TEXTBOOKS VS. *ASSASSIN'S CREED UNITY:* COMPARING THEIR ENGAGEMENT WITH SECOND-ORDER HISTORICAL THINKING CONCEPTS WITH REFERENCE TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

By

Kyleigh Malkin-Page

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SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

"As the candidate's supervisor I agree to the submission of this dissertation."

_____   19 November 2016
Prof Johan Wassermann

PERSONAL DECLARATION

I, **KYLEIGH MALKIN-PAGE (210550159),** declare that

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DEDICATION

As with my honours, I am in the fortunate position to dedicate this to an exceptional man and soul who has blessed my life- my soul mate, Jayd, the very existence of whom proves there is a God. Namaste. Agapi. Your heart, your mind and your soul inspire me to strive for better. You are the change I want to see in the world.

But I am beyond blessed to have more than one special man in my life this year to whom a dedication is owed: my precious Thane. You cracked my heart open, climbed inside and will remain there for an eternity. No words can describe the profound love I have for you or the way you have changed my life. Soon my heart will have to swell again to encompass your little brother or sister resting inside me, waiting to meet you.

ABSTRACT

This research aims to ascertain the manner in which two grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks and the historically-situated electronic game *Assassin's Creed Unity* engage with second-order historical thinking concepts with reference to the French Revolution, in an attempt to create a historically literate learner. Historical education has become an ideological playground, dominated by official forms of education, such as the ubiquitous textbook, which aim to inculcate particular values into a historically literate learner. Yet history education is increasingly, and unpredictably, influenced by unofficial forms of pedagogy, such as the historically-situated electronic game which impact not only on learners' schema, but their educators too.

Adopting Seixas's six second-order historical thinking concepts (historical significance, source evidence, continuity and change, cause and consequence, historical perspective taking and the moral or ethical dimension) as categorical filters, similarities and differences across the three tools were identified. Within an interpretivist framework, these similarities and differences were studied and recorded utilising a Qualitative Comparative Content Analysis approach, a method which amalgamates the Qualitative Content Analysis and Qualitative Comparative Analysis approaches. These similarities and differences, as well as the manifest and latent negotiations of each, were, in turn, qualitatively contemplated to gain an understanding of what each revealed about the ideological implications of the divergent pedagogical tools and the manner in which these are expectant within a historically literate learner.

Through latent analysis of the findings, it became apparent that, while both the textbooks and the electronic game were created within an ideological framework, it was this framework which specifically drove the depiction of the French Revolution within the textbooks. Through repetition and implicit reinforcement of the democratic establishments of the French Revolution and its connection with the South African Revolution of 1994, which saw the demise of the Apartheid era, the textbooks illustrate that a suitable historically literate learner must be one encompassed of and perpetuating the ideals fought for in the South African Revolution. The electronic game, in dichotomy of this as an artefact of the counter-culture, adopts an ideology which pushes against grand narratives and questions whose history is correct and deserves to be witnessed. For educational practitioners, researchers and those immersed in designing games for learners, the findings suggest that any integration of electronic games into official educational practice will require that they devote themselves to establishing a particular historically literate learner in line with the DBE and South African government's agenda. For textbook researchers, the findings open the door to similar explorations into other sections within the CAPS-approved History textbooks, particularly in relation to the South African Revolution.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

Acronym	Description
ACU	*Assassin's Creed Unity*
CAPS	Curriculum and Assessment Policy
DBE	Department of Basic Education
DoE	Department of Education
E-games	Electronic Games
E-Generation	Electronic Generation
ESRB	Entertainment Software Rating Board
FET	Further Education and Training
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers Union
TED	Technology, Education and Design
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

This chapter serves to orient the reader within the context of the research phenomena, namely the engagement of grade 10 curriculum and assessment policy or CAPS-approved History textbooks and *Assassin's Creed Unity* with second-order historical thinking concepts. This contextualisation explores the History of play, as related to education, in conjunction with the CAPS- aligned skills and values inherent in the French Revolution approved content and the correlations or disparities with the electronic game. Attention is devoted to illustrating the French Revolution as the historical medium within which the second-order historical thinking concepts are explored, as well as providing the rationale, motivation and purpose driving the study. The research questions are expounded upon, before fleshing out the key concepts surrounding the research. Finally, the methodology will be sketched as well as a chapter outline for the dissertation as a general guideline as to what the reader can expect going forward.

1.2. Background and Context

It was developmental psychologist Vygotsky who proposed, in 1978, that play was "not the predominant feature of childhood" but was rather "a leading factor in development" (p.96), a progress, therein, separate from childhood, and linked instead with development. In addition, he argued for the purposeful meaning of play, contradicting what he believed to be the misrepresentation of play as pleasure-seeking, stating that "in short, the purpose decides the game and justifies the activity" (p. 97). This attitude towards play as driven by purpose and instrumental in development has been accepted for centuries, even millennia prior to Vygotsky's findings (as I shall be indicating shortly), yet in the decades that have followed, play has been demarcated as a child's activity. In a Technology, Education and Design (TED) talk, global conferences devoted to broadcasting ideas, Brown criticised *The New York Times* for stating that play was "deeper than gender, seriously but dangerously fun" and yet failed to include any adults on the huge cover page depicting at least 15 different activities and children (2008).

The depiction surrounding play as that of belonging to a child is further narrowed by what play is considered acceptable for learning. Steve Jobs, despite being the chief executive officer of Apple- creators of smartphones, tablets and laptops (to name a few)-shielded his children from technology use, refusing them access to iPads (Bilton, 2014), as has CEO of 3D Robotics and father of five, Chris Anderson (Lesnar, 2014). This Silicon Valley trend arisesfrom the fear that parents "may be setting up [their] children for incomplete, handicapped lives devoid of imagination, creativity and wonder" (Lesnar, 2014, p.1) by allowing access to technology. This anxiety has even led to the selection of "non-tech schools ... where computers aren't found anywhere" (p.1). It is within this narrative that my research exists: a world where play is the domain of children and technology a field of potential dangers. Yet while both play and learning through technology and technological devices is a modern phenomenon, play and specifically play as a learning tool are not.

1.2.1. A Brief History of Play and Learning

The Egyptian temple of Kurna, dated 1400BC, possesses records of some of the oldest forms of gaming as a platform for learning (Bell, 1979). Roof slabs at the temple hold carved renditions of El-quirkat, later altered to Alquerque, the first recorded strategy board game, which indicates the millennia year old relationship between learning and play. More recent examples include the Indian-designed *Chaturunga* of the 6th century (Averbakh & Gurevich, 2012; Meyers, 2011.1) and the Europeanised *Chess*, the former of which was designed as "a way to teach the children of the royal family to be better thinkers and better generals" (Meyers, 2011.1, p.3). *Chess*, while inheriting the same qualities as *Chaturunga*, is also arguably, a role-playing game of a feudalistic war, feudalism being a favoured Middle Age system of government steeped in History (Pattie, 2011). In fact wargames, such as *Chaturunga* and *Chess* in which the player is able to recreate specific events to explore (Dunningan, 1997), have been argued to allow a player to "learn more from wargames than from reading History" (Coatikyan as cited by Kirschenbaum, 2011, p.1). Additionally, these games have modern-day application: research surrounding *Chess* has indicated its ability to develop acceptable social behaviour and mathematical reasoning and skill (Celone, 2001; Fischer, 2006; Graham, 2011).

Yet the realm of educational games exists beyond the board game and in more recent years, typically in the form of interactive media and games. The advent of electronic gaming stems from the interaction between information and communication technology and learning. Information and communication technology, stated to be "at the very heart of the educational process" (Blurton, 1999, p.1), has allowed for the distribution and facilitation of learning resources to previously inaccessible locations through complimentary platforms such as a computer or the web (Hassana, 2006, Joint Information Systems Technology, 2004, Maguire & Zhang, 2007). The continuously innovative and advancing nature of information and communication technology (ICT), with systems allowing for synergy of efforts and growing accessibility, have transformed the role ICT plays in everyday life and education (Maguire & Zhang, 2007). ICT as a tool for learning dismantles the "existing stereotypes in education" by transforming the learner to an "actively involved" shaper of education rather than a "passive listener" (Ni, 2012, p.428). In the History classroom, more specifically, ICT can allow for the reconstruction and reproduction of historical events and sources, the opportunity to recognise trends in vast stores of information and the general development of source analysis skills (Adesote & Fatoki, 2003; Becta, 2004).

1.2.2. Learning through ICT

According to a socio-cultural theory of learning, "all human action is mediated by tools" (Sutherland, Robertson & John, 2009, p.2); including the diversified tools of ICT which allow one to communicate, generate, store and supervise information (Blurton, 1999). This is particularly the case for those of the digital generation: today's learners who emerged into a world already existing alongside social phenomena like Facebook, Twitter and Google (Punie, Zinnbauer & Cabrera, 2006). The digital generation learners, or electronic citizens, have moved beyond merely interacting with ICTs, with approximately 33% of college students claiming they are dependent on the internet (Montgomery, Gottlieb-Rhodes & Larson, 2004). In essence, ICT's have not been merely adopted by electronic citizens (e-citizens) of the digital generation: "they have internalized it" (p.1).

With the rapid progression into an increasingly digitised future, and the "current widespread diffusion and use of ICT", it is evident that ICT's influence will continue to grow and expand, both in the social and academic realm (Punie, Zinnbauer & Cabrera, 2006, p.5; Noor-Ul-Amin, 2012). This is evidenced in the increased role individuals have taken in self-education through the use of their own private computers, with an approximate 19% of Europeans in 2006 claiming they have utilised the internet for learning (Ala-Mutka, Punie & Redecker, 2008). While South Africa may lag behind first world countries for its ICT development, in 2002 only 6.4% of South Africans had access to an internet provider (Mdlongwa, 2012), while 2013 statistics indicate that 19.4% of South Africans have a personal computer (Statistics South Africa, 2014), and 133% smartphone market penetration (Fripp, 2014), both of which can provide access to the internet and other ICT related tools. Yet, despite this trend, ICT has not gained the foothold it requires to transform the educational environment (Ala-Mutka, Punie & Redecker, 2008), potentially due to educator's attitudes and the anxiety surrounding ICT and particularly electronic gaming detailed further in content ratings in the media.

Developing from the relationship between ICT and learning, the recent theorisation of learning through electronic gaming, has further pushed the boundaries of accepted forms of education. Electronic gaming is said to be the medium "of the computer representing the most polished, powerful and thoroughly digital learning experience known" (Squire, 2008, p.3). This pedagogical shift is mirrored by the Serious Games Institute, whose focus is creating serious games focused first and foremost of education, not purely entertainment (Michael & Chen, 2006), and who are responsible for the creation of the increasingly popular *Second Life*. *Second life*, described as an educational podium (Savin-Baden, Tombs, White, Poulton, Kavia & Woodham, 2009), is a computer-generated world with "simulated environments" which, in recent years, "educators have begun exploring ... as a powerful medium for instructions" (Antonacci, DiBartolo, Edwards, Fritch, McMullen & Murch-Shafer, 2008, p.1). *Second Life* is not alone in its Serious Game status, sharing the title with *Mad City Mystery*, role-playing electronic game based on the sciences where players are required to work together to solve Mathematics and Science problems (Squire, 2008), and the language developer, *Reader Rabbit*, aimed at teaching "phonics

strategies and sight word recognition" ("Reader Rabbit Learn to Read with Phonics", 2001, p.1).

However, not all games which provide educational opportunities are serious by nature, but they can be, as Brown cited the *New York Times* as saying games were, "seriously, but dangerously fun" (2008, p.1). Electronic gaming is argued to "provide learning opportunities every second, or fraction thereof", which "kids, like all humans, love ... when it [learning] isn't forced on them" (Prensky, 2003, p.1). Electronic games, a particularly suitable method for engaging those learners unsuitable for the traditional pedagogical framework, make room for "critical thinking, problem-solving and other higher-level skills" (Shreve, 2005, p.29). Oblinger expanded the educational uses of electronic games to include their role as research tools, such as when new players enter a game and must draw on previous experiences and knowledges and determine which information is contextually sound, before applying the information within the new setting (2006.1). It is with this in mind that, in recent years, it has dawned on numerous educational professionals that gaming can provide both informalised and formalised educational opportunities (Moursund, 2007). Yet one must focus on the word 'can': as Prensky notes, many educators still hold the belief that learning must exact pain to be meaningful- a "learning shackle", he states, "educators should all throw away" (2001, p.54).

It is shackles such as this that History educators must abandon if History as an academic subject is to break away from its association "with the old and static" (Ni, 2012, p.428). Electronic games such as *Antoinette and the American War of Independence* and *Napoleon: Total War* are merely two historically situated electronic games which could assist learners to comprehend the magnitude and complexities of decision making and the affect such decisions have on the face of History (Vasagar, 2010). Educational professionals such as Kurt Squire and Nicolas Trépanier have included the commercialised historically-situated games *Civilization III* and the *Assassin's Creed* franchise respectively in their course work, noticing "improved thinking and writing abilities" (Trépanier, 2014, p.1) as well as the detection of "many sources of bias in the game" (Squire, 2004, p.414); the latter of which is a skill promoted by the South African Department of Basic Education. Yet, despite these numerous proposed and supported benefits surrounding the use of

electronic gaming, a significant barrier exists to its inclusion as a teaching tool in the History classroom: their content ratings due to in-game violence.

1.2.3. Content Ratings in the Media

Much of the stigma surrounding electronic games such as *Assassin's Creed Unity (*ACU*)* is the belief that these labelled-violent games present "false messages to the player that problems can be resolved quickly and with little personal investment" (Olivier, 2000, p.3). This is compounded by the image that these games pacify violence, contain sexual content and accept violence as a problem-solving technique (Olivier, 2000; St. John, 2012), all qualities which have prevented *Assassin's Creed* from taking a place as an educational tool. ACU, rated by the Entertainment Software Rating Board (ESRB), was given an M for mature: a gaming rating which is strikingly analogous to the R rating given to films (Newman, 2009). While the M rating of games states that "content is generally suitable for ages 17 and up" (ESRB, n.d., p.1), the R rating simply states that "children under 17 require accompanying parent or adult guardian" (Motion Picture Association of America Inc., 2010, p.8). Simplistically, this suggests that the restrictions surrounding electronic games are more stringent than those accompanying films. This disparity in expectations immediately elucidates to an inequality or prejudice surrounding electronic games.

In support of Newman's argument, an examination of the key requirements for said content identification reveals that the two classifications are strikingly synonymous: "An R-rated motion picture may include … hard language, intense or persistent violence, sexually- oriented nudity, drug use or other elements" (Motion Picture Association of America Inc., 2010, p.8) , while an M-rated electronic game "may contain intense violence, blood and gore, sexual content and/or strong language" (ESRB, n.d., p.1). In fact, "given the nudity aspect, Mature-rated games may actually be less explicit than R-rated movies" as the inclusion of nudity in electronic games is reserved for titles labeled as 'Adults only' (John, 2009, p.1). Again, what is exposed is the unequal treatment of violence and nudity in gaming and films, allowing for more leniencies in films than in electronic gaming. Despite their similarities, electronic games are continuously given more stringent ratings than films or television shows- a phenomenon I have discussed further in my final discussion. Perhaps "the point of contention [lies in the] interactivity" of the violence, that is the

active involvement of participants in perceived acts of aggression, yet as Newman states "courts have repeatedly found [that] it isn't proven that violent video games cause violence because you play them, while movies don't because you watch them" (2009, p.1). Further discussion surrounding similar research will be explored later in this research.

At this juncture, it may be judicious to scrutinise and understand the rating systems which have determined what is acceptable within media formats and what is not, particularly as learners are exposed to "actual scenes of real-life violence" on social media and news feeds with no attached age restriction (Knorr, 2016, p.1). Firstly, let us look at the PG-13 film rating, a label which faces much heated debate for its allowance of "intense violent content" only at the exclusion of "sexual content, language and substance abuse" (Kilkenny, 2016, p.1). The adoption of this label was the result of the presence of questionable content in several films and was not the design of experts within the field of child psychology intent on protecting children from the perceived harm of viewed violence, but rather persons with a very different agenda: commercial filmmakers. The decision to inculcate a rather nebulous PG-13 label has had its intended result: it has permitted more viewers, allowed for higher profit margins and has, in recent years, as the rating becomes more flexible, become the most profitable filming category (Drexley, 2013; Kilkenny, 2016). In this regard, it would appear that the answer to the question, what violence is considered acceptable, is lucrative violence. In light of this, the ratings surrounding electronic games become more understandable: 32% of gamers fall within the 18-35 age bracket, with a staggering 39% of gamers sitting above the 36 age margin (Grubb, 2014; Lofgren, 2015). With only 29% of gamers falling under the M-rating, game developers can "afford" to apply higher ratings.

1.2.4. The Curriculum and Assessment Policy and *Assassin's Creed Unity*: Values and Skills in the French Revolution

Yet, despite these concerns, when discussing the relationship between electronic gaming and learning, certain CAPS-approved skills emerged which electronic games have been proposed to encourage, such as bias identification (Squire, 2004). The aforementioned criterion for skills promotion has been established in the Curriculum and Assessment Policy for Grade 10-12 History, laid out by the South African

Department of Basic Education (DBE). The Grade 10 CAPS, which deals directly with the French Revolution, focuses on the background, the context, the causes and primary events, as well Napoleon's involvement and the legacies left behind. While ACU begins its revolutionary journey in 1776 during Benjamin Franklin's visit to Versailles, before sweeping forward 13 years to the "once-magnificent Paris" and its imminent "plunge into the terror of the 1789 French Revolution" (Ubisoft, 2014, p.1), the CAPS documents indicates that learners should be exposed to the ideas of "colonialism and slavery" as well as the emergence of the concepts of democracy (DBE, 2011, p.15). In addition, the DBE desires that learners are exposed to the far- and long-reaching effects of the French Revolution, both in the French colonies of Haiti and Toussaint L'Ouverture and in present day society, while the game is "laser-focused on Paris" with "occasional side trips to Versailles" (Gies, 2014, p.1).

Nevertheless, the game's intention resonates strongly with the outline stipulated by the DBE: The intention of the game, according to the official *Assassin's Creed* website, is to "tell the story of how and why Parisian peasants and commoners rose up against the archaic class system", namely feudalism, "that oppressed them and the crumbling monarchy, who enforced this way of life" (Ubisoft, 2014.1, p.1). Similarly, the CAPS documents claims that through a discussion of the causes and events surrounding the French Revolution, learners should comprehend "the role of ordinary people in the Revolution" as they attempted to cast off the ancient regime and inculcate "ideas of liberty, equality, fraternity and individual freedom" (DBE, 2011, p.15). While the French Revolution, detailed below for comprehension, is utilised as a historical medium through which the values of democracy, liberty and equality can be promoted, the DBE further utilises the content for skills promotion. Although these skills are not singularly taught through the French Revolution, they should, in theory, be addressed within the approved content and enable learners to obtain the eight skills detailed by the DBE (2011). These skills are tabulated and discussed further in Chapter 3, under Historical Thinking Concepts.

1.3.   The French Revolution

As previously announced, the historical medium or context through which the second-order historical thinking concepts are engaged with is none-other than the French Revolution. This section aims to provide a historical map of the social,

political and economic causes, the key historical events and the figures of the French Revolution, particularly those prevalent in both the two CAPS-approved grade 10 History textbook and ACU. Due to the magnitude of the French Revolution, an era roughly designated to a decade long, a full discussion of the various causes, events and historical agents would be implausible, impracticable, and unnecessary for the nature of this nature. Rather than attempt to provide a full picture of the French Revolution, this passage aims to introduce those facets which are likely to be discussed in analysing the textbooks and electronic game, in order to ensure a clear enough understanding is made possible.

The French Revolution is a revolution of problems- "the more one studies the French Revolution the clearer it is how incomplete is the History of that great epoch" (Kropotkin, 1989, p.5). This ambiguity extends into the realm of explanation, namely that despite the vast stores of evidence, there exists no universal explanation for the origin of the French Revolution (Israel, 2014). If one adopts a socialist perspective, the origins are undeniably embedded in the rise of the bourgeois; while oppositionally, revisionists argue "the Revolution was not the work of a rising bourgeois at all, but rather of a declining one" (Doyle, 1999, p.10-11). In this fashion, discussing the French Revolution, determining its causes particularly, is a contentious matter, yet one which can be sensitively approached. This essay serves to contextualise the French Revolution, the platform upon which the historical concepts of this research shall be engaged with, by exploring potentially inarguable causes, primary agents, as well as the events which marked the era.

Between the 1700s and the 1800s the French population grew from approximately 21 to 28 million, a dramatic increase which incensed the harsh living conditions experienced by average person (Israel, 2014). This average person, influenced by the English Revolution, could be found within the Third Estate, a group comprising of 95-97% of the population and heavily burdened by taxes imposed upon them by the First Estate, the clergy, the Second Estate, the nobility, and the King (Kropotkin, 1989; Wilde, 2016). These taxes, including tithe to the church, and land and food taxes (Israel, 2014), increased followed the Seven Year war of 1756- 1763 and the American War of Independence, both of which plunged France into a terrible debt, the latter of which, alone, saw between 1,800,000,000 and 2,000,000,000 livres of

monetary assistance given to the Americans (Martin, 2013; Rees & Townson, 2015; Sharma, n.d.). This debt was exasperated by bread shortages following a bad harvest, and riots rocked Paris, leading, in part, to the emergence of A Constitutional Club of revolutionaries, or the Jacobin Club (Kropotkin, 1989). This club, spreading across France, was arguably a reaction to the American War of Independence, or the American Revolution, which held in common with the French Revolution the spreading of the Enlightenment Ideals, ideas which "emphasized the idea of natural rights and equality" (Smith, 2011, p.1).

These ideas were vastly opposed to the Ancien Regime ideas of feudalism, and the often labelled "oppressive or tyrannical rule of absolute monarchs" such as King Louis XVI and his Austrian (and thereby 'alien') wife Marie Antoinette, as well as the previous Monarchs (Martin, 2013; Smith, 2011, p.1). These monarchs, far from alleviating the aforementioned debts, were often the cause and aggravator of them, leading to "extremes of luxury and misery", climaxing under the reign of Louis the 16th (Kropotkin, 1989, p.22). The ideals of the Ancien Regime, entailing numerous privileges for the royalty and nobility, were increasingly exploited and ineffectually addressed by King Louis XVI, who hired and fired a series of finance ministers, including the reputed Necker, to deal with these concerns after his crowning in 1774 (Rees & Townson, 2015). While Louis XVI climbed the throne of a country already facing great debt, his lacklustre leadership skills in implementing necessary reforms and glamorously extravagant wife, propelled young revolutionaries of the Jacobin Club (or Constitutional Club), such as Robespierre and Saint-Just, into oppositional seats of power (Olivier, 2012). These revolutionary leaders, following in the principles of enlightenment leaders such as Rousseau, found their foothold during the Tennis Court Oath, following the Calling of the Estates General (Israel, 2014; Olivier, 2012).

The Calling of The Estates-General of May 5th, 1789, saw representatives of the three estates congregate to "the speeches of the King, the Chancellor, and M. Necker" and hear their propositions for "the reinstatement of the finances" of France (Berdine, 2003; Staël, 2008, p.131). The Third Estate, desirous of equal positioning, argued for a vote by head- advantageous for their 600 plus representatives, deputied by Robespierre. Sieyes, the clergyman responsible for the revolutionary pamphlet

"Qu'est-ce que le tiers état?" (What is the third estate?), called for the Third Estate to rename itself the National Assembly and invite the 1st two estates to join it as a true democracy (Grubin, 2006; Staël, 2008). Following this edict on the 17th June, the King, urged by the nobility who had witnessed the migration of some clergy members to the National Assembly, shut out the new National Assembly from further proceedings (Olivier, 2012). Rather than quenching the revolutionary zeal, this act unified the National Assembly, who assembled in the adjoining indoor tennis court, where the Tennis Court Oath of 1789 was sworn in, proclaiming they would never part until France had a constitution (Kropotkin, 1989; Olivier, 2012).

While the King relented to acknowledging the Assembly, this fervour was soon spurred on by the dismissal of the much-favoured non-noble Necker, as well as the accumulation of soldiers surrounding Paris, a perceived threat by the citizens of Paris (Janota, 2015; Olivier, 2012). Over the course of two days (12th-14th of July), Parisians raided religious houses, gunsmiths, and the Hotel des Invalides, a final stop for arms, before amassing around the Bastille in pursuit of gunpowder (Grouiller, 2011; Janota, 2015). The Bastille, described as "that citadel of arbitrary power" (Staël, 2008), a symbol for the royal's totalitarianism, was "raised to the ground" (Israel, 2014, p.25; Kropotkin, 1989). King Louis XVI again relented to the will of the people, removing the soldiers from Paris the following day and reinstating Necker 3 days after (Janota, 2015). Emboldened by this defiant act, the National Constituent Assembly, borne of the National Assembly on the 9th of July, soon issued the Decree Abolishing Feudalism on the 11th of August, thereby eradicating many of the privileges held by the first and second estate, and making way for the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen on the 26th of August 1789 (Berdine, 2003; Olivier, 2012). The Declaration, influenced by those held by the British and Americans, sought to stress the equality and freedom of all men before the law and act as a flame to push on the revolution (Kropotkin, 1989; Staël, 2008).

While the revolution gained momentum, the people still remained locked in an impoverished state, frustrated by the "'ignorant, corrupt and suspected deputies'" protecting the King (Kropotkin, 1989, p.162). Initially a march designed by men, the idea was undertaken by 6000 women of Paris who, hungry and angered by Marie Antoinette's expenditure, and the Court party for the Flander's Regiment marched 13

miles on the 5th of October with loaves of bread on spikes and pitchforks to Versailles in demand of food (Bessieres & Niedzwiecki, 1991; Flower, 2011). Lafayette, commander-in-chief of the National Guard, directing 20,000 guardmen, encouraged the King and his family to return to Paris and take up residence in the Tuileries Palace followed the mobs attack on Versailles (Olivier, 2012). Once removed from his seat of power in Versailles, the Constituent Assembly swiftly implemented the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, reducing the number of bishoprics, parish and clerical posts, as well demanding the church to sign an oath of loyalty to the state before the Catholic Church (Rees & Townson, 2015). Factions within the Constituent Assembly demanded additional reforms: the National Party desired a republic, while the extreme left wing, the Jacobins, led by Robespierre and propagated by Marat the writer of *Ami du people,* strongly espoused the Enlightenment ideas of natural rights for all men (Linton, 1999; Olivier, 2012).

The latter group, the Jacobins, would soon take control of an assembly titled the National Convention. The National Convention would come to rise a year after the disastrous attempt by the royal family to flee France on the 20th of June 1791. The royal family, arguably prisoners at Tuileries, determined to flee to Montmedi, an asylum on the outskirts of France, near Austria, the queen's homeland (Duchess of Angoulême, 1823; Tackett, 2003). Captured and returned, the King was temporarily suspended before the implementation of a Constitutional Monarchy saw Louis XVI sharing his legislative power (Kropotkin, 1989; Olivier, 2012). Marat, disappointed by this seeming truce claimed "The Revolution … has failed", a claim traitorous and treasonous enough to require he go underground (Kropotkin, 1989, p.241). Foreign powers evidently viewed the situation differently as from 1791, European Monarchs began to express disdain for the perceived crimes within France, and similarly Louis was not yet suppressed (Staël, 2008). Louis XVI and the Girondist General Dumouriez were plotting a means to curb the revolution, while his brother-in-law, King Leopold of Austria issued the Declaration of Pillnitz, stating that "the situation in which the King of France finds himself" is "a subject of common interest for all of Europe's sovereigns" (Kropotkin, 1989; Leopold II as cited by de Martens, 1966, n.d.; Olivier, 2012). While Robespierre was opposed to a war with Europe's leaders, the Girondins and Feuillants, two factions within the Legislative Assembly, believed war was necessary to maintain the Revolution- a belief reinforced by the agricultural

crisis on 1791-1792, leading to a declaration of war against Austria in April 1792 (Olivier, 2012). The war was soon fuelled by the execution of King Louis XVI on the 21 January 1793 following the discovery of a letter of betrayal between the King and the Duke of Brunswick, a leader in the armies amassing around France (Kropotkin, 1989; Staël, 2008).

With the King removed, the National Convention shifted into the Committee of Public Safety which took full control of the helm, steered by Robespierre (Olivier, 2012). His rule, termed the Reign of Terror, began in 1793 when the sans-culottes, "exasperated by the inadequacies of the government, invaded the Convention and overthrew the Girondons", replacing their sovereignty with the Jacobins (Linton, 2006, p.1) and ended in July 1794 with his own execution (McDougall Littell Inc., 2004). The Reign of Terror was a time marked by revolutionary fervour, where 55,000 of those deemed insufficiently enthused by the revolution were struck down by the guillotine, as illustrated by a Jacobin who proclaimed " 'terror the order of the day'" (Hayhurst & Hindmarch, 2009; Linton, 2006 p.1). While the terror may have ended with Robespierre's own death, other Jacobin leaders too languished under the Terror: Marat, assassinated by a counter-revolutionary Charlotte Corday, was proclaimed by his sister to have been the only means of keeping Jacobin leaders Danton and Desmoulins from Robespierre's guillotine (Kropotkin, 1989). It was a mere two months following the unveiling of the Supreme Being, namely the 'Worship of Reason', which saw Robespierre meet the guillotine after claiming to possess 50 suspected traitors and failing to produce this list (Hayhurst & Hindmarch, 2009; Voerman, 2009). Robespierre's death signalled the end of an era "synonymous with violence and terror", making room for the appointment of the soon-to-be emperor, Napoleon (Linton, 2006, p.1).

While the Committee of Public Safety had strenuously dechristianised France, the National Convention, following Robespierre's death, re-established churches, and ratified a new constitution under the Directory (Berdine, 2003). The Directory, or Directorate, brought in Napoleon and his forces to protect the new government, though in 1799 he led a coup d'etat, replacing the Directorate with the Consulate and positioning himself as First Consul (Olivier, 2012). Having obtained the rank of army commander by 1796, Napoleon was renowned for his opportunistic character, and

great military skill, eventually appointing himself as the Emperor of France in 1805 (Fremont-Barnes, 2010). During his reign as emperor, Napoleon was responsible for the implementation of the Napoleonic Code in usurped territories gained during the Napoleonic wars and the Concordat, a policy reinstating much of the Catholic churches power in France (Dwyer & McPhee, 2002; Kropotkin, 1989; Olivier, 2012; Staël, 2008). Despite being responsible for the deaths of millions and his eventual exile, "the aura of hero still clings to Napoleon" (Linton, 2006, p.1).

1.4.   Rationale, Motivation and Positionality

It is none other than the aforementioned Napoleon who many learners are first introduced to as Arno's ally, ACU*'s* protagonist. Learners liaise with Danton and Robespierre, and watch as King Louis XVI is beheaded. This is not an experience singular to *Unity*: As I discuss the Black Plague, or Bubonic Plague, with learners across the age spectrum I am again drawn into a discussion regarding the *Assassin's Creed* franchise. When the famous historical figure,[1] Doctor Beak is revealed to learners, invariably one or two learners will claim their knowledge of this figure arose from his depiction in *Assassin's Creed 2.* With this recent release of the ACU, a follow-up game set within the historical French Revolution, further questions have arisen as we deal with the French Revolution in our Grade 10 History classes. In this regard*,* as a History educator, I am faced by learners conflicting reactions to the subject as they are both wary due to previous encounters with static textbooks, and intrigued due their unofficial experience with History on their PCs, laptops, Xboxes and PlayStations through dynamic electronic games like the aforementioned *Assassin's Creed*. My response to these conflicting expectations can either be one Trépanier refers to as the "dismissive mode" wherein educators simply "list all the things the game got wrong" (2014, p.1) or a proactive one. I choose the latter. The learners who arrive in my classroom bring their own schemas, or a "mental framework for organizing knowledge" (Sternberg, 2009, p.317), based primarily on their previous experiences both with official and unofficial sources of History, that I have chosen to build upon rather than ignore, such as the games upon which they may construct future comprehensions and historical literacies. ACU poses a unique

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[1] Doctor Beak, or the plague doctors, "wore a mask with a bird-like beak to protect them from being infected" (White, 2014, p.1), as they assisted those contaminated by the Black Plague (Rosenhek, 2011).

opportunity as the only game in the franchise to correlate singularly with a delineated section of school curriculum, the French Revolution, thereby a game which will inevitably arise in classroom discussions, following a question anecdoted by Trépanier: "'So how much of Assassin's Creed is, like…true?'"

Similarly, as a History student, I too am in a position whereby my own experiences with History, both officially and unofficially, are constantly altering, enhancing and contributing to my own framework of knowledge. Rosenstone (1995) argued that "it is part of the burden of the historical work to make us rethink how we got to where we are", in effect stating that all scholars, students and practitioners of History must continuously grapple with what we consider to be true and "to question values that we and our leaders and our nation live by" (p.131); values which can arguably be found implicitly conveyed in both the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks and ACU (Dean, Hartmann & Katzen, 1983; Pinto, 2007). Furthermore, as both student and educator, my relationship with, particularly, the textbook is tenuous- I am simultaneously required to engage with it as an extension of the DBE, as they are a channel for the selected curriculum (Crawford, 2000), and hesitant to utilise it as a History student who has found the textbooks, at times, limited, constrictive and non-interactive. As one of these students, I sought to add to my own understanding through interaction with ACU and the selected grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks, as well as develop an awareness of the effect unofficial History has on my knowledge of the subject. This interaction with the electronic game has brought to my awareness the potential implicit values similarly contained within the medium- values which, while differing to that of the textbooks, are equally dominant.

On a more personal note, I am, and have been for several years, an avid gamer and a powerful advocate for its educational properties. My own experience with the *Bioshock Infinite* universe and its post-World War I environment, richly detailed with anachronistic dialect and fashion, first presented to me "the History lesson gamers deserve" (Pinsof, 2013, p.1). Through this first-hand gaming experience, I perceived the potential historically-situated games possessed as an educational tool, as I found myself witnessing the historically contextual accepted racism of the 1920s amongst the otherwise well-mannered upper-class. This was enhanced by my personal research into the potential for *Assassin's Creed Revelation* as a learning tool for

historical contextualisation. My findings further impassioned both my fervour for historically-situated electronic games, and the desire to unveil the opportunities for learning they possess. This revelation has evoked a new question: could historically-situated electronic games hold equal, if not more, learning opportunities for developing historical literacy than a prescribed, official textbook? The further my research takes me, the more driven I am to see where this potential may lead both through my own accumulation of information and the creation of knowledge too. While this passion for gaming may present an issue of bias, influencing me to pursue this research, the act of comparing is in itself an unavoidable human action and reaction (Azarian, 2011); this research, therefore, will assist in structuring that interest into a theory, rather than an opinion.

In turn, these varying facets of my rationale lend themselves to the final cornerstone: my conceptual rationale. Through interaction with the electronic game and the selected grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks, I have aimed to conceptualise the role unofficial sources of History, such as ACU, have on learners' development of second- order historical thinking concepts. In additional, I have grappled with accepted representations of knowledge, considering why the portrayal of the French Revolution is given an 18-age restriction in the game, due in a large part to its authentic violence, while the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks, who avoid depictions of the inherent violence of the Revolution, are considered acceptable, even if not necessarily accurate. This will be in conjunction with the depiction of certain "accepted" forms of violence in media outlets like the news and movies. Finally, through a Qualitative Content Analysis of the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks and electronic game's engagement with the second-order historical thinking concepts with reference to the French Revolution, and a Qualitative Comparative study between the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks and the electronic game, I have gained insight into which provides a more thorough, authentic and realistic opportunity for learners to develop historical literacy through the second-order historical thinking concepts.

Throughout this discussion of my rationale, facets of my character and positionality have begun to emerge. When one becomes engaged with an investigation, the self-constructed research space is shared and shaped "by both researcher and

participants", such as myself, the textbooks and ACU, and "as such, the identities of both researcher and participants have the potential to impact the research process" (Bourke, 2014, p.1). In turn, an understanding of my position, in relation to my research, allows for me to contemplate my position within the existing matrixes of power, such as the gender-bias surrounding games and therein myself, and how these discourses will have impacted on my methodology, analyses and the creation of knowledge (Sultana, 2007). My positionality includes my gender, age, preferences as a gamer and experiences as a History educator and student, and is pertinent if I am to contemplate the aims and methods of my research, as well as considering who I am in relation to my research (Hopkins, 2007).

To begin, I am a 28 year old female educator and student. I am married and both my husband and I enjoy electronic games, and spend much of our free time engaged in them. If I focus on the constructs surrounding my first demographic, my age, I am considered by many educators to be very young and somewhat inexperienced, while polarly my learners consider me to be more experienced as I can more closely relate to their lives. It is from this dichotomous position that reception surrounding my research varies: many of the educators I have conversed with consider the relationship between electronic games and learning to be fanciful and superfluous, perceiving gaming as merely suitable for a reward (Brown, 2014.1); while many learners react extremely positively and yet consider it to be a far-off dream. However, there are certainly variants: a male educator in his mid-thirties laughed at the concept, while a female educator in her mid-60s was intrigued and excited. Similarly, in a 2013 study, the researcher found that while near on 80% of 149 educators expressed a positive opinion on the potential for electronic gaming and learning, less than "10% actually used them in class" (Brown, 2014, p.25). Perhaps what is constant is that despite gender or age, the reactions surrounding the research appear polarised: one is either sold by the idea, or considers it absurd.

Secondly, my gender, in the realm of electronic games, continuously raises eyebrows, as previously implied. Electronic gaming, often perceived as male dominated, is slowly shifting: in 2010, statistics released by the Entertainment Software Rating Board, indicated that 40% of all gamers were female, while the 2014 rating, shows an 8% increase, indicating that the demographics are almost 50/50

(Entertainment Software Association, 2010; Entertainment Software Association, 2014). In fact, both *The Guardian* and *PC Gamer* suggest a higher percentage, arguing that women make up more than 50% of the US gamers, when cellphone gaming is included (Chalk, 2014; Jayanth, 2014). Nevertheless, while female gamers, such as myself, are no longer such an anomaly, we are not received in the same light as male gamers. A 2012 donor-driven documentary *The Raid* showcased the often condescending treatment *World Of Warcraft* female gamers received, as few guilds, defined by WoW Wiki as "an in-game association of player characters" ("Guild", n.d., p.1), accepted a woman on their team. In fact, many female gamers lied about their identity in order to be accepted. It is in this atmosphere that I stand, a female gamer, perhaps overly-defensive of my status. Due to the often chauvinistic perception surrounding games, I am self-motivated to defend not only my position as a gamer, but the position of games in our society. It is my often-scorned position as a female gamer which has influenced my selection of this topic- I have been conversely motivated by the expectation that this is not my domain, much as gaming is not in the domain of learning, to pursue this research field of electronic gaming.

1.5. Purpose and Focus: *Assassin's Creed Unity* versus Grade 10 CAPS-Approved History Textbooks

Through an interpretivist lens, the aim of this research is to explore the qualitative comparative potential of ACU and two grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks as teaching and learning tools for the development of historically literate learners through second-order historical thinking concepts. Through a methodical Qualitative Comparative Content Analysis, this comparative study of the official and unofficial educational tools can be developed surrounding their relative engagement with the second-order historical thinking concepts with reference to the French Revolution. This is building off the assumption that both tools do, to varying and diversified extents, engage with second-order historical thinking concepts and hold the potential to impart these concepts to learners. It is crucial at this juncture to assert that while the tools may initially appear incomparably disparate, with the textbook explicitly designed for education and electronic games for entertainment, the learning of History transcends textbooks and officialised forms of education. The electronic game could, as shall be argued, provide potential opportunities for the development of a better historically literate learner. Analysis of the potential of both will be

performed in conjunction with an unveiling of some of the stigma surrounding unofficial learning tools like electronic games. Through scrutinizing what violence is considered acceptable for learners in various medium, the research aims to unravel some of the red tape surrounding the use of electronic games, such as ACU, as a platform for historical education and, specifically, its potential in creating historically literate learners.

The research will, therefore, focus on which educational tool presents a higher potential for imparting second-order historical thinking concepts and creating historically literate learners. In the event that the electronic game either possesses higher potential through greater and richer exposure to second-order historical thinking concepts, or presents opportunities to be exposed to additional rich sources of accurate information surrounding the French Revolution in an attempt to create historically literate learners, then a greater understanding of the role unofficial forms of learning play in learners thinking schemata will be garnered. Finally, the research will draw closer to unveiling and negotiating why, as was previously discussed, "'History' is a thing synonymous with only official, educational, institutionalised and professional forms, accounts and practices" (Challenge the Past, 2015, p.1) such as textbooks, and not electronic games.

1.6.   Research Questions

Throughout this research, I will aim to successfully grapple with and answer three research questions. My initial question will consider how second-order historical thinking concepts, with reference to the French Revolution, are engaged with in Grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks. This question draws focus to the two selected Grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks and allows for an in-depth scrutinisation of their engagement with the second-order historical thinking concepts argued to connote a historically literate learner. Following in a similar vein is the second question which asks how second-order historical thinking concepts, with reference to the French Revolution, are engaged with in ACU, allowing for a similar investigation. Finally, the two questions will be wed under the final research question, which asks in what ways are the second-order historical thinking concepts dealt with similarly and differently within the textbooks and the electronic game, and what does this comparison reveal. This final comparative question links the two

educational tools and allows for an exploration of what each tool brings to the table in developing a historically literate learner.

1.7. Key Concepts

In order for my research to be comprehendible, conceptualisation of specific terms was key as "without understanding how a researcher has defined her or his key concepts, it would be nearly impossible to understand the meaning of that researcher's findings and conclusions" (Blackstone, 2015, p.1). Certain terminology has been and will be frequently explored throughout the research, such as electronic games (or e-games), gamers, wargames, role-playing games and historically-situated games. Others terms, such as violence, as well as historical concepts and historical literacy to denote a historically literate learner, will regularly feature too.

To begin, the term electronic gaming, abbreviated as e-games, a specified form of gaming, can border on the indefinable as it maintains numerous significations" (Balasubramanian & Wilson, 2006). An e-games has been conceptualised as a game facilitated through a computer program, the latter of which is responsible for three things: organising the game's development; exemplifying the scenario or scene; and, finally, engaging in some form as a player (Smed & Hakonen, 2006). A more flexible and superficial definition could be "a generic term for any amusement or recreation using a stand-alone video game, desktop computer or the Internet with one or more players", (The Computer Language Company Inc, n.d., p.1); however, the identification of an e-game as purely for fun or recreation does not suit this study. The conceptualisation most suitable is provided by Wiktionary and argues that e-gaming is "a type of game existing as and controlled by software, usually run by a video game console or a computer, and played on a video terminal or television screen" ("Video-game", n.d., p.1).

Directly related to this is the second term, the gamer. Rouse simply states that "a person who plays electronic games is called a gamer" (2007, p.1), a definition supported by the webpage Internet Slang (n.d.). Yet it was Rouse herself who had previously expanded this definition and argued that "a gamer is a devoted player of electronic games, especially on machines especially designed for such games and, in a more recent trend, over the Internet" (2005, p.1). In order to avoid a bias

conceptualisation of gamers as only those devoted to the game, the former definition shall apply, allowing that gamers be any who participate in electronic games or e-games.

While ACU may not be an illustrative example of a wargame, such as *Call of Duty*, the relationship between wargames and learning, as previously discussed, ensures its inclusion. Wargames, considered to be "a subcategory of games" are known for their primary qualities in which they "simulate the activity of war and borrow war's vocabulary" (Latowska, 1999, p.1). This term is conceptualised as an amalgamation of three aspects: the war aspect, the game aspect and the simulation aspect, in that they are firstly situated in war-like scenario, they predictably demand gamers or players engage in self-, player-versus-player, or group-competition and finally can groom, tutor and edify players in the elements and affairs of war. Other conceptualisations mirror this term, focusing on the wargame's purpose, namely "to recreate a specific event" and "to explore what might have been" (Dunningan, 1997, p.13). However, certain constructs focus on the use of a board as a platform for the games, yet the advent of computerised wargames has altered this. For the sake of this research, wargames will be engaged with by noting its war situatedness, gaming component and educational functionality.

Role-playing, a concept specifically linked with a form of gaming in this research, largely wargaming, can be simplistically conceptualised as "joining around a campfire or a dining room to spin some tall tales" and yet this oversimplification speaks much of the nature of role-playing in its basic form: "role-playing games are stories" (Stratton, 2009, p.1). It is this story aspect that "allows people to become simultaneously both the artists who create a story and the audience who watches the story unfold" (Padol, as cited by Hitchens & Drachen, 2008, p.6). However, this does not wholly comprise the nature of the role-playing game. Within the concept itself, one can identify a descriptive and experiential conceptualisation of the term, the former of which provides the most suitable set of criteria for this research. The role-playing game possesses an "element of 'storytelling with rules'… and is set in a fictional world, established via the game premise" (Hitchens and Drachens, 2008, p.7). Furthermore, the gamers typically navigate a character or avatar, therein permitting them to become engaged and immersed within the fictional world falling

under the control of a game master (Tychsen, Hitchens, Brolund & Kavakli, 2005). While ACU is an action game, and does not fall into this domain, the term repeats itself enough to warrant conceptualisation.

These role-playing games can take on a world which, while not totally unfictionalised, is historical in nature. Historically situated games, games such as *Assassin's Creed*, *Call of Duty* and *Civilizations*, are games in which "History serves as a backdrop against which the narrative's play and conflict unfolds" (Tompkins, 2014, p.1). Uricchio, as cited by Kappell and Elliot, argues that certain historically situated games position the gamer as "a godlike player [who] makes strategic decisions and learns to cope with the consequences, freed from the constraints of historically specific conditions" (2013, p.12). While not all historically-situated games allow for such freedom, the conceptualising applies: historically-situated games do position the player in powerful roles wherein their decisions have consequences they must respond to, all within a historical scenario or environment.

Violence is a common feature in historically-situated games, and the historical events themselves, and which acts as a huge barrier to the implementation or utilisation of ACU, and other games in the franchise, as a learning tool. Violence is defined by the World Health Organisation as: "The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation" (Blout, Rose & Suessmann, 2012, p.1). While this definition may resonate with the violence existent in the French Revolution, this definition does not adequately define electronic games violence or the visual and textual description of violence in textbooks, hence it is vital that a clear conceptualisation is made ready, to avoid misinterpretation: there is no "physical force or power" present when a gamer acts to kill through their in-game avatar, yet the intention is present. Violence need not be physical but the "expression of injurious or lethal force had to be credible or real in the symbolic terms" (Olivier, 2000, p.1), therein connecting with the symbolic rather than physical harm expressed in electronic games. While textbooks do not allow learners to exact violence, they are exposed to various forms of physical violence through textual and visual descriptors. In this regard, violence, when discussed in the research, shall

consider both tenants: the use of physical or symbolic force to cause physical or symbolic harm.

Finally, perhaps the most thoroughly referenced terms throughout the research is that of the historically literate learner, one who illustrates historical literacy, and their 'creation' through specific historical thinking concepts, namely the second-order ones. As the research questions indicate, the selected grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks versus ACU have been analysed in light of their engagement with second-order historical thinking concepts in an attempt to create historically literate learners. Historical literacy, deemed by Rüsen to encompass more than the retention of facts, but rather the historical knowledge "beginning to play a role in the mental household of a subject" (as cited by Lee, 2004, p.2), requires simplistically that one is able to read and write about the past within a critical framework without becoming absorbed or moved by the text (Lévesque, 2013; Seixas & Peck, 2004). While this may sound unsophisticated, historians have shown to be extraordinarily skilled readers with a variety of problem-solving and exploratory tools at hand to engage with the sources (Nokes, 2011.2); tools which are to be imparted to learners through the comprehension of particular historical thinking concepts. These historical thinking concepts, or guideposts to historical literacy, allow for learners to integrate the methods and procedures unique to History (Roberts, 2013; Seixas & Morton, 2013.1).They are, according to Seixas, inclusive of historical significance, evidence analysis, continuity and change, cause and consequence, historical perspectives and, finally, the ethical dimension, all collectively termed second-order historical thinking concepts (Seixas, 2006; Seixas & Morton, 2013.1). These second-order historical thinking concepts, their guideposts, and the nature of the historically literate learner, have been discussed in more detail within the literature review.

1.8. Research Methodology

While there are numerous ways to "to arrive at reliable, well-argued conclusions", my research method allows for readers to immediately see the manner in which I, the researcher, reached these conclusions, through firstly the research design and then the methodology (Hofstee, 2006, p.120). The research design I have constructed as a roadmap to my findings, adopts a qualitative approach in conjunction with the interpretivist paradigm, which, respectively, elucidate to my philosophical worldview

about social reality and the lens through which this reality is studied (Holloway & Wheller, 2002; Omar, 2014). As a qualitative researcher, I focus on inductive research with a focus on the contextually specific and unique nature of each case (Johnson & Christensen, 2012). This is paired with the individualised, flexible interpretivist paradigm, which acknowledges the "complex, multiple and unpredictable nature of what is perceived as reality" (Edirisingha, 2012, p.1). This lens is further detailed under my ontological and epistemological assumptions which grapple, respectively, with my assertions about social reality, namely its individualisation and subjectivity, and my understanding of knowledge as personalised, context-dependent and inductively gained (Mack, 2010). Finally, the nature of my research necessitated a purposive sampling style which allowed for the selection of the electronic game and the two grade 10 CAPS-approved textbooks possessive of characteristics, detailed later, tied to the research objective and therein imperative in answering the three research questions (Latham, 2007; Palys, 2008).

Within the structure of my methodology, I adopt the Qualitative Content Analysis approach, vital in addressing the first two research questions, an analysis approach which allows for an investigation into the implicit meanings of a text or source within its specific context from which theory can be induced (Bryman, 2004; Prasad, 2008; Zhang & Wildemuth, 2005). This method will be later paired with the Qualitative Comparative Analysis, an approach to analysis which allows for the analytical comparison of cases across sets, guided by theory in order to investigate a social phenomenon (Devers, Lallemand, Burton, Kahwati, McCall & Zuckermann, 2013; Ragin & Rubinson, 2009). The unification of these approaches will be dubbed the Qualitative Comparative Content Analysis and guided by the three A Priori Coding Collection Schedules, henceforth dubbed the Qualitative Content Analysis Coding Schedule (a blank copy has been submitted as appendix A1 (p.271), will see the amalgamation of these approaches under 6 analytical steps designed to assist in answering the three research question. Yet the conclusions drawn from these steps would be negated without careful consideration of the trustworthiness of the research, a term utilised by Qualitative research, encompassing four primary tenants of concern: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Morrow, 2005). These tenants will be individually addressed and the various methods of

ensuring trustworthiness extrapolated. Consideration of ethics is also required, yet due to the absence of human participants, whose privacy and confidentiality would be crucial, my primary concern is in ensuring no plagiarism exists (Drew, Hardman & Hosp, 2008; Kamat, 2006). The ethical clearance from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, the declaration and the list of references attached to my research act as safeguards against this latter concern.

1.9. Chapter Outline

Following this introduction, the research will delve into the literature review which has adopted an inverted pyramid or funnel structure within specific themes, the latter allowing for the grouping of theoretical ideas (Sally, 2013). The literature review will commence with a conceptualisation of the nature and necessity of a literature review, before delving into a thematic discussion on textbooks, beginning with generalised theory on the nature and purpose of Textbooks, before a narrowing to research more applicable to my research (Hofstee, 2006), such as History textbooks in South Africa. This will be mirrored under the next two thematic headings, learning through gaming and historical thinking concepts, respectively initiating their funnelled discussion with learning through play and historical literacy, before correspondingly concluding their discussion with the focus on challenges with utilising electronic games in the history classroom and Seixas's second-order historical thinking concepts.

Following the literature review will be the research methodology, divided into the research design and the methodology. The former addresses my nature as a qualitative researcher and the manner in which this approach affects the structure of the research process, questioning and data collection. Similarly, the discussion on my paradigm, interpretivism, will allow for an understanding of the lens through which the research is analysed and understood. This is supported by a clear delineation of my ontological and epistemological assumptions, which is rounded off with an explanation of the requirement of a purposive sampling style. The second section, methodology, begins the journey into the analysis process, commencing with a discussion of the two, initially disparate analysis appraoches, the Qualitative Content Analysis and the Qualitative Comparative Analysis. Once conceptualised, the two are wed under the Qualitative Comparative Content Analysis, which utilises 6

specific steps, all outlined, to reach reasonable conclusions about the three research questions. To complete the methodology are discussions on the trustworthiness and the ethics of the research: the former is reasonably established through a careful extrapolation of the steps utilised to ensure credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability; the latter is protected through a declaration, list of references and an attached ethical clearance.

As a means to engage with the tools critically and extensively, chapters four and five respectively and separately engage with the rich qualitative data collected from the two grade 10 CAPS-approved grade 10 History textbooks and ACU. Within chapter four, the six second-order historical thinking concepts have been explored individually, discussing the relative differences and similarities across the textbooks, denoted Textbook A and Textbook B. Through engagement with the relative Qualitative Content Analysis Coding Schedules, as well as the Qualitative Comparative Analysis Coding Schedule (as illustrated in appendix A2 (p.275), the findings were initially dissected into the six second-order historical thinking concepts designated by Seixas, before further division within each occurred to analyse their respective guideposts, such as exploring the durability, quanitity and profundity of change which denote a historical events significance, before guidepost 2 and 3 were analysed. This discussion required utilisation of manifest signposting through the selection of key quotes and, more importantly, a negotiation of the latent meanings inherent in these. A summation of the underlying themes and ideologies concludes each second-order historical thinking concepts, as well as the entire chapter.

Similarly, chapter five tackles ACU's engagement with the second-order historical thinking concepts through exploring these six categories denoting a historically literate learner, and their relative guideposts. A Qualitative Content Analysis Coding Schedule, alike that included as appendix A1, has been utilised in order to discuss the manner in which the electronic game engages with the six second-order historical thinking concepts, drawing on crucial quotations from the electronic game to expose manifest content. This manifest content elucidates to the latent meaning and therein the game creators' ideologies, which have been tentatively suggested. Commencing each second-order historical thinking concept is a final paragraph or

two, aimed at providing a succinct summary of the overarching findings brought to light.

