

THE CONTRIBUTION OF TEACHER'ACTION TO THE REPRODUCTION OF SOCIAL INEQUALITY IN SCHOOL EDUCATION

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The relation between education and social inequality has developed into a stable main focus of numerous research projects. The studies of the recent years have helped to explain unequal educational chances and to establish a better understanding of educational processes. Nevertheless, many questions have been left open or have not been answered satisfactorily. Still fragmentary is, in particular, the knowledge about the perceptions and experiences made by the groups which are the immediate actors involved in the educational processes, i.e., pupils, parents and teachers.

This contribution focuses on the typological field of the teachers' habitus. It is assumed that teachers contribute to the reproduction of social inequality in day-to-day school life and in classes. As a rule, this is not a conscious process, in the course of which pupils are either advantaged or disadvantaged. The attitudes and classifications of the habitus rather function without reflection and consciousness, so to speak, automatically. The classification schemes are an expression of the social divisions internalized by the teachers. They are acquired along with the experiences and habits of their social milieus and practiced not unlike a universal principle or a personal handwriting. Depending on their different social backgrounds and habitus, teachers also may differ in the understanding of their occupation and their principles of pedagogic acting.

This contribution represents the current state of research on milieu-specific patterns of action of teachers in Germany and demonstrates the need for further research in this field. It starts with a critical examination of the rational choice approach, according to which the teachers' social background is no longer of significance for their occupational attitudes and their acting in classes.

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1. *Two ways to explain educational inequality*

As the PISA studies have confirmed, there is a correlation in all participating countries between the social background of the pupils and their educational chances. In Germany, this correlation is particularly pronounced. Although, in the long run, a certain decline of this inequality pattern could be observed, it is yet to be assumed that the basic patterns of unequal participation in education are relatively stable. This result is not controversial. Not the same can be said about how to *explain* the socially unequal educational opportunities and the mechanisms causing their reproduction.

This question is discussed controversially, especially by the representatives of two prominent approaches: the *rational choice approach* which goes back to *Boudon* and is dominant in sociology and the dominated *approach of Bourdieu*.

The approach of Boudon (1974) tries to explain socially-unequal educational achievements by two sorts of background effects. While the primary background effect emphasizes the correlations between family socialization and achievements at school, the secondary background effect intervenes at the transition points of the educational system. On the basis of position-related cost-benefit-calculations parents make different choices of the future school trajectories. Higher groups decide in favour of higher education, lower groups in favor of less hazardous, shorter educational careers. The representatives of the rational choice approach have shown that the parents' choices may also restrict the children's educational opportunities. The parental decision is not understood as an unconditionally free choice, it is made under certain conditions of institutional requirements and background-related differences of individual competences. (see Becker/Lauterbach 2010, Becker 2011, Vester 2006).

The Boudon approach assumes that families take these decisions in a conscious, rational and situative manner. Thus, social action is reduced in its complexity and can be measured more easily. Bourdieu's perspective is not confined to the manifest decisions. He also focuses on the less visible dispositions of social action which are internalized in the habitus of the actors which differs by class (Bourdieu 1982 [1979]). These dispositions which work by practice and not always by cognitive calculation include the specific way of life (or "class culture") and the life plans in which the wishes and ambitions of the parents are reconciled with the real chances of their children and the limits of social chances in society. The "attitudes of the parents" are also an "internalization of the destiny" which is assigned objectively to "the social category they belong to [...]". (Bourdieu 2001, p. 32)

A further main focus of of the discussion is the question, how far school by itself is reproducing inequality of the social background. According to Bourdieu, the conventions and the expected language at school are part of the culture of the middle and upper social classes. At the same time, they signalize refusal to the lower classes (cf. Bourdieu 2001, Vester 2006). The school system ignores "the cultural inequality of the children of the various social classes [...]". The formal equality that determines the pedagogical practice serves in reality to conceal and justify the indifference towards the real inequalities in relation to the instruction and the culture that is mediated or, to put it more precisely, demanded" (Bourdieu 2001, p.39).

The notion that the matching between the pupils and the school varies by social background is also confirmed by more recent studies. For children of higher class and frequently also middle class background, this matching works much better than for lower class children (see Kramer/Helsper 2010, Lange-Vester/Redlich 2010, Schmitt 2010, Lange-Vester/Teiwes-Kuegler 2006). Despite of this research which, since the first PISA studies, looks into the uccesses of selection at school at the micro level, the representatives of the rational choice approach reject the well-founded assumption that the inequality of the social background is reproduced in everyday-school life (Baumert/Schuemer 2001, p. 352). Kramer and Helsper (2010, p. 103 ff) have shown that positive references towards Bourdieu which were partly present in the first PISA study meanwhile are totally absent.

Apparently, disagreement concerning the reproduction mechanisms of educational inequality continues to exist. We can, however, assume that this reproduction is working through complex relations (see Ditton 2010), in which both institutional and cultural aspects are playing a central role. That parents' educational decisions are significant in the process of reproducing social inequality, does by no means preclude that inequality is also reproduced in everyday school life. And when the school's contribution is debated, teachers should also be looked at.

2. *Habitus as the base of social practice in the everyday school life of teachers*

Since the PISA studies, the interest in the influence exerted by teachers upon the educational chances and occupational trajectories of pupils has increased (see Ditton 2010). Under the catchwords of the institutionalized inequalities (Berger/Kahlert 2005) or institutional discrimination (Gomolla/Radtke 2009), more and more studies focusing on the educational chances of children and adolescents, including those with migratory backgrounds, and on the role teachers are playing in this process have been realized in the past years. (see Kraemer 2008, Weber 2005).

Taking interest in the teaching body, however, is by no means innovative. A remarkable extent attention was devoted to the judgment of teachers already in the 1960s and 1970s. These earlier results often resemble the results of more recent studies. The study of Gresser-Spitzmueller, e.g., emphasized that “even with good marks [...] the educational chances of lower-class children [are] considerably smaller than those of middle-class children. These differences are not alone based upon the higher educational ambitions of middle-class parents, they are also supported by the recommendations of the teachers which differ by the class background of the pupils as teachers recommend lower-class children much less frequently to the secondary school, even when their performance at school would justify the attendance of a higher school (Gresser-Spitzmueller 1973, p. 203).

