

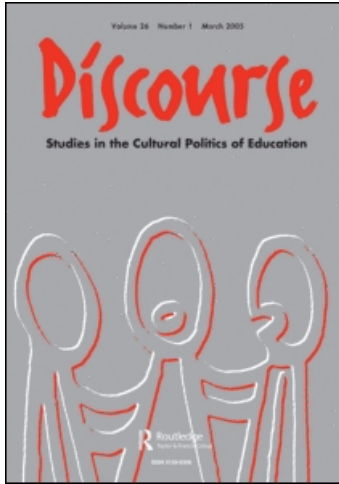
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### **Translating globalization theories into educational research: thoughts on recent shifts in Holocaust education**

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## Translating globalization theories into educational research: thoughts on recent shifts in Holocaust education

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Much educational research on globalization aims to prepare students to be successful citizens in a global society. We propose a set of three concepts, drawing on systems theory (Nassehi, Stichweh) and theories of the subject (Butler, Foucault), to think the global which enables educational research to step back from hegemonic discourses and reflect on current practices. Globalization is understood in this approach as referring to: (1) a cognitive shift; (2) expanding relevancy spaces; and (3) new forms of subjectivation. The framework is illustrated with examples from educational policy and learning materials, with an extended look at how globalization is articulated in recent shifts in Holocaust education.

**Keywords:** globalization; education; discourse; subject; systems theory; Holocaust education

Recent years have witnessed a shift in how globalization is theorised. Where in the 1990s, the main aims were to define the specific properties of globalization, to discover if/when it started, and to decide whether it represented a benefit or threat, more recent theorizing conceives of globalization as a fuzzy set of multifarious, interlinked, paradoxical and indeterminate processes with diverse contextualized meanings (cf. Brown, 2008).

Theories of the global are also increasingly being used to make sense of contemporary education (e.g., Anderson-Levitt, 2003; Kelly, 2009; Lam, 2006; Merryfield, 2008; Rizvi & Lingard, 2000). A particularly forceful direction of recent research on globalization and schooling aims to ‘prepare’ students to ‘meet current challenges’ and participate successfully in our ever increasingly globalized world (Mansilla & Gardner, 2007, p. 47; cf. Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004).

Our central argument is that although this is undoubtedly an important goal for educationalists which encourages innovation in policy and practice, it does present globalization as an active entity to which we (as teachers, students, researchers, citizens) merely *react*. Here we outline a more discursively oriented approach which foregrounds the ways in which teaching practice and learning materials *produce* globalizations.

We draw on three aspects of current theorizing – three ‘sensitizing concepts’ – arguing that the combination enables novel ways of considering contemporary educational practices. First, *globalization as a cognitive shift* – i.e., a constructivist

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perspective that shifts attention away from discussing what globalization is, to thinking about how we define and thus construct globalization. Second, *globalization as the emergence of global relevancy spaces* – i.e., a perspective inspired by systems theory which explains this cognitive shift in terms of a mutual interlocking of local communication processes. This concept draws on the observation that the topics marked as relevant in local debates, and even the way these topics are framed by local actors, are increasingly influenced by globally effective selection criteria. Third, *globalization as new forms of subjectivation* – i.e., qualifying the constructivist position by recalling that actors can only ever act from discursively constituted subject positions. One important aim of educational research is thus to explore how current practices and materials constitute new forms of subjectivation and new commonsenses.

In the first three sections below, we elaborate each of these concepts in turn, focusing primarily on schooling. The fourth section explores recent educational (school) materials which illustrate the potential utility of these three concepts.

### **Globalization as cognitive shift**

The first aspect provides a general perspective on globalization. Commonly cited definitions of globalization include Anthony Giddens' well-known account of the 'intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa' (1990, p. 64). Further definitions tend to foreground the global circulation of ideas, capital, people and symbols; increasing global interdependencies due to developments in communications and transport technologies; the erosion of the nation state; and the rise of the network society (e.g., Beck, 1997; Castells, 1996; Held & McGrew, 2007; Thompson, 1995).