Chapter six acts as a final analysis of the findings and the conclusion, drawing to a conclusion this research. I will grapple with what the previously discussed findings suggest regarding the research questions and provide possible reasons for the similarities and disparities across the tools. In this regard, I will provide insight into the possible ramifications this may have on South African History education, critiquing what the DBE connotes to be a historically literate learner and why, and similarly what role ACU may or may not play in creating this learner. Finally, I will reflect on the methodology, expounding on the many frustrations I experienced within my methodological framework, before shifting my reflections to the personal and professional implications this research has had on my role as a student and educator of History. A final overview of the study chapter by chapter will reveal what transpired within each area, before the concluding paragrpahs draw the research to a close.

1.10. Conclusion

This research, aiming to comparatively explore the presence and transmission of second-order historical thinking concepts within the world of the French Revolution in ACU and CAPS-approved grade 10 History textbooks, has considered the ramifications of game-based learning upon the underlying premise that "games are no longer just for fun" (Oblinger, 2004, p.1). With History argued to be increasingly on the decline, the emergence of unofficial learning opportunities such as "*Assassin's Creed, Civilisations, Brothers in Arms*" which "allow their audiences to actively engage in historical practices" (Challenge the Past, 2015, p.1), may hold, in part, the answer. This in no way negates the relevance of textbooks, instead it allows learners the "opportunities to read", or play, "texts that both affirm and interrogate the complexity of their own histories … to engage and develop a counter discourse" (Giroux as cited by Phillips, 1998, p.50). Electronic games, despite their commercialised design, will be exposed as containing the potential to further develop a historically literate learner, a status not solely attainable through textbooks. In this regard, while the research does not focus on revealing whether the game surpasses

the textbook, it may be argued to have exposed the benefits of utilising such unofficial sources both in and outside of the History classroom.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is devoted to providing a literary framework, background and greater historical context within which my research can find its footing (Rowland, 2014; Skene, 2009). It commences with a conceptualisation of the nature of the literature review and its role in providing not only a theoretical grounding for my research, but a justification for the research itself (Boote & Beile, 2005; Downey, 2003; Guevarra, 2012; Oliver, 2012). This grounding and justification will occur across three thematic categories of discussion: the textbooks, first and foremost, followed by learning through gaming and finally historical thinking skills. Each of these thematic topics will be individually addressed following an inverted pyramid structure, explained further below, allowing for an initial discussion of broader literature and research, such as the nature and purpose of textbooks, learning through play and historical literacy. Once these opening, more generalised discussions have occurred, the literature will become progressively narrowed and specific, relating increasingly to my research and the phenomenon under study.

2.2. The Literature Review

The literature review, which allows for an analytical evaluation of and engagement with any given text or texts is, at a rudimentary level, an impartial, analytical and exhaustive summation and inquiry of specifically selected documentation (Boote & Beile, 2005; Cronin, Ryan & Coughlan, 2008; Downey, 2003; Guevarra, 2012). The selected literature is viewed as specialised information on a particular topic related to the specific field of study in question, which, despite the aforementioned description, demands more than a summary of the findings (Guevarra, 2012; Mongan-Rallis, 2014). It requires that I analyse existing ideas related to my research, often simultaneously negotiating the relationship between disparate and complimentary ideas, in an attempt to comprehend "the nature and use of argument in research" (Hart, 1998, p.1). Through careful scrutiny of available literature, I have synthesised prevailing concepts and constructs which have facilitated the creation of my own original research (Bolderston, 2008).

When contemplating the necessity of a literature review, its purpose is crucially important. The literature review allows for a firm basis and context of research by providing my research with the necessary theoretical grounding on which all following assertions are based (Boote & Beile, 2005; Guevarra, 2012). This is achieved by exposing my readers to the available subject matter within a clear framework: a framework rich in alternative ideas and perspectives surrounding the various concepts, which enhance my own research (Bolderston, 2008). Failure to provide this basis can be disastrous: the presentation of a "faulty literature review is one of the many ways to derail a dissertation" as it is predominately a basis upon which the author, myself, establishes their knowledge on the area under scrutiny, while the failure to do so may present the opposite as true (Randolph, 2009, p.1).

Furthermore, a literature review acts as a premise from which contextualisation of findings can be built, as well as providing a justification for the research itself, as throughout the literature process I tacitly justify my research as you investigate the existing findings (Boote & Beile, 2005; Downey, 2003; Oliver, 2012). In essence, these findings have assisted the researcher, myself, in gaining a richer understanding of the value of my research as I bring to light prevailing trends and information surrounding my research. In addition, the research undertaken in the literature review has assisted in the development of a methodological framework within which my research can rest, made possible through the development of a comprehension of the nature of the focus as it exists within contemporary research (Randolph, 2009, p.2).

The presentation of my literature review has combined an inverted pyramid (or funnel) structure within a thematic organisation. The latter, denoted as a grouping of "theoretical concepts, and topics" (Sally, 2013, p.1), has been utilized in the division of all findings related to textbooks and those associated with learning through gaming, as well as in the conceptualisation of the second-order historical thinking concepts within which the former two will be critiqued. This thematic division allowed for a comparative overview and an "analysis of how cases in one set", namely the electronic game, "relate to cases in other set", such as Grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks (Ragin & Rubinson, 2009, p.14) in light of their conveyance of second-order historical thinking concepts. Specifically, this comparative division

assisted in answering the research questions as it posed the categories of textbooks and learning through gaming as oppositional forces wherein their inherent qualities, strengths and weaknesses in developing historically literate learners has been surveyed.

Within these thematic categories, the concepts surrounding textbooks, learning through gaming and second-order historical thinking concepts have been further separated following the inverted pyramid organisation. This organisational structure allowed for an initial debate regarding associated literature from a comprehensive angle (Downey, 2003), inclusive of "categories of work that are relevant ... but do not specifically address" those areas crucial to my research (Hofstee, 2006, p.96). This included discussions on the general nature and use of textbooks under the thematic category of textbooks, and the relationship between play and learning, as in childhood play, as well as the use of pre-electronic games such as wargames and board games to learn, under the conceptual category of learning through play. Regarding second-order historical thinking concepts, I initially pursued a richer conceptualisation of the term historical thinking, drawing upon research by Levesque, Taylor and Young, as well as Nokes and Lee. Furthermore, I examined the eight Historical Skills as determined by the DBE under the Further Education and Training (FET) phase, upon which a later connection will be made between said skills and the second-order historical thinking concepts.

Following this initially broad conceptual discussion, the inverted pyramid organisation allowed for increasingly "specific or localised studies which focus increasingly on the specific question at hand" ("Getting Started on Your Literature Review", 2014, p.1). In essence, the literature under scrutiny advanced ever closer to my research, until the works selected related directly to my work (Hofstee, 2006). This included debates surrounding History textbooks, and their socio-political delineation as "official" histories, while, comparatively, negotiations surrounding historically-situated electronic games, such as *Civilizations III* and *Assassin's Creed,* as teaching tools, as well as the perception that these electronic games act as "unofficial" histories, has been explored. Squire's success in implementing *Civilizations III* in History classrooms has been discussed, as well as Pabon Jr's decision to design his World

War II lessons around *Call of Duty*. Additionally, those second-order historical thinking concepts deemed the most applicable and necessary based on the available literature, and acting within the eight CAPS-aligned historical skills, have been selected and reviewed within the field of my research in the final section of the literature review. Yet to begin this journey, we must commence with the basis of textbooks: The nature of purpose of textbooks.

2.3. TEXTBOOKS

2.3.1. The Nature and Purpose of the Textbook

The textbook, despite being "one artefact that plays such a major role in defining whose culture is taught" has received very little academic inspection (Apple, 2000, p.180). These artefacts, responsible for providing a symbolic representation of the perceived and desired world contain an inherent message about the knowledge and skill set learners are expected to attain (Naidoo, 2015; Pinto, 2007). Taken further, the knowledge and skills created through content selection are not designed to impart new knowledge but rather to reproduce or replicate existing knowledges and truths within the institutionalised pedagogical framework (Gerke, 2013; Selander, 1990). As Crawford points out, the word textbook, itself, "is used to define and convey a sequence of actions which do not deviate from agreed and regulated procedures" (2003.a, p.5) and in this regard, the textbook by nature is an artefact of regulated knowledge replication.

Arguably the chief tool utilised by educators and governments to disseminate material and tuition to learners (Pinto, 2007), textbooks move beyond merely a medium through which to deliver facts (Apple, 2000) and are, more accurately, "a representation of political, cultural, economic and political battles and compromises" (Crawford, 2000, p.1). The ubiquitous nature of textbooks and the perception that they are authoritative (due to their creation and acceptance by governmental departments) places textbooks in a uniquely powerful position (Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011). The textbook, void of neutrality, is in the position to determine what knowledge is deemed official and legitimate (Apple, 1993;2000), whose culture

is taught (Apple, 1992), and whose power is legitimised or rejected (Brugeilles & Cromer, 2009).

As a vehicle for the curriculum (Crawford, 2000), textbooks cannot remain neutral as they are "conceived and designed by real people with real interests" (Apple, 1991, p.11), and are often a point of great educational and political contention (Crawford, 2003.a). Textbooks, in this regard, "represent to each generation of students an officially sanctioned, authorized version of human knowledge" (De Castell, Luke & Luke as cited by Goldstein, 1997) and merely depict the ideologies of the ruling power (Engelbrecht, 2006). The ideologies contained in these textbooks and constructed by dominant groups support the values and attitudes said dominant groups aim to instil in the population (Dean, Hartmann & Katzen, 1983). In light of this, textbooks and the curriculum, are inherently political (Phillips, 1993), as shall be discussed in the next section.

2.3.2. Textbooks as Educational and Political Tools

From the point of conception, textbooks exist as a form of didactic communication which acts as a medium to simultaneously edify and influence learners, enabling it to perform both an educational and political role (Crismore, 1989). While "the use of a textbook is an activity that is situated in the context of institutional teaching and learning", it is a "historically and culturally formed mediating artefact", thereby moving beyond merely a tutoring aid (Rezat, 2006, p.410). The inherent quality to influence, positions the textbook in a powerful position where dominant and competing groups, who perceive it as a natural figure in the formation of shared national recollection, battle it out to have their memory represented (Crawford, 2003.b). With this intention in mind, the textbook is "published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources and power" (Apple, 2000, p.180), and therefore, those who create them face a conflict between the implicit political expectations and the explicit educational intentions (Crismore, 1989). While textbooks are primitively perceived as "authoritative pedagogic versions of an area of knowledge", in essence providing learners with expert information on an area of study (Marsden, 2001, p.7), its implicit role leaves much to be questioned. As Pingel questions, is the primary goal of the textbook to develop learners with sound, judicious thinking skills, therein acting as an

educational tool, or is it rather to act as transmitters of models of an accepted moral code as a patriotic member of society, therein performing a political function (2009)?

In this regard, the textbook cannot be perceived as merely a transmitter of facts and 'truths' in the field of education (Apple, 2000), but must be recognised as a key tool in reconstructing (and potentially constructing) the learner's identity (McKinney, 2005). This construction includes "a great number of rules, norms and patterns of behaviour that the adults", such as those dominant political groups responsible for the creation of textbooks, "believe in and wish to inculcate into the younger generation" (Pingel, 2009, p.7) as they move forward as members of a collective national identity. Hence, the nationalist focus of textbooks governs that it will promote the continued reinforcement of a "cultural homogeneity" (Crawford, 2003.b, p.8), and therein, uniformity in the identity of its learners. This construction of a shared national memory, in turn, aims to promote a collective attitude regarding what values and knowledge are not only acceptable but desirable for a national consciousness (Crawford, 2003.a). This concept of "official" knowledge shall be addressed later in the literature review.

The construction of a homogeneous identify through textbooks extends beyond merely the conceptualisation of shared memories and values, and spreads itself to the determination of continued class structures. Schools, using textbooks as a medium for socialisation, act as tools in the perpetuation of class constructs, as can be evidenced in Apartheid education (discussed further in a later subsection), where textbooks perpetuated racial inequalities (McKinney, 2005). In this manner, textbooks act as mirrors, providing symbolic representations of the current societal expectations and beliefs, and the world in which they exist (Sleeter & Grant, 1991). These symbolic representations, while initially acting as a reflection of the current socio-political atmosphere, in turn arguably preserve the "dominant status of particular social groups" and propagate ideas about "whose culture and accomplishments are deemed important" (p.280).

Yet, while textbook creators may diligently attempt to mirror these beliefs and ensure their propagation through the textbooks, actual textbook engagement moves beyond echoing the existing expectations and reproducing them in learners (Luke, 1988; van

Niekerk, 2013). Research has illustrated that many of the assumptions held about the powerful sway of textbooks on learners have failed to actually provide empirical evidence to support this, and that a significant gap regarding "how teachers and learners actually use textbooks in their classrooms" exists (Bertam & Wassermann, 2015, p.167). In fact, teachers themselves may hold great control as research has indicated that learners readily fall into a passive role with their educator, blindly accepting their authority and knowledge as truth (O'Dwyer, 2006). Nevertheless, the engagement process with textbooks can be argued to be "dynamic, reflecting both continuities and contradictions" and is responsible for and reflective of "the continual remaking and relegitimation" of the cultures beliefs and expectations (Luke, 1988, p.33).

This trend will not be easily deterred or altered, even with technological advancements and greater exposure to differing ideologies. As Rezat (2006) argues, regardless of the evident and unavoidable influence of modern technology, the pervasive nature of the textbook in both economically disadvantaged schools and private institutions, makes it a dominant force in the construction of learners' knowledges and values. "The master symbols in textbooks determine the socio-cultural generalisations of a society" and the means by which all additional information and value-systems are perceived and integrated (Engelbrecht, 2006, p.2). These 'master symbols' found in textbooks, in the form of diction and visual selection, ensure learners' homogeneous role in the reproduction of existing political structures (Luke, 1994) and the acceptance of a popularised, shared memory of the nation (Crawford, 1994).

2.3.3. Textbooks as "official" knowledge

As was stated previously, the nature of History as an academic subject, and therein arguably academic subjects as a whole, is a concept inextricably linked to the "official, educational, institutionalised and professional" forms of knowledge (Challenge the Past, 2015, p.1). This perception of textbooks as representations of "official" knowledge positions it at odds with unofficial forms of education such as electronic games, which represent a form of the powerful non-institutionalised knowledge learners interact with daily and which influences the schema they bring with them into the classroom. As Phillips states, the "power of the 'unofficial' may in

fact be the most crucial influence", particularly in the creation of historical knowledge, the area under study, yet little has been discovered regarding the way "children consume the past outside the classroom" (1998, p.45).

Therein lies much of the "threat" present in these ubiquitous unofficial forms of learning- little to no control exists over what is presented, how it is presented and to what extent it is absorbed into the learner's existing schemata of knowledge. Therefore, what is considered 'official', and thereby legitimate, knowledge is a point of contention, as the official is arguably only the ideologies projected by the dominant groups surrounding textbook creation (Apple, 1991), yet there is an increasingly high exposure to 'unofficial' forms of education.

The textbook, which "acts as the interface between the officially state-adopted and sanctioned knowledge" (Luke as cited by McKinney, 2005, p.5), is (as was argued in the previous section), the outcome of a politically driven battle (Crawford, 2003.b). This tenuous conflict, existing between numerous different racial, political and religious groups, in addition to differing classes and genders, create what is determined to be legitimate, accepted truths (Apple, 2000). Yet the knowledge which is produced, the knowledge deemed legitimate, as found in textbooks, is a representation of what groups, values and attitudes are worth acknowledging (Sleeter & Grant, 1991). The textbook, a tool for the curriculum, allows for a display of "what counts as knowledge", as well as "the ways in which it is organized" (Apple, 1993, p.222) and this is particularly true in History textbooks, which may connote whose History is true and worthy (Phillips, 1998) as detailed below.

2.3.4. History Textbooks

One of these "official" and sanctioned tools, the History textbook, amongst select other textbooks, is in a distinct position to convey political and nationalist agenda, and due, in a large part to its significance as a subject within schools, has received substantial public and political scrutiny (Roberts, 2013). History textbooks are able to introduce learners to the "full range of human possibilities unlimited by our own experiences" imparting upon the History textbook the moral capacity to expose (or fail to expose) learners to questions of stereotype, power, bias and prejudice (Morgan, 2012, p.86). Whether due to this or not, History (along with Geography,

Religious Studies and Language), it can be claimed, acts as a mirror reflecting what knowledge society aims to construct around itself (Engelbrecht, 2006; Pingel, 2009). In this regard, the History textbook is able to elevate certain values (Magnússon, 2010) and provide a purposive and absolute narrative of the past through a single perspective (Martell & Hashimoto-Martell, 2012).

This single-perspective narrative adopted by the History textbook is one Martell & Hashimoto-Martell call "an authoritarian and omniscient language" (2012, p.317). Research has indicated that when learners are exposed to the generic textbook, they generally accept the content and knowledge as absolute truths, rather than negotiated possibilities. In this regard, the History textbook is capable of imparting what is true, what is real and what must be accepted onto learners. Yet this negates the inherent nature of History as a field of ambiguities, wherein little is accepted as truth but rather as a process in the "objectivity and truth-seeking" (Munslow, 2001, p.1) with the constant understanding that "all historical accounts are reconstructions that contain some degree of subjectivity" (Furay & Salevouris, 2000, p.13).

This is further reinforced by the medium or narrative through which these edified events are communicated to learners, as influential figures surrounding the creation of the History textbook will, similarly, determine how these events are represented (Naidoo, 2015). The designers of the History textbook will influence "the account that is written … the themes … the raw material and the means of analysing the themes in question" (Magnússon, 2010, p.220), specifically through selection of the historical sources, narratives, events and questions they ask the learners. Through this stringent regulation, learners will be repeatedly exposed to the same specific themes, such as Nationalism, through the same lens, such as one in support of specific ideologies, rather than the differing perspectives and opinions.

What this connotes is that the History textbook has the advantage of determining which values learners are exposed to through the selected material; this can be identified in the significant role History textbooks have played in the establishment of a national identity in learners (Magnússon, 2010). This is debatably the reason why the History textbook is believed to be the most commonly utilised tool for conveying official, politically-driven knowledge (Phillips, 1998), and is "essentially selective and

ideological" (Stolten, 2003, p.1), as is the general nature of textbooks. History textbooks have been shown to promote a nationalist agenda through the veneration of their origin nation and the groups within, generally at the expense of outsider or minority groups, creating an us-versus-them mentality (Pingel, 2009).

When studying the History of the History textbook within the South African context, as well as its current-day particularities, issues regarding racism, sexism and marginalisation raise their heads as prime examples of the us-versus-them mentality. After the implementation of an Apartheid regime, the "curricula in South African schools became entrenched in prejudice, stigmatization and stereotyping" (Engelbrecht, 2006, p.1), yet evidence suggests that minimal changes have occurred in the Post-Apartheid education system to regulate these inequalities (McKinney, 2005) as is the case in most South African textbooks, where only "superficial cosmetic changes" occur regarding race identification and equity (Schoeman, 2009, p.542). The History textbook, considered to be often the only History text learners interact with (Morgan, 2012), acts as a mediator of the "truth", therein wielding substantial influence over today's learners (Apple, 1992; Fardon & Schoeman, 2010). These acts of marginalisation in textbooks can be found in the continued promotion of particular gender roles, and through the study of the racist ideologies of Bantu education.

To begin, studies spanning across numerous countries, including South Africa, have indicated that the female figure has been "underrepresented, misrepresented and marginalised in History textbooks" (Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011, p.13). History textbooks, as one capable of discussing the roles of women throughout History, have been identified as a tool for disseminating gender bias, particularly regarding the role of women in the broader context of power relations (Fardon & Schoeman, 2010, p.307). More specifically, the portrayal of women in History textbooks is primarily stereotypical, wherein the female figure is depicted as engaged in domestic activity (Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011) or wherein the female figure is concealed in order to promote the ideals of "great men" (Brugeilles & Cromer, 2009, p.63). A study performed in Britain indicated that the most gender-neutral textbook displayed the male figure twice as often as the females, and while this research does not apply

directly to the South African context, research undertaken by Nene regarding grade 12 History textbooks in South Africa, identified a similar trend: quantitatively women appeared significantly less often than men, with one textbook failing to contain a single image of a woman (2012). Furthermore, the female historical figures featured were often left unnamed or linked solely to their successful husband, indicating their relative worth as to that of their husband's wife, and were positioned in a "passive, less important and vulnerable manner" (p.113).

The issue with this trend is the ramifications of these displays, that is to say "when learners read and work from gendered materials, certain social values and attitudes are transmitted" (Schoeman, 2012, p.2). What the South African History textbooks have been shown to display is that while some edification has occurred in more recent years, the South African History textbook continues to stress the primary contribution of men, and the secondary contribution of women (Fardon, 2007; McKinney, 2005). The continual negation of the import of the female figure has resulted in female learners finding minimal representation in the textbooks they are given, resulting in the understanding that they were "an absent partner in the development of our nation" (Sadker as cited by Fardon & Schoeman, 2010, p.308). In this regard, sexism still remains a pressing issue in the material, namely the History textbooks, presented to our learners.

Sexism is not the only humanitarian violation our History textbooks have committed: while segregation between racial groups was predominant before the introduction of Apartheid (Dean, Hartmann & Katzen, 1983), History, and in turn History textbooks, "was offered in a way that justified Afrikaner domination" (Engelbrecht, 2006, p.3). This single-perspective narrative has run throughout the History of South African History textbooks: throughout the 19th and early 20th century textbooks depicted the British perspective; however, in the mid-20th century, "the rise of Afrikaner consciousness" led to the glorification of Afrikaner individuals and historical events like the Great Trek, all of which became the dominant focus in History textbooks (Bertram & Bharath, 2011, p.64). Similarly, the induction of the Apartheid-era Bantu education, during which time learners were initially taught through their home language before adopting a seemingly alien language in order to ensure minimal comprehension (Dean, 2005), the use of Afrikaner "master symbols" ensured the

non-white population remained as "other" (Engelbrecht, 2006; Polakow-Suransky, 2002). These "master symbols" included stereotypes promoting "whites as superior, while blacks are inferior" and the belief that the Afrikaner had a divine right connecting him with God (Engelbrecht, 2006, p.2), a connection, thereby, that the black did not possess. This was accomplished, in large part, through the History textbook, which analysis indicates had been used to ensure segregation (Dean, Hartmann & Katzen, 1983).

The aforementioned master symbols were harnessed as a means to "determine the sociocultural generalisations of a society to the extent that they become part of society's collective consciousness" (Engelbrecht, 2006, p.2). It has been more than 20 years since the abolishment of Bantu education, and integration in the South African education system has been underway with the focus on inclusion for subordinate groups (McKinney, 2005), yet racially-oriented issues still run throughout the History textbook. While the History textbook has aimed to include democratic values and rights, and an appreciation for "indigenous knowledge systems" (Bertram & Bharath, 2011, p.64), most textbooks are still in the English or Afrikaans medium. In the 2013 Annual Publishing Industry Survey, English textbooks accounted for 75% of all textbooks sold, with Afrikaans coming in second at 13%, and the nine official African languages only constituting a small 12% (Struik & Borgstrom, 2014). These statistics indicate the long-term consequences of the Bantu education and depict a perpetuated system whereby the "indigenous languages of Africa were not seen as resources but as problems" (Alexander, 2011, p.320). However, the influential nature of History, which allows for it to mirror the collectively constructed knowledge, can be, in turn, used to dismantle or reinforce this perception (Engelbrecht, 2006).

This influential nature is arguably more pervasive in South Africa where the History textbook is a contextual necessity, a relatively "cost-effective and practical resource for teachers and students alike of History" in an economically poor condition (Nicholls, 2006, p.7). In areas where additional access to resources, such as computers and the internet, are difficult or sparse, History textbooks allows for a relatively affordable means of History tuition. In the year 2000, statistics indicated that only 6% of both medium resourced and low resourced schools had access to computers (Bellville & Lundall, 2000), and while, 14 years later, statistics show that

the percentage has increased, the gap is still significant. The South African DBE revealed that only 6000 of 25870 "schools were ICT-ready", a percentage of 23, in 2014, and less than a third of the educators had received training in "basic computer skills and ICT equipment by 2011" (Phakathi, 2014, p.1). In this regard, the reliance on textbooks, such as History textbooks, is extremely high in South Africa. Most educators have indicated that they received little training in analysing textbooks for issues such as gender equality (Schoeman, 2009), which limits the likelihood that History educators could expose issues surrounding perpetuated bias, sexism, and patriotism, to name a few.

While it may not have been designed in such a fashion, this reliance on History textbooks as the primary tool in accessing sources, and limited access to additional and contrary sources, provides certain advantages for powerful, political groups (such as the government), while disadvantaging learners. The intrinsic ideological, cultural and political nature of History has, according to Phillips, led governments to fear History, in large part due to its function in forcing one to "rethink how we got to where we are" and to interrogate the dominant values and leaders of our era (1998, p.42). Yet, through the influential voice of the textbook, the nature of History can be transformed from one of enquiry, to one of an "authoritative character" providing "important 'sites of memory'" (Hein & Mark, as cited by Nicholls, 2006, p.9). In this regard, South Africa's contextual reliance on textbooks as a medium of knowledge ensures that the values, truths and ideologies, compiled within the History textbook, may be the only source learners are exposed to (Apple, 1992).

However, it need be noted, that while this accounts for their exposure within the school environment, more than 75% of the mobile phone users in South Africa from low-income brackets are 15 years or older, according to 2013 statistics, indicating that learners are still able to privately expose themselves to "unofficial" History sources (Peyper, 2013). Additionally, exposure to a particular set of ideologies and values does not automatically necessitate an acceptance of these values: when the Inkatha Freedom Party felt that the Oxford Grade 12 History textbook had depicted their leader Buthelezi in a negative fashion, their response was to overtly burn copies of the text (Bertram & Wassermann, 2015) as a public denunciation of this image and its inherent value system. It is the ideal that the historically literate learner

archetype, possessive of the numerous reading heuristics historians possess (Nokes, 2011.b), could readily move beyond such limitations- if the textbooks are aiming to create one through second-order historical thinking skills.

2.3.5. Challenges Surrounding the Use of Textbooks

Throughout the previous sections, issues regarding the construction of textbooks have arisen: issues regarding its influential role in establishing sexist role constraints and racist paradigms (McKinney, 2005), as well as limiting the access learners have to information which can allow them to question their leaders (Phillips, 1998). However, these issues speak of overarching umbrella conceptual issues: bias, selection, inaccuracies and a final context-specific issue, distribution. These issues are of particular importance within the South African context as they influence the possibility in creating the "democratic and open society" that the South African Constitution aims for (DBE, 2011, p.i) and exploration of these issues will assist in making transparent the potential necessity in utilising other sources of historical information, such as an "unofficial" electronic game.

Distribution is a pressing concern in the South African context, especially in the Limpopo area, where on the 11th of January 2012, the first reports of late textbooks was reported (Veriava, 2013). By the 14th of June that same year some textbooks began to be distributed but only by the 15th of August were all schools equipped. While this issue caused "a public outcry and the angry public response that followed forced the government to act" (Bertram & Wassermann, 2015, p.152), this issue reappeared in 2014, when the DBE failed to deliver all of the textbooks by May (Mabuza, 2014). Additionally, studies "suggest that the lack of textbooks is not unique to the Limpopo province" and that many learners in another Provinces and districts suffer similar conditions (Veriava, 2013).

What the statistics regarding the limited access to ICT discussed in history textbooks indicate, is that many low-economic and even medium-economic schools rely on textbooks to aid tuition (Bellville & Lundall, 2000; Nichols, 2006), yet the textbooks are not guaranteed to arrive. Some educators were required to borrow textbooks from neighbouring schools in order to gain any access to the material their learners would be assessed on (Mabuza, 2014). When faced with this issue, the government

indicated little to no accountability for the mishap, engaging rather in self-defence and denial, than concern regarding future considerations ("Unpacking SA's Education Crisis", 2012). This is particularly concerning when assessing South Africa's academic performance in relation to other countries: it was ranked "last out of 148 countries for the quality of its maths and science education" (Wilkinson, 2014, p.1) as well as achieving the lowest of 45 countries competing in the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study in 2006 (Spaull, 2013). Yet research has indicated that learners who possessed their own reading textbooks performed significantly higher than non-textbook learners (Veriava, 2013, p.5), therein suggesting that part of South Africa's poor academic performance may be due to limited access to textbooks, or rather suitable academic resources. In South Africa, textbooks amount to an approximate R1bn in yearly expenditure, with a staggering R1.2bn spent in 2002 alone (Pillay, 2003) while the creation of a new textbook could cost an approximate of R1 million (Attwell, 2014), meaning every time a textbook is considered outdated, additional money is utilised. Yet despite this significant expenditure, more than 5000 textbooks were dumped in Limpopo in 2012 and a warehouse-full were burnt and shredded in KwaZulu-Natal in 2013 (SAPA, 2012; SAPA, 2013). With these issues of delivery, continual and costly adjustments, as well as sabotage, one must ask whether the money could be better invested elsewhere in order to improve South Africa's educational performance and offer an experiential learning opportunity.

Another immediate and continual issue facing the textbook, and especially the History textbook, is the presence of bias. The DBE stress, under the skills learners are expected to attain through History, that it is of import that learners understand that there is "more than one point of view" and should refrain from bias (2011, p.9), yet, as Schoeman (2012) indicated, the South African History textbook is dominated by the male narrative, while the Afrikaner nationalist agenda has been replaced by African nationalism (Engelbrecht, 2008, p.519). The case is not select to South African History textbooks: bias through stereotyping surrounds the Holocaust wherein all Germans have been labelled as Nazis (Morgan, 2012); while the State Department of the United States found that many Palestinian textbooks displayed "imbalance, bias, and inaccuracy" with regards to the narratives surrounding Jews in their textbooks (Braunschweig, 2012, p.1). Morgan suggested that rather than

attempt to remove all elements of the bias, a sensible option may simply be to have learners identify the biases present in their textbooks as an exercise (2012). However, research suggests that for less experienced educators the textbook is utilised for 90% of their tuition (Schumm & Doucette. 1991), while additional findings suggest that particularly educators in the Social Sciences (like History) will design their courses, assignments and teaching around the textbook (Schug, Western & Enochs, 1997). This inherent reliance on the textbook as the source of "officially sanctioned version of knowledge" (Engelbrecht, 2006, p.1) suggests that few educators will in fact engage critically in dismantling bias within the textbook.

A closely linked issue with bias is that of selection regarding the content within the textbook. Japanese journalist Oi revealed that he, along with many of his fellow schoolmates, were oblivious to the cause behind international tensions surrounding Japan, in a large part due to textbooks (2013). He claims that "Japanese people often fail to understand why neighbouring countries harbour a grudge over events that happened in the 1930s and 1940s" (p.1) due to the minimal attention surrounding those events , as well as a selection regarding how to discuss those events. To highlight this point, Japanese History textbooks faced mounting pressure to remove their references to "comfort women", a term used to describe forced prostitution implemented by the Imperial Japanese Army (Nozaki & Selden, 2009). Loewen highlights similar examples in his discussion surrounding the depiction of Helen Keller, whose heroification has resulted in the selected omission of her socialist ideals as they do not support American Capitalist ideologies (1995). In relation to South Africa, selection is present in what Engelbrecht refers to as a "role reversal in representational practices in History textbooks" following the termination of Apartheid (2008, p.519). When analysing South African History textbooks it was found that in one instance there were no images of Whites included throughout the entire textbook, indicating a fostered "culture of mono-perspectivity" (p.537). In addition, an overview of data revealed "silence and omissions regarding the History of the whites", a clear indication of the selection and omission of details contained within History textbooks.

A final cause for concern is the degree of inaccuracies some textbooks, including History textbooks, have been known to include. In Texas, there has been much

contention surrounding the creation of "43 proposed History, geography and government textbooks" for the "extensive problems" found within the textbooks (Strauss, 2014, p.1). Specific examples include the statement that the origins of democracy arise from the Old Testament, as well as outwardly stating that "'the spread of international terrorism is an outgrowth of Islamic fundamentalism'" (Mintz, 2014, p.1). These errors may occur, as Sargent argues, due to the some textbook publishers hiring writers that are inexperienced laymen, facing deadlines, while the editing is performed by many different editors responsible for a single section, meaning error or contradictions can slip in (2014). Instead of the experts whose "names grace its cover", the textbook is typically written by "minions deep in the bowels of the publisher's office" as most historians avoid writing textbooks (Loewen, 1995, p.15) While this may not apply in every case the risk still lies in that, as previously mentioned, textbooks are perceived, and even adopted, as a valid reflection of society (Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011; Engelbrecht, 2006).

In conclusion, an anecdote regarding such inaccuracies: in creating the grade 7 History notebook, I utilised two textbooks- *Spot on Social Science Grade 7 Learner's Book* (Hambley & Allwood, 2012) and *Oxford Successful Social Science Learner's Book Grade 7* (Bottaro, Cohen, Dilley, Versfeld & Visser, 2014). When reviewing the description of Georg Schmidt's involvement in Genadendal, both narrated vastly different accounts- *Spot On* argues he offended the Cape Dutch Reformed Church and went home to be ordained, while *Oxford* states that he offended the farmers and was forced to leave. *Spot On* suggests it was his free choice, while Oxford indicates he had little say in the matter. Yet according to both the Gospel Fellowship Association Missions (1998) and South African History Online (2011), Georg Schmidt chose to return to the Germany after facing criticism, as *Spot On* stated, and was not forced. However, Georg Schmidt did not return to Germany to be ordained as *Spot On* claims, but had already received a letter of ordination, and instead returned due to pressure from the Cape Dutch Reformed Church and the clergy (Boon, 2010; Millard, 1999; South Africa History Online, 2011). This example elucidates on the potential inaccuracies present in our History textbooks, and while not necessarily paramount, it is a simple and prime example of how textbooks may not be the official transmitters of fact and truth they have been perceived to be (Apple, 2000).

2.4. LEARNING THROUGH GAMING

2.4.1. Learning through Gaming: The Benefits of Play

Learning through play, while only acknowledged as a legitimate form of learning in the 20th century, has predated modern forms of electronic play by thousands of years (Institute of Play, n.d.1.). Archaeological findings indicate that play has existed since prehistoric times, in the forms of dice, board games and handmade models, and that play has often been inclusive of both child and adult (Whitebread, Basilio, Kuvalja & Verma, 2012). Great Greek philosophers like Plato believed that "early education [should] be a sort of amusement" (Huang & Plass, 2009, p.3), and that one can gain more insight into a person from an hour's play than a "year of conversation" (D'Angour, 2013, p.293). Plato is not alone in his assumptions: Hall believed that "play must be regarded as the greatest of all educational forces", in essence regarding play as the greatest tool for a powerful learning experience (Huang & Plass, 2009, p.2), yet the criterion for the creation of a textbook only references activities involving "discovery learning" (Department of Education, 2005/2006, p.2) but does not suggest play-based activities as a necessary inclusion.

Simplistically, the power behind play lies in its potential for the development of social and emotional skills, as well as intellectual understanding and creativity (Kennedy & Barblett, 2010). For example, when a child engages in imaginary or pretend play, he or she has the opportunity to engage in an otherwise emotionally frightening situation, or even, some argue, to engage in practices of theory of mind, ascertaining that other beliefs "or state of knowledge[s]" exist (Smith & Pellegrini, 2013, p.3). Play provides a safe environment for children to explore new areas or ideas, or develop recently acquired skills (Kennedy & Barblett, 2010). In essence "play experiences are key to children forming early understandings about the natural world, mathematics and early literacy ideas" (Chalufour, Drew & Waite-Stupiansky, 2003, p.1), upon which all later adult experiences can rest (Huang & Plass, 2009). This is possible as, while a child engages in play, he or she actively assimilates their thoughts, feelings and motives which in turn create crucial neural pathways in the brain requisite for future developmental functioning (Kennedy & Barblett, 2010; Winthrop, 2014).

Yet play is not homogeneously child-oriented: Play, for learning and otherwise, is universally present across age groups and culture (Kennedy & Barblett, 2010; Whitebread et al, 2012), though it is implicitly conveyed that play is for children (Brown, 2008). Play, or fun, amongst adults has acquired a negative label "stemming from the built-in bias" that "anything that's not full-blast production mode" is taboo (Robinson, 2011, p.1). This, despite the fact that play has been shown to improve mental health, relieve anxiety, enhance one's relationships and increase one's ability to engage in creative and imaginative problem-solving amongst adults (Keller, 2015; Robinson, Smith, Segal & Shubin, 2015). Adults, much like children, have an intrinsic and developmental need to engage in self-expression and create knowledge in an interactive environment, as with play (Chalufour, Drew & Waite-Stupiansky, 2003). Yet, the emphasis on productivity in a global market, has led to a decline in adult-play due to its intangible output: in essence, the benefits of play cannot be measured or sold (Keller, 2015; Robinson, 2011). This fails to acknowledge the possibility that "man only plays when in the full meaning of the word he is a man, and he is only completely a man when he plays" (Von Schiller, 2001, n.d.); in principle the nature of unstructured, spontaneous play is where genuine knowledge is born (Robinson, 2011).

The stress-reducing faculties of play, if ignored, have numerous disconcerting ramifications. Brown found that, amongst other contributing factors, a lack of play assisted in "predicting criminal behaviour amongst murderers in Texas" (Tartakovsky, 2012, p.1). Due to plays characteristic stress releasing quality (Ward-Wimmer, 2002), and its central role as a tool for socialisation and adaptive behaviour (Kennedy & Barblett, 2010; Ward-Wimmer, 2002; Whitebread et al, 2012), the denial of play can have severe consequences. In both the Texas Tower and the Santa Barbara mass killings in the USA, a commonly identified contributing favour was the deprivation of play (Brown, 2008), "a fundamental survival aspect of all social mammals" (Brown, 2014.1., p.1). While this does not assume that all individuals deprived of play will, by default, engage in maladaptive behaviour, the decrease in play over the last century has resulted in an increasing social welfare crisis, manifesting in depressive episodes and psychopathology, to name a few (Brown, 2014.2., Gray, 2011). A significant contributor to this decline in play and rise in

psychopathology is the cumulative focus on schooling, academic progress and adult-guided activities: learners are deprived of free play, be it outdoors, in front of a boardgame or an electronic game (Entin, 2011).

2.4.2. Learning through Gaming: Board games, Wargames, and Interactive Simulation

According to *The Guardian*, this is the golden age of gaming, and not merely for the electronic game, but the board game industry too, which has seen an "unexpected growth" in the last ten or so years (Duffy, 2014, p.1). Board games, argued to allow for social interaction, experimentation, mental exercises and escapism (Michael, 2009), provide an experiential learning opportunity assessable for all ages on a variety of different subjects and themes (Treher, 2011). This includes academic content, such as numeracy: findings have suggested that learners exposed to linear number board games, within the home and school environment, showed a marked improvement in numerical proficiency (Seigler & Ramani, 2008). However, similarly to play, board games are not merely the domain of a child- research has indicated that board games designed for an adult teams-based learning experiences "provide information, create an experience, entertain and engage, present challenges, and promote collaboration and discussion", allowing for greater retention of the content (p.5). Yet board games do not have to be designed specifically for learning, as researchers Shanklin and Ehlen (2007) explored with the commercialised board game *Monopoly City.*

Monopoly City, described as an economic simulation, was utilised by the aforementioned researchers to "reinforce an understanding of how the accounting cycle impacts financial statements" amongst undergraduate accounting students (Shanklin & Ehlen, 2007, p.65). The findings indicated that the board game was particularly successful amongst the younger university students, who grew frustrated by the repetitive cycle, a finding mirrored by Bryant, Eves, Blake and Palmer (2014) who noted a significant rise in student involvement and satisfaction. This enthusiasm and readiness to participate, as well as the games ability to maintain the attention of the students, resulted in successful comprehension of the accounting cycle, the main aim of the experiment (Shanklin & Ehlen, 2007). Additionally, the more confident different teams became in logging the suitable journal entries, the faster the pace of

the game became, all within a realistic experience of the often-repetitive nature of the job, which they were able to now develop a tolerance for. In other instances, the board game *Monopoly* was used as a model upon which similar learning opportunities could occur: a German economist altered the game to reflect the real-life potential dangers in investing and economics, while other adaptions include *Mnemopoly* and *Sociopoly,* board games utilised within Psychology courses (O'Halloran & Deale, 2010).

Conversely, wargames have evolved around the concept of learning, training and practicing: History reveals Napoleon engaged with toy soldiers to allow for visualisation of his troops and the battles, while the Prussians developed wargames as a means of "developing professional staff officers who could assist commanders in tactical planning" (Kretchik, 1991, p.12). Wargames provide powerful role-playing opportunities, uniting the aspects of experiment and performance under a game, which allows for systematic analysis of a battle (Casey & Willis, 2008; Kretchik, 1991; Lenoir & Lowood, 2003) They can vary in complexity from as simple as a card-game, as "war most closely resembles a game of cards" (von Clausewitz as cited by Sabin, 2013, p.4), or as detailed as providing delineated opponents, constructed maps, central and integral rules, all monitored by umpires, as laid out by von Resisswitz's *Kriegsspiel* (Lenoir & Lowood, 2003). The appeal is evident: war is deadly, but wargames need not be- they provide a safe environment in which to exercise and reflect upon skills and situations required for real-life armed combat (Frank, 2011; Sabin, 2013).

Beyond imparting the aforementioned skills, wargames have been denoted to provide a richer History lesson than one could gain "from reading History" in a historical text (Kirschenbaum, 2011, p.1). Ferguson provides an example of just how that is plausible: History, which he argues shares more in common with a game than a story, is assessable in a wargame as a means of analysing strategy, exploring potential alternatives and understanding human motivation and agency (Vasagar, 2010). In this regard, wargames allow learners to answer the "why"- why did World War One or Two begin- and grasp historical perspectiveness, by participating in the decision- making process (Smith, 2013). Learners are required to make decisions within the historical context, react to the outcome, and become intimately familiar

with the structure of armies and campaigns. Due to the wargames close primary focus on recreating a specific and often historical event, wargamers gain a hands-on understanding of said historical context (Dunningan, 1997; Kirschenbaum, 2011).

A similar platform for learning History through simulation exists in the Texas-curriculum aligned social studies strategy simulation game, *Historia* (Brennan, 2014). *Historia* requires groups of learners to form civilisations between 2000BCE and 2000CE, in which they act as leaders of the epoch and are required to compete and interact with other civilisations, all determined by their knowledge of the historical context (Brennan, 2014; Institute of Play, n.d.2.; Waniewski, 2011). The strategy simulation game allows for learners to gain control of armies and observe significant events in geo-political History, which "suddenly feel substantially more dynamic than just a chronological account" (Shapiro, SalenTekinbaş, Schwartz & Darvasi, 2014). Furthermore, the game, which transforms learners from passive "consumers of static historical facts" into meaningful and driven participants, creates a definitive link between pedagogical theory and practice- in essence, learners wed the knowledge they have gained with real-time hands-on experience (Waniewski, 2011, p.1). In the words of a 12 year old, "*Historia* is living inside the History you are learning" (Brennan, 2014, p.1); an opportunity arguably afforded by the electronic game.

2.4.3. Learning through Gaming: Electronic Gaming

Throughout History, "games, play, and learning have enjoyed a symbiotic relationship": one that has arguably founds its brainchild in the form of the electronic game (Epper, Derryberry & Jackson, 2012, p.1). The emergence of the prolific e-(electronic) or digital generation, those who did not watch the birth of Facebook but were born into a world permeated by it and its technological siblings and have been 'raised' by ICT, has led to the pedagogical shift: one inclusive of edutainment surrounding the electronic game (Buckingham, 2007; Donnison, 2004; Montgomery, Gottlieb-Robles & Larson, 2004). This pedagogical shift incorporates the socio-cultural theory of learning in which "all human action is mediated by tools" (Sutherland, Robertson & John, 2009, p.2), calling upon a variety of specifically visual sources for learning, primarily those which draw on two qualities: a mix of education and fun; and a format resting on the experience of a game (Buckingham, 2007). Fun, education, and a game-like experience find their home in the electronic

game and are potential pedagogical powerhouses for one simple reason: the act of doing, rather than showing and telling, is the key to irresistible and retainable learning (SalenTekinbaş, 2014).

In essence, human minds, as argued by Gee (as cited by Mackay, 2013, p.1), "are plug-and-play devices" designed to work within a network of other minds- an opportunity afforded, accordingly, by electronic games, due in large part to their global collaborative and interactive capabilities (Mungai, Jones & Wong, 2005). Yet many learners are forced into a digital divide: a situation wherein they are afforded the opportunities of engaging with laptops and cellphones regularly, utilising these tools to "access, manipulate, and organise content" at a rapid pace, before turning back to their pens and the accompanying laborious learning process (Rockman, 2003, p.25). This divide ignores the enormous potential for learning present within most learners' pockets, even within the classroom: the cellphone. The statistics behind the staggeringly high use of cellphones in South Africa aligns with the noted market growth of educational, Serious Games, within the mobile market: "the learning games market will grow from $3.9 billion to $8.9 billion in 2017. Much of that growth will come from apps that target the mobile market" (Takahashi, 2013, p.1). Regardless of this growing trend, and the possibilities they afford to low-resourced schools, the South African National Association of School Governing Bodies called for a ban in 2012 (Tubbs, 2012), and only recently have very select schools, such as Fairmont High School of Cape Town, made provisions and policies for the use of cellphones in school (2014). Game based mobile learning, occasionally coined "augmented reality gaming", permits learning to occur outside the classroom, if need be, and ensures learning is engaging, enjoyable, and learner-centred through providing opportunities for investigation, problem-solving and cooperation (Parsons, Petrova & Ryu, 2011).

Yet, despite the fact that "a generation of gamers has grown up without a civilisation collapsing", games continue to garner negative attention, primarily as a cause behind violent and anti-social behaviour (Shapiro et al, 2014, p.6). It is this perceived reputation which, can be argued to affect the exclusion of electronic games, such as ACU, from the curricula, despite and due to its authentic, historic violence. Nevertheless, research addressing both of the aforementioned downfalls of

electronic gaming, namely violent and anti-social behaviour, depicts negating findings. According the Swedish Media Council, the desire to play violent electronic games, rather than acting as a cause of violent behaviour, can at times be a symptom- typically one extended from a challenging home environment; and despite their analysis of 161 studies, there was no definitive link found between violent electronic games and violent behaviour (2012). In fact, research has indicated a number of beneficial qualities of violent games, including a safe environment within which to face conflict surrounding death, terrorism and war, as well as developing faster learning strategies (in order to survive in the game) which has been said to assist even stroke victims or those with brain injuries (Cortez, 2014; Davies, 2015; Russell, 2015). Finally, concerning anti-social behaviour, electronic games have been argued to play a vital role in the e-generations socialisation, resulting in the absorption of prosocial skills gained from multi-player or co-playing experiences (Shapiro et al, 2014; Williamson, 2009).

A prime example of this socialisation through electronic gaming is the *Sims*: an intimate world space wherein the gamer is responsible for creating personalities and dictating their engagement with others and the world (Tsikalas, 2001). Learners who had engaged with the game in a controlled educational environment indicated that the game stimulated the following: "the social skills of life, helping … understand your basic needs to lead to a healthy and happy lifestyle"; self-reflection especially on one's future-self; as well as an experiential understanding of the relationship dynamics within a family (Sandford, Ulicsak, Facer & Rudd, 2006, p.33). Social games, the most widely played, with around 98 million players in the US alone, have been identified as assisting in the development of social skills in even the most acute developmental cases, such as autism (Epper et al, 2012; Griffith, 2002; Olson, 2015). In specific games, such as massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPGs), primary objectives can only be completed by a "coordinated and complementary group of players" wherein each person performs a valuable role within the group dynamic (Ducheneaut & Moore, 2005, p.91). On a global scale, surveys in Ireland indicated that those learners who engaged in multi-player games online expressed a more optimistic attitude towards foreigners than non-gamers, a particularly germane note due to the high incidences of xenophobia within South Africa (Shapiro et al, 2014).

However, beyond a mere social orientation, electronic games have indicated significant promise and been successful in educating learners within academic subjects. Both commercialised and non-commercialised games, such as *RollerCoaster Tycoon*, *Logo* and *Lego MindStorm*, have been utilised to allow learners to grasp content in the Mathematics, Economics, Engineering, Physical and Computer Sciences classrooms. *RollerCoaster Tycoon* has been employed in assisting learners to mathematise the costs of running a business and maintaining customer satisfaction, both beneficial in Mathematics and Economics, as well as visualise and experiment with different points of tension within the Physics classroom (Latini, 2004; Rapini, 2012; Sandford et al, 2006). The thirty years old non-commercialised Logo, a program designed to create interest in and gain a basic understanding of programming languages by providing a robotic turtle, initially in real space and later cyber space, allowed the basic tenants of programming to be imparted to children (DuCharme, 2002; Overmars, 2004). Similarly, the advent of *Lego MindStorm* has allowed for 21st century potential programmers to create and control a computerised robot, one readily programmed through tools such as NXT-G, upon which further programming can take its lead (Kelly, 2010; Overmars, 2004). *Lego MindStorm* has been argued to enable "budding Edisons to assemble robots, program them on PCs and Macs, and control them via Bluetooth, downloadable apps and voice commands" opening the door for a new generation of engineers and software programmers (Lidz, 2013, p.1).

The enthusiasm surrounding the potential for electronic gaming stems from its many pedagogical advantages contained in contextualised learning within a rich, immersive and increasingly challenging environment (Griffiths, 2002; Oblinger, 2006.1.; Oblinger, 2006.2; Shapiro et al, 2014; Williamson, 2009). While most text-based learning exists in a vacuum "divorced from learner's daily experiences", electronic gaming is situated within an authentic and detailed environment (Williamson, 2009, p. 13); an environment in which learners are immersed into the active learning process (Oblinger, 2006.2). Successful completion of the game often requires that gamers or learners set realistic goals of increasing difficulty, matched to the learners current ability, allowing "for players of varying experience and skill" to learn "at a pace that matches their ability", an inherent quality within successful

pedagogical models (Swing, Gentile & Anderson, 2009, p.879). Additionally, due to the stimulating benefits of game-play, even the most easily distracted of learners may become engaged for long-periods of incidental learning (Griffiths, 2002). Learning is often not hard, even for the more distracted learners, "it is utterly boring" and it occurs within an environment learners hate: school (Papert as cited by Prensky, 2001, p.3). The electronic game changes that, and allows for learning to become edutainment. This pedagogical shift and the possible interjection of historically-situated electronic games into the History classroom may be the subject's saving grace.

2.4.4. Learning through Gaming: Historically-situated Electronic Games

While "a good book can make History come to life" the hyper-realistic and immersive environments of the electronic game ensures "History is alive and kicking" in an unprecedented manner (Ribeiro, 2014, p.1). However, in many schools, History tuition has found the subject anything but alive and kicking, with claims that the subject is a waste of time and energy, in a large part due the tendency of presenting the subject as a mere body of facts (Fung, 2013; Squire & Durga, 2009). Therefore, the recent shift from pure retention of fact in History to a focus on ways of thinking and skill development has, in turn, altered pedagogical practice to one which encourages that learners do, rather than just hear: an opportunity afforded to them by the historically-situated electronic game (Shaffer, Squire, Halverson & Gee, 2005). Fundamentally, History and electronic games share several commonalities: both require the learner or gamer to think critically and strategically in order to make balanced decisions based on sound evidence, whilst contemplating the various possible outcomes (Paterson, 2010).

This process can be accomplished through a number of popularised commercial electronic games: *Rise of Flight*, a flight simulation electronic game historically-situated in World War I (Hartup, 2015); the *Total War* series, which shifts between numerous empires of Ancient Europe (Stacy, n.d.); and *Call of Duty*, a widely successful franchise spanning the various terrains of World War II and the Cold War (Workman, 2014). Both of the latter two franchises have had their offspring utilised in the History classroom. *Empire: Total War* received a teaching guide by *BrainMeld*,

designed around teaching grade 5 learners in USA about "exploration and colonization of the New World in the 17th Century" (Redin, 2012, p.3), content taught in the South African Grade 10 History curriculum (DBE, 2011). Similarly, *Call of Duty: Black Ops* was implemented in a senior History class on the Cold War, as a means of exploring "the politics and tensions" between prominent superpowers USA and Russia, as well as the satellite state Cuba, "leading up, during, and after the failed Bay of Pigs invasion" and inevitably the Cuban missile crisis (Pabon Jr, 2011, p.9).

The *Call of Duty* franchise, exemplified as the prototype of historically-situated electronic gaming, draws on the experiences of veterans to assist in establishing historical legitimacy (Meyers, 2011.2.). Critics feel differently, stating that "any historian who attempts to use *Call of Duty* to teach History will quickly realize the limitations of the product" (Trofanenko, 2014, p.274), while advocates argue that the use of commercialised games, as opposed to tailored-to-curriculum games, allows for educators to meet learners in their domain, on their preferred console within the electronic gaming world (Ribiero, 2014). *Call of Duty* can be reasoned to allow for the immersive and interactive environment many electronic games are accredited with, as well as experiencing critical historical moments; yet, what the franchise can be disputed to bring most notably to the History classroom is perspective (Meyers, 2011.2.). Gamers, and potentially learners alike, are exposed and opportuned the chance to play through "different perspectives, avoiding the often biased and nationalistic viewpoints that basic History classes may instill", (p.1), an attribute discussed as a present issue facing History textbooks in the previous section.

Yet, without a doubt, the most thoroughly documented (and arguably successful) gaming-learning experiment to date was the implementation of Sid Meyer's *Civilization III* into the classroom by Squire. Within *Civilization*, players are responsible for guiding a "civilization from 4000BC to the present" by shrewd utilisation of the empire's natural resources in order to build grand cities, or conscientious negotiations and trade for those resources not accessible, particularly when faced with war (Squire, 2008, p.23). The game is easily employed in the History class for a couple reasons: due to its low-operating systems requirements it can be accessed through most computers (if they are available, which is somewhat

doubtful in South Africa, as illustrated previously) and, unlike many first-person-shooter games, it does not require quick hand-eye coordinating, making it easy to engage with regardless of gaming skill (Wainwright, 2014). Additionally, *Civilizations III* comes with simple modification, or modding, software, allowing more capable 'techies[2]' (be they educators or learners) to create their own historical scenarios, through which an understanding of terminology and context can develop (Squire & Durga, 2008). This debatably ensures that the History tuition matches the pace of the learner which, as indicated earlier in this section, is a characteristic feature of a successful pedagogical model (Swing, Gentile & Anderson, 2009). However, there are numerous areas where the game falls short, as will be discussed later.

