

# The State of Australia 2025

## End of Term Report

47<sup>th</sup> Parliament of Australia

### Summary

*Australia  
Together*

Updated for the term of the  
47th parliament of Australia

*Are we progressing  
towards a better  
Australia?*

A plan by Australians  
for a better future  
2020 to 2050

acfp



# The State of Australia 2025

A report on the nation's progress towards  
and away from the

Vision for *Australia Together*

during the term of office of the 47<sup>th</sup> Parliament of Australia  
and over the longer term.

## Summary Report

This is a summary of the End of Term Report on the 47<sup>th</sup> parliament of Australia to assist all Australians in their preparation for the election of the 48<sup>th</sup> parliament. The full report is accessible on the ACFP website at <https://www.austcfp.com.au/>

*Are we progressing towards a  
better Australia?*

No, we are not travelling well,  
but we can still recover.

The State of Australia  
2025

End of Term Report  
47<sup>th</sup> Parliament of Australia



Full  
report

*Are we progressing  
towards a better  
Australia?*

acfp 

Download the full  
report [here](#).



This summary report is produced by  
**Australian Community Futures Planning**  
February 2025

## About Australian Community Futures Planning

ACFP was founded in March 2020 for the purpose of encouraging greater participation by Australians in planning their own future as a nation within a 21<sup>st</sup> century democracy. It is an independent centre of excellence in national community futures planning, providing an organising framework that can enable any and all Australians to increase the chances of improving our entire quality of life – our society, our environment, our economy and our democratic governance.

Australian Community Futures Planning has no affiliation with any political party inside or outside Australia. It receives neither political party nor other funding. All output from ACFP is produced by in-kind contributions of volunteers.

ACFP's Founder is Dr Bronwyn Kelly. **Dr Kelly is the Principal** author of this End of Term Report on **the state of Australia in 2025**.

**For more information on Australian Community Futures Planning visit**

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### Note – Disclaimer

This is a report on Australia's progress towards and away from the Vision for ***Australia Together***. ***Australia Together*** is a plan developed for the Australian community by any Australian willing to participate in good faith. It is not developed by any political party or elected government.

***Australia Together* has no statutory force  
and binds neither governments nor participants in any way.**

Participation in the national community futures planning process for development of and reporting on ***Australia Together*** is entirely voluntary.

### Acknowledgement

ACFP acknowledges the Traditional Owners of the lands on which we live and work across Australia and pays respect to Elders past, present and emerging.

We acknowledge that sovereignty has never been ceded.

ACFP recognises and celebrates the extraordinary contribution that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have made through millennia to all aspects of Australian life, culture and the environment. May all their songlines endure.

ACFP hopes that Strategies within ***Australia Together*** will assist First Nations to realise, in full, the aspirations of the Uluru Statement from the Heart.

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# The State of Australia 2025

## Summary of the End of Term Report for the period of the 47<sup>th</sup> parliament of Australia



### 1. What does the report do?

The State of Australia 2025 examines whether and where Australia as a nation is travelling towards or away from the preferences Australians have expressed for their future. These stated preferences have been summarised in a draft Vision statement collated by ACFP called the **Vision for Australia Together**. The Vision contains:

- **17 Vision elements** – draft statements about the sort of life we wish to be able to lead and the country we wish to live in by 2050; and
- **57 draft Direction statements** – or signposts – of the safe routes towards that Vision, including Directions for our **society**, **environment**, **economy** and **governance**.

[Click here for the full wording of the Vision and Directions.](#)

The report assesses the direction of our travel by analysing progress on the 368 indicators of our health, wellbeing and security as a nation in Issue No. 9 of the starting draft **Australia Together**, Australia's first long term integrated plan.

These indicators comprise the **Australia Together National Wellbeing Index**, which is housed in Chapters 5 to 8 of the plan.

[View all drafts of Australia Together here.](#)

[Find out more about the Australia Together National Wellbeing Index here.](#)

[View a quick guide to reading the full report on The State of Australia 2025 here.](#)

Click [here](#) to read the full Vision for **Australia Together**, and the list of safe Directions for arriving there.



Baseline data and targets are provided for each indicator and the report checks progress forward or backward from the baseline. Results are summarised using a system of coloured arrows.<sup>1</sup>

The State of Australia 2025 measures the direction of movement from the baseline on:

- 154 indicators for our **Society**,
- 48 for our **Environment**,
- 75 for our **Economy**, and
- 91 for our **Governance**.

It assesses progress across two time frames:

- for the period of the 47<sup>th</sup> parliament; and
- for the longer term – usually over a decade or more, depending on the availability of data.

It also looks at what we might be able to expect for our future based on current performance and the prevailing policy trends of parliaments and governments over both periods.

The report is structured to provide a range of accessible views of the hugely complex dataset that is the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index:

- View No. 1:** By the 17 elements of the Vision for *Australia Together*.
- View No. 2:** Dissected by the quadrants of **society**, **environment**, **economy** and **governance**.
- View No. 3:** By reference to our current position and performance in relation to the top twenty most serious issues affecting Australia in the 2020 decade.
- View No. 4:** By the worst and best areas of performance and in the significant longer term negative or positive impacts – looking back and forward.

The State of Australia 2025 is a key part of the cycle of National IP&R, enabling fully transparent and easily accessible reporting for all Australians on things they need to know about the 46<sup>th</sup> and 47<sup>th</sup> parliaments as they approach election of the 48<sup>th</sup>.

## 2. The main findings

### On the central question of whether we are progressing towards a better Australia

If Australians agree that the draft Vision for *Australia Together* describes the better Australia we might aspire to for ourselves and future generations, the report shows that **on balance we are not progressing towards a better Australia, we are travelling away from that preferred destination. But we do have the means of reversing our current course of travel and we have full capacity to switch to safer paths** – paths by which we the people can make the Vision for *Australia Together* a reality, providing a place of wellbeing and security for everyone.

**The balance of the result is not a fine one. It is stark and has been heavily tilted towards the negative. And the data strongly indicate that the nation has been drifting solidly that way for more than a decade. The speed with which it has drifted away from the Vision has slowed a little during the 47<sup>th</sup> parliament but the direction of travel is still distinctly against the national and public interest.**

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<sup>1</sup> → for travel towards the Vision or target, ← for travel away, and ←/→ for a neutral result.

**The evidence shows that the things parliaments and governments have been doing during the 21<sup>st</sup> century and the policies they have persisted with simply aren't working to help Australians build a better future.** The negative effect of those policies is particularly evident in:

- the sharp and steep decline of the physical and mental health of Australians;
- the growth of poverty and inequality – especially political inequality and inequality of opportunity; and
- a staggering loss of biodiversity.

The weight of evidence indicates that the nation needs to set a new course for its governments in several policy areas; otherwise parliaments will not be able to deliver on our aspirations *at all*.

The necessary new course must be – and can only be – described in an integrated plan that focuses on the long term, not the short term. Parliaments must be able to start each term with a clear understanding of the direction and destination preferred by Australians and the policy agenda that arcs towards that. At the moment, the policy agendas of the two major political parties arc away from it. Unless that agenda is reshaped there will be no chance of a better future.

**Fortunately the report shows that there is significant capacity within the Australian community itself to set Australia onto a much safer course towards a better future.** Political participation in Australia is increasing due mainly to perceptions of increasing social injustice and inequity and to communities' having responded by finding new ways to participate in democracy.

Civil society groups in Australia are increasingly well organised and their influence in their democracy is growing, for example, in groups that have organised a People's Inquiry into the US alliance or built an Earth System Treaty or the Uluru Statement from the Heart, and in the "kitchen table" community groups that have selected alternative candidates for parliament to run as independents who will work to achieve progress on issues of importance to them, such as climate, integrity and equality. These groups are finding new ways to have a more influential voice in their own governance and with the advent of **National Integrated Planning & Reporting** (National IP&R) they also now have access to a much more efficient means of exercising that Voice.

**National IP&R is a process that enables all Australians to become involved in building an integrated plan that arcs straight towards the future they have repeatedly said they want and that they can present to governments as a coherent agenda for safe travel to that future.**

*Australia Together* is a prototype for such a plan. Compared to the prevailing policies of governments over the last decade, *Australia Together* offers a much greater chance of safe arrival in a better future. Participation in the process of building and monitoring the plan can significantly enhance the influence of Australians in their own governance and in shaping their own future. Australians are yet to take up the opportunities offered by National Integrated Planning & Reporting; but the process is well developed and ready for use as a means of significantly increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of political participation and of reversing the trends of decline in wellbeing and security. Reports produced by ACFP on the state of Australia, such as [The State of Australia 2022](#) and [The State of Australia 2025](#), are an integral part of the cycle of National IP&R.

[Click here to find out more about National IP&R.](#)

[Click here to become involved.](#)

[Click here to find out about the genesis and development of National IP&R.](#)

### 3. The results on balance

Reporting on performance against the targets and strategies of *Australia Together* is always done **on balance**. This form of analysis and reporting allows us to use data and other evidence about policies to estimate progress in either direction – towards or away from the Vision – on each individual indicator. Analysis of forward and backward movements over a large number of indicators is provided to help Australians get a sense of **net progress overall** and the evidence for it.

**This report shows that during the 47<sup>th</sup> parliament there were dozens of policy decisions that, on balance, took Australia much further away from the Vision than towards it. And over the past decade there has been much more poor performance than good performance.**

Progress during the 47<sup>th</sup> parliament has been a little better than during the 46<sup>th</sup> parliament and the previous decade, but it is still far too slow.

#### Results in relation to the Vision

- **On balance, we are moving away from rather than towards 13 of the 17 Vision elements.** This result is a slight improvement on the result for the 46<sup>th</sup> parliament.
- **Progress on the remaining four Vision elements has been mixed.**

[Chapter 11 of the report](#) provides details of exactly where and how we are moving towards and away from each element of the Vision for *Australia Together*.

#### Results in relation to the Directions – the safe routes towards the Vision

- In relation to the 52 Directions monitored<sup>2</sup>, **on balance:**
  - **In only 4 cases have we moved in accordance with the safe direction of travel.**
  - **In 3 cases we have moved in accordance with the safe direction, but too slowly or indecisively.**
  - **In 5 cases, evidence is absent or mixed, or progress is stagnant.**
  - **In 40 cases we have moved contrary to the safe Direction of travel, but in 2 cases we have the means to reverse this.**
  - **In 29 indicators where policy choices may be viewed as positive in the short term, long term adverse consequences are being baked in as a result of the choice. So the long term outlook for those 29 indicators is negative. There is one case of a positive long term outlook trend.**

[Chapter 2 of the report](#) provides the collated results showing where, on balance, we are moving in accordance with the safe Directions in the Vision for *Australia Together* and where we are not. Tables showing the consolidated results by quadrant also show where performance, on balance, deteriorated and improved during the 47<sup>th</sup> parliament. On balance, improvements were apparent in relation to 7 of the Directions but deteriorations of performance overall were apparent in 28 Directions. The aggregate picture is one of continuing selection of too many unsafe paths and continuing decline in the state of our society, environment, economy and governance.

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<sup>2</sup> Performance in this report has been assessed in relation to [Issue No. 9 of the starting draft of Australia Together](#). Only 52 of the 57 Directions were monitored in The State of Australia 2025. No baseline data, strategies or targets have yet been established for the remaining five Directions. In future Issues of *Australia Together*, ACFP will seek to fill these data gaps.



## Results in relation to the top twenty most serious issues in the 2020 decade

- During the 47<sup>th</sup> parliament, **on balance**:
  - **In only one case have we moved in accordance with the safe direction of travel.**
  - **In 7 cases, evidence is absent or mixed, or progress is stagnant.**
  - **In 12 cases we have moved contrary to the safe Direction of travel.**
- This result is an improvement on the result for the 46<sup>th</sup> parliament where unsafe travel was observed on balance on all 20 of the most serious issues affecting Australia.

[Chapter 12 of the report](#) provides an update of where we are in 2025 on each of the top twenty issues, based on the data in the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index. It also offers a description of what we can expect to achieve by 2030 in each case based on current policies. In several cases it is apparent that urgent changes to current policies to align them with the Vision and Directions of *Australia Together* will significantly improve Australia's chances of avoiding continuing decline.

