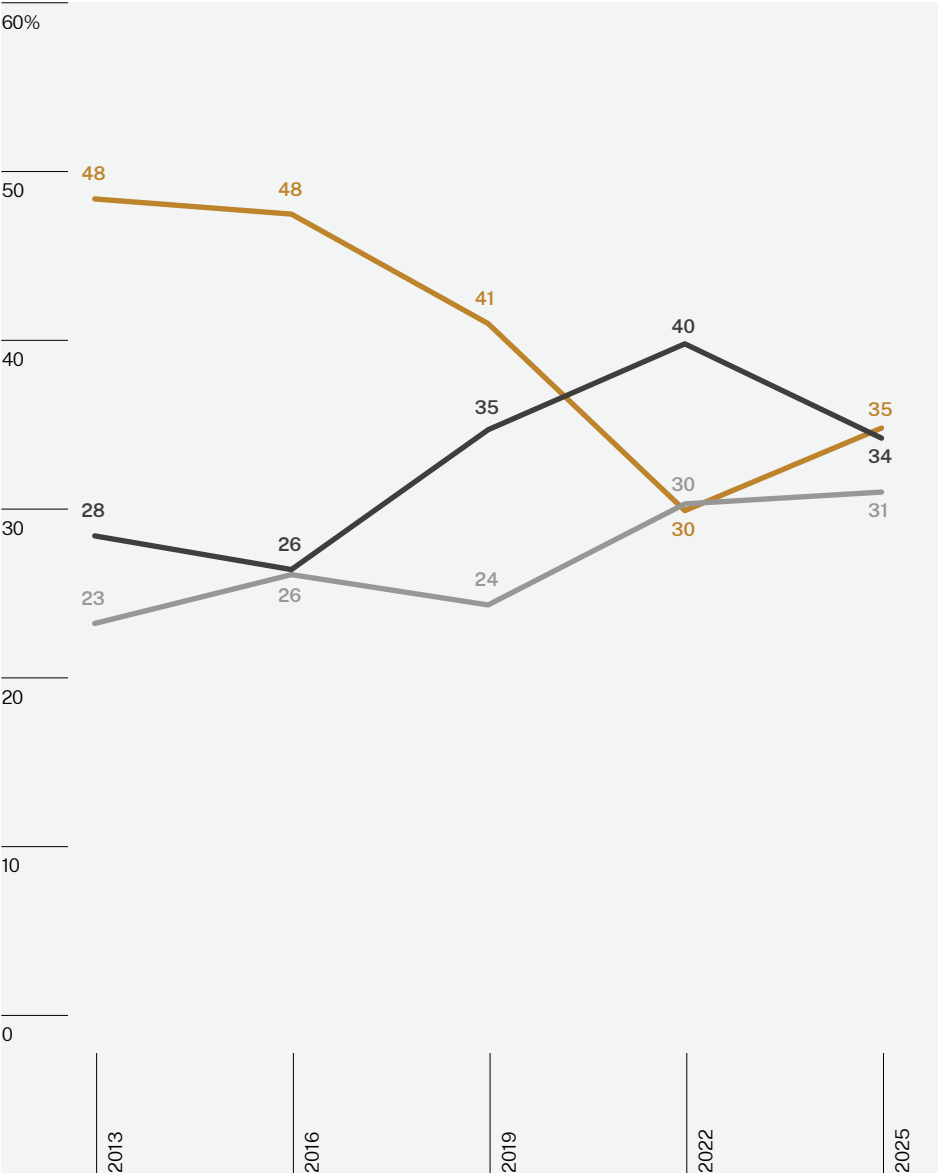
If lost job how easy to find another in 12 months

Easy
Difficult



If spouse / partner lost job how easy to find another in 12 months

- Easy
- Difficult
- Do not have a partner



Notes

Financial situation of household over past year

For become better, estimates combine 'a lot better' and 'a little better'. For become worse, estimates combine 'a little worse' and 'a lot worse'.

Financial situation of country over past year

For become better, estimates combine 'a lot better' and 'a little better'. For become worse, estimates combine 'a little worse' and 'a lot worse'.

Financial situation of household in a year's time

For will be better, estimates combine 'a lot better' and 'a little better'. For will be worse, estimates combine 'a little worse' and 'a lot worse'.

Financial situation of country in a year's time

For will be better, estimates combine 'a lot better' and 'a little better'. For will be worse, estimates combine 'a little worse' and 'a lot worse'.

Government spending

Estimates show whether respondents think there should be more or less public expenditure in various policy areas. For more than now, estimates combine 'much more than now' and 'somewhat more than now'. For less than now, estimates combine 'somewhat less than now' and 'much less than now'.

If lost job how easy to find another in 12 months

From 2019-2025 'Do not have a job' was included in the list of responses although was dropped from the analyses for comparability with 2013-2016.

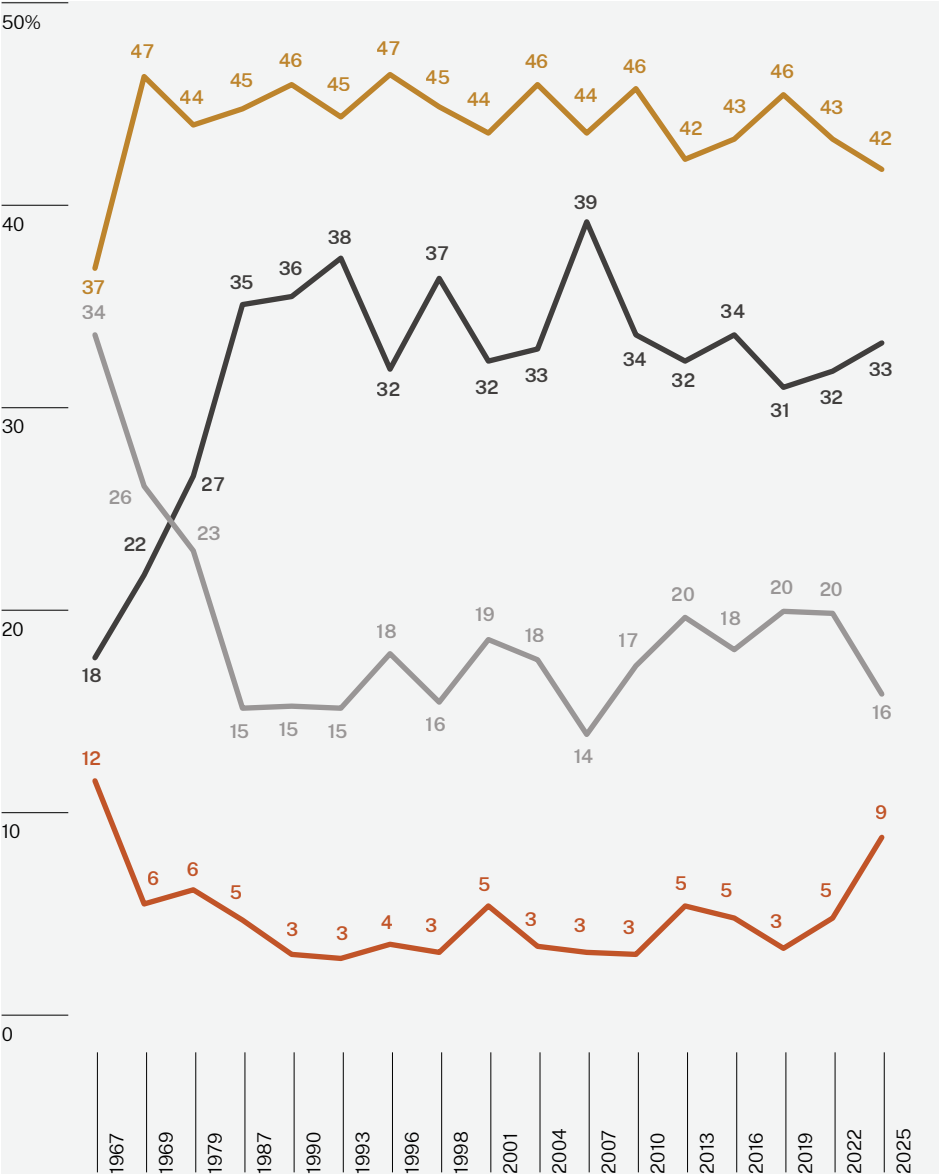
If spouse / partner lost job how easy to find another in 12 months

From 2019-2025 'Do not have a job' was included in the list of responses although was dropped from the analyses for comparability with 2013-2016.

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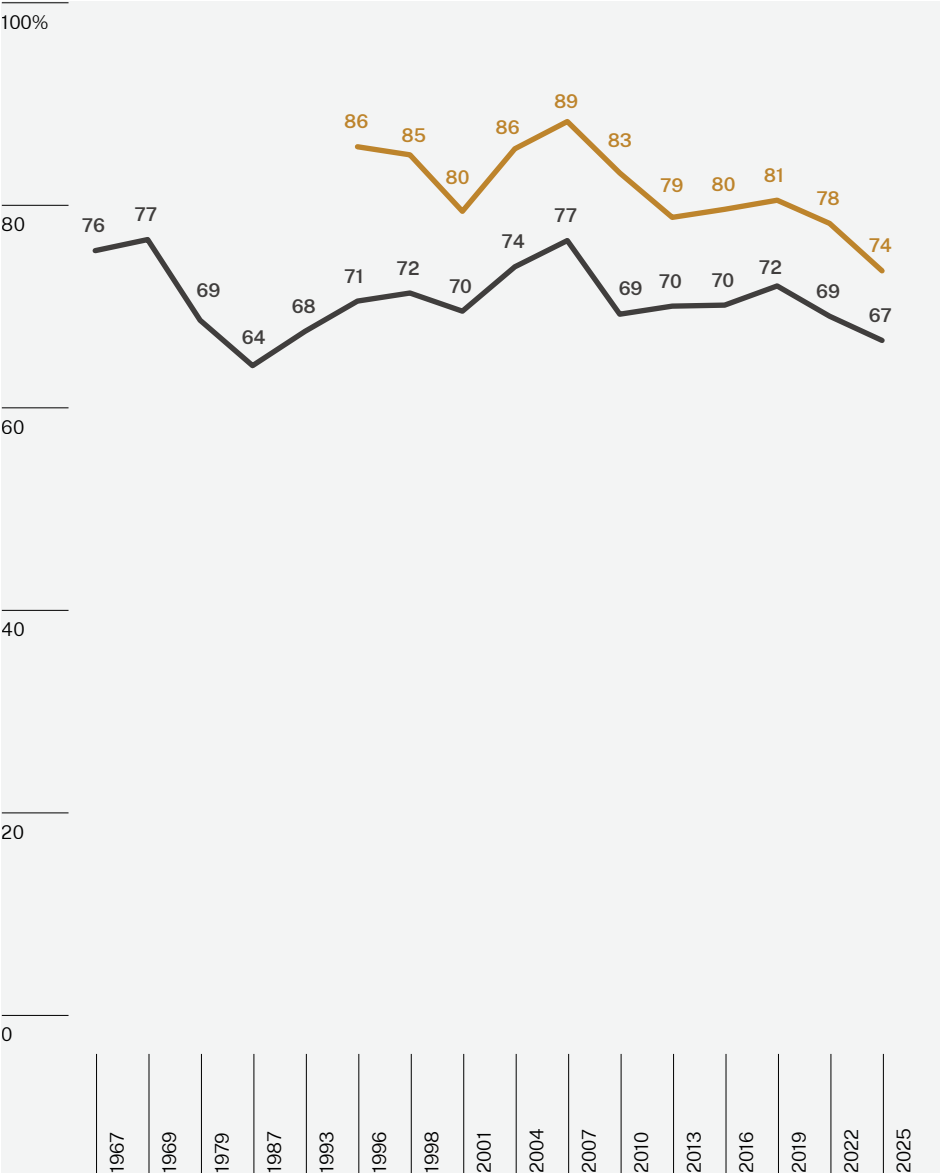
Interest in politics

- A good deal
- Some
- Not much
- None



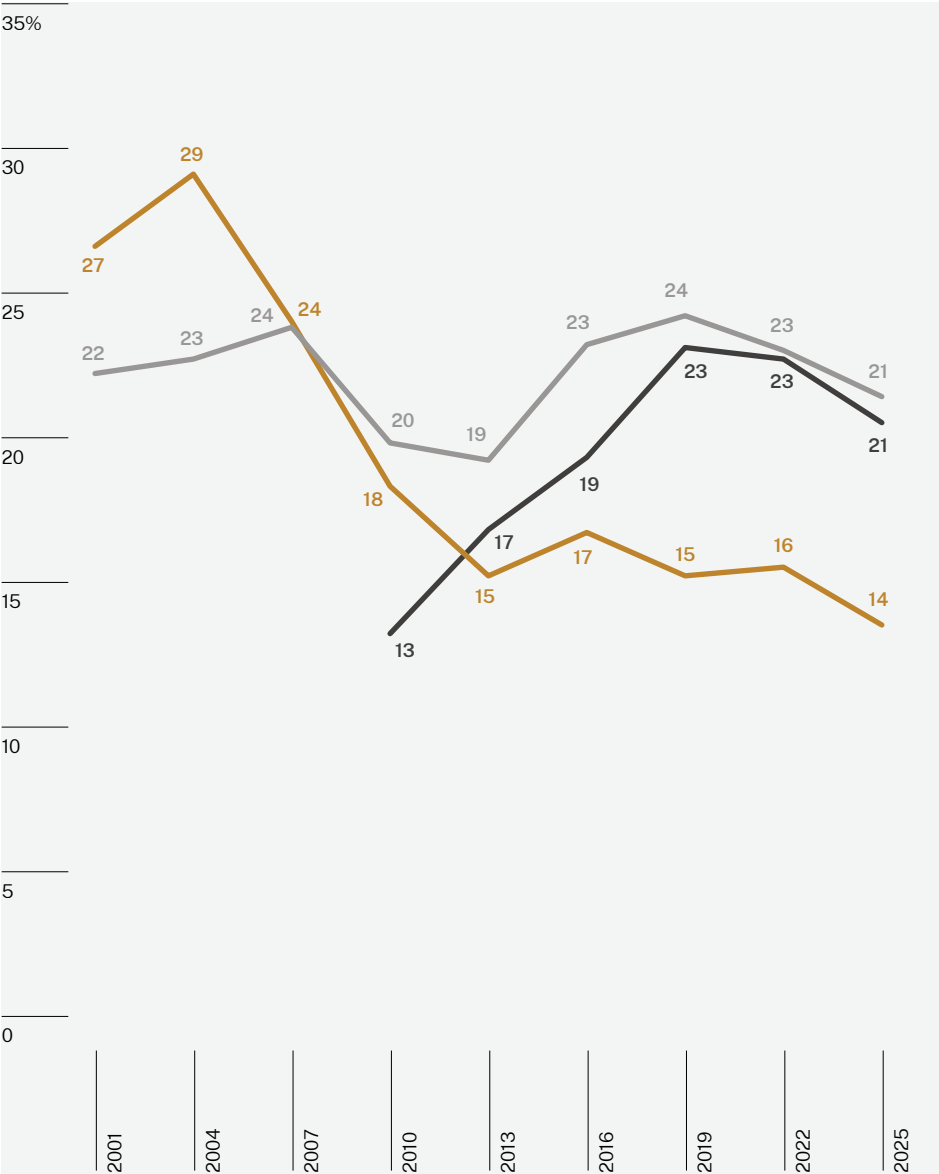
Compulsory voting and likelihood of voting if voluntary

- Supports compulsory voting
- Would have voted if voluntary



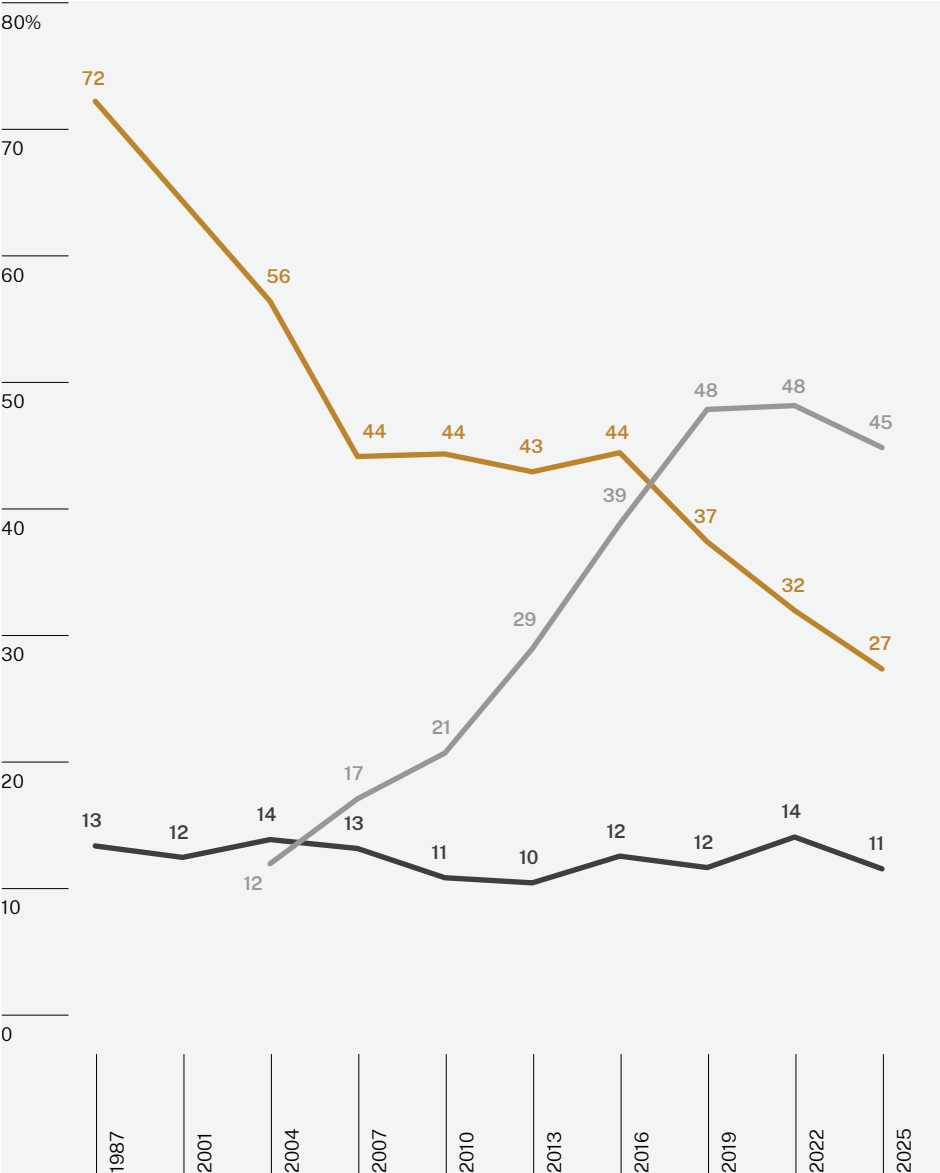
Political participation in the past five years

- Contacted official via email
- Contacted official in person or in writing
- Worked together with others



Political participation in the past five years

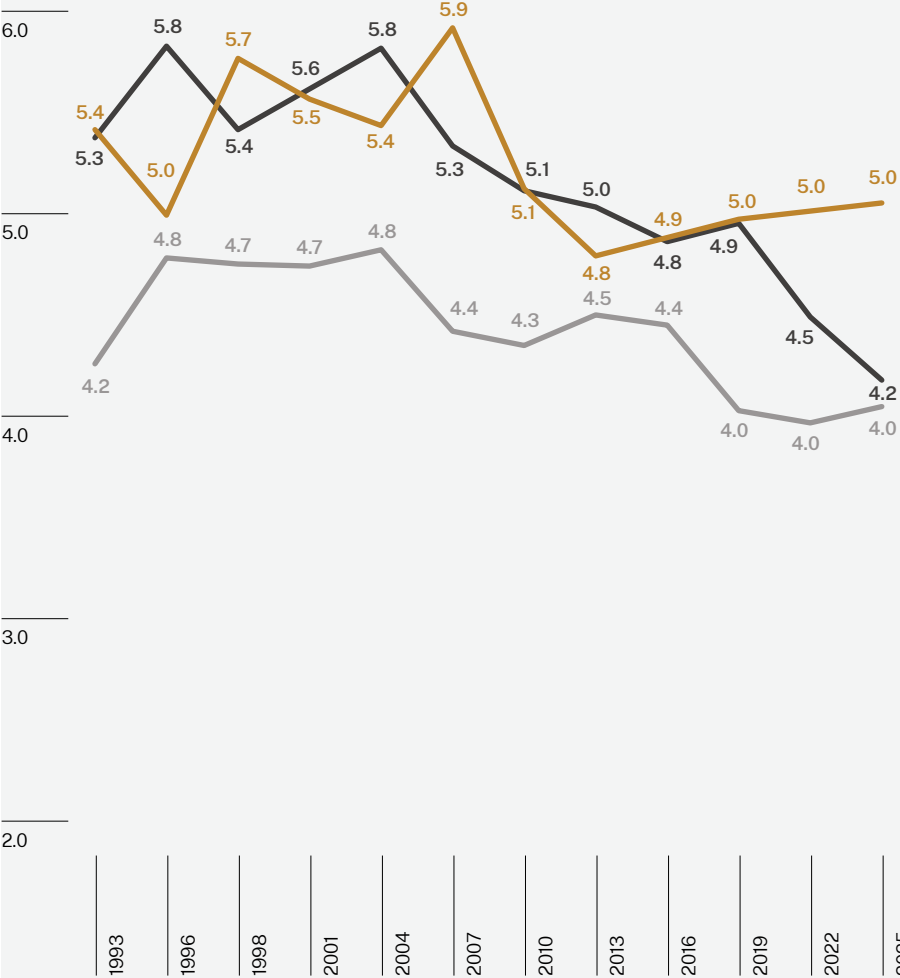
- Taken part in a protest
- Signed a written petition
- Signed an online petition



Feelings about political parties

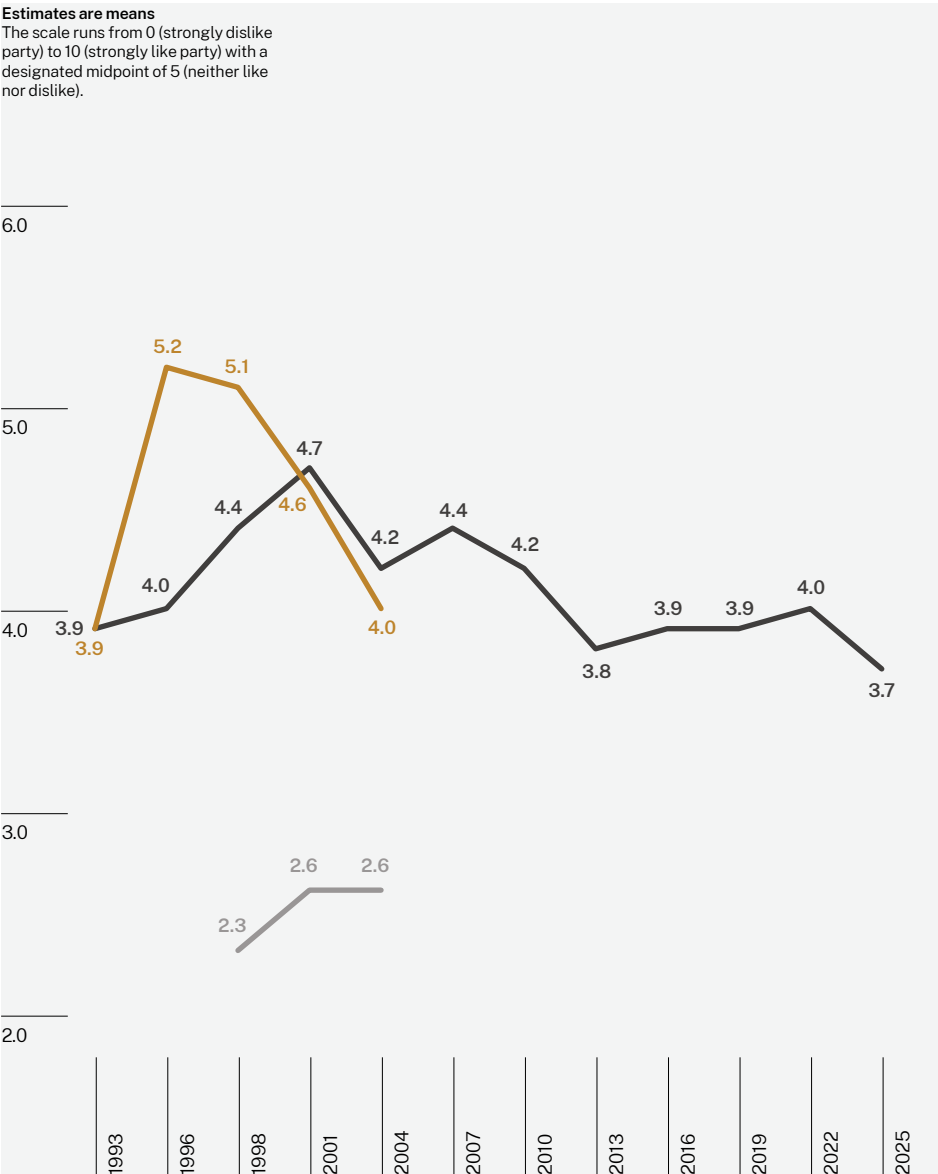
- Liberal
- Labor
- National

Estimates are means
The scale runs from 0 (strongly dislike party) to 10 (strongly like party) with a designated midpoint of 5 (neither like nor dislike).



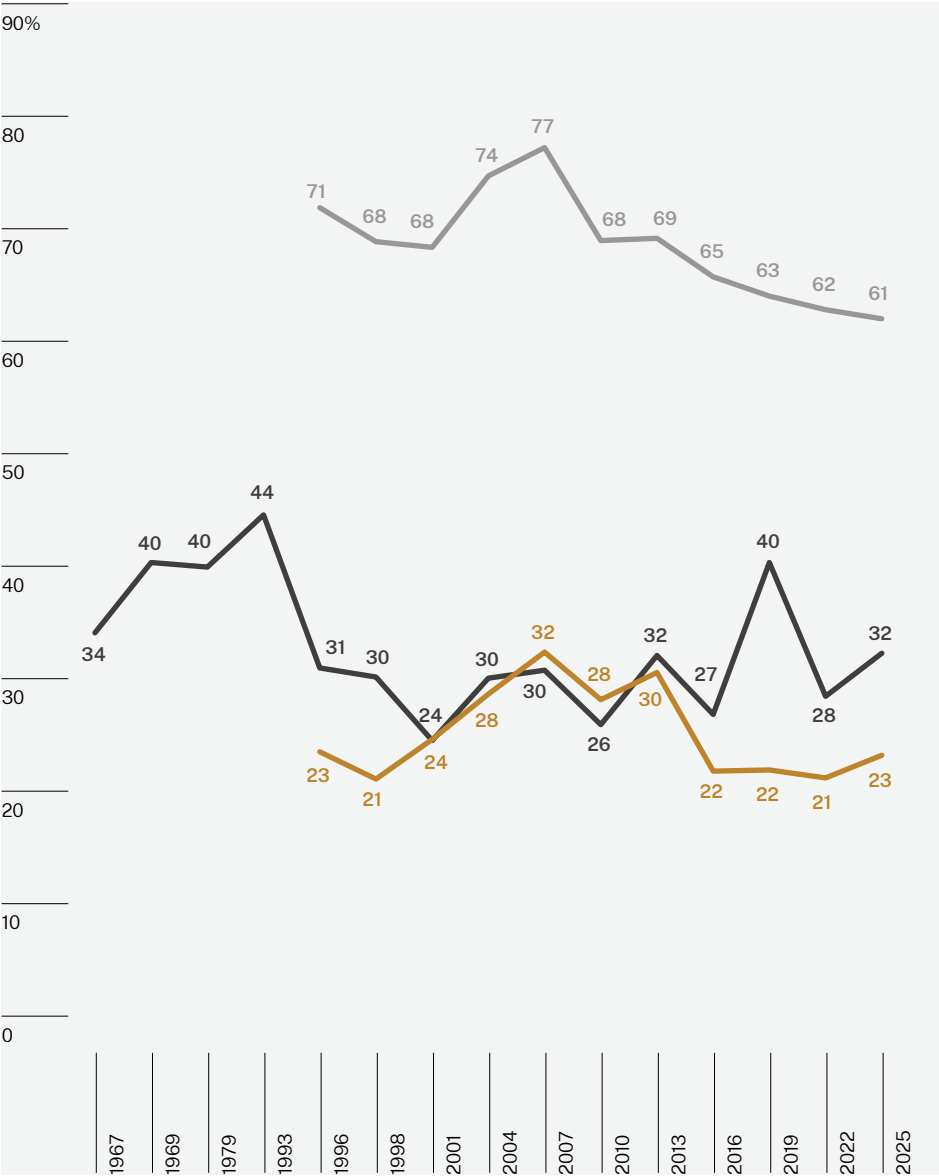
Feelings about political parties (continued)

- Greens
- Democrat
- One Nation



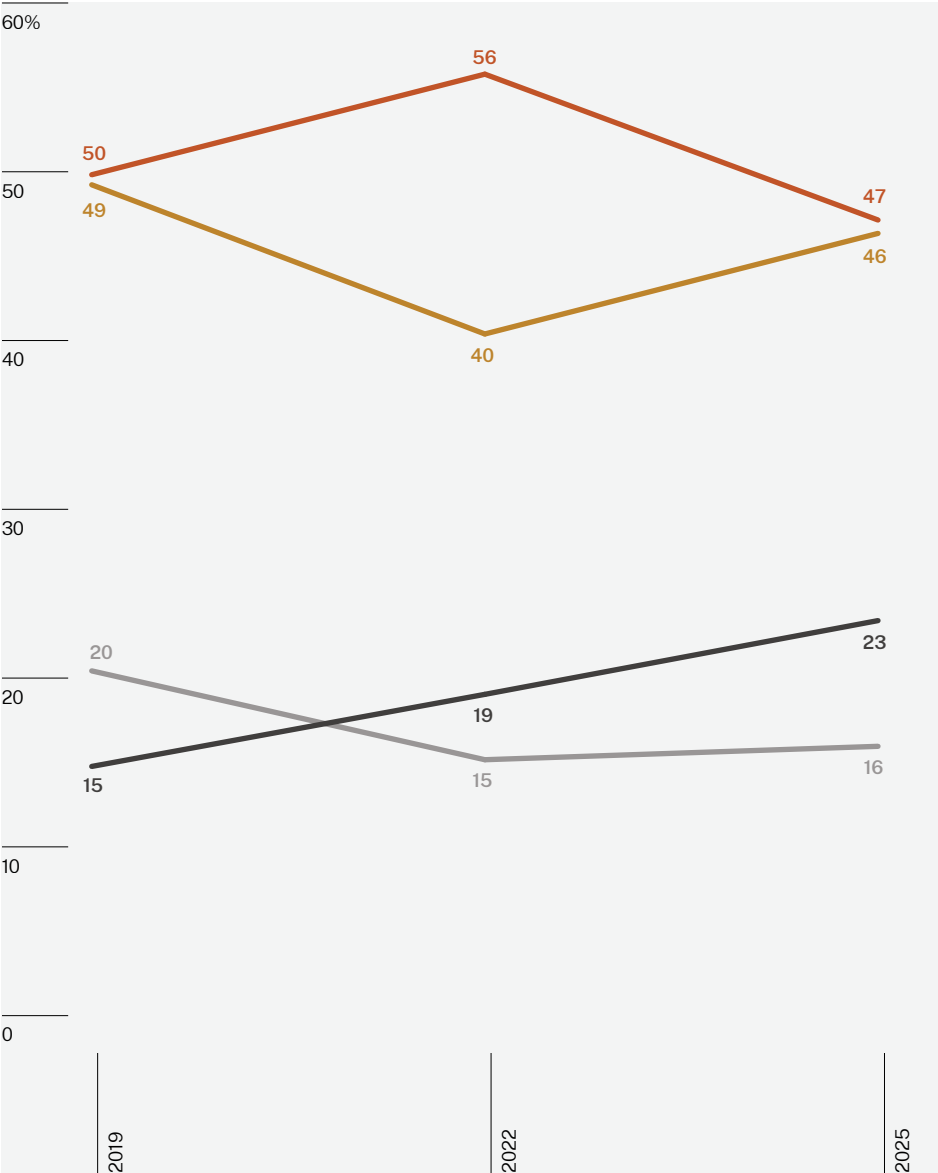
Perceptions of the role of political parties