Due in large part to the "rich, interactive environments" of *Civilization* (enhanced by the potential to create your own historical scenarios), learners, it is claimed, are able to "understand the operation of complex historical modelling" (Shaffer, Squire, Halverson & Gee, 2004, pp.15-16) and thereby gain an appreciation of the complexity of interwoven long- and short-term causes. This moves beyond the sphere of fact retention which, as previously indicated, has been a trademark of the dying History curriculum (Fung, 2010) and allows learners to grapple with second-order historical thinking concepts and principles (Gee, 2005 & 2008), considered by numerous historians and educators alike, (such as Seixas) to be integral in developing a historically literate learner (Seixas & Peck, 2004; Seixas & Morton, 2013.1; Squire, 2008). Furthermore, the game offers a unique pedagogical opportunity "to explore counterfactual historical claims" (Shaffer et al, 2004, pp.15-16), wherein learners can explore a version of History which has not been constructed around a "grand narrative" and come to grips with the numerous concepts and terminology of History (also, as will be examined, a shortfall of the game), as well as the patterns and themes which run throughout it (Squire, 2008). This is reflected in feedback provided by academically- struggling History learners: 25% of the learners in the study indicated that the game was "a 'perfect' way to learn History", primarily because it was removed from the "propaganda" of school History found in "grand narratives" (Squire, 2005, n.d.).

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[2] Techies: beyond merely those who have found occupation in the technology field (Kaneshige, 2013) and are inclusive of those who have a passion for technology with a special focus on computing ("Techie", n.d.).

2.4.5. Learning through Gaming: the *Assassin's Creed* franchise

The *Assassin's Creed* franchise, the object of this dissertation, claimed to hold the title of "one of the most highly debated video games in regards to its historical accuracy and educational worth" (Meyers, 2011.3., p.1), has garnered so much attention largely due to its massive fan-following, with a gross-franchise total of at least 73 million copies sold by April 2014, and an additional 10 million shared between *Unity* and *Rogue* (Judge, 2014; Makuch, 2015). The expansive action-adventure *Assassin's Creed* franchise is an artefact of the new, or third, counter-culture: the nerd culture, which has arisen from the information era with its foundations in none-other than the electronic game (Konzack, 2006). Deviating from the mainstream, the nerd culture finds its knowledge in alternate sources, as anecdoted by Simons who was informed by a friend that he was studying the American Revolution from *Assassin's Creed III* rather than an online college course (2013). The franchise, which claims to keep a full-time historian on its staff "to collect sources and translate documents" (Osberg, 2014, p.1), has made a concerted effort to keep its historical worlds as realistic and accurate as possible, but has faced a number of criticisms regarding costumes, architecture and historical representations (Reparaz, 2011), perhaps due to its unintended educational utilisation.

Perhaps the main criticism surrounding the franchise as a whole is its depiction of the Assassins and the Templars (the game's protagonists and antagonists respectively) themselves. The Assassins, based on the Nizari Ismailis, are depicted in a heroic light throughout the franchise despite their real-life counterparts, who were labelled as heretics by the Sunni Muslim majority (Gray, 2010), more common description as "suicide bombers, only without the indiscriminate killing" (Reparaz, 2011, p.1). Their in-game antagonists, the Templars, have been similarly "misrepresented" according to the grand narratives surrounding them as "charitable businessmen", and instead are portrayed as powerfully villainous (Sharkey, 2011, p.1). Yet it is crucial to note that this pull away from grand narratives is an inherent quality of the counter-culture which is "opposed to the dominant forms of orthodoxy" and attempts to "deschool society" (Young, 1996, p.280). In this regard, learners are exposed the alternate interpretations and perspectives on historical events and figures, though this can lead to inaccuracies.

Yet additional issues exist which do not deal with perspective-taking: anachronistic handguns were used in *Assassin's Creed II*, and the use of the British Railways logo in the latest *Assassin's Creed* game, *Syndicate*, 80 years before its real-life conception (Pereira, 2015; Sharkey, 2011). This is not the only criticism the latest game has faced: Wired, a science and technology magazine and website, accused Ubisoft, the game designers, of bending the rules in their depiction of London, stating "anyone hoping for historical accuracy … will almost certainly be disappointed" (Rundle, 2015, p.1) Other games in the franchise have been admonished, including *Assassins Creed III* which was sworn as a "failure in offering up a true representation of the time" with a "pretentious, anachronistic" protagonist at the helm (Oliver, 2012, p.1). Additionally, the genuine Assassins were significantly less glamorous than their hooded, dagger-wielding in-game equivalents, with planned suicides subsequent to every assassination (Reparaz, 2011).

Nonetheless, admirers and critics alike offer both compliments and accuracies, while metering out advice on how best to utilise the game as an educational tool. Sharkey, who wrote an article primarily aimed to discredit the accuracy of the games, admitted the game "has a knack for weaving scientific and historical facts in and out of a fantastical tale" (2011, p.1). Supporters have applauded the franchise for its enthralling environments, proclaiming that the games "make you wonder why more games don't explore historical themes" (Stuart, 2010, p.1), while some have provided thorough lists of several of the game's accuracies, including the representation of certain historical figures, such as Leonardo da Vinci and Francesco Salviati, as well as the historical environments and the people that occupy them (Azazello, 2013). For the game under study, ACU, Durand, the in-house historian, asserted that History, far more than acting as merely a background, influenced the design of the artificial intelligence which drives character interaction, and even indicated that the Ubisoft team "hope to create environments to use in lectures and research" to allow for a hands-on experience of 18th century Paris (Beer, 2014, p.1).

Fortunately, advice regarding how it can operate as a learning tool within and outside said lectures is available. Griffin, a professed anti-reader in games, one who avoids interaction with in-game databases such as the one employed in the *Assassin's*

Creed franchise, admitted that ACU had shown him how reading might enhance his gaming experience (2015). The Database inspires him to explore the Catacombs after engaging with its History as an adapted marble mine, before shifting to a characterisation of King Louis XVI, who "instantly transforms … to a contextualised figure rooted in time" (p.1). This shift in historical thinking connects with Seixas's historical perspectives, namely "the perspectives of historical actors are best understood by considering their historical context" (Seixas & Morton, 2013.2, p.11) and arguably indicates that second-order historical thinking concepts can be developed through the game, and not merely through the play element, but a more deliberate educational tool- text. The seamless integration of textual and visual historical content into gameplay allows for learning to be both conscious and unconscious, and furthermore suggests that when "educational objectives are blended with the game play", gamers will readily interact with them in order to advance the game (Meyers, 2011.3., p.1).

Yet learning through historically-situated games does not have to be unconscious to be successful, as indicated by Trépanier's experience at Sally McDonnell Barkdale Honors College. The course, which required students to play historically-situated electronic games, including the *Assassin's Creed* franchise, while researching the correlating era, provided the means for students to engage with historiography "more efficiently than most undergraduate courses" (2014, p.1). The inaccuracies which deter many historians from the games became a pretext for learning: students grappled with cultural influences, cinematic constraints and conventions, as well as "the relationship between these inaccuracies and on-going historiographical debate" (p.1). Similarly, social studies educator Jeffrey Mummert encouraged his learners to analyse the *Assassin's Creed III* trailer, discuss the realistic depiction of the Boston Massacre and grapple with the idea of authenticity surrounding the fact and fiction present within the game (Ribeiro, 2014). These encouraged debates typically remain on-going, allowing for History tuition to become self-empowered and driven, as elucidated by Meyers, who has noted the online debates regarding historical inaccuracies, historical depth and even the active pursuit of the real-life counterparts of famous buildings and paintings witnessed in the franchise, all without the mediation of an educational authority (2011.3).

2.4.6. Challenges with Utilising Electronic Games in the History Classroom

Asides from the problem of inaccuracies, the implementation of Historically-situated electronic games into the History classroom still faces a number of barriers. Utilising a game to present educational content "does not guarantee it will succeed in achieving a fun, motivating experience; meet educational goals; or be a commercial success" (Paterson, 2010, p.1). Due in part to the anti-authoritarian values inherent in games which challenge the mainstream and the educational system, the majority of educators do not play games and the schooling system is not designed to integrate them (Shaffer et al, 2004). Yet, in order for any critical discussion regarding games as historical educational tools within a classroom to occur, an educator would be required to play the game through in totality, at the very least once, in order to be able to actively discuss historical inaccuracies and representations (Pabon Jr, 2011). Additionally, teachers, traditionally responsible for leading the class, would find themselves at great contrasts to the nature of games which destabilises teachers' tools as the only source of knowledge and instead centralises learners' questions and theories (Squire, 2003; Squire & Durga, 2011). This would be compounded by the issues regarding perspective-taking in games (McCall, 2012), the age-restrictions attached to many commercialised Historically-situated games and learners who do not fall into the gamer demographic (Squire, 2005).

When Squire implemented *Civilization III* into the learning environment, he identified several issues regarding reception to game-based learning and specifically engagement with historical content and concepts. While many learners responded positively, 25% "complained that the game was too hard, complicated, and uninteresting", and many learners were not motivated, due in large part to the high learning curve in acquiring second-order historical thinking concepts (2005, p.2). Many learners were found to have limited historical conceptual understanding: they could explain greatly the effects a monarch, for example, had on their civilisation, yet struggled to explain what a monarch was (Squire, 2004). This was compounded by the sheer amount of concepts introduced to learners: governmental types and religious systems, historical monuments, structures and events, as well as "76 civilization improvements" (p.362). However, it is vital to remember the nature of *Civilization*, which spans 6000 years, is unique to most historically-situated electronic

games which usually focus on a specific time period, as the *Assassin's Creed* and *Call of Duty* franchises do.

Nevertheless, what limits the aforementioned franchises, unfaced by *Civilization*, are the age-restrictions attached to the games. The *Call of Duty* franchise initially received a 16 year age restriction, allowing for the pre-2009 instalments to remain playable by the average high school FET learner (Thomassen, 2010). Yet the advent of more advanced gaming systems and software has meant that the visual effects are often extreme (Thomassen, 2010), and accompanied by "bad language and the groans and wails of the victims", thereby upping the rating to an 18 (Ahmed, 2002, p.1). Additionally, the game industry faces constant backlash from parents and the media regarding the relationship between these violent games and violent perpetrators, especially when faced with proclamations from mass serial killers, such as Anders Breivik, who claims *Call of Duty* tutored him on killing his 77 victims (Narain, 2012). Even an avid fan of the *Assassin's Creed* franchise stated that the trailer for *Unity* left him nauseated and portrayed "extreme violence as beautiful, sexy and cool" (Plante, 2015, p.1). In this regard, asides from the legality, any educator attempting to use either of these franchises, will be faced by great opposition. Yet, as indicated earlier, selecting a console and a game learners are already playing "increases the likelihood that students will engage with the lesson" (Ribeiro, 2014, p.1) - while engagement was an issue faced by Squire when utilising an age-appropriate historically-situated electronic game (2005).

The final poignant issue, though likely not the last, to discuss, is that of perspectives within historically-situated electronic games. When ACU was released in 2014, it faced significant attention from ex-French Prime Minister Mélenchon, due to its royalist perspective on the Revolution (Karmali, 2014; Mulholland, 2014). The developers, who had attempted to not seem overtly pro-Revolutionary, had been warned by an academic historian about their less-than-neutral stance and had seemingly made suitable adjustments (Beer, 2014). Nevertheless, Mélenchon felt that the game favours far-right extremism and depicted the "cretin" Marie Antoinette and her "treacherous" husband, King Louis XVI, as civilised honourable leaders, while the revolutionaries were vilified (as cited by Mulholland, 2014). While this may again be an instance of the manner in which these games act as counter-culture

artefacts, McCall stresses that this perspective-taking is a natural quality of historically-situated electronic games (2012). Like "all historical interpretations" these games are limited in what they are able to portray as "an interpretation that includes everything is not an interpretation" (p.1). Yet historically-situated electronic games face greater restrictions that a historical text, such as a textbook, in that they are restricted by game mechanics which limits time spent on content, the entertainment to education ratio, as well as the need for the game to remain cohesive: "tacked on elements do not contribute to the whole" (p.1). These limitations, it is yet to be seen, may influence the acquisition of the second-order historical thinking concepts of a historically literate learner.

2.5. HISTORICAL THINKING CONCEPTS

Roberts proposes that there are three separate and primary tenets overarching the skills gained through engaging with History on a critical level in the development of a historically literate learner, based on the works of Taylor and Young, Seixas and Peck, as well as Lévesque (2011; 2013). The main tenets, namely historical literacy, historical thinking and thinking historically respectively, have arisen as a reaction to the "perceived and potential biases" in the teaching of History and aim to move beyond purely a content-driven subject, to a skills-based discipline (2011, p.1). While few others discuss the three concepts in a segregated manner, these concepts have each been dealt with separately, as well as a basic conceptualisation of the historically literate learner, for clarity. Seixas's "Big 6" Historical Concepts, referred throughout the research as second-order historical thinking concepts, have been discussed later in this section, as his concepts, the most relevant to my research, are the main focus. It will become evident that certain skills and concepts overlap and even repeat themselves, due to their intimacy. Furthermore, the CAPS policy, which promotes 8 Thinking Skills, has been constantly linked to concepts and skills to establish and illustrate the relationship between the CAPS-approved History textbooks and the skills and concepts discussed throughout my research. These skills, for future consideration, are detailed below:

Table 2.5. A simplification of the Table of Skills, from the *Department of Basic Education*, 2011, p.9

Skills	How skills can be achieved
Understanding a range of sources	By collecting information from different kinds of sources in order to provide a more complete picture. By recognising that the kind of information collected from the various sources provides different perspectives on an event. For example, by finding as many of the following kinds of sources as possible: manuscripts (handwritten diaries, letters and notebooks), printed text (books, newspapers and websites), video or film, photographs, drawings, paintings or cartoons, and oral sources (interviews, stories and songs).
Extracting and interpreting information from numerous sources	By selecting relevant information for the topic being investigated or from the question being answered. By making sense of the information within its context.
Evaluating the usefulness of sources	By deciding on the reliability of the information. Reliability involves whether one can trust the sources, in terms of who created them and the purpose for which they were created. Identifying a stereotype involves recognising widely held but fixed or oversimplified (incorrect) ideas of what someone or something is like. Identifying subjectivity involves discovering the extent to which a source represents the particular view or circumstances of its author or creator.
Recognising multiple perspectives	By seeing things from more than one point of view or understanding that there can be two sides to the same story. For example, the experience of everyday life or an important event in History might be different from an ordinary person's point of view to that of a leader. It can include being able to imagine oneself being in that time in the past and using information from that time to think like someone from the past. This is often described by the phrase 'walking in someone else's shoes'. (Bias is the opposite - it is one-sidedness).
Explaining why there are different Historical interpretations	By analysing and weighing up the conclusions reached, or opinions about, events or people in the past. The interpretations may be those made by different historians, textbook writers, journalists, actors or producers, for example, about the same things.
Constructing a debate through evaluation of evidence	By participating in debate about what happened (and how and why it happened). Debating involves being able to talk with others about the information from the sources, and also using the information to develop a point of view. It also involves developing formal debating skills.
Organising evidence into a balanced argument	By using evidence to back up an argument in a systematic way. Usually this is done by writing an essay, but it may also be done by, for example, making or completing a table, designing a diagram or chart, or preparing a speech. Coherent writing has a narrative that follows a clear order and is organised in a logical

	way (for example, sequence, explanation, discussion). Original (independent) writing may contain a person's own opinion or version of another writer's opinion. It is balanced if its conclusion is not one-sided or subjective. It can also be done in a debate.
Engaging with heritage, public representations of the past and conservation	By thinking about how the past is remembered and what a person or community or country chooses to remember about the past. It also concerns the way the events from the past are portrayed in museums and monuments, and in traditions. It includes the issue of whose past is remembered and whose past has been left unrecognised or, for example, how a monument or museum could be made more inclusive.

2.5.1. The Second-order Historical Thinking Concepts Historically Literate Learner

While specific theorists, including but not exclusive to aforementioned Lévesque, Seixas, Taylor and Young, have constructed specific criteria for the establishment of the historically literate learner, there are more general concepts and ideas underlying the nature of said "learner". The nature of Historical Literacy or Thinking is, by its self-determination, the nature of History, and in this regard requires that one "grasp the nature of History" through the accomplished acquisition of specific abilities (Taylor as cited by Lévesque, 2010, p.43). These abilities, often termed heuristics, include a wide range of skills, such as sourcing ("using a document's source to interpret its content" (Nokes, 2011.1, n.d.), corroboration (to identify similarities and inconsistencies), and contextualisation (orienting oneself in the time and place) required in working with historical evidence (Lee, 2004; Nokes, 2011.1; Wineburg and Martin, 2004). Development of these skills marks the difference between historians and their learners: "historians… are unusually skilful readers employing several heuristics to construct meaning with multiple sources" (Nokes, 2011.2, p.379).

The Department for Education and Skills in the United Kingdom underlined the skill of historical reading, a component of historical thinking, as one wherein learners are required to "infer and deduce meanings using evidence" by "identifying where and how meanings are implied" (2004, p.40). It is this meaning making which is, arguably, at the foreground of historical literacy. "History is not the past" (Lévesque, 2010, p.42), a past saturated in facts but void of contextual understand of the people and time itself (Bennett, 2014), but instead "the process and the result of making

meaning out of bits and fragments of the past" (Lévesque, 2010, p.42). This conceptualisation of History as meaning-making repositions the role of the learner in History from one of knowing to doing, which research indicates is a far more successful learning strategy (Shapiro et al, 2014; Lévesque, 2008). Nevertheless, this does not scrap historical content knowledge completely: learners require a firm grounding in historical knowledge which can act as foundation for developing skills (Bennett, 2014; Lévesque, 2010; Nygren, 2012; Taylor & Young, 2003).

This speaks to one of the barriers which limits learners from engaging with evidence critically and becoming a historically literate learner. When learners possess limited background content knowledge, contextualisation of sources is near impossible (Nokes, 2011.2). Historical contextualisation, which requires learners to contemplate the interwoven geographical, political, historical and cultural context, allows for one to analyse and evaluate sources within the suitable historical narratives and perspectives (Nokes, Dole & Hacker, 2007; Nokes, 2011.2; Reisman & Wineburg, 2008; Wineburg, 2010). Perspective-taking or historical empathy, which learners replace with presentism, is a critical historical thinking skill which involves "understanding how people from the past thought, felt, made decisions, acted, and faced consequences within a specific historical and social context" (Endacott & Brooks, 2013, p.41), again establishing the required link with contextual and thereby content knowledge, the first index in Taylor and Young's historical literacy.

2.5.2. Taylor and Young's Historical Literacy

Nevertheless, the approach to historical literacy laid out by Taylor and Young shifts its attention from a facts-laden History to one encouraging "a systemic process with particular skills, attitudes and conceptual understandings that mediate and develop historical consciousness" (2003.1., p.23). Historical consciousness, perceived as a cognizance of the relationship between the past and present, requires that learners actively connect the past with their everyday practices and experiences, allowing for it to remain alive and extant (Lee, 2004; Mazabow, 2003; Rüsen, 2008). It is Taylor's belief that the focus on a general curriculum, void of skills, and held autonomously by educators, has stripped History of its identity as a "unique and complex discipline" (Taylor, 2006, p.33) and arguably prevented it from remaining as a living agent in the

day-to-day lives of learners. It is from this perspective that Taylor and Young designed the 12 elements of historical literacy included in the table below:

Table 2.5.2. *Historical Literacy* from Taylor and Young, 2003, p.29

Historical Thinking Index	Descriptions
Events of the Past	Knowing and understanding historical events, using prior knowledge, and realising the significance of different events.
Narratives of The Past	Understanding the shape of change and continuity over time, understanding multiple narratives and dealing with open-endedness.
Research Skills	Gathering, analysing and using the evidence (artefacts, documents and graphics) and issues of provenance.
The Language of History	Understanding and dealing with the language of the past.
Historical Concepts	Understanding historical concepts such as causation and motivation.
ICT understandings	Using, understanding and evaluating ICT-based historical resources (the virtual archives).
Making Connection	Connecting the past with the self and the world today.
Contention and Contestability	Understanding the 'rules' and the place of public and professional historical debate.
Representational Expression	Understanding and using creativity in representing the past through film, drama, visual arts, music, fiction, poetry and ICT.
Moral Judgement in History	Understanding the moral and ethical issues involved in historical explanation.
Applied Science in History	Understanding the use and value of scientific and technological expertise and methods in investigating past, such as DNA analysis or gas chromatography tests.
Historical Explanation	Using historical reasoning, synthesis and interpretation (the index of historical literacy) to explain the past. Historical understanding is incomplete without explanation.

At the zenith of these elements sits an understanding of historical events, placing emphasis on the importance of what Taylor and Young deem the historical foundation upon which the additional skills rest (2003). These skills, not all directly related or exclusive to History, arguably include Research Skills and ICT understanding. Research skills, which encompasses grappling with primary and secondary sources, identification of said source and discussions regarding missing details, contextualisation and perspective, is mirrored in the CAPS policy (DBE,

2011) and supported by other researchers, including Wineburg and Martin (2004). Wineburg and Martin promote critical judgment of sources, whereby learners "ask questions about truth and evidence" as a means of weighing the available evidence, reasoning it as vital in an era where technology has allowed the layman to become a publisher of 'knowledge' (2004, p.43). This similarly resonates with Taylor and Young's ICT Understanding, which argues that in the 21st century, "teachers as a resource provider has been usurped by the web" and learners must learn to filter Historical sources on the web to ensure accuracy and legitimacy (2003, n.d.). Similarly, CAPS decrees that historically literate learners "understand the range of sources of information" inclusive of websites, as well as extracting, interpreting and evaluating "the usefulness of sources" (DBE, 2011, p.9).

Additional relationships exist between Taylor and Young's index and the CAPS historical skills. Taylor and Young's Narratives of the Past is echoed by the CAPS' discussion on perspectives and interpretations, in that learners are encouraged to simultaneously understand that "there can be two sides to the same story (DBE, 2011, p.9), with "no 'right answer'" (Taylor and Young, 2003, n.d.), and grapple with multiple narratives by exploring a range of sources. Furthermore, the concept of Making Connections, which is self-evidently tied to Historical Consciousness in its desire to link the past with the present as a tool for dealing with present and future considerations (Lee, 2004; Mazabow, 2003), tenuously links with the CAPS skill requiring learners to "engage critically with issues of heritage" wherein learners consider how the ways in which the past is recollected and why (DBE, 2011, p.9). Furthermore, while additional, more transient links do exist, these links can be better discussed under Lévesque or Seixas.

2.5.3. Lévesque's Thinking Historically

Shadowing Taylor and Young, Lévesque's principles for historical literacy requires a shift away from the focus on content, to a "mode of engagement with History" denoted Thinking Historically (Lévesque, 2010, p.42). He argues that what classifies historians as experts within their field is not their "vast historical content knowledge but their 'historical literacy'", namely their ability to critically engage with sources and the past (2013, p.1). History, perceived to be a 'memory' subject engaged with dates, facts and names, requires what Lévesque denotes as the skill of Thinking Historically

in order to be accepted as a discipline in its own right (Roberts, 2011). His belief rests on the idea that this emphasis on Memory-History, rather than the desired Disciplinary-History, has allowed for the subject to become inculcated with popular beliefs and political interest and school History has become driven by establishing a national identity. Rather than establishing a national identity as a 'good' citizen, he advocates for a Disciplinary-History which challenges learners to move beyond the popularised story-telling of History and begin to ask questions that drive at the heart of Historical inquiry (Lévesque, 2010).

This inquiry-based model, requiring learners to use historical methods and evidence, requires a transcendence from the Memory-History which includes ideas of "factuality", heritage, and remembrance as a sign of knowledge, to the sphere of Disciplinary-History, immersed in the act of "doing" History, engaging with second-order historical thinking concepts, and adopting domain specific thinking processes (Lévesque, 2008). It is key at this juncture to note the disparity between Lévesque's message that the knowledge of "heritage" does not qualify as Historical Literacy, while the DBE asserts that a key Historical thinking skill is critical engagement with "issues of History" (2011, p.9). However, the DBE does not proclaim that learners need know the 'facts' of their heritage, as Memory-History advocates, but rather consider "how the past is remembered", drawing closer in this regard to 'doing' History under the Disciplinary-History (DBE, 2011, p.9; Lévesque, 2008).

However, the simple idea of factuality or the presence of facts in Historical knowledge is contentious and Lévesque, therefore, drew instead a distinction between 'first order' substantive and 'second order' procedural knowledge (Roberts 2011; 2013). Second order concepts can be qualified as those which result from engaging in historical inquiry and are a vital tool in historical exploration and grounding historical narratives in the suitable historical context (Maposa & Wassermann, 2009). The procedural or 'second order' concepts most strongly resonate with the CAPS policy, as well as Seixas second order historical thinking concepts. Lévesque's concepts, which include historical significance, continuity and change, progress and decline, evidence and historical empathy, are simply void of Seixas's Historical Perspective-taking (Lévesque, 2008; Robert, 2011). These

second-order historical thinking concepts will be discussed in detail later in this section.

In order to advance these concepts, Lévesque does provide an outline of questions, designed to develop learner's historical reading, writing and thinking:

Table 2.5.3. *Historical Inquiry Questions* from Lévesque's, 2010, pp.44-45.

Question	Example
1. Use of inquiry	How do we know about World War I?
2. Need of significance	Why is it important to study World War I?
3. Role of self/identity:	How does my identity shape the way I engage with the past?
4. Sense of empathy	What was it like to be soldiers back then?
5. Use of evidence	What evidence do we have that Canadians were "shock troops" of the Empire? How "re-enactable" are the sources used? What perspective(s) do they (re)present?
6. Importance of causation	What were the causes and effects of the selected events?
7. Connection to the present:	In what ways does the present shape the way we make sense of the war? How is the present in continuity with the past?
8. Role of judgment:	Why should I believe in the argument presented by Cook? With what reservation? What is the moral of his story?
9. Language of History:	How do we use and deal with the language of the past? How do we represent it?
10. Use of historical narrative:	What is the organization and structure of a convincing story? How are historical narratives different from/similar to historical novels?

It is evident that while Lévesque did not conceptualise Historical Perspective-taking, her questions, such as "What was it like to be soldiers back then?" and "What perspective(s) do they (re)present?" have allowed for development of this concept (2010. p.44). These questions draw a parallel with the DBE's insertion of the skills focused on recognising different perspectives and explaining why these different interpretations exist (2011). Additionally, through the inclusion of exploratory questions such as "How 're-enactable' are the sources used?" and "How do we know…" about a specific historical event (Lévesque, 2010, p.44), Lévesque connotes that a historically literate learner must corroborate and check available

sources of information with separate sources to allow for "the development of multi-perspectives" (Maposa & Wassermann, 2009, p.50). This investigation into sources echoes the Historical Thinking Skills established by the DBE regarding understanding, extracting, evaluating and interpreting sources "within its context" and by "analysing and weighing up the conclusions reached" due to differing interpretations (2011; p.9).

2.5.4. Alternate Media to Teach Historical Literacy

The theorisation of historical literacy, while annotating potential questions for development, does not specify what tools to utilise aside from encouraging exposure to a variety of sources and source-types (DBE, 2011; Lévesque, 2010; Taylor & Young, 2003). In fact, Nokes, Dole, and Hacker established that "explicit instruction on historians' heuristics was only effective when students worked with multiple historical documents rather than the textbook" (Nokes, 2011.2., p.397), therein arguing for the use of a variety of historical sources separate to the textbook. These sources can include, but are not exclusive to, historical novels, fiction spaced within a historical context, and historical films.

The connection between historical literacy and historical fiction lies in the qualities and characteristics of immersive literature: readers can "identify feelings and behaviours … empathize with viewpoints" all while visualising the "sweep of History" (Norton, 1999, p.523). These qualities are interrelated with historical perspective taking and historical empathy, and allow for learners to encounter literary characters who express differing viewpoints, thereby inculcating the often interpretative and often biased nature of History and the historians who study them alike (Hedeen, 2010). This perspective-taking encourages learners to strip their presentism, an issue identified by Nokes (2011.2), and start to arrange that character's life in the past in order to further understand the plot (Herz, 2010). However, above and beyond this, the historical fiction can allow for learners to establish a connection between the past and the present, permitting learners to consider universal truths and ways to address current issues and problems, without feeling helpless (Herz, 2010; Lindquist, 1995; Norton, 1999). This concept was denoted by Rüsen as History playing "a role in the mental household of a subject" (as cited by Lee, 2004, p.2), and in turn speaks to the DBE's conceptualisation of the role of History, which it

advocates as one which prepares learners to think about the ways in which the past affects our present selves and the future (2011).

Due to its accessibility, learners can become engrossed in the characters, placed within their historical context, and the learners may begin to unconsciously recognise and grasp the relevant historical details, potentially leaving a more enduring impression than a textbook (Herz, 2010; Rodwell, 2013). Textbooks, claimed to often present historical events and figures as superficial and one-dimensional can, thereby, hinder the learners understanding of the complexities of historical events, while the historical fiction can reinstate History's depth (Hedeen, 2010). As Lindquist illustrates "if you were to draw a topographical map of an issue, there would be hills and valleys, because most issues are multifaceted" and historical fiction restores the full picture of the issue in a manageable fashion (1995, n.d.).

However, there is a danger faced in using fiction (including film) to convey History-the line between truth and reality can blur, leaving the audience with the impression that they possess equal legitimacy (Bellino, 2008; Stripling, 2011). Yet, rather than negate the use of the mediums, this flaw suggests a necessity in educating learners to carefully navigate these sources. A survey revealed that most learners will readily include ideas garnered from films within their work, but few reflect as critically upon them as they would a traditional historical source (Metzger, 2007). Film, "a powerful and pervasive medium", has found its roots in the 21st century as a visual source for historical knowledge, depicting historical actors and agents, as well as events and contexts (Bellino, 2008, n.d.). Taylor and Young expressed the concern that Historical Literacy be inclusive of information and technology as an additional "means of source evaluation" (2003, n.d.), and even encouraged learners to engage in representational expression through films and other sources, denoting that film has seized historical accounts and learners and educators need respond accordingly.

Historical films, rather than being purely nonsense, can be utilised to advance learner's historical understanding and literacy in a number of fashions (Metzger, 2007). When Deis implemented historical films into her classroom and engaged with the films critically with her learners, she found that "they learned to see the partiality

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present in historical films" and readily made a similar connection to the bias in historical texts (2009, p.9). These biases existent in historical narratives are found in both text and film and require learners to adopt a historian's sourcing heuristics toolkit with which to "evaluate the author's perspective, motives, credentials and involvement" (Metzger, 2007, p.70). Learners are encouraged to discover explicit meanings found in the film before exploring corroborating or contradictory accounts, which Nokes denotes as an integral facet of reading like a historian (2011.1.; 2011.2.). From this, learners are able to begin reading between the lines, grasping implicit meaning about the shared attitudes of an era as well as categorizing contextual clues required to understand both the film and the specific historical era or event within which it is situated (Walker, 2006). In this regard, historical contextualisation, an established component of the historically literate learner, can be developed, as well as the absorption of foundational content knowledge.

2.5.5. Seixas's Second-Order Historical Thinking Concepts

Seixas's "big 6" or second-order historical thinking concepts, termed the Benchmarks of Historical Thinking, require that a historically literate learner critically engage with and realise the significance of a historical event, the intricacies of source evidence, the presence and interplay of both continuity and change, as well as cause and consequence, whilst incorporating a historical perspective and contextualising the moral or ethical dimension of events (Robert, 2011; Seixas, 2006; Seixas & Morton, 2013.1). These Benchmarks propose a fundamental change in the way learners and educators alike learn History, altering not the curriculum, but the intention to one inculcating historical thinking (Seixas, 2008). This shift runs concurrently with shifts in the world's consciousness: a world "shaped by new technologies"; one demanding "recognition and rights of previously silenced peoples"; a world rife with land ownership conflicts, such as those faced by a post-Apartheid South Africa, and debates surrounding ones origin- a world where "there is no longer a single narrative of national, political progress" (p. 6). History is in a tumultuous sphere and must act to arm learners to engage in critical debates both during and after school, according to both the DBE (2011) and Seixas (2008).

At the starting point of these Benchmarks sits the concept Historical Significance, a concept not included in the CAPS Historical Thinking concepts. Simplistically,

historical significance explores "why we care, today, about certain events, trends and issues in History" (Seixas, 2006, p.1), encouraging learners to separate the significant from the trivial existing in the myriad of historical events, people and places (Seixas & Peck, 2004). This requires, as have the other approaches to historical literacy, a fair amount of content knowledge, yet argues that factual knowledge alone "is useless without knowing how they fit together and why they might be important (p.111). Historical significance, therefore, is explored within a context, and understanding of the context and content is particularly imperative, as what is deemed significant is highly contentious and History learners are obliged to understand the hows and whys surrounding the significance of a historical event, the people and the emergent developments (Peck, 2010; Seixas & Morton, 2013.1). Learners are encouraged to explore two primary aspects in discovering significance: firstly, they are required to note whether it resulted in change, exploring the profundity (the depth or intensity of change), the quantity (how many people it affected) and the durability (how long the change exists for) (Seixas, 2006; Seixas & Morton, 2013.1). Following this, learners explore the extent to which the event, person or place is revealing, namely the extent to which it "sheds light on enduring or emerging issues in History or contemporary life" (Seixas & Morton, 2013.2, p.10). Yet despite denoting two primary fields of exploration, the guideposts set out by Seixas and Morton, also indicate that learners should be able to meaningfully place a historical event within a narrative, as well as understand the ways in which historical significance differs and varies between groups and over time.

Following this, is the engagement with sources, epistemology and evidence, signified by the DBE as "the interpretation and explanation of information from various sources" with the understanding that these sources allow learners and historians to "answer questions about the past" and generate evidence (2011, p.10). In order for sources to accomplish this, involvement with them must rise above searching for information, which can be analogised to searching a phonebook, to searching for evidence by asking critical questions regarding, for example, authorship, and questioning reliability or authenticity (Seixas, 2006; Seixas & Peck, 2004). This aspect of historical literacy provides the tools, through numerous source engagements, which learners require to evaluate the comparative strengths and weaknesses of historical interpretations (Lévesque, 2010). These interpretations,

particularly in primary sources, rest on understanding the author's purpose as well as their worldview and values, all situated within the appropriate historical context (Bennett, 2014; Seixas, 2006). In order to accomplish a semblance of understanding both the sources and their author's intentions, learners are encouraged to ask questions regarding how one gathers and evaluates what is known about the past, including queries about who created a source, when and why (Seixas & Morton, 2013.2.). Sources should be sifted and inferences gathered about the past, according to the first guidepost, within their context as well as corroborated with alternate sources. This corroboration, as indicated, is made possible with alternate sources, whereby learners "ask questions about important details across multiple sources to determine points of agreement and disagreement" regarding a historical event, context, or person, for a start (Wineburg, 2010, n.d.) If followed, learners should, at the most sophisticated level "use primary sources to construct an original account of a historical event" (Seixas, 2006, p.5). Similarly, the CAPS policy expounds that historically literate learners are, as previously discussed, able to "understand the range of sources" as well as "extract and interpret information" for careful evaluation of a source's potential stereotyping or bias, accomplished "by making sense of the information within its context" (2011, p.9).

While the third concept, continuity and change, may be incorrectly interpreted as evaluating all change and all continuity within an era or event, suitable exploration requires that learners or historians look "for change where common sense suggests that there has been none" and oppositionally "looking for continuities where we assumed there was change" (Sexias, 2006, p.6). While continuity and change may provide a framework within which to examine the complexities of the past, learners are self-hindered by their belief that intense and rapid change in a particular sphere, such as politics, due to its certainty, suggests that continuity existed in other areas because the change was less obvious (Seixas & Peck, 2004; Seixas 2006). Yet rapid change in a particular area, such as technology during the industrial revolution, may in fact not be such a relevant change as such a change is expected. In order to navigate the complexities of change and continuity, learners are advised to explore it within differing groupings, including turning points, progress and decline, chronology and periodization, in order to consider how one can traverse the multifaceted course of History (Seixas, 2006; Seixas & Morton, 2013.2). Turning points, described as

"moments when the process of change shifts in direction or pace" are seen as dramatic changes and are generally the easiest for learners to locate (Seixas & Morton, 2013.2, p.10). Progress and decline, which incorporates an evaluative aspect to change and continuity, requires learners to explore technological, economic, political, moral and scientific changes, to name a few, and determine what improved (progressed) and what deteriorated (declined), so that change is understood as not always positive (Seixas & Peck, 2004). Finally, chronology allows that learners comprehend that "History is studied and written in time sequence" (DBE, 2011, p.10), while periodization assists in organising and contextualisation the continuity and change in order to determine which "events or developments constitute a period of History" (Seixas & Morton, 2013.2, p.10).

Cause and consequence, often linked with change and continuity, provide the "reasons for events and the results of them", driving future events and providing insight into human behaviour (DBE, 2011, p.10). Yet this simplification of the relationship between causes and consequences and the tenants that uphold each, fails to acknowledge the multiplicity and complexity of causes and consequences and their connection to historical agents, the variation of influence and the distinction between unintended and intended consequences (Seixas, 2006; Seixas & Morton, 2013.1; Seixas & Morton, 2013.2). Too often have South African schools addressed the interwoven nature of causes and consequences as recipes, dealt with uncritically and unquestioningly (Schoeman, 2014). When scrutinising the causes and consequences of an event, the role of agency, namely historical agents active participation in encouraging, influencing, responding to and repelling change in History, is central, as arguably "we alone imagine possible futures and take actions intending to bring about favourable outcomes" (Seixas & Morton, 2013.1, p.106) and oppositionally avoid unfavourable consequences, although they are not necessarily successful (Seixas, 2006). Yet humans exist within prevailing conditions and long-term ideologies, likewise acting as causes and conditions, which place constraints on the agency of individuals, such as the social, institutional, political and cultural organisations. These must be explored in order to grasp the multiplicity of causes at play, rather than merely attributing historical events to a singular immediate cause, a trap many learners have fallen into (Seixas & Morton, 2013.1). Furthermore, learners should be wary of assigning one cause to one consequence, or determining that all

causes are of the same importance, rather acknowledging that causes work together in unique patterns to create various and potentially numerous consequences, as well as exerting varying levels of influence (California History- Social Science Project, 2014; Seixas & Morton, 2013.1; Schoeman, 2014). In essence, the political causes of which there are hypothetically three, may exert more influence than the four hypothetical social causes, and yet interwoven, they are responsible for the creation of ten consequences. Causes and consequences are not mathematics, and cannot be addressed in a positivist manner.

Likewise, when adopting or exploring historical perspectives, a positivist approach, namely the belief that a singular true perspective exists, has hindered learners in understanding that diverse historical agents are subject to subtle variances in context and personal prejudices which result in contradictory but, nevertheless, accurate historical accounts (Nokes, 2011.2). This difficulty in grasping the ambiguity of History arises from the premise that the past is an alien domain and is therefore troubling to engage with; yet, by its very nature, historical perspective taking allows for learners to explore a full range of human, social and political experiences and question mainstream beliefs (Seixas, 2006). Historical perspective taking, often coined historical empathy, submerges learners in the way historical agents and subjects "thought, felt, made decisions, acted, and faced consequences" within the constraints of their historical context (Endacott & Brooks, 2013, p.41). Yet learners cannot merely explore these foreign domains, as if by "walking in someone else's shoes" (DBE, 2011, p.9), they must examine the multitude of perspectives, through exploring and analysing available primary and secondary sources, to follow the opinions, decisions and worldviews held by the inhabitants of the past (Bennett; 2014; DBE, 2011; Lévesque, 2010; Seixas & Morton, 2013.2). This entails learners ridding themselves on presentism, the act of thrusting current values and ideologies on actors of the past (Seixas & Morton, 2013.2), and exploring the era, the author's gender and race, without identifying with the actors and agents of the past (Bennet, 2014). Such exploration of historical perspective taking can additionally arm learners in perceiving the perspective adopted and promoted in their textbooks and discern what has been omitted and why certain material has been represented (Nokes, 2011.2.). This, as will be evidenced, can be linked with the final concept: the ethical or moral dimension.

Finally, Seixas's second-order historical thinking concepts draw to a close with the ethical or moral dimension of History and historical literacy, which explores the "implicit or explicit" moral and "ethical judgments in writing historical narratives" (Seixas & Morton, 2013.2, p.11). While von Borries claims that making moral or ethical judgments thwarts historical explanations and may lead to anachronisms, especially due to the complexities of collective responsibility, Taylor believes this to be an inherent quality of a responsible citizen (Maposa & Wassermann, 2009; Seixas, 2006). Supporting this, Seixas argues that any meaningful narrative of History will contain a moral judgment, one which historians have attempted and failed to engage in, so rather learners are encouraged to recognise and make judgments of people within their appropriate context (2006). Moral or ethical judgments serve an array of educational purposes: foremost, they provide opportunities to "investigate the deepest questions and issues of human behaviour" and contemplate what these moral and ethical choices and judgments reveal (Wells & Schaefer, 2010, p.51). These, in turn, brings forth potential learning possibilities in grappling with today's moral issues, permitting learners to utilise historical narratives as a means of evaluating questions of present-day moral and ethical issues (Endacott & Brooks, 2013; Seixas, 2006). Yet, learners must remain diligent to not, again, divulge in presentism, and impose existing standards of morality upon agents from differing contexts and circumstances (Seixas & Morton, 2013.2). Finally, moral or ethical judgments call into question the responsibility of remembrance and response held by historians and their nations: "when do we owe debts of memory … or of reparations" (Seixas, 2006, p.11) Learners, in this regard, are expected to recognise the issues surrounding which groups or individual's histories are recollected and, conversely, which have remained silent (DBE, 2011), as well as to understand and even determine who deserves reparations and its role in restoring ones humanity and dignity (Naidu, 2004).

2.6. CONCLUSION

Throughout the literature review, research has been thematically expounded upon to draw attention to the position and potential worth of my research in unveiling the

engagement with key historical concepts, namely the second-order historical thinking concepts, undertaken by ACU and the two CAPS-approved grade 10 History textbooks, with the French Revolution acting as the historical background. Textbooks and Learning through Gaming were squared off, revealing the formers nature as an "artefact" of the officialised and mainstream and the primary tool employed by educators and the government for propagation of tuition (Apple, 2000; Pinto, 2007), while juxtaposing the latter, through electronic games, as an artefact of the counter-culture and a tool to "deschool society" (Young, 1998, p.280). The textbook accomplishes this by determining whose culture is taught, as well as to ensure the replication of the desired knowledge and skills (Apple, 2000; Gerke, 2013; Selander, 1990) and in this regard acts as the junction between the official, governmentally-approved and adopted knowledge (McKinney, 2005); while electronic gaming, a tenant of ICT, disrupts this replication by shattering prevailing stereotypes in education through transformation of the learner from a "passive listener" to the knowledge inculcated in said textbooks, to "actively involved" knowledge- shaper (Ni, 2012, p.428). Yet, what both hold in common is the tenant that all social activity is facilitated by tools (Sutherland, Robertson & John, 2009), be they the CAPS-approved grade 10 History textbooks or electronic games such as ACU.

Building off of this, the powerful role, and manner in which, each plays in providing a learning opportunity was explored, considering the manner in which the History textbook, in particular, has been utilised to express the political and nationalist agenda of the country, as well as the nature of "unofficial" forms of History, such as ACU, as arguably having the greatest decisive influence (Phillips, 1998; Roberts, 2013). This is evident in that play, such as that experienced in electronic gaming, has been implored as the greatest pedagogical influence (Huang & Plass, 2009), even amongst adults as "man only plays when in the full meaning of the word he is a man, and he is only completely a man when he plays" (Von Schiller, 2001, n.d.). The textbooks strength arises from its stress-free utilisation as more inexperienced educators will utilise the textbooks unquestioningly throughout 90% of their tuition (Schumm & Doucette, 1991), while the learners have been shown to be more critical of separate historical accounts, such as electronic gaming, though accepting of their textbooks (Nokes, 2011.2.). If one utilises the *Assassin's Creed* franchise as a showcase of this criticism and simultaneous learning potential, reception has

concluded the game as "one of the most highly debated … in regards to its historical accuracy and educational worth" (Meyers, 2011.3., p.1).

Yet, the shortfalls of both were also addressed: textbooks, such as those in South Africa, have a reputation of bias and prejudice both during and post-Apartheid, with females remaining marginalised through misrepresentation or silences in History textbooks (Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011), and the blacks voices oppressed through expression of an Afrikaner narrative within Apartheid education, to the replacement of Afrikaner nationalism with Black nationalism (Dean, Hartmann & Katzen, 1983; Engelbrecht, 2008). Furthermore, the South African specific issue of distribution has resulted in insufficient availability of textbooks, which were oftentimes dumped (Veriava, 2013), as well as the significant financial loss accompanying this. The financial loss associated with textbooks was further expounded upon, exploring the R1bn yearly expenditure on textbook, with a suggestion that alternate learning forms, such as those referenced under Alternate Media for Historical Literacy, and arguably electronic games, be explored. Yet electronic games were not claimed to be problem-free. ACU itself has been accused of one-sided perspective-taking, representing a royalist perspective contradicting the accepted "grand" narrative conveyed in History textbooks (Karmali, 2014; Mulholland, 2014; Squire, 2008). Other historically-situated games, such as *Civilization III*, faced issues such as learners finding the mechanics too troubling, and the game difficult and uninteresting, struggling with the sheer multitude of historical concepts present in the game (Squire, 2004; Squire, 2005). Yet, paradoxically, games such as *Call of Duty* and *Assassin's Creed*, while not suitable for all-learners like the aforementioned *Civilization*, have evoked unmediated discussions of accuracy, representation, historical concepts and figures, and develop an enthused but critical perspective of History (Meyers, 2011.3.; Trépanier, 2011).

Finally, the overarching concern of this research, namely the aforementioned textbooks and electronic games engagement with second-order historical thinking concepts, found its conceptualisation beginning with an explanation of historical literacy. This drew the two oppositional forces together, under the premise that History learners require "guided opportunities to confront conflicting accounts, various meaning, and multiple interpretations of the past, because these are exactly

what they will encounter outside of school and they need to learn to deal with them" (Seixas as cited by Mazabow, 2003, p.218). In this regard, a historically literate learner must be able to source, corroborate and contextualise the available accounts and construct meaning through engaging with multiple sources, such as both textbooks and electronic gaming (Lee, 2004; Nokes, 2011.1; Nokes, 2011.2). Furthermore, through exploring Taylor and Young's concept of a historical literacy (2003) and Lévesque's thinking historically (2008), the similarities, such as learners ability to engage critically with sources, as well as their understanding of multiple narratives of the past, were linked with the DBE's eight historical thinking skills (2011) and therein the textbooks. Addressing alternate media for developing historical literacy, such as the use of historical fiction, capable of allowing learners to walk in the shoes of a historical figure (Rodwell, 2013), and historical film, which when properly implemented develops an awareness of historical biases and partiality (Deis, 2009), opens the potential for similar alternate media, such as electronic games like ACU. This lent itself to the final discussion revolving around Seixas's "Big 6" historical thinking concepts which will be utilised to compare and analyse the engagement of both the electronic game and the two CAPS-approved grade 10 History textbooks with the second-order historical thinking concepts, the method of analysis detailed below, and thereby determine the similarities and differences and what each reveals about accepted knowledges.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

The focus of this research is to compare the engagement of ACU and two grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks with key historical concepts, namely the second-order historical thinking concepts. The emphasis on interpretation is a key component of qualitative research, aimed at garnering a description of social phenomena, such as learners might experience in playing the game or reading the textbooks (Hancock, Ockleford & Windridge, 2009). This engagement with a social phenomenon similarly places the research under an interpretivist paradigm, one which positions knowledge as socially constructed, understanding the nature of knowledge and meaning-making as mediated through social interaction (Gray, 2014; Guest, Namey & Mitchell, 2013). These proponents of the qualitative approach and the interpretivist paradigm, as well as features of the social constructivist approach, have been conceptualised in this section, as a self-determined relationship exists between the three: they focus on a social, rather than objective reality, a reality constructed rather than observed, through which knowledge and truth can be created by the individual. Finally, they are united with the epistemological and ontological assumptions inherently allied to these concepts, establishing the foundations of my theoretical construction of what constitutes reality and the manner in which knowledge is constructed.

Following the conceptualisation of the research design elements, the analysis and management of the qualitative data have been discussed, focusing on an amalgamation of the Qualitative Comparative Analysis and Qualitative Content Analysis of the data assembled by various a priori coding collection schedules. The various stages of Qualitative Content Analysis, as pronounced by Mayring (2014), have been discussed, linking it to additional theories on Qualitative Content Analysis, to illustrate the manner in which the data collected by the schedule has been analysed. Due to the comparative nature of the research, essentially a comparison of ACU and two CAPS-approved grade 10 History textbooks engagements with the second-order historical thinking concepts, a Qualitative Comparative Analysis will follow the initial conceptualisation and utilisation of a Qualitative Content Analysis. Qualitative Comparative Analysis shall permit the "analysis of how cases in one set",

the electronic game, "relate to cases in other sets", as with the textbooks (Ragin & Rubinson, 2009, p.14), in order to draw inferences about the similarities and discrepancies which exist between their engagement with key second-order historical thinking concepts. It is key at this juncture to note that due to the interwoven nature of these analyses, possibly due to the complimentarily integrational nature of both approaches (Kohlbacher, 2006; Lor, 2011), the analysis itself will require a unification of the approaches, which will be established and grounded in this section, and they cannot be addressed in a totally unilateral manner.

Building from this, when addressing trustworthiness, as well as shortfalls, later in this section, both approaches, as well as the ontological and epistemological shortfalls of the interpretivist paradigm, and the adoption of qualitative data, are addressed in a multilateral mode. In this regard, trustworthiness, as opposed to the quantitative measurement of validity and reliability, required addressing issues of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Shenton, 2004), in relation to both the Qualitative Content Analysis and Qualitative Comparative Analysis approach. Similarly, any shortfalls of this analysis approaches, as well as those inherent in the interpretivist paradigm as it relates to my research have been resolved as plausibly as possible, before a brief discussion on ethics closes the chapter.

If trustworthiness has been reasonably established and the relevant shortfalls tackled, then the findings of this research can be, arguably, relevant in addressing what History learners are gaining from engagement with these tools. The Qualitative Comparative Analysis will allow for an understanding of what unofficial sources of History are imparting upon today's learners and what they, electronic games, can offer that the textbooks, currently, can or do not. Oppositionally, through establishing the similarities and differences present, the deficits of electronic games in engaging with second-order historical thinking concepts can be identified, therein gathering an understanding of what second-order historical thinking concepts learners are not grasping through Historically-situated games, while the credible opportunities the textbooks can offer have been explored- potentially successes which address or remedy the issues present in electronic gaming.

3.2. RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design, acting as the "plans and the procedures for research" (Creswell, 2008, p.3), is created by the researcher, shaped by the method and research questions, and "responsive to the context and the participants" (Richards, 2006, p.74). In this fashion, the research design connects the specific research questions with the inquiry approach, indicates the type of data required to answer the questions and the mode and manner in and through which this data will be collected and analysed, such as a qualitative approach of inquiry and the qualitative data gained from the purposive samples, all explored within an interpretivist paradigm (Creswell, 2008; van Wyk, 2012). If suitably addressed, "all the components should fit together in a meaningful whole", providing a design plan for the researcher, myself to follow, thereby allowing for the development of "information that is accurate and interpretable" (Pillay, 2009, pp.70-71).

3.2.1. The Qualitative Approach

A research approach, be it qualitative or quantitative, provides a theoretical framework inclusive of "a set of principles … called worldviews" which underpin the research process (Gelo, 2012, p.110). As the approach is encompassing of the philosophical worldviews through which to approach the social realities (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002), it plays a significant role in the "practice of research" which guide the actions of the researcher (Creswell, 2008). The qualitative approach is, similarly, driven by specific philosophical keystones, including, but not limited to, a data-driven inductive approach to research, a focus on process and not products, a sensitivity to context and a human- centred, emic perspective achieved within a naturalistic setting (Atieno, 2009; Given, Winkler & Willson, 2014; Hancock et al, 2009; Holloway & Wheeler, 2002). Each of these principles, which allow the researcher to scrutinize and interpret the phenomena under study with a continued consciousness of the meaning participants and role-players bring into the study, are integral within the research and act as facts behind its selection.

In order to understand the selection of a qualitative approach, a conceptualisation of the term in juxtaposition to its opposing approach, the quantitative approach, will

assist in clarification. The qualitative approach differs from the quantitative approach in a variety of ways related to my research, originating from the premise that while the quantitative approach "seeks to separate and simplify indicators and impact processes" in an attempt to quantify them, the qualitative approach aims to "understand the complexity" in order to provide a more appropriate image of reality (Mayoux, 2001, p.4). This complexity is accomplished by garnering data which is extensive and deep, thoroughly detailed in nature and originating from natural settings (Hancock et al, 2009; Moriarty, 2011) - similarly, my research requires that I am immersed in the electronic game and the History textbooks, through playing and reading respectively, thereby gathering substantial data regarding their engagement with second-order historical thinking concepts.

Through active participation and engagement with the tools, I am adhering to the qualitative approach principle whereby the focus is on "understanding the meaning people have constructed" in making sense of their world and their experiences (Merriam, 2009, p.13). Social constructivism, in a similar fashion, draws on the principle that "knowledge is actively constructed … not passively received from the outside" (Sjøberg, 2007, p.3), thereby stressing the role I, as well as my learners, the textbook authors and game developers play in the creation and development of second-order historical thinking. These assumptions pull away from the concept that learners are empty vessels and rather acknowledges that learners bring their own schema of existing knowledge, influenced significantly by their interactive, social contexts, contexts which, in turn, influence their day-to-day educational environments (Liu & Matthews, 2005; Sjøberg, 2007). Therefore, authentic understanding of the various contexts at play is accomplished through positioning the researcher, myself, within the world on the learners, in this instance through ACU and the two CAPS-approved History textbooks, in an attempt to understand the meaning-making of the learners who interact with these games and History textbooks on a near-daily basis (Given, Winkler & Willson, 2014; Guest et al, 2013). In this regard, the qualitative approach demands that the researcher partake in a situated active study of these tools or phenomena in an effort to clarify or even interpret the phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The researcher, therefore, becomes a human instrument in collecting and analysing data (Mayoux, 2001; Simon, 2011); data which cannot be expressed numerically, as with quantitative

data, but rather through qualitative accounts (as with the A Priori Coding Collection Schedule) of the experiences (Hancock et al, 2009).

