


# UNI-gespräche

A close-up portrait of Prof. Martha C. Nussbaum. She has short, wavy, light-colored hair and is looking directly at the camera with a slight smile. Her right hand is resting against her chin, and she is wearing a ring on her ring finger. She is wearing a blue, textured blazer. The background is a plain, light-colored wall.

**Conferment of an  
Honorary Doctorate to  
Prof. Martha C. Nussbaum, Ph.D.**

Bielefeld, June 2011

BIELEFELDER UNIVERSITÄTSGESPRÄCHE UND VORTRÄGE 11

## Conferment of the Honorary Doctorate to Prof. Martha C. Nussbaum, Ph.D.

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### Preface

On 27 June 2011, an honorary doctorate was conferred on Prof. Martha Nussbaum, Ph.D., in the presence of an international audience by the Faculty of Educational Science at the University of Bielefeld on the recommendation of the Bielefeld Center for Education and Capability Research and the Research School Education and Capabilities.

All three academic institutions regard the Capability Approach as a productive opportunity for the further development of a modern concept of education in the context of social justice. The many promising scientific perspectives resulting from this approach are being further explored in original research at University Bielefeld, especially in the areas of educational and social sciences and social work with links to social policy.

In addition, annual international meetings are held in Bielefeld at which distinguished scholars, not only from Europe, meet for the exchange of scientific views, which contributes to a more profound analysis of the research carried out and strengthens Bielefeld's links with international scientific networks. The conferral of an honorary doctorate on Prof. Nussbaum is to be seen in this context and is also meant to indicate the great potential of her thinking and a theoretical ideas for the further elaboration of the social.

In the following pages are collected: the addresses and the citation delivered in her honor, as well as Prof. Nussbaum's lecture on which she focused on fundamental aspects in her fields.

Hans-Uwe Otto  
Bielefeld Center for Education and Capability Research

**PROF. DR.-ING. GERHARD SAGERER**  
RECTOR OF BIELEFELD UNIVERSITY



*Professor Nussbaum,  
Ms Miller,  
Ms Diehm,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,*

I would like to extend a warm welcome on behalf of the Rectorate on the occasion of this major event not only for the Faculty of Educational Science, but also for the University itself. For us, it is a great honor that one of the world's most important philosophers of the present is accepting an honorary doctorate in educational science. We are both extremely delighted and thankful that Mr Brumlik, as an extraordinarily profiled educationalist and intellectual, making profound and continued contributions to public debates, is holding the laudatory speech today. Special thanks is also due to the faculty, Ms Miller, Ms Diehm, for the decision to award this honor. May I also take this opportunity to mention that Ms Nussbaum is actually the second outstanding American scientist to visit Bielefeld within a short period of time, as recently, Saskia Sassen completed her stay as a Niklas-Luhman guestprofessor.

It is quite remarkable that the Faculty of Educational Science is awarding an honorary doctorate to a philosopher. This shows the great philosophical tradition from which educational science has ultimately its origins, too. For the students of today, this background has probably faded by now. Educational science sees itself

more as an empirically shaped social science than as a classical humanities or cultural science. The obligatory educational exam for the students aiming at a Master of Education in Germany was still being called "Philosophikum" for quite a long time, however, most people tried to evade philosophy in the narrowest sense. Nevertheless, a reflexive and speculative element must be involved in the scientific thinking on education and the question of what is a good life is fundamental here. Conversely, there are only few philosophers who manage to cross the border from reflection to precise action in such a decisive and successful way as you, Ms Nussbaum. However, commenting further on this is not the sense of this welcoming speech. We will soon be able to enjoy an extensive and profound appraisal of the thinking and the merits of Ms Nussbaum as provided for by Mr Brumlik and, of course, we are particularly looking forward to the lecture on "Human Capabilities and Global Justice". I would quickly like to say that in direct relation to Ms Nussbaum's philosophy capability is also a major theme for educational science in Bielefeld. At our university, the issues of world society and globality are under research within an extensive interdisciplinary framework. Therefore, on the one hand, we feel quite at home with this topic,

but on the other hand, it is especially for this reason that we are very anxious to hear what you have to say in a minute.

Ms Nussbaum, I hope that you will enjoy your stay in Bielefeld and that you will have pleasant memories of this ceremony. I cordially congratulate you on your honorary doctorate and wish you every success for your on-going work. Naturally, we would be extremely delighted to have the opportunity to welcome you to Bielefeld University once again.

Now I would like to wish all of you great pleasure and intellectual stimulation during this honorary doctorate ceremony – an extremely important event for our University!



**PROF. DR. SUSANNE MILLER**  
DEAN OF THE FACULTY OF EDUCATIONAL SCIENCE



*Dear Professor Nussbaum,  
 dear Rector Sagerer,  
 dear Professor Brumlik,  
 dear Members of the Faculty,  
 dear Guests from here and abroad,*

On behalf of the Faculty of Educational Science at Bielefeld University I would like to extend a warm welcome to all of you on the occasion of this very special day. For the faculty, whose 30th jubilee was celebrated last year, today's ceremony represents one of the most outstanding events which we all have been looking forward to very much. Dear Prof. Nussbaum, today you are with us here in Bielefeld, you have specially come all the way from Chicago, reached us via Helsinki and will leave again for Chicago tomorrow. We would particularly like to thank you for having taken on such stresses and strains. We are fully aware of the privilege of being able to award you an honorary doctorate, and the entire Faculty of Educational Science deems it a great honor to address you directly and let you know the great importance that is attached to you as a person and to your work here in Bielefeld.

Although the ceremony of conferring an honorary doctorate is not unknown to reform universities like ours, it was – especially in the early days of the university – likely to take place with a somewhat greater critical distance than in more traditional university towns. That is why Bielefeld University is relatively sparing with its

honorary doctorates which only go to carefully chosen and distinguished scientists. During the admittedly fairly short history of the Faculty of Educational Science, we have in fact only awarded three honorary doctorates up to now.

All universities and faculties have in common that honorary doctorates are awarded "on the basis of scientific achievements" (German Rectors' Conference, 1994) and other meritorious actions with regard to the respective university or faculty. In the citation to be delivered in a moment by Prof. Brumlik, we are going to learn about the scientific achievements of Prof. Nussbaum, who is one of the most prominent and distinguished philosophers of today and who was instrumental in developing the Capability Approach. At this point, I would already like to thank you, Prof. Brumlik, very much for agreeing to give the citation.

However, it is not only due to her excellent scientific work in general that she is awarded an honorary doctorate by our Faculty of Educational Science, it is also and precisely because it is at this faculty that she has influenced, inspired and founded the key area of teaching and research through her approach.

In this respect we can follow Marie-Freifrau von Ebner-Eschenbach when she says: "Whenever other persons bestow an honor on us, this often tells us more about them than about ourselves" (1883), and so we can reflect on what story Prof. Nussbaum's honorary doctorate tells about ourselves. At this stage, I am going to do that only in a very superficial manner and with respect to the Faculty as a whole. Prof. Isabell Diehm, who has been involved in the Capability Center of the Faculty of Educational Science since its foundation and in the Research School, is going to elaborate on that aspect later in a more detailed and content-related way. At this point, I would also like to thank Isabell Diehm very much for all the work she has put in her past period as Dean of the Faculty to make this day happen.

The Rector has already underlined the remarkable fact that a philosopher is awarded an honorary doctorate by a faculty of educational science. However, at this university there is probably nobody who is genuinely surprised at that because interdisciplinarity does not only appear in the foundation documents of Schelsky, but has ever since been implemented in research and teaching in various ways. Moreover, philos-

ophy constitutes a necessary, integral discipline when reflecting about key fundamental questions of educational science, such as education and development. However, beyond that Martha Nussbaum has set a very important course with regard to the orientation of the educational sciences in Bielefeld through her approach and exerted substantial scientific influence in this regard. Strictly speaking then, she is awarded the honorary doctorate for her merits for the Faculty of Educational Science.

In the first place, there is the Capabilities Approach, an approach closely connected to the theory of justice. In educational terms, this is related to the capability to decide and to act and to realize one's full potential in complex social contexts. Accordingly, everybody has the right to equal conditions of possibility and scope. In this sense, Martha Nussbaum poses the question of the "good life" and links the latter to the requirement of assuming the public and political responsibility for creating appropriate circumstances. Thus, the good life and subjective well-being are interpreted against the background of the social conditions in which people grow up. For Martha Nussbaum education is



“a key to all human capabilities”, with education being intimately linked to the question of justice. Thus, the field of educational science automatically comes into play.

Although the Faculty of Educational Science is one of the largest and most functionally differentiated faculties in Germany, there is still a fairly large overlapping area. It is a matter of the thematization of social inequality from the different points of view of the various work and research focuses. Thus, Martha Nussbaum’s reflections on the theory of justice are of great significance for the research work within our faculty, but also for the implementation and evaluation of a relevant practice in teaching and in pedagogical fields of action (e.g., the Bielefeld school projects).

In concrete terms, there are the following research areas:

- Gender studies
- School education, including integrated special education
- Childhood and youth studies
- Migrant education
- Social Work

In particular, issues are investigated of social, ethnical and genderrelated heterogeneity and the creation of educational inequality in and through institutions.

Another concern is how to overcome structures such as those of handicapped and nonhandicapped children or the field of special education as an independent special discipline besides the field of common education.

There is also the question of evaluating Social Work with children and youth,

and of analyzing formal and informal educational processes for the participation and participation possibilities of children and youth.

Another focus is on questions of children’s and youth’s subjective evaluation with regard to family, school and their leisure time in combination with objective indicators of the social structure. The manifold possibilities offered by the justice-theoretical and socio-philosophical approach of Martha Nussbaum for all these and other questions are certainly still far from being tapped for the field of educational science – in fact, we

have only just begun to explore its vast potential. In this respect, we express our thanks to Martha Nussbaum in this award ceremony for her brilliant scientific achievement not only from a retrospective, but also from a prospective point of view and connect with it the intention to continue working in the spirit of this theory and to establish one of our future foci in the area of “human development”.

Thank you very much to Martha Nussbaum.





**PROF. DR. ISABELL DIEHM**  
MEMBER OF THE "BIELEFELD CENTER FOR EDUCATION  
AND CAPABILITY RESEARCH"



*Dear Professor Nussbaum,  
 dear Rector Sagerer,  
 dear Professor Brumlik,  
 dear Colleagues from here and abroad,  
 dear Students and Guests,*

As a member of the Bielefeld Center for Education and Capability Research at the Faculty of Educational Science I would like to underline once again what our Dean has just said: It is an extra-ordinarily great honor for us from the Center as well as for all the international PhD students and early-stage researchers who are currently carrying out their research at the Center to present you, Professor Nussbaum, with the honorary doctorate.

We do this to express our gratitude to you for the philosophical work you have done thus helping us with our teaching and research in the field of educational science.

Six years ago, the Faculty of Educational Science here at Bielefeld University started on the intensive adaptation of your elaborated and challenging offer, its application to our specific questions and its further development. Today, our sincere thanks are due to our colleague, Prof. Hans-Uwe Otto, for his perseverance and highly successful efforts with regard to our Faculty's involvement with the Capabilities Approach, which in the year 2006 finally led to the founding of the Bielefeld Center for Education and Capability Research with the assistance of the President's office.

Since that time we have been trying to promote capability research in a systematic way. The Capabilities Approach has become a key theoretical reference framework for our empirical research on the most varied issues. In our research we try to work on the facilitation of education and its conditions in socially just contexts, drawing on your reading of the Capabilities Approach that is based on a theory of justice. The statement that "education is a key to all human capabilities" (2006) served us as an inspiration and stimulated us to make the best use of your approach for the field of educational science with a view to the growing up of children and young adults here in Bielefeld. For us here at the Bielefeld Center for Education and Capability Research this has also meant that we developed and implemented specific forms of supporting young scientists, one of which is North Rhine-Westphalia's international Research School "Education and Capabilities", which is jointly run with the University of Dortmund, where 40 PhD students are currently doing their research. In addition, there are two large EU projects under way that are theoretically and empirically also based on the Capabilities Approach: the Project "Workable: Making capabilities work" (from 2009

to 2012) and the Marie Curie Project "EduWel: Education as Welfare" (2010 to 2013), on which 15 young scientists are doing research work. In this way an infrastructure could be set up, offering research and qualification opportunities for a considerable number of internationally networked junior scientists and involving 14 European universities.

Education as well as work, wellbeing, agency, voice, participation and autonomy are concepts that are taken into account in Bielefeld besides the priorities of the classic educational questions and, with regard to structural issues, are approached in a sociopolitically critical way. "Education is a key to all human capabilities" – and: "Education means cultivating humanity" – it is these definitions that are challenging and inspiring us to work on a Bielefeld reading of the Capabilities Approach that does not address human capital, but adopts a perspective with regard to human development in order to develop the Capabilities Approach further.

We would like to thank you, Prof. Nussbaum, very much for the intellectual present you made us and will most probably continue to make based on your outstanding scientific achievements.

I am also pleased to introduce Prof. Micha Brumlik from the Goethe University in Frankfurt, who is now going to deliver the citation. There is no better qualified speaker than he is – an educationalist who was the first in our country to adapt your philosophical work in a systematic way, and in particular your ideas about moral feelings. His work in educational philosophy engages intensively with your writings, e.g. in his book: "Education and luck".

Thank you very much for your attention!



**PROF. DR. MICHA BRUMLIK**  
JOHANN WOLFGANG GOETHE UNIVERSITY,  
FRANKFURT MAIN



## Aspasia?

*Eulogy for Martha Nussbaum on the occasion of her honorary doctorate from Bielefeld University, June 27, 2011*

By awarding Martha Nussbaum the title of "honorary doctor," the Faculty of Educational Science at Bielefeld University – this university was founded in 1969 – does not just decorate itself; it does not just honor a world-famous philosopher, intellectual, and social theorist; it simultaneously sends out a clear message, perhaps one could say a political message from the humanities. Please forgive me, dear Martha Nussbaum, for commencing not with your work, but – and how could it be otherwise in Bielefeld – with the long shadow cast by Niklas Luhmann.

Niklas Luhmann was called to the university in 1968 before its official opening, and he was a tireless and productive contributor to this university until well beyond his official retirement. Thanks to Niklas Luhmann, German educational science acquired not only a conceptual rigor, a differentiated outlook on the profession it studies, and a shift toward ideological disillusionment, but also and above all a lasting normative insecurity from which it has still not quite recovered today. But, perhaps awarding an honorary doctorate to you, Martha Nussbaum, marks the end of a long period of convalescence.

No other social scientist has demanded so decisively as Niklas Luhmann that the social sciences and the humanities, and this also includes the educational sciences, should no longer proceed from the topic and the concept of the human being. At this point, we can refrain from considering whether this was due to disdain or excessive respect. According to his theory, people are part of the environment of social systems

and are themselves composed of interacting and structurally interlinked systems – in the human species, above all of psychological systems or the simple social systems. It was not at all meaningful to talk as if societies were composed of human beings! Social sciences and humanities based on this concept, the concept of the human being, were what Luhmann liked to call with mild irony "old-European."

And this brings us finally to Martha Nussbaum, and to the present demonstration that despite all current trends – from Niklas Luhmann across Michel Foucault to Judith Butler – no reasoning is more present, more topical, and more lively than precisely this old-European thought that Martha Nussbaum, like no other contemporary philosopher, has brought back to the center of scientific and intellectual discourse with its normative power of orientation but also its social critical precision.

Nussbaum's work so far has consistently developed ideas that were already more than just hinted at in her first great scientific work: *The Fragility of Goodness: Luck and Ethics in Greek Tragedy and Philosophy*, published in English in 1986 and unfortunately still not translated into German. This panoramic study develops insights into the human condition from the springs of classical tragedy, that is, the works of Aeschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles that she considers to be finally systematized, without ever becoming scholastic, in the work of Aristotle. It was Aristotle who conceived the members of the human species as "Zoon Politikon," that is as "political

beings," beings that can only find fulfillment for their lives in a political grouping, but beings that are also and above all living beings in all their need, vulnerability, and thereby contingency. Such beings, according to Nussbaum who agrees with Aristotle in countering his teacher Plato, can no longer call upon an absolute good that lies outside their selves, for example, upon an idea of God, and they are therefore obliged to stop orienting their lives toward this absolute good, but "only" toward their idea of a good life to be achieved in community that attains its zenith precisely when people find themselves in the state of "Eudaimonia," of reflected happiness that is more and other than just a transitory experience of pleasure. Aristotle, as Martha Nussbaum understands him, wants to guide us to reflect on this good life, which is why she considers him to be, above all, a great educator – and that would be a first objective reason for the Faculty of Educational Science to award her the title of "honorary doctor." On page 285 of *The Fragility of Goodness*, we read:

"For Aristotle, centrally concerned as he is with education, and believing, as he does, that the main job of politics is to educate children in such a way that they will become capable of leading good lives according to their own choice ..."

May I therefore be allowed to point out – and please forgive me the obvious pun for a German speaker – that these seemingly marginal lines published more than 40 years ago, already

contain the entire program in a nutshell. Indeed, the talk is not just about "capable" here, but also that children should be reared so that, with the help of the abilities they have acquired, they will be able to lead the good life they personally choose to live.

What a good life is can never be determined scientifically from the outside, which is why it would be a serious error and a major misjudgment of Nussbaum's theory to understand the "Capabilities Approach" based on her ideas as a kind of materialistically enriched and normatively enriched welfare economy geared to modern criteria of justice and indicators of prosperity. No, Nussbaum's program is antiscientistic, it insists that the good life that we want to live and that we should enable our children to live can come from our own ideas and, indeed, only from our own ideas. The good life, according to Nussbaum on page 293 of "Fragility of Goodness":

"... must be a life that we, as we deliberate, can choose for ourselves as a life that is really a life for us, a life in which there will be enough of what makes us the beings we are for us to be said to survive in such a life. Therefore, at the very minimum, it must be a life that a human being can live, not one which failed to include something without which we think no characteristically human life would be there."

By emphasizing the concept of a human life, Nussbaum is following in the footsteps of a school of thought originating in the European Renais-



sance and the Reformation as “Humanism” that was taken up in the German educated middle-class tradition following Wilhelm von Humboldt as a “Neo-Humanism” based on the authority of classical culture. As such, it became part of the education at American colleges, but, after the end of the 19th century – in Germany at least – it changed into a misanthropic “Third Humanism” that replaced Socratic reflection and Aristotelian liberality through selective references to Plato and Nietzsche and formed a “humanism” of discipline, obedience, and submission. Herman Nohl, the founder of academic social pedagogic, is truly one of the greatest traitors to the humanistic tradition in educational science.

Admittedly, the precise philologist and political philosopher, the humanistic thinker Martha Nussbaum could not fail to notice that Aristotle, despite all his insights, was unable to solve one problem either theoretically or practically: namely, the problem of inequality between people. This is clear to see in his uncritical acceptance of slavery. Therefore, in her major philosophy of feelings and emotions, published in 2001 under the title “Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions”, Nussbaum developed a Neo-Stoic program that, by referring to the antique Stoics, not only tried to substantiate a moral universalism of the equality of all people but also undertook a systematic rehabilitation of feelings: Emotions are no arbitrary, irrational articulations of random moods, but nearly always highly condensed, spontaneous, and situation-specific statements that always refer to discussable and verifiable moral attitudes. In this book, Nussbaum does not just deal with complex topics in developmental psychology under the title “Emotions and Infancy”, but also develops – and this should be of major significance for a theory of social pedagogic and social work – a theory of sympathy, without

letting this attitude, which would finally lead to her involvement in founding an “ethics of care,” become absolute to the detriment of a theory of justice.

In this context, it is permissible to point out – and this strengthens my initial suggestion regarding a phase of moral convalescence in educational science – that in the leading scientific journal for social work, the *Neue Praxis* in which Hans-Uwe Otto plays such a decisive role, has recently for the first time since decades published an article by Hans Gängler and Ulfrid Kleinert on *Barmherzigkeit – oder Von der Notwendigkeit der Rehabilitation eines Begriffs für Soziale Arbeit* [Compassion: Or the need to rehabilitate a concept for social work] – the first article on such a topic in decades. Admittedly, it is not enough to simply proclaim attitudes and emotions – such times are past and beyond recall. Martha Nussbaum is only too aware of the difficulty in linking a theory of feelings with a theory of democratic and liberal societies, and this is why she has taken on the task of sketching a theory that can explain how it is possible for citizens to provide emotional support to liberal-democratic institutions. The response to this problem by the only at first glance surprisingly patriotic American Martha Nussbaum is to quote Walt Whitman – that bard of a great democratic community. In her *Cultivating Humanity: A Classical Defense of Reform in Liberal Education* published in 1997, Nussbaum quotes word for word from his “Song of myself”.

“I am the attesting sympathy  
Through me many long dumb voices  
Voices of the interminable generations of prisoners and slaves  
Voices of the disea’d and despairing and of thieves and dwarfs  
Through me forbidden voices,

Voices of sexes and lusts, voices veil’d and I remove the veil,  
Voices indecent by me clarified and transfigur’d  
Dazzling and tremendous how quick the sunrise would kill me,  
If I could not now and always send sunrise out of me.”

However, this avowal by an American patriot reveals a very special link to the political culture of the Federal Republic of Germany. This is because Nussbaum never tires of emphasizing that her central normative goal lies in the concept of “dignity” – the very principle that forms the basis of the German Constitution in Paragraph 1 of Basic Law. A comparison of the US-American and German constitutions reveals the difference immediately, and thereby simultaneously the path that Martha Nussbaum has taken since her universalistic-patriotic program in *Cultivating Humanity*. Whereas the US-American constitution is built on the principles of “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,” the German is based on “human dignity.” At least at first glance, this would seem to be Aristotle versus Kant!

However, in her major social-philosophical work “*Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership*” published in English in 2006 and now finally also available in German, Nussbaum goes beyond John Rawls’s work on a theory of justice by developing not only the idea of a comprehensive and no longer contractually abbreviated universalism but also an extensively reasoned theory of the “Capabilities Approach.” In this approach, she succeeds in establishing a theory of global justice based on the inclusion of the disabled, justice beyond the framework of the national state, and the systematically truly borderline case of animals.

In this context, she repeatedly points to the need to transcend what she believes to be the rationalistically and species-specifically restricted Kantian concept of dignity. However, her initial concern in *Frontiers of Justice* is to establish a theory of “care,” in other words, of interpersonal attention, that is not contractually abbreviated. Nussbaum’s interpretation of Aristotle has shown that people are dependent on each other as political animals, that is, as vulnerable beings, and this is why a viable theory of justice and morality cannot commence – as in Rawls – in a thought experiment with rational contract-making parties: “Because they are political animals,” she writes on page 89 of the English original, “they depend on others asymmetrically during certain phases of their lives, and some remain in a situation of asymmetrical dependency throughout their lives.”

That human beings, to take the species as it is, depend, for better or for worse, on each other to varying degrees, even if only because of being born and needing to be reared – and I emphasize the “needing” – has been and continues to be a circumstance that has been repressed systematically in all contractual social theories. It was first remedied by feminist ethics, although discussed earlier in the phenomenological ethics of, for example, Emmanuel Levinas. These ethics have unveiled the thoroughly male perspective in all these contractual models, in models that proceed from a plurality of educated adults who – at least in the work of John Rawls – are able to engage in clever reasoning in some hypothetical original situation. In her criticism of this model, Nussbaum can link up with the communitarian criticism of Rawls led by, for example, Michael Sandel. Any individual in whom Rawls’ hypothetical primordial state brings to mind the (male) community of citizens of the



antique polis is not so far from the truth, and it was the criticism of this model that formed the basis of Nussbaum's early work, "Fragility of Goodness" – that work that had emphasized, at least in tragic literature, the vulnerability of all humans and the particular vulnerability of women and slaves.

The particular achievement of "Frontiers of Justice" in terms of moral theory then consists – 20 years later – in bringing together two purportedly contradictory paradigms of moral philosophy, that is, in combining a program of strict morality and unconditional interpersonal respect based on the Kantian intuition of human dignity with an ethics of sympathy oriented toward the vulnerability of the species. One has to realize that Nussbaum's achievement in "Frontiers of Justice" is nothing less than the proof that a moral of absolute dignity and an ethics of interpersonal care, the "ethics of care" are inseparable even in their ground concept. Indeed, Kant's concept of dignity is too abstract for Nussbaum, which is why she invested so much painstaking effort in working out that much-cited list of essential human characteristics and corresponding fundamental abilities that can serve as a valid foundation for the "Capabilities Approach" that is being substantiated and studied at this university – an innovative further development of social work theory and practice being expedited especially at Bielefeld University's Faculty of Educational Science with as yet unpredictable sociopolitical consequences.

Finally, by awarding an honorary doctorate to Martha Nussbaum, both the university and the faculty are also sending an only too clear message, and we can only hope that this will be heard by cost-cutting parliamentarians and Bologna-obsessed education technocrats. Like no other, Martha Nussbaum reminds – in her

case – US-American education policymakers of the original task of the university, the American university and its colleges, namely, to educate young adults to think for themselves. This program is linked inseparably in Germany with the name Wilhelm von Humboldt, a philosopher and universal scholar whom Martha Nussbaum – as far as I have been able to check – has yet to include in her references. Martha Nussbaum sets her classic education theory against several competing concepts: not only against an academic job training shortened by educational economics but also – and above all – against an education for a White male elite that has become known in the tradition of Locke as a "gentleman's education." Above all, her concern – as a Neo-Stoic – is to redesign universities as seminars for future world citizens, that is, to familiarize and confront young people and students with the normative and material contents of other cultures, and thereby to contribute to opening up a meaningful normative orientation for the citizens of the still existing but gradually eroding national states in a globalized world characterized by immigration, mobility, and transmigration.

Perhaps one can finally still build a bridge from this position to the genius loci of Bielefeld and thereby to Niklas Luhmann and his school. It was Luhmann who, more than anybody else, opened our eyes to what Peter Fuchs has called the "strange problem of the world society," that is, to a phenomenon that requires at least as much systematic reflection in today's world as the problem of the polis did two and a half thousand years ago. The task of education, of *paideia*, in the polis just as much as in the world society and in the city district – that is, in social welfare departments, schools, and universities – is to help people to lead a reflected,

autonomous life based on responsibility for their fellow citizens. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to say that awarding this honorary doctorate to Martha Nussbaum in Bielefeld brings old-European thinking and the global theory of the world society into an institutional synthesis, and it recognizes Martha Nussbaum – if it is possible to agree on such a formulation – as a female Socrates for the world society within her German-speaking territory. Even Socrates admitted – according to Plato in his dialogue "Menexenos" – having essentially been taught by a woman – namely, by Aspasia, the consort of the Attic strategist Pericles.

A final comment on this Socratic-Aspasian element: The first chapter of *Cultivating Humanity*, a title that Nussbaum took from the Roman philosopher Seneca, the unfortunately less successful teacher of the Emperor Nero, is called *Socratic Self-Examination*, and is introduced with some lines from Plato's "Apology". This quotes part of Socrates' reply to those accusing him of corrupting youth:

"If I tell you that this is the greatest good for a human being, to engage every day in arguments about virtue and the other things you have heard me talking about, examining both myself and others, and if I tell you that the unexamined life is not worth living, . . ."

One should, and we as well should, take these lines very seriously.

This brings me to the end of my speech, and I congratulate you, Martha Nussbaum, on receiving this honorary doctorate. However, even more, I congratulate the Faculty and the University for the fact that Martha Nussbaum has gracefully agreed to accept this honorary doctorate. May I once more return to the words of Socrates just

cited. As I understand it, these are also telling us, that is, educational science and, above all, academic social work, that the "Capabilities Approach," which has been shaped so decisively by Martha Nussbaum, cannot be viewed plainly and simply as a sound and indubitable basis that now just needs to be analyzed step by step to see how it can be put into practice.

No dear Martha Nussbaum, no dear colleagues – by awarding this honorary doctorate, academic social work has placed itself under a heavy obligation: Social work will be a philosophizing discipline or it will cease to exist!

Thank you for your attention.



**PROF. MARTHA C. NUSSBAUM, PH.D.**  
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



## Human Capabilities and Global Justice

*[H]istory has come to a stage when the moral man, the complete man, is more and more giving way, almost without knowing it, to make room for the ... commercial man, the man of limited purpose. This process, aided by the wonderful progress in science, is assuming gigantic proportion and power, causing the upset of man's moral balance, obscuring his human side under the shadow of soulless organization.*

Tagore, Nationalism (1917)

*Achievement comes to denote the sort of thing that a wellplanned machine can do better than a human being can, and the main effect of education, the achieving of a life of rich significance, drops by the wayside.*

John Dewey, Democracy and Education (1915)

### I. The Education Crisis

We are in the midst of a crisis of massive proportions and grave global significance. No, I do not mean the global economic crisis that began in 2008. At least then everyone knew that that crisis was at hand, and many world leaders worked quickly and desperately to find solutions. No, I mean a crisis that goes largely unnoticed, a crisis that is likely to be, in the long run, far more damaging to the future of democratic self-government: a worldwide crisis in education. Radical changes are occurring in what democratic societies teach the young, and these changes have not been well thought through. Eager for national profit, nations, and their systems of education, are heedlessly discarding skills that are needed to keep democracies alive. If this trend continues, nations all over the world will soon be producing generations of useful

machines, rather than complete citizens who can think for themselves, criticize tradition, and understand the significance of another person's sufferings and achievements. What are these radical changes? The humanities and the arts are being cut away, in both primary/secondary and college/ university education, in virtually every nation of the world. Seen by policy-makers as useless frills, at a time when nations must cut away all useless things in order to stay competitive in the global market, they are rapidly losing their place in curricula, and also in the minds and hearts of parents and children. Indeed, what we might call the humanistic aspects of science and social science – the imaginative, creative aspect, and the aspect of rigorous critical thought – are also losing ground, as nations prefer to pursue short-term profit by the cultivation of useful, highly applied skills, suited to profit-making. Consider these two examples.

In the fall of 2006, the United States Department of Education's Commission on the Future of Higher Education, headed by Bush Administration Secretary of Education Margaret Spellings, released its report on the state of higher education in the nation: A Test of Leadership: Charting the Future of U. S. Higher Education. This report contained a valuable critique of unequal access to higher education. When it came to subject matter, however, it focused entirely on education for national economic gain. It concerned itself with perceived deficiencies in science, technology, and engineering – not even basic scientific research in these areas, but only highly applied learning, learning that can quickly generate profit-making strategies. The humanities, the arts, and critical thinking were basically absent. By omitting

them, the report strongly suggested that it would be perfectly all right if these abilities were allowed to wither away, in favor of more useful disciplines.

In the fall of 2009, in Britain, the Labor Government issued new guidelines for its Research Excellence Scheme, which will assess all individuals and departments in British universities. According to the new criteria, 25% of the grade for each researcher will be based on that person's "impact," meaning, basically, contributions to economic growth and success. The humanities and the arts will now be forced to become salesmen for a product, and they will be able to justify their contribution and their claim to funds only if they can demonstrate a direct, short-term economic impact. Since that time, several philosophy departments have been completely closed, some merged with social science, and all humanities programs severely curtailed.

This fall SUNY Albany made drastic cuts in the humanities, completely closing classics, theater, and some languages, and severely cutting others. This followed similar, though less highly publicized cuts at U of Nevada and Arizona State.

Not to belabor the obvious, there are hundreds of stories like these, and new ones arrive every day, in the U. S., in Europe, in India, and, no doubt, in other parts of the world. Given that economic growth is so eagerly sought by all nations, too few questions have been posed, in both developed and developing nations, about the direction of education, and, with it, of democratic society. With the rush to profitability in the global market, values precious for the future of democracy are in danger of getting lost.

The profit motive suggests to most concerned politicians that science and technology are of crucial importance for the future health of their nations. We should have no objection to good scientific and technical education, and I do not suggest that nations should stop trying to improve in this regard. My concern is that other abilities, equally crucial, are at risk of getting lost in the competitive flurry, abilities crucial to the health of any democracy internally, and to the creation of a decent world culture and a robust type of global citizenship, capable of constructively addressing the world's most pressing problems. These abilities are associated with the humanities and the arts: the ability to think critically; the ability to transcend local loyalties and to approach world problems as a "citizen of the world"; and the ability to imagine sympathetically the predicament of another person.

I shall make my argument by pursuing the contrast that my examples have already suggested: between an education for profit-making and an education for a more inclusive type of citizenship. I shall try to show how the humanities and arts are crucial both in primary/ secondary and in university education. To think about education for democratic citizenship we have to think about what democratic nations are, and what they strive for. What does it mean, then, for a nation to advance? On one view, it means to increase its Gross National Product per capita. This measure of national achievement has for decades been the standard one used by development economists around the world, as if it were a good proxy for a nation's overall quality of life. The goal of a nation, says this model of development, should be economic growth: never mind about distribution and social





equality, never mind about the preconditions of stable democracy, never mind about the quality of race and gender relations, never mind about the improvement of other aspects of a human being's quality of life such as health and education. One sign of what this model leaves out is the fact that South Africa under apartheid used to shoot to the top of development indices. There was a lot of wealth in the old South Africa, and the old model of development rewarded that achievement (or good fortune), ignoring the staggering distributional inequalities, the brutal apartheid regime, and the health and educational deficiencies that went with it. This model of development has by now been rejected by many serious development thinkers, but it continues to dominate a lot of policy making, especially policies influenced by the U. S. Many nations, and states within nations, are pursuing this model of development. Proponents of the old model sometimes like to claim that the pursuit of economic growth will by itself deliver the other good things I have mentioned: health, education, a decrease in social and economic inequality. By now, however, examining the results of these divergent experiments, we have discovered that the old model really does not deliver the goods as claimed. Achievements in health and education, for example, are very poorly correlated with economic growth. Nor does political liberty track growth, as we can see from the stunning success of China. So producing economic growth does not mean producing democracy. Nor does it mean producing a healthy, engaged, educated population in which opportunities for a good life are available to all social classes. Still, everyone likes economic growth these days, and the trend is, if anything, toward increasing reliance on what I've called

the "old paradigm," rather than toward a more complex account of what societies should be trying to achieve for their people. What sort of education does the old model of development suggest? Education for economic enrichment needs basic skills, literacy and numeracy. It also needs some people to have more advanced skills in computer science and technology, although equal access is not terribly important: a nation can grow very nicely while the rural poor remain illiterate and without basic computer resources, as recent events in many Indian states show. In states such as Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh, we have seen the creation of increased GNP per capita through the education of a technical elite who make the state attractive to foreign investors; the results of this enrichment do not trickle down to improve the health and well-being of the rural poor, and there is no reason to think that enrichment requires educating them adequately. That was always the first and most basic problem with the GNP/capita paradigm of development: it neglects distribution, and can give high marks to nations or states that contain alarming inequalities. This is very true of education: Given the nature of the information economy, nations can increase their GNP without worrying too much about the distribution of education, so long as they create a competent tech and business elite. After that, education for enrichment needs, perhaps, a very rudimentary familiarity with history and with economic fact – on the part of the people who are going to get past elementary education in the first place, who are likely to be a relatively small elite. But care must be taken lest the historical and economic narrative lead to any serious critical thinking about class, about whether foreign investment is really good for the rural poor, about whether democracy can survive

when such huge inequalities in basic life-chances obtain. So critical thinking would not be a very important part of education for economic enrichment, and it has not been in states that have pursued this goal relentlessly, such as the Western Indian state of Gujarat, well known for its combination of growth-oriented policies with docility and groupthink in the schools. I have spoken about critical thinking and about the role of history. But what about the arts, so often valued by progressive democratic educators? An education for enrichment will, first of all, have contempt for these parts of a child's training, because they don't lead to enrichment. For this reason, all over the world, programs in arts and the humanities, at all levels, are being cut away, in favor of the cultivation of the technical. Indian parents take pride in a child who gains admission to the Institutes of Technology and Management; they are ashamed of a child who studies literature, or philosophy, or who wants to paint or dance or sing. But educators for enrichment will do more than ignore the arts: they will fear them. For a cultivated and developed sympathy is a particularly dangerous enemy of obtuseness, and moral obtuseness is necessary to carry out programs of enrichment that ignore inequality. Speaking of education in both India and Europe, Tagore said that aggressive nationalism needs to blunt the moral conscience, so it needs people who don't recognize the individual, who speak group-speak, who behave, and see the world, like docile bureaucrats. Art is the great enemy of that obtuseness, and artists are never the reliable servants of any ideology, even a basically good one – they always ask the imagination to move beyond its usual confines, to see the world in new ways. Thus Tagore's school, based on the arts, was a radical

experiment; it is deeply unpopular today with politicians aiming at national success. So, educators for enrichment will campaign against the humanities and arts as ingredients of basic education. This assault is currently taking place, all over the world. Pure models of education for economic growth are difficult to find in flourishing democracies, since democracy is built on respect for each person, and the growth model respects only an aggregate. However, education systems all over the world are moving closer and closer to the growth model, without much thought about how ill-suited it is to the goals of democracy. How else might we think of the sort of nation and the sort of citizen we are trying to build? The primary alternative to the growth-based model in international development circles, and one with which I've been associated, is known as the Human Development paradigm. According to this model, what is important is what opportunities, or "capabilities," each person has, in key areas ranging from life, health, and bodily integrity to political liberty, political participation, and education. This model of development recognizes that each and every person possesses an inalienable human dignity that ought to be respected by laws and institutions. A decent nation, at a bare minimum, acknowledges that its citizens all have entitlements in these and other areas, and devises strategies to get people above a threshold level of opportunity in each. The Human Development model is committed to democracy, since having a voice in the choice of the policies that govern your life is a key ingredient of a life worthy of human dignity. The sort of democracy it favors will, however, be one with a strong role for fundamental rights that cannot be taken away from people by majority whim: it will thus favor strong



protections for political liberty, the freedoms of speech, association, and religious exercise, and fundamental entitlements in yet other areas such as education and health. This model dovetails well with the aspirations pursued in the constitutions of India, South Africa, and many other modern democracies. The United States has never given constitutional protection, at least at the federal level, to entitlements in “social and economic” areas such as health and education; and yet Americans, too, have a strong sense that the ability of all citizens to attain these things is an important mark of national success. So the Human Development model is not pie in the sky idealism: it is closely related to the constitutional commitments, not always completely fulfilled, of many if not most of the world’s democratic nations.

If a nation wants to promote that type of humane, people-sensitive democracy, one dedicated to promoting opportunities for “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness” to each and every person, what abilities will it need to produce in its citizens. At least the following seem crucial:

\*the ability to deliberate well about political issues affecting the nation, to examine, reflect, argue, and debate, deferring to neither tradition nor authority

\*the ability to think about the good of the nation as a whole, not just that of one’s own local group, and to see one’s own nation, in turn, as a part of a complicated world order in which issues of many kinds require intelligent transnational deliberation for their resolution

\*the ability to have concern for the lives of others, to imagine what policies of many types mean for the opportunities and experiences of one’s fellow citizens, of many types, and for people outside one’s own nation.

Before we can say more about education, however, we need to understand the problems we face on the way to making students responsible democratic citizens who might possibly implement a human development agenda. What is it about human life that makes it so hard to sustain egalitarian democratic institutions, and so easy to lapse into hierarchies of various types – or, even worse, projects of violent group animosity, as a powerful group attempts to establish its supremacy? Whatever these forces are, it is ultimately against them that true education for human development must fight: so it must, as I put it following Gandhi, engage with the clash of civilizations within each person, as respect for others contends against narcissistic aggression. The internal clash can be found in all modern societies, in different forms, since all contain struggles over inclusion and equality, whether the precise locus of these struggles is in debates about immigration, or the accommodation of religious, racial, and ethnic minorities, or sex equality, or affirmative action. In all societies, too, there are forces in the human personality that militate against mutual recognition and reciprocity, as well as forces of compassion and respect that give egalitarian democracy strong support.

What, then, do we know by now about forces in the personality that militate against democratic reciprocity and respect? First, we know that people have a high level of deference to authority: psychologist Stanley Milgram showed that experimental subjects were willing to administer a very painful and dangerous level of electric shock to another person, so long as the super-intending scientist told them that what they were doing was all right – even when the other person was screaming in pain (which, of course, was faked for the sake of the

experiment).<sup>1</sup> Solomon Asch, earlier, showed that experimental subjects are willing to go against the clear evidence of their senses when all the other people around them are making sensory judgments that are off-target: his very rigorous and oft-confirmed research shows the unusual subservience of normal human beings to peer pressure. Both Milgram’s work and Asch’s have been used effectively by Christopher Browning to illuminate the behavior of young Germans in a police battalion that murdered Jews during the Nazi era.<sup>2</sup> So great was the influence of both peer pressure and authority on these young men, he shows, that the ones who couldn’t bring themselves to shoot Jews felt ashamed of their weakness.

Other research on disgust, on which I’ve drawn in writing a book on the role of disgust in social inequality, shows that people are very uncomfortable with the signs of their own animality and mortality: disgust is the emotion that polices the boundary between ourselves and other animals.

In virtually all societies, it is not enough to keep ourselves free from contamination by bodily waste products that are in the language of psychologists, “animal reminders.” Instead, people create subordinate groups of human beings who are identified as disgusting and contaminating, saying that they are dirty, smelly, bearers of disease, and so forth. There is a lot of work done on how such attitude figure in anti-Semitism, racism, sexism, and homophobia. Similarly, when people are ashamed of need and helplessness, they tend to want to enslave others. As the great philosopher Rousseau noted in his book on education, all small children

<sup>1</sup> For a concise summary of Milgram’s and Asch’s research, see Philip Zimbardo, *The Lucifer Effect: How Good People Turn Evil* (London: Rider, 2007), 260–75.

<sup>2</sup> Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993).

want their parents to be their slaves, and this tendency, unchecked by education, is a huge impediment to democracy.

What else do we know? We know that these forces take on much more power when people are anonymous or not held personally accountable. People act much worse under shelter of anonymity, as parts of a faceless mass, than they do when they are watched and made accountable as individuals. (Anyone who has ever violated the speed limit, and then slowed down on seeing a police car in the rearview mirror, will know how pervasive this phenomenon is.) Second, people behave badly when nobody raises a critical voice: Asch’s subjects went along with the erroneous judgment when all the other people whom they took to be fellow experimental subjects (and who were really working for the experimenter) concurred in error; but if even one other person said something different, they were freed to follow their own perception and judgment. Third, people behave badly when the human beings over whom they have power are dehumanized and deindividualized. In a wide range of situations, people behave much worse when the “other” is portrayed as like an animal, or as bearing only a number rather than a name. In thinking how we might help individuals and societies to win what, following Gandhi, I would call the internal clash of civilizations in each person, we would do well to think about how these tendencies can be used to our advantage. The other side of the internal clash is the child’s growing capacity for compassionate concern, for seeing another person as an end and not a mere means. As concern develops, it leads to an increasing wish to control one’s own aggression: the child recognizes that its parents are not its slaves, but separate beings with rights to lives



of their own. Such recognitions are typically unstable, since human life is a chancy business and we all feel anxieties that lead us to want more control, including control over other people. But a good development in the family, and a good education later on, can make a child feel genuine compassion for the needs of others, and can lead it to see them as people with rights equal to its own.

Now that we have a sense of the terrain on which education works, we can return to the ideas I mentioned earlier, saying some things, quite tentative and incomplete, but still radical in the present world culture, concerning the abilities that a good education will cultivate. Three values, I would argue, are particularly crucial to decent global citizenship. The first is the capacity for Socratic selfcriticism and critical thought about one's own traditions. As Socrates argues, democracy needs citizens who can think for themselves, rather than deferring to authority, who can reason together about their choices rather than simply trading claims and counter-claims.

Critical thinking is particularly crucial for good citizenship in a society that needs to come to grips with the presence of people who differ by ethnicity, caste, and religion. We will only have a chance at an adequate dialogue across cultural boundaries if young citizens know how to engage in dialogue and deliberation in the first place. And they will only know how to do that if they learn how to examine themselves and to think about the reasons why they are inclined to support one thing rather than another – rather than, as so often happens, seeing political debate as simply a way of boasting, or getting an advantage for their own side. When politicians bring simplistic propaganda their

way, as politicians in every country have a way of doing, young people will only have a hope of preserving independence and holding the politicians accountable if they know how to think critically about what they hear, testing its logic and imagining alternatives to it. Students exposed to instruction in critical thinking learn, at the same time, a new attitude to those who disagree with them. They learn to see people who disagree not as opponents to be defeated, but, instead, as people who have reasons for what they think. When their arguments are reconstructed it may turn out that they even share some important premises with one's own "side," and we will both understand better where the differences come from. We can see how this humanizes the political "other," making the mind see that opposing form as a rational being who may share at least some thoughts with one's own group.

Critical thinking is a discipline that can be taught as part of a school's curriculum, but it will not be well taught unless it informs the entire spirit of a school's pedagogy. Each child must be treated as an individual whose powers of mind are unfolding and who is expected to make an active and creative contribution to classroom discussion.

Let us now consider the relevance of this ability to the current state of modern pluralistic democracies surrounded by a powerful global marketplace. First of all, we can report that, even if we were just aiming at economic success, leading corporate executives understand very well the importance of creating a corporate culture in which critical voices are not silenced, a culture of both individuality and accountability. Leading business educators to whom I've spoken in the U. S. say that they trace some of our biggest disasters – the failures of certain phases

of the NASA space shuttle program, the even more disastrous failure of Enron and WorldCom – to a culture of yes-people, where critical ideas were never articulated. And two nations that see their educational systems primarily as engines of economic growth, Singapore and China, have recently conducted educational reforms to give both critical thinking and the cultivation of the imagination a larger place in curricula in both schools and universities. They certainly do not want to produce democracy, so they keep these abilities on a very short leash. It is significant, however, that even they feel the need for them. But our goal, I've said, is not simply enrichment, so let us now turn to political culture. As I've said, human beings are prone to be subservient to both authority and peer pressure; to prevent atrocities we need to counteract these tendencies, producing a culture of individual dissent. Asch found that when even one person in his study group stood up for the truth, others followed, so that one critical voice can have large consequences. By emphasizing each person's active voice, we also promote a culture of accountability. When people see their ideas as their own responsibility, they are more likely, too, to see their deeds as their own responsibility. That was the point Tagore made in Nationalism, when he insisted that the bureaucratization of social life and the relentless machine-like character of modern states had deadened people's moral imaginations, leading them to acquiesce in atrocities with no twinge of conscience.

The second key ability of the modern democratic citizen, I would argue, is the ability to see oneself as a member of a heterogeneous nation, and world, understanding something of the history and character of the diverse groups that inhabit it. Knowledge is no guarantee of good

behavior, but ignorance is a virtual guarantee of bad behavior. Simple cultural and religious stereotypes abound in our world, for example the facile equation of Islam with terrorism, and the first way to begin combating these is to make sure that from a very early age students learn a different relation to the world. They should gradually come to understand both the differences that make understanding difficult between groups and nations and the shared human needs and interests that make understanding essential, if common problems are to be solved.

This understanding of the world will promote human development only if it is itself infused by searching critical thinking, thinking that focuses on differences of power and opportunity. History will be taught with an eye to thinking critically about these differences. At the same time, the traditions and religions of major groups in one's own culture, and in the world, will be taught with a view to promoting respect for one's fellow world citizens as equals, and equally entitled to social and economic opportunity.

In curricular terms, these ideas suggest that all young citizens should learn the rudiments of world history and should get a rich and non-stereotypical understanding of the major world religions, and then should learn how to inquire in more depth into at least one unfamiliar tradition, in this way acquiring tools that can later be used elsewhere. At the same time, they ought to learn about the major traditions, majority and minority, within their own nation, focusing on an understanding of how differences of religion, race, and gender have been associated with differential life-opportunities. All, finally, should learn at least one foreign language well: seeing that another group of intelligent human beings has cut up the world



differently, that all translation is interpretation, gives a young person an essential lesson in cultural humility.

The third ability of the citizen, closely related to the first two, is what I would call the narrative imagination.<sup>3</sup> This means the ability to think what it might be like to be in the shoes of a person different from oneself, to be an intelligent reader of that person's story, and to understand the emotions and wishes and desires that someone so placed might have. The cultivation of sympathy has been a key part of the best modern ideas of progressive education, in both Western and non-Western nations. As I've observed, the moral imagination, always under siege from fear and narcissism, is apt to become obtuse, if not energetically refined and cultivated through the development of sympathy and concern. Learning to see another human being not as a thing but as a full person is not an automatic achievement: it must be promoted by an education that refines the ability to think about what the inner life of another may be like – and also to understand why one can never fully grasp that inner world, why any person is always to a certain extent dark to any other. We'll soon see that this ability gives crucial support to both critical thinking and world citizenship. It is promoted, above all, by instruction in literature and the arts.

The arts can cultivate students' sympathy in many ways, through engagement with many different works of literature, music, fine art, and dance. But thought needs to be given to what the student's particular blind spots are likely to be, and texts should be chosen in consequence. For all societies at all times have their particular blind spots, groups within their culture and

also groups abroad that are especially likely to be dealt with ignorantly and obtusely. Works of art can be chosen to promote criticism of this obtuseness, and a more adequate vision of the unseen. Ralph Ellison, in a later essay about his great novel *Invisible Man*, wrote that a novel such as his could be "a raft of perception, hope, and entertainment" on which American culture could "negotiate the snags and whirlpools" that stand between us and our democratic ideal. His novel, of course, takes the "inner eyes" of the white reader as its theme and its target. The hero is invisible to white society, but he tells us that this invisibility is an imaginative and educational failing on their part, not a biological accident on his. Through the imagination we are able to have a kind of insight into the experience of another group or person that it is very difficult to attain in daily life – particularly when our world has constructed sharp separations between groups, and suspicions that make any encounter difficult.

How are the abilities of citizenship doing in the world today? Very poorly, I fear. Education of the type I recommend is doing reasonably well in the place where I first studied it, namely the liberal arts portion of U. S. college and university curricula. Indeed, it is this part of the curriculum, in institutions such as my own, that particularly attracts philanthropic support, as rich people remember with pleasure the time when they read books that they loved, and pursued issues open-endedly. Now, however, there is great strain. In the *New York Times*, Harvard's President Drew Faust reports that the economic downturn has reinforced a picture that the value of a university degree is largely instrumental, and that university leaders are increasingly embracing a market model of their mission, in

consequence cutting back the liberal arts. Outside the U. S., many nations whose university curricula do not include a liberal arts component are now striving to build one, since they acknowledge its importance in crafting a public response to the problems of pluralism, fear, and suspicion their societies face. I've been involved in such discussions in the Netherlands, in Sweden, in India, in Germany, in Italy, in India and Bangladesh. Whether reform in this direction will occur, however, is hard to say: for liberal education has high financial and pedagogical costs. Teaching of the sort I recommend needs small classes, or at least sections, where students get copious feedback on frequent writing assignments. European professors are not used to this idea, and would at present be horrible at it if they did try to do it, since they are not trained as teachers in the way that U. S. graduate students are, and come to expect that holding a chair means not having to have much to do with undergraduates. Even when faculty are keen on the liberal arts model, bureaucrats are unwilling to believe that it is necessary to support the number of faculty positions required to make it really work. Meanwhile, in many nations politicians are imposing increasing demands for "relevance" to national economic goals before they fund departments, programs, and even individual scholars' research. Britain has faced these demands since the Thatcher era, but they have recently been renewed with alarming emphasis, as philosophers, classicists, and humanists of all types are asked to demonstrate the economic "impact" of the studies they propose. So the universities of the world have great merits, but also great and increasing problems. By contrast, the abilities of citizenship are doing very poorly, in every nation, in the

most crucial years of children's lives, the years known as K through 12. Here the demands of the global market have made everyone focus on scientific and technical proficiency as the key abilities, and the humanities and the arts are increasingly perceived as useless frills, which we can prune away to make sure our nation (whether it be India or the U. S.) remains competitive. To the extent that they are the focus of national discussion, they are recast as technical abilities themselves, to be tested by quantitative multiple-choice examinations, and the imaginative and critical abilities that lie at their core are typically left aside. In the U. S., national testing (under the "No Child Left Behind" Act) has already made things worse, as national testing usually does: for at least my first and third ability are not testable by quantitative multiple choice exams, and the second is very poorly tested in such ways. (Moreover, nobody bothers to try to test it even in that way.) Whether a nation is aspiring to a greater share of the market, like India, or struggling to protect jobs, like the U. S., the imagination and the critical faculties look like useless paraphernalia, and people even have increasing contempt for them. Across the board, the curriculum is being stripped of its humanistic elements, and the pedagogy of rote learning rules the roost. The Obama administration, under Arne Duncan, has announced its intention of expanding testing, and there is little sign of sensitivity to the problems it has created. What will we have, if these trends continue? Nations of technically trained people who don't know how to criticize authority, useful profit-makers with obtuse imaginations. As Tagore observed, studying the educational institutions of his time – a suicide of the soul. What could be more frightening than that? Indeed, when

<sup>3</sup> See *Cultivating*, ch. 3.



we consider the Indian state of Gujarat, which has for a particularly long time gone down this road, with no critical thinking in the public schools and a concerted focus on technical ability, one can see clearly how a band of docile engineers can be welded into a murderous force to enact the most horrendously racist and anti-democratic policies such as that state's slaughter of more than 2000 Muslim civilians in 2002, egged on by officials of state and even national government. And yet, how can we possibly avoid going down this road?

Democracies have great rational and imaginative powers. They also are prone to some serious flaws in reasoning, to parochialism, haste, sloppiness, selfishness. Education based mainly on profitability in the global market magnifies these deficiencies, producing a greedy obtuseness and a technically trained docility that threaten the very life of democracy itself, and that certainly impede the creation of a decent world culture.

If the real clash of civilizations is, as I believe, a clash within the individual soul, as greed and narcissism contend against respect and love, all modern societies are rapidly losing the battle, as they feed the forces that lead to violence and dehumanization and fail to feed the forces that lead to cultures of equality and respect. If we do not insist on the crucial importance of the humanities and the arts, they will drop away, because they don't make money. They only do what is much more precious than that, make a world that is worth living in, people who are able to see other human beings as full people, with thoughts and feelings of their own that deserve respect and sympathy, and nations that are able to overcome fear and suspicion in favor of sympathetic and reasoned debate.

## Vita

Martha Nussbaum

Professor Martha Nussbaum is the Ernst Freund Distinguished Service Professor of Law and Ethics, appointed in the Law School and Philosophy Department at the University of Chicago. She is an Associate in the Classics Department, the Divinity School, and the Political Science Department, a Member of the Committee on Southern Asian Studies, and a Board Member of the Human Rights Program.

Martha Nussbaum received her BA from NYU and her MA and PhD from Harvard. She has taught at Harvard, Brown, and Oxford Universities. She received numerous honourable awards e.g. the Centennial Medal of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at Harvard University in 2010. She is an Academician in the Academy of Finland. In 2009 she won the A.SK award from the German Social Science Research Council (WZB) for her contributions to "social system reform," and the American Philosophical Society's Henry M. Phillips Prize in Jurisprudence. In 2012 she was awarded the Prince of Asturias Prize in the Social Sciences.

Her publications since 2000 include *Women and Human Development* (2000), *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions* (2001), *Hiding From Humanity: Disgust, Shame, and the Law* (2004), *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership* (2006), *The Clash Within: Democracy, Religious Violence, and India's Future* (2007), *Liberty of Conscience: In Defense of America's Tradition of Religious Equality* (2008), *From Disgust to Humanity: Sexual Orientation and Constitutional Law* (2010), *Not For Profit: Why Democracy Needs the Humanities* (2010), *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach* (2011), *The New Religious Intolerance: Overcoming the Politics of Fear in an Anxious Age* (2012), and *Philosophical Interventions: Book Reviews 1985-2011* (2012). She has also edited fifteen books. Her current book in progress is *Political Emotions: Why Love Matters for Justice*, which will be published by Harvard in 2013.

## Information about the institutions

### The Faculty of Educational Science

The Faculty of Educational Science was created in 1980 out of the Faculty of Pedagogy, Philosophy, and Psychology. The Faculty of Educational Science at the University of Bielefeld is one of the largest university faculties of education in Germany, and has built a strong reputation over the years as a faculty renowned both within Germany and internationally for its outstanding research. The faculty is consistently rated very high in national rankings. In the faculty, research and teaching activities are carried out in 10 Working Groups. Since its founding, the Faculty has been firmly committed to interdisciplinary research, while at the same time seeing this research as inconceivable without a strong core within the discipline. The Faculty of Educational Science pursues basic research as well as applied research for various teaching contexts and for political and economic policy-making, and thus plays an active role in shaping and influencing society.

### Bielefeld Center for Education and Capability Research – BCA

The Bielefeld Center for Education and Capability Research initiates interdisciplinary research projects that complement the perspective of educational research on children and youths by means of social analysis. The Center links research on opportunities for agency and participation of children and youths with the Capabilities Approach, the justice-based approach that was developed by Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen. Since its foundation in 2006, the Center holds annual international conferences with eminent researchers and professional experts from all over Europe and beyond. It is also an excellent place for international and interdisciplinary research and PhD-training projects. The Center is home to innovative projects, funded by the European Commission collaborative Research Project “Workable – Making Capabilities Work” and the “Society – Social Innovation – empowering the young”, also a Marie Curie Initial Training Network “EduWel – Education as Welfare. Enhancing Opportunities for Socially Vulnerable Youth in Europe”, an excellent PhD-programme for 15 international students also by the EU.

### Research School Education and Capabilities – EduCap

The international and interdisciplinary Research School Education and Capabilities (EduCap), organised by the Bielefeld University and the Technische Universität Dortmund, provides an excellent three-year doctoral program for 40 German and international PhD-students. The language of instruction is English. The program covers empirical and theoretical issues in educational and related research. The focus lies on the analysis of developmental options and opportunities for children, adolescents and young adults. EduCap pursues the option for the further development of an educational research formed by a perspective on social justice which is particularly inspired by the Capability Approach in the tradition of Amartya Sen and Martha C. Nussbaum. It uses the Capability Approach as an overarching framework that allows for conceptualizing and evaluating causes of educational inequality and opportunities for just educational chances.



From left to right:

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Prof. Martha C. Nussbaum, Ph.D., Prof. Dr.-Ing. Gerhard Sagerer,  
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