Listing these elements, however, it is hard to ignore the criticism that they strongly resemble definitions of modernity or modernization. Sceptics in the globalization debate question whether what is being called globalization is at all new (e.g., Hirst, 1997; Hirst & Thompson, 1999). Questions are raised as to whether, for instance, European nation-building was not always a matter of transnational networks of interaction, whether capitalism was not always interested in spreading beyond the nation-state, and whether colonialism, as an enterprise and experience which affected and connected the colonizers and the colonized, was not already contributing to the production of what we now term globalization.

It has been suggested that to differentiate globalization from modernity, the key move could be to adopt the position of the observer. Perhaps what is new about globalization and sets it apart from modernity, writes Armin Nassehi (1999), is a *cognitive shift* in the way the world is seen by observers. David Held and Anthony McGrew (2003), similarly, although offering detailed definitions of social changes to which the term globalization refers, state that globalization 'engenders a cognitive shift expressed both in a growing public awareness of the ways in which distant events can affect local fortunes (and vice versa) as well as in public perceptions of shrinking time and geographical space' (2003, p. 4). From this perspective, the theoretical question is no longer what globalization or globality *are*, but why a syndrome which has long been known as the *process of modernization* has recently been perceived as *globalization*.

For research on schooling or other educational practices, this constructivist assumption is not unfamiliar. Applying it to theorize globalization draws attention to two fundamentally novel aspects of classroom practices. First, since globalization is *constantly constituted and reconstituted* by the explicit perception of global (inter)dependencies, research turns to analyse how an awareness of these relations affects processes of producing and attaining knowledge.

Curricula in some parts of the world, for instance, offer explicit perceptions of the existence of global interdependencies. The Curriculum Standards for Social Studies formulated by the US National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) states in a section titled 'Global Connections' that: 'Social studies curriculum should include experiences that provide for the study of global connections and interdependence' (2008, p. 20). Similarly, the current National Curriculum in England states that the study of citizenship should include, *inter alia*, 'the challenges facing the global community' (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA), 2007, p. 47). The curricula of leading English examination boards assess students' understanding of, for instance, 'the challenges of global interdependence' (Assessment and Qualifications Alliance, 2008, p. 18) or 'our rights and responsibilities as global citizens' (Oxford Cambridge and RSA Examinations, 2008, p. 12).

In the Secondary School Curriculum in India, on the other hand, globalization is only an issue in relation to economics and the relationship seems more one-way (Central Board of Secondary Education [CBSE], 2010). Topics include 'Implications of globalization for livelihood patterns' (p. 83) and 'How India is being globalised and why' (p. 87).

Classroom practice may, of course, be little related to stated curricular aims. More generally, media studies have clearly demonstrated that not all media readers, viewers or users will accept the views presented to them (e.g., Ang, 1995). Nevertheless, even those who reject hegemonic or dominant discourses must first engage with the discourse in order to reject it.

Second, a constructivist perspective on globalization captures the increasing *experience of diversity and contingency* in today's world. If globalization is constituted by a shifting perception of the world, then a reflexive observer is aware that different localities, different contexts and different experiences lead to different understandings of the world and different conceptions of globalization.<sup>1</sup> A specific characteristic of today's globalized world, differentiating it from modernity, is thus the *recognition of the particularity and contingency of one's own view*. Globalization, in other words, refers to an increased awareness among observers of the constant need to translate our untranslatable aprioris.

The National Curriculum in England has stated that students should be taught to 'use their imagination to consider other people's experiences and be able to think about, express, explain and critically evaluate views that are not their own' (QCA, 1999, p. 16). For the NCSS in the USA, an 'essential social studies strategy' is to be able to 'dialogue with others who have different perspectives' (NCSS, 2008, p. 135). In India, students should discuss 'different perspectives on globalisation' (CBSE, 2010, p. 87) and 'how globalization is experienced differently by different social groups' (p. 83).

These competencies and objectives need not be specifically related to globalization. Yet these curricular recommendations illustrate a radical (cognitive) shift from the materials and policies produced several decades ago. It has become common

sense to recognize the particularity and, in some cases, the contingency of different individual's views.

Globalization understood in this way leads to a range of new questions about contemporary schooling: How is globalization constituted in diverse local contexts and by diverse actors (teachers, students, textbook authors, management, politicians, national curriculum advisors)? Is a reflexive awareness of contingency and diversity represented in and/or facilitated through learning materials? And if so, how? Which future (social, political, cultural, economic, geographic) actions do particular constructions of globalization prioritize? Which experiences (of schooling, family, business, migration) and perspectives feed into these constructions?