- Good deal of difference between parties
- Parties care what people think
- Parties necessary to make political system work



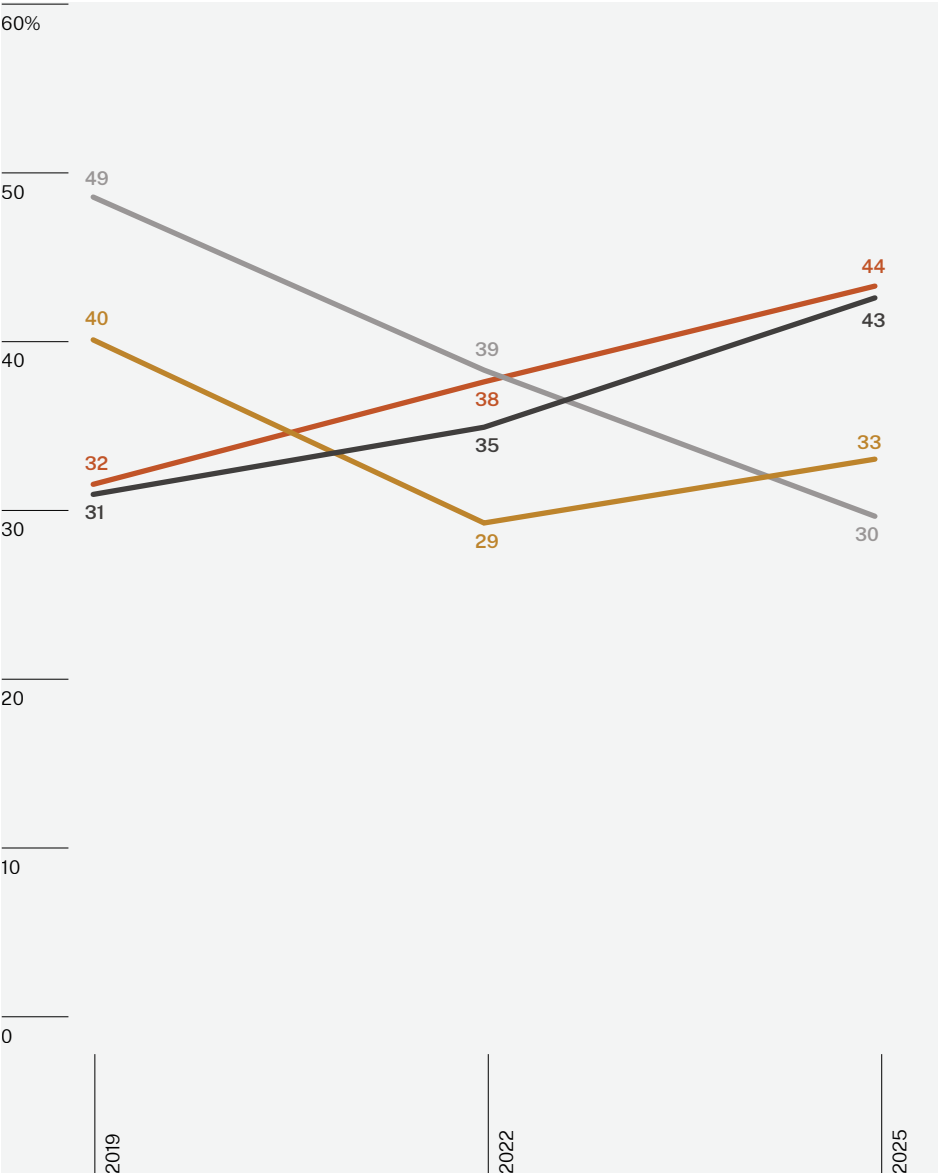
Political parties keep promises

- Labor Party keeps its promises
- Labor Party breaks its promises
- Liberal-National Coalition keeps its promises
- Liberal-National Coalition breaks its promises



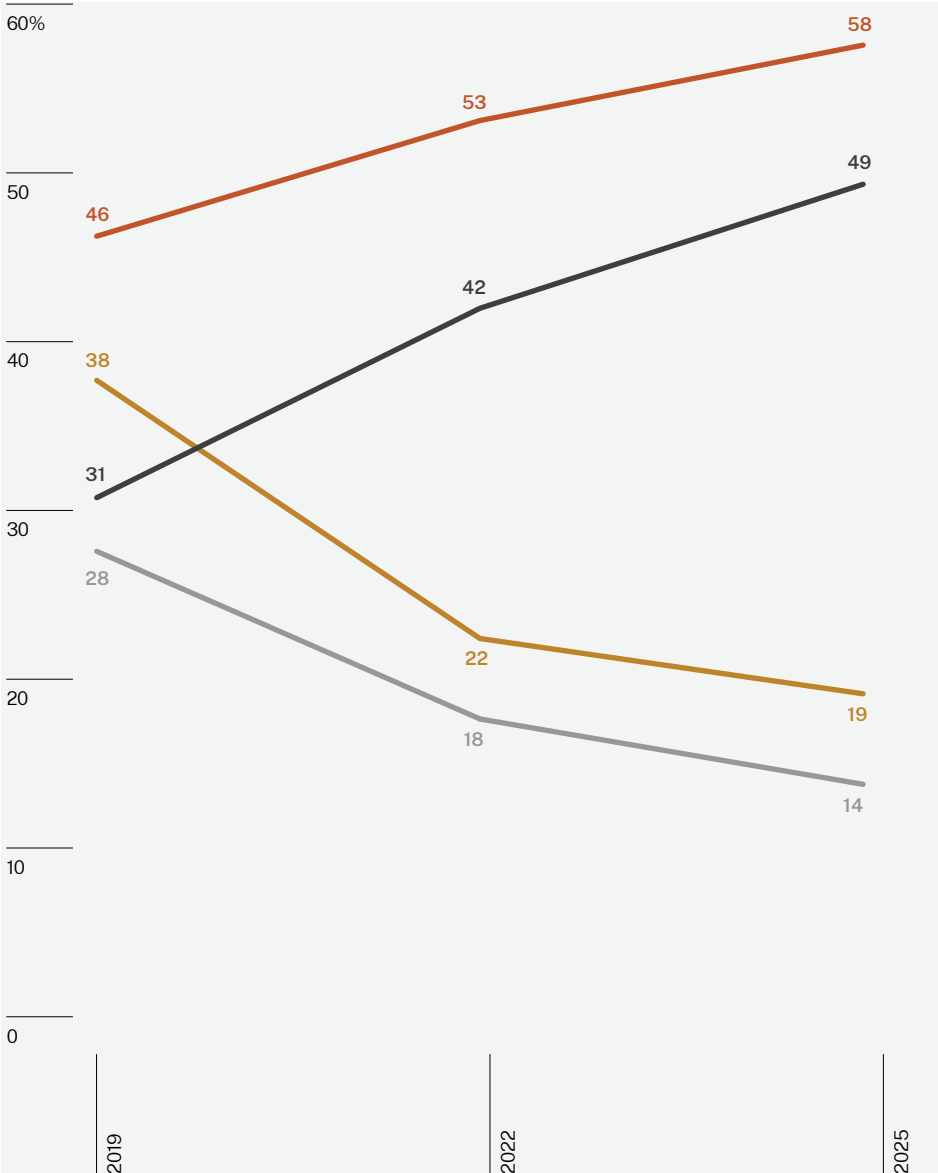
Political parties capable of strong government

- Labor Party capable of strong government
- Labor Party not capable of strong government
- Liberal-National Coalition capable of strong government
- Liberal-National Coalition not capable of strong government



Political parties united or divided

- Labor Party united
- Labor Party divided
- Liberal-National Coalition united
- Liberal-National Coalition divided



Notes

Compulsory voting and likelihood of voting if voluntary

For supports compulsory voting, estimates are: (1967-1979) 'compulsory better'; (1987-2025) 'favour compulsory voting' and 'strongly favour compulsory voting'. For would have voted if voluntary, estimates combine 'definitely would have voted' and 'probably would have voted'.

Political participation in the past five years

For contacted official via email the response category is: (2010-2025) 'contacted a politician or government official by email'. For contacted official in person or in writing the response categories are: (2001-2007) 'contacted a politician or government official either in person, or in writing, or some other way'; (2010-2025) 'contacted a politician or government official either in person, or in writing'. For worked together with others the response category is: (2001-2025) 'worked together with people who shared the same concern

Political participation in the past five years (continued)

For taken part in a protest, the response categories are: (1987) 'attending lawful demonstrations'; (2001-2025) 'taken part in a protest, march or demonstration'. For signed an online petition, the response categories are: (2004-2007) 'signed an electronic petition'; (2010-2022) 'signed an online or e-petition'; (2025) 'signed an online petition'. Unlike 2001-2025, the 1987 estimate does not refer to the past five years only.

Feelings about political parties

Estimates are means. The scale runs from 0 (strongly dislike party) to 10 (strongly like party) with a designated midpoint of 5 (neither like nor dislike).

Feelings about political parties (continued)

Estimates are means. The scale runs from 0 (strongly dislike party) to 10 (strongly like party) with a designated midpoint of 5 (neither like nor dislike).

Perceptions of the role of political parties

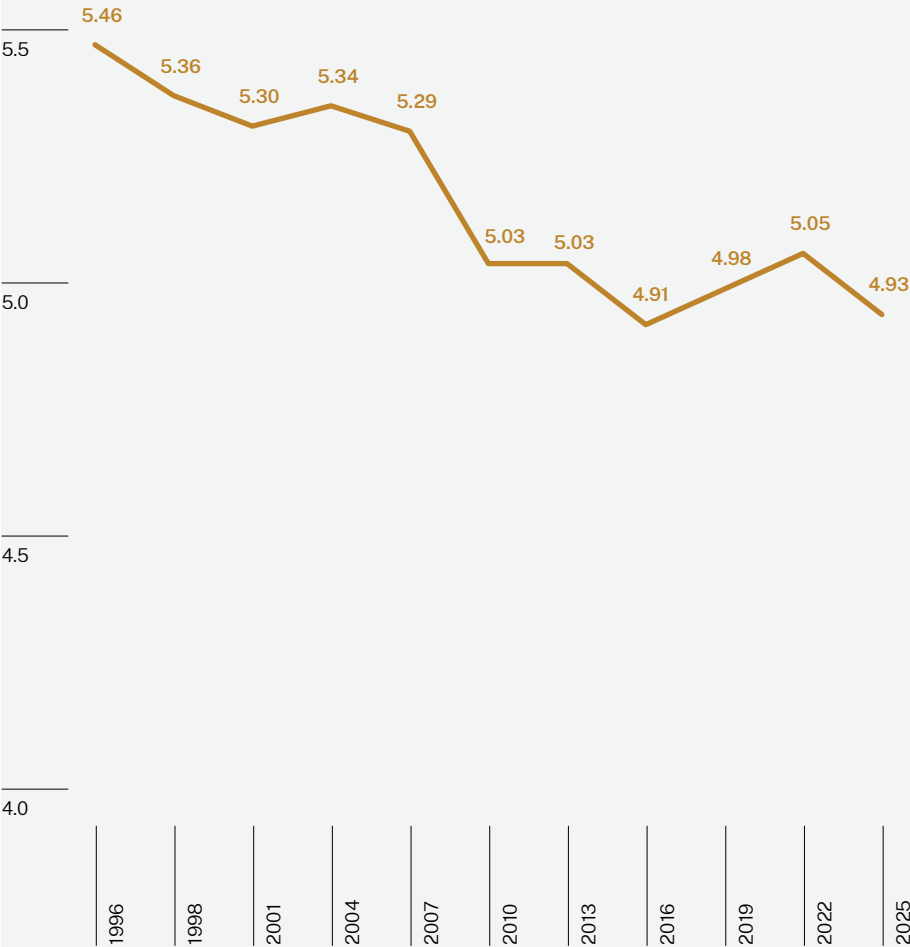
For parties care what people think and parties necessary to make political system work, estimates combine '1' and '2' on the five point scale.

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Voters' left-right position

Left-right position

Estimates are means
The political left-right scale
runs from 0 (left) to 10 (right)
with a midpoint of 5.



Where voters place the parties on the left-right scale

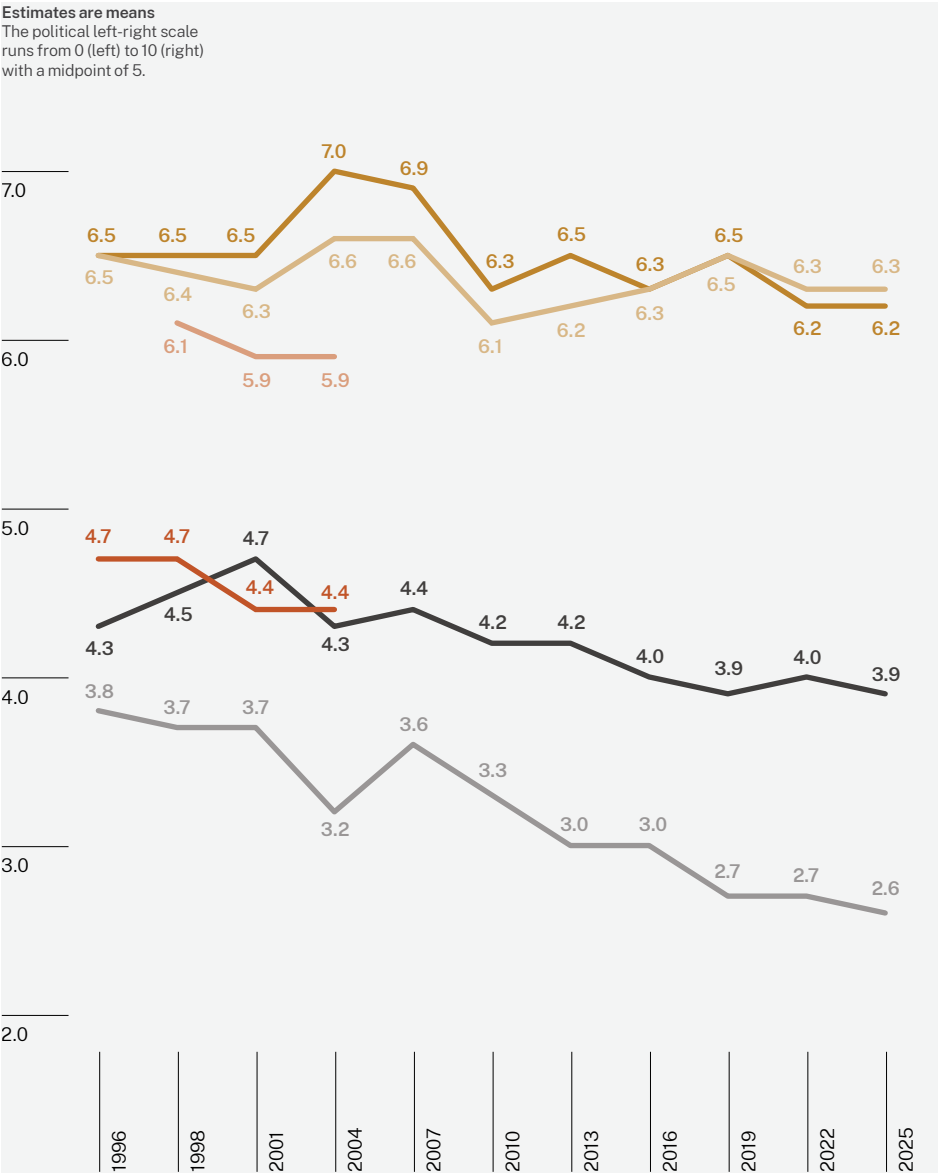
- Labor

Liberal

Greens
- Democrat

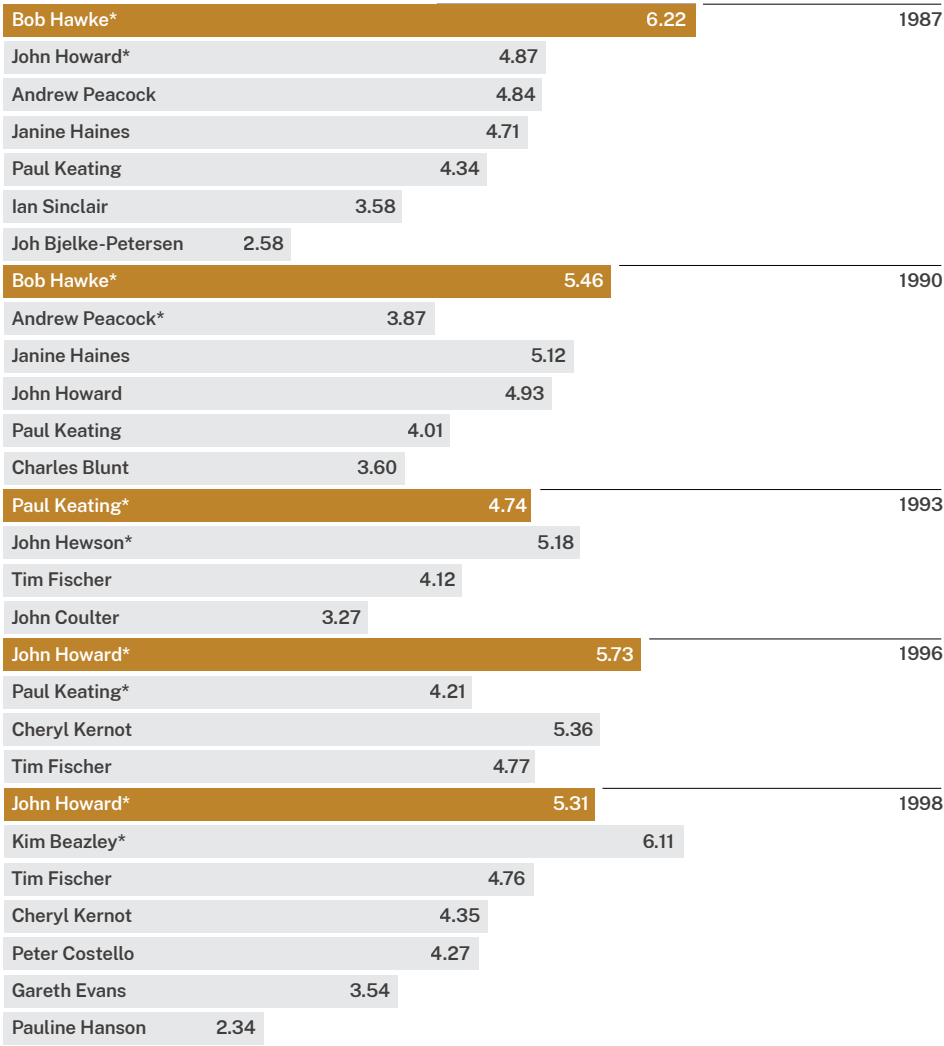
National

One Nation



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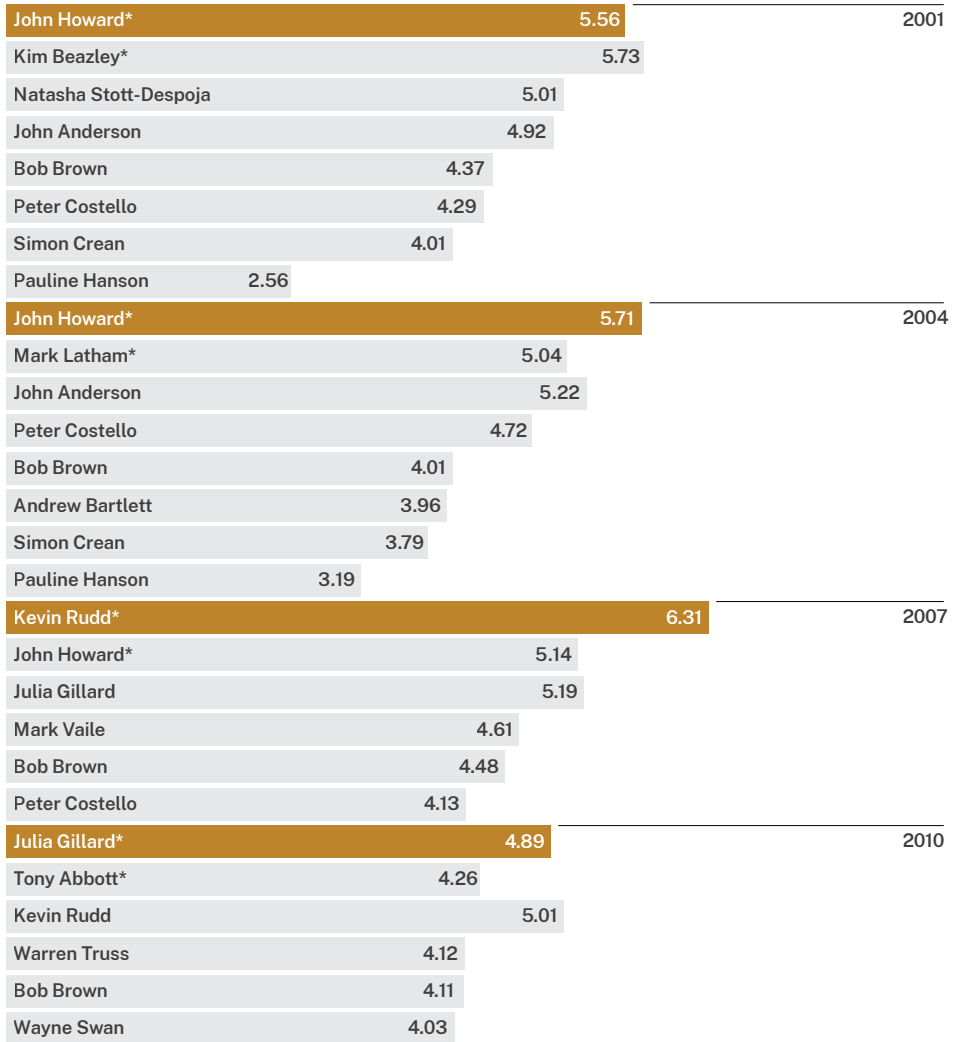
How politicians were rated



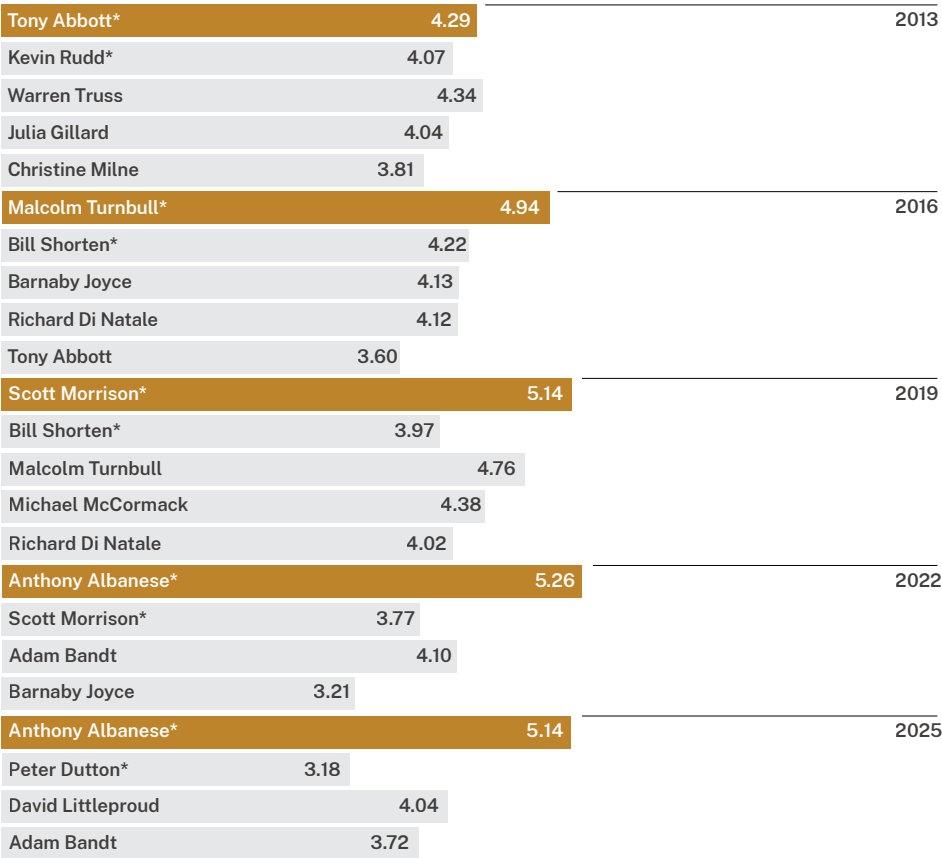
Estimates are means

The scale runs from 0 (strongly dislike politician) to 10 (strongly like politician) with a designated midpoint of 5 (neither like nor dislike).

- election winners
- * main party leaders



How politicians were rated (continued)

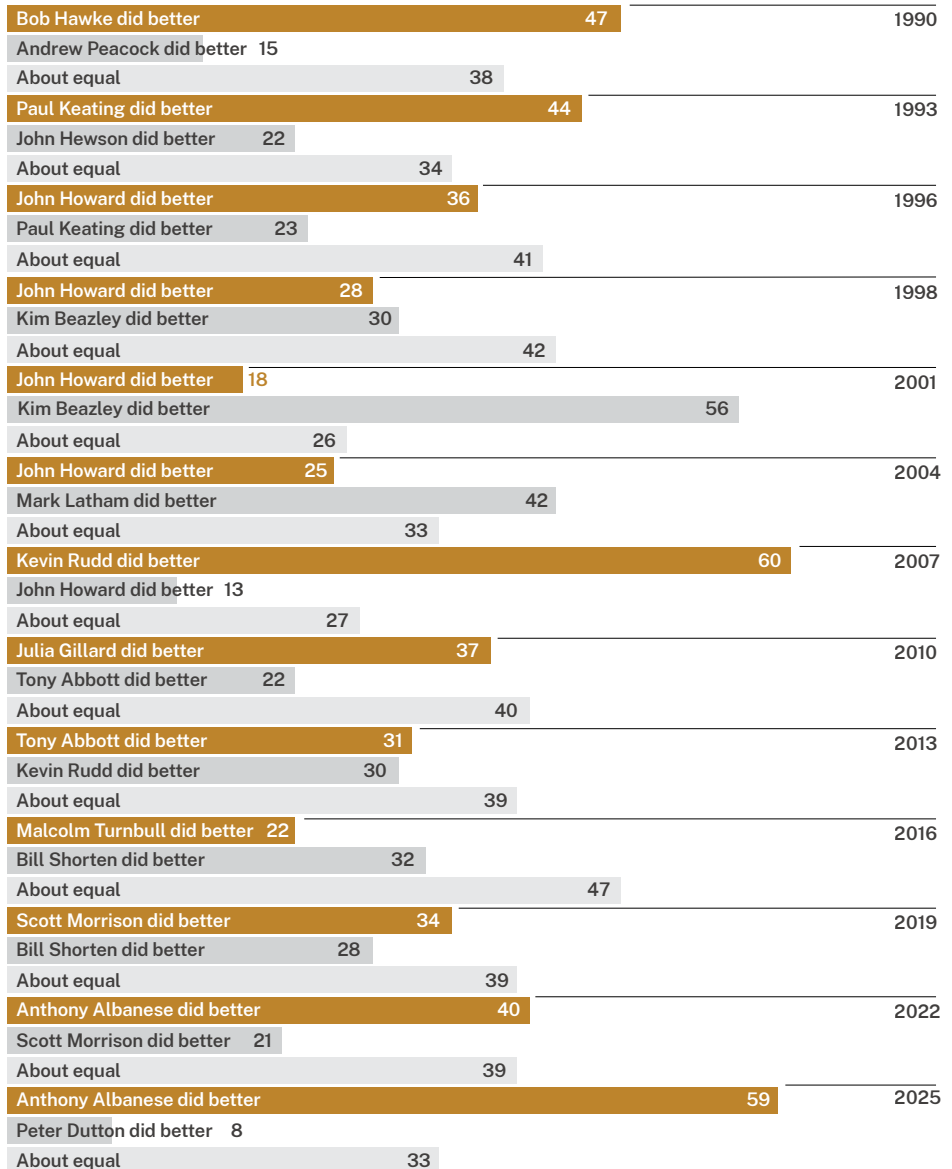


Performance in the leaders' debates

Estimates are percentages

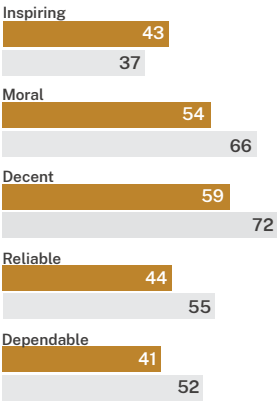
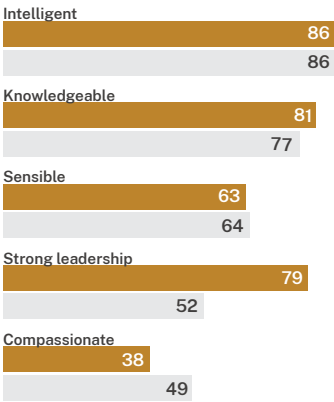
Estimates combine the percentage who responded that the leader 'did much better' or 'did somewhat better' in the debate(s).

