

Karel Van Nieuwenhuysse

Reasoning with and/or about sources on the Cold War? The use of primary sources in English and French history textbooks for upper secondary education*

Abstract

It has been a common practice for several decades, to work with sources in the secondary school history classroom. The use of sources is considered important, in building historical knowledge, but especially in fostering students' historical thinking skills. Nevertheless, research concludes that the instructional practice related to the contextualization and questioning of sources, raises difficulties. Teachers often only question sources for/ in relation to their contents, and do not sufficiently include author and context information in the analysis of the source. In education, primary sources thus seem to be used particularly as illustrations or to foster substantive knowledge, rather than to foster strategic knowledge. This paper reports on an empirical study about the presence, presentation and educational use of primary sources in secondary school history textbooks in France and England, countries with different approaches to history education and different curricular requirements. The research reveals big differences in dealing with primary sources between English and French textbooks.

Résumé

Une pratique s'affirme depuis plusieurs décennies: celle de travailler avec des sources dans les classes d'histoire des établissements secondaires. Si l'usage des sources a toujours été considéré comme important dans la construction de la connaissance historique, c'est surtout aujourd'hui pour encourager le développement de la pensée historique chez les élèves. Pourtant, la recherche montre que la pratique pédagogique liée à la contextualisation et à l'analyse des sources n'est pas sans poser problème. Les enseignants se satisfont souvent d'un traitement de leur contenu sans inclure suffisamment dans leur démarche des informations sur l'auteur et le contexte. Les sources directes semblent donc être utilisées pédagogiquement plutôt comme illustration ou pour développer la connaissance

sur un plan factuel, que pour susciter un savoir stratégique, procédural. Cet article présente une étude empirique sur la présence et l'usage pédagogiques des sources directes dans les manuels d'histoire du secondaire en France et en Angleterre, deux pays qui adoptent différentes approches de l'enseignement de l'histoire et préconisent différentes exigences dans les programmes d'études en histoire. La recherche révèle de grandes disparités dans l'usage de telles sources entre les manuels scolaires de ces deux pays.

1. Introduction

It has become a common practice for several decades, to work with sources in the secondary school history classroom. Scholars in the field of history education stress the importance of the use of sources, as accesses to the past, especially in order to foster students' historical thinking skills¹. History education, they argue, should not only provide an understanding of the past (*knowing* history), but equally focus on training skills to understand how representations of the past are based on the interpretation of sources (*doing* history)². History education should not only foster students' substantive knowledge, but also develop their strategic knowledge³. Through the critical analysis and interpretation of sources, students should gain an understanding of how the past is examined and interpreted, and history constructed. They should be able to both reason with and about sources. Reasoning with sources refers then to the skills to select information from sources and to use it to support a claim about the past. Reasoning about sources concerns students' skills to critically assess the value of the information – whether or not in corroboration with other sources, the usefulness and limits of the source, and to recognize the author's perspective⁴. All

¹ Keith Barton and Linda Levstik, *Teaching history for the common good* (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004). Jannet Van Drie and Carla Van Boxtel, "Historical reasoning: towards a framework for analyzing students' reasoning about the past", *Educational Psychology Review* 20, no. 2 (2008), 87-110.

² Harry Havekes, Peter-Arno Coppen, Johan Lutzenberg and Carla Van Boxtel, "Knowing and doing history: a conceptual framework and pedagogy for teaching historical contextualization", *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 11, no. 1 (2012), 72-93; Sam Wineburg, Daisy Martin and Chauncey Monte-Sano, *Reading like a historian. Teaching literacy in Middle and High School History Classrooms* (New York-London: Teachers College Press, 2013).

³ Peter Lee, "History Teaching and Philosophy of History", *History and Theory* 22, no. 4 (1983), 19-49; Bruce VanSledright and Margarita Limón, "Learning and teaching social studies: a review of cognitive research in history and geography", in *Handbook of educational psychology*, ed. Patricia A. Alexander and Philip H. Winne (Hillsdale NJ: Erlbaum, 2006), 545-570.

⁴ Jean-François Rouet, M. Anne Britt, Robert A. Mason and Charles A. Perfetti, "Using multiple sources of evidence to reason about history", *Journal of Educational Psychology* 88, no. 3 (1996), 478-493.

this means that direct contact with sources is thus absolutely necessary in history education⁵. This paper addresses the presence, presentation and educational use of primary sources in secondary school history textbooks in France and England, countries with different approaches to history education and different curricular requirements and attainment targets.

2. Previous research on the use of sources in (upper) secondary school history education

Much research has already been done on how sources are addressed in (upper) secondary school history education. Sam Wineburg, for example, examined how students understand the bias of sources⁶. Through an expert-novice study, he investigated the differences between how professional historians and high school students read and interpreted a series of primary and secondary sources about the battle of Lexington (19 April 1775). Among the experts, Wineburg identified three heuristics they used when analyzing the sources and constructing an account: sourcing, contextualization and corroboration. Historians engage in sourcing when they take into account the author of the source, when, where, why and for whom it was made, and the text's genre in assessing and evaluating its content and potential value. Historians' contextualization is an activity in which they assess sources within their broader historical societal context. Corroboration is employed to compare multiple texts on the same event, to look for similarities and contradictions, and so to determine the reliability of texts, and to construct historical interpretations. Nokes adds that historians thus approach texts as evidence rather than as collections of historical facts⁷. The latter, however, is exactly how students consider sources. Generally speaking, students consider and read sources as pure bearers of information, and are not aware of the existence of a subtext within them. They accept information uncritically and have difficulties in dealing with different sources including contradictions. These findings are confirmed

⁵ Peter Seixas, "The Community of Inquiry as a Basis for Knowledge and Learning: The Case of History", *American Educational Research Journal* 30, no. 2 (1993), 305-324. Kaya Yilmaz, "Social Studies Teachers' Conceptions of History: Calling on Historiography", *Journal of Educational Research* 101, no. 3 (2008), 158-176.

⁶ Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001); Sam Wineburg, "On the Reading of Historical Texts: Notes on the Breach between School and Academy", *American Educational Research Journal* 28, no. 3 (1991), 495-519.

⁷ Jeffery D. Nokes, "Observing Literacy Practices in History Classrooms", *Theory & Research in Social Education* 38, no. 4 (2010), 515-544.

in many other research studies⁸. While Nokes also connects students' difficulty of reading primary sources to their lack of background contextual knowledge, and the complex language used in those sources, Wineburg especially points at students' epistemological beliefs as the main explanation⁹. Before students can see subtexts in a source for example, they must first believe subtexts exist, so Wineburg states¹⁰. If students consider sources as authorless, and deny the authors' intentions, they simply overlook the fact that sources are interpretations of the past, that need to be interpreted.

Maggioni further elaborated on the epistemic stances of students¹¹. She distinguishes three stances. The first one is called the objectivist or realist stance. Students taking this stance demonstrate a naïve realism, treat sources as authorless and thus consider them to be mirrors of the past. Students on a subjectivist stance also demonstrate naïve relativism. They show an awareness of the interpretive nature of historical knowledge, but in their opinion, every interpretation is possible. History is what historians make of the past. They consider all sources and accompanying interpretations equally valuable, and all accounts of the past possible. Students on a criticalist stance are aware that history is an evidence-based interpretation and construction, and that not all interpretations of sources are equally valuable. They acknowledge the process of corroboration of sources, and understand how a reasonable historical account can be constructed even in the case of conflicting evidence. Given the fact that historical thinking is an 'unnatural act'¹², students spontaneously adhere to a realist stance. However, through for example multiple

⁸ M. Anne Britt and Cindy Aglinskas, "Improving students' ability to identify and use source information", *Cognition and Instruction* 20, no. 4 (2002), 485–522. Cynthia R. Hynd, "Teaching students to think critically using multiple texts in history", *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy* 42 (1999), 428–436; Jeffery D. Nokes, Janice A. Dole and Douglas J. Hacker, "Teaching high school students to use heuristics while reading historical texts", *Journal of Educational Psychology* 99 (2007), 492–504; Nokes, "Observing Literacy Practices". Richard J. Paxton, "A deafening silence: History textbooks and the students who read them", *Review of Educational Research* 69 no. 3 (1999), 315–337; Charles A. Perfetti, M. Anne Britt and Mara C. Georgi, *Text-based learning and reasoning: Studies in history* (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1995); Steven A. Stahl, Cynthia R. Hynd, Bruce K. Britton, Mary M. McNish and Dennis Bosquet, "What happens when students read multiple source documents in history?" *Reading Research Quarterly* 31 no. 4 (1996), 430–456.

⁹ Jeffery D. Nokes, "Recognizing and Addressing the Barriers to Adolescents' 'Reading Like Historians'", *The History Teacher* 44, no. 3 (2011), 379–404; Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*; Wineburg, "On the Reading of Historical Texts".

¹⁰ Wineburg, "On the Reading of Historical Texts", 510.