### **Globalization as global relevancy spaces**

If we accept the premise that globalization is, at least to a certain extent, a matter of *perceiving* global interdependencies we are still left with two open questions. First, we have to explain *how* this perceptual change is reliably produced and reproduced. And second, we have to account for the undeniable diversity and heterogeneity of perceptions which do not simply persist *despite* but also *because* of globalization. In both regards, the concept of 'global relevancy spaces' elaborated by Rudolf Stichweh (2004a, 2004b), a prominent adherent of systems theory, and its emphasis on communication comes in useful. According to Stichweh, globalization can be most fruitfully conceptualized as the emergence of globally effective criteria of relevance which come to steer the selection of issues and the ways they are dealt with in local communication processes. These criteria need not necessarily lead to the homogenization of local communication. He identifies two distinct mechanisms as the driving forces behind these processes of mutual adaptation in communicative choices. Both can easily be found in the realm of education and educational media.

On the one hand, local processes of communication can be interlocked on the *structural* level of institutions, organizations and other forms of communication. In the sphere of education we observe a number of transnational or international actors, from non-governmental organizations such as the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research (ITF) to supra-national bodies such as the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) or the Council of Europe, which try to influence national teaching practice by offering (non-binding) guidelines or (binding) directives. As these texts have to be translated into different local contexts, they can hardly be expected to produce homogeneous outcomes. In some cases, they may even spur further diversification.

To name just one example, in line with recommendations formulated by the Council of Europe, Lithuanian textbook authors emphasise the European dimension of their national history. They point to the 'fact' that Lithuania was an independent nation state in the Middle Ages and use this to demonstrate the Europeaness of the Lithuanian nation. They thus articulate novel demands with a discourse that has long been salient in local debates: that nation-building is a core element of Europeaness. At the same time, German textbooks reacting to the same Council of Europe guidelines point to the absence of nation states and to the similarities of European cities in the Middle Ages. They thus use the call to 'Europeanize'

representations of national histories as a chance to play down the role of the national factor. This is in line with a dominant tendency in German historiography.

In addition to politically legitimated actors, private corporations such as Pearson also participate in forming global relevancy spaces by acquiring ownership rights in different local textbook markets. As we know from research on transnational corporations, this does not necessarily lead to a homogenization of products but can also give rise to diversified market strategies adapted to the specific demand structures of local markets (cf. Clark, 1999). Finally, the organizational infrastructure of global relevancy spaces can rest on individuals, loosely coupled in networks such as those developed through Facebook, fan networks or sport affiliations.

On the other hand, interdependencies between local processes of communication can be an effect of *global selection horizons*. This argument is based on the observation that, at least technically speaking, information on communicative choices in other local contexts is accessible almost everywhere nowadays. Thus, we live in an age of mutual observation. The horizon to which we look for possible options when making a decision is increasingly a global one. Again, this need not necessarily mean that we all take the same decisions, but that we redefine our choices in the reflective knowledge of choices taken by other people at other places. The need to do so results from the desire to be understood by others and from the perception that the communicative acts of all those who do not reconsider their communicative strategies in light of these global relevancy spaces, run the risk of remaining unnoticed and becoming irrelevant.

Again, Lithuanian textbooks illustrate the operational mode characteristic of global selection horizons. Due to the prominence given to nationalist patterns of interpretation, these textbooks are as a rule still thought to be fairly parochial and relatively unaffected by globalization (cf. Christophe, 2010a, 2010b). But even here we can find traces of an engagement with global patterns of interpretation. Thus the representation of the Soviet Union as an aggressive and mighty empire of evil that was almost insurmountable simultaneously serves two aims. On the one hand, it prepares the ground for a globally acceptable understanding of nationalism as the only effective force which could bring about the miracle of toppling this empire in the name of freedom and democracy. On the other hand, it critically engages and thus reflects on globally dominant western discourses, which tend to portray the Soviet Union as a weak state doomed to failure by its internal contradictions. Although everything in the textbooks resonates well with hegemonic trends in local discourses, the arguments put forward are presented in a way that connects them to debates in other parts of the world.

