

7. Forms of Capital and Equity

7.1 Forms of Capital and Their Volumes

When people have the choice to decide between different forms of capital, economic capital generally exercises the greatest attraction because most people understand that a lot of resources can be drawn from economic capital for the other forms of capital. In a ranking of thoroughly capitalistically organized societies, learning capital in contrast is especially important for those who have to earn their living on their own or want to be upwardly mobile. Social, cultural, and bodily aspects of capital are in such processes also involved, and the preferences here may often vary. Those who have more, may be more easily satisfied with a mix of individual variants in their forms of capital, and for those who do not have a lot, learning and in part body capital primarily hold opportunities for raising their social, cultural, and also economic capital on their own.

However, one cannot assume a deterministic model here. The forms of capital are always tied to concrete forms of power in historical and cultural situations and contexts. On the one side, only concrete historical analyses according to the state of social constitutions and their local forms can help us work out and determine in more detail the interaction of forms of capital for certain historical periods and local specialized forms, while on the other side, the complex world of different local forms is increasingly becoming more global with different tensions between the local and global. The combined effect of forms of capital show on this background that we will not be able to give a complete analysis. Such a desire for a complete analysis will always be disappointed given the complexity of forms of capital and their interaction in these complex contexts. But critical inquiries that offer diagnoses for concrete periods can help us to interpret observations and make justified claims about the effects of forms of capital.

Today, economic capital is a basic resource but is not the only effective form of capital. The social recognition that accompanies power, status, and a successful habitus has become crucial with the increase of personal autonomy in the choice of a partner, circles of friends and acquaintances, and leisure behavior. Culture as a differentiating factor has changed its face between old and new capital, but the explicit and implicit rankings of cultural levels and claims are like an external mirror that accompanies economic capital. Cultural linguistic behavior already affects whether a person is sufficiently perceived, recognized, and valued. Body capital mixes with this form because the rich always want to be the beautiful or possess and represent the beautiful. Learning capital forms a certain sub-total, but it is primarily interesting and attractive

for those who need education as a distinguishing factor and aid in their struggle for upward mobility or for those who have grown fond of it. One can consider these statements to be hypotheses that may not fit in each individual case, but in the great mass of peoples' desires and realized biographical strategies it is not difficult to demonstrate the truth of these statements empirically as well. In reflective self-observation, we constantly recognize the special effects and the successful and unsuccessful variants.

However, even with these expanded forms of capital one cannot deny that economic capital still essentially divides people into rich and poor and thus according to their basic resources. But on the whole, the old view on capital since Marx has transformed into different *forms of capital*. The forms of capital work together systematically and mutually condition one another even if they are dominant in different ways in different lifestyles. And the forms of capital can also be transformed into each other, i.e. they can all be exchanged and converted, which is something that can be demonstrated easily in biographical studies of individual cases in terms of differences in success or failure regarding life opportunities.

The determination of economic capital has changed since Marx if we assume different forms of surplus value and capital. This is connected with the fact that from the perspective of a theoretical determination of action, the dualism between capital and wage labor is no longer sufficient for understanding the production of surplus value; rather, the analysis can be conducted in a significantly broader way when we look at peoples' practices. Under capitalism, everyone is caught up in capitalization. Such capitalization happens at both a large and small scale. It establishes a difference between expended costs and wages or income that allows surplus values to be realized, and this can happen not only in production but in all forms of distribution and exchange. The additional production of surplus value through supply and demand, illusion, deception, and fraud, and finally through parasitic gains, weakens the Marxist model and other theories based on paradigms of ownership so much that value and surplus value production appear in a completely new light. This opens our eyes to activities that would otherwise escape our viewpoint and its constant search for simplifications in a dualistic way of thinking. It is only against this background of a determination of surplus value for all forms of capital that it is plausible to distinguish forms of capital according to costs and benefits more precisely and not just reconstruct them in a general way according to everyday practices as Bourdieu did in his excellent way.

The development of economic capital, which now owes a large part of its profits to speculation and speculative exchange transactions, itself vividly shows that what Marx still regarded as an extreme or special case in history has now become the rule. And this rule includes the fact that markets can collapse and must be restarted if capitalism is to survive. But despite continual crises capitalism survives precisely because it has discovered so many

possibilities for generating surplus value and has fully drawn everyone into capitalization (even if it does so in different ways and with very different gains). This is because regardless of higher or lower economic and social positions capitalism has established a habitus that people can hardly escape and usually do not want to escape. This habitus is always under the influence of different forms and possibilities of financial transactions under capitalism; it situates itself in them and acts in the market; it is aware of necessary investments as an individual obligation without, however, always being able to or wanting to make these investments, and it differentiates activities for the production of various kinds of capital that are individually constructed, more or less longed for, and led, experienced, suffered, observed, and criticized. This capitalization is not only a matter for the rich but also affects the actions of even the poorest people. Even if Marx recognized that such a “social existence” with its different starting points determines consciousness, he could not foresee how thorough capitalism was embodied even by the lower classes as an own habitus beyond their objective economic position as non-owner of the means of production. Today, the insight has grown, namely that all agents, both rich and poor, are involved in capitalization, even if they are involved in unequal ways. In the aftermath of Marx, theories of interaction, communication, action, and power have emerged, which now help us better understand that all peoples’ positions in the capitalistic domain are connected with each other and thereby limit and strengthen each other; and we can also see and recognize here that there is no neutral, innocent, non-capitalized form of action.

If we consider the interaction of forms of capital, then it makes sense to see in economic capital a base that offers an essential foundation for all other forms of capital. Chart 29 (see *next page*) is supposed to make this clear.

Economic capital is given preference because it plays a presupposed role in all forms of capital. In addition, the other forms become capital only when they can be converted into economic capital and exchanged over the short or long term. Here in particular, we have to consider the volume, breadth, and density of distribution as well as development potential and competition, which can at the same time be used as measurements in empirical studies and compared with each other. The arrows in chart 29 show the possible different proportions of each form of capital with respect to the others, which will always look different for individual cases.

Volume: on the significance of the quantity of the different forms of capital

The volumes of forms of capital may fluctuate, but in the chapter on economics it was shown that a certain quantity of property (convertible into money) is necessary to allow for the possibility of participation in the other forms of capital. This money transforms into capital at the moment it achieves returns on the market—as an exchange value based on a use-value—on the basis of an

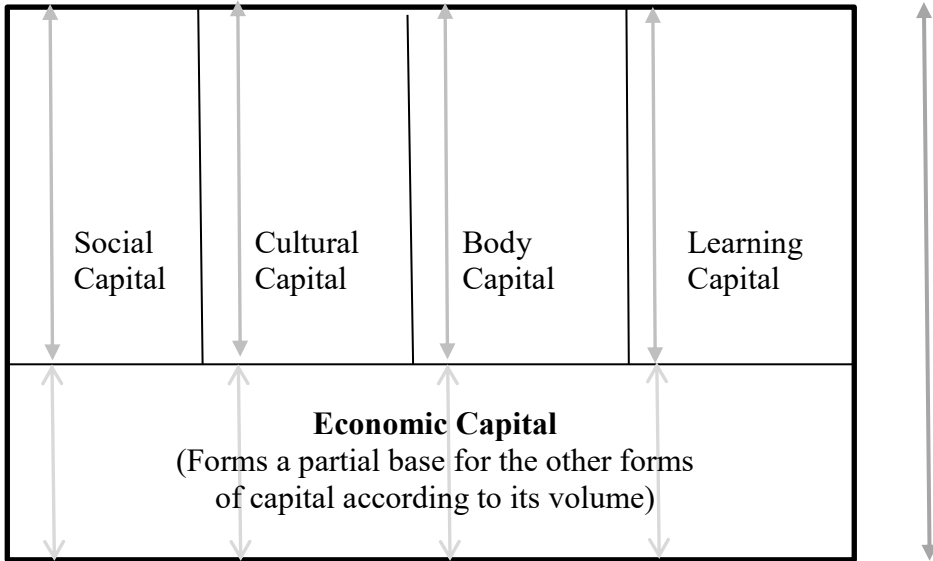


Chart 29: Forms of Capital and Their Volumes

investment in a form of capital. For a very low volume of economic capital, we can speak of capitalization on a small scale, a microeconomics; and the democratic state in a halfway equitable society has to ensure that all people have a minimum standard and minimum wage in order to participate in such microeconomics. This is quite contradictory: in order to limit the redistribution and injustices of capitalization between the rich and the poor in a thoroughly capitalistic society, the state must raise the opportunities for capitalization for lower incomes and thus eventually produces new gaps between poor people that become richer compared to the rest. However, as long as no completely different form of life and economics is available and desired, this is the only possible way to prevent the growing gap between the owners of capital and those who do not own sustainable capital. By raising equality of distribution, the state can make the gap smaller. If the state imposes higher taxes on the rich the gap can be minimized from the reverse side. This can be captured in the following rule: the higher the volume of basic economic capital is for the multitude, the better the chances are for the development of other relatively higher forms of capital.