¹¹ Liliana Maggioni, "Between Facts and Opinions: An Exploration of Adolescents' Ideas about the Nature of Historical Knowledge" (paper presented at the 21st International Congress of Historical Sciences, Amsterdam, 2010); Liliana Maggioni, Bruce VanSledright and Patricia Alexander, "Walking on the borders: a measure of epistemic cognition in history", *The Journal of Experimental Education* 77, no. 3 (2009), 187–213.

¹² Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*.

text activities and corroboration, students can be guided in developing a criterialist stance¹³. Many intervention studies indeed indicate that document use and instruction on historians' reading and reasoning strategies result in a significant growth of the ability to reason about sources, and thus in strategic knowledge¹⁴.

The abovementioned research strongly suggests that teaching approaches from textbooks and/or history teachers play an important part in promoting students' understanding of sources, and in fostering their strategic knowledge and ability to reason about sources. The ways in which history textbooks and/or teachers actually use sources in concrete classroom practice are, however, far less examined.

Research among student teachers and beginning teachers in secondary school history education reveals that they do not engage much with postmodern perspectives and the constructed nature of history, but use primary sources especially to impart content-related substantive knowledge to students¹⁵. Fostering students' strategic knowledge is not considered a teaching goal while using sources. Sources (be they primary or secondary) are thus especially used to reason with, and not to reason about. Corroboration of sources as a learning strategy is not much used either.

Research among more experienced teachers concludes that, regarding the selection of sources, they use a mix of primary and secondary sources, although Grant & Gradwell found that primary source texts were heavily favored¹⁶. According to Magalhães, teach-

¹³ Jeffery D. Nokes, *Building students' historical literacies. Learning to Read and Reason with Historical Texts and Evidence* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

¹⁴ Britt and Aglinskas, "Improving students' ability to identify and use source information"; Susan De La Paz, "Effects of historical reasoning instruction and writing strategy mastery in culturally and academically diverse middle school classrooms", *Journal of Educational Psychology* 97 (2005) 139-156; Nokes et al., "Teaching high school students to use heuristics while reading historical texts"; Avishag Reisman, "Reading Like a Historian: A Document-Based History Curriculum Intervention in Urban High Schools", *Cognition and Instruction* 30, no. 1 (2012), 86-112; Carla Van Boxtel and Jannet Van Drie, "That's the Time of the Romans! Knowledge and Strategies Students Use to Contextualize Historical Images and Documents", *Cognition and Instruction* 30, no. 2 (2012), 113-145.

¹⁵ Elizabeth McCrum, "History teachers' thinking about the nature of their subject", *Teaching and Teacher Education* 35 (2013), 73-80; Peter Seixas, "Student Teachers Thinking Historically", *Theory and Research in Social Education* 26, no. 3 (1998), 310-341; Stephanie van Hover and Elizabeth Yeager, "Challenges facing beginning history teachers: an exploratory study", *International Journal of Social Education* 19, no. 1 (2003), 8-21; Stephanie van Hover and Elizabeth Yeager, "Making Students Better People? A Case Study of a Beginning History Teacher", *International Social Studies Forum* 3, no. 1 (2003), 219-232; Stephanie van Hover and Elizabeth Yeager, "I want to use my subject matter to ...': the role of purpose in one U.S. secondary history teacher's instructional decision making", *Canadian Journal of Education* 30, no. 3 (2007), 670-690.

¹⁶ S.G. Grant and Jill Gradwell, "The sources are many: exploring history teachers' selection of classroom texts", *Theory and research in social education* 33 no. 2 (2005), 244-265.

ers use both iconographic and written documents¹⁷. Kleppe, in his research on Dutch history textbooks over a 30 years period of time (1970-2000), concluded that, throughout the years, more photos were included in the textbooks¹⁸. Moreover, he found that, of all the photos present in Dutch history textbooks, half of them were used educationally, while the other half only served as an illustration. During the 1990s, photos serving an educational function, increased in number. Regarding the educational use of sources, in general, it can be concluded from international research that sources are mainly used as an illustration or for their content, and thus to enhance students' historical substantive knowledge¹⁹. The heuristics of the historian (sourcing, corroboration, and contextualization), as Nokes et al. argue, are rarely taught²⁰. Historical process instruction or fostering strategic knowledge is not integrated in many classrooms²¹. This finding can certainly be connected to the research of Bertram, concluding from an analysis of formal history assessment tasks in three South-African high schools that only eleven (15%) of the total of 72 sources were contextualized to a certain extent, or provided with a reference²². Only in those 15%, were the learners informed about when and by whom the source was made, and the aims of the author. According to her research, illustrative or content-related use of sources went hand in hand with a minimal contextualization of sources.

International research further suggests that in educational systems where the interpretative and mediated nature of historical knowledge is not an explicit part of the history curriculum, as is for instance the case in France and Catalonia, history textbooks do not discuss the issue and deal with sources correspondingly²³.

¹⁷ Olga Magalhães, "Portuguese history teachers' ideas about history", in *Understanding history: international review of history education (vol. IV)*, ed. Rosalyn Ashby, Peter Gordon and Peter Lee (London/New York: Routledge, 2005), 136-147; Vincent Boutonnet, "Les ressources didactiques: typologie d'usages en lien avec la méthode historique et l'intervention éducative d'enseignants d'histoire au secondaire" (PhD, Université de Montréal, 2013).

¹⁸ Martijn Kleppe, "Photographs in Dutch History Textbooks: Quantity, type and educational use", in *Das Bild im Schulbuch*, ed. Carsten Heinze and Eva Matthes (Bad Heilbrunn: Verlag Julius Klinkhardt, 2010) 261-272.

¹⁹ Carol Bertram, "Doing history?: Assessment in history classrooms at a time of curriculum reform", *Journal of Education* 45 (2008), 155-177; Grant and Gradwell, "The sources are many". Magalhães, "Portuguese history teachers' ideas about history". Nokes, "Observing Literacy Practices in History Classrooms". Paxton, "A deafening silence".

²⁰ Nokes et al., "Teaching high school students to use heuristics while reading historical texts".

²¹ Nokes, "Observing Literacy Practices in History Classrooms".

²² Bertram, "Doing history?".

²³ Yannick Le Marc, "Pour un usage pragmatique des manuels d'histoire", in *Enseigner et apprendre l'histoire. Manuels, enseignants et élèves*, ed. Marc-André Ethier, David Lefrançois and Jean-François Cardin (Québec: Presses de l'Université de Laval, 2011), 139-

In conclusion, from all the abovementioned research, it can be concluded that the instructional practice related to the contextualization and questioning of sources, raises difficulties²⁴. Research concludes that teachers often only question sources for/in relation to their contents. Those content-related questions can address historical thinking concepts such as continuity and change, cause and effect or significance, but in other cases suggest that the past can directly and unproblematically be derived from sources, which contradicts the interpretative and constructed nature of historical knowledge. The contextualization (i.e. sourcing and contextualizing) of sources, embedded in the totality of information supplied in the lesson, constitutes a second teaching problem, for the absence of sufficient contextualization by teachers is common. One cannot interpret and question in -depth a source without essential information on the author(s), on when, where and for whom it was made, and on the social context wherein it was produced.

This research examines the practice of how primary sources are dealt with, regarding presentation and educational use, through English and French textbooks for upper secondary history education. Although textbooks of course constitute only one element of classroom practices, and research has found that most teachers do not literally adopt the lesson plan provided in textbooks, they nevertheless draw, to a greater or lesser extent, on history textbooks in preparing their history lessons. Repoussi & Tutiaux-Guillon and Boutonnet, discussing research on this, concluded that history textbooks certainly occupy an important place in teachers' didactical choices²⁵. The most important role history teachers participating in Boutonnet's research ascribed to history textbooks, consisted of providing visual and textual sources. This was reflected in their practice, since those teachers indicated that they used the textbooks mostly for the learning text and the primary sources. Thus, Paxton argued, the importance of history textbooks both as general references and of models of disciplinary practice comes into sharp focus²⁶.

158; Joan Pagès, and Antoni Santisteban, "Enseigner et apprendre l'histoire en Catalogne", in *Enseigner et apprendre l'histoire. Manuels, enseignants et élèves*, ed. Marc-André Ethier, David Lefrançois and Jean-François Cardin (Québec: Presses de l'Université de Laval, 2011), 359-376.

²⁴ Keith Barton, "Primary Sources in History: Breaking Through the Myths", *Teaching History* 86, no. 10 (2005), 745-753; Nokes et al., "Teaching high school students to use heuristics while reading historical texts". Van Boxtel and Van Drie, "That's the Time of the Romans!"; VanSledright and Limón, "Learning and teaching social studies"; Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*.

²⁵ Maria Repoussi and Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon, "New trends in history textbook research: issues and methodologies toward a school historiography", *Journal of Educational Media, memory and Society* 2, no. 1 (2010), 154-170; Boutonnet, "Les ressources didactiques".

²⁶ Paxton, "A deafening silence".

