

Key groups shift from Coalition to Hanson

EXCLUSIVE

Geoff Chambers
Political Editor

Queenslanders, older voters and those without university education are abandoning the Coalition and swinging in behind One Nation, according to a Newspoll analysis that shows young Australians continue to shun the conservative parties.

An exclusive state-by-state and demographic Newspoll quarterly analysis for The Australian, which compiles the results of polls conducted from September 29 to November 20, has revealed the extent of Sussan Ley's battle to claw back electoral ground from Anthony Albanese.

While the Newspoll snapshot covers two months before the Bondi Beach terrorist attack and Labor's expenses scandal, it identifies key electoral pressure points the Opposition Leader must focus on over the summer break.

The election battleground state of Queensland has emerged as a focal point for the Coalition's loss of support, with One Nation's primary vote in Senator Hanson's home state soaring to 18 per cent across the final three Newspolls of the year and core support for Labor climbing to 33 per cent.

The Coalition's primary vote has plunged to 27 per cent in Queensland, a state previously dominated at a federal level by the Liberals and Nationals.

Compared with the previous analysis of Newspolls from July to September, the Coalition's primary vote in Queensland fell six percentage points, while One Nation gained eight points.

The latest quarterly analysis captures the period when core support for the Coalition sank to 24 per cent in October, the lowest level for the Liberals and Nationals since Newspoll first counted primary votes in November 1985.

The final Newspoll of the year published in late November showed the Coalition remained stuck at 24 per cent, which helped Labor claim its equal biggest two-party-preferred margin of 58 to 42 per cent since its May 3 election victory.

The Newspoll demographics analysis shows the Coalition losing ground mainly among older voters and Australians without a university education, who are moving to One Nation.

This shift is compounded by the loss of younger voters and those with university degrees during Peter Dutton's disastrous election campaign.

In the final months of the year to December, Labor's two-party preferred vote lead over the Coalition among Australians aged between 18-34 was 67 to 33 per cent. The ALP also holds double-digit gaps across all age groups, except those over 65.

Core support for the Greens across voters aged under 34 was 26 per cent, which is seven points ahead of the Coalition.

Another warning sign for the Coalition in the quarterly analysis, which includes a combined sample size of 3774 voters, is the ongoing slide in support from Australians with no tertiary education. Compared with the previous three-month snapshot, support for the Coalition from voters without a tertiary education fell six points to 26 per cent support, while Labor dropped two points to 30 per cent. Those voters have shifted to One Nation. A similar trend was re-

corded among Australians aged over 65, with the Coalition and Labor losing support to Senator Hanson's party, which this month recruited former Nationals leader and New England MP Barnaby Joyce to its ranks.

Support from both female and male voters continued to slide for the Coalition in the final quarterly analysis of the year, with many shifting to One Nation.

Ms Ley has struggled to win support from both men and women, with 27 per cent of male voters and 28 per cent of female voters satisfied with her performance compared with 60 per cent and 49 per cent respectively dissatisfied. A majority of male and female voters believe that Mr Albanese is the better prime minister. There were also falls in support for Ms Ley's performance among voters with no tertiary education or with TAFE and technical qualifications.

Mr Albanese is most unpopular in Queensland, where voters marked down his performance compared with polling results in other states.

In the sunshine state, where Labor picked up a swath of seats at the May election, 53 per cent of voters were dissatisfied with the Prime Minister compared with 44 per cent satisfied.

While Labor holds a 52 to 48 per cent two-party preferred vote lead over the Coalition parties in Queensland, the ALP dominates the Coalition in Victoria (60 to 40 per cent), NSW (58 to 42 per cent), Western Australia (56 to 44 per cent) and South Australia (58 to 42 per cent).

With the Albanese government under pressure over its response to the Bondi terrorist attack and the rise of anti-Semitism, Coalition strategists are hopeful of an electoral revival over summer. But there are some in Liberal ranks who still believe Ms Ley's leadership will remain under pressure unless the first Newspoll next year shows significant improvement for the Coalition.

MPs are preparing to return to Canberra in January after Mr Albanese revealed he would recall parliament earlier than the scheduled February 3 return to push through the government's toughest anti-violence and hate speech laws.

Since the Bondi massacre, Ms Ley has spent most of her time in Sydney supporting the Jewish-Australian community and leading the push for the Albanese government to call a royal commission into the rise of anti-Semitism and the commonwealth response to the terror attack.

In the wake of Australia's worst ever terrorist attack at Bondi – perpetrated by Islamic State-inspired extremists who murdered and injured Jewish-Australians, beach-goers and police officers – the Coalition delayed the release of its updated migration policy settings.

As Ms Ley seeks to woo back grumpy conservative voters who have shifted to One Nation, senior Liberal and Nationals figures told The Australian that the circumstances surrounding the terror attack and concerns about Islamic extremism would allow them to further strengthen the Coalition's migration policy principles.

The Liberal Party federal executive on Monday also met to delay the release of the party's election review led by Nick Minchin and Pru Goward. The federal election review, which was due to be released this week, is expected to be unveiled in the new year.