Additionally, through this immersion, I am able to engage with context-derived data: while quantitative data can be accused of limiting both the aforementioned complexity and the context, "qualitative research is good at simplifying and managing data" without the destruction of context and complexity (Atieno, 2009, p.16). The qualitative approach highlights "complexity by incorporating the real-world context" (Hancock et al, 2009, p.6) and emphasises the socially constructed nature of reality (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000); interpretivism focuses on the contextualised construction of a social world through its meaning, a world different from the natural world in that it is a subjectively experienced (Livesey, 2006); social constructivism "emphasizes the importance of culture and context in understanding what occurs in society and constructing knowledge based on this understanding" (Hollins-Alexander, 2013, p.2).Through this context-dependency, the data and its findings allow for an understanding of the social, cultural, and physical atmosphere in which specific behaviour or feelings occur (Guest et al, 2013). In this manner, qualitative research allows for perspective-adopting: in essence, through integrating real-world contexts the research, and researcher, can position itself around the experiences of those engaging with, say, History textbooks and historically-situated electronic games and develop an understanding of their experiences (Hancock et al, 2009; Mayoux, 2001). Only through this immersion can "thick descriptions" be generated, descriptions which, if accomplished, allow the reader to develop a similarly active role in the research to that of the researcher (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002; Mason, 2002).

Nevertheless, it is not an approach without its problematic shortfalls and limitations, time consumption being only one of these concerns, yet a concern which permeates not only the data capturing process, but the analysis as well (Johnson & Christensen, 2012). Within my research, the collection of data from three sources and the correlation and contrast of those sources will require extensive coding, and becoming extraordinarily time-consuming. For qualitative research to be meaningful and trustworthy, "thick descriptions" must arise form rich, extensive data (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002; Mason, 2002), providing a "complete, detailed description" (Atieno, 2009, p.17). Yet gathering, transcribing, coding and analysing data is extremely time-

consuming and nothing short of labour intensive (ACAPS, 2012; Guest, Namey & Mitchell, 2013). Furthermore, due to the small sample size inherent in qualitative research, the lack of quantifiable variables, and its flexibility, the qualitative approach faces criticisms from the academic community for its soft and unscientific style (Griffin, 2004; Silverman, 2006). Moreover, these same qualities prevent the findings of the research from being extended to the greater population "with the same degree of certainty that quantitative analysis can" (Atiento, 2009, p.17). Yet, in selecting a small sample size I have somewhat addressed the aforementioned issue faced by qualitative researchers: time.

When depth, and understanding of behaviour and attitudes is required within a holistic style, the qualitative approach takes the helm (ACAPS, 2012). The qualitative approach can provide extensive information regarding the phenomenon, positioned and entrenched within the specific and unique contexts, allowing for the extraction of data and findings from the personalised, emic situation of those the phenomena affects (Johnson & Christensen, 2012). Due to the inductive nature of the approach, which "builds abstractions, concepts, hypotheses and theories from detail" (Atieno, 2009, p.14), the pre-existent second-order historical thinking concepts can drive the research in determining how these are engaged with in disparate cases, without focusing on theory testing. In conclusion, the qualitative approach, as driven by a comprehension of the meaning-making individuals play in the construction of their own realities and truths (Griffin, 2004; Krauss, 2005), I will gain insight into the influence of grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks and ACU in imparting a command of second-order historical thinking concepts to learners. This view on social reality, additionally, lends itself to the adoption of the interpretivist paradigm.

3.2.2. The Interpretivist Paradigm

Simplistically, a paradigm is a worldview, a collective comprehension of the experienced reality, which provides a lens through which the phenomena can be scrutinized (Gelo, 2014; Rossman & Rallis, 2003). The adopted paradigm offers a "set of assumptions about how things work" (Hardina, 2008, p.4), and in this regard plays a significant role in one's research, determining "patterns of beliefs and practices that regulate inquiry within a discipline" (Weaver & Olson, 2006, p.460). A paradigm, therefore, provides both a theoretical and operational world within which

the researcher and the research exist, inclusive of a variety of conceptual tools and theories which demarcate the research's framework (Guerra, Capitelli & Longo, 2012).

The qualitative research approach is "often described as a naturalistic, interpretative approach" due to the relationship between qualitative research and the interpretivist paradigm, one of several paradigmatic frameworks (Ormston, Spencer, Baranard & Snape, 2013, p.3). The relationship between the concepts derives from the familiar conceptual grounding upon which they exist: an illustration of this exists in the interpretivist's belief that meaning is context derived, namely that in order to adequately engage with and study a phenomena it must be analysed within its natural environment, a qualitative assumption previously discussed (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994.; Holloway & Wheeler, 2002). Both the qualitative approach and the interpretivist paradigm admit that in order to truly engage with the principles surrounding the phenomena true neutrality is an impossibility: the values held by the researcher, myself, and the tools, the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks and ACU, will become a fundamental aspect of the research (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002). Yet the interpretivist argues that it is key to comprehend that the social order exists not in any impartial, visible shape (Livesey, 2006) but rather knowledge is reflective in nature, not relying purely on the senses, but the interpretation of what the senses experience (Ormston et al, 2013). In this way, qualitative research and the interpretivist paradigm hold that "knowing and knowledge … transcend basic empirical enquiry" of positivist quantitative research (p.11).

Therefore, interpretivism finds its foothold in the social, rather than natural world: while the positivists may focus on the nomothetic generalization of empirical findings to the population at large, interpretivist seek the idiographic specialisation of the actions of individuals acting within a social world (Gray, 2014; Guest, Namey & Mitchell, 2013; Holloway & Wheeler, 2002). Interpretivism acts as a reaction to positivism, responding to the claim that the method "of the natural sciences … is the only legitimate method of scientific discovery" (Elias, 1986, p.20), and adopting the attitude that participants, rather than being reduced to numbers, should be explored "as if they were human beings" (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002, p.7). No two situations are the same: any 'facts' gathered, within the interpretivist paradigm, are context-

dependent and may no longer be true within an alternate setting or grouping (Livesey, 2006). The positivist attitude ignores the creative autonomy of the individual, while interpretivism acknowledges the significance of appreciating and recognising the lived experiences of the individuals under study, - experiences situated within a specific cultural, psychological and historical domain (Gray, 2014; Ormston et al, 2013).

This appreciation and recognition is at the foreground of the interpretivist's mind, as it is required that they "understand, explain, and demystify social reality through the eyes of different participants" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p.19) yet again a key proponent of qualitative research, and an assumption which has driven my selection of this paradigm. While the data for my research are not human, they are created by figures with specific intentions in mind, as was discussed in the previous section, and are engaged with and utilised by learners across the country and world. As an interpretivist, however, a primary factor driving my research is an understanding that social sciences research cannot be observed objectively and externally, rather my role is to be 'inside' the research and experience the context from which findings and theories can be drawn (Cohen et al, 2007; Mack, 2010). In this regard, any attempt at retaining the veracity of the phenomena under study, namely comparing the engagement of the two diverse tools with second-order historical thinking concepts, demands that efforts be "made to get inside the person and understand from within" (Cohen et al, 2007, p.21), a demand only accomplishable through the interpretivist paradigm.

However, in attempting to position oneself within the social realities of participants, the interpretivist paradigm is immediately flawed as "the very process whereby one interprets and defines a situation is itself a product of the circumstances in which one is placed", therefore can the "meanings of situations and the ways in which these meanings are negotiated by the actors involved" be comprehended as interpretivists favour? (Cohen et al, 2007, p.25). Yet, for interpretivists, concepts or beliefs held about human behaviour can only exist by binding them to a context (Gray, 2014; Livesey, 2006), and while that context may be relative and subjective, through conceptualising the context of ACU and the two grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks in the literature review and the introduction, this environment is at least

transparent. Yet this subjectivity also faces criticisms for failing to produce objective research, especially within qualitative research where the researcher is actively involved and is not guided by a predetermined hypothesis (Mack, 2010). However, all research is variably subjective as simply by "selecting your paradigm you are being subjectively oriented towards one way of doing research" (Mack, 2010, p.8). The solution lies in withholding assumptions and repeatedly drawing back to the data so that it, rather than the notions of the researcher, might enlighten the researcher regarding the on-goings of the phenomena under study.

Within the interpretivist paradigm, research is guided by particular assumptions, at the centre of which lies the aim to understand "the subjective meanings of persons in studied domains" (Goldkuhl, 2012, p.4). These subjective meanings, such as learners' experiences with ACU, *New Generations* and *Oxford in Search of History,* exist within the social world of constructed meaning, not the natural world, and the meaning are garnered through an immersion in the realities of the meaning-makers (Livesey, 2006). This illustrates the interest in the individual over the group which grounds interpretivism, and the intent to build an understanding of the world in which participants act (Cohen et al, 2007), an integral fact in addressing my research question and comprehending the manner in which learners engage with the "official" and "unofficial" tools for learning.

3.2.3. Ontological and Epistemological Assumptions

Key elements in understanding interpretivism and the lens through which my research is analysed lies in my ontological and epistemological assumptions. Ontological assumptions enable the researcher, myself, to explore and unveil my own assumptions regarding society and the social order, and consider the manner in which these assumptions affect the, often instinctively, selected approach, in this instance interpretivism, to expose perceived truths (Bracken, 2010.), through grappling with what we constitute as reality and how we engage with that reality (Raddon, 2010). Through ontology I explore the nature of social reality, regarding "what exists, what it looks like, and what units make it up" and the ways in which these facts interact (Blaikie as cited by Asif, 2013, p.14). Epistemology develops from this, dealing with the theory of knowledge, simplistically how we know or have knowledge of something, and therein the manner through which knowledge is

created and the researcher's epistemic position decrees what manner of knowledge that is (Mack, 2010; Tennis, 2008). The two unite under the interpretivist paradigm in their belief that all reality is socially constructed, with no exact defined method of gaining or engaging with knowledge (Thomas, 2010).

The ontological position of an interpretivist is that of relativism, rising from the premise that multiple, subjective realities exist, differing between individuals (Allen-Collinson, 2012; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Scotland, 2012). These realities are experienced through our senses, requiring the empirical experiences to be merged with our consciousness and only through this consciousness is meaning possible. In this manner, as the qualitative approach focuses on the socially constructed nature of reality (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), so the ontological assumption argues that reality is tacitly erected within an individual's understanding, making it inherently and unavoidable subjective (Mack, 2010). Similarly, "truth", according the social constructivists, "is created, not discovered by the mind" within a social, subjective experience separate from the objective, natural world (Andrews, 2012, p.40). Therefore, the social world, as opposed to the natural world, is shaped and influenced by humans through our actions and involvements with the world and its inhabitants (Goldkuhl, 2012). While these actions are conscious, as is our awareness of ourselves and others, there is an innate unpredictability about humans, making the study of human behaviour and reality, as performed by positivists, impossible (Livesey, 2006). This unpredictability, united with our differing and even competing perceptions and understandings of the world, decrees that the "social reality cannot be captured or portrayed 'accurately'" (Ormston et al, 2013, p.12).

In this regard, reality is constructed by the individual, and no single truth exists, rather a multitudinous array of truths held even by a single individual (Allen-Collinson, 2012; Scotland, 2012). These constructions of truth and reality cannot be measured on a spectrum of varying levels of truths but are rather, to differing extents, considered to be educated and or complex in nature (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). People are responsible for interpreting the world, and through this create their own meanings, interpretations and truths regarding these worlds; similarly, these inferred meanings and interpretations determine the causes behind their actions and their adopted knowledges (Mack, 2010). In application to my research, I do not seek

a singular external truth to my or my learner's experiences with the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks or ACU, as no objective reality exists (Allen-Collinson, 2012). Rather through rigorous research "informed by historical, cultural and philosophical backgrounds", in an attempt to understand their realities, and an understanding that social reality is co-constructed by people who "interact and make meaning of their world in an active way", I may "approach the search for truth in people's lived experiences" (Bracken, 2010, n.d.). Yet, the word approach here must be highlighted: as no external reality exists, and each reality is comprised of shifting truths, one can only approach this reality, never reach it.

Within the interpretivist paradigm, the subsequent assumption, epistemology, is interwoven with the ontological, "because knowledge (understanding, meaning) is so essential in the ontological assumptions of the constitution of the world" (Goldkuhl, 2012, pp.5-6). This knowledge, much like the interpretivist perception of reality, is one of subjectivism, wherein no singular method of obtaining knowledge exists, and no singular objective, external truth regarding knowledge exists (Allen-Collinson, 2012; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Scotland, 2010; Thomas, 2010). As the qualitative approach acknowledges that knowledge is socially constructed and intricately interconnected with the personal contexts, histories and cultural backgrounds of the individual, so the ontology of an interpretivist views knowledge as a constant transactional process (Given, Winkler & Willson, 2014; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Both the researcher and the phenomena under study are "interactively linked so that the 'findings' are literally created as the investigation proceeds" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p.111).

Knowledge, therefore, is created inductively, and interactionally, the former indicating that theory arises from knowledge, as opposed to other way around as positivist hold to be true (Mack, 2010). Interactionally, knowledge, within this paradigm, requires the researcher to explore and understand the social reality of the phenomena under study and those who experience it, and through this, the two co-create the findings (Allen-Collinson, 2012; Ormston et al, 2013). In this manner, my research will be co-constructed by the phenomena under study, the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks and ACU's engagement with second-order historical thinking concepts, and myself, made possible through my personal participation and context-specific

engagement with the tools (Mack, 2010). These two arguably disparate educational tools, the grade 10 CAPS-approved textbooks and ACU, were not merely selected on a whim to understand the social reality under study, but rather, following in a qualitative fashion, selected using purposive sampling (Moriarty, 2011).

3.2.4. Purposive Sampling

Sampling is the process of selecting a subset or unit of a population, used as means of studying the population as a whole based on specific characteristics or elements (Schutt, 2012). Sampling can generally be divided into two categories: non-probability sampling and probability sampling, each further sub-categorised into differing methods (Latham, 2007). The qualitative approach, due to its search for depth rather than generalizability, requires "samples that are small in scale and purposively selected on the basis of salient criteria", inherently positioning itself within the non-probability sampling category (Moriarty, 2011, p.2). Non-probability is generally further favoured by qualitative researchers largely due to its allowance for a narrowed focus on setting and agents to ensure intensive descriptions (Schutt, 2012). In non-probability sampling, such as the selected purposive sampling, "subjective judgments play a specific role", a quality expounded upon both as characteristics of qualitative research and interpretivism (Latham, 2007, n.d.).

The selected purposive sampling denotes that the researcher select a sample based on their "own knowledge of the population, its elements, and the nature of the research aims" as a means of gathering samples which are characteristic of the population under study (Kimani, 2013, p.4). In this manner, the selection of samples is uniquely tied to the objective of the research and they are chosen based on their characteristics; characteristics designated to answer essential questions about the phenomena (Latham, 2007; Palys, 2008). Relative to my research, the two CAPS-approved grade 10 History textbooks, and the electronic game, ACU, were purposively sampled based on a certain comparable condition: both address the French Revolution, a module deemed as relevant History by the DBE and hence included in CAPS. This comparability resonates with Teddlie and Yu's discussion on purposive "sampling to achieve representativeness or comparability" wherein samples are selected to achieve a goal: "comparability across different types of cases on a dimension of interest" (2009, p.80). The textbooks were additionally

selected due to a particular condition- the two textbooks, *New Generations* (Stephenson, Sikhakhane, Frank, Hlongwane, Subramony, Virasamy, Collier, Govender & Mbansini, 2013, pp.78-103; pp.106-113) and *Oxford In Search of History* (Bottaro, Visser & Worden, 2015, pp.64-84; pp.91- 98)*,* are utilised extensively in my school, thereby playing a significant role in both my learners' and my own historical schema. As an interpretivist I hold the belief that knowledge is socially constructed and co-constructed between the researcher, myself, and the researched, the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks, thereby emphasizing the importance of using textbooks which are in my social environment (Gray, 2014; Guest, Namey & Mitchell, 2013; Mack, 2010).

The textbooks were further sampled from the most recent collections, no earlier than 2012, as the CAPS documents were released in 2011. As the DBE (2011) stated "From 2012 the two 2002 curricula … are combined in a single document" (p.1) which will encompass "the knowledge, skills and values worth learning" (p.4) - hence these are selected to provide a reflection of what knowledges the South African DBE (and in turn government) deem 'worthy'. In the selection of two textbooks specifically, as opposed to one, I turned to the Qualitative Comparative approach to analysis for justification. This analysis method speaks of the 'deviant case' concern, that is while two compared cases may produce deviant or extreme results, such as one textbook, when compared to the game, may reflect results which are, in fact, a deviant case for textbooks, the results may be significantly less disparate when compared with alternate cases (Azarian, 2011). In this manner, I have included two textbooks, *New Generations* (henceforth Textbook A) and *Oxford In Search of History* (henceforth Textbook B), to prevent such deviances in findings from occurring. However, due to the vetting of all textbooks by the DBE, serious deviance is unlikely to occur.

When determining the game sample for selection, ACU was identified as the only game in the franchise to deal with curriculum-aligned content, the French Revolution, as well as being contemporary in nature, released in 2014, thereby correlating with the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks in both content and time of publication. Within the extensive game itself, additional sampling occurred as the game takes an average 100 hours to complete (Maheyez, 2015). I engaged with the main gameplay, titled "Sequences" in the game, as this is the only requisite in

completing the game. These sequences, of which there are 12, are comprised of 2-3 'Memories', and due to the necessity of playing through every sequence, all gamers, such as my learners, would or have experienced this same playthrough if the game was completed. Furthermore, certain Quest types, namely Co-op Missions and Co-op Heists, which despite the name can be played singularly, have been included as they are replayable missions indicating that gamers may have more experience with those scenes and the second-order historical thinking concepts conveyed within them. This is inclusive of the Co-op Missions: "Heads will Roll", "The Food Chain", "The Infernal Machine", "The Austrian Conspiracy", "Danton's Sacrifice", "Jacobin Raid", "Political Persecution", "Les Enrages", "Moving Mirabeau", "The Tournament" and "Women's March"; within the Co-op Heists: "Tithing Templars", "Catacomb Raiders", "The Party Palace", "Royals, Guns and Money", "Smuggler's Paradise", "Ancient History" and "It Belongs in a Museum". As the gamer moves through the sequences and the co-op missions and heists so database entries are triggered through which the game's engagement with second-order historical thinking skills was analysed.

In this fashion, both categories of samples are examples of criterion sampling, arguably a subcategory of purposive sampling, in that they "meet a certain criterion" (Palys, 2008, p. 697), as well being "information-rich" on a particular facet (Nastasi, 2009, p.2), namely the French Revolution and the second-order historical thinking concepts under study in the most recent instances of both. Additionally, the samples follow Herbert and Irene Rubin's guidelines, typically designed to address human participants but nevertheless relevant, in that they possess knowledge regarding the phenomena under study (they both contain details regarding the key second-order historical thinking concepts); they are communicative regarding that phenomena (through textual, visual or auditory expression); and they act as representatives of a range of perspectives (the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks represent a range of officially-sanctioned textbooks approved by the DBE, and the game exists within a lasting franchise of historically-situated games) (Schutt, 2012). These samples have, in turn, been analysed through a Qualitative Content Analysis, portraying their relative engagement with second-order historical concepts, before they were pitted against each other under a Qualitative Comparative Content Analysis, detailed further within Methodology.

3.3. METHODOLOGY

While the research design is "the conceptual structure within which research would be conducted" (Kothari, 2004, p.14), the methodology provides a procedural path, within that structure, to answering the research problem (Rajasekar, Philominathan & Chinnathambi, 2013). As the research methodology is influenced by, and in turn, influences the theoretical assumptions accepted by the researcher, the researcher, I, must be wary of what data gathering methods I have selected (Gray, 2014), particularly as my methodology "provides the information by which a study's validity is judged" (Kallet, 2004, p.1229). The section below, in following with the principles of methodology, explores the particular methods and techniques utilised in answering the research question, explaining the rationality for these decisions, and the manner in which procedures were performed, while divulging the various materials used, their preparation and the supporting steps towards analysis (Kallet, 2004).

3.3.1. Qualitative Content Analysis

Described as the most prevailing approach in analysing qualitative data, Qualitative Content Analysis "comprises a searching-out of underlying themes in the materials being discussed" (Bryman, 2004, p.542). Within this framework, the message contained within content acts as a premise for developing extrapolations and suggestions through an integrated observation of texts within their particular context (Prasad, 2008; Zhang & Wildemuth, 2005). Therefore, Qualitative Content Analysis sought to derive "meanings and insights … from a text more holistically" than their counterpart, Quantitative Content Analysis (Cho & Lee, 2014, p.3). This text, due to the nature of Qualitative Content Analysis in examining human communication, is inclusive of books, websites, songs and observations (Babbie, 2010; Cho & Lee, 2014), thereby embracing both the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks and the electronic game, ACU.

Qualitative Content Analysis developed as a reaction to the previously illustrated oversimplification of underlying contents and frameworks within the quantitative

approach to textual analysis (Cho & Lee, 2014; Kohlbacher, 2006). As a result, when discussing the aim of Qualitative Content Analysis, researchers generally juxtapose it with the aims of Quantitative Content Analysis. Qualitative Content Analysis, grounded strongly within the qualitative approach, is generally inductive in nature, removing itself from the "strictly deductive thinking manner" of Quantitative Content Analysis (Mayring, 2014, p.10), preferring to focus the analysis of topics, themes, and their inferences in an inductive style (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2005). This inductive approach allows the qualitative researcher to "condense extensive … data into a brief, summary format" before establishing "links between the research objectives and the summary findings", allowing for the creation of a final theory or hypothesis (Thomas, 2003, p.2). Yet is key here to note that Qualitative Content Analysis may readily use a deductive method in initially gathering data, starting with predetermined categories or themes imitative of previous applicable theory, research, or literature (Cho & Lee, 2014), as in my pre-selection of second-order historical thinking concepts and their guideposts. In essence, the difference lies in the flexible nature of qualitative research, whereby criteria are often softened - the qualitative researcher will willingly modify the codes and categories, adding to and altering the existing categories if required, unlike quantitative researchers (Mayring, 2014; Morgan, 1993). This has been utilised wherein the guideposts laid out by Seixas and Morton (2013) have been altered to questions, and some adapted to assess the tools more suitably. Regarding the approaches, it is primarily their relationship with the data that differs significantly: Quantitative Content Analysis requires researchers to utilise algorithms to count frequency; Qualitative Content Analysis encourages the researchers to carefully and critically read and assess the data (Morgan, 1993).

Additionally, Qualitative Content Analysis consists of a purposively selected sample group, such as my own, "which can inform the research questions being investigated", shying away from the large and generalised populations of the quantitative method (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2005, p.2). Qualitative Content Analysis researchers are in the position to select only those participants or samples which will afford the most suitable representation of the phenomena under study, in this regard permitting my purposive selection of the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks and ACU as representatives of "official" and "unofficial" History education respectively (Babbie, 2010). Similarly, the data collection method is not rigidly

prescribed, rather the researcher is responsible for selecting the most suitable method available for addressing the questions and phenomena (Elo, Kääriäinen, Kanste, Pölkki, Utriainen & Kyngäs, 2014), thereby allowing for an amalgamation of Qualitative Content and Comparative analysis steps. Once the data has been collected, analysis begins and, as previously stated, the focus is on critically reading and assessing data, which indicates that for the Qualitative Content researcher the attention is on process, interpretation and context, rather than reductionist, objective, outcomes-based quantification (Berg, 2001; Kohlbacher, 2006). The final product comprises of accounts and typologies through which those perceptions held by the texts' creators can be easily comprehensible to the researcher and their readers (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2005). Therefore, Qualitative Content Analysis "is a passport to listening to the words of the text, and understanding better the perspective(s) of the producer of these words" (Berg, 2001, p.242).

Nevertheless, Qualitative Content Analysis is not entirely disparate from Quantitative Content Analysis. Mayring (2014) claims that a main concern held by the Qualitative Content Analysis is "preserving the systematic procedure" requiring an "orientation towards rules of text analysis laid down in advance" (p.39). This decidedly aligns with the Quantitative approach to Content Analysis which focuses on a universal, impartial method of measurement (Franzosi, 2007). This is further supported by Zhang and Wildemuth, who claim that certain steps within the analysis process correlate with the Quantitative Content Analysis due to the aforementioned systemic nature of the process (2005). Yet, the Qualitative method of Content Analysis utilises this systemic theory-guided examination in a seemingly contradictory fashion: it is transparent, honest and open (Kohlbacher, 2006; Zhang & Wildemuth, 2005). In turn, the transparent yet systemic framework utilised allows the qualitative researcher to capture vital themes and procedures deemed necessary (thereby evidently subjective and interpretivist in nature) from the vast raw data inherent in qualitative research (Thomas, 2003).

In conclusion, Qualitative Content Analysis allows researchers to answer the questions regarding communication, such as "'who says what, to whom, why, how, and with what effect'" (Babbie, 2010, p.333); in similar terms it observes human communication and through this observation develops questions and queries of this

communication (Prasad, 2008). Synonymous with the interpretivist paradigm, this analysis method allows for researchers to contemplate these questions as a means of understanding the subjective and social reality of their phenomena in a scientific fashion (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2005). Through this analysis method I have dealt with the questions surrounding the second-order historical thinking concepts, contemplating how the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks and electronic game ACU comparatively convey their messages, what their aim may be and what affect it could have on the audience. This Qualitative Comparative Analysis, discussed further below, appears to be an unintentional quality of the Qualitative Content Analysis: when discussing suitable topics for Content Analysis to address, Babbie (2010) included a series of questions inclusive of, and continuously similar to, "Are popular French novels more concerned with love than novels in the United States are?" (p.333), indicating the possible evaluative and contrasting nature of Qualitative Content Analysis.

3.3.2. Qualitative Comparative Analysis

Despite the legacy of social theory Comparative Analysis tracing back to Greek Antiquity, it is only in recent years, with the ever-developing advent of communications and technologies, that the method has received significant attention (Azarian, 2012). The method has been described as an approach which differs from the conventional qualitative and quantitative approaches, even transcending them in design (Devers, Lallemand, Burton, Kahwati, McCall & Zuckerman, 2013; Ragin & Rubinson, 2009). This is largely due to Qualitative Comparative Analysis's attempt to "bridge these two worlds" (Ragin, 2008, p.2) of case-oriented qualitative research and variable-oriented quantitative research (Ragin & Rubinson, 2009): it can be engaged with as a means to create or even test theory (Collier, 1993). This approach to analysis, therefore, amalgamates the inductive method of a qualitative researcher with "the formal, mathematical approaches employed in quantitative research" (Devers et al, 2013, p.1). This correlates with the nature of my comparative research: I seek to engage with two juxtapositioned cases, the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks and the electronic game ACU and identify or engage with predetermined variables, such as the second-order historical thinking concepts, through which induction of theory may occur.

The orientation towards cases is an essential quality of Qualitative Comparative Analysis: it acts as a "specific set-theoretic approach to analysing complex social phenomena" (Devers et al, 2013, p.2) through open comparison and contrasting of two or more cases or macrosocial units in an attempt to identify similarities or differences, often regarding a particular phenomenon (Azarian, 2012; Collier, 1993; Lor, 2011). Alternatively, this set-theoretic stance of Comparative Analysis acknowledges that sets (say of History textbooks and historically-situated games) are comprised of elements and seeks to analyse the comparative interplay of differing cases within sets (Ragin & Rubinson, 2009, p.14). To engage scientifically with these cases, certain criterion must be met, beginning with the adoption of a small number of cases: the analysis should inculcate two observable and comparable cases, at least, a practice which has been validated by the scientific community, while a much larger sample size would require conventional statistical analysis (Collier, 1993; Lijphart, 1971; Ragin, 2008). Through the selection of a small set of samples or cases, the researcher is able to develop an in-depth knowledge and understanding of the cases (Ragin, 2008), a quality inherent in qualitative research, which in turn "provides the key to understanding, explaining and interpreting diverse … outcomes and processes and their significance" (Ragin as cited by Lor, 2011, p.2). Therefore, through engagement with the two comparative cases of the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks, on one hand, and the electronic game, on the other, and their respective engagement with second-order historical thinking concepts, an understanding of each can occur as well as an interpretation of what each deem significant for a historically literate learner.

A focus on the case, rather than the variables, denotes the adoption of a case-oriented strategy towards analysis, a strategy which favours small sample groups as a means to highlight the details and individuality of cases (Lor, 2011; Ragin & Rubinson, 2009). The alternative, the variable-oriented strategy to comparison requires a larger sample through which "descriptive inferences are produced" which permits "generalization from patterns found with samples", best undertaken through large sample groups (Ragin & Rubinson, 2009, p.14). While case-oriented comparison does not ignore variables at play, they simply perceive that the cases have a relationship between themselves, not the variables which exist separately (Rubinson & Ragin, 2007). If applied to my research, a variable-oriented approach

would highlight the second-order historical thinking concepts, while the tools, the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks and the electronic game, would be of little relevance, with minimal focus on their intentions or literary context. To explain further, while the case-oriented strategy situates my cases or tools within their uniquely particular historical context, the variable-oriented strategy isolates the variables in that they "are abstracted and removed from concrete reality and context" (Lor, 2011, p.10). The adopted case-oriented approach acknowledges the cases as wholes, recognising the plethora of attributes as existing within a complete structure, rather than simplifying the whole by extricating its parts and simplifying the hypotheses. In this regard, the case-oriented approach can be deemed the most suitable for answering comparative-style questions (Rubinson & Ragin, 2007), while the specific manner in which the research questions are addressed follows in the discussion below.

3.3.3. Qualitative Comparative Content Analysis

Both Comparative and Content Analysis exist within a flexible framework, the former often requiring that "cases are first analysed using a preferred qualitative technique" (Legewir, 2013, n.d.), while additionally stated to possess a "complementarity" with alternate approaches (Lor, 2011, p.7). Complementarity denotes that differing approaches, typically qualitative and quantitative approaches, are assimilated into a working analysis, rather than performed separately. When applied within my research parameters, which are somewhat different, this will require an amalgamation of the Qualitative Content Analysis and the Qualitative Comparative Analysis strategies to analysis, in order to answer my research questions. This will require a synthesis of Zhang & Wildemuth's and Mayring's steps to Qualitative Content Analysis, along with Babbie, Berg, Cho and Lee, Hseih and Shannon, Kohlbacher, and Thomas, in addition to the comparative guidelines provided by Collier, Baptist and Befani, Devers et al, Lijphart, Lor and Ragin and Rubinson. These two analysis approaches will be further guided by the A Priori Coding Collection Schedules, the Qualitative Content Analysis Coding Schedules for each textbook and the electronic game, tools used to gather the a priori coding for deductive categorisation, namely the second-order historical thinking concepts and their characteristics, determined before the analysis begins as based upon existing theory assisted by the final A Priori Coding Collection Schedule, the Qualitative

Comparative Analysis Coding Schedule (Stemler, 2001). The primary methodological steps, of which there are six identifiably separate ones, are detailed below, and incorporate the various methodologies explored and denoted by the aforementioned researchers.

Step 1: Concrete Research Questions and Preparing the Data

Before the commencement of research begins, the phenomena under study had to be expressed within a "real question, not only a topic", to avoid the research question becoming haphazard and failing to base the "research process on praxis problems" (Mayring, 2014, p.10). Similarly Qualitative Comparative Analysis requires an initial step of identification of a suitable research question, particularly one which is appropriate for investigation using this approach. Suitable questions include those which establish numerous causal paths, here altered to state variables, such as the similarities and differences in engaging with the second-order historical thinking concepts, to result in a particular outcome or condition, such as the development of a historically literate learner (Devers et al, 2013). While Zhang and Wildemuth forgo this step, perhaps as it is deemed a logical step towards analysis, they incorporate additional steps inclusive of a data preparation step, whereby research is transcribed or transformed into an accessible written text (2005). When considering transcribing, they identify three points for my contemplation: firstly, I must determine whether I will transcribe every available source of text, from both the electronic game and the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks, or merely those which address the research questions; I must determine whether a direct or summative transcription will be used, such as literal examples, or rather summaries of those samples; and finally, whether alternate stimuli, such as music, and images, similarly be transcribed. While none of these steps can be actively followed before the designation of categories, determination of them is nevertheless vital: for my research, I have only provided data which addresses my questions to lessen the large qualitative data load; I have included specific examples under the Qualitative Content Analysis Coding Schedule (Appendix A1) and the Qualitative Comparative Analysis Coding Schedule (Appendix A2), followed by an overall summary (when addressing the comparative component of the analysis) of the experiences and generalised commentary; and finally, I have included, wherever necessary, imagery and sounds, particularly as the game is

situated within a visual, textual and auditory experience. As it stands, no auditory inclusions were necessary.

Step 2: Category Selection, Coding and Levels of Abstraction

Following step one, the creation of categories, namely grouping items of similar connotation, as well as the coding schedule or scheme, has originated from three sources "the data, previous related studies, and theories" (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2005, p.5). Within a Comparative approach, these categories initially arise from a rudimentary indication of the key concepts and the various cases and their variables most suited in addressing the research question (Ragin & Rubinson, 2009). While these categories must be explicitly denoted, the intended level of abstraction will play an integral role in determining the extent to which formulated categories are general or specific (Mayring, 2014). Due to the theory-driven categorisation, my categories are specific in nature, including concepts such as historical significance and cause and consequence, to name a few. Following this, I identified and acknowledged the relevant "conditions" or variables- once variables had been designated, other variables were inherently excluded, alleviating an issue experienced by Comparative research, whereby too many variables, such as the guideposts or second-order historical thinking concepts, exist through which the tools can be explored (Devers et al, 2013; Lijphart, 1971). These variables will include the guideposts behind each historical concept, or the questions that lie at their foundation. Certain guideposts were removed, such as the historical significance Guidepost 4, which stated "Historical significance varies over time and from group to group" (Seixas & Morton, 2013.2, p.10). This exclusion stemmed from its unsuitability as a research category in assessing the tools- this would require numerous textbooks or games from various points of origin and times. Similarly, the change and continuity guidepost 4 addressing "Periodization" was removed as no feasible question could be created from it- it was instead replaced with the question "To what degree has change been identified and to what degree has continuity been identified?", a facet surprisingly unexplored within the guideposts. It is surprising as it was considered a sophisticated level of enquiry by learners by Seixas, who asked learners to "Explain how some things continue and others change, in any period of History", as well as "Identify changes over time in aspects of life that we ordinarily assume to be continuous; and to identify continuities in aspects of life we ordinarily assume to have changed over

time" (Seixas, 2006, p.6). In this regard, it was deemed necessary to include a guidepost which simplistically explored unexpected changes and continuities to fulfil the criterion of a historically literate learner.

This deductive determination of categories and codes/ variables, such as the aforementioned designation of the second-order historical thinking concepts and their accompanying guideposts, or codes, was necessary as the inductive approach can only be utilised "in studies where no theories are available" (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2005, p.3). Following the creation of the Qualitative Content Analysis Coding Schedule (a blank copy is included as appendix A1) based on this theorised categories and selected guideposts, the Qualitative Comparative Analysis Coding Schedule (a blank copy is included as appendix A2) was created and linked to the first schedules: in this fashion, these categories or typologies were constructed as a means to identify distinct and shared characteristics between cases which can be compared (Lor, 2011), such as the differences and similarities in the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks, *New Generations* and *Oxford in Search of History*, respectively retitled Textbook A and Textbook B, and the electronic game, ACU, engagement with second-order historical thinking concepts. These various categories, the second-order historical thinking concepts, and their variables, the guideposts were, in the third step, put under the spotlight through a piloting process.

Step 3: Pilot Tests and Coding the Text

Despite the seemingly quantitative approach to deduction which follows, Hseih and Shannon have identified my selected method for piloting and coding as one of three qualitative methods of Content Analysis, which they denote as a "Directed Content Analysis" (2005). Directed Content Analysis follows a rather structured process, in that existing theory is utilised to identify key concepts or variables which will act as the primary coding schedule. This approach requires coding to follow two steps: first and foremost, one must "research and categorize all instances of a particular phenomenon", highlighting these instances based on one's initial impression, such as the six second-order historical thinking concepts, before commencing to step two, whereby the highlighted passages are coded "using the predetermined codes" (p.1282). This necessitated a line-by-line reading, and the accompanying pilot or sample testing of my coding, thereby gaining methodological strength in my research

(Mayring, 2014). Zhang and Wildemuth (2005) argue for this procedure or process, stating that the "best test of the clarity and consistency of your category definitions is to code a sample" (p.4). Yet, to narrow the explosively extensive samples of the phenomena under study, the second-order historical thinking concepts, the researcher should ideally select those images and quotes which express the central idea or matter of its relative category (Thomas, 2003).

This sampled code can include a manifest or latent coding analysis, respectively conceptualised as the empirical, shallow content, or an analysis of its underlying connotative meaning (Babbie, 2010; Berg, 2001). A latent reading requires one to move beyond this initial line-by-line reading and highlighting and provide an interpretation of the symbols and meanings contained within the content. This step has been engaged with using both types of the Coding Schedules- specific examples of second-order historical thinking concepts will be extrapolated upon from the Qualitative Content Analysis Coding Schedule, followed by a preliminary discussion, drawn from these findings, of what the similarities and differences within the Qualitative Comparative Coding Schedule are, and thereby, what they potentially reveal about accepted knowledges, as will be discussed within the findings and discussion sections of this research paper. In many ways, this process is echoed by Mayring's mixed method approach of Content Structuring/ Theme Analysis within Content Analysis, which moves beyond the deductive first steps, designed around categorisation according to available literature, to include a final inductive summary of the information for analysis (2014).

Step 4: Revision of Categories

This step is arguably a continuation of step 3 as it exists partially within the pilot loop: once 10-50% of the material has been coded during the pilot phase using the two types of Coding Schedules, one begins to engage with a revision of these codes or variables (Kohlbacher, 2006; Mayring, 2014). As I am using three samples - two grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks and the electronic game- the Qualitative Content Analysis occurred once 50% of the material had been coded, namely when the two textbooks had been completed as they comprise one half of the comparative equation, with the assistance of my supervisor to ensure trustworthiness. The

Qualitative Comparative Analysis similarly occurred at 50% to allow for similarities and differences to emerge, namely Textbook A was initially compared with Textbook B, to view the similarities and differences present across the textbooks, allowing for a picture to emerge. Therefore, "within a feedback loop" the codes and variables were revised, reduced to and checked "in respect to their reliability" (Kohlbacher, 2006, p.19). When changes to category description or coding of the second-order historical thinking concepts did occur, then the analysis slipped back to step 2 and the material was again sorted into categories and latently analysed (Mayring, 2014).

This was the case when addressing guidepost 4 of historical perspectives: the guidepost, which states "Taking the perspectives of historical actors means inferring how people felt and thought about the past … Valid inferences are those based on evidence" (Seixas & Morton, 2013.2, p.11), a statement I had altered to "What are the differing perspectives of historical agents?" This was a question I later altered to "What are the differing perspectives of *and on* historical agents?", when it became evident that source material and ideas existed regarding historical agents which still provided significant insight into the individuals they regarded as well as those who held them. The repetitive coding of the sample allowed and should ensure that the researcher, myself, checks and revises their coding consistently until an adequate level of consistency is met (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2005), which I have followed. It is key here to note that while the guideposts or identified similarities and differences did alter slightly, the categories did not as they have been informed by literature.

Step 5: Final Coding and Assessing My Coding Consistency
Step 5 mirrored step 4, yet inculcated the entirety of the source material for coding in steps 2-4 (Cho & Lee, 2014; Mayring, 2014; Zhang and Wildemuth, 2005). Correspondingly, any additional guidepost or coding revisions should occur at this juncture and the process would begin again, with a week's gestation period to allow for trustworthiness, discussed below (Anney, 2014). This required that I read through the material coded in the Coding Schedules of Textbooks A and B, as well as ACU, again, to assess the extent to which they incorporated the fullest plausible spectrum of possibilities, following a relative break in the work. Within the Qualitative Comparative approach to analysis, this iteration assisted in developing new hypotheses and adding conditions or instances, where necessary, that had been

missed (Baptist & Befani, 2015), allowing for further discussion of the latent meaning implicitly conveyed in the code. Furthermore, this step incorporated Zhang and Wildemuth's (2005) Qualitative Content Analysis step 6, whereby code was assessed for consistency in its totality. This is best performed with the assistance of a human coder, again my supervisor, who read through the findings on the Coding Schedule to assess whether similar inductions occurred. This was applicable to both the Qualitative Content Analysis Coding Schedule and Qualitative Comparative Analysis Coding Schedule, whereby the examples used were manifestly and latently described (Babbie, 2010; Berg, 2001). Additionally, the Qualitative Comparative Analysis Coding Schedule, a method to provide "the explicit contrasting of two or more cases to explore parallels and differences" (Azarian, 2011, p.115), was fully extrapolated upon and the aforementioned similarities and negotiated by with my supervisor.

Step 6: Findings Discussion and Analysis

Within this final step, the researcher, myself, was required to "make inferences and present" my "reconstructions of the meanings derived from the data" (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2005, p. 5). This could only be implemented once a thorough code checking in step 5 had occurred and the results had been discussed with the second coder as detailed above (Mayring, 2014). Once the second-order historical thinking concepts had been reasonably analysed and the similarities and differences compared across samples, the write-up could begin. This would be structured according to a summative discussion of categories, such as historical significance, before subheadings, regarding the relative guideposts were negotiated within the two CAPS-approved grade 10 History textbooks and the electronic game (Thomas, 2003). Following this, the comparative element was fully engaged with within the findings as the similarities and differences between the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks and ACU were debated, as well as what they individually revealed (Thomas, 2003). The similarities and differences explored within the Qualitative Comparative Analysis also addressed questions such as "which aspects of the project theory … are reinforced and which are challenged?" and whether any anomalies existed outside of the theory and literature (Baptist & Befani, 2015, p.6). The overall discussion included illustrative quotes, garnered from the Coding Schedules, and aimed for a "balance between description and interpretation" to

ensure that suitable context is given, while still remaining interpretivist in nature (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2005, p.5).

The six steps of the Qualitative Comparative Content Analysis detailed above are the birth child of the Qualitative Content Analysis steps primarily laid out by Zhang & Wildemuth (2009) and Mayring (2014), and the Qualitative Comparative Analysis steps of Ragin and Rubinson. In order to ensure their applicability, these steps have unified the approaches, bringing in the suggestions of alternate researchers and synthesising certain steps generally present in both analysis types, such as iteration. These steps, while stringent, allow for the comparative nature of the research to move beyond merely a "natural and elementary function of the human mind" to a mode of scientific analysis which "is disciplined" in its principles (Azarian, 2011, p.115). This disciplined approach inherent in the research steps has acted, in part, in ensuring the trustworthiness of the findings, a facet of the qualitative approach detailed below.

3.3.4. Trustworthiness

The Qualitative Interpretivist approach, seeking depth, understanding and subjectivity, has been employed as an overarching guideline to assess, gather and analyse the data, focusing on the distinctiveness of the situation and seeking contextual complexities (Kelliher, 2005; Pitney, 2004). Its previously expressed differentiation from the quantitative research approach negates the quantitative measurement of quality- objectivity, reliability and validity- instead shifting to embrace credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Morrow, 2005; Pitney, 2004; Shenton, 2004). While quantitative research seeks to measure and examine in an objective space, qualitative interpretivist research is far too value-laden to be assessed or critiqued in the same fashion (Ryan, Coughlan & Cronin, 2007). In this regard, through improvement of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability, a level or rigour or trustworthiness can be developed, one which "establishes the validity and reliability of qualitative research" (Mamabolo, 2009, p.67). These aforementioned four components have been addressed, as well as any analysis specific quality issues, such as those contained within the Qualitative Content Analysis approach, through a discussion of peer debriefing, audit trailing and supervisor liaising, to name a few.

Credibility, the qualitative twin of internal validity, begs the question, to what extent can the research findings be trusted within their context (Anney, 2014; Pitney, 2004; Shenton, 2004). Credibility encourages qualitative interpretivists to "take account of the bewildering array of interlocking factor patterns that confront them" and "deal with the patterns in their entirety" (Guba, 1981, p. 84). In order for this to be remotely feasible, the researcher must develop an intensively deep familiarity with their research topic and the settings drawn into question, a concept labelled "prolonged engagement" (Anney, 2014; Loh, 2014; Mamabolo, 2009; Shenton, 2004; Stordy, 2012). Prolonged engagement allows for the researcher to gain an understanding of the setting, such as an understanding of how grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks and the electronic game may engage with second-order historical thinking concepts, as well as a relationship of trust with participants (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). While my research does not incorporate participants, the learners act as silent participants, and my familiarity with them and the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks stems directly from my role as an educator. Regarding the game, Maheyez, a gamer, estimated the gameplay of ACU, to require an approximate 100 hours "for the full game experience" (2015, p.1), while Gamelengths (2015), a website, trumped this, stating that the longest game time was close on 150 hours. Therefore, while the lack of active participants ensures that I have not experience distortions due to my presence, I have been wary of losing my "detached wonder" if I "go native" (Lincoln & Guba as cited by Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.304)- though awareness is, in itself, promising, as well as a prolonged experience with the tools (Stordy, 2012).

Building from this is the technique of persistent observation, whereby the researcher moves beyond merely engaging with the culture or characteristics of the phenomena, to actively identifying the "characteristics and elements in the situation that are most relevant to the problem" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 304). This was addressed through the identification of key second-order historical thinking concepts and their qualities, so that any immaterial findings were filtered out and the issue was thoroughly pursued (Mamabolo, 2009). Furthermore, throughout the research, credibility was assessed and maintained through peer debriefing, such as those held by the School of Education, Social Sciences Cluster, and frequent debriefing

sessions, with my supervisor (Guba, 1981; Shenton, 2004). The History Education Masters cohort programmes brought to the table fresh perspectives and the opportunity to question assumptions I had made, thereby permitting me to further refine my arguments and methods (Shenton, 2004). Similarly, debriefing sessions with a supervisor, such as I have done, allowed for the expansion of my ideas to inculcate other, more academic, experiences in the field of research, and draw attention to any biases, or misconceptions.

While quantitative researchers focus on generalisation, qualitative researchers shun this approach, as "virtually all social/ behavioural phenomena are context-bound" (Guba, 1981, p.86). This reliance on context bore transferability, a reaction to generalisation, which relates to whether, or how far, the findings of one's research can be applied to similar contexts (Morrow, 2005; Pitney, 2004). For research to be considered "transferable", one must be able to insert the findings into similar, though alternate, contexts (Ryan, Coughlin & Cronin, 2007). Lincoln and Guba (1985) identify two steps towards facilitating this process: the first being the affordance of "thick" descriptions; the second regarding the selection of purposive samples. The former, thick descriptions, requires the researcher to present ample information regarding their positionality, the context of their research, their selected processes and any participants or participant-researcher relationship dynamics (Morrow, 2005). Following in this line, I have provided details regarding my demographics, preferences and personal background in an attempt to clarify my perspective as I was acting as an instrument (Morrow, 2005; Pitney, 2004), as well as provide a short biography on the selected grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks, the electronic game and the French Revolution. Of particular relevance to my analysis approach, I have carefully conceptualised my categories, namely the key second-order historical thinking concepts and the identification of a similarities and differences categories, and have provided adequate rationalisation regarding their selection (Elo et al, 2014). If accomplished, these and other numerous "thick" descriptions, a necessity of qualitative research discussed earlier in this section, provide a clear picture through which readers can gain an understanding of the phenomena and compare this to their own research or situations (Shenton, 2004). Additionally, Guba (1981) argues for the collection, not merely the development, of "thick" descriptions in the forms of comparative contexts, or similar situations and

contexts with which to compare my own. This has been instanced by the inclusion of both informal discussions regarding the *Assassin's Creed* franchise and its potential for History tuition, as well as the implementation of historically-situated electronic games in the classroom, as experienced by Pabon, Squire and Trépanier within the literature review.

Purposive sampling, previously conceptualised as the selection of subjects most suited to represent a population based on a particular quality or characteristics identified through the "special knowledge or expertise" of the researcher (Berg, 2001, p.32; Lantham, 2007), has been implemented in the selection of the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks and the electronic game. Purposive sampling is particularly helpful with developing transferability, as the researcher is able to select the tools or participants most knowledgeable or most suitable to the issue, such as the selection of CAPS-approved textbooks specifically, as well contemplate why those samples should be selected and what qualities they possess (Anney, 2014). In this regard, it provides the most authentic range of information regarding the specific phenomena, rather than generalizable information (Guba, 1981). This allowed for the garnering of the aforementioned "thick" descriptions and in-depth findings (Anney, 2014; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). It was, furthermore, a requirement in developing trustworthiness in Qualitative Content Analysis, which stressed that "samples must be appropriate and comprise participants who best represent or have knowledge of the research topic" (Elo et al, 2014, p.4).

Dependability, which asserts that "the way in which a study is conducted should be consistent across time, researchers, and analysis techniques" (Gasson, 2004, p.94), shares an intimate familiarity with credibility. This intimacy, correlating with that of their quantitative counterparts, validity and reliability, ensures that affirming quality in the former, credibility, assists tremendously in the quality of the other, dependability (Daymon & Holloway, 2002; Mamabolo, 2009; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Shenton, 2004). Nevertheless, additional steps towards trustworthiness through dependability do exist and have been implemented. First and foremost, as dependability is concerned with the consistency and accuracy of one's findings, a simple step towards securing it existed in detailing the research design and methodology and linking the results to this structure and available literature (Jensen, 2008; Pitney,

2004; Shenton, 2004). For this transparency to have been plausible, "there must be a research infrastructure to support a repetition or replication of the study that will have similar results" (Jensen, 2008, p. 209). This replication was further enhanced through implementation of what Anney (2014) calls the code-recode strategy, a process which requires the researcher to code the same data twice, allowing for a one- or two-week waiting period between, as a means of assessing whether the coding remains the same. If one peruses the methodology, this exists in step 5, whereby a week's gestation was permitted between coding and recoding of the final data. It acts as a Qualitative Content Analysis quality check, which asserts that researchers should return continuously to the same research to analyse and test the dependability of their findings (Elo et al, 2014).

Additionally, in further addressing dependability in methodology, is the overlap method, conceptualised by Guba (1981), as a form of triangulation devoted to the simultaneous utilisation of divergent methods. This may integrate differing methods or data-gathering techniques which, if complementary in nature and validated, allow for a cross-authentication of findings and a lessening of the shortfalls of both methods and analyses tools (Brown, 2005; Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Utilising both a Qualitative Content Analysis approach, and a Qualitative Comparative Analysis approach ensured that the two bonded and created a complementary analysis with the strengths of both highlighted. However, as Gasson (2004) illustrates "you probably cannot remember what you had for dinner a week ago, what hope do you have of remembering how and why you merged two categories during data analysis?" (p.94). This is where the audit trail stepped in, a process which allows the researcher to account for their choices, actions and alterations (Anney, 2014; Guba, 1981; Morrow, 2005), one I have implemented through the use of a software programme, GitHub. GitHub was initially designed with software designers and programmers in mind, and acted as a version control system where programmers could update, change and even revert to previous and current programs (Brown, 2014). In relation to my research, GitHub allowed me to place all of my documents, including PDFs and images, within a repository and add to this existing repository all updated changes to my writing. Peer reviewers, who may use my audit trail to explore and "authenticate the findings of my study" (Pitney, 2004, p.28), will be able to track my daily changes through each "branch" of the repository,

which has also been labelled. This is particularly necessary as peer review and debriefing is a proponent of dependability previously discussed within credibility, which contributes towards a reflexive practice, allowing the researcher to explore their own reasoning.

This reflexivity, equally termed self-reflective, or reflective practice, requires the researcher to "intentionally reveal to his audience the underlying epistemological assumptions" which drive the research (Ruby, 1980, p.157), such as the previous discussion on positionality and my epistemological and ontological assumptions. This reflexivity is a key step on the road to confirmability, and is required to expose and discard the biases, perspectives and beliefs of the researcher, and focus on presenting findings which reasonably embody the phenomena under study (Anney, 2014; Daymon & Holloway, 2002; Gasson, 2004). At its core is the issue of validation, of confirming that the researcher's interpretations can be verified and are not merely their own constructions (Jensen, 2008). This was accomplished through the meticulous collection of information "from a variety of perspectives, using a variety of methods, and drawing upon a variety of sources" through triangulation (Guba, 1981, p.87). Triangulation played a singularly vital role in developing confirmability (Shenton, 2004), and has been evidenced in the unification of two analyses approaches and throughout the literature where multiple sources are referenced.

3.3.5. Ethics

According to Padgett (2008), the only research which can be defined as trustworthy is that which can be announced to be fair and to be ethical. In order for research to be deemed ethical in nature it must acquiesce to certain criteria, requiring that it is "ethically conducted, trustworthy and socially responsible if the results are to be valuable" (University of Minnesota's Center for Bioethics, 2003, p.6). While ethics primarily focuses on safeguarding the rights of human participants through consent and confidentiality, as there are no human participants, asides from myself, this does not apply (Drew, Hardman & Hosp, 2008). Both the textbooks and the game exist in the public domain, in essence placing the intellectual property open to criticism and discussion; yet to avoid any form of plagiarism, the work within this research gives due authorship and ownership (Conrad, 2010). The primary ethical component

relevant to my research is that of "fabrication, falsification, or plagiarism": respectively whether data or results has been contrived, whether "research materials, equipment, or processes" have been influenced or altered, and finally whether appropriation has been duly given to other's ideas or publications (Kamat, 2006, 13). These three concerns have been addressed in my declaration and illustrated in my references list as authorship has been established, as well as through the inclusion of my Turnitin declaration (Appendix C, p.280). To reinforce this, the University of KwaZulu-Natal has provided me with the suitable ethical clearance (Appendix B, p.279) to back up my assertions and all work is vetted by the University before publication.

3.4. CONCLUSION

Through immersion in qualitative data, assessed through an interpretivist lens, this research has unfolded the manner in which the two outwardly dichotomous pedagogical tools engage with the second-order historical thinking concepts. The purposive samples, ACU*,* acting as an artefact of the "unofficial", and the two CAPS-approved Grade 10 History Textbooks, representations of the "officially sanctioned, authorized version of human knowledge" (De Castell, Luke & Luke as cited by Goldstein, 1997) have been selected for their criterion, detailed above. Each has provided the French Revolution as a backdrop upon which to analyse their engagement with the second-order historical thinking concepts, through the use of a Qualitative Content Analysis process. A Qualitative Content Analysis Coding Schedule has been utilised to transcribe the images, texts and auditory expressions embedded in the game and textbooks according to the specific categories, such as historical significance and perspective-taking, expounded in the literature review. Once quotes and visuals were included, a latent discussion began regarding the underlying, implicit connotations (Babbie, 2010; Berg, 2001).

