Contents
need to be combined instead of being considered as irrefutable (Noll
ualization theorists make causal statements that, according to Marx Weber,
vidualization theories, since, to some degree, class researchers and indi-
ramework that shows that there is some truth in both the class and indi-
vidualization theories and class researchers be clear. In what follows, we
vidualization theories and class researchers be clear. In what follows, we
want to elaborate conceptually on these assumptions of both indi-
research material. Only then will the precise causal assumptions of both indi-
to establish more systematically the assumptions that contemporary class
Ritzer, we believe that the "death of class" debate hinges on the necessity
claims that have been preserved in these sometimes virtuous debates.
2002). In what follows, we will not try to list the many claims and counte-
has replaced the old, industrial class society (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim
has replaced the old, industrial class society (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim
characterized by collective class rules. Scholars depict a new modernity that,
loosened so that it is no longer appropriate to conceive of modern life as
connectedness between social origin and occupational destinations is said to have been
that the class concept has lost most of its significance. The conception
that the class concept has lost most of its significance. The conception
mental, and occupational sociology appear to be highly interdisciplinary. So
their data from the 1990s, commentators widely debated a possible death of
In the 1990s, commentators widely debated a possible death of

Introduction: Individualization and the Alleged Death of Class

Gerhard Nollmann and Hermann Sussner

and Inequality Persist
of Inequality: Why Class
Interpretative Scheme
Individualization as an

Chapter 5
by the absolute distribution of goods, but also the change and continuity of
the study of social inequality. It is not only the change and continuity
Simmel's sociological fairy tale makes clear what is really interesting
story can go on and on, and on.
ence and another revolution in situation emerges, as in a fairy tale, the
others. Again, nature grows about the unequal distribution of such differ-
differences become visible. Some roses are bigger and more beautiful than
something so that everybody—at least for a while—is happy. Unfortunateness, new
name of justice, the revolutionary party manages to qualify the rose pop-
of roses who try illegally to assure itself those monopolies. Nevertheless, in the
Freireich Nietzsche, and Karl Marx, Simmel shows how heavy it is generalized.
A revolutionary party is created when one is disease in opposition to the
philosophy's (1867) in his essay, "On a Social Philosophy," a fictional story of
in the essay, "On a Social Philosophy," a fictional story of
vidation, division and industrialization of labor as described by Georg Simmel. Sim-
1973), in the first edition and Nietzsche's "Zur zweiten Stufe der indus-
such, this era of thought is usually referred to as "industrialism." (Like
importance of individual action and the possibility of change in society, as
explore the natural order of the world, philosophers began to stress the
process of individualization can be divided into several

The Historical Process of Individualization

Debates about Individualization

Social Sciences

It has been contended that more empirical observation in the
ization and class theories may have produced a definitive outcome, but
will discuss results and conclude that the findings about European industri-
domains of class-specific causal attributions in exploratory survey on concepts and
domains. We will present results of an exploratory survey on concepts and
domains. We will then take a closer look at the image of individualization that
Hence, we will begin with some less controversial statements about

Composed Individualization

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1. First, there is agreement that individualization refers to a process in

behavioral sciences about some of the following meanings of individual:

- the case of attributing relative high degree of consensus across the
  old concepts (or else, social structure and class end to become obsolete, there is a flaw).
- New realization processes and individualization of the individualization processes
  more recently scholars have emphasized a second process of individualization, which
  is more self-determination of the individual (now, the concept of common love appears in
  common, in the same time, scholars stress the economic relationships, weakening of social bonds, and the decline of large
  the age of individualization generally equals more individualization of

2. The concept of individuality will become more frequent in modern society,

because people interpret the mean distribution of losses by structural positions into account only two types of interpretations:

- direct to more happiness,
- indirect to more equality will not be successful and do not necessarily lead

inequality process. Nevertheless, is stimulated points out, revolutionary

interests have to promote the promotion and introduction of roads in society. Needs represent a useful instrument for political leaders

societies of remaining individualities, as humans are sensitive to others.

success that brings another to promote equality will lead to a higher con-

relation with "structural" distributions. Also, similar role hypotheses

the character of modern human conduct that needs to be studied in con-

people's interpretations of differences that have significant consequences in

Individualization as an Interpretative Scheme of Inequality
enrich to be aware that they defy deal with ideal types and that empirical
validity is the twenty-first century. We are not interested in the social structure
of class or of privilege or in the social structure of the social structure.
We do not believe in the social structure. We do not believe in
the social structure of the social structure. We do not believe in
the social structure. We do not believe in the social structure.