Capital is, as has become clear in this book, not only high economic capital but also low economic capital. Even small-time savers who barely have any money and only save a small amount of economic capital expect that this low share of capital will “work” for them, i.e., produce gains. Wage-workers expect that contributions they make toward retirement will produce gains that will be

of benefit to them later etc. Capitalization means that all social forms of exchange are transformed from money into capital in all forms of action, and it works in the smallest amounts of actually achieved gains. Such an increase becomes measurable when as a rule the actual exchange value in the form of money can be exchanged for goods or services and through exchange on the market also be turned back into money. It is precisely this interweaving of exchange transactions in the area of microeconomics, extending down to even the poorest people, that makes capitalism so unassailable because other actions that go beyond capitalism can hardly be carried out and are rarely even seen as imaginable.

But beyond what is shown in the chapter on economic capital, the other forms of capital show that such exchanges back into money are also mediated by values that do not just appear directly on the market as an exchangeable good with a price but can also be indirectly connected with personal use values. Capitalization then happens here when invested costs can be transformed into monetary benefits. Use values have the potential to be transformed into exchange values to a greater or lesser degree. People and their characteristics and attained use values are not “capital itself,” but when a personal habitus which is associated with certain costs, leads to someone getting an employment contract, better income, or surplus value through their investments, which will in turn allow them to support their life, having children, and getting an education, capitalization is at work.

However, in practice people do not keep tabs on these benefits with a balance sheet for forms of capital because this not only is not common but the sum of individual costs is difficult to calculate.¹ Nevertheless the necessary and possible costs are constantly evaluated and subjectively measured in the available budget because people know that the forms of capital cannot be developed without resources and investments. Averages are also often assumed here because the use values for all forms of capital can be found and purchased on the market. The values become objectified through comparison and competition. According to standard economic models, the values of goods and services also fluctuate according to supply and demand. In the private production or construction of value, a competitive relationship can always be observed, which usually helps correct deviations upward or downward. The typical average, as chapter 2 shows, is often measured in a balance sheet according to expenditures and income with an actually expended volume of money. But beyond economic capital, a balance sheet for other forms of capital seems too cumbersome, and people instead rely here more or less on their feelings. Thus, for example, people say that it always pays to have a good education, to accumulate learning or body capital, to establish

¹ Nevertheless, OECD is concerning itself with model calculations that show such costs and provide indications of the effects. See for example OECD (2010, 2010 a, 2011, 2012).

social networks, and to gain cultural education. Individual expectations are compared with an idealized typical average of success with these strategies without, however, ever being precise. There are, nevertheless, rules that many people follow. And there are possibilities for measurement, which can lead to objectification:

- In social capital, there are countless measurement variables that allow costs as well as effects (uses) of the network to be determined. People determine what could be a successful social strategy through experience and constant comparison with others. Here it is in particular important to maintain social relationships in the networks where one would like to establish oneself and which can offer good relational opportunities. It appears particularly important here to maintain as great a volume as possible of such relationships especially in critical phases of professional orientation, in seeking a new position or returning to a position, when trying to move up, and when overcoming crises. In addition to the economic cost-benefit analysis of such contacts, there remains—so the participant may hope—a social interest in circles of friends and acquaintances, which are also maintained without direct interests in capitalization simply because they bring pleasure, entertainment, or are socially interesting. It is an important area of empirical research here to investigate the actual degree of freedom in such choices in the capitalized society of today.¹
- In cultural capital, the ambivalence between economic utilization and cultural freedom is particularly evident today. First, culture in any form always costs money, and it is an immediate commodity and object of economic exchange. At the same time, culture, for example, in the form of language, art, music, etc. is always also supposed to be an aesthetic use value alone, which is opposed to economic utilization. Socially, a high degree of culture is expected, but it is supposed to cost as little as possible. The public expenditures for culture at least are rather modest, and they usually only affect certain layers and milieus. The volume of cultural capital was more important for the bourgeois and upper classes in modernity than it is for them in liquid modernity, which is shaped by fast capital. A minimum level of cultural techniques plus the culturally informed lifestyle of a consumer appears adequate today in order to be an adequate user of culture. The mass media facilitates access, but through its omnipresence it also deceives people about who actually can have cultural access. A very high one-dimensional volume of cultural capital often represents sophistication and erudition but less economic success, because sophisticated cultural use values today seem outmoded with

¹ Krishna (2002), for example, has investigated this for India. Social capital always requires agents who can stage this capital and transform it into economic success.

regard to economic success. Empirical studies help further determine the distribution of cultural capital in a society and describe the effects of this distribution. At the same time, it becomes a socially relevant problem to define and evaluate what the minimum cultural components that can allow for a pluralistic and diverse society should be in terms of their depth and breadth. In particular, the reduction of cultural support and the commercialization of all areas of culture need to be examined more closely in order to hold the mirror of its ideals and the realization of these ideals up to society (see Nussbaum, 2010).

A different kind of observation that seems necessary is about the cultural distinctions that are produced in the competition over cultural capital that people engage in. Here too, capitalism seems to transition from its heavy form, with its old furnishings and permanent decorations, to a lighter form involving customization, volatility, and constant renewal. New empirical methods such as image analysis, biographical and milieu studies etc. can help us understand such processes and their effects better.

- For body capital, a high volume of capital in the presentation of the body is currently connected with longings and expectations that continually require higher investments in fitness, beauty, health, eroticism, or biotechnology. Inherited appearance and genetic dispositions appear as lucky components of a volume of capital that promises self-sustainment and extra gains. Nobody can escape an increasingly comprehensive engagement with the body today. Considerations of such body labor, however, are still only at the beginning. New areas of research and empirical studies such as those on the erotic component of body capital or studies about the actual utility of cosmetic surgery for those who have it are becoming necessary for attaining a critical understanding that makes us conscious of the dangers of capitalization for the body and our way of dealing with the body in society.
- Learning capital is already being researched comprehensively. This shows the social and individual importance of investing in education sufficiently and sustainably if one wants to avoid consequences of being outpaced by others and risks of unemployment. In the OECD (2012) competence offensive, it is fundamentally assumed that all investments in educational spending and raising the quality of education will have positive effects on raising competence and skills. But what is left unsaid in this offensive are the effects on the market according to supply and demand. If everyone actually makes high investments then the expansion of skills will not remain without consequences for the market. It will lead to the sinking of actually attainable incomes if supply and demand become out of balance. Nevertheless, this trend is irreversible and makes sense because raising skills has become essential not only for the market but also for independence of lifestyle and the broadening of

opportunities. In light of these opportunities, which can be achieved through raising competencies and skills, it is also, however, astounding how some industrial countries are currently sleeping through this capitalization on the investment side by offering too few sustainable options in their educational systems. The costs for too low a volume of this form of capital for the population overall will be correspondingly high and lead to a lack of social and democratic values and a descend in democratic participation, just as today inadequate skills and education lead to poverty for individuals. The OECD initiative is primarily growth-oriented so people can achieve better general well-being and living conditions through the development of economic relations. But this must also be accompanied by a political initiative on equity because initiatives such as the OECD's have not yet been able to hinder the fact that inequality in all forms of capital has increased.

Whatever increasingly detailed measurements for volumes of various forms of capital show for differences between groups of people and countries, a basic insight for specialization in one form of capital should not be forgotten: real wealth and the associated social power, status, and independence first begins with higher economic capital. This economic capital is usually restricted for normal working people. It distinguishes between the rich and the poor, the elites and the masses. At the same time, it embodies the ideals of freedom and happiness in capitalistic society because everyone knows that it also offers liberty with respect to other forms of capital. The higher one's individual economic capital is, the less important body and learning capital can be because they might round out one's existence but hardly support it. These forms of capital can today easily be bought. Cultural capital is also no longer a large distinguishing factor because money increasingly makes the difference. Social capital in contrast often comes to one automatically depending on one's volume of economic capital because a large volume of economic capital can quickly be used by other parasitic participants.