**Overall, much more about our lives is getting worse than is getting better. And the weight of policy development over the decade is very unlikely to take us to where we want to go as a nation. It will certainly not take us there safely.**

## Factors identified as causes of the drift away from the Vision

Causes of the drift away from the Vision are complex but still quite easily discernible. The data and information in the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index shed light on a multiplicity of weaknesses in performance and the direction of travel. In general, though, the failures reflect incompetence, conflicts of interest and short-sightedness in a succession of governments, and an unwillingness by the two major political parties to work together with the rest of the parliament in the interests of all Australians. The lack of respect for the parliament by both Labor and Coalition governments is most evident in recent decisions regarding human rights law reform and war powers reform. This is a serious issue of attitudinal immaturity in the two major political parties that must be overcome if we are to be able to reverse the current very evident direction of travel away from the Vision for *Australia Together*. It amounts to a bipartisan program to consolidate power in the executive government and as far away from the people as possible. It is entirely undemocratic.

**Over the last ten to twenty years Australians have witnessed a range of graphic policy failures and attitudinal shifts that have weakened our cohesion as a nation, our confidence in our system of government and our preparedness for the future. (See [Section 8](#) below for a brief summary on failing policies.) Whether that weakening is fatal is yet to be determined. Evidence is that it could go either way.**

It is also evident that during the 47<sup>th</sup> parliament, a few policy choices have been made that look positive in the short term but will actually lead to a reversal of our prospects for wellbeing and security in the long run. These policies that are destined to fail are collated in the [Overview section of The State of Australia 2025](#) under the heading of "Longer term outlook trends – negative and positive." 29 negative outlook trends and one positive outlook trend have been identified and summarised; but another 69 negative outlook trends have been identified throughout the report.

Some important examples of the effect of failing policies are summarised in the following sections on the best and worst performance and the most significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia. The combined effect of each of these – as they have all come into play at once and all been accelerated by poor governance by both major parties – is the likely cause of Australia's clear continuation of movement away from the Vision for *Australia Together*.

## 4. Worst areas of performance

**In our society**, some of the **worst areas of performance** are evident in:

- a sharp and quite steep decline in our physical and mental health;
- the growth of inequality over the decade, especially the political inequality of all Australians;
- a significant and continuous pattern of decline of Australia's social cohesion;
- a failure to revert to a universal health care system and thereby control the costs of health care so as to ensure accessibility for all;
- the continuing preference for targeted welfare over more cost efficient universal systems for health and social services;
- a failure to revert to free tertiary education and, by extension, the locking in of low productivity;
- continual under-funding of education and discriminatory distribution of funds away from public schools – in other words, significant growth in inequality of opportunity;
- continuing ill-treatment of refugees and migrants in ways that contravene the human rights conventions to which Australia is a party;
- a significant increase in intergenerational inequity, most evident in the housing crisis;
- a refusal by a succession of governments to do all things necessary to provide housing or ensure it is affordable for all; and
- a withdrawal by the Coalition political parties from the bipartisan commitment to multiculturalism that Australians have been able to enjoy for decades – this withdrawal had devastating effects in wedging divisions within our society that resulted in exclusion of First Nations peoples from a voice in their governance and a continuation of permissions for racism in our laws.

**In our environment**, some of the **worst areas of performance** are evident in:

- a complete lack of progress over a whole decade in meeting our nation's commitments under the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs);
- adoption of a carbon budget and an emissions reduction target (43% by 2030) that is incapable of stemming global heating and will actually lock in heating well above 2° Celsius;
- approvals of more coal and gas extraction projects and expansion of fossil fuel exports;
- abandonment of legislative proposals designed to effectively address biodiversity and extinction crises;
- continuing losses of large numbers of species of flora and fauna; and
- a failure to secure the sustainability of Australian agriculture – arising from the failure to adopt a carbon budget capable of mitigating the coming climatic conditions that will make current forms of agriculture unworkable.

**In our economy**, some of the **worst areas of performance** are evident in:

- more than 3 million Australians including over 700,000 children who continue to live in poverty;
- a persistent favouritism within both major political parties for neoliberalism and for corporate welfare in preference to the rights and wellbeing of Australians;
- a continuation of competition policies that have downgraded the potential for public sector involvement in markets to act as an effective and essential brake on the excesses arising from monopolistic and other anti-competitive activity by the private sector;
- a continuing commitment to taxation arrangements which are incapable of securing essential services for Australians;

- an expansion of commitment to taxation arrangements favouring subsidies that heavily incentivise industries causing climate change;
- introduction of a significantly less progressive and therefore more unfair taxation system;
- a continuation of over-investment in mining and fossil fuel extraction to the exclusion of more sustainable industries, services and economic compositions; and
- the introduction of a “Future Made in Australia” (FMIA) initiative that may help diversify Australia’s industrial base a little but which is more likely to defeat the purpose of transforming Australia into a renewable energy superpower due to its excessive expenditures on military industries (which are more than twice as much as other planned expenditures in the FMIA program and will cause heavy increases in carbon emissions as well as diversion of scarce human capacity away from more sustainable industries). The FMIA is more likely than not to weaken the economy in the face of climate change and expose Australia unnecessarily to a greater risk of war.

In our governance, some of the **worst areas of performance** are evident in:

- a continual failure to reform the founding document of the nation – the Constitution – and particularly a failure to remove or curtail permissions for racism in the Constitution;
- a failure to regulate news media and social media to stem the proliferation of mis- and disinformation;
- a failure to design, as promised, a transparent National Anti-Corruption Commission “with teeth”, and attendant on that, a failure to secure justice for the victims of Robodebt, one of the great crimes of the state against its people in the 21<sup>st</sup> century;
- a refusal to introduce a Human Rights Act so that Australians may at last access rights they have under international law but not in domestic law;
- an executive refusal to allow the parliament to consider and determine whether Australia may become involved in armed conflict and war;
- a failure to acknowledge the rights of future generations;
- increasing secrecy without accountability;
- a series of torturous actions – including denial of their rights in justice – towards whistleblowers making truthful disclosures in the public interest;
- continuation of excessive market concentration by Australian-based news media businesses, Murdoch and Nine; and
- a failure to establish electoral funding reform capable of ensuring fairness in elections, including “one vote = one value” – Australia continues to be a nation without equal suffrage;
- the imposition of extremely expensive defence policies which are exposing Australia to greater risk of war, a complete loss of independent defence capability, and a near-full ceding of sovereignty to America;
- a failure to articulate support for the rulings of the International Court of Justice on genocide in Gaza, potentially exposing Australia to complicity, especially if we have supplied weapons or weapons components used in the war;
- an ongoing failure to sign the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) and actual participation in nuclear proliferation (via endorsement of AUKUS);
- continuation of reliance on defence policy advice provided by private entities funded by foreign governments and arms manufacturers; and
- continued action by the Defence Department as a quasi broker for profitable sales for private arms dealers, who then sell arms that are used to kill women and children on a very large scale in foreign countries. Between 2016 and 2023/24 the value of weapons exports from Australia increased almost 100-fold from \$1.5 billion to more than \$100 billion. It was an obscene increase in making money from selling killing machines.

## 5. Best areas of performance

The **best areas of performance** almost all arise from the community itself and the civil society groups that have organised themselves to champion for peace, climate change mitigation, and equality. Relatively few arise from the performance of the 47<sup>th</sup> parliament or government.

**In our society**, the **best areas of performance** are evident in:

- the fact that Australians have continued to reject growth in the gap between rich and poor;
- the fact that Australians continue to support multiculturalism;
- the increase in representation of women in positions of power and senior leadership; and
- the increased access to more affordable childcare, albeit that childcare is still not affordable for the poorest Australians.

**In our economy**, the **best areas of performance** are evident in:

- the provision of cost of living relief by the federal government in a fiscally responsible way;
- the way inflation has been brought down without significantly increasing unemployment; and
- the way employment prospects for Australians have improved significantly, due to long overdue expansion of the public sector in health, education and social services.

**In our governance**, the **best areas of performance** are evident in:

- the courage and determination of cooperative Australians who have organised themselves to campaign for peace, hold a People's Inquiry on the case for an Independent Australia (IPAN), and make recommendations on a path toward an enduring peace;
- the initiative by Australia's Council for the Human Future to develop and propose an Earth System Treaty;
- the cooperative participation of Australians in international forums including the Roundtable on the Human Future which proposed creating a People's Assembly within the United Nations;
- the work of other civil society groups including Australians for War Powers Reform, the International Women's League for Peace and Freedom, the Medical Association for Prevention of War, and the Women's Climate Congress;
- the fact that a majority of Australians continue to support neutral postures in confrontations between major powers;
- the federal government's work to restabilise Australia's relationship with its biggest trading partner, China, after destruction of a positive relationship under the previous government, although it is unfortunate that defence postures and AUKUS are undermining the renewed trust between Australia, China and Pacific countries; and
- the fact that Australians now have a means of efficiently and effectively participating in their own governance because of the introduction of National Integrated Planning & Reporting (National IP&R). This gives Australians an independent and transparent means of assessing the performance of governments in relation to what matters most to Australians, not to politicians and corporations. With the advent of National IP&R they can also now create a single space on the internet for free, fully open, well informed and orderly democratic engagement about choices for the future and can present governments with a coherent agenda for safe travel towards the destination of their choice.

**In our environment**, **ACFP has been unable to determine that there are any very good areas of performance.**

## 6. Comparative performance across parliamentary periods

The report on the State of Australia 2025 provides aggregated results of performance on the 368 indicators in Issue No. 9 of *Australia Together* during both the period of the 47<sup>th</sup> parliament and over the longer term, back as far as the late 1990s where data are available but mostly over the last decade.

Comparisons of performance between the 46<sup>th</sup> and 47<sup>th</sup> parliaments are not likely to be reasonable due to the different number of indicators measured across the two periods.<sup>3</sup> But performance trends over the longer term are instructive.

Over the longer term, things seem to have been getting a little better during the 47<sup>th</sup> parliament with some long term trends turning slightly more towards the positive. However, it is also clear that the pace of change has been far too slow if we are to make the Vision for *Australia Together* a reality. Progress has been quite severely hampered by divisive politicians, irresponsible news and social media, and corporate and foreign interference. As a result, Australia is not moving fast enough to meet the essential targets of the plan, especially in relation to the need to mitigate climate change, build resilience for the nation's economy and society, stop the trend of species extinctions, and establish an enduring peace within a globalised world.

Several policy decisions during both the 46<sup>th</sup> and 47<sup>th</sup> parliaments have significantly decreased Australia's chances of overcoming the worst of climate change and significantly increased our exposure to military conflict and democratic decline.

### Notable conclusions on performance of the nation during the 47<sup>th</sup> parliament

In relation to the 368 indicators that were assessed:

- During the 47<sup>th</sup> parliament, negative performance (travelling contrary to the preferred safe Direction) outweighed positive performance by a factor of 257%.
- In all quadrants, negative performance outweighed positive performance.
- The **worst performance** was in the **Governance** quadrant, where out of 91 indicators monitored only 5 results were positive. 27 were neutral and 59 were negative. Negative results outweighed positive results by a factor of 11.8.
- The **second worst performance** was in the **Society** quadrant, where out of 154 indicators monitored only 29 results were positive. 38 were neutral and 87 were negative. Negative results outweighed positive results by a factor of 3.0.

### Notable conclusions regarding the longer term national performance

In relation to the 368 indicators that were assessed:

- During the longer term, negative performance (travelling contrary to the preferred safe Direction) outweighed positive performance by a factor of 400%.
- In all quadrants, negative performance significantly outweighed positive performance.
- The **worst performance** has been in the **Governance** quadrant, where out of 91 indicators monitored only 8 results were positive. 16 were neutral and 67 were negative. Negative results outweighed positive results by a factor of 8.4.

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<sup>3</sup> Only 265 indicators were assessed in the report produced for the 46<sup>th</sup> parliament – [The State of Australia 2022](#) – whereas performance on 368 indicators has been assessed in *The State of Australia 2025*.

- The **second worst performance** has been in the **Economy** quadrant, where out of 75 indicators monitored only 9 results were positive. 19 were neutral and 47 were negative. Negative results outweighed positive results by a factor of 5.2.

This reflects a slightly slower rate of decline compared to that reported in [The State of Australia 2022](#) for the 46<sup>th</sup> parliament. Overall, though, the result shows a continuation of the steady decline for the nation similar to what was predicted as merely a potential decline by 2060 by the Australian National Outlook in 2019<sup>4</sup>, except that this picture shows the decline is already in play and has been for some years. It is imperative that this decline is reversed before it gets any worse.

**Strategies in *Australia Together* are designed to reverse this decline.**

## 7. Rolled up results

The *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index comprises hundreds of baseline and target data points, all of which give us a means of assessing movement backward and forward in terms of our wellbeing and security but also in terms of how we are progressing in relation to the policy directions and strategies that can propel us safely towards wellbeing and security. These assessed movements and changes in direction can be rolled up into consolidated pictures of the overall direction of travel. This process helps us see whether we are doing more things that are contrary to our long term interests, relative to the things that we are doing well and in accordance with our long term interests as a cohesive community. When the balance of results is so heavily towards the negative, as it is in *The State of Australia 2025*, there is cause for concern.

