HUMAN BEINGS AND THEIR EDUCATION FROM AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE: CURRENT DISCOURSES IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATIONAL SCIENCE IN THE GERMAN-SPEAKING WORLD

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ABSTRACT. In this article Cristoph Wulf examines the basic concepts of pedagogy and educational science in the German-speaking world, looking at education and socialization from the perspective of educational anthropology. He makes evident that the complex German concept of *Bildung*, in particular, can only be fully understood by means of a historical and philosophical analysis.

KEY WORDS. *Bildung*; mimesis; performativity; educational anthropology; cultural education

The concept of *Bildung* emphasizes the active, individual, and subjective side of human learning and development. It encompasses the education or shaping of the body, the senses, and the emotions; it also involves ethical, social and societal tasks. In the context of education for sustainable development and global citizenship education, it takes on new significance because of the complexity of the learning processes it describes.

The development of a society is closely linked to the education and learning processes of the next generation. The development of these approaches to teaching and learning has been deeply informed by the humanities and social sciences. The concept of education as *Bildung* differs from the concepts of *Erziehung* and socialization in that *Bildung* emphasizes the active and subjective side, and thus the individual possibilities of shaping the subject. In the concept of *Erziehung* the emphasis is on the intentions and values of the educators, the older generation, who use educational practices to steer young people's learning in a particular way. In the concept of socialization, the emphasis is on the role of society and its institutions in the socialization process of individuals, and also on the importance of nonintentional learning processes for the development of young people.[1]

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1. Christoph Wulf, Birgit Althans, Kathrin Audehm, Constanze Bausch, Michael Göhlich, Stephan Sting, Anja Tervooren, Monika Wagner-Willi, and Jörg Zirfas, *Das Soziale als Ritual. Zur performativen Bedeutung von Gemeinschaft* [The Social as Ritual: On the Performative Meaning of Community] (Opladen, Germany: Leske und Budrich, 2001); Christoph Wulf, Birgit Althans, Kathrin Audehm, Constanze Bausch, Benjamin Jörissen, Michael Göhlich, Ruprecht Mattig, Anja Tervooren, Monika Wagner-Willi, and Jörg Zirfas, *Bildung im Ritual. Schule, Familie, Jugend, Medien* [Education in Ritual: School, Family, Youth, Media] (Wiesbaden, Germany: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004); Christoph Wulf, Birgit Althans, Gerald Blaschke, Nino Ferrin, Michael Göhlich, Benjamin Jörissen, Ruprecht Mattig, Iris Nentwig-Gesemann, Sebastian Schinkel, Anja Tervooren, Monika Wagner-Willi, and Jörg Zirfas, *Lernkulturen im Umbruch. Rituelle Praktiken in Schule, Medien, Familie und Jugend* [Learning Cultures in Transition: Ritual Practices in School, Media, Family and Youth] (Wiesbaden, Germany: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2007); Christoph Wulf, Birgit Althans, Kathrin Audehm, Constanze

But these distinctions only exist in an ideal world, because these terms are often used in such a way that they are hardly distinguishable. Therefore, a definition of the concept of education can only be contextual. This is all the more true since a definition of education is only possible if we are aware of its historical-cultural conditionality.[2] Since it is practically impossible to translate the term *Bildung* into other languages (although we have to try and do so because of the need for global communication) today there is such an overlap between the concepts of *Bildung* and *Erziehung* that in German educational science it no longer makes sense to differentiate strictly between the two terms. Thus, processes that used to be called *Bildung* are now called *Erziehung*, and vice versa. This overlap of the two terms is particularly evident in processes described by the term "life-long education," which in German is sometimes translated as "*lebenslange Erziehung*," but mostly as "*lebenslange Bildung.*" In international usage, educational processes are often also described as learning processes or as processes of "human development."[3]

Within the overall structure of education and socialization, the concept of *cultural education* has been developed in recent years under the influence of UNESCO. This happened at international conferences in Lisbon in 2006 and in Seoul in 2010, and also in many other activities that have highlighted its importance. Cultural education and cultural learning are used with reference to "culture" in both the narrower and the broader sense of the word. In the first instance, this term is used to refer to the field of aesthetic education, including all school subjects in which literature, arts, music, or theater are taught. This is connected with education of the body,[4] the senses, and the imaginary