Empirical studies on the life situations of people and social inequality often exclude a profound investigation of the volume of economic capital as if they want to deny deeper insights into the elites and economic power. They involve an easily measurable quantity that should be socially transparent and available for the discussion of different starting points, justification in the context of certain duties and taxes, and effects on merely subjective and general well-being. Tax systems in particular have to be connected with questions of justice and equity because beyond envy, which may come to the front here, there is the basic question of social justice, which has gone astray in current capitalism (see chapter 2). In the meantime, some of the super-rich have already recognized that they can donate a large part of their income without really feeling any loss. Warren Buffet, one of the richest people in the world, has set

a goal since 2010 of donating 99 percent of his wealth to charities. Bill Gates and 40 other billionaires have also joined a program to share their wealth.¹ The question, however, arises here of why the state does not undertake a just distribution through taxes when people are already voluntarily offering such services. The profits in globalized capitalism have taken on dimensions that are leading, despite such donations, to a split in society, and therefore this requires not only personal insight but state regulations promoting better equity and more just equality of opportunity.

7.2 Breadth and Density of Distribution in the Forms of Capital

Two scenarios are particularly striking regarding the breadth of distribution. A person can have some of each form of capital, but no form is highly developed; or a person can have a particularly developed form of capital but low volumes for other forms. Both variants and all the possible degrees in between represent opportunities and risks.

If I have a little of each form, then I am at the mercy of a ranked comparison with others who are competing with me for an average position. I am positioned in the competition depending on my existing volumes of capital and can only elevate my position when I am above average or lower my position if I am below average. Many sociological studies show that what matters for people here is that they always have a group in mind that is doing worse than they are. The satisfaction drawn from this provides the consolation that one has not failed completely. And this attitude is socially exploitable because people accept conditions that in sober analysis would lead them to resistance. One form of resistance here is the “outrage movement” described by Hessel (2011), which I mentioned already in the introduction. This movement is outraged by discrimination against foreigners, cuts in social services, especially social security, the one-sidedness of the press and its dependence on capital, and also by inadequate access to education, and a misguided environmental policy. Up to this point, movements such as the “occupy movement,” which condemns the rigid pursuit of profits in stock exchanges without consideration of the resulting consequences for people, are still too marginal to affect politics in a sustained way. The masses endure things as long as they have hope, even with low forms of capitalization, that things are better for them than others.

If I possess a particularly developed form of capital, it can already contain a great opportunity for me to distinguish myself from others. However, the various forms of capital operate in different ways here. The best example may

¹ Stephen King, who is also calling for higher taxes, suggests “I’m rich, tax me,” in *Guardian*, Tuesday 1, May 2012.

be learning capital, which offers me the opportunity for advancement in society when it is certified and my certification is in demand. Body capital, particularly as an erotic use value, can also guarantee upward social mobility with financial benefits. However, for both variants a certain existing social capital is also necessary because an autistic student with the best grades may not be sufficiently compatible with the professional world. And the erotic capital of pure beauty without appropriate forms of expression and presentation in situated social contexts ends up leading more quickly to prostitution than upward mobility.

Cultural capital, as one can see with current capitalism, is also increasingly becoming an ambivalent form of capital in terms of its breadth. In terms of basic cultural techniques, everyone needs cultural capital even to be able to orient themselves adequately in society, but in developed, outdated, traditional as well as avant-garde forms of education, language, art, science etc. this capital also becomes problematic and marginal. The expectations of earning money in particular through high cultural achievements as well as cultural recognition by certain subcultures are all too often disappointed. When it is too specialized, culture under capitalism appears to be something reserved for starving artists. In addition, culture and education are becoming increasingly fluid. They are accelerated by the media and reconfigured. Education in its forms of consumption, and shaped by knowledge of consumption, increasingly affects the cultural habitus because mutual comparison and comparisons in the ecstasy of consumption are increasingly becoming forms of expression for this habitus. The profanation of culture finds its counterbalance in the cultural specialization of some highly educated people or artists, but they are increasingly marginalized in culture, and such culture first becomes expressible when it is prepared for consumption. Anything that exceeds a certain level of difficulty and mass media intelligibility quickly appears specialized and unsellable; complexity and reflection are not seen as a measure of advancing enlightenment and education but as the borderline of unintelligibility. The triumphal procession of the superficial, cultural consumer advisors, and dummies for everything appears unstoppable. This is true not just for the humanities and social sciences but also for language, art, and music that goes beyond the mainstream. This development is mirrored in learning capital, which only provides basic skills and dials back achievements in cultural communication to an average minimum level. In central forms of examination in education today, solution patterns are simply memorized, i.e., consumption also gets the upper hand here over independent reflection that could only be produced through spontaneous tasks assigned by educated and responsible teachers. But we train such teachers less and less, and they are also not in demand. The certification mechanisms run contrary to this sort of teaching and lead through obsession with the comparability of achievements at the same time to the consumption of superficial appropriation. And

this system has now already spilled over from the schools into the universities.

However, it is precisely these certificates that are really the key to upward mobility or obtaining a position. The individual is simultaneously a producer as well as a consumer of education as a commodity with which it must always concern itself both internally and externally in a calculating way. The previous philosophy of education believed in a slow climb by means of reflection to the higher spheres of reason and thus also morality, but the capitalized form of such education in the present shows both the pressure of consumer-oriented offerings as well as a demand calculus that is always supposed to keep in mind the factors involved in the production of surplus value. Anyone who focuses primarily on learning capital due to the lack of other resources also has to work on broadening other forms of capital, particularly social capital, in order to raise their chances of success. A good degree is often not enough here; it has to be complemented with relationships so that it can open up the opportunity for an interview and later advancement.

Within each form of capital, there are strengths and weaknesses, denser points and perspectives or gaps and omissions. All forms of capital and their corresponding habitus condense in a biography that has to be represented externally as plausible so one can assert oneself in competition. In social-psychological terms, one can see that middle and lower levels in particular whitewash the distribution densities and try to make the distance between themselves and high economic capital appear smaller. But in fact, this distance is not only large, it is becoming increasingly larger each day. High economic capital is associated with influence and power as well as important social decision-making. But at the same time the myth of a participatory society for everyone is touted in political Sunday speeches and nourishes the hope that people still have the freedom to decide. More is suggested here than is actually put into practice. The resulting narratives especially appeal to people when individuals actually succeed in climbing from difficult living conditions to the world of the rich and beautiful. When through erotic capital, learning capital, social relationships, cultural exceptionality or sheer luck someone makes this climb then why can't I do the same in a world with so many possibilities despite my less favorable starting position? The capitalistic world breathes in large part through such hope and longing, which promise profits for everyone; but in reality, few are able to reap these profits.

The masses usually have to work painstakingly on the density of distribution of a form of capital. Certainly, there is always momentary luck or a chance chain of events that flushes individuals upwards, but without previous work on the density of forms of capital many already lose the possibility of realizing such opportunities. A meritocracy is a world of dependent employees that the rich just smile at. The myth of achievement serves ranked comparisons up to the higher levels, but not to the elite levels, because beyond performance one

can gain wealth for which there is no equivalent in terms of achievements (i.e., wealth that could be compared with others' wealth in terms of time at work and recognized achievement-dependent income). In the rat race of a meritocracy in contrast, the steps toward making a form of capital denser are as few as the advances that can be made in the struggle of competition. Satisfaction with minor successes has to be cherished while those in the higher levels earn 1000 or more times what those below them earn. It is amazing that envy is kept within limits and that the occasional outrage given the data of the rich and the poor remains limited. The hope, nourished and fired by mass media, that one will somehow be able to see this meritocracy as an opportunity and not merely as an illusion and actually attain what one hopes for may be too great. Instead, one can apparently be sufficiently satisfied as long as one can see that there are others who are lower. If this is not the case, one can hardly explain how the current losses of the middle class in developed countries function, how real wages decline, pensions are reduced, and the safety umbrellas of speculators are paid for by the masses without this—with the exception of a few cases—leading to mass protests or comprehensive counter movements.

Reflecting on the individual density distributions for each form of capital and comparing them with each other appears to be a promising instrument for comprehending capitalization and its extent and for regulating one's own behavior or supporting policies that make such conscious regulations. There is a basic demand here on current education that in addition to other important factors in life such as the environment, food, diversity, peace, democracy, and others it should also make capital and the forms of capital an object of reflection. Schools worldwide become parallel societies without adequate connections to life when they focus only on school subjects as mirrors of specialized knowledge and hinder the broadly relevant questions of the present through the filter of their own narrow specialization.