● election winners



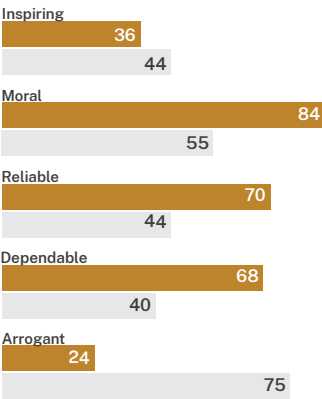
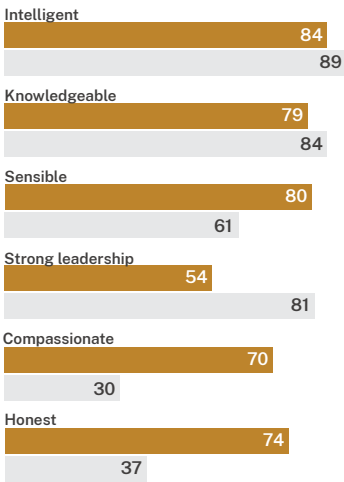
Leader characteristics

Paul Keating John Hewson



1993

John Howard Paul Keating

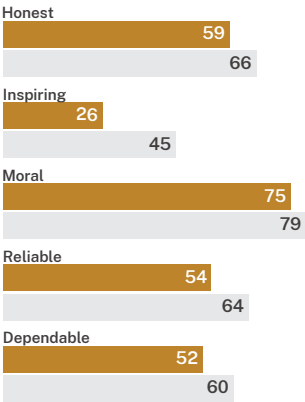
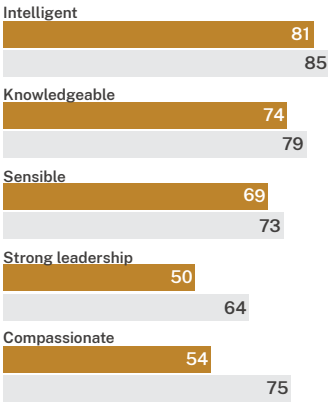


1996

Estimates are percentages
Estimates combine the percentage who responded that the characteristic described the leader extremely well or quite well.

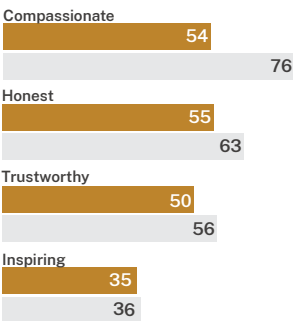
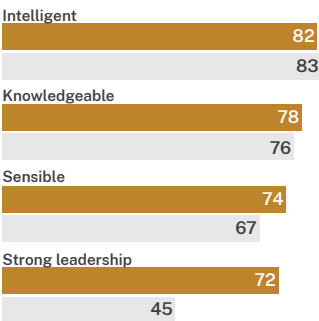
● election winners

● John Howard ● Kim Beazley



1998

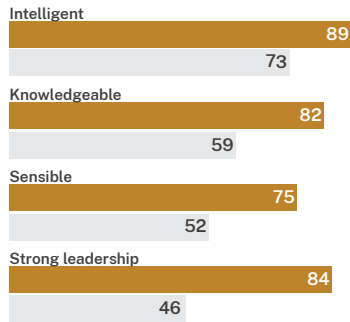
● John Howard ● Kim Beazley



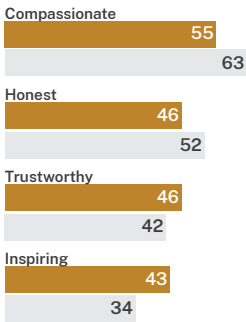
2001

Leader characteristics (continued)

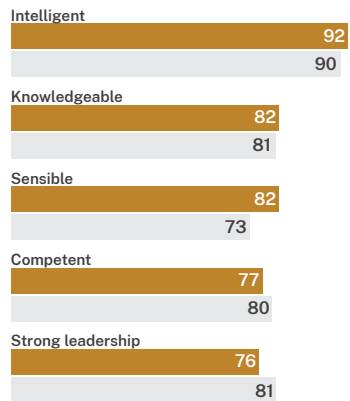
● John Howard ● Mark Latham



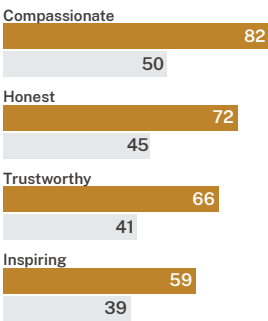
2004



● Kevin Rudd ● John Howard



2007

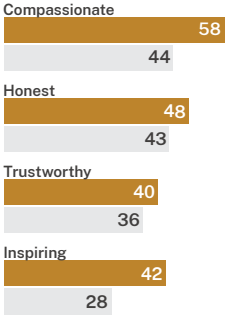
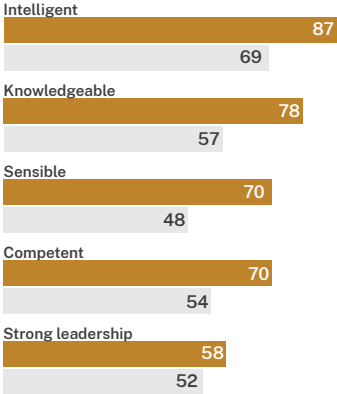


Estimates are percentages

Estimates combine the percentage who responded that the characteristic described the leader extremely well or quite well.

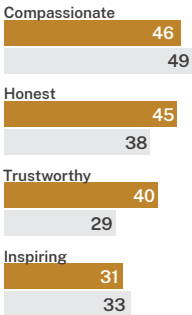
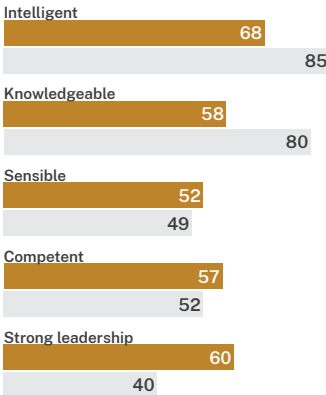
● election winners

● Julia Gillard ● Tony Abbott



2010

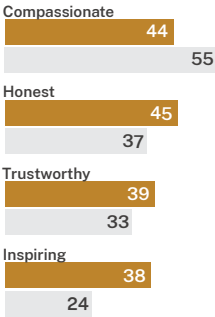
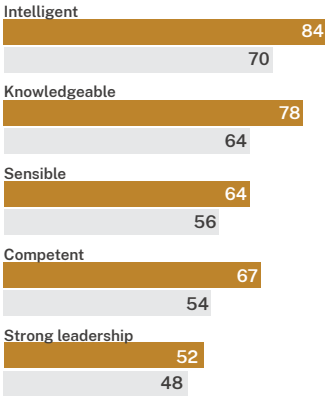
● Tony Abbott ● Kevin Rudd



2013

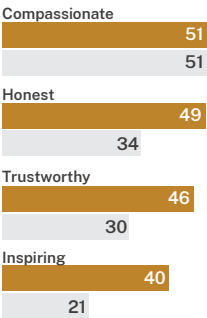
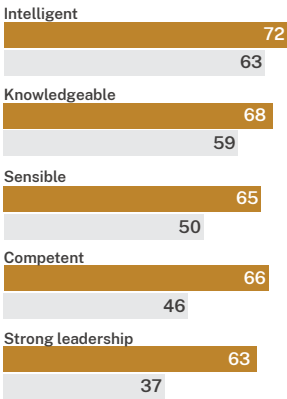
Leader characteristics (continued)

● Malcolm Turnbull ● Bill Shorten



2016

● Scott Morrison ● Bill Shorten

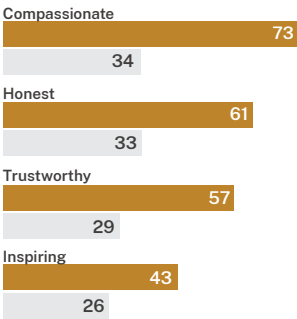
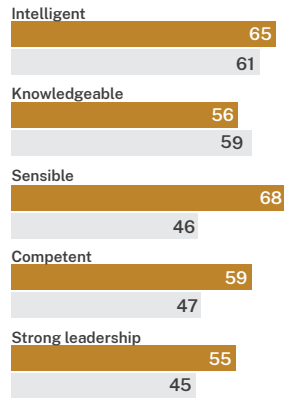


2019

Estimates are percentages
Estimates combine the percentage who responded that the characteristic described the leader extremely well or quite well.

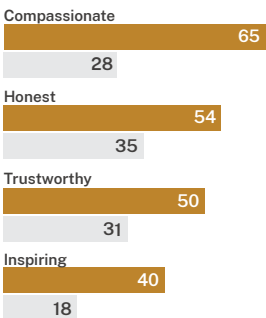
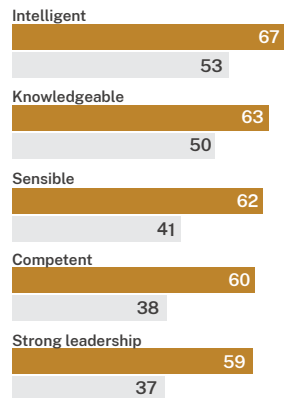
● election winners

● Anthony Albanese ● Scott Morrison



2022

● Anthony Albanese ● Peter Dutton

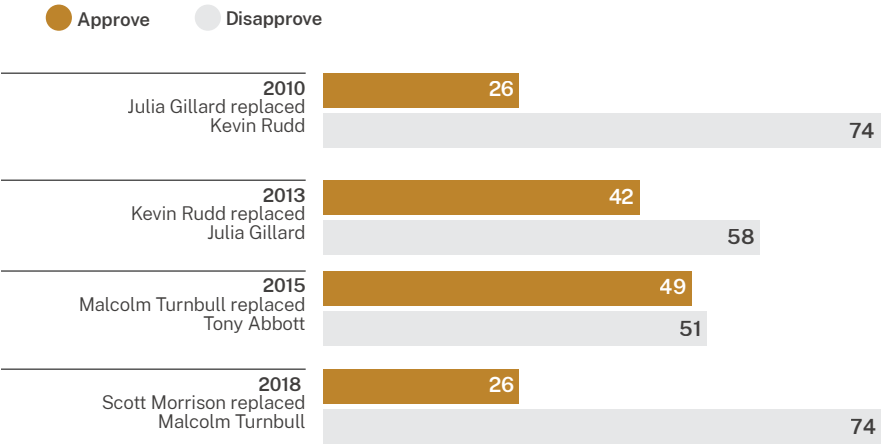


2025

Attitudes towards the leadership changes

Estimates are percentages

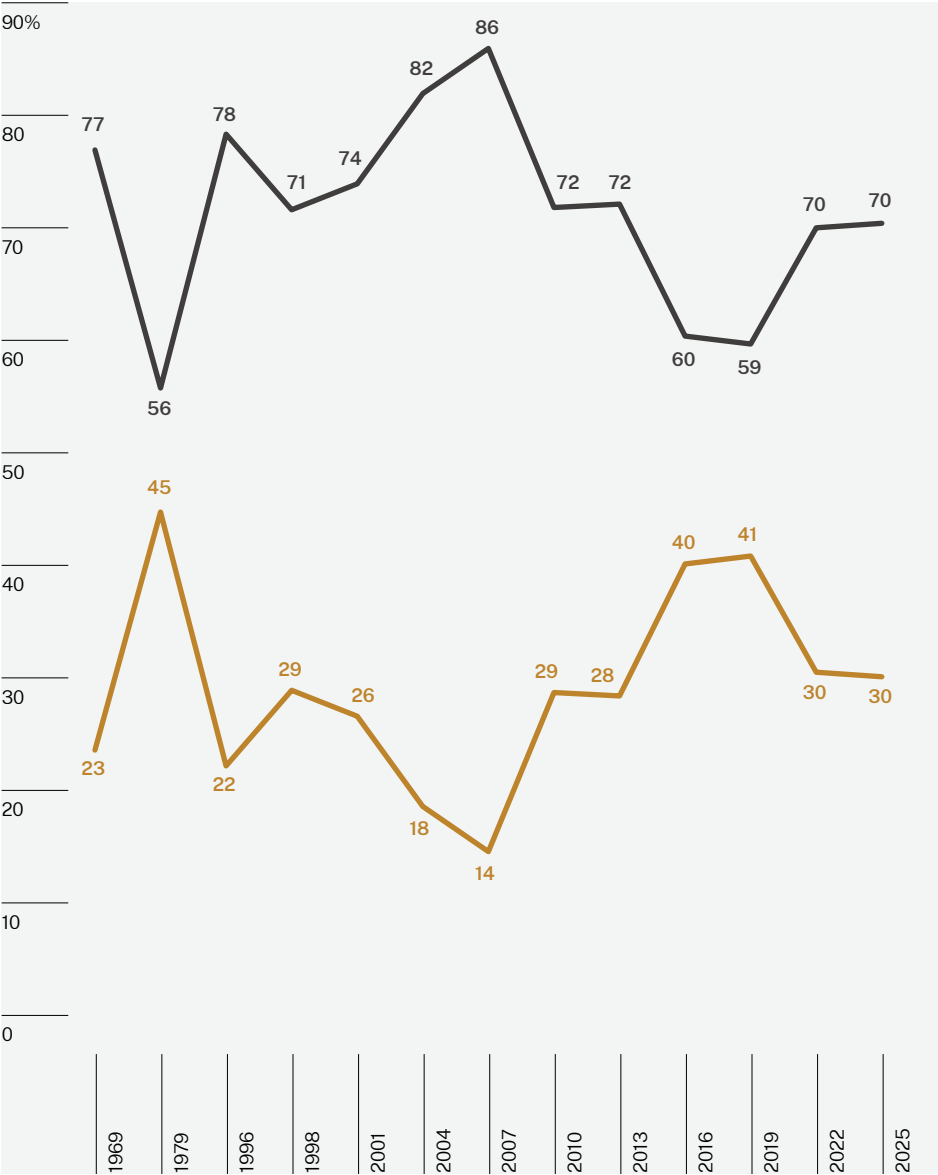
Question asked whether respondents approved or disapproved of the way the party (Labor, 2010 & 2013; Liberal 2016 & 2019) handled the respective leadership changes. For approve, estimates combine 'strongly approve' and 'approve'. For disapprove, estimates combine 'disapprove' and 'strongly disapprove'.



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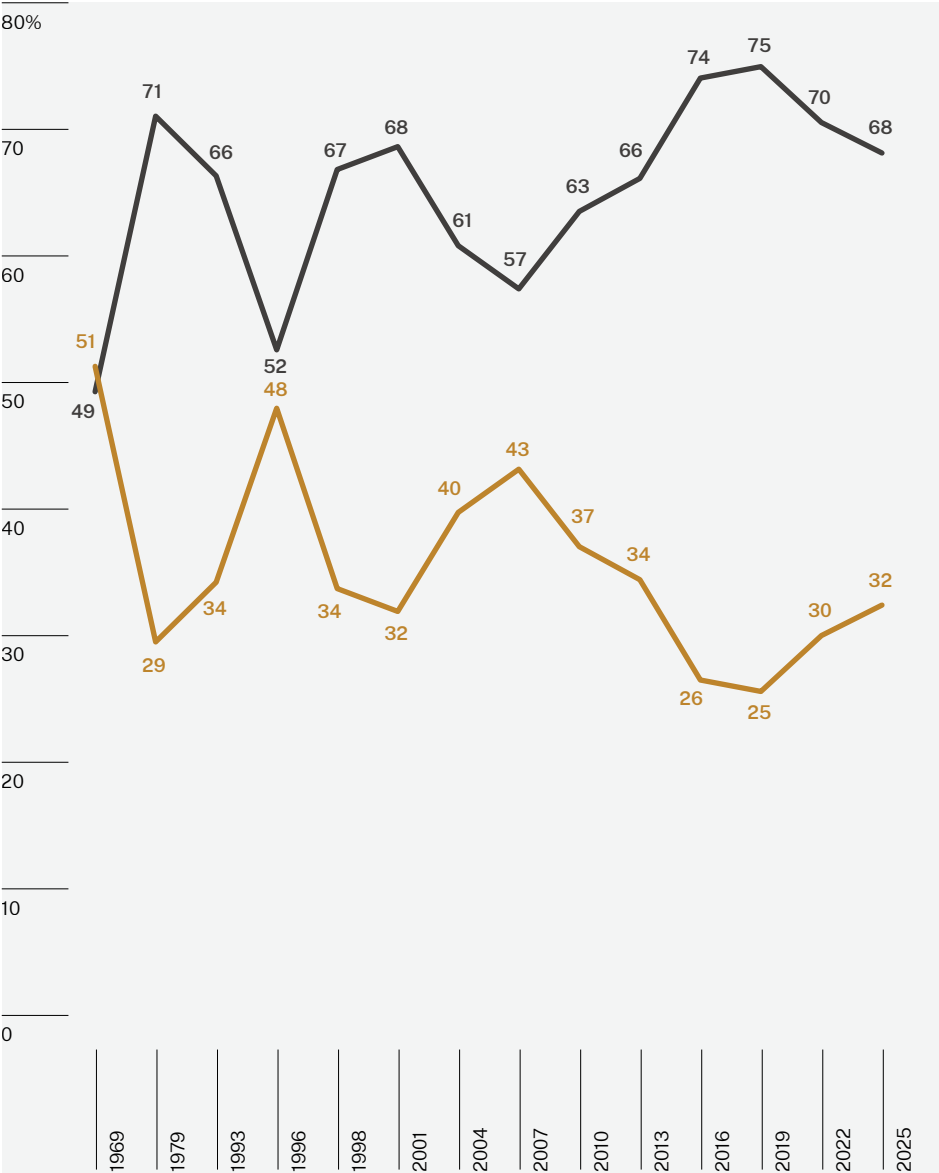
Satisfaction with democracy

- Satisfied with democracy
- Not satisfied with democracy



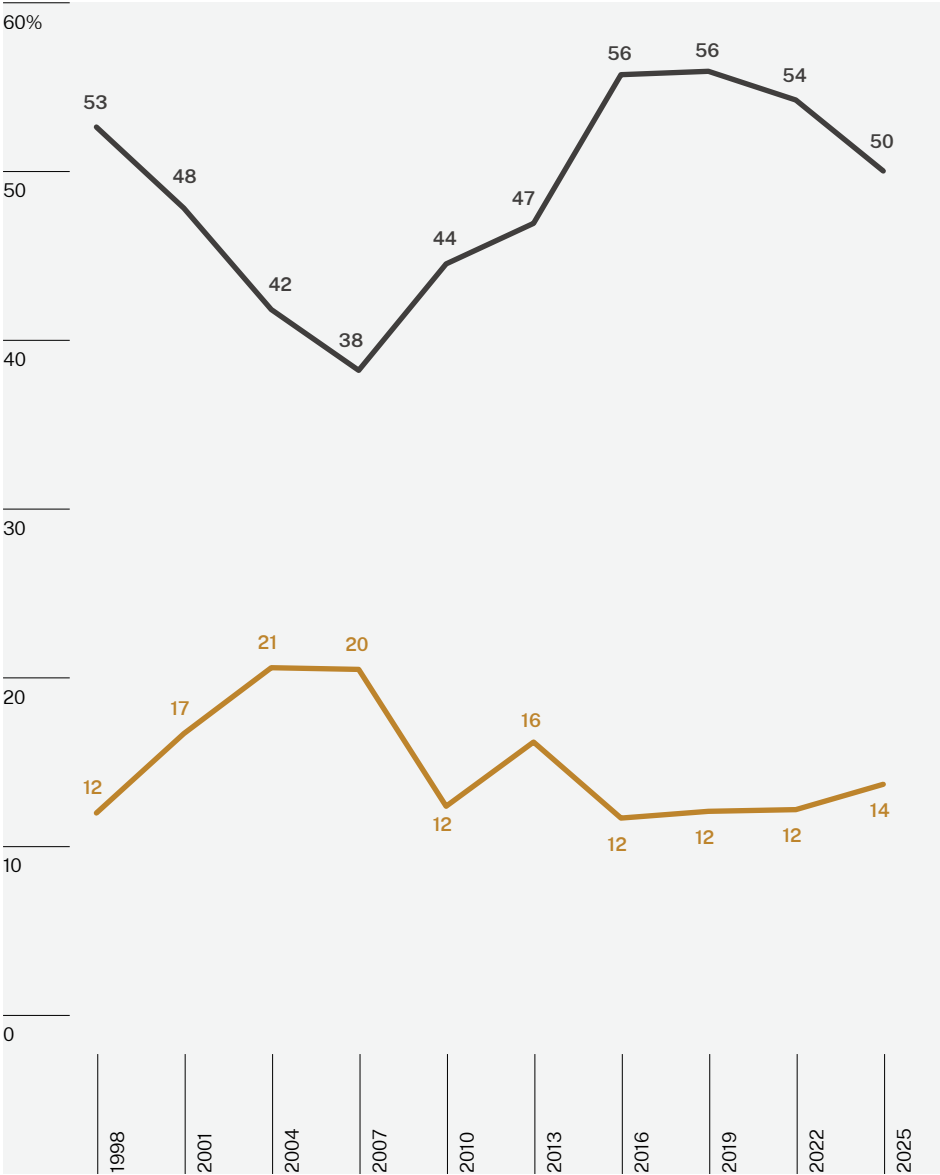
Trust in government

- People in government look after themselves
- People in government can be trusted



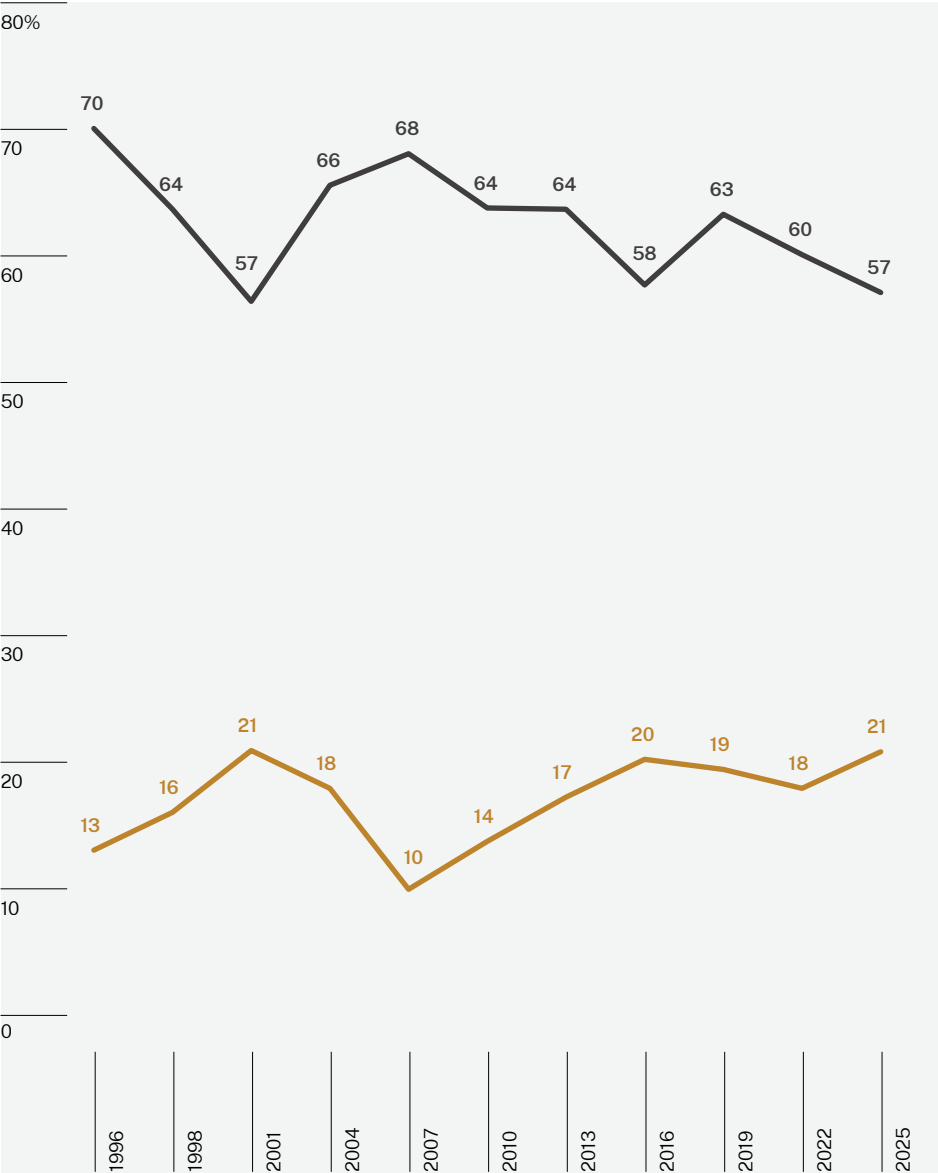
Who the government is run for

- Few big interests
- All the people



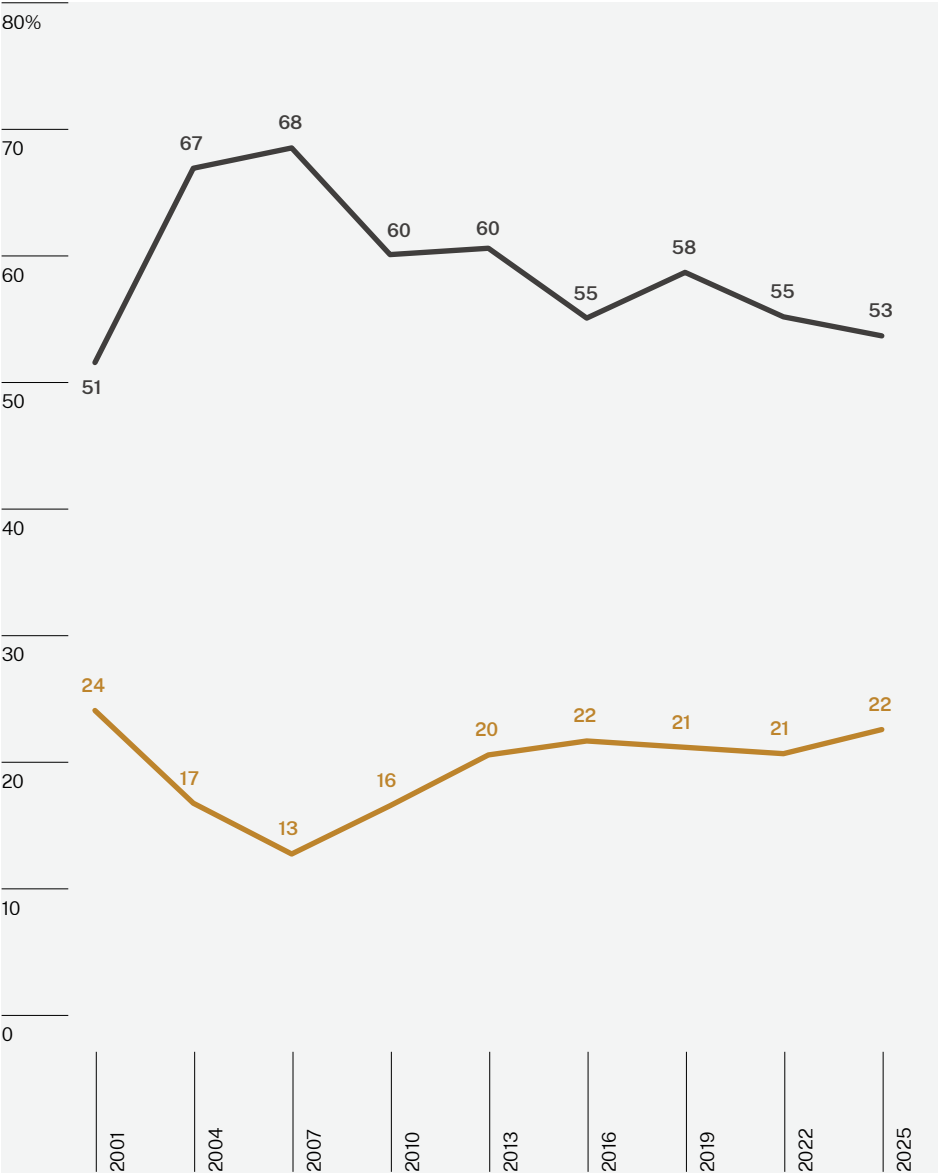
Political efficacy and the use of the vote

- Who people vote for can make a big difference
- Who people vote for won't make any difference



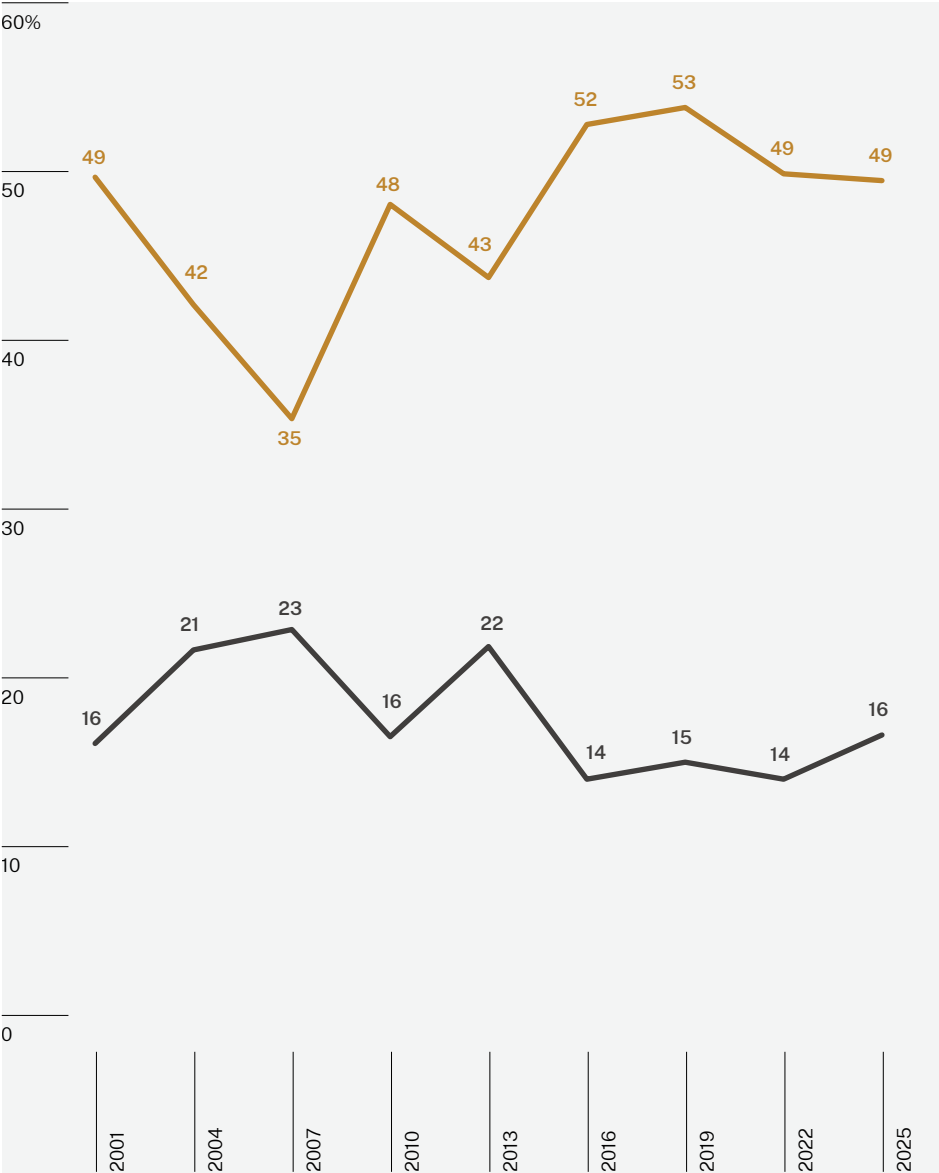
Makes a difference who is in power

- It makes a big difference who is in power
- It doesn't make any difference who is in power



