Primary Sources In Swedish And Australian History Textbooks: A Comparative Analysis Of Representations Of Vietnam's Kim Phuc

Heather Sharp, University of Newcastle, Newcastle, Australia Niklas Ammert, Linnaeus University, Kalmar, Sweden

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Introduction

The impact of current democratic political instability in many nations, including a harking back to an unidentifiable by gone era as is alleged of some in conservative politics in countries such as the US, Australia, and the UK¹ cannot be ignored. A rejection of two-party political systems is also occurring with electoral repercussions in nations, such as Australia, that are not used to minor parties having substantial political control. This is evidenced in the United States with the election of party-outsider, but conservative contender, Donald Trump, in 2016. For both Sweden and Australia, nations that sit on the periphery of global disputes and continents, but still contribute to and have an economic, social, and political stake in these geo-political debates these international issues are of keen interest and relevance to their own domestic political policies and actions. School curriculum, and the subject of History which is well placed as a platform for identity and to address the current uncertainty, must therefore respond to the current political milieu both nationally, or domestic politics-based and in consideration of impacts of the international sphere of politics will have on school students² now and into their futures. The discipline of history, with its traditional focus on using primary source documents to navigate through various perspectives can provide students with at least some of the tools

¹ For example, as evidenced by statements made by some conservative politicians, such as Nigel Farage, former Leader of the United Kingdom Independent Party (UKIP) who argued for a separation from the European Union (EU) so that Britain could become once more an autonomous governing nation, however legislatively flawed the logics of the arguments might be.

² The term *student* is used throughout to refer to school aged students.

in which to engage with the political discussions going on around them. The History curriculum broadly, and also source activities included as part of History teaching in school classrooms, play a significant role in educating students and providing them with the skills to be critical, active citizens (Sharp, 2015).

In consideration of this information regarding students' skills and abilities, this article analyses student activities in relation to sources included in textbooks, including the knowledge types activities elicit from students. To do this, the sources and their associated content and accompanying student activities are analysed to determine whether the sources are included in order to encourage historical skill development such as source analysis, if the sources are linked to knowledge and understanding or comprehension of their content, or if the sources are included to provide an illustration, for example as an aesthetic to accompany written text. The pedagogical purposes of the sources will be examined by applying Habermas' knowledge types to the analysis. Whether or not the sources, both quantity and variety, differ significantly between the two nations, Sweden and Australia will be investigated; and whether the accompanying text and source activities deal directly with the sources reflecting a variety of knowledge types, based on Habermas' (1994; 1998) theory, including statement, explanation/ interpretive description, critical reflection/analysis, or emancipatory/transformative. This article focuses on analysing how textbooks aim to facilitate the teaching and learning of history. through sources. With sources as a marker of the authentic work that historians do, their inclusion in textbooks whether as an inquiry approach to teaching or treating students as passive observers of sources, and how high school students are exposed to sources in official curriculum documents is of interest.

Purposes of textbooks: activities and sources

A study of textbook sources and associated activities enables an analysis of the exercises that guide students and emphasise what is important for students to learn. For 'time poor' students who have been instructed to read a chapter in a textbook and answer the questions that follow, it would be tempting to just go to the questions and find the answers they need from the main text to answer the activities, rather than to read the chapter first for an understanding of the topic and then to answer the questions. Likewise, for teachers who are experiencing the various pressures of the demands of the job of teaching, if unable to prepare a thorough lesson on a set day (due to a wide variety of reasons including school disruptions), or homework activities, it would likewise be appealing to go to the source activities, read the questions and select those that seem to be a good fit for students to complete.