**The following tables show where there is the most cause for concern.** It is in relation to:

- our health and safety – personal and in relation to world and climatic events;
- the unresolved relationship between First Nations peoples, non-Indigenous Australians and the state (the Crown) itself;
- unfairness and inequality, particularly inequality of opportunity and political inequality;
- increasing inaccessibility of vital services including education, housing and health (due to increasing unaffordability, itself caused by excessive reliance on the private sector for delivery);
- over-exploitation of scarce resources;
- continuing species extinctions;
- an economic composition which is unsustainable and particularly disregards future generations; and
- a system of governance which has offered neither equal suffrage, nor a reasonable share of power for the people, nor a process by which trust can be established in parliaments and governments.

[Chapter 11 of the report](#) provides insights into where we are getting better and worse in relation to the Vision for *Australia Together*. It highlights the strengths we can build on and the weaknesses we need to overcome if we wish to make the Vision a reality.

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<sup>4</sup> In 2019, the CSIRO and National Australia Bank worked with a number of other agencies to produce the [Australian National Outlook 2019](#). The Outlook predicted two scenarios: a “slow decline” and another “outlook vision” which was more positive about the possibility of a better Australia by 2060, if the nation takes particular opportunities and directions for environmental protection, development sustainability and social cohesion, and avoids fractious international relations.

Consolidated results – Are we travelling towards the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i> ?	
<i>The Draft Vision for Australia Together By 2050 ...</i>	<i>Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?</i>
We are all safe	←
We have achieved a lasting reconciliation between First Nations peoples and non-Indigenous Australians, based on our shared values of justice and self-determination	←
Everyone is welcome to participate positively in community life	←
We are inspired and able to renew our physical and spiritual wellbeing	←
We act together as a compassionate society	←
Equality is valued as enriching human community, cultural harmony and social progress	← / →
Diversity is positively appreciated as a basis for a successful Australian society	← / →
Everyone can realise their full potential in life, as individuals, members of a family and citizens though unlimited opportunities in education and employment of choice	←
Vital services are fully accessible for all	←
Scarce resources are conserved and fairly shared	←
National wealth is fairly raised and fairly shared	←
Our economy is sustainable and supports rewarding opportunities and continuous improvements in living standards, wellbeing and security for everyone	←
As a nation we have the courage to take a leading place in achieving the environmental aims of a global society	←
Stewardship of ecology is affirmed as fundamental to planetary and human survival	←
Democracy is assured by a well informed and engaged community of political equals	← / →
We can confidently trust our parliaments, governments, and courts to act fairly and justly in accordance with the rights and interests of the public and future generations	←
We take pride in Australia as a responsible international citizen, active in building a safe, peaceful and united world	← / →

Consolidated results – Are we travelling towards the Vision via the safe Directions?					
Quadrant	<i>On balance yes</i>	<i>On balance yes but indecisively or too slowly</i>	<i>Evidence is absent or mixed, or progress is stagnant</i>	<i>On balance no but we have the means of reversing this</i>	<i>On balance no</i>
	→	← / →	← / →	← / →	←
<b>Society</b>	1	1	1	0	13
<b>Environment</b>	1	1	4	0	10
<b>Economy</b>	1	1	0	0	5
<b>Governance</b>	1	0	0	2	10
<b>Total</b>	4	3	5	2	38

## 8. What can we expect for our future if current policies remain in place?

During the 46<sup>th</sup> and 47<sup>th</sup> parliaments, negative performance has outweighed positive performance by factors of 5.2 and 4 respectively. **Because the balance of results over an extended period has been consistently negative, it is evident that the prevailing policies of the major political parties have not taken Australia towards a better future. Nor can they be expected to. These preferred policies of the governments during the 46<sup>th</sup> and 47<sup>th</sup> parliamentary periods are all evidently incapable of making the Vision for *Australia Together* a reality.**

The most notable areas of policy failure include:

- the continuing commitment of governments to neoliberalism, despite proofs of the damage its focus on small government and poor regulation does to the economy and to equality within our society and democracy;
- unfair and regressive taxation;
- targeted welfare in preference to universal income and services security;
- education which requires debt for students;
- competition policies which reduce competition;
- refusal to price carbon;
- continued subsidisation of fossil fuels and new coal and gas extraction projects;
- support for weapons exports;
- a narrow base of industries in the economy;
- support for defence policies which actually threaten our security, create an unproductive economy and increase greenhouse gas emissions;
- support for the mining sector that is highly disproportionate to the returns for Australians in revenue and jobs;
- refusal to act to prevent biodiversity extinctions; and
- refusal to pursue constitutional reforms capable of establishing Australia as a genuine democracy of political equals where human rights are acknowledged and protected.

These policies pose a very serious threat to Australia and our way of life. The combination of them is likely to make a full reversal of the Vision for *Australia Together* a reality within the coming decade. Or to put that another way, a failure to reverse these policies will propel Australia quite quickly towards the polar opposite of what Australians have expressly stated they wish for their future.

[Chapter 11 of the report](#) provides a detailed description of what that type of decline looks like under the heading “Toward the Vision or its reverse – which way are we travelling?” This “reverse vision” provides a chilling picture of a future that amounts to a serious decline of quality of life, a breakdown of social cohesion, and a loss of peace and security.

**Since the weight of policy is pushing Australia straight towards the reverse vision, it is evident that Australians need to do more than simply change governments. They need to change the agendas of parliaments and governments by telling them which agendas they would prefer – because those agendas follow the safe paths towards the Vision. That can only be conveyed coherently in the form of a long term integrated national plan that is crafted by the people of Australia and strategies within it must be selected based not on politics or ideology but on their potential to drive us towards the Vision rather than away from it.**



## 9. What is Australia's capacity for avoiding social, environmental, economic, and democratic decline?

The State of Australia 2025 shows that throughout the 21<sup>st</sup> century, far too many choices have been made by a succession of governments and parliaments in favour of policies that cannot possibly take us towards the Vision, especially those aspects of it which focus on our aspirations for:

- personal safety, health and security;
- achieving fairness and equity – especially political equality, equality of opportunity and fairness in taxation;
- the opportunity for education leading to employment of choice;
- a tolerable climate; and
- a peaceful life on an unpolluted planet with abundant and healthy biodiversity.

The State of Australia reports function as a good early warning system about the consequences of persistence with these failing policies. It makes the poor policy choices discernible by showing how they are coincident with and indeed causal of continuous trends of decline in our quality of life. **The State of Australia 2025, however, also sheds light on how much time we have left to turn this around – if we can. We have less than a decade, but there is evidence that there is still some considerable capacity within the Australian community to reverse the poor policy choices of the last two decades.**

[Chapter 12 of the report](#) highlights the areas where we have the most capacity to reverse our fortunes if we work together as a nation and – perhaps most importantly – if our governments desist from their usual divisive tactics and work together with the rest of the parliament. The table in Chapter 12 shows that the areas where we are likely to have the most capacity to reverse current trends of decline and improve expected outcomes are in relation to:

- growing inequality,
- loss of rights, open governance and transparency,
- declining participation in democracy,
- unethical governance,
- economic decline,
- inertia to decarbonisation,
- loss of social cohesion,
- and declining wellbeing and happiness.

These are areas where policy choices are still largely within our control. We are still free to make those choices and matters in those areas are not yet completely out of hand. They are very close to being (if not already) out of hand in other areas, such as climate change.

The key to a successful reversal of fortunes, however, is likely to reside in Australia's capacity to strengthen its institutions of democracy and our ethics in using those institutions. Our capacity to build a true democracy of political equals, including by building a new Constitution that accords a reasonable share of power to the people of Australia, is fundamental to whether we will find ourselves able to compose a happy answer to the question many are asking since the election of another Trump government in America: ***Can Australia avoid the sort of democratic and social decline so evident in America in the age of Trump?***

The State of Australia 2025 provides evidence that Australia’s democracy and society is not yet in a state as poor as America’s. Our democracy is obviously declining and there are some significant in-built weaknesses in it, most notably in the Australian Constitution which accords Australians almost no human rights and permits racism and the continuation of executive power by a foreign monarch.<sup>5</sup> Australia’s Constitution is undemocratic and presents a significant threat to the ability of everyday Australians to participate as political equals in their own governance.

**Nevertheless, in Australia we still have what might be called a “breathing space” before our institutions of democracy, such as they are, decline further towards autocracy, plutocracy, and the sort of social breakdown, chaos, and abandonment of the rule of law so clearly on display in America. And it’s what we do with that breathing space that counts.**

*Australia Together* and the reports on the State of Australia are designed to help Australians make best use of that space to shore up Australia’s democracy and social cohesion so that we can withstand onslaughts from oligarchs and autocrats who would divide the country in pursuit of exorbitant shares of power and wealth.

The State of Australia 2025 contains extensive factual data and information that Australians can use to figure out whether and when they are being misled or lied to by political parties, candidates, and the media and to identify the policy choices that are most likely to reverse our fortunes. But beyond that, the whole process of National Integrated Planning & reporting is even more useful in that it can help Australians rise above politics by building long term integrated plans to achieve what matters most to them. Those plans can then be presented to parliaments as the agenda most likely to propel Australia towards the future we want. They are like a job description for the parliaments.

From the 2020s onwards, Australians could benefit substantially from adding this step of National IP&R into the processes and institutions of their democracy. Instead of electing parliaments and letting them do whatever they want, we can tell them what we want and what we are trusting them with, and then judge their performance against that, come the next election.

For more information on how to become involved in National Integrated Planning & Reporting, visit the ACFP website at <https://www.austcfp.com.au/>

Australia Community Futures Planning has also published a program for a potential people’s collaboration on a new Constitution. Find out about the program and follow progress at <https://www.austcfp.com.au/collaborative-constitutional-convention>

[Access the full report on The State of Australia 2025 here.](#)

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<sup>5</sup> For a full explication of the weakness of Australia’s “democracy” see [The People’s Constitution: the path to empowerment of Australians in a 21<sup>st</sup> century democracy](#), ACFP, January 2023.

## Selected summary tables and links to evidence

The State of Australia 2025 presents evidence and results in detailed tables and then consolidates those results in summary tables. Tables showing consolidated results are provided here, along with information on where to find the detailed evidence for the collated results shown in each table.

### Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia

The table below provides detail on some of the more significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia over the period of the 47<sup>th</sup> parliament. Detailed data and other evidence supporting each point are provided in the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index in Chapters 7 to 10 of the full report. For the full list of improvements and deteriorations see [Chapter 11](#) of the report.

Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia.	
Vision element	Where are we getting <i>better</i> and <i>worse</i> ?
We are all safe.	<p><b>Getting worse</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Feelings of safety in the context of world events are in decline and are seriously impacting mental health.</li> <li>We are actually more at risk of involvement in war.</li> <li>Fears of exclusion and violence due to ethnic origin (including indigeneity) are on the rise.</li> <li>Fear of climate or nuclear catastrophe is evident.</li> <li>Australia is not prepared for or resilient enough to withstand disasters.</li> </ul>
We have achieved a lasting reconciliation between First Nations peoples and non-Indigenous Australians, based on our shared values of justice and self-determination.	<p><b>Getting worse</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Despite some improvements, the majority of indicators in Closing the Gap still trended away from rather than towards their respective targets, especially in relation to incarceration, removal of children from their families, and suicide.</li> <li>A Voice for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders on matters that affect them has been rejected by referendum.</li> <li>There is still no acknowledgement in the founding document of the nation – the Australian Constitution – of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders as the First Nations of Australia.</li> <li>The Australian government has walked back from its commitment to establish a Makarrata Commission for agreement making, truth and justice, in favour of an unspecified process of “coming together”.</li> </ul>
Everyone is welcome to participate positively in community life.	<p><b>Getting worse</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>As measured in the Scanlon Index, social cohesion and particularly our sense of belonging and sense of being accepted have declined significantly since 2007. In 2024, social cohesion reached its lowest point ever since the start of the index in 2007.</li> <li>The fall in social cohesion is coincident with a period where more politicians have politicised issues such as immigration, multiculturalism, and Indigenous peoples’ rights and where withdrawal of financial support provided during Covid-19 has highlighted injustice and growing inequality.</li> <li>Australian’s have not reduced their vulnerability to divisive politics yet by coherently articulating what they value and stand for as a nation. This presents a significant risk. Our silence increases our vulnerability to divisive political and media campaigns and makes us more likely to enter wars which are not in Australia’s interests, if only because we, as a collective, have not said what those interests are. Further deterioration is likely in the absence of stated and agreed national values.</li> </ul>

Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia.	
Vision element	Where are we getting <i>better</i> and <i>worse</i> ?
We are inspired and able to renew our physical and spiritual wellbeing.	<p><b>Getting worse</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Almost every aspect of the physical and mental health of Australians deteriorated during the 47<sup>th</sup> parliament.</li> <li>• The proportion of the population living with one or more chronic conditions has continued to increase, rising from 11.4 million people (47%) in 2017/18 to 12.7 million people or 50% in 2022. This equates to an 11% increase in the number of people or 1.3 million more with chronic disease in only four years.</li> <li>• In the ten years to 2022, the number of Australians with a mental or behavioural condition more than doubled from 2.996 million (13.6%) in 2011/12 to 6.632 million (26.1%) in 2022.</li> <li>• There has been a steady decline in reported happiness by Australians.</li> <li>• Necessary reforms of Australia’s health care system to make it truly universal and accessible by all have not occurred. Subsidies for private health care are negatively impacting accessibility.</li> <li>• Current funding, the structure of the health care system itself and a failure to address the causes of ill-health – particularly poverty and social exclusion – are aggravating the decline in the health of Australians.</li> <li>• Optimism is in short supply.</li> </ul>
We act together as a compassionate society.	<p><b>Getting worse</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The federal government has persisted with neoliberalism and policies of targeted welfare which deny support to disadvantaged Australians sufficient to ensure they can lead a life of dignity. The message promoted by the federal government is that no-one will be left behind, but the practice is to leave millions behind in poverty, hunger and homelessness.</li> <li>• Welfare continues to be treated not as a human right but as a privilege available only for those deemed “worthy” by the state. Poverty does not necessarily qualify a person for welfare.</li> <li>• Corporations, by contrast, qualify as “worthy”. They qualify for billions more in welfare than the unemployed. Tax breaks for the wealthy and subsidies for corporations are embedding inequality.</li> <li>• Australia has treated refugees and migrants in ways that contravene the human rights conventions we have signed.</li> </ul>
Equality is valued as enriching human community, cultural harmony and social progress.	<p><b>Getting better</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Australians have continued to reject growth in the gap between rich and poor.</li> <li>• Representation of women in positions of power and senior leadership roles has been increasing.</li> </ul> <p><b>Getting worse</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Intergenerational equity is in decline. A growing number of Australians believe future generations will be less well off than their parents.</li> <li>• Relative to other countries, Australia’s performance in achieving gender equality in areas including educational attainment, economic opportunity and participation, and health and survival has fallen dramatically over the last two decades.</li> <li>• Business does not share wealth and profits fairly with Australians. Corporate profits have risen significantly as a share of GDP while wages have fallen significantly as a share of GDP.</li> </ul>
Diversity is positively appreciated as a basis for a successful Australian society.	<p><b>Getting worse</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Between 2021 and 2024, the proportion of people who felt racism is now a fairly big or very big problem in Australia rose steadily from 60% to 63%.</li> <li>• Australia’s Constitution continues to enable discrimination on the grounds of race (sections 25 and 51(xxvi)). This especially and adversely affects</li> </ul>

Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia.	
Vision element	Where are we getting <i>better</i> and <i>worse</i> ?
	<p>Indigenous Australians. Their chances of suffering discrimination are now worse than before the referendum, especially since the federal and Queensland governments moved to shut down Makarrata processes.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There has been an obvious regression in bipartisan national commitment to multiculturalism with the Liberal/National Coalition campaigning against the Indigenous Voice and calling for other exclusionist and even punitive policies for migrants and refugees.</li> </ul>
Everyone can realise their full potential in life, as individuals, members of a family and citizens through unlimited opportunities in education and employment of choice.	<p><b>Getting worse – continuing poorly</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The educational sector continues to be seriously underfunded in Australia and is programmed to decline. With these funding arrangements, the government is set to fail on its own targets for productivity and increases in Australians with university degrees.</li> <li>• Distribution of funds for school education remains highly unequal, with a disproportionate amount going to private schools compared to public schools. 98% of private schools are still being funded above the School Resourcing Standard while more than 98% of public schools are funded below it.</li> <li>• The failure to restore fee-free university degrees will also spell failure for productivity targets. The affordability of tertiary education has continued to fall.</li> <li>• The government has failed to recognise lifelong education as a fundamental human right.</li> <li>• Many Australians now cannot afford the education they need to maximise their chances of doing a job they love and will be good at. Opportunities for meaningful work – work which gives us a sense of achievement and worth, work which is not drudgery and demeaning – are being denied to many young Australians.</li> <li>• Prospects for income security and employment of choice have been adversely impacted by the federal government’s “Working Future” white paper roadmap and its lack of integration with programs for security and equity.</li> </ul>
Vital services are fully accessible for all.	<p><b>Getting better in part and only temporarily</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to affordable childcare is improving for some but is still not affordable for the poorest. It should be free.</li> </ul> <p><b>Getting worse</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to health services has been reduced due to destruction of universality in Australia’s health care system since 1999 and its replacement with a system that supports the wealthy not the less wealthy, the old and not the young.</li> <li>• Australians do not have security of services in health, aged care, childcare, disability or housing.</li> <li>• Governments have continued to deny Australians the most cost-efficient system for their health – a universal system of reliable and equitable public funding for an integrated public and private health care system. They are baking in inequality of access to health care. The system is resembling the American health care model more and more each year.</li> <li>• Refusals by the federal government to take on the role of direct provider of public housing are consigning millions of young Australians to a cycle of poverty. Home ownership rates among Australians aged under 45 are back to where they were in the late 1940s and 1950s.</li> <li>• In the longer term, as a direct result of the new Aged Care Act, Australians cannot be sure that aged care services will be there for them when they reach old age at all. Clients will be dependent on the good graces of those private providers who were found during the Royal Commission to be by far the worst abusers of clients.</li> </ul>

Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia.	
Vision element	Where are we getting <i>better</i> and <i>worse</i> ?
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Aged Care Act 2024 effectively exonerates the government from its obligations under ICESCR and the CRPD.</li> <li>The recommendation of the Aged Care Royal Commission for introduction of a Medicare-style levy for aged care was rejected by the Aged Care Taskforce, in favour of increasing user charges. Incentives for private sector profit-driven involvement in aged care have been strengthened during the 47th parliament.</li> <li>In 2025, the Australian government remained committed to taxation settings which were incapable of securing essential services for Australians and affordable access to those services for all. It was prepared to sacrifice services (particularly in housing) and/or limit service provision in pursuit of budget surpluses, no matter the cost to the most vulnerable Australians, who now number in their millions. It also favoured tax and subsidy policies which heavily incentivise industries causing climate change and thus are bound to negatively impact the wellbeing of Australians.</li> </ul>
Scarce resources are conserved and fairly shared.	<p><b>Getting worse</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>National mineral assets are being heavily exploited by private corporations with little or negative returns to Australians, principally because mining royalties are too low and there is no carbon price in Australia.</li> <li>In the forward estimates of the 2024/25 federal budget, fossil fuel subsidies were projected to increase from \$57 billion to a record \$65 billion. All up, Australians were being made to increase their subsidies to the fossil fuel industry by \$8 billion over three years while clawing back only \$2.4 billion extra in PRRT. Australians aren't just giving gas away for free, they are being made to pay gas exporters to take it away. They are also being left with the bill for restoration.</li> <li>Over-investment in mining and fossil fuel extraction is a key reason why Australia has become the least self-sufficient economy in the developed world with the lowest share of manufacturing in its economy of any OECD country.</li> <li>Australia has not moved towards sustainability in agriculture. A CSIRO roadmap set targets for five identified areas of opportunity but was underpinned by assumptions that current Australian government targets for a 43% reduction in greenhouse gas emissions by 2030 and net zero emissions by 2050 would allow for sustainable food production in Australia, when the reality is that those emission reduction targets will destroy the possibility of sustainable food production because they will create climatic conditions that will make current forms of agriculture unworkable.</li> <li>Australia has been successful in initiatives to secure returns from agriculture but not in securing the future of food production itself.</li> </ul>
National wealth is fairly raised and fairly shared.	<p><b>Getting worse</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Neoliberalism has been on a steep ascendancy for over 30 years with the result that large swathes of publicly built and owned assets and services have been sold to private companies, often for far less than they are worth, and to companies that are increasingly paying little or no tax. Australians have lost control of the returns they used to enjoy from these assets and no compensating price or risk reduction has accrued.</li> <li>The taxation system is getting less progressive and no compensating fairer re-distribution system, such as a UBI, is being considered.</li> <li>Oligopolistic control of mining and some types of farming is excluding Australians from the returns on their resources.</li> <li>Duopoly control of news media by Murdoch and Nine is ejecting both truth and balance from mainstream journalism, which in turn is turbocharging wealth inequality and unfair taxation.</li> </ul>

**Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia.**

<i>Vision element</i>	<i>Where are we getting better and worse?</i>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Shares of the national wealth generated through the labour of Australians are not being returned to workers through wages. In 1975, 62% of national income went to Australians in wages and the share that went to corporate profits was only 17%. But by 2024, only 52.5% of national income went to Australians in wages and the share that went to corporate profits had increased to 29.4%.</li> <li>• A royal commission into Robodebt uncovered its full horror as a fundamental breach of several human rights. However, pursuit of welfare recipients for debts is still favoured above programs to reduce corporate welfare. No consideration has been given to welfare as a universal human right or to the concept that fair and indisputable shares of national wealth can be distributed to all Australians if targeted welfare is replaced with a universal basic income (UBI). Justice has not been done for the victims of Robodebt because of the failure of the NACC to act on referrals by the Royal Commission.</li> <li>• No progress has been made on development of an Accord between Australians and their parliaments on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing. There are still no terms of agreement between Australians and governments as to the principles that should govern any decisions that may be made for the purpose of securing wellbeing, equality, and a future of safety for all citizens. The result of the failure to establish this Accord is rising inequality and unfair distribution of the burden of taxation and the benefits of public monies.</li> <li>• No progress has been made to ensure the Australian community can become more involved in national financial planning (participatory budgeting).</li> <li>• During the 47th parliament the federal government remained committed to targeted welfare in preference to universal income and services security. The targeted welfare system is embedding social and economic inequality into the foundations of Australian society. It constitutes a rejection of the “fair go” and equal opportunity.</li> <li>• Amendments to the Stage 3 tax cuts in 2024, although they looked fairer, still left substantial tax hikes in place for the low paid. They have baked in increases in taxation for low income earners that will arise from bracket creep.</li> <li>• Tax avoidance by major corporates has continued to increase with several big companies paying no tax.</li> <li>• No positive progress has been made to price or tax carbon.</li> </ul>
<p>Our economy is sustainable and supports rewarding opportunities and continuous improvements in living standards, wellbeing and security for everyone.</p>	<p><b>Getting better</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Little to no evidence has been found that Australia’s current economy is sustainable. However, evidence is available that cost of living relief has been well managed by the federal government and in a fiscally responsible way. Inflation has been brought down without significantly increasing unemployment. Cost of living pressures have been well managed by the government despite a lack of assistance from the Reserve Bank in its very poor management of monetary policy.</li> <li>• Employment prospects for Australians have improved significantly, due to long overdue expansion of the public sector in health, education and social services.</li> </ul> <p><b>Getting better but only for a short while</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The federal government’s Future Made in Australia (FMIA) initiative may assist with improving the complexity and sustainability of Australia’s economy, although it is unlikely to transform Australia into a renewable energy superpower before global heating overwhelms the planet and destroys the economic returns that might otherwise have accrued. The</li> </ul>

## Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia.