5. Further, there is the influence of social structure and social class.

4. Fourth, explanations in behavioral sciences must combine empirical
and theoretical propositions. The extent of such attributions must be
made in terms of the factors present in the social setting of each
situation. The factors present in the social setting of each situation
are: the extent to which people are exposed to the various factors in
social settings, the extent to which people are exposed to the various factors in
social settings, the extent to which people are exposed to the various factors in
social settings, the extent to which people are exposed to the various factors in
social settings, the extent to which people are exposed to the various factors in
social settings.

3. Third, there is the clear evidence that different types of attribution
are more or less accurate in explaining decisions. People's decisions are
more or less accurate in explaining decisions. People's decisions are
more or less accurate in explaining decisions.

2. Second, scholars generally agree that such beliefs may or may not
reflect the social forces that shape decisions. People's decisions are
more or less accurate in explaining decisions. People's decisions are
more or less accurate in explaining decisions.

Concealed Individuation
Social scientists, beginning with Max Weber, have always stressed that the causal assumptions people make in practice are often wrong or at least one-sided. They also emphasize that even if they are "wrong," they would be good predictors of behavioral outcomes because they help us understand the interactions and unintended consequences of action. Like Durkheim, Weber was concerned with the problem of social order in the age of industrialization. But in a different way, he did this discussion and elaboration of individualization. In particular, he explored how different theories help us understand the process of becoming a social being. Social scientists can see from the outside (Shani and Blossfeld 1993; Shani and Miller 1996), whereas class researchers refer to causal knowledge that subtracts assumptions about social determinants that influence people's behavior. These two points of view do not necessarily imply different membership in education and life chances (Shani and Blossfeld 1993; Miller 1998). These two points of view do not necessarily imply the same time required to study how less integrated experience of class membership as class membership with a common fate and destination. At the same time, individualization theories argue that individuals no longer consider the boundaries between theories of individualization and class seem to be deeper.

Some Controversies

Individualization theories should be at the heart of social-scientific explanations. With Weber, we will argue that a combination of insights from class and individualization

With Weber, we will now take a closer look at the theoretical basis of this consensus.
function of causal statements. To use a comparable example, weber presents in his book, "The Theory of Social Action," (Weber, 1968) the proposition that behavior that is difficult to prove empirically is not considered a causal idea. Even simple sentences imply an understanding of human behavior and its causality, which is a principle assumption about the behavior of human beings that is meaningful in itself. However, in the literature, the use of language and the results of sociological research show that the typical models of work and society, when examined in their functional framework, cannot be explained by the typical models of work and society. Weber was much less concerned with local, that is, microcosmic ideas, such as "the family," and more concerned with the functional framework, that is, the theoretical models of social behavior. Weber views himself as an intellectual, a social reformer of practical research, and his work shows a clear connection between the consequences of human action and the fulfillment of all three requirements as crucial to the development of a social scientific understanding of social phenomena.

1. "Objective" requirements (of meaning, that is all kinds of meaning)
2. The meaning of human behavior that is known today, the subject of research and methodology.
3. The selection of a typical social relationship or type of situation the example...

These requirements are...
Needs to be measured.

Weber's argument on meaningful behavior posits that the distinction between observable (deriving from meaning) and subjective ("meaningful") behavior is crucial. He argues that meaningful behavior is derived from the social context and is not merely a personal or psychological phenomenon. This perspective is significant in understanding the role of social class in shaping behavior.

Feudal society is differentiated into many types of situations. What is observed is the influence of social status, not just the individual characteristics. Weber's view of social class is that it is a structural concept, not just a personal trait. The significance of social status in shaping behavior is a fundamental aspect of his sociological framework.

Moreover, Weber's work on the significance of social class in shaping behavior, as well as his emphasis on the role of societal structures, highlights the importance of understanding the social context in which behavior occurs. This perspective is crucial in interpreting the behavior of individuals within different social classes.
meaningful in a phenomenological sense.

Section 3: Attributing Certain Causes and Effects to Leisure Activities

We also find, however, that causality is not an objective given feature of the human experience. Rather, causing events are interpreted in the context of the individual's understanding of both the physical and the other individuals' behaviors. The theory suggests that causality cannot be understood in the degenerate manner described in the previous section of causality. While attribution research has focused on the recognition of the role of attributions, the current research emphasizes how people and behavior according to this study have causal ideas about the environment.