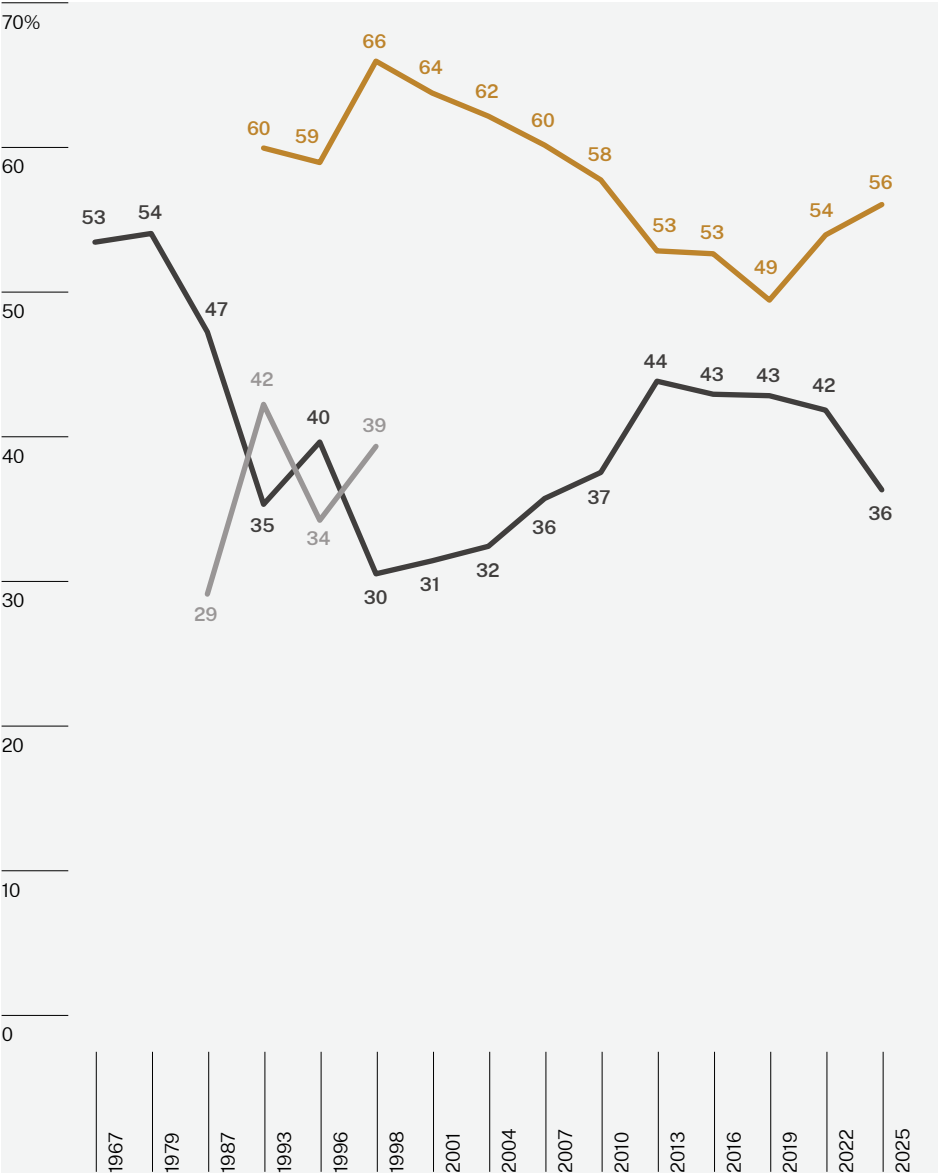
Politicians know what ordinary people think

- Politicians know what ordinary people think
- Politicians don't know what ordinary people think



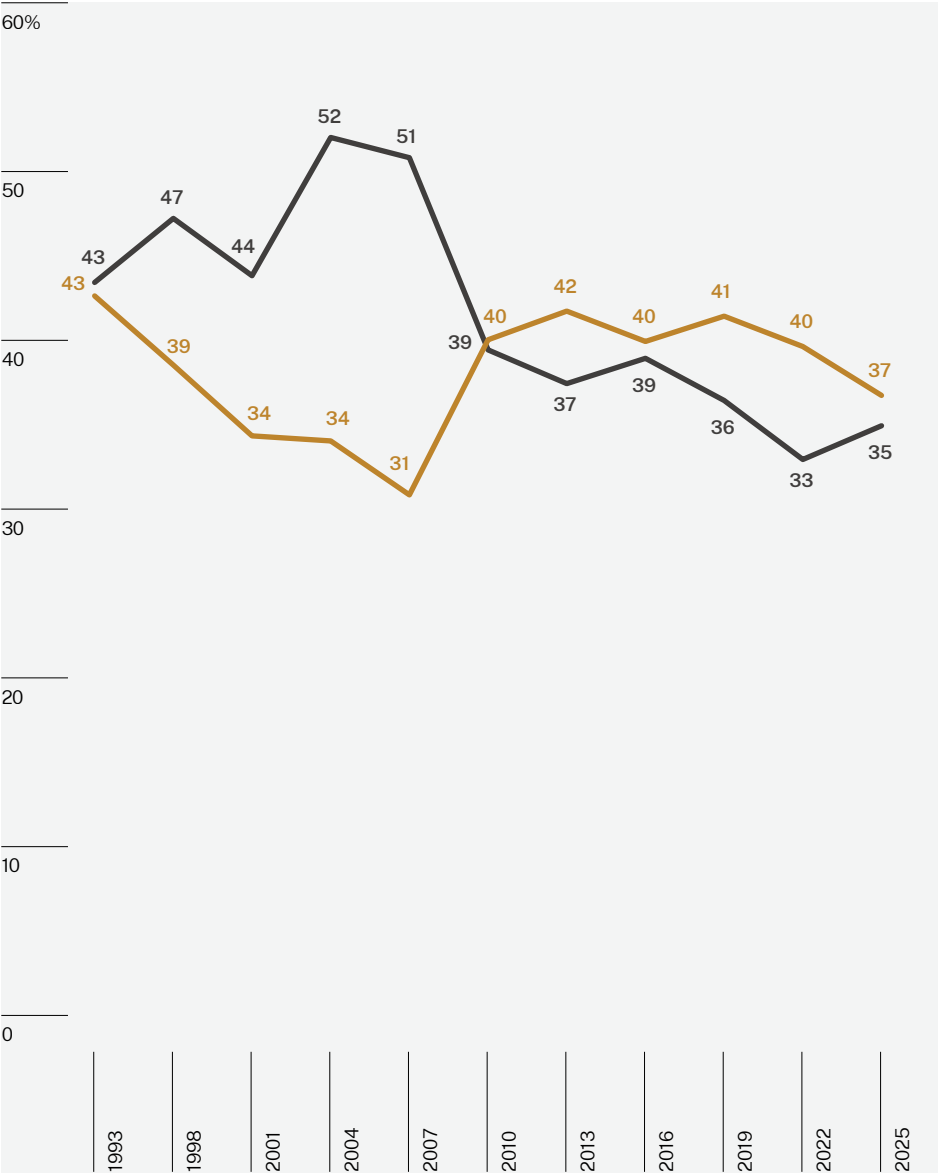
The monarch and republicanism

- Queen / King and Royal Family important
- Favour republic
- Favour flag change



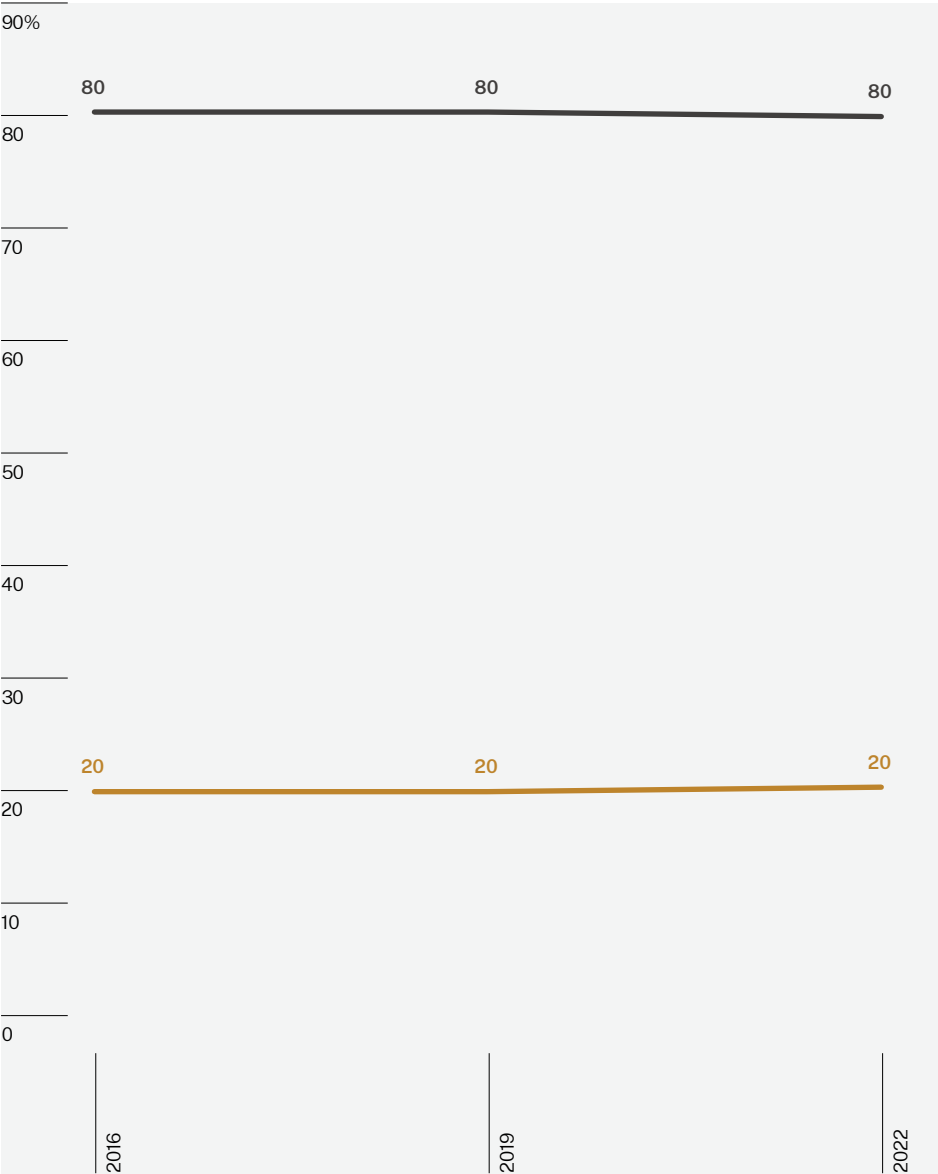
Government control of parliament

- Better when government does not control Senate
- Better when government controls both houses



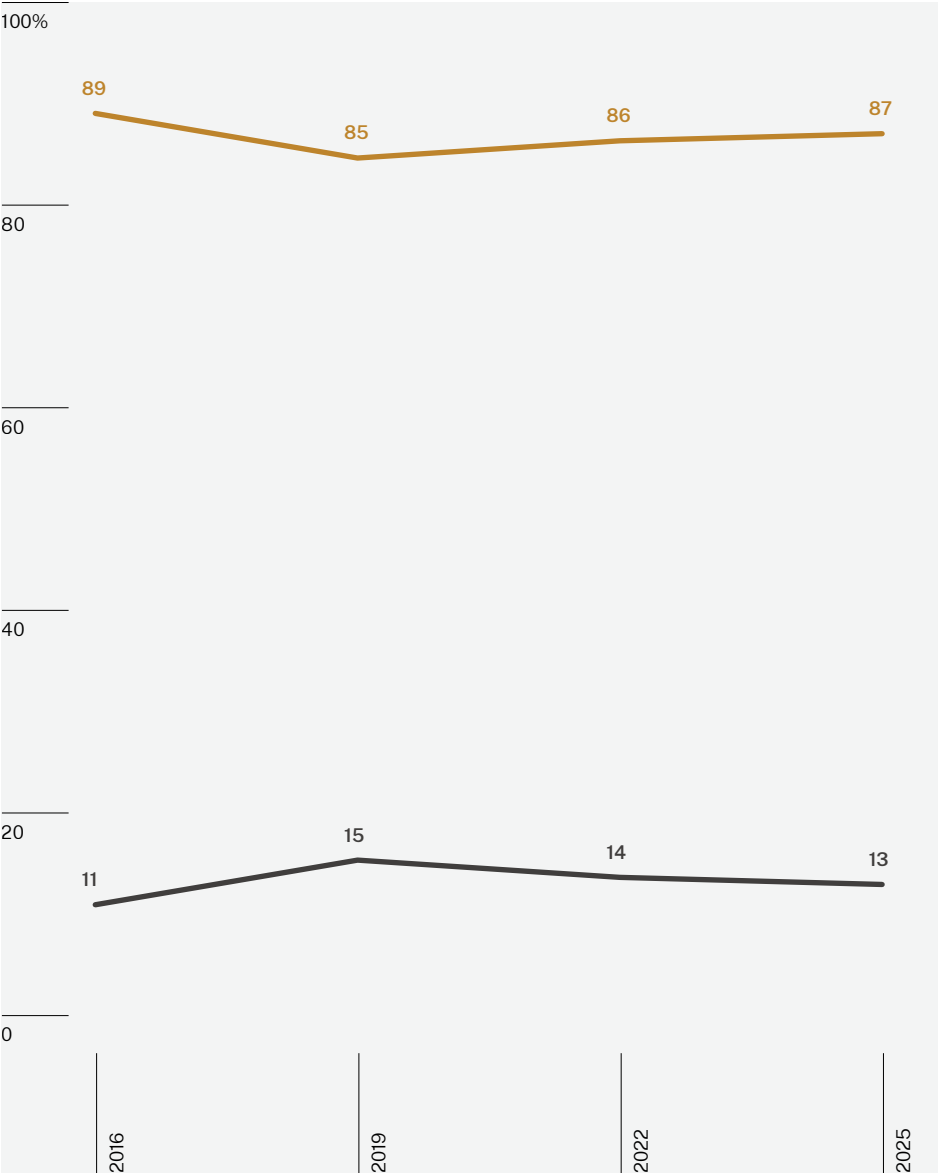
Support for Indigenous recognition in the Constitution

Support
Oppose



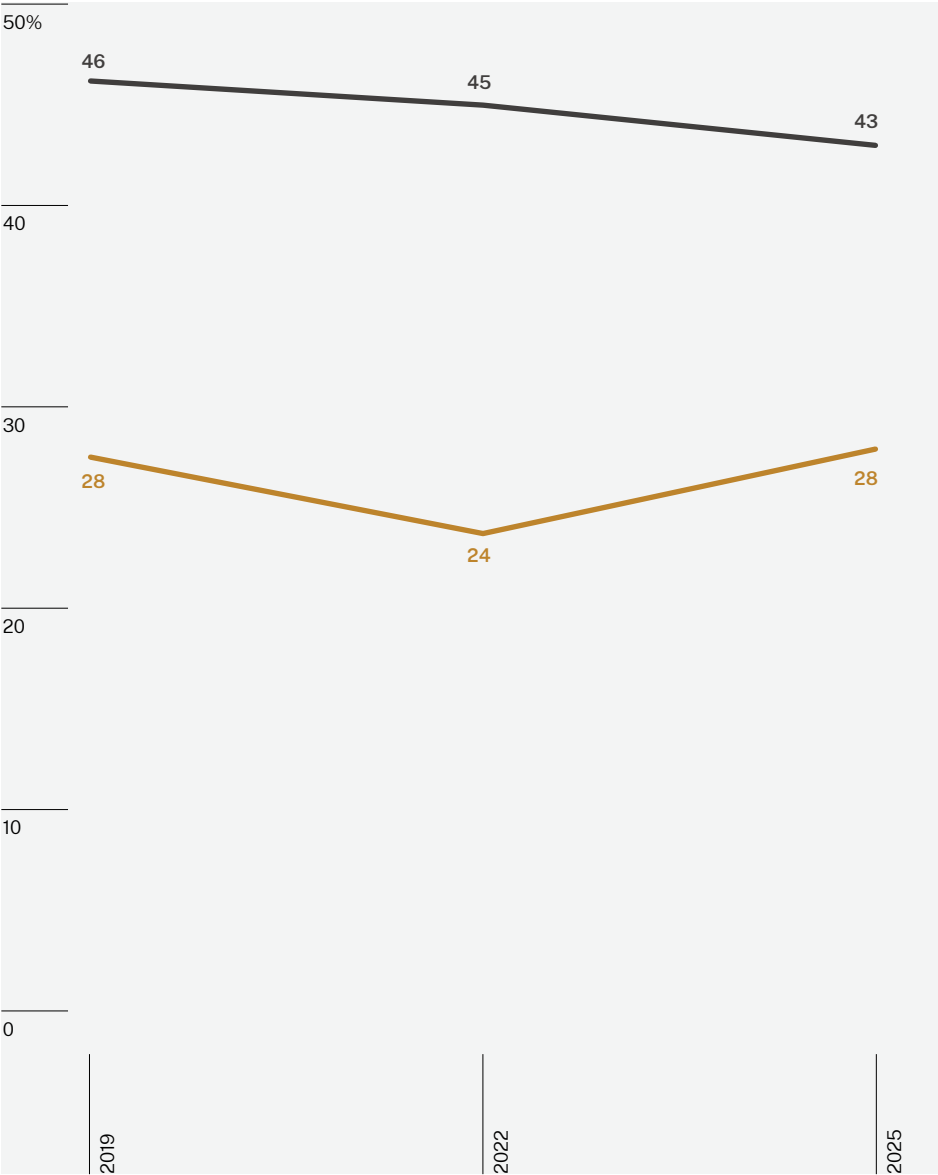
Support for lowering the voting age

- Should lower to 16
- Should stay at 18



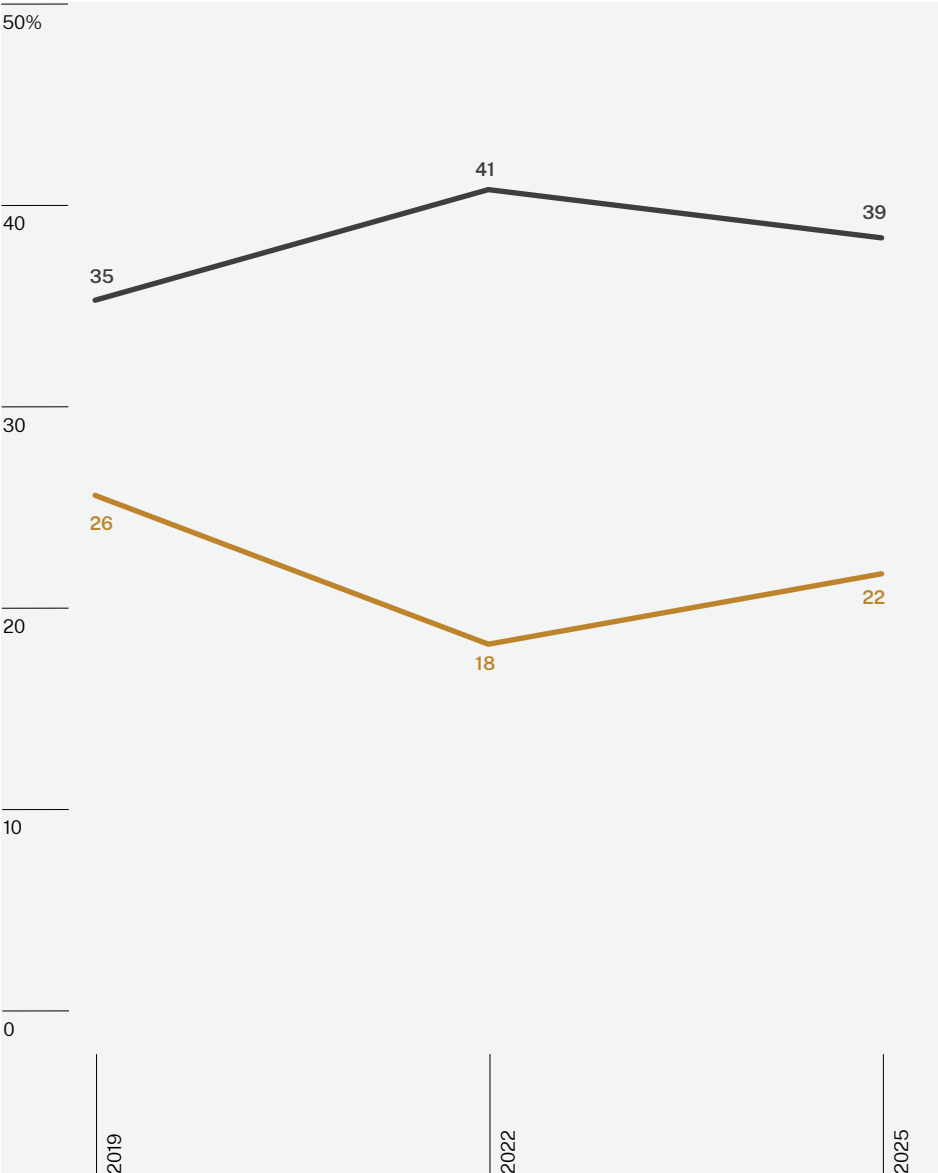
The people instead of politicians should make our most important policy decisions

Agree
Disagree



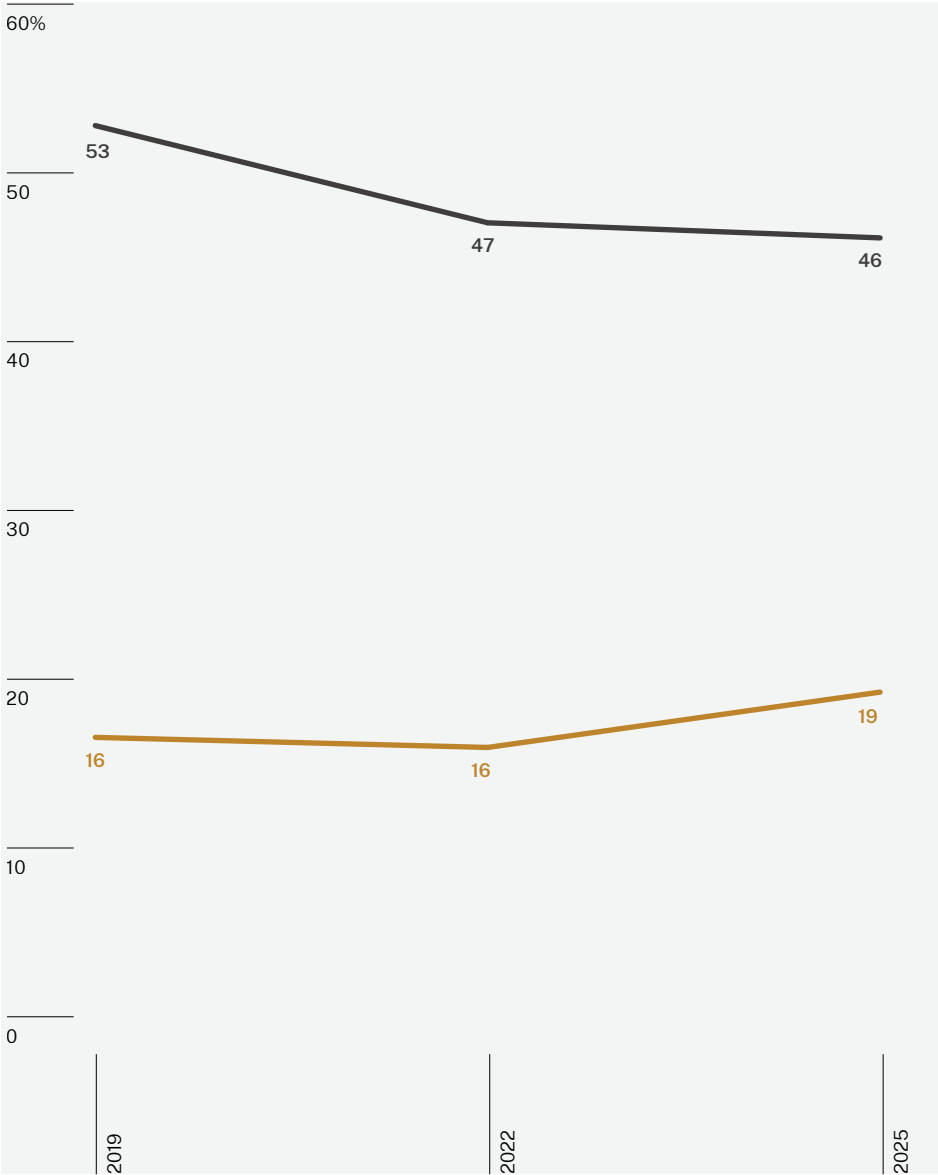
Politicians in the government are corrupt

Agree
Disagree



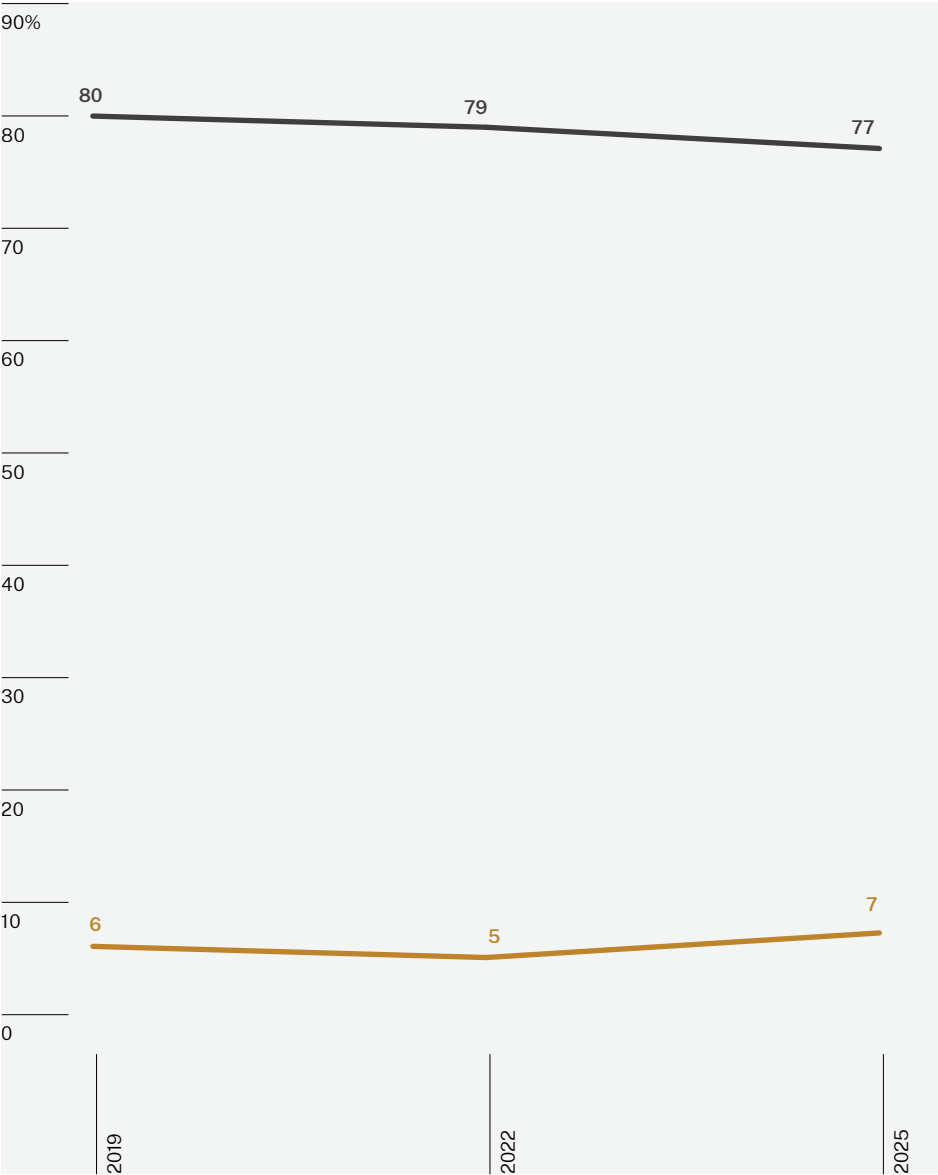
Politicians make decisions that harm the interests of the ordinary people

Agree
Disagree



Ordinary people should have more influence in political decision-making than big companies

— Agree
— Disagree



Notes

Satisfaction with democracy

For satisfied with democracy, the response categories are: (1969-1979, 1998-2025) 'very satisfied' and 'fairly satisfied' combined; (1996) 'satisfied' and 'fairly satisfied' combined. For not satisfied with democracy, the response categories are: (1969-1979) 'not satisfied'; (1996-2025) 'not very satisfied' and 'not at all satisfied' combined.

Trust in government

For people in government look after themselves, the response categories are: (1969, 1979) look after self; (1993-2025) 'usually look after themselves' and 'sometimes look after themselves' combined. For people in government can be trusted, the response categories are: (1969, 1979) 'do the right thing'; (1993-2025) 'sometimes can be trusted to do the right thing' and 'usually can be trusted to do the right thing' combined.

Who the government is run for

For 'few big interests', estimates combine 'entirely run for the big interests' and 'mostly run for the big interests'. For 'all the people', estimates combine 'mostly run for the benefit of all' and 'entirely run for the benefit of all'.

Political efficacy and the use of the vote

For who people vote for can make a big difference, estimates combine codes '1' and '2'. For who people vote for won't make any difference, estimates combine codes '4' and '5'.

Makes a difference who is in power

For it makes a big difference who is in power, estimates combine codes '1' and '2'. For it doesn't make any difference who is in power, estimates combine codes '4' and '5'.

Politicians know what ordinary people think

For politicians know what ordinary people think, estimates combine codes '1' and '2'. For politicians don't know what ordinary people think estimates combine codes '4' and '5'.

The monarch and republicanism

Question asked about: (1967-2022) 'the Queen and Royal Family'; (2025) 'the King and Royal Family'. For Queen / King and Royal Family important, estimates combine 'very important' and 'fairly important'. For favour republic, estimates combine (1993-2025) 'strongly favour becoming republic' and 'favour becoming republic'. For favour flag change, estimates combine 'strongly for flag change' and 'for flag change'.

Government control of parliament

The question was not asked in 1996.

Support for Indigenous recognition in the Constitution

'Support' combines 'strongly support' and 'support'. 'Oppose' combines 'strongly oppose' and 'oppose'.

Support for lowering the voting age

'Should lower to 16' combines 'definitely lowered to 16' and 'probably lowered to 16'. 'Should stay at 18' combines 'probably stay at 18' and 'definitely stay at 18'.

The people instead of politicians should make our most important policy decisions

'Agree' combines 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. 'Disagree' combines 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree'.

Politicians in the government are corrupt

'Agree' combines 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. 'Disagree' combines 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree'.

Politicians make decisions that harm the interests of the ordinary people

'Agree' combines 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. 'Disagree' combines 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree'.