Where the first mechanism refers to relevant *structural* networks, the second refers to relevant *thought, idea or image* networks. In concrete research this means that attention is attuned to the role of *global networks* in informing educational practice, and to the *textual traces* of global horizons in local materials, policies, actions, etc. Research projects attending to these issues ask, *inter alia*: How are local representations and knowledges consonant with knowledge in other parts of the world? How do they produce global interrelatedness and affect relevancy spaces? What impact do global relevancy spaces have on representations of the past and the present? How do they shape representations of the self and the other?

### Globalization as new forms of subjectivation

The third aspect is a counterweight to the first. Yes, ‘globalization is what we make of it’ (Brown, 2008) but the ‘we’ who are making it can no longer be understood as entirely autonomous agents. ‘Sovereign agency’ makes way for ‘discursive agency’, i.e., ‘the agency of the subject is not a property of the subject, an inherent will or freedom, but an effect of power’ and is thus ‘constrained but not determined in advance’ (Butler, 1997a, p. 139). The notion of discursive agency thus enables us to simultaneously consider ‘the context of constraint in which these performatively constituted subjects are effected and the potential for these subjects to act and to act with intent’ where agency exceeds the discourse which enables it (Youdell, 2006, p. 512).

Analysing discursive agency entails analysing forms of subjectivation offered by educational practices, i.e., particular ways of thinking, being, desiring and acting which become almost self-evident and within which a subject becomes legible. We use ‘subject’ here to refer to ‘the specific cultural form which individuals take on in a particular historical and social context in order to become a legitimate, competent and exemplary being’ (Reckwitz, 2008, p. 9). ‘Subjectivation’ thus refers to the complex process in which a subject is *acted upon* and simultaneously *enacted by* relations of power through discourse, i.e., both subjected to another and rendered a self-knowing subject (Butler, 1997b; Foucault, 1982).

Deborah Youdell (2006) provides an excellent analysis of subjectivation in her ethnographic study of ‘Multicultural Day’ in an Australian school. She points up tensions between the ethos of a pluralist multiculturalism, celebrating apparently natural and neutral cultural differences, which frames the school’s Multicultural Day, and the unspoken – but embodied – discourses of Whiteness, Orientalism and anti-Islamic post-9/11 threat.

In one section of her field notes, Youdell describes a scene in which a stall marked ‘Arabic food’ is surrounded by students, guests and teachers, ordering kebabs and chatting:

White chalk on the fascia board above the Arabic food stall reads ‘*Lebanon*’ and ‘*Lebs Rule*’. ‘*Lebs Rule*’ has been crossed out, but not erased, and ‘*Turks Rule*’ chalked next to it. A half moon has also been drawn there. . . . The Deputy Principal, or a member of his walkie-talkie team [four male teachers, all White Australians], regularly stands in the quad in front of the Arabic Food stall watching. (Youdell, 2006, p. 520)

Youdell then elaborates, in far more detail and nuance than is possible for us in this paper, the struggles over the meaning and place of these students. By accepting the students’ donation of an Arabic food stall and participation in the Multicultural Day, the school renders ‘Arabic’ legible as a name for minority cultural difference; the students are subjectivated as ‘good-Arabic-student-subjects’. The bodily presence of the teacher-security team policing the stall simultaneously subjectivates the students as ‘bad’, potentially threatening, students. This subjectivation in turn is tied up with the students’ displays of identity (*Lebs/Turks Rule* graffiti, Islamic half crescent) and with the discursive configurations in which the teachers are themselves subjectivated (discourses of teacher professionalism, authority, Whiteness, Islamist threat, etc.).

The notion of subjectivation thus enables us to see not only the complexities of 'naming' the students, but also to tease out how those who are able to name – in this case the teachers – are also already named in discourse (cf. Butler, 1997a, p. 29).

Research premised on the ideas that individual and collective subjects are constituted, reproduced and transformed through the circulation and citation of discourse and the expansion of relevancy spaces, and that people act from (provisional, shifting) subjectivities formed by discourse, goes beyond the type of scholarship which aims to prepare students to participate successfully in globalization. It encourages us to explore forms of subjectivation produced by school practices and to consider the decisions and actions to which these could lead.