Following this, the qualitative approach to Comparative Analysis juxtaposes the two tools, the textbooks representing one case and the game the other case, as typical of the comparative method in determining what similarities and differences exist in regards to their engagement and expression of the second-order historical thinking

concepts (Azarian, 2011; Ragin & Rubinson, 2009). These similarities and differences were engaged with using the Qualitative Comparative Analysis Coding Schedule, linked to the Qualitative Content Analysis Coding Schedule. Similarly, manifest coding was followed by latent coding, illustrating initially what the similarities and differences were, before a simple discussion regarding their latent suggestions ensued. This made room for the final discussion and analysis in the next sections. This discussion has been reasonably validated by addressing concerns of trustworthiness, examining the credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability of the research, as well as discussing the shortfalls and limitations and the steps taken to alleviate these. Due to the existence of the tools in the public domain, no real ethical concerns have come into play, as validated by the University of KwaZulu-Natal's ethical clearance, asides from the typical concerns of plagiarism and falsification.

CHAPTER FOUR:
ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS OF GRADE 10 CAPS-APPROVED
HISTORY TEXTBOOKS A AND B

Due to the rich and extensive qualitative data gathered from the two CAPS-approved grade 10 History textbooks and the electronic game ACU each has been addressed within a separate chapter: this chapter being devoted to the foremost educational tools, the textbooks. Within this chapter, the six second-order historical thinking concepts have been used as categorisations for discussion, the data garnered from engagement with the Textbook A and B's respective Qualitative Content Analysis Coding Schedules, as well as the Qualitative Comparative Analysis Coding Schedule. The second-order historical thinking concepts have been engaged with in the same order laid out by Seixas: historical significance, source evidence, change and continuity, cause and consequence, historical perspectives and the moral dimension. Each second-order historical thinking concept has been further divided for discussion by the specifically designated guideposts detailed in the literature review which act to enforce their respective concept.

In this regard, historical significance, for example, has been discussed, first and foremost, through its three selected guideposts, each relayed later within this chapter, utilising a combination of manifest signposting in the form of quotes selected from each textbook, as well as latent meaning negotiations. The intention is to provide illustrative examples of particular ideologies the textbook creators may hold, or grand narratives they are required or desire to impart to the learners. As Textbook A and B hold instances of disparity, the Qualitative Comparative Analysis Coding Schedule, as illustrated in Appendix A2, has been drawn on to discuss variances in the engagement with particular second-order historical thinking concepts. It is crucial to note that not every instance has been detailed- to do so would be repetitive and verbose- but rather those occurrences or cases which best demonstrate a concept, guidepost or similarity and difference are included, in following with methodology, in that examples must express the central theme of the specific second-order historical thinking concept (Thomas, 2003).

Once the manifest and latent discussion have occurred for each second-order historical thinking concept, a concluding paragraph for that particular concept has been devoted to expressing the overall findings- a comprehensive and pervasive impression held by the textbooks regarding a particular second-order historical thinking concept. In this manner, the discussion on each concept has been structured according to their guideposts, which have been discussed at the commencement of each second-order historical thinking concept, comprises both manifest quotations and images and their corresponding latent negotiations, before closing with a discussion on key findings across Textbook A and Textbook B.

4.1. THE GRADE 10 CAPS-APPROVED HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

4.1.1. Introduction

Textbooks A and B, each a representative of the officially sanctioned and authorised knowledges deemed valuable by the DBE, act as mediums for imparting second-order historical thinking concepts. These second-order historical thinking concepts, as addressed in the literature review, are intended to create a historically literate learner, one possessive of domain-specific skills allowing for critical thinking surrounding historical events, in conjunction with sourcing, corroboration and contextualisation of historical evidence (Lee, 2004; Lévesque 2013; Nokes, 2011.1; Peck & Seixas, 2008; Wineburg & Martin, 2004). While the DBE does not reference such a learner, the designation of eight skills, many of which collaborate or mirror the second-order historical thinking concepts determined by Seixas, suggests a desire to similarly create a historically literate learner. Within this chapter, the textbooks, acting as vehicles for these skills, have been discussed regarding their engagement with the second-order historical thinking concepts, in an effort to determine the underlying messages or core themes and narratives pervasive throughout the textbooks, and thereby determine the manner in which the DBE views each concept and their intentions when engaging with them. Each second-order historical thinking concept has been dealt with separately, in the manner indicated at the commencement of this chapter.

4.2.1. Historical Significance

When addressing the first cornerstone of historical literacy, the second-order historical thinking concept of historical significance, learners are required to understand how certain historical events, agents and advancements have been deemed important and for what reasons (Seixas & Morton, 2013.1). In order to achieve this understanding, Seixas and Morton designated four particular guideposts, three of which have been explored, which will be addressed in the paragraphs to follow to establish the manner in which the textbooks have engaged with the second-order historical thinking concept. First and foremost, is the guidepost addressing change: namely the profundity or depth of change, the durability, how lasting the change is, and the amount of people affected by the change, the quantity. These three pillars of change have been addressed before the focus turns to second guidepost, the manner in which a historical event, person or development provides insight on developing and lasting concerns, before the final guidepost is discussed. Guidepost three requires an understanding of the narrative in which historical events, agents and developments exist, exploring its meaningful position within a larger argument or story.

When addressing the extent of change as a reflection of the historical significance of the French Revolution, certain ideals came readily into focus. The primary focus of the profundity of the French Revolution was the shift in power: Textbook A holds the French Revolution as responsible for bringing "about the collapse of the old order" (p.78), while Textbook B specifies what that collapse entailed by stating "France became a Republic instead of a monarchy", meaning "people had the right to choose their own government, and this was an important step towards a democracy" (p.82). This focus is reinforced by a durability point within Textbook B which looked at the bicentenary of the French Revolution and the celebrations attention on "the overthrow of autocracy and the goals of democracy" (p.96). In this regard, the History textbooks hold true the profound significance of the Revolution as the shift in power structures away from the king, towards the civilians, and what this meant for democracy. It is key here to note the relatively significant difference in grappling with the profundity of the Revolution- Textbook A proclaims confidently that the Revolution "saw the triumph of liberty, equality and fraternity over the forces of tyranny" (p.78), while Textbook B more tentatively portrays it as "an example of how

people managed to overthrow a powerful government and *tried* to replace it with a better one" (p.64). Textbook A appears to believe in the success of the Revolution in spreading and sustaining democracy. Democracy is the foreground of many of the changes highlighted within the textbooks and finds its second foothold in the durability of the Revolution.

When engaging with the durability of the French Revolution, the long-lasting impact of the democratic ideals which arose from the French Revolution, was highlighted in both textbooks, particularly as these ideals relate to South Africa, with Textbook A suggesting these ideals influenced the "South African Revolution of 1994" (p.78). Textbook A establishes the relationship between the French and South African Revolution on the grounds that "the French Revolution played a significant role in establishing the principles of freedom, democracy and fraternity" and "these principles have informed the formation of democratic countries like South Africa" with the constitution and democratic principles illustrating this (p. 110). This idealisation of the Revolution as "a pivotal year, a watershed, a year when the modern world was born" (p.102) within Textbook A is detailed in a less emotive and broader fashion within Textbook B: democracy was not guaranteed by the French Revolution, rather "The French Revolution … started to make people aware of the need for democracy" as mirrored in "our world today and especially South Africa" (p.64). This spread of democracy looks beyond merely a personalised focus on South Africa, stating "by the late 20th century, democracies were the main form of government in central and Western Europe" (p.94) and looking at the impact the French Revolution had in the emergence and dissemination of the ideology of Nationalism through the formation of a "national army… national flag … and national day" (p.82). Finally, Textbook B opens the floor to learners to consider the durability of the significance of the Revolution themselves, asking "Do they focus on the people rising up against oppression, the principles of democracy set down by the first revolutionary government, the limitations of the Revolution in terms of the outcome for women or the violence used by the state to keep control?" (p.96) and concluding that these are all relevant issues today.

Both textbooks do, nevertheless, highlight the global impact of the Revolution, beyond the scope of South Africa and democracy, as well as drawing attention to the

expansive beneficial impact on the social structure. To elucidate, Textbook A focuses on the manner in which "nobles lost their influence" and as a result "careers became open to talent, giving the bourgeoisie an access to highest positions" (p.109), which Textbook B supports in stating "the middle class had great opportunities and they dominated the government" as well as noting "the peasants also benefited" (p.82). In this manner, the French Revolution is commended for its changes in the lives of many (the quantity), uplifting a majority of the civilians within France, and even those abroad: "The influence of the French Revolution reached the French colonies overseas" (p.91). Textbook A and Textbook B look at the impact of the Revolution on Saint Dominique and how these people were "inspired by the idea of liberty, which gave them hope for their own futures" (Textbook B, p.91), as well as the world at large, as a "forerunner to the revolutions that occurred all over the world" (Textbook A, p.78).

Yet the French Revolution did not exist within a vacuum and the textbooks make note of the underlying issues the Revolution revealed, as well as the position of the Revolution within a grand, meaningful narrative, namely guideposts two and three, which often overlapped. The textbooks begin by focusing on the presence of established problems, guidepost two, within the social and economic system of France, in stating "the basic problem was that in a rich country there was not enough income to carry out its functions" (Textbook A, p.85) because "those with wealth- the nobles and the church- did not have to pay taxes" (Textbook B, p.67). Yet, as Textbook A points out, "in some societies, oppression can continue for hundreds of years before the people decide to act against it" (p.79) and it was arguably due to the insight gained from the American Revolution and the presence of philosophers who "began to question these ideas" (p.70), as Textbook B suggests, that these changes could occur and the accepted "authority of their rulers and of the church" could be challenged. The textbooks focus on the manner in which the American War of Independence revealed underlying issues on a global scale, as well as exposing the truth that "a better world was possible if it was created by men using reasons" (p.88), as Textbook A asserts. These issues of oppression are further extended to the island of Haiti, previously Saint Dominique, where "African slaves made up 87% of the population" (p.91).

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It is within this global narrative of oppression and resistance that the two textbooks position the emergence of the French Revolution, in addressing the third and final guidepost. The textbooks situate the Revolution firstly within the narrative of its time, looking at the presence of the Enlightenment philosophers urging "people to use reason and science to think critically about things instead of simply accepting the word of those in authority" (Textbook B, p.70), in conjunction with the emergence of independence in America, leading to those French soldiers returning to France feeling "inspired by the ideas of democracy" (p. 71). Democracy is, again, at the foreground, and it appears that the French Revolution is a crucial turning point in the struggle for democracy: "elsewhere in Europe and the America, the example of the French revolutionaries inspired uprisings throughout the 19th century, with demands for more democratic systems of government" (Textbook B, p.64). The French Revolution, then, is portrayed as existing within a broader meaningful narrative stretching to the present, and across many countries, with the focus, again on Haiti and South Africa. Textbook B proclaims that within Haiti the "slaves rose up in revolt of their owners and established their own independent country", illustrating the democratic zeal rippling out from the Revolution; a democratic zeal which, as Textbook A asserts, the aforementioned philosophers promoted in the adopted "watchwords: liberty, equality and fraternity" (p.87).

In summation, when addressing the historical significance of the French Revolution, both textbooks hold the emergence and establishment of democratic ideals under a spotlight. It is proposed that due, in large part, to the rise of the philosophers and the Enlightenment ideals, men and women began to question the existing ties of oppression held by the monarch and clergy. These ideals, when seen manifest in the American Revolution, gained a foothold in the hearts of the French Third Estate, who sought to obtain a democracy for themselves. The democratic principles established as a result of the French Revolution resonate throughout both textbooks, applauded to a lesser (Textbook B) and greater (Textbook A) extent for the ensuing spread of democracy to other countries and the revolutionary spirit held in Haiti and South Africa. South Africa, as the point of origin for these textbooks, and its purported Revolution of 1994 and democracy is portrayed as an undeniable reflection of the significant changes resultant of the French Revolution.

4.2.2. Source Evidence

When addressing the second of the six second-order historical thinking concepts, source evidence, five questions can be asked of the source to ensure that it provides the measures for a historical literate learner. Sources, a tool through which one is able to learn about the past, must be engaged with in a manner which goes beyond "reading a source for information" to the creation of evidence (Seixas, 2006, p.5). It is this transition from sourcing for information to sourcing for evidence, wherein a historically literate learner emerges, and the 5 guideposts aid in this transition. The first deals with the inferences which are garnered from the source; the second addresses the questions which can be (or in this the case of the textbooks, have been) asked of these primary sources; the third speaks of the author or creators worldview or purpose; the fourth focuses on contextualisation of the source; and the fifth, finally, requests whether the source can be corroborated by other primary sources. This second historical thinking concept differs in that these questions address each individual primary source included within the textbooks, and in this manner, cannot be dissected and analysed separately. Rather a discussion regarding the appearance of similar sources or inferences will be discussed, with focus on the manner in which sources were dealt with collectively and individually in Textbooks A and B.

While some of the same or similar sources have been included in both textbooks, in several cases, the information provided regarding the source, and the questions relating to it, may differ. For example, Textbook A and Textbook B have included slightly differing cartoon sources which depict the struggle of the Third Estate at the hands of the First and Second Estate, included below. However, there are slight variances in the inferences- Textbook A has created the image that the nobility is primarily adding to the burden, while the clergy somewhat supports it, perhaps elucidating to the lower clergy. Textbook B, on the other hand, sees the first two estates as equally responsible. Additionally, Textbook A asks one question dealing with how discrimination against the Third Estate was a cause behind the Revolution. Textbook B asks one question as well but draws learners to a skills support guideline which expresses to learners issues of intention, point of view, exaggeration and the features they must focus on. This enhances their ability to deal with sources critically. Nevertheless, despite difference in the contextualisation of the source, with

Textbook B providing more detail, the worldview of the cartoonist is the same(in this case, positioned from the Third Estate's perspective), which is often the case for the sources included in the textbooks.

Figure 4.2.2.1: The suffering of the Third Estate, in Textbook A, page 83

Figure 4.2.2.2: The suffering of the Third Estate in Textbook B, page 69

Further distinctions do occur which require discussion: Textbook A and Textbook B both include the same image of the March to Versailles, with one difference: Textbook Bs is large and clear, allowing you to see the different types of women at the march, while Textbook As is very small and blurry, making the people indistinct. This suggests something about their perspectives on the women of the Revolution. Textbook B allows the audience to see that many different ages of women attended and even, based on the style, differing financial statuses, though obviously not the nobility. Both textbooks ask a question dealing with the impact of the march:

Textbook A on the status of women, Textbook B on society. The difference, while subtle, is important. Textbook A is implying that women gained respect and power, when in many ways, their status remained the same as can illustrated by the rejection of the Declaration of the Rights of Women and the Female Citizen. Textbook B suggests that the March went beyond impacting the women, to impacting society, a more significant impact, per se. Textbook B moves on to ask questions relating to the visuals of the source, such as the attitude of the cartoonist, and finally requires learners to consider perspectiveness in a balanced manner: first they must consider the perspectives of a woman in the march, and then the views of a noblewoman, to understand the varying feelings. Neither source has a date, unfortunately, but a historical context is given, and additional primary sources are given to mark the end of the march.

Additionally, there are areas which one textbook covers, while the other does not, which elucidates to their relative perspective taking. An example of this occurs in their inclusion of sources dealing with the causes of the Revolution. Textbook A includes a source focusing on the economic causes, drawing attention to the role of Necker and the King, and illustrating the loss of France's money. Conversely, Textbook B includes no source of this kind, but rather focuses on the cultural causes, culture being well-focused on throughout the textbook. Textbook B has included the words of the philosophers and asked how the king and the first two estates would react to their ideas, looking at the differences in perspectives, yet it is unclear how this relates to causes. Textbook A focuses on the role of the King and the Queen, including a source which depicts Louis XVI forcibly drinking at the sight of the New Republic, while Marie is seen to be writing to her sister-in-law of her innocence. Rather than focus on individual agents, Textbook B isolates and discusses a group: ordinary people. The learners are asked to consider both sides of the coin, studying ways in which the crowd or ordinary people brought about change, and alternately, ways in which they were irresponsible and violent, suggesting both are true.

Nevertheless, similarities exist regarding engagement with sources, as well as the selection of the sources themselves. Textbook A and Textbook B both include sources which deal with the social structure and inequalities of France and portray the execution of the king in a negative light. Textbook A includes an image of the

peasant shaking off its shackles and rising up against the first two estates, while Textbook B indicates the frustrations experienced by the Third Estate through the cahier, which lists demands they wanted met at the Estates General. In dealing with the execution of the king, Textbook A includes an extract which while careful about explicit bias, includes aspects such as how the king was "seized" and "pushed", both aggressive verbs, how the executioners "were following orders", which suggests they did not want to follow through, and "the fatal blade" conveys an emotive note of disapproval. This is reinforced by the questions asked within Textbook A: learners are to consider the mood at his death, to visualise it firstly, before considering Louis's character, in understanding a historical agent. Textbook B is more explicit in their disapproval, including an image in which "a revolutionary sits on a lantern. His foot rests on the head of a dead bishop; a judge hangs from another lantern. In the background Louis XVI is about to be executed." (p.79). The image, evident below, while stated to be from a British cartoonist in opposition to the violence of the Revolution, suggests the killing of the king saw the death of religion and justice. However, Textbook B asks learners to focus rather on the cartoonist than the King, drawing away from the focus on historical agency to focus on intention and bias.

Figure 4.2.2.3: The Execution of the King in Textbook B, page 80

Additionally, within the textbook sources, certain general comments must be made, such as their failure to corroborate sources and provide dates and creators. Textbook A is troubled by unrelatable questions, wherein a source, such as the original Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen is paired with the question "How did the Declaration of Rights of Man influence the reforms of the National Assembly?" (p.92) which the source is unable to answer. Textbook B tends to include several content-focused questions within sources, yet their skills support section does draw attention to the qualities of a historically literate learner. Within Textbook A, there are no source-based causation questions, and only a smattering of questions such as "How do you think this incident [the women's march] would have enhanced the status of women?" (p.93) to address consequence, though Textbook B focuses significantly on both, demanding learners consider the complexity of causation and the interplay between long-term, short-term and immediate causes: "You have learnt about the conditions in France that led to so much dissatisfaction that a revolution broke out. These conditions are called the causes of the revolution. Some of them had been happening for a long time and are called long-term causes; some had happened fairly recently (short-term) and others were happening just before the revolution broke out in 1789 (immediate). Work through the unit and identify the long, short and immediate causes of the revolution" (p.73). Textbook B additionally includes source-based questions which draw learners' attention to the writer's intention, bias, morality and significance, many of the second-order historical thinking concepts, as can be evidenced in "Source A shows that in 1789 the French people saw "Equality before the law" as more important than the other gains of the Revolution. Why do you think this was the case? Do you agree with them?" which engages learners with memory, historical significance and perspective taking. Finally, while Textbook A does draw attention to moral judgement of historical agents in asking "Do you agree with Marie Antoinette that Louis XVI was innocent? Explain" (p.112), a question which could lead to presentism, both textbooks have focused significantly on perspective-taking, such as asking learners "What does the source reveal about the mood of the masses?" during Louis XVI's execution (p.98).

When addressing the second historical thinking concepts, numerous differences do emerge in the textbooks engagement with sources and evidence: Textbook A

focuses on accusing identifiable historical agents, such as Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI, while Textbook B draws attention to the role of groups such as ordinary people and the National Convention. This and the treatment of the Women's March, are but the few differences while several strong findings and trends emerge. Both Textbooks denote some attention to causes, be they economic (Textbook A) or cultural (Textbook B) and focus significantly on the "victimisation" of the Third Estate at the hands of the other Estates. The sources seemingly oppose violence, depicting the execution of the king in a negative light. Finally, while Textbook B may adopt a more sophisticated stance on source analysis, both have focused heavily on perspective-taking, with side references to other second-order historical thinking concepts, an emphasis which could lead to presentism.

4.2.3. Continuity and Change

"Continuity and change provide a fundamental way to organise the complexity of the past" (Seixas, 2006, p.6) and for this reason, is the third stepping stone of the second-order historical thinking concepts on the way to a historically literate learner. The interrelated concepts of continuity and change require learners to identify unexpected instances of change and continuity where the existence of both seems implausible. The typical four guideposts have been altered, replacing the fourth guidepost, regarding periodization, with the overarching concern of what changes and what continued, explained in the methodology. The first three guideposts, however, remain the same, exploring the importance of chronologies as a starting point for understanding change and continuity, before the identification of historical turning points, the second guidepost, and finally, the polarity of progress and decline- the understanding that while some areas improve, others fall behind.

Chronology, the first guidepost, has been dealt with in slightly different structural manners within each textbook. Textbook A designs the chronology around specific key events, following a linear path from significant turning point to significant turning point. While Textbook B similarly follows a linear path, it structures the events of the French Revolution within eras, such as "1789-91: The Period of Reform" within which key dates and events are dealt with in a cohesive, linking style, as well as providing a very general timeline in the commencement of the section. Yet, issues crop up primarily with chronology within Textbook A: while Textbook B does not always

provide dates for historical events such as the Women's March and the King and Queen's execution, the only time when Textbook A fails to do so is discussing the Women's March. The actual timeline is also inaccurate with the Flight to Varennes dated two years early, and the September Massacres of 1792 listed following the Reign of Terror of 1793 and the attack on Lyons of 1794. Within the conditions, chronology is similarly tricky to follow as mention of the calling of the Estates General is listed before the Wars of decades prior. Nevertheless, both textbooks have identified crucial historical events or period as chronological standpoints.

These crucial historical events are more commonly denoted as turning points, moments where the "process of change shifts in direction or pace" (Seixas & Morton, 2013.2, p.10). Textbook A and B, while handled differently at times, identified many of the same turning points within the French Revolution, such as the Calling of the Estates General, the Storming of the Bastille, and the March to Versailles, to name a few. While certain events are given more focus than others within Textbook A, such as the lengthy discussion on the Estates General and the Storming of the Bastille, others are less detailed, such as the Reign of Terror, which, despite comprising two pages speaks very little of the actions of the Committee of Public Safety. Textbook A and Textbook B differ significantly in their description of the Reign of Terror. Textbook A discusses who the victims were and how they were killed ("the chosen instrument was the guillotine because the revolutionaries claimed it was quick and humane" (p.99)), inaccurately including the September massacre after the Lyon attack and stating both were examples of the Terror. Textbook B focuses on how the Terror opposed the Revolutionary spirit ("many of the liberal reforms were swept aside" (p.78)) and focuses on the inequalities of the trials. Furthermore, Textbook B illustrates the magnitude of the Terror by including a full headcount of the dead, in "as many as 300 000 people were imprisoned …about 40 000 of them were executed", not a small portion of it as Textbook A has done by focusing on Lyons. Finally, Textbook B claims the Terror ended with Robespierre's death- while, within the turning point "the end of the Reign of Terror", Textbook A states that the Terror was diminishing before he died. It appears that Textbook A is hesitant to portray the Terror in a poor light. Regardless of these disparities, focusing on primarily the same historical turning points, suggests these are crucial points of change, as does a discussion of the deaths the Terror was responsible for.

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Yet change is not necessarily progress, and the textbooks have made evident those areas where progress occurred due to changes, and where the change led to a declination in the French society or structure. Uniformly, Textbook A and Textbook B identified the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, as well as the Constitution of 1791 as instances of progress. Textbook B claims that the inculcation of these two policies permitted "Every citizen [to] speak, write and publish freely" (p.76), while Textbook A supported this in stating "the free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man" (p.92). Incidentally, the two also hold the failure of the Declaration as an instance of decline: as Textbook A states, the Declaration aimed to "ensure full equality before law for all citizens" (p.96) yet "500 were killed in one execution alone… 15 000 perished and over 100 000 were detained as suspects" (p.99). Textbook A extends the declination of the Declaration further to the people of Haiti in stating "The Declaration of the Rights of Man was applied to Frenchmen, including the blacks in colonies" but as "Slave owners in Haiti were furious" they "forced the French revolutionaries to retract this." (p.106).

While Textbook A and Textbook B hold these issues in the same light, other instances of progressions and declinations do exist in them which are not the same. Textbook A views the limitation of the powers of the Parliaments through the "standardised system of law courts" (p.96) as a progression, while the Great Fear leading to gang attack on farms and "a period of panic and rioting by peasants" (p.91) as a declination. Textbook B suggests significantly more areas of deterioration, particularly in relation to the Reign of Terror and National Convention: "During the terror the Committee of Public Safety had authoritarian powers that threatened the progress towards democracy that had been made" (p.78); "National Convention … closed down the radical political clubs … changed voting system so that fewer and only wealthy men had the right to vote … ordinary people were not able to influence events" (p.80). Textbook B appears to be highlighting the manner in which democracy declined despite it being the aim of the revolution. This is supported by the inclusion of an activity asking learners to "Use the information on the Terror, the Revolutionary Tribunal and the Committee of Public Safety in the text and Sources E and F to show how many of the changes leading to democracy,

which were made early in the Revolution, were lost under the National Convention" (p.80), as well as including the reinstatement of slavery and the "move away from democracy" under Napoleon (p.94).

Finally, while some facets may improve and others decline, there are general areas of change which do occur, as well as domains of continuity, where one would expect change. The French Revolution was responsible for many changes to the political and social structure. Textbook B indicates that, simply, "the Three Estates came to an end" (p.81), a significant shift which followed "the collapse of the old system of government, i.e. The Ancien Regime" (p.79), as indicated by Textbook A. While certain changes discussed are different across the textbooks, such as Textbook A nebulously referencing how "The National Assembly proceeded to draft a new constitution" (p.90), and Textbook B following up with "they established a constitutional monarchy" (p.75), there is an overarching theme. The two focus on the loss of power for the King and the royal family, and the gaining of power amongst the Third Estate, and thereby the transformation of the political and social systems which had been in place for generations. Interestingly, just as the Declaration was referenced as a point of contention as it was responsible for both progress and decline, it similarly could be viewed as a 'disappointment' in allowing for continued inequalities for women. As Textbook B states "women were excluded from political life… when men were given the vote, women were excluded" (p.79). Additionally, the textbooks look respectively at the fact that the urban workers and the peasants still faced oppression following the end of the French Revolution- the peasants for longer. Textbook B also suggests that unequal distributions of power and wealth remained by stating "Workers, professional people and the remaining wealthy landowners became the working class, the middle class, and the upper class" (p.81).

The respective engagements with chronology, while differing in formation, revolve around the discussion of key turning points in the French Revolution. Textbook A, despite its inaccurate dating of the Flight to Varennes, and the September Massacre, utilises historical turning points to determine time, while Textbook B rather focuses on 'eras' which, nevertheless, encompass the same turning points. While certain turning points, such as the Calling of the Estates General, the Storming of the Bastille and the Women's March are focused on in both textbooks, suggesting they

(and other points) are decidedly significant, the discussions may vary, with the Reign of Terror emerging as the most obvious difference. Again, Textbook B frowns on the violence of the Revolution, while Textbook A appears hesitant to accuse the revolutionaries it may view responsible for South Africa's own revolution, implicitly. What is evident in the engagement with continuity and change in both textbooks is the shift towards democracy and the resultant progress in society, and the occasional decline. This is illustrated through the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, as well as the Constitution of 1791, wherein the principles of democracy were first established, largely benefiting the Third Estate, but failing to assist the Haitians and becoming a frustration for the women of France who saw no changes. This continuity, along with the continuity of inequality amongst the Estates, later classes, as well as the immediate changes to power, wherein the monarchy and the Ancien Regime collapsed, suggest a permeating theme of democracy- its successes and failures.

4.2.4. Cause and Consequence

Causes and consequences, the fourth second-order historical thinking concept, focuses on the active role historical agents play in "promoting, shaping and resisting change in History", thereby inextricably linking cause and consequence with continuity and change (Seixas, 2006, p.8). Causes, at the mercy of the historical narratives behind them or the ideologies of the historian, are complex and interwoven, incorporating the immediate actions and events predating the event, the numerous ideologies and circumstances present within the context, as well as innumerable other facets, resultant in a specific historical event. This second-order historical thinking concept expressed within the textbooks begins with the guidepost exploring the web of short- and long-term causes and their consequences. Building off of this is the second guidepost which queries the variance of influences, with the understanding that some causes have a greater influence than others. Guideposts three and four revolve around human agency, asking, respectively, who the historical agents were and what their social, political, economic and cultural conditions were. Note that Seixas and Morton (2013) identified this as a single guidepost with two points. The final two guideposts ask what were the, arguably, unintended consequences of the event, and finally whether there is an indication that the events were not inevitable.

The textbooks jointly begin addressing guidepost one with the attention falling on the role Louis XVI played in the French Revolution, denoting that the political structures of absolute monarchy, the divine right and "the hatred practice of the letter de cachet" (Textbook B, p.78) led to discontent among the citizens of France, who "began to question the system" (Textbook B, p.66). Yet, while Textbook B includes that "the lifestyle of the king, his family and the royal officials also cost a great deal" (p.67), it does not focus much on the role of agents in the causes of the French Revolution. Oppositionally, Textbook A speaks of Marie Antoinette's "negative influence" and "extravagant spending" (p.80) in conjunction with the nobilities "refusal to pay tax and their determination to maintain their privileges" acting as a major cause (p.82). No attention to the clergy is given at this juncture. Economic causes are linked to the involvement with wars, with Textbook A simply stating "The Seven Years War and the American War of Independence had cost an enormous amount of money" (p.85), while Textbook B expands on this issue, looking at the cascading effect of this involvement: "the country was bankrupt … made worse by poor harvests, food shortages and rising bread prices" (p.72). Both textbooks highlight the unequal taxing system as an important contributor to the economic causes, an issue which also shed light on social causes.

The social causes can be summed up in the statement by Textbook B proclaiming "the third estate … paid all the taxes and they felt that it was their labour which was supporting the whole system" (p.68). The people of France, according to Textbook A, desired the "abolition of the lettres de cachet" and believed "detention and imprisonment should follow the due processes of the law" (p.89). These ideals were highlighted by the concepts brought to light by the Age of Enlightenment, which the textbooks argue "condemned practices such as absolutism, feudalism and clericalism because they could not be justified by reason" (Textbook A, p.87). Textbook A and Textbook B again focus on the role the American Revolution played as a cause of the French Revolution in propagating ideas that "Man had inalienable rights" (Textbook A, p.88). However, differences between the two textbooks do exist, primarily in their starting point: while Textbook A begins with a list of conditions, many of which learners must assume are causes, Textbook B explicitly states "These conditions are called the causes of the revolution" (p.73). Textbook B

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additionally includes a 'trigger' per se in stating "Some historians argue that revolutions happen when people have hopes that change will be made soon, and then the changes are not carried out … The calling together of the French parliament, called the Estates General, in 1789, created the hope that the king was going to bring about change" (p.66), change which never occurred.

Both textbooks then move onto the specific causes and consequences of turning points in the revolution, including the Estates General, the Storming of the Bastille, the Women's March on Versailles, the Flight to Varennes and the Reign of Terror. Separately, Textbook B studies the War with the other European powers, an aspect mentioned by Textbook A at the end of the Revolution in a disconnected narrative. In a similar manner, Textbook A chooses to include separate entries for the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the Constitution of 1791, the Trial and Execution of the King and the End of the Reign of Terror, points referenced within 'eras' under Textbook B. In the common areas of exploration, Textbook B carefully interweaves the causes and consequences, while Textbook A generally covers the same points, but the causes can appear to be a random list of unrelated and unfortunate events. This can be illustrated within the Calling of the Estates General: while Textbook A jaggedly states "Severe weather conditions led to a famine. People from the countryside moved into the cities to seek work. Riots and disturbances followed as food prices rose sharply. In despair Louis XVI ordered for the elections of an Estates General" (p.88), Textbook B conversationally narrates "The cost of sending an army to fight in the American War of Independence caused an economic crisis in France. By 1789 the country was bankrupt … made worse by poor harvests, food shortages and rising bread prices. The King's advisors decided that the only possible solution was to call the Estates General to a meeting to try to raise more taxes with their support" (p.72). To ensure a web of causes is further understood, within Textbook B learners are asked to look at the types of causes and are told "Some of them had been happening for a long time and are called long-term causes; some had happened fairly recently (short-term) and others were happening just before the revolution broke out in 1789 (immediate)."

Further discrepancies occur: Textbook A refers to the removal of the Royal Family from Versailles as 'forced' by the women of Paris during the Women's March, while

Textbook B adopts a positive prose, stating that "this is what started the reform process" (p.77). Furthermore, the King's ensuing Flight to Varennes is anachronistically dated at 1789, according to Textbook A, thereby placing it within an incorrect historical context and leading to a misunderstanding of the causes. Nevertheless, when addressing the external consequences of the revolution, both textbooks focus on the spreading of revolutionary ideas to "London, Berlin, Philadelphia, Moscow, Manchester, Geneva, Amsterdam or Boston" who "realised they were witnessing the beginning of a new dawn" (Textbook A, p.102), a point clarified by Textbook B which states "Popular uprisings occurred in Belgium, Switzerland and the German Rhineland, all of them inspired by the events in France" (p.83). The textbooks are interested in exploring the far-reaching consequences of the Revolution, including the long-term internal consequences of "further revolutions in 1830, 1848 and 1870-1" (Textbook B, 94). Additionally, Textbook A focuses on the spread of democratic ideals to South Africa, and Textbook B expands this to "the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Latin America" who "fought for independence" by distributing the Declaration of the Rights of Man and notes that the primary facet of democracy held dear to the people of France was "Equality of people before the law" (p.95).

Further incongruities exist in connoting the variance of the influence of causes. As previously stated, Textbook A focuses on human agency and states that the nobility's "refusal to pay tax and the determination to maintain their privileges was a major cause of the outbreak of the revolution" (p.82). This is further evidenced in stating that Antoinette's "negative influence played a significant role in the collapse of the Bourbon Monarchy" (p.80), as well stating that the radical revolution was driven by "the views of the sans-culottes" (p.97). Textbook B does include human agents, in focusing on the powerful role Rousseau played in labelling him "the philosopher who had the most influence" (p.71), but is more focused on his ideas and the represented spread of ideologies. Regardless, both textbooks focus extensively on the role of economic causes, suggesting this hold the greatest influence within the causation of the Revolution, whether stated or not.

Certain historical agents, as directed under guidepost 3, remain present in both textbooks such as King Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, the three Estates (though

Textbook B does not differentiate between the upper and lower clergy), the governmental structures, such as the National Assembly, National Convention and the Committee of Public Safety, as well as the philosophers and the leaders of the Terror, Robespierre and Danton. The replication of these figures suggests their invaluable role in the causation of the French Revolution. Nevertheless, Textbook A includes significantly more agents, including once-off mentions of Mirabeau, Marat and the National Guard. This creates the image that multiple and diverse agents were involved in causing the French Revolution, inculcating the complexity of the causes. However, it also focuses, then, on the role of people, arguing that they are the primary causes, while Textbook B focuses rather on groups to suggest that the historical agents are not responsible for the Revolution, but rather the conditions and the ideas and experiences held by groups. Finally, it is interesting to note that the one inclusion of individuals within Textbook B that was not mirrored by Textbook A is that of De Gouge and Roland. These two "women who were leaders during the Revolution" (p.79) have been identified as crucial figures of the revolution by Textbook B, but no reference to them or any similar female figures is made in New Generations.

The fourth guidepost for grappling with cause and consequences draws attention to the political, economic, social and cultural conditions at play. When addressing the political and economic conditions discussed within the two textbooks, certain concepts continue to arise, establishing a similarity. Both signify the "theory of absolutism" by which the King's "subjects had to obey him without question" (Textbook A, p.79) as an important political condition. Economically, Textbook B highlights the fact that "France's economy was in a bad state" largely due to the wars, the extravagant lifestyle of the royal family and court officials, worsened by the unequal taxing system. Similarly, Textbook A looks at the cost of maintaining the Palace of Versailles, and the rising debt accrued by the foreign debt. However, the manner in which it is written is vastly different- Textbook B adopts a narrative style, linking the conditions into a cohesive image, including a broad introductory description of the conditions and causes. Textbook A, on the other hand, uses numbers to reinforce facts, including the percentage of royal expenditure, suggesting a facts-based approach. Furthermore, Textbook A includes the political frustrations

of the nobility as a political condition, while Textbook B argues that King Louis XVI was not a good leader, which led to questioning among the educated people.

Further similarities and differences exist within the engagement with social and cultural conditions of the French Revolution. Textbook A and Textbook B discuss the inequality of the hierarchical class structure, which positions the wealthy and powerful, the clergy and nobility, in a sustaining seat of import at the top of the structure, while the weak and politically impotent Third Estate remain poor. Textbook A includes details regarding the Church's gathering of tithes, while Textbook B subtly conveys that "the Church owned a great deal of land, and many of the high officials in the Church were very wealthy" (p. 67). The frustrations of the peasants, urban workers and bourgeois, those comprising the Third Estate are individually discussed, but Textbook B devotes significantly more attention to the Third Estate than Textbook A, ensuring all members of the Third Estate are thoroughly discussed and their conditions explained. Differences appear primarily in Textbook A's inclusion of information on the 13 districts of Paris, a contextual cue, looking at how each was "under the jurisdiction of a " which "had the power to register laws made by the King… tried cases for crime" as well as fixing "prices for bread" ensuring "the were hated by everyone" (p.80-81). Additionally, cultural conditions and explanations differ: while both discuss the four primary Philosophers, Voltaire, Diderot, Montesquieu and Rousseau, as well as the overarching principles of the Enlightenment are, and the reinforcement of these ideals from the American Revolution, Textbook B is explicit on the cornerstones of the cultural beliefs- liberty, equality and fraternity. Textbook B explains what each of these principles meant, and their correlation with the Revolution.

When addressing the unintended consequences of the Revolution or of events within the Revolution, it appears that those generally arise from the King's actions and the reactions to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen. Textbook A, when detailing the "Flight of the King", states "The people of Paris and the countryside loved their King … however, the events of 20 June 1789 changed all that… Louis was now a prisoner and enemy of the Revolution" p.94); Textbook B, in discussing the same event, echoed this and included "he was forced to accept the new constitution" (p.77). Additionally, while Textbook A speaks of the Storming of the

Bastille as an unintended consequence and Textbook B indicates that the Revolution itself was the unintended consequence of the presence of 'hope', hope that change was about to occur, both turn to the king as the instigator. Similarly, both view the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen as responsible for the slave riots in Haiti and believe "The Declaration of the Rights of Man … has been referred to in almost every single revolutionary movement since 1789" (Textbook A, p.92). However, Textbook B also suggests the Declaration of the Rights of Women and Female Citizen, a variation of the original, was the "start of a long struggle in Europe for women's equality" (p.81).

In a similar fashion, the rare moments where the textbooks make a reference which suggests the events of the French Revolution were not inevitable, the general consensus is it fell to the king. As previously mentioned, Textbook B indicates that the calling of the Estates General "created the hope that the king was going to bring about change" (p.66) and the ensuing inactivity led to the Revolution. Incidentally, Textbook A also identifies the Estates General as the crucial prevention point by including a source which states "there needed to be a massive re-evaluation of the French political structure in order to bring it up-to-date with current social, economic and ideological realities … if they had found a way to bring about these reforms early on during the Estates General, the Revolution would not have turned out like it did" (p.81). Both textbooks suggest, therefore, that had issues been resolved at this juncture, the subsequent reaction in the form of a revolution would not have occurred. Textbook A does, however, also focus on the nobility's actions in conjunction with the king when noting that the Turgot's "reforms caused an outcry among the nobility and the King was forced to dismiss him" (p.86), thereby suggesting if his reforms had been implemented, a differing outcome may have occurred.

In conclusion, Textbook A and Textbook B provide abundant information regarding the causes and the consequences of the French Revolution, in their particular fashion. When grappling with the interplay of long- and short-term causes, guidepost one, both textbooks highlight the important role the social and economic causes, such as the unequal distribution of wealth and power, played in triggering the French Revolution. Arguably, this focus on the economic causes suggests that, when

addressing the second guidepost on varying influences, the economic causes take the lead, though Textbook A asserts the dominant role the nobility and Marie Antoinette played, additionally thereby focusing on human agency again. This trend re-emerges in guidepost 3, wherein Textbook A includes more historical agents, while Textbook B focuses on the ideologies of groups like the philosophers as important causes. Nevertheless, certain historical figures remain visible in both textbooks, such as Louis XVI and Robespierre, as well as groups, such as the National Convention, suggesting their undeniable role in the French Revolution. Perhaps an interesting differentiation, discussed in more depth in the moral dimension, is the inclusion of two powerful and positive female agents in Textbook B.

Following on within guidepost one, the causes stratify into specific turning points, with Textbook B clarifying that conditions are the same as causes, and beginning a conversational explanation of the causes, leading to a cohesive picture of the intricacies at play. Textbook A, however, groups these causes into segregated units, potentially leading to an incomplete image, worsened by the previously mentioned mispositioning of the Flight to Varennes. This differentiation in style arises again when studying guidepost 4, the historical conditions, as Textbook A utilises percentages and numerical facts to reinforce ideas- something Textbook B does not engage with, suggesting a differing perspective on what is considered valuable historical knowledge. When addressing consequences, the focus turns to the long- and far-reaching effects of the French Revolution, with Textbook A, again, drawing strong parallels between the French Revolution and South Africa, while Textbook B stretches further to South America, providing a more globalised image, yet both positively highlighting the influence the French Revolution had in uplifting oppressed societies. This attention to power is reinforced in the engagement with the historical conditions, wherein both textbooks draw attention to the despotism of the monarchy, assisted by the church. The despotism of the King remains in the spotlight in the final two guideposts, wherein both textbooks highlight that the King's inactivity at the Calling of the Estates General could have prevented the ensuing Revolution, with Textbook B additionally pinpointing this Calling as the origin of an unintended consequence by triggering hope in the masses. Finally, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen is similarly viewed as leading to unintended consequences, such as its continual reference within other revolutions, especially the one in Haiti, with

Textbook B singularly including its unintended influence on the spread of feminism, through its failure to acknowledge the import of women.

4.2.5. Historical Perspectives

When engaging with historical perspective-taking, one must come to the realisation that historical agents existed not only in differing conditions and contexts, but viewed these experiences through a differing ideological lens (Seixas & Peck, 2004). If historical perspective-taking, or empathy, is obtained, learners can view historical events and contexts through the eyes of the agents, while still remaining void of presentism and bias. When engaging with historical perspectives, the first area of development is that of worldviews: does the textbook convey the motivation behind the actions of agents, and their values and beliefs? If these worldviews are obtained, then guidepost two, which focuses on avoiding presentism, should be readily achieved. Guidepost three can, additionally, assist with avoiding presentism, as it requires that attention be given to the historical context within which agents acted by the relative textbooks. The final two guideposts have been linked in this discussion: namely, what differing perspectives of and on historical agents exist, and what evidence is available to support these perspectives.

Textbook A has, through a larger inclusion of historical characters, limited its ability to deal with the motivations, and later the contexts, of each historical agent. Sieyes can only be understood by his pamphlet and the statement "what is the third estate? Everything; but an everything shackled and oppressed" (p.84) suggesting he is motivated by the shared oppression of the Third Estate by the upper clergy and nobility. Figures such as Mirabeau, despite being labelled "a leading figure during the turbulent days of the Estates-General and the First National Assembly", is given little else attention to his worldview or role, asides from "In 1791, he was elected president of the National Assembly" (p.90). Textbook B, similarly, has a few lapses in their engagement with historical perspectives. Despite providing thorough worldview descriptors on the Third Estate, the nobility and clergy are only motivated by detailing what is done to them such as the statement that "they nationalised the property of the Church, and ended the privileges of the church and the clergy" (p.75). Nevertheless, the inclusion of a variety of different figures within Textbook A does allow for learners to see the complex interplay of historical agents, and there are

numerous figures that are well-motivated. Furthermore, Textbook B does repeatedly illustrate a hesitation to focus on historical agency, particularly if it will appear accusatory in nature.

This hesitation can be best illustrated in comparing the textbooks discussion on Robespierre and Danton. Textbook A states that Danton was a "popular revolutionary" motivated by a desire to seek "peace with Europe", yet this "conciliatory foreign policy" (p.99) saw him lose his popularity, accused of treason and executed. Robespierre, "one of the most controversial figures in the French Revolution", is seen as simultaneously "fostering democracy" and helping "bring about the Reign of Terror" (p.98). Textbook B begins with an inclusive introduction to the figures which merely states "The Committee of Public Safety" was formed to run France and "the leaders were Danton and Robespierre" (p.78). Textbook B then moves on to discuss them within the Committee, stating "it used a combination of planning and terror"- 'it', not 'they'. However, while Danton is no longer mentioned, Robespierre is implicitly denoted to be the true leader of the Terror, in stating "The Terror finally ended after two years, when Robespierre himself was executed" (p.78). By drawing the attention away from Robespierre and Danton, and placing focus on the Committee of Public Safety, Textbook B is wary of making statements which make judgments or adopt a stance, yet implicit judgments are made which match those of Textbook A who similarly claim "thousands died as a result of the Terror" (p.99).

When discussing Louis XVI, both textbooks devote a significant amount of time to his motivation, his actions, and his character. Textbook A provides a balanced view on Louis XVI, stating "His well-meaning but weak personality was characterised by lethargy and indecisiveness" (p.80). Textbook B, aside from its first comment that he was not a good leader, is hesitant to label Louis XVI as 'weak-willed' and rather provides insight into his feelings which, nevertheless, suggest that he was an ineffectual king: "Louis did not really want to be King. He was more interested in hunting and spending time with his family than in ruling a country" (p.67). The King's role in the Storming of the Bastille and the Flight to Varennes is discussed by both textbooks, but due to Textbook A's anachronistic timing of this event, his motivation for escaping is difficult to comprehend. The textbooks are similarly devoted to

fleshing out the worldview of the members of the Third Estate, as illustrated by their discussion on the middle class or bourgeoisie. Textbook B claims they "were frustrated by their lack of opportunity and lack of political power" particularly due to the fact that "many of them were the best qualified to play leading roles in the state" (p.68). Textbook A mirrors this in asserting they were "disappointed that they had no say in the running of the country" and they wanted "church, army and government posts open to men of talent and merit" (p.83). However, while Textbook A moves on to discuss how the middle class dominated the National Assembly, and in doing so, frustrated the urban workers and peasants, Textbook B continues to provide insight into this group.

While Textbook A draws learners' attention to the role of the urban workers (sans-culottes) and their frustrations with the middle class in claiming "the interests of the peasants and workers were compromised at the meeting of the Estates General" (p.89), and Textbook B favours the middle class and the role of women, a trend exists: both focus significantly on the oppression experienced by the Third Estate members. The violence of the sans-culottes later in the Revolution is motivated as "fearing a counter-revolution" they "began attacking all those suspected of being enemies of the Revolution" (p.97). Textbook B while paying no attention to their role in the violence and the Revolution itself, still focuses on the activities of members of the Third Estate in asserting that "Middle class people" who "took over the running of many towns from royal officials" (p.81) Textbook B strenuously motivates the actions of the women in more than merely the March to Versailles: "women of Paris, France, some disguised as men, stored the Town Hall during the French Revolution, shouting 'Bread, bread, bread'" (p.64). This reference to their involvement with the bread riots illustrates the continuous role of women in the Revolution, reinforced by the diversified motivations of women during the march ("They were especially angry with the king's unpopular Austrian wife, Marie Antoinette, because of her lavish lifestyle and her insensitivity to the suffering of the poor people." (p.77)). The inclusion of De Gouge and Roland and their personal motivations and actions, further indicates this perspective on the role of women.

Incidentally, it is during their focus on women that presentism slips into Textbook B, the second parameter of historical perspectives: a secondary source on the role of

women in the French Revolution is included which states "Robespierre and his Jacobins then set about driving women out of politics and back to their homes" (p.79). In this instance, the textbook creators have chosen to include a source which stresses a feminist perspective- one which adopts a presentist view and therefore does not consider why Robespierre acted in this manner. Textbook A, on the other hand, does not make any similar slips. When discussing the reforms required to ensure equality, a source within the textbook asserts "such change was certainly not in the interest of those who already held power … you can't have expected them to readily give it up" (p.81). This addresses the understanding that these were different times with different expectations and beliefs. Finally, in stating that the end of the Reign of Terror was because "the need for terror declined" (p.100), it appears that this was required to occur. In this regard, while Textbook A may be biased in accusing the middle class for the actions of the sans-culottes, it avoids explicit presentisms, while Textbook B, conversely, allows for presentisms to slip in, but remains generally unbiased in denoting blame.

When addressing the third cornerstone of historical perspective-taking, namely the historical context of the agents, certain trends exist across the textbooks: the members of the Third Estate are all expressed as existing within an oppressed space- the middle class had "limited opportunity" (Textbook B, p.68), the urban workers suffered from "social, political and economic discontent" (Textbook A, p.96), and the peasants "were desperate" (Textbook B, p.69) as they "lived in intense poverty" (Textbook A, p.83). The philosophers, while positioned within a personalised context by Textbook B, and a more overarching context by Textbook A, created a context wherein "a new way of thinking about mankind and the environment" evolved (p.87), which "condemned practices such as absolutism, feudalism and clericalism", allowing for a space where "philosophers began to question these ideas" (Textbook B, p.70). Groups such as the National Convention and the Committee of Public Safety arose from these ideals, and acted within a context determined to "save the revolution from the enemies within and outside France" (p.99). These historical contexts, both of the Third Estate and Philosophers indicate to learners the growing historical context of discontent with the structure of power, wealth and influence, while the historical context of the extremist

revolutionaries, detailed within the National Convention and Committee of Public Safety, illustrates their desperation to prevent a return to this context.

The primary differences which arise in historical contextualisation within the textbooks have little to do with their description, and more to do with their selection of historical agents. As Textbook A has included figures such as Marat, Leopold II and the National Guard, whereas Textbook B has chosen to select figures such as De Gouge, Roland, the people of Vendee and ordinary people, they have diversified historical contexts. The people of Vendee, as "devout Catholics … did not like the Revolution's criticism of the Church" (p.78), an inclusion which demonstrates that not all impoverished citizens of France were supportive of the Revolution. While Textbook B focuses on internal opposition, Textbook A includes Leopold II "Austrian Emperor" and "brother of Louis XVI's Queen Marie Antoinette" (p.103) as an external opposition. Finally, the textbooks, perhaps due to restrictions, do not provide personal contextualisations for each historical character or agent, often simply building off the motives as contexts. The conditions, however, do buffer this.

The last two guideposts of historical perspectives look at whether diverse perspectives have been included, and whether perspectives are supported by evidence. While the textbooks choose to focus on differing perspectives and include disparate sources, both are inclusive of a plethora of perspectives. Textbook A looks at a poem written by an unknown woman or women following the march to Versailles, the opinion of Sieyes as expressed in his pamphlet "What is the Third Estate?" and the perspective of a witness to Louis's execution. Textbook B includes quotes from each of the Philosophers voicing their perspective on the historical context, a cahier of demands by an impoverished district which represents the greater discontent with inequality and an image of a series of cards for a deck, below which is stated "the revolutionary governments changed all signs of the old order… new revolutionary playing cards replaced the king, queens and jacks" (p.82). They, like all the cards, are replaced by an image of an urban worker, peasant or member of the middle class. Both textbooks do, however, correlate in providing a source which illustrates the perspective of the National Assembly: the Declaration of the Rights of Man. It is evident, therefore, that the members of the National Assembly

desired a society which should ensure that "men are born free and equal in all rights", as asserted by Textbook A, and remain so.

However, their selection of sources and evidence, does suggest certain intentions in imparting perspectives to the learners. When learners study the National Convention within Textbook B, they will focus on the cartoon by Gilray on page 79 which depicts a revolutionary astride a lantern, witnessing the king's execution and the strung up bodies of a bishop and judge. While speaking of the execution of the king, the inclusion of an additional image aside it, within which "piles of heads represent victims of the guillotine" including "peasants and workers… the clergy, the nobles and different officials" all watched on by a dejected Lady Liberty, strongly suggests a condemnation of the Reign of Terror, and an understanding that many people, especially external forces, opposed the actions of the Convention. Conversely, while addressing the sans-culottes and not the National Convention, Textbook A focuses on validating the violence of the "radical revolution of 1792-1794" by claiming they were acting from a perspective whereby they "saw their livelihoods disappearing and inflation driving them to fight for survival" (p.97), yet it does remain silent on the opinions of external agents. While only two examples, it appears Textbook A is more "accepting" of the violence of the Revolution and includes sources and evidence to justify this, while Textbook B does not approve.

It is evident, when engaging with historical-perspective taking, that the textbooks face a problem of time- numerous agents can be easily denoted as key players in the Revolution, yet if one selects only a few, as Textbook B has done, then complexity has been lost; while in selecting many agents, as Textbook A has determined to do, one is limited in providing detail or context for all of the agents. Nevertheless, both textbooks devote significant attention to developing the worldview and context of the Third Estate, with Textbook A paying particular attention to the urban workers, and Textbook B including the experiences of women throughout the notes. However, it is this attention on women which leads to presentism, through the inclusion of a contemporary pro-feminist article accusing Robespierre of sexist activities; yet, interestingly, Textbook A, while remaining free of discernable presentism in this section is guilty of bias, favouring the urban workers plight and justifying their violence. Similarly, when engaging with differing perspectives,

Textbook B provides sources which invalidate the necessity of the Reign of Terror, while, conversely, Textbook A views the violence of the urban workers and the Committee of Public Safety as a "need" (p.100).

Nevertheless, in focusing on the Third Estate, providing a full context, and reinforcing this context with the inclusion of the ideals of the philosophers, a clearer image of the discontent regarding the king and the lack of political power faced by the French masses is explored. Discontent is further explored during the Revolution, with Textbook A focusing on the foreign monarchs anxieties and Leopold II's retaliation to the Revolution, while Textbook B looks at internal civil strife through the Province of Vendee's rejection of Catholicism. In this regard, the textbooks aim to provide a variety of perspectives, even contradictory ones, in an attempt to provide a full picture. Regardless, as was suggested, sources have been selected for a purpose and convey ideas about what is accepted (violence for change, in Textbook A) and what is not (discrimination against women, in Textbook B).

4.2.6. The Moral or Ethical Dimension

Moral judgments pose a series of problems, requiring one to toe the line between empathy and sympathy, juggling the idea that humans share a common identity, and can therefore be judged, while readily exploring the variances between oneself and historical agents to avoid presentism (Seixas & Peck, 2004). For historical accounts to be significant, they are by default, also rife with moral judgments which can assist one in contemporary decision-making, and considerations about what we deem important to be recollected (Seixas, 2006). The five guideposts identified by Seixas & Morton, aim to address these facets, beginning with the exploration of implicit or explicit ethical judgments within historical texts, such as the textbooks (2013.1; 2013.2). Following this, is the consideration of whether judgments exist within the historical context, and thirdly, if contemporary judgments have, instead, been made. The last two explore whether comments have been made regarding the importance of memory in historical education, and the informed judgments one can make based on the lessons derived from the past.

