The Life in Australia™ Historic Events Survey:

Australians Name the 10 Most Significant Historic Events of Their Lifetime

Interpretative Essay

Frank Bongiorno ¹ and Darren Pennay ²

¹ Frank Bongiorno, FRHistS, FASSA, is Professor in the School of History at the Australian National University.
² Darren Pennay is founder and CEO of the Social Research Centre. He is also a Campus visitor at the ANU Centre for Social Research and Methods and an Adjunct Professor at the University of Queensland’s Institute for Social Science Research.
³ With thanks to Professor Nicholas Brown, School of History, ANU, for his comments and suggestions.
Introduction

Australians typically engage with their own history through personal, emotional and family connections. While there is periodic panic among politicians and in the media about public ignorance of history, especially among the young, there is a counterpoint in the apparent presence of popular historical activity in every corner of our culture. Family history never seems to stop booming. Anzac history is driven by feelings of national pride for many, but also family pride for those with relatives or ancestors who have fought in Australia’s wars. The penal past, once a point of embarrassment, is now a source of pride, especially if you can find a convict in your family tree.4

But what happens when we ask Australians not about a distant past, but about events in their own lifetime? What do they see as the events, at home and abroad, that have done the most to shape their country?

Historians sometimes use a concept called ‘historical consciousness’ to understand what ‘ordinary people’ think and feel about the past.5 Historical consciousness might conveniently be defined as the way ‘the past is interpreted for the sake of understanding the present and anticipating the future’.6 Scholars have also found the concept of ‘collective memory’ useful in asking about how individuals and communities remember their history. An enquiry into what people recall and what they forget, which aspects of the past they regard as significant and which they dismiss as trivial, and how individual and collective memories interact, will tell us a great deal about a society’s sense of itself. It is a means of finding out about cultural dynamics and even testing social cohesion.7

---

By explaining their sense of history, people convey their understanding of who they are, where they have come from, and where they are going. In doing so, they might draw on aspects of their family history, or they might choose an event or era that forms part of a larger story, such as the 1930s Depression, World War 2, or the 1960s. Commonly, people will connect their personal histories to larger national or even global stories. The Australian historian, Anna Clark, suggests that ‘historical consciousness’ might be understood as ‘a process by which we connect our own narrative to a bigger story – a history, no less’.8

The Social Research Centre’s Historic Events study provides a snapshot of Australian historical consciousness. In the first place, it asked its panel members what they saw as the ‘10 most important historic events’ in their lifetime. It then gave them some guidance about what they might choose; ‘one specific event, a series of related events, or any other historical development or change that had an important impact on the nation’. The survey then went on to ask them to choose a single event among their 10 that had ‘the greatest impact on the country’. Subsequent questions invited respondents to reflect on which event made them proudest and most disappointed in Australia.

Most people will have a common-sense understanding of what an ‘event’ is. A war is an event. An election is an event, as is a recession and a depression – although the beginning and especially the end of economic events can be hard to discern. The history of exploration provides a series of events – the arrival of Christopher Columbus in America, of James Cook in Australia, of Neil Armstrong on the moon – as does the history of invention, from the wheel to the internet. But the common-sense understanding of the meaning of ‘historic event’ possibly veers more towards a discrete happening, often political, that can usually be located in a specific point of time – a terrorist attack rather than, say, climate change, greater gender equality, or the move towards a market economy in China – an ‘event’ that most professional economic historians would place high in their Australian top 10.

---

When the Pew Research Center in the United States asked Americans for their top 10 in mid-2016, more than three-quarters (76%) chose the September 11 terrorist attacks. Far fewer Australians, just 27%, nominated 9/11, but this still placed it second, just behind same-sex marriage (SSM) with 30%. When Australian respondents were asked to nominate just one event, the largest number (11%), said 9/11. Moreover, 37% included terrorist events, making it the second-most common category behind human rights and civil liberties (See page 6).

Australians’ selection of the September 11 terrorist attacks reminds us of Marshall McLuhan’s concept of the ‘global village’. For this was a fundamentally shared international event, experienced by most people through vivid and frightening media images, sometimes shared with family via television. In this sense, they might conform partly to the connection of the personal and historical that commentators have recognised as central to Australian historical consciousness.