Therefore, the importance that textbook activities have in providing a thorough reflection of the types of knowledge and skills that the textbook authors, and teachers too, want students to learn become obviously important. It is of central interest to many governments, education researchers, and other key stakeholders to study what students are required to learn and to achieve at school. This is evidenced, in part, by the interest in not only nation-wide external based assessment tasks, but also the OECD PISA rankings³ and how individual nations rank against each other and their own past achievements. While the content of the curriculum and

³ As stated on the OECD website: "The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), organized by the OECD, is a triennial international survey which aims to evaluate education systems worldwide by testing the skills and knowledge of 15-year-old students. Since the year 2000, every three years, students from randomly selected schools worldwide take tests in the key subjects: reading, mathematics and science" (https://www.oecd.org/pisa/aboutpisa/)

accompanying syllabus documents can be clearly known, the same cannot be said for what students are instructed to achieve. Analysing textbook activities is one way to partially uncover this current deficit of knowledge in this area of research. One of the limitations of doing research into analysing historical representations present in textbooks is that the textbook authors, who are commonly teachers (especially the case for Sweden), former teachers, curriculum writers, or academics are commonly strictly adhering to the syllabus and/or publisher requirements. That is to say, they do not have the opportunity to demonstrate a significant amount of academic freedom outside the bounds of the curriculum documents. However, the activities that commonly accompany the content, do provide textbook authors with the opportunities to hone in on areas of content with more flexibility.

Methodological approach to analysing sources

Drawing on Habermas' three types of knowledge (1987) or, three domains of learning, provides an avenue to evaluate sources, and any associated activities, included in History textbooks to determine what type of knowledge they elicit from students. Of interest to this article is whether the sources are used for illustration; that is, included with no reference either in the main text or in student activities. Second, whether they are used for comprehension only, for example through factual statements in the main text or the style activities, for example questions that ask for basic descriptions such as what is, who is, what happened? Third, whether the sources are provided as an explanation or an interpretive description. For example, if the accompanying main text or activities encourages an investigation of the sources, by the students, through the way they are incorporated and if they encourage interpretation through asking why questions, encouraging inquiry. Fourth, if there is a focus on critical reflection and analysis. This can sometimes be evidenced through sources positioned side by side that have competing perspectives. Students are then trusted to be able to make their own determination of how they perceive the sources (albeit usually with guidance), and to consider questions such as in whose interests and who benefits and who loses? Finally, and linked to active citizenship (see, for example, Sharp, 2015), the sources are analysed to determine their inclusion for emancipatory purposes. This is when students consider the information they are provided in order to engage in a type of cognitive active citizenship that invites students to engage in a critique of commonly held assumptions. It is through the examination of sources that historical consciousness can be cultivated and dismembered from ambiguous traditions (Habermas, 1988).

Habermas' theory includes technical knowledge, practical knowledge, and emancipatory knowledge. Each different type of knowledge contains a higher level of thinking. The technical knowledge draws on content that accounts for, describes, is factual, and/or is easily verifiable. It can be seen as highlighting comprehension. The practical knowledge develops on from the statement knowledge type, and includes explanation, interpretation, judgement, and dialogical communication with others. The third type, emancipatory, recognises and encourages knowledge that is subjective, encourages students to be self-reflective, and is concerned with how students (when applied to an educational context) position themselves and others. (see Table 1: Knowledge types applied to sources in textbooks demonstrates how a variation of Habermas' knowledge types are applicable to source analysis). Habermas' long standing commitment to dealing with issues of citizenship, especially those surrounding historical trauma and specifically dealing with Nazism, the question of Europe (see, for example, Habermas 1988; 1994), and what it is to be a citizen makes his three types of knowledge an appropriate guide for the analysis of primary sources in school History textbooks. This is particularly significant here, as the case study for this article investigates sources used in the Cold War topic of the Vietnam War, a conflict arguably brought about (at least, in part) by Vietnamese citizenship and how this was viewed by different stakeholders and who had the right to determine that both in relation to Vietnamese sovereignty and how this impacted international politics at the time.

