



UNDERSTANDING ATTITUDES TO AUSTRALIAN MILITARY HISTORY

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Executive Summary

Australia's military history and heritage has become a central part of Australian national identity and consciousness. To ascertain Australians' attitudes toward and understanding of Australian military history, the War Studies Research Group conducted a comprehensive and nationally representative survey focused on determining Australians' knowledge of and engagement with Australian military history, how they learn about this history, and their opinions on the commemoration of military events. Remarkably, our survey data revealed that between 39% and 71% of respondents (depending on age group) had not formally studied Australian military history. Our report therefore provides an insight into how the average Australian views the country's military history.

The findings show that although most Australians are *interested* in Australian military history, this history is not well understood among the general population. Australians' knowledge of the conflicts of the 19th and early 20th centuries and Australia's involvement therein is minimal. Likewise, those that know about 20th and 21st century conflicts are not necessarily aware that Australia was involved. While their understanding of Australian involvement in these conflicts tilted towards Australian Army operations, overall understanding of the activities of the three services within Australia's military history remained low. Finally, most Australians are unlikely to agree that it was in Australia's interest to commit troops to any conflict except for World War 2.

Our survey data also reveals that although many respondents had formally studied history, a majority had not formally studied Australian military history specifically. World War 2 dominated Australians' attitudes toward learning more about the country's military past, being the only conflict for which a majority agreed on two points: that they were interested in learning more about Australia's involvement, and that this conflict should be covered in the primary and secondary curriculum in Australia. The survey data also suggests that Australians often learn about Australian military history from museums and other historical sites and from war memorials. They also consider these sources to be trustworthy. However, many Australians also commonly learn from other sources, such as Australian news outlets and friends and/or family, which they consider to be relatively less trustworthy.

When it comes to the central pillar of Australia's commemorative calendar, Anzac Day, Australians overwhelmingly agree that it is important to Australia today. Most believe that an appropriate amount of attention is paid to Australia's military history by historians. Attitudes toward the amount of attention politicians paid to other events in the country's history were more varied: less than half agree the attention paid is appropriate, and slightly more than one-third believe the attention paid is too little. Most Australians do not engage with Australian military history. Over one-third regularly attend activities related to Anzac Day, but less than

one-third engaged in activities related to Australian military history within the previous 12 months.

Australians' attitudes toward the Frontier Wars (also known as the Australian Wars) are largely uncertain. They are more likely to not know or to feel neutral toward the official recognition of this conflict than they are to support its recognition as a national conflict. Nonetheless, most Australians agree that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples resisted European colonisation of the Australian continent. Likewise, despite their reported knowledge of World War 2, our survey data indicates that Australians' actual understanding of this conflict is biased toward the war in the Pacific, though not necessarily Australian involvement therein. More than 40% of Australians had not heard of any listed military events that occurred in the Mediterranean and the Middle East during this conflict, including the famous siege of Tobruk. By contrast, all respondents had heard of at least one listed event in the Pacific theatre, yet only the bombing of Darwin ranked in the top three events, with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor being the most well-known.

Finally, Australians believe that most conflicts (except for World War 1 and World War 2) are commemorated inadequately, and that battlefields or sites of military conflicts are important to understand and commemorate military events. Yet most Australians had not visited the listed overseas Australian battlefields, battlefield memorials or historical sites. The majority also believed that war veterans and veterans' associations are central in maintaining the memory of veterans' experiences within the public consciousness. Indeed, they agree veterans may have an important role in the commemorative process, with the majority also agreeing that it is easier to remember Australia's involvement in individual conflicts while the veterans who served in them are alive.

Introduction

Australia's military history and heritage has long been the "bedrock" of its national identity.¹ Within the national imagination and commemorative landscape, the exploits of Australian soldiers, sailors, and aviators have been placed upon a pedestal in the national pantheon, representing all that is said to be uniquely Australian. This is, of course, most evident in the veneration of World War 1, particularly Gallipoli, which culminated in what Joan Beaumont describes as the "memory orgy" surrounding the centenary of that conflict between 2014 and 2018.² Later came the siege of Tobruk (1941) and the Kokoda campaign (1942), then Vietnam's battle of Long Tan (1966). These events, and many others in between, continue to frame Australians' imagining of conflict and national identity.

Yet while this highlight reel of Australian military history has worked its way into Australian school curricula, popular culture, and public commemoration, much of the breadth and depth of this history arguably remains in the shadows. For instance, Australian involvement in international conflicts between British colonisation in 1788 and Federation in 1901 are less well understood by the Australian public, a point the data from this survey confirms. Similarly, the conflict with Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples that followed British colonisation of Australia in 1788 (known collectively as the Frontier Wars or the Australian Wars) remains contested, as debates about their inclusion or exclusion

from the Australian War Memorial's galleries demonstrate. Indeed, they have not received official recognition as an 'Australian' war, despite a plethora of academic literature on the subject.

Other wars such as the Malayan Emergency and the Korean War have also received less public attention, evoking far less public recognition (as the results of this survey show). Meanwhile, the more recent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have become the subject of renewed public interest, yet another survey conducted by the War Studies Research Group (WSRG) demonstrates that public knowledge about Australian operations in Afghanistan was very limited; fewer than 1 in 4 respondents (23%) felt they had a good knowledge of Australian involvement in this conflict, while many others were unaware of Australian involvement.³ Ultimately, the two world wars continue to dominate the narrative of Australia's military history.

Despite this variance in the attention paid to different conflicts and the events that occurred therein, the general conspicuousness of Australian military history in public discourse and commemoration has fostered an assumption that all Australians are interested in their military history. Indeed, the resurgence of Anzac Day and the broader Anzac narrative in the late 20th century seemingly demonstrates a collective interest in Australia's military history and heritage.

¹ Alison Bedford et al, "The Very Marrow of the National Idea: Frontier Wars and the Australian Curriculum", *Historical Encounters*, vol. 10, no. 2 (2023): 23.

² Joan Beaumont, "Commemoration in Australia: A Memory Orgy?", *Australian Journal of Political Science* vol. 50, no. 2 (2015): 536–44.

³ Richard Dunley et al., "Public Attitudes towards the Australian Defence Force: Interim Report," April 2025, <https://www.unsw.edu.au/content/dam/pdfs/unsw-canberra/hass/Public%20Attitudes%20Towards%20the%20Australian%20Defence%20Force%20Survey%20Interim%20Report%20v3.pdf>.

Spurred on by political and media attention, and greater public participation in commemorative events, including the dawn of Australian battlefield pilgrimage in the 1990s, Australian military history appeared to achieve greater public resonance through to the centenary of the Anzac landing at Gallipoli in 2015.⁴

Yet recent research indicates that the Australian public's interest is waning. 120,000 attended the dawn service at the Australian War Memorial in 2015, while a further 10,000 (including 8,000 Australians) travelled to Türkiye to attend the Gallipoli service.⁵ By the end of the centenary commemorations, however, attendance at services both across Australia and at battlefields such as Gallipoli and Villers-Bretonneux had dramatically declined. Only 1,434 travelled to Gallipoli for the dawn service in 2019, with attendance in Canberra falling to 35,000 the same year. Following a record turnout at Villers-Bretonneux in 2015 (6,000), attendance dropped by 50% in 2016. Though these numbers recovered in 2018 for the end of the centenary, rising to 8,127, attendance at this dawn service again dropped by almost 70% the following year.⁶

Various reasons for the steady decline in attendance at Anzac Day dawn services have been offered. First, there is the so-called

centenary or commemoration fatigue some have identified in the wake of the World War 1 centenary.⁷ Second, there is the “fading relevance” of past conflicts for an increasingly younger and more diverse Australian population.⁸ There is also the passing of older veterans paired with the lower number of Australian veterans of recent conflicts such as East Timor/Timor Leste, Iraq, and Afghanistan. This means there are fewer living veterans to “embody the Anzac Spirit”.⁹

Of course, this decline, though marked, is not unprecedented. Anzac's nadir in the 1960s amid the Vietnam War was so grievous that Beaumont went so far as to describe its position in Australian society as “terminal”.¹⁰ Nonetheless, subsequent efforts from both sides of Australian politics laid the ground for the resurgence witnessed between the 1980s and the mid-2010s. Labor Prime Ministers Bob Hawke and Paul Keating, and the latter's successor, Liberal Prime Minister John Howard, all sought to use Anzac Day to foster a sense of patriotic Australian nationalism. The history of Anzac Day is one of peaks and declines. The current decline in interest may be a continuation of this pattern.¹¹

In any case, it is worth investigating broader public attitudes toward not only Anzac Day but Australian military history and heritage more generally. Previous studies have

⁴ Jim McKay and Brad West, “Gallipoli, Tourism and Australian Nationalism”, in *The Routledge Companion to Global Popular Culture*, ed. Toby Miller (New York: Routledge, 2015), 439–440.

⁵ Jan Packer, Roy Ballantyne, David Uzzell, “Interpreting War Heritage: Impacts of Anzac Museum and Battlefield Visits on Australians' Understanding of National Identity”, *Annals of Tourism Research* 76 (2019): 106.

⁶ “Anzac Day Dawn Services Plummet 70% over Recent Years”, *The Mandarin*, 22 April 2021, <https://www.themandarin.com.au/154619-anzac-day-dawn-services-plummet-70-over-recent-years/>.

⁷ “WWI centenary risks going over the top”, *SBS News*, 20 February 2014, <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/wwi-centenary-risks-going-over-the-top/ier8a73ut>.

⁸ Romain Fathi, “Crowds at dawn services have plummeted in recent years. It's time to reinvent Anzac Day”, *The Conversation*, 21 April 2021, <https://theconversation.com/crowds-at-dawn-services-have-plummeted-in-recent-years-its-time-to-reinvent-anzac-day-157313>.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Quoted in McKay and West, “Gallipoli, Tourism and Australian Nationalism”, 437.

¹¹ Carolyn Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2014).

examined the impact of Anzac battlefield visits on Australians' understanding of national identity, and the decline of history more broadly in Australian universities.¹² This report focuses on how well Australians understand their military history, how they learn about and engage with Australian military history, and how they commemorate such events.

Based on a nationally representative survey, this report is the first comprehensive examination of public attitudes toward Australian military history and its commemoration. Through this survey, the WSRG sought to determine how much Australians *really* know about their military history, and do they care about it? Likewise, how do they learn about this history? What sources do they use and trust for information on Australian military history? How do they think these events should be commemorated? Our findings show that:

1) Between 39% and 71% of respondents (depending on age group) had not formally studied Australian military history at any level (primary/secondary/tertiary).

2) Most Australians are interested in Australian military history, but this history is not well understood among the general population.

3) The world wars were most well-known among Australians. However, for World War 2, Australians are significantly more likely to know of at least one listed event in the Pacific theatre, compared to nearly half who had not heard of any listed military activities in the Middle East and Mediterranean.

4) Australians were unlikely to agree that it was in Australia's interest to have committed troops to *any* conflict except for World War 2.

5) Australians overwhelmingly agree that Anzac Day is important to Australia today, but only just over one-third regularly attend Anzac Day related activities.

6) Most Australians agree that battlefields or sites of military conflicts are important to understand and commemorate events. However, most Australians had not visited the listed overseas Australian battlefields, battlefield memorials or historical sites.

7) A majority agree that war veterans and veterans' association were central in maintaining the memory of their experiences among the public consciousness. The majority also agreed that it is easier to remember Australia's involvement in individual conflicts while the veterans who served in them are alive.

¹² Packer, Ballantyne and Uzzell, "Interpreting War Heritage", 105–116; Martin Crotty, "Addressing

the Decline of Academic History in Australia", *History Australia* 21, 4 (2024): 522–525.

Methodology and Sample Demographics

The WSRG employed iLink Research Services, which conducted the survey of 1,500 adults in Australia. The survey received ethics approval from the UNSW Human Research Advisory Panel (iRECS7568). The survey was fielded between 26 February and 4 March 2025 using iLink’s online panel comprising a nationally representative sample of adults aged 18+ in Australia. The data was not weighted for this report, but responses to the survey were collected against national demographic quotas. Quotas for age, gender, and location for the nationally representative sample had a margin of error of +/-5%.

Gender

The sample was evenly distributed by gender: 750 identified as men and 750 identified as women. No respondents identified as non-binary, used a different term, or preferred not to say. Slightly more than 60% of respondents were aged 18–49, with the smallest age group being the 70–100 cohort (8%) (Table 1).

Table 1: Sample breakdown, by age

Age Range	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
18-29	23%	339
30-39	19%	287
40-49	20%	293
50-59	17%	254
60-69	14%	205
70-100	8%	122

Location of residence

The sample broadly reflected the geographic distribution of the Australian population, with 77% of respondents residing in the nation’s most populous eastern states (Table 2). Likewise, 63% of respondents resided in one of the six state capitals, with 34% living in regional areas. The final 3% resided in the Australian Capital Territory (ACT) or the Northern Territory (Table 3).

Table 2: Sample breakdown, by state/territory

State of residence	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
New South Wales	32%	483
Victoria	25%	375
Queensland	20%	302
South Australia	7%	112
Western Australia	10%	157
Other	5%	71

Table 3: Sample breakdown, by region

State of residence	Percentage of Respondents
Sydney	20%
Regional NSW	12%
Melbourne	19%
Regional VIC	6%
Brisbane	10%
Regional QLD	11%
Adelaide	6%
Regional SA	2%
Perth	8%
Regional WA	2%
Hobart	1%
Tasmania Regional	1%

Education

In terms of education, most respondents had completed either tertiary study (47%) or postgraduate study (20%). Just under one-third of respondents (31%) had completed secondary education, with only 3% reporting that their level of education was less than high school (secondary).

When it came to formal study of military history, however, only 47% reported having studied military history at some level (Table 4). Most had studied military history at high school.

Table 4: Sample breakdown, based on formal study of military history

Level of study	Percentage of Respondents
Studied Military History	47%
University / Other	9%
High School	38%
Primary school	13%

Annual household income

Annual household incomes were relatively evenly distributed (Table 5). Approximately half of respondents reported an annual household income below \$100,000, while the other half reported an annual household income over \$100,000.

Table 5: Sample breakdown, by annual household income

Annual household income	Percentage of Respondents
\$50,000 or less	20%
\$50,000 - \$74,999	16%
\$75,000 - \$99,999	16%
\$100,000 - \$149,999	24%
\$150,000 +	24%

Voting preference

Voting preferences among our sample cohort reflected broadly the political landscape in Australia. Most respondents indicated a preference for one of the two major parties: 34% favoured the Australian Labor Party, while 32% preferred the Liberal Party. The Greens were the third most identified party (12%), followed by the National Party (3%). Meanwhile, 9% indicated a preference for 'other' parties or candidates.

Military background

75% of respondents reported having no military background. Three percent of respondents were currently serving or had served in the Australian Defence Force (ADF), while 11% had an immediate family member who currently or previously served in the ADF. Slightly more (13%) had an extended family member who current or previously served in the ADF. Although only 25% of the sample (n= 376) reported any military background, this cohort offered insight into whether military background affected respondents' answers, particularly their knowledge of Australian military history.

Understanding of Australian military history

- Respondents were generally interested in Australian military history, but not very knowledgeable about it.
- Knowledge of specific conflicts varied, with the two world wars and the Vietnam War being the most well-known among respondents.
- Pre-1914 conflicts, including the Frontier Wars, were not well-known.
- Respondents felt they knew most about the history of the Australian Army's activities, with only 12% indicating greater knowledge of either the Navy or the Air Force.
- 28% of respondents did not believe that the commitment of Australian forces to *any* listed conflict was in Australia's best interests.

Interest in and knowledge of Australian military history

Given the absence of past polling on this subject, the survey first aimed to establish attitudes within Australia towards the country's military history. The results paint a picture of a population that is interested in Australian military history but does not necessarily know a great deal about it; a point that is seemingly confirmed by other findings in the survey.

When asked if they had an interest in Australian military history, just over half of respondents either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed'; 17% 'disagreed' or 'strongly disagreed'. Approximately one-third of respondents expressed a neutral view on the issue (Figure 1).

Respondents were, however, less certain when it came to their knowledge about this history. Only 32% of respondents believed they were knowledgeable on the subject, while 33% disagreed or strongly disagreed (Figure 2).

While they felt more confidently that they knew more about Australian military history than that of other countries (46% answered 'strongly agree' or 'agree' to this question), a

substantial minority (25%) still indicated they were unfamiliar with Australian military history (Figure 3).

Knowledge of specific conflicts

Having established a baseline for respondents' knowledge of Australian military history generally, the survey sought to determine whether respondents' knowledge of Australian military history differed between conflicts. In this case, the authors also aimed to differentiate between respondents' awareness of a conflict, and their awareness of *Australian* involvement therein. To this end, respondents were asked to indicate first their general awareness about 14 conflicts, followed by their awareness of Australian involvement in those same conflicts.