<i>Vision element</i>	<i>Where are we getting <b>better</b> and <b>worse</b>?</i>
	<p>excessive amount of spending on defence in the FMIA will undo twice over the gains that can be made in transition to renewable energy. Excessive expenditures on defence in the FMIA (which are more than twice as much as other planned expenditures in the program and will cause heavy increases in carbon emissions) will significantly weaken the economy in the face of climate change and expose Australia unnecessarily to a greater risk of war.</p> <p><b>Getting worse</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Neoliberalism has resulted in decades of lost returns for the public, declines in the quality of services (eg., aged care) and price increases, especially for electricity, gas, health cover, and housing.</li> <li>• Neoliberalism has also resulted in an economy that lacks the complexity necessary for sustainability and maintenance of quality of life. Australia has become the least self-sufficient economy in the developed world with the lowest share of manufacturing in its economy of any OECD country. The Future Made in Australia initiative is not well designed and is unlikely to turn this around quickly enough or sufficiently.</li> <li>• Australia is also very poorly placed to capitalise on opportunities to diversify industries and increase exports of products embodying renewable energy because it has not applied a price on carbon, a carbon solutions levy or other financial mechanism necessary to drive investment in renewable energy and forms of green manufacturing and industrial production.</li> <li>• More than 3 million Australians, including over 700,000 children, are living in deep poverty for extended periods of time.</li> <li>• Australia continued to be extremely unlikely to meet its 2015 commitments to reach the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs) by 2030. These goals matter more to the fate of species, including humans, than any others. Australia's response is extremely disappointing. There has been next to no progress in in ten years.</li> <li>• Australia's rates of species extinction are among the highest in the world.</li> <li>• Reliance on export markets in minerals is increasingly self-defeating since the profits are being largely offshored and relatively few jobs (only about 2%) arise from the sector.</li> <li>• Meanwhile, the sectors of the economy that do provide returns to Australians and create the most jobs – health, welfare and education (well over 25%) – are being underfunded or privatisation is continuing, which is causing cost increases.</li> <li>• Living standards are falling, particularly as measured by affordability of housing.</li> <li>• Australia still has no overall planning process for composition and re-composition of its economy over the longer term and no accepted tools for guidance in reforms to compose a sustainable economy. Decisions on public investments and incentives for economic and industry development strongly favour neoliberal approaches of transferring public funds to support private sector, profit-driven ventures at the expense of essential services and payments for the public. The government remained wedded to trying to make the market work for the various social ends that it was seeking rather than to expansion of direct involvement by the public sector as a competitor to the private sector on a level playing field.</li> <li>• Reviews of competition policy did not prioritise a reversal of neoliberal policies and market domination by private monopolies. On the contrary, the government espoused policies that downgraded the potential for public</li> </ul>



Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia.	
Vision element	Where are we getting <i>better</i> and <i>worse</i> ?
	<p>sector involvement in markets to act as an effective and essential brake on any excesses arising from anti-competitive activity by the private sector.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>In 2025, positive steps such as a Net Zero Economy Authority are set to be undermined by other policy settings, especially those for tax and subsidies.</li> </ul>
As a nation we have the courage to take a leading place in achieving the environmental aims of a global society.	<p><b>Getting better in the short term, not in the long term</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>In 2022, Australia made a commitment under the UNFCCC for the first time to a carbon budget. It adopted a multi-year emissions budget from 2021-2030 of 4,381 Mt CO<sub>2</sub>-e, based on a 43% reduction by 2030. This budget is not sufficient to contain heating to below 2° Celsius, let alone 1.5° as per Australia’s commitment under the Paris Agreement. It means Australia is unlikely to achieve net zero before 2056, by which time we will have emitted a total of 8,147 Mt (from 2022 to 2056), well over what Australia should emit to contain heating. However, it’s a start.</li> <li>Federal government actions to address climate change are all undermined by approvals of more coal and gas extraction and expansion of fossil fuel exports.</li> <li>Australia still has the capacity to become a renewable energy superpower but has not created the market conditions necessary for that purpose.</li> </ul> <p><b>Getting worse</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>In 2025, Australia is no closer to setting a target for achievement of net zero emissions within a safe and fair budget of carbon emissions. No evidence is present of an intention to adopt a safe carbon budget, which in 2024 would be in the order of 3,530 Mt CO<sub>2</sub>-e (3.5 BT). From 2020, Australia should aim to emit no more than 3.53 BT <i>ever</i>.</li> <li>The Labor government’s legislation to reduce emissions by 43% below 2005 levels by 2030, combined with its refusal to cap total emissions, its poor leadership in UNFCCC COPs (compared to what should be forthcoming from a wealthy country), and its ongoing approvals of fossil fuel extraction and export, effectively guarantees heating above 2° Celsius.</li> <li>The federal government has approved 10 new coal mines or expansions and has also granted permits for new gas exploration and sea dumping off the coasts of Western Australia, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania. These projects will also increase Australia’s emissions. Overall, during the 47<sup>th</sup> parliament, the government has been adding emissions, not reducing them and has thereby been making it impossible to meet net zero within the timeframe of this plan.</li> </ul>
Stewardship of ecology is affirmed as fundamental to planetary and human survival.	<p><b>Getting worse</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>In the period of the 47th parliament, the government walked away from its commitment to introduce a suite of laws to effectively address Australia’s extinction crisis, including new national environmental standards against which development proposals would be assessed.</li> <li>Extinction of Australia’s diverse flora and fauna has continued apace. During the 47th parliament, an extra 188 species of fauna were listed as threatened, bringing the total threatened fauna species to 666. An extra 110 species of flora were listed as threatened, bringing the total threatened flora species to 1,472.</li> <li>Abundance of Australia’s threatened and near-threatened species has declined by 60% since 1985.</li> <li>Native vegetation is still being cleared and invasive species are increasing.</li> <li>No progress has been made on legislation prohibiting deforestation.</li> </ul>

Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia.	
Vision element	Where are we getting <i>better</i> and <i>worse</i> ?
Democracy is assured by a well informed and engaged community of political equals.	<p><b>Getting better, thanks to the community, not the parliament.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>While no legislation is yet in place to enhance the possibility of participation by Australians in their own democracy, Australia does now have some increased capacity to operate as a well informed and engaged community in democracy. <i>Australia Together</i> contains a National Wellbeing Index that provides easily accessible data about the nation’s health and wellbeing.</li> <li>Australia also has a clearly prescribed, open and inclusive National Integrated Planning &amp; Reporting<sup>6</sup> process, including community engagement and long term national financial planning. These new processes have significant potential to ensure that Australians can participate in Australia’s democracy as well-informed political equals.</li> <li>In November 2023, Australian Community Futures Planning published a proposal for the conduct of a <a href="#">National Collaborative Process for Development of a New Australian Constitution</a>, one fit for a 21<sup>st</sup> century democracy of political equals.</li> <li>Trust in democracy has been eroded somewhat although the evidence suggests that Australia’s social cohesion and equality is not yet so broken that conditions are being set for the sort of democratic upheavals and decline being experienced in America.</li> <li>Civil society groups in Australia are increasingly well organised and their influence in their democracy is increasing, for example, in the “kitchen table” community groups that have selected alternative candidates for parliament to run as independents who will work to achieve progress on issues of importance to them, such as climate, integrity and equality.</li> </ul> <p><b>Getting worse</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No progress has been made in government circles on evolution of a Constitution fit for 21st century Australian democracy. Australia’s Constitution continues to exclude Australians from any share of power in their own democracy and in particular makes it impossible to hold executive governments to account.</li> <li>Progress on constitutional reform went backwards during the 47th parliament due to the failure of the Voice referendum, the Labor government’s subsequent retreat from its commitment to support a Makarrata Commission, and the government’s rejection of senate committee recommendations for human rights law reform.</li> <li>The federal government has refused to commit to introduction of a Human Rights Act. This leaves Australians without security of their rights, even the right to vote.</li> <li>The government has also treated the parliament with contempt by squashing any possible reforms that might be suggested by parliamentary committees in relation to war powers reform.</li> <li>In 2025, Australia remained the only “democracy” in the world not to have passed a law directly implementing the ICCPR. The Australian government remained free to breach civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, unrestrained by law. In reality, a country cannot be regarded as a democracy if its citizens have no rights. Australia remains a constitutional monarchy, not a constitutional democracy.</li> </ul>

<sup>6</sup> View ACFP’s video series explaining National IP&R on YouTube: [What is National Integrated Planning & Reporting? – or how Australians can rise above politics and set the agenda for the nation’s future](#)

**Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia.**

<b>Vision element</b>	<b>Where are we getting <i>better</i> and <i>worse</i>?</b>
<p>We can confidently trust our parliaments, governments, and courts to act fairly and justly in accordance with the rights and interests of the public and future generations.</p>	<p><b>Getting better, thanks to the community, not the parliament.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The representative system of government in Australia is still designed to shut down the diverse voices of the Australian community, not to give them an orderly means of expressing their will for the future – the sovereign will of the people. However, the initiatives in <i>Australia Together</i> to create a National People’s Voice and an Independent Commission for National Engagement and Integrated Planning can give Australians an independent and transparent means of assessing the performance of governments in relation to what matters most to Australians, not politicians and corporations.</li> <li>• Australians have yet to organise their use of the internet as a respectful public forum suitable for effective participation in democracy. However, with the advent of National Integrated Planning &amp; Reporting they can now create a single space on the internet for free, fully open, well informed and orderly democratic engagement about choices for the future.</li> </ul> <p><b>Getting worse</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parliaments and governments have given no commitment to the rights of future generations. In 2025, there was little if anything in Australia law that may prevent governments and parliaments from making significant decisions that pose a material risk of harm to future generations or the natural environment and biodiversity.</li> <li>• The rights of current generations are also at risk due to the government’s refusal to enact a Human Rights Act.</li> <li>• An increasing lack of transparency is eroding trust in government. Secrecy has increased and people who blow the whistle on state corruption are being denied justice and persecuted for telling the truth about state abuses of power and crimes committed by state agents.</li> <li>• The public’s right to know about the risks we are exposed to, especially climate risk, is being denied. Informed and productive participation in democracy will be impossible if that arrangement continues.</li> <li>• Excessive market concentration of large news media businesses and social media companies has become a significant threat to our social cohesion, climate security, defence security, economic security, and to our democracy.</li> <li>• The vast majority of Australians do not believe that governments put the public before vested interests.</li> <li>• Establishment of the National Anti-Corruption Commission (NACC) should have been a positive but the legislation precluded transparency in investigation of corruption and the NACC seemed more likely to be inherently susceptible to corruption itself due to its poor design.</li> <li>• The Labor government’s proposed legislation on electoral funding reform did not promote fairness in elections or “one vote = one value”. The bill was more likely to militate against equal suffrage and political equality for electors, and failed to eliminate the influence of corporate money and wealthy donors in elections. In particular the bill would reduce the capacity of new independent candidates to enter electoral competitions. Australia is a nation without equal suffrage.</li> </ul>
<p>We take pride in Australia as a responsible international citizen, active in building a safe, peaceful and united world</p>	<p><b>Getting better, thanks to the community, not the parliament.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Civil society is doing the most in terms of promoting peace. The Independent and Peaceful Australia Network (IPAN) continued to champion a discourse for peace and held a People’s Inquiry on the case for an independent and peaceful Australia. It was a groundbreaking community engagement and collaborative policy development process which dared to place citizens alongside the parliament and at the centre of Australia’s foreign policy and</li> </ul>




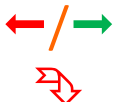

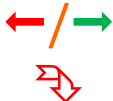

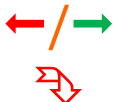
## Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia.