PRIMARY VOTE

% State	State				Gender				Age				Education			Household income				Working status				Language at home		Religion	
	ALL	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	Male	Female	18-34	35-49	50-64	65+	No tertiary	TAFE/Technical	University	<\$50k	\$50k - \$99k	\$100k - \$149k	\$150k+	Full time	Part time	Retired	Other	English only	Other language	Christian	No religion
Labor	36	37	35	33	38	37	38	35	36	37	39	33	30	35	41	35	35	38	39	38	35	36	30	36	40	32	40
Coalition	25	24	26	27	25	28	26	24	19	25	27	33	26	24	26	23	25	24	28	26	20	32	19	26	23	34	18
Greens	12	12	16	10	10	12	10	15	26	13	6	2	14	9	13	11	11	15	11	11	20	2	24	12	14	4	18
One Nation	14	14	11	18	15	14	14	13	8	13	15	18	20	19	6	17	17	12	10	13	12	17	13	14	9	16	12
Others	13	13	12	12	12	9	12	13	11	12	13	14	10	13	14	14	12	11	12	12	13	13	14	12	14	14	12

5 per cent 'uncommitted' excluded

Question: If a federal election for the House of Representatives were held today, which one of the following would you vote for? If 'uncommitted', to which one of these do you have a leaning?

TWO-PARTY PREFERRED

% State	State				Gender				Age				Education			Household income				Working status				Language at home		Religion	
	ALL	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	Male	Female	18-34	35-49	50-64	65+	No tertiary	TAFE/Technical	University	<\$50k	\$50k - \$99k	\$100k - \$149k	\$150k+	Full time	Part time	Retired	Other	English only	Other language	Christian	No religion
Labor	57	58	60	52	58	56	57	58	67	58	55	48	53	54	62	57	56	60	58	58	63	49	62	57	62	47	66
Coalition	43	42	40	48	42	44	43	42	33	42	45	52	47	46	38	43	44	40	42	42	37	51	38	43	38	53	34

Preference flows based on recent federal and state elections. Note, national preference flows are used to calculate 2PP for each demographic

ALBANESE'S PERFORMANCE

% State	State				Gender				Age				Education			Household income				Working status				Language at home		Religion	
	ALL	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	Male	Female	18-34	35-49	50-64	65+	No tertiary	TAFE/Technical	University	<\$50k	\$50k - \$99k	\$100k - \$149k	\$150k+	Full time	Part time	Retired	Other	English only	Other language	Christian	No religion
Satisfied	46	46	47	44	52	45	47	46	51	46	47	42	39	42	54	43	45	50	50	50	46	42	41	46	48	41	50
Dissatisfied	49	49	47	53	45	50	50	48	42	49	48	55	56	53	41	51	50	46	46	46	47	54	51	49	46	55	45
Uncommitted	5	5	6	3	3	5	3	6	7	5	5	3	5	5	5	6	5	4	4	4	7	4	8	5	6	4	5

Question: Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Anthony Albanese is doing his job as Prime Minister?

LEY'S PERFORMANCE

% State	State				Gender				Age				Education			Household income				Working status				Language at home		Religion	
	ALL	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	Male	Female	18-34	35-49	50-64	65+	No tertiary	TAFE/Technical	University	<\$50k	\$50k - \$99k	\$100k - \$149k	\$150k+	Full time	Part time	Retired	Other	English only	Other language	Christian	No religion
Satisfied	27	25	27	27	31	30	27	28	31	25	25	28	27	24	30	26	30	27	29	28	27	26	26	27	29	32	24
Dissatisfied	55	55	55	57	49	53	60	49	47	54	59	60	54	57	54	56	55	56	53	55	51	61	49	56	49	52	57
Uncommitted	18	20	18	16	20	17	13	23	22	21	16	12	19	19	16	18	15	17	18	17	22	13	25	17	22	16	19

Question: Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Sussan Ley is doing her job as Leader of the Opposition?

BETTER PRIME MINISTER

% State	State				Gender				Age				Education			Household income				Working status				Language at home		Religion	
	ALL	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	Male	Female	18-34	35-49	50-64	65+	No tertiary	TAFE/Technical	University	<\$50k	\$50k - \$99k	\$100k - \$149k	\$150k+	Full time	Part time	Retired	Other	English only	Other language	Christian	No religion
Albanese	53	53	56	49	53	52	56	50	61	53	52	47	48	48	61	50	53	57	56	56	54	47	53	53	57	45	59
Ley	28	27	26	33	25	29	28	29	22	25	29	37	31	31	24	30	31	27	27	26	27	36	24	29	22	38	21
Uncommitted	19	20	18	18	22	19	16	21	17	22	19	16	21	21	15	20	16	16	17	18	19	17	23	18	21	17	20

Question: Who do you think would make the better prime minister?

These surveys were conducted by Pyxis Polling & Insights between September 29 and November 20 with 3774 voters throughout Australia interviewed online. Individual state sample bases range from 280 to 1193 voters. It is compliant with the Australian Polling Council Code and methodology statements are available at <https://www.pyxispolling.com/apci/>. Copyright at all times remains with The Australian.