The results (Figures 4 and 5) show that these conflicts can be grouped into three categories:

- those of which respondents know little generally, and even less about direct Australian involvement;
- those that respondents are generally aware of, but not necessarily of Australian involvement; and,

- those in which most respondents derive their knowledge from Australian involvement.

The conflicts of the 19th and early 20th centuries—the New Zealand Wars, the Sudan in 1885, the Second Boer or South African War, and the Boxer Rebellion—fell firmly into the first category. For example, only 6% of respondents indicated that they were aware Australia was involved in the Boxer Rebellion, down from the 15% who knew of the conflict at all. Alarming, Australia's own Frontier Wars also fit into this category. Just 10% of respondents knew of them, suggesting that the enormous body of academic work on these wars that has been produced over the last thirty years has yet to cross over into the public consciousness—or at least not when framed as the “Frontier Wars”. This is despite recent increased media coverage surrounding the call for formal recognition of the Frontier Wars.

The second category—conflicts of which Australians were aware but not necessarily of Australian involvement—encompasses both World Wars, the Korean and Vietnam Wars, and the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars. Unsurprisingly, most respondents were aware of World War 1 and World War 2 (83% and 87% respectively) followed by the Vietnam War (79%), the Iraq War (70%), the war in Afghanistan (69%), the Gulf War (61%) and the Korean War (55%). Majorities of respondents were also aware of Australian involvement in all these conflicts, except for the Gulf War (39%) and the Korean War (32%). However, the category gets its name because there was often a substantial gap between the number of respondents who knew of a conflict and the number who were aware of Australian involvement. There was a 20-point difference, for instance, between those who were aware of the Iraq War (70%) and those

who were aware of Australian involvement in the conflict (50%).

The final category are conflicts in which most respondents seemed to derive their knowledge of the conflict itself from Australian involvement. This is because the number of respondents who answered that they were aware of the conflict matched almost exactly with the number of respondents who said they were aware of Australian involvement. The two conflicts in question were the Malayan Emergency and peacekeeping in East Timor/Timor-Leste between 1999 and 2012. Perhaps unsurprisingly given the very low number of Australian casualties and its lack of cultural cachet, only 11% of respondents were aware of the Malayan Emergency, while 11% were also aware of Australian involvement. More surprisingly, however, given their duration and celebration, only 45% of respondents were aware of the peacekeeping deployments to East Timor/Timor-Leste, with 43% of respondents aware of Australian involvement therein.

Taken together, these figures (in addition to those later in the survey) clearly invite additional research into how Australian audiences learn about history, and in particular the role of international media and popular culture in this process. What explains, for example the 20-point difference between those aware of the Korean War and those aware of Australian participation in it? Questions may also be asked about the ability of academic research to find a mainstream audience. The example of the Frontier Wars has already been cited, but bears repeating, and the significant academic work on the topic appears to have had little impact on the public's understanding of this conflict.

Knowledge by service

Another point of interest for the research team was whether there was a noticeable difference in respondents' understanding of Australian military history as it relates to each arm of the ADF; that is, the Australian Army (Army), the Royal Australian Navy (Navy), and the Royal Australian Air Force (Air Force).

Most respondents fell into one of two groups: almost half (48%) indicated they had a better understanding of the operations and activities of the Army than the Navy or the Air Force, while a further 42% did not know or did not identify one service over another. Only a small minority, 12% in both cases, answered in favour of the Navy or Air Force (Figure 6).¹³

Responses varied slightly based on respondents' gender and age. Women were more likely to either not know or indicate no preference, with a majority of men favouring the Army. The youngest (18–29) and oldest (70–100) age groups were slightly more decisive than other age groups, and both favoured the Army.

Separately, respondents with no military background were more than twice as likely to either not know or to indicate no preference: 49% compared with respondents with any military background (23%). The latter were more likely to preference the Army (61%) but also indicated a stronger awareness of both the Navy and Air Force (18% for both services) than the broader sample.

As other findings in this report suggest, respondents' weaker understanding of the activities of the Navy and Air Force may be the result of two related factors. First, there is

what Beaumont has termed the “problem of visibility”; that is, the difficulties associated with commemorating naval and air operations, which often lack a tangible battlefield.¹⁴ Second, the Anzac legend remains “chiefly an army legend”. Indeed, one Chief of Army, Lieutenant General David Morrison, admitted “a collective amnesia” when it comes to the history of the Navy, in particular.¹⁵ The results of this survey appear to confirm these earlier assessments.

The decision to go to war

The final question in this section of the survey sought to gauge public opinion on the commitment of Australian forces to each of these conflicts, noting the critical discourse surrounding the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars, in particular. Respondents were asked if they agreed that the Australian government's decision to commit troops to a conflict was in the nation's best interest (Figure 7). Nine conflicts were listed, with a further option (“none of these”) available for those who wished to indicate a lack of agreement for all conflicts.

World War 2 was the only conflict in which most respondents believed the decision to commit troops was in Australia's best interests, and even then, this was only 59%. The next highest was World War 1 (49%), followed by the peacekeeping operation in East Timor/Timor Leste (34%). Most of the remainder fell in the teens or low twenties.

More notable, however, was the solid 28% of respondents who answered, “none of

¹³ These percentages do not total 100%, as respondents were able to select more than one option.

¹⁴ Joan Beaumont, “Australian Military Historiography”, *War & Society* 41, 1 (2022): 108.

¹⁵ James Brown, *Anzac's Long Shadow: The Cost of our National Obsession* (Collingwood, Vic: Black Inc, 2014), 91–2.

these”. This option ranked fourth, with political leanings seemingly affecting the likelihood of this response: 37% of Greens voters and 44% of National Party/Other voters selected this option, with only 1 in 5 Liberal Party voters selecting the same option.

Divergence also appeared based on several other demographic markers, including respondents’ gender and geographic location. Women were more likely to choose the “none of these” option. They were less likely than men to agree that the commitment of Australian troops to each conflict was in the nation’s interest, with

this difference more notable for historical conflicts than more recent wars.

Regional respondents were more supportive of the commitment of Australian forces to all listed conflicts, and they were less likely to choose the “none of these” option. Similarly, respondents with a military background were notably more supportive of Australian involvement in these conflicts. This was particularly evident regarding the peacekeeping mission in East Timor/Timor Leste, where an almost 20-point difference was evident (48% compared with 29% of those without any military background).

Learning about Australian military history

- Most respondents had not formally studied Australian military history, and most were not interested in learning more about Australia's military history (though over half expressed interest in learning more about World War 2).
- Respondents sourced most of their knowledge about Australian military history from a diverse range of sources, including both formal and informal settings. The most popular sources of information, however, were not always the most trusted.
- Outside of the world wars, no other conflict received majority support from respondents when it came to which conflicts should be covered in school curricula.
- Respondents were more interested in personal stories over any other aspect within Australian military history.

Formal education in history and Australian military history

Having assessed respondents' knowledge of Australian military history generally and across conflicts, the next section of the survey focused on how respondents learned about Australian military history. First, respondents were asked two questions to gauge their level of formal education in history generally and Australian military history specifically.

Formal history education was a common experience for respondents (Figure 8): 71% reported they had studied history at a high school level, wherein formal study also appeared to be concentrated. Slightly less than one-third of respondents (32%) had studied history at primary school, with fewer than 1 in 5 (18%) respondents having studied history at university. Few respondents had not formally studied history at any level (12%).

When it came to Australian military history, however, the rate of formal study dropped significantly (Figure 9). Most respondents (53%) had not formally studied Australian military history at any level. Among those that had studied Australian military history, most study had again occurred at the high school level (38%), demonstrating the importance of

high school curricula in determining what Australians may learn about their military history. Some had also studied military history at primary school (13%), university (7%), or at another location (2%).

Although formal study of history was common to all respondents, subtle yet important variations by respondents' demographic were apparent and should be noted. Age emerged as a differentiating factor in respondents' level of formal history education. Forty percent of those aged 18–29 studied history at primary school, but the percentage of respondents who had studied history at primary school decreased across each consecutive age cohort; only 28% of respondents aged 70–100 studied history at primary school. Experience of a university-level history education was greater among respondents aged between 18–29 and 50–59 (approximately 20%), and smaller among those aged over 60 (approximately 13%).

Further differences emerged across the sample when the formal study of history was contrasted with the formal study of Australian military history specifically. Respondents of all ages were considerably more likely to have studied history in general than Australian military history specifically. A clear

progression was visible across age groups, with the number of respondents without any formal education in Australian military history increasing with age. While nearly 2 in 5 respondents aged 18–29 had not formally studied military history, this rose significantly among those aged 60–69 and 70–100. Among the latter, the percentage that had not formally studied Australian military history (71%) was more than 4.5 times greater than the percentage that had not formally studied history (15%). Nonetheless, the younger cohorts were not resoundingly more highly educated by comparison. Although 51% of respondents in the 18–29 cohort had studied Australian military history at high school, 39% had not formally studied Australian military history at any level, further demonstrating the diverse experiences across age groups.

Similar contrasts between the study of history in general and Australian military history specifically emerged when considering respondents' household income. A similar percentage of respondents within each income bracket had formally studied history at the high school level. In contrast, the formal study of Australian military history specifically at the high school level varied between income brackets. Thirty-one percent of respondents in the lowest income bracket (\$50,000 or less) had formally studied Australian military history at high school, and this percentage increased steadily across each consecutive income bracket, with 43% of those in the highest income bracket (\$150,000+) having formally studied Australian military history at high school.

Sources of knowledge about Australian military history

Bearing in mind respondents' varying levels of formal education, both in general history and Australian military history, the survey turned

to the sources from which respondents gained their knowledge about Australian military history. Respondents were asked first to indicate all sources from which they gained most of their knowledge on the subject. They were then asked which sources they considered to be the *most trustworthy* for understanding Australia's military history. The research team made this distinction because the most common sources of information are not always the most trustworthy.

Our findings show that respondents sourced most of their knowledge about Australian military history from a diverse range of sources, including both formal (e.g., museums) and informal (e.g., Australian news outlets) settings (Figure 10). Nearly half of respondents gained their knowledge from Australian news outlets (45%), followed by museums or other historical sites (44%), war memorials (43%) and friends and/or family (41%). The data also reinforced our earlier findings about the contained role of educational institutions in respondents' learning: approximately one-third of respondents said most of their knowledge came from a formal education setting (primary/secondary school or university).

Popular and easily accessible sources of information, such as fiction (for example, films) and social media played a relatively small role for respondents. Twelve percent of respondents said that they did not receive or seek out information about Australian military history.

Demographics offered a more nuanced view. For instance, men were more likely than women to gain knowledge about Australian military history from museums or other historical sites, war memorials, and non-fiction mediums such as podcasts. Age also emerged as a differentiating factor in the

sources of information on which respondents relied. The three most popular sources differed in composition and order across age groups. Only those aged 18–29 ranked formal education settings in their top three sources of information, possibly reflecting the recency of this education. Although the degree of separation between the most popular and third most popular source of information in this cohort was less than 1%, it was also the only age group for whom friends and/or family were the greatest source of knowledge.

Similar age-based variances emerged when considering the popularity of sources across age groups. Australian news outlets were a greater source of knowledge for respondents aged 70–100 (63%) than they were for those aged 18–29 (35%). One-third of the latter relied more heavily on social media than their counterparts aged 60 and over, less than 10% of whom listed social media as a source of information. Although slightly more than one-third (35%) of 18–29-year-olds in our sample also sourced information from Australian news outlets, the marked difference between the youngest and oldest cohorts demonstrates a generational divide that is likely grounded in the technologies they most commonly use. In general, older age groups were more likely to source information from what might be considered “traditional” sources: museums, war memorials, and veterans and/or veterans’ associations. For instance, those aged 70–100 are twice as likely to source information from the latter when compared with the youngest cohort.

Notably, friends and/or family were a strong source of knowledge among respondents with any military background (57%) compared to those without any military background (36%), which perhaps reflects these respondents’ proximity to those

directly involved in making Australian military history.

The most popular sources of information, however, were not always the most trusted (Figure 11). Most respondents trusted museums and other historical sites (62%) and war memorials (60%), which were also relatively common sources of knowledge among respondents. Veterans and/or veterans’ associations were the third most trusted source for all age groups (45%), placing them well ahead of the next highest source: non-fiction mediums (33%).

In all but one instance, the composition and order of the top three most trusted sources was the same across age groups. The only exception was the 50–59 age group, for whom war memorials were ever so slightly (~1.5%) more trustworthy than museums and other historical sites. Although the youngest cohort (18–29) may not gain much of their knowledge from veterans and/or veterans’ associations, nearly three times as many respondents in this age group trusted them as a source (37% versus 13%). Trust in veterans and their associations increased consistently with age, rising to 57% among the 70–100 cohort. Approximately one-fifth agreed that primary/secondary school or university (20%) were trustworthy sources. Still, respondents were more likely to have gained most of their knowledge from any other source (excluding work).

Less than one-quarter of respondents (24%) believed that Australian news outlets were trustworthy, an interesting result as this was the most common source of knowledge among respondents. Again, divergences were most notable among those aged 70–100: 63% sourced their information from these news outlets, but only 24% trusted them. Likewise, only one-fifth of respondents believed that friends and/or family were among the most

trustworthy sources, yet many participants (41%) identified them as a source of knowledge.

Although one-third of those aged 18–29 sourced relevant information from social media, only 11% trusted it as a source. Trust in social media as a source dropped consistently across age groups (youngest to oldest), down to less than 1% among those aged 70–100. Curiously, one-quarter of respondents that had studied Australian military history at university believed that social media was a trustworthy source, which was greater than the proportion who believed that primary/secondary school or university was trustworthy (20%). This result was unique and was not observed in any other demographic group.

Interest in Australian military history

Although most respondents had not formally studied Australian military history specifically, they were also not necessarily interested in learning more about Australia's involvement in overseas conflicts (Figure 12). World War 2 (55%) and World War 1 (44%) were of the greatest interest to respondents, and some (32%) also expressed an interest toward the Vietnam War. By contrast, between 10% and 20% (approximately) of respondents expressed an interest in learning more about Australia's involvement in each of the other conflicts listed.

Little variation in sentiment was observed between different demographics. Yet some subtle but notable variation in respondents' attitudes toward some of these conflicts was apparent. For example, those aged 18–29 were nearly twice as likely as those aged 70–100 to be interested in learning more about Australia's involvement in the New Zealand Wars (22% compared to 8%). Similarly, those within the highest income bracket were twice

as likely as those within the lowest to be interested in knowing more about Australia's involvement in the Afghanistan War (29% compared to 14%). Additional research would be useful to understand the factors influencing how different Australian audiences evaluate their interests in learning about Australia's involvement in overseas conflicts.

Nonetheless, our survey data revealed the aspects of military history that interested respondents (Figure 13). More than half (54%) of respondents expressed an interest in personal stories, which was the only aspect to receive majority agreement among respondents, regardless of demographics. There was only one exception to this rule: respondents who identified as Greens voters were slightly more interested in the social and cultural impact of war than personal stories (49% versus 48%). This was also an aspect of interest for 40% of respondents more generally. Fewer respondents were interested in specific battles (27%) and coalitions and alliances (22%).

Still, there was some demographic variation. More women than men were interested in personal stories (61% versus 47%) and the social and cultural impact of war (44% versus 35%), while more men than women were interested in specific battles (34% versus 19%) and coalitions and alliances (27% versus 17%). Although this finding should not be taken as a rule that applies to all men and women, it does appear to reflect gendered perceptions of public interest in aspects of military history.

Australian military history and the school curriculum

Participants were divided on the question of which conflicts, if any, should be covered in the Australian primary and secondary

curriculum (Figure 14). The significant variability in responses to this question possibly reflected the low level of formal education in Australian military history among the respondents, and their overall low interest in learning more about Australians' involvement in overseas conflicts.

Consensus among respondents was observed toward two conflicts only. Nearly three-quarters supported the inclusion of World War 2 in the curriculum (73%) and 66% supported the inclusion of World War 1—both of which are already included in school curricula. Strong support for the inclusion of the two world wars in the curriculum may be correlated with knowledge, as respondents were much more aware of Australian involvement in each of these conflicts (79% and 71% respectively) compared to others.

Outside of the world wars, no other conflict received majority support from respondents. Nonetheless, nearly half of respondents (48%) supported inclusion of the Vietnam War in Australian school curricula. Approximately one-third of respondents also favoured inclusion of the Afghanistan War (35%) and the Iraq War (31%). Nearly one-third (29%) also agreed that curricula should feature the Australian peacekeeping mission in East Timor. Respondents' support for the inclusion of all other listed conflicts in the primary and secondary school curriculum was one-quarter or less; 13% of respondents believed that no conflict should be included in the curriculum.

While more than 50% of respondents in each age cohort supported the inclusion of both world wars, agreement was greater among those aged 50 and over. A strong consensus was observed among those aged 70-100 (83% for World War 2, and 79% for World War 1). Although most respondents had not studied Australian military history at school, our

survey data also shows that these older cohorts were much less likely to have studied Australian military history at either primary school or high school compared to the younger cohorts, and stronger attitudes among older respondents may reflect these comparatively limited study opportunities.