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Bausch, Michael Göhlich, Stephan Sting, Anja Tervooren, Monika Wagner-Willi, and Jörg Zirfas, *Ritual and Identity: The Staging and Performing of Rituals in the Lives of Young People*, trans. Alice Lagaay and Elizabeth Hamilton (London: The Tufnell Press, 2010); and Christoph Wulf, Birgit Althans, Kathrin Audehm, Gerald Blaschke, Nino Ferrin, Ingrid Kellermann, Ruprecht Mattig, and Sebastian Schinkel, *Die Geste in Erziehung, Bildung und Sozialisation* [The Gesture in Education and Socialization] (Wiesbaden, Germany: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2011).

2. Christoph Wulf, *Anthropologie. Geschichte, Kultur, Philosophie* [Anthropology: History, Culture, Philosophy] (Köln, Germany: Anaconda, 2009); Christoph Wulf, ed., *Der Mensch und seine Kultur. Menschliches Leben in Gegenwart, Vergangenheit und Zukunft* [Man and His Culture: Human Life in the Present, Past and Future] (Köln, Germany: Anaconda, 2010); Christoph Wulf, *Anthropology: A Continental Perspective* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013); and Christoph Wulf, *Das Rätsel des Humanen* [The Enigma of the Human] (Munich, Germany: Wilhelm Fink, 2013).

3. Christoph Wulf and Jörg Zirfas, eds., *Handbuch Pädagogische Anthropologie* [Handbook of Pedagogical Anthropology] (Wiesbaden, Germany: VS Springer, 2014).

4. Anja Kraus and Christoph Wulf, eds., *The Palgrave Handbook of Embodiment and Learning* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022).

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through language, image, music, and performing arts.[5] As early as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the concept of education had a distinct aesthetic dimension.

Often the term "cultural education" is used more broadly to include the teaching of history and politics, religion and philosophy, as well as the "appropriate representation of non-European areas of knowledge."[6] Here, cultural education denotes an education that takes place not only through aesthetic experiences, but also through everyday learning processes. The broader concept of cultural education and learning, which depends more on the ethnological concept of culture, defines culture as "the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of a society or a social group" and, understood in the broadest sense, is a critical consideration when defining the constitutive elements of well-being, dignity, and sustainable human development, rooting these in local realities and capabilities.[7] This entails a broader notion of culture and implies criticism of views where education is seen purely in terms of what can be measured, as is the case in much international research.

In Germany, the modern concept of education, with its aesthetic and normative dimension, emerged in the German classical period and the Enlightenment. Some of its central features go back to the time of the Reformation and even further to the Middle Ages and Greek antiquity. Next, we look at ten aspects of education that have been identified in an extensive historical-systematic analysis that we do not have room to go into in more detail here. These show the extent to which education and complex cultural learning processes are based on the traditions and research of the humanities; however, they benefit everyone, including those working in the fields of business, technology, and medicine, since they are primarily a matter of general education that enables people to familiarize themselves with new and unfamiliar fields of work and activities in the course of their lives. In a sense, they suggest dimensions of a richer conception of *Bildung*.

Mimesis

In Plato, education is referred to as mimesis. This emphasizes the central role that processes of imitation play in the education of young people. Here, mimesis refers primarily to processes of imitation directed toward other people

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5. Axel Michaels and Christoph Wulf, eds., *Emotions in Rituals and Performances* (London: Routledge, 2012); Axel Michaels and Christoph Wulf, eds., *Exploring the Senses: Emotions, Performativity, and Ritual* (London: Routledge, 2014); and Christoph Wulf, *Human Beings and Their Images: Imagination, Mimesis, Performativity* (London: Bloomsbury, 2022).

6. Wissenschaftsrat, *Empfehlungen zur Entwicklung und Förderung der Geisteswissenschaften in Deutschland* [Recommendations for the Development and Promotion of the Humanities in Germany], Berlin, January 27, 2006, (my translation), https://www.fu-berlin.de/sites/dhc/xmedia/Dokumente/WR -Empfehlungen_GW.pdf.