As many of the sources included in History textbooks are visual, it is important to be able to relate, adapt, or select an appropriate visual analysis approach to undertake an analysis alongside text-based sources. For this article, the adaptation of Habermas' knowledge types are juxtaposed with van Leeuwen and Kress' work "on the interaction between the verbal and visual in texts and discourse" (Wodak, 2001, p. 8) to enable a critical engagement with the visual images. The visual analysis approach for the analysis of sources "... is qualitative and ... focuses on each text ..." (Bell, 2001, p. 15) and aligned with visual culture perspectives, framed by Mitchell (2002, p. 87) as a preferred option as "... it is less neutral than 'visual studies'... vision is ... a 'cultural construction', that is learned and cultivated, not simply given by nature ..." This approach differs significantly from other types of visual analysis approaches that are aligned with quantitative measures, such as a purely content analysis approach. Importantly for this research, individual image sources are analysed within their historical context and within their inclusion in textbooks as context pedagogical point.

An explanation of the purposes of the inclusion of sources in Australian textbooks is provided by the *Oxford Big Ideas* textbook:

Photographs, drawings and other images are historical sources that can provide information about the past. Sources can be used to frame arguments or ideas about history. Sources alone, however, do not constitute evidence. Evidence is the information you create when you interrogate a source and ask specific questions about it. You can use evidence to support a historical argument. The questions you ask about a source and the evidence that you uncover as a result will depend on the purpose of the inquiry and the argument you are making. (Carrodus, Delany, McArthur, Smith, Taylor, and Young, 2012, p. 22).

Following a survey of all the primary sources used in the Cold War sections of the textbooks under investigation, a deeper analysis of the portrayal of Kim Phuc is selected as a case study for this article. The photograph, taken by Associated Press photographer Nick Ut, of her as a nine year old girl suffering horrific napalm chemical burns is an international symbol of the conflict in Vietnam and is reproduced in countless contexts, including History textbooks across a range of countries. Both Australia and Sweden feature the photograph of Kim Phuc in junior high school History textbooks, and it is frequently used as an introduction to image analysis. In addition to being used as an educational topic, Kim Phuc's image is also used in popular culture; for example famous street artist, Banksy, has used her image as a commentary on American culture and capitalism (see Fig. 1); and she is still in the public arena even over forty years after the photograph was taken and distributed globally by news organisations. Further demonstrating the sustained public and media interest in Phuc's experiences, a March edition of Australian popular newsstand glossy magazine, Who, featured a story titled 'Surviving the Scars of War' (Who, 2016, pp. 67-68) detailing Phuc's recent medical treatment to lessen her pain associated with the scaring the napalm caused on over 65% of her body. A scan of national and international news sites show that in the first six months of 2016, Kim Phuc features in in excess of 50 media reports.

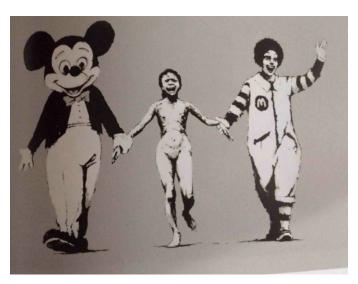


Fig. 1. Kim Phuc represented by Banksy is subversive street art (Banksy, nd)

Being such a prominent symbol of the Vietnam War, selecting Phuc as a case study for the analysis of how primary sources are incorporated and used as a pedagogical device in History textbooks, is highly relevant. The repetition in the public sphere of Kim Phuc's image and story, even when it is reproduced through subversive street art, means that it continues to be fixed in people's minds so much so that even those who don't know her name would recognise her image. The repeated use of her image does not mean that all students know Kim Phuc's name or story, therefore the learning about her in History classrooms becomes important for teachers particularly as her image is included so commonly in History textbooks around the world.

TABLE 1. Knowledge types applied to sources in textbooks

Knowledge Type	Attributes of the Knowledge Type	Habermas Definition	In textbook activities, types of questions asked include:
Illustration only	Source included to fill the page, perhaps as a filler and perhaps as an aesthetic	Not applicable.	No questions or activities associated with this type of source. Not included in the main text of the textbook.
Statement (draws on Habermas' technical knowledge)	 Factual Accounting for Confirmation Brief description Statement Highlights comprehension 	Emerges from the questions "what" and "how"; largely descriptive knowledge, often based on observation; helps people regulate, predict and control their daily lives.	What is? Who is? What happened? When? How much? How often?