The data also indicates a correlation between respondents' awareness of Australian involvement in each conflict and their preference for its inclusion in Australian school curricula. For both questions (Figures 5 and 14), the ranking of conflicts remained largely the same, though there was some variation when it came to which conflicts ranked ninth to thirteenth. The top eight conflicts (from highest to lowest) were: World War 2; World War 1; the Vietnam War; the Afghanistan War; the Iraq War; peacekeeping in East Timor; the Gulf War; and the Korean War. Likewise, the two conflicts which received the least support in relation to their inclusion in school curricula—the Boxer Rebellion and the war in Sudan—were also those for which public awareness was lowest.

Further reinforcing the influence of knowledge, respondents who had studied military history also expressed slightly greater support compared to the net result. For example, 38% of respondents who had studied military history supported the inclusion of the Afghanistan War compared to 35% of the broader sample.

As was the case with the world wars, age was also an influencing factor. Our data does not indicate any clear preference among respondents towards conflicts that occurred in their lifetime. For instance, younger respondents were no more likely to favour inclusion of recent conflicts such as the Afghanistan and Iraq Wars than their older counterparts. Still, support was higher among respondents in older cohorts. For example,

respondents aged 70 – 100 were nearly twice as likely as those aged 18 – 29 to support the inclusion of Peacekeeping in East Timor (40% compared to 22%).

Our data also suggests that respondents considered that learning about certain conflicts was less important overall. For example, there was little variation in the level of support for the inclusion of the war in Sudan (9%) across demographics including age, political party preference, military background and whether military history had been studied. Very few respondents (10%) expressed an interest in learning more about Australia's involvement in this conflict.

Variation by political allegiance also emerged, with higher support observed generally among Independent voters. For example, there was a 16-point difference between Independent (43%) and Liberal voters (27%), and a 21-point difference between Independent and National Party/Other voters (24%) toward the inclusion of Peacekeeping in East Timor. Whether respondents had any military experience also appeared to influence responses: those with any military background were more likely than respondents with no military background to agree that the Vietnam War (57% versus 46%), Iraq War (38% versus 29%) and Afghanistan War (39% versus 34%) should be included in school curricula.

Voting preference also affected opinions toward specific conflicts. For example, Greens (17%) and Independent (17%) voters were nearly twice as likely as Liberal voters (9%) to support the inclusion of the Frontier

Wars in school curricula. Greens (14%) and Independent (16%) voters were also more interested in learning about this topic compared to Liberal votes (9%).

Notably, the net results indicated that respondents were more likely to think that no conflicts should be covered in Australian school curricula (13%), than they were to support the inclusion of pre-World War 1 conflicts, including: the Second Boer War/South African War (12%); the Frontier Wars (12%); the Boxer Rebellion (10%); and Sudan (9%). This finding also applied to the Malayan Emergency (11%).

Again, there were demographic variations among those who selected this option. The perception that no conflict should be included in school curricula varied depending on respondents' age, political party preference and military experience. A greater percentage of those aged 18–29, 30–39 and 40–49 expressed that no conflict should be included, compared to those in older cohorts. Nearly one-quarter (24%) of National Party/Other voters thought that no conflict should be included, a percentage that was at least nine points greater than that of any other party group.

Respondents without any military background (15%) were also 2.5 times more likely than those from any military background (6%) to believe that no conflict should be included. Likewise, those that had studied military history were less likely to believe that no conflict should be included (8% compared to the net 13%).

Engagement with Australian military history

- Respondents expressed little engagement with general activities related to Australian military history, but there were clear differences in engagement based on age, gender, military background, and education.
- Respondents believed overwhelmingly that Anzac Day was important to Australians today, with nearly two-thirds having attended at least one Anzac Day service—but few engaged regularly with Anzac Day activities.
- Although most respondents were happy with the attention paid to Australian military history by historians and politicians, around one-third believed the attention paid by both parties is insufficient.

Engagement with general activities related to Australian military history

The third section of our survey attempted to gauge public engagement with Australian military history both generally and in relation to the preeminent day in Australia's national commemorative calendar: Anzac Day. First, respondents were provided a list of common modes of engagement with Australian military history, including (but not limited to) visiting a war memorial, watching a war-related film, attending a commemorative or memorial event, or listening to a podcast about military history. Respondents were asked whether they had engaged in any of these activities in the last year, with respondents able to check all activities that applied to them.

The results demonstrated a marked lack of engagement with military history-related activities (Figure 15). Although respondents were more likely to have visited a war memorial or watched a war-related film in the past year, less than one-third of respondents had done so. Approximately 1 in 4 respondents had watched a documentary about military history in this period, while 1 in 5 had visited a war museum. Fewer still (15%)

had attended a commemorative or memorial event such as Anzac Day in this time.

There was, however, one exception to this rule: those who had studied military history at any level. This group accounted for just under half of the broader cohort, accounting for 703 respondents. Among these individuals, reported engagement was well above the net result for all activities. Those who had studied military history at university were often (but not always) most engaged, with 16% having visited a battlefield in the last 12 months, compared with 7% who had studied military history in high school, and 5% among the broader sample.

Variances in reported engagement emerged across most other demographic markers. Across the board, men were more likely than women to engage in all specified activities. In terms of age, younger respondents were more likely to have visited a war memorial or war museum than older cohorts, with those aged 18–29 most likely to have attended a commemorative or memorial event in the past 12 months. Meanwhile, those aged 70–100 were most likely to have watched a documentary about military history, read a non-fiction book on the subject, or conducted their own research into military history.

Likewise, those with any military background reported higher engagement than their non-military counterparts, as did respondents from higher-income households (Figure 28). For the former, this may reflect the broader interest in and proximity to these activities demonstrated by respondents within this cohort. For the latter, higher engagement, particularly when it comes to battlefield visitation, may reflect greater financial wherewithal to facilitate such activities; that is, those with a lower household income may be less able to travel overseas to visit battlefield, noting Australian battlefields are primarily located outside Australia.

Engagement with Anzac Day

As noted in the introduction to this report, Anzac Day attendance numbers have long been used by politicians and historians as an indicator of the Australian public's engagement with the nation's military past, with recent attendance figures taken to indicate a downturn in public interest. This survey sought to shed further light on public engagement with Anzac Day by asking respondents whether they had ever attended an Anzac Day service, whether they regularly engaged in Anzac Day activities, and whether they thought Anzac Day remained important to Australians today.

A clear majority (65%) of respondents indicated that they had attended an Anzac Day service at some point (Figure 16). Regional respondents were more likely than their metropolitan counterparts to have attended at least one Anzac Day service (78% compared to 58%), as were those with any military background (87%) and those who studied military history at any level (73%). Each of these cohorts' reported attendance exceeded the net level among the broader cohort.

There was notable variation depending on respondents' place of residence. Victorian respondents reported the lowest attendance rate (54%) compared with 75% of Queenslanders, 73% from "Other" locations (which included the ACT and Tasmania), and 70% of West Australians.

Among the 979 people who had attended at least one Anzac Day service, 51% reported that they regularly engage with Anzac Day activities broadly (Figure 17). Such engagement was not, however, a determining factor in respondents' position on the importance of Anzac Day. An overwhelming 88% of all respondents believed that Anzac Day was important to Australians today (51% strongly agreed, and 37% agreed). Most of the remaining respondents were neutral on the subject, with only 2% disagreeing or strongly disagreeing with the importance of Anzac Day today (Figure 18).

This trend was replicated across all age groups, though younger respondents were more likely than older age groups to hold a neutral position. Strong agreement with the importance of Anzac Day also increased markedly with respondents' age, rising from 43% among those aged 18–29 to 71% for those aged 70–100.

Generally, divides emerged along political lines. While Liberal-aligned respondents were most likely to have attended at least one Anzac Day service, slightly ahead of Labor-voting respondents, those who associated themselves with the National Party/Other were least likely to have attended an Anzac Day.

Among those who attended at least one Anzac Day service, however, fewer respondents reported engaging regularly with Anzac Day activities, regardless of their political affiliation. In this instance, 57% of Liberal voters within this cohort regularly

engaged with these activities, with Independent-aligned respondents least likely to engage regularly (40%), behind National/Other (45%).

Nonetheless, regardless of their politics or their frequency of engagement with Anzac Day, respondents believed overwhelmingly that Anzac Day was important to Australians today. There was an 11-point difference between the most supportive and least supportive based on political alignment (93% among Liberal-aligned respondents compared to 82% for preferencing The Greens). Five percent of Greens-aligned respondents also disagreed with Anzac Day's contemporary importance.

Opinion on the attention paid to Australian military history

Finally, this section sought to gauge public opinion when it comes to how much attention is paid to Australia's military history by politicians and historians, compared with other events in Australian history. In recent decades, historians in the academy have scrutinised the emphasis placed on Australia's military past by successive governments, especially the funding given to preserving Australia's military history, over other aspects of the nation's past.¹⁶

Our survey indicates that a slim majority (55%) of respondents believe historians have paid an appropriate level of attention to Australia's military history, though 30% suggested that the attention paid was insufficient (Figure 19). Respondents were slightly less content with the attention paid by Australian politicians (Figure 20): 46% thought their level of attention appropriate,

while 36% thought it insufficient. Respondents' positions did, however, differ across some demographics, including age, military background, and household income. Those aged 60 and over were slightly more critical of the level of attention afforded to Australia's military history compared to other events in Australia's history, desiring greater attention from both historians and politicians. Meanwhile, respondents with any military background, perhaps unsurprisingly, also demonstrated a desire for more attention from both historians and politicians on this subject. Among this cohort, approximately 2 in 5 respondents believed "somewhat too little" or "far too little" attention was being paid to Australia's military history by historians (37%) and politicians (43%). Respondents with the lowest household income were also more likely to desire greater attention to Australian military history from both historians and politicians.

Finally, notable differences in opinion emerged in relation to respondents' political alignment. Liberal-associated respondents were almost as likely to think the attention paid to Australian military history was appropriate as they were to consider it insufficient (46% versus 43%). They were also the most unhappy with the level of attention paid by politicians, followed closely by Independent voters (42%) and National Party/Other voters (41%); an interesting finding, given the latter were least likely to have attended an Anzac Day service. On the other hand, Greens voters among our respondents were an outlier, with 18% believing politicians paid too much attention to Australian military history over other

¹⁶ See, for example, Kelly Burke, "Australian War Memorial funding dwarfed that of other cultural institutions in Coalition's final years", *The Guardian*, 30 March 2023,

<https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2023/mar/30/australian-war-memorial-funding-dwarfed-that-of-other-cultural-institutions-in-coalitions-final-years>.

events: 9% far too much, and 10% somewhat too much.

Conflicts in Australia's military history

- Opinion on recognising the Frontier Wars as “Australian Wars” was uncertain, with most neutral or undecided.
- Opinion on whether Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Peoples resisted European colonisation was more decisive: over half (55%) agreed they resisted colonisation, while only 7% disagreed.
- Tobruk was the most-recognised event in the Mediterranean during World War 2, but a staggering 41.5% of respondents had not heard of *any* listed activities in this theatre.
- Knowledge of events in the Pacific during World War 2 was notably stronger, even when Australians were not involved in the listed event (e.g., the battle of Midway).

The Frontier Wars

This section of the survey asked respondents a series of targeted questions about three conflicts in Australia's military history: the Frontier Wars, World War 1, and World War 2. These questions sought to gather more detailed data on what respondents know and think about these conflicts.

Respondents were asked two questions about the Frontier Wars. The first focused on the question of official recognition of the Frontier Wars as Australian wars, rather than colonial conflict—a question that has emerged as a point of contention in public and academic discourse in recent years.¹⁷ The second engaged with the pervasive myth of peaceful settlement of Australia, which holds that British colonisation was not resisted by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples; that Australia was settled, not invaded, occupied, and colonised.

The results of our survey demonstrate that public opinion on the status of the Frontier

Wars as “Australian wars” akin to later conflicts, and their official recognition as such, is uncertain (Figure 21). Although only 4% of respondents opposed official recognition being granted to this conflict, less than one-third of respondents answered affirmatively (6% strongly agree, 23% agree). Most respondents were undecided on the subject (37% “don’t know”), while a further 29% were neutral.

There were some points of difference based on demographics that are worth highlighting. Respondents with any military background, were more likely to support *and* oppose official recognition of the Frontier Wars than their non-military background counterparts. Those from higher-income households were also more supportive of official recognition (33% compared to 21% in the lowest income bracket). However, this trend was not replicated in net disagreement, which remained steady at between 3% and 5% across income brackets. Support was also higher than the net (29%) among those who

¹⁷ See, for example: Alan Stephens, “Reconciliation means recognising the Frontier Wars”, *ABC News*, 7 July 2014, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-07-07/stephens-reconciliation-means-recognising-the-frontier-wars/5577436>;

Claudianna Blanco, “What were the Australian Wars and why is history not acknowledged?”, *SBS*, 14 May 2024, <https://www.sbs.com.au/language/english/en/podcast-episode/what-were-the-australian-wars-and-why-is-history-not-acknowledged/n86cyq00f>.

had studied military history (39%), especially those who did so at university (51%). This was also the case for those who had a tertiary (31%) or postgraduate level of education generally (34%).

Political affiliation also offered interesting insights in this area. Despite the Liberal-National Coalition's recent opposition to the concept of the Frontier Wars as "Australian wars", as well as their inclusion in the Australian War Memorial's galleries, respondents aligned with their parties were less sure of their position.¹⁸ One in five National Party/Other respondents and nearly one-third (31%) of their Liberal-identifying counterparts agreed with official recognition of the Frontier Wars. Firm opposition was low for Liberals (4%) and National Party/Other (7%), though the latter recorded the highest level of opposition to official recognition. Still, most respondents, regardless of political alignment, were neutral or undecided ("don't know"), with nearly half (46%) of National Party/Other voters indicating they did not know how they felt on the subject.

By contrast, opinion on whether Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples resisted European colonisation was more decisive (Figure 22): over half (55%) of respondents agreed that European colonisation was resisted (18% strongly agree, 37% agree), with only 7% disagreeing or strongly disagreeing. One in five (22%) remained neutral, with a further 16% again responding "don't know".

Again, there were some differences based on demographics. Those aged 60 and over were least likely to believe that European colonisation was resisted (12% of both 60–69 and 70–100). Still, nearly half (48%) of those

aged 70–100 and over half (55%) of those aged 60–69 agreed that colonisation was resisted. The highest level of agreement (59%) was seen among those aged 30–39. Those with the highest household income again exhibited the highest level of agreement (63%), along with Greens and Independent voters (64% and 65% respectively), and those who studied military history (57%), especially at a university level (62%).

World War 1

Given the predominance of World War 1 and Gallipoli within the Australian commemorative landscape, this survey also asked respondents two questions about the World War 1: where did the most Australians serve and die during World War 1? Respondents were able to choose from three options: Gallipoli, the Western Front (France/Belgium), and the Middle East. These questions sought to test a hypothesis: that the Australian public might not know where most Australians served and died in this conflict, and, when asked, might tend to favour Gallipoli based on its centrality in the national consciousness. For this reason, respondents were not offered a "don't know" option, as the aim was to test what their "best guess" would be, not whether they knew the answer to the question outright.

The survey results appear to confirm our hypothesis. According to the Department of Veterans' Affairs, over 330,000 Australians served overseas during World War 1, many across multiple theatres of war, including Gallipoli, the Western Front and the Middle East. More than 50,000 served at Gallipoli, with over 8,700 killed there. Most Australians (295,000+) served and died (~46,000) on the

¹⁸ Bernard Keane, "Coalition, RSL Campaign to Keep War Memorial as a Military Theme Park", *Crikey*, 13 October 2022,

<https://www.crikey.com.au/2022/10/13/coalition-rsl-campaign-war-memorial-military-theme-park/>.

Western Front. Approximately 1,300 died in the Middle East, where more than 20,000 Australians fought.¹⁹

Our survey showed, however, that a clear majority of respondents believed most Australians served (58%) and died (62%) at Gallipoli (Figures 23 and 24). One-third correctly identified the Western Front as the theatre in which most Australians served and died, with the remainder selecting the Middle East. These net results were skewed slightly by female respondents, who more often chose Gallipoli for both questions. Approximately two-thirds of women thought most Australians served (64%) and died (68%) at Gallipoli, compared with 52% and 57% of men, respectively. While it is not possible from this survey to determine conclusively the reasoning for this misunderstanding, it is possible that the conspicuousness of Gallipoli may have led to a confirmation bias among the Australian public. That is, Gallipoli's eminence translates to a belief that most Australians must have served and died at Gallipoli.

A clear trend was also visible across the various age groups. While the 18–29 cohort's responses almost exactly matched the net result for both questions, the rate of selection for Gallipoli dropped with age, indicating that age may be a defining factor in respondents' knowledge. For instance, half of those aged 70–100 correctly chose the Western Front for the theatre in which most Australians served, compared with only one-quarter of those aged 30–39.