9 The following generational definitions have been used in the survey: Silent Generation (Born 1945 or before); Baby Boomers (1946-1964); Generation X (1965-1979); Millennials (1980-1994); Generation Z (1995 or later).

The lower rating of 9/11 in the Australian survey than the American reminds us that national differences still matter. Not only does 9/11 have much greater recognition as historically significant in the US, so do the Vietnam, Gulf, Afghanistan and Iraq wars. And whereas Americans placed the assassination of John F. Kennedy at number 4 with 21% mentioning it, only 6% of our Boomer and 7% of our Silent Generation (3% overall) ranked it, despite the great impact of that event among Australians in 1963. While Australia is, through global media and the American alliance, wired in to US perspectives on world events, we are not quite ‘Austerica’, as some intellectuals worried we were becoming in the 1960s. It is notable, however, that the two youngest generations each included the election of Donald Trump at the tail of their top 10s.11

Evidently, then, responses to such matters reflect generational differences. Of the five generations considered, only GenX had 9/11 first, with 35%. This group also ranked highly the Bali bombings of 2002 (eighth, with 11%, a higher proportion than any other generation). Many of the 88 Australians killed, being in their twenties and thirties at the time, belonged to GenX; equally, this response reflects that 9/11 was seen from the perspective of a wider pattern of terrorist threat rather than a specific identification with the US experience. Australian respondents younger than GenX had 9/11 second, behind SSM. For these Millennials and members of GenZ, other terror events, such as the Bali bombings and the Lindt Café siege, were also prominent in their 10. GenZ had the Iraq War at ninth (9%). In sum, for anyone younger than about 50, terrorism provides a powerful defining historical experience, within a global perspective, despite the small scale and relative paucity of attacks on Australian soil.

Baby Boomers, by way of contrast, rated 9/11 as lowly as fifth (20%) while for the Silent Generation, with their longer perspective on twentieth-century international conflict, it was not in the top 10 at all. Those born in 1945 or before nominated World War 2 first, with a hefty 44% placing it in their top 10, the largest figure for any event in any generation. Why? A historian who also lived through those years possibly offered a partial answer in the 1970s: It was a very personal war for most Australians. It would be interesting to know how many protestors actually cried themselves to sleep over the suffering in Vietnam. It would be instructive to know how many people in Australia did not cry themselves to sleep at some stage during the suffering of the Second World War.13

---

The Historic Events Survey was carried out online and via telephone between 15 November and 3 December 2017. The result of Australia’s same-sex marriage postal survey, which was a comfortable majority for ‘Yes’, was announced at the beginning of this period, 15 November. The parliament finally passed the bill legalising SSM on 7 December, so the issue was prominent in the news throughout the survey period. This timing might be considered as exerting disproportionate, and perhaps temporary influence, on the results, but for the historian it will be of future interest as a measure of how Australians placed the event in the sweep of their history in 2017. The survey results contradict claims advanced mainly by SSM opponents that ordinary Australians regarded the issue as unimportant. That 45% of respondents nominated issues that could be broadly categorised as ‘human rights’ or ‘civil liberties’ similarly belies the frequent claim that Australians are concerned overwhelmingly with material or economic issues. How significantly will future Australians rate the achievement of same-sex marriage? Only time will tell.
When respondents were asked about the most significant single event in their lifetime, SSM came in second at 7%, behind 9/11. When they were asked what made them most proud of Australia, 13% mentioned SSM, while 6% were most disappointed at the cost and delay involved in bringing the reform about, and another 6% nominated its achievement as their most disappointing event. When the top 10 is considered, SSM was first for both GenZ and Millennials. But for GenX it appeared less frequently than 9/11 (30% compared with 35%), while the Baby Boomers only had it at 3 (24%), and the Silent Generation at 6 (13%). This is in part an effect of older cohorts having more events from which to select, although it perhaps reflects the generationally-distinct elements of a ‘personal-is-political’ outlook. For the two youngest cohorts, SSM appears to have acquired status as a defining event. Alongside their consciousness of the changes wrought by terrorism is a sense of profound transformation around gender and sexuality which is harder to discern in the responses of the two oldest groups.