The choice to study French and English history textbooks was made from the fact that both countries had/have particular and different history education traditions, curricular goals and classroom practices, as research shows. For French history education e.g., Audigier & Baillat and Audigier found that history teachers focus on factual history and less on concepts²⁷. They found evidence of a 'positivistic use' of documents, meaning that they considered those documents as representation of the reality. Documents were merely used as illustrations, and not studied from the point of view of the author. Baquès added to this conclusion, for French 9th grade history textbooks, indicating that the questions related to sources are simple, instead of intellectually challenging²⁸. Tutiaux-Guillon came to somewhat similar conclusions in her research with prospective teachers, that sources are mostly used in a lecturing-learning way of teaching, requiring only little intellectual efforts from students, since the answers and conclusions regarding the sources are fixed²⁹. Sources are mostly only questioned for their contents, and to gather factual knowledge. It is the teacher that makes the interpretations, and the connections between sources and contexts. Research by Le Marec and Baquès confirmed these conclusions about French history education³⁰.

In England, on the other hand, the study of interpretations of the past through the use of sources – to understand and explain how and why the past has been interpreted in different ways in periods subsequent to the period under study – became a key component of the history curriculum as early as 1991 with the inception of the National Curriculum for history³¹. Efforts have been made to develop teaching material that moves beyond evaluations of historical interpretations in terms of reliability and avoids simplistic accounts of the context-bound character of the interpretation process³². According

²⁷ François Audigier and Gilles Baillat, eds., *Analyser et gérer les situations d'enseignement-apprentissage* (Paris: Institut national de recherche pédagogique, 1991); François Audigier, *Documents: des moyens pour quelles fins?* (Paris: Institut national de recherche pédagogique, 1992).

²⁸ Marie-Christine Baquès, "Historical narratives in French School Textbooks, and the Writers' Responsibility for the Pupils", in *International Society for History Didactics. Analyzing Textbooks: Methodological Issues*, ed. Susanne Popp, Jutta Schumann and Martin Schmitz (Schwalbach: Wochenschau Verlag, 2011), 11-22.

²⁹ Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon, "L'enseignement de l'histoire en France: les pratiques de classe", in *Geschichtsunterricht international / Worldwide Teaching of History / L'enseignement de l'histoire dans le monde*, ed. Elizabeth Erdmann, Robert Maier and Susanne Popp (Hannover (Germany): Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2006), 301-322.

³⁰ Baquès, "Historical narratives in French School Textbooks"; Le Marec, "Pour un usage pragmatique des manuels d'histoire".

³¹ Arthur Chapman, "Historical interpretations", in *Debates in history teaching*, ed. Ian Davies (Abingdon (UK)/New York (NY): Routledge, 2011), 96-108; Christine Counsell, "Disciplinary knowledge for all. The secondary history curriculum and history teachers' achievement", *Curriculum Journal* 22, no. 2 (2011), 201-225.

³² E.g. Counsell, "Disciplinary knowledge for all". Christopher Edwards, "The

to Haydn, textbooks have undergone gradual yet significant changes since the 1980s³³. Research by Husbands (et al.) indicates that the curricular goals are fully implemented in history classroom practice, including textbook practices, although there are too few existing research studies available to generalize this conclusion³⁴.

3. History education in France and England in upper secondary level: general approach of history and use of sources according to curricula and textbooks

The National Curriculum for history as a school subject in England in key stage 1-2-3 is much oriented towards historical thinking. It refers for instance to key historical thinking concepts such as continuity and change, cause and consequence, similarity, difference and significance, as developed by Canadian history educationalist Peter Seixas and his team³⁵. The overall purpose of history as a school subject concerns both substantive knowledge – students should gain a coherent knowledge and understanding of Britain's past and that of the wider world – and strategic knowledge – students should be equipped to ask perceptive questions, think critically, weigh evidence, sift arguments, and develop perspective and judgement³⁶. Regarding the use of historical sources, the National Curriculum clearly puts reasoning about sources first, when stipulating that students should “understand the methods of historical enquiry, including how evidence is used rigorously to make historical claims, and discern how and why contrasting arguments and interpretations of the past have been constructed”³⁷. This

how of history: Using old and new textbooks in the classroom to develop disciplinary knowledge”, *Teaching History* 130 (2008), 39-45; Rachel Foster, “Using academic history in the classroom”, in *Debates in history teaching*, ed. Ian Davies (Abingdon (UK)/New York (NY): Routledge, 2011), 199-211; Gary Howells, “Interpretations and history teaching: Why Ronald Hutton's *Debates in Stuart history* matters”, *Teaching History* 121 (2005), 29-35.

³³ Terry Haydn, “The Changing Form and Use of Textbooks in the History Classroom”, in *International Society for History Didactics. Analyzing Textbooks: Methodological Issues*, ed. Susanne Popp, Jutta Schumman and Martin Schmitz (Schwalbach: Wochenschau Verlag, 2011), 67-88.

³⁴ Chris Husbands, “What do history teachers (need to) know? A framework for understanding and developing practice”, in *Debates in History Teaching*, ed. Ian Davies (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 84-95; Chris Husbands, Alison Kitson and Anna Pendry, eds., *Understanding history teaching: teaching and learning about the past in secondary schools* (Maidenhead-Philadelphia: Open University Press & McGraw-Hill, 2003).

³⁵ Peter Seixas and Carla Peck, “Teaching Historical Thinking”, in *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies*, ed. Alan Sears and Ian Wright (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 2004), 109-117.

³⁶ Department for Education, *The National Curriculum in England. Framework Document* (Crown: London, 2014).

³⁷ Department for Education, *The National Curriculum in England*, 245.

orientation is continued in upper secondary level, where history is not an obligatory school subject anymore. In the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) and the General Certificate of Education – Advanced Level (GCE A Levels), the focus remains on developing students' historical thinking, and thus on fostering both students' substantive and strategic knowledge. Students are for instance required to undertake an enquiry, in which they demonstrate "some awareness of historiography. A range of sources will be consulted and evaluated"³⁸.

The inception of the National Curriculum in 1991, caused an important change in teaching practice. According to Haydn, the National Curriculum, focusing on history as a discipline, brought about an enquiry model of teaching ("where the teacher provides the materials and resources to problematize an aspect of the past, which the pupils will explore in order to consider a range of possible alternatives about the topic's interpretation and significance"³⁹), and an active role for students, both in terms of thinking and classroom activity engagement.

The National Curriculum also heavily influenced the English textbooks, which are mostly written by teams of education advisors and inspectors, secondary high school or college teachers and university researchers, who are sometimes also members of the examination boards. In general terms, the four textbooks analysed in this research for England (see appendix 1) implement the curricular requirements very clearly. They address history very explicitly as an interpretation and a construction. In the learning text, pre-eminently the principal part of all four textbooks, historiographical debate is mentioned a lot. The textbook *The Cold War* refers for example extensively to the orthodox, revisionist and post-revisionist interpretations of the Cold War, in discussing the question 'Who was to blame for the Cold War?'⁴⁰. The same applies to the textbook *A World Divided: Superpowers Relations 1944-90* which stimulates debate on key issues of the Cold War such as the causes for the Cold War, the reasons for the sudden ending of it, and examines key historical controversies accompanying those issues, whilst at the same time providing opportunities to weigh up differing interpretations of historians⁴¹. In this respect, the textbooks provide several source-based exercises,

³⁸ AQA, *GCE History For exams from June 2014 onwards* (London: AQA, 2014).

³⁹ Terry Haydn, "History Teaching in the United Kingdom", in *Facing – Mapping – Bridging Diversity. Foundation of a European Discourse on History Education* (vol. 2), ed. Elisabeth Erdmann and Wolfgang Hasberg (Schwalbach: Wochenschau Verlag, 2011), 334.

⁴⁰ Allan Todd, *The Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

⁴¹ Steve Phillips, *A World Divided: Superpowers Relations 1944-90. Unit 3 Student Book* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2009).

for instance about to what extent anti-Semitism was a key feature of Nazism, or about comparing and contrasting the different viewpoints that key protagonists and historians hold about the events in the Middle East. In doing so, the textbook authors recognize the subjective nature of historical evidence. Regarding the examination of sources, all four textbooks clearly state that “history is not only a study of the past but also the process of interpreting, recording and understanding a topic through analysing its sources to validate knowledge claims”⁴². They stress the need of sourcing, contextualizing and corroborating sources, in order to assess their value, use and limitations, which are, as they argue, no synonyms for reliability, which, furthermore, always needs to be considered in relation to a specific research question. Reasoning about sources is greatly encouraged.

History education at the upper secondary level in France, preparing for the BAC, is also geared towards the development of both substantive and strategic knowledge. Students’ historical reflection as well as their understanding of how the discipline of history works, should be deepened in the 11th and 12th grades. Regarding historical sources, the BAC programme requires students to examine and corroborate information, by sourcing documents (nature, author, date, genesis), corroborating information taking into account the functions of documents, considering documents in their broader context, and critically examine documents⁴³. What this critical examination exactly means, and how it should be conducted, is not mentioned.

