

GLOBAL SUBJECTS: EXPLORING SUBJECTIVATION THROUGH ETHNOGRAPHY OF MEDIA PRODUCTION

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Abstract

What does it mean to represent events from the Holocaust in a graphic novel? And what if this is done not in the stark design of Art Spiegelman's *Maus* but in the light *ligne claire* (known from *Tintin*)? This paper explores the discursive practices surrounding *The Search*, a graphic novel produced specifically to teach children and young adults about the Holocaust. It asks how (novel) forms of subjectivation are articulated in the everyday, mundane practices of educational media workers. Drawing on poststructuralist theories of the subject and close micro-analysis of language (and semiotic) practices, the paper presents extracts from ethnographic observations of a team of authors designing teaching and learning materials to accompany *The Search*. These materials – and their practices of production – are participating in transforming memories of the Holocaust and thus (co)producing forms of globalisation. Findings suggest that while the Holocaust has traditionally been seen as a matter of ‘national’ responsibility, *The Search* and its teaching materials invite readers to see it as (global/universal) ‘individualised’ responsibility. Students are subjectivated as global subjects: Firstly, as universal-ethical subjects and, secondly, as contingency-tolerant subjects. These materials thus constitute a mundane, everyday element shaping new ways of being.

Keywords: Globalisation; Subject; Holocaust education; Discourse; Ethnography; Poststructuralism.

1. Introduction

For a long time, the central interest of linguistic and pragmatic research on the media has been on *media products*, such as news texts, advertisements or textbooks. Recently, as evidenced in the surge of interest in ethnographic linguistics and in the establishment of a research programme in the linguistics of news production, there is increased interest among pragmaticists and linguists in *media practices and processes* (e.g. Cotter 2010; Macgilchrist and Van Hout 2011; NewsTalk&Text Research Group 2011; Perrin 2006). This paper contributes to this body of research by exploring the potential of combining the linguistics of media production with poststructuralism or what some would call ‘radical’ poststructuralist thinking.

This paper offers a reading of a set of ‘rich points’ generated during an ethnographic study of the production of educational media. Specifically, it traces forms of subjectivation as a team of educational media workers prepare materials for teaching and learning about the Holocaust with young people in Germany. Over the course of this paper, by engaging in close micro-analysis of the team’s (language) practices, I suggest that these practices subtly, banally – but by no means benignly – participate in

the shifting and normalisation of overlapping, contradictory forms of subjectivation which make some subjects recognisable and render others invisible.

Focussing on subjectivation within media production practices promises to provide insights into how social life is organised, which coordinates of life are deemed acceptable, normal, desirable or even recognisable, and hence which are excluded and made invisible. The focus on Holocaust education enables the tracing of one arena in which forms of subjectivation have changed significantly over recent years. The aim is to analyse the (language) practices through which these changes are instituted.

Exploring this issue also enables a reflection on the relationship ‘between’ pragmatics and poststructuralism. My focus is linguistic or linguistically-sensitive pragmatics, understood along the lines of *The International Pragmatics Association* in a broad sense as cognitive, social and cultural perspectives on communication and language use. In this sense, poststructuralism refers to theories and approaches which inform one (or more) of these perspectives on communication and language use, sometimes implicitly, sometimes explicitly and invariably with diverse understandings of poststructuralism (e.g. Blommaert 2010; Fairclough 1992; Phillips and Jørgensen 2002; Potter 1996; Rampton 2007). The term poststructuralism is itself troubled; not least since most of the thinkers often classed as poststructuralist reject the term themselves (see Angermüller 2007). Its decline has often been confirmed (e.g. Pavel 2001). Perhaps it is safer to say that although the term itself may be used less explicitly, the epistemological position to which “poststructuralism” generally refers will continue to develop and serve as a point of departure for fruitful inquiry. Poststructuralism therefore serves here as a useful shorthand to refer to thinkers such as Butler, Derrida, Foucault, Kristeva, Laclau and Rancière who have destabilised ‘conventional’ understandings of truth, identity or meaning. Section 2 elaborates the concepts which are most useful for this paper.

The fruitfulness of a poststructuralist pragmatics is that it enables us to raise questions which can only be explored by deploying concepts from both poststructuralism and linguistic pragmatics, i.e., close micro-analysis of language use. I see the particular strength of using tools from both poststructuralism and pragmatics with language (or ethnographic) data in the way that such analysis integrates a disruption of commonsense understandings of stable boundaries or identities with an aesthetic of smallness, slowness and everydayness (Silverman 1999). It can read “infinitely big features of the world from infinitely small details of human communicative behaviour” (Blommaert 2010: 198). In this sense, contemporary linguistic pragmatics provides “the necessary tools for investigating the generation of meaning as a dynamic process, with a continuous mutual calibration of the explicit and the implicit in a context of social relations” (Verschueren 2012: 19). This paper poses a specific question which I believe can best be explored using insights from both pragmatics and poststructuralism, and aims to provide an empirically based response: *How are (novel) forms of subjectivation articulated in the everyday, mundane, practices of educational media workers?*

Section 2 sketches the methodology of the study, outlining the ethnographic field work and exploring those aspects of poststructuralism particularly relevant to this paper: The decentring of the subject and the power relations involved in subject formation. Section 3 situates the study within recent research on Holocaust education. In Section 4 the formation of a global subject is analysed along two dimensions: As a

universal-ethical subject (4.1) and as a contingency-tolerant subject (4.2) before exploring fissures in the discourse (4.3). The final section reflects briefly on the types of insight which can be gained by combining tools from pragmatics and poststructuralism.

2. Methodology: Rich points, subjectivation

This paper is based on a linguistic ethnographic study of the commercial production of (school) educational media in Germany from 2009 to 2010. Field work included participating in ‘author meetings’ in which author teams discussed manuscripts for textbooks and other curricular materials (CD-ROMs, workbooks, teacher’s notes, etc.). In one particular project, an author team consisting of four authors, an editor and a specialist advisor was developing a set of photocopiable worksheets for teaching and learning about the Holocaust. Primarily intended for History, these materials were also aimed at German, Art, Religion, Ethics and cross-curricular projects. I was present at two of the three meetings, held in August and September 2009, each lasting about 12 hours. In each I took extensive field notes; in September I also audio-recorded the meeting.

During participant observation in this project, I encountered a set of ‘rich points’, i.e., moments which departed from my expectations and seemed surprising and intriguing (Agar 1996). First, the word “*irritieren*” was used far more frequently than in other similar settings, articulated with extended talk about destabilising students’ conventional categories of knowledge and encouraging their perception of multiple and differing perspectives on the world. Second, at the same time, there were several moments in which students seemed to be addressed in the author team’s texts and talk as deterritorialised, universal subjects, able to share experiences and identify with a wide range of characters, well beyond their local or national boundaries. Each seemed to relate to a specific form of subjectivation.