Similarly, also Preuß (1970), in his study on the aptitude judgment of elementary school teachers, emphasizes their contribution to the discrimination of pupils. The teachers have to examine the “fulfillment” of an “educational ideal” specified by school, which evaluates predominantly the “attitude towards work and character traits” very highly (ib., p. 17). When

they assess children differently although they represent this ideal to an equal degree this is a “direct discrimination by the teacher himself/herself” (ib., p. 18).

Recent studies in the field of the elementary schools confirm that the evaluation of the pupils depends to a lesser extent on the subject-specific performances and cognitive competences and to a larger extent on their social behavior (see Schumacher 2002, Kraemer 2008). It is furthermore documented that the same children may be evaluated differently by different teachers (Preuß 1970, p. 19). The teachers thus not only meet the expectations of the school but also have a certain range of possible judgements. Teachers thus are in the position of gatekeepers, who influence the mobility and occupational careers of the pupils. – However, it has to be asked *how* the teachers arrive at their assessments.

This contribution focuses on the social background, the ways of living and the classification schemes of teachers. I start with the assumption that teachers differ systematically according to their habitus and that the knowledge of the habitus may contribute to the explanation of the reproduction of social inequality in educational processes at school.

My central thesis is that teachers, in their professional practice, follow the schemes of their class habitus (see Bourdieu 1982), which they have acquired within their background milieu. What is “right” and what is “wrong” in life, what is regarded as desirable and what is merely of little value is bargained and learnt in this background milieu. The members of a social milieu are interrelated by common principles of “life conduct” (Weber) which distinguish them from other milieus. The views of life which have been incorporated from childhood on and which differ by class or milieu, are transformed into an enduring compass guiding the practice of the social actors and enabling them to realize and to assess situations as well as social relations in a blindfold manner.

I assume that the occupation as a teacher is adopted and practiced on the basis of already *brought-along* habitus patterns. The hysteresis effect (Bourdieu 1982, p. 238f.), that is to say, the inertia of the habitus, does not imply that attitudes might not as well change according to the professional practice and innovative requirements in the field of school. It points, however, to the fact that teachers do not appropriate their field of action without presuppositions but that they are already endowed with a world view that corresponds with a specific place in society. It is well documented that the transformation of habitus does not happen arbitrarily but in the framework of the parental milieu traditions which, are varied and modernized especially in the younger generations. This process of “habitus metamorphosis” takes time and is to be observed above all as a change of generations (Vester et al. 2001, pp. 311ff).

3. “Pedagogical specialist” and “Scientific expert“: Types of teachers in the study by Kob

Little research has hitherto been devoted to the habitus of teaching persons. Also, teachers are mainly perceived in their professional roles and very rarely as whole persons beyond that role. It can, however, be shown, even on basis of the hitherto poor state of research, that teachers constitute a socially heterogeneous group. Thus, there is not such a thing as *the* teachers’

habitus. It can be assumed that the social background of teachers is mainly upper and middle class and very rarely lower class, as lower class members usually do not have the necessary educational achievements.

A notable exception of this state of research is a study conducted by Janpeter Kob, assistant of Helmut Schelsky in Hamburg, in the 1950s: "The social professional consciousness of the teacher at secondary schools" (Kob 1958). It is a qualitative study in which 82 teachers from four schools with different preconditions (small town, city, boarding school) were interviewed. According to Kob, the "character of the profession" is represented by quite "manifold types": There is "the self-conscious professorial type as well as the idealistic youth leader, the pastoral-paternal authority as well as the consciously realistic technician, the cultivated man of universal erudition as well as the experienced and conspicuously modest 'schoolmaster' etc." (Kob 1958, p. 22)

In particular, Kob elaborated in detail two exemplary types, namely the „pedagogical specialist“ and the „scientific expert“:

The *pedagogical specialist* orientates his/her occupational aspiration according to the pedagogical function of the profession (ib., pp. 45 ff). University studies are important but yet secondary. The pedagogical specialists feel nearer to the primary school teacher than to the scientist and has aspired their professional goal already when entering university. They devote their leisure time to activities in sports clubs and youth work, but are partly also interested in scientific studies, music and art (ib., pp. 61 ff). For the pedagogical specialists, the profession as teachers is mainly a profession of social advancement; there are more primary school teachers than university graduates among the fathers of the respondents as well as to an increasing extent also mid-level officials and employees (ib., pp. 51ff.).

Kob likewise systematically described the *scientific experts*. For them, specialist expertise plays the most prominent role. They distinguish themselves clearly from the pedagogue: "We are no educators, but teachers" (ib., p. 48). Vice versa, the pedagogical specialist regards the scientific expert to be the "worst teacher" (ib., p. 46). Outside school, the scientific experts are primarily interested in scientific studies, literature, music and art and not in sports club activities (ib., pp. 61 ff.). They frequently come from families, in which the father practices an academic profession. But also self-employed merchants are to be found frequently among the parents (ib., p. 51 ff.) Two thirds of the scientific experts have initially aspired to pursue a different profession. The profession as a teacher "functions" in their case "as a preferred compensating profession for academicians with special scientific interests, who first had more ambitious professional goals while becoming teachers was a second choice" (ib., p. 25).

Kob also studied the pupils' perspective on their teachers. The Pupils distinguished two types. The type of "proximity" concentrates on the social relations with the pupils and the community. The type of "distance" rather pursues neutral interests by referring to his/her authority as an expert (Kob 1958, pp. 87ff.). This perception of the pupils confirms the self-perception and the expressed motives of the teachers.

Kob's findings give us some initial informations on the different habitus patterns of teachers at the end Fifties. The two types we presented here, are positioned differently in society. The pedagogical specialist may be located in the middle of society. There are no indications of a distinctive looking down to the lower ranks of society and of an orientation towards the upper

classes. The scientific expert, on the other hand, prefers such a downward looking perspective and locates himself/herself as an academician.

The typological differences referred to by Kob are also found in more recent studies on the habitus of teachers (see chapter 7). These studies try to analyze the attitudes and practices of the examined group as completely and coherently as possible, in contrast to differing approaches which take the occupational positions of the teachers' parents from which they deduce certain expected attitudinal dispositions in order to confirm or falsify them by means of simple attitude ratings. The study discussed in the following chapter is an example of such a procedure which is related to the rational choice approach.