Notably, respondents' military background and education level did not affect their response to these questions, which remained largely in line with the net results.

World War 2

Although Australians served globally during World War 2, this section of the survey focused on two primary theatres of this conflict: the Mediterranean and the Middle East, and the Pacific. In general, the Pacific War has been presented as the “real war” for Australia, wherein Australians fought in defence of their country. By contrast, the preceding campaigns in the Mediterranean and the Middle East between 1940 and 1943 have been cast as Australia's contribution to the imperial war. Moreover, the siege of Tobruk and Kokoda have emerged as two major Australian events during the war, holding key positions within the Australian national pantheon. The survey thus sought to determine whether respondents had heard of key events in each of these theatres, whether they held a greater awareness of events in one theatre over those in another, and whether they were more aware of certain battles, regardless of whether Australians were involved in them.

First, respondents were provided a list of seven significant events in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, all of which Australian soldiers, sailors and/or airmen were involved. Respondents were also able to indicate that they had not heard of any of the listed activities (Figure 26). The siege of Tobruk was the most recognised event in this theatre (41%), ahead of the battle of El Alamein (28%) and the battle for Crete (21%). Tobruk's recognition is perhaps unsurprising, given the esteemed position it has held since the war and the attention the siege receives each Anzac Day.

Some of the results were not surprising. The research team expected them to confirm a

¹⁹ Department of Veterans' Affairs, “Overview of Australia's Involvement in the First World War”, *Department of Veterans' Affairs*, 14 March 2023,

<https://www.dva.gov.au/media/media-backgrounders/overview-australias-involvement-first-world-war>.

lack of recognition among Australians regarding the invasion of Syria and Lebanon, given its broader lack of cultural cachet. Indeed, this was one of only two conflicts that was little known (<20%) by all age groups. Likewise, we anticipated that recognition of most events would increase with a respondents age, which the data from the survey confirmed. Respondents with any military background also demonstrated greater recognition of all listed military activities, and they were less likely to be unaware of any of them (27% compared with 47% of those with a non-military background).

There was, however, one particularly surprising finding: 41.5% of respondents had not heard of *any* of the listed activities in the Mediterranean and the Middle East—0.1% more than those who had heard of Tobruk. While men were more likely to have heard of each event than women, 33% of men still indicated a lack of awareness of all listed events. Although those who had studied military history at any level fared slightly better (32% were unaware of any of these activities), this data nonetheless indicates that Mediterranean and the Middle East campaigns and operations may not receive great coverage in formal education settings. This was unexpected and important, especially in conjunction with the results of the next question.

By contrast, respondents' knowledge of events in the Pacific was greater and more varied. Whereas the siege of Tobruk was the only Mediterranean event to be recognised by more than one-third of respondents, six events in the Pacific War exceeded this mark, with a further two known to at least 30% of respondents (Figure 27). The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was unsurprisingly the most recognised event (67%), followed by the bombing of Darwin (59%) and the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and

Nagasaki (57%). While Kokoda was the fourth-most known event (47%), it polled lower than we expected, given the focus that has been placed on this campaign since the 1990s by successive governments. The prisoner of war (POW) experience also appeared to be well known among respondents, with 37% aware of the Thai-Burma Railway and the internment of POWs in Changi Prison.

However, heightened awareness among older age groups inflated the net results, obscuring greater diversity in responses among age groups. Age emerged as a significant factor in determining whether a respondent had heard of the listed events, with knowledge of all events increasing with a respondent's age. Older age groups were more often aware of each listed event, with only 4% indicating they were unaware of any of them. Considerably more respondents aged 50 and over were aware of Pearl Harbor, the bombing of Darwin, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and Kokoda. For instance, although at least 55% of all age groups had heard of Pearl Harbor, this increased to 92% for those aged 70–100. Likewise, the Sandakan death marches were far less known by those aged 18–29 (12%) than by those aged 70–100 (43%). The exception to this rule was the 18–29 age group, however, which was not necessarily the least knowledgeable age group; it often reported greater awareness of listed events than the next-oldest cohort (30–39).

Further demographic differences are also evident in the data. Regional respondents were generally more knowledgeable than their metropolitan counterparts, demonstrating greater recognition of all listed events in the Pacific, sometimes by as much as 18% in the case of Kokoda. A regional-metropolitan divide was also evident in the Mediterranean and the Middle East: regional

respondents were more likely to be aware of Tobruk, El Alamein, and Crete, while their metropolitan counterparts were more likely to be aware of the battle for Greece, the invasion of Syria and Lebanon, and the battle of Cape Spada. Both were equally aware of the naval evacuation of Greece and Crete.

Likewise, those with any military background and those who had studied military history were both more knowledgeable. By political affiliation, Greens-aligned respondents were the least knowledgeable in most cases, with Independent voters most aware of all but one listed event: the battle of Buna-Gona.

Commemorating Australian military history

- Opinion on how the Frontier Wars should be recognised was undecided: most had not heard of the conflict, were undecided, or had no preference—but 16% favoured a dedicated gallery within the Australian War Memorial.
- Nearly one-third (31%) of respondents believed commemoration of *all* major Australian conflicts was inadequate. Only the world wars were considered by at least half of respondents to be adequately commemorated.
- Few respondents had visited major Australian battlefields, but most agreed that visiting a battlefield or the site of a military conflict gave them a greater understanding of that event.
- An overwhelming majority (85%) of respondents believe war veterans and veterans' associations have a central role in keeping the memory of their experiences alive.

The Frontier Wars

Commemoration of Australia's military history has occupied a prominent, if at times contentious, space in the popular consciousness. The final section of the survey focused on this aspect of Australian military history and heritage, interrogating respondents' general and specific attitudes toward the commemoration of this history.

A central point of discussion within current Australian commemorative discourse remains how Australia should commemorate the Frontier Wars. As noted earlier in this report, much of this discourse has centred on the inclusion or exclusion of this conflict from the galleries of the Australian War Memorial. To this end, we provided a list of commemorative options for respondents to consider before selecting their preferred option. These options ranged from the most prominent (inclusion in the existing Australian War Memorial galleries) to a new, dedicated National Frontier Wars Museum located in Canberra.

The results were indecisive (Figure 28). Twenty percent of respondents had not heard of the Frontier Wars, while 18% said they “did not know” and a further 14% reported no preference. Taken together, this

demonstrates that 52% were either unaware or non-committal to any form of commemoration when it came to the Frontier Wars. While inclusion of a dedicated Frontier Wars gallery in the existing Australian War Memorial galleries received the most support, this should not be overstated: only 16% of the 1,500 Australians surveyed favoured this option. Still, among those who were aware of the Frontier Wars there was a clear preference for a gallery in the Australian War Memorial (20%), although many also thought such a gallery was better suited to state and territory museums (14%). A further 9% eschewed the idea of a gallery and opted for a dedicated National Frontier Wars Museum located in Canberra. Only 4% of respondents believed the Frontier Wars should not be commemorated at all, regardless of whether they had heard of them or not. This view was disproportionately shared by older respondents aged over 70.

Adequacy of current commemoration

When it came to the adequacy of current commemoration of the specific conflicts highlighted in this study, respondents' views were not positive (Figure 29). Not surprisingly, this survey confirmed that popular knowledge

is dominated by the two world wars, and over half of respondents believed commemoration of World War 1 and World War 2 was adequate (53% and 55% respectively). However, no other conflict came close to this level of majority support. Less than one-third (29%) of respondents thought Australian commemoration of the Vietnam War was adequate, while responses for all other conflicts came in at 15% or less: six of the 14 conflicts listed were considered adequately commemorated by less than 10% of respondents. Moreover, nearly one-third of respondents believed the commemoration of *all* listed conflicts was inadequate (31% answered “none of the above”).

Some minor demographic differences were evident. In some cases, older respondents thought the level of commemoration more adequate than their younger counterparts. For example, 25% of those aged 70–100 thought the level of commemoration for the Korean War was appropriate, compared with only 10% of those aged 18–29 and 9% of those aged 30–39. However, this was not a trend visible across all age groups and conflicts. Similar inconsistency was evident between those with any military background and those without a military background. Those with any military background proved more content with the commemoration of some, but not all, conflicts. Overall, however, the results demonstrate little variance in respondents’ views based on demographic factors.

On the surface this suggests Australians see wide gaps in which conflicts are being adequately commemorated, which likely speaks to a deeper association that conflates knowledge of an event with an appropriate level of public commemoration. If the world wars are better known and understood, then they are more likely to be judged as adequately commemorated. If correct, this raises questions about whether people see

commemoration as being based on remembrance and acknowledgement, or education and instruction.

Battlefields and memory

The desire of Australians to explore their military history by visiting overseas battlefield memorials and historical sites is a tangible measure of interest in commemoration. Of course, the distances and costs required make this prohibitively expensive and, perhaps not surprisingly, 69% of all respondents had not visited any of the ten listed destinations (Figure 30). The only battlefield visited by at least 1 in 10 respondents was Changi, which was visited by a net 11% of respondents. This potentially reflects the proximity of Singapore to Australia, with the next two most-visited battlefields being the Western Front and Gallipoli (8% for both).

The survey data allows a closer insight into the factors that do (or do not) appear to affect battlefield visitation. Men were more likely than women to visit most listed sites, including the top three most-visited battlefields. Only two destinations (El Alamein and Long Tan) were equally visited by men and women, though visitation was very low overall at 4% and 2% respectively. The other eight historical sites were more often attended by Australian men, who were sometimes twice as likely to visit a specific site. Australians with a military background proved much more likely to visit overseas battlefield memorials and historical sites. They were better represented at every destination, sometimes by a wide margin.

Lack of visitation at sites such as El Alamein, Tobruk, Kokoda, and Long Tan is not too surprising, given the geopolitical and terrain-based factors that affect the accessibility of these sites. For instance, while Australian

tourism to Vietnam has surged, rising by 35.4% (423,630) in 2024, sensitivities around the memorial at Long Tan, combined with access restrictions given its isolated location on private land, have made it difficult for battlefield tourism akin to that on the Western Front or at Gallipoli to take off.²⁰

Nonetheless, education levels emerged as a determining factor for some sites. Respondents with a postgraduate education were approximately twice as likely to have visited the Western Front (13% compared to 7%), Changi (16% compared to 8%) and the Thai-Burma Railway (10% compared to 6%). They were also more likely to have visited all other sites except Gallipoli, for which visitation was equal among high school and postgraduate-educated respondents (8%). Separately, those with any military background were also more likely to have visited each listed site, possibly reflecting a greater interest and/or military service-based visits to these sites, including Defence battlefield tours and commemorative services.

Low visitation numbers among respondents did not, however, appear to correlate with a belief in their irrelevance within the commemorative sphere. When asked if visiting a battlefield or site of a military conflict gave them a greater understanding of that event, 64% of respondents broadly agreed (19% strongly agree, 46% agree) (Figure 31). Only 6% broadly disagreed, while 9% were unsure (“don’t know”). A closer look at the demographic data indicated that the link between visiting a battlefield or historical site and a greater understanding of the event

itself was especially strong among younger respondents: 70% of those aged 18–29 found value in visiting a battlefield, followed by 63% of both the 30–39 and 40–49 cohorts. Among those aged 70–100, affirmative responses dropped to just over half (53%), with this group also slightly more likely to disagree (8% compared to 5% of those aged 18–29). Meanwhile, approximately 1 in 5 respondents in each age group was neutral on the subject. A similar trend emerged across household income brackets, with agreement increasing in line with household income.

While 71% of those in the highest income bracket answered affirmatively, only 53% of those in the lowest income bracket did so. When it came to political alignment, Liberal respondents were more likely both to have visited each of the listed battlefields or historical sites, and to believe they were an important element in conveying knowledge of the events they commemorated. Seventy percent of this cohort responded affirmatively, compared to 53% of National Party/Other respondents. Those who studied military history at any level were also more likely to agree with the importance of battlefields in commemoration, with a net result of 75% agreement.

Regionally there was another divide. While the major Australian states were relatively consistent in their support of the contention (all between 62% and 67%), South Australians proved more sceptical. Only 54% endorsed visiting a battlefield to enhance an understanding of the event, while Tasmania and the territories were by far the most

²⁰ Australian Travel Industry Association, “Australians embrace Japan, Vietnam and Indonesia as travel surges in 2024”, media release, 12 December 2024, [https://atia.travel/Resources/Latest-News/australians-embrace-japan-vietnam-and-](https://atia.travel/Resources/Latest-News/australians-embrace-japan-vietnam-and-indonesia-as-travel-surges-in-2024)

[indonesia-as-travel-surges-in-2024](https://hcmc.vietnam.embassy.gov.au/hchi/LongTanCross.html); “Long Tan Cross”, Australian-Consulate General, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, accessed 1 June 2025, <https://hcmc.vietnam.embassy.gov.au/hchi/LongTanCross.html>.

passionate with over three-quarters (77%) supporting the idea.

Despite majority agreement on this point, respondents were less sure when it came to whether the absence of visitable battlefields or locations for air and naval battles made it more difficult to commemorate them. As noted earlier in this report, this has been raised as a potential factor influencing comparatively low public awareness and knowledge of the history of the Navy and Air Force. Yet our survey results show public opinion on this matter is divided (Figure 32). While 46% broadly agreed that the absence of a tangible site of memory makes commemoration more difficult, a solid 1 in 4 (25%) were neutral, and 9% did not know. Most notable, however, were the 1 in 5 (20%) who disagreed.

Among those most convinced of the difficulty associated with commemorating air and naval battles were men (51% to 41% women), and younger Australians (18–29), of whom 53% agreed. By contrast, 41% of the oldest cohort (70–100) agreed. Ultimately, the issue highlights the ambiguity of what a “battlefield” visit represents to an individual. Does it have to be something tangible to have meaning—a place to see, feel and “experience” the event? Or is it enough to provide a space for remembrance and memorisation, which Australian war memorials and the Commonwealth War Graves Commission provide equally to the services? While our survey did not delve further into these questions, the survey results suggest that most Australians prefer having a physical association with wartime events and see the Air Force and Navy as disadvantaged in this regard.

Veterans and veterans’ associations

Every Anzac Day, the Australia media highlights the dwindling number of veterans from historical conflicts with each year that passes. These reports are often accompanied by assertions that there is a risk of memory of those conflicts being lost without veterans to keep it alive.²¹ Our survey demonstrates that this sentiment strongly resonates with Australians. When asked if war veterans and veterans’ associations have a central role in keeping the memory of their experiences alive, an overwhelming majority of Australians agreed (Figure 33). Some 37% strongly agreed, while another 47% agreed, for a net total of 85%. Just 2% of the population disagreed and the remainder felt either neutral (11%) or did not know (3%).

While the data suggests unanimity, there were in fact some wide differences among the population. Younger Australians were much less likely to strongly agree that veterans and veterans’ associations played a central role in keeping the memory of their experiences alive. This was not just the youngest cohort, but the three youngest versus the three oldest. Australians aged 18–29, 30–39 and 40–49 strongly agreed at 31%, 27% and 28% respectively. Yet older Australians proved much more likely to strongly support the contention. Those aged 50–59, 60–69 and 70–100 strongly agreed at 40%, 56% and 57% respectively. When one compares the older two age categories in each group there is twice the support among older Australians; however, this should not be taken to suggest a lack of support for the role of veterans among those aged 18–49. Indeed, most who did not strongly support their role still agreed they had a role to play. Moreover, those who

²¹ See, for example: Simon Royal, “As World War II veteran numbers dwindle, Anzac Day is set for profound change”, *ABC News*, 7 April 2019,

<https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-04-07/concern-over-australias-dwindling-number-of-world-war-veterans/10911602>.

disagreed, whether strongly or not, never exceed 1% for any age group.

Regionally, there were also notable differences. Less than 1% of Queenslanders disagreed or strongly disagreed, while all other states and territories varied between zero or 1% in each category. In South Australia, however, 4% disagreed and 1% strongly disagreed. While the aggregate numbers in this dissenting category are small, nonetheless they single out South Australia.

Approaching the role of veterans and their associations in commemoration, the survey asked respondents if it was easier to remember Australia's involvement in individual conflicts because the veterans who served in them were still alive. Again, the response was overwhelmingly affirmative: net 69% agreed (21% and 48% strongly

agreed or agreed, respectively) (Figure 34). This result is itself notable because only a handful of World War 2 veterans are still alive. None remain from World War 1. Yet these conflicts are by far regarded as receiving the most adequate commemoration in Australian military history. They were also the conflicts about which most respondents were aware. Therefore, while veterans were highly regarded by respondents for their role in the continuing remembrance of Australian conflicts, their role is not necessarily considered crucial to this commemoration. Respondents are aware of these conflicts and believe they are appropriately remembered, despite the dwindling number of veterans from earlier conflicts such as the world wars. Perhaps this is why some 7% of Australians dissented, with another 24% either neutral on the matter (20%) or did not know (4%).