We should point out, without going into detail, that 'discourse' refers here not simply to language but also to a wider range of practices, institutions and artefacts. Discourse, as we are using the term, is understood as systems of meaningful practices which form identities and objects (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985).

This third aspect of the theoretical framework leads to three related sets of research questions. How do local educational materials and particular situated classroom interactions construct hegemonic discourses?<sup>2</sup> How are users (readers, viewers, interactants, students, teachers) named by these discourses, i.e., which forms of subjectivation are offered; which new (global) demands become common sense to learners and teachers? Which fissures and contradictions are visible in these discourses? Which marginal discourses manage to break into the hegemonic configurations? Which alternative subjectivations are visible on the margins? Are they consonant with geographically distant discourses and forms of subjectivation? If so, how?

### *The Search*

This final section aims to illustrate the added purchase of this theoretical frame with one concrete example. We have selected an example which deals with new trends in Holocaust education, i.e., a topic which does not explicitly refer to globalization, but offers a telling example of how a specific issue, the politics of collective memory, which has long been treated as the ultimate domain of the nation state, is increasingly shaped by the dynamics of global debates and thus contributes to the (re-)production of globalization.<sup>3</sup>

*The Search* is a graphic novel, telling the story of Esther, a young Jewish woman from Germany who was hidden in the Netherlands during the Second World War, then emigrated to the USA, and is now, many years later, trying to find out more about her parents and friends (Heuvel, van der Rol, & Schippers, 2007). In the course of the story, Esther rediscovers a friend who survived Auschwitz, and finds out more details about what happened to her parents who died there. The comic was developed in Amsterdam specifically to teach young people about the Holocaust in an accessible way. Extensive media coverage debated whether or not *The Search* is a trivialization of the Holocaust (cf. Franz & Siegele, 2008).

An accompanying workbook is available in Dutch, and a German educational publisher is currently working together with the Anne Frank Centre in Berlin to develop teaching materials specifically for German schools and youth work. During ethnographic fieldwork, the first author of this paper was present at meetings in which manuscripts for these accompanying materials were discussed and redrafted.

She has also conducted interviews with members of the team (four authors, one editor and one specialist advisor; for details of methodology, cf. Macgilchrist & Van Hout, 2011, par. 1–17).

Our focus here is on only one aspect of this rich set of learning materials: the representation of atrocities. Previous learning resources have tended to show graphic illustrations of dead victims including piles of naked corpses. *The Search* and its accompanying materials explicitly avoid such graphic representations. In the three panels shown in Figure 1, for instance, we see the people before they are shot and piles of clothes after, but no explicit brutality or corpses. What does the framework outlined so far offer the analysis of this scene?

### Cognitive shift

The first concept (cognitive shift) is basically an epistemological position. It translates into research studies as a constructivist assumption rather than specific analytical steps. Nevertheless, it does draw attention to the way the three comments from the soldiers are shown. A diversity of responses is shown, contingent upon the particular perspective of each soldier. In the story as a whole, the authors have built ambiguity into the actions of numerous characters, rather than presenting clear-cut heroes and villains.

In discussions during the preparation of accompanying materials in Germany, the author team often noted that their aim was not to create questions and tasks which have straightforward answers. A notable example was the discussion over the use of Matthias Heyl's 'Society of the Holocaust' model which aims to facilitate students' and teachers' reflection on the various roles people in Nazi Germany were assigned or could adopt (see Figure 2; Heyl, 2001).<sup>4</sup>

It is impossible to simply assign characters or people to separate boxes in this model. And that is the very point, argued the authors of *The Search* materials who were in favour of working with the model. The aim of the model is to 'perturb' or 'disconcert' the students, so that they begin to ask questions and consider the