When respondents were asked about the most significant single event in their lifetime, SSM came in second at 7%, behind 9/11 ... another 6% nominated its achievement as their most disappointing event.
Generational Identity and Collective Memory

Baby Boomers do not appear to have been much preoccupied with what is now called ‘identity politics’ (race, gender, sexuality) in their selections. The events that are usually seen as critical in their formation and experience are there: the Vietnam War at 1 (28%), the Whitlam Government dismissal at 2 (27%) and the Apollo 11 Moon landing at 4 (21%). This is seemingly a generation with a distinctive historical consciousness, shaped by a sense of the transformational events of the late 1960s and early 1970s, those associated with their coming to maturity in a world changing rapidly in political and technological terms. We should also not perhaps overlook the impact of a rich nostalgia industry, drawing on the televised imagery of the era, that reminds Boomers of the happenings that have supposedly defined them. Public narratives can powerfully shape individual memory, sometimes contradicting it, but also forming or reinforcing it. Consider, for instance, the US television program *The Wonder Years*, the Australian film *The Dish* (about Australia’s part in transmission of images of the Moon landing), and the regular cycle of Dismissal commemoration along with media coverage of Gough Whitlam’s death in 2014.

The Boomers are distinguishable from the Silent Generation in that World War 2 is outside their living memory, but the legacy of that war was often profound for this generation – a phenomenon impossible to capture in a survey on ‘events’. The Moon landing, the Vietnam War and the Dismissal figure prominently for the Silent Generation, too (ranked 2, 3 and 4), but to these, apart from World War 2, are added a panoply of events concerned with the monarchy (Queen Elizabeth II’s coronation and subsequent visits); nation-building and infrastructure (the Snowy Mountains Hydro Electric Scheme, the Sydney Opera House); and technological change such as air travel and medical advances (the latter, perhaps, of particular concern to an older cohort).

The Boomers share with GenX Australia’s America’s Cup victory of 1983 (ranked 6 by both, 15% for Generation X and 12% for the Boomers.) We can be certain that, far from signalling an unusual interest in twelve-metre yachting, this is connected with the spectacular outburst of national pride evoked by Australia II’s victory over the New York Yacht Club’s defender, Liberty. That event has become central to Australian collective memory of the 1980s. The 2000 Olympics might perform some of the same work for the Millennials and GenZ groups (both 14%), but it was nominated by even greater numbers of GenX, who seem to be particularly preoccupied with sporting spectacle and national esteem. The historian Graeme Davison has referred to the frequent Australian visualisation of ‘the imaginary grandstand of international spectators’, who validate the performance of national identity – especially in sport – with the belief that ‘the world is watching’, even when it’s not.

GenX was young during the Hawke era (1983-1991), which was the time around the Bicentenary of 1988. Its historical consciousness appears to have been most affected by the period’s strains of cocky sporting and corporate nationalism – a Winged Keel generation, perhaps. The commercialisation and commodification of sport, and its manifestation as popular spectacle, provide an increasingly significant context for the generational identities of post-Boomer cohorts, possibly reflecting the decline of political and economic certainties associated with the end of both the long post-war economic boom and the Cold War.

---

GenX has some other distinctive features. It is the only generation for whom the development of the internet figures – at 7 (12%). Unlike the two youngest groups, who are ‘digital natives’, GenXers are old enough to recall a world before the Web. As such, they have a privileged vantage point from which to appreciate its profound impact. They are also mainly old enough to recall the mass shootings of the 1980s. They rated the Port Arthur massacre at 3, with 21% nominating it in their top 10, and Gun law reform, equal tenth (9%). The two younger generations also rank Gun law reform in their 10; but the frequent media comparison with present US experience might be more powerful among younger people than the middle-aged. Guns figure in quite significant ways in this survey. In the overall top 10, Port Arthur is fourth, with 13%. And when respondents are asked to nominate the most significant event, the Port Arthur Massacre comes in third (5%), with gun law reform seventh (3%).

A sense of economic vulnerability registers most strongly among Millennials. Indeed, there is now a lively debate concerning intergenerational inequity that turns on student debt, job insecurity and housing. At the time of the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) in 2008, this generation was young (between about 14 and 28), and therefore contemplating study, careers and (for the older members) family formation. As such, the appearance of the GFC in the Millennials’ top 10 (12%) possibly serves as an event conveying this vulnerability. More generally, the relative success of Australia in weathering the economic storms of recent years is reflected by the finding that just 8% mention the GFC, sharing equal tenth with the America’s Cup and the first female prime minister, Julia Gillard.