Conclusion

What do these results reveal about Australians' understanding of and attitudes toward national military history? First, they show that although most Australians are *interested* in Australian military history, this history is not well understood among the general population. The findings show that Australians' knowledge of the conflicts of the 19th and early 20th centuries, and Australia's involvement therein, is minimal. Likewise, while Australians may be aware of later 20th and 21st-century conflicts, they do not necessarily know that Australians were involved. While understanding of involvement was tilted towards Australian Army operations, there was low understanding of the activities of the three services within Australia's military history.

The results also show a clear divergence in public knowledge of the specifics of conflicts such as World War 2. Although it was the most well-known conflict, knowledge of this conflict leans towards the war in the Pacific, with many Australians unaware of any major events that occurred in the Mediterranean theatre. Surprisingly, however, Kokoda—the event that receives arguably the most attention within the narrative of Australian involvement in the Pacific theatre—was unknown to over half of those surveyed. This brings into question existing assessments of the dominance of Kokoda and other major events like Tobruk (which was known to only 42% of those surveyed) in public awareness.

The relatively low level of formal education in military history at any level may go some way to explaining this lack of understanding. Indeed, much of Australian military history is not covered in compulsory history in primary and secondary education, with this content often delivered as part of higher-level courses

in secondary schools and colleges, wherein history becomes an elective subject. Yet the results also indicate that Australians are not necessarily interested in learning more about this history. The exceptions were the two world wars. Together, they were the most well-known, and they were also the conflicts about which many respondents expressed interest in further learning. Moreover, the world wars were the only conflicts that received majority support in terms of their inclusion in school curricula. Taken together, these findings demonstrate that, despite the attention paid to Australian military history by politicians, especially as a key pillar of Australian national identity, Australian military history more broadly does not necessarily capture the interest of the general public.

That said, the results also suggest that this lack of public interest should not be taken to imply a rejection of this military history and its commemoration. Regardless of demographic markers, Australians who took part in this survey overwhelmingly emphasised the importance of Anzac Day to Australia today, though most do not regularly partake in Anzac Day activities. Furthermore, despite their apparent lack of interest in learning about many of the major conflicts in Australian military history, respondents believed much more attention needed to be paid to commemorating all conflicts.

The survey results also provide insight into the sources of information on Australian military history that Australians use and trust. The most used sources were not necessarily the most trusted among respondents. For instance, Australian news outlets were the most used source of information but ranked fifth in terms of trustworthiness. Still, the

ranking of war memorials, museums and other historical sites in the top three most used and trusted sources of information emphasises the centrality of these institutions in disseminating Australian military history. It also highlights the importance of ensuring the historical narratives portrayed by these institutions are accurate, accessible, inclusive, and diverse.

Similarly, veterans and veterans' associations continue to hold a central role in commemoration among Australians, who expressed trust in them as a source of knowledge and highlighted their important role in ensuring the ongoing memory of the conflicts in which they were involved. In this light, it is not surprising that personal stories remain the most interesting aspect of Australian military history for many Australians.

Finally, the survey's findings suggest there are rich avenues for future research in this area. For instance, the survey paints the Australian public as largely ignorant of the country's military history. A broader survey focused on other national moments is required to determine whether this lack of knowledge is

limited to Australian military history or symptomatic of a broader lack of awareness of national history writ large.

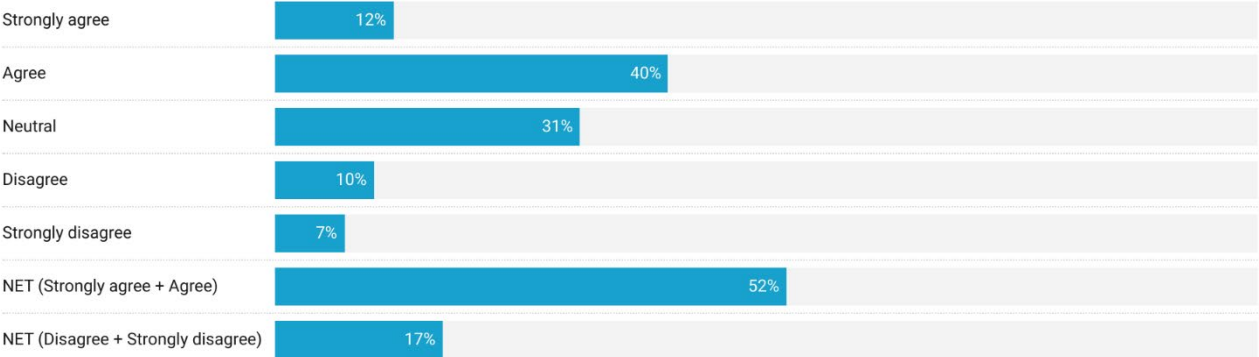
Furthermore, while our survey determined the level of awareness of individual conflicts among the Australian public, more research is needed to determine the depth of this understanding. For instance, are Australians who are aware of the Vietnam War knowledgeable about that war, or have they simply heard of the conflict? Are certain battles in each conflict more recognisable than others? Certainly, the divergence in respondents' knowledge of events across just two theatres in World War 2 (the Mediterranean and the Pacific) suggests this avenue of inquiry could produce further important insights.

Future surveys could also delve deeper into the various themes covered in this survey, such as Australian attitudes to the commemoration of war and other historical events, and how they learn about history more generally. As our survey demonstrates, there remains much ground to cover when it comes to public understanding of Australian military history.

Appendix – Figures

Figure 1

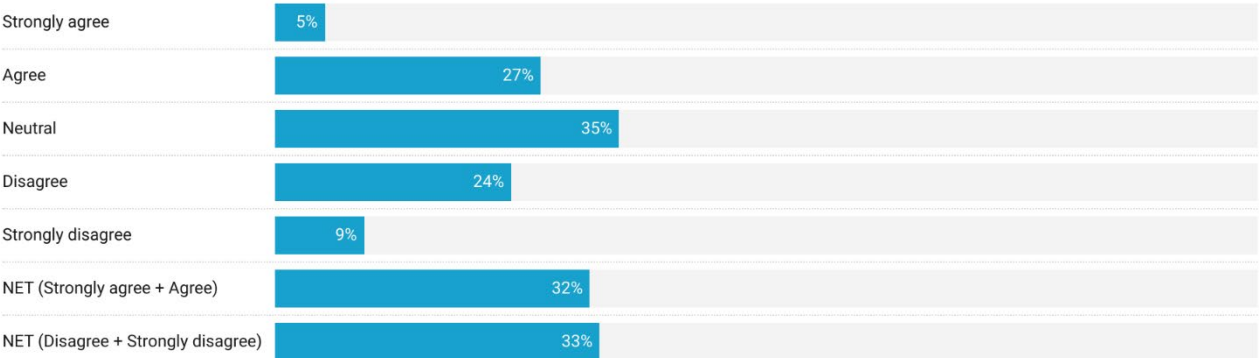
Overall, I am interested in Australian military history



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Figure 2

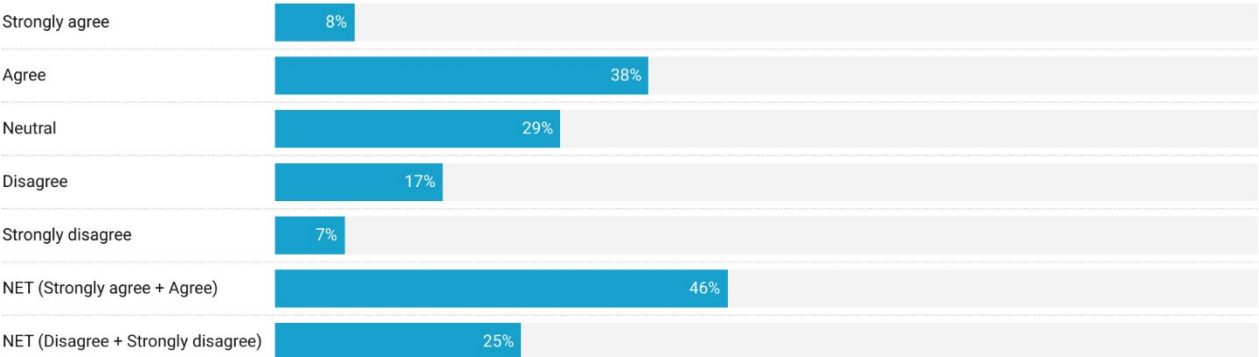
Overall, I am knowledgeable about Australian military history



Created with Datawrapper

Figure 3

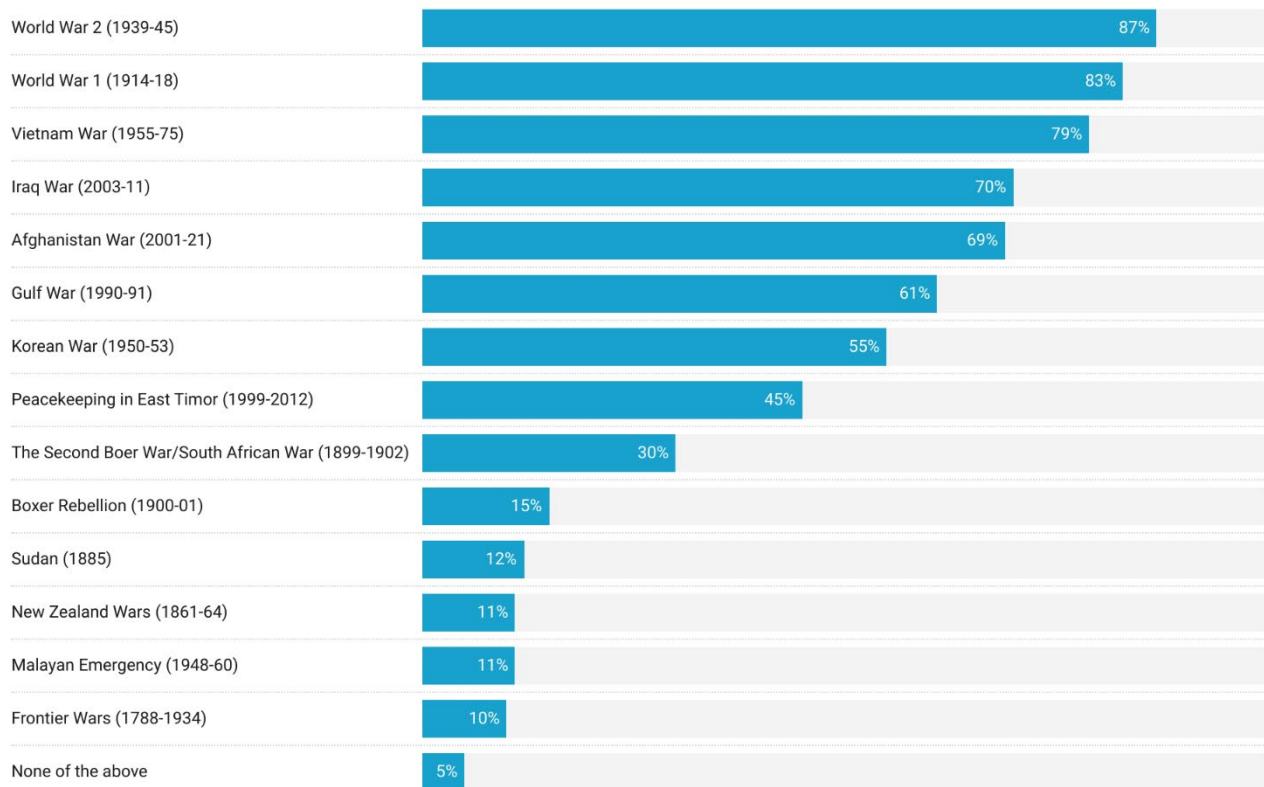
Overall, I have a better understanding of Australian military history than that of other countries' military history.



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Figure 4

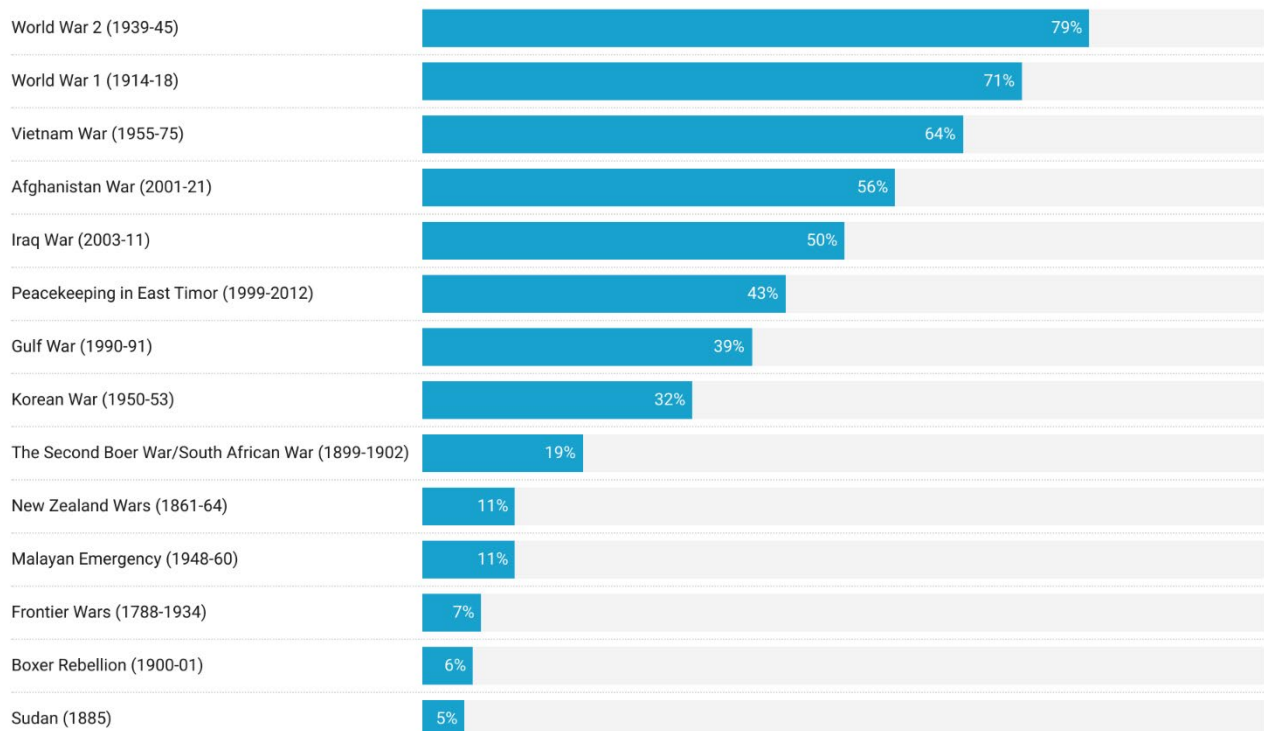
I am aware of these conflicts. (check all that apply)



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Figure 5

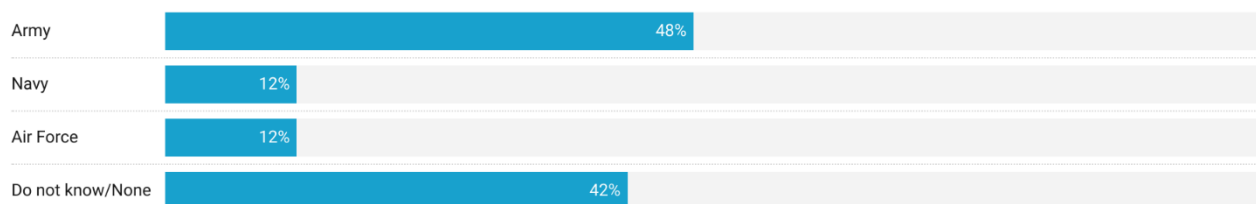
I am aware of Australian involvement in these conflicts. (check all that apply)



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Figure 6

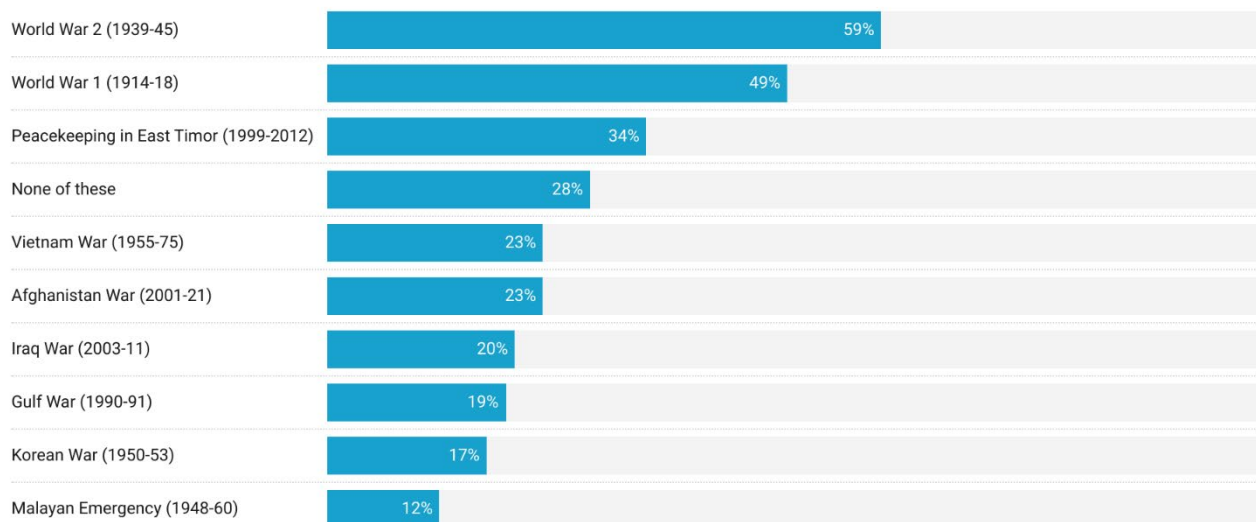
Thinking about Australia's military history, would you say that you have a better understanding of the operations and activities of Australian Army, Navy or Air Force?