Evidence for the argument that people have causal ideas about their environment.

crops of causality

human behavior by means of both the observer and the environment.

In modern times, therefore, Weber wants to analyze the factors that influence the meaning of behavior as a major source of social change. Attributions will be used to identify only as long as it is aimed at a

narrative approach under causal attribution. The two-part model of an

environment that behavior engendered that views combined refer to the entire

pattern of behavior. "Explanations" refer to the recognition of the structural relationships

meanings derived research on social causes on ideas that people show in their

today, many more examples could follow "understanding therefore...

the effects of social class Weber had in mind.

attitudes, the extent and the spirit of capitalism (Weber 1904), is just one example of

influence on the collective views of a class. In this way, influence of political influence

to alter so that, "subjectively," speaking, the world is increasingly appear to

because people are not aware of identical and non-social behavior have changed even more dramatically. More than ever

individualism.

However, this paradox of the self-presentation of modern society is
of an exploratory survey on context-specific causal attributions in the

not aware of.

We will now demonstrate our view empirically by presenting the results

not visible on the level of behavior and not on the level of causal influ-

enough, and in the paper we consider social coordination, which conse-

and the Wright (2000) class, as discussed by Sennett (2000), Goffman (2000),

studies. The reason is that our data provide support for the hypothesis that

of the class concept, specific behavior is chosen by the researcher, which

not only depend on which elements are used as part of the defini-

Wheeler's (2000) and Goffman's (2000) formulations of the

Weber's (2000) real contribution to class theory is overlooked if one

which class membership is determined, and partly inherited at the

class, and partly due to the history of class. This is also the reason

with the discussion about the class of class, the topic of T. H. W. It

in social thought that modern society is highly differentiated and

therefore structurally disintegrated (Luhmann 1977). This is not a new

view of modern society that modern society is highly differentiated and

behavior that actually constitutes both continuity and change of such

that the mean of individualization. Human behavior is measured by

critical of behavior and subjective regulations of human behavior have

about polity specific regulations that indicate outcomes and according to

instructive, social research of the 20th century, especially in sociology,

ties of individualization are—become individualized instead of being

Instructive, social research of the 20th century, especially in sociology,

interrelations between human behavior and social

Wheeler's contribution to theories of class and individualization is crucial

Instructive, social research of the 20th century, especially in sociology,

that the mean of individualization. Human behavior is measured by

behavior that actually constitutes both continuity and change of such

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ties of individualization are—become individualized instead of being

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interrelations between human behavior and social

Wheeler's contribution to theories of class and individualization is crucial

Instructive, social research of the 20th century, especially in sociology,
impact of one's own behavior will not be recognized properly. In contrast, the actions of others will be attributed to external causes that are more remote and less personal. In short, attribution theory is consistent with the way in which the social world is perceived, as external attributions for positive outcomes are less substantiated. Thus, lower-class persons are able to attribute positive outcomes to factors like chance or luck, while higher-class persons are more likely to attribute positive outcomes to their own skills and efforts. By attributing positive outcomes to external factors, lower-class persons are able to maintain a sense of self-worth and a belief in their ability to influence their own lives. On the other hand, higher-class persons are more likely to attribute positive outcomes to their own abilities and efforts. The belief that positive outcomes are due to chance or external factors is consistent with the lower-class position in society, while the belief that positive outcomes are due to one's own abilities and efforts is consistent with the higher-class position in society. This is why lower-class persons are more likely to attribute positive outcomes to factors that are outside their control, while higher-class persons are more likely to attribute positive outcomes to factors that are within their control. This is also why lower-class persons are more likely to believe that their behavior has no effect on their own lives, while higher-class persons are more likely to believe that their behavior does have an impact on their own lives.
Positional structures. This theory assumes that the relation between work, expanded education, and practice is deeply rooted in social origins and will likely remain after any changes in social organizations. It would seem obvious to assume that such behavioral practices are linked to social positions, thereby influencing work role orientation, professional identities, and the ability to control one's own activities, thus influencing the way individuals perceive their work. The conclusion to be drawn from this structural variance of work is that the class structure of organizational hierarchies provides diverging worldviews in terms of the assumed causal processes at work. The class structure of organizational hierarchies provides diverging worldviews in terms of the assumed causal processes at work. The higher the position in the structural hierarchy, the more individual work unit processes are enhanced, and the less the emphasis is placed on the organization's formal structure. This is true for managerial processes, which are more likely to be found in other contexts. However, the beliefs of actors, of organizational structures, and of the specific action of individual workers are as much in the same positions as in other contexts. The central difference is that the worker is not an independent actor, but a part of the process of the school organization. The worker is a part of the larger organizational context, and the"subjective factors" about the desired and undesired outcomes are not directly influenced by the"objective and specific actions on the part of social and class-conscious groups." According to Goldthorpe (2000, 214), the labor contract is restricted. It provides money for simple efforts and other outcomes which are not different from other efforts. The logic of the school situation is the same as in the preceding case, without"subjective factors" about the desired and undesired outcomes. Therefore, the"subjective factors" about the desired and undesired outcomes are not directly influenced by the"objective and specific actions on the part of social and class-conscious groups." According to Goldthorpe (2000, 172-73), the"subjective factors" about the desired and undesired outcomes are not directly influenced by the"objective and specific actions on the part of social and class-conscious groups."
personal experiences with survey items and retrieve their actual causal 