According to Tutiaux-Guillon, the curricular expectations are not always put into practice in France. Although some teachers try to put critical and intellectual aims first, she states, the vast majority of teachers adheres to the traditional way of teacher-centred teaching, and resists pedagogical and didactical changes. Secondary school history education in France is characterized “by a ‘*cours magistral dialogue*’ (dialogue-lecture), giving room to short interactions between students and teacher, supported by documents, and also giving room to a few short individual exercises (easy questions about historical documents)”⁴⁴. The teacher’s role is preponderant in the classroom. Documents are mainly used to support the teacher’s claims, and not

⁴² Martin Cannon, Richard Jones-Nerzic, David Keys, Alexis Mamaux, Michael Miller, Giles Pope, David Smith and Aiden Williams, *20th Century World History. Course Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), introduction.

⁴³ Ministère éducation nationale, jeunesse, vie associative, *Bulletin Officiel n° 8 du 21 février 2013. Enseignements primaire et secondaire. Cycle terminale, programme de l’enseignement d’histoire et de géographie* (Paris: Ministère de l’éducation nationale, 2013).

⁴⁴ Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon, “French paradox : meaningful yet uncertain history didactics”, in *Facing – Mapping – Bridging Diversity. Foundation of a European Discourse on History Education* (vol. 1), ed. Elizabeth Erdmann and Wolfgang Hasberg (Schwalbach: Wochenschau Verlag, 2011), 275.

to foster students' strategic historical thinking. Furthermore, French education does traditionally not leave much space for debate and controversy, an approach which does not encourage reasoning about sources either.

This characterization of French history education echoes in the four French history textbooks in this research (see appendix 1), especially written by teams of secondary high school teachers, under the supervision of one to three university researchers. They show evidence of especially paying attention first and foremost to substantive knowledge. They are much more geared towards transmitting historical content knowledge and understanding than to discussing historiographical debates and differing interpretations among historians. In contrast to the English textbooks, the learning texts are limited in the French history textbooks, and are very dense; the principal parts of all four textbooks are collections of documents. In the general guidelines on how to deal with sources, the textbooks state that in interpreting sources, one must always take into account the author of the source, the audience for whom the source was meant, and the purpose of the author. In the explanation of how to study a set of documents, however, reasoning about sources is not addressed anymore. Procedures regarding corroboration of sources are for instance not provided. All the attention goes to reasoning with sources. The main, summarizing questions on the source pages are geared towards reasoning with sources as well, such as for instance: "How did the 1970s represent a turning point in the American-Soviet relations?"⁴⁵ or: "What were the sources of tension between 1975 and 1985?"⁴⁶

4. Research questions and method

This paper reports on an empirical study focusing on the educational use of primary sources in English and French history textbooks. Primary sources are defined as sources stemming from the time period that is dealt with. Therefore, for example, if a textbook chapter is about the Cuban missile crisis during the Cold War (1962), then an extract from the book of 2008 *One Minute to Midnight: Kennedy, Khrushchev and Castro on the Brink of Nuclear War* of American historian Michael Dobbs is not a primary source. In a textbook chapter on how historians in the post-Cold War period

⁴⁵ Thierry Gasnier, red., *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde de 1945 à nos jours* (Rosny-sous-Bois: Bréal, 2008), 144.

⁴⁶ Benoit Falaize, Jean-Pierre Lauby and François Sirel, red., *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde contemporain de 1945 à nos jours* (Paris: Magnard, 2008), 153.

interpret important events from the Cold War, on the other hand, it would actually be a primary source. The kind of primary sources that were used (visual versus textual), and especially the instructional practice accompanying them, were examined. More specifically, it was investigated how primary sources were presented (regarding author, context and genesis of the source), and whether, and if so: how, they were questioned. Were primary sources for instance used as an illustration, questioned for their content, or to foster students' strategic knowledge? The extent to which primary sources were corroborated, was examined as well.

The research involved the analysis of eight history textbooks from differing textbook series for upper secondary education (grade 11 and 12). Only recent textbooks, not older than 2008, were selected. In four English and four French history textbooks, all preparing students for the central exam (resp. AS and BAC), the chapter(s) on the Cold War were examined (see appendix 1). The choice was made for the Cold War theme, because it occurred in all eight textbooks for upper secondary education, and a similar theme to examine over all textbooks was considered important, given the comparative approach. Moreover, the textbook chapters addressing the Cold War were of more or less similar length, with an average of 54 pages per textbook. For two English textbooks, it was necessary to select specific subchapters, in order to ensure a similar length. For two French textbook series, it was necessary to combine the specific textbooks of both the 11th and the 12th grade, in order to obtain the average number of pages. Finally, the theme of the Cold War provides the possibility for textbook authors to include politically, socio-economically and culturally oriented primary sources, bringing about a wide range of types of primary sources.

The selected textbook chapters were analyzed on the level of the individual primary source and the questions accompanying the source, as mentioned in the textbooks. Based on both literature and own experiences from previous research into the use of sources in written history exams and textbooks, an analytical research tool was built⁴⁷. This tool addresses all major issues at stake when deal-

⁴⁷ For my own previous research, see: Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse, Kaat Wils, Geraldine Clarebout and Lieven Verschaffel, "The present in Flemish secondary history education, through the lens of written history exams", *McGill Journal of Education* 50, no. 1 (2015): 1-19; Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse, Kaat Wils, Geraldine Clarebout, Greet Draye and Lieven Verschaffel, "Making the constructed nature of history visible. Flemish secondary history education through the lens of written exams", in *International review of history education. Joined-up history: New directions in history education research*, ed. Arthur Chapman and Arie Wilschut (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2015), 311-333. Relevant other research in this respect was, among others, that of Nokes, *Building students' historical literacies*; Van Boxtel, and Van Drie, "That's the Time of the Romans!";

ing with primary sources. It includes the type of sources addressed (textual or visual), as well as the kinds of contextual information provided about the source. Specifically the sourcing information (who made the source, when and where), and one aspect of contextualization: information on the genesis of the source, were recorded. Broad historical societal contextualization is not included in the instrument, for it can rightly be assumed that this kind of contextual information is provided in the learning text by definition, since (primary) sources normally always are connected to the lesson theme. In the analysis, for that matter, the learning text was always taken into account in the analysis. The tool also addresses the educational use/questioning of the sources. It records whether or not a source is questioned in the textbook, how many questions are asked, and distinguishes the specific use of the source: illustrative use, content-related use, or strategic knowledge-related questions. Whether or not the goal of the source was given or asked for, and if it was corroborated has been recorded as well. All these elements were framed as categories, and codes per category were designed (for some examples of categories of the analytical research tool, see appendix 2). The validity of the tool was tested – in an earlier yet very similar research on Flemish history textbooks and history classroom observations⁴⁸ – by two independent raters, resulting in a strong interrater reliability (categories concerning type of source (kappa): $K=.95$; regarding presentation (sourcing and source genesis) (kappa): $K=.84$; regarding use/questioning (kappa): $K=.94$).

The coding of all primary sources was done in MS Excel, which allows to get a descriptive quantitative view on all issues at stake, and to look for connections between different aspects. This does not mean, however, that this research followed a quantitative approach. On the contrary, it was meant to be qualitative. The categorization helped to distinguish different types of presenting and questioning primary sources, which afterwards were further analyzed in a qualitative way.

Rouet et al., “Using multiple sources of evidence” and Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*.

⁴⁸ The research concerned an empirical study focusing on how primary sources are differently dealt with, regarding presentation and educational use, in real classroom practice in Flanders. Besides history textbook research (7th-12th grade), 88 randomly chosen classroom observations with 51 teachers, of which 22 in 7th-8th, 40 in 9th-10th, 26 in 11th-12th grade were examined. I reported on this study during the 16th Biennial EARLI Conference for Research on Learning and Instruction (central theme: Towards a Reflective Society: Synergies between Learning, Teaching and Research), Limassol, Cyprus, on August 29, 2015, in a lecture entitled “Reasoning with and/or about sources? The use of primary sources in Flemish secondary school history education”. A publication on this research, meant for an international journal on (history) educational research, is in the making.

5. Research Results

5.1. *Presence and nature of primary sources in the textbooks*

Judging from the textbook chapters examined in this research, working with documents in history classes is not merely a recommendation of the history curricula; it is a common practice. In the chapters of all eight textbooks, 646 sources occurred, of which 467 were primary sources (72%), and 179 secondary sources (28%). These numbers, however, hide big differences between England and France (see table 1). For only 22% of all sources are included in English textbooks, while the large majority (78% of all sources) is found in French textbooks, which confirms the general impression as mentioned above when describing English and French textbooks. The same applies specifically to the presence of primary sources, of which 17% occurs in English textbooks, 83% in French textbooks. The balance between primary and secondary sources as such differs a lot as well. While in the English textbook chapters, there is a balance, with 55% primary and 45% secondary sources, in French textbooks, by contrast, 77% of all sources are primary sources, and only 23% secondary sources.