7.3 Democracy and Forms of Capital

The tension between democracy and capitalization

Success stories show that from a single advantage, for example, a form of capital or special cooperation, someone can obtain an advantage overall that makes it easier to realize higher surplus values compared to invested costs. Seen statistically, however, these success stories are an exception rather than the rule. At the same time, every individual under capitalism has to learn to appreciate their own potential for development and plan, correct, and if necessary alter their profile. Before others look after my potentials through employment relations or self-employment, I have to show in my forms of capital the efforts I am making in order to improve myself in comparison with

others. But governments also have to undertake measures in their countries to strengthen their potential for development and not sacrifice everything for momentary well-being. As arbitrary as attributions may appear in individual cases for persons or societies, a comparison reveals regularities. What one gains, the other very often loses.

Sure, everyone can profit from economic growth, but in the long-term there are always differences between winners and losers. Capitalization in all forms of capital means that it always comes down to comparisons. So, we wrestle with volumes of forms of capital, their distribution in terms of breadth and density, opportunities for intervention, and development potential in order constantly to distinguish ourselves from those lower than us and orient ourselves toward the top. That is why it is particularly interesting empirically how people in a society behave to those groups that appear to be above or below them. There is a primitive but impactful force involved here. A projective process is at work here that indicates to others below that in comparison with oneself they have not sufficiently been able to use their freedom and carry out their own capitalization. Individuals as well as entire countries can be constructed as losers or scapegoats that threaten their own existence. In doing so, the worry that one will decline in this direction must at the same time be repelled. This reinforces a lack of solidarity because it is easier to attribute fault to others for their own situation in order to claim that one's own position is independent of chance in life or socially unjust circumstances. From such a perspective and construction, one retains one's own position of freedom. The paradox here is that people fend off worries about decline and at the same time use this worry itself as an image by defining positions below them in terms of their failure. They attribute to themselves certain abilities so these worries do not arise and maintain that others lack these abilities.

However, in the upward direction individual desires are modeled increasingly strongly on consumption, which also makes wealth more mundane. Previously there were strenuous and labor-intensive cultural distinctions used to develop a cultural profile similar to wealth, but this profile is increasingly being reduced to high-value luxury goods according to the often-patriarchal model of "my house, my car, my boat, my wife and mistress" that has often been mentioned in this book.

Both strategies at the same time reveal an unquestionableness in capitalistic relationships: beyond the dualism of the capitalist and the proletariat, and having arrived at the ubiquitous capitalization of everyone and everything, there no longer appears to be a way out. It becomes an individual and social burden when something goes wrong. And the comparison always remains: others can still consume and have it better, so the problem must be with you or your country. The complete failure of the capitalist system alone could produce a drive to resolve the paradox between worry about too little and the desire for more, but the likelihood would be great that the structural system

as a whole would not be held responsible but only certain scapegoats would be publicly accountable. The materialism of consumer society is too convincing to be replaced by other forms. Thus, the hope remains for solidarity in the competition. Solidarity would be necessary when someone, through bad luck and tragedy—this is often how these events are referred to even if they could be the result of social structures, insufficient aid, and unjust distribution—, can hardly find the means for survival.

All these conditions and events can be measured, and there is a lot of data available. What is not surprising is that it is not always or only rarely used. With the data on the forms of capital, the conditions, structures, dependencies, distributions etc. that present problems for democratic societies that are subject to claims of equality and the claims to individual and just opportunities for dignified living conditions become visible. Democracies end up in a state of fundamental contradiction with their own claims when the division of forms of capital leads to an irreconcilable dualism of the rich and the poor. As the financial crises since 2008 have shown, democracies cannot rely on the capitalistic market because this market has no conception of morality or justice but would completely destroy itself through short-sighted strategies if the profits are right at the time. Democracy in contrast requires a kind of reason that looks at things in more detail and over a longer period. Democracy is dependent on long-term equity and a reasonable equality of opportunity to enable and maintain sufficient participation for all. Freedom in social action is possible only against this background of relative equality.

What could be the basis of such a democracy with regard to the forms of capital? Learning capital offers a critical opportunity in today's capitalistic society to develop democracy as a society for the possible growth and development of as many people as possible, not immediately but in light of the demand for the greatest possible equality of opportunity, and to thereby work against the hegemonies of selective capital. But the current development of learning capital reveals an individualized tendency toward capital extraction, which requires a lot of private resources at high costs. Inequality has arisen in this regard worldwide, and more strongly in some countries than others, because the states have withdrawn too much from these costs or have not adequately changed them. These states often fail to recognize that with state provisions regarding learning capital not only can gaps in equality be narrowed for all but society as a democratic community can also win. This also opens economic opportunities. However, we also have to admit that in a globalized world such wins or losses are always made in competition with others on the world market and thus also at the cost of others.

There has been repeated discussion of the core economic dimension connected with questions of democracy. Down to the present, it involves opportunities for social participation, equal and just educational opportunities, the

emancipation most particularly of women, the rights of children, migrants, discriminated groups and individuals. It is reflected across the world in discursive movements standing in a field of dynamic tension. There is a pressure felt to be ever more powerful, the more one still clings to the old hopes for “value-free” fields not imbued with economic concerns. Compounding this, the democratic vision of equality of opportunity proved illusory (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) because the assumed equality was unmasked as a grand fiction. Given the very different starting positions of individuals, the best one can hope for is a certain equalizing of opportunities especially with rising learning capital. This can be connected with the concept of fair equality of opportunity (Rawls, 1971/1999, 73ff.) or as we may better more realistically say “the fight for fair equity.” Whenever positive ideas, especially from the realm of human rights and their implementation did not remain merely theoretical but were indeed implemented on the ground in practices, just routines and human institutions, what emerged was always also the capitalized downside of a structural underfinancing of precisely those spheres. The popularity Stéphane Hessel (2011) has achieved with his memorandum “Time for Out-rage,” grounded on his experiences fighting in the French Résistance in World War Two, clearly show that he has touched on a sensitive nerve, a problematic point in our present, in a space over and beyond the ideologies of utility connected with the forms of capital. He calls upon us to take action against a greedy capitalism contemptuous of human beings, with a disdain for genuine human rights, egoistic and destructive of the environment, a capitalism cloaked in freedom and equality as its empty shell and shroud. This is because we cannot put our trust solely in material progress. There must also be cultural and politically organized social progress, advance in fair and equitable opportunity, as the slimmed down concern of reason is now expressed. The legacies of the Enlightenment appear here as contradictory; the purported unitary power of reason people formerly believed in now split into different interests, into vague hopes. We wander from the ideal of equality of opportunity to the more “realistic” field of fair equity of opportunity. The question arises as to whether we will be able to achieve at least an adequate modicum of relative fair and equitable opportunity that still can be called a democratic way of life.

There are discourses that have evolved within the matrix of a critique of precisely these hopes and repressions of contradictions, developing—via larger schools of theory such as critical psychoanalysis, poststructuralism, discourses of post-modernity and power, feminism, cultural studies, (neo-) pragmatism, and social constructivism—in particular as a critical foe of all euphoric faith in progress, the lack of justice in opportunity and an economic utilitarianism. The breadth and multifarious nature of these oppositional discourses were at the same time able to hold out the prospect for a new diversity of thought. They play an important role in the background of the construction of my arguments in this book. These approaches have been central

for me in dealing particularly with the illusions of the Enlightenment and the meta-narratives of modernity. Hessel, who as a man well into his nineties appeals to human hope, urging readers now and after his death to oppose a world that seeks to regulate everything via the power of money and capitalizations, was active in helping to frame the UN Declaration of Human Rights. This imbues his concern with especial power. The General Declaration of Human Rights, passed in 1948, brings together, as a normative legal claim to entitlement, everything that is necessary for a life in freedom and democracy. Nonetheless, it has not yet been implemented in all its radicality and humanity in a comprehensive manner in our world. For Hessel, this is an outrage. And he adds that it is even more outrageous if under the seemingly sane and reasoned cloak of the market and human self-interest, the capitalization of all spheres of life acts to increasingly undermine precisely those same human rights, rendering them impracticable. That is because states and their politics do not adequately manage to combine the desire and longing for ever greater material wealth and prosperity—seen more narrowly as the quest for maximized utility—with the social task of the development and enhancement of human dignity, independent of origin, race, gender, personal socioeconomic starting point, in-come, and resources. And to do so in such manner that living conditions as equal or at least as fair and equitable as possible emerge for all, and not just the minorities of the wealthy.