Explanation/ Interpretive Description (draws on Habermas' practical knowledge)	 Explanation Interpretive description background 	Emerges from the question "why" and is interpretive rather than descriptive. Concerned with motives and causes, and helps us understand people's actions and attitudes, and thus helps us in our dealings with these people.	How was that possible? What does it mean? Why? What happened afterwards?
Critical Reflection/ Analysis	Connecting to the student, students' experiences and previous knowledge. References to parallel contexts, theoretical concepts or models	Emerges from the questions "in whose interests" or "who benefits and who loses".	How can I understand this? What can I compare with? Why did people act/ react in that way? What could have happened?
Emancipatory, transformative knowledge (draws on Habermas' emancipatory knowledge)	Students are required to consider how to take a theoretical understanding of a history topic or concept and to 'activate' it in an authentic, active citizenship context that critiques commonly held assumptions	Concerned with the effect of power, privilege and advantage in situations, and thus help people emancipate themselves from various forms of disadvantage and oppression, and to seek justice for themselves and others.	What action could be taken?

Case Study: Presenting Kim Phuc sources in Swedish and Australian textbooks

The case study selected for this article focuses on an analysis of sources about Kim Phuc, included in two Swedish and two Australian textbooks, according to the knowledge types identified (see Table 1). Textbooks, in addition to providing information for students to learn content and historical skills, can also act as a pedagogical device for teachers, guiding them to approach content and sources in particular ways that align with the textbook authors' professional preferred way of teaching History. Australian textbook Retroactive 10 (Anderson et al, 2012) has a total of 14 sources across the Cold War topic; and of the three related to Vietnam, one is about Kim Phuc. Covering approximately half the page, the photograph by world renowned press photographer, Nick Ut, and associated activities is used as a feature in the Retroactive 10 textbook. The famous image (see Fig. 2) showing Kim Phuc running naked down the road suffering severe chemical burns caused by the napalm bombing attack, shows other village children and soldiers also coming along the road. The photograph is included as both a source to accompany the main written text and for an extension activity for students to undertake, requiring them to access online resources to continue their analysis of the photograph and to place it within its socio-political historical context. However, it does more than this. To the left of the photograph, there are four statements that explain how the photograph can be read visually and in this way signposts the different components of the image (for example, background, foreground, dark and light, and use of contrasts). In this way, the textbook can be read as professional advice for teachers to apply their pedagogical practice, using these statements as a guide to purposefully teach about this photograph. That is, not have students individually, or even in small groups, reading the textbook and answering questions; but rather for teachers to use these statements as a way to introduce

class discussion about the photograph in order for students to develop a deep understanding of the photograph and its historical context. Teachers are also able to apply these types of statements to other photographs or images both within this topic and for other topics they teach. In this way, the textbook acts as a professional development tool for teachers to either develop their skills in source analysis, or as a refresher for the knowledge and skills they have already acquired for example at University or other professional development experience. Viewed in consideration of the pedagogical advice provided to teachers on how to use photographs as primary sources in an inquiry based classroom, the activity in *Retroactive 10* can be viewed as being in the explanation/interpretive description category of knowledge types. Students, in this activity, are required to consider the impact of visual techniques in detail, rather than just use this photograph source as a comprehension activity. The four points made about the image read:

- Frightening scene is emphasised through the dark background and fear on the faces [red line pointing to the clouds in the sky]
- Child in foreground brings the viewer into the drama [red line pointing to a boy, fully dressed, running along the road. He is crying as he runs]
- Note the central image of the naked and terrified child [red line pointing to Kim Phuc]
- The soldiers' heavy uniforms contrast with the vulnerability of the children [red line pointing to a soldier, preoccupied with something in his hands, walking in the same direction as the children are running]. (Anderson et al, 2012, p. 25)