---


20 Jennifer Rayner, Generation Less: How Australia is Cheating the Young, Redback, Carlton, 2016.
Indigenous Issues

Social researchers have remarked on the reluctance of white Australians to discuss historic wrongs against Indigenous people and the legacies of colonialism in the present.\(^{21}\) The survey, however, suggests that many Australians do see Indigenous experience as important in their history. While only 2% nominated the Stolen Generations and treatment of Indigenous people as the ‘event’ that most disappointed them about Australia, when the responses to the ‘top 10’ question are grouped in themes, Indigenous issues are ranked sixth, with 24% nominating events such as the Apology to the Stolen Generations of Indigenous children, the Mabo High Court decision on native title in 1992, and the 1967 referendum.

But generational differences matter here, too, as do income and education to some extent. The Apology and (in the case of the tertiary-educated) Mabo seem to have more resonance among those in higher income brackets. In a trend possibly overlapping with educational attainment, Indigenous issues do not appear directly in the top 10 of either the Boomers or the Silent Generation, suggesting that the 1967 referendum, which has attracted considerable attention in commemorative activity over recent years, does not widely register with those who are more likely to have lived through the associated debates.

In sum, the Apology has some purchase as a symbolic national event. It came in third overall, with 13%, but the generational breakdown indicates that it is rated highly only among those younger than their early 50s. For GenZ it appears defining – more than a quarter nominated it (27%).

Consensus and Cohesion

Societies in which different groups have sharply divided collective memories would normally be less cohesive than others. We can see this phenomenon in extremis in a case such as Northern Ireland during the Troubles, where Catholic and Protestant communities had strongly conflicting understandings of history, with historical consciousness being deployed in sometimes violent political contention. In each case, these collective memories have defined the identities of the communities concerned.\(^{22}\) More generally, history is one of the major battlegrounds in which present politics is fought out, even in Australia with its much gentler ‘history wars’.\(^{23}\)

\(^{21}\) Huntley, Still Lucky, pp. 239-45.

\(^{22}\) McBride, ‘Memory and National Identity in Modern Ireland’.

Political Parties

It is, of course, possible to agree about an event being significant in its impact and disagreeing over the nature of that impact – whether it was good, bad or in between. The dismissal of the Whitlam Government appears in the top 10 of Labor (ALP), Coalition and Greens supporters, but we can be sure that they do not see this highly contentious event in the same way.

There are, moreover, significant areas of difference between the parties, even allowing for common ground. The appearance of the Moon landing and World War 2 in the Coalition supporters’ top 10 presumably reflects the well-known greater propensity of older Australians to vote for the Coalition parties. ALP supporters rate SSM slightly higher, and Greens supporters significantly higher, than 9/11. Coalition supporters have 9/11 first as well as the Bali bombings, absent from the Labor list, in their top 10. The greater emphasis in Coalition politics on national security has long been recognised in analysis; it is rightly regarded as an electoral asset for the conservative parties.

Coalition supporters, meanwhile, do not rate the Apology to the Stolen Generations in their top 10 at all. The Apology has a long history as a partisan issue, being eventually delivered by a Labor prime minister, Kevin Rudd, and resisted for many years by a Coalition prime minister, John Howard. Those who indicated that they would vote for One Nation also omitted the Apology from their top 10, as well as the Port Arthur massacre; the latter, perhaps, reflecting their attitude to the effect that tragedy had in producing restrictions on gun ownership. They rated SSM only at number 7, and as many as 17% nominated it as the event that had most disappointed them. One Nation supporters rate 9/11 (29%), the Vietnam War (22%) and the Moon landing (19%) at 1, 2 and 3, a result partly reflecting the presence of older respondents. On the other hand, this group seems especially enamoured of Anzac Day commemoration, with 14% nominating it as the event which made them proudest. They had the Queensland floods at number 6, expressing the strength of the party in that State and perhaps a sentiment of ‘battling’ natural as well as social hardship as a test of strength. Broadly speaking, these results reflect what we presently know from other accounts of the conservatism of One Nation voters.24
There are some notable differences according to gender. More men ranked the September 11 attacks (27%) than SSM (25%), more women SSM (35%) than 9/11 (27%). This result to some extent mirrors participation rates in the 2017 SSM marriage survey, which were higher for women (81.6%) than for men (77.3%).