4. Socio-economical background and occupation-related convictions of teachers according to the Rational Choice Approach

The study of Kampa, Kunter, Maaz and Baumert (2011) on "The social background of Mathematics-teachers in Germany" is committed to the rational choice approach, which predefines the prevalent line within sociology. It was based on a representative random sample of secondary school teachers teaching mathematics in the 9th grade. This written inquiry was conducted in the context of the PISA 2003 surveys which were directed by Baumert, head of the Max Planck Institute for Educational Research in Berlin since 1996. As usual, Baumert's group worked with the class scheme of Goldthorpe, according to Erikson and Goldthorpe (1992), the so-called EGP classes, which, in the study, was reduced to a six-class-scheme (Kampa et al. 2011, p. 79).

Generally, the study supports the idea of a heterogeneous composition of the teachers. For the mathematics teachers⁵⁴ they found the following composition:

- 53,4% of the teachers' parents belonged to the service classes, i.e., the higher classes, (22,6% of the upper service class, 30,8% of the lower service class. The profession as a teacher is itself located in the lower service class).
- 20% of the teachers come from families of the middle EGP classes (16,4% routine service in trade and commerce, 3,6% [minor] self-employed [with up to 10 employees]).
- 26,6% come from both working classes (15,2% skilled workers and master craftsmen, 11,5% semi-skilled workers and unskilled workers or farmers) (Kampa 2011, p. 83).

⁵⁴ The random sample comprised 1126 mathematics teachers with a proportion of women of 42.6%. The average age amounted to 47.2 years. The mathematics teachers had on average of 20 years of professional experience. They taught at a percentage of 32,5% at a Gymnasium (grammar school), of 27,2% at a Realschule (secondary modern school), of 9,9% at a Gesamtschule (comprehensive school), of 3,3% at a Mittelschule (secondary-level school), and of 27,1% at a Hauptschule (secondary general school). (Kampa et al.. 2011, p.79.)

Furthermore, the authors were interested in the question, whether teachers from middle- and upper-class backgrounds have educational goals differing from those of the teachers of lower background. Their aim was to test Bourdieu's assumption that socioeconomic backgrounds influence teachers in their professional practice and thus may contribute to the fact that pupils who are not members of the middle- or upper-classes and do not share their value systems are systematically disadvantaged at school (ib., p. 82ff.)

Kampa et al. arrive at the conclusion that there is *no systematical relation* between the socio-economic background of the teachers and their occupational convictions. This result is a consequence of the problem – as I shall elaborate in more detail below – that the study works with a too simple class scheme, which is inadequate for a complex social reality. It is quite astonishing that neither the horizontal differentiation of classes nor the change in values, which both have been discussed in the social sciences since the study of Inglehart (1977), is taken into consideration. Kampa et al. are distinguishing but two types:

- A *narrow comprehension* of school objectives and a *traditional conception of values* which is represented by values of order, discipline and the willingness to work hard and to learn.
- A *progressive understanding* which is represented mainly by mutual respect, readiness to help others and responsibility. (ib., p. 81).

The data show that in each of the different EGP classes the teachers approve both of the traditional as well as of the progressive understanding. The authors interpret this result to the effect that the background of the teachers does not play any role for their goals of education because both types of understanding were equally present on the upper as well as on the lower class level. (ib., p. 87 f.) The question, whether this heterogeneity could have a “systematic” structure, remains open.

That class backgrounds and dispositions of action of the teachers do not match could also be owed to the fact that the instruments of the analysis were neither adequately differentiated nor sufficiently interrelated.

Let us start with the *class background*. The Goldthorpe scheme works with classifications of the occupations, according to the type of activity (manual, non-manual, agricultural), of the occupational position (self-employed, dependently employed), of the authority to give directions (none, minor, major) as well as of the qualifications necessary for an occupation (none, low, high). These criteria are used to divide society into hierarchic levels, from the top to the bottom. – Yet, this procedure of classification entails several serious problems.

First, *the vertical differentiation* of society is much further developed today than in the 1970s when the Goldthorpe scheme was first designed. These changes are *not regarded adequately*, especially with respect to the rapid growth of advanced levels of qualification, as, today the academic professions and the semiprofessions comprise almost half of the active population.

The main problem, however, is that the model is purely vertical and neglects the *horizontal differentiations* at each level of the hierarchy. It is the horizontal axis of social space where the accelerated movements towards the growing groups of the technical experts and especially the interpersonal services take place. This is well documented by several large data analyses (Mueller

1998, Oesch 2006, Vester 2011). Astonishingly enough, it was Walter Mueller, the German partner of Goldthorpe in large data research with whom Baumert worked in Mannheim earlier, who first described this horizontal shift of the occupational classes on the basis of large data sets (Mueller 1998). Mueller found a marked horizontal shift from the administrative service class towards the technical and interpersonal services. He noted that these more modern “class factions” of the service class also represented a shift in the basic attitudes towards authority. While in the administrative professions the values of order, discipline and hierarchical authority were predominant, in the growing modern professions the values of self-determination and co-operation were the rule.

Mueller's data basis was new, but horizontal shifts of occupations paralleled by a modernization of attitudes were observed already earlier in social structural research, especially by Theodor Geiger (1932), by Pierre Bourdieu (1982 [1979]) and by Michael Vester et al. (2001 [1993]);

Against this background it is not at all surprising that Kampa et al. found both “progressive” and “traditional” attitudes at the same vertical class levels. They could not see that this was the expression of increasing horizontal class differentiation as their theoretical and empirical instruments did not take account of such differentiations.

The second problem of the rational choice approach concerns the *dispositions of social action*, i.e., the habitus. These dispositions have differentiated, too. This has not been a direct consequence of occupational differentiation but rather a *parallel*, more or less independent process which is produced not alone in the educational and professional biography but especially in the preceding and parallel processes of socialization and social control in the families and milieus. Therefore it cannot be deduced but has to be studied independently. The bipolar model of Kampa et al. with its deduced expectations of only two different attitudes falls short of the complexity of the individual habitus as well as of the typological field of habitus as a whole.