COUNTRY	NUMBER OF SOURCES	PRIMARY VERSUS SECONDARY
ENGLAND	143 (22%)	Primary: 78 (= 55%)
		Secondary: 65 (= 45%)
FRANCE	503 (78%)	Primary: 389 (= 77%)
		Secondary: 114 (= 23%)
TOTAL	646 (100%)	Primary: 467 (= 72%)
		Secondary: 179 (= 28%)

Table 1: overview of primary and secondary sources in English and French history textbook chapters on the Cold War.

Of all primary sources, approximately 40% are textual, 60% visual. This applies to both English and French textbooks (see table 2). The length of textual sources in English and French textbooks is quite similar. Most of all visual primary sources are photographs (resp. 35 in English, and 159 in French textbooks), followed by posters, cartoons, paintings and magazine covers (especially of *Time Magazine*). This finding confirms Kleppe's finding for Dutch his-

tory textbooks about the presence of photographs in textbooks⁴⁹. The textual primary sources are mostly official documents, such as (excerpts from) speeches, treaties, memos and letters from politicians and government leaders.

COUNTRY	NUMBER OF PRIMARY SOURCES	TEXTUAL VERSUS VISUAL
ENGLAND	78 (17%)	Textual: 32 (= 41%)
		Visual: 46 (= 59%)
FRANCE	389 (83%)	Textual: 148 (= 38%)
		Visual: 241 (= 62%)
TOTAL	467 (100%)	Textual: 180 (= 39%)
		Visual: 287 (= 61%)

Table 2: overview of the balance between textual and visual primary sources in English and French history textbook chapters on the Cold War.

5.2. *Presentation of primary sources: sourcing and genesis*

Of all 467 primary sources, only 9 of them are not contextualized at all. Most primary sources are at least provided with sourcing information about when the source was made (83%), where (76%) and/or by whom (43%). French textbooks (44%) provide author information more than English ones (33%). Especially for textual sources, the author is mentioned. This is far less the case for visual sources, and specifically for photographs. The name of the photographer is almost never mentioned or amplified on. That way, students might get the idea that photos neatly and objectively reflect a past reality, instead of considering them as a subjective representation of an author, taking a picture from a specific perspective, with a specific goal, and to be published in a specific medium. In the general guidelines about how to use historical documents, many textbooks refer to the necessity of a careful consideration of photos though, given the fact that they are always framed and give a restricted representation of reality⁵⁰. They do, however, not put this in practice.

The broader contextualization of all primary sources was not examined, since it was presumed that the learning texts provided information about the broader historical societal context in which the

⁴⁹ Kleppe, "Photographs in Dutch History Textbooks".
⁵⁰ Jérôme Grondeux, red., *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde de 1945 à nos jours* (Paris: Bordas, 2008), 17.

source was given shape. What was recorded, though, is whether or not information was supplied about the specific genesis of primary sources, for instance on the occasion of which specific event a cartoon was drawn, or in which particular circumstances a letter was written or a speech prepared. This turned out to be only very rarely the case. Only 36 out of all 467 primary sources (8%) were provided with genesis context information. English textbooks provided 15 primary sources (19%) with such information, French textbooks 21 primary sources (5%).

The abovementioned numbers, however, do not reveal anything about the quality of the sourcing information. Does it provide enough information to make an analysis and interpretation of the source possible? An example of sufficient information is found regarding the painting by Picasso, *Massacre in Korea* from 1951⁵¹. The textbook provides these data, and also points out that Picasso was an 'engaged artist' and a *compagnon de route* of the communist party. This makes it for instance possible to ask questions and foster an understanding about why Picasso represented both Americans and Koreans the way he did.

When overlooking the totality of all primary sources, however, it is striking that most sourcing information is rather 'sterile' or 'empty', meaning for example that only the name of the author is given without any further explanation, or only the date without sketching specific circumstances. 'Source L: NSC-68 United States Objectives and Programs for National Security NSC 68' for instance consists of an extract from a National Security Council report issued in April 1950⁵². No extra information is provided about the composition of the National Security Council or its predominant ideological and political conviction, which is however important information to interpret the source from the author's perspective.

A cartoon about the Strategic Armaments Limitation Talks (SALT) agreements of 1972 is only accompanied by the name of the author ('Ron Lurie') and a date ('1972')⁵³. Where the cartoon was published is not mentioned. This turned out to be *The New York Times*. A closer examination reveals that the cartoon, however, was not published in 1972, but on May 23, 1971. The immediate cause was the announcement of an agreement on the limitation of the development of antiballistic missile systems, yet without an agreement on the limitation of the development of missiles for offensive purposes, which would only be concluded in 1972. The cartoon

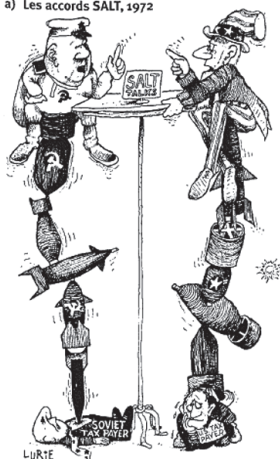
⁵¹ Christine Dalbert, red., *Histoire 1re* (Paris: Bordas, 2011), 139.

⁵² Phillips, *A World Divided*, 40.

⁵³ Gasnier, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde de 1945 à nos jours*, 65.

thus refers to a situation in which, until further notice, only a half-hearted, unsteady agreement was reached. This information is important in order to interpret the cartoon as it was meant by the author. Furthermore, not only the date mentioned was wrong, the author was not mentioned accurately as well. For the author was not 'Ron Lurie', but Ranan R. Lurie, an American Israeli, who first made his career in the Israeli army, where he testified his human face when refusing an order to deport Palestinian inhabitants from the conquered city of Anabta to Jordan, during the Six-Day War. From 1968 onwards, Lurie started drawing cartoons for American news media, such as the New York Times, a renowned, politically independent newspaper without connections with the republican nor democratic party. This context information is, given the highly politicized press landscape in the US, important to understand the cartoonist's point of view and interpretation of the agreement as well. It was, however, not provided either by the textbook, thus presenting the cartoon not as an interpretation but as an objective account of 'a fact'. When comparing, finally, the original cartoon with the representation in the textbook, it is to be noticed that the words 'The World' from the original have been deleted. It is not clear why this has been done. Perhaps the textbook authors did not want to give away the answer to one question accompanying the cartoon: 'Did the détente only concern the relations between Americans and Soviet Russians?'

a) Les accords SALT, 1972



Caricature de Ron LURIE. SALT : Strategic Armements Limitation Talks.

Textbook representation.



Original version.

A source often mentioned, and sometimes partly included in the textbooks is the Truman Doctrine, disclosed in a speech to Congress by American president Truman on March 12, 1947. Both textbooks offering an excerpt from this speech, limit their source

information to the abovementioned facts⁵⁴. The specific context in which Truman held his speech is neglected, although it is important to fully understand and accurately analyze the speech. In February 1947, the British government ceased helping Greece and Turkey, due to a financial crisis. Military and economic help, however, was considered necessary in the West, since communism gained strength in Greece, and Turkey was exposed to Soviet-Russian pressure. The American secretary of state for Foreign Affairs Dean Acheson feared that, if Greece and/or Turkey would fall to communism, more European countries would follow. The American government thus planned to take over the British role. Therefore, President Truman asked American Congress to approve a budget of 400 million dollars for military and economic aid for both countries. This context makes clear that the Truman's speech was not just a speech, but included a request, which the Congressmen had to approve. He thus had to convince them, and thereto called forth rhetoric strategies. Without this context, however, it is difficult for a teacher to question for example those strategies.

The abovementioned examples clearly show that the amount of sourcing context about the author(s), when, where and for whom the source was made, and about the social context wherein it was produced, is of great importance, since this determines the possibilities of questions that can be asked about the sources at stake. The amount of source context and genesis information certainly has important repercussions on the use of the source.

5.3. *Educational use and questioning of primary sources*

Of all 467 primary sources, 320 (69%) are questioned, 147 (31%) not, meaning that they are used as an illustration. Seven sources, although accompanied by questions, were nevertheless labelled as illustrative, because the questions could in fact not be answered through use of the source itself, as is the case for the questions 'What was the strategic importance of ballistic missile submarines?' and 'Was this armament fatally destined to be used?' accompanying a photograph of the first American ballistic missile submarine called the USS George Washington⁵⁵.

It is probably not a surprise that of the 147 sources used in an illustrative way, 135 are visual sources. This means that of all 287 visual primary sources, 53% (or 152) are used educationally, while

⁵⁴ Falaize, Lauby and Sirel, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde contemporain de 1945 à nos jours*; Grondeux, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde de 1945 à nos jours*.

⁵⁵ Dalbert, *Histoire 1^{re}*, 135.

47% are used as an illustration. This corresponds almost exactly to the findings of Kleppe in his Dutch textbook research⁵⁶.