Noteworthy in Hessel's argumentation is that he sees very clearly: it is mainly economic developments that pose a threat to human rights. In relevant studies on human rights and theories of justice, that often is clearly far less the case. They mainly remain abstract because they necessarily try to train their sights on the bigger picture of a humane and just development (see Nussbaum, 2006, 1). But they would have to become very concrete, lest they remain a mere hollow political shell of words, an empty political intention or a formulaic excuse of absence for conditions and structures that at present still appear impossible. It is precisely human dignity that falls under the category of the fleeting and fugitive, as long as people have but little outrage, faced with merely superficial solutions and empty unrealized promises. And as long as opportunities of all are not enjoyed in great breadth and rich diversity in order to develop different but dignified and just courses of life, as long as wealth is constantly redistributed to only a tiny few, the democratic promises for adequate participation by all will remain superficial and nugatory.

Since the onset of modernity, many thought that Enlightenment and the struggle for more equality, democracy, and participation would suffice over the long term to achieve an increasingly better development, ultimately more humane for all. In particular, equality before the law, in democracy, in the educational institutions from kindergarten to university, would serve to guarantee that all have equal opportunity if they behave in a suitable way—this as a

pathway to surmount “self-incurred immaturity“ (Kant), a self-caused dependence widespread in the dark ages before the Enlightenment. By contrast, the underfunding of educational and training-systems seems to be inherent to our era, and this impacts in its effects especially hard on those who from the outset are less privileged. To that extent, the self-incurred immaturity or tutelage is transformed into a dependence imposed by the state. It is discernable here that countries across the world community which recognize human rights have very different approaches regarding funding for more fair equity of opportunity. That is reflected, for example, in the fact that opportunities to advance from the lower social strata up the ladder or to be able to take part in exclusive forms of education and training, in some very rich countries, such as the USA and Germany, are especially poor (see chapter 6; OECD, 2008, 2010).

Why is it that democracy and human rights are implemented so differentially in concrete practice? The modern democracies and systems of law build on classic theories of the social contract. These are liberal models as can be found in the writings of John Locke, for example, or Jean-Jacques Rousseau. In such a perspective, every person enters into a silent contract with another, and both individuals submit to the authority of selected institutions that regulate a range of questions for them, legal, political, social, and educational. This is so that they can avoid direct argument and strife and can agree jointly on a shared prosperity and well-being for mutual benefit on the basis of reason. Humans enter upon such a contract because it provides them advantages in mutual interaction, facilitating greater security in a non-violent relation of cooperation, while opening up opportunities for individual self-realization in all forms of capital. However, this social contract presupposes relations of equality, because in dealing with and against one another, all humans should be able to be equal, free, and independent. In particular, an independent justice system and division of power are meant to ensure that freedom and equality can be guaranteed. However, the founders of these contract theories themselves recognized that there is a need for solidarity within the citizenry (so-called fraternity) in order to offset differences stemming already from birth if not before. And it is precisely this solidarity that turns out to be so very different in different instances.

As a theoretician of culture and educator, John Dewey already sensed just how important the social and economic background was for the shaping of democracy and education. His relation to Marx was significant (see Gavin, 1988). As a theoretician of culture, he often used the concept of capital in his writings. He understood this, in analogy to many present-day theories of human or social capital, as a resource not only for designating the profits of a capitalist—but also to show that individuals require skills and competencies, that society should make sufficiently accessible and thus possible for them through education as social capital. That is why he wrote: “It is therefore the

responsibility of society as a whole, conceived from a strictly scientific standpoint leaving out all sentimental and all moral considerations—it is the business of society as a whole today, to see to it that the environment is provided which will utilize all of the individual capital that is being born into it” (Dewey: MW 4, 157). On the other hand, Dewey saw very clearly that an equalizing and just relation between capital and labor is decisive for the living conditions of individuals. Only if a compromise between interests can be found, where labor is compensated in such a manner as to be in keeping with humane conditions for life, and when wealth is utilized for social ends to a point where the entire society can benefit, did he also perceive adequate chances for the maintenance and development of democracy. He wrote: “When individuals start in the race handicapped by differences in birth, education, family, business, friends, and inherited wealth, there is no selection of ability; there is selection of the privileged” (Dewey: MW 5, 470-471). And Dewey raised decisive questions regarding the effects of capital: “If property is so valuable morally, how many are profiting by it under the present system, and how many are without its beneficent effects? Is the number of property-owners increasing or diminishing?” (Ibid., 493).

Such questions are important but also require a concrete answer rooted in the historical epochs and—following the arguments in this book—in the development of the forms of capital. Dewey’s analyses provide significant stimuli for this, because he views capital as an operative force alongside others, although he could not yet suspect the huge pressure that would be generated from the capitalization likewise of public and private spaces. As an educator and cultural theoretician, for him was in particular decisive to illuminate education as a focal point of our attention, in order to make a degree of prosperity for all possible, and with the highest degree of justice and satisfaction by furthering as many individuals as possible through changes in attitudes and views. For Dewey, justice and satisfaction in society and for all individuals always have an educational meaning, since it is through education most especially that some manner of equalizing of unequal opportunities can be achieved already in the early years of an individual’s life; and because on the other hand, education also provides possibilities to allow individuals to take advantage of different paths and opportunities in lived diversity (for a more extended discussion, see Garrison/Neubert/Reich, 2012, 2016).

Similar to a situation like Hessel’s hope that ever more will rise up in outrage as solidarity massively dwindles, the classic democratic theorists also have great faith in human self-regulatory capacities. But the declaration of human rights itself shows that such hopes must always also contain an entitlement that can be fought for legally, a possession even for those unpropertied, which can actually be successfully claimed and adjudicated in a court of law, because the mutual daylight robbery under capitalism in modernity is

omnipresent. Learning capital could be the area where such justice as enhancement of the opportunities for all can be socially planned, implemented, and controlled. (see, for example, Hutmacher et al., 2001). That has also become evident at the political level, because both in the UN and the OECD, various initiatives have been repeatedly pursued to bolster human rights in democratic societies by raising demands for an inclusive educational system, since a view prevails that only on the basis of inclusive education can sufficient diversity be facilitated in practical terms within a democratic process of development.

What does this mean for the results of the present study? If we wish to evaluate the capitalization of life today, then many oscillate between two discursive worlds: increasing enlightenment and conjunct critical theories on the one hand, and its deconstruction by means of discourses confronting the rational image with the diversity and inequality of actual realities on the other. At the same time, many people wish to maintain the hopes associated with the greater distribution and realization of human rights and democracy. Interesting here is the fact that in many discussions, questions regarding economy and justice are not internally connected with each other. Of course, all can clearly see that human questions always necessitate financial answers, but the “human element” in itself is also simply never just a question of money or financial contribution or allocation. In this dilemma, the cultural sciences, the humanities, and social sciences, and most particularly the educational sciences, often tend to forget the need to think about the economic questions involved. That is because they view such questions as coming from the outside and shaping realities externally. But they address such questions as focal areas they cannot adequately ground on the basis of their own reflection. In the process, we quickly become the victims of a division of academic labor; this renders it difficult for us to look beyond the boundaries of our discipline. When in theory and practice we come up against structural conditions—such as are especially evident as a result of the underfunding in particular of education and culture, and we perceive the mounting capitalization of all spheres of life—we are always reminded of a key imperative: to work out with greater clarity the dimension of such capitalizations and their impact for society and the individual. It is not enough to determine only the communicative, social, cultural, or educational aspects of a life in diversity and the associated opportunities for inclusion and educational justice. Rather, we also have to examine the foundations of the mounting capitalization that generate for all our efforts a frame, a background, and often enough, structural prerequisites as well. If this sphere of action is overlooked, then it is very easy for overly superficial images of absolutized freedoms to arise, over and beyond actually operative economic necessities. Conversely, in this way it is also possible to specify degrees of freedom in a more realistic manner over against economization.