The bipolar model is especially misleading as it confuses vertical and horizontal dimensions which have to be kept apart when we want to realistically distinguish different social groups. This is especially the case when Kampa et al. lump together two fundamentally different dimensions as elements of the same “traditional” pole: *authoritarian* values (“order”, “discipline” etc.) and *ascetic* values (“willingness to work hard and to learn”). With the help of the multidimensional “map” which I shall present later I shall specify in more detail why these dimensions are not congruent, in principle. They rather occupy different places in social space:

- Order and discipline are values of hierarchy-orientated conservative milieus at all vertical levels in the *right section* of Bourdieu's social space.⁵⁵
- Willingness to work hard and to learn are values of the milieus which are orientated towards individual responsibility and autonomy, in the left centre of social space. Its dispositions are organized in accordance with an ascetic ethos.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ It concerns – in the terminology of Riesman et al. (1958 [1959]) – „other-directed“ behaviour dispositions, i.e., the subordination to external authorities (according to Adorno et al. 1973 [1950]).

5. The plurality of habitus types and milieus

Evidently, the *horizontal dimension* of social space is one of Bourdieu's most far-reaching innovations. Bourdieu used the horizontal axis to describe the increase of cultural capital as a movement towards the left pole of social space. It is an indicator of class differentiation, i.e. the process by which the younger, more modern and better educated factions of the occupational classes develop (Bourdieu 1982). This raised the question whether this change on the occupational level was connected with parallel changes on the cultural level, especially the increase of the non-authoritarian values of autonomy and emancipation. Was there such a change of habitus patterns? Was it connected with the strengthening of *intrinsic motivations of learning* replacing authoritarian patterns of top-down education? And how were these changes distributed among social classes?

Research concerning these emancipatory potentials was inspired by Bourdieu. But it had not been the main focus of Bourdieu's own research. His studies of the educational system and of class structures in France were mainly conducted during the 1960's and the 1970's when class differentiations and value changes were just beginning. "*La distinction*", his *magnum opus*, mainly concentrated on the question of class reproduction. In the book, Bourdieu explicitly stressed that his sample as well as his empirical instruments were designed to study the relation between the bourgeois and the petty bourgeois classes (Bourdieu 1982, pp. 784-799). Bourdieu found substantial modernizations of occupations and of life styles in the younger generations of both classes. Life styles were liberalized, but this did not change the fundamental relation between the classes: class hegemony of the bourgeois classes (ib., pp. 462ff) and willing subordination of the petty bourgeois classes (ib., pp. 500ff): „They innovate in order to conserve more effectively.“ (ib., p. 495).

While Bourdieu dealt with these dominant classes extensively (ib., pp. 405-584), he dedicated only a short chapter to the dominated popular classes (ib., pp. 585-619). Also, in his methodological design, Bourdieu focused on the *aesthetical* and *intellectual* aspects of life style and habitus which are important to describe the “legitimate” culture of the French bourgeoisie and its hegemonic position as compared with the “pretentious” culture of its petty bourgeois class factions (ib., p. 786). Bourdieu was very much aware of the fact that, if he had focused the popular classes, his habitus analysis would have had to concentrate on the *moral* dimensions of everyday and private life which were more important for the popular classes than the aesthetic dimensions of taste (ib., p. 786f).

For these pragmatic reasons of his empirical design Bourdieu left a gap concerning the popular classes. In the terms of the “legitimate” culture of the upper classes, the popular classes

⁵⁶ It always concerns „inner-directed“ dispositions (Rieman et al., ib.) or, respectively, dispositions which are organized in accordance with an ascetical ethos (Weber) – The ascetically inner-directed orientation of working and learning can as well be found, as inter alia also Rupp (1995) has documented in Bourdieu's journal „Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales“, in the classical skilled worker milieus. In these milieus, the ascetic dispositions are often combined with the values of the other pole of values mentioned by Kampa et al., namely with respectfulness, helpfulness and responsibility (see chapter 6 of this article).

could only be defined negatively, as *not* having this culture of intellectual and aesthetic erudition. Bourdieu passionately criticized this relation and especially the dominating scheme of “elites” and “masses” (ib., p. 730f). But he could not identify class milieus who were aiming for a change of this relation. Therefore, Bourdieu’s analysis is often interpreted as a rather dualistic vision of a deep, insuperable class cleavage between the “elite” of the dominating classes (to whom higher culture is ascribed) and the “masses” of the dominated classes (to whom a lack of culture is ascribed). (Vester 2012, p. 159)

Not only Kampa et al. (2011) but also a part of the educational sociologists working along the lines of Bourdieu still maintain such schemes of vertical bipolarity. Omitting the dimension of a horizontal differentiation of habitus types, they are neglecting the emancipative dispositions and activities.

To avoid this narrowing of perspectives, it may be helpful to turn to the concepts of classical sociology, especially the concept of “*social class*” which was coined by Weber in contrast to the concept of “*occupational class*” (“*Erwerbsklasse*”) (Weber 1980 [1921], pp. 178f.), Weber did not use these concepts as mutually exclusive but as two aspects of the same phenomenon, because the members of class act in the economic field (in occupational relations) as well as in the societal field (in socio-cultural relations). Class is defined in a twofold manner: not only by similar (not necessarily equal) economic and occupational positions but also by similar habitus or mentality patterns. The same twofold definition was also used in the concept of “*social milieu*” introduced into sociology by Durkheim (1988 [1895/1902]) and in the concept of “*social stratum*” further developed by Geiger (1932).

It is important to note that these classical theories do not view the internalized habitus patterns as mere passive reflections of the ‘objective’ class situation but as dispositions of active social practice which are developed historically in the families and milieus. From this, we can conclude that habitus dispositions, as they are developed relatively autonomously in milieu interactions, may also be changed or modified, especially by the younger generations.

It was exactly this view of intergenerational habitus change which was rediscovered since the early 1960’s. In these years, it was observed that “habitus”, “mentalities” and “everyday cultures” (or “values”) were developing and differentiating in an accelerated pace within the younger generations. These developments could not be directly deduced from ‘objective’ class structures. Therefore new empirical research on cultural change became necessary. This research was first inspired by the early English cultural studies (Williams 1972 [1958] Thompson 1968 [1963]; Clarke, Hall et al. 1879 [1977]) and later by Bourdieu’s rediscovery and consistent conceptualization of the classic concepts of social class and habitus.