I am using ‘subjectivation’ here to refer to a recurring theme in poststructuralist writing: The decentring of the subject, i.e., the notion that subjects are constituted, reproduced and transformed through the circulation and citation of discourse, and that individuals act from (provisional, shifting, decentred) subjectivities formed by discourse. This approach draws on Foucault’s well-known conception of productive power in everyday life, which “categorizes the individual, marks him [sic] by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him [and] which makes individual subjects” (Foucault 1982: 212). The individual becomes a subject by recognising the way he or she is categorised and addressed as a particular subject in everyday practices, whether physical, spoken or written. “Subject”, as used in this paper, thus refers to the specific cultural form which individuals adopt in a given socio-historic configuration in order to become a legitimate, desirable and competent being.

If “the agency of the subject is not a property of the subject, an inherent will or freedom, but an effect of power”, then this agency is shaped and constrained in advance but not determined; the notion of “sovereign agency” makes way for “discursive agency” (Butler 1997a: 139). The notion of discursive agency in turn 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” (Youdell 2006b: 512). “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).

In particular, this study picks up Jean-François Bayart’s (2007) recent work on practices of subjectivation associated with globalisation. Bayart is interested in the modes of existence and modes of ethical behaviour made thinkable and desirable as part of globalisation. Globalisation is not, it is important to stress, understood here as Westernisation or Americanisation, since there is ample evidence of creative local appropriations which are constitutive of globalisation. Within these creative derivations, Bayart outlines the formation of a moral subject of globalisation, who acts and thinks globally. It is “in the dimension of globalization that we fashion our ethics and our bodies, that we imagine the way we conduct our lives, that we suffer and desire, that we submit others to ourselves and are made subordinate to them” (Bayart 2007: xi), and, I will add below, it is in the dimension of globalisation that we engage with contingency and instability.

Two further comments are important before turning to the analysis. First, a question often posed to this type of research is that surely what is truly relevant is the use of the media, not its production. Of course, the use of media will always exceed the expectations and explicit or implicit programmes of its producers. Subjectivation is a process of being addressed and addressing oneself; of entering a relationship with oneself as the subject being addressed. Nevertheless, observing media production practices offers a rich source for investigating negotiations over ‘forms of subjectivation’: It enables the exploration of the way the author team imagines or speaks about – i.e. the way it addresses – its potential audience (cf. Miller and Rose 1990: 7). The aim is to trace those moments of everyday life which categorize particular ways of thinking, being, desiring and acting as almost self-evident and within which a subject becomes legible. The approach outlined here contends that this infinitely big feature of the contemporary world can be read from a close analysis of infinitely small details of everyday interaction. What readers and users then make of the materials is a separate question.

The second comment refers to the potential for reading normativity into this study. By tracing the contours of a global subject, I mean neither to endorse nor disendorse it. From my experience with this author team, I have seen their strong desire to facilitate students’ learning and to help students to experience core issues at the heart of learning about the Holocaust. I have deep respect for their work. At the same time, given the poststructuralist framing of this research, I assume that our behaviour is always embedded in broader horizons of intelligibility: No matter how positive or well-intentioned, actions also inevitably have unintended and contradictory consequences. One task of social/pragmatics research is, I believe, to enable reflection on both intended and unintended consequences: In this case, specifically, to reflect on the type of subject being rendered legitimate. The forms of subjectivation I can outline are intimately tied up with my own discursive positionings and my capacity to read and describe aspects of the interactions I observe. As with most ethnographic accounts, the hope is that the representations constructed below are plausible and that they resonate; specifically, that they serve to increase our sense of how subjects are addressed and thus constituted in everyday educational practices (cf. Youdell 2006a).

3. Holocaust education

The educational materials investigated in this study were being developed for the German secondary school market to accompany *The Search*, a graphic novel about the Holocaust (Heuvel et al. 2007, see Fig. 1). It tells 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. 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 Search* was originally produced in Dutch by the Anne Frank House in the Netherlands before being translated into English, German, Polish, Hungarian and a number of other languages. Drawn in the *ligne claire* style, it was designed specifically for educational use with young people (Anne Frank Zentrum 2008). Extensive media coverage debated whether or not *The Search* is a trivialisation of the Holocaust.

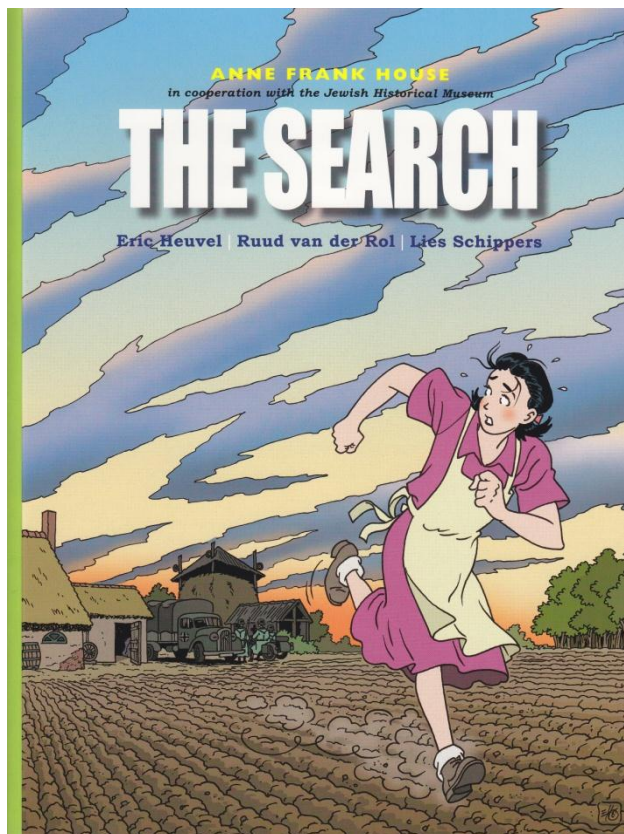


Fig. 1 Graphic novel “The Search”

The purpose of Holocaust education remains controversial.¹ Is it to teach young people about a specific contextualised historical event, i.e., within a specific historical frame rather than a moral one? Kinloch (1998), for instance, has suggested that the only moral lesson to be drawn from the Holocaust is that “it is cruel and undesirable to kill large numbers of people for any reason whatsoever” (cf. Kinloch 2001; Novick 1999). Or is a moral frame more appropriate, in which education aims to highlight moral and ethical issues surrounding broader categories of racism, intolerance and human rights and to prepare the ground for a better future (e.g. Salmons 2003; Short and Reed 2004)?

Despite these debates, several recent studies suggest that a shift is occurring in public discussions about the Holocaust, with an increasing consensus that it be taught as a universal, ethical, human rights issue (cf. Köhr 2010). The Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust, signed by 44 states in 2000, states that “[t]he unprecedented character of the Holocaust will always hold universal meaning”; in 2002, European Ministers of Education agreed “to establish in close co-operation with the Council of Europe a ‘Day of Remembrance’ in member states’ schools, as from 2003”; the Berlin Declaration of 2004 committed all OSCE participating states to “promote remembrance of and, as appropriate, education about the tragedy of the Holocaust, and the importance of respect for all ethnic and religious groups”; Holocaust education “constitutes an important element in the OSCE’s focus on the fight against discrimination and for respect and tolerance” (ODIHR, 2008).