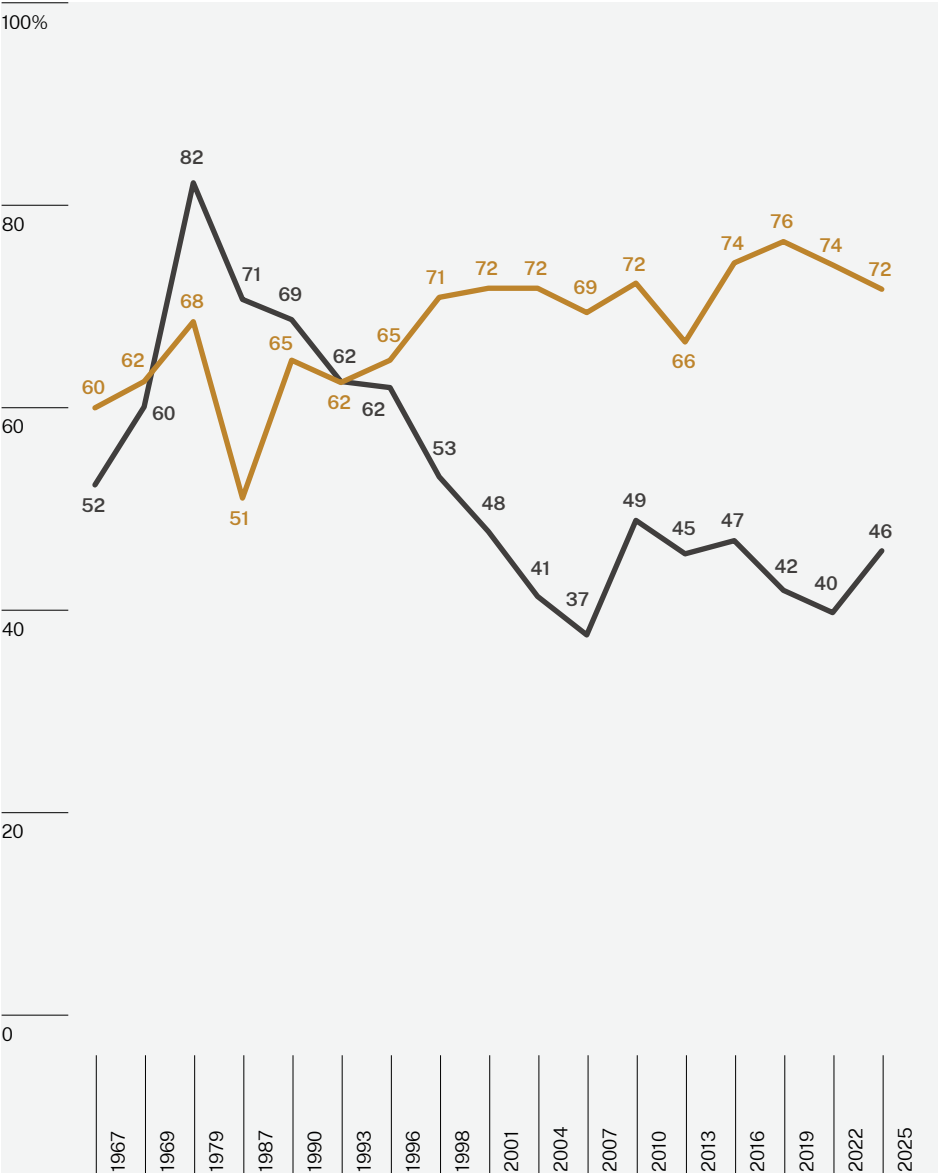
Ordinary people should have more influence in political decision-making than big companies

'Agree' combines 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. 'Disagree' combines 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree'.

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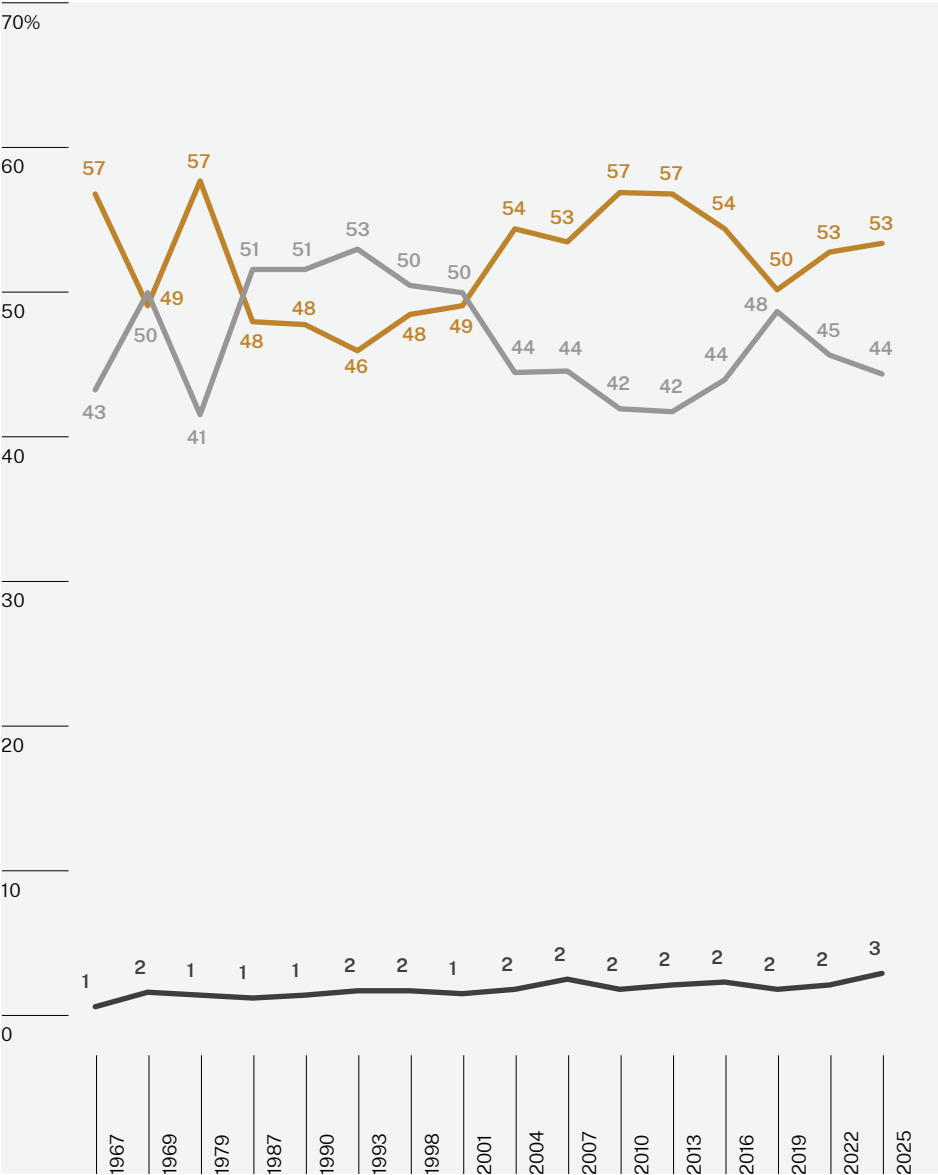
The power of trade unions and big business

- Unions have too much power
- Big business has too much power



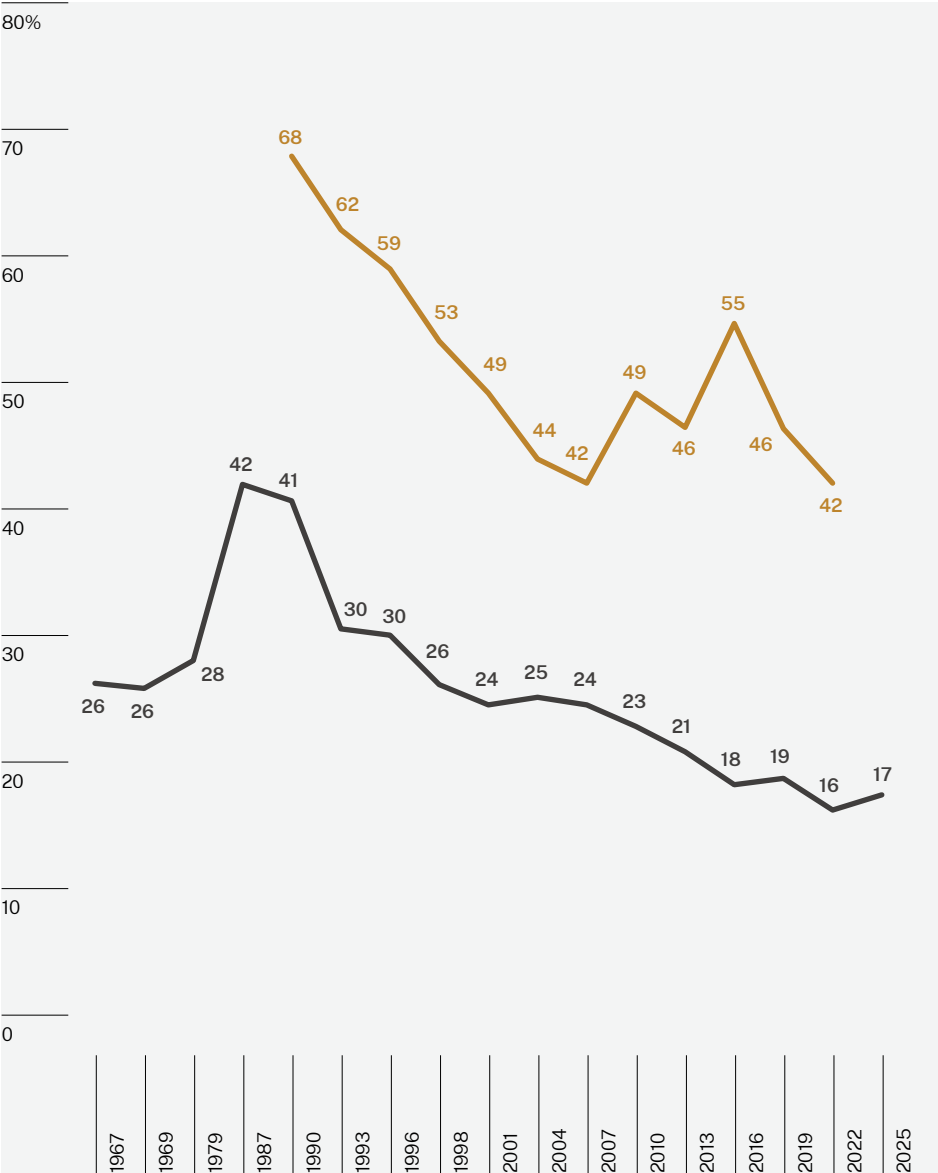
Class self-image

- Upper
- Middle
- Working



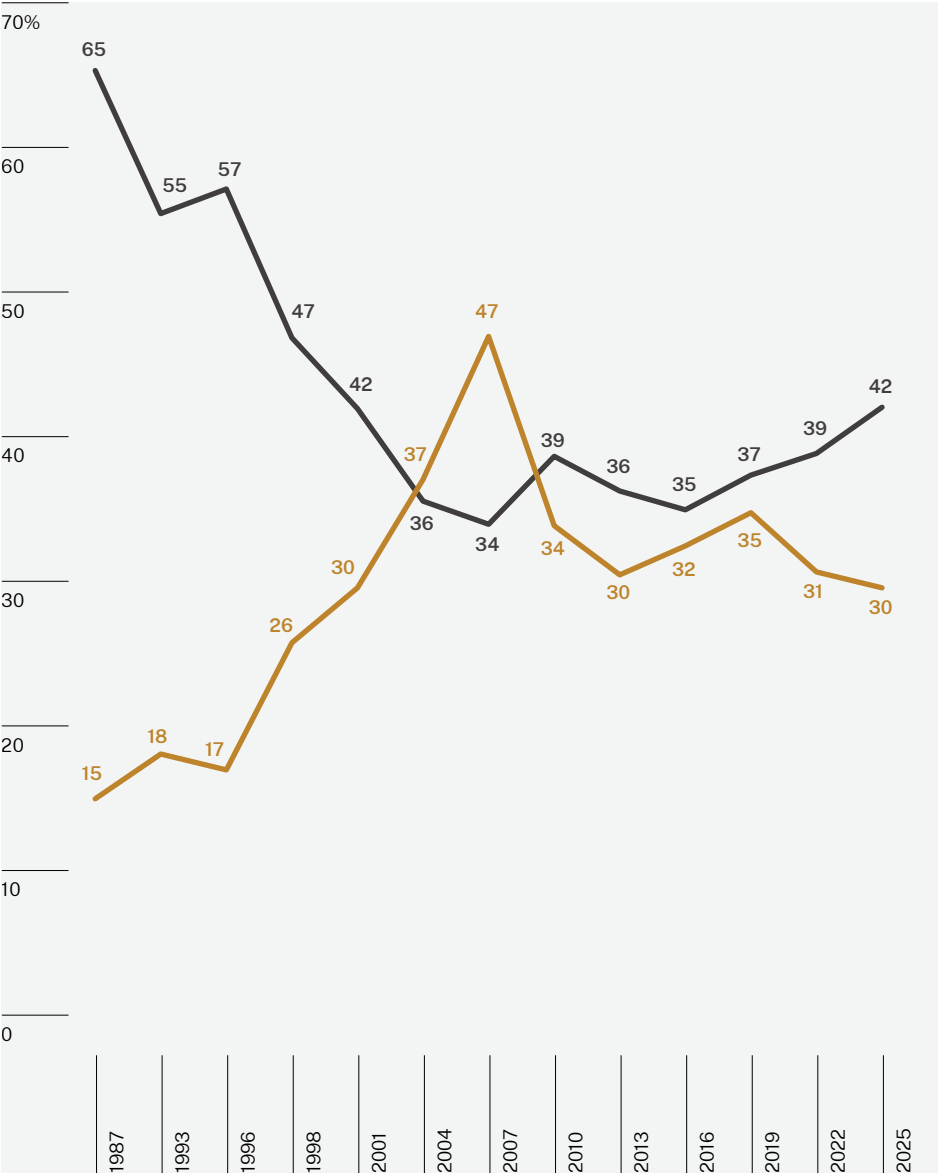
Trade union membership and support for industrial action

- Belong to union
- Stricter laws for unions



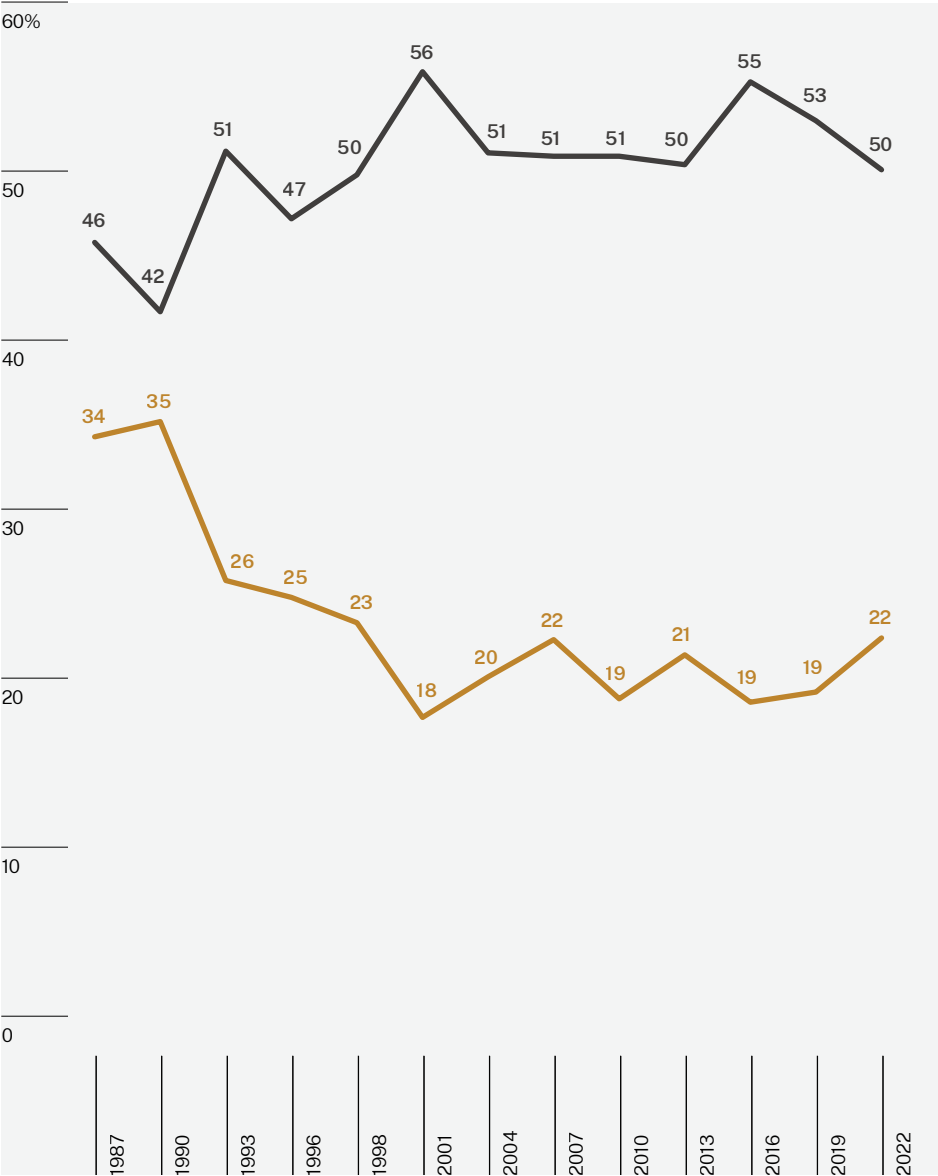
Government spending: less tax or more social services

- Favours less tax
- Favours spending more on social services



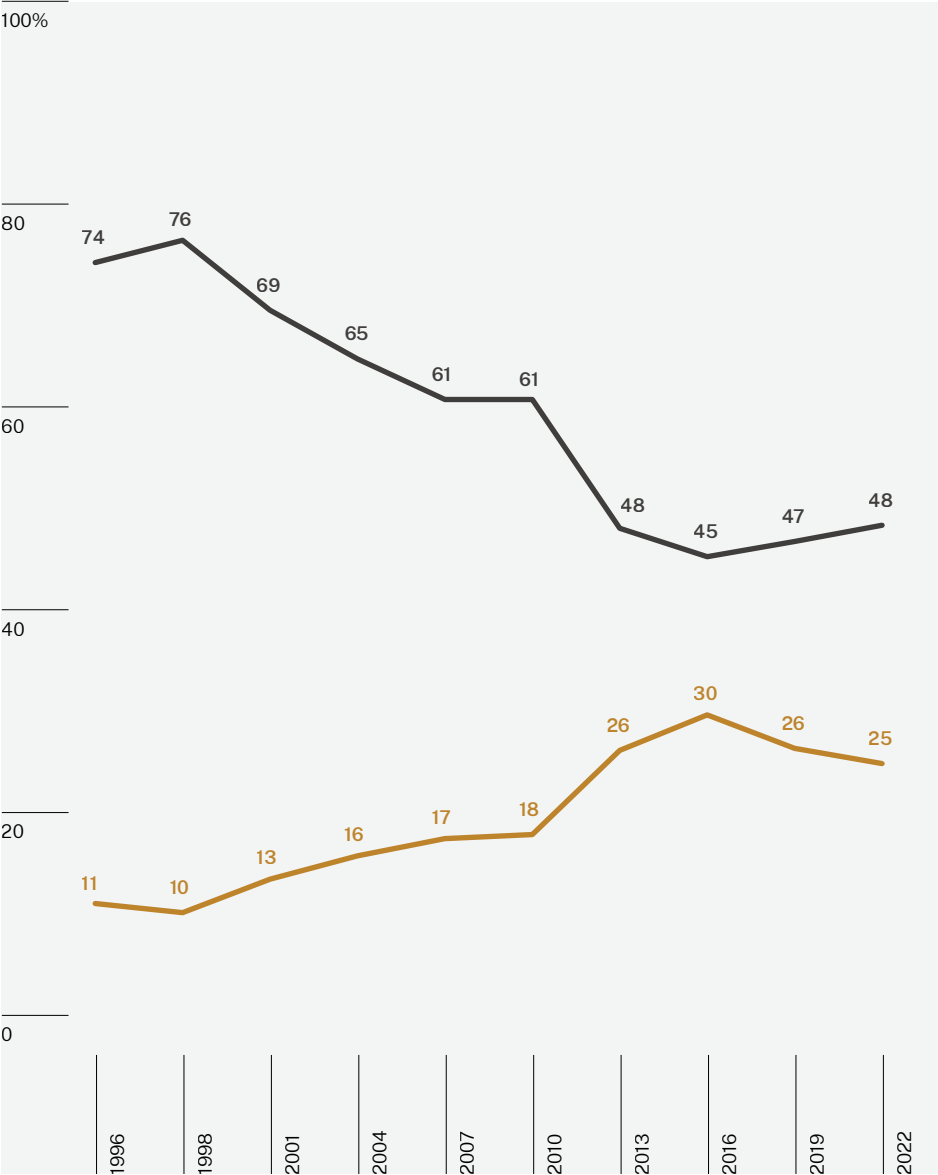
Redistribution of income and wealth

- Income and wealth should be redistributed
- Income and wealth should not be redistributed



High tax makes people unwilling to work

— Agree
— Disagree



Notes

The power of trade unions and big business

For unions have too much power, estimates for 1990-2025 combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'.
For big business has too much power, estimates for 1990-2025 combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'.

Class self-image

From 2010-2025 'None' was included in the list of responses and percentages adjusted accordingly.

Trade union membership and support for industrial action

Estimates for stricter laws for unions combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'.

Government spending:

less tax or more social services

For favours less tax, estimates combine 'strongly favour reducing taxes' and 'mildly favour reducing taxes'. For favours spending more on social services, estimates combine 'mildly favour spending more on social services' and 'strongly favour spending more on social services'.

Redistribution of income and wealth

For income and wealth should be redistributed, estimates combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. For income and wealth should not be redistributed, estimates combine 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree'.

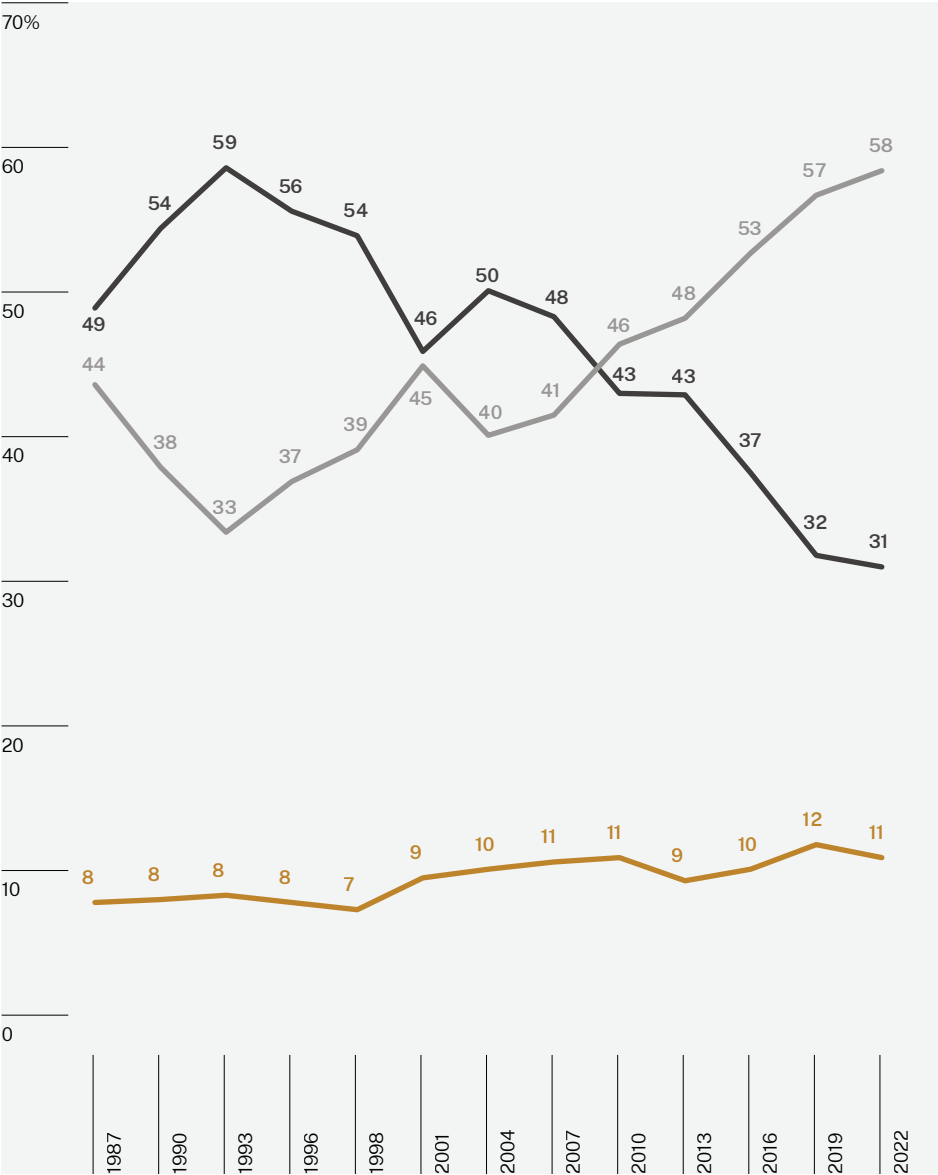
High tax makes people unwilling to work

'Agree' combines 'strongly agree' and 'agree'.
'Disagree' combines 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree'.

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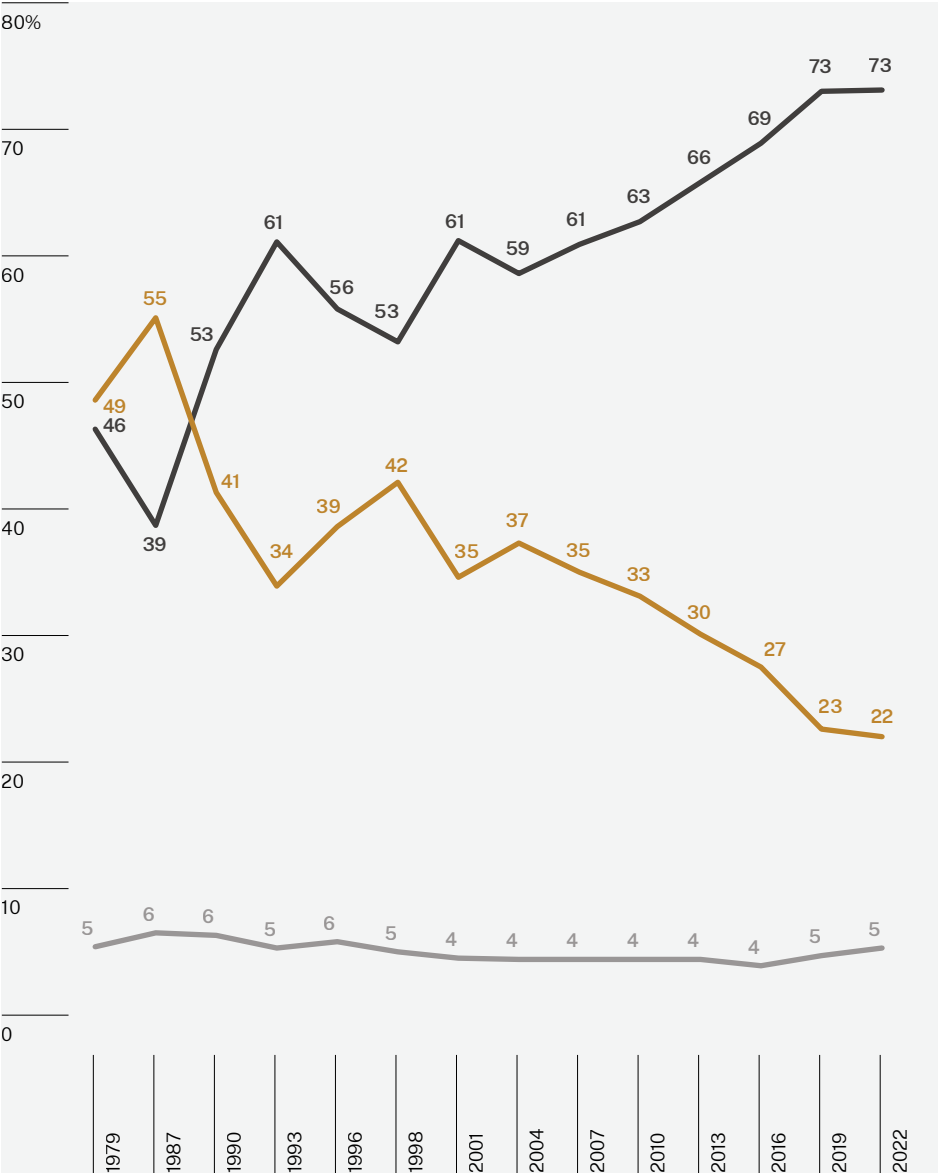
Attitudes towards sex and nudity in films and magazines