7. UNESCO, *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (Paris: UNESCO, 2001), https://en.unesco .org/about-us/legal-affairs/unesco-universal-declaration-cultural-diversity.

with the goal of making oneself similar to them. These are not mere copying processes, but processes of creative imitation in which young people form and produce themselves by resembling others.[8] A significant part of growing up is observing and learning, often tacitly, what it means to be an adult. In mimetic processes, children, adolescents, and adults take an "imprint," as it were, of phenomena, practices, and structures, incorporating them and making them part of themselves in the process. In such processes, events and models for actions are passed on to the next generation. Since the handling of emotions, the acquisition of language, and social forms of interaction and behavior are all largely learned mimetically, these educational processes are of central importance from early childhood.

Entelechy

In German classical studies, entelechy is considered to be an important dimension of education. The term is composed of three elements: ἐν en, English "in"; τέλος telos, English "goal"; and ἔχειν echein, English "to have." Entelechy means that all human beings have their goals within themselves. According to this view, there is something in every person that can be developed with the help of education and that makes every person unique. This somewhat controversial notion combines ancient and Christian traditions.

Categorical Education

Education is categorical education, meaning a basic education. In this process people develop basic forms and contents of knowledge and understanding. Categorial education involves the reciprocal interweaving of content and formal aspects. As this content is appropriated, the formal ability to appropriate it is developed at the same time. Thus, for educational processes to succeed, these two dimensions of learning (form and content) are necessary.[9]

General Education

General education is the term used to describe the crucial knowledge and skills required to actively and critically participate in shaping as many areas of modern society as possible. It forms the basis for the education of every person, which can essentially be understood as a measure of how well one's personal worldview corresponds to reality. The aim of education is to provide a general education that will enable humans to become acquainted with new and unknown contexts in a competent way. With regard to societal demands, education must therefore not be

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8. Wulf, *Anthropology: A Continental Perspective*; Wulf, *Das Rätsel des Humanen*; Gunter Gebauer and Christoph Wulf, *Mimesis: Culture, Art, Society* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1995); and Gunter Gebauer and Christoph Wulf, *Spiel — Ritual — Geste. Mimetisches Handeln in der sozialen Welt* [Play — Ritual — Gesture: Mimetic Action in the Social World] (Reinbek, Germany: Rowohlt, 1998).

9. Wolfgang Klafki, *Das pädagogische Problem des Elementaren und die Theorie der kategorialen Bildung* [The Pedagogical Problem of the Elementary and the Theory of Categorical Education] (Weinheim, Germany: Beltz, 1964).

narrowly focused and functionalized. The focus is on the education of individuals and their development as individual and social subjects with all that this requires.[10]

Historicity and Culturality

Educational processes are tied to historical and social conditions that also help to determine what they may achieve. For these processes to succeed, their historicity and culturality must be taken into account.[11] Historical anthropology emphasizes the dual historical and cultural character of all pedagogical phenomena. It derives, on the one hand, from the historicity and culturality of the phenomena studied and, on the other hand, from the historical and cultural character of the researcher. For research in anthropology and education, consideration of this double historicity and culturality is of constitutive importance. It is a significant reason for the complexity of pedagogical research, which is rarely adequately taken into account.

Physicality and Aesthetic Character

Education is understood as a bodily-sensual process. In view of this fact, the conditions of the human body often play an underestimated role in educational processes.[12] These conditions and the sensual sensitivity and emotionality associated with them are also important prerequisites for relationships with other people, with the world, and with oneself.[13] Education is thus both aisthetic and aesthetic, that is, it concerns human perception and theories of perception or sensual understanding, and it involves the formation of the senses, the imagination, and the body.[14]

Performativity

Acting, speaking, and behaving are all closely linked to the human body, and the staging and performing of these components is known as performative. Education must be understood as a cultural enactment and performance.[15] This places greater emphasis on the physicality of educational processes and shifts the focus to education as a *practice* as well as to the social and cultural shaping of

10. Christoph Wulf, *Education as Human Knowledge in the Anthropocene: An Anthropological Perspective* (London: Routledge, 2022); and Christoph Wulf and Dietmar Kamper, eds., *Logik und Leidenschaft* [Logic and Passion] (Berlin, Germany: Reimer, 2002).