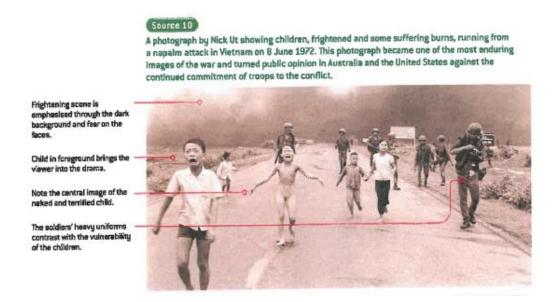


Fig. 2. Kim Phuc included as a photograph analysis activity

The caption in *Retroactive 10* identifies the photograph as being "... one of the most enduring images of the war and turned public opinion in Australia and the United States against the continued commitment of troops to the conflict" (Anderson et al, 2012, p. 25). Of interest, at no time is Kim Phuc mentioned by name, nor is she included in the main text of the textbook. The episode that led to Kim Phuc being burnt is also not referred to in the main text.

An activity is also included in the textbook's online link. This activity, listed as part of the *eBookplus* is a 'comprehension and communication' activity that requires students to access the photographer's webpage and read about his version of events regarding the napalm attack on Kim Phuc's village. After reading his first-hand account, students are required to "Note the source annotations and then discuss the impact this source would have had on public opinion" (Anderson et al, 2012, p. 25). This activity focuses on explanation/interpretive description attributes. Students, using the background information they gained from the textbook, then provide an explanation for the impact of the photograph. the activity is concerned with eliciting from students causes of events and moves beyond description by having students attempt to understand people's actions and attitudes.

The Swedish textbook *Levande Historia 9* (Hildingson and Hildingson, 2012), covers the Vietnam War across two pages and is allocated more space than any other conflict during the Cold War in this textbook. The picture of Kim Phuc (see Fig. 3) running from the horror of her village burning covers half a page, and is the classic, well known photo of her, cropped to focus mainly on the village children running alongside of her and with the soldiers in the background. The text accompanying this photograph reads:

In 1972 airplanes from South Vietnam attacked a village with napalm, a liquid burning with intensity. The girl at the picture, Kim Phuc, got napalm on her clothes and they caught fire. She threw her clothes off and fled with severe injuries. Nick Ut's photo is one of the most classic pictures from the Vietnam War. (Hildingson and Hildingson, 2012, p. 387)



Fig. 3. Nick Ut's famous photograph in Levande historia (p. 387)

There are no exercises connected to the photo, therefore it is categorised as included for illustrative purposes. The third textbook also from Sweden, *Historia Prio 9* presents a different aspect of Kim Phuc. In the book there is a picture of Kim Phuc, as an adult, smiling and sitting in front of a poster sized photograph of her as a child; crying and running from the napalm and the soldiers (see Fig. 4). This is from the same series of photographs that are within all the textbooks, and the caption reads:

As a nine year old Phan Thi Kim Phuc was burned on her back and arms by American napalm bombs. The picture, on which she runs for her life, was cabled out over the world.

As an adult Phan Thi Kim Phuc works actively to help children in war zones. (Almgren et al, 2013, p. 73)



Fig. 4. Kim Phuc as an adult sits in front of the famous Nick Ut photograph of her as a young girl, included in Historia Prio 9 (p. 73)

In this textbook, Kim Phuc's image is not just being used as a primary source document, contained within a specific and bounded historical period of the Vietnam War. Instead, the textbook authors also utilise it for a present day understanding on the impact of war on its victims by showing Kim Phuc's humanitarian work to assist children who suffer from conflicts. However, despite the lengthy and albeit informative caption, with no activities accompanying this photograph, it can only be categorised as illustration within the knowledge type on the provided model, so far as student activities are concerned.