- Gone too far
- Not gone far enough
- About right



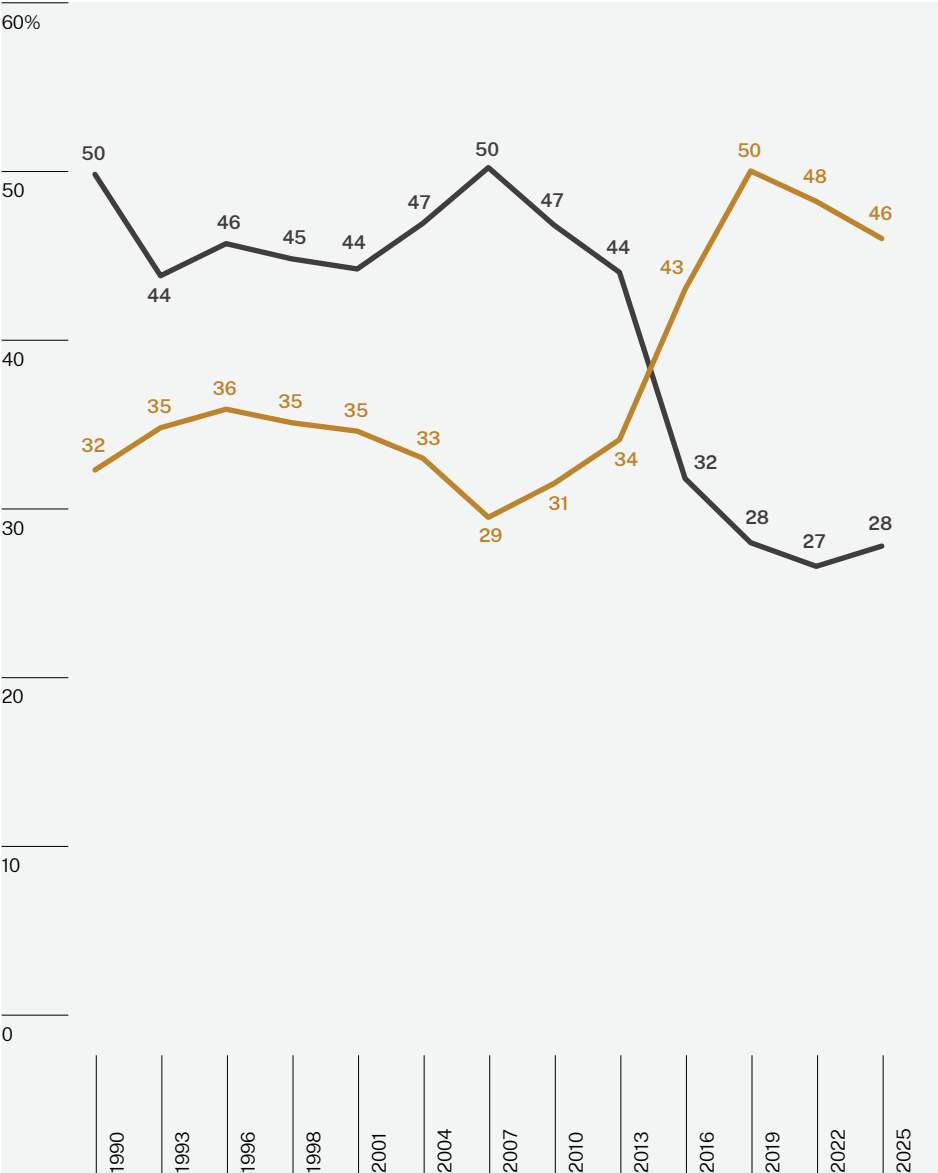
Attitudes towards abortion

- Obtain readily
- Special circumstances
- Banned



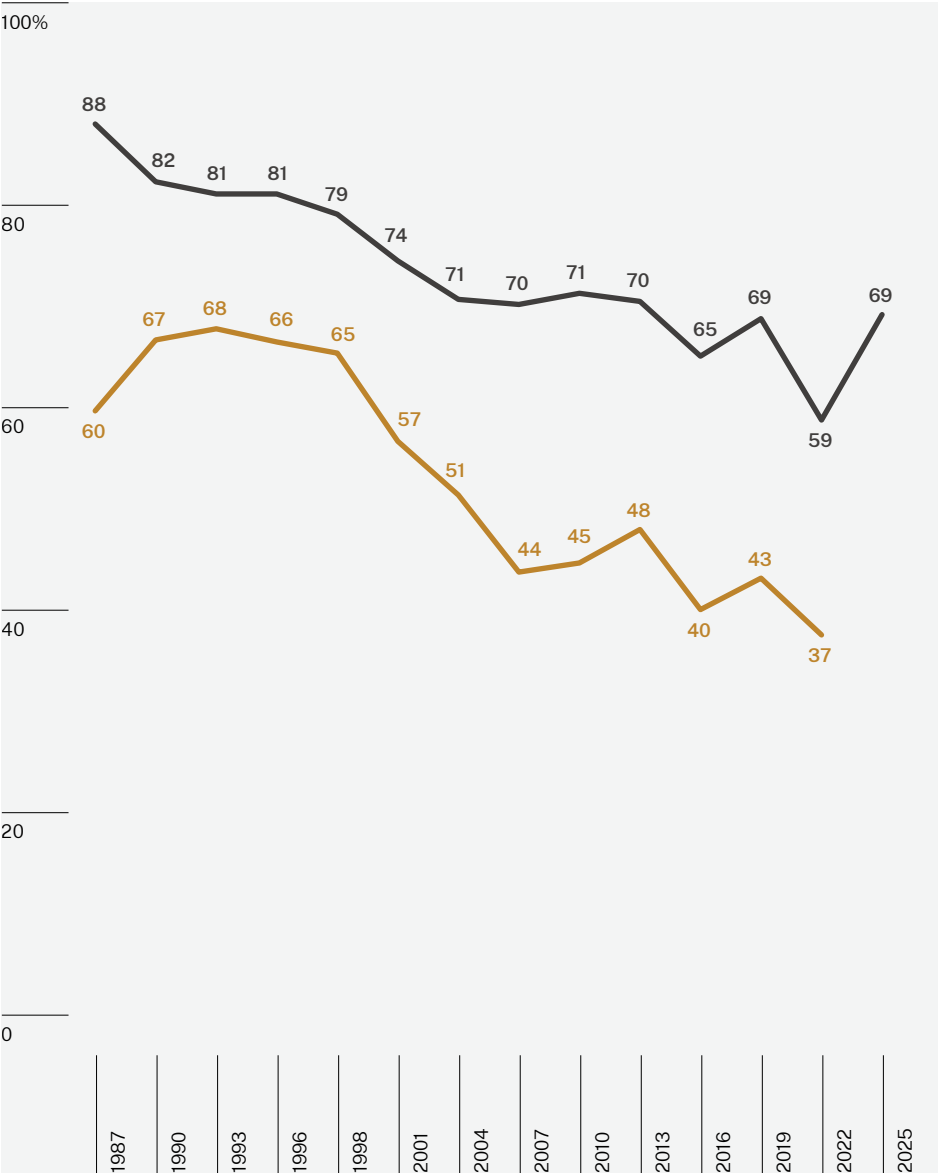
Attitudes towards the legal status of marijuana

- Marijuana should be a criminal offence
- Marijuana should not be a criminal offence



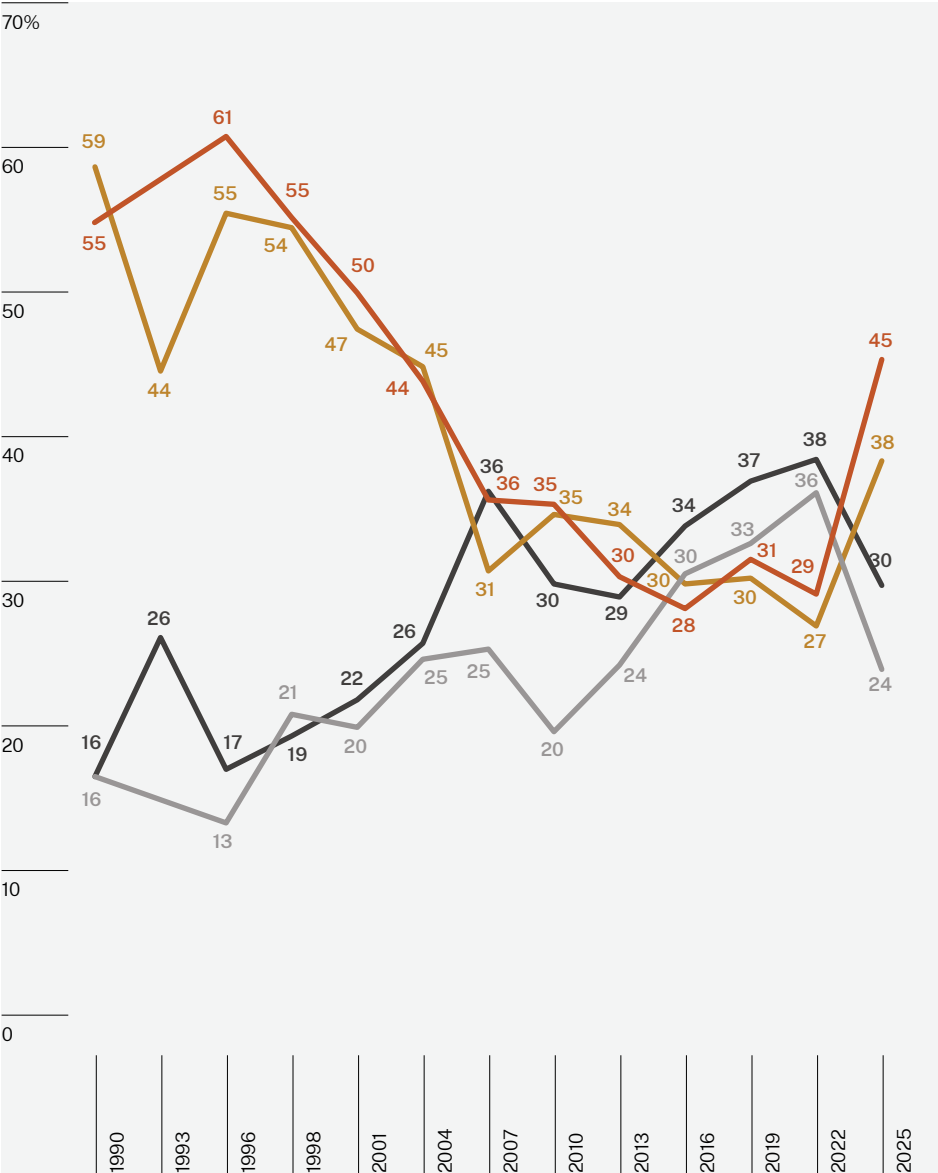
Attitudes towards jail sentences and capital punishment

- Stiffer sentences for criminals
- Reintroduce death penalty for murder



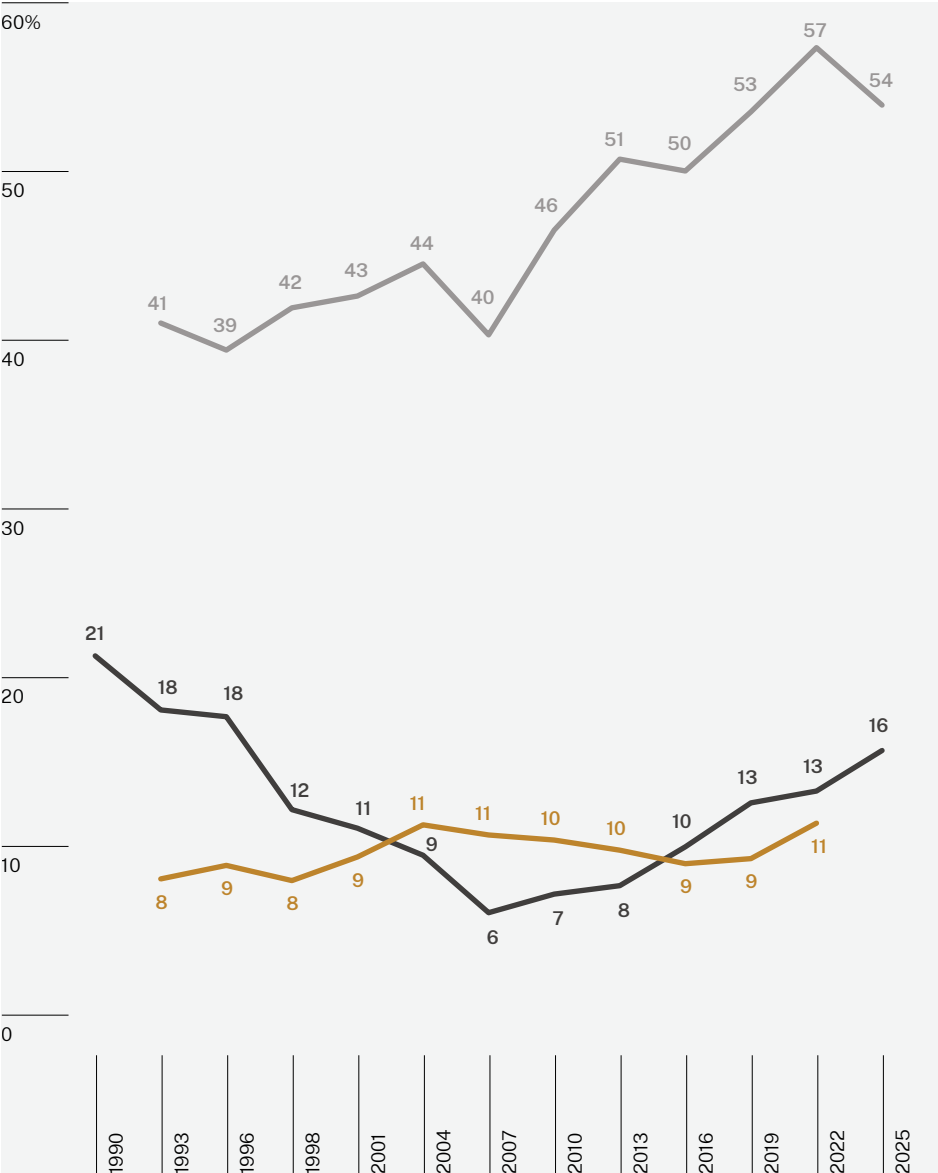
Attitudes towards policies on Indigenous Australians

- Government help for Indigenous Australians not gone far enough
- Government help for Indigenous Australians gone too far
- Transfer of land rights to Indigenous Australians not gone far enough
- Transfer of land rights to Indigenous Australians gone too far



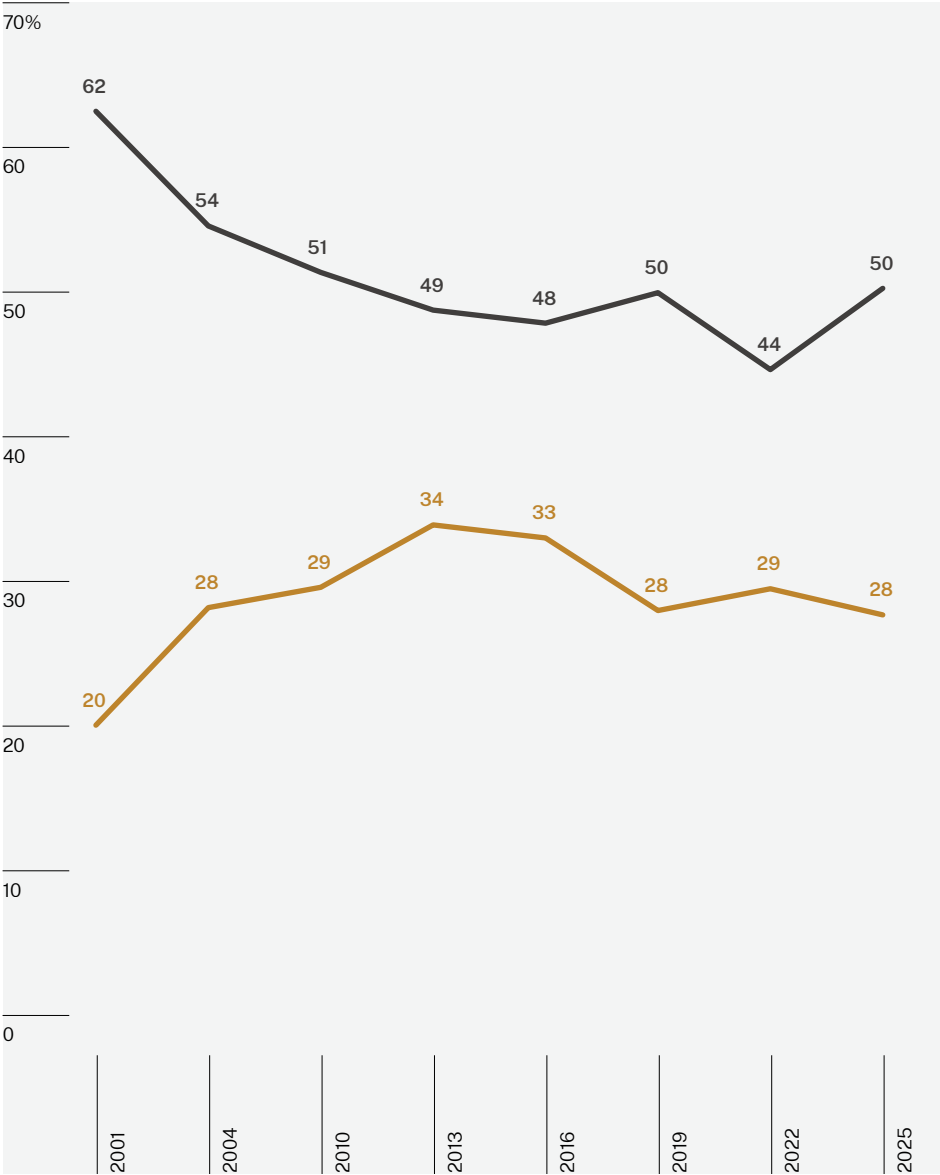
Attitudes towards gender equality

- Equal opportunity for women gone too far
- Women should be given preferential treatment
- Should increase business opportunities for women



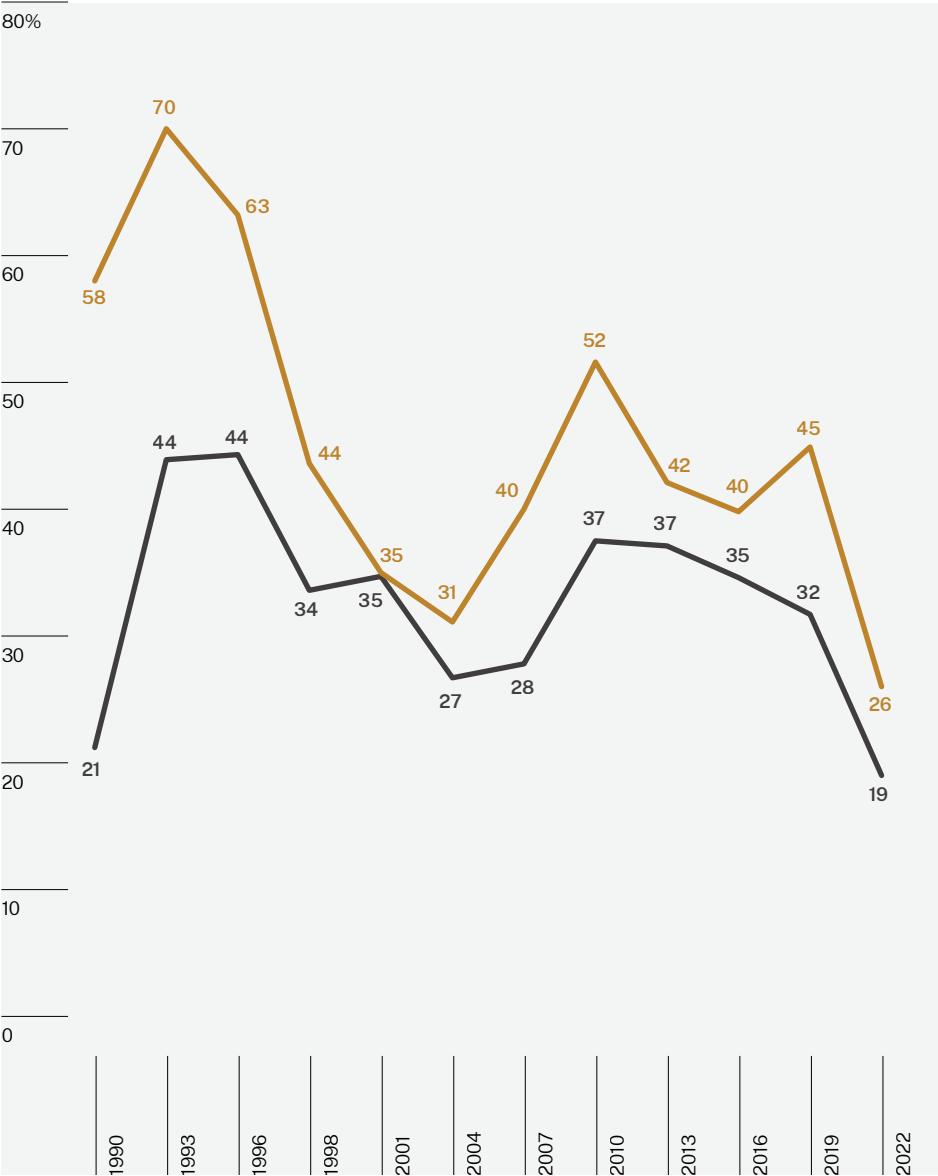
Attitudes towards asylum seeker arrivals by boat

- Boats should be turned back
- Boats should not be turned back



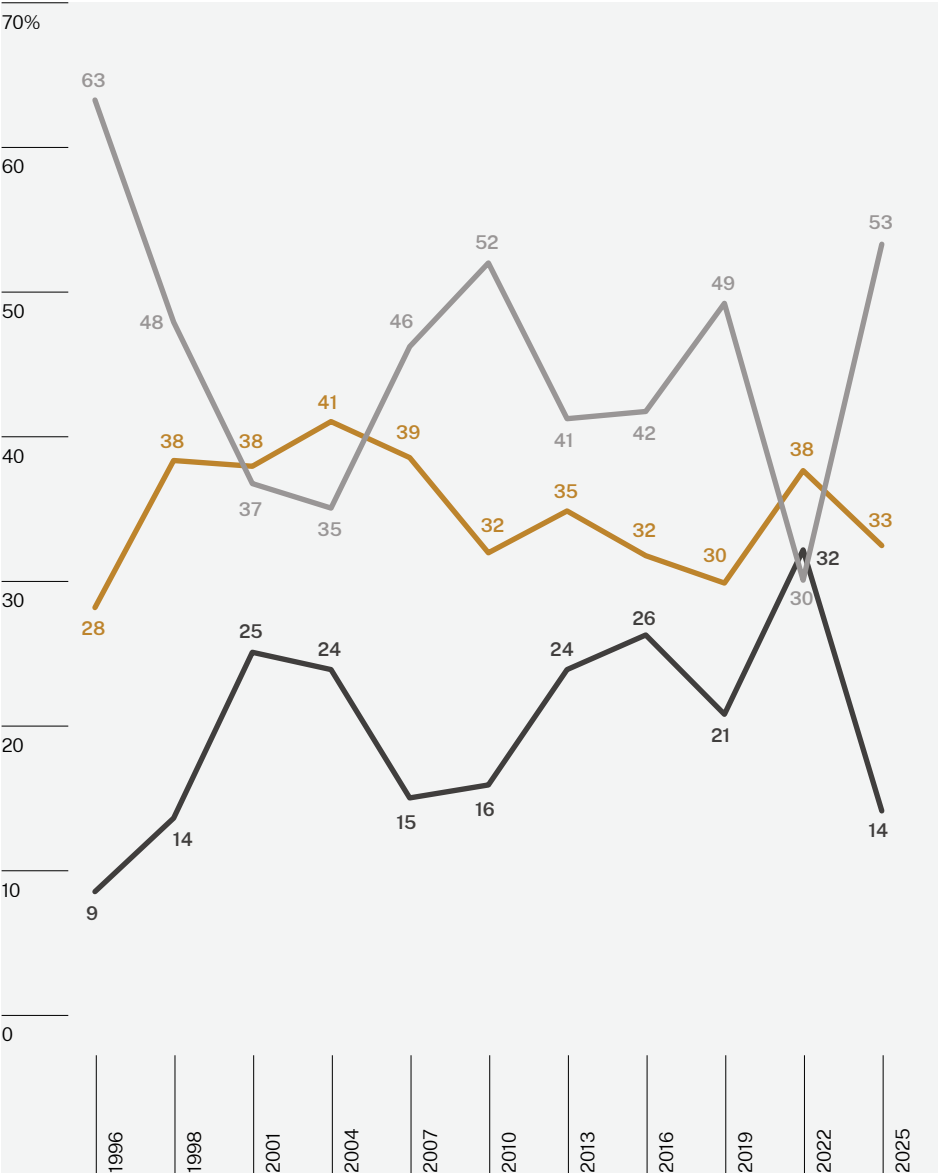
Attitudes towards immigrants and immigration

- Equal opportunity for migrants gone too far
- Number of migrants allowed into Australia gone too far