As a result, the Holocaust has been described as “a global code that no longer needs to be connected to history”; engaging with the National Socialist policy of annihilation is increasingly becoming part of deterritorialised discourse on ethics and values (Levy and Sznajder 2006: 150; cf. Eckel and Moisel 2008). Holocaust education is “a way to teach the student that he/she is a human person in a global society where certain civic rights and responsibilities are universally applicable” (Bromley and Russell 2010: 6) and thus part of the driving force constituting globalisations (Macgilchrist and Christophe 2011).

A recent comparative analysis of 465 textbooks in 69 countries has provided empirical evidence for this trend in education (Bromley and Russell 2010). The study shows that across the world, the proportion of textbooks which articulate the Holocaust as a human rights issue has increased significantly. While only about a third of the very few textbooks which mentioned the Holocaust in the 1970s addressed human rights, by 2008 approx. 70% of the textbooks which included the Holocaust did so.

In line with this finding, there seemed to be no controversy for the author team of *The Search* materials. From the discussions, it seemed clear to all members of the team that one of the central goals of their materials was to deal with universal issues such as human rights, and to facilitate students’ engagement with ethical issues such as tolerance, discrimination and exclusion. The question which intrigued me was how this goal related to forms of subjectivation, i.e. to “the relationship of self with self and the forming of oneself as a subject” (Foucault 1985: 6), which are suggested by the materials and the team’s discussions. The next section describes two (overlapping, interlinked) forms of subjectivation shaping a global subject, always also paying attention to gaps and tensions in the discourse.

¹ I outline debates about Holocaust education not as ‘context’ in the sense of neutral, stable facts, but as part of the discourse which is circulating, being deployed and cited in the author team’s talk and writing (cf. Blommaert 2004).

4. Global subjects

4.1. *Universal-ethical subjects*

The first narrative I will elaborate here concerns the formation of universal-ethical student-subjects. Based on the research outlined above, Bromley and Russell, (2010: 6) propose that including Holocaust education in textbooks “reflects a general set of dimensions stressing the student’s individual human membership in a global society and de-emphasizing the nation-state as a unitary polity”. Reading this proposition and the supporting empirical evidence through ‘poststructuralist’ lenses leads to the question of which kinds of learners are opened up and/or closed down during the development of these materials. Is the student constituted as an individual member of a global collective? On a theoretical level, this enables us to explore globalisation not only as an influence *on* learning and teaching but also as an effect *of* learning and teaching. On an empirical level, it leads to the question of ‘how’, which this section aims to explore. I identify three mechanisms through which students are addressed – in the text and talk of the author team – as universal-ethical subjects.

4.1.1. *Human rights*

Discussing the aims of Steven Spielberg’s project *Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation*, Levy and Sznajder write that “the universalization of the Holocaust has reached its extreme: The Holocaust as a tolerance issue” (Levy and Sznajder 2001: 169).² Whereas almost all of the worksheets deal with the comic or the Holocaust directly, one worksheet, with the heading “Bystanding today” (*Zuschauen heute*), deals with more general issues about bystanders, discrimination and participating in civil society. It begins with four quotes from young people with different perspectives on these issues. Students are set two tasks ([1]; author’s translation in all extracts; all original data in German are included in the Appendix).

(1)

Who do you agree with the most? Explain your answer.

Which situations can you think of in which human rights are violated today? Note them down and think about who is doing something to stop the violations.

Given its embedding within the heading and the other worksheets in this unit on bystanders during the Holocaust, the second task relies upon – and cites – a shared understanding of the Holocaust as an example of human rights violations (‘then’ as opposed to ‘today’).

Only one draft of these materials was discussed. In the five minute discussion of this worksheet, the team discussed a possible overlap with another worksheet, the order of tasks, the formulation (lexis and grammar) of the tasks, the quotes, and whether

² My translation of “Das äußerste Ende der Universalisierung des Holocaust ist damit erreicht: der Holocaust als Toleranzproblem“. This sentence is not in the English version of the book (Levy and Sznajder 2006).

students know the term “human rights”. As (2) indicates, the only direct reference to the term “human rights” is to clarify whether the term is a problem for students.

- (2)
- 01 N: Who do you agree with! Who do you agree³
 02 with the most. Explain your answer.
 03 F: Who do you agree yes.
 → 04 (4.8)
 → 05 W: Human rights is no problem?
 06 (3.0)
 07 N: [((clears throat))]
 08 (): [()]
 → 09 F: What wh- what do you mean-?
 → 10 W: Human rights that they know right away
 11 what that is.
 12 P: It's a bit sudden.
 13 F: Um yes
 14 (3.8)
 15 C: It should be known really. At the latest in
 16 the [(French revolution-)]
 17 N: [at the latest in the (French)] revolution
 18 they should theoretically know
 19 C: Mmm
 20 N: what human rights are.
 21 C: Yes.
 → 22 E: Social studies too.
 23 C: Mmm
 24 E: ((quietly)) Social studies
 25 (1.8)
 → 26 (): Ethics. (The day of youth)
 27 N: ((reading)) Which current situations can you
 28 think of in which human rights are violated.

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After the preceding discussion of the grammatically correct formulation of task 1, there is a pause of 4.8 seconds (line 4) before W raises the next point. Such long pauses rarely occur in the transcripts until the author team nears the end of discussing a given manuscript. Pressing points are raised quickly; often overlapping with preceding topics as speakers fight for the floor. In this case, there had already been relatively lengthy pauses in the first minutes of this discussion. After this pause, W asks: “human rights is no problem?” (line 5). A brief discussion of whether the students know this term ensues; the team agrees that they should. Another pause, and the next segment begins (lines 25-28).

There is a general acceptance of the appropriateness of “human rights” during this five minute discussion, as in the previous meeting. This unspoken agreement accepts and simultaneously renders the Holocaust a specific example of the universal concept of human rights violations. A subject is made possible who ascribes to this understanding: A student-subject who has met this term in previous experiences and previous classes (social studies, line 22, ethics, line 26) and who has understood and

³ Transcripts are based on a simplified form of Gail Jefferson's conventions (Schegloff 2008). For critical discussion of transcriptions, see, e.g., Ochs (1979).

retained an understanding of human rights. This subject is invited to enter into a relationship with herself as a member of a global collective who shares a universal frame of “human rights” and is enabled (and expected) to act for others in this collectivity; to form herself as a global subject.

The 3.0 second pause on line 6 deserves further attention. It potentially opens the door to alternative forms of subjectivation by suggesting that the question is not unambiguous. When F asks W what she means by “human rights is no problem?” (line 9), W could respond by questioning the connection between the Holocaust and human rights; W could argue that it should be taught as a specific historical moment rather than a universal ethical issue. Focusing on history and memory rather than human rights would, for instance, invite the student to recognise herself as a different kind of subject, such as a subject of detached historically embedded scholarly knowledge. The responses which follow W’s more specific question as to whether students know the term (lines 10-11) were not offered directly after her initial question, suggesting that this alternative discourse was available and could have – given a different context perhaps – been deployed alongside the discourse addressing a universal-ethical student-subject.

4.1.2. Identification

A second mechanism by which students are addressed as universal-ethical subjects is through tasks on various worksheets asking them to adopt the perspective of particular characters (3-6).