The aforementioned comment on the degree to which the textbooks "condone" or "disapprove" of the Reign of Terror is best examined under the implicit or explicit

ethical judgments of the moral dimension. While Textbook A includes "an era of anarchy and genocide" (p.98) in the title next to the Reign of Terror, the decision to include only a fraction of the executions and the use of the word "perished" rather than killed, downplays the actions of the Committee of Public Safety, and its leaders, Robespierre and Danton (though the inclusion of "500 were killed in one execution alone" (p.99) does somewhat balance this). Textbook B adopts a very dissimilar perspective, claiming "under this government, the National Convention, the revolution went through a very violent stage" and includes "during what is called the Reign of Terror, many of the liberal reforms were swept aside" (p.98). The full list of dead is included and the cartoon depicting the pile of heads is included to reinforce the idea that many fell victim to the Terror. While this may indicate that Textbook B is extremely biased, none of the information is incorrect and only a small portion of their actions discussed- the reality is that the Reign of Terror was an intensely violent period. Textbook B does attempt to balance out this perspective by including a secondary source which asserts "Few episodes have been as horrible as the French Revolution. But few have done more to improve the everyday lives of ordinary men and women" (Stewart as cited by Textbook B, p.97).

The differences in the discussion of the terror grow larger as Textbook A states "By the summer of 1794, the need for terror declined because: The Republic had become an accepted reality; conspiracy by nobles against the state had stopped. The will to punish traitors had declined. The sans-culottes went home to their businesses" (p.100) thereby adopting the perspective that the sans-culottes, whose actions were previously justified, led the Reign of Terror and not Robespierre. Additionally, the inclusion of the word 'need' justifies this violence as a necessary evil, per se. Conversely, Textbook B proclaims "The Terror finally ended after two years, when Robespierre himself was executed." (p.78), implicitly suggesting he was the hand behind the Terror. Further criticism is levelled at Robespierre by Textbook B, in stating "Robespierre and his Jacobins then set about driving women out of politics and back to their homes" (p.79) as well as including an emotive account of the execution of two revolutionary females, detailed below, at his hands.

It is here where the greatest ethical disparities exist. Textbook A introduces Marie Antoinette with the accusation that "her negative influence played a significant role in

the collapse of the bourbon monarchy" (p.80), labels her as "Louis XVI's Queen" (p.103), thereby a possession, selects to remove 'women' from the March to Versailles and fails to include a single positive female agent, instead accusing Charlotte Corday of murder. While Textbook B is similarly critical of Marie, accused of drawing unpopularity upon herself due to her "lavish lifestyle and her insensitivity to the suffering of the poor people" (p.77), it avoids accusations such as Textbook A's and includes De Gouge and Roland, providing a source detailing an impassioned rendition of their executions stating on "the fateful November that ended the lives of de Gouge and Roland saw also the suppression of all women's political clubs" (p.79). The source concludes with the exclamation of Manon Roland "'O Liberty! … What crimes are committed in thy name!" The actions of women in the bread riots and March to Versailles, as previously discussed, are depicted in a positive light, with the 'success' of the March including "this is what started the reform process" (p.77). However, Textbook B includes an annotation on the role of women following the role of ordinary people in the textbook, suggesting they are not a part of these people and must be squeezed in.

Figure 4.2.6.1.: Lady Liberty in Textbook B, page 80.

However, it is vital to realise that similarities in the moral dimension do occur, particularly in the discussion on Louis XVI's leadership, Louis's execution and the oppressive conditions exerted on the Third Estate. Textbook B claims "The king in

1789 was Louis XVI … He was not a good leader" (p.66), while Textbook A, less explicitly critical, declares Louis XVI was "well-meaning but weak" (p.80). Textbook A is more condemning of Louis XVI's execution, purporting that he was executed "like an ordinary criminal" (p.97), and despite his wishes to speak to the people of France. Even the inclusion of his final words, words of forgiveness and fear for the people of France, suggest he was, as they state, well-intended. Textbook B, less emotively, claims the king and queen "did not receive a fair trial" (p.78) but little else is said. Finally, the "burden of the Third Estate" is confirmed in both textbooks, with the moral implication varying slightly, but nevertheless stressing the inequality of the system.

These moral judgments should, according to the second guidepost, take into account the complexity of the historical context, and avoid the third guidepost, namely "imposing contemporary standards" (Seixas & Morton, 2013.2, p.11). There are instances where the textbooks have lapsed, failing to provide a historical context for their judgement, such as Textbook B's proclamation that King Louis XVI "was not a good king" (p.66), without further contextualisation for this opinion; or Textbook A's condemnation that "foreign-born" Marie Antoinette "refused to make an attempt to understand the ways of the common people" (p.80). However, effort is made to contextualise the actions of the populace: Textbook A argues that "the social, political and economic discontent of the urban working class, that is, the san-culottes had not been addressed. It was from this source that radicalism … was to arise" (p.96), while Textbook B asserts "The whole future of the Revolution seemed to be under threat when foreign countries invaded France… There was unrest in some provinces" and, therefore, "with France under threat, a new radical government replaced the National Assembly" (p.78), in that regard, contextualising the extremist reaction of the government.

Similar efforts have been made to avoid contemporary standards, as illustrated by Textbook A's inclusion, "it was a great symbolic victory, because for the first time in History, the Third Estate had successfully challenged the King", when discussing the Storming of the Bastille, and utilising the word "need" in the statement, "The need for terror declined" (p.100), suggesting the actions of the revolutionaries cannot be judged as right or wrong, rather as a necessity. Textbook B does not have explicit

examples such as this, but does contain an example where contemporary standards are imposed, specifically against the Committee of Public Safety. In stating, "During the terror the Committee of Public Safety had authoritarian powers that threatened the progress towards democracy that had been made" (p.78), and making continuous parallelisms between the revolution and current-day democracies, learners are likely to view this as "wrong". The aforementioned actions of Robespierre and the Jacobins in aiming to drive "women out of politics and back to their homes" (p.79), also imposes contemporary standards of sexism, whereas that belief system was common of its time. Textbook A has its own slips, describing the killing of Marat as "murder", while other references to death have been 'killed' or 'perished'. Furthermore, in describing Louis as "weak-willed" and portraying him as a victim to his "strong-willed" wife (p.80), Textbook A ignores the relationship dynamics of 18th century France: a man, particularly a king, is expected to be strong-willed and cannot be excused because his wife is more dominant. This, instead, imposes a contemporary opinion on relationship dynamics.

When the textbooks turn their attentions to the legacies of the Revolution and address the fourth guidepost of remembrance and responsibility, both are quick to acknowledge the role the Revolution played in the rise of democracy. Textbook A is explicit in this, commending the Revolution for having "influenced almost the entire world to run democratically" and ensuring "Citizens have a say in how they are governed and can choose who their leaders are" (p.109). Textbook B is less explicit, instead asking learners to consider what should be remembered, "Do they focus on the people rising up against oppression, the principles of democracy set down by the first revolutionary government, the limitations of the Revolution in terms of the outcome for women or the violence used by the state to keep control?" (p.96). This illustrates that democratic ideals were marked by the revolutionaries, but that there were certainly areas of failure which should be recollected. Textbook B also includes information on the 1989 bicentenary of the Revolution and states that the lasting legacy for the French is "Equality of people before the law" and "Ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity" (p.95). However, while Textbook B's focus on the bicentenary looks at the successes, Textbook A proclaims "it was important that the international community should commemorate this bicentenary as part of its response to the challenge to address the massive legacy of slavery and the contemporary forms of

its manifestation" (p.107). In this manner, while Textbook B has highlighted the continued issues of sexism, Textbook A draws attention to slavery.

The final guidepost, drawing on the concept of remembrance, looks at the manner in which historical events can allow us to make "informed judgments about contemporary issues" (Seixas & Morton, 2013.2, p.11). Again, democracy is at the foreground, with Textbook B asserting "Modern struggles for freedom and democracy have been inspired by the concepts started at that time. People continue to strive for freedom of speech, equality before the law, gender equity, the right to vote, economic empowerment and an end to oppressive governments" (p.97). While Textbook A claims the principles of the Revolution "have informed the formation of democratic countries like South Africa and are reflected in our constitution" (p.110), and calls the end of apartheid, a "revolution", it is less clear what this means for contemporary issues. What it does suggest is that liberty is generally not enough for people to feel sated, as illustrated by the "island of Haiti. Here the African-American slaves lived and worked under extremely cruel conditions" and "they didn't simply want liberty, but wanted vengeance" (p.106). As Textbook A has drawn an analogous connection between the French and South African Revolutions, and acted to validate the violence of the sans-culottes, one may be led to ask: Is vengeance required for the South African Revolution to be complete? While Textbook B draws a parallelism between the Revolution and South Africa, is it more tenuous: learners are asked to "Think and discuss: After the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994, the government also wanted to create a new national identify by creating a new flag and anthem; and by changing symbols of the past, like streets and town names. Do you think this is a valuable thing to do? Does it build national unity?" As Textbook B included details about the changes to street names in Revolutionary France, the acts are connected, but they are said to act as a Nationalist unification, thereby asking learners to consider the present-day contention over street name changes.

The moral dimension provides numerous points of contention across the textbooks, particularly surrounding the depiction of Robespierre and the role of women in the French Revolution. The Reign of Terror is downplayed by Textbook A, allotted as a necessity, and viewed as run by the urban workers; Textbook B, on the other hand,

pinpoints Robespierre as the primary agent, and in providing thorough detail, arguably depicts the Terror as monstrous. Robespierre is further 'shunned', thereby imposing contemporary standards of judgment, by Textbook B for his treatment of women and execution of the revolutionary females, a group Textbook B believes deserves attention and does justice by through the inclusion of identifiable female agents, Roland and De Gouge, and continual referencing. Textbook A, conversely, provides no identifiable positive female agents, and rather lessens the significance of their engagement through removing the modifier of "Women" from the "March to Versailles". Rather Textbook A draws negative attention to Marie Antoinette and her influence on Louis XVI, adopting a xenophobic stance through repeated assertions of her 'foreignness' and applying contemporary relationship standards in projecting her control over Louis XVI as normal as opposed to a reflection on his failure as King. Yet, one of the most unified engagement with moral judgements present in both textbooks comes in the discussion of the Third Estates' actions, which are continually historically contextualised to ensure that no contemporary judgment is made of their, often-violent, actions.

However, while justifying the Third Estates actions may be an area of agreement between the textbooks, undoubtedly the primary focal point for both textbooks is democracy: Textbook B is critical of the Committee of Public Safety for the threat it posed against the democratic ideals of the Revolution, and the textbooks contemplate contemporary conflicts to democracy. Textbook A, when addressing remembrance, is quick to look at the legacy of slavery under the French, while Textbook B allows learners to consider the failure of the Revolution in addressing women's rights or finding a peaceful resolution. Both view the heritage of democracy as an indubitable legacy of the French Revolution, drawing attention to the relationship between the South African Revolution and the French Revolution, though in divergent manners. Textbook A suggests liberty through democracy is insufficient, as experienced by the Haitians, and vengeance through violence appears to be accepted within the narrative of this textbook. Textbook B, on the other hand, requires learners to contemplate for themselves, rather than drawing a comparison for them, the relationship between national identity and emblems, such as street names, after a discussion of the ways in which the French Revolution followed a similar course.

4.3. Conclusion

The six second-order historical thinking concepts and their respective guideposts have been addressed above, exploring the similar and dissimilar ways in which these concepts are engaged with in the two grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks. Specific overarching themes within the narratives came to light, particularly the focus on democracy, its legacies and its relationship to South Africa and the contemporary world. Disparities also emerged, such as Textbook A's inclination to focus on the role of historical agents, both justifying the actions of some, such as the urban workers, and invalidating others, like those of Marie Antoinette. Textbook B attempted to refrain from isolating historical agents, favouring a discussion on groups, except when it faced the actions of Robespierre during the Reign of Terror and his 'mistreatment' of revolutionary females, figures the textbook emphasised. Additionally, in addressing violence the textbooks take alternate stances, with Textbook B providing sources on and detailed descriptions of the Terror, with a generally disconcerting, though nevertheless authentic, affect, while Textbook A, which has drawn repeated parallels between the French and South African Revolution appears hesitant to condemn the violence of its leaders and followers, perhaps due to the very connection it sees.

The ideals of democracy are initially introduced in the second-order historical concept of historical significance, whereby the textbooks commend the influence of the American Revolution and the Era of Enlightenment for bringing to light the possibility of democracy in France and the unnecessary presence of corrupt leaders. Once democracy had gained traction, it is purported to have greatly influenced Haiti, as an immediate consequence, and later South Africa, thereby signifying its lasting and widespread import. This move away from an absolute monarchy of despotism to a democracy is reinforced in the sources which stress the presence of severe social, political and economic inequality suffered by the Third Estate at the hands of their 'superior'. Additionally, continuity and change, through the discussion of the successes and shortfalls of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen and the Constitution of 1791, the first democratic policies within France, addresses the emphasis on democracy, applauding the shift in power away from the monarch, the collapse of the Ancien Regime and the empowerment of the Third Estate. It,

nevertheless, also addresses the continued oppression of women and the failure to uplift the colonies of France, such as that of Haiti. The inclusion of the Calling of the Estates General, the Storming of the Bastille and the Women's March as definite turning points in both textbooks is significant- all expose instances where the masses opposed the monarchy and sought a democracy.

This focus does not shift when addressing the causes and consequences of the French Revolution: the despotism of the King and his ineffectuality is highlighted as unintended causes of the Revolution, while the Declaration of the Rights of Man makes a reappearance as a global tool for inciting revolutions and women's movements. This is additionally narrowed in relation to South Africa: Textbook A, in particular, highlights the role the Revolution played in bringing about the South African Revolution, and in acting as a positive force throughout revolutions at large. In an attempt to validate the French Revolution, and thereby the South African Revolution as it has been linked, historical perspective-taking has dedicated substantial attention to motivating the Third Estate, with each textbook focusing on the subsets of this group to varying degrees. They are additionally motivated through a discussion of the philosophers and their ideologies, as well as through careful contextualisation of the actions of the Third Estate, to ensure moral judgments are not ahistorical. This final area of concern, moral or ethical judgments, thrusts the legacy of democracy into the limelight and demands that remembrance be given. Current issues surrounding democracy are highlighted and linked to the French Revolution, drawing to a close the continual influence of the French Revolution, and the need to eternalise this event so that these contemporary threats to democracy are not ignored.

Nevertheless, as illustrated throughout this discussion, significant disparities exist within the engagement with almost every second-order historical thinking concept, particularly surrounding the portrayal of Robespierre, the Reign of Terror and the female agent at large. Textbook B, an advocate for the role of women during the Revolution, highlights the positive actions of Roland and De Gouge, while Textbook A fails to include such figures, rather denouncing Marie Antoinette as a negative influence and Charlotte Corday as a murderer. Robespierre is discussed in a delicate fashion by Textbook A, who willingly suggests he is a figure of much

contention, but choosing to position the responsibility of the violence of the French Revolution on the urban workers, who acted out of "need". The deaths are downplayed through an inclusion of only a fraction of those involved, a stance rejected by Textbook B who included the full headcount, detailed the threat to democracy the Committee of Public Safety posed, and concluding that the Terror only ended with Robespierre's death, thereby implicating the man they have portrayed, implicitly, as a sexist.

Other differences exist which address the narrative style of the textbooks: Textbook A favours identifiable historical agents- figures who both cause and react to the Revolution and who can be glorified or vilified; Textbook B, alternately, focuses on groups, looking at many of the actions of the Terror, per se, as that of the Committee of Public Safety, and in doing so attempts to avoid blaming a particular agent for the Revolution. Additionally, the format and tone differs, with the chronology of Textbook A following the turning points, isolating historical events into easily recognisable moments, with their specific causes and consequences. These events, furthermore, are hindered by the anachronistic positioning of the Flight to Varennes two years early, thereby preventing these turning points from linking, as well as the inclusion of the September Massacre of 1792 following the attack at Lyon of 1793, as a supposed example of the Reign of Terror which only began in 1793. This, and its dissection into specific turning points, results in a fragmented understanding of the Revolution, very different to the cohesive style utilised by Textbook B which provides three eras of discussion where events flow into one another, interweaving themselves into a complex and more authentic image.

In this regard, Textbook B adopts a more sophisticated vision of the Revolution, emphasised through its inclusion of a skills support section, encouraging learners to consider intention, bias, perspective and origin in engaging with sources. Furthermore, while both textbooks address all of the second-order historical thinking concepts in their questions, Textbook A focuses primarily on perspective-taking questions, while Textbook B questions are more diverse and encompass several thinking concepts in one question. Textbook B is also hesitant to be prescriptive: while Textbook A utilises numerical facts and percentiles, Textbook B asks learners to contemplate the relative success of the Revolution through a focus on its failure in

addressing sexism. Finally, a problem both textbooks faced was that of time- the French Revolution spanned many years and saw shifting power among many historical agents- agents which cannot be adequately discussed. If one follows as Textbook A did in including many historical agents, the result is an impression of a complexity that it merely a thin shadow; if one opts for simplicity, identifying groups and only a few agents, one ensures they are a suitably motivated and contextualised, but that a full-image of the complexity of the interplay of historical agents is lost.

CHAPTER FIVE:
ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS OF *ASSASSIN'S CREED UNITY*

Keeping in line with chapter four, this chapter addresses ACU*'s* engagement with the six second-order historical thinking concepts, utilising the historical thinking concepts as initial categorisation to commence the discussion. Within these six categories, further subdivisions have occurred in an effort to address the relative guideposts, while reconceptualization has been ignored as this has been addressed in chapter four. In certain cases, guideposts do overlap, or intertwine, but this has been indicated. In order to address the manner in which these second-order historical thinking skills and their respective guideposts are engaged with within ACU, data from the Qualitative Content Analysis Coding Schedule devoted to the electronic game, has been primarily used, with references to the Qualitative Comparative Analysis Coding Schedule. However, as comparison does not occur in this chapter, the completed Qualitative Comparative Analysis Coding Schedule only served to provide additional insight.

In the same fashion as the textbooks, the arrangement for categorisation has been guided by Seixas, the second-order historical thinking skills and their guideposts addressed in the determined order he has designated. In this regard, this discussion commences with historical significance and the three selected guideposts, before moving on to source evidence, and its five guideposts, continuity and change, and its four, cause and consequence and its five guideposts altered to six, the five guideposts of historical perspectives, and finally the ethical or moral dimension and its five relative concepts. These concepts, acting to illuminate the ideologies or perspectives held by game creators, have been addressed through the manifest content in the form of direct quotations or images intended to clarify or illustrate an argument, before discussing the latent content, the implicit meanings held within the narrative. Each discussion of the second-order historical thinking concept, having included a discussion of the manifest and latent content, concludes with an encompassing final paragraph or two, dedicated to the findings, acting to summarise the primary impressions and themes as unveiled.

5.1. *ASSASSIN'S CREED UNITY*

5.1.1. Introduction

The relationship between the electronic game, ACU, and the second-order historical thinking concepts, is more nebulous than that of the textbooks, but a relationship undoubtedly exists. While History is generally accepted to be intimately associated with the officially sanctioned educational practices, this assumption has failed to acknowledge the "role of the everyday, the local and the familial" inherent in electronic games and other unofficial forms of History education (Challenge the Past, 2015, p.1). These unofficial forms, despite evidence to suggest the incredibly significant role they may play in the development of learners' historical education (Phillips, 1998), have been disregarded as educational tools, perhaps due to their function as tools of the counter-culture. The counter-culture artefacts, such as the electronic game, illustrated in the literature review, aim to remove the constructs school places on the minds of society and shake off any official grand narratives, favouring the unorthodox (Young, 1996). Yet, regardless of this affiliation, electronic games, such as ACU, satisfy the pedagogical necessity to learn through tools, within a shared network of other minds (Mackay, 2013; Sutherland, Robertson & John, 2009) - learning, inclusive of, the second-order historical thinking concepts.

5.2.1. Historical Significance

Right off the bat, ACU adopted a unique approach to engaging with the second-order historical concepts, building off of factual instances to provide implied historical significance. An example of this is depicted in the changes which affected the greatest number of people, or quantity, when discussing Le Marais: "the Marais district's finest hours would come during the 17th century when the many aristocrats who lived there transformed it into a fashionable district… with the Revolution, the district changed progressively. The abandoned townshouses were taken up by merchants to form warehouses or workshops …" ("Le Marias"). This can indicate to learners that the French Revolution benefited the middle class, or Third Estate, seeing a rise in their influence and status and the diminishing in those of the nobility. The profundity of the change, or the depth of the consequences, can be loosely illustrated in the inclusion of the discussion of the statue of Liberty in the late 1800s,

"built over a decade earlier as a gift to the United States, representing the Roman goddess of freedom and celebrating American independence" ("19. Belle Epoque"). The very act of celebrating independence, an element of democracy, and celebrating it a hundred years after the French Revolution, demonstrates the gravity of the changes to ideology and practice. This also speaks of the durability of the changes- the very aim of the French Revolution was democracy and this change has lasted, as illustrated in this reference. A second durable component is that of the continuation of nationalist symbolism in the form of the colours of the cockade. ACU looks at how "The cockade of the revolution represented the colors[3] we see today in the French flag - blue, white, and red, sometimes known as the Tricolore" ("Cockade"), establishing the durability of nationalist emblems.

The aforementioned Marais, beyond merely changing hands of ownership, saw the sustained rise of industrialisation in Paris, and arguably the durability of the Revolution, as the same workshops "in turn gave way to small factories and semi-industrialised trades of the 19th century" ("Le Marias"), which were finally exemplified in the Belle Epoque database entry stating "Paris, already referred to as the City of Light, grew in size and economic power thanks to technological advances" ("19. Belle Epoque"). Furthermore, vast changes can be tracked in the scrutiny of current-day Place de la Concorde: initially established as Place Louis XV, in which the wedding of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette's saw 132 people "trampled during the fireworks display", the installation of the guillotine "at the Place de la Révolution permanently from May 19, 1793 until June 13, 1794" resulted in "some 1,500 men and women [who] would lose their heads" ("Place de la Révolution / Concord / Louis XV"). The dramatic changes to this place, as one of aristocratic celebration, to one of revolutionary fervour and justice, indicate the drastic and profound changes to the mind-set of the people of France. This is strengthened by the numerous references to the changes various churches, cathedrals, palaces and abbeys experienced and the amount of people and places, thereby, affected by the Revolution. If one studies the Notre Dame, a grand cathedral, "the foremost monument in Paris and the historic heart of the capital", its transformation from a Catholic cathedral to a place of "food

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[3] As Assassin's Creed Unity was published in the US and has adopted the US spelling of several words, such as color, the game's spelling, whether in an Americanised form or merely misspelt, will be utilised throughout the discussion.

storage and a church dedicated to the Cult of Reason (and later the Cult of the Supreme Being)" ("Notre-Dame de Paris"), as representative of changes to many significant monuments, it is evident how many people, or rather places, were impacted by the Revolution, and how profound the changes to religious devotion were.

When addressing the second guidepost, focused on the manner in which the Revolution exposed underlying issues, a sustained image of inequality is evident in the game. Inclusions of "the financial crisis facing the realm" ("Estates General of 1789"), are escalated by, as Méricourt exclaims, "Kings and nobles pay no tax, while we shoulder the burden for them!" ("Co-op Mission: Women's March"). The game, similarly, references the sustained oppression of the Third Estate, in that they "represented 96% of the population" and yet, as Sieyes expresses, "What has it been until now in the political order? Nothing" ("Third Estate"). In this regard, the game highlights the political impotence of the Third Estate and the financial burden positioned on them. This is reinforced by the narrator's dramatized example of the inequality, when stating "While Méricourt was fighting to keep Paris fed, Antoinette and the royals were throwing parties" ("Co-op Mission: Women's March"). However, the game, rather than placing the singular responsibility for these underlying issues on Louis XVI and Marie, does state that "Louis XV had merely covered up the nation's problems without actually resolving anything." ("King Louis XVI"), thus indicating that the problems had existed for decades before, but had not been addressed.

When viewing the manner in which the electronic game depicts or discusses the position of the Revolution within a grand and meaningful narrative, it is evident this is an artefact of the counter-culture. While reference is made to the American War of Independence, primarily in stating that "the financial crisis facing the realm" was "thanks in no small part to the government's role in financing the American revolution" ("Estates General of 1789"), it does not connect the American Revolution's ideologies with that of the French. It does, however, stretch its narrative limbs out further, taking the gamer, or learner, back to the medieval era, or late middle ages, speaking of "the Black Death, followed by social turmoil and warfare", annotating how "France was embroiled in the Hundred Years' War with England" and

how the latter "would burn down crops and buildings" which "took their toll on the economy and the nation's morale" and would lead "directly to the Jacquerie, a peasant revolt in the north of Paris in 1358, which was followed by other uprisings, cementing France as a nation of unrest" ("21. Medieval"). This narrative of continued political, economic and social unrest is supported by two alternate references, both similarly separate to the Revolution: the Belle Epoque era, and WWII. The former indicates that, despite Paris becoming "the cultural capital of the world… there was also political and racial tension" amongst "Anarchist groups who saw nothing but bourgeois decadence" ("Belle Epoque"). The allusion to World War II is merely one of occupied France, but the three events create a holistic image of France: there is a History of turbulence experienced by the people of France both before and after the Revolution, placing the French Revolution within a broader and meaningful historical context.

Other pieces of the picture fall into place when a comical reference is made to a tearful Henry III, who had "lost two of his favourite mignons in a duel". The reference to the king, or the tale of his mignons, is irrelevant, what stand out is the following: "Always ready for a laugh, the Parisians subsequently dubbed the bridge 'le pont des Pleurs', or the bridge of tears." ("Pont Neuf"). At some point, the French liked their kings and were considered "always ready for a laugh" as though carefree. Another extract from the Belle Epoque database says "'the beautiful age'" emerged as "Once France was forced to endure the wars and hardships of the 20th Century, it was nostalgically thought of as a golden age, both prosperous and peaceful" ("Belle Epoque"). This larger narrative of a 'time of peace' indicates to learners that France went through a cyclical manner of violence and peace. Violence within the medieval era, to peace under King Henry III, violence within the Revolution, and temporary harmony under the Belle Epoque- a harmony fractured by World War II.

Finally, the narrative focuses on a morally and environmentally squalid France from which a revolution can be easily seen to emerge- the Hotel de Ville is noted as follows: "The building came to have a row of busts along the front, celebrating the historical Mayors of Paris, who looked out over the Place de Grève and its public executions" ("Hotel de Ville"). This careless and nonchalant reference to public executions, while potentially easily missed, at the hands of mayors paints a picture of

accepted violence. While presentism may cause learners to perceive the violence of the Revolution as barbaric, the inclusion of this demonstrates the attitude of acceptance towards violence and execution held in that era. Furthermore, when discussing Saint-Innocents cemetery, it is remarked that it held "an unprecedented concentration of dead bodies: a plague epidemic could bring about thousands of deaths in the space of just a few weeks." ("Cimetière des Saints-Innocents"). If thousands could readily die from a quickly caught plague, it is not surprising that the citizens of France did not view death in the manner of today's societies.

ACU engages with historical significance in a divergent and potentially confusing manner, addressing the profound advent of industrialisation and the rise of the middle class through a discussion of the district Le Marais; the dawn of nationalism is introduced through the historical artefact, the Cockade; while the sustained and lasting ideals of democracy are revealed through the monument, Lady Liberty. While this non-prescriptive approach to the significance of the Revolution may be initially ambiguous, their reiteration throughout the game allows them to become more transparent, yet does require sustained focus and retention. Take the Notre-dame: utilised to reveal the changes in the mind-set of the masses of France, the repeated inclusion of churches adaptation to areas of practicality, indicates an increasingly obvious shift in the ideologies of the people of France. When engaging with the issues unveiled by the French Revolution, the game utilises characters such as Méricourt to denounce the indulgent behaviour of the royalty, while the database clarifies that this corruption had been present long before the Revolution. Finally, when positioning the Revolution within a grand narrative, the game mostly ignores other Revolutions, choosing instead to paint a holistic image of France alone, one with a tumultuous past of economic, social and political upheaval interspersed with eras of peace.

5.2.2. Source Evidence

Source evidence has been addressed in a somewhat different style for the game as it does not come with activities or questions, thereby eliminating the second guidepost and lessening the plausible sources. The inclusion of primary source extracts or instances, whilst ignoring this inability to address the second guidepost regarding questions, is limited in that these do not necessarily include relevant

quotes, or statements, but rather those which the game developers may have selected as they were found to be interesting, useful or another unknowable reason. Such an instance of this arguable irrelevance is a statement by Paul Barras, "We sought to agree on how to put an end to the excesses of the government committees, and to help the National Convention to regain its existence" ("Champ Elysees"). This tenuously deals with the Reign of Terror and the conspirators' belief that the Committee of Public Safety had usurped too much power from the National Convention. While this provides an insight into the political framework in which Robespierre existed, where people plotted his death, as well as garnering an understanding that many saw the Committee as a separate force, thereby excusing the Convention, it exists in a vacuum. We have no information about the man Barras, and are merely told that the Champ Elysees was the location of the attempted assassination.

Other sources, nevertheless, provide greater insights, particularly, into the struggles of the Third Estate, the perceptions held of the king and queen, the king's execution and the feelings of Robespierre and Danton. ACU includes an extract from the famous pamphlet by Abbe Sieyes, "What is the Third Estate?", selecting a portion of it to illuminate their frustrations: "'What is the third Estate? Everything. What has it been until now in the political order? Nothing. What does it ask? To become something. Nothing could be done without it, everything would be infinitely better without the other two orders'" ("Third Estate"). Positioning this following the introduction to the Third Estate suggests that this is the shared feeling and experience of the members of the Third Estate, heightened by the previous proclamation that they made up 96% of the population. Abbe Sieyes and his pamphlet have been contextualised- he is said to be a deputy of the Third Estate, an estate which has just be roughly designated and this work was written in 1789, the year of the Revolution. Furthermore, as it appears early in the game, before any of the violence, riots or revolts are witnessed, it tenuously suggests that this piece may have spurred the populace on, and what their feelings were going into the Estates-General- the time when this database entry was triggered.

The game includes three primary sources regarding the king- two are collected together, originating from a deputy and his younger brother, while the last is from

Louis XVI, himself, as he faced the guillotine. The first two, introduced early in the game state "in the words of one deputy, 'the king spent his whole life saying each evening that he was mistaken that same morning.' As his younger brother (the future Charles X) would say, not without irony: 'Trying to get Louis to hold to a position was like trying to hold greased billiard balls together'" ("King Louis XVI"). These sources suggest the weak-willed and indecisive nature of the King- a man not suitable to lead a country. It suggests even the King knew he was incapable, which may have led to a begrudging pity for the man who became an unwilling king. While these sources have no date of origin, the authors are included, where possible, and they act as a collaborative force for one another, establishing and reinforcing an image of Louis. When coupled with Louis's words at this execution, an image begins to form. Louis XVI proclaims "I die innocent of all the crimes laid to my charge. I pardon those who have occasioned my death, and I pray to God that the blood you are going to shed may never fall on France" ("Execution of Louis XVI"). In the game, Louis XVI attempts to announce this to the onlookers but the drumroll is ordered and he is pulled away to the guillotine. Louis XVI looks saddened by the actions of the people of France and tries desperately to gain their attention. These words suggest he has little guilt, yet the final prayer for the people of France, the wholehearted belief in his innocence, and the fumbled expression on his face, forces the audience to feel pity for this man. In this regard, the three sources portray an inadequate, fumbling, innocently reckless leader who it is difficult to hate.

The game is less forgiving of Marie Antoinette: an unknown source is said to assert that she is "petty, frivolous, mocking", while her mother proclaimed "She is rushing towards her ruin" ("Marie Antoinette"). Marie is, therefore, cast into the gamer's mind as a selfish, foolish and ill-intentioned woman responsible for her own downfall. However, when viewed in the full context of this statement, the judgment is lessened: she is proclaimed to have dealt with her "matrimonial boredom with parties and lavish spending" and the database does include "In fact, it was the war of America that would ruin France's finance, not her frivolity" to clarify that she cannot be held responsible for the downfall of France. Nevertheless, to illustrate that her own mother viewed her actions as reckless, has a lasting impact, and despite not knowing who made the first comment, the two act to corroborate one another and construct a similar image of Marie.

The final two sources included are those by Danton and Robespierre, two of the foremost leaders of the Revolution. Danton's words are those given as he was drawn towards the guillotine, when he cried out to Robespierre, "You follow us shortly Robespierre! Your house will be beaten down and sowed with salt" ("Co-op Mission: Danton's Sacrifice"). This statement, dated and shown to be on the execution day, proves to gamers or learners that animosity and disagreement existed within the National Convention and Committee of Public Safety, particularly between Danton and Robespierre, and imparts the notion that no one was safe. Robespierre's quote, incidentally, provides insight into the reasoning behind his actions. He states: "We are being watched by all nations; we are debating in the presence of the universe" ("Maximilien François Isidore de Robespierre"). The implicit or latent meaning to this proclamation shines light on Robespierre's actions- he believed that the magnitude of their work was world-changing and that they were possibly creating a model for all other revolutions. If true, it does begin to reveal the 'extremity' of his actions- the world is watching and they have to address universal issues with the knowledge that their words and actions have far-reaching consequences. This quote, like all others included, unveil human motivation, looking at the feelings of historical agents, like Robespierre and Danton, depicting the incompetence of the king, and the hindrances of the majority of the population, in an attempt to allow for a greater understanding of their actions and to create people, not ideas.

Sources and their evidence, perhaps the most difficult second-order historical thinking concept through which to explore the game's ability to develop a historically literate learner, have been selected by the game creators, generally, to illustrate a point. Occasionally this point rests in a vacuum, void of historical context, while other instances the sources have been utilised to further illuminate a figure or group- the Third Estate, King Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, Danton and Robespierre are all fleshed out through the aid of quotations. The inclusion of sources surrounding these figures suggests their importance in the perceptions of the game developers, and the image they desire the gamer to hold: the Third Estate entered the Calling of the Estates General angered and oppressed; King Louis XVI, through three carefully selected primary sources, was an ineffectual, insecure and innocuous king; Marie Antoinette was shamelessly reckless, philanderous and self-indulgent, but lonely in

her marriage. Danton's quotation originated from his execution and in expressing his anger towards Robespierre, the gamer and learner alike is made aware of the disharmony within the Committee of Public Safety, therein making it more relatable and less fictitiously perfect. Finally, the quote by Robespierre succinctly illustrates the intention of these primary sources: in his attempt to justify his actions, to justify the Reign of Terror, Robespierre becomes more human. He becomes an individual, not an idea, who felt the pressure of the Universe bearing down on his actions and demanding that he create the exemplar for democracy.

5.2.3. Continuity and Change

As indicated under the textbooks analysis section, the first guidepost of change and continuity is that of chronology, namely examining the order of events within a sequence. Initially the game follows a linear path, and if one stays on the main character gameplay then the game follows from 27 December 1776 to 5 May 1789 to July 1789 and so on, following some insignificant dates, as well as specific and important dates such as execution of King Louis XVI and the downfall of Robespierre. In essence, while the game follows a linear timeline within the main narrative, this is guided mainly by the character- not History. Additionally, this chronological linearity ends with the Co-op Missions and Heists. A level two mission, a low mission, "Heads Will Roll", begins in November 13, 1793, while a level three mission, "The Austrian Conspiracy", begins September 2, 1792. The game includes specific dates for some of the events, notably for the Women's March to Versailles, while months are occasionally given, such as the Storming of the Bastille, or even seasons, such as the food riots. However, in the case of the food riots, they are said to occur across the Summer of 1793, when they actually began in February, winter, and were unlikely to last through to July. Furthermore, some of the missions are set after an event, so that the date of the mission is a month or two after the event began, e.g. The War with Austria. Therefore, ACU, while following a general timeline, flips between events, so that while the dates are known, they are not situated in a historically logically manner.

This general timeline follows crucial moments of the Revolution as designated by the game, of which many are included, though they are not necessarily all turning points. The game is fortunate in that it is not restrained by time and able to include a variety

of events. It looks at the food riots which, while not necessarily deemed relevant, paint a picture of the continued strife faced by the people of Paris and contextualise their continued and escalating violence. The game has the opportunity to include small details like De Sade's presence in the Bastille, as well as the king's reaction to the Storming. When engaging with the Women's March, ACU has included fictional conflict, such as the presence of threatening canons, for actual quests to be possible, as well as identifying a single personable heroine, Méricourt, and the fact that men were involved- not just women! It appears that the game, for dramatic effect, highlights acts of violence, and exercises artistic license by including the aforementioned fictional conflict. Additionally, certain turning points are not placed within a "box" allotted to them, such as the end of the Reign of Terror; rather, they are discussed within various databases, and witnessed both within the main gameplay and the co-op missions. The termination of the Reign of Terror is first loosely referenced under the "Co-op Mission: Jacobin Raid", where Robespierre's execution is witnessed and it is stated that if the Jacobins follow, the terror will be officially dead. This indicates that, while the Terror lost footing after Robespierre's execution, it only really ended following the weakening of the Jacobins, leading to a "more 'civilised' stage of the Revolution" ("13 Vendamiarie").

This "civilised" stage marks the first progress in the third guidepost: progress and decline. With Robespierre's death and the fall of the Jacobins, according to the game, the Reign of Terror came to an end and a period of relative order reasserted itself. However, by placing the word within inverted commas, it is evident violence still held sway, and the game focuses on a significant amount of instances, usually before the death of Robespierre, where the state of France declined. An obvious example of decline during Robespierre's reign is that of Place Louis XV where the guillotine was permanently installed and "in 13 months some 1500 men and women would lose their heads" ("Place de la Revolution/ Concorde/ Louis XV"). Even areas of concern which the Revolution sought to remedy, it aggravated: "Trouble with crops, combined with a need to provide the army with bread led to a shortage across France" ("Food Shortages and Riots"). Furthermore, stable areas, such as the Village of Versailles, faced unexpected concerns even following the fall of Robespierre and the Jacobins: "After the abolition of the aristocracy and Louis XVI's deposition", there was "a drastic drop in population: from roughly 60,000 souls in

1789, the city's population plummeted to fewer than 30,000 in just four year. Looters, attracted by the abandoned royal palace and the many noble estates, added an element of lawlessness that wouldn't be driven out until the early 19th century, when King Louis-Philippe declared the Palais de Versailles a National Museum dedicated to 'all the glories of France'" ("Fate of Versailles"). It is unclear why the population declined, but death seems the likely reason- death by guillotine.

The game includes an extensive list of changes, and some continuities, though most deal with changes in the appearance or utility of different architectural and historical sights, marking their changes to suit the needs of the people. While this does give insight into the changing needs of the people, it becomes repetitive in style, often expressing the same sentiment in numerous different ways. An example of these changes, before, during and after the Revolution, can be exemplified in the Temple: Initially headquarters for the Knights Templar and "the center of its charitable works" it was "converted into a prison" holding "most of the French Royal family" including "Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, and the Dauphin" before Napoleon ordered it demolished to remove its use as a symbol of the old monarchy" ("The Temple"). This example, among others, illustrates the primary change the game highlight- the change in power. The areas of royal or noble power were taken from those in power, like Place Louis XV was converted to a place of execution and Versailles, "along with all royal possessions, was confiscated and sealed" ("Palais de Versailles"). The reliance on the church was, additionally, shaken so much that people disregarded churches and used them for necessity, such as Sainte Chapelle which "came close to being demolished during the Revolution, but would eventually be used as a flour store, a club room for the Section de la Cité, and finally a store for archiving old papers, which effectively saved it, since it served the people" ("Sainte- Chapelle").

Arguably the most well-known and significant continuity which the game highlights is the failure of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen in acknowledging women as citizens. In "Co-op Mission: Jacobin Raid", Méricourt shouts "We declared the Rights of Men- but what of WOMEN!" before being beaten, a reference to Olympe de Gouge's Declaration of the Rights of Women and Female Citizen, which Méricourt supported. Another instance of continuity the game deals with speaks of a landmark, the Hotel Dieu, which has remained "an emergency center for the first 9

arrondisements of Paris" after two centuries ("Hotel Dieu"). While this may seem irrelevant, when juxtaposed with the extreme changes religious and royal monuments, it reinforces the concept that the Revolution favoured practicality over religious sentiment and royal superiority, choosing to save this monument; however, this is obscure in nature. Finally, while not a continuity within the Revolution itself, the games inclusion of the following commentary about how De Sade "used his family's wealth and influence to get away with an astonishing array of crimes", to which the in-game database narrator replies, "Lucky that could never happen nowadays" ("Marquis de Sade"), speaks volumes about the continuity of corrupt leaders being excused by their own power, despite the Revolution's attempt to bring about true equality before the law.

As ACU is not dictated by the constraints of conventional historical time, it chooses the follow a generally chronically order under the main gameplay while moving forward and back in time throughout the Co-Op Missions and Heists. While occasionally misleading, the game does provide adequate dating and contextualisation for turning points, ensuring the event is understood, but could be argued to provide an inaccurate depiction of historical events. The Reign of Terror, rather than being forced into a static box, is discussed within numerous Co-op missions and the gameplay, illustrating the dynamic fluidity of historical events. This lack of constraint permits the game to devote time to additional conflicts in the Revolution, identifiable and relatable characters and intriguing historical 'titbits', which might be otherwise ignored. ACU exercises its artistic license, dramatizing events and fabricating conflicts for sensationalism, drawing attention to the violence of the Revolution: in fact, it is this violence which is showcased in the third guidepost. The game draws attention to the continued famine under the Revolution, the escalating violence of the guillotine and the spread of strife to Versailles. It does, however, also note changes, not merely decline, particularly in the relationship between the members of the Third Estate and the King and Clergy, the latter of whom the Third Estate had lost faith in. The Hotel Dieu remains, as it serves a purpose, but numerous churches are abolished or transformed as, what purpose do they serve for the starving masses? Finally, the game acknowledges the failure of democracy in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen in asserting "but what

of women!" ("Co-op Mission: Jacobin Raid"), and it becomes increasingly evident that the game has chosen to focus on the downfalls or failures of the Revolution.

5.2.4. Cause and Consequence

ACU is in a unique position to provide as much or as little information as it desires about the French Revolution, a quality most evident in its discussion on the short and long term causes and consequences, within guidepost 1. In discussing the role of Louis XVI's ancestors or predecessors, the game speaks of how "Louis XV had merely covered up the nation's problems without actually resolving anything." ("King Louis XVI"), and how the Medici women indulgently built the Tuileries and the Luxembourg Palace, despite the availability of other palaces. Louis XVI is charged as a cause for his role in "The war with England" which "would ruin the Kingdom" and result in "a debt-ridden France", a situation he only "exacerbated by the trade treaty with London" who "inundated France with their industrial products, spelling disaster for French artisans" ("King Louis XVI"). Marie "more than made up for her matrimonial boredom with parties and lavish spending" ("Marie Antoinette"); "meanwhile, pampered and pensioned in Versailles far away from their roots, the nobility had become another adversary that would further undermine the system". These political causes were further aggravated in the eyes of the citizens of France by the food shortages, as "while food shortages were due to bad crops and weather, those who were hungry blamed them on the rich". Accordingly, "the shortage of bread was one of the driving factors behind the French Revolution" as by 1789 "the price of one loaf of bread was more than half a day's pay for the common workers" ("Food shortages and riots"). It is key here to note the manner in which ACU is clear on not allotting unnecessary blame to the "rich", rather acknowledging an additional and separate cause.

The game also acknowledges the role economic causes played in the French Revolution, particularly the debt accrued by the American War of Independence. As stated previously, the game associates the financial crisis which France faced as due largely to their financing of the American Revolution, going so far as to state "In fact, it was the war of America that would ruin France's finances" ("Marie Antoinette"). This economic blunder is strengthened by the discussion on the Bastille: "by 1789, the Bastille was deemed useless, and was costly to maintain, with

250 soldiers for a mere nine prisoners" ("The Bastille"). This unnecessary expenditure expresses to learners to recklessness with which money was spent in this era, money garnered from a Third Estate with no decision-making powers. The game utilises the fictional "son of a poor cobbler, Rouille" to indicate the manner in which the poor remained in their position, regardless of skill. Rouille, it is said, "had no hope of advancement into the aristocratic officer corps of the Gardes" ("Frédéric Rouille"), and as a resulted, readily joined the sans-culottes. Perhaps the best illustration of the social and economic disparities is captured in the screenshots below. These images, which are two areas in the game, illustrate to the gamer the unequal distribution of wealth and living opportunities. The first, Ile-Saint-Louis, an affluent area, juxtaposes drastically, with Cour des Miracles, which "was one of the poorest, most dangerous slums in Revolutionary Paris" ("Cour des Miracles").

Figure 5.2.4.1.: A screenshot of Ile-Saint-Louis from *Assassin's Creed Unity*

Figure 5.2.4.2.: A screenshot of Cour des Miracles from *Assassin's Creed Unity*
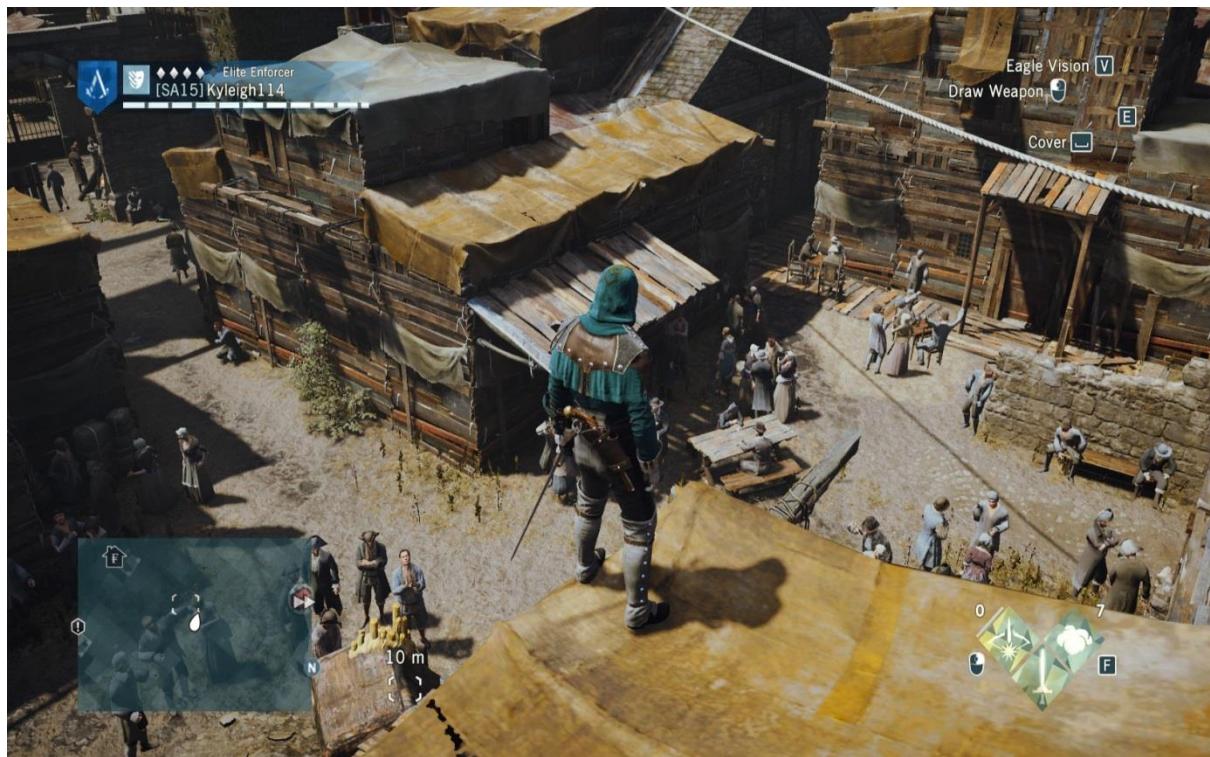
Following these broad causes, ACU engages with specific historical events or turning points, examining individually their causes and consequences. The game includes many potential 'turning points' or events of significance, 15 in total, including the food riots, the Storming of the Tuileries Palace and the moving of Mirabeau's corpse, to name a few. As a result, some of these are not always well-recorded and the consequences are not often given, perhaps because people have not detailed the consequences as clearly as they would, say, the Calling of the Estates General. In this instance, the game identifies the cause as a means to "address the financial crisis facing the realm" due to engagement with the American Revolution, and then discusses how the calling led to the Third Estate declaring "itself the National Assembly and announced that it would conduct the nation's affairs" due to the to "an impasse over the first item of the agenda… whether the Estates-General should vote collectively by estate … or vote individually" ("Estates General of 1789"). The final outcome or consequence is said to be the forced acquiescence of the First and Second Estate, thereby ensuring that "The French Revolution was beginning." While ACU does not reference the events surrounding the Tennis Court Oath, the reason could lie in the statement "it was clear which way the political wind was blowing",

arguably suggesting change was inevitable and the oath could be seen as a by-product.

The game has seamlessly linked cause and consequence in this instance, yet, as stated, there are numerous instances where consequences are ignored, such as the Women's March. The causes are identified by the narrator who asserts "Paris is starving, and the price of bread just tripled", illustrating the first or primary cause. It is claimed that "While Méricourt was fighting to keep Paris fed, Antoinette and the royals were throwing parties" ("Women's March"). This dramatized comparability focuses on the second cause of the March: the discontent women felt at the extravagance of Marie and the royals, essentially at their expense. Similarly, when detailing the trial and execution of king Louis XVI, the game provides information on his death's short-term causes, "When the grounds of Tuileries were invaded, Louis took refuge in the National Assembly, but the damage was done" ("King Louis XVI"), as well as the immediate causes "plotting against the Revolution out of one side of his mouth, while he promises to support the constitution out the other" (Sequence 9.3) through his "agreement with Leopold II and the King of Prussia to restore the French monarchy" ("Trial of Louis XVI"). While the consequences merely include the populace shouting "'Vive la Nation!' and 'Vive la République!'" as well as singing "the emblematic revolutionary song 'Ça ira' (literally, 'it'll be fine')" ("Execution of Louis XVI"), this does imply the feeling of freedom which the people felt. Yet no consequences to the march are established, asides from the link with the later food riots, and while, for example, the consequences of moving Mirabeau's corpse from the Pantheon may not be well-documented, the March is. Rather the game focuses on human agents and the events surrounding them in great detail, such as the aforementioned execution of the king and the assassination attempt on Napoleon.

When addressing the Reign of Terror, the game fails to designate a point of origin or cause, in the typical fashion; rather, it is witnessed in the game through the increased violence in the streets of Paris, and the inclusion of the political persecution of the Girondists and Danton's execution. The former is said to be caused by an opposition to "the bloodbath Robespierre unleashed on Paris" and "the role of … [the National Convention] to condemn men to death"; an opposition which angered Robespierre and led to a "warrant for the arrest of every Girondist"

("Political Persecution"). The end of the Terror, however, is given some focus, with the statement "The fall of Robespierre after his arrest on 9 Thermidor an II (July 1794) ended the Terror and led to a more "civilized" stage of the Revolution" ("13 Vendemiarie"). It is evident here that the fall of Robespierre, according to the game, resulted directly in the end of the Reign of Terror, a sentiment reinforced by the final comment "The Jacobins never did regain power in France" following the death of their leader ("Jacobin Raid").

When engaging with the second guidepost, and assessing the variance of influence, the actions of the king and the nobility are thrust into the limelight. The decision of the king to engage in financing the American Revolution, is first criticised by the game in stating "the financial crisis facing the realm" was "thanks in no small part to the government's role in financing the American revolution" ("Estates General of 1789"). This attitude is repeated in "The war with England … would ruin the Kingdom, and by 1789, debt-ridden France had reached a state of virtual bankruptcy" ("King Louis XVI"), as well as "it was the war of America that would ruin France's finance" ("Marie Antoinette"). In general, the game does draw attention to the role of the economic and political conditions in causing the Revolution, the latter of which is connoted to be largely to blame on the nobility in that it is said their extravagance "would bring about a revolution to which they too would fall victim" ("King Louis XVI").

Continuing with the focus on human agents, ACU introduces and details numerous historical agents, a third proponent of cause and consequence. The common figures of the French Revolution are introduced including Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette and the three Estates, though less attention, as expected, is given to impersonal groups with the Third Estate being collectively clumped as "beggars, peasants, the bourgeoisie, notaries, doctors, lawyers, artisans, bankers and even scholars" ("Third Estate"). Yet numerous, and increasingly unfamiliar, figures are referenced, including Sieyes and Mirabeau, as well as previous Kings and the Medici family, interwoven with fictional (and therein confusing) "historical" characters, making it manifest that the Revolution included and was the result of diverse agents and motivations, far and wide. Small, and seemingly irrelevant, figures such as Jacques Roux and Sivert are included to show the influence the Revolution had on even the "insignificant"

figures, as well as, arguably, pulling away from the focus on a singular grand narrative, to one of personalised, disparate tales. Finally, ACU takes a step towards inclusivity: Méricourt, a revolutionary female agent is included, as well as Thomas-Alexandre Dumas, a coloured Private in the revolutionary battalions.

These characters exist within complex social, economic, political and cultural conditions, the fourth facet of study under cause and consequence. Much like the establishment of a meaningful narrative within historical significance, so the political conditions move back in time as a means of painting a fuller picture of the long-term conditions and their role in the on-going turbulence. Louis XIV is said to have "left Paris behind for fear of the revolts he had known as a child" ("Village of Versailles"), suggesting a History of animosity towards the king, worsened by the ascension of a king who "was ill-prepared", a court which "was incapable of reform" and a predecessor who "had merely covered up the nation's problems without actually resolving anything" ("King Louis XVI"). Perhaps the best way the game provides of looking at the political system Louis XVI emerged into and existed within, is in the detailing of infamous nobleman, Marquis de Sade: "It's a telling symptom of the Ancien Regime's corruption that he was considered merely a scandalous figure and not a violent criminal" ("Marquis de Sade").