Questioning of the primary source	Number of sources	Balance textual – visual sources
Yes	320 (69%)	Textual: 168 (<u>93%</u>)
		Visual 152 (53%)
No	147 (31%)	Textual: 12 (<u>7%</u>)
		Visual: 135 (47%)
Total	467 (100%)	Textual: 180 (<u>100%</u>)
		Visual: 287 (100%)

Table 3: overview of primary sources being questioned or not, in general, and according to their (textual-visual) nature (sum of textual sources in percentage is underlined).

When split up per country, it is striking that in England 50% of all primary sources (39) are questioned, and 50% used as an illustration. In France 72% are questioned, and only 28% used as an illustration. In terms of percentages, both textual and visual sources are less questioned in England than they are in France.

Questioning of the primary source	Number of sources England	Balance textual – visual sources England	Number of sources France	Balance textual – visual sources France
Yes	39 (50%)	Textual: 26 (<u>81%</u>)	282 (72%)	Textual: 143 (<u>97%</u>)
		Visual: 13 (28%)		Visual 139 (58%)
No	39 (50%)	Textual: 6 (<u>19%</u>)	107 (28%)	Textual: 5 (<u>3%</u>)
		Visual: 33 (72%)		Visual: 102 (42%)
Total	78 (100%)	Textual: 32 (<u>100%</u>)	389 (100%)	Textual: 148 (<u>100%</u>)
		Visual: 46 (100%)		Visual: 241 (100%)

Table 4: overview of primary sources being questioned or not, in general, and according to their (textual-visual) nature, separately for England and for France (sum of textual sources in percentage is underlined).

The average number of questions accompanying a source being questioned is two and a half. Sources are mainly questioned on their own, and individually. Corroboration of sources does not occur frequently. Generally speaking 12% of all sources is corroborated, while 88% is not. Those percentages hide rather large differences between

⁵⁶ Kleppe, “Photographs in Dutch History Textbooks”.

England and France. In England, one third of all primary sources is being corroborated, while in France only 9%. It seems as if the curricular requirements, which in England explicitly point to corroboration of sources, influence the textbook authors a lot in this respect.

CORROBORATION OF SOURCES	In general	English textbooks	French textbooks
Yes	37 (12%)	13 (33%)	24 (9%)
No	283 (88%)	26 (67%)	258 (91%)
Total	320 (100%)	39 (100%)	282 (100%)

Table 5: overview of primary sources being corroborated or not, in general, and specifically for England and for France.

Sources being questioned in combination occur more often. French textbooks in particular, regularly provide questions that require an analysis of a set of documents (*‘analyse de l’ensemble documentaire’*), such as ‘Were we on the verge of a Third World War in 1950-51?’ accompanying five sources (of which a map, a painting, a poster, a radio speech of Truman and a reproduction of a conversation between Stalin and Zhou Enlai).

The question then arises to what educational purpose sources are questioned, be it individually, in combination, or in corroboration? During the analysis, three main categories of the use of sources being questioned, were distinguished: fostering substantive knowledge, fostering strategic knowledge (including substantive knowledge as well), and provoking historical empathy and moral judgment (also including substantive knowledge). Half of all sources was used to foster students’ substantive knowledge. Fostering students’ strategic knowledge occurred far less. Provoking historical empathy and moral judgment only occurred in English textbooks. An overview of the use of primary sources:

USE OF PRIMARY SOURCES	absolute numbers in general	percentages in general	absolute numbers England	percentages England	absolute numbers France	percentages France
Illustrative	147	31%	39	50%	108	28%
Fostering substantive knowledge	242	52%	17	22%	225	58%
Fostering strategic knowledge (including substantive knowledge as well)	74	16%	18	23%	56	14%
Provoking historical empathy and moral judgment (including substantive knowledge)	4	1%	4	5%	0	0%
TOTAL	467	100%	78	100%	389	100%

Table 6: overview of the educational use of primary sources, in general, and specifically for England and for France.

In what follows, the three main categories of the educational use of sources being questioned, will be further analyzed.

Fostering substantive knowledge

In general, somewhat half of all primary sources are questioned solely to foster students' substantive historical knowledge. When looking at each country, percentages differ a lot, with much higher ones in France, compared to England. Nevertheless, for both countries the same issues catch the eye. At first, substantive questioning of sources is geared mostly towards an understanding of the event itself. Questions do not refer much to causes, consequences or effects of a certain event. Continuity and change, or cause and consequence, as key aspects of historical thinking⁵⁷, are far less involved in the source analysis. Examples in which they do occur are for instance an excerpt from Khrushchev's report to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Russian Communist party in February 1956. The first question "What elements allow us to affirm that Khrushchev continues the politics of his predecessor?" refers to continuity, while the second one "What elements mark a rupture?" aims to identify change⁵⁸. Causes are asked for in the analysis of two excerpts from books from economists and international relations specialists about the fall of communism in Eastern Europe⁵⁹.

⁵⁷ Seixas and Peck, "Teaching Historical Thinking".

⁵⁸ Grondeux, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde de 1945 à nos jours*, 79.

⁵⁹ Falaize, Lauby and Sirel, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde contemporain de 1945 à nos jours*, 154.

While in some cases, the questioning of sources leads to a more complex understanding of events, in other cases, the questions are rather sterile, often because of a lack of source and context information, which hinders an in-depth questioning. An excerpt of the Charta 77 Manifest established in Czechoslovakia for example is accompanied by this question: “Which rights do the subscribers of the manifest want to see respected? On which international engagements do they base themselves?”⁶⁰ Those questions mainly ask students to summarize what is written in the source. They do not invite students to dig deeper. In order to do so, one would need more information on the concrete circumstances in which the Manifest was established, who wrote it, and how authorities dealt with political opposition. The same applies to a question accompanying a photograph of American senator Joseph McCarthy lecturing for a certain audience. The question is “Demonstrate that the campaign of McCarthy is part of the ideological opposition between the US and the USSR”⁶¹. The context information ignores the domestic motives McCarthy had for his anti-communist crusade, which makes it not possible to judge his campaign against a background of parliamentary elections and gaining political power.

The lack of broader source and context information, and/or the absence of connecting the source to the broader context in the questions brings along three risks. The first one is that students might start to consider sources to be exact mirrors of a gone past. A photograph of a crowd of Hungarians, gathering around a statue of Stalin which has been pulled to the ground by demonstrators, is accompanied by this question: “What does this photo tell you about the reasons for the Hungarian Uprising?”⁶² The question seems to suggest that people’s motives can unproblematically be deduced from a picture, and thus present the photo as a mirror of the past, instead of a document given shape by an author who took a certain perspective and had a goal in mind when taking the picture.

A lack of context bears within it also a second risk of an a-historical questioning of sources. A cartoon picturing a (personified) atomic bomb putting pressure on the government leaders at ‘a coming peace meeting’ (as indicated on the cartoon), by looking at them while saying ‘A just and workable peace – OR ELSE’, is accompanied by the question “What does this cartoon say about the decision-making at Potsdam in July 1945?”⁶³. No further source information is provided,

⁶⁰ Falaize, Lauby and Sirel, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde contemporain de 1945 à nos jours*, 151-152.

⁶¹ Vincent Adoumié and Pascal Zachary, red., *Histoire 1re S. Questions pour comprendre le XXe siècle* (Paris: Hachette Éducation, 2013), 159.

⁶² Cannon et al., *20th Century World History*, 469.

⁶³ Cannon et al., *20th Century World History*, 457.

as a consequence of which one assumes that this cartoon has indeed been drawn at the eve of or during the Potsdam Conference of 17 July – 2 August 1945). In reality, however, the cartoon dates from August 11, 1945, nine days after the end of the Potsdam conference, and as important, five and two days respectively, after an atomic bomb had been launched at Hiroshima and at Nagasaki. It was drawn by Paul Carmack, and published in the *Christian Science Monitor*, an American daily newspaper aiming at making non-hysterical journalism and offering sensible and unbiased judgments on events. On August 11, 1945, Japan was in full deliberation about whether or not to surrender (which it would do on August 15). It thus seems that the cartoon was not about the role of the atomic bomb during the decision-making at Potsdam, but rather referred to the upcoming peace negotiations ('coming peace meeting') with Japan, and wanted to give a warning – in the sense that a failure could provoke an atomic war.

A third risk of questions accompanying insufficiently contextualized sources is that they do not problematize students' beliefs, but rather reinforce them. The question "By which aspects of the United States are European intellectuals fascinated the most?", accompanying an excerpt of *La Force des choses*, written by Simone de Beauvoir in 1963, unproblematically generalizes one author's specific fascination to an alleged fascination of 'the' European intellectuals⁶⁴. That way, students might get the impression that it is not problem to generalize one person's opinions to those a whole group. The same applies to the question "With which difficulties are Afro-Americans confronted?", accompanying a photograph of the interior of one black family's apartment in the 'Harlem ghetto' in New York⁶⁵.

Sometimes the questions do not only encourage generalization, but even dual stereotyping. In the example below, the question accompanying both sources (of which the left one is a primary source) runs as follows: "In comparing those two documents, demonstrate the opposition between the two political models in West and East Berlin."⁶⁶ The documents sketch an opposition to a violent, dictatorial communist rule, versus a peaceful, democratic rule. In reality, however, the political situation was more complex. Especially capitalist rule was not always and in all circumstances as democratic and peaceful as represented here. So students' stereotypical beliefs are rather reinforced than challenged here.