- (3) Empathise with the character of Esther. [...] Write Esther’s feelings and thoughts in the speech bubble.
- (4) Put yourself in Bob’s situation, adopt his view and write a letter to Chaja from his perspective in which he tells her how he is and what he’s feeling...
- (5) What could Esther be thinking at the moment pictured above? Describe her thoughts. Take into consideration the events and feelings of the last few days too.
- (6) Think about what Bob might have written in the guest book at the memorial site [Auschwitz], after he visited it. Write an entry that could come from Bob.

It has become fairly standard for history textbooks to deal with a range of perspectives. Such textbooks, however, tend to deal primarily with national issues and national figures. In *The Search* materials, students are invited to adopt the perspective of the characters Bob (Jewish Dutch) and Esther (Jewish German American). Although there was some discussion of how to phrase these tasks (e.g. “Empathise with the character of Esther” or “Imagine you are Esther”), the uncontroversial inclusion of the tasks illustrates how the understanding of the Holocaust has shifted dramatically towards a deterritorialised, global, universal perspective.

The tasks in (3) to (6) are far removed from thinking in terms of the nation: The boundaries of the nation are not – in this instance – a criterion for shared experience. In the news of international catastrophes (e.g. tsunami, air crash, bombing), national news will invariably mention the number of people of that nation who are involved. In Chouliaraki’s (2006) analysis of news and suffering, reports of people beyond the reporting nation often create a ‘regime of pity’ by personalising and humanising suffering yet presenting it at a distance. In other cases, by presenting the suffering of

unspecified masses in distant places which are no more than dots on a map, the news interrupts the development of pity. Only in what she calls ‘ecstatic news’ is the spectator actively invited to identify with the sufferers.

Students are addressed in these texts as subjects who are able to identify with victims and survivors of the Holocaust. Not only Jews or others sharing the experience of the Holocaust can empathise with the victims and survivors of the Holocaust. The text offers the student a particular sense of subjecthood which is radically different from that offered by the daily news. If accepted, it will form the student’s relation to herself as an empathetic subject. For the individual recognising herself as a global subject, the specificity of territory or religion has been removed from the ability to identify and feel empathy or solidarity.

4.1.3. Generalised experience

The third mechanism in this section is the positing of generalised experience. In the September meeting, the author team discussed the second draft of the Introduction to the materials, addressed to teachers. They spent six minutes on the final sentence of one section (7).

(7)

A particularly important finding from the evaluation [of the pilot study] was the observation that productive discussions about the victims, helpers, bystanders and perpetrators developed when young people found an empathetic connection. [...] The less emotionally open they were, the more students positioned themselves in abstract and socially desirable ways in considering the characters’ dilemmas. At the same time, it was apparent that students were less likely to be emotionally open the more the teacher expected or demanded such an openness. *Classroom approaches which were particularly positive, on the other hand, were ones which connected to the students’ experiences – for example coming closer to [Annäherung an] the character of the survivor Esther through the topics of family, friendship and being in love.* (emphasis added)

The discussion of this sentence was initiated by one author, N, who knew the other members of the team from a previous project on Holocaust education, but who had not participated in the previous two author meetings. He comments that he is not sure that the materials they have been developing actually do enable the students to “come closer” (*Annäherung*) to the characters through the students’ experiences, and asks whether they really follow this approach. There ensues a lengthy discussion of whether they do and how to best formulate this text. F, the author of extract 7, clarifies what “was meant” (8).

(8)

01 F. (...) What was meant was actually? (.)
 02 classroom approaches and that’s the example
 03 aim of the lesson is coming closer to
 04 the character of the survivor Esther and that
 05 happens when you talk about family friendship
 06 and being in love because that’s (.)
 → 07 what the young people know and that connects

25 what the- the young people (can start)
 26 to talk (.)
 27 (F): Mmhmm
 28 W: about their friendships and that, so it
 29 (.) I think [it
 30 E: [It can stay really
 31 (2.5)
 32 R: ((laughs)) But it's good that we talked about
 33 it [again
 34 [((all laugh))

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The team agrees that the point of the materials is to talk about the topics family, friendship and being in love “in” Esther’s person (line 16; *in der Person von Esther*). When R says “that does not mean (.) family friendship and being in love in the sense of an: An application in today’s world” (lines 5-8), he is met by agreement from four speakers simultaneously (lines 10-13). This response disarticulates the written text from association with standard expectations that learning materials will create a link to students’ everyday lives. This is not, says R supported by the four speakers, the aim of these materials, although it is implicitly also invoked (line 14). The aim, which R stresses (line 16), again supported by overlapping agreement from two other speakers (lines 17-18), is to touch on these issues “in” the person of Esther. This, says W, is what enables students to begin by themselves to talk about their own lives (line 21-26).

Students are addressed in the materials as individuals with experience of family, friendship and being in love. These are issues which are deemed natural; a normal, legitimate, legible subject knows these topics and has experience of them. This talk renders a kind of subject who can “come closer to” Esther because they share experiences of these coordinates of life. Again, these extracts do not think empathy in terms of the nation. Esther “works” because of generalisable lifeworld experiences; she works despite or irrespective of her nationality, and also her ethnicity or religion. The mundane production practices of a particular set of educational media iteratively repeat forms of subjectivation, thus participating in shifting the horizon of intelligibility. In these extracts the personal becomes universal.

4.2. Contingency-tolerant subjects

A second, overlapping student-subject is addressed in the author meetings through the centrality of Matthias Heyl’s (2001) model ‘Society of the Holocaust’ (Fig. 2) for the author team’s pedagogical goals. The model was developed as a reaction to much previous discussion of the Holocaust which relied on a binary of perpetrator-and-victim. Reducing societal roles to these two reduces the possibilities for individuals (in particular: Non-Jewish Germans) to choose their own actions and thus to effect change (Hilberg 1997). Heyl developed the more nuanced perspective in the ‘Society of the Holocaust’ model specifically for educational use. In the model, the centre of society is represented by the circle marked ‘bystanders’. To a certain extent, these individuals can decide to become ‘followers’ or ‘helpers of the perpetrators’; 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’.

The pedagogical goal of the model is to encourage students to engage with individual biographies and narratives, deciding which actions fit in which ‘box’. Through making the discussion of the Holocaust more concrete and personalised in this way, it should become clear to users that it is impossible to place one individual permanently in any one box: Oskar Schindler, for instance, can be classified as a Nazi, a follower (by profiting from the Holocaust) and also a helper. For Heyl, the model aims to highlight the complexity of society at that time, the changes and ambivalences over the course of an individual’s lifetime, and the way that non-Jewish Germans had some influence over their actions and status within the Society of the Holocaust.

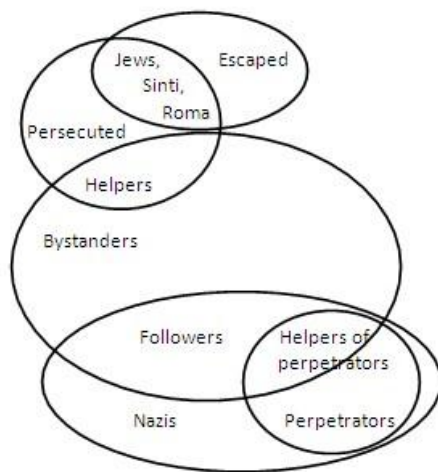


Fig. 2 Society of the Holocaust

In the author meeting, much hinges on the words “*irritieren*” and “*Irritation*”, which loosely translate as to confuse, to jar or to destabilise and can thus be articulated in both positive and negative ways. Reflecting on the concept in interviews, members of the team pointed to the dual operation of *irritieren*. It sometimes disturbs the learning process if students are confused about facts they should be learning, and it can sometimes be incredibly useful to get students to think about issues or to raise their awareness of new approaches which don’t fit into their conventional patterns of thinking.