As the social and economic conditions are examined, further corruption and inequalities begin to emerge: the Third Estate despite representing "96% of the population" constituted "Nothing" in the political order ("The Third Estate"), while the nobility were "pampered and pensioned in Versailles far away from their roots" ("King Louis XVI"). Even the fictional character, Elise de la Serre, who is said to be "modestly wealthy", "had access to the finest tutors, medicine and food available…and spent a great deal of time travelling, including several years of study in Paris" ("Else de la Serre"). She can be jaggedly juxtaposed with the numerous impoverished areas, such as the previously mentioned Cour des Miracles which "took its name from the many beggars who faked terribly injuries and diseases to elicit donations, only to be miraculously 'cured' when it was time to go home" ("Cour des Miracles"). Yet as the game illustrates, not everyone is 'cured': a man has his leg amputated to receive more aid out of blind desperation, a startling visual for gamers who must acknowledge the terrible social and economic conditions of the Third

Estate. Meanwhile, the king is seen to be pouring money into the Bastille, "deemed useless" and "costly to maintain", as well as paying off its debt from the American Revolution, and further crippling the economy by "inundating France with [England's] industrial products", thanks to a trade treaty, "spelling disaster for French artisans" ("King Louis XVI").

Culturally, the game paints a complex picture of intellectual pursuits, moral degradation, dissatisfaction with the church and an increasing acceptance of violence. A shift in spirituality is illustrated in La Madeliene, as "On December 30, 1791, work on the church [La Madeleine] was ordered to stop" because "the Revolution was hardly an advocate of religion" ("La Madeleine"). The game utilises buildings and monuments to illustrate ideologies, as can be evidenced in Saint Germain des Pres Abbey, originally a church, and later a storehouse where "15, 000 tons of gun powder were stockpiled", indicated the move away from religious dependency to a self-reliant war-state. An interesting inclusion from the game comes in the following statement: "an explosion destroyed part of the former abbey in August 1794. Not that this prevented it from becoming the 'Prison de l'Abbaye' where some of the most atrocious massacres would take place in September 1793" ("St-Germain-des-Pres"). Evidently, this is a skewed timeline, with the explosion dated after the conversion to a prison, a prison established in the 1500s, and a reference to the September Massacres a year later. What is of interest is the in-game database narrators quip, "Our senses of linear time, perhaps inevitably, exploded when Abstergo couldn't be bothered to fact-check their database". This draws learners' attention to inaccuracies and even their belief that what they read is true, into question.

A final point on the conditions regards their continuity: the game includes political, social, economic and cultural conditions throughout the Revolution, not merely before the Revolution. This allows for an understanding of the shifting conditions and the various conditions within which people acted, creating an organic image of the historical context within which historical figures existed and responded. This can be poignantly illustrated by a statement made by the fictional character, Germain: "A king is merely a symbol- a symbol can inspire fear, and fear can inspire control, but men inevitably lose their fear of symbols as seen … Divine Right of Kings is nothing

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but the reflection of sunlight on Gold" (Sequence 10.2). The king once stood for something within France, but the shifting paradigms of power and influence meant that his symbolism had lost its effect and his control was later revealed to be merely an illusion, sunlight reflecting off gold. Even the revolutionaries who took control faced continuous threats to their political power, according to the game, as Arno is tasked to stop a royalist coup. However, while the inclusion of so many conditional cues makes for a fuller picture, they are not necessarily clear- some conditions can be confusing or the intention not readily gathered, such as the graffiti throughout the city asserting "La liberty ou la mort". Without knowledge that this states 'liberty or death', it can be readily missed or ignored.

The unintended consequences, those which historical agents do not foresee, are the fifth area of cause and consequence engaged with in the game, with the question of inevitability following in last. Only two unintended consequences exist: firstly, "the trade treaty with London … inundated France with their industrial products, spelling disaster for French artisans. Some of these products would even be used in the revolutionary riots" ("King Louis XVI") When signing this treaty, the aim was to reduce tariffs on goods between countries, but rather than assisting in the economic state, it resulted in economic deprivation and became a cause behind the very revolution that would see the death of its king. Secondly, and more progressively, were the migration of aristocrats out of the Marais district, and the influx of merchants who began to "form warehouses or workshops … which in turn gave way to small factories and semi-industrialised trades of the 19th century." ("Le Marias") In this regard, the French Revolution, by shifting the balance in power, is seen as leading to the industrialisation of areas of France, unintentionally. Finally, it is Robespierre's actions which the game believes could have resulted in a different outcome. In "Co-op Mission: Political Persecution", as the Girondists are attacked, a scene shows Robespierre in his office, and Danton storming in stating "My old friend, you must be mad. You can't sic this butcher [Hanriot] on deputies of the Convention." The narrator concludes "Georges Danton took a huge risk opposing Robespierre." It is arguable that, had Robespierre followed Danton's advice, perhaps the Reign of Terror would have been prevented or lessened.

Causes and consequences within the game focus on the role the royalty, acting as political forces and readily moving beyond merely Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette to expose the indulgent behaviour of their ancestors, and the economic collapse, particularly due to the American Revolution, played in triggering the French Revolution, which Louis XVI is repeatedly criticised for. While the game allots these as the greatest causes it does, nevertheless, explore alternate causes, detailing the role the famine played in aggravating relations between the Third Estate and the nobility, utilising a fictional character to illustrate the disparity in power experienced by the varying Estates and providing visual representations of the social inequality in the depiction of districts. The attention then turns to the turning points-specific causes and consequences; however, with 15 different 'turning points' or points of significance, while the complexity of the Revolution is apparent, detail can lapse, particularly in addressing the consequences of events. Specific events such as the Calling of the Estates General and the ensuing establishment of the National Assembly are well-established, though the manner is different: the Tennis Court Oath is ignored- rather political changes are determined to be inevitable. The Reign of Terror is not designated to a 'starting point', wherein a specific date is allotted: rather it is experienced as one immersed in History would have- violence escalates, the Girondists are executed, the Guillotine is installed in the Place de la Revolution. The Terror is alive- an element of sensationalism the game favours. One of its reputed vicitms, Louis XVI, is given significant attention, thoroughly detailing the causes behind his execution, before it is witnessed by the gamer. This illuminates a desire of the game: People are the focal point, as they are relatable.

In this vein, when identifying historical agents, the game has included an expansive variety of figures, shoving the numerous member of the Third Estate under a single collective, while introducing and focusing on increasingly uncommon figures. This suggests a shift away from a grand narrative, a focus on inclusivity, through the insertion of Méricourt and the coloured Dumas, as well as an emphasis on the lesser known voices. This lends itself to the discussion on the political conditions: the game moves back in time to focus on lesser known kings and establish an atmosphere of continual discontent with the monarchy, not merely a sudden hatred for Louis XVI, as well as shifting forward to the execution of the king and establishing on-going political, social, economic and cultural conditions throughout the Revolution, creating

a dynamic historical context. It is also increasingly apparent that the game aims to paint the French Revolution as an era of corruption and depravity: De Sade, a notorious nobleman, is given free reign; beggars, desperate for aid, are forced to fabricate or even create terrible physical ailments; and religion gives way to massacre- Saint-Germain-des-Pres becomes the home of the infamous September Massacres. The inclusion of the site also becomes a learning opportunity within the game- a skewed timeline of the events surrounding this Abbey draws attention to inaccuracies in historical accounts and it can be argued that ACU wants to force gamers and learners alike to question the information they have been given rather than merely accept it. ACU, additionally, does not fail to point out human error, identifying the King's decision to sign the trade treaty with London as resultant in further economic aggravations, and Robespierre's decision to execute the Girondists as reckless and, arguably, a stepping stone to a bloody Reign of Terror.

5.2.5. Historical Perspectives

The focus on human agency finds its footing for the game in historical perspectives, per the first guidepost on worldviews and motivations. To understand the motivations of characters, their actions cannot exist in a vacuum, and ACU works strenuously to provide insight into the attitudes, actions and beliefs of the many historical agents it includes, often, but not always at the expense of groups. The motives of the Third Estate are roughly summed up in Sieyes pamphlet "What is the Third Estate?" and their actions and motives can only be further discerned by watching their engagement in their game. Members of the Third Estate, present at the Storming the Bastille, Marching to Versailles and rioting outside churches and cathedrals, are seen fighting the sans-culottes and other 'revolutionaries' out for blood, suggesting in-group violence within the Third Estate. Yet, the Jacobin club is expounded upon, claimed to be where "all the real power lay" ("Club des Jacobins"), taken from their rivals the Girdondists who "initially held most of the political power, but a series of political defeats led to their fall from grace and the rise of the Montagnards" ("The Girdondists"), though the latter group is never conceptualised. The Jacobins are treated similarly to a singular historical agent in elucidating to the motives of their extremism: "the Jacobin Club supported, at least nominally, the monarchy right up to the eve of the Republic. The club became radicalized in June of 1791, when many of its more moderate deputies left to form a new club, the Feuillants" ("Jacobin Club"),

thereby shedding light on the cause of their shift - the perceived threat over a loss of power.

Similarly, popular historical figures such as King Louis XVI, described as "an indecisive man" with a "passion for geography and great exploration, and whose hobbies were locksmithing and carpentry" yet who was "simply not cut out for the job" ("King Louis XVI") are fully fleshed out. Personal anecdotes from a deputy and his younger brother, as well as the inclusion that at his trial he is said to have "retaliated to each of the charges and sought to give weight to his arguments. Even if he knew that his fate was sealed and that there was little he could do to prevent it, he was not resigned to it" ("Trial of Louis XVI") act as a summary of his character and motivations. Through the seemingly unnecessary inclusion of his hobbies it becomes evident that he was a simple man, hardly a conniving aristocrat, while his defiance at his trail portrays a dynamic man, not merely a passive figurehead with no character.

In this regard, it becomes increasingly evident that the game prefers to focus on relatable individuals, whose can drive the action of the game and who it is intend on bringing alive. This is firstly exemplified in Anne-Joseph Théroigne de Méricourt, the designated historical female heroine of the Revolution, driven to "keep Paris fed" while "Antoinette and the royals were throwing parties" ("Co-op Mission: Women's March"). Within the game, Théroigne is often used to represent the struggles of women during the Revolution, declaring "We declared the Rights of Men- but what of WOMEN!", an act which saw her labelled an "enemy of the republic" by Robespierre ("Co-op Mission: Jacobin Raid"). Her political background is detailed, showing her to have regularly attended the National Assembly", been "arrested by Austrians" and "invited to speak at the Jacobin club" before her support "of the Brissot and Girondists … led to her being attacked and beaten by a group of Jacobins" ("Anne-Josèphe Théroigne de Méricourt"). Similar depth is provided for Mirabeau, though artistic licence has allowed the leader of the National Assembly to also become leader of the Assassins. The game developers are intent on creating a full image of this historical figure, providing both "good" and "bad" qualities with which to critique him. He is simultaneously willing to "sit as a deputy of the Third Estate" despite his noble status ("Estates General Deputees") and guilty of an "affair with his colonel's

wife" and the writer of "essentially pornographic text" ("Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, comte de Mirabeau"). He is claimed to be negotiating with the King, not betraying the National Assembly, which some historians support, but which pushes against the grand narratives. The idea that he is working with both sides to reach a negotiation is reinforced by his role as the Assassin's leader, willing to work with the Templar Grand Masters, rather than continue a war with them. Within the game, he even states "for months I have been wrangling the brotherhood, the National Assembly and the King." While the game does prefer to engage with identifiable historical agents, it does merely provide a flattering account of these agents, as evidenced by the character outlines and worldviews of Louis XVI and Mirabeau.

Finally, the game includes figures from all walks of life, as well as a variety of differing groups. They detail royalty, such as Louis XVI, his ancestors and Marie Antoinette, the nobility, such as Le Peletier, Mirabeau and De Sade, soldiers, as in Dumas and Napoleon, and numerous members of the Third Estate, thereby ensuring a diversity of perspectives and opinions are explored. Furthermore, the character Le Peletier is a Templar, but so was Sivert, who was from the army, Roux, a clergyman, and a fictional character Rouille, a born-peasant. None of these antagonists can be identified as representative of a particular group, such as the nobles or clergy, and furthermore, Le Peletier, despite being a Templar, acts to help France. In this regard, the game creators appear to be intent on imparting to the gamer or learner that shades of grey exist- an individual within a particular ideological group can be disparate to those who are his allies, and similarly that, if applied to the Revolution, the 'enemies' came in various forms. The games primary focus is on creating 'real' figures by providing the gamer or learner with details of the characters past, famous quotes, and the perception others held of them.

While the game does aim to create real and personable characters, it is careful to avoid presentism, ensuring it does not impose "present ideas on actors in the past" (Seixas & Morton, 2013.2, p.11). Perhaps the singular example of this lapse occurs when the in-game database narrator provides a comical response to the bread riots and Women's March. The database entry for "Food Shortages and Riots" claims the march "was to demand bread from the King himself" at which the in-game database narrator comments "What did they expect him to do? Buy a breadmaker? Whip up a

wrap?" While this is humorous in nature, it is an instance of presentism where they do not consider the greater context or actions, such as the excessive indulgence of the royal family, often regarding food, such as at parties. It also excuses the actions of the king and the royal court and degrades the struggle of the Third Estate.

When engaging with historical contextualisation, as the third pillar to historical perspectives, the game again provides crucial contextual information on the key historical actors. Rather than merely using the characters worldviews and motivations to provide an implicit context, the game devotes attention to many of the agents' lives predating the Revolution, and even includes the historical context of one of Louis's ancestors, Louis XIV. This predecessor is said to have "decided to construct a Chateau commensurate with his ambition to control the French State. In actual fact, he left Paris behind for fear of the revolts he had known as a child" ("Village of Versailles"). This sheds light on his seemingly indulgent and excessive actions, as one borne of fear and a desire to start a new path. Louis XVI is said to have come "to throne, for which he was ill-prepared" following his grandfather's death and "was never meant to become king". These details, along with the royal couple's failure "to provide France with an heir for seven years" much to the "derision of the French people", the ensuing deaths on their wedding day and the inheritance of a throne from a king who had "merely covered up the nation's problems without actually resolving anything" ("King Louis VXI"), creates a context of an already-doomed king, with little hope for success. Less familiar figures like Dumas, are said to be "the son of a lesser French nobleman, Alexandre-Antoine Davy, Marquis de la Pailleterie, and a black slave, Marie-Cessette Dumas, in Saint-Domingue" ("Thomas-Alexandre Dumas"), providing specific details of origin. Others, like Robespierre, said to have been "Deprived of his father from a very early age" and "a hard-working pupil" ("Maximilien François Isidore de Robespierre"), shows a simple but sad origin and a man who was once a child too, not merely a "monster".

Yet, not all characters are equally contextualised to those above: Marie Antoinette is merely said to be "the most hated woman in the kingdom", though allusions are made to her "matrimonial boredom", a potential cause behind much of her behaviour ("Marie Antoinette"). Conversely, her revolutionary "counterpart" (as the game seems to suggest), Méricourt, is said to be "an unsuccessful opera singer" who "joined the

revolutionary movement shortly after the storming of the Bastille" ("Anne-Josèphe Théroigne de Méricourt"). The nobles are no further discussed than to state they "would bring about a revolution to which they too would fall victim" ("King Louis XVI"), while the lower clergy is ominously stated to "share the general misery of their flock" ("King Louis XVI"). Louis XV, deemed to be an important agent in the pre-revolution conditions through his covering up of the nation's problems, is given no contextualisation, whereas the unfamiliar Marquis de Sade is provided a detailed contextualisation, looking at his "typical noble French family, full of soldiers and clergyman", his resignation from the army which "he didn't find to his liking", before "much of his adult life was spent shuffling between different prisons", and finally being arrested for "moderatism" by Robespierre ("Marquis de Sade"). It appears ACU, while devoted to fully contextualising and fleshing out many of the main historical agents, is also intent on showcasing the lesser known, but arguably integral, historical figures, though this can be indiscriminate at times.

The final areas of study within the historical perspectives deal with the evidence provided to support these actors or agents diversified perspectives. Many of the perspectives in the game are not supported by primary sources, lessening their authenticity, but some do exist. Abbe Sieyes "What is the Third Estate?", provides a primary source perspective on the Third Estates experiences, the description of Marie as "rushing towards her ruin" ("Marie Antoinette") by her mother, focuses on her role in her downfall, and the words of Barras who sought "to put an end to the excesses of the government committees" ("Champ Elysees") by assassinating Robespierre, stresses the perceived political calamity of the Revolution, under Robespierre. Other sources exist, which have garnered their insight from primary sources such as Napoleon's statement, "This is what happens when you give command of the government to half-starved lunatics and command of the army to bloodthirsty savages", a notion he expressed, in an altered form, in his diaries. Finally, tertiary sources and even completely fictionalised accounts are included, such as that by Le Touche, a fictional character who was dismissed tax assessor to the government, who asserts that the government is "a parasite, plain and simple… It means greedy bastards skimming for themselves instead of doing their jobs." Incidentally, it is the fictionalised accounts which provide the most rich, but often

loaded and arguably inaccurate, perspectives on the agents and their actions, particularly when discussing Mirabeau and Danton.

In discussing Danton and Mirabeau, the game adopts a dichotomous standpoint to illustrate the diversity in perspectives held about a single historical agent. Danton is labelled a "the hero of the revolution" ("Co-Op Mission: Danton's Sacrifice") by the Assassin-supportive narrator, while also being accused of moving "from one failure to the next" ("Georges Jacques Danton") by those who support the Templars, while the disparity is claimed to be due to his alliances with the Assassins. Mirabeau is a traitor in one light, "a self-aggrandising drunk", as one detractor asserts, and "a good, man, an honest man", which his supporter argues. His database entry accuses him of "drinking and womanizing", while applauding him as "an impassioned speaker who was always willing to stand up to his enemies" ("Death of Mirabeau"). Even within the Assassin's, there is a dual perspective on his actions- Bellec, a fellow assassin, believes he is poisoning the Assassins, while Arno disagrees When Mirabeau is supposedly assassinated by a fellow assassin to cleanse the brotherhood, the in-game database narrator asserts, "To this day, the surest way to start a fight in a room full of Assassin Historians is to shout 'Bellec was right!' Or, really, 'Bellec was wrong!'" ("Pierre Bellec"), suggesting no clear-cut answer exists, even among historians on crucial historical events. This poignantly imparts to gamers and learners alike the influence of positionality or perspectiveness on a source, and the importance of remaining wary of this. One could connect this black and white perspective taking with the impressions held of Robespierre- some believe he was justified in his Terror, while others view his actions more. This is reinforced when Bellec says "You think this is the first time this has happened. The first time that the Assassins have been forced to purge their leadership" (Sequence 7.3), wherewith Assassin's could represent the citizens of France and the National Convention.

The final significant point on perspective which the game explores has less to do with the agents, and more, rather, with the nature of Revolutions and power. As indicated previously, in the game it comes to light that a fellow Assassin, Bellec, killed Mirabeau, as he felt "Mirabeau has poisoned us". Arno, the protagonist, is horrified that he killed the man to bring about change. The dialogue between the two follows as such:

A: You poisoned Mirabeau.

B: He poisoned us! Peace with the Templars is a fairytale!

A: And you're the only one who can save the brotherhood?

B: You think this is the first time this has happened? The first time that the Assassins have been forced to purge their leadership? The first time that the order's built itself back up from nothing to power? … It's all happened before. We have arisen a new, stronger than ever. But now, we've lost our purpose Arno… We're an Army, and in an Army, making peace with the enemy is called Treason… [they fight]

A: Bellec, please, come back to the council with me. We can resolve this like reasonable men.

B: Reasonable men don't treat with Templars boy…Did you ever really believe in the Creed or were you a Templar-loving Traitor from the start?

A: It doesn't have to be this way, Bellec.

B: You're the one that's making it so. If you'd just see sense, we could take the brotherhood to a height we've not seen in 200 years.

A: Yes, killing everyone who disagrees with you, is a brilliant way to start your rise from the ashes.

This is an interesting dialogue regarding the nature of revolutions. If one replaces Templars with King, and Assassins/brotherhood with France/ The Republic or even the Committee of Public Safety, a clear picture on the differing perspectives emerges. One states that violence must be used to purge the system and create something stronger and better; the other believes reason can be used to achieve the ends desired. Furthermore, this looks at two other things- Mirabeau's potential reason, as opposed to Robespierre's, as well as the cyclical nature of power. Bellec states that this has happened before- Revolutions keep occurring to 'fix', purge and improve the way of living. This is reinforced by Germain's later statement "The march of progress is slow, but it is as inevitable as a glacier" (Sequence 12.3).

While the Jacobins are given due attention within the fifth second-order historical thinking concept, historical perspectives, authenticated through a discussion of their pre-fanaticism days, the emphasis remains on personable historical agents, like Louis XVI, Méricourt and Mirabeau. Mirabeau, fictionalised as the leader of the Assassins, is brought to life through a discussion of his shortfalls, and merits, and

the motives which drove him. In this regard, the game favours honesty: the historical agents are, indisputably, human, and anecdotes and personal details add to this affect. The monarchy is seemed to be fated for disaster when their contextualisation is provided, Robespierre becomes a man of simple origins, and seemingly inconsequential figures are showcased, presented as potentially fundamental figures, despite their absence in grand narratives. Through the inclusion of a diversity of reputable and previously silent figures, multiple perspectives are given: corrupt members of the nobility, such as De Sade, are juxtaposed by their more selfless compatriots, Le Peletier, illustrating shades of grey within each Estate. These shades of grey are best exemplified in the sources and fictional accounts surrounding Mirabeau, a man deemed a womanising traitor, while, nevertheless, a powerful advocate for the Third Estate. However, one cannot ignore that fictionalised characters and accounts provide an air of fictionality to fact which mars the historical accuracy.

It is at this juncture that the game enters the world of ideas, conveying to gamers and learners alike the disparity in perspectives and the influence of positionality: Danton, a supposed supporter of the Assassins, is claimed to be misrepresented in the historical text, the database, as the historians are none other than the Assassin's enemy, the Templars. While fictional, this and the assertion that Bellec, Mirabeau's fictional killer, can be deemed as right by some, wrong by others, conveys the idea the History is not merely written by the victor, but through a historical ideology, and variances in understanding exist. When Bellec's actions are compared with Robespierre's, it becomes more obvious that his depiction as the tyrannical dictator of the Revolution may be a matter of perspective. Perhaps the message the game desires to impart to gamers and learners, within the concept of historical perspective, is that no 'right' answer exists- no perspective is 100% correct, and just as they describe the backgrounds of this people in shades of grey, so their actions and the perspectives held of them are, yet this is in no way obviously apparent. Finally, the game presents a purely philosophical debate, disguised within a discussion between the aforementioned Bellec and the antagonist Arno, which draws attention to the cyclical nature of power, the disparate perspectives of whether violence for change can be justified, the motivations of Mirabeau and Robespierre and the very existence of Revolutions. While certainly not transparent, and thereby the lessons could easily

be lost, it appears that the game has made an attempt to provide insight into the nature of historical perspective, positionality and thinking.

5.2.6. The Moral or Ethical Dimension

As alluded to in previous second-order historical thinking concepts, the game has, whether intentionally or not, vilified Robespierre and his actions within the Reign of Terror, thereby supplying implicit and explicit moral judgements. The Terror itself, is labelled "the bloodbath Robespierre unleashed on Paris" ("The Girdondists"), while a fictional advocate and enforcer of the terror, Rouille, is introduced as "a violent sadistic monster who used revolutionary fervour as an excuse to murder and pillage his way across France" ("Frédéric Rouille"). Yet, while this first point certainly adopts an anti-Terror and Robespierre positionality, the inclusion of Rouille utilising the Revolution as an "excuse" suggests this was not necessarily the intended nature of the Revolution, though this behaviour was excused. Nevertheless, Robespierre is later titled "father of the Terror" and a "bloodthirsty dictator" ("Co-op Mission: Danton's Sacrifice"), who "quickly shed his moderate image, favouring extremisms and terror as tools for rulership" ("Maximilien François Isidore de Robespierre"). While undoubtedly biased, it is not necessary entirely false- Robespierre and the Jacobins, acting under the Committee of Public Safety, did adopt an extremist stance which many viewed as a dictatorship.

These Jacobins are further judged by the game while heroising Méricourt in their pro-feminist depiction of her struggles to bring equality to the women of France. Méricourt, it is claimed, sought to destroy the remainders of the Jacobin club following Robespierre's execution as a "revolutionary out for revenge" ("Co-op Mission: Jacobin Raid"). Her vengeance stems from a beating by the Jacobins who "whipped her to within an inch of her life" and named her "an enemy of the Republic" by, none other, than Robespierre. However, in the game, this occurs as she argues for the rights of women, and a man whips her- in actuality, she was attacked by none other than a group of Jacobin women for allying with the Brissots and the Girondists. Nevertheless, she did speak out for women rights, and the inclusion of this detail at this precise point, and the alteration of her abusers to a single man, suggests that the game has adopted, as indicated, a pro-feminist, and an anti-Jacobin stance.

However, the game is not only critical of the actions of Robespierre and the Jacobins: moral judgements fall on the actions of the ordinary civilians, particularly when acting as mobs. When discussing the Storming of the Tuileries and the involvement of the mob, ACU includes "The fighting was swift and brutal: the Swiss Guard were massacred almost to a man" ("10 August"). The emotively loaded "massacred" paints a graphic picture of the crowd, an image supported by the designation of the crowd asking for the removal of Mirabeau's body from the pantheon, as "these fanatics" ("Co-Op Mission: Moving Mirabeau"). Additionally, as stated before, the crowd is often seen rioting throughout the city, and supposed revolutionaries threaten civilians at every turn for "not cheering enough" at the recent executions.

When engaging with moral judgements, the second guidepost, exploring the historical context within which judgments should occur, the game has provided instances of success and failure. When focusing on Louis XV's actions as a king who "merely covered up the nation's problems" thereby guilty of "permissiveness and debauchery" ("King Louis XVI"), no further information is given regarding his context or motives, so that his actions exist in a vacuum. Similarly, while glorifying Méricourt, whose attack on the Jacobins has been justified through contextualisation, as "fighting to keep Paris fed", Marie Antoinette is cast in a negative light by stating "Antoinette and the royals were throwing parties" during which Marie says "Bring us more of this cake!" ("Co-op Mission: Women's March"). This does not consider the context within which Marie is acting, such as her general ignorance of the plight of the public, and rather judges her in a vacuum as a gluttonous and self-involved aristocrat. Additionally, by inserted Marie's statement regarding the cake, this will reassert the fallacy that Marie claimed "Let them eat cake". Somewhat ironically, a revolutionary clergyman, Jacques Roux is described as "extreme, too extreme for even Robespierre" ("Les Enrages"), with the in-game database narrator commenting "You have to admit, 'Too crazy for Robespierre' allows this gentleman to take his place as a member of a rather ... select group" ("Jacques Roux"). While this may seem biased against Roux, comparing his actions to Robespierre, who many would deem extreme, allows for the gamer or learner to understand that even within that historical context, his actions were considered excessive.

The third guidepost, building off of its predecessor, looks at the presence of contemporary standards of morality against which the actions of historical characters should not be compared. Unfortunately, ACU falls into this trap when dealing with the trial of King Louis XVI which resulted in his execution. "The trial was brief, and ultimately only for show: witnesses who testified in his favour were massacred in two instances, while the documents that could have proved his innocence were not passed on to his defenders. In short, it was a travesty" ("King Louis XVI"). Immediately, the use of the term "massacred" illustrates that the game is strongly opposed the deaths of witnesses who, it believes, could have saved Louis XVI. Additionally, it applies current standards of justice and fails to consider or negotiate the reasons behind the actions of the citizens, rather heavily labelling it a "travesty". However, it does appear that through failing to offer Louis XVI a fair trial as dictated by the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, their actions did deviate from their own ideals, allowing for this judgment to be, very remotely, contextualised. One must ask though, what witnesses and of what was he innocent? It is an unspecific but loaded statement.

ACU, when referencing the concept of remembrance, engages with it in a similar fashion to its involvement with change and continuity: it draws significantly on historical sights and monuments. The remnants of the Bastille are tracked, stating that "some of the stones were used to consolidate the Pont de la Concorde, others were taken as individual or collective relics, many were carved into tiny models of the entire fortress and sold as souvenirs" ("The Bastille"). Similarly, all that remains of the Temple is "a stop on the Paris Metro and a covered market in the third arrondissement" ("Temple"), while the home of the royal family, the "Palais de Versailles … was turned into a museum" ("Palais de Versailles"). What these additions indicate is the legacy the French wish to hold onto, the memories they have chosen to preserve either through establishing a museum, still open, or simply selecting to a name an area. This is reinforced by their decision to hold onto the "blue, white, and red, sometimes known as the Tricolore", colours selected from "the cockade of the revolution" ("Cockade"), yet much of this may appear inconsequential.

Finally, when tackling the last cornerstone of the moral dimension, the focus turns to its relevance or reflection in addressing contemporary concerns. Immediately the engagement with the nature of revolutions and mobs, as previous discussed, come to the foreground, along with the corruption of leaders and the nature of historical thinking. Again, the cyclical nature of revolutions is highlighted, suggesting it applies to the contemporary context, drawing on the idea which Bellec proposes in asserting "You think this is the first time this has happened? … It's all happened before. We have arisen a new, stronger than ever" (Sequence 7.3), as well as the Belle Époque entry, beginning "while Paris became the cultural capital of the world, and its arts and literature flourished, there was also political and racial tension. Anarchist groups who saw nothing but bourgeois decadence in the culture of cafes and cabarets (such as the Moulin Rouge) resorted to acts of terrorism" ("Belle Époque"). These suggest that issues of power, namely the unequal distribution of power, are repeatedly addressed and will, in all likelihood, require continual remediation. This is reinforced by the commentary of the in-game database narrator regarding Marquis de Sade's abuse of power in that he "used his family's wealth and influence to get away with an astonishing array of crimes …Lucky that could never happen nowadays" ("Marquis de Sade"). Furthermore, while some continue to abuse power, that power is often stripped from them as illustrated in "A king is merely a symbol- a symbol can inspire fear, and fear can inspire control, but men inevitably lose their fear of symbols as seen … Divine Right of Kings is nothing but the reflection of sunlight on Gold… who controls the gold will decide the future" (Sequence 10.2.). Simply by stating who controls the gold decides the future draws learners to issues of wealth, monopolisation and the illusion of power.

Lastly, the game has made an unexpectedly and potentially unintentional stab at discussing the nature of History and historical thinking, particularly in addressing whose History is told and how. First and foremost, is the subtle comment "History is written by the victors, after all" ("Chrétien Lafrenière"), a reference to a popularised argument behind the idea of grand narratives. This is illustrated, again through the fictional character Bellec's actions, when stating that, "To this day, the surest way to start a fight in a room full of Assassin Historians is to shout 'Bellec was right!' Or, really, 'Bellec was wrong!'" ("Pierre Bellec"). This insertion, discussed before, draws learners to the concept of historical narratives and truths- the idea that no single truth

or narrative regarding an event exists within the field of History, or arguably the humanities. The game also, however, emphasises the issue of selective narratives, in the discussion of, yet again, another fictional character: "You see this sort of whitewashing a lot when a notable Templar falls out of favor. Someone steps out of line, or fails to keep up with the time, and suddenly the rich tapestry that is a unique, lovely human being is reduced to a historical footnote about how terribl[e] they are" ("Francois de la Serre"). This is certainly a lesson learners can gain when studying a figure- if little information exists, that does not mean they were insignificant. The figure may have held great relevance, but if he or she is not representative of the selected grand narrative, they may be rejected. What these references have in common is their relationship to grand narratives- the game appears to be intent on drawing attention to lesser heard voices of History and indicating why some remain unheard.

When engaging with the final second-order historical thinking concept, the ideologies the game holds become more apparent when addressing the implicit and explicit messages conveyed. The Reign of Terror, deemed Robespierre's responsibility as the "father of the Terror" ("Co-op Mission: Danton's Sacrifice"), is asserted to be a "bloodbath" ("The Girondists"). The repeatedly debasing reference to the "fanatics" ("Co-op Mission: Moving Mirabeau"), the everyday people, and their consistent attacks throughout the streets of Paris, illustrates a disapproval for mob mentality. The lionized Méricourt becomes representative of the struggle of women during the French Revolution at the hands of the Jacobins, further vilifying Robespierre, and asserting a pro-feminist stance. When judging her desire for vengeance, her actions are historical contextualised, thereby validating them- Marie Antoinette, on the other hand, receives no similar contextualisation for her actions and a trend begins to appear. The game, a commercial product, adopts emotive and loaded diction for sensationalism, while only providing contextualisation for those characters it deems the heroes of the Revolution. Likewise, when it condemns a particular character or action, such as the unfair trial of Louis XVI, it imposes contemporary models of judgment.

In the second half of the guideposts of the moral dimension, the issue of remembrance comes to light and physical memorabilia is utilised to showcase the

recollection of significant events, such as the Storming of the Bastille, and locations, such as the Palace of Versailles. The decision to maintain the tricolore of the revolutionary cockades crudely suggests a nationalist identity built from the ideologies of the French Revolution. Revolutions, themselves, are also highlighted as a contemporary concern, with the suggestion that the seemingly inexorable abuse of power, power the game suggests is transient and illusionary, will always unavoidably result in the need to purge and reform. This push against the monopolisation of power reinforces this game as an artefact of the counter-culture, as does its engagement with historical thinking where it narrows its attentions to the dangers of grand narratives, and the importance of lesser known voices. This final assertion by the game draws learners into acknowledging that not only is History the product of victors, but historians too, who, through the selection of a grand narrative, provide simply an account of History which may determine what is included and what, or even who, is ignored.

5.3.   Conclusion

ACU has, to lesser and greater extents, engaged with the six second-order historical thinking concepts conceptualised by Seixas. The game has adopted a non-prescriptive approach with utilises monuments, areas and characters, both fictional and otherwise, to represent or illustrate particular ideologies. Through a cockade, the nationalistic colours of France are introduced, while Lady Liberty stands as a testament to the continued passion for democracy held by the French. Due to the unrestrained nature of the game, wherein time is not a concern, the game readily investigates less popularised historical events, creating a rich, but often haphazard tapestry of the Revolution. The turning points, while dealt with to varying degrees, depict a pervasive civil discontent of the civilians of the Revolution, frustrated by a perpetually ineffectual king, thereby "necessitating" continual violence: the citizens did not merely march to Versailles and find a resolution, it took the Storming of the Tuileries for a semblance of change to occur. For the citizens of France, the Reign of Terror did not automatically commence on the 6th of September 1793- the Terror was a part of their day-to-day. In this regard, the game undeniably fails to provide a suitable and easy-to-follow chronology, but it does create a living Revolution. The strife of the Third Estate is witnessed as a character has his leg amputated, as disabled beggars receive more donation; Marquis de Sade, despite his violent and

sexual misdemeanours, is protected by his status as a nobleman; and the Cour des Miracles is jaggedly contrasted with Ile-de-Louis. In this manner, the causes and conditions of the Revolution are exposed and an atmosphere garnered.

The game explores unique and unheard characters, providing relatable characters in the form of Méricourt, a female, and Dumas, a coloured. Select characters are expounded upon through the very few primary sources available, which leaves one with a fuller image of the select character it explores which are, unfortunately, very sparse. Robespierre, Danton, Mirabeau, Louis XVI, Marquis de Sade, Méricourt and Napoleon readily become the focus throughout the game, chosen for their ability to drive the action and ensure the game remains riveting. This lends itself to an element of sensationalism and the game is unequivocally emotive in its approach, selecting loaded words for expression and vilifying Robespierre, while Mirabeau remains somewhat of an enigma. Action remains in the focus, as the gamer moves forward and back in time, both within and outside of the French Revolution, exploring the vast History of Paris and gaining a perspective of the Paris to come. This action, nevertheless, is at place in the French Revolution and leaves the impression of a dynamic, complex and rapidly changing moment in time, and the subtle inclusion of references to grand narratives, selective inclusion and historical positionality, refines this action with educational opportunities.

These opportunities are most evident in the discussion between Bellec and Arno, the depiction of Mirabeau and the references in the database to elements of historical thinking. Bellec forces one to consider the nature of revolutions and the necessity of violence for change. He exposes the cyclical nature of revolutions as a result of the abuse of power- something must be destroyed for something anew to grow; Arno represents the flipside of the coin, demanding that reason can reach the same outcome. This argument illustrates the complexities of historical events, historical judgments and the motivation behind characters such as Robespierre. Mirabeau reveals the ever-present shades of grey when faced by human agents- he is neither a hero nor a villain, rather both depending on one's positionality. Positionality here is key- he, like Danton, is argued to be the victim of historical positionality, namely the historian determines their role in History. The narrator builds upon this further by concluding that History is written by the victor, is driven by a grand narrative which

repeatedly ignores the voices of the lesser figures, and is rife with inaccuracies. History, or historical thinking, is therefore a tenuous and contentious area of study, according to ACU. These instances, whether deliberate or not, draw together elements of the second-order historical thinking concepts, such as the determination of what is historically significant, whose perspectives we are given and the moral questions embedded in these decisions. However, this seemingly non-prescriptive approach to narrating the French Revolution as a means to engage with the second-order historical thinking concepts, while allowing for more personal interpretations, can be lost on the absent-minded.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1. Introduction

As the previous two chapters have begun to expose, the engagement of ACU and the two CAPS-approved grade 10 History textbooks with the second-order historical thinking concepts respectively possess unique potential in developing a historically literate learner. An analysis of these official and unofficial educational tools has exposed variances in their engagement with the six second-order historical thinking concepts and hinted at underlying ideologies within their depiction of the French Revolution. This analysis of the engagement with second-order historical thinking concepts has addressed the first two research questions posed in this dissertation, namely how the second-order historical thinking concepts, with reference to the French Revolution, have been engaged with in ACU and the textbooks. In this final chapter, the two ostensibly dichotomous teaching tools will be set against one another in an attempt to answer the final research question, thereby determining in what ways the second-order historical thinking concepts are dealt with similarly and differently and what this comparison unveils. The previous findings have already exposed the numerous ways in which both tools engage with the second-order historical thinking concepts in varying manners and to varying extents, while this chapter aims to draw those together and elucidate upon the potential each possess in developing a historically literate learner.

Following this, I have attempted a comparative discussion through providing a succinct summation of the findings unveiled in chapters four and five. Due to the qualitatively rich and heavy data captured, a table has been utilised to extrapolate the findings from the textbooks and the electronic game. This has been done within the six categories of second-order historical thinking concepts, thereby providing a ready and simplified abstract of the findings within each concept; an abstract which has been drawn on, following this, in a discussion of how each second-order historical thinking concept has been engaged with by the electronic game and textbooks. This discussion is commenced with a comparison and contrasting of the firm findings drawn from the textbooks, in one case, and the electronic game, in another. While amalgamating these findings with the available literature, the

emergent qualitative data has been revealed and a final picture of the findings will be disclosed.

Following the unveiling and negotiation of the findings, they have been drawn upon to propose answers to my final research question, a contemplation of what the comparative similarities and differences within the engagement of the textbooks and electronic game with the second-order historical thinking concepts reveals. Considerations of the impact on education has undoubtedly been dealt with, exposing the potential ACU plays in developing a historical literate learner, as well as what the DOE considers to be the qualities of a historically literate learner. Beyond this, the ideologies underpinning these tools and their engagement with the second-order historical thinking concepts is divulged, as well as a final consideration of the underlying reasons anxiety surrounds the use of unofficial forms of education, such as ACU, as tools for teaching and learning.

In concluding this dissertation, a reflective practice has allowed for a consideration of the methological strengths and weaknesses of the research, proposing what shortfalls may exist, and what issues I faced as a researcher. This has, in turn, allowed for a consideration of the personal and professional impact this research has had, deliberating on the manner in which this research has influenced both my professional practice and my teaching framework, as well as the concerns which have emerged. Once this reflective practice is concluded, a final overview of the chapters wraps up the study, ending with a consideration of what the research intended to capture and what has transpired.

6.2. Summary of Findings from the Textbooks and Electronic Game

As indicated in the introduction, this section serves to provide a succinct summation of the findings which emerged in chapters four and five. These findings shall be presented in a tabulated form, beginning firstly with the textbooks, before progressing to the electronic game. This will take the form of a table in that each second-order historical thinking concept will be identified in one column, while a concise version of the findings relative to that second-order historical thinking concept, will be displayed alongside this, in a neighboring column. This table will

serve to provide an easy-to-read extraction of the main findings, before these findings are compared with the available literature in the next section.

6.2.1. The Textbooks

2nd order historical thinking concepts	Findings
1. Historical Significance	Textbook A and Textbook B view the Revolution as responsible for the rise of democracy, due largely to Enlightenment ideals and the influence of the American Revolution. Both view this as having a global effect- be it in South Africa alone, or encompassing a larger geopolitical domain, resultant in other Revolutions. The emergence of democracy can be viewed as a reaction to the corrupt social and economic systems oppressing Third Estate and benefitting the nobles, clergy and royalty.
2. Source Evidence	Textbook A focuses on identifiable historical agents as responsible within sources, while Textbook B draws attention to historical groups, including the positive role of women. Both engage with sources which highlight the causes of the Revolution, as well as strongly suggesting the poor treatment of the Third Estate as a powerful contributor. The textbooks appear to condemn the violence of the Revolution, furthermore. Finally, despite Textbook B's far more complex engagement with sources, both repeatedly engage the learners with perspective-taking. Both textbooks generally provide contextual details, such as authorship and year, though Textbook A can fail to do so at times and does not corroborate all sources. Similarly some questions within Textbook A cannot be answered by the source they are paired with.
3. Continuity and Change	Both textbooks utilise historical turning points as vital in chronological positioning, though in disparate ways, with Textbook A also committing anachronistic errors. These turning points are generally similar, suggesting the roles they played in change. While both highlight specific events, such as the establishment of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, as playing integral roles in the shift towards democratic ideals, both also suggest the continuity of issues under these, such as the oppression of Haitian slaves and women. The revolutionaries responsible for bringing democratic ideals to France are dealt with dissimilarly, however, with Textbook B condemning their violent actions, and Textbook A appearing more hesitant.
4. Cause and	When grappling with the causes of the Revolution, both

	Consequence	textbooks highlight the role of social and economic causes, with particular attention given to the economic contributors. Textbook A's trend in identifying historical agents as responsible continues, with Marie Antoinette and the nobility highlighted. Both, nevertheless, position King Louis XVI, Robespierre and the National Convention in the limelight, suggesting their significance in causing the events of the Revolution.
		Specific causes are attributed to turning points, though Textbook B adopts a more cohesive discussion of these causes, allowing for an understanding of the bigger picture, while due to the anachronism of historical events in Textbook A, causes can be misinterpreted.
		The emergence of democracy globally is seen as a long-term consequence within both Textbooks, with Textbook A emphasising the connection with South Africa. Both the success and failure of these ideals is highlighted in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, which is labelled as responsible for the alternate revolutions and the emergence of the feminist struggle, singularly in Textbook B. The democratic ideals are seen to displace despotic monarchism, particularly as the idleness of the King is underlined as a key cause. His role in the ineffectual Calling of the Estates General is seen as having dire consequences, namely triggering the Revolution.
5. Historical Perspectives		As the French Revolution affected and was affected by numerous historical agents, historical perspective taking is difficult for the textbooks: Textbook A includes many of the agents, preventing an in depth discussion of their context, and therein failing to allow for suitable historical perspective taking; Textbook B provides slightly more detail, but loses the complexity of historical perspectives through selection.
		In the discussion of female agents, unique to Textbook B, it falls into presentism, while Textbook A commits bias through a justification of the urban workers violence. This violence is viewed as necessary, while Textbook B strongly opposes this historical perspective. In this manner, each textbook focuses on the historical perspective of these groups.
		Uniformly the dissatisfaction of the Third Estate is explored, looking at the role of the Enlightenment ideals and the king's inertness, therein providing a rich historical context for understanding the perspective of the Third Estate. The surrounding anxieties are also explored, either through foreign monarchs or the Province of Vendee.
6. The Moral or Ethical Dimension		The continuous engagement with the female figure in Textbook B adopts a moral stance opposing sexism and encouraging equality. Robespierre is somewhat vilified as a sexist in Textbook B, in this regard. Textbook A ignores the power of female agents and in doing so, paints the image that the female historical agent does not exist, even

discussing Marie Antoinette from a xenophobic stance.

The justification of violence under the Reign of Terror in Textbook A draws attention to the belief that Revolutions, including the South African one, arguably, requires violence. This violence, it suggests, may encompass revenge.

Both textbooks strongly suggest that the lasting ethical and moral ramifications of the Revolution are the elements of democracy, focusing on issues of slavery and sexism which presently prevent democracy from existing globally.

6.2.2. *Assassin's Creed Unity*

2nd order historical thinking concepts	Findings
1. Historical Significance	While ACU appears to propose the rise of industrialisation and the power of the bourgeois, the shift towards nationalism, the ideological move away the church and the lasting principles of democracy as the continued significance of the Revolution, it exposes these in a nebulous manner. Figures illustrate the emergent frustrations with the extravagant lifestyles of the nobility- an issue the game clarifies was a sustained cause of contention long before the Revolution. When exploring the grand narrative surrounding the French Revolution, a history of the turbulence within France is unveiled, ignoring alternate Revolutions, and focusing on a legacy of socio-political and economic discontent.
2. Source Evidence	Due to the nature of the game, source evidence appears sparingly and with no attached questions to prompt source analysis. The rare appearances of source evidence is generally utilised to stress an idea, such as an extract from "What is the Third Estate?" to illustrate the lived frustrations of the Third Estate. Statements surrounding King Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette impart to the gamer and learner alike their ineffectual leadership, and their indulgent recklessness, respectively. Danton expresses anger towards Robespierre, signposting discontent within the Committee, while Robespierre is seen to attempt to justify his actions, therein portraying a man motivated by a relatable reason, not an obscure historical agent. In this regard, the game developers design the ideas learners will hold about these figures.
3. Continuity and Change	Despite following a chronological main gameplay, side missions, though well-dated, deviate in time, potentially leading to a misinterpretation of historical time. Many key historical events are witnessed and engaged in, including less significant ones, due to the lengthiness of the game,

		with the Reign of Terror viewed through numerous historical events- experienced rather than "boxed" within a timeframe.
		The focus within change and continuity is primarily areas where areas declined, focusing on the mounting violence and famine, the failure of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen in addressing the female agent.
		Change and progression is investigated through the shift in the relationship between the Third Estate and the Clergy and King, exemplified through the destruction and adaptation of many religious monuments, and the sustenance of a medical centre. Therefore, the game focuses on the pull away from reliance on holy powers to that of self-reliance.
4.	Cause and Consequence	The game explores multiple potential causes: the economic ruin due to the American Revolution and the centuries of royal abuse and indulgence are denoted as playing the greatest role; the famine and the social inequality similarly motivating a revolution.
		The inclusion of 15 turning points as well as abundant and diversified historical agents who acted as causes allows for the expression of complexity, but identifiable causes and consequences can be lost. Nevertheless, events it connotes as significant, such as the Calling of the Estates General are well-detailed, and the Reign of Terror is lived through numerous events, allowing a sensationalised but living terror. The focus on less significant historical agents illustrates a shift away from the grand narrative, focusing on their experiences of the political, social and economic conditions. These conditions expose the game's perspective: the era predating and during the French Revolution is rife with corruption, immorality and desperation.
		Saint-Germain-des-Pres, previously a holy site, illustrates the immorality in it later becoming the site of the September Massacres. The discussion of this site is also utilised to force learners to question the historical information they are given and believe: a distorted timeline of the events at the Abbey is initially given and then exposed.
		Unintended consequences are primarily explored through human error: King Louis XVI's signing of the trade treaty with England further exasperated the economic state, while Robespierre's execution of the Girondists pushed the Revolution closer to the Reign of Terror.
5.	Historical Perspectives	The electronic game, through the inclusion of copious and varied historical agents, is in the position to provide a range of historical perspectives, including those of previously silenced voices. Rich detailing of agents motives, backgrounds and experiences allow for a complex tapestry, making agents real. Shades of grey are thereby exposed, allowing for learners to identify both honourable and villainous agents within all three Estates, as well as the "good" and "bad" qualities within a single agent, such as

		Mirabeau.
		While both the inclusion of fictional characters, and the fictionalisation of characters, such as the identification of Mirabeau as leader of the Assassins, can lead to inaccuracies, it allows for the conveyance of ideas. Learners are exposed to the role positionality plays in the depiction of historical agents or events, such as the image of Danton, and the death of Mirabeau- a fictional murder arguably right or wrong, depending on one's perspective. While this engagement with perspective becomes more tenuous through the discussion between Arno and Bellec, the fictional murderer, it suggests the game developers were interested in drawing awareness to historical perspectiveness, positionality and ideology.
6. The Moral or Ethical Dimension		As a commercial product, the game is often explicit in its position on ethics through the use of loaded, emotive language, and requires recognisable "heroes" and "villains". Robespierre and Marie Antoinette are generally vilified, with Robespierre depicted more monstrously; Mericourt, a pro-feminist agent, is glorified, her violent actions repeatedly justified. The game does not shy away from contemporary standards of morality in depicting the trial of Louis XVI as excessively unfair. Remembrance is dealt with roughly, utilising physical memorabilia to demonstrate significant historical events and ideologies, such as the tricolores connection to nationalist identity. As a product of the counter-culture, the game views the legacy of the Revolution as a continued fight against the monopolisation of power, the very inescapable nature of which requires continuous addressing. Similarly, the advocating of lesser known voices, and the proclamation that History is written by the victor and historians, asserts that the History learners are exposed to is merely an account, not the full picture.

6.3. Comparing and Contrasting of Findings

In order to identify similarities and differences within the findings across the tools, and thereby begin moving towards answering the research questions, it is necessary that each second-order historical thinking concept be dealt with separately. Following Seixas's order, the comparison and contrasting will explore the manner in which the textbooks and ACU engaged with each of the second-order historical thinking concepts, contemplating what emerged as relevant within each concept, and what the literature on said second-order historical thinking concept asserts. This will

require a discussion of the firm findings as proposed in the previous section, beginning with historical significance, and what similarities across the textbooks and electronic game have arisen, and what differences have similarly emerged.

6.3.1. Historical Significance

The cornerstone of historical literacy, according to that proposed by Seixas, is historical significance, or the determination of which events, individuals and places are deemed significant amidst the innumerable, and often inconsequential, possibilities (Seixas & Peck, 2004). In order for historical significance to be determined, the event, historical agent or situation must have a resultant change or significant effect: it should result in a profound, deep change, affect a large quantity of people and remain durable in change (Seixas, 2006; Seixas & Morton, 2013.1). Emergent across the textbooks and electronic game is the historical profundity of democracy- both assert that the Revolution be held responsible for the rise of democratic ideals from the hearts of the Third Estate. In this regard, each explores democracy as a lasting principle of the Revolution, thereby marking it as historically significant. The two connote that the historical significance of the French Revolutions sits within a narrative of restless dissatisfaction amongst the Third Estate- ACU utilises historical agents to illustrate the developing frustrations experienced by those members who opposed the needlessly indulgent lives of the nobility; the textbooks carefully discuss the worsening social and economic oppression of the Third Estate.

However, dissimilarities exist, even within the depiction of the larger narrative: ACU stresses the sustained history of turmoil within France, moving back into a France characterised by famine, disease and war; forward into a France faced by two future world wars and further discontent with the aristrocratic supremacy of the late 1800s. This narrative ignores the global ramifications in the form of alternate revolutions- something the textbooks emphasise as a lasting legacy and significance of the French Revolution. Similarly, when exploring the historical changes which denote significance, the game moves beyond the democratic ideals and explores the rise of bourgeois power and the ideological, though arguably transient, turn against the church, therein indicating those changes which affected a large quantity of individuals (Seixas, 2006; Seixas & Morton, 2013.1), even though they may not have had a durable effect. Durability is explored, nevertheless, in the rise of both

industrialisation within Paris as a result of the events of the Revolution, and the lasting, or profound, adoption of a nationalist identity within France.

6.3.2. Source Evidence

Both Seixas and the DBE address the importance of a critical engagement with sources, epistemology and evidence, the former proposing that historical literacy moves beyond a mere quest for information within sources, to the analytical questioning of the nature of the source (Seixas, 2006), while the latter highlights the necessity of the learner's role in interpreting and critiquing multiple source to create their own evidence (DBE, 2011). In order for learners to begin to interpret sources in this manner, an understanding of the context is required, often through an exploration of the author and their intentions (Bennett, 2014; Seixas, 2006). This has manifested within the textbooks and electronic game through the inclusion of sources surrounding the Third Estate, such as "What is the Third Estate?", a primary source by Sieyes included in the game and Textbook A. Perspective-taking is encouraged across both tools: the textbooks ask numerous questions regarding the experiences of agents within the Revolution, with Textbook B adopting a far more sophisticated approach to these, while the game includes quotes from Robespierre and Danton which illustrate their sentiments towards either the Revolution (Robespierre) or the Committee of Public Safety (Danton). Similarly, Textbook A and the electronic game provide sources which expose King Louis XVI as an incompetent king, while Marie Antoinette is depicted as self-gratifying and foolish. Uniformly, the violence which fell under the Reign of Terror is depicted in a negative light within all three tools, though Textbook A does depict the violence as necessary.

However, the game falls short in many of the criteria required for a learner to be labelled as historically literate within this domain: due to the game, by dint of its nature, failing to provide questions based on the sources as well as including very few, learners are unable to "ask questions … across multiple sources to determine points of agreement and disagreement" (Wineburg, 2010, n.d.). While learners playing the game may independently ask questions about the author's intention (Seixas & Morton, 2013.2), they may just as readily fail to do so, especially without any corroborating or contrasting source evidence. The textbooks do not allow for this possibility, ensuring every source has allotted questions, though at times Textbook A

does fail to contextualise sources and the accompanying questions are unanswerable. The game's inclusion of fictional characters within historical perspectives and ideals within the moral dimension attempts to address this, through the covert reference to the nebulousness of historical truths, the importance of positionality in determining who and what story is told and the assertion that historical accounts are often merely one account and generally that of the victor. Nevertheless, this connection is not explicit and learners are more likely to adopt the ideas the game developers hold about specific historical agents.

6.3.3. Continuity and Change

The third second-order historical thinking concept, continuity and change, "encourages students to acknowledge the vast and multiple continuities that underlie change" (Chicorli, n.d., p.1), exploring sudden and dramatic change, as well as analysing unexpected continuation within historical settings (Seixas, 2006). Changes are generally most easily identified through turning points, moments in history where a profound shift occurs (Seixas & Morton, 2013.2), and both the textbooks and electronic game (through the main gameplay) isolate similar turning points or historical events of the Revolution within a chronological timeframe. When engaging with continuity, the textbooks and game are quick to draw attention to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, with Textbook B and the electronic game denouncing it as failing the women of France, and Textbook A the slaves of Haiti. Similarly, when engaging with the mounting violence under the Revolution, arguably an element of decline, a change which results in deterioration rather than progression (Seixas & Peck, 2004), the game and Textbook B are condemning, while Textbook A is less explicit about this.