While Bourdieu himself used his concepts to study class reproduction they were used to study class transformation in subsequent studies. There were important case studies on habitus differentiation presented by Lamont (1992), by Rupp (1995) and by Karrer (1998). And there was also a comprehensive study of habitus change on the level of a whole society conducted in a research project at the University of Hannover which was financed by the Volkswagen Foundation (Vester et al. 2001, see Bremer/Lange-Vester 2006). Combining qualitative and case studies with a representative survey of the total social structure of Federal Germany, finally, in these studies a new ‘map’ of class habitus or milieu types was developed which is shown in fig 1. The division of class milieus was not deduced from economic or occupational categories but constructed bottom-up, by means of hermeneutic methods designed to explore latent habitus

patterns. It started in 1989, with large samples of narrative and semi-directive biographical interviews in order to compare the habitus patterns of members of the younger generation and their parents (Vester et al. 2001, p. 253ff; Bremer/Teiwes-Kuegler 2012). Cases with similar patterns were aggregated to types of habitus which could then be integrated into the social space of Bourdieu.

Subsequently, in a series of further research projects more than 900 comprehensive qualitative interviews were conducted to complete this map of qualitative habitus types. In order to find out their quantitative distribution, a representative survey based on Bourdieu's categories was conducted (Vester et al. 2001, pp. 222ff). It implied multivariate statistical analyses in order to explore qualitative types. The result was represented in detailed statistical and qualitative description of at least twenty different Milieus (Vester et al. 2001, pp. 593ff.; Voegele et al. 2002, pp. 267ff.). These results are condensed here in a short description and a map of the pluralistic milieu structure (fig. 1).⁵⁷ Very similar structural patterns were also found for other countries, especially Britain, France and Italy (Vester et al., pp. 48-54) and Luxemburg (Amann et al. 2010).

6. Five genealogical lines of class milieus

As the map reveals, there is a systematic relation between habitus types and the location in the field of occupational classes. This relation was not that of a strict identity, but of a loose structural similarity or "homology" between occupational positions and habitus types which also was found by Bourdieu (1982, pp. 212f) for France. This result disproves the hypothesis of "decoupling" introduced by Beck (1983), according to which the social position had lost its significance for the individually shaped lifestyle.

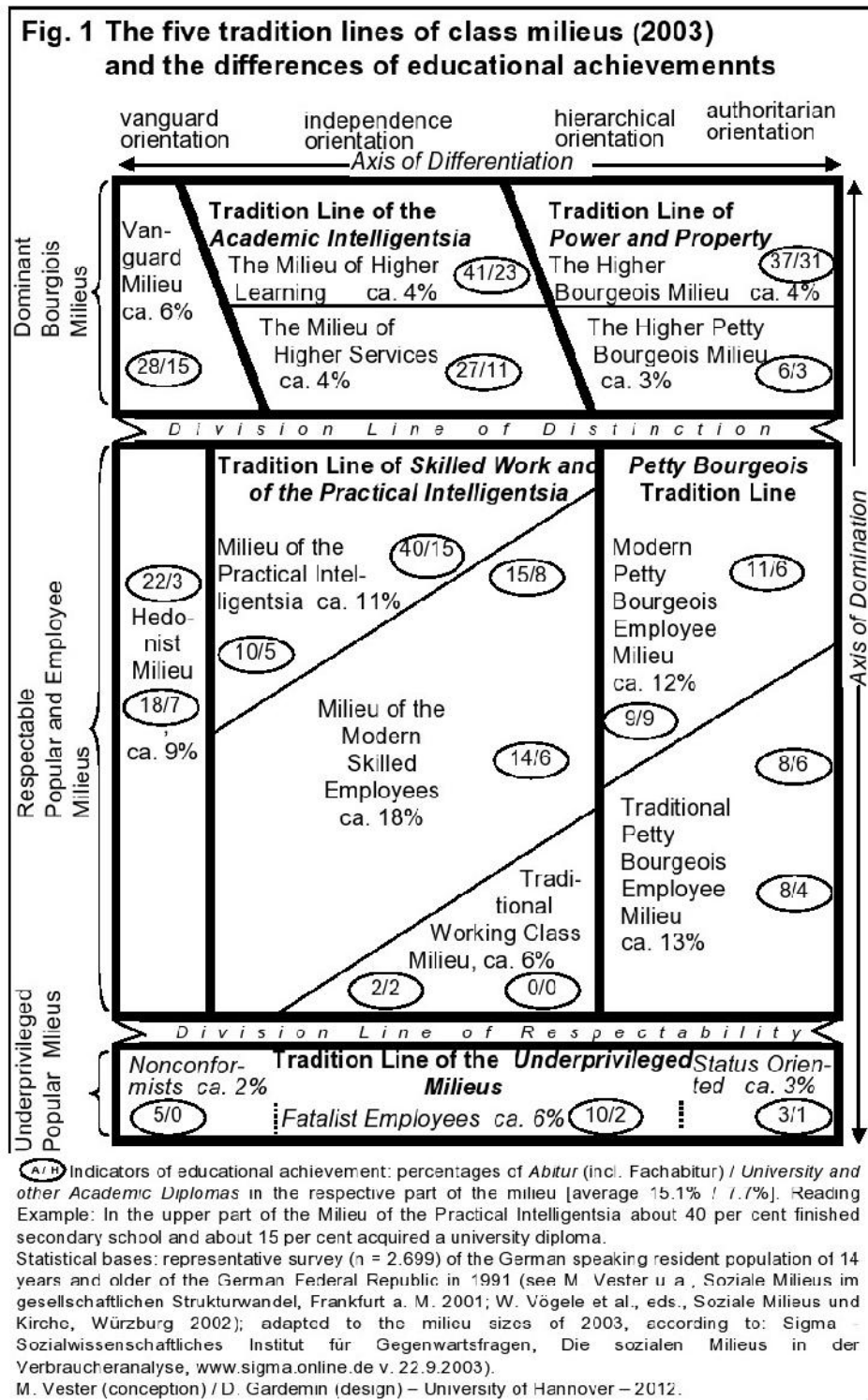
The map is structured by social divisions. These are produced by the members of the milieus through the practices of their everyday culture by which they distinguish themselves from other milieus and stabilize cohesion inside their milieus. The map shows three vertical strata separated by two cleavages of distinction. In addition, each stratum is divided into a more conservative and a more modern faction.