Justice, “capabilities,” and forms of capital

This is the point where theoreticians of justice today elaborate their views. The development of modernity to liquid modernity showed that although political rights were able to become more democratic, the economy in particular and general conditions of life did not progress in the same evenhanded way toward the expected levels of equity. In his theory of justice, John Rawls (1971) employed and extended the theory of social contract in a comprehensive manner (see also Nussbaum, 2006, 2009, 2011). He presupposes the existence of free and reasonable human actors in order to show how they can begin to deal with one another on an equal basis. However, the problem is that equality, here presupposed, is at a very abstract level. It is determined in a highly formal manner. If, for example, someone in free, equal, and secret vote can freely participate like others, that may signify equality on the general political level. But this does not tell us to what extent this individual can then, like others, actually espouse, press for, and implement his or her interests in the prevailing relations of power and property in a given society with different volumes in the forms of capital. Rawls attempts to meet this by proposing a procedural justice, where the correct procedure in a sense of transparency and equal treatment assists in determining the correct outcome. Here he emphasizes that it is no longer external nature that defines for us what rights we should have. Rather, he views the construction of such rights as a social and political task. Since we do not act solely for rational motives, as human history amply shows, in Rawls' view it is especially integral to our moral obligation to wish to be just and to implement this in concrete action so as to fulfill the ideal of such an equal contractual relation. In practical terms, the call for justice becomes a commandment to deal fairly with one another (see Rawls, 2001).

The analyzes of the forms of capital in this book showed that inequality is unavoidable but can differ in its consequences. Yet that is problematic for the commandment of fairness, because it presupposes that the parties to the contract have equal rights. How should this function though if the contracts, right from the outset, turn out to be one-sided due to differing prerequisites?

Nussbaum (2006) mentions three main unresolved problems: physical and mental inequality, the inequality of nations, and the forgotten animal world, devoid of rights. This list is doubtless correct but clearly too short. Inequalities surface particularly when it comes to material resources, money and capital available and distributed through channels engendering huge inequality. This leads today to ever greater inequalities in money and capital, but also in regard to opportunities available and attainable for finding a job, obtaining training or a useful education in a manner in keeping with the highest demands of fair equity of opportunity.

Amartya Sen (1985, 1992, 1993) and Martha Nussbaum (2000, 2006, 2011) in particular espouse today an approach building on the debates over human dignity and human rights which deals with questions of fair equity of

opportunity. Their view is termed “capability approach.” Among the capabilities are potentials that are not just something the individual alone must develop, because often he or she lacks the possibilities. Rather, these potentials must be reserved for this individual, they must be offered structurally by society from the resources available so as to ensure the possibility of a life in dignity. This approach, as much as I agree with it, remains too limited regarding the salience of economic conditions in its diagnosis of the difficulties lurking along the path to greater justice. In their list of enablement only rights appear. But how do these touch on the capitalist relations of forms of capital? How can we focus on prosperity that as personal wealth has in the meanwhile become so salient for differing levels of opportunity and chances for success in society? This is in keeping with an array of problems present already in the approach of human rights, where the right to employment and also to a minimal livable wage (geared initially to local conditions) are excluded, because these questions belong to the sovereign sphere of individual states and in capitalism tend currently to be more commonly compensated for by state redistribution and funding programs than to be ensured by legal claims. In the “capabilities approach,” capabilities are regarded as characteristics and abilities that people have, which enable them to choose a life of dignity in the context of rights and freedom. The discussion of human capabilities as potentials or abilities has the advantage that it need not be tied to certain cultures and states, as rights are, but helps express in general what people presently do and how they want to be. The list of such “capabilities” consists of 10 central areas (see Nussbaum, 2009, 23 ff.):

- (1) To lead a human life of normal length in circumstances that are worth living in.
- (2) To live with good health, adequate nutrition and protection.
- (3) To be able to move freely, and in particular to be protected from sexual violence and assault, and to lead a sexually satisfying life with free choice about producing offspring.
- (4) To be able to use one’s senses, imagination, thoughts, and mind in a human way without restrictions, i.e., to be adequately cultivated and educated and be able to freely make decisions and follow one’s preferences.
- (5) To be able to develop emotional connections with others and not be guided by fear in one’s dealings with others.
- (6) To be able to use practical reason and critical reflection in planning one’s own life.
- (7) To be able to maintain relationships with others in human solidarity and respect the needs of others, i.e., to engage in social interactions and develop a sense of self-value, which also attributes human dignity to others, in order to avoid discrimination.

- (8) To respect and protect other species in the environment.
- (9) To be in a position to laugh, play, and rest.
- (10) To be able to create a way of life, i.e., on the one hand to be able to participate politically in a free and open way, and on the other hand to respect rights to ownership of land and goods on an equal basis, to possess the right to search for work as well as civil rights, and in particular to be able to work as a human being, i.e., to be able to shape one's practical reason and social interactions in meaningful relationships of mutual recognition.

All states are urged to promote and sufficiently develop these “capabilities” in the sense of human rights. This also involves inclusive rights for all people who have disabilities or experience discrimination. But today individualizing and neo-liberal views stand on one side and approaches that strive for justice and equal opportunities in life for all stand on the other side in opposition. One group sees intervention on the part of the state as an attack on their personal possessions and obtained privileges; and the other group no longer wants to claim supposed “natural” conditions for inequality and instead recognizes that life opportunities always involve social constructs and agreements that have to do with distribution and equitable opportunities in life. The struggle of both approaches, which is always particularly dramatic in the confrontations between republicans and democrats in the US, can be made concrete if we refer these struggles back to the forms of capital. It has become clear that the appropriation of capital in its various forms always happens in a tense relationship between social use and individual opportunities for participation. That is why it makes sense to consider opportunities here and focus on the topic of justice as is done in particular in Rawls (1971, 1999, 2001), Sen (1985, 1992, 1993) and Nussbaum (1993, 2000, 2006, 2010).

One fundamental message is that it would be unjust if existing family conditions primarily or solely determined the opportunities that a child has. Rawls' position compels us to take action if justice is going to be realized:

- It requires effective institutions in political, economic, cultural, and social terms, which justly and equitably distribute goods and opportunities that are important for peoples' lives.
- Such goods are primarily the rights, freedom, and opportunities that people need to participate in society.
- Income and assets that represent the basic conditions for a free and fair life and that represent a fundamental social condition for the development of self-esteem are also essential here.
- According to Rawls, socio-economic inequalities are permitted only if they can offer benefits for all, and they must be associated with positions and offices that are fundamentally open to all.

From this perspective, equity is necessary to reduce inequalities, and individual wealth only makes sense when this at the same time leads to benefits for all. But these are idealized statements because it is often claimed by the wealthy that they create jobs, although this does not happen consistently. Rawls did not develop an explicit political theory for equality of opportunity that looks at the problem of distribution in connection with the creation of surplus value and capitalization.

The “capabilities approach” and the list provided by Nussbaum also significantly fades down the problem of distribution because they tend to focus on human characteristics, potential, and capabilities and leave open how such a “capability” can actually be lived out in a just way. The analysis of the forms of capital showed that the development of economic capabilities clearly and consistently is based on human capabilities (on potentials, skills, and use values in the various social and cultural domains). Although it is quite right and essential to keep such a list of human and social rights at the legal level, as well as at the moral level of the “capabilities approach,” and always make it part of the discourse in society, such attempts remain blind with respect to the real conditions when they do not also fully consider capitalization. The very broad concept of capital as it is often used in human, social, and cultural capital etc. gets its revenge here because in this regard people do not often distinguish adequately between use values in the use of social relationships, cultural activities, human abilities, skills etc. and exchange values that first allow such characteristics and skills to be transformed into capital. If we do not make this distinction, then it seems normal and reasonable to see everything human already as a “capability” without closer consideration of the economic implications, which makes us forget the differences in the production of surplus value. We then overlook the fact that not only human freedom is rooted in economic exchange, as is addressed in point 10 of Nussbaum’s list, but so too is the unequal appropriation of surplus value in all forms of capital that lead to social differences and distinctions and thus to the problems of inequality and injustice. In capitalism, the mechanism of the production of surplus value cannot be eliminated unless capitalism itself is completely given up, but it can be regulated. And such regulation (a point which is overlooked by the “capabilities approach”) is fundamentally necessary for overcoming hindrances to fulfillment of the list because the hindrances that are not overcome will otherwise always show that the complete list of what is humanely desirable is always belied by the political practices.