11. Wulf, *Anthropology: A Continental Perspective*; and Wulf, ed., *Der Mensch und seine Kultur*.

12. Kraus and Wulf, eds., *The Palgrave Handbook of Embodiment and Learning*.

13. Christoph Wulf, Shoko Suzuki, Jörg Zirfas, Ingrid Kellermann, Yoshitaka Inoue, Fumio Ono, and Nanae Takenaka, *Das Glück der Familie. Deutsch-japanische Fallstudien* [Family Happiness: German-Japanese Case Studies] (Wiesbaden, Germany: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2011).

14. Wulf, *Human Beings and Their Images*; Michaels and Wulf, eds., *Exploring the Senses*; and Bernd Huppauf and Christoph Wulf, eds., *Dynamics and Performativity of Imagination: The Image between the Visible and the Invisible* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

15. Wulf, *Anthropology: A Continental Perspective*; and Wulf, *Das Rätsel des Humanen*.

this practice.[16] When performativity is discussed in education, it is necessary to consider the aspects of cultural performance and language as action, and also the aesthetic aspects of staging and performing, in relation to each other.

Education for All

Just as Comenius's goal for education in the seventeenth century was to teach everything to everyone, this task remains important today in view of the great disparities between the Global North and Global South and the disadvantages of girls and women compared to boys and men in many countries. The UN system is of particular importance in achieving greater parity in education.[17]

Complexity

Education involves different learning processes. Jacques Delors's educational recommendation in *Learning: The Treasure Within* distinguishes four learning processes that constitute education.[18] First, there is the need to learn how to acquire knowledge. Second, action must be learned, in which the acquisition of practical knowledge plays an important role. Third, we must learn how to live together with other people. And finally, fourth, it is necessary to learn to accept oneself as one is, i.e., to learn to be.[19]

Peace, Cultural Diversity, Sustainability

In the context of education, it is necessary to deal with the major problems of the present and the future. These include the issues of peace, not only in the sense of the absence of violence, but also in the sense of a reduction of structural and symbolic violence.[20] Problems include the aforementioned challenges of cultural and social education which contain the potential for conflict and violence if they are not properly managed. Finally, education must be sustainable, that is, it must

16. Christoph Wulf, Michael Göhlich, and Jörg Zirfas, *Grundlagen des Performativen. Eine Einführung in die Zusammenhänge von Sprache, Macht und Handeln* [Fundaments of the Performative. An Introduction to the Connections between Language, Power, and Action] (Weinheim, Germany: Juventa, 2001); and Christoph Wulf and Jörg Zirfas, eds., *Die Pädagogik des Performativen. Theorien, Methoden, Perspektiven* [The Pedagogy of the Performative: Theories, Methods, Perspectives] (Weinheim, Germany: Beltz, 2007).

17. United Nations, *Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, A/RES/70/1 (New York: United Nations, 2015), https://sdgs.un.org/sites/default/files/publications /21252030%20Agenda%20for%20Sustainable%20Development%20web.pdf; Wulf, *Education as Human Knowledge in the Anthropocene*; and Christoph Wulf, "Friedenskultur/Erziehung zum Frieden" [Peace Culture/Education for Peace], in *Friedenspädagogik. Grundlagen, Praxisansätze, Perspektiven*, ed. Renate Grasse, Bettina Gruber, and Günther Gugel (Reinbek, Germany: Rowohlt, 2008), 35–60.

18. Jacques Delors, ed., *Learning — The Treasure Within* (Paris: UNESCO, 1996).

19. Edgar Morin and Christoph Wulf, *Planète: l'aventure inconnue* [Planet: The Unknown Adventure] (Paris: Mille et une nuits, 1997).