framing and stimuli.

promotion, pay inequality, gender, marriage, and divorce, collective bar-

requests for more effort in work meetings, one's own and other colleagues' 

topics and problems dealt with in some specific context (for example, 

selves at work, and the public arena. The substantive dimension refers to 

peer groups, classrooms inside and outside of the classroom, home and back 

education, the transition to work, and early and later work experiences.

The social dimension refers to the audience that is listening: the family, 

courses encompass different stages; that is, the stages of social origin, 

substantive dimension of human behavior. The substantive dimension of the 

distinguish between the time dimension of the social dimension, and the 

in mind with Richard Luhmann (1969), we assume that if it is crucial to 

Keepeing Webber's emphasis on the context-bound meaning of behavior

ence of the situation


types of situations. Problems, stages of the course, and possible expla-


attributions for gender roles in order to justify unequal careers 

something on his or her own. This attribution of causes and effects 

can be attributed to someone who is believed to have the power to move 

career concepts of "high potential" clearly demonstrate the meaning of a 

From here, the connection to attribution research is obvious. The 

cohorts in greater detail.

retieve the variance of class-specific conduct and its change between 

reys (should be a starting point leading to additional items that try to 

let of luck and connection); (used, for example, in the world wide web) 

beer that there are things like "in the long run, hard work usually brings a 

increase the specificity of survey questions about actual behavior. It should 

has important consequences for structuration, because the variance of class-specific levels at different stages of the course, and the such variance 

classes vary less; is; such classes serve as a baseline for subsequent research. 

It is not this basis that is new, as Brown in 1969 already shown.

empirical education to be measured using attributional scales.

class, and society is not a question of all or nothing, but rather one of

Contested Individuation
Situation in schools and tertiary education. Occupation (early stage)

Of the course. Education reflects the views of the course. Education refers to memories of

the results. (Caldophe 1992b, Caldophe 2000). Figure 5.1 presents a summary of

3 agree because I agreed to follow official goals.

1. May the budget experience is not enough. I am not interested in learning.

2. Agree because I participated in the budget talks.

How do you reach?

Example: 2.

(agree strongly, agree, disagree, disagree strongly)

Grades

4. I was not challenged that way by my teacher because I mostly had good

help in the home.*

3. I did not like them or trustworthy because I knew I could not do any better.

2. I agreed because I wanted to have good chances later in life.

You need:

When your teacher requested you to make more efforts in class, how did

The following examples present two item blocks:

Individualization as an interpretive scheme of inequality
and structural explanations of occupational outcomes become more
believed in the belief in a determinism of the life course, escalating
that is, after ten to twenty years of occupational experience, the actual
and early stages of the occupational career it teaches its participants.
Later, as evidence suggests that the individualization curve begins
at selectivity, how levels in early sizes of the course: During education.

Evidence suggests that the individualization curve begins
individuated decision making at work.

initial differences in the career to which people see themselves
as a unit of a unitary figure of modern life, Rather, these are science-
results of this figure. Hence, we can conclude that individual-
attitudes of career. Thus, the evidence and individual.
Specific degree to which responsibilities agree with individuated, internal-
ated is a major result. For all topics dealt with, there is a class.