7.4 Equitable Regulation of the Forms of Capital

But what would just and equitable regulation look like? Every strategy is involved in a tension here from the beginning. On the hand, the differences in

the production of surplus value affect peoples' opportunities to orient themselves toward maximization of gains to their own benefit and thereby to find motivation for commitment and perseverance. On the other hand, the gains made in this way produce social inequalities, which minimize the chances many people will have for equitable participation. Regulation means establishing a system of levying of gains from surplus value of all kinds, which also maintains adequate motivation for investments without excluding large groups of people from their own investment opportunities. Regulation thus means active redistribution. This can be done all the more easily if regulation for its part invests in social, cultural, and body capital and especially learning capital in order to raise the opportunities for participation for all, but particularly those who are disadvantaged. This means focusing on equity in the political domain while taking into account the effects of surplus value for all forms of capital. Taxation of economic gains from these surplus values is a particular regulatory measure that is available. And there has never been so much unequal wealth in the world available for this purpose.

After reflecting on the forms of capital in terms of their volumes, breadth, and density, and discussing questions of democracy and capitalization, I want to sum up some of the possibilities for intervention that are on the horizon for individuals and particular groups. All interventions require redistribution at the state level, i.e., regulation of the necessary resources for the individual forms of capital (see *chart 30 next page*).

In view of the individual forms of capital, this redistribution concretely means that there are interventions that could allow for greater equity. In a rough overview, there are the following perspectives:

- Fair taxation can help to reduce the drifting apart of the rich and poor and thus to absorb profits that either appear exaggerated in their amounts or are highly speculative (based in illusion, deception, or fraud) or parasitic in how they are acquired. What is gained here can be given back in the form of basic income to those who are easily left behind by the system. At the same time, work incentives for both companies and workers can be positively influenced so that the tendency toward investment can be aroused for economic capital through regulations (particularly incentive systems) and employees can continue to be motivated to work. Inasmuch as the profits from speculation of all kinds are taxed at a high rate similar to luxury taxes, it will again become attractive for economic capital to demand labor for production and services that goes beyond speculative financial transactions so profits can be made in a more non-speculative way. Because previously there was sufficient motivation for the use of economic capital even for small profit margins, it is a reasonable hypothesis that small differences already provide a drive to action through

Forms of capital	Interventions for society as a whole	Interventions for specific individuals	Risk factors
Eco- nomic capital	High taxation particularly for high, illusory, or parasitic profits	Basic income particularly for securing participation in consumption	decline of investments or low motivation to work
	Hypotheses: high taxation is possible because even minimal chances for profit drive and reduce the risks of declining investments; basic income can be paid by higher taxation of the rich but there have to be measures for motivation		
Social capital	Strengthen forms of direct democracy particularly through participation and high transparency	Increase participation particularly by taking on individual responsibility	local and particular interests prevail
	Hypothesis: self-organization is more effective than central bureaucracy but has to be supported by resources		
Cultural capital	Cultural programs according to cultural standards particularly as support for cultural breadth and depth	Strengthen cultural perspectives, access, and events particularly through support and incentive systems	culture only arises where there is a rich society engaged in cultural consumption
	Hypothesis: culture is an important driving factor for the economy and other forms of capital and the state has to engage in diverse forms		
Body capital	Biopolitics for humane life particularly for long-term health, old age, broad diversity, and inclusive participation	No exclusions from healthcare, care for the elderly, workers compensation, or social aid particularly for poor people	a biopolitics of rich countries against poor countries or rich parts of the population against the poor
	Hypothesis: Preventative expenditures mitigate later follow-up costs		
Learning capital	Expansion of education particularly as a higher increase in skills and qualifications that supports everyone	Inclusion of all learners particularly as a boosting of equality of opportunities for all disadvantaged people	a devaluation of qualifications and skills through the devaluation of attained educational titles
	Hypothesis: A general expansion of education offers individuals as well as society more and better options for development		

Chart 30: Interventions with Regard to Forms of Capital

surplus values. However, there are two issues that complicate implementation here: the debt burden of countries that can hardly be met, and the global market that allows such regulations, e.g., through taxes, to be avoided through evasive maneuvers. But since in a democracy the electorate also chooses what will happen, these difficulties can always be

subjected to critical examination again, and alternative solutions can be sought. Here, greed is increasingly the gravedigger for unilaterally accumulated wealth: if only very few people have something to lose, the majority will not mind opting for alternatives in which debts are denied and globalization is paused for a moment. The insolvency of certain countries will not destroy capitalism but redefine the starting conditions for distribution.

- Social capital is always present through pedigree, and interests and power can be concentrated in people who can connect social dominance and economic dominance. At the level of society as a whole, an important counter-regulation consists in developing and strengthening as many direct forms of democracy as possible at all levels of social action. Social opportunities can grow through basic common education of all youth in kindergartens and schools over as long a period as possible. Participation by as many people as possible locally in municipal decisions, where it is clear what is being decided, helps as much as thorough transparency through the disclosure of incomes, taxes, offices, and positions of power. Because corruption is always the shadow of social capital, demands have to be made in particular on non-discriminatory hiring and advancement practices. And particularly for those who have little social capital at home, participation has to be developed through special support programs in school and through youth work in order to increase self-awareness and self-reliance and above all an awareness of personal efficacy. The suspected risks that local or particular interests of certain parts of the population could become dominant are often themselves expressions of high selectivity: if poor people with an immigrant background are forced into the ghettos on the outskirts of cities, this leads to a lack of participation which is also associated in the future with a denial of rights to participation because people no longer expect them to have an awareness of democracy. And vice versa, social policies must consider the regulations they establish so that displacing selectivity does not get the upper hand and participation through an emphasis on representative forms is not denied but comprehensively supported.
- Capitalist states are increasingly cutting their cultural budgets and are allowing culture to be equated with consumption. The markets take over the cultural domain, which leads to a displacement of specialized and experimental cultural achievements that are in little demand. Cultural standards help a culture maintain and shape an adequate breadth and depth of cultural activities in educational institutions, which offer varied possibilities for expression and the development of creative potential. All aesthetic fields have to resist the market if they want to remain an expression of human freedom. Policies that offer support through regulations must continuously provide funds and enable as many people as

possible to have easy access to culture. Culture is above all what is made, experienced, and shaped locally. It is an opportunity to get outside of passive reception through consumption and the media, experience and shape cultural activity, and develop cultural use values that articulate and realize cultural consumption in a differentiated way and not merely by conforming to the taste of the masses. Currently, there are too few people working in the cultural domain in industrialized countries, and the opportunities to develop cultural activities in an economically attractive way are taken advantage of too infrequently. A cultural offensive is needed so culture is not sacrificed to profit (see Nussbaum, 2010).

- Biopolitics is already happening extensively, but capitalist countries differ significantly in their care for their people. Healthcare, care for the elderly, workers compensation, and social aid are social systems for maintaining a dignified life, but the expenditures in these areas differ significantly. These expenditures are politically contentious within industrialized countries and with respect to the poorer countries in the world. The global consequences in particular of environmental pollution and climate policy flow directly into biopolitics. The more strongly developed the forms of capital are, the more people can be prepared, also in the area of biopolitics, to fight for their own rights and opportunities and not completely forget their solidarity with others. But this assumes that this field is more regulated, not just the utility of economic capital. The example of the unequal distribution of unhealthy and healthy living conditions shows how large the difference has become between countries and people in this area. But in developed countries as well, a huge gap is opening between the different chances for a long and healthy life.
- There is no stopping the expansion of education worldwide, and it will decisively determine the shape of this century. It is evident that some countries are missing out on this development because they cling to traditional educational habits that have long lost their timeliness. Even if educational titles are devalued and expected career success is diminished through the expansion of education, nevertheless the higher educational level of larger groups of people will be the standard for social development. The opportunities for the expansion of education at the same time lie in raising equity for as many people as possible; the danger lies in the possibility that elite and costly education and training will introduce a new hierarchy.

The aspects mentioned here can be concluded from the analysis of the individual forms of capital. In the struggle for raising equity, however, more political actors are needed who concretely institute such ideas in governmental and statutory regulations through democratic procedures in order to revitalize these ideas.

There is a central paradox in liquid modernity: the more individualism there is, and the more there is a lifestyle that strives for better starting points, possessions, living conditions etc., the stronger the pressure is on competition that amplifies differences for the purpose of gaining a better position. However, since all individuals strive in the same way, their competitive behavior leads to precisely those worries that they actually want to repel. It is only when a society as a whole can decide, through political decisions that are legitimated in democratic processes, to at least introduce a certain degree of solidarity as a foundation that individualism, with its benefits for individuals, will remain interesting for the majority of society and not merely serve a minority at the expense of everyone. Comparisons of developed countries show that countries that invest more publicly for everyone in solidarity are perceived as more just and equitable than others. And all countries, particularly those that work on their education systems, should understand that this work is an essential prerequisite for whether democracy will be taken up and how it will be shaped. Schools are the places in society that all people must inevitably go through, and they are also the place where peoples' lives are *shaped*.