⁶⁴ Gasnier, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde de 1945 à nos jours*, 53.

⁶⁵ Falaize, Lauby and Sirel, *Histoire T L/ES/S*, 56.

⁶⁶ Adoumié and Zachary, *Histoire 1re S. Questions pour comprendre le XXe siècle*,



Doc. 4 Le 17 juin 1953 à Berlin-Est (RDA), sur la Stalinallee.

Le 16 juin 1953, les ouvriers entrent en grève contre une augmentation des normes de production dictée par l'État. Le 17 juin, la grève se transforme en révolte populaire qui culmine avec la revendication d'élections libres. La répression soviétique fait plusieurs centaines de morts et plus de 1 000 blessés.

Principaux partis politiques	Pourcentages des suffrages exprimés
Zentrum (centristes)	44 %
CDU (chrétiens-démocrates)	30 %
FDP (libéraux)	4,8 %
SED (communistes)	2,7 %
BHE (parti des réfugiés et des spoliés)	2,5 %

Doc. 5 Résultats des principaux partis politiques aux élections municipales de décembre 1954 à Berlin-Ouest.

Source : Alfred Grosser, « Sept élections allemandes », *Revue française de sciences politiques*, 1955.

Textbook representation.

Fostering strategic knowledge (including substantive knowledge)

As mentioned above, an overall 16% of all primary sources in this research is questioned in order to foster students' strategic knowledge. Strategic knowledge is addressed more, however, in English history textbooks than in French ones (23% versus 14%). Both textual and visual primary sources are used to reason about sources, be it that in England more textual sources, while in France more visual sources are involved. Fostering strategic knowledge or reasoning about sources is done in three ways: 1) questions can draw the attention to the author, audience and/or aims of the source, 2) questions can address the effect and or significance of sources, and 3) questions can reveal how historians deal with sources. In 26% of all sources questioned in one of those ways, corroboration is at stake. This strategy is, as mentioned earlier, much more applied in English than in French textbooks. In what follows, each of those three ways will be further explored.

A first way of reasoning about sources, occurring in both English and French textbooks, is drawing the attention to the fact that sources have an author who gave shape to the source, and/or an audience for whom the source was meant, thus encouraging students to analyze and interpret the source from this perspective, instead of treating it as an objective account and a mere mirror of a past event. An example concerns the question accompanying a poster opposing the placement of American missiles in Europe. Students are asked the following: "Which visual element is emphasized in the poster? With the goal of diffusing which message? Who do you

think would have made this non-signed poster?"⁶⁷ Students' attention is drawn to the fact that this source has an author, who wanted to distribute a specific message towards a large public. The background and biases of those who developed this poster are thus addressed. In the questions accompanying an excerpt from the Stalin-Zhou Enlai conversations (20 December 1952), students' attention is drawn to the fact that sources are always biased, and need to be understood in the light of (among others) the audience for which they were meant and the goals the author wanted to achieve. The question goes: "Which representation of American power does Stalin sketch towards Zhou Enlai, and to what aim does he do so?"⁶⁸

Sometimes, the attention is drawn to the author's perspective through questions about the language used in the source. One of the questions accompanying an excerpt of Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech goes: "Which metaphor does Churchill use to characterize the situation in Europe in 1946? In your opinion: why?"⁶⁹ This question acknowledges the rhetoric used by Churchill in his speech, and questions it. Such questions, however, are exceptional. The language and rhetoric used in a text (be it a speech or another kind of textual source) are almost never the object of questioning. In English textbooks, this never occurs, in French ones only very rarely.

A second way in which reasoning about sources is encouraged, concerns a reflection about the significance of sources, and the effects they can bring along. These issues are mostly raised for visual sources, and photos in particular. For several photos, such as of black American athletes raising their fist referring to the symbol of black power (Olympic Games Mexico 1968), or of Kim Phuc running away from her village Trang Bang which had been bombed with napalm (June 8, 1972), or of an anti-American demonstration in front of the American embassy in Teheran (1979), the question is raised concerning the effects they caused on the public opinion in the United States and abroad⁷⁰.

A third way to foster students' strategic thinking only occurs in English history textbooks, and involves the working method of historians. One English textbook, for example, asks students in a corroborative exercise to "comment on which of the sources A-D are the most reliable as evidence for the development of the Cold War after

⁶⁷ Falaize, Lauby and Sirel, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde contemporain de 1945 à nos jours*, 153.

⁶⁸ Grondeux, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde de 1945 à nos jours*, 71.

⁶⁹ Falaize, Lauby and Sirel, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde contemporain de 1945 à nos jours*, 69.

⁷⁰ Grondeux, *Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde de 1945 à nos jours*, 74, 83, 87.

1945, and explain your answer”⁷¹. The sources were extracts from George Kennan’s long telegram (22 February 1946), Churchill’s ‘Iron Curtain’ speech (11 March 1946), an interview with Stalin in Pravda in reply to Churchill’s speech (13 March 1946), and a speech from Soviet Foreign Minister Vychinsky at the UN (18 September 1947). Through these questions, students are obliged to consider sources as evidence instead of a mere collection of facts, to take into account the author’s perspective, and to assess its influence on the source content. This procedure reflects the way historians approach sources, in the light of a specific research question.

In other exercises, students are asked to examine a historian’s claim, through source analysis. Students have to examine for instance the claim of Marxist historian Deutscher, that the foreign policy of states is usually intended to protect the economic interests of the dominant social and economic classes. The questions accompanying two sources including views on respective Soviet and American foreign policy, were: “Study source A and B carefully. How, and to what extent, do they support Deutscher’s claim that the foreign policies of states are linked to their domestic social and economic systems? Do you think this is therefore a sufficient explanation for the start of the Cold War?”⁷² Those questions not only reveal the interpretative nature of historical knowledge, again they also approach sources as evidence instead of a collection of facts.

Provoking historical empathy and moral judgment

The last main category of the educational use of sources being questioned, appeared only very rarely: relating to four sources and only in two English textbooks. It concerns engaging students in historical perspective taking or to provoke moral judgment through source use. Students are for instance asked to read the Marshall Plan and the Soviet response. Afterwards, they have to choose the one they disagree with the most and then defend that position⁷³. It is, however, not made clear how students should do that. Must they build their defense from a present-day or a contemporary point of view? Must they form their own opinion, or is this question meant as some kind of role play, in which students have to take up the role of either general Marshall or Soviet Foreign Minister Vychinsky?

Another example of encouraging students in historical perspective taking comes along in the question accompanying a pho-

⁷¹ Robert Wolfson and John Laver, *Years of change. European history 1890-1990* (London: Hodder Education, 2008³), 362.

⁷² Todd, *The Cold War*, 47.

⁷³ Cannon et al., *20th Century World History*, 459.

tograph of American troops in Korea firing a cannon. Students are asked: “If you were to ask the soldiers shown in Source N why they were fighting in Korea, what do you think their answer would be?”⁷⁴ Again, this question poses many difficulties. For it is not clear which function these soldiers have: are they members of combat units, or do they fight behind the lines as artillerymen? Did they just arrive in Korea, or did they fight there for a long time already? Do they have to give an honest answer, or especially have to reproduce the official army account for the American intervention in Korea? These are all factors that need to be taken into account when asking students to take a historical perspective. Those factors are, however, not further addressed nor elucidated.

Such a lack of context information also applies to another source, of which the accompanying question tries to provoke moral judgment among students. It concerns a statement of newsman Walter Cronkite on February 27, 1968, on CBS news, saying: “It seems now more certain than ever that the bloody experience of Vietnam is to end in stalemate. This summer’s almost certain standoff will either end in real give-and-take negotiations or terrible escalation; and for every means we have to escalate, the enemy can match us.” Students are asked if “the statement above is appropriate for someone mandated to report the news? Why or why not?”⁷⁵ Yet students are not provided with any broader context information on the general press climate in the US during the 1960s, nor on the societal functioning of the press at the time etc. That way, the question risks that students take an a-historical, presentist point of view in judging the statement.

6. Conclusion and discussion

This research investigated the presence, presentation and educational use of primary sources in eight history textbooks for upper secondary level in England and France, more specifically in textbook chapters on the Cold War. Regarding the presence of primary sources, big differences occurred between English and French textbooks. The French textbooks included many more primary sources than the English ones. In both countries, the balance between visual and textual sources was somewhat 60%-40%, which is similar to Kleppe’s finding for Dutch history textbooks about the

⁷⁴ Phillips, *A World Divided*, 44.