While Textbook B identifies eras within which multiple turning points are interwoven, Textbook A and the game favour demarcating these points for the most part, leading the events to appear disjointed, particularly within Textbook A. The game mostly avoids this through the inclusion of considerably more turning points, allowing for less significant events, such as the Food Riots, to be discussed and related to the Women's March. Furthermore, the Reign of Terror, rather than delineated as one turning point, is never divorced from the Revolution at large, but rather is seen to encompass numerous historical turning points, and is experienced through the

escalating violence the gamer perceives and is drawn into. Textbook A, additionally, commits anachronistic errors when it comes to the chronological timeline of the Flight to Varennes and the September Massacres, while ACU skips forward and back in time within the side Co-op Missions and Heists, arguably leading to confusion, despite suitable dating of turning points. Finally, ACU identifies areas of change and progression which neither textbook engage with, including the move towards self-reliance over the church, namely the increasing awareness or belief held by the Third Estate that the clergy did not provide for them, as they had been led to hold true.

6.3.4. Cause and Consequence

Understanding the interplay of causes and consequences requires one to view them as "multiple and layered, involving long-term ideologies, institutions, and conditions, and short-term actions and events" (Seixas, 2006, p.8), and to acknowledge that causes may differ in their impact, while consequences may not inherently be intended (Seixas & Morton, 2013.2). Across the tools, the role social and economic conditions played in triggering the Revolution have been highlighted, identifying the involvement in the American Revolution as playing a vital role, as well as the excessive expenditure of the royalty and nobility. A historically literate learner would be called upon to further study the role historical agents, such as the royalty, played within these ideologies, institutions and conditions and consider the manner in which these affected their actions too (Seixas, 2006; Seixas & Morton, 2013.2). While as Textbook A has shown a favouritism towards labelling historical agents as influential causes, such as its criticism of Marie Antoinette, all three tools do engage with historical agents to a lesser or greater extent. It is historical agents, namely King Louis XVI, who is identified by all three tools as having acted in a manner which brought about unforeseen consequences, though the consequences vary: while the textbooks view the King's inactivity at the Estates General as triggering the Revolution, the game rather comments that in signing the trade treaty with England, he exasperated the economic fragility.

However, while both Textbooks focus primarily on King Louis XVI, Robespierre and the National Convention, the electronic game provides a far more diversified range of historical agents within the 15 identified turning points. This again exposes the

games continued shift away from the grand narratives, allowing for an image of the complex interplay of agents and their unique conditions, but does make it difficult to engage critically with the causes and consequences for every turning point. With regards to the textbooks, while both the textbooks and the game do attempt to allot specific causes and consequences to turning points, therein ensuring "short-term and long-term causes and consequences" are explored (Seixas & Morton, 2013.2, p.11), the presence of anachronism in Textbook A leads to a confusion in causes. Nevertheless, they explore the long-term consequences, particularly in the form of alternate revolutions, prevailing principles of democracy and the rise of the feminist struggle (Textbook B), which the game fails to do.

Finally, when engaging with the conditions within which these turning points occurred and the historical agents reacted, the game is fortunate in that, due to the interactivity, learners can "witness" and experience the shifting conditions, rather than viewing them as a static list of conditions or causes which triggered the Revolution, something Schoeman identifies as a recipe South African Textbooks follow (2014). The game also exposes a social condition the textbooks do not- the pervasive immorality, depravity and desperation of that era, whereby beggars engage in self-mutilation in an attempt to garner more monetary sympathy. ACU utilises the historical site, Saint-Germain-des-Pres, once a church, later the historic site of the September Massacres, to illuminate this, as well as highlighting the dangers of unquestionably accepting historical fact. Through the inclusion of a skewed timeline, which the in-game narrator exposes, learners are made aware that historical inaccuracies may readily exist within their historical texts.

6.3.5. Historical Perspectives

When adopting the historical perspective of the agents of the past, learners are required to move beyond a rudimentary attempt to walk in an agent's shoes (DBE, 2011), and should rather draw closer to an understanding of the historical, social, cultural, intellectual and emotional contexts within which the agent acted (Endacott & Brooks, 2013; Seixas, 2006). In order for this to be achieved, the tools were required to expose the learners to a diversity of perspectives and accompany these perspectives with insight into the agent's "beliefs, values and motivations" (Seixas & Morton, 2013.2, p.11), while avoiding presentism. While both Textbooks were able to

achieve this with the Third Estate, exploring their dissatisfaction with the King's ineptness and the influence of the Enlightenment ideals, they struggled to provide the diversity the game could provide. Textbook A included numerous agents but was unable to provide much depth when engaging with their context; Textbook B provided more insight into the actions of some of the historical agents, but provided far fewer examples. ACU, on the other hand, included a range of historical agents and perspectives, identifying individuals within all Three Estates who possessed both meritable and contemptable qualities and provided rich historical backgrounds for the agents, painting figures such as Mirabeau in shades of grey. However, when it came to discussing the Third Estate, arguably the most significant group, the game lapses in detail, barely providing more than Abbe de Sieyes "What is the Third Estate?" to evidence their frustration.

Within the textbooks, disparity exists too- Textbook A focuses on legitimising the violence of the urban workers as a reaction to their silencing by the middle class, providing a biased account of their violence as necessary; Textbook B focuses rather on the activities and experiences of the female agents, Roland and De Gouge and the group at large, which it felt was oppressed by Robespierre and the Jacobins. Uniquely, the game adopts a similar perspective in its discussion of female agents- Mericourt is seen to be whipped by a Jacobin male for her pro-feminist ideals, an adaptation of the true historical account, but one which emphasises the unequal treatment of women during the Revolution. This adaptation of historical events, at times, can become full fictionalisation in the form of fictional characters or attributes. Mirabeau, the leader of the National Assembly, is also labelled leader of the fictional Assassins, and is allegedly assassinated by a fellow assassin Bellec, an inclusion which, like others, can lead to inaccuracies or confusion over where reality ends and the game's plot begins. Nevertheless, this, like other instances of its kind, are used to convey ideas to the learners regarding positionality, historical perspectivesness and the underlying ideologies of historians and game developers alike who tell these historical accounts. This is achieved through a discussion of the supposed assassination of Mirabeau by Bellec, which the game asserts some Assassin historians argue was right, others wrong, thereby illustrating the nature of positionality and perspectiveness. The textbooks do attempt to make similar claims through the inclusion of activities which ask learners to adopt disparate perspectives.

6.3.6. The Moral or Ethical Dimension

The final second-order historical thinking concept, the ethical or moral dimension, is not intended to encourage learners to merely "form moral judgements about the past" but rather "learn something from the past that helps them face the ethical issues of today" (Endacott & Brooks, 2013, p.45). Nevertheless, any meaningfully written historical account will contain a moral judgment of some kind, be it explicit or implicit and, rather than working to avoid this, learners should be given the tools to identify this and to make moral and ethical judgments within the suitable historical context, avoiding the imposition of contemporary standards of morality (Maposa & Wassermann, 2009; Seixas, 2006; Seixas & Morton, 2013.2). Both the game and the textbooks provide accounts which possess implicit and even explicit judgements: Textbook B and ACU adopt a pro-feminist stance, focusing on the figures Roland, De Gouge and Mericourt and their struggles in liberating females, seemingly at the oppressive hands of the Jacobins and Robespierre. Both fall into the trap of providing contemporary standards of morality, or presentism when viewing the actions of Robespierre. Yet, ACU is far more overt in its positionality, glorifying the actions of Mericourt and vilifying those of Robespierre. While Textbook A ignores the female agent, and in doing so, presents the polar opposite image the game and Textbook B want to present of active female agents, it too possesses judgments in the form of justifying the violence under the Reign of Terror. It asserts that violence, and even vengeance, are part and parcel of Revolutions, including argubly the South African Revolution, while Textbook B opposes the violence significantly.

Incidentally, when grappling with the legacy or present-day ramifications of the Revolution, the three tools are similar in their concerns: Textbook A explores the terrorisation of continued slavery, Textbook B those of those feminist struggle and ACU the inevitable expropriation of power- all threats to democracy. The textbooks view these as necessary for remembrance, or that which deals with what ought to be remembered and who deserves reparations of some sort (Seixas, 2006), while the game barely touches on remembrance, asides from references to remaining historical sites and memorabilia. The game does, however, as an artefact of the counter-culture, expose the nature of historical silences. In line with the DBE's statement that learners focus on "whose past is remembered and whose past has

been left unrecognised" (2011, p.9), ACU advocates for the lesser known voices, including a coloured historical agent, Dumas, which neither textbooks include, and argues that the History revealed to learners is purely one account, and often one selected by the victor or expressed from the position of the historian. In this regard, learners are encouraged to remember or acknowledge the histories of the silenced historical agents too, not simply those accepted by the grand narrative. Finally, the game, in it's discussion of the cyclical nature if power, draws attention to the inevitable abuse of power and the necessity to address these issues, typically through revolutions, though whether violence is necessary is questioned by the game, with no conclusion given.

6.4. Potential Ramifications for the Research Questions

Throughout this research, the aim has been to identify the manner in which the grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks and ACU engaged with the second-order historical thinking concepts, exposing similarities and differences, and potentially drawing to a conclusion about what the comparison reveals. Within the previous section, the similarities and differences within each second-order historical thinking concept were divulged, and certain trends began to emerge. In this section, I will grapple with what these similarities and differences reveal regarding the ideological intention of each in developing a historically literate learner. I will attempt to provide insight into the potential ramifications the findings will have for my research questions as well as what these may have on History education.

6.4.1. Historical Significance: Democracy and Revolutions

When probing historical significance across the textbooks and electronic game, what was repeatedly drawn to light was the substantial role the French Revolution is believed to play in the spread of democratic ideals. This was particularly resonant in the textbooks, which continually propagated the connection between the emergence of democratic principles within France and those in later revolutions, more specifically, South Africa. This correlated with the DBE's manifesto that the curriculum should "lay the foundation for a democratic and open society" and "build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nation" (2011, p.i). In this regard, the selected History curriculum, including the French Revolution, "should support citizenship within a democracy"

(p.8), and the textbooks certainly aim to fulfil this designated role, as vehicles for the curriculum (Crawford, 2000). Yet, ACU does not hold the 1789 French Revolution as a "pivotal year, a watershed, a year when the modern world was born" (Textbook A, p.78) due to its democratic zeal, as the textbooks do, and is rather wary of applauding it for the advent of a democratic society. When viewing the position of the Revolution within a larger, meaningful narrative, the game pulls away from celebrating the role the Revolution played in spreading "the new ideas about liberty and equality … to other European countries" (Textbook B, p.83), and instead focuses on continued issues within France which threatened democracy. In scrutinising the Belle Époque era, the game notes that political and racial tension pervaded the era and "anarchist groups … saw nothing but bourgeois decadence" ("Belle Epoque"), thereby suggesting democracy following the French Revolution did not necessarily see "the triumph of liberty, equality and fraternity" (Textbook A, p.78).

Furthermore, the Textbooks favour drawing correlations between the French Revolution and other, later, revolutions, including the South African Revolution of 1994, which saw the end of apartheid. The French Revolution, according to Textbook A, has "played a significant role in establishing the principles of … democracy" which "have informed the formation of democratic countries like South Africa and are reflected in our constitution" (p.107), at least following the "South African revolution of 1994" (p.78). In this regard, the French Revolution and the South African Revolution, it can be deduced, were beneficial, and therefore, "good". Yet, if one witnessed the methods used to achieve this democracy within France, as experienced within the game, one may be left with a very different opinion. Within Textbook A the violence of the Reign of Terror under the Revolution is labelled a "need" (p.100), and while Textbook B condemns much of the violence, it does not allow this violence to mar the positives of the Revolution.

ACU, on the other hand, wields the inherent violence of the Revolution for sensationalism- an attribute which has had it condemned as a learning tool. An example of this, depicted below, is that of a man being restrained as he "has his foot sawn off, so that he might make money from begging" (Robertson, 2014, p.1). While the Revolutionaries were not responsible for this event, it did occur two years into the

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Revolution, suggesting the year 1789 was not the watershed moment it first appeared. Additionally, the Revolutionaries are seen as responsible for the countless headless corpses strewn across the Place de la Concord or Place de la Revolution. If the textbooks draw parallels between the French and South African Revolution, then parallels may be implicitly drawn between Robespierre and the freedom fighters of South Africa, drawing learners to the question, were they too "barbarians and bloodthirsty" (Zafiridis, 2016, p.1)? Furthermore, if 1789 did not bring the change it is explicitly asserted to by the textbooks, then did the 1994 South African Revolution genuinely result in a societal transformation? In this regard, the depiction of the French Revolution portrayed within ACU threatens the grand narrative designed by the DBE to use History as a medium in achieving a democratically-minded and supportive South African learner, one plausibly closer to being a historically literate learner.

Figure 6.4.1.1: A screenshot of a man's leg being amputated from *Assassin's Creed Unity*

6.4.2. Source Evidence: Perspective-taking

When comparing the engagement with source evidence, the development of a historically literate learner within this field would be near impossible utilising purely the electronic game. ACU includes a few smattered primary sources, with no related

questions to prompt analysis- the game is not preparing learners for a test, as the textbooks are. While Textbook A repeatedly positions questions under primary sources which the source cannot answer, the textbooks do provide sources and accompanying questions across the section, questions which address a range of the second-order historical thinking concepts. Yet, the textbooks appear to be focused on developing one particular second-order historical thinking concept based on the questioning: Historical Perspective-taking. Textbook A draws learners' attention to the sans-culottes perspective in asking "Why were they disappointed with the reforms of the National Assembly?" (p.91), a group whose violent actions the textbook has repeatedly striven to justify, which perspective-taking would likely assist with. Textbook B adopts a more complex method in developing historical perspective-taking as evidenced in the following questions: "Write a paragraph as if you were a woman on the march explaining why it was important and what you achieved" and "Write a paragraph describing the women's march from the point of view of a noblewoman who is against the revolution" (p.78), whereby learners are required to adopt opposing perspectives.

In this regard, Textbook A and B fall in line with the DBE's ideology of a historically literate learner, namely one who comprehends that "these perspectives may be the result of different points of view of people in the past according to their position in society, the different ways in which historians have written about them, and the different ways in which people today see the actions and behaviour of people of the past" (p.10). If one applies this sentiment within a South African context, it is plausible to see this decision as a reaction to Apartheid. As Engelbrecht asserts, following Apartheid and the use of History as a means to provide a single-perspective narrative which enforced master symbols of white supremacy (2006), "there was a sensitivity and even denial in regard to history" (2008, p.520) which went so far as to a "debate … among textbook specialists, teachers and parents on whether the past should be taught at all in schools" (Höpken as cited by Engelbrecht, 2008, p.520). Therefore, if History was to continue as a school subject, it would require that learners were "able to imagine onself being in that time in the past and using information from that time to think like someone from the past" (DBE, 2011, p.9), so that the events of the past did not leave them embittered. It would further ensure learners were made aware that the perspectives held about freedom fighters

of the Apartheid era were due to the positionality and perspective of the historians writing the accounts. Even ACU appears to hint at this, suggesting there is nebulousness to historical "truths", and that rather one's positionality greatly affects what story society is told. In fact, while the game fails to encourage learners to analyse sources, it does essentially criticise historical texts, like the textbooks, and their reliability (this is discussed further under historical perspectives). A prominent example of this is the anachronistic retelling of the events at the Saint Germain des Pres Abbey which the in-game narrator scathingly comments on, drawing to attention the inaccuracies and unreliability present within historical texts.

6.4.3. Continuity and Change: Declarations and Religion

Across the tools, attention is brought upon the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, namely its failure to assert the change it inherently promised, be it for women (Textbook B and ACU) or the slaves of Haiti (Textbook A). Textbook B frowns upon the fact that "women were excluded from political life" (p.79) and denied a vote; an issue mirrored by ACU in Mericourt's declaration "We declared the Rights of Men- but what of WOMEN!" ("Jacobin Raid"). It appears that the primary issue here is the failure of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen to ensure democracy or create a more democratic society, something the DBE, it has been shown, greatly advocates. Nevertheless, both textbooks do identify ways in which the Declaration succeeded, stressing that it "established a new regime, based on the inalienable rights of individuals, liberty and political equality" (Textbook A, p.91), and listing the many transformative democratic changes within France; again, the game does not. Following in line with its previous implicit denouncement of the successes of democracy and the Revolution in France, the game provides a decent list of the ways in which the Revolution failed to bring about change, including "food continued to be scarce" ("Food shortages and riots") and "some 1500 men and women would lose their heads" at Place Louis XV ("Place de la Revolution/ Concord/ Louis XV"). While it does not state outright that democracy was a failure, the witnessed escalation of seemingly senseless violence throughout the game suggests democracy did not bring the peace and equality it promised.

In other areas, the game and textbooks differ and relate: while all favour defining specific turning points, an easy testing strategy, allowing for a testable date, list of

causes and consequences, the game stretches far beyond the textbooks. While the textbooks select a few "significant" historical events which correlate across both textbooks and the game too, the game is inclusive of comparably more turning points, or moments of change. The allowance for more turning points, as I will suggest again under cause and consequence, implies that while the textbooks are set to determine which events were significant for the learners, the game allows for a far greater variety through which learners can sift and come to their own conclusions, as well as conveying a far more complicated picture of the Revolution, one which may draw closer to reality. The game, if it were a learning tool, would certainly expect more from a historically literate learner in this regard. Additionally, while the textbooks follow a rigid chronological timeline, one which is undoubtedly easier to follow, the game slips forward and back in time when it comes to the Co-op Missions and Heists. As the DBE claims, "History is studied and written in time sequence" and "it is important to be able to place events in the order in which they happened" (2011, p.10). The textbooks abide by this, asides from the anachronism of the Flight to Varennes and September Massacres in Textbook A, while ACU is less focused on fulfilling this criteria and is instead more intent on telling a story for its audience, weaving drama and intrigue throughout the game.

Finally, through repeated references to the destruction, looting and transformation of churches within the game, it becomes apparent that the game views this as a significant change. The game outwardly states that "the Revolution was hardly an advocate of religion" ("La Madeleine") and leaders of the Revolution, such as Mirabeau are claimed to become "involved with various occult societies" ("Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, comte de Mirabeau"). While the note regarding Mirabeau may be too irrelevant, arguably, to include in a textbook, it is questionable how the pull away from religion is completely ignored in both textbooks, even failing to acknowledge Robespierre's adaptation of the Christian calendar. Perhaps the textbooks desired to shy away from the image that their revolutionaries, debatably connected to South Africa's revolutionaries, were atheist, when the "Bible remains a significant text in the South African context" (West, 2008, p.1). In fact, the game's cutscene, which states "no higher power sits in judgment of us; no Supreme Being watches to punish us for our sins" has been proposed to encourage atheism, and makes reference to Robespierre's Supreme Being, a complete deviation from the Christian faith. In a

country said to be almost 80% Christian (Alexander, n.d.), revolutionary leaders who opposed and sought to dismantle this very religion may not be viewed as heroes but heathens, which could, potentially, bring the moral significance of the Revolution into question.

6.4.4. Cause and Consequence: Positive Testability versus Conflicting Complexity

Across the tools, there emerge similar primary underlying conditions and causes, those which fall into the neat parameters of social, economic, cultural and political conditions, again an easily testable framework. The game throws in an additional consideration: the element of pervasive immorality. The game does not shy away from painting the picture of a Paris steeped in depravity, where legs are amputated for begging power, where defected nobility, like De Sade, are excused of an "astonishing array of crimes" because of "his family's wealth and power" ("Marquis de Sade"), and where religious monuments like Saint Germain des Pres Abbey become the sites of "some of the most atrocious massacres" ("St-Germain-des-Pres"). Two plausible reasons emerge: firstly, the game has included notably more historical agents than the textbooks, allowing for learners to comprehend the multiplicity of causes and motives which led to and drove the revolution. One of these agents identified by the game is De Sade, a revolutionary leader the textbooks are unlikely to highlight due to his immorality and the ramifications it could have: if he was capable of these crimes and was excused of them, what of South African revolutionaries? Secondly, as previously suggested, the inclusion of violent and desperate acts following the 1789 Revolution draws negative light to the success of democracy and the Revolution itself.

Nevertheless, the conditions within the game are smattered throughout and can be troubling to follow, yet have an interactive quality: while conditions are isolated and discussed in the beginning of the French Revolution within the textbooks, within the game the conditions are seen to constantly shift and alter as the Revolution progresses. In this regard, ACU requires a historically literate learner to comprehend the "multiple and layered … perpetual interplay" of conditions (Sexias, 2006, p.8). Perhaps the textbooks would have favoured this too but they are restricted by the time devoted to the content and are left with the recipe of causes and consequences

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previously mentioned by Schoeman (2014). This is particularly true for Textbook A which demarcates turning points and the causes and consequences uniformly, while Textbook B's use of eras lends itself to a more holisitic view of the Revolution. Those historical figures and turning points selected by the textbooks suggest their accepted significance as part and parcel of the grand narrative surrounding the French Revolution. Yet, as previously suggested, through the inclusion of a diverse set of turning points, as selected by the game, learners are able to see the interplay of events, such as the connection between the food riots and the Women's March and determine which causes held greater sway for themselves.

However, deciding to include 15 turning points has its downfall- while the textbooks are generally able to provide causes and motives for each historical turning point and discuss the consequences which followed; the game is either unable or unwilling. At times, turning points, such as Danton and the King's executions are left with no consequences, potentially leading learners to believe that some events do not alter history, thereby lessening the complexity of the cause and consequence dynamic. Additionally, the game fails to acknowledge long-term consequences of the Revolution either, while the textbooks, again, propagate the perpetuation of democracy and the revolutions which afforded these democracies.

6.4.5. Historical Perspectives: Depth over Breadth?

Within the fifth second-order historical thinking concepts, the three tools appear to follow a similar path in achieving a historically literate learner in many regards. Again due to the content constraints, the textbooks are forced to make a decision- depth or breadth? Textbook A selects breadth, including more historical agents than Textbook B, thereby unfortunately providing thin descriptions of each's worldview, though at least selecting agents from diverse historical contexts. This can be argued to be a downfall of Textbook A as research has suggested that when a choice must be made, "depth over breadth" is preferable in avoiding the useless memorisation "of history factoids without a sense of context" (Abernathy, 1998, p.9). Textbook B comes far closer to this depth, providing insight into fewer but still diverse perspectives, while ACU, again benefitted by the time it is afforded, provides both breadth and depth, placing it in a powerful position to develop historically literate learners in this regard: "research … has urged us to reject … one-dimensional

accounts in favour of student investigation which depends on both breadth and depth" (Riley, 2001, p.143). Across all three tools is an attempt to diversify the perspectives, with ACU and Textbook B including the female perspective, ignored mostly by Textbook A, while Textbook A focuses significantly on the urban worker or sans-culottes. As previously indicated, perspective-taking appears important for both the textbooks and the DBE, perhaps as a reaction or answer to the apartheid. Again, perspective taking allows for an empathetic look at the past and an explanation for the supposed "terrorist" attacks of freedom fighters, as it allows us to understand "the actions and behaviour of people of the past" (DBE, 2011, p.10).

One area where the game falls behind in providing historical perspective is that of the Third Estate: the game favours identifiable, relatable and active individuals, not groups, so the important Third Estate is barely referenced, though agents from this group are certainly explored. These agents are often decidely human, exposed as both terribly flawed and yet still meritable and or relatable. The textbooks attempt, at times, to do this, such as the description of Louis XVI as "well-meaning but weak" (Textbook A, p.80), but the game is far more specific in providing a rich historical and personal context for agents, describing Mirabeau as a man who became "embroiled in an affair" ("Honore Gabriel Riqueti, comte de Mirabeau'") and yet who "although a noble, chose to sit as a deputy of the Third Estate" ("Estate General Deputees"). It appears that ACU want to leave gamers with the impression that revolutionaries are typically not grandiose heroes, but ordinary people. However, the game fictionalises the activity around certain agents and even provides fictional agents, typically to illustrate a point regarding, none other than, perspective and positionality, though this can discredit any historical accuracy within the game. Through a fictionalisation of the murder of Mirabeau, contrasted to be both right and wrong, depending, according to the game, on the historian's perspective, learners are able to contemplate the role perspective-taking plays in a historical account, as well as the presence of multi-perspectivity. Learners, in this regard, can see that "there are many ways of looking at the same thing" (DBE, 2011, p.10), and, if achieved, will not accept one account or grand narrative.

6.4.6. The Moral or Ethical Dimension: Sexism, Slavery and the Monopolisation of Power

In the final benchmark identified by Seixas as necessary within a historically literate learner is that of an awareness of the moral or ethical dimension of historical events or agents. The textbooks and the games all contain implicit or explicit judgments which learners may or may not be aware of, such as Textbook B and ACU's focus on the oppression of women and the pro-feminist movement under Jacobin-controlled France, and Textbook A's attempt to justify violence as necessary within a revolution, perhaps to achieve meaningful change. At times, contemporary standards are imposed on figures, particularly Robespierre and the Jacobins who, to a lesser extent within Textbook B and not at all in Textbook A, are vilified as sexist. When engaging with the moral legacy of the Revolution, namely references to contemporary issues which "our understanding of history can help us make informed judgments about" (Seixas & Morton, 2006, p.11), all three focus on sustained threats to democracy. While Textbook A explores slavery, and Textbook B looks at sexism, ACU broadly explores the continued monopolisation of power.

This monopolisation of power, evidence, it could seem, that democracies do not truly exist, is reinforced in the game's allusions to the silencing of historical voices and the cyclical abuse of power. In the former case, the game emphasises the selective nature of history in determining whose voice is worthy of hearing, suggesting that, in accordance with the desire to support grand narratives, a historical agent's essence can be reduced to a footnote. In this fashion, the perpetuation of grand narratives "serves to legitimize political power and oppression" (Schulman, 2011, p.1), and the game is intent on forcing gamers, and therein history learners alike, to push against this and aims to reflect the "perspectives of a broad social spectrum so that race, class, gender and the voices of ordinary people are represented" (DBE, 2011, p.8). In accordance with this, the game singularly includes a coloured historical agent Dumas, asides from the diversity of other agents across class and gender.

Finally, in its discussion on the monopolisation of power, the game draws attention to the unendingly periodical resurgence of those who abuse power and, in reaction, those who oppose it. In doing so the game forces two questions on the gamer and learner: is violence necessary for change and transformation, as if it repeats itself, was the violence justified? And finally, if the abuse of power will inevitably return, are Revolutions truly revolutionary? Are they as significant as we are led to believe? If

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one answers no, violence is not justified, and no, revolutions are not significant, the 1994 Revolution, and the violence which predated it, is worrisome: was democracy ever achieved in South Africa?

6.4.7. Ramifications for History Education

When one considers a holistic image of the emergent trends and ideologies permeating the textbooks as related to the French Revolution, one cannot fail to acknowledge that it appears to be designed as a reaction to the Apartheid era. When contemplating the textbook's engagement with historical significance, the repetition of the Revolutions role in spreading democractic principles and triggering alternate revolutions (particularly in South Africa), it becomes apparent that the DBE, the identity responsible for the vetting and acceptance of these textbooks and their ideals, desires a historically literate learner to be one who applauds and upholds the democracy we have today, regardless of how tenuous it may be or the means used to achieve it. The sources within the textbooks demand that learners adopt multiple perspectives, ensuring they are left with an understanding that disparate perspectives, such as previous negative impressions of South Africa's freedom fighters, are the "fault" of positionality. Similarly, the textbooks introduce multiple perspectives for learners to engage with, though it appears they respectively select either breadth or depth. These perspectives rarely vilify any revolutionary, revolutionaries arguably synonymous with South Africa's freedom fighters, yet are less forgiving of counter-revolutionaries, like Marie Antoinette. A pause for concern is the continued underrepresentation of the female figure in Textbook A, who was arguably ignored within this textbook as they were repeatedly victimised and marginalised by the male revolutionaries of France. Though it is promising that Textbook B does not fall so readily into this trap.

The third guidepost, change and continuity, further assists in reinforcing the relationship between the French Revolution and democracy, requiring historically literate learners to identify the shortfalls and successes of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, which the textbooks applaud for establishing "a new regime, based on the inalienable rights of individuals, liberty and political equality" (Textbook A, p.91). As previously stated, Textbook B is aware of the manner in which the female agent was addressed in Revolutionary France and uses this as an

opportunity to expose its limitation. It views this issue as a withstanding threat to democracy, something both textbooks are concerned with as an aspect of rememberance, though Textbook A identifies the continuation of slavery as a risk to democracy. Nevertheless, the textbooks commemorate the many successes of the Declaration in beckoning in a democratic France. Furthermore, the turning points are prescriptively isolated within the Textbooks ensuring learners desiring the status of historically literate are able to readily identify key moments of success for the revolutionaries in reaching a democratic state.

ACU does not fit this mould: in grappling with the Revolutionary climate, the game explores the escalating levels of senseless violence in an attempt to achieve a democratic state; a goal the game does not appear to believe was necessarily successful. The game exposes the continued threats to democracy during and after the Revolution, denounces history texts as being inherently questionable and mono-perspective, and portrays the numerous and varied failures of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and other attempts at obtaining equality. How then does this threaten the DBE? ACU brings into light several questions about revolutions at large, including the South African Revolution, which the textbooks have strived to propogate: can the history texts we digest be trusted to accurately depict these events? Are we receiving one historians ideology (or the DBE's) regarding whose voices should be heard? If violence and the monopolisation of power continue, are revolutions revolutionary? Is democracy ever achieved? ACU introduces many questionable revolutionaries, figures steeped in immorality, often adopting atheist and indulgent lifestyles, who certainly cannot be portrayed as revolutionary heroes, like Nelson Mandela. In this, and many other instances, ACU completely rejects any grand narratives with the DBE may favour, painting their revolutionaries and their actions in shades of grey, revolutionaries often compared with South Africa's own, and thrusting many silenced voices into the limelight. In fact, the game appears worried that only certain voices will remain alive, something the South African government does not appear concerned about: Public Service and Administration Minister Lindiwe Sisulu, an advocate for the adoption of History as a compulsory subject in South African schools, stressed her fears that "African icon, Nelson Mandela, might be forgotten by future generations of South Africans if his memory is

not kept alive through the study of history" (Smillie, 2013, p.1), yet no notice was given to lesser-known activitists or revolutionaries.

In fact, the current determination of whether history should be a compulsory subject or not allows for one to understand why the DBE may fear opposing narratives such as ACU, and rather become fixated with a positive grand narrative, particularly of revolutions. The South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) argued for the "reconstruction and developmental role" historical education must play "in a post-apartheid society", necessitiating the subject become compulsory to ensure that it aligns with South Africa's democratic constitution and aids in healing the wounds of the Apartheid (Davids, 2016, p.88). When compared with the depiction of the French Revolution of ACU and the allusions the game makes to the futility of revolutions and striving for democracy, which it believes will always be at threat, it is readily apparent why a game alike to this would be a significant threat to a turbulent South Africa. In fact, when promoting the need for a standardised and compulsory History education to be taught, one commentator shunned South Africans for holding too many disparate views on historical events, something the game explores, and argued that it prevented nation building (Ball & Gopaldas, 2015). This undoubtedly would chaff the counter-culture agenda of pushing against such grand narratives ideologically designed to ensure conformity.

6.5. Methodological Reflections

As a qualitative researcher, I was faced by perceived or legitimate methodological issues surrounding the selection of my analyses tools and sample size. Due to the amalgamation of two analyses, the Qualitative Content Analysis and Qualitative Comparative Analysis, certain limitations were automatically addressed by this overlap method, previously applauded for its inherent cross-verification and diminishing of analysis-specific limitations (Brown, 2005; Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985); while the theory-driven categorisation of variables under study according to the second-order historical thinking concepts and guideposts attended to the issue of "many variables, small number of cases" (Lijphart, 1971, p. 685). Nevertheless, issues regarding the sample size, bias and subjectivity had to be addressed as best as possible, and stringent measures, such as those discussed under trustworthiness, had to be taken to counteract these problems. These

stringent methods were, furthermore, one of the numerous ways in which this research was time strenuous.

Sampling size and selection was an issue which drew in all of the aforementioned areas of concern: qualitative research, Qualitative Content Analysis and Qualitative Comparative Analysis. Due to the minimal sample size employed in qualitative research and this research specifically, the findings will face criticisms for their inability to generalise or provide a true representation (Guest, Namey & Mitchell, 2013). Additionally, within a Qualitative Comparative Analysis, by selecting only two CAPS grade 10 History textbooks with which to compare the game with, I face a "weak capacity to sort out rival explanations" (Collier, 1993, p.107), exposing my research to criticism regarding alternate CAPS History textbooks. This can also lead to the comparison of cases which are asymmetrical, allowing for a deviant textbook to be included, which would skew the findings. I have made attempts to nullify this issue when discussing the selection of my samples, and have acknowledged that the adopted approach, qualitative, stresses the virtue of depth not breadth, arguing for authentic, rich data, rather than a generalised, broad discussion (Collier, 1993; Keele, Moriarty, 2011) and that the inclusion of two, rather than one textbook, assists in remedying the deviant case phenomena (Kocka, 1996). Finally, as argued, the samples were selected based on "salient criteria" in order to assist with answering the research question (Moriarty, 2011, p.2) and as all CAPS History textbooks are assessed, scrutinized and qualified by the Department of Basic Education, similarity does exist across textbooks, including those not included within my sample. In this manner, two textbooks can provide a suitable range, yet there still remains room for discrepancies or deviancy, as engagement with the two textbooks did reveal areas of significant disparity.

The selection of a small sample size attempted to address an additional issue faced by qualitative researchers: time. For qualitative research to be meaningful and trustworthy, "thick descriptions" must arise form rich, extensive data (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002; Mason, 2002), providing a "complete, detailed description" (Atieno, 2009, p.17). Yet gathering, transcribing, coding and analysing data is extremely time-consuming and nothing short of labour intensive (ACAPS, 2012; Guest, Namey & Mitchell, 2013). This is extended within the Qualitative Content Analysis approach,

which is similarly noted for its labour-intensive, time-consumption, largely due to the complex coding required (Cho & Lee, 2014). The iteration and recoding required within Qualitative Content Analysis, necessitated revision after 25%, while to engage comparatively required an additional, later, revision at 50%. This alone illustrates the problems I faced in simply the coding steps. In this regard, "given the scarcity of time, energy and financial resources" which I inevitably and undeniably faced, the decision to analyse a few cases it can be argued was more "promising than a more superficial statistical analysis of many cases" (Lijphart, 1971, p. 685). Further, Thomas (2003) states that due to the qualitative approach to the Content Analysis, I, the researcher, was permitted to select the text and images which best expressed the overarching themes and ideas. Regardless, this did not address the excessive time spent on gameplay, which drew close to 100 hours for each playthrough, of which two were required. This step could not be avoided or reduced in time.

Furthermore, in selecting these cases and in determining what text and images were analysed, an element of bias and inaccuracy may have slipped in as in selecting comparative cases for study certain assumptions are held about the cases regarding their suitability or necessity for comparison which are, potentially biased in nature (Azarian, 2011). The former issue of bias may result in researchers, such as myself, falling into the trap of chasing "some 'essential' object often apparently located inside people's heads", such as my own (Silverman, 2006, p.44). However, from the position of a qualitative researcher, it is imperative to understand that "all research is essentially biased by each researcher's individual perceptions" (Atieno, 2009, p.5), and while this bias cannot be embraced, it must be acknowledged, particularly as comparison "being a natural and elementary function of human mind" (Azarian, 2011, p.115). In this regard, as a History educator and gamer I had already implicitly engaged in a comparison between electronic gaming and textbooks, based on my day-to-day interactions with them, and neutrality was no longer plausible. Yet the aforementioned naturalness does not make it reliable or scientific in nature- that required the analysis steps stipulated to be followed and the issues of trustworthiness addressed (Azarian, 2011). Nonetheless, despite careful attention to ensuring trustworthiness, bias is hard to shake, requiring the researcher to critically explore whether "during analysis … bias may have been introduced at any stage", a

difficult task (Sabin, 2010, p.30), and therefore it may have slipped in undetected, thereby affecting the trustworthiness of my findings.

Additionally, in adopting a Qualitative Content Analysis approach I was required to process and code the data "according to the attribution given by the researcher" which essentially opens my findings to criticism as "there is no guarantee that the sender or receiver shares the same attributed meaning" (Prasad, 2008, p.8). When addressing this credibility and transferability concern it was important to remember that the categories and codes have been detailed and in this regard transparency exists (Elo et al, 2014). Furthermore, the presence of a second coder, my supervisor, at crucial points of analyses helped to ensure that consistency in coding was, wherever possible, confirmed and sustained (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2005). Finally, as I adopted an interpretivist lens, my epistemological assumption holds that objective, universal truths and knowledges do not exist, such as a singular interpretation of said latent coding, but rather understanding is "based on individual interpretation and is subjective" and generalizations cannot occur (Mack, 2010, p.8). Therefore, through engagement with a second coder, as well as a thorough description of the codes and categories as included in my literature review, these concerns were reasonably alleviated.

6.6. Personal and Professional Reflections

As I engaged with this research, I sought a greater understanding of the potential influence historically situated electronic games, such as *Assassin's Creed Unity*, may have had, or will have on both my learners and myself. I understood that in some cases, learners engaged with these games on a daily basis and this would inevitably alter the way in which they not only viewed the subject History, but their textbooks, which I had felt learners saw as static and disengaged. Yet, what I came to realise was the issues I and, arguably, my learners face with the ubiquitous History textbook is that they "are often written with brief and incomplete details" which barely come close to the complexities of historical events and agents, and more importantly they "dismiss the humanity of the subject" (Milo, 2015, p.1). In doing so, historical events and agents which are rife with drama, intrigue and personal human tragedy, becomes a staid list of causes and consequences. My involvement with ACU has demonstrated that, at least in this case, historically-situated electronic games are

aimed at a commercial market and will sensationalise events to draw in gamers. Yet this sensationalism inserts an element of "humanity" which the textbooks can often lose.

In this regard, engagement with this research has had a powerful effect on my perceptions of how History could, and potentially should, be engaged with, from the perspective of my learners. ACU allows learners to live the Reign of Terror, witnessing the writhing masses cheering at the guillotine, the piles of corpses discarded by the wayside and the presence of mounting violence and terror throughout the streets of Paris. In the eyes of the average gamer, and potentially learner, electronic games, like Assassin's Creed, "bring history back to life", giving gamers "a new way to engage with and immerse themselves in history like never before" (Leaper, 2010, p.16). The game seemingly allows learners to interpret the characters of historical agents for themselves, based on their actions, and witness the true horror of historical events which may be more delicately addressed in the History textbook.

Yet, as a History educator, the ramifications of this type of educational engagement are not lost, and both the potential and the downfalls became increasingly obvious throughout the gameplay. While the sensationalism may often draw closer to reality than the textbooks, when it comes to depicting the extent of the violence the Revolution incurred, it nevertheless steps into absolute fabrication at some points, where a historical event requires "more action" to evoke a reaction or allow for playability. Furthermore, while gamers and learners alike may believe that interpretation has been left open for them, excessive bias does exist. Learners will undoubtedly come away with a bitter taste in their mouth when contemplating Robespierre, who is "presented as a monster" (Mélenchon as cited by Phillips, 2014, p.1), and view Danton as a "gentle giant" despite his proclamation that he "wanted to 'create terror to save people'" before encouraging the adoption of the guillotine (Lawday, 2009, p.1). Certainly, Robespierre is a controversial figure, and many historians view his leadership methods in a negative light (Phillips, 2014), but the game leaves little open to personal interpretation.

Nevertheless, interaction with the game has not only altered my understanding of the manner in which the game can benefit History learners, but has also added to my repertoire as a knowledge maker and sharer. Through engagement with the game's database, I was able to "approach a landmark, interact with a famous face, or encounter a historic event" and immediately gain access to a well of historical knowledge (Griffin, 2014, p.1). This has enriched my own understanding of the French Revolution, the historical figures, context and events, and therefore my teaching, though only following careful cross-verification. Furthermore, the game developer's decision to pull away from grand narratives and tell the tales of lesser known or silenced historical voices could expose learners to the role ordinary figures play in historical change and the far-reaching ramifications of historical events. History textbooks are renowned for adopting a single-perspective narrative which is often readily absorbed by learners due to the presence of "an authoritarian and omniscient language" (Martell & Hashimoto-Martell, 2012, p.317). Through the game, learners are exposed to a historical account which attempts to reflect "the perspectives of a broad social spectrum so that race, class, gender and the voices of ordinary people are represented" (DBE, 2011, p.8) and in doing so, learners can hope to see themselves reflected in history.

6.7. Final Overview

In light of the aims of this research, it has become evident that the electronic game ACU and the two grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks (and arguably other CAPS-approved history textbooks) have, largely, differing ideologies regarding the conception of a historically literate learner. What has emerged is that while both do engage with the second-order historical thinking concepts, the manner is and the potential outcome could be extensively diverse. The textbooks as intended historical aids are driven by two aims: testability and a democratically-aligned historically literate learner; the electronic game as a form of amusement and entertainment appears to favour complexity and engagibility, encouraging "its" learners to question norms and expectations. In engaging with the second-order historical thinking concepts within the context of the French Revolution, the textbooks have been designed with the intention of ensuring easy testability of the content, providing simplified versions of turning points and a few key historical agents. ACU, on the other hand, is not restricted in this manner and therein provides a "lived" experience

of the French Revolution, complete with richly diverse historical events and previously unvoiced historical agents, though often at the price of aggrandized violence and figures.

Of more importance, and arguably concern, are the implicit ideological designs driving the engagement with the second-order historical thinking concepts within the textbooks which expose the textbooks as more than merely transmitters of fact (Apple, 2000). As discussed, the repeated explicit references to the legacy of democratic ideals arising from the French Revolution and the ramifications these have had on the ending of the Apartheid, are covertly reinforced through careful negotiation of the manner in which historical agents are exposed, events discussed and the violence of the Revolution divulged. While ACU embraces this violence as a marketing tool, the textbooks attempt to find an awkward balance between condemning violence and negotiating the necessity of violence for change. In this regard, it becomes increasingly apparent that in an attempt to create a democratically-aligned historically literate learner, the textbooks, vehicles for the DBE and South African government (Pinto, 2007), have utilised the French Revolution as an ideological tool. Within the framework of the DBE and South African government, a historically literate learner is one who mirrors the expectations, beliefs and requirements of the current societal climate (Sleeter & Grant, 1991), and in this instant, that would connote one who personifies democratic ideals. If the violence of the revolutionaries of France is exposed and horrifies as it does within the game, learners may question the actions of the South African anti-Apartheid freedom fighters- a mentality which does not support the ideology of the DBE and South African government.

What this research has, therefore, exposed, is what the South African government, acting through the DBE, perceives to be of importance within this turbulent society, potentially as a solution. A historically literate learner is not merely one possessive of an understanding of historical significance, cause and consequence, change and continuity, or one able to engage with source evidence, consider diverse historical perspectives or engage with moral dilemnas, but one who aims to embrace and uphold the democratic ideals long-fought after within South Africa. As the DBE states, "the study of history also supports citizenship within a democracy" (2011,

p.8), and this aim has greatly influenced the depiction of the French Revolution. Yet, in an attempt to obtain such a like minded historically literate individual, unofficial forms of historical education, such as the electronic game, would be readily rejected for their accurate depiction of the violence of the French Revolution. While seemingly unimportant, this has led to the partial validation of violence for change, particularly in ensuring democracy and the ideals of the anti-Apartheid freedom fighters; violence one can repeatedly see through the student strikes at the universities. ACU cannot and does not support this agenda, rather opting to expose democracy as a fallacy in many regards, and violence to achieve democracy as, therefore, futile. While the game does possess instances where violence has been validated, it is generally as a means to end existing violence, suggesting the cyclical nature of violence.

The potential ramifications for further research are diverse: for textbook researchers or educational practitioners one may engage with the manner in which violence is depicted within CAPS-approved History textbooks at large, chiefly when that violence has resulted in seemingly positive change, seeking out the ideological ramifications. Of particular study, may be a study in the similarities in the depiction of the French and South African Revolution. The historical education community could draw on this research to gain understanding of what South Africa considers to be a historically literate learner, studying other historical events and their portrayal within the CAPS-approved textbooks to contemplate what role textbooks are playing in creating democratic citizens. This may be specifically significant in light of recent considerations regarding the compulsory integration of History across all high school years. In the broader community, those intent on designing a historically situated electronic game for tuition may find it advantageous to explore the manner in which their game may need to confine to particular ideological restraints. In this fashion, this research has opened the door to further exploration in the fields of textbook research, educational research, research for reform and ICT education.

6.8. Conclusion

The aim of this final chapter was to move beyond a mere presentation of the findings of chapters four and five and begin scrutinising the ramifications of said findings in light of the topic, the focus, the purpose and the research questions driving this dissertation. This research sought to garner a rich, qualitatively deduced

understanding of the engagement of the two CAPS-approved grade 10 History textbooks and ACU with Seixas's second-order historical thinking concepts. Within the historical context of the French Revolution, this engagement was analysed as a means to establish what each didactic tool regards as a historically literate learner, and in turn, what this may reveal about the latent and implicit ideologies permeating the respective pedagogical devices. Of focus was not whether historically-situated electronic games such as ACU should replace the sanctioned History textbook within the South African History classroom, but rather the role each potentially plays in creating a historically literate learner and what type of historically literate learner may emerge. As was made evident, while textbooks are explicitly designed with educational intentions in mind and electronic games with entertainment remaining the focus, History and the learning thereof exists outside such paradigms and a historically literate learner can, therefore, emerge and be shaped by both official and unofficial educational tools such as these.

In order to grasp the manner in which both the two grade 10 CAPS-approved History textbooks and ACU intended or allowed for the development of a historically literate learner, an analysis of the means through which each tool engaged with Seixas's six second-order historical thinking concepts, a Qualitative Content Analysis approach, was required. Once these manifest findings had been critiqued, and the first research question addressed, and latent messages began to arise, the final research question was engaged with within a Qualitative Comparative Content Analysis approach: what similarities and differences existed and what they revealed, particularly about the aforementioned ideologies. Both tools have undoubtedly provided numerous and diverse opportunities to engage with historical significance, sources, continuity and change, cause and consequence, historical perspectives and, lastly, the moral or ethical dimension of History, to varying levels of success. In this regard, both can be purported to be useful in the creation of a historically literate learner possessive of the second-order historical thinking concepts.

What has emerged, above and beyond this, has been made prevalent and apparent: the DBE aims to create a historically literate learner who perpetuates the democratic ideals of our constitution, while the electronic game, despite its inherent commercial designation as a form of amusement, is arguably desirous of a historically literate

learner who questions such grand narratives and ideologies and may argue that democracy is a fallacy. In this regard, the two pedagogical tools clash and it is arguable that the DBE, an agent for the South African government, would view ACU as a threat to its agenda- an agenda which appears focused on utilising History to stabilise a post-Apartheid South Africa and allow for a positive rememberance of the struggle which led the country down this path. As has been evidenced, this rememberance comes at a cost: the permittance of violence for achieving a democratic state and the necessary downplay of this violence in order to obtain such a legacy. In this fashion, educational practitioners may wish to draw into question the desire to integrate History as a compulsory subject across the GET and FET phase: is this a purely innocuous aspiration born from the desire to ensure iconic leaders and their sacrifices do not go unheard? Or is it a more dubious attempt to validate the violent deeds of lionized revolutionaries, intent on achieving a democracy that has never, and still does not exist?

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APPENDIX A1:

Game:	*Assassin's Creed Unity* Textbooks: *New Generations, In Search of History*
Era:	The French Revolution

Historical Concepts	Expected Qualities: Each has been phrased as a question- I will assess HOW this has been answered in each case.	
Historical Significance	Guidepost 1: What changes was the French Revolution responsible for? Consider: profundity, quantity and durability. Guidepost 2: What developing issues did the Revolution reveal? Guidepost 3: Does the Revolution hold a meaningful place within a narrative? Of what larger story or argument might the Revolution be a part?	
Source Evidence	Guidepost 1: What inferences can be made from primary sources? Guidepost 2: Can you ask questions about the source which may turn it into	

	evidence? Guidepost 3: What is the author's/ creator's worldview, or purpose? Guidepost 4: Is the source contextualised? Can it be analysed within a context? Guidepost 5: Can evidence be corroborated? Has it been?	
Continuity and Change	Guidepost 1: Can a visible chronology be followed? Guidepost 2: What were the turning points? Guidepost 3: What progressed and what declined? Guidepost 4: To what degree has changed been identified and to what degree has continuity been identified?	
Cause and Consequence	Guidepost 1: What are the long-term and short-term causes and consequences? Are they related? Guidepost 2: Are causes seen as varying in influence?	

	Guidepost 3: Who are the historical agents? Guidepost 4: What are the social, political, economic and cultural conditions within which the agents acted? Guidepost 5: Were there unintended consequences? What were they? Guidepost 6: Is there any clue that the events were not inevitable?	
Historical Perspectives	Guidepost 1: What were the agents' motivations, actions and responses? Guidepost 2: Is presentism evident? Guidepost 3: What is the historical context of each actor? Is the influence of the context evident? Guidepost 4: What are the differing perspectives of and on historical agents?	

	Guidepost 5: Is there evidence to support perspectives?	
Ethical Dimension	Guidepost 1: What are the explicit or implicit ethical judgments? Guidepost 2: Are judgments based within the historical context or our own? Guidepost 3: Are contemporary standards of morality imposed? Guidepost 4: What is suggested about the importance of memory and responsibility? Guidepost 5: What present day implications could, arguably, be drawn from these moral issues?	
Additional findings		

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APPENDIX A2:

Historical Concept	*Assassin's Creed Unity* Thematic Analysis	Textbook A Thematic Analysis	Textbook B Thematic Analysis
Historical Significance - Similarities	Guidepost 1: Guidepost 2: Guidepost 3:	Guidepost 1: Guidepost 2: Guidepost 3:	Guidepost 1: Guidepost 2: Guidepost 3:
- Differences	Guidepost 1: Guidepost 2: Guidepost 3:	Guidepost 1: Guidepost 2: Guidepost 3:	Guidepost 1: Guidepost 2: Guidepost 3: .
Source Evidence - Similarities	Guidepost 1: Guidepost 2: Guidepost 3: Guidepost 4: Guidepost 5:	Guidepost 1: Guidepost 2: Guidepost 3: Guidepost 4: Guidepost 5:	Guidepost 1: Guidepost 2: Guidepost 3: Guidepost 4: Guidepost 5:
- Differences	Guidepost 1: Guidepost 2:	Guidepost 1: Guidepost 2:	Guidepost 1: Guidepost 2:

	Guidepost 3:	Guidepost 3:	Guidepost 3:
	Guidepost 4:	Guidepost 4:	Guidepost 4:
	Guidepost 5:	Guidepost 5:	Guidepost 5:
Cause and Consequence - Similarities	Guidepost 1:	Guidepost 1:	Guidepost 1:
	Guidepost 2:	Guidepost 2:	Guidepost 2:
	Guidepost 3:	Guidepost 3:	Guidepost 3:
	Guidepost 4:	Guidepost 4:	Guidepost 4:
	Guidepost 5:	Guidepost 5:	Guidepost 5:
	Guidepost 6:	Guidepost 6:	Guidepost 6:
- Differences	Guidepost 1:	Guidepost 1:	Guidepost 1:
	Guidepost 2:	Guidepost 2:	Guidepost 2:
	Guidepost 3:	Guidepost 3:	Guidepost 3:
	Guidepost 4:	Guidepost 4:	Guidepost 4:
	Guidepost 5:	Guidepost 5:	Guidepost 5:
	Guidepost 6:	Guidepost 6:	Guidepost 6:
Continuity and Change - Similarities	Guidepost 1:	Guidepost 1:	Guidepost 1:

	Guidepost 2:	Guidepost 2:	Guidepost 2:
	Guidepost 3:	Guidepost 3:	Guidepost 3:
	Guidepost 4:	Guidepost 4:	Guidepost 4:
- Differences	Guidepost 1:	Guidepost 1:	Guidepost 1:
	Guidepost 2:	Guidepost 2:	Guidepost 2:
	Guidepost 3:	Guidepost 3:	Guidepost 3:
	Guidepost 4:	Guidepost 4:	Guidepost 4:
Historical Perspectives - Similarities	Guidepost 1:	Guidepost 1:	Guidepost 1:
	Guidepost 2:	Guidepost 2:	Guidepost 2:
	Guidepost 3:	Guidepost 3:	Guidepost 3:
	Guidepost 4:	Guidepost 4:	Guidepost 4:
	Guidepost 5:	Guidepost 5:	Guidepost 5:
- Differences	Guidepost 1:	Guidepost 1:	Guidepost 1:
	Guidepost 2:	Guidepost 2:	Guidepost 2:
	Guidepost 3:	Guidepost 3:	Guidepost 3:
	Guidepost 4:	Guidepost 4:	Guidepost 4:

	Guidepost 5:	Guidepost 5:	Guidepost 5:
Ethical Dimension - Similarities	Guidepost 1: Guidepost 2: Guidepost 3: Guidepost 4: Guidepost 5:	Guidepost 1: Guidepost 2: Guidepost 3: Guidepost 4: Guidepost 5:	Guidepost 1: Guidepost 2: Guidepost 3: Guidepost 4: Guidepost 5:
- Differences	Guidepost 1: Guidepost 2: Guidepost 3: Guidepost 4: Guidepost 5:	Guidepost 1: Guidepost 2: Guidepost 3: Guidepost 4: Guidepost 5:	Guidepost 1: Guidepost 2: Guidepost 3: Guidepost 4: Guidepost 5:

APPENDIX B: ETHICAL CLEARANCE

UNIVERSITY OF ™
KWAZULU-NATAL

INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

31 March 2016

Mrs Kyleigh Malkin-Page (210550159)
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Mrs Malkin-Page,

Protocol reference number: HSS/0308/016M
Project title: Textbooks vs. Assassin's Creed Unity: Comparing their engagement with second-order historical thinking concepts with reference to the French Revolution

Full Approval – No Risk / Exempt Application

In response to your application received on 29 March 2015 the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL.**

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

....
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/ms

Cc Supervisor: Professor Johan Wassermann
Cc Academic Leader Research: Professor P Morojele
Cc School Administrator: Ms Tyzer Khumalo
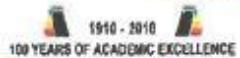
APPENDIX C: TURNITIN CERTIFICATE