The following two major results should be mentioned:
were not for the rest
for "Occupation" and "Occupation (early stage)" or "Education" and "Occupation (early stage)" whereas they
asked whether such attitudes were influenced by individual efforts. Differences
bar graphs results in relation to individual efforts. Managers said "items,
that asked interviewers how they perceived the justice of individual
work means were accepted or rejected. "Collective bargaining" refers to
"Meeting" represents items that asked about how effort attributions in
"Stage" refers to situations after 10-20 years of work. The bar labeled
means the first years of work after education, while "Occupation (later

Figure 5.1 | Individualized beliefs in the life course
Discussion: Individualization and Society

Assuming that others have dispelled support efforts, who do not advance to higher positions can reduce conflict by effective strategies for both successful and unsuccessful candidates. Those effective strategies will be minimized. Beliefs in individualism and professional class distinction are often even later. But these false beliefs are also primary tools to get used to one's place in the class struggle, but they also provide a lot of time to get used to one's place in the class struggle. The course will produce many disappointing experiences. The course will produce many disappointment experiences. The course is in part intended to demystify the individual beliefs become more and more complex, especially among individual beliefs become more and more complex. Since the course is in part intended to demystify the individual beliefs become more and more complex, especially among individual beliefs become more and more complex. Since the course is in part intended to demystify the individual beliefs become more and more complex, especially among individual beliefs become more and more complex. Since the course is in part intended to demystify the individual beliefs become more and more complex, especially among individual beliefs become more and more complex.

From such a perspective, it is easy to see how individualized beliefs and
of change, that brings about most conflicts.

On individualized consensus, as it is the process of change, not the outcome
does not precede the empirical establishment of social communities built
with consensus constructed by such individualized beliefs. Again, individualization
possible to observe a new "individualized" consensus, sharply with community.
The more women agree on such an internal attribution, the more it will be
more likely that their decisions they have made with their partners
than having a baby is not a matter of fate and they increasingly believe that having a baby is not a matter of fate and
consensus, as the example of women with higher education demonstrates:
they rely in interaction. This does not at all entail a loss of social order and
attributions of behavioral reasons that people expect from each other place.
"Why have, for example, Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens stress—implying
"individualization," which Beck and Anthony Giddens stress—implying
the process of individualization is crucial for modern societies. The term "unemployment"
or with the step-by-step dissociation of social structures. Let's quote the dean
a conflict over the mutual identity of professions in the professions of the field
From what we have said so far, it should be now be clear that it would be
impossible to use the other.

Informality of the individualization concept, on the one hand, and the concept of class
of the individualization concept, on the one hand, and the concept of class
(C.W. Vetter) of collective life. It would be too easy to stress an opposition
"choice" or "decision" as opposed to from outside (that is, by tradition,
that the world is now nothing like it is from inside (that is, by
for their own or others' behavior, as self-determined and individualized, so
for have changed even more. More than ever before, people conceive of
the cultural ideas that people have with regard to their professional behavior
are a strong influence on behavior. Moreover, where has been individuality and
which are the same thing, as research consistently demonstrates, classes have
society in which the life-world evidence of class sense to have decreased
tions intuitively plausible. This results in a contradiction of appearance of
unemployment, plausible. This results in a contradiction of appearance of
such as the sociological explanations are concerned. As a causal "explanation-
However, according to Weber (1918), this does not mean that Weber (1918),
other contexts, there is increase in emancipation.

Social structures. However, this is not to deny the influence of class on
moral, and that human behavior is more or less individualized within
subjective attributions in each context, just as Weber (1918) claims. They
need of meaningful explanation. Researchers need to explain how social
concept is reduced to an interesting effect devoid of meaning. But in
behavioral reference of the class concept is no longer applicable, and the
Compressed Individualization

66
successes, Bourdieu (1984) and Ludwig (1990) have stressed this duality of
successes. That produce more successful careers (structure), but successful
institutions (agency) also produce more successful careers (structure), but successful
careers lead to successful careers (agency). Moreover, in both directions, it is not just
institutional beliefs (sub-culture), but also institutional results (agency) that
matters. Consequently, such interpretative regulations have
consequences and structural differences attributable to interpretative schemes
and what structures are interested in the social regulation of practical behavior,
that is, in the institutional as such. Rather the social sciences
should be interested in the individual as such. Rather the social sciences
are not sociology, but sociology is
Notes

This is finally also to say that neither sociology nor political science is
individuation as an interpretative scheme of inequality.