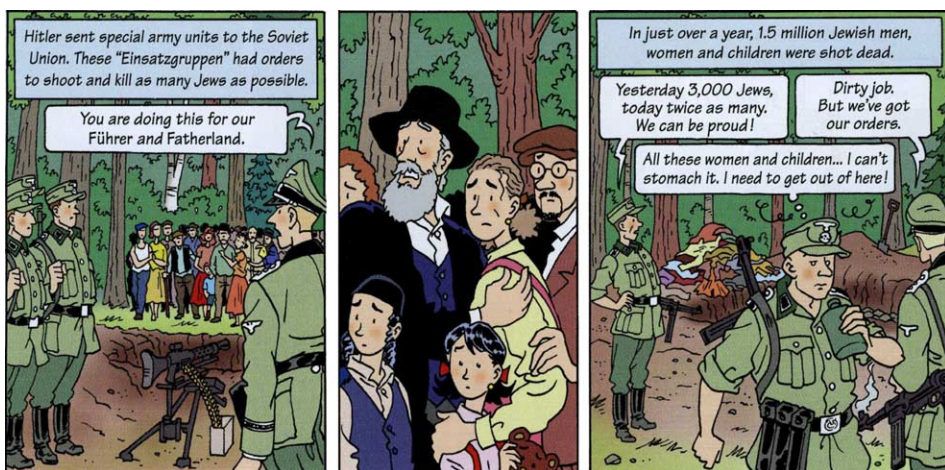


Figure 1. Sequence from *The Search* (Heuvel, van der Rol, & Schippers, 2007).

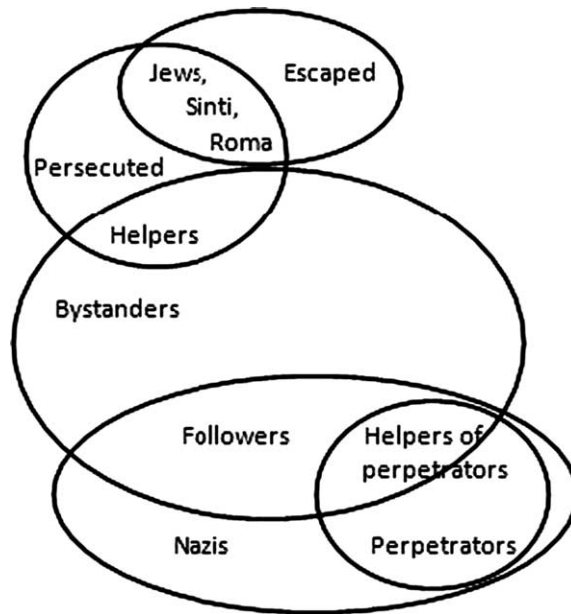


Figure 2. The Society of the Holocaust (Heyl, 2001).

indeterminacies and contradictions involved in our actions and our conventional forms of representation.

In each of these examples, both in the graphic novel and in the accompanying teaching materials, the aim is to highlight dilemmas and leave them unresolved, i.e., this is a marked shift away from the traditional commonsense notion that young people need ‘certainties’; that they need to know what is true/correct and what is not.

### ***Relevancy spaces***

The second concept outlined above (relevancy spaces) led us to explore two aspects. First, on a structural level, we asked how the global interrelatedness of institutions impacted upon the spread of *The Search*. Originally developed by the Anne Frank Haus in the Netherlands, the first Dutch version of the graphic novel was published with the help of a grant from the Netherlands Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport. Translations or adaptations have been produced for Germany (with the Anne Frank Centre, Berlin), Poland (with the Polish-German Centre), Hungary (with the Hannah Arendt Association and the Budapest Holocaust Museum). Further projects are underway in, or planned for, South Africa, Israel and other languages/countries.<sup>5</sup>

In each case, there was frequent communication between the Anne Frank Haus in Amsterdam and the regional centres. In this sense, not only did the network lead to the spread of the graphic novel, but the graphic novel strengthened the connections among the nodes in the network.

The second mechanism in the globalization of relevancy spaces is, as noted above, the increasingly global selection horizons. It is difficult to trace any particular train of thought to its origins, but when asked about their influences, members of the

author team spoke about observing a shift away from the graphic representation of brutality towards a focus on individual stories, on survivors and on Jewish life before the Holocaust. They drew our attention to examples in Germany (e.g., House of the Wannsee Conference), the USA (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM)) and Jerusalem (Yad Vashem). For some members of the author team, these sources (among others) constituted the horizon for considering which representations to select; which options were possible and appropriate.