Forming part of a two page spread titled "Agent Orange and Napalm" within the key concept of "Empathy", the fourth textbook, for the Australian curriculum, *Oxford Big Ideas*, also includes the famous photograph. The two page spread starts with a definition of historical empathy so that students are able to understand the context of the photograph's inclusion. The textbook reads:

Historical empathy is understanding what happened in the past through the range of perspectives of people living at the time. It is about explaining people's behaviour based on an appreciation of their specific beliefs, customs and values and the contexts in which they acted. Rather than merely knowing *what* people did, historical empathy allows us to understand *why* they did it.

Empathy does not mean judging a culture or people subjectively, by *your* standards. It requires a balanced and objective understanding of the social and cultural norms of the period you are studying. Historical empathy requires a deep understanding of the context of a particular period, so that you can understand people's motives and intentions. Empathy does not excuse the actions of people in the past, but it does allow us to better understand them. (Carrodus et al, 2012, p. 28)

Like *Retroactive*, this textbook does not mention Kim Phuc by name, even though she is an internationally well-known person, and this photograph (as part of the media coverage of this war) is widely regarding as contributing towards the West's withdrawal from the conflict. The questions and activities surrounding the image in both textbooks also do not deal specifically with the photograph (see Fig. 5). The very violent and confronting image of a young girl, naked (as vulnerable as can be), with the impact of the chemical burns already evident is laid bare on the textbook page for high school students to see; yet no mediation is provided. No inclusion of her name, her biography, or those of her fellow villagers is provided; despite in both textbooks this photograph taking up a large portion of the page. In Oxford Big Ideas, the closest the textbook comes to addressing the photograph is a question that reads: "What were the effects of dropping Napalm on villages?" (Carrodus et al, 2012, p. 29). Students could (although it needs to be noted they are not directed to do so), chose to consider the photograph in their response to the question, but it is more likely that they will focus on the written text as it specifically deals with the question, "what were the effects..." in a way that encourages comprehension only, meaning this textbook is categorised within the lower-order thinking statement knowledge type.



Source 1.36 Children fleeing a village bombed with Napalm

Source 1.37

We sure are pleased with those backroom boys at Dow [Chemicals]. The original product wasn't so hot—if the gooks were quick they could scrape it off. So the boys started adding polystyrene—now it sticks like shit to a blanket. But if the gooks jumped under water it stopped burning, so they started adding Willie Peter (white phosphorus) so's to make it burn better. And just one drop is enough, it'll keep on burning right down to the bone so they die anyway from phosphorus poisoning.

A US army source talks about Napalm. Quoted in Vietnam Inc. by Philip Jones Griffiths (1971)

Source 1.38

We of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations who participated in the decisions on Vietnam acted according to what we thought were the principles and traditions of this nation. We made our decisions in light of those values. Yewere wrong, terribly wrong. We owe it to future generation explain why.

Extract from in Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vie by Robert McNamara, 1895. Robert McNamara w US Secretary of Defence from 1961 to

Fig. 5. Primary sources and questions on the Vietnam War?" (Carrodus, Delany, McArthur, Smith, Taylor & Young, 2012, p. 29)

In the main, it could be legitimately claimed that in *Oxford Big Ideas*, the photograph is included more as an illustration, albeit a ghastly one, rather than a substantial part of the content. It is the decision of the teacher, then, to determine whether or not this image is addressed in a way that extends beyond the students' potentially voyeuristic gaze, and instead to examine the issue with historical empathy, or other key historical concepts.