Women also ranked the Apology significantly more important than men – 17% compared with just 9% – while Julia Gillard’s election as prime minister came in at 6 for women (11%) but did not figure in the 10 for men. Gillard was significantly less popular among men than women when she was prime minister, despite the greater propensity historically for men to vote Labor.

In general, her election was not Australia’s ‘Obama moment’: 40% of respondents in the Pew survey ranked Barack Obama’s election in their top 10 compared with a mere 8% of Australians mentioning Gillard.

Gillard was significantly less popular among men than women when she was prime minister, despite the greater propensity historically for men to vote Labor.

---


The global and the national are not Australians’ only historical frames of reference. Sometimes an event, because it is local or regional, has imprinted itself much more firmly in a particular state or city than elsewhere in the nation. This is true of disasters, such as the Queensland floods, which are much more likely to be mentioned in that state (9%) and Brisbane (12%) than nationally (3%); and the Victorian Black Saturday bushfires (6% for Victoria; 3% national). The most spectacular example of this pattern, however, is the Port Arthur Massacre, which was mentioned by 32% of the admittedly small Tasmanian sample, outranking both SSM (31%) and 9/11 (29%). Similarly, 19% of the small Northern Territory sample mentioned Cyclone Tracy. The Lindt Café siege, which occurred in Martin Place, Sydney, was mentioned by 13% of Sydneysiders, compared with the much lower national figure of 7%.

The same is true for some happier occasions. The Sydney Olympics were much more likely to be mentioned in the top 10 by residents of that city (21%) and of New South Wales (18%) than by people living elsewhere (the national figure is 12%). The winning America’s Cup syndicate in 1983 led by the entrepreneur Alan Bond was Western Australian, and residents of that state were twice as likely to recall its significance (16%) than Australians overall (8%). They are also more likely to nominate the mining boom than their fellow Australians further east.

Rural and regional respondents rate SSM and the Apology lower than their metropolitan counterparts. These issues are often presented in the media as of greater interest to ‘progressives’ in the cities. It is true that the SSM survey of 2017 attracted ‘Yes’ majorities in the overwhelming majority of non-metropolitan electorates, but those majorities were on average narrower than in metropolitan areas (noting that some metropolitan divisions voted either ‘No’ or only narrowly for ‘Yes’).

Overall, the results suggest that it is reasonable to talk of a national collective memory, but there are some notable state and regional variations.
The sample size for Indigenous-identified respondents is very small (40), but there are some variations from the national norms in Indigenous selections. The most significant is unsurprising: 37% mentioned the Apology, compared with a 12% non-Indigenous figure. For reasons that are less clear, Indigenous respondents were also more likely to nominate SSM and the Port Arthur Massacre than their non-Indigenous counterparts. The 1967 referendum was not mentioned by Indigenous respondents, although the small sample size, which is also skewed toward GenX, makes drawing any conclusion from its absence of limited value. Similarly, while there is substantial research pointing to complex and distinctive patterns of Indigenous historical consciousness in Australia, including challenges to settler narratives of progress, these cannot easily be discerned in a quantitative survey of this kind.²⁷

Surprises and Silences

Surveys such as this one struggle to capture the impact of more abstract developments. One might have expected the issue of asylum-seekers to have figured, perhaps in the form of a recognition of the Tampa crisis of 2001 as an influential historical event. In fact, it emerges only when people are asked about a time or event that has most disappointed them, topping this list with 8% (boat turnbacks also figure, with 3%; Tampa itself attracted 1%). In other words, over one in 10 Australians see this ‘event’ as the most disappointing in their lifetime.

The post-war immigration scheme has had a deep influence on Australia, yet is not mentioned in any top 10, perhaps not being recognised by respondents as an ‘event’. The end of the Cold War, it would seem, is regarded by Australians as none of their business. Australians like to think of themselves as less insular than Americans, but 13% in the US survey identified the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War as consequential, ranking these momentous events eighth. Neither the end of the long post-war economic boom in the 1970s nor the rise of China is registered as a landmark. As we have seen, economic ‘events’ barely figure in Australian top 10 responses. The dollar float of December 1983, for instance, a favourite among politicians and journalists, has no resonance.