Traces of this shift, and arguments supporting it, can indeed be seen in these sources. Guidelines on the website of the USHMM provided by the ITF, suggest, for instance, that teachers avoid using ‘horrific imagery’ such as ‘piles of naked bodies’ to engage their students. ‘Engendering shock and revulsion is unlikely to constitute a worthwhile learning experience. It can, however, have a dehumanising effect and reinforce a view of Jews as victims’.<sup>6</sup>

The House of the Wannsee Conference re-opened its newly designed permanent exhibition in January 2006. It deliberately reduced the number of shocking images which had been on display during the previous exhibition, introducing a number of new elements, including a biographical approach. In the first room, visitors meet the stories of four Jewish families from Eastern Europe, who reappear as one walks through the exhibition. Norbert Kampe, the institution’s director, has said that the exhibition aimed to give the victims a face, and to follow one of the central pedagogical principles, widely referred to in Germany, the *Überwältigungsverbot* (cited in Jander, 2006). *Überwältigungsverbot* refers to part of the Beutelsbacher Consensus, agreed to in 1976, that students should not be overwhelmed (*überwältigt*) with information, materials, ideas, etc. in order to indoctrinate them into adopting a particular desirable opinion.

Since this pedagogical principle was formulated in Germany in 1976, however, it is clear that the first exhibition at the House of the Wannsee Conference (which opened in 1992) did not consider the shocking images to contravene it. Since then the frames of debate in Holocaust education have changed, the selection horizons have shifted, and the *Überwältigungsverbot* concept has been resignified.

Members of the author team also referred to an article by Matthias Heyl (2004) on the use of images in Holocaust education. Heyl lists a number of reasons for departing from a ‘shock pedagogy’ which uses images of piles of corpses. In one sense, the images show an ‘incorrectly perceived reality’ (Heyl, 2004, p. 124), since the piles of corpses were only seen towards the very end of the war, when the concentration camps were no longer functioning as planned and the bodies no longer burned immediately. Also, the images seem to have attained an iconographic or illustrative function rather than being interpreted as historical sources. That they were taken from the perpetrator’s perspective is thus not sufficiently critically assessed. Indeed, the images may have done more to numb our consciences than to provoke us. Finally, Heyl argues on an ethical level that exploiting these images in a “‘pedagogy of concern” . . . simply does not do justice to the people shown’ (2004, p. 125).

### **Subjectivation**

The third aspect of the framework for researching globalization and education outlined above (subjectivation) drew attention to hegemonic formations and the shifting forms of subjectivation produced.

A more extensive textual analysis would confirm that the hegemonic position in Holocaust education is still to draw extensively on shocking images of the brutality of the atrocities. A fissure has opened in the discourse, however. The newly designed exhibition at the House of the Wannsee Conference, *The Search*, the ITF guidelines, etc. are stepping into the fissure and filling it with a new hegemonic project. This new discourse emphasises the value of individual biographical narratives and rejects dehumanizing images of the dead. It mobilizes historical, pedagogical and ethical arguments. As this discourse attempts to become hegemonic, its resignification of how the Holocaust should be represented and taught will in turn need to become the focus of critical reflection.

Part of this discursive shift is a change in the forms of subjectivation offered by educational materials. Where previous materials ‘shocked’ students into thinking about the Holocaust through violence, *The Search* and other similar approaches aim to ‘destabilize’ students’ perceptions and narratives through emotional engagement with individual figures or persons. In *The Search* students engage with male and female characters, old and young characters, married and single characters; the characters live in Germany, the Netherlands, Israel, Poland, Hungary and the USA.

Where students were previously interpellated as (partially) responsible for the past, and as subjects who through contrition would act differently in the future, they are now interpellated as affective subjects who can (and should) be moved through empathetic connection with the diverse characters in the story to a different sense of responsibility for their own future actions.

Similarly, returning to the discussion of Figure 2, we can note a shifting sense of students’ ability to live with un/certainty. The type of pedagogy which uses shocking images expects students to – and thus produces students who – need certainties, learn what is correct and what is not, and assign persons or figures to clear unambiguous categories of victim or perpetrator, hero or villain. In the type of pedagogy articulated in *The Search*, students are interpellated as subjects who can (should) deal with ambivalence, consider dilemmas and contradictions without resolution, and engage with the responses available for a diverse range of multi-faceted, complex and ever-changing subjects. Thus, even educational materials which do not directly address the topic of globalization illustrate how the globalization of relevancy spaces, i.e., the cognitive shift in what is perceived as relevant to situated local practices, leads to new forms of subjectivation, in which diversity, change and ambiguity are central.