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Figure 7

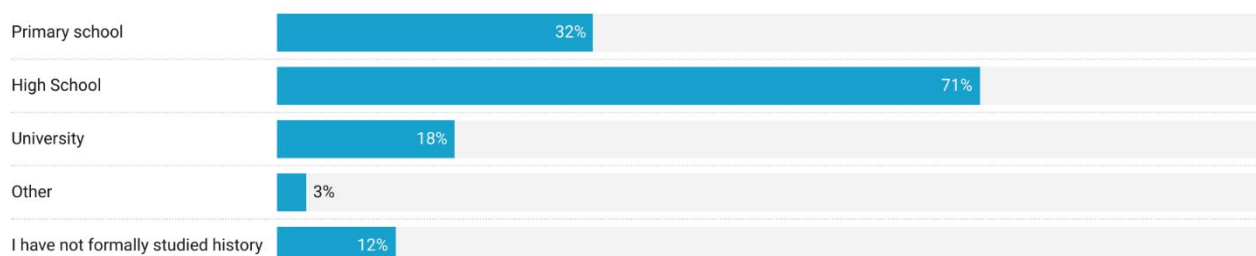
I agree that the Australian government's commitment of Australian troops to these conflicts was in the nation's best interests (check all that apply)



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Figure 8

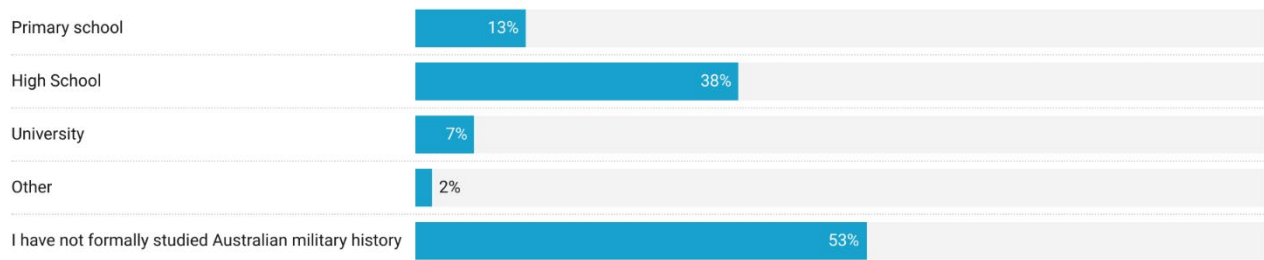
I have studied history at (check all that apply):



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Figure 9

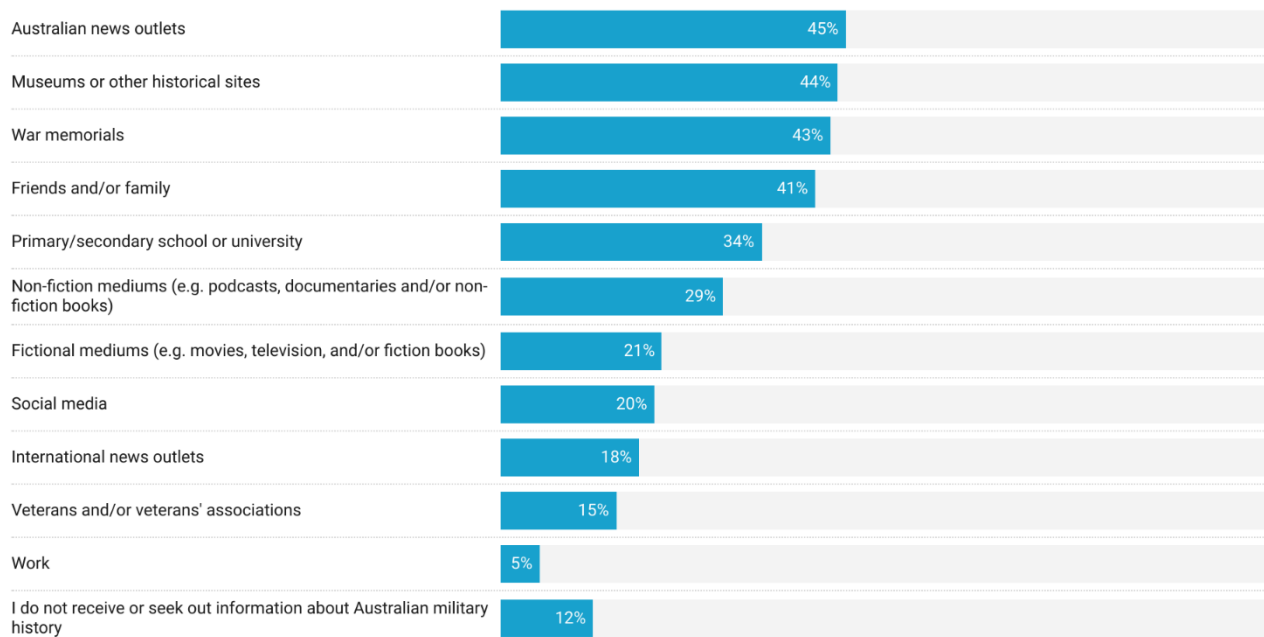
I have studied Australian military history at (check all that apply):



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Figure 10

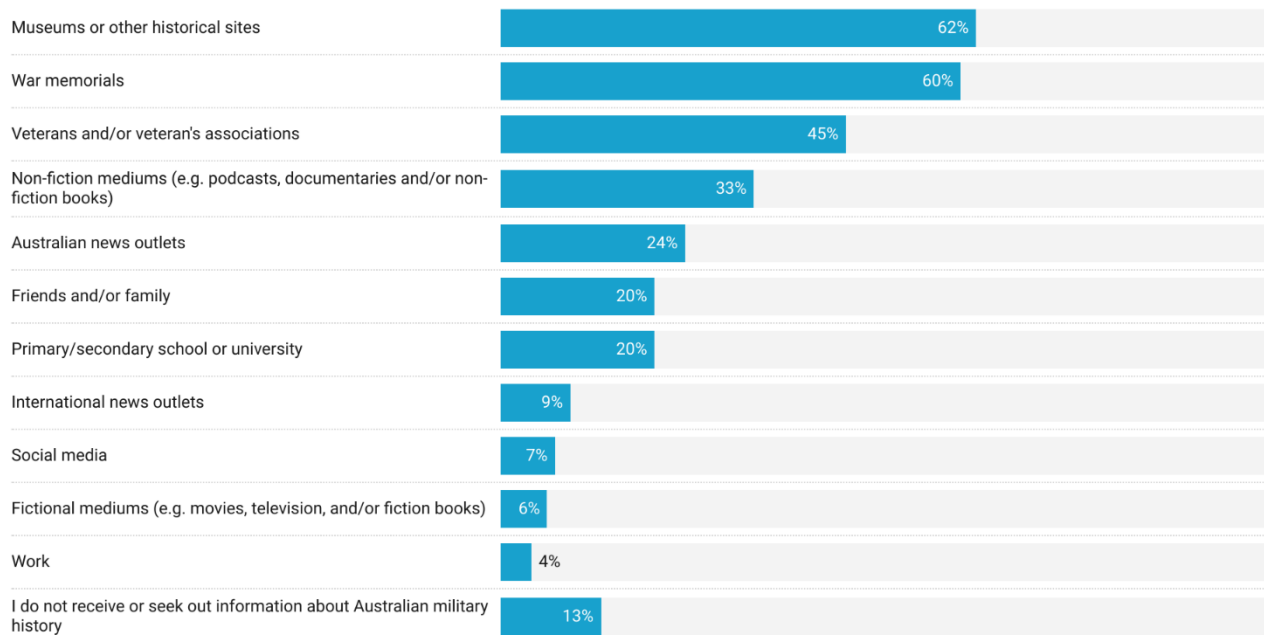
Most of my knowledge about Australian military history comes from (check all that apply):



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Figure 11

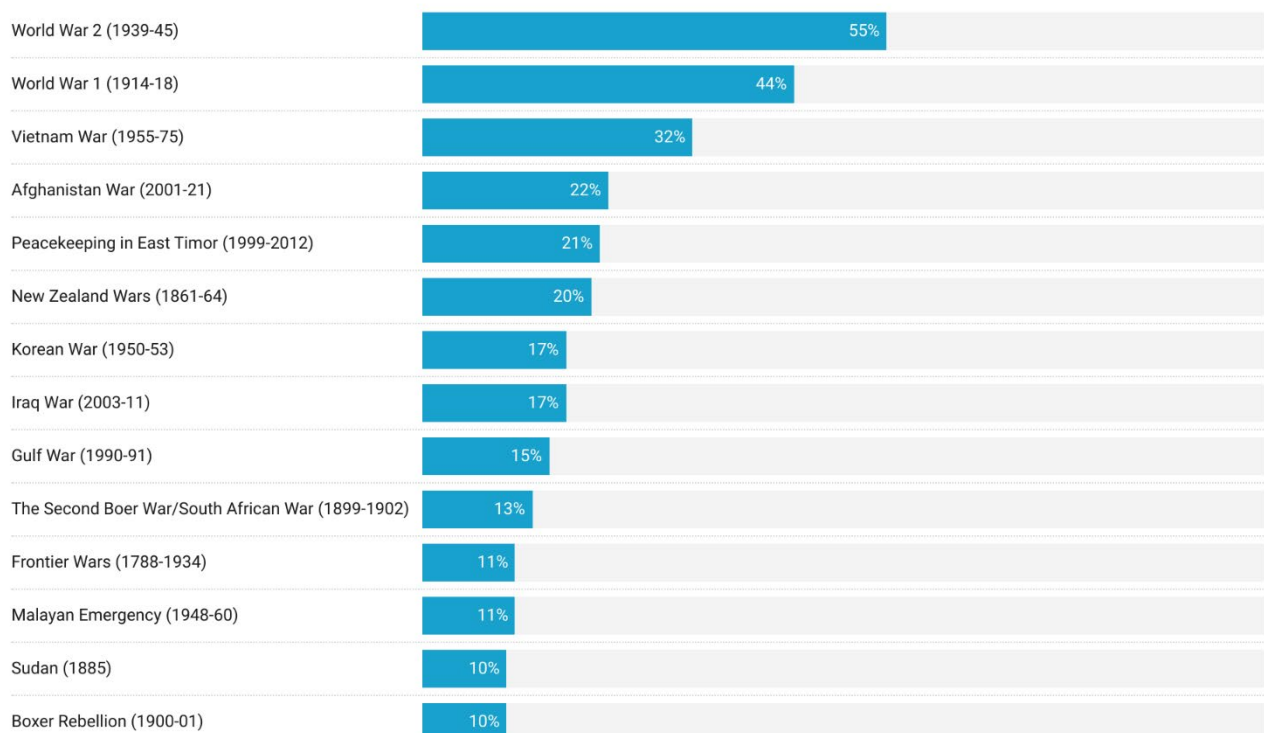
Which sources do you believe are the most trustworthy for understanding Australia's military history?



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Figure 12

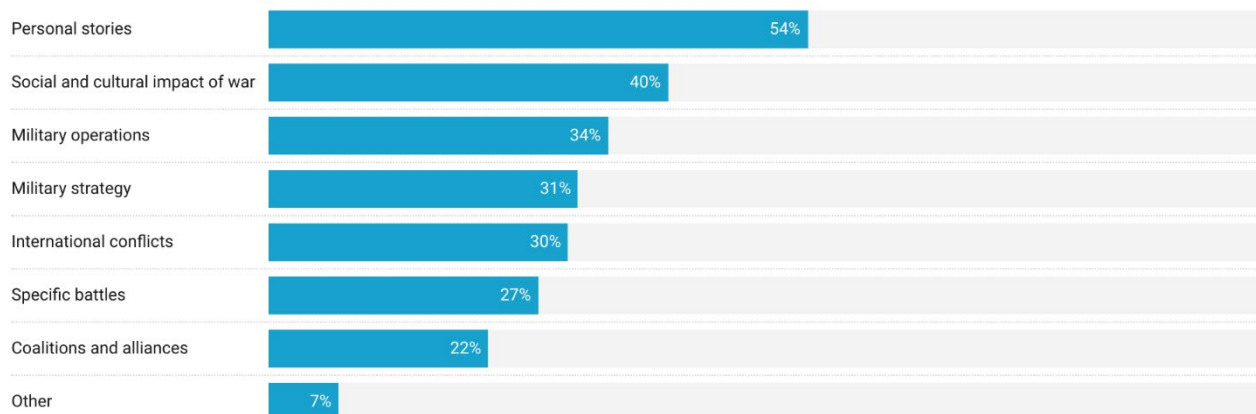
I am interested in learning more about Australia's involvement in these conflicts (check all that apply)



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Figure 13

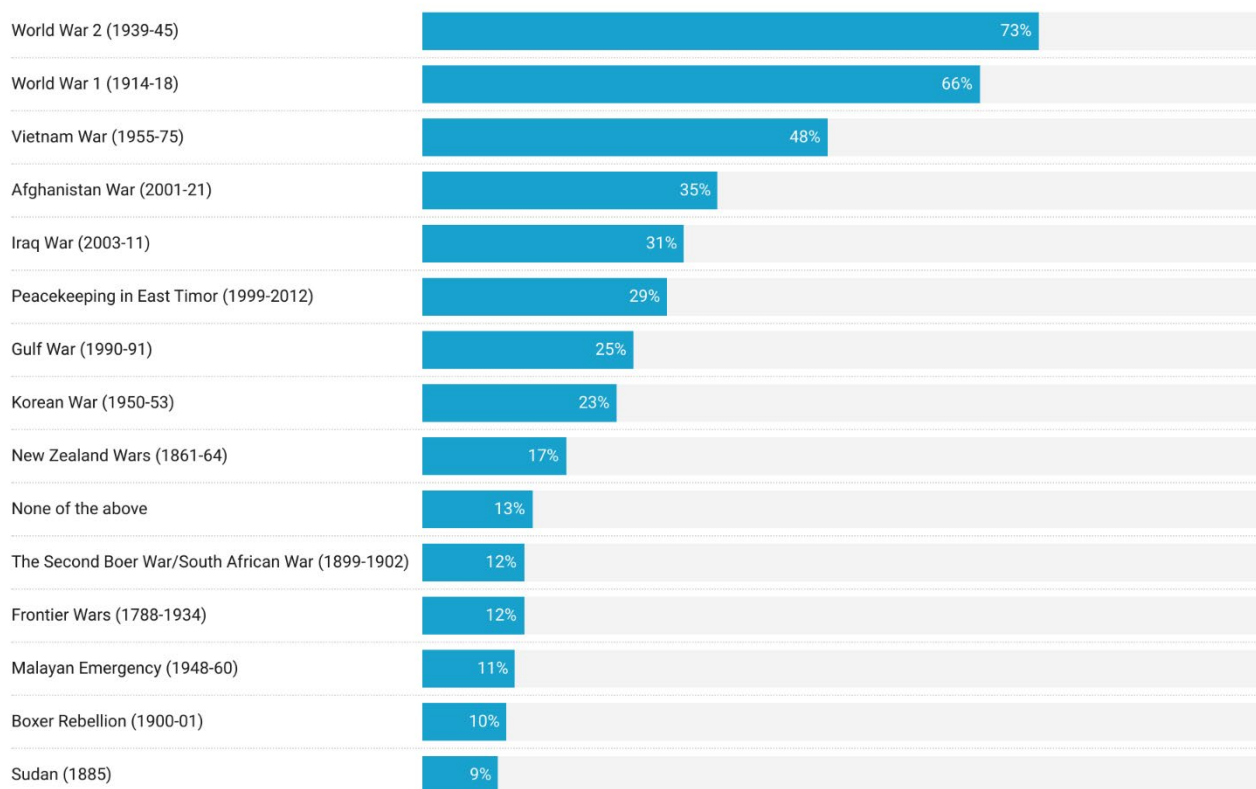
Which aspects of military history most interests you? (check all that apply)