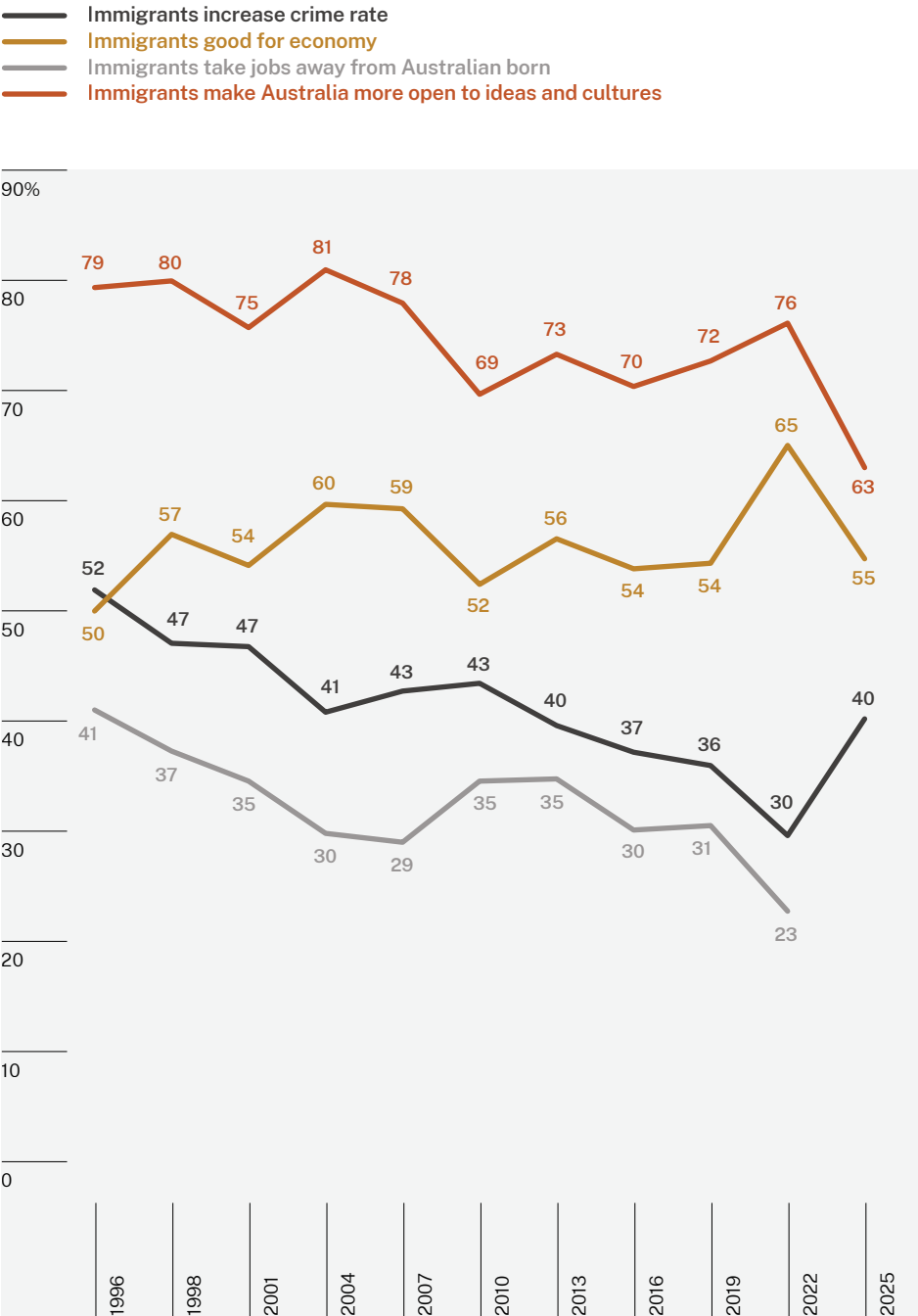


Attitudes towards the level of immigration into Australia

- Increase immigration
- Keep immigration levels the same
- Reduce immigration

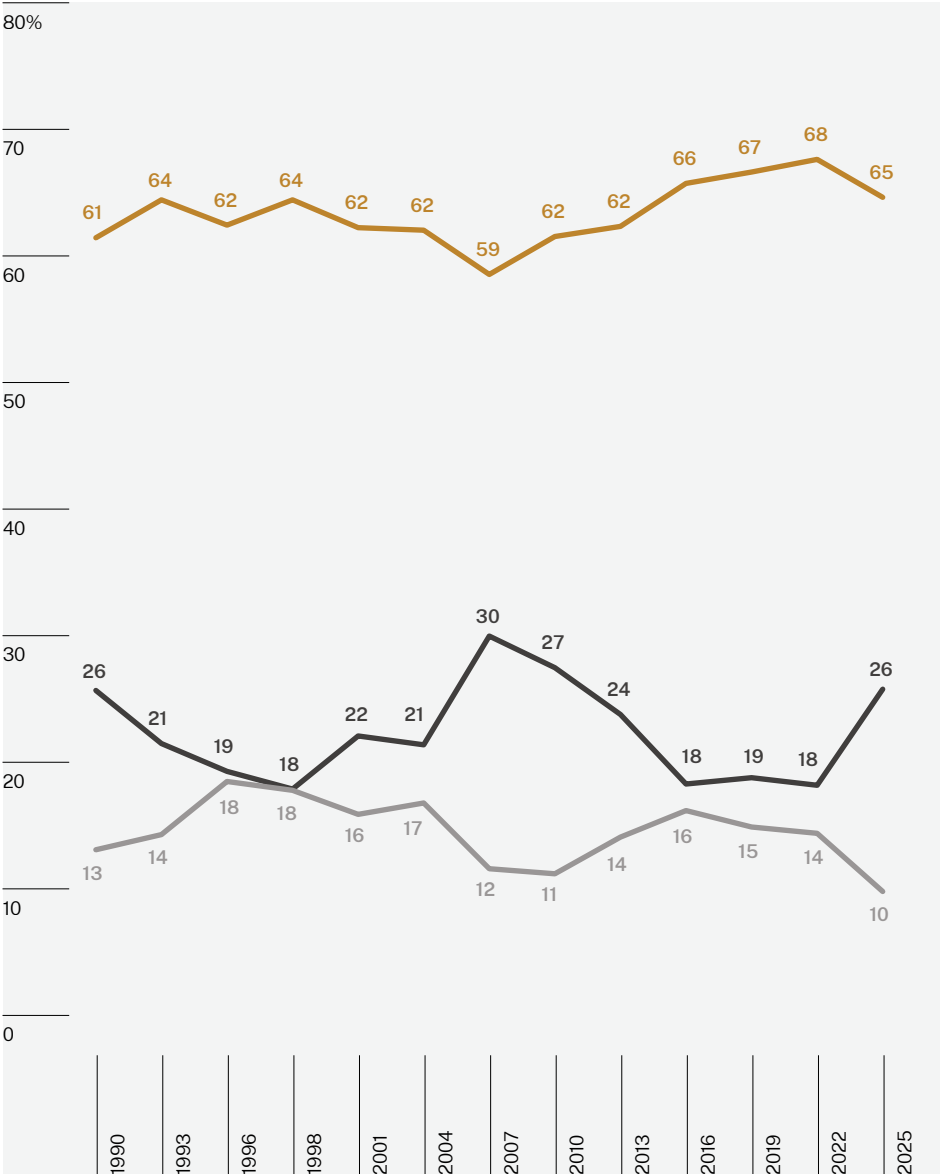


The consequences of immigration



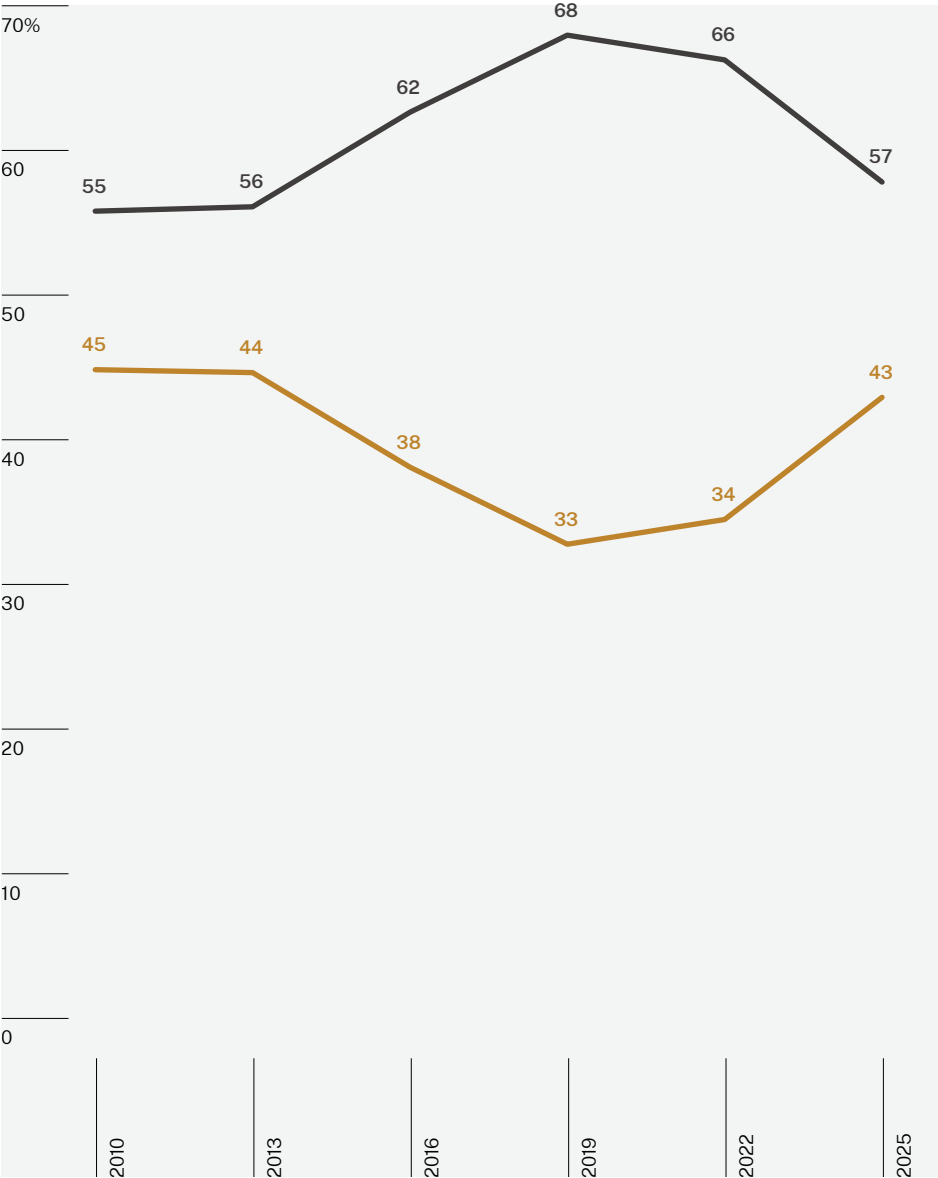
Materialist and postmaterialist values

- Materialist
- Mixed
- Postmaterialist



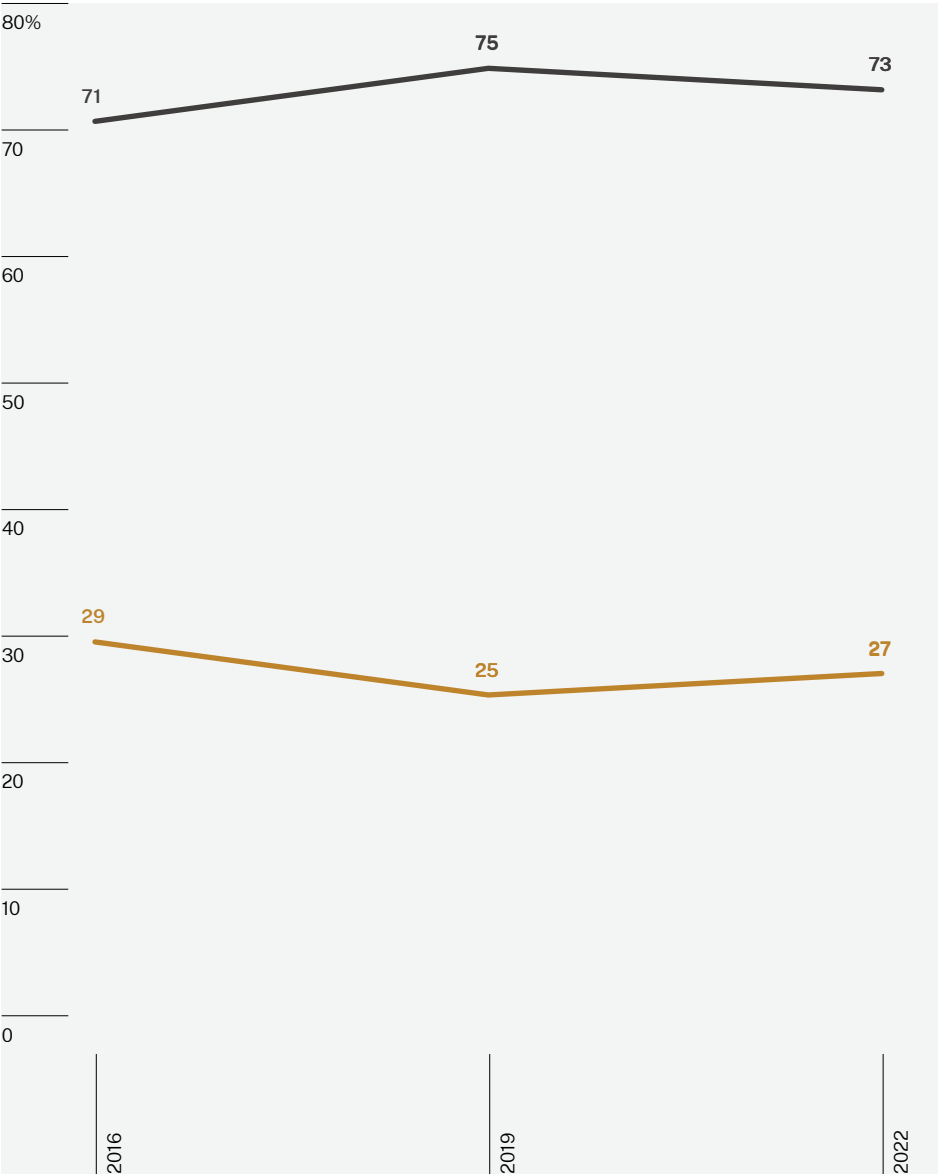
Threat of climate change

- Serious threat
- Not a serious threat



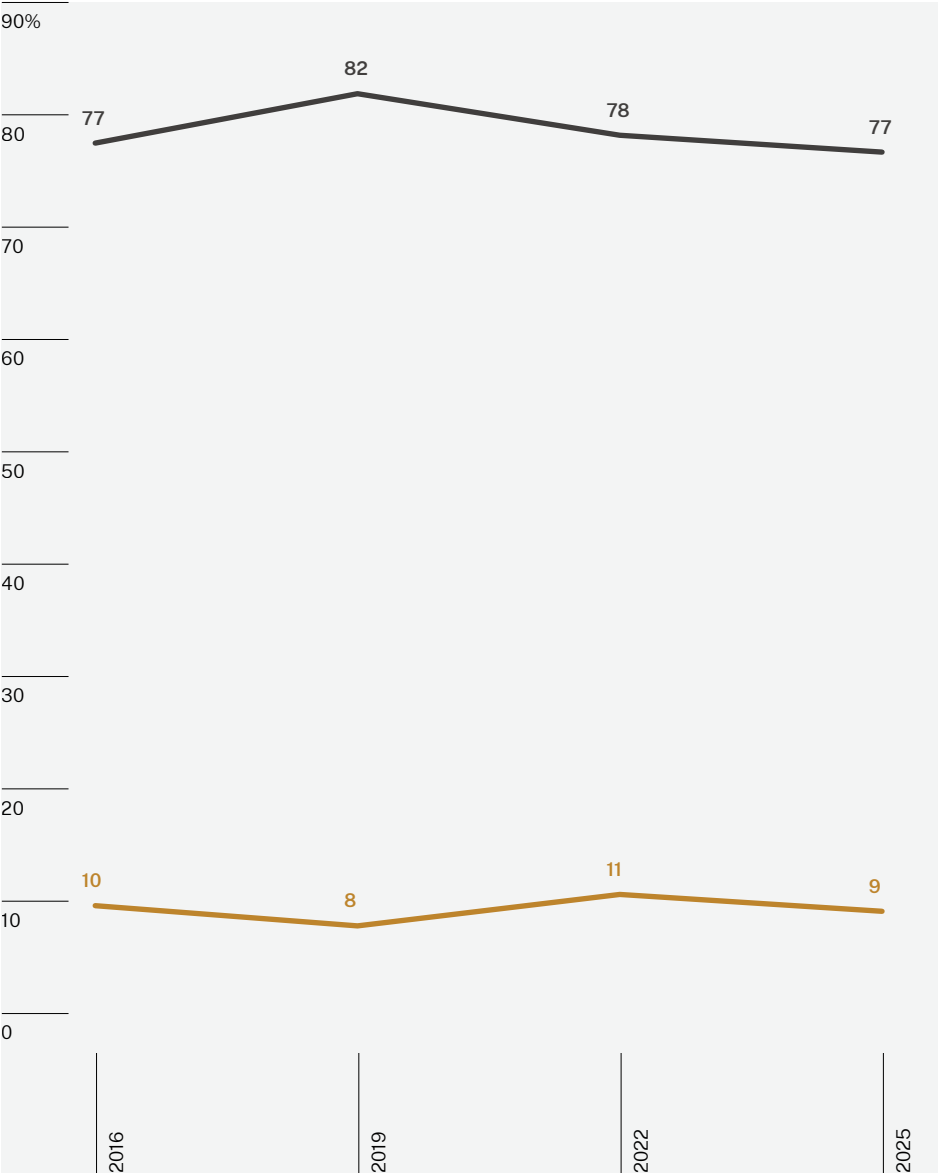
Attitudes towards same-sex marriage

Favour
Oppose



Support for voluntary assisted dying

Agree
Disagree



Notes

Attitudes towards nudity and sex in films and magazines

For nudity and sex in films and magazines gone too far, estimates for 1990-2022 combine 'gone much too far' and 'gone too far'. For nudity and sex in films and magazines not gone far enough, estimates for 1990-2022 combine 'not gone far enough' and 'not gone nearly far enough'.

Attitudes towards abortion

From 2010-2019 'Don't know' was included in the list of responses and percentages adjusted accordingly.

Attitudes towards the legal status of marijuana

For marijuana should not be a criminal offence, estimates combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. For marijuana should be a criminal offence, estimates combine 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree'.

Attitudes towards jail sentences and capital punishment

For stiffer sentences for criminals, estimates combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. For reintroduce death penalty for murder, estimates combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'.

Attitudes towards policies on Indigenous Australians

For gone too far, the estimates for 1993-2025 combine 'much too far' and 'too far'. For not gone far enough, the the estimates for 1993-2025 combine 'not gone far enough' and 'not gone nearly far enough'.

Attitudes towards gender equality

For equal opportunity for women gone too far, estimates combine 'much too far' and 'too far'. For women should be given preferential treatment, estimates combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. For should increase business opportunities for women, estimates combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'.

Attitudes towards asylum seeker arrivals by boat

For boats should be turned back, estimates combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. For boats should not be turned back, estimates combine 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree'.

Attitudes towards immigrants and immigration

For equal opportunity for migrants gone too far, the response categories are 'much too far' and 'too far'. For number of migrants allowed into Australia gone too far, the response categories are 'much too far' and 'too far'.

Attitudes towards the level of immigration into Australia

For increase immigration, estimates combine 'increased a lot' and 'increased a little'. For keep immigration levels the same, estimates are for 'remain about the same'. For reduce immigration, estimates combine 'reduced a little' and 'reduced a lot'.

The consequences of immigration

For immigrants increase crime rate, immigrants good for economy, immigrants take jobs away from Australian born, immigrants make Australia more open to ideas and cultures, the response categories are (1996-2025) 'strongly agree' and 'agree'.

Materialist and postmaterialist values

Based on four-item postmaterialism index.

Threat of climate change

Question asks 'How serious a threat do you think climate change (2010-2022: global warming) will pose to you or your way of life in your lifetime?' 'Serious threat' combines 'very serious' and 'fairly serious'. 'Not a serious threat' combines 'not very serious' and 'not at all serious'.

Attitudes towards same-sex marriage

'Favour' combines 'strongly favour' and 'favour'. 'Oppose' combines 'strongly oppose' and 'oppose'.

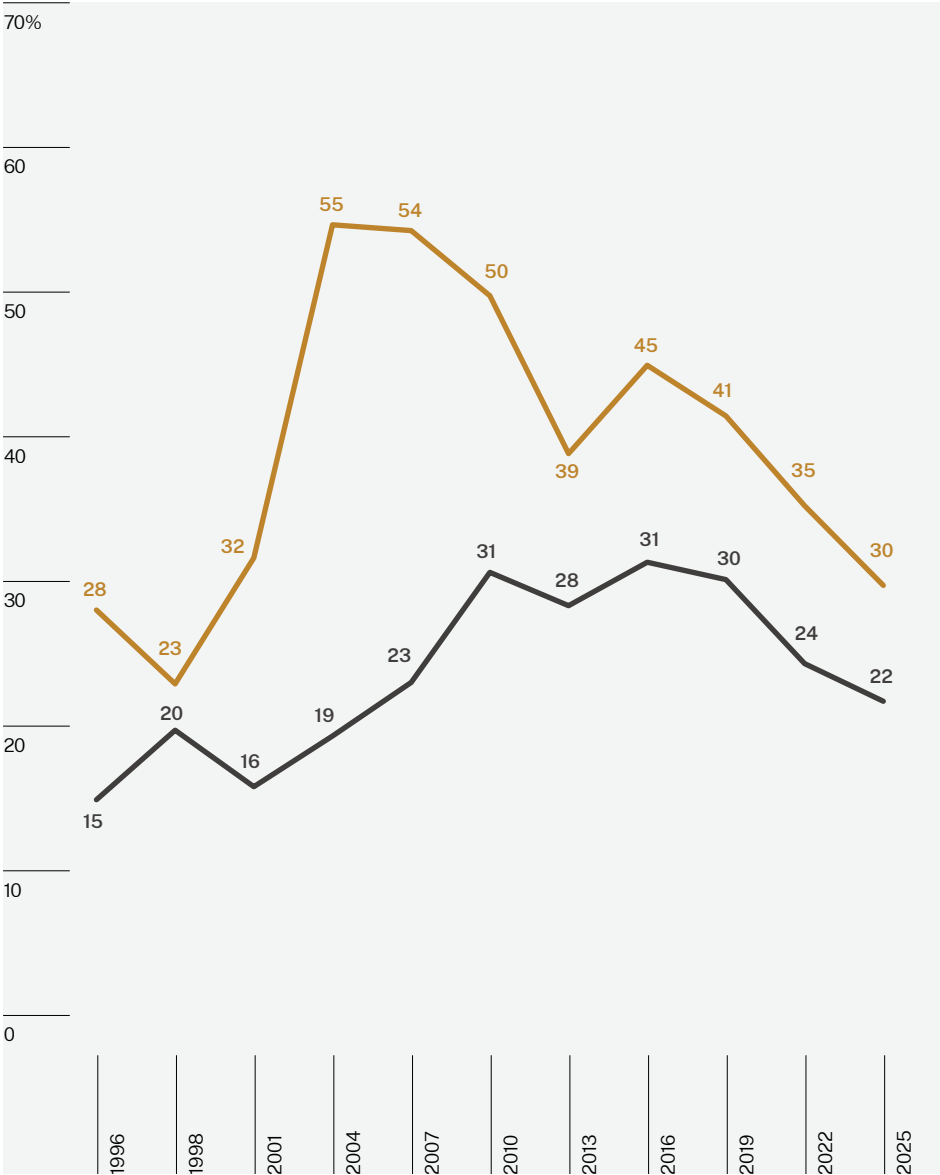
Support for voluntary assisted dying

'Agree' combines 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. 'Disagree' combines 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree'.

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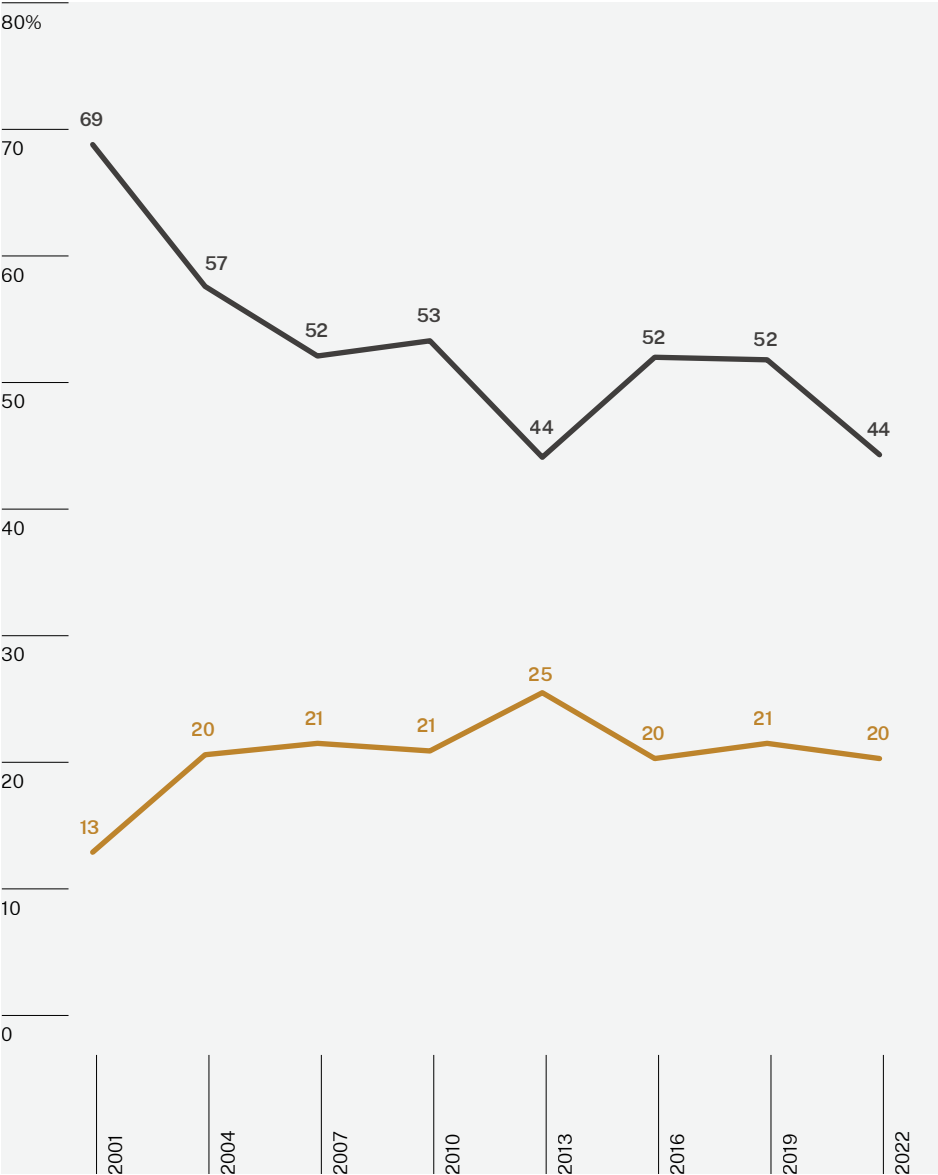
Attitudes towards Australia's defence capability

- Australia able to defend itself if attacked
- Australia's defence stronger than 10 years ago



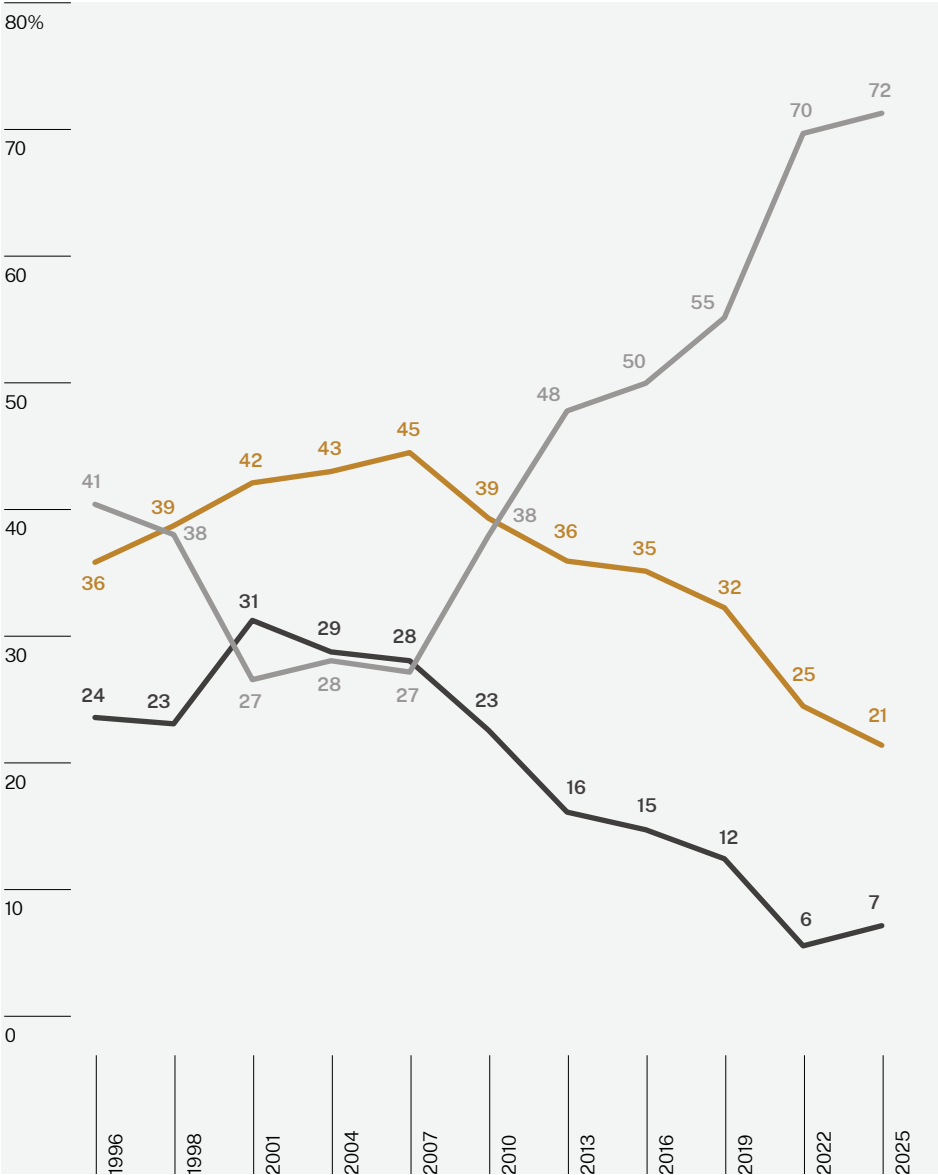
Support for war on terrorism

— Agree
— Disagree



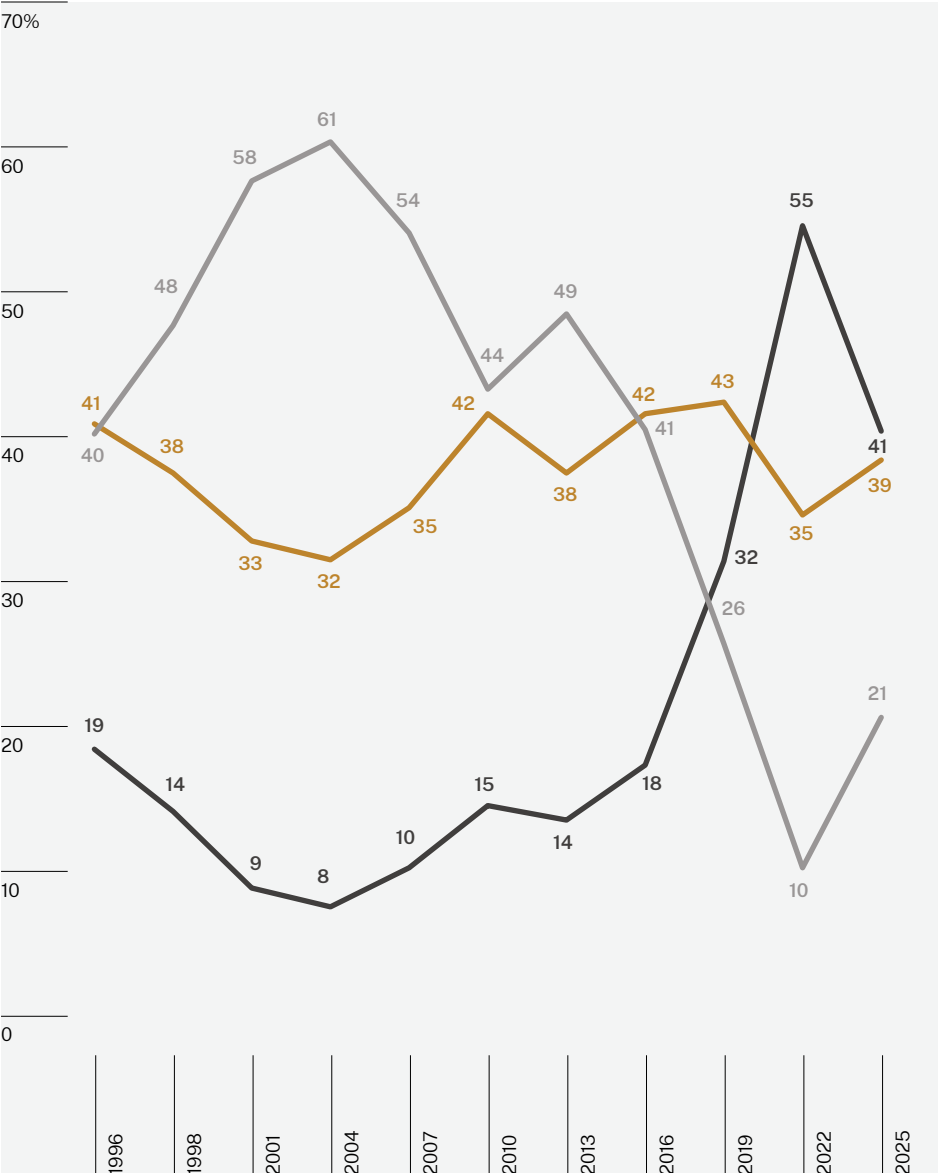
Indonesia as a security threat to Australia

- Very likely
- Fairly likely
- Not very likely



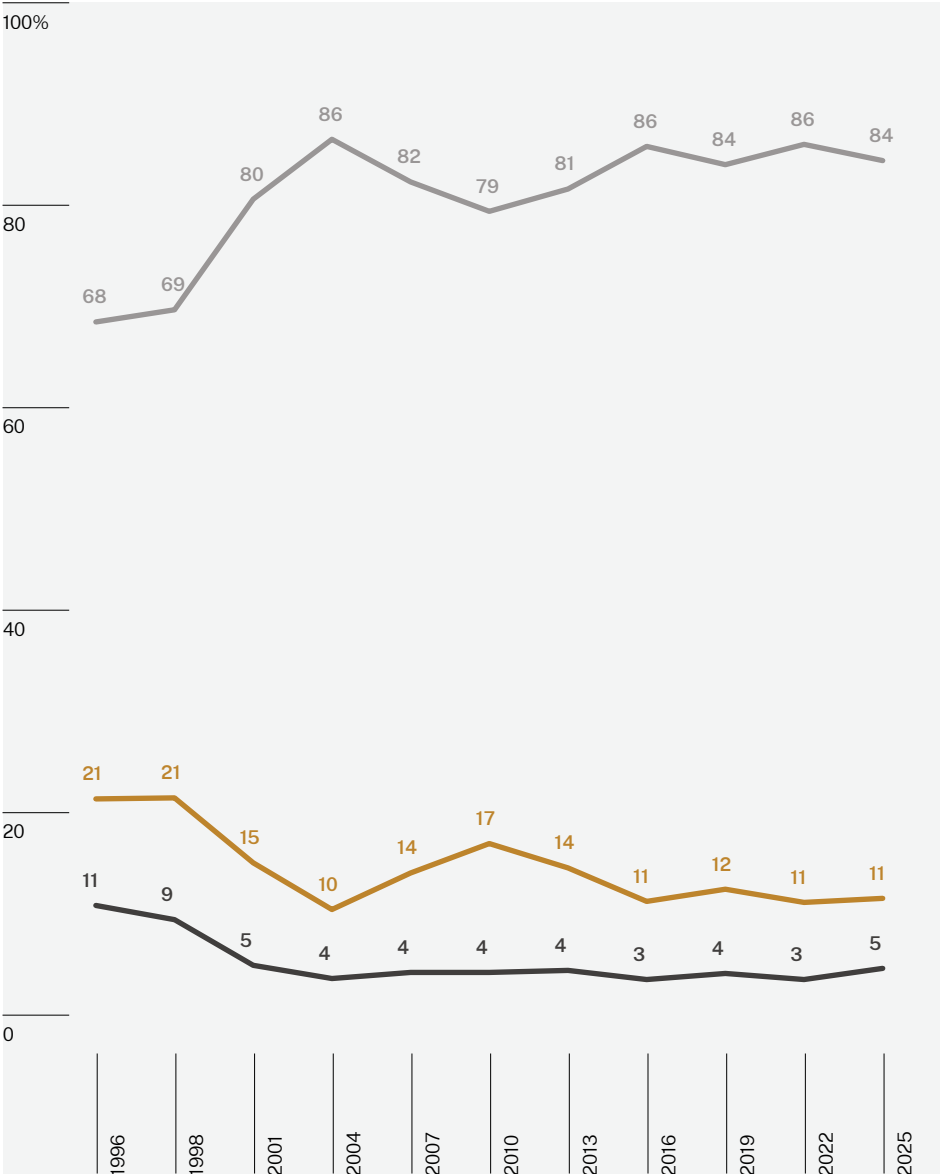
China as a security threat to Australia

- Very likely
- Fairly likely
- Not very likely



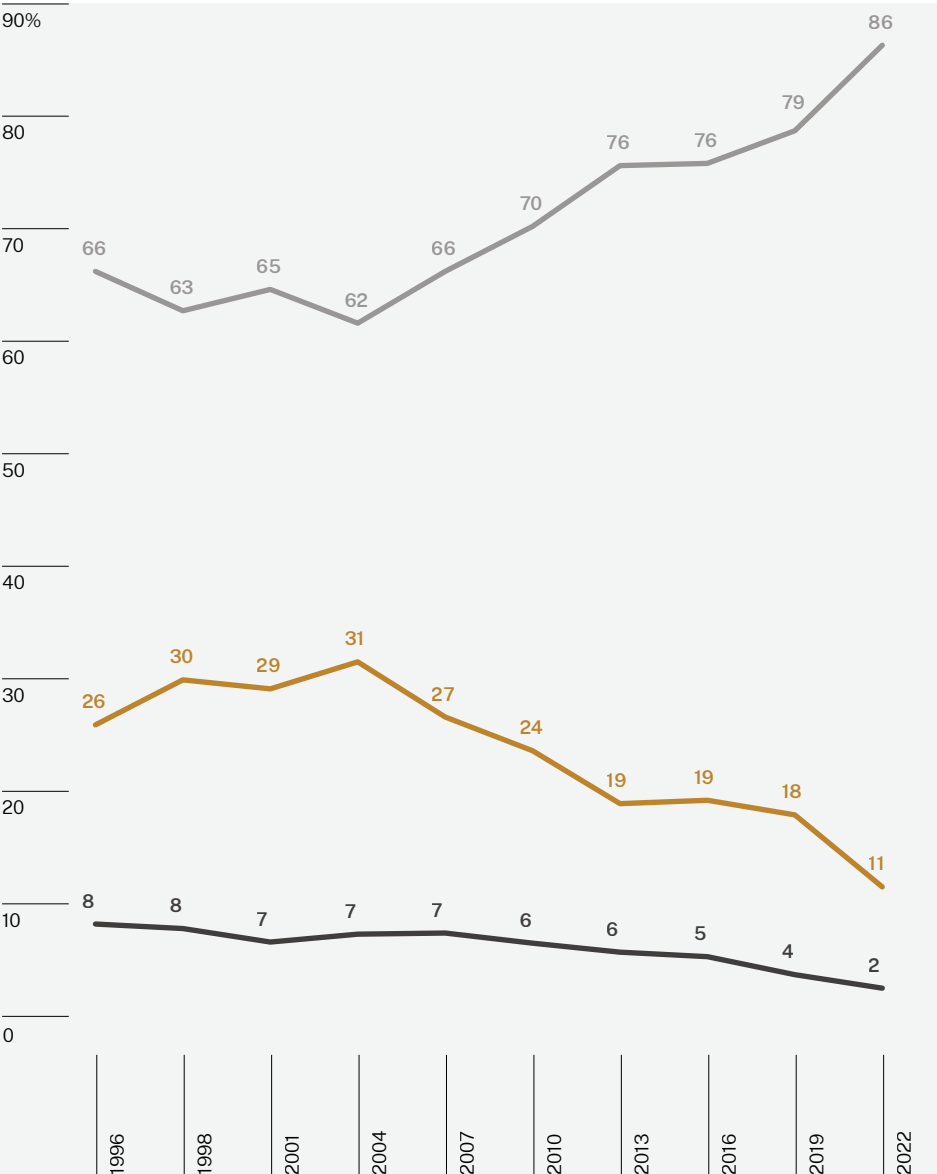
Japan as a security threat to Australia

- Very likely
- Fairly likely
- Not very likely



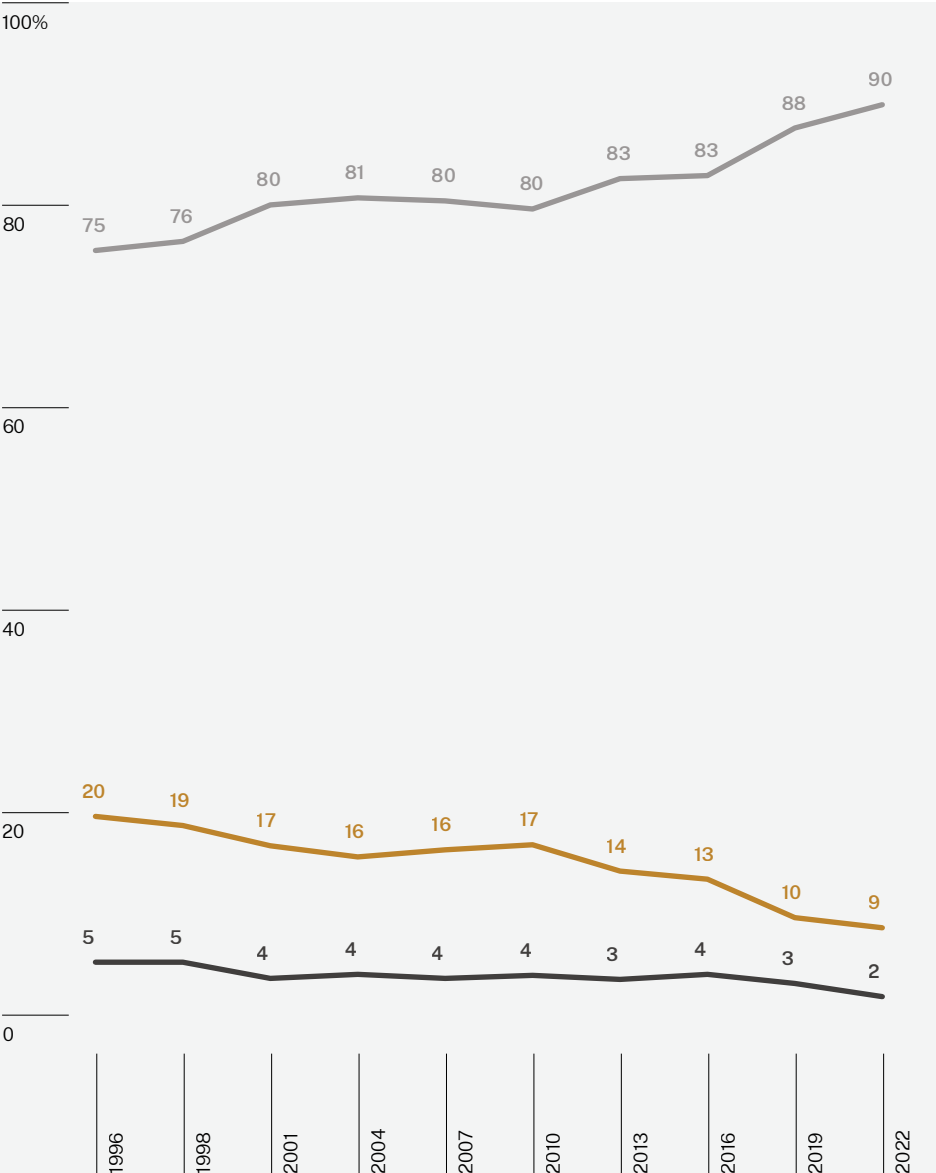
Malaysia as a security threat to Australia

- Very likely
- Fairly likely
- Not very likely

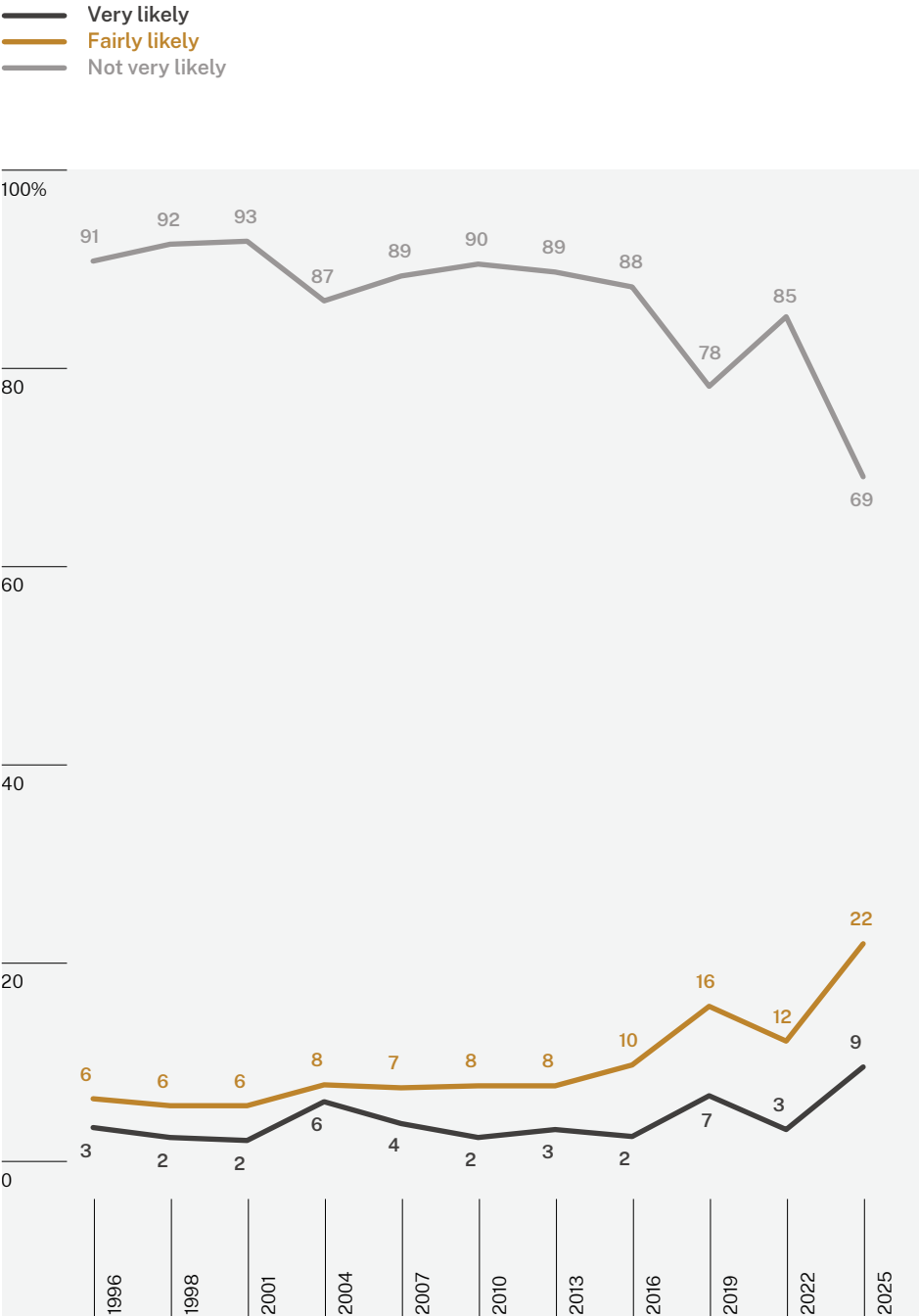


Vietnam as a security threat to Australia

- Very likely
- Fairly likely
- Not very likely

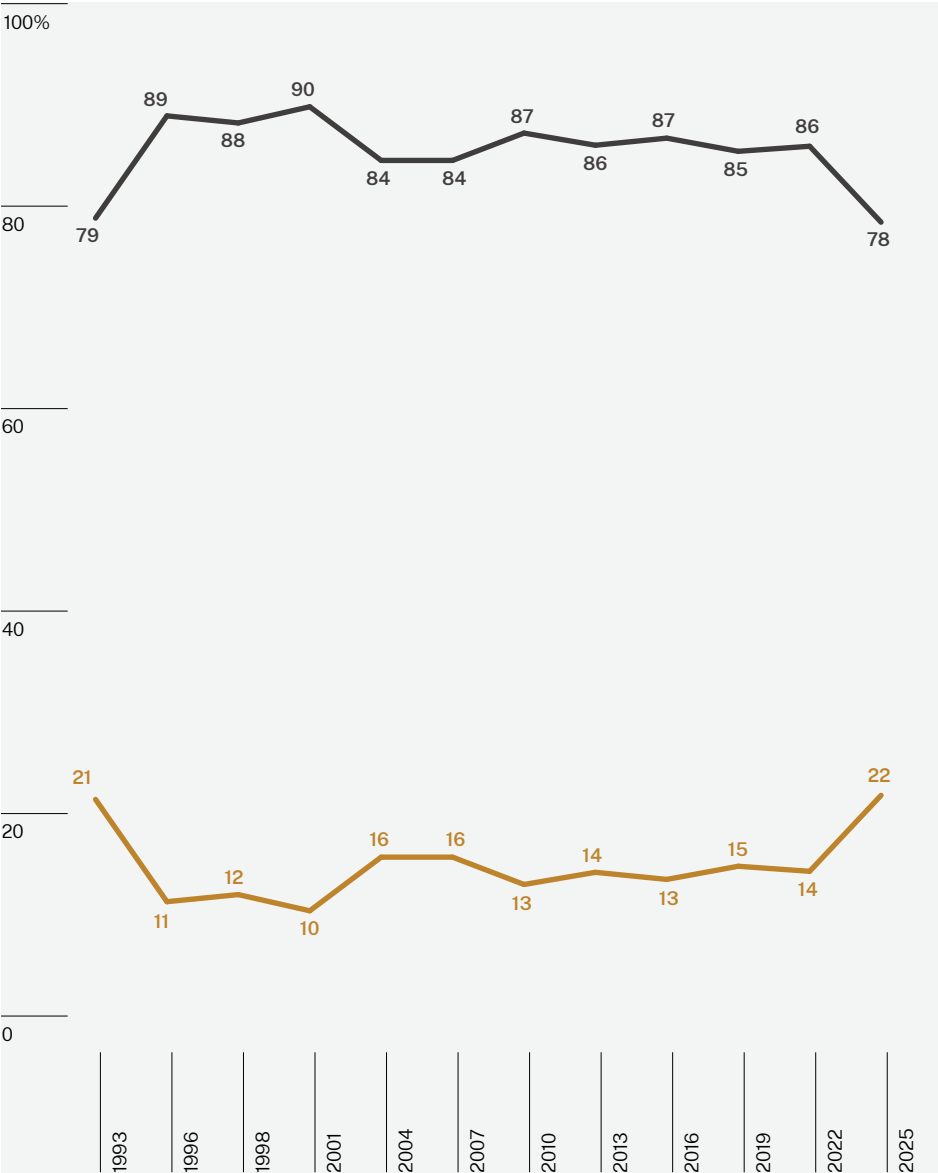


The United States as a security threat to Australia



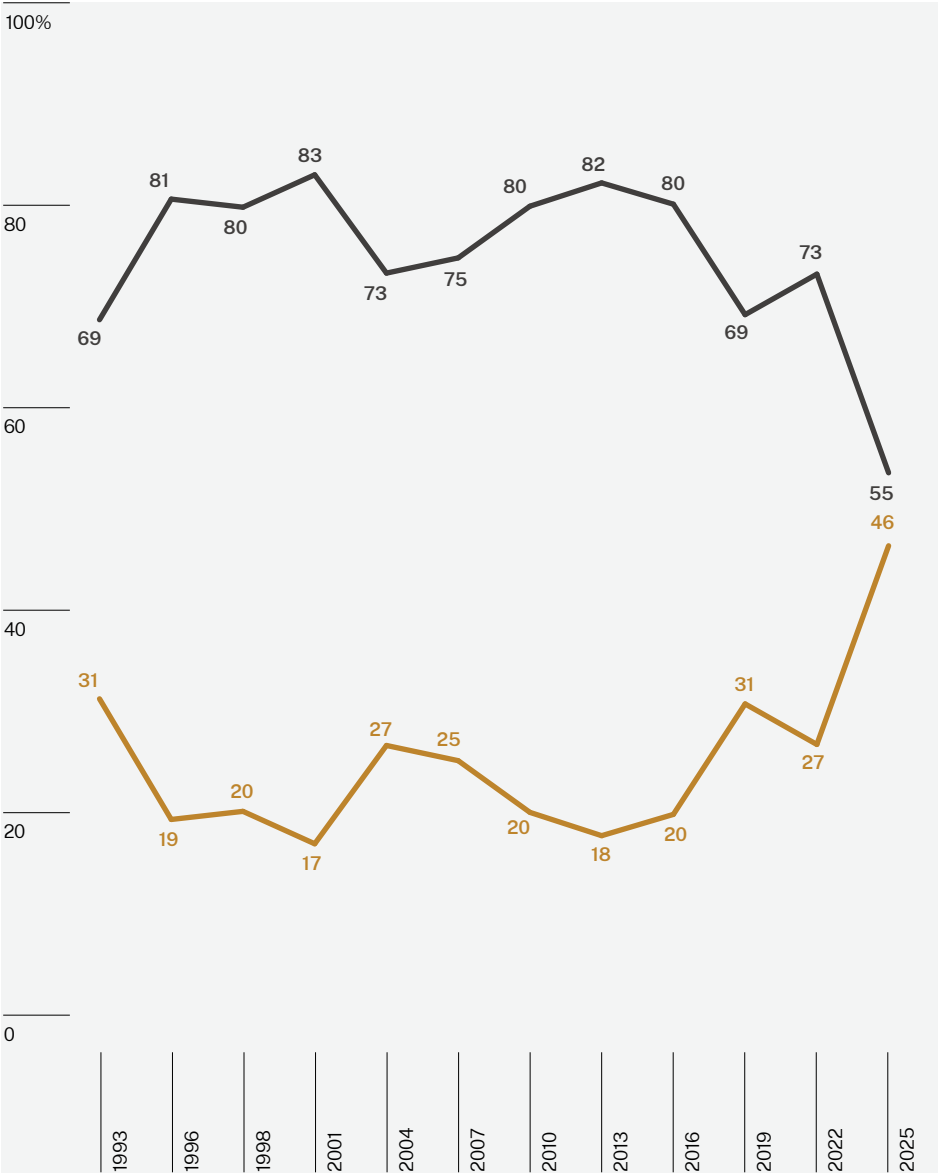
Importance of United States alliance under ANZUS

- Important
- Not important



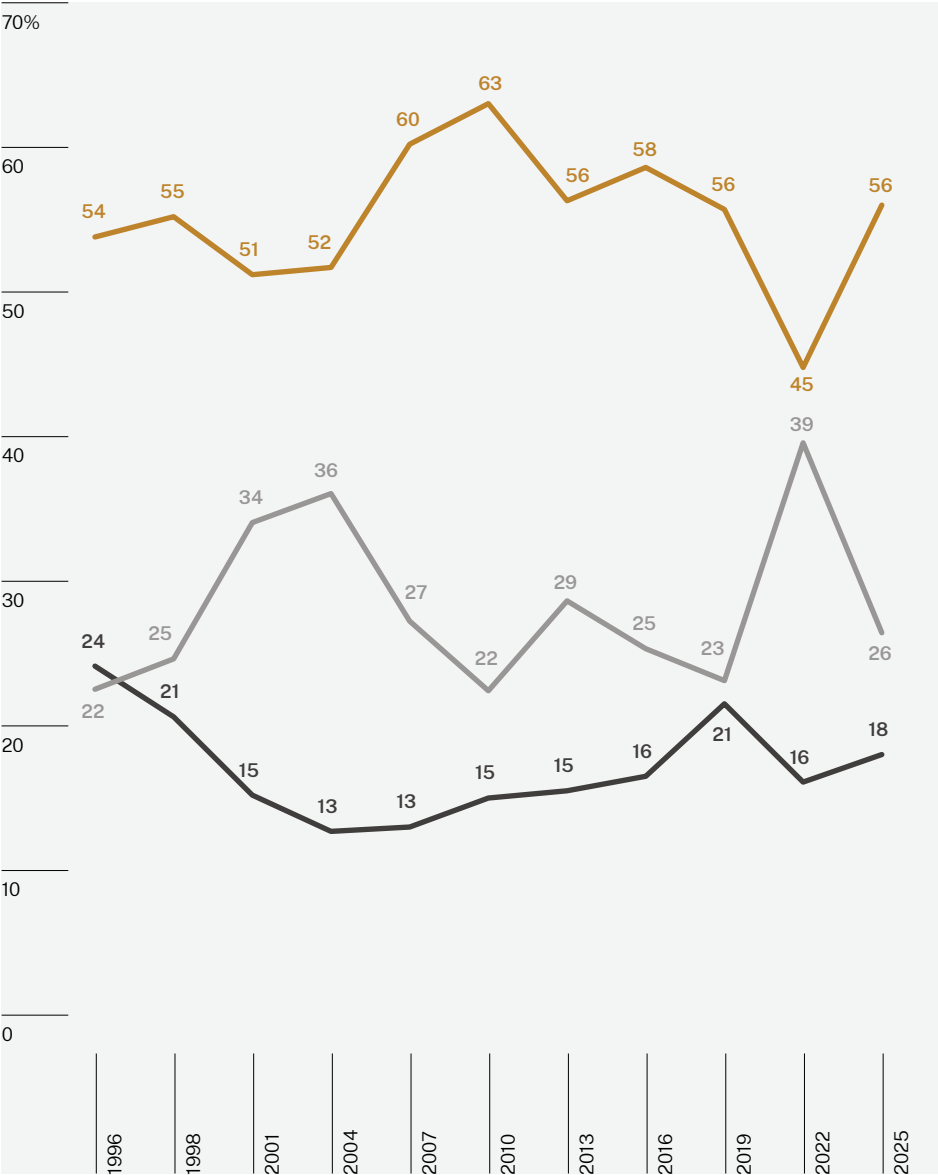
Trust in the United States to come to Australia's defence

- Trust the US to defend Australia
- Do not trust the US to defend Australia

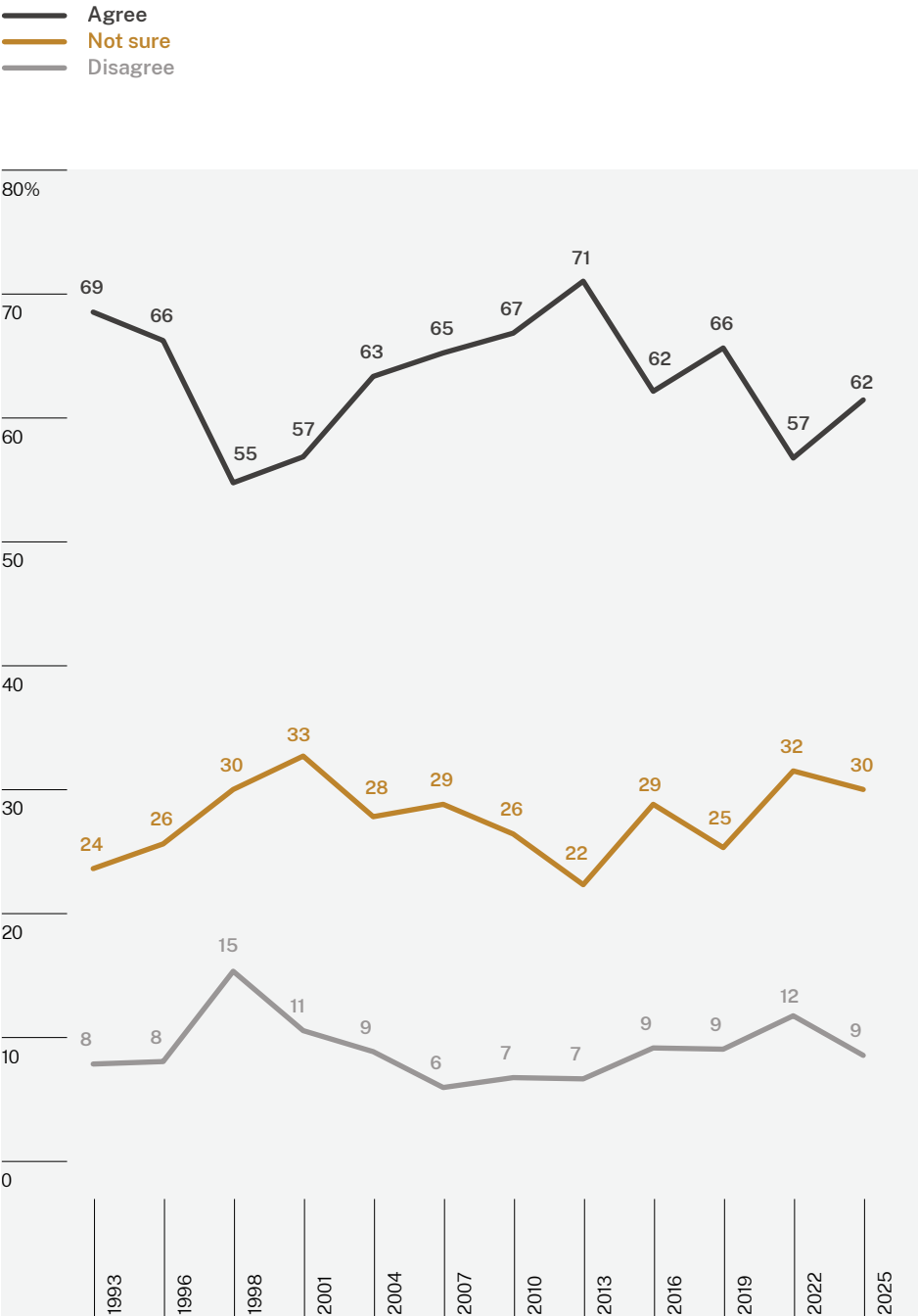


Attitudes towards closer relations with Asia

- Relations with Asia gone too far
- Relations with Asia about right
- Relations with Asia not gone far enough



Australia's trading future lies in Asia



Notes

Attitudes towards Australia's defence capability

For Australia able to defend itself if attacked and Australia's defence stronger than 10 years ago, estimates combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'.

Support for war on terrorism

Question asks whether 'Australia should provide military assistance for the war on terrorism'. 'Agree' combines 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. 'Disagree' combines 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree'.

Importance of United States alliance under ANZUS

'Important' combines 'very important' and 'fairly important'. 'Not important' combines 'not at all important' and 'not very important'.

Trust in the United States to come to Australia's defence

For trust the US to defend Australia, estimates combine 'a great deal' and 'a fair amount'. For do not trust the US to defend Australia, estimates combine 'none at all' and 'not very much'.

Attitudes towards closer relations with Asia

For relations with Asia gone too far, estimates combine 'gone much too far' and 'gone too far'. For relations with Asia not gone far enough, estimates combine 'not gone far enough' and 'not gone nearly far enough'.

Australia's trading future lies in Asia

For agree, estimates combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. For disagree, estimates combine 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree'.

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To cite data from the Australian Election Study or the Australian National Political Attitudes Survey please use the following references:

- McAllister, I., Cameron, S., Jackman, S., Sheppard, J. (2025). Australian Election Study 2025 [computer file], November 2025.
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Methodology

The Australian Election Study (AES) surveys are designed to collect data following federal elections for academic research on Australian electoral behaviour and public opinion. The AES commenced operation in 1987 and has fielded surveys after every federal election since. Since 1998 the AES has been a member of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) group (see www.cses.org). Prior to the AES, three academic surveys of political behaviour were collected by Don Aitkin in 1967, 1969 and 1979, respectively, although they are not strictly speaking election surveys. Where comparable measures exist from these studies, they have been incorporated in the trends in this report. Details on the earlier surveys are available on the Australian National Political Attitudes Survey Dataverse.

The AES routinely collects data among a nationally representative sample of voters. The AES is mounted as a collaborative exercise between several Australian universities. The 1987 and 1990 surveys were funded by a consortium of universities and the 2007 survey by ANU; all of the intervening and subsequent surveys have been funded by the Australian Research Council. Each of the surveys conducted to date has had a central theme:

- 1987
The economy
- 1990
The environment and environmentalism
- 1993
Political culture
- 1996
National identity and citizenship
- 1998
Constitution, rights and minorities
- 1999
Constitutional referendum
- 2001
Challenges to governance
- 2004
The decline of political parties
- 2007
Democracy and representation
- 2010
The dynamics of political choice
- 2013
Volatility and electoral change
- 2016-2019
Political engagement among the young
- 2022-2025
Political trust and satisfaction with democracy

Australian Election Study Overview, 1987–2025

Year	Principal investigators	Funder	Study Number
1987	Ian McAllister, Anthony Mughan	University of NSW, ANU	ASSDA 445
1990	Ian McAllister, Roger Jones, David Gow	University of NSW, ANU	ASSDA 570
1993	Roger Jones, Ian McAllister, David Denemark, David Gow	ARC/ A79131812	ASSDA 763
1996	Roger Jones, David Gow, Ian McAllister	ARC/ A79530652	ASSDA 943
1998	Clive Bean, David Gow, Ian McAllister	ARC/A79804144	ASSDA 1001
1999	David Gow, Clive Bean, Ian McAllister	ARC/ A79937265	ASSDA 1018
2001	Clive Bean, David Gow, Ian McAllister	ARC/ A00106341	ASSDA 1048
2004	Clive Bean, Ian McAllister, Rachel Gibson, David Gow	ARC/ DP0452898	ASSDA 1079
2007	Clive Bean, Ian McAllister, David Gow	ACSPRI/ACSR	ASSDA 1120
2010	Ian McAllister, Clive Bean, Rachel Gibson, Juliet Pietsch	ARC/DP1094626	ASSDA 1228
2013	Ian McAllister, Juliet Pietsch, Clive Bean, Rachel Gibson	ARC/ DP120103941	ADA 1259
2016	Ian McAllister, Juliet Pietsch, Clive Bean, Rachel Gibson, Toni Makkai	ARC/ DP160101501	ADA 01365
2019	Ian McAllister, Jill Sheppard, Clive Bean, Rachel Gibson, Toni Makkai	ARC/ DP160101501	ADA 01446
2022	Ian McAllister, Jill Sheppard, Sarah Cameron, Simon Jackman	ARC/ DP210101517	ADA 100114
2025	Ian McAllister, Sarah Cameron, Simon Jackman, Jill Sheppard	ARC/ DP210101517	ADA 100279



australianelectionstudy.org

All of the data are available from
australianelectionstudy.org and
 from Dataverse ([dataverse.ada.edu.
 au/dataverse/aes](https://dataverse.ada.edu.au/dataverse/aes)).

Voters

All the Australian Election Study (AES) surveys are national, post-election self-completion surveys. The 1987–2013 surveys were based on samples drawn randomly from the electoral register. The 2016 survey used a split sample method, with half of the sample coming from the electoral register, and half from the Geo-Coded National Address File (G-NAF). The 2019 to 2025 surveys were based on samples drawn from the G-NAF. The 1993 AES oversampled in some of the smaller states and because of this the sample was weighted down to a national sample of 2,388 respondents. The overall response rates are listed below. In 2001 and 2004 an online survey was conducted in parallel with the regular AES. From 2010 to 2016 an online option was available to the survey respondents. Since 2019 a ‘push-to-web’ methodology has been used, with hard copy completion also available to respondents. In 2013, 2022 and 2025 an additional youth sample was collected online in order to strengthen representation of younger voters. The 1993 and 2010–2025 surveys are weighted to reflect the characteristics of the national electorate. The 2025 AES also includes a panel component, based on respondents who were also interviewed in previous waves of the AES, since the panel was established in 2016. The AES survey data harmonised across different waves are available in the Australian Election Study Integrated Time Series Data.



Full details on sampling methodology and question wording can be found in the technical reports and other documentation on Dataverse, accessible from www.australianelectionstudy.org.

Australian Election Study voter response rates, 1987–2025

Year	Valid response	Effective response (%)
1987	1,825	62.8
1990	2,020	58.0
1993	3,023	62.8
1996	1,795	61.8
1998	1,896	57.7
2001	2,010	55.4
2004	1,769	44.5
2007	1,873	40.2
2010	2,003	40.1
2013	3,955	33.9
2016	2,818	22.5
2019	2,179	42.1
2022	2,508	42.4
2025	2,070	35.0

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Voting and partisanship
Election issues
The economy
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The left-right dimension
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