⁷⁵ Cannon et al., *20th Century World History*, 481.

presence of photographs in textbooks⁷⁶. Primary sources were almost all contextualized, however, often only to a limited, 'sterile' extent. The pitfall indicated by international research about the absence of sufficient contextualization leading to a lack of interpretation and in-depth questioning of sources, clearly occurred in the observed textbook chapters. This brought along consequences for the use of sources, in the sense that 31% of all primary sources was for instance only used as an illustration. A majority of 52% of all primary sources was used to foster students' substantive knowledge; the questioning was related to reasoning with sources. This use sometimes included higher order thinking and could certainly address historical thinking concepts, such as continuity and change, or cause and consequence. Content-related questions, aimed at reasoning with sources, are certainly legitimate questions. It is nevertheless important, as scholars in the field of history education state, to pay attention, besides, to the source itself, and what it does or not does not do – in short to also reason about sources. In order to develop a criterialist stance, students need to understand that sources are never a mirror of the past, are always biased, are not a collection of facts, and never provide a complete and objective account of a past event⁷⁷. Fostering students' strategic knowledge, however, appeared much less in our research. It is clear that sources were much more used for fostering substantive than for strategic knowledge, for reasoning with than for reasoning about sources. Nevertheless, the latter was certainly not absent. It occurred in three ways: the examination of the author's perspective, reflection about the significance and effects of sources, and the involvement of the working method of historians. Contrary to research findings of Bertram and Nokes, 23% of all primary sources in English textbooks were used to foster students' strategic knowledge, in French textbooks 14%⁷⁸. This leads to the interesting conclusion that while in England, far fewer primary sources occur in the textbooks, they are nevertheless much more used to foster doing history and reasoning about sources. This makes clear that it is not the quantity of primary sources what counts, but the quality. The quality relates to the selection (are sources selected which can be corroborated?), the contextualization (is sufficient context information provided which allows an in-depth questioning?) and the educational use (reasoning with and about sources).

⁷⁶ Kleppe, "Photographs in Dutch History Textbooks".

⁷⁷ Maggioni, "Between Facts and Opinions"; Maggioni, VanSledright and Alexander, "Walking on the borders".

⁷⁸ Bertram, "'Doing history?"; Nokes, "Observing Literacy Practices in History Classrooms".

How to account then for the differences between English and French history textbooks? A first part of an explanation can be found in the composition of the teams of authors writing the textbooks. For the profile of the textbook authors differs substantially. In England, the textbooks are mostly written by teams of education advisors and inspectors, secondary high school or college teachers and university researchers, who are sometimes also members of the examination boards. This means that the curricular requirements in the textbooks as well as in the examinations, are enforced by the same people. Furthermore, the involvement of academic scholars contributes to the inclusion of recent historiographical views and historiographical debate in the textbooks. French textbooks, by contrast, are mostly written by secondary school history teachers, be it under the supervision of one to three university researchers. This might be the reason that academic historiography is far less included in the textbooks. For secondary school history teachers are generalists instead of specialists in the various issues addressed in the textbooks. Textbook authors moreover often combine the writing of a textbook with a fulltime teaching job in secondary education. As a result, little time remains for them to read up on recent academic historiography. Furthermore, since teachers write the textbooks, daily classroom practice probably influences French textbooks a lot.

This immediately leads to a second part of the explanation: the influence of teaching cultures in English and French history classrooms, and the expectations of the examination boards. As mentioned earlier, in France, a dialogue-lecturing way of teaching dominates the classroom practice. This tradition is very strong, and partly obstructs curricular reforms in the daily practice of French (upper) secondary schools⁷⁹. In England on the other hand, history education is much more geared towards an enquiry model of teaching, including an active role for students. History textbook authors and editors need to take characteristic educational traditions into account. For history textbooks are commercial products, which need to be sold. One can assume that, when textbooks deviate too much from mainstream teachers' expectations and teaching culture, many teachers will brush them aside and replace them with another one, leaning more towards their expectations. Furthermore, history textbooks also orient their educational approach towards the examination practices. These certainly include the use of sources in France, be it that they are especially used to foster students' substantive knowledge. In England, by contrast, examinations request a strategic use of sources.

⁷⁹ Tutiaux-Guillon, "French paradox".

The essay questions are much more geared towards an account in which sources need to be corroborated and evaluated, and thus reasoned about. History textbooks, preparing students for these examinations in England therefore also firmly include this strategic use of primary sources.

The comparison between two national cases thus leads to the conclusion that it is not sufficient to include attention for strategic knowledge in the curricula, in order to foster reasoning about sources in the daily history classroom practice. This aim needs to be clearly continued in examination requirements, and from there in history textbooks as well, in order to change prevailing teaching culture. Therefore, however, textbook authors need to be given the time and space to get acquainted with the strategic use of sources (reasoning *about* sources), and subsequently to write innovative history textbooks, which only then will truly meet the curricular requirements.

Appendix 1: overview of the analyzed textbook chapters

ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS	
Textbook	Selected chapter(s)
Robert Wolfson and John Laver, <i>Years of change. European history 1890-1990</i> (London: Hodder Education, 2008 ³).	Chapter 13: 'Europe and the Cold War 1945-62' pp. 337-362 Chapter 14: 'Europe and the Cold War 1962-91' pp. 363-392
Martin Cannon, Richard Jones-Nerzic, David Keys, Alexis Mamaux, Michael Miller, Giles Pope, David Smith and Aiden Williams, <i>20th Century World History. Course Companion</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).	Chapter 9: 'The Cold War' pp. 451-504
Allan Todd, <i>The Cold War</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).	Chapter 3: 'Origins of the Cold War' pp. 44-63 Chapter 4: 'The First Cold War (1946-53) Unit One Developments in Europe' pp. 68-87 Chapter 7: 'The end of the Cold War (1985-91)' pp. 188-207
Steve Phillips, <i>A World Divided: Superpowers Relations 1944-90. Unit 3 Student Book</i> (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2009).	Chapter 2: 'How did the Cold War develop between 1944 and 1953?' pp. 15-46 Chapter 9: 'How did the Cold War come to an end in the 1980s?' pp. 157-179
FRENCH TEXTBOOKS	
Textbook	Selected chapter(s)
Thierry Gasnier, red., <i>Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde de 1945 à nos jours</i> (Rosny-sous-Bois: Bréal, 2008).	Chapitre 2: 'La confrontation Est-Ouest jusqu'aux années 1970' pp. 44-73 Chapitre 5: 'La fin du monde bipolaire (1975-1991)' pp. 122-145
Benoit Falaize, Jean-Pierre Lauby and François Sirel, red., <i>Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde contemporain de 1945 à nos jours</i> (Paris: Magnard, 2008).	Chapitre 3: 'Les grands modèles idéologiques et la confrontation Est-Ouest jusqu'aux années 1970' pp. 50-82 Chapitre 6: 'La fin du monde bipolaire (1970-1991)' pp. 146-162
Christine Dalbert, red., <i>Histoire 1re</i> (Paris: Bordas, 2011).	Chapitre 6: 'La guerre froide: conflit idéologique, conflit de puissances' pp. 124-142
Jérôme Grondeux, red., <i>Histoire T L/ES/S. Le monde de 1945 à nos jours</i> (Paris: Bordas, 2008).	Chapitre 2: 'Les relations internationales de 1945 à 1991' pp. 62-93
Vincent Adoumié and Pascal Zachary, red., <i>Histoire 1re S. Questions pour comprendre le XXe siècle</i> (Paris: Hachette Éducation, 2013).	Chapitre 5: 'La guerre froide, conflit idéologique, conflit de puissances' pp. 148-167
Vincent Adoumié and Pascal Zachary, red., <i>Histoire T L/ES. Regards historiques sur le monde actuel</i> (Paris: Hachette Éducation, 2012).	Chapitre 6: 'Les chemins de la puissance: les États-Unis et le monde depuis 1918' pp. 198-211 + 214-215 (partie) Chapitre 7: 'Les chemins de la puissance: la Chine et le monde depuis 1919' pp. 234-247 (partie)

Appendix 2: *extracts of some categories of the analytical research tool, used during this research*

CATEGORY 1: TYPE OF SOURCE

1. Textual source
2. Visual source
3. Combination
4. Other

CATEGORY 2: CONTEXT INFORMATION ACCOMPANYING THE SOURCE

1. None
2. Context information is provided
3. Context information is included in the source itself
4. Context information is not provided, because it is asked for in the questions
5. Context information is partly provided, and partly asked for
6. Context information is partly provided, and partly included in the source itself
7. Context information is partly included in the source itself, and partly asked for
8. Context information is partly provided, partly asked for, and partly included in the source itself

CATEGORY 3: TYPE OF CONTEXT INFORMATION PROVIDED

1. Sourcing (author and/or date and/or place)
2. Genesis
3. Origin and genesis

CATEGORY 4: USE OF THE SOURCE

1. Purely illustrative
2. Content-related
3. strategic knowledge-related
4. Provoking historical empathy and moral judgment
- ... (combinations)

CATEGORY 5: CORROBORATION OF SOURCES

1. Yes, with another primary source
2. Yes, with a secondary source
3. No

CATEGORY 6: NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ACCOMPANYING THE SOURCE

- 0 = 0
1 = 1
2 = 2
...

CATEGORY 7: ...