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Figure 14

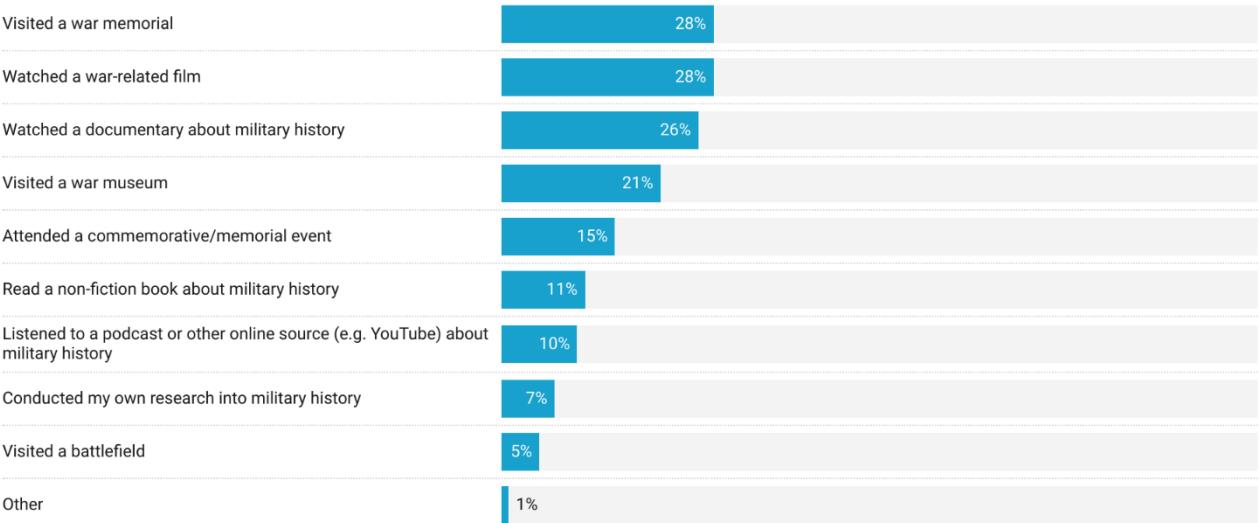
Which of these conflicts do you think should be covered in the primary and secondary curriculum in Australia? (check all that apply)



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Figure 15

In the last year, have you engaged with any of the following relating to Australian military history? (check all that apply)



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Figure 16

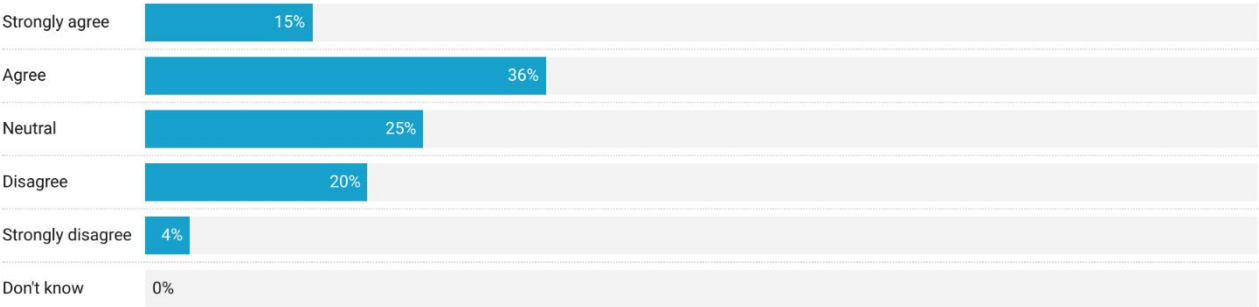
Have you ever attended an Anzac Day service?



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Figure 17

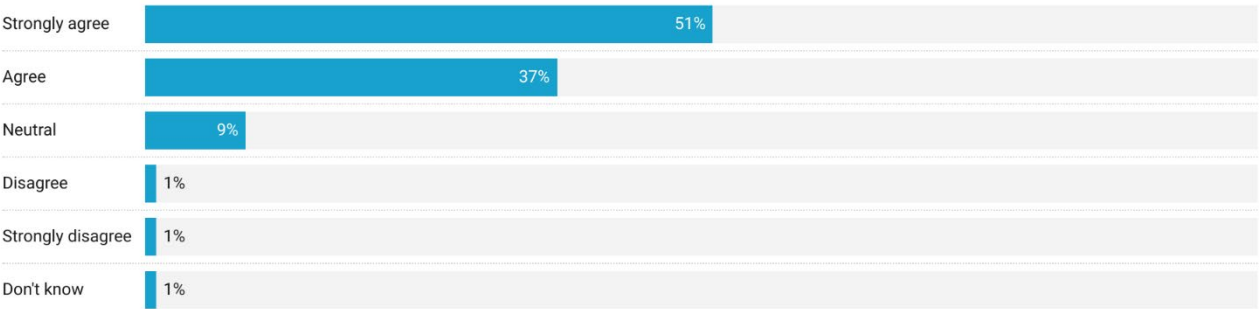
I regularly engage in Anzac Day activities.



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Figure 18

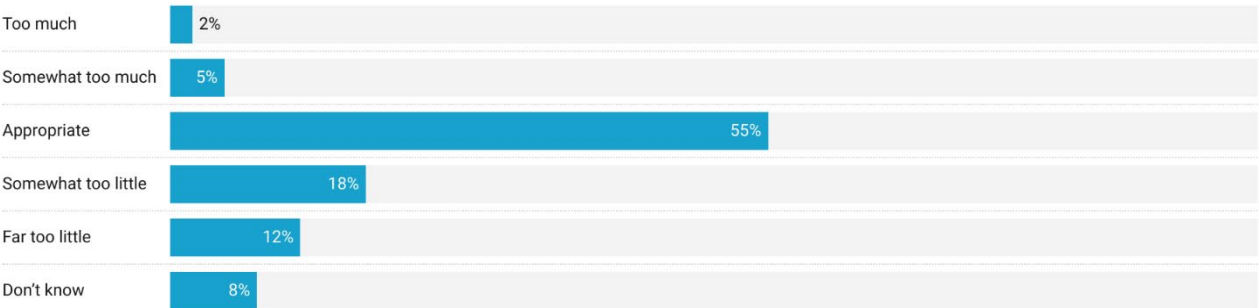
Anzac Day is important to Australians today?



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Figure 19

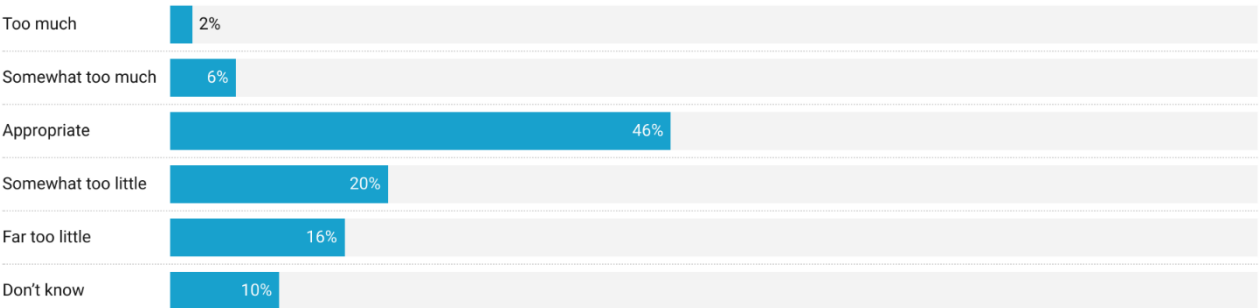
Do you think the amount of attention paid to Australia's military history by historians compared with other events in the country's history is:



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Figure 20

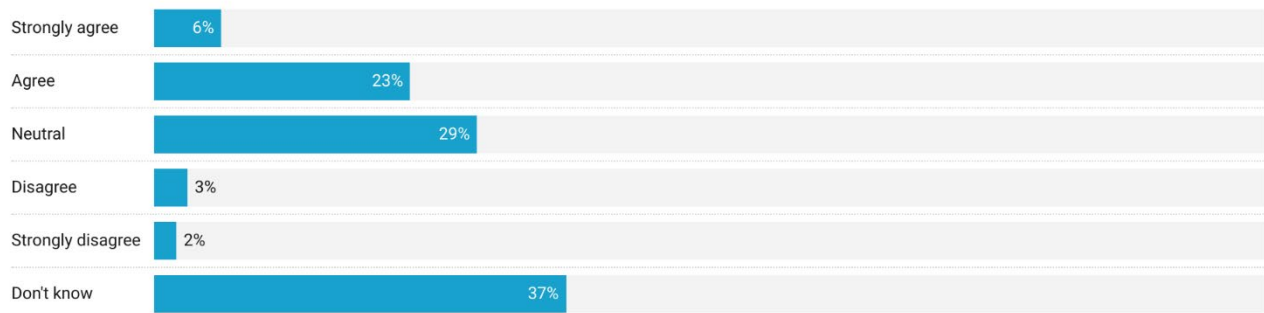
Do you think the amount of attention paid to Australia's military history by politicians compared with other events in the country's history is:



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Figure 21

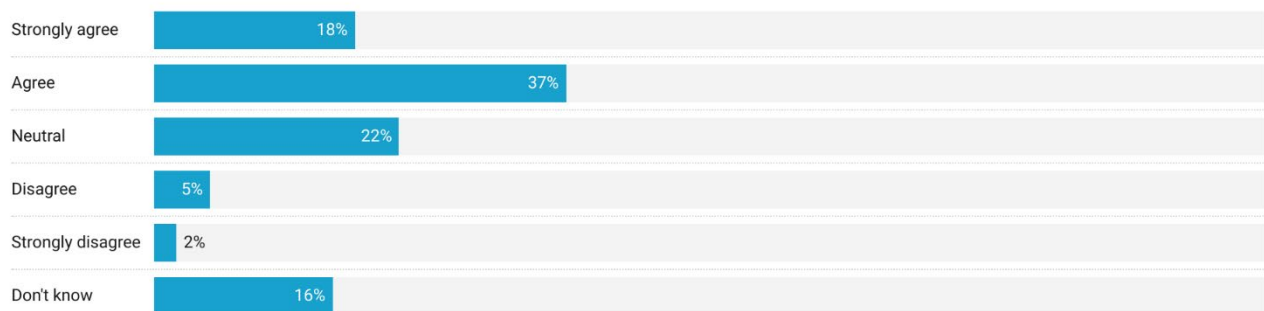
The Frontier Wars should be recognised officially as Australian wars.



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Figure 22

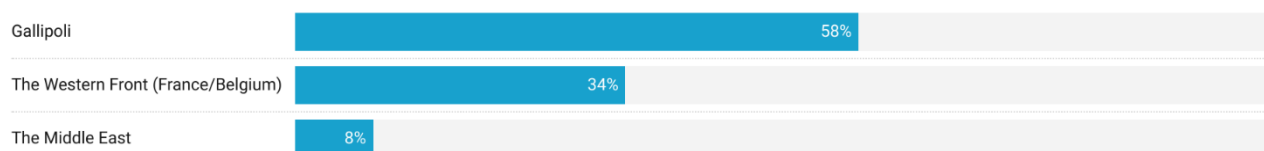
European colonisation of the Australian continent was resisted by Indigenous and Torres Strait Islander People.



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Figure 23

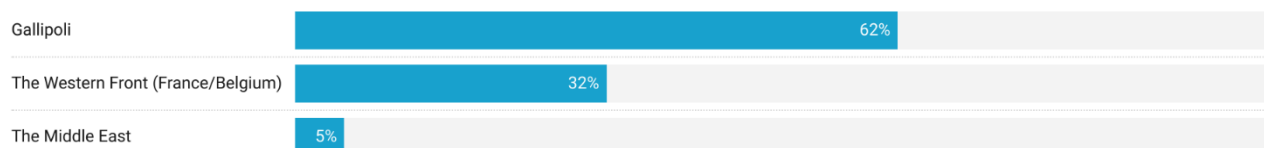
Where do you think the most Australians served overseas during World War 1?



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Figure 24

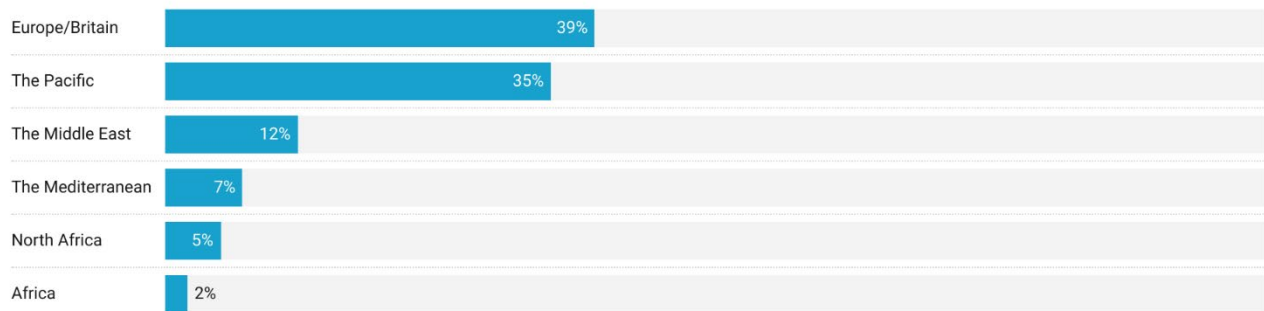
Where do you think the most Australians died during World War 1?



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Figure 25

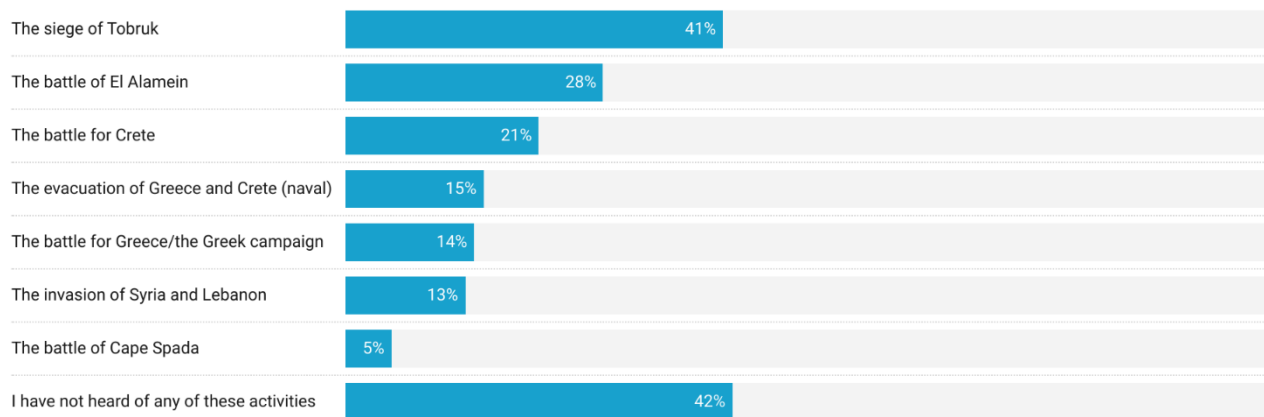
Where do you think the most Australians served overseas during World War 2?