Neither are there any signs of environmental issues in the top 10 – not even among Greens supporters! Has the saving of the Franklin River, ubiquitous as an issue in 1982-83 and widely regarded by historians as a landmark in the history of environmental protection, been buried, possibly underneath the sea of green and gold that followed with the America’s Cup win?

Technology may well be a blind spot for some people when they think of ‘events’. Members of the Silent Generation predictably seem most impressed by change in this area. Their top 10 includes the Moon landing, Air travel, Various infrastructure projects, Medical advancements and Television. Both this generation and the Boomers rank highly events – such as Vietnam and the Moon landing – which were heavily dependent for their cultural impact on television. While 9% of all respondents nominated the internet (ninth, behind the Moon landing), the mobile phone was mentioned by only 4% and sits outside the top 10.

Women’s lives have been transformed in recent decades, but there are few gestures towards this social revolution in the data. The arrival of the contraceptive pill (1961) appears in no one’s top 10, not even the Baby Boomers’ whose lives are usually seen to have been so shaped by it. 28 Those under about 40 do, however, nominate a moment that encapsulates a shift in gender politics: the election of Julia Gillard as the first female prime minister is ranked 5 for GenZ (15%) and 8 by Millennials (10%). Overall, 8% of respondents included Gillard’s election as the first female prime minister, placing it equal tenth.

Conclusion

Professional historians might be puzzled by some of the results in this survey. While there would be some intersection between their views and those of the survey respondents, many of the ‘events’ to which historians have commonly turned to explain the making of modern Australia do not figure in the top 10. The results of this survey might indicate that there needs to be better education, from classroom upward and outward – to films, television, media, publishing, museums, heritage sites and monuments – about how technological, social and economic events have shaped national experience. It is notable, for instance, that those with higher educational attainment and greater incomes were more likely to mention the GFC in their top 10 than other groups.

We can also, however, learn much about Australian historical consciousness from these results. Contrary to the image of Australia as a utilitarian society concerned overwhelmingly with material issues and practical outcomes, respondents appear to have a taste for the symbol, the spectacle and the landmark. This essay has not much discussed educational attainment, income and whether one was born in Australia or overseas – not because these matters are unimportant – but because they do not in this survey yield dramatically different results. There are fissures in Australian society that do influence how people see the past within living memory, and there are many aspects of Australia’s history that are contested. But there are few signs of historical consciousness either expressing or contributing to anything that might amount to social fragmentation.

The results of the survey are also a reminder that we live in a globalised world where big international events – such as the Moon landing and 9/11 – are recognised across oceans and borders as turning points in a shared history. But Australians also continue to find a place for the national, still recognising their own backyard as a place where important and influential historical events can happen.

Image Credits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Attribution</th>
<th>Website</th>
<th>Licence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cover</td>
<td>Paris Buttfield-Assison</td>
<td><a href="https://www.flickr.com/photos/parisba/">https://www.flickr.com/photos/parisba/</a></td>
<td>Attribution 2.0 Generic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Robert J. Fisch</td>
<td><a href="https://www.flickr.com/photos/themachinestops">https://www.flickr.com/photos/themachinestops</a></td>
<td>Attribution-ShareAlike 2.0 Generic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Nic McBride</td>
<td><a href="https://www.flickr.com/photos/thebotanistsdaughter">https://www.flickr.com/photos/thebotanistsdaughter</a></td>
<td>Attribution 2.0 Generic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>NASA/APOLLO 11</td>
<td><a href="https://www.flickr.com/photos/gsfc/">https://www.flickr.com/photos/gsfc/</a></td>
<td>Attribution 2.0 Generic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>SparkFun Electronics</td>
<td><a href="https://www.flickr.com/photos/sparkfun/">https://www.flickr.com/photos/sparkfun/</a></td>
<td>Attribution 2.0 Generic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>takver</td>
<td><a href="http://www.takver.com">http://www.takver.com</a></td>
<td>Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 Unported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kate Lundy</td>
<td><a href="http://www.katelundy.com.au">http://www.katelundy.com.au</a></td>
<td>Attribution 2.0 Generic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>butupa</td>
<td><a href="https://www.flickr.com/photos/25792994@N04/">https://www.flickr.com/photos/25792994@N04/</a></td>
<td>Attribution 2.0 Generic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Images have been edited through the use of digital software. The edits made include cropping, colour adjustment, image overlays and more.