## Conclusions

This paper has outlined three ‘sensitizing concepts’ which could provide a fresh perspective for research on globalization and education. First, globalization refers to a *cognitive shift*, emphasising a constructivist epistemological position. The term ‘globalization’ thus refers primarily to the way the world is seen by observers, which in turn creates the reality in which they act.

Second, globalization refers to the expansion of *relevancy spaces* across the globe. Individuals increasingly engage with distant parts of the world when they are gathering information relevant to their decision-making processes. This engaging may be in the form of networks of connected individuals, institutions or

organization, or it may be in the form of selection horizons, i.e., the horizons to which individuals look to select possible courses of action.

Third, globalization refers to the production of *new forms of subjectivation*. Particular socio-historic-political-cultural configurations articulate particular hegemonic discourses, which (provisionally) form particular subjects. Subjects' discursive agency is made possible by, but simultaneously exceeds, these discourses. Exploring new forms of subjectivation involves investigating the hegemonic configurations of a given time and space and also the fissures and gaps in those configurations.

Using these concepts, we have explored which relevancy spaces are drawn upon in recent Holocaust education, and how these in turn constitute new forms of subjectivation and new relevancy spaces.

Our examples illustrating this dynamic have focused primarily on educational materials and policies. Future research should expand into classroom interaction, teaching practice and learning experiences. We believe that there are rich possibilities for translating this globalization framework into empirical studies, in particular for researchers interested in aspects of educational life other than the best means to prepare students to react to a world understood as already thoroughly globalized.

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### Notes

1. A globalized modernity does not mean there are no longer borders. It means instead that existing borders (e.g., between nation states, surrounding the EU or Schengen states, between what were called races, between the sexes) are increasingly precarious, because they can no longer be claimed as 'natural'. Borders are increasingly seen as constructed through social processes, implicated in power relations and thus visibly contingent (Nassehi, 2000, p. 188).
2. We recall again here that despite any apparent general consensus on forms of subjectivation, the notion of 'hegemonic' (in the Gramscian sense of consensual domination) discourse entails fissures and ruptures; no consensus will ever be complete. Since there will by definition be gaps in any partial hegemony, it will not necessarily be accepted; there will be space to reject or negotiate its meanings.
3. Levy and Sznajder (2006) have analysed the increasing 'universalization' of the collective memory of the Holocaust, which started in the 1980s and picked up speed following the end of the Cold War. They illustrate how this process has led to the removal of the Holocaust from its original singular meaning and its embedding in a tension between particularization and universalization: in one sense, the Holocaust has become a universal moral metaphor. Engagement with the National Socialist policy of annihilation, they argue, is increasingly becoming part of a deterritorialized discourse on morals and values. Recent comparative research focuses on locating the traces of global discourses in local practices of Holocaust memory. Findings stress the interaction between national dynamics and global configurations (e.g., Eckel & Moisel, 2008).
4. The centre of society is represented by the circle marked 'bystanders'. To a certain extent, these individuals can decide to become 'followers' or 'Nazi helpers'; some become 'perpetrators'. A small proportion decides to become 'helpers of the persecuted' and thus in danger of themselves becoming the persecuted. Those defined as Jews (or Roma or

- Sinti) cannot decide to be bystanders, they are by definition excluded from this category; some manage to 'escape'; many become the 'persecuted'.
5. Also, networks of local and national bodies were involved in each country. In Germany, for instance, the translation of the graphic novel itself was conducted/supported by the Anne Frank House and the Jewish Historical Museum, both in Amsterdam. A pilot study, trialling *The Search* in classrooms, was conducted by the Anne Frank Centre (Berlin) and supported by the National Model Program '*Vielfalt tut gut: Jugend für Vielfalt, Toleranz und Demokratie*' ['Diversity is good for you: Youth for diversity, tolerance and democracy'], the Berlin Senate's Representative for Integration and Migration and the Rothschild Foundation in London.
  6. These guidelines were hosted by the USHMM for several years and available on their website until 30 September 2009. The guidelines are now available on: <http://www.holocausttaskforce.org/education/guidelines-for-teaching.html> (retrieved 30 September 2009).

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