These divisions are produced by five larger groups of milieus which could be identified as genealogical lines or "tradition lines" described below in an abbreviated form. The general divisions by tradition lines of classes have grown historically over a long time, they are persistent. But in their sub-divisions we find distinct dynamics, pluralizations and differentiations between traditional and modern generational factions.

The *upper bourgeois milieus* share social positions of privileged educational, property and occupational standards. They are the groups of institutional domination and defend their privileged social and educational chances by politics of closure against the milieus below them.

⁵⁷ The research methods and results are represented in detail in Vester et al. (2001) and Voegele et al. (2002).

They cultivate a distinctive habitus and lifestyle, by which they distance themselves from the “ordinary” taste of the “mass”.



Within the upper bourgeois milieus, a distinction can be made between the tradition line of the institutional power (1) and the tradition line of higher education (2). In the “vanguard milieu” positioned at the left margin, patterns from both traditional lines can be found.

(1) The members of the *tradition line of power and property* are, in most cases, occupying the leading positions of private and public managements as well as the prestigious academic professions in the fields of justice, medicine etc. They attach special importance to discipline and order, to authority and obedience in hierarchies and prefer a representative lifestyle.

(2) The members of the *tradition line of higher education and services* are mainly employed in the academic professions of education, culture, communication, health, social welfare and technology. By emphasizing a certain idealistic orientation, they distinguish themselves from their power orientated neighbour milieus located in the upper right of social space.

A similar horizontal factioning is found in the broad middle of society formed by the *respectable/popular and employee milieus*. Here we mainly find white and blue collar employees, as the quota of the small self-employed persons has strongly diminished. For them, a respected status is important as the base of a secure social position, social recognition and a “good life”. Ambitious career advancements are not of primary importance. Instead, they prefer realistic strategies of a gradual educational and occupational improvement.

The respectable popular and employee milieus are formed by two tradition lines and the “hedonistic milieu”, in which the children of members of both tradition lines distinguish their way of life from the values of duty and efficiency professed by their parents.

(3) In the *petty-bourgeois tradition line*, we mainly find the small employees and small business people in traditional professions with rather modest material and cultural resources. Thus, many of them are losers of economic modernization. The members of these milieus are looking for security in the hierarchies of the family, work and politics. By their habitus, they follow conventional and frequently also authoritarian patterns. These, however, are less important in the younger generation of the “modern petty-bourgeois employee milieu” while, to a limited degree, democratic participation and a certain equality of opportunities of women and of migrants are accepted.

(4) For the members of the *tradition line of skilled work and of the practical intelligentsia*, a solid professional qualification and skilled work are central preconditions for their ideals of independence from authorities and external coercion. For all generations, the most important values are efficient and respectable work, life-long educational activity and mutual help between family members, neighbours and workmates. However, for this high performance which is rooted in their ascetic work ethos they expect participation in secure and respectable standards of living and welfare. While the oldest generation, the “traditional workers’ milieu”, is still following a habitus of modesty, the “modern skilled employees” are more ambitious in their demands for participation in educational opportunities, autonomy and equal life chances. They are concentrated in modernized occupations of the middle level as skilled blue and white collar workers or small owners. The members of the most modern faction, the “milieu of practical intelligence”, possess still greater ambitions for autonomy with challenging qualifications and academic or semi-academic professions.

The fifth tradition line is constituted by the *underprivileged popular milieus*. Its members have rather poor standards of security and education and are frequently employed as semi-skilled and unskilled routine workers.

(5) Their central experience is powerlessness. Realistically, their strategies center on keeping up with the standards of the 'respectable middle' in order to acquire a little bit of social respectability. Consequently, they follow strategies of flexibility and of leaning on others for protection, investing in helpful personal relations rather than in systematic educational or professional achievements. The underprivileged popular milieus incorporate three sub-groups: The conservative *status-orientated milieu* is looking for protection in hierarchies, the *fatalist employees* build their hopes mainly upon the protecting power of the trade-unions, the *nonconformists* are to a greater extent orientated towards modern lifestyle, self-realization and partially also education.

In the map, the vertical and horizontal differences are, in addition, illustrated by ovals in which two data are inserted, first the percentage of Abitur (secondary school diplomas), second the percentage of university diplomas. In the cases a milieu contains more than one oval, these relate to the milieu's sub-milieus which were analyzed in Voegelé et al. (2002, pp. 267ff.). As follow-up studies did not find a financial base, the data are older; but they indicate the principal relations of unequal educational chances between the Milieus which still are relevant.