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Figure 26

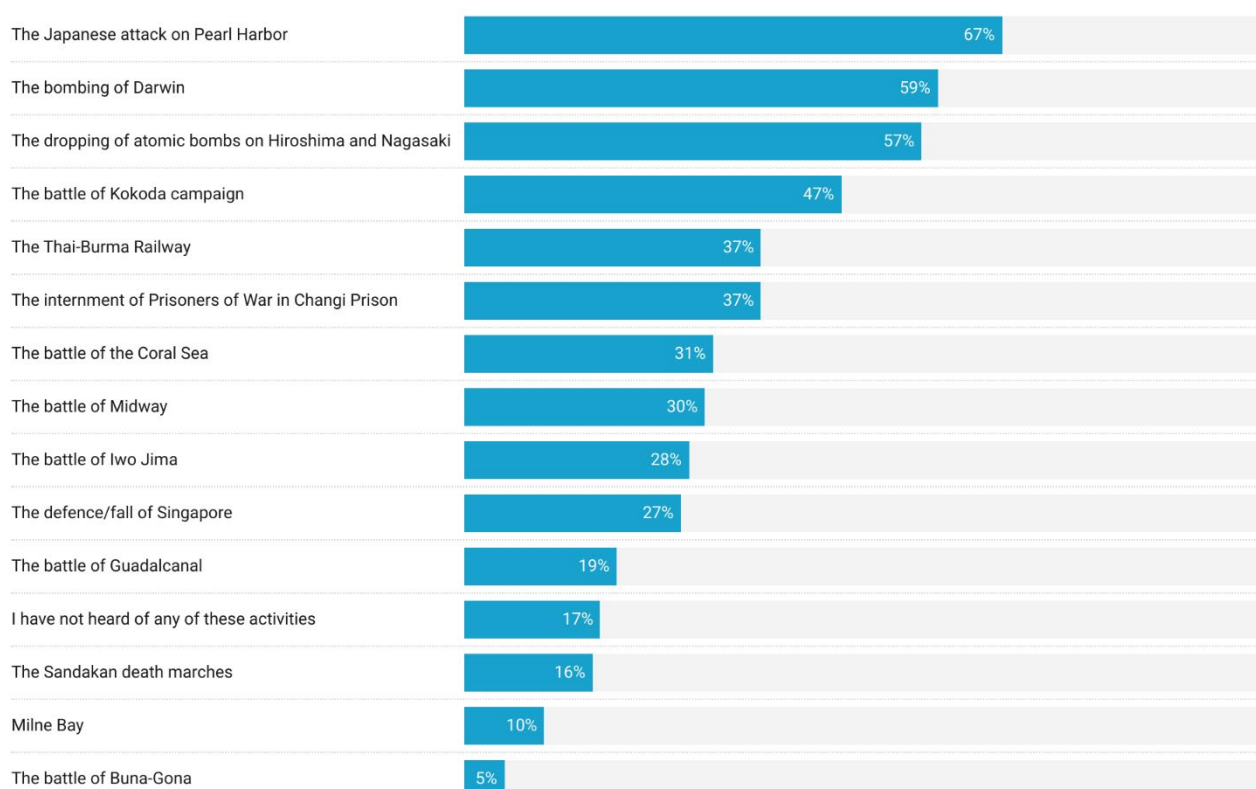
I have heard of the following World War 2 military activities in the Mediterranean and the Middle East (check all that apply):



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Figure 27

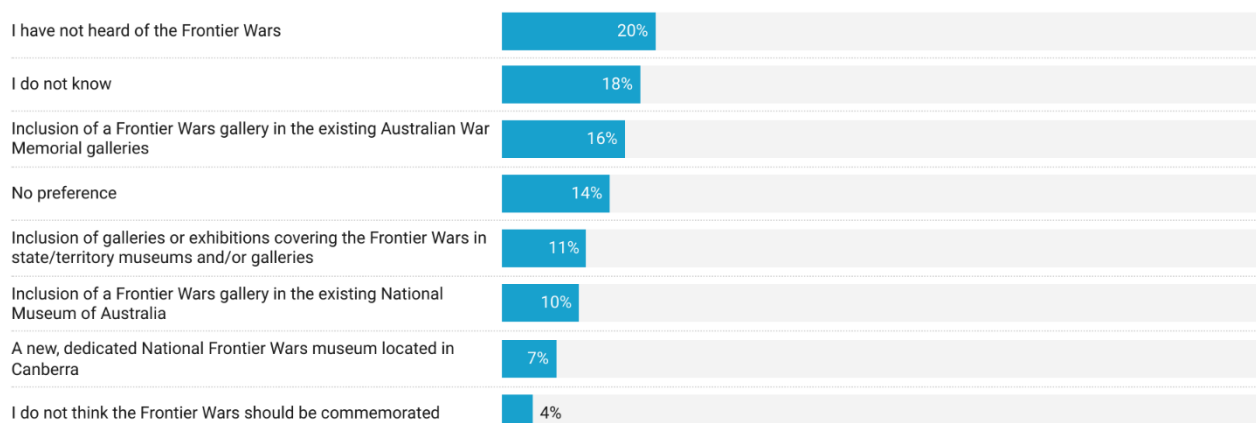
I have heard of the following World War 2 events in the Pacific (check all that apply):



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Figure 28

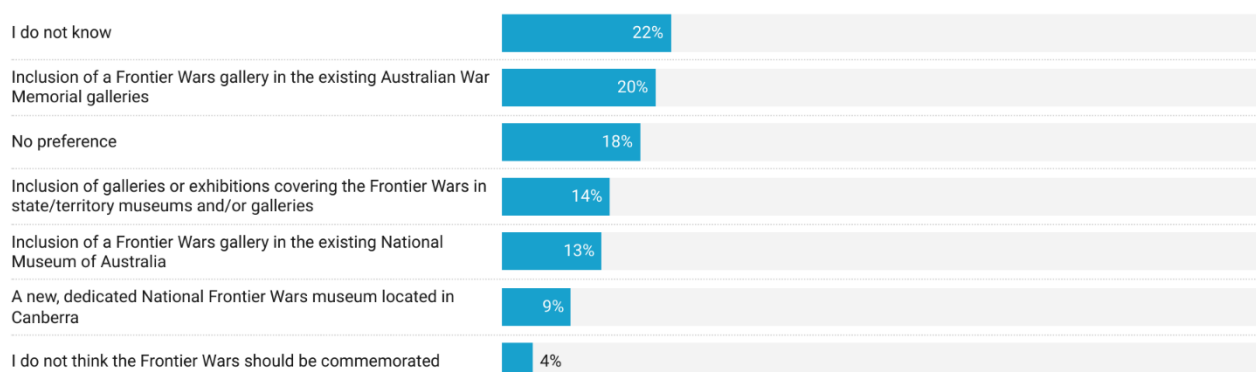
How do you think the Frontier Wars should be commemorated in Australia?



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Figure 28a

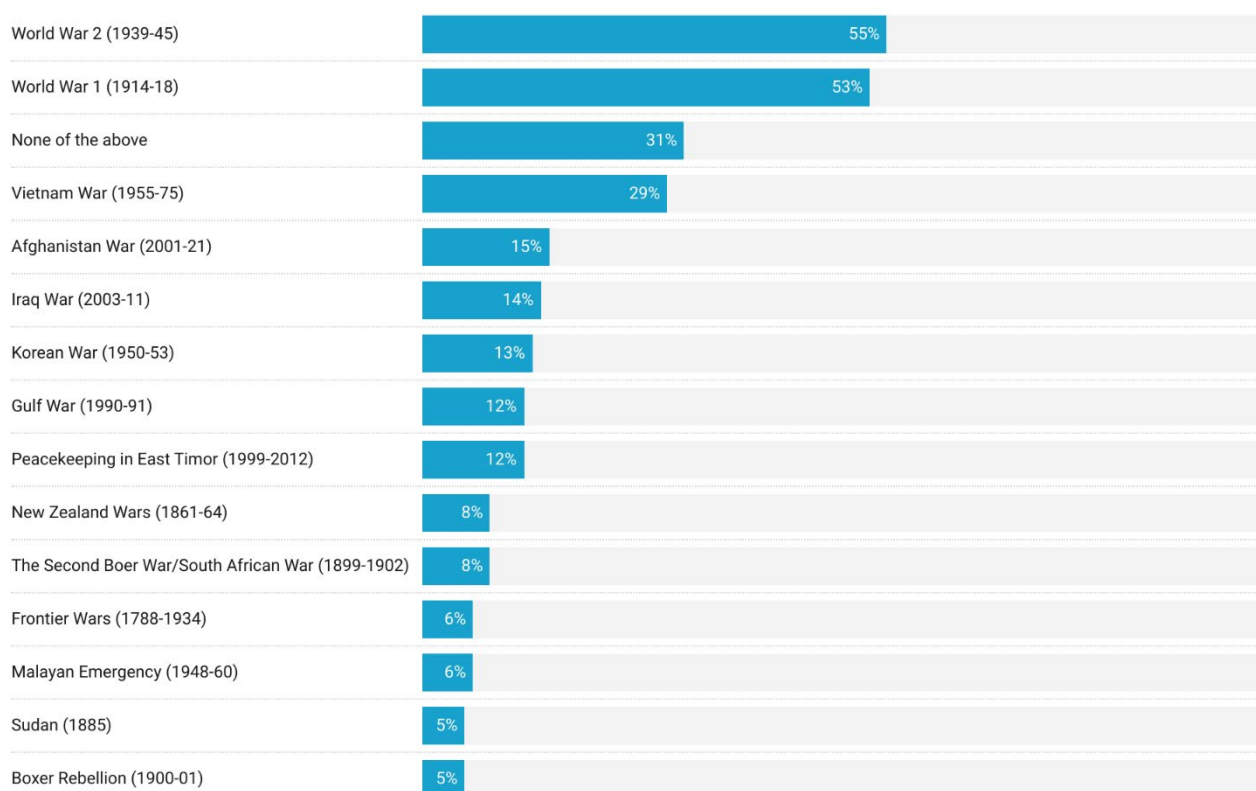
How do you think the Frontier Wars should be commemorated in Australia? (among those who have heard of the Frontier Wars)



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Figure 29

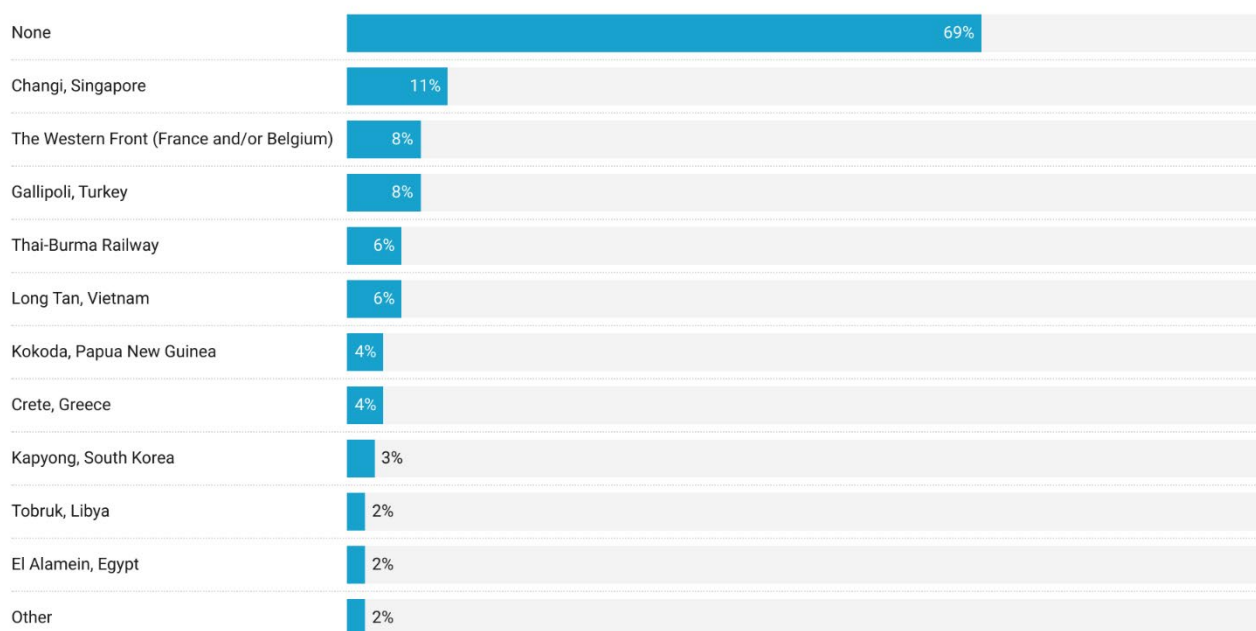
I believe these conflicts receive adequate commemoration in Australia (check all that apply)



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Figure 30

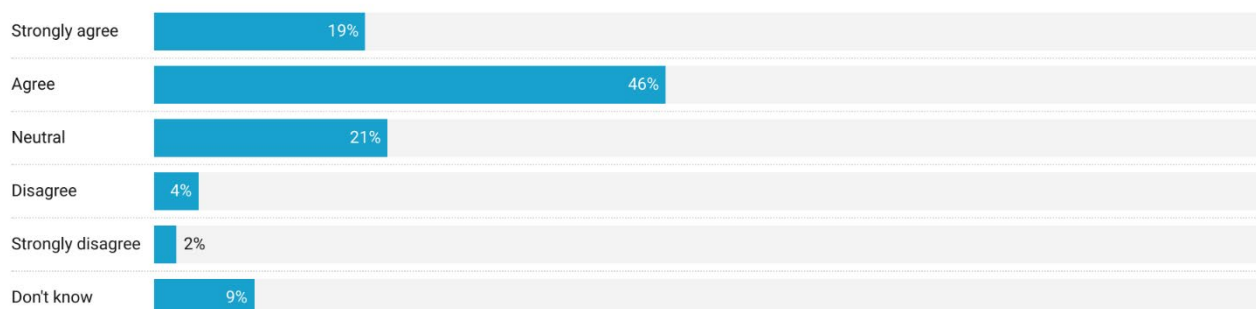
Which of the following overseas Australian battlefields, battlefield memorials or historical sites have you visited?



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Figure 31

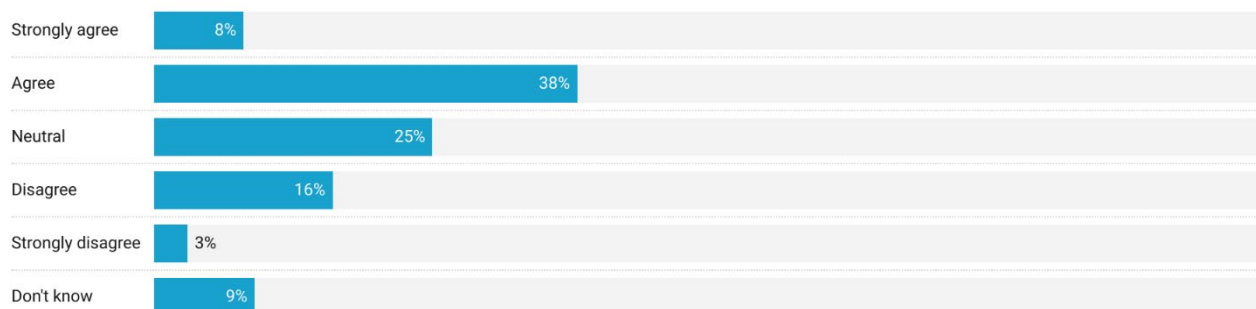
Visiting a battlefield or site of a military conflict gives me a greater understanding of that event.



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Figure 32

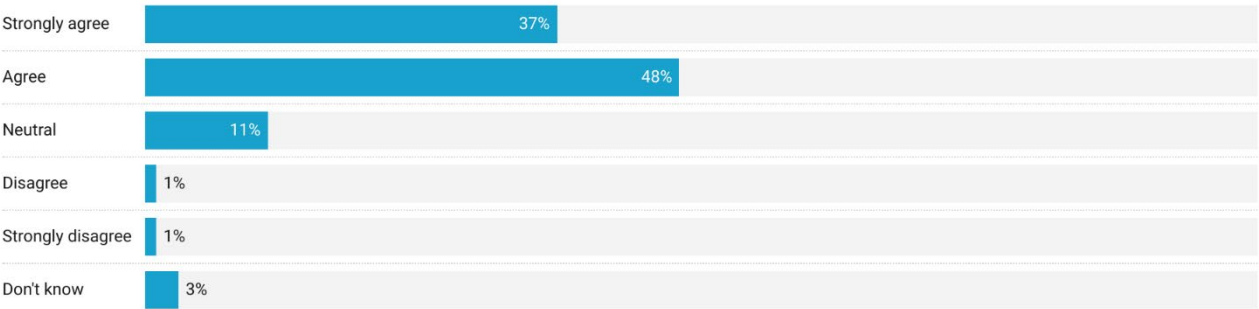
The absence of visitable battlefields or locations for air and naval battles makes it more difficult to commemorate these events



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Figure 33

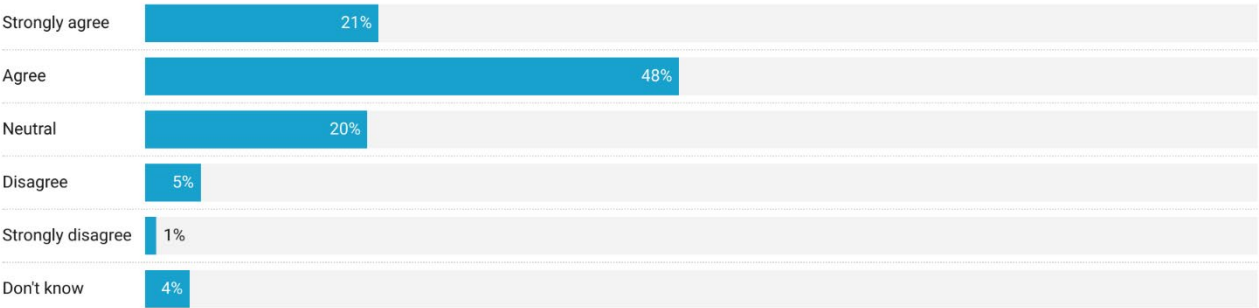
War veterans and veterans' associations have a central role in keeping the memory of their experiences alive.



Created with Datawrapper

Figure 34

It is easier to remember Australia's involvement in individual conflicts while the veterans who served in them are alive.



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Biographies

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