In the August meeting, when the presentation of the model in the Introduction (aimed at teachers) was discussed, the term *irritieren* was used in a positive way to highlight the way in which this model operates. The model should *irritiere* students, i.e., destabilise their conventional thinking. The author of the Introduction, F, described the model, highlighting that one of its central aims is to help students recognise the impossibility of assigning individuals clearly to one single category: Victim, perpetrator, bystander, Nazi, helper, etc. For the authors, the Society of the Holocaust

model helps to destabilise young people's simple categorization of individuals into good and evil; it destabilises the limits and boundaries of these categories.

In this sense, *irritieren* overlaps with (i) recurrent issues in poststructuralism: The destabilisation of conventional knowledges, truths and limits and (ii) recent theorising about globalisation which draws on poststructuralism. Globalisation has generally been defined in terms of a list of characteristics such as the intensification of worldwide social relations, the increased circulation of capital, ideas or people, the erosion of the nation state, or the rise of the network society (e.g., Beck 1997; Castells 1996; Giddens 1990; Held and McGrew 2007). One criticism of these lists of characteristics is that it is difficult to distinguish what is now called globalisation from what was previously called modernity or modernisation (cf. Hirst 1997; Hirst and Thompson 1999).

Instead of discussing what globalisation 'is', a poststructuralist or post-foundationalist approach to globalisation shifts attention to how we define and thus constantly constitute and reconstitute globalisation(s) (Macgilchrist and Christophe 2011). Perhaps what is new about globalisation and sets it apart from modernity, suggests Armin Nassehi (1999), is a *cognitive shift* in the way the world is seen by observers.⁵ Observers increasingly perceive global interdependencies and shifting boundaries, diversity and contingency (cf. Held and McGrew 2003: 4).⁶ Here, I will use "contingency-tolerant" as shorthand to refer to this kind of global subject that increasingly perceives, reflexively observes and relatively unproblematically accepts the particularity, contingency and instability of their own perspective.

In the August meeting there seemed to be consensus that *irritieren* – i.e., the stated intention to confront students with the impossibility of simple categorisation and the attendant perception of interdependencies, overlaps, diverse perspectives and contingent responses – was a significant pedagogical goal. There was no open dissent. In the September meeting, however, when the second draft of the Introduction was discussed, N expressed dissatisfaction (10). Extracts (10) to (13) stem from the same discussion and trace the process of resignifying these words.

⁵ Conceptualising globalisation as a *cognitive shift* is one of three dimensions outlined in a recent approach to globalisation (Macgilchrist and Christophe 2011). A second dimension sees globalisation as the *constitution of novel forms of subjectivation* as outlined above. A third dimension, which I will not elaborate here, conceptualises globalisation 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.

⁶ This is not to say there is no "real" intensification of global interdependencies and diversity or superdiversity (Vertovec 2007), but to argue that there are also very many "real" changes which are not perceived as such. This is a perspective on discourse which does not separate the world into a dual system of "reality" and "the discursive" but instead understands discourse as "the primary terrain of the constitution of objectivity as such" (Laclau 2005: 68). In this sense, I use "discourse" in this paper primarily in the uncountable as is common in much of linguistic pragmatics. However, where "discourse" is often defined in pragmatics as language-in-use, here, given the poststructuralist tendency to deconstruct limits, discourse is not limited to language (where would the limits around "language" be drawn and e.g. gesture or institution start?), but includes all signifying elements. The analysis is nevertheless concerned mostly with language use.

- (10)
- 01 N: I had that problem too (.) to be
 02 honest in the whole section mmm
 03 I (.) was (.) because the model is not
 04 so:: present in my mind because I haven't
 05 (.) completely read it. I looked
 06 it up at some point on the internet
 07 and this and that that's a long
 08 time ago though (.) and because
 09 you sometimes jumped from
 10 comic to (.) model and the connections
 11 weren't really clear [and] then this=
 12 (E): [Mmm]
 13 N: =trap with choiceless choices or also
 13 then with the witnesses to history
 14 in line 57 on line page 7 (.) uh
 15 w were sort of traps where I was just (.)
 16 in reading (.) being tot[ally] **irritiert**
 17 (E): [Mmm]
 → 18 N: and em ask myself (.) how now
 19 how the teacher who don't know this=
 20 (W): Mmm
 21 =uh if it's clear to them what this
 22 [model] ex[actly] states and (.) where the=
 23 E: [Mmm]
 24 W: [Okay]
 → 25 N: =connection to the comic is. (1.0)
 → 26 I mean I don't know if it's just me a-
 27 I don't know if we need to discuss
 28 it here (.) uh
 → 29 F: ((very softly)) yes we do
 30 C: Mmm
 → 31 N: But I just had serious problems
 32 just em following it.

Audio file: TS_03_03_0:04:31

N says he was “*total irritiert*” (line 16). In this context, this could be translated as “totally confused”. Where in August, when N was not present, the word was articulated in a positive way as a shared pedagogical goal (“jarring” or “destabilising” conventional assumptions), in N’s use here, it is articulated with his statement that he has a “problem” (line 1) with the text.

N’s turn is quite lengthy. Line 18 is the first time he uses an “em” hesitation after which he invokes the teachers and whether it will be clear to them. To this point, he has received very little semiotic support from the others. They have not agreed verbally; the “mmm”s thus far have been ambiguous; they were not enthusiastic “mmhmm”s, nor were they supported by nodding.

In line 25 there is a 1.0 second pause, in which no other speaker volunteers support for N. He then begins to undo his criticism: “I don’t know”, “I don’t know”. Only after F, the author of this section, says “yes we do” (line 29) and C, the editor, says “mmm”, does he then turn up the volume of his criticism (line 31).

The lack of unambiguous support for N’s utterance suggests that the others are happy with the description of the model, and do not agree with this use of *irritieren*.

Acceptance of the model is expressed through silence. That N also accepts the principle of the model is more clearly stated in the subsequent discussion (11).

(11)

01 N: But i just had serious problems
 02 just em following it.
 03 C: What would be your suggestion to cut it ou-
 04 I mean do you think it's unnecessary
 05 or is it about the [structure?]
 06 N: [I think]
 07 it's very important I think it's very
 08 important that the section is in because
 → 09 it really is also the the basis
 10 for how the comic is developed and
 11 how you work with the comic (.)
 12 but em (3.0) I (2.0) think that just
 13 this holocaust education
 14 choiceless choices that some things could
 15 be taken out that don't directly relate
 16 to the comic (.)
 17 (): Mmm

Audio file: TS_03_05_0:05:29

Central here is that although N finds the description in the Introduction problematic, he stresses (“really” line 9) that the model itself is the “basis” (line 9) for working with the comic. It is, of course, impossible to say whether he is saying this because he has realised he is alone (see (10)) or if he believes in the significance of the model. Irrespective of the reason, the model has taken on a central role in this meeting. It signifies the centre of their work, the point on which they all agree. Although one author, E, does not like working with the model, she invariably expresses this in terms which do not question the basic premise that the model should be included in the materials (e.g., 12).

(12)

01 E: I think that you do describe it well
 02 because you go into when the perpetrators
 03 then suddenly then uh take on other
 → 04 roles but I find- I have general
 05 difficulties with the model
 06 so.

Audio file: TS_03_03_0:11:03

Rather than problematising the model, E refers to her personal difficulties with the model (“I find- I have”, line 4) (cf. Wiggins and Potter 2003). And during the course of the meeting, E also presents worksheets she has designed which aim to destabilise conventional knowledge, or which require open, uncertain responses.

As this discussion continues, it becomes apparent to the team that N has not realised that the written text being discussed will be accompanied by a diagram of the model itself (as in Fig. 2 above). This diagram was not included in the second draft of

the manuscript; all other participants knew it from the first draft. F now begins to take up a more prominent role in the discussion, stressing the purpose of the model (13).

- (13)
- 01 F: But yes because uh well I did email again
 02 with Matthias Heyl and he
 03 told me again explicitly that the
 04 didactic aim of this model is so that
 05 the em (young people) who work with it
 06 and also the the teachers and also
 07 the students that they question their
 08 own attributions to these em to these
 09 roles. So he said exactly
 10 that the point is that the
 11 people discuss yes what is actually
 12 a Nazi yes? is it a member
 13 of the NSDAP? is it a member of the
 14 party? is it someone who is convinced
 15 and that. And
 → 16 it's exactly this uh **irritation** he says
 17 is is the big advantage.
 18 there is no (.) it isn't a model that
 19 somehow in a satisfactory w[ay]
 20 (): [mm]
 21 F: gives the=
 22 C: Mmhmm
 23 F: =the answers
 24 instead it always **irritiert**.
 25 (1.5)

Audio file: TS_03_03_0:11:15

F resignifies *irritieren* (line 16-24). It is now no longer articulated with problems and confusion but with pedagogical goals, questioning one's own role attributions, discussing definitions, advantages, etc. In the subsequent discussion in the meeting there is no more disagreement or critique of this model, or of the now-shared pedagogical goal of *irritieren*, of destabilising the young people's, teachers', students' previous understandings of these roles (victim, perpetrator, bystander, etc) and replacing them with contingent, shifting, instable positionings.

By accepting this as a goal of the materials, the materials now address students as subjects who can (be helped to) deal with instable knowledge, at least in some parts of their lives; who arrive at school knowledgeable in some respects; who can deal with having their "own" attributions or characterisations destabilised. They are invited to form themselves as a subject that feels comfortable with instability and contingency. The subjectivation practices associated with *irritieren* thus seem intimately tied up in globalisation understood as a cognitive shift towards the increased perception of interdependencies, instable boundaries and contingency.

4.3. *Fissures and tensions*

No forms of subjectivation can be entirely smooth and unambivalent. So far, I have sketched an image of the author meetings in which subjects are rendered universal-ethical and contingency-tolerant, i.e., submitted to the power of discourse which expects/invites them to enter a mode of existence as ‘global subjects’. This presents a version which is too neat and tidy, ignoring the breaks and ruptures in the discourse. At this stage I want to draw attention to two of the above extracts and offer an alternative reading.

In 4.1, I suggested that students are addressed as members of a global collective sharing a universal ethical frame of human rights. At the same time, by addressing students as individuals with experience of family, friendship and being in love, the author team’s talk rendered a kind of subject who can “come closer to” Esther, a survivor of the Holocaust, because they share (universalised personal) experiences of family, friendship and being in love.

Two mechanisms are operating in tension here. First, by addressing students as individuals with these experiences, they are deemed normal, legitimate and perhaps desirable. The families in the graphic novel *The Search* are, however, semiotically represented as white, heterosexual, nuclear families; the falling in love is also white, heterosexual and same-aged; the friendships are same-aged and white; all characters are white (see, e.g., Fig. 3 in which all persons in the airport in Israel are drawn as white). Similarly, the worksheets include several small photographs of students who provide statements such as those discussed in (1) and (2). Despite being given diverse names (e.g. Zamir, Tatjana, Orkan), the students pictured are all white. In this way, the particular values of dominant groups (white, heterosexual, nuclear families) are given a universal function, speaking for all students, thus rendering particular subjects universal and eliding others who do not share experiences of these coordinates of life (cf. Frankenberg 1993; Hartigan 2005).⁷

⁷ Some images, it should be noted, are selected by further members of the production team (which includes graphic designer, layouter, etc.) – not the authors themselves. The diversity of students was a recurrent issue during the author meetings. One worksheet includes a quote from a student given the name Orkan who would unlikely be pictured white. But this worksheet already includes a number of other images. The semiotic constraints of the layout leave no space for images of the students who are quoted; the inevitably profit-oriented production process leaves no time to carefully go over each worksheet again and make changes a fourth time. From an economic perspective, the worksheets alone are unlikely to make a profit considering the costs involved in holding three author meetings. To make sense of the materials and forms of subjectivation, it is important to take account of broad aspects of the production process, including the layout and economic considerations. In the discursive flow which guides meaning-making at this point in this situation discussing this text (which includes the semiotic modes of production), these dimensions of social life were not foregrounded.



Fig. 3 An airport in Israel (in *The Search*, p.31)

Yet simultaneously, students are addressed – and constituted – in the accompanying materials within a frame of human rights. The materials provide precisely the link to question the white, heterosexual matrix. Particularly in Germany, where the Holocaust was traditionally taught as part of students’ own heritage of being implicated in the annihilation (*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*), but which now has a large proportion of ethnic minority students who cannot be engaged in this way (see Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, n.d.), stressing the contingency of this link can shift the terrain on which the Holocaust is taught and what it means to young people from diverse backgrounds. Holocaust education then becomes neither a straightforward teaching of specific historical knowledge, nor a moral code imposing American values, but a means by which young people with a minority background (whether through immigration, ‘ethnicity’, sexual orientation or other social relations and practices) can claim their particular right to a better life in terms of universal rights (see Laclau 1996).

Indeed, drawing on a recurrent theme in poststructuralism, the interesting observation here is that both strategies, despite or perhaps precisely because of the tensions between them, are enabled by the interaction. A ‘minority subject’ is simultaneously erased and empowered. The subject addressed in these ways has to place herself in some sort of relation to this paradox.

The second fissure I read concerns the use of *irritieren*. In lines 21 to 22 in (10), N says that he wonders if it is “clear to” teachers who do not know the Society of the Holocaust model (Fig. 1 above) “exactly” what the model states. In this and in other parts of the discussion (e.g. [14] which follows a few minutes after [10]), the author team address the students as those whose knowledges and truths should be destabilised, but the teachers as those who should know.

- (14)
- 01 F: ((softly)) Yes. (2.5)
 02 But it should still of course here (.)
 03 in this um in this section be as clear as
 04 possible what it's actually about and not
 05 (.) uh like the subchak chapter in
 06 in Heyl's uh phd. (.)
 07 because I really I mean I do think it'd be
 → 08 good if we could (.) um
 09 pinpoint it properly.
 10 (2.0)

Audio file: TS_03_03_0:12:49

F says she would like it if they could “pinpoint” “properly” (lines 8-9, *möglich auf den Begriff bringen*) what the model is about. This metaphor of preciseness, just as N's metaphors of clarity and exactness, can be read as quite the opposite of *irritieren*. Where the goal of the model is to destabilise, and the tasks on particular worksheets also aim to destabilise, using this metaphor suggests that the Introduction for teachers (and also the Teachers' Notes for the worksheets) aims to clarify the matter. In this part of the discussion, the teachers are given the power to define and to know; they retain a hierarchical stable position 'over' the destabilised students. *Irritieren* becomes a tool in the teachers' methodological toolkit rather than an epistemological position. In this hierarchy, students are (implicitly) addressed and made recognisable at the lowest step of a hierarchical knowledge ladder. This is in turn also not consistent. In (13), the goal of the Society of the Holocaust model is to facilitate not only students' but also teachers' questioning of their own role attributions (line 6). Teachers thus enter the paradoxical relation to self as sometimes the subject who knows and sometimes the subject of contingency.

5. Concluding reflections

In this paper, I have offered readings of ethnographic data gathered during the production of educational media for teaching and learning about the Holocaust in Germany. Analysis foregrounded language practices in author meetings forming what could be called a *universal-ethical dimension* and a *contingency-tolerant dimension* of a global subject. On one level, this global subject – forming herself as a subject who identifies with others far beyond her own national or ethnic boundaries and perceiving (particular) truths and opinions as contingent – is rendered normal, legible and recognisable. It is a far remove from popular discussions that young people need clear boundaries and unambiguous answers, or that teaching must have strong links to young people's local region. It also has the potential to fulfil the authors' aim of increasing respect and solidarity, and decreasing exclusionary othering practices, among diverse individuals who perceive themselves as embedded in interdependent sociality.

On a second level, contradictions and tensions are visible in the forms of subjectivation investigated in this study. The universal-ethical dimension entails not only a subject who can identify and empathise with the suffering of others; this subject is also imagined as white and heterosexual, erasing minorities. At the same time, the

representations render a minority subject equipped with the tools to demand particular improvements to their lives in terms of universal rights. Similarly, the contingency-tolerant dimension entails firstly a tension between *irritieren*-as-confusion and *irritieren*-as-productive-destabilisation and secondly between stable and destabilised knowledge. In a double move, it addresses students and teachers as those whose stable conventional knowledge can/should be destabilised, and simultaneously teachers and students as located on a (stable) hierarchy of those who know: With teachers as those who have accurate (stable) knowledge (in this case, of the Society of the Holocaust model) and students lower in the hierarchy.

In this paper, I have understood (i) the subject as a specific cultural form in a given time and place which individuals take on to become legible, legitimate, desirable beings who then act with discursive agency, and (ii) globalisation as constantly constituted, reconstituted and reshaped by the everyday practices of discursive agents. This suggests that the apparently paradoxical aspects of the global subject will shape not only the dynamics of Holocaust education but also globalisation itself, i.e., social relations and practices, forms of solidarity and sociality, ethics and knowledge. In short: Ways of being.

This conclusion points to what some see as the greatest advantage of poststructuralist thinking and others as its greatest drawback: The drawing out of paradoxes and tensions, and the lack of clear, unambiguous conclusions. Perhaps a particular strength of drawing on tools from both pragmatics, which “ties analysis down” to concrete instances of (language) practice, and poststructuralism, which “opens analysis up” to self-reflexivity, to paradoxes, silence and fissures, and to the instability of meaning, identity, boundaries, etc. (*pace* Rampton et al. 2004: 4), is that researchers are enabled to explore a specific set of theoretical/empirical questions opened up by this epistemological stance.

The focus here has been on only one aspect of poststructuralist thinking: The decentring of the idea of a stable “identity” and the shift to thinking about the formation of the subject. Forms of subjectivation are rarely analysed at the micro-level of situated interaction. The approach taken here enables researchers to explore the (implicit) *programmes* of subject formation among those with the decision-making power to disseminate their programmes; and to explore the complex, contradictory and messy ways in which these programmes are formulated in everyday interaction. The intended outcome may have little to do with the practices of teachers and students whose discursive agency inevitably exceeds any media worker’s stated intentions. Nevertheless, it can be an exhilarating analytical moment to observe shifting horizons of intelligibility at work in mundane interactions among specific situated social actors; and to simultaneously be ready to critically reassess the “new” horizon which appears so positive, to consider which alternatives it now in turn suppresses in order to seem commonsensical. In this way, we gain insights into the continued iteration of the social.

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Appendix

- (1) 1. Wem stimmst du am ehesten zu? Erläutere deine Antwort.
2. Welche Situationen fallen dir ein, in denen Menschenrechte heute verletzt werden? Notiere sie
du überlege, wer etwas dagegen tut.

(2) Audio file: TS_03_11_0:02:08

01 N: wem stimmst du zu! wem stimmst du am ehesten
02 zu. erlaüttere deine antwort.
03 F: wem stimmst du ja.
04 (4.8)
05 W: menschenrechte ist kein problem?
06 (3.0)
07 N: [<<hustet>>
08 (): [(unklar)
09 F: wie wa- was meinst du-?
10 W: menschenrechte dass sie sofort wissen was s
11 ist.
12 P: es kommt n bisschen unvermittelt.
13 F: em ja
14 (3.8)
15 C: eigentlich muss es bekannt sein. spätestens
16 bei der [(französischen revolution)
17 N [(spätestens bei der französischen revolution)
18 müssten se theoretisch wissen
19 C: mmm
20 N: was menschenrechte sind.
21 C: ja.
22 E: sozialkunde auch schon
23 C: mmm
24 E: <<sehr leise> sozialkunde>
25 (1.8)
26 (): ethik (tag der jugend)
27 N: welche aktuellen situationen fallen dir ein
28 in denen menschenrechte verletzt werden.

(3) Fühl dich in die Figur von Esther ein. [...] Schreibe die Gefühle und Gedanken von Esther in die Sprechblase.

(4) Versetze dich in die Situation von Bob, nimm seine Sicht ein und schreibe aus seiner Perspektive einen Brief an Chaja, in dem er erzählt, wie es ihm geht und was er fühlt...

(5) Was könnte Esther in dem oben dargestellten Moment denken? Beschreibe ihre Gedanken. Berücksichtige auch ihre Erlebnisse und Gefühle der letzten Tage.

(6) Überlege dir, was Bob in das Gästebuch der Gedenkstätte [Auschwitz] geschrieben haben könnte, nachdem er sie besucht hat. Schreiben einen Eintrag, der von Bob stammen könnte.

(7) Ein besonders wichtiges Ergebnis der Evaluation ist die Beobachtung, dass produktive Diskussionen um Opfer, Helfer, Zuschauer und Täter entstanden, wenn die Jugendlichen einen empathischen Zugang fanden. Je weniger sie emotional offen waren, desto abstrakter und sozial erwünschter positionierten sich die Schülerinnen und Schüler zu den Dilemmasituationen der Protagonisten. Zugleich war festzustellen, dass eine solche emotionale Öffnung umso weniger gelang, je stärker sie von den Lehrkräften erwartet oder eingefordert wurde. Als besonders positiv erwiesen sich dagegen Unterrichtsansätze, die an die Erfahrungen der Schülerinnen und Schüler anknüpften – so etwa die Annäherung an die Figur der Überlebenden Esther über die Themen Familie, Freundschaft und Verliebtsein.

(8) Audio file: TS_03_02_1:40:28

01 F. (...) gemeint ist tatsächlich? (.)
 02 unterrichtsansätze und da ist das beispiel
 03 ziel des unterrichts ist die annäherung an
 04 die figur der überlebenden esther und das
 05 gelingt wenn man über familie freundschaft
 06 und verliebtsein spricht weil das (.)
 07 kennen die jugendlichen und das verbindet
 08 sie sehr stark [mit esther deswegen
 09 R: [mmhmm]
 10 F: funktioniert esther so gut.

(9) Audio file: TS_03_02_1:43:15

01 (1.7)
 02 R: << leise> also ich hab's (.) wie gesagt ich
 03 hab's ei gentlich so also ich find's gut.> <<inhaliiert>>
 04 ich hab nämlich das auch so verstanden wie es
 05 glaub- wie es von dir, F, glaube ich
 06 intendiert wurde. also das heißt jetzt noch nich (.)
 07 familie freundschaft und verliebtsein im
 08 sinne eines: eines gegenwartsbezugs
 09 [also das dann der liegt liegt liegt
 10 F: [mmhmm. nee nee genau
 11 N: [nee nee
 12 C: [ja
 13 W: [ja genau
 14 R: implizit liegt der natürlich drin. aber
 15 es geht um um familie freundschaft und
 16 verliebtsein in der person
 17 F: von [esther
 18 R: [von e[sth]er
 19 N: [jaja]
 20 (...)
 21 W: aber ich
 22 glaube- sogar im unterricht ist es genau
 23 so gelaufen wie es uns jetzt passiert ist.
 24 man macht es über die person esther und damit
 25 sind die- die jugendlichen (können anfangen)
 26 sich an zu erzählen (.)
 27 (F): mmhmm

28 W: und von ihren freundschaften und so also es
 29 (.) ich glaube [es
 30 E: [es kann ruhig stehen
 31 (2.5)
 32 R: ((lacht)) aber gut das wir nochmal
 33 darüber [gesprochen haben
 34 [((alle lachen))

(10) Audio file: TS_03_03_0:04:31

01 N: das problem hatte ich auch (.) ehrlich
 02 gesagt bei dem ganzen abschnitt also
 03 ich (.) kam da (.) dadurch dass mir
 04 das modell nicht so:: präsent ist weil
 05 ich es jetzt nicht (.) komplett gelesen
 06 hab. ich hab mal auf der internetseite
 07 geguckt und hin und her das ist aber
 08 schon länger her (.) und dadurch dass
 09 du auch teilweise gesprungen bist von
 10 comic zu modell und (.) mir die bezüge
 11 nicht klar wa[ren] und dann diese
 12 (E): [mmmm]
 13 N: fallstricke mit choiceless choices
 13 oder auch dann mit der zeitzeugenschaft
 14 in zeile 57 auf zeile seite 7 (.) eh
 15 w waren so fallstricke wo ich einfach
 16 (.) im lesen (.) tot[al] **irritiert**
 17 (E): [mmm]
 18 N: wurde und em mich frage (.) wie sich
 19 jetzt wie der lehrer die das nicht kennen
 20 (W): mmm
 21 eh ob denen das klar wird was dieses
 22 [modell] gen[au] aussagt und (.) wo der
 23 E: [mmmm]
 24 W: [okay]
 25 N: bezug zum comic liegt. (1.0)
 26 also ich weiß nicht ob es nur mir so
 27 ging u ich weiß nicht ob wir es hier
 28 diskutieren müssen (.) eh
 29 F: <<sehr leise>>ja doch>
 30 C: Mmm
 31 N: aber ich hatte einfach größere probleme
 32 einfach em den zu folgen.

(11) Audio file: TS_03_05_0:05:29

01 N: aber ich hatte einfach größere probleme
 02 einfach em den zu folgen.
 03 C: was wäre Ihr vorschlag das rauszukür`
 04 also finden Sie es jetzt überflüssig
 05 oder es geht's jetzt um die [struktur?
 06 N: [ich finde
 07 es sehr wichtig ich finde es sehr
 08 wichtig dass das kapitel drin ist weil
 09 es ja wirklich auch die die grundlage
 10 ist dafür wie der comic aufgebaut ist

11 und wie man mit dem comic arbeitet (.)
 12 aber em (3.0) ich (2.0) denke dass da
 13 eben diese holocaust education
 14 choiceless choices dass einige sachen
 15 rauskönnen die nicht direkt sich auf dem
 16 comic beziehen (.)
 17 (): mmmm

(12) Audio file: TS_03_03_0:11:03

01 E: ich finde das du das eh gut beschreibst
 02 weil du darauf eingehst wann die täter
 03 dann plötzlich dann auf eh andere rolle
 04 einnehmen aber ich finde` ich hab
 05 generell schwierigkeiten mit dem modell
 06 von daher

(13) Audio file: TS_03_03_0:11:15

01 F: aber ja weil eh also ich hab auch noch mal
 02 mit matthias heyl gemailt übrigens und er
 03 hat mir da auch nochmal explizit gesagt
 04 dass das didaktische ziel von diesem modell
 05 ist es dass die em (jugendlichen) die
 06 damit arbeiten und auch die die lehrer
 07 und auch die schüler dass die ihre eigenen
 08 zuschreibungen an diesen em an diese
 09 rollen hinterfragen. also er hat genau
 10 gesagt es es geht genau darum dass die
 11 leute diskutieren ja was ist denn jetzt
 12 eigentlich einen nazi ja? ist es ein
 13 mitglied der NSDAP? ist es ein
 14 parteimitglied? ist es jemand der überzeugt
 15 ist und so.
 16 und genau diese eh **irritation** ist sagt er
 17 ist ist der große vorteil.
 18 es gibt keine (.) es ist kein modell
 19 das auf befriedigende art und w[eise]
 20 (?): [Mm]
 21 F: irgendwie die
 22 C: Mmhmm
 23 F: die antworten vorgibt
 24 sondern es **irritiert** immer.
 25 (1.5)

(14) Audio file: TS_03_03_0:12:49

01 F: <<leise> ja>. (2.5)
 02 aber trotzdem soll es ja natürlich hier (.)
 03 in diesem em in diesem kapitel möglich klar
 04 werden worum's eigentlich geht und nicht (.)
 05 eh so wie das entsprechende unterkapip
 06 kapitel in heyls eh doktorarbeit. (.)
 07 weil mir echt also ich find's schon gut
 08 wenn wir's hier em möglichst auf den

09 begriff bringen können.
10 (2.0)

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