7. *Milieu-specific habitus patterns of teachers in social space*

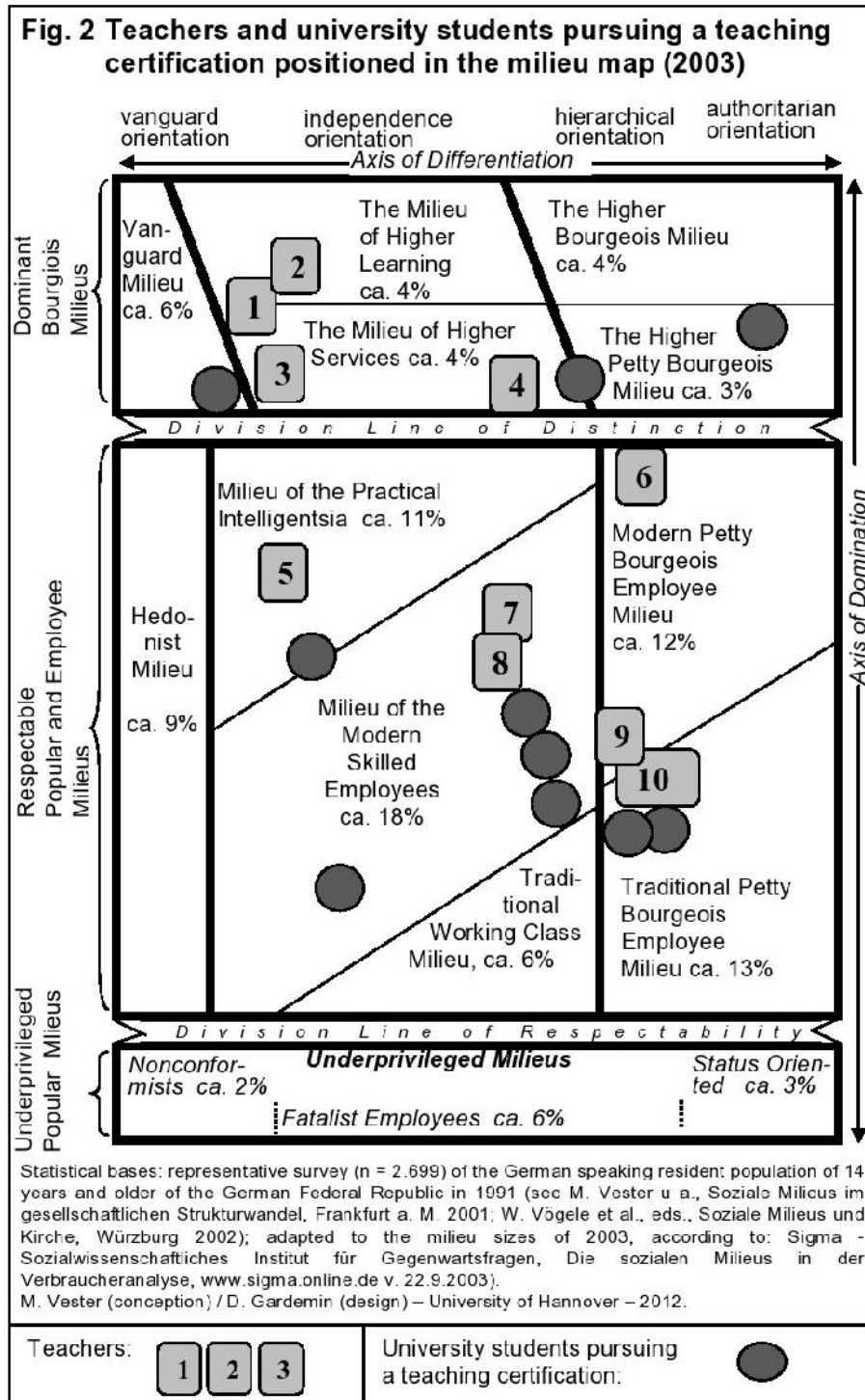
The explorative studies conducted by us confirm that teachers cannot be positioned in only one zone of social space. They spread over several zones. The habitus patterns identified by us are similar to the types found by Kob (see chapter 3). But they are spreading a little farther in social space, especially in the horizontal dimension which was not yet discovered when Kob made his studies.

Our observations are mainly based on case studies of university students pursuing a teaching certification⁵⁸ (i.e., future teachers) and of teachers and heads of schools of various types of school⁵⁹. Although the limited number of our cases did not allow typological generalizations we could identify a number of significant habitus patterns by which teachers with different milieu backgrounds could be distinguished from each other (Lange-Vester/Teiwes-Kuegler 2012).

⁵⁸ Our sample of university students pursuing a teaching certification at secondary schools and at schools providing vocational education was part of the sample of a qualitative study on students' milieus in social sciences, which was conducted from 2002 to 2004 at the University of Hannover (see Lange-Vester/Teiwes-Kuegler 2004, 2006).

⁵⁹ As part of a larger study on the change of work conditions (Schultheis/Vogel/Gemperle 2010), our sample of teachers and heads of school was interviewed about their everyday professional experience of various types of school (Timm/Lange-Vester/Teiwes-Kuegler 2010). Additional case studies were conducted in a teaching project, which Christel Teiwes-Kuegler carried out at the University of Hannover in the academic year of 2009/2010.

Our diagram (fig. 2) shows how the cases of our sample could be positioned in the milieu map. This positioning was not based on statistical variables (like types of cultural and economic capital) but on the principles of action found by the method of habitus hermeneutics which requires meticulous processes of interpretation and reconstruction for every individual case. To illustrate this procedure we selected nine of these cases which are the base of the following short description of the vertical and horizontal extension of the field of teachers. (The cases of university students pursuing a teaching certification were not included.)



In the *higher milieus*, our cases seem to represent two factions – an orientation of *reform pedagogues* on the left side of social space and an orientation towards individual *competition* on the right side (Lange-Vester/Teiwes-Kuegler 2012).

(1) The faction of reform pedagogues is constituted by the teachers 1, 2 and 3. They profess the ambitious educational ideals of emancipation, self-reflection, integration and equality of chances. Comprehensive schools are preferred, while special schools for socio-emotionally eccentric children with learning difficulties are refused. Case 3 for example is the head of a primary school, which comprises a Montessori-branch as well. The socially deprived children from the catchment area are brought together in his all-day-school with children from upper milieus, who come from other districts and attend the Montessori branch.

The teachers 1, 2 and 3 advocate reforms and are politically active, too. According to their understanding, education takes time, in the course of which the children are meant to learn individual responsibility and critical thinking. In the habitus of those teachers political as well as pedagogical and subject-specific scientific preferences appear to be interconnected. Thus, a certain practical distance towards the children becomes obvious, in particular towards children from lower class milieus. This applies especially to case 2, whose family background is a long tradition of higher learning going back at least to the grandparents.

(2) The principle of individual competition is supported by teacher 4, who continues the educational climbing of her parents. There is an articulate downward distinction expressed in a lack of understanding those children, who have problems in catching up with the subject matters of the lessons. There is little sensibility for children who show little self-confidence and independence, i.e. are requiring support and orientation. This teacher understands herself less as a pedagogue and mainly as scientific expert, based on an ethos of ascetism and competition which also legitimates selection inside the school system.

In the *milieus of the middle* there can equally be distinguished two horizontally different patterns. The first pattern focuses on the *self-determination* of the children and on a high level of teachers' *attention and dedication* to them, the second pattern is rather oriented to the "*patriarchic principle*" (see Lange-Vester/Teiwes-Kuegler 2012).

(3) There is a certain parallel between the „pedagogical specialist” of Kob (see chapter 3) and the teachers 7 and 8. Both teachers look back upon a strenuous educational career, achieved through their ascetic ethos. According to the motto: “life is struggle”, articulated by teacher 7 (Lange-Vester/Teiwes-Kuegler 2012), they expect the children to develop the same ethos of work and endeavor and a responsibility for their successes and failures at school. However, both teachers combine this with an attitude of fostering, devotion and comprehension for the children. They try to establish good personal relations with the children and often are also familiar with the family backgrounds and eventual problems. Teachers 7 and 8 define themselves explicitly as pedagogues trying to foster a good work ethos and erudition as the bases of personal autonomy and competence in life.