Discussion and Conclusion

On the whole, the activities surrounding this photo engage students in only lower order thinking activities, if any at all. Two textbooks include only a photograph of the young Kim Phuc with no mediating activity and can be categorised as being for illustrative purposes only. In these textbooks it is included more as a violent aesthetic, perhaps to shock students or be a site of visual interest, but not to be used as part of an explicit, official student activity. One textbook includes a student activity that could be regarded as statement, requiring students to produce factual or comprehension-style responses. Only one textbook, *Retroactive*, moves into the category of explanation/interpretive description, mainly because of it acting as a pedagogical device for teachers on how to analyses sources,; and also because students are required to complete activities on an accompanying online sites, where they connect new information learnt to the broader context of the Vietnam War. Kim Phuc's experience, constructed as a case study in History textbooks, is a valuable inclusion as it is of historical importance, having significantly contributed to bringing about a change in public attitudes, and also for her continued presence as an example of the human impact of war on civilians.

It became obvious in the analysis of the textbook activities that the history teaching traditions of the respective countries are different, and that these teaching traditions become apparent through the types of questions/exercises included in textbooks. The textbook activities can be seen as a reflection of the favoured pedagogical practices of both nations. For example, the Australian textbooks follow the Anglo-American tradition of teaching students to be historians, using sources as the basis for historical understanding and also used extensively in the student activities (this is particularly obvious in the Retroactive textbook, where each and every activity is linked to a source). Swedish textbooks, on the other hand, follow the German philosophical tradition (one that is inspired by the bildung tradition) in the main, although there are some notable exceptions. This is a reflection of Sweden's approach to teaching History in schools, which uses History as a way to acculturate students to Swedish culture, traditions, political systems and history as a reference for understanding and interpreting the present. However, the curriculum from 2011 highlights that History education should focus on knowledge about history, knowledge about how history is written and knowledge about how history is used. The approach is analytical and sources are important, but that is not realised in History textbooks. There are few exercises related to sources, but when they are included, Swedish textbook authors use exercises that require students to explain, compare and analyze. In that way, they apply their factual knowledge and they practice critical thinking.

In textbooks, more attention could be paid to using visual sources critically and in a transformative way through student activities, such as in *Retroactive*. In the visual media saturated environment that students live in today, it is important to provide them with the tools to be able to confidently analyse visual images both within and beyond the classroom. With so many primary sources being visual across both modern and ancient histories, it is vital students develop the skills to analyse them in meaningful ways, and for this to be modelled to students by not including images for illustrative purposes only: to entertain or to fill up space, without being used as a pedagogical experience. In order for students to be acculturated into not just a disciplinary way of thinking and knowing the field of history, but also to be able to use

sources to critically analyse the world around them; a particularly crucial point in the visually saturated media context of the early 21st century, then it is vital that students have those initial learning experience in the classroom under the pedagogical guidance of a teacher. While teachers are equipped with the skills to provide these learning opportunities for their students, textbooks and other mainstream, readily accessible curriculum resources are well placed to provide content that guides and enables a critical analysis of a variety of primary and secondary sources that encompass a variety of perspectives. Accompanying student activities are a vital part of teaching students to use sources carefully and accurately, and also to demonstrate to teachers ways in which source analysis can be used.

One of the main feedback points by the Australian HSC markers, as quoted earlier in this paper, was that students are not able to effectively critique sources when they are presented with more than primary source in an exam situation. The textbooks, both Swedish and Australian, offer no guidance with this matter, with none of the student activities requiring students to compare and contrast any sources; all activities were for individual sources framed only within their own context. The selection of sources then, only being one sided, provide students with little to no option but to agree with the perspective provided. The structures of these questions and activities arguably treat students as empty vessels to be filled, by using sources to cement one perspective, rather than as a genuine inquiry approach.

In an international context where violence against young people continues to be committed, frequently due to differences in political ideologies that lead to conflict against and between citizens, the case study of Kim Phuc's experience can tell a narrative of historical trauma and the long lasting impacts of war, even when peace has been declared, or the armed combat no longer taking place. The example of Kim Phuc shows that this experience is not just the trauma of an individual, nor just a trauma for the nation of Vietnam, but for all of humanity, including the unwilling participants of this conflict.

Correspondence

Dr Heather Sharp
Heather.sharp@newcastle.edu.au

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