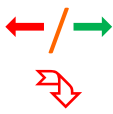

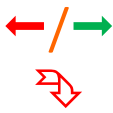

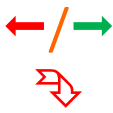



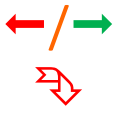


<i>Vision element</i>	<i>Where are we getting <b>better</b> and <b>worse</b>?</i>
	<p>defence decisions. Consensus that the government is on the wrong track with AUKUS and national defence policies was apparent.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Civil society groups in Australia have also developed and proposed an Earth System Treaty, although the Australian government has not yet agreed to submit an Earth System Treaty to the United Nations.</li> <li>• Other civil society groups including Australians for War Powers Reform, the International Women’s League for Peace and Freedom, the Medical Association for Prevention of War, and the Women’s Climate Congress continued to campaign for peace, justice and cooperation on the international stage.</li> <li>• A majority of Australians continue to support neutral postures in confrontations between major powers. There is little appetite for confrontation and aggression with China, and a substantial appetite for sound relationship management to avert war. A significant majority of Australians recognise that a war with China would not be in their interests.</li> <li>• The federal government has restabilised Australia’s relationship with its biggest trading partner, China, and with Pacific countries, but actions in relation to defence postures and AUKUS are undermining the renewed trust between Australia, China and Pacific countries.</li> </ul> <p><b>Getting worse</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Australia remains one of the least cooperative countries in the world in terms of attempts to mitigate the impacts of its development on other nations attempting to meet the UN Sustainable Development Goals.</li> <li>• Australia’s military alliances are provocative of war. They continue to draw us into wars and warlike operations against countries that have not attacked Australia and are not sanctioned by the United Nations.</li> <li>• Australia has refrained from expressing support for the rulings of the International Court of Justice in relation to claims of genocide in Gaza and the illegality of Israel’s occupation of Palestinian territories. The government has not taken concrete steps to fully implement the ICJ’s recommendations regarding Israel’s actions in Gaza. Silence and inaction on a court ruling on genocide may lead Australia into complicity, especially if Australia has been supplying weapons components that have been used in the war.</li> <li>• While support for the US alliance remained high from 2020 onwards, Australia’s capacity to develop an independent defence capability and independence in sovereignty declined significantly. The government’s continuation of support for AUKUS is leading Australia away from developing an independent defence capability.</li> <li>• Between 2020 and 2024, Australia’s defence planning and its handling of the US alliance detracted significantly from the preferences expressed by Australians for peace and security during the IPAN People’s Inquiry, the ability of the parliament to consider defence strategies and decisions on war, and Australia’s capacity to develop strategies arcing towards neutrality, disarmament and peace. Defence policy was at odds with the preferences of the majority of Australians and was putting Australians in danger.</li> <li>• Aggressive, hawkish defence postures have almost totally eclipsed diplomacy.</li> <li>• Defence advisors are still funded by foreign arms dealers and the federal government still supports obviously conflicted foreign and defence policy advisors with public funding.</li> <li>• The Defence Department continues to act as a quasi broker for profitable sales for private arms dealers, who then sell arms that are used to kill women and children on a very large scale in foreign countries. Between 2016 and</li> </ul>




























Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia.	
Vision element	Where are we getting <i>better</i> and <i>worse</i> ?
	<p>2023/24 the value of weapons exports from Australia increased almost 100-fold from \$1.5 billion to more than \$100 billion. It was an obscene increase in making money from selling killing machines.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Australia has still not signed the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW).</li> <li>• The government’s National Defence Strategy is an extremely expensive mistake for Australia especially because of its lack of integration with other programs that should be (but have not been) developed for national resilience in climate change and economic disruption. In 2025, Australia’s foreign and defence policies are still undermining, not improving, national security and increasing the risk of war in our region.</li> <li>• The federal government shows no willingness to engage respectfully with the Australian community or even the parliament on defence, foreign policy or decisions on entry into wars. It has retained the “executive” right to enter even illegal wars without the consent of the Australian people. It has shown a contemptuous disregard of both the parliament and the will of the people of Australia, over 90% of whom have answered Yes to the question, “Do you think the Prime Minister should be required to get approval from parliament before making a decision to go to war?”</li> <li>• Australia’s military alliance with the United States has reached a point where, when it comes to decisions on participation in wars, our sovereignty has virtually been ceded to America and we have been set up as a proxy target for aggression, due to the installation of American military operations on Australian soil.</li> </ul>


























## Longer term outlook trends – negative and positive

The State of Australia 2025 report has identified a number of areas in which short term policies that may look positive are actually baking in adverse long term consequences. One long term positive trend has been identified. Detailed evidence for the results is provided in [Chapters 7 to 10](#) under the coloured map reference numbers shown here in the left hand column of the table.

















Consolidated results – Negative and positive outlook trends			
Target/Strategy	Short term trend	Long term trend and outlook	Why is the outlook trend <i>negative</i> or <i>positive</i> ?  or 
<b>Econ01.01</b> Sustainability of growth and development			<b>The outlook trend is negative</b> due to Australia’s policies on climate change, which do not accord with the Paris Agreement, and Australia’s failure to develop a plan to implement the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals and a budget for their delivery. With Australia’s current policies and institutional arrangements, the chance that Australia will meet the UNSDGs by 2030, as agreed, is zero.
<b>Econ01.03</b> GDP growth			<b>The outlook trend is negative</b> due to continued pursuit of GDP growth by governments unaccompanied by programs to counter its detrimental effects on Australia’s natural and human resources.
<b>Econ01.03.01</b> GDP growth per capita			

Consolidated results – Negative and positive outlook trends			
Target/Strategy	Short term trend	Long term trend and outlook	Why is the outlook trend negative or positive?  or 
<p><b>Econ01.06.01</b> Transition away from export of both fossil fuels and the raw materials used in production of steel, aluminium, fertilisers, polysilicon, etc., and towards export of zero emissions goods</p>			<p><b>The outlook trend is negative</b> because the few positive steps that have been taken in transition to a more sustainable economy are being countered by backward steps such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• approvals of investments (such as in coal mines) which detract from Australia’s chance of capitalising on the identified opportunities;</li> <li>• the slow pace of private investment in renewable energy (renewables still only make up 9% of total energy consumption and policy settings are not working to improve this); and</li> <li>• resistance by the federal government to direct investment of public funds in ownership and operation of electricity transmission, relying instead on providing concessional finance for private investors.</li> </ul> <p>Policy settings in 2024 will not transform Australia into a renewable energy superpower before global heating overwhelms the planet and destroys the economic returns that might otherwise have accrued.</p>
<p><b>Econ02.04</b> National plan for full employment supported by a universal basic income</p>			<p><b>The outlook trend is negative</b> because prospects for income security and employment of choice are adversely impacted by the federal government’s “Working Future” white paper on jobs and industries and its lack of integration with programs for security and equity.</p>
<p><b>Econ02.05</b> National Economic Transitions Commission</p>			<p><b>The outlook trend is negative</b> because positive steps such as a Net Zero Economy Authority are undermined by other policy settings.</p>
<p><b>Econ02.05.01</b> Coal industry closure</p>			<p><b>The outlook trend is negative</b> because of the slowness and underfunding of the Net Zero Economy Authority’s work.</p>
<p><b>Econ04.03</b> Restoration of a fair and progressive taxation system</p>			<p><b>The outlook trend is negative</b> because, while the 2025 changes to the Stage 3 tax cuts have reduced the negative effect on middle income earners, they have baked in increases in taxation for low income earners that will arise from bracket creep. The tax bite on low incomes will continue to grow.</p>
<p><b>Econ04.04.03</b> Planning for and reporting on closure of corporate tax loopholes</p>			<p><b>The outlook trend is negative</b> because low tax rates for multinationals have now been legitimated and embedded and will be unlikely to shift. They make the necessary tax reforms under <b>Econ04.04.01</b> and <b>Econ04.04.02</b> harder to achieve politically and therefore don’t assist smaller corporates.</p>
<p><b>Env02.01</b> Achievement of net zero carbon emissions within a carbon budget that will maximise</p>			<p><b>The outlook trend is negative</b> because the carbon budget the government is allowing itself is far too big. Assumed annual reductions in carbon emissions under the adopted budget (probably around 13.5 million tonnes year on year) will mean Australia won’t achieve net zero until 2056, by which time we will have emitted a total of 8,147 Mt (from 2022 to 2056).</p>

Consolidated results – <b>Negative</b> and <b>positive</b> outlook trends			
Target/Strategy	Short term trend	Long term trend and outlook	Why is the outlook trend <b>negative</b> or <b>positive</b> ?  or 
chances of limiting global heating as near as possible to 1.5o Celsius			This is more than double the emissions we can afford to emit if we wish to do our fair share to prevent heating above 2° Celsius. If anything, heating above 2° Celsius is guaranteed by the adopted budget. Australia's options for preventing planetary heating are narrowing and will soon close up entirely. No evidence is present of an intention to adopt a safe carbon budget, which in 2024 would be in the order of 3,530 Mt CO <sub>2</sub> -e (3.5 BT). From 2020, Australia should aim to emit no more than 3.53 BT <i>ever</i> .
<b>Env06.01</b> Renewable energy – electricity		 	<b>The outlook trend is negative</b> because short term action, although positive, is insufficient and far too slow to avert the overwhelming and imminent negative impacts from climate change.
<b>Env06.01.01</b> Renewable energy – vehicles		 	<b>The outlook trend is negative</b> because short term action, although positive, is insufficient and far too slow to avert the overwhelming and imminent negative impacts from climate change.
<b>Env06.01.02</b> Renewable energy – road transport systems services and fleets		 	<b>The outlook trend is negative</b> because short term action, although positive, is insufficient and far too slow to avert the overwhelming and imminent negative impacts from climate change.
<b>Env06.01.03</b> Renewable energy – manufacturing and agriculture		 	<b>The outlook trend is negative</b> because short term action, although positive, is insufficient and far too slow to avert the overwhelming and imminent negative impacts from climate change.
<b>Env06.01.04</b> Renewable energy – industry and construction		 	<b>The outlook trend is negative</b> because short term action, although positive, is insufficient and far too slow to avert the overwhelming and imminent negative impacts from climate change.
<b>Env06.01.05</b> Renewable energy – air and sea transport		 	<b>The outlook trend is negative</b> because short term action, although positive, is insufficient and far too slow to avert the overwhelming and imminent negative impacts from climate change.
<b>Env06.03</b> National Renewable Energy Targets (RETs) – setting targets for economic sustainability and prevention of global heating		 	<b>The outlook trend is negative</b> because progress is simply too slow to meet the target and policy settings are inadequate to achieve both the targets of the plan and those of the government. The sooner governments recognise that policy settings are inadequate, the sooner Australia can get back on track towards elimination of fuels that cause climate change.
<b>Env08.01</b> Sustainability of agriculture – transition to food security in the		 /  	<b>The outlook trend is negative</b> because the prospect of sustainable food production is set to be defeated by the government's policies on emissions reduction. Australian food supply is highly vulnerable to climate shocks and not

Consolidated results – Negative and positive outlook trends			
Target/Strategy	Short term trend	Long term trend and outlook	Why is the outlook trend negative or positive?  or 
age of climate change			enough is being done to make food production safe and sustainable in the age of climate change.
<b>Env12.01</b> Proportion of land areas dedicated to long term conservation		 	<b>The outlook trend is negative</b> due to the government’s shelving of reforms of the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation (EPBC) Act and ongoing refusals to pass legislation to protect native forests.
<b>Env15.01</b> Protection of the Great Barrier Reef – implementation of plans		 	<b>The outlook trend is negative</b> due to the inadequacy of the Reef 2050 Plan itself and the government’s ineffective approach to climate change.
<b>Env15.01.01</b> Protection of the Great Barrier Reef – prevention of threats from climate change		 	<b>The outlook trend is negative</b> due to the inadequacy of the Reef 2050 Plan itself and the government’s ineffective approach to climate change.
<b>Env15.02</b> Proportion of marine areas dedicated to long term conservation		 	<b>The outlook trend is negative</b> due to the government’s shelving of reforms of the EPBC Act and refusal to pass legislation to protect native forests. Refusal to protect native forests will have detrimental effects on Australia’s marine environments, especially the already threatened Great Barrier Reef.
<b>Env18.01</b> Urban consolidation in the largest capital cities – Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane		 	<b>The outlook trend is negative</b> mainly because federal government policies on housing and climate resilience will negatively affect progress.
<b>Env18.01.01</b> Urban consolidation – legislation to change urban planning to increase housing within major city ‘middle rings’		 	<b>The outlook trend is negative</b> mainly because the neoliberal focus of the National Urban Policy on growth and economic development is likely to outweigh commitment to quality of life, social inclusion, and real environmental sustainability. The expected collaboration between states, businesses and developers to deliver sustainable and climate-resilient urban environments is yet to demonstrate progress towards the equitable and inclusive outcomes envisaged in the policy.
<b>Gov01.03.04</b> Cohesion and stability of democracy		 	<b>The outlook trend is negative</b> given the predisposition of the two major political parties of government that is still heavily in favour of neoliberalism with all that it implies about services and income insecurity. While incomes and services are insecure, inequality will grow which will undermine social cohesion and therefore democracy. A democracy of political equals cannot arise from an economy that causes growth in inequality.
<b>Gov01.04</b>			<b>The outlook trend is positive</b> because civil society groups now have access to National Integrated Planning &



Consolidated results – Negative and positive outlook trends			
Target/Strategy	Short term trend	Long term trend and outlook	Why is the outlook trend negative or positive?  or 
Constitutional reform – Establishment of The National People’s Voice – Legislation in lieu of the more preferable constitutional enshrinement			Reporting, a means of efficient, effective, ethical and fair participation in democracy. In 2025, few Australians had taken advantage of National IP&R but the process was freely available. This report – The State of Australia 2025 – is itself a significant opportunity for Australians to participate more efficiently and far more effectively in their democracy than they have been able to do to date. Use of National IP&R is likely to increase in future and can significantly improve the operation of Australia’s democracy.
<b>Gov06.04</b> Federal independent commission against corruption		 	<b>The outlook trend is negative</b> because the NACC has been very poorly designed. What should have been a positive for transparency, corruption prevention and trust has embedded a more secretive institution in democracy in which corruption is likely to be free to fester and accountability will be lost.
<b>Soc12.03</b> A new Aged Care Act		 	<b>The outlook trend is negative</b> because the new Aged Care Act 2024 bakes in the potential for aged care system and service failure.
<b>Soc12.04</b> Aged care funding – federal budget minimums		 	<b>The outlook trend is negative</b> because the Aged Care Act 2024 and the tenor of industry, governance and regulatory reforms (which favour private sector service delivery) bake in the potential for aged care system and service failure.
<b>Soc16.02</b> Statement of Adherence to and Performance on the National Disaster Risk Reduction Framework	 / 	 	<b>The outlook trend is negative</b> because short term action in risk assessment is insufficient to avert the overwhelming negative impacts from climate change.