(4) The teachers 9 and 10, who are positioned more to the upper right, do not feel to be passionate pedagogues; but understand their role as fulfilling a professional duty, in the service of transparency and order in day-to-day school life. The patriarchal principle implies respect and

acknowledgement towards the authority of the teacher, who in turn is obliged to care for his pupils. Both teachers are orientated towards given hierarchies and are accepting social inequalities within the educational systems as an expression of natural differences. They are rather skeptical towards innovations and restructurings which might require too much of an effort. For this reason, the relationship with the children and knowledge about their personal situation are less developed. Teacher 9, e.g., changed to a semi-day school, feeling too much absorbed by a full-time school. Presently, he organizes an initiative which (in explicit contradiction to case 3, see above) advocates the establishment of a new school for children with special socio-emotional needs. Caring for them is not seen as a personal responsibility but delegated to the supervisory school authority.

This short summary of typological differentiation already confirms that there is a greater variety of types of teachers based upon differences in the habitus and self-conception of the pedagogues. This could also explain typical conflicts and debates – such as the mentioned example whether children with emotional problems should be integrated or segregated in separate institutions. .

Kob's study of 1958 already pointed to the barriers and conflicts between the „scientific expert“, who comes from rather privileged or academic families, and the „pedagogical specialist“, who belongs to the educational climbers. The scientific expert explicitly delimits himself from the pedagogical specialist: “In the case of the ‘educators’ the lack of knowledge is replaced by pedagogical methodology.” Or: “the pedagogical approach necessarily impairs scientific strictness and standards.” Pedagogy would provide the “necessary technical instructions, which, however, do not constitute, what is essential.” Pedagogy is “a communicating of tricks and dodges for the classes” and “possesses as such a relative practical value. However, it does not constitute the actual profession.” (Kob 1958, p. 49).

Obviously, these statements are an expression of a *conflict line* between the values of the higher and the middle classes. How shall the “correct” concept of education be defined? The “legitimate” understanding of education – the primacy of theory, abstraction and purposelessness – is authorized by the upper milieus which dominate the middle milieus with their practical and application-orientated understanding of education.

Till today, this hierarchic structure has not been overcome. The same social cleavage can also be observed in the milieus of university students in social sciences. Here we find the conflict line between alleged “minor-league students” of the middle milieus and students, who are allegedly “far from reality” of the higher milieus (Lange-Vester/Teiwes-Kuegler 2004, 2006). The higher milieus at the universities, however, have come under pressure in the course of the educational expansion, so that their understanding of education does no longer represent a self-evident general orientation. Studies on student milieus reveal that, in the debates on what is the ‘legitimate’ concept of education at least in the social sciences, the opposing positions are held by different factions of the same social class. In the upper milieus, the conservative factions which have a rather practical understanding of education – not unlike parts of the middle milieus –, increasingly challenge the position of the educational milieus that are located in the left-hand subfield of the social space by their conception of the pursuit of education for its own ends. (ib.). Therefore, conflicts are representing not only vertical, but as well a *horizontal* social differences.

The relevance of horizontal conflicts between conservative and modern milieu factions is also shown by a study about heads of school (Timm/Lange-Vester/Teiwes-Kuegler 2010). They

feel challenged by the changes that have been taking place at schools for some years under the catchword 'economization' (innovative regulatory elements: establishment of profiles, evaluations, grading methods). Increasingly, management qualities are demanded from them. The differentiation between pedagogue and manager refers to a central horizontal conflict between leading milieus. In this conflict, the factions of economic and technocratic orientation which are situated at the upper right of social space increasingly have become dominating during the past years. These developments are experienced in very different ways, according to the teachers' habitus. What some experience as a devaluation of competences is experienced as a positive gain by others.

The struggles at the schools are not confined to the conflicts about different types of school. They also take place *within the schools*, into which the teachers are going with their different habitus. The socio-economic and socio-cultural background of the teachers in fact plays a role for the choice of a specific professional career, in so far as the members of higher social backgrounds select the secondary school-branch more frequently.⁶⁰ At the same time, however, the staff of teachers at secondary schools and other school types is recruited in a greater social amplitude. An interesting result can be found at Kampa et al. (2011, p. 87): According to them, today teachers at secondary schools frequently come from lower social backgrounds than their pupils. But the question is still open, what this means for the interaction between pupils and teachers.

8. Concluding remark

What remains to be noted is first of all that the teachers are to be differentiated by a plurality of milieu backgrounds and their actions in a complex field the dynamics of which have not yet been adequately studied. When teachers with different habitus are teaching at the same school, this already entails a potential of conflict and delimitation between them. At this point, the differentiation of the pupils' is not yet taken into consideration.

In this essay, the differences in the habitus of teachers have only been insinuated. A comprehensive and typological examination is still pending. The rational choice approach is not suitable for such an examination. It serves neither for ascertaining the plurality of the milieus nor the dynamics in the school-specific fields. Also it is not possible to find out how teachers and pupils are experiencing school with the means of the rational choice approach. Equally, an analysis of the interaction between teachers and pupils is not possible.

⁶⁰ Kampa et alii assert in the first instance that the socio-economic background is not decisive with respect to the issue, whether somebody becomes a primary or secondary school teacher. Moreover, the authors ascertain a connection between the grade of the University entrance examination and the career choice, which is more explicit than the connection with the social background. With a better grade of the University entrance examination, the secondary school branch has been selected more frequently. As a conclusion, this result is once again differentiated. According to this, selection processes are yet to be ascertained, for the grades of the University entrance examination differ in accordance with the social background of the teachers, so that in the end the selected occupational career and the social background still are connected with one another.

Kampa, Kunter, Maaz and Baumert. (2011) do not succeed to confute Bourdieu with their study on the social background and the occupation-related attitudes of the teachers. The perspectives of both competing approaches are different. Bourdieu is interested in the teachers' habitus and the schools' field structures including their culture that has a long historical standing. This, however, is not of special interest for the rational choice approach.

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