An increase in equity is needed so a majority of people can actually be in the position to realize their life opportunities fully in relation to others through their own power and efforts. If we relate this thesis to the forms of capital and their interaction, it becomes a social and thus also governmental task at least to pursue the following rules of justice and equity more forcefully and implement them in a way that can be monitored:

- 1) With regard to economic capital, it is important above all to avoid poverty for broad groups of people and not allow the economic division of society to continue to grow. The welfare state, which for many with a lot of possessions is a ghost of redistribution, requires performance incentives especially with respect to equity, i.e., it must be possible through participation to actually get out of impoverished conditions by means of targeted support and incentives. Minimum wages and minimum incomes help to avoid poverty and help people be able to live a dignified, relatively autonomous life with better opportunities than before. It is true that income differences are part of the essence of capitalism, but the state can ensure that the gap between rich and poor does not get increasingly larger. This is where just and equitable tax policies can play a role by helping avoid extreme differences in income. When managers earn up to 1000 times more than their employees, this can no longer be justified by actually measurable differences in performance; rather, it requires redistribution regulations by the state that do not seek to level all the differences. Performance incentives stimulate human action, but they become counter-productive when they are opaque and arbitrary.

- 2) In order to make equity actually possible in the current state of capitalism, education and thus broad access to learning capital has to be developed for all as a priority. Education must be free, begin early, and be compulsory for all in order to give children who have short-sighted or uneducated parents' better opportunities as well. Investments in education and training should serve the measurable and monitorable aim of attaining the highest degrees possible for as many people as possible. Even if the expansion of education appears to be an inflation of education today, and even if a higher overall income level leads to the fact that income and wages are adjusted downward in certain circumstances according to supply and demand, the opportunities for all people in comparison with each other nevertheless climb, and the performance incentives have positive effects for all areas of life. Education is not only a key for better and more secure jobs and sufficient mobility, flexibility, and dynamism in a quickly changing world, it also represents better health prospects and lower social costs in the long run. At the same time, education also opens up additional social and cultural spaces for action. The forms of capital however never reveal a healthy, harmonious world in their development but reveal problems of distribution, inequalities, and tensions as well as risks and opportunities. That is why inclusive objectives are needed for education in order to limit inequality of opportunity and discrimination according to socio-economic origin, ethno-cultural background, gender, sexual orientation, or disability.
- 3) The labor market has to be connected with incentives for hiring young graduates and inhibiting precarious working conditions in a sustainable way by means of a minimum wage and the avoidance of using temporary labor. Even if the ownership class wants to maximize its gains in particular in this area, it must become an issue for the overall well-being and the democratic structure of future society not just to pursue their own egoism. A productive balance between sufficient income or wages, even for the lower classes, in order to ensure participation in the development of society and consumption, and capitalistic investments and opportunities for profit is a basic construct of capitalism that always becomes a problem for the capitalistic system and for profits in the long run when this balance is off. In neo-liberalism without policies for equity, the capitalist state has placed itself too one-dimensionally on the side of the owners of capital. The financial crises since 2008 show all too clearly the darker side of these policies and the associated dangers that capitalism faces now.
- 4) Social safety-net systems are necessary in order to help people in distress, especially when they face poverty. Such systems also require incentives so those affected are sufficiently motivated to take advantage of their own opportunities. Such systems are always inadequate when

they merely distribute without stimulating development and connecting people with work. And they also need to be systemically designed in order, for example, to offer single parents free childcare and affordable housing so that they can even have the opportunity to work.

- 5) Intergenerational justice can occur only when Rawls' principle of just savings is observed (see also Pogge, 1989, for an expansion of this). Every generation has to ask how much they would save or spend and how much debt they would then also incur if they gave an account of how willing earlier or later generations would be to do this. It is a question of why we would allow ourselves to spend so much more than earlier generations or how we could expect that our children will even be in the position to or want to pay back the accumulated debt. If you do this thought experiment, it becomes clear that the current levels of state debt for most countries has nothing to do with justice and has much more to do with social folly. It has arisen because there is so much money on the market that is not taxed or levied, and it drives debt so a minority of people can realize opportunities for profit. The resulting inequality and injustice between generations also then requires redistribution between the rich and the poor. It will be a question here in particular of education of the broad masses and thus the electorate whether people want to continue to follow the promises of parties that lead us into debt traps or whether they can or want to free themselves from this expectation. The more their individual forms of capital grow, the more people may come to see and understand what is in play for them in terms of losses.
- 6) Justice as a basic stance and as a social and individual habitus is, in light of the growth of capitalization in the forms of capital, an opportunity to see meaning in life that goes beyond monetary benefits and redistributions and limited and limiting egoism. The capitalistic markets are blind to this. Markets appear ethically blind because they can no longer provide a sufficient criterion, whether it be performance-oriented or moral, for why some make exorbitant profits compared with others whose profits are barren. The market also does not regulate anything that people really need in order to assert themselves on the market: education and training, active labor market policies, anti-discrimination, support for families and offspring, protection of the environment, generational justice, protection of developing countries against exploitation, etc. A change in these scenarios in the direction of justice and equity will be a political and social struggle, which will require new majorities if the fears and self-ignorance of the present are to be overcome.

Escape capitalization?

Against the background of an increase in capitalization in all forms of use in life, many people long to win back an original space of action not based on

surplus values and exploitation, where human communication and cooperation, self-will, reflection, a relationship to culture without prices and debts, and the social, cultural, bodily, and educational worlds return without struggles over differences, positions, and possible income. Many long for a world where the ecological disaster, ruthless consumption of resources and nature, changing of climate, and the long list of challenges driven by capitalism can be stopped. The quality of human life appears especially high where it is not just a matter of gaining ever more surplus values.

However, given the capitalization of the present, we have to ask whether and in what way the idyll of freedom from capitalization still really has power. Often, we only see quality where a surplus value has transpired and then been forgotten. We have invested costs and received income from an occupation, and now we have forgotten that not everyone can do what we have done. We now look at the use values in our life and no longer need to look at the investments we have made or the investments that will be made in the future. Quality and a space free of exchange values come to the forefront when we focus on our personal relations, intimate relationships, and “real” wishes. Even if such an attitude immediately becomes fragile in times of crises, it is still characteristic of those who no longer experience capitalization dramatically because it only seems to have affected them for a short period in their life or is dismissed as insignificant in daily consumption because they can afford something without needing to think of the implications. The apparent freedom comes after the costs. And this freedom to use all those values that we appreciate appears to offer us at least in part an escape from capitalization. This seems like a return to the beginning of capitalism in which the freedom of an autonomous and enlightened subject was seen as an opportunity for people to do what they love and not what others force them to do. However, we must then ask whether there were times in which such freedom actually ever existed. Although capitalization has only increased in the present with such tremendous force and significance, this does not also mean that we previously lived in an idyll of freedom. Another paradox of capitalization appears here: whereas previously personal dependencies, power, and selective interests according to one’s status from birth and privileges in the world ruled, money and capitalization have made everyone equal and free by introducing money and capital as objective authorities for coexistence. In the distribution of financial and capital resources, however, the inequalities return, which now appear impersonal in comparison with earlier personal dependencies and seem to be rooted in the objectivity of capitalism itself. In essence, no one is able to escape this objectivity anymore. Even the last lonely islands have been capitalized, and the Robinsonade that appeared at the beginning of bourgeois education as an imaginable place of freedom, where mutual self-discipline through labor and patience would ensure survival, no longer appears possible. Nobody can escape anymore, but it may be possible to be

satisfied with having enough in relative terms to survive on but less than the excesses demanded by the ecstasy of consumption. People in underdeveloped countries are available as a warning that what is enough for survival today is still not sufficient. At the same time, there is a desire for forms of life that do not equate freedom with capitalized ways of life so people can be placed before things and objectification. The more success there is in keeping capitalization out of the social, cultural, bodily, and educational domains, the greater the hope may be of going against the trend and seeing human values in terms of purpose and not primarily the calculus of utility. The dilemma here is that it always requires economic values, especially money, in order to be able to experience this in reality. But the possibility of overcoming this dilemma lies in the fact that economic values themselves can also be distributed more equitably.