## Prospects for success in the top twenty most urgent areas

In The State of Australia 2022, a report was provided on performance during the 46<sup>th</sup> parliament and the previous decade which set out the evidence of continuing decline in twenty key areas of weakness for Australia which must be solved before 2035 at the absolute latest if we are to be assured of a safe and secure future of wellbeing. The State of Australia 2025 also provides reports on performance in those top twenty areas.

The following table summarises findings about reasonable expectations for outcomes by 2030 if policy settings remain unchanged. Full details about progress in the top twenty urgent areas are provided in [Chapter 12](#).

Are we making progress in the top 20 urgent areas for the 2020s?			
The top 20 urgent areas	Direction of travel		Expectations by 2030
	During the 46 <sup>th</sup> parliament	During the 47 <sup>th</sup> parliament	
Growing inequality	←	← / →	Expectations are that most forms of inequality are more than likely to grow in the 2020s due to policy settings on tax, housing, education and electoral funding. Continuing to improve gender equality may offer the best opportunities for reversing other forms of inequality.
Growing poverty, homelessness and hunger	←	←	Expectations are that poverty, hunger and homelessness will continue to rise due to policy settings on tax, housing and education.
Loss of the fair go for all	←	← / →	Expectations are that adequate levels of service, particularly in aged care and affordable health care, are unlikely to be realised, certainly not by 2030.
Growth in racial and religious conflict	←	←	Expectations are that racial and religious tensions will continue to increase due to continuing permissions for racism in Australian law and the heavily divisive discourse of some Australian conservative politicians. Australia's legal systems are too weak and undemocratic and its social cohesion is becoming too fragile for Australians to have a reasonable expectation that by 2030 the nation will be able to withstand the sort of rise in autocratic and undemocratic systems of government that is occurring in some other countries. Major constitutional reform is required to prevent a similar decline in Australian democracy.
Indigenous exclusion	←	←	Expectations are that sufficient steps will not be taken to ensure that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples can at last be guaranteed a voice in decisions that affect them although this could happen by 2030 if constitutional reform programs are well organised. The gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians will not be closed by 2030, if only because the government is not aiming to close it by then, or in some cases at all.
An outmoded and failing Constitution	←	←	Expectations are that further deterioration in democracy and social cohesion is likely, unless Australians can organise themselves to state their values and rights in a new constitution fit for a 21 <sup>st</sup> century democracy. Opportunities for a constitutional convention led by the people of Australia themselves should be taken whenever they arise.
Loss of rights, open governance and transparency	←	← / →	Expectations are that, notwithstanding a renewed focus on ensuring the public service "embodies integrity in everything it does", the prospects for openness and transparency in the Commonwealth government and by the executive are not likely to improve because sufficient grounds have not been laid in institutional reforms for the purpose.
Declining participation in democracy	←	→	Expectations are that if Australians begin to use the National IP&R process, they will be able to enhance the effectiveness of all other forms of political participation and activism. To date, few Australians have involved

Are we making progress in the top 20 urgent areas for the 2020s?			
The top 20 urgent areas	Direction of travel		Expectations by 2030
	During the 46 <sup>th</sup> parliament	During the 47 <sup>th</sup> parliament	
			themselves in National IP&R. But the process is there for their benefit. Failure to increase political participation by using National IP&R will significantly reduce Australia's chances of resolving all other priority issues in the 2020 decade.
Unethical governance	←	← / →	Expectations are that unethical governance and corporate bribery of officials will continue unless significant reforms are enacted.
Fractious international relations	←	← / →	Expectations are that unless Australia abandons aggressive defence postures and reverts to diplomacy and economic partnerships as the principal means of managing international relations, we will see our status as a respected, democratic nation disappear and with it our economic and personal security.
Corporate irresponsibility	←	←	Expectations are that unless neoliberalism and its attendant practices of corporate lobbying and state capture are abandoned, Australia's exposure to climate change and income and wealth inequality will be irreversible by 2035 if not sooner.
Economic decline	←	← / →	Expectations are that advances in economic management may well be defeated due to refusals to take on the systemic reforms necessary to reverse the threats listed above. However, this is something that can be fixed if governments decide to fix it.
Lost public ownership	←	←	Expectations are that advances in economic management will be very short-lived if governments remain wedded to trying to make profit-driven private markets work for various social ends, rather than to expansion of direct involvement by the public sector as a competitor to the private sector on a level playing field. Governments need to recognise that the private sector will not act in the public interest without regulation and will not improve competition without pressure from a very big competitor. Only the public sector is sizeable enough to apply the necessary pressure.
Inertia in transition to decarbonisation	←	← / →	Expectations are that the government's hopes of meeting the target of 82% of electricity from renewables by 2030 will be dashed if investment does not pick up soon.
Environmental decline	←	←	Expectations are that efforts to conserve nature and marine treasures such as the Great Barrier Reef will be defeated by campaigns by the mining lobby. There is no evidence of a will within the two major political parties to stand up to the mining lobby.
Climate policy failure	←	←	Expectations are that global temperature increases will not be capped below 2° Celsius. Australia's policies will aid and abet extinction if there is no acceptance of a fair carbon budget

Are we making progress in the top 20 urgent areas for the 2020s?			
The top 20 urgent areas	Direction of travel		Expectations by 2030
	During the 46 <sup>th</sup> parliament	During the 47 <sup>th</sup> parliament	
			(3,530 Mt CO <sub>2</sub> -e (3.5 BT) from 2020). Australian governments will be responsible for ecocide and genocide.
Declining health and safety at home	←	←	Expectations are that we will not close the gap between our most disadvantaged and our most well off, nor can we expect to see improvement in health for all, without directly addressing the social determinants of ill-health. Current funding, the structure of the health care system itself and a failure to address the causes of ill-health – particularly poverty, social exclusion, intergenerational inequity, and climate change – are aggravating the decline in the health of Australians.
Declining educational attainment	←	←	Expectations are that it will be impossible for the government to meet its targets for increasing the number of Australians with degrees and vocational qualifications if they continue to underfund public schools. The failure to abolish fees for university will also spell failure for productivity targets.
Declining quality of life and loss of social cohesion	←	←	Expectations are that if Australia’s social cohesion and quality of life and trust in their governments continue to decline, Australia will be more susceptible to the sort of social and democratic breakdown evident in America. Strategies to reduce income inequality and gaps in access to education and information, as well as a program of constitutional reform, will be vital in heading off democratic decline. It is not too late to invoke these strategies.
Declining wellbeing and happiness	←	←	Expectations are that health and wellbeing will continue to decline unless the social determinants of mental and physical ill health are directly addressed by providing a level playing field with equal opportunity for all, including by shifting away from targeted welfare toward systems of universal income and services security. Collaborative programs to design a universal basic income for all Australians offer the best opportunity by far to reverse the growth in inequality and poverty in the 21st century and establish fair systems of taxation capable of ensuring service security for everyone's health and education, and their sense that life is good and worth living.

## Consolidated results by quadrant

[Chapter 2 of the report](#) provides the collated results showing where, on balance, we are moving in accordance with the safe Directions in the Vision for *Australia Together* and where we are not. Tables showing the consolidated results by quadrant also show where performance, on balance, deteriorated and improved during the 47<sup>th</sup> parliament.

## Consolidated results by quadrant – Our Society

Detailed evidence for the results is provided in [Chapter 7](#).

Summarised results and commentary are provided in [Chapter 3](#).

Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
Society 1	Safety	A safe home.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, yes</b> ”. In 2025, the result is a move away from the preferred destination.
Society 2	Indigenous Heart	A land with an Indigenous heart.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no</b> ”. In 2025, the result is the same but worse. It amounts to an even further move away from the preferred destination.
Society 3	Belonging & inclusion	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no</b> ”. In 2025, the result is the same but worse. It amounts to an even further move away from the preferred destination of an inclusive, welcoming and enabling society.
Society 4	Health & wellbeing	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	On balance, no.	<b>Sharply deteriorated.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no</b> ”. In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Australia is not becoming a place of optimal health and wellbeing.
Society 5	Education	A model of lifelong educational opportunity.	On balance, no.	<b>No substantial improvement or deterioration.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no</b> ”. In 2025, the result is the same. Australia is no closer to providing lifelong educational opportunity.

Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
Society 6	Equality	A society of equals.	On balance, no.	<b>No substantial improvement or deterioration.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no</b> ”. In 2025, the result is the same.
Society 7	Diversity	A success because of its diversity.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated.</b> In 2022, the result was “ <b>On balance, yes but it is fragile.</b> ” In 2025, the fragility had led to a decline in Australia’s capacity to reap the benefits of its diversity.
Society 8	Women & LGBTIQ+	A success because of gender equality.	On balance, yes.	<b>Improved.</b> In 2022, the result was “ <b>On balance, yes, but very slowly.</b> ” In 2025, Australia’s chances of success due to gender equality were improving.
Society 9	Housing	A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated seriously.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no</b> ”. In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Australia is not becoming a land without homelessness and does not have decent affordable housing for all.
Society 10	Family cohesion & community services	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	On balance, no.	<b>No substantial improvement or deterioration.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no</b> ”. In 2025, the result is the same. Australia is not becoming a place of supportive familial and other connections without domestic abuse.
Society 11	Early childhood care	A land without child disadvantage.	On balance, yes, but it is tenuous.	<b>Improved.</b> In 2022, the result was “ <b>On balance, no.</b> ” In 2025, Australia was moving incrementally towards universal early education and childcare but tenuously. There was still

Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
				a long way to go before it might become a land without child disadvantage.
Society 12	Aged care & disability services	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated somewhat.</b> In 2022, the result was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but policies to improve aged care in the short term have tended towards locking in system failure in the longer term.
Society 13	Arts & culture	A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.	On balance, no.	<b>Nil.</b> No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Society 14	Police services	A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.	On balance, the evidence is mixed.	<b>No substantial improvement or deterioration.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, the evidence is mixed.” In 2025, the result is the same.
Society 15	Justice	Confident of justice for all.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, the evidence is mixed.” In 2025, the results reflect very poorly on the whole justice system. Australians cannot be, or expect to become, confident of justice for all.
Society 16	Emergency services	A society prepared & resilient in times of disaster.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but Australia has less time to manage its risks. We are not a society that is prepared and resilient in the face of disasters.

## Consolidated results by quadrant – Our Environment



Detailed evidence for the results is provided in [Chapter 8](#).

Summarised results and commentary are provided in [Chapter 4](#).

Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
Environment 1	Environmental advocacy	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no.</b> ” In 2025, the result is the same but Australia has less time to stop heating and is not sufficiently cooperative on the global stage.
Environment 2	Climate change prevention	A net zero emissions nation.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated seriously.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no.</b> ” In 2025, the result is the same but much worse. Australia shows no signs of becoming a net zero emissions nation before planetary heating overwhelms the world.
Environment 3	Climate change adaptation	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated somewhat.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no.</b> ” In 2025, the result is the same but somewhat worse due to time wasting. Australia is a nation ill-prepared for climate change.
Environment 4	Environmental regulation & approvals	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	On balance, no.	<b>Nil.</b> No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Environment 5	Environmental education	An environmentally educated community.	No baseline data established yet.	<b>Nil.</b> No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Environment 6	Energy	A renewable energy superpower.	On balance, yes but not quickly enough.	<b>Improved somewhat.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, we are not travelling clearly yet either toward or away from the destination.</b> ” In



Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
				2025, the result is better but the lapse of time detracts from the positive impact. Progress looks good in the short term but slowness is locking in long term failure.
Environment 7	Transport	Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.	On balance, yes.	Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Environment 8	Agriculture & fisheries	Environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.	On balance we are not travelling clearly yet either towards or away from the destination.	Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Environment 9	Fresh water supply	Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.	No baseline data established yet.	Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Environment 10	Biodiversity	A biodiversity haven.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated seriously.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no.</b> ” In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Australia is certainly not a biodiversity haven.
Environment 11	Vegetation	A replanted & reforested land.	On balance, no.	<b>No detectable improvement or deterioration due to data gaps.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no.</b> ” In 2025, the result is the same. Australia has shown no progress in restoring deforested and denuded lands.
Environment 12	Land & resource conservation	A protector of scarce resources.	On balance, no.	Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Environment 13	Parks & open space	A provider of accessible national & urban parkland.	No data are available to determine the	Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in

Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
			direction of travel since 2021.	The State of Australia 2022.
Environment 14	Air & water quality	A pollution free biosphere.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>No data are available to determine the direction of travel since 2016.</b> ” In 2025, the result is a move away from the preferred destination.
Environment 15	Marine protection	A marine wildlife haven.	On balance, no.	<b>No substantial improvement.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no.</b> ” In 2025, the result is the same. Australia’s planning and actions for marine conservation are being defeated by its failure to address the cause of decline – climate change.
Environment 16	Waste reduction & recycling	Regenerative by design in consumption & production.	No data are available to determine the direction of travel since 2021.	<b>Nil.</b> No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Environment 17	Architectural & cultural site heritage	A conservator of cultural & built heritage.	No baseline data established yet.	<b>Nil.</b> No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Environment 18	Cities planning	Multi-central in its cities, efficiently connecting people with jobs, health, education & recreation.	On balance, no.	<b>Nil.</b> No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Environment 19	Regional planning	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.	On balance we are not travelling clearly yet either towards or away from the destination.	<b>Nil.</b> No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.

## Consolidated results by quadrant – Our Economy



Detailed evidence for the results is provided in [Chapter 9](#).

Summarised results and commentary are provided in [Chapter 5](#).

Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
Economy 1	Economic planning, growth & composition	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no.</b> ” In 2025, the result is the same but Australia has less time to shift successfully from excessive consumption to sustainability and the bandwidth of policy is too narrow – too neoliberal – to help reverse the trend.
Economy 2	Employment planning & industry transition	A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.	On balance, yes.	<b>Improved.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no.</b> ” In 2025, the result is a significant improvement. There is considerably more justice in industrial reforms and transitions.
Economy 3	Equitable improvement in living standards	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	On balance, yes but the evidence is mixed.	<b>Improved.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no.</b> ” In 2025, fair improvement in living standards was apparent.
Economy 4	National wealth generation & sharing	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no.</b> ” In 2025, the result is the same. Australia is no closer to becoming a nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.
Economy 5	Market regulation & competition policy	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no.</b> ” In 2025, the result is the same. Australia does not have sufficiently fair market regulation.

Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
Economy 6	Government competitive business participation	An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no.</b> ” In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Australia has moved further away from being an economy with competitive and profitable public sector participation.
Economy 7	Science, research, innovation & collaboration	A collaborative intelligent nation.	On balance, no.	<b>Nil.</b> No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Economy 8	Technology development & digitisation	Enabled in meeting the communication & information demands of the future.	No baseline data established yet.	<b>Nil.</b> No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Economy 9	International economic engagement & trade	Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.	No baseline data established yet.	<b>Nil.</b> No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.

## Consolidated results by quadrant – Our Governance



Detailed evidence for the results is provided in [Chapter 10](#).

Summarised results and commentary are provided in [Chapter 6](#).

Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
Governance 1	Strength of democracy	A proactive participatory democracy.	<b>On balance, no. But we now have the means of reversing this.</b>	<b>Some improvement and some deterioration.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no. But we now have the means of reversing this.</b> ” In 2025, the result is the same. Australia is not yet a proactive participatory democracy but it has the means to become one.
Governance 2	National values & identity	A nation knowing & affirming decency.	<b>On balance, no. But we now have the means of reversing this.</b>	<b>Deteriorated.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, progress is stagnant.</b> ” In 2025, the result is worse. Australians have not articulated their national values, what counts as decency, or their purpose as a nation, but they have the means of reversing this in <i>Australia Together</i> and National Integrated Planning & Reporting.
Governance 3	Human & other rights	A nation with avowed rights for all.	<b>On balance, no.</b>	<b>Deteriorated.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no.</b> ” In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Federal governments have not accepted that Australians have human rights and they have not accepted their obligations to Australians.
Governance 4	Constitutional reform	A free, self-governing, modern nation.	<b>On balance, no.</b>	<b>Deteriorated.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ <b>On balance, no.</b> ” In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Australia remains on the precipice of collapse of its cohesion as a democratic nation due to its out of date Constitution.

Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
Governance 5	Transparency, openness & accountability	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated seriously.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but worse. This result amounts to one of serious danger for democracy, transparency, government accountability, and prevention of abuse by the state in Australia. It threatens to be a forerunner of a Trumpian Australia.
Governance 6	Government ethics	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but worse. What should have been a positive for transparency, corruption prevention and trust (the NACC) has embedded a more secretive institution prone by its legislation towards cover-ups.
Governance 7	Public service independence & excellence	Committed to public service independence & excellence.	On balance, yes.	<b>Improved somewhat.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, yes.” In 2025, the result is the same but better in terms of the quality of service from the APS.
Governance 8	Electoral system & funding reform	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated somewhat.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but somewhat worse due to time wasting and the likelihood that legislation may be passed which will reduce electoral equality for candidates and provide no equality for the electors. Australia is a nation without equal suffrage.
Governance 9	Corporate & NGO responsibility	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, yes for NGOs. On balance, no for corporates.” In 2025, the result is a move away

Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
				from the preferred destination. The government's persistent reliance on neoliberalism is structurally incapable of delivering security of essential services for the Australian community. As such, it is incapable of making the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i> a reality.
Governance 10	Free communications policy & regulation	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was " <b>On balance, no.</b> " In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Attempts to improve accountability for truthful reporting in news and social media were misguided and all failed.
Governance 11	International participation & global justice	A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated somewhat.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was " <b>On balance, no.</b> " In 2025, the result is the same but somewhat worse due mainly to some cruel new laws on refugees and a general reticence to uphold human rights.
Governance 12	Peace & security	A nation assured of enduring peace.	On balance, no.	<b>Deteriorated seriously.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was " <b>On balance, no.</b> " In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Australia is not becoming a nation assured of enduring peace.
Governance 13	Humanitarian effort	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.	On balance, no.	<b>Improved somewhat.</b> In 2022, the result on this Direction was " <b>On balance, no.</b> " In 2025, the result is the same but commitments to foreign aid have improved.

# A quick guide to reading the full End of Term Report on the state of Australia

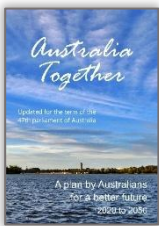
The State of Australia 2025 is a report about the nation’s progress towards a better future at the end of the term of office of the 47<sup>th</sup> federal parliament. To build a sound evidence-based report, ACFP has used an assessment and measurement system that relies on the following components:



1. A **draft one-page vision statement** called the *Vision for Australia Together* describing the sort of life Australians have said they wish to be able to lead and the country we wish to live in by 2050 or sooner.



2. A set of **57 one-line direction statements or signposts** which describe the safe paths to that future and act as a guidance system for selection of strategies that will follow the safe paths rather than unsafe ones.



3. An **integrated long term national plan** called *Australia Together* which contains measurable indicators of progress including:
  - a. **baseline data and information** about the current state of our society, environment, economy and democracy – where are we in the early 2020s?



- b. **targets** that we will need to reach by various dates if we expect to make the vision a reality by 2050 or sooner;
- c. information on and targets for a selection of **strategies** that will help Australia reliably move towards the Vision via the safe routes.

Taken together, the Vision and Directions describe the sort of nation and country Australia will become if, as a collective, we pursue travel towards the Vision via the described safe paths.

This assembly of information and data makes up the **Australia Together National Wellbeing Index**, Australia’s largest source of consolidated data and factual information about the state of the nation.

The Index allows us to determine whether Australia is moving towards or away from the destination described in the Vision and whether we are following unsafe paths.

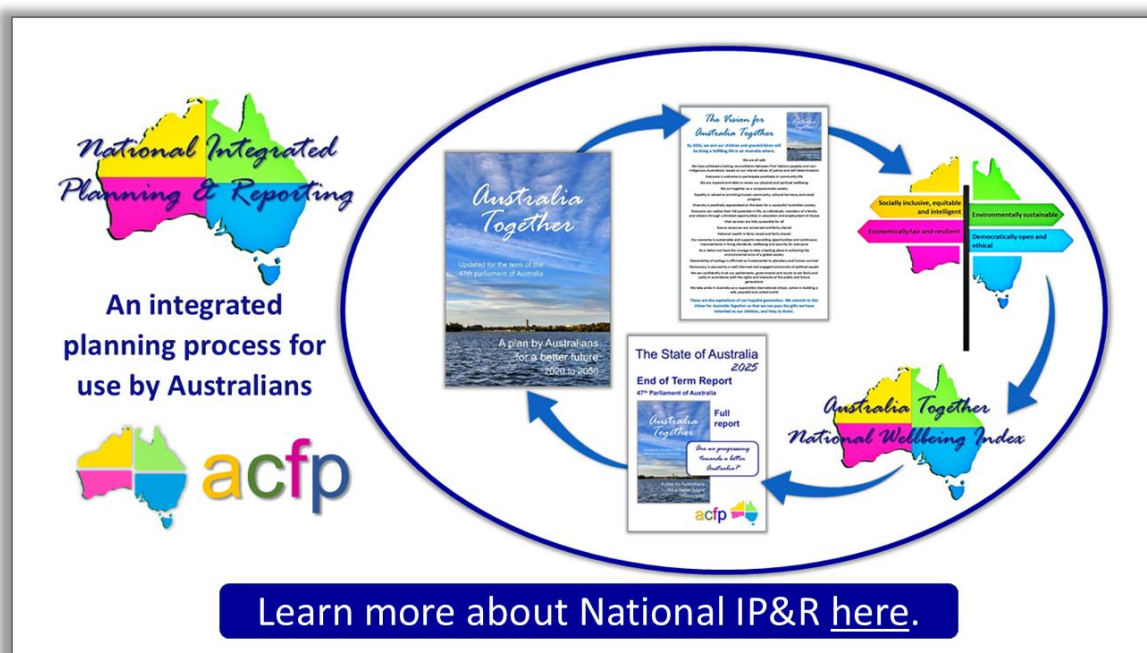
All the data and information collected in the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index are housed in full in Chapters 5 to 8 of *Australia Together*. This includes information on the sources of data and evidence.

To follow the full report on progress during the 47<sup>th</sup> parliament and find the evidence for the results, simply read from left to right across the four columns in the tables in Chapters 7 to 10 of the full report. The following diagram indicates how the National Wellbeing Index is laid out in *Australia Together* and how results are depicted in the End of Term Reports. Rolled up results for 47<sup>th</sup> parliament have been provided in Chapter 2 of the **full report** on [The State of Australia 2025 here](#).



Australia Together National Wellbeing Index - Original			End of Term Report
Indicator, Target or Strategy	Direction	Baseline	Report on progress
<i>Indicators, Targets &amp; Strategies for the success of Our Society</i>			
<i>Society 1 – Safety</i>			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p><b>Perceptions of safety and trust in the community</b> Soc01.07.01</p> <p>The proportion of Australians reporting trust in “most people” increases continuously.</p>	Soc 1 A safe home.	In 2019, 55.2% of Australians on survey felt “most people could be trusted”, up slightly from 54.4% in 2014. Source: ABS General Social Survey 2020, Table 17.1	In 2024, 47% of Australians reported that “Generally speaking ... most people could be trusted”, a decline in the average between 2007 and 2022. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2024  The short and longer term trends are negative. ←
<p><b>Perceptions of safety in the context of world events and national security</b> Soc01.08</p> <p>The percentage of people who report feeling safe or very safe when considering world events and/or national security exceeds 90% annually.</p>	Soc 1 A safe home.	In 2021, seven in ten Australians (70%) said that in view of world events they felt ‘very safe’ or ‘safe’, an improvement from 50% in 2020 but a decrease from 92% in 2010. Source: Lowy Institute Poll 2021	In 2024, 62% of Australians said that in view of world events they felt “very safe” or “safe”. Source: Lowy Institute Poll 2021  The short and longer term trends are negative. ←
	Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.		

The draft *Australia Together* plan, the Vision and directions for *Australia Together*, the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index, and the End of Term Report comprise the main components of the cycle of **National Integrated Planning & Reporting** or **National IP&R** developed by Australian Community Futures Planning to help Australians build the nation and future they want and need.





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