20. Christoph Wulf, ed., *Kritische Friedenserziehung* [Critical Peace Education] (Frankfurt, Germany: Suhrkamp, 1973); and Christoph Wulf, ed., *Handbook on Peace Education* (Oslo, Norway: International Peace Research Association, 1974).

contribute to improving intergenerational equity in the use of nonrenewable resources.[21]

PRACTICES

Because practices of education are part of culture, they are also culturally different. Along with this diversity of educational practices there are also tendencies toward homogenization, so conflicts are inevitable. How these are dealt with is central to educational processes and to the educational system. Education today often also takes place as transcultural education in a "third space" that cannot be assigned to one culture, but which emerges between cultures, people, and different ideas.[22] This third space can be real, but it also always has an imaginary dimension and therefore offers room for movement and change. The educational processes that take place in this third space can lead to the perception of "difference," to processes of "transgression," and to new forms of "hybridity."[23]

DIFFERENCE

Differences create boundaries and contribute to their dynamization. Without differences, it is not possible to form a cultural identity. Differences are generated through inclusion and exclusion, for example, in rituals. The category of difference gains special significance in the UNESCO Convention for the Protection of Cultural Diversity, in which the right to cultural difference is considered a universal human right on the basis of which cultural identity formation is possible.[24]

TRANSGRESSION

Transgression occurs on the one hand as transgression of rules, norms and laws, and on the other as transgression of culturally generated boundaries. These transgressions can be non-violent, but are often associated with manifest, structural, or symbolic violence. When dealing with cultural diversity in the field of education, there is often a transgression of traditional boundaries, in the course of which something new emerges. Transgressions thereby change norms and rules, ways of life and practices. They shift boundaries and generate new cultural relations and constellations. In the dynamics of intercultural educational processes, such transgression processes can be ethnographically investigated.

21. Morin and Wulf, *Planète*; Wulf, *Education as Human Knowledge in the Anthropocene*; Nathanaël Wallenhorst and Christoph Wulf, eds., *Les Humains — Dictionnaire d'anthropologie prospective* [Humans — Dictionary of Prospective Anthropology] (Paris: Vrin, 2022); and Nathanaël Wallenhorst and Christoph Wulf, eds., *Handbook of the Anthropocene: Humans between Heritage and Future* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer Nature, 2023).

22. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004).

23. Christoph Wulf, ed., *Exploring Alterity in a Globalized World* (London: Routledge, 2016); and Christoph Wulf, "Global Citizenship Education: Bildung zu einer planetarischen Weltgemeinschaft im Anthropozän" [Global Citizenship Education: Education for a Planetary World Community in the Anthropocene], *Vierteljahreszeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Pädagogik* 97, no. 4 (2021): 463–480.

24. UNESCO, *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* (Paris: UNESCO, 2005), https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000246264?posInSet=1&queryId =85dde93e-9ef6-402b-bc9f-452e6a399382.

Hybridity

The humanities can make an important contribution to understanding the emergence of new hybrid cultural forms as a result of difference and transgression. Due to the increasingly dense and rapid communication and interaction between the different cultures and societies of the world, and the intensification of economic, political, social, and cultural exchange, more and more hybrid cultural forms are emerging. The concept of hybridization serves to define cultural contacts and educational processes, not only dualistically and essentialistically, but to show that they create identity with the help of a "third space."[25] This third space is liminal; it is an in-between space and emphasizes in-between-ness. In this liminal space, boundaries are subverted and restructured, and hierarchies and power relations are altered. The crucial question is to what extent these processes and their outcomes are determined by performative practices and how new forms of hybridization emerge in the process. These forms are hybrids in which individual elements from different systems and contexts change their character in a mimetic process and a new cultural identity emerges. This identity is no longer constituted in demarcation from an Other, but in a mimetic assimilation to the Other.[26]

Philosophical Reflection

The more complex the social conditions in the globalized world become, and the more difficult it becomes to combine the tendency of homogenization with the demands of cultural diversity, the more important the philosophical dimension in educational processes becomes. This can be taught in various forms of philosophy classes, which are less concerned with conveying encyclopedic knowledge than with a thorough, exemplary examination of selected philosophical questions. But it can also be understood as a constitutive component for many educational processes. Two aspects are then particularly important. One aspect accentuates the confrontation with the central values of a pluralistic education striving for the realization of human rights. The other aspect emphasizes the importance of philosophical reflection on societal, cultural, and social processes as well as on everyday life and educational processes. Seen in these terms, philosophical reflection is a central component of cultural education. In a narrower sense, it relates to the field of aesthetic education with the school subjects in which literature, arts, music, theater are taught.