Summer slugfest looms for wounded Albanese, Ley

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the Jewish leader visits Australia next month.

Scott Morrison was the last prime minister to cop a polling hit over summer, when he holidayed in Hawaii during the Black Summer bushfires.

After winning the 2019 election against the odds, Morrison quickly lost support through poor decision-making.

Within months of the bushfires scandal and his "I don't hold a hose, mate" comment, Morrison resurrected his political position during the early months of the 2020 pandemic.

But as the pandemic crisis extended for too long and other scandals emerged, the polls again turned against Morrison.

While Labor has dominated the Coalition in Newspoll, repeated mistakes can prove damaging over time.

Albanese benefits from a weak



Opposition Leader Sussan Ley, left, and One Nation leader Pauline Hanson

Coalition, which lost a stack of talented MPs at the 2022 and 2025 elections.

The Coalition's poor perform-



GAYE GERARD/NEWSWIRE, MARTIN OLLMAN/NEWSWIRE

ance, before and after this year's May 3 election, has been punished by conservative voters.

They are now flocking to

Pauline Hanson's One Nation.

Since the Bondi massacre, the Opposition Leader has camped herself in Sydney and stayed close

to the Jewish-Australian community.

Ley passionately fought for a commonwealth royal commission into anti-Semitism and heaped pressure on Albanese over his immediate response to the terror attack.

The Coalition also made inroads during the family reunion travel expenses scandal, which forced Albanese to order a review into and changes of the rules covering entitlements for MPs, their spouses and their children.

The issue for Ley is whether she is cutting through to voters across the board.

During Ley's seven months as Opposition Leader, voters across all segments have not warmed to the Coalition.

But Ley shouldn't cop all of the blame. Internal scrapping over policies, particularly energy and climate change, along with the defection of Barnaby Joyce to One Nation and leadership rivals

flying kites have made it difficult for her to find clear air.

In coming weeks, Ley will finalise the Coalition's tougher migration policy settings and get the chance to take Albanese to task on a royal commission and legislation being drawn up by the government in response to the Bondi massacre and anti-Semitism.

Ley must avoid overreaching, as Labor frames her as a partisan warrior undermining unity during a national crisis. Any missteps on her right flank will also be seized on by Hanson.

While Coalition strategists are hopeful of an electoral revival over summer, some in Liberal ranks still believe Ley's leadership will remain under pressure unless the first Newspoll next year shows dramatic improvement for the Coalition.

The first Newspoll of 2026 will deliver critical verdicts for both Albanese and Ley.

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Big tech benefits from ALP's digital advertising surge

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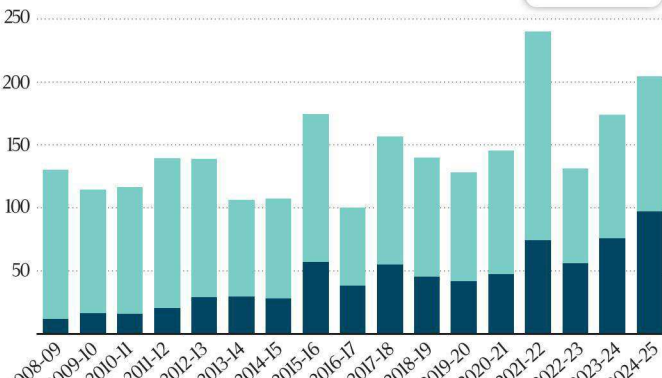
claiming users have been pushed toward "more extreme positions" by the opaque algorithms that platforms employ.

Advertising industry veteran Steve Allen said the record spending on digital advertising appeared to be a "contradiction" given the government's efforts to clamp down on social media platforms. "On one hand you've got these policies and you're concerned about social cohesion, about the mental health of young people, and then on the other hand you're engaging with (social media)," Mr Allen said.

A spokeswoman for Finance Minister Katy Gallagher, whose department oversees the government's central advertising system, attributed the size of the spend to several "significant" behaviour-change campaigns that ran in 2024-25. They included anti-smoking and anti-vaping initiatives, child-safety messaging, raising awareness of sexually transmitted infections, influenza vaccination promotions and cam-

MESSAGE TO SELL

Political advertising (\$m)



paigned aimed at elevating the status of teachers.

"Behaviour change campaigns usually require greater investment due to several factors, including complex and often sensitive subject matter, as well as the need for this style of ads to remain in market for longer," Senator Gallagher said. "The Albanese Labor government's commitment to these types of ads contrasts with the former Coalition

government, which did not usually undertake behaviour change advertising, including neglecting to develop "quit smoking" ads for almost a decade."

Compliance with federal government advertising guidelines is overseen by an independent campaigns committee that approves every initiative worth \$250,000 or more. Every campaign in the past financial year was compliant, the spokeswoman said.

The Health Department, overseen by minister Mark Butler, had the largest advertising spend in 2024-25, forking out more than \$50m on ad placements across multiple campaigns, along with \$16m on creative production, consultants and market research.

The department's biggest line item was an \$11m media buy to promote Labor's changes to the bulk-billing incentive, followed by \$8.3m spend for its anti-smoking campaign amid a