Wonder

In contrast to religion, which gives answers to fundamental questions or at least proposes answers, philosophy in the European tradition insists on the basic

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25. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*.

26. Wulf, ed., *Exploring Alterity in a Globalized World*; Kathrin Audehm and Hans Rudolf Velten, eds., *Transgression — Hybridisierung — Differenzierung: Zur Performativität von Grenzen in Sprache, Kultur und Gesellschaft* [Transgression, Hybridization, Differentiation: On the Performativity of Boundaries in Language] (Freiburg, Germany: Rombach, 2007); and Christoph Wulf and Christine Merkel, eds., *Globalisierung als Herausforderung der Erziehung. Theorien, Grundlagen, Fallstudien* [Globalization as a Challenge to Education: Theories, Foundations, Case Studies] (Münster, Germany: Waxmann, 2002).

unanswerability of all fundamental questions. Unlike religion, in which there is unity and meaning, philosophical thought insists on the loss of the One and of ultimate meaning. The unity of meaning, which is constitutive of religion, is not present in philosophy. Philosophy arises from a separation from that One and that ultimate meaning. This is where wonder sets in, *thaumazein*. Why is the world like this and not different? Why are people as they are and not otherwise? And what *are* people like? Wondering about this becomes the starting point of philosophical thinking and study in and out of school. Allowing such experiences to arise and become conscious is a task of philosophy. This can also be found in research-oriented learning. Here, too, the starting point is wonder and the questions that follow from it. The search processes initiated by these questions are important components of educational processes that do not see education purely in terms of performance and achievement. Wonder and questioning set important educational processes in motion, in the course of which it is hoped that people will become more open to the complexity of the world. In the *Theaetetus*, Plato writes: "Wonder is the attitude of a man who truly loves wisdom: there is no other beginning of philosophy than this."[27] Those who experience wonder, experience themselves in a variety of ways. In these, the inadequacy of familiar answers as well as the uncertainty about their adequacy play an important role. A person in a state of wonder experiences both knowledge and familiarity, doubt and uncertainty at the same time. In wonder, this simultaneity of the contradictory is unresolved.

Curiosity and Questions

Often wonder leads to curiosity and to the attempt to recognize what was previously hidden and what is new. In curiosity there is a diffuse foreknowledge of what is foreign, what is not yet known. Curiosity arising from wonder is an important element in educational processes, driving "heuristic" inquiry-oriented learning. In curiosity there is an emotional motivation to begin processes of learning and cognitive processes. Curiosity leads to us encountering unknown contexts, integrating them into existing contexts, and thereby educating ourselves.

If wonder and curiosity generate questions, this indicates that the person asking the questions has some prior knowledge. In order to be able to ask and develop questions, a fuzzy knowledge of the object or area to which the questions refer is required. This is true even if the questions — as with Socrates — serve to question knowledge thought to be certain and to make clear to the person asked how inadequate his or her convictions and opinions are. Radical questions that go to the root of the matter help to convey the experience of the provisional and inadequate nature of human knowledge. This is where confusing moments arise, which can be quite unsettling. These aporia have an important function in educational processes: they can enable young people to be prepared for the complex conditions of the globalized world. Although the awareness of the loss of secure

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27. Platon, *Theaitetos* [Theaetetus], in *Platon: Sämtliche Werke in drei Bänden*, vol. 2, ed. Erich Loewenthal, trans. Friedrich Schleiermacher (Darmstadt, Germany: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004), 155 D.

knowledge leads to uncertainty, it also offers the opportunity of becoming more open to what is unfamiliar and to alterity.

OUTLOOK

The education of the next generation is of fundamental importance for the development of societies. In this process, culture is conveyed and further developed, a process in which the humanities play a central role. The humanities help us to understand the historicity and culturality of human life and thus give meaning and significance to our lives. The problems associated with globalization and the questions of how to deal with alterity are of particular importance for understanding our times. The social significance of the humanities grows when they succeed in making a contribution to dealing with the major problems of humanity in cooperation with other scientific paradigms. This process also involves the question of what the humanities can contribute to the creation of a democratic public sphere and a civil society. Their reflective and critical character opens up